

Now, if you did profess the name of Christ in truth, you would love enemies (if they were your enemies) and not persecute them that are taught of God, and Christ is their head; for God let Cain have the liberty of the earth, though he was a fugitive in it, for murdering his brother; and God let the heretic Nimrod, that began to build Babel, have liberty in the earth; and scoffing Ismael have liberty in the earth in the wilderness.

And, because the Jews had the law of God, who had the signs, types, figures, and shadows, by which they were to kill blasphemers and false prophets that drew away from God; which law and outward carnal weapons was a figure of the true spiritual weapons and of the word of God, Christ Jesus, that destroys the devil and blasphemers and false prophets which were gone out from God; and this was done by the spiritual weapons, yea by the sword that proceeds out of his mouth, therefore the Christians are to love enemies.

For they that go about to take away the heads and leaders of the Quakers, as they think, they go about to take away Christ, for he is the head, not many heads, but their head and leader; for the many heads is the beast, and is in this world, and is in the fall from God; for Christ is their head and leader, and way (in the male and female) and life and truth, who is the way to God the Father, who is the only king, omnipotent, immortal, and everlasting; glory be to him for ever more, who hath sent his son to be our teacher, saviour, redeemer, and our way and truth and life, and our resurrection and our offering, and great sacrifice by which we are sanctified and perfected for ever; who is also our prophet, priest, and king, and his command we cannot deny, but must confess him before men, even Christ Jesus, who hath spoken to us in these last days, who ends the law, and priests, temples, tythes, offerings, sacrifices, first covenant, and ceremonies and shadows, and the carnal weapons which do kill about religion; and the Son of God bids us love enemies: God's Son bids us love enemies, and swear not at all. And this is the Son of God that speaks from Heaven, they that speak from earth kill and persecute one another, and say, "We must swear," and brings it from the Jews law, which Christ ends, or from the Heathens below: But we must confess Christ before men, for he hath poured out of his spirit upon all flesh, and his sons and daughters, and they shall and do prophesy; and the testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy, and this is our testimony of Jesus, even the spirit of prophecy; and God hath given to us of his spirit by which we know his things, and the manifestation of his spirit is given to every man to profit withal; and they that grieve and quench the spirit do not profit by the spirit but to their condemnation, and if any one have not the spirit of Christ he is none of his.

A Fanatic's Address, humbly presented to the King and his Peers, and also to his People in their Representative the Commons House of Parliament, assembled and sitting at Westminster: Discovering to them the Innocency of his Actings in the midst of the late Revolutions of Governments in this Nation; with the Resolves of them that walk with him, and the Qualifications of those they intend to have Communion withall. By Henry Adis, a baptized Believer, undergoing the Name of a Free-willer; and also most ignominiously, by the Tongue of Infamy, called a Fanatic or a Madman.

Phil. iv. 5. Let your moderation be known unto all men, the Lord is at hand.

Printed in the Year 1661.

FOR as much as several that lately took upon them the places of trust, government, and authority in these nations, under a pretence of making such a reformation in church and state as was agreeable both to the law of God and the best reformed churches; and yet their ends in all this, the event did clearly evidence, was nothing either more or less but to advance and set up self and self-interests; the which, that they might the better, and with the more self-security effect, they proclaimed liberty of conscience, that so they might gain a party to stand for and by them, if necessity required; in which time of freedom, a small party (the Searcher of all hearts right well knoweth) enjoyed our liberties under them, with an utter detestation both to their acts of violence, oppression, and self-servings, with our continual bearing our testimony against them in those actions as it fell in our way, both in discourses and teachings; but more publickly in my books, printed and published in the year 1648, called the Symptoms of Ruin, or the Sword and Famine the Attendants of Oppression; as also in that book intituled A Cup for the City and her Adherents; and in that poem called A Spy for Justice sent out of the Tower Chamber of the Fleet; in all which it will evidently appear, that for mine own part I could not own nor in the least allow of their violence nor oppression: And the better to clear to the whole nation our innocency, and the cleanness of our hands, as to all manner of acts of violence and oppression, I caused 1500 declarations to be printed and published the 12th day of the 11th month, vulgarly called January, in the year 1659, which is also joined to the latter end of my Fanatic's Mite cast into the King's Treasury; in which I declared my judgment, and the judgment of that small company that were in society with me, both concerning fighting, swearing, and government, and our obedience to magistracy and magistrates, and our present disrelish to them then in being, as in the 23d and 24th lines of the said declaration (if recourse thereunto had) is evident: And yet, notwithstanding, myself, with two more of the said declarers, in this late imprisonment about the late insurrection, and also upon refusing to engage to the king by an oath, have been cruelly imprisoned in the Gatehouse dungeon, and two of us also most abusively (with others) were printed as traitors, although the thought of those, and such like acts of violence and bloodshed, are even an abhorring to our souls.

And seeing we have the word of the king passed to us, for our protection under him in our liberties in our meetings, to discharge our duty to our God and each to other, in that way that God hath manifested himself unto us in his revealed will, the

Holy Scriptures of truth, so long as we on our parts, without acts of violence, hostility, plottings, contrivings, or underminings, shall behave ourselves peaceably and quietly under him.

And seeing we, on our parts, have never in the least forfeited our privileges by any thing that we have either acted or in the least intended, and yet our peaceable and quiet meetings have been beset with rude and debauched soldiers, rending and swearing, attended with the rude rabble, and that since our late enlargement by the king's coronation favour; and all this for speaking in the name of Jesus of Nazareth, "a man approved of God," Acts ii. 22. he that is pretendedly owned of you all, and yet contended for by you all; and yet such is the inveteracy of the spirits of some, that they are eagerly fighting against those that in the singleness of their souls serve this Jesus in the footsteps of the flock of God gone before; of whom, because the king, the nobility, and the generality of the commonalty of this land of our nativity are misinformed of some of us, and that we, with some, are of the judgment, "that killing is no murder," intend to lay a punishment upon us for the guilt and opinion of some whom we as little own as they that are ready to inflict the punishment; I have therefore thought good once more to set pen to paper, and in plainness of speech to give the king and his people, and you their representatives, a fresh discovery of the intents of our hearts and the bents of our spirits, in the singleness of our souls, in the sight and presence of him who is the searcher of all hearts, that sin-revenging God, who is of a more pure eye than to approve of or to behold iniquity with approbation thereunto.

I shall therefore declare our judgments as to the present governor and government, and our opinion touching government simply so considered; and then I hope, Daniel like, neither the king, his people, nor you their representative, shall find any just cause against us, save in the matters of our God; in which (the Lord assisting us) we shall resolve in God's way to go on in, "and if therein we perish, we perish."

And therefore, first of all, I shall let you know that we do own government, and that we both do and shall resolve to be obedient to governors, because they be ordained of God, according to Rom. xiii. 1, 2. And, therefore, on our parts, we dare not resist them, but shall, according to verse 7. "Render unto them tribute, custom, fear, and honour." And for as much as we have seen the hand of him who changeth the times and seasons, who removeth kings and setteth up kings, Dan. ii. 21, 37. Dan. v. 18, 19, 1. Sam. xv. 1, 23. 1. Sam. xvi. 12. to be great in this change in setting up Charles the Second; we do therefore own him to be the lawful king of these three nations of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and to whom we shall willingly submit in all civil things that we do find to be agreeable to the mind of God, revealed in that directory his Holy Scriptures of truth; and if at any time he shall require from us any thing that we cannot in conscience actually obey him in, we shall not in the least resist him violently, nor by force of arms oppose him, but shall patiently suffer under him the penalties for our not obeying him; and as we own him, so we shall receive, own, and obey, actively or passively, all others his civil magistrates set up and sent by him for the punishment of "evil doers," and the "praise of them that do well," according to 1 Pet. ii. 13, 14. And this we shall do in the singleness of our souls, without evasions, equivocations, or mental reservations.

Secondly, As we do own magistracy to be of God, so we cannot look upon ourselves to be concerned in the affairs of this or any other nation, so as to have to do with government, as to our own particulars, although we were endowed with such qualifications and estates as might render us capable thereof; because we look upon ourselves to be a people "chosen out of the world," and such as shall be "hated of the world," John xv. 19.; and for the sake and name of Christ, shall be "hated before kings, rulers, governors, magistrates, and councils of this world," as he himself hath foretold us, Matt. x. 17, 18. Mark xiii. 9. "For all that will live godly in Christ Jesus shall suffer per-

secution," 2 Tim. iii. 12. And therefore we look upon it to be our duties to behave ourselves as pilgrims and strangers on earth, as the flock of God gone before us did and were, Heb. xi. 13. 1. Pet. ii. 11. "And to sit loose to the things of this world, and to use the world as if we used it not, and as not abusing it," 1. Cor. vii. 30, 31.; but that our moderation therein, and in all things, "may be known to all men, because the Lord is at hand," Phil. iv. 15. and not Martha like, to be too much "cumbered with the things of this world," but with Mary, "to look after that one thing necessary, and to choose that good part which shall not be taken from us," Luke x. 41, 42. And as we are "risen with Christ, so to seek those things which are above, where Christ sitteth at the right hand of the Father," Col. iii. 1. "And so to lay up for ourselves treasures in Heaven, where neither rust nor moth do corrupt, and where thieves cannot break through nor steal," Matt. vi. 20.

Thirdly, We shall and do own the parliament of England, convened and gathered together by the king's writs, to be the lawful, and only lawful assembly of the nation, for the confirming, establishing, making, and repealing of laws and statutes for the better well-being of the nation in civil things; but we cannot find, from the word of God, any warrant for the greatest of men or councils, either civil or ecclesiastical, to alter or abrogate any of the laws of God made by that great Council of Heaven, or to prescribe any other kind or manner of worship than what the great Jehovah in his Magna Charta, the holy scriptures of truth, hath established, ratified and confirmed by "miracles, signs and wonders, and divers gifts of the Holy Ghost, according to his own will," Heb. ii. 4., and in which the flock of God, gone before us, acted, who continued "stedfastly in the apostle's doctrine and fellowship, and in breaking of bread, and prayer," Acts ii. 42., to which directory only we both do, must, and shall conform to, and none other. And if, by the hands of the rude multitude, by your continued toleration, or otherwise by your appointments, we shall therein or therefore perish, we perish; yet I cannot but by the way let you know, that for some time past I have observed and taken special notice, that, when parliaments have gone about that work of settling and ordering of matters concerning the worship and service of God, their designs have suddenly been blasted, their councils confounded, and their enemies, foreign or domestic, encreased; by which means they have been forced to leave that work, or else by the hands of those that called them, or by the army's force, they have been violently dispersed.

And now I shall really inform you of our resolutions herein, and shall declare, that if this great assembly shall go on to intermeddle with the regulating of our consciences as to the worship and service of our God, or give it into the hands of the churchmen of England so to do, we shall not, by force of arms, nor the least violence, oppose them, nor comply with any that shall oppose them; neither shall we resolve to conform to them in the least, in what is inconsistent with the laws of our God, left us in scripture record; but, under our penalties for our refusals, we shall, with Israel of old, groan under such Egyptian bondage; and we question not but that the captain of our salvation, in his own due time, by a mighty hand and stretched out arm, will release and relieve us, to the comfort of his poor oppressed suffering ones, and to the confusion of his and his people's enemies; and, with Israel of old, we shall resolve to "stand still and behold the salvation of our God," which he will work for us, let our sufferings be under (you or them) what they will, for our not actually obeying man's traditions.

Fourthly, We look upon it to be our bounden duty, notwithstanding though we suffer for it by the hands of men, yet to follow the direction of King Jesus, the captain of our salvation, who himself was "made perfect through sufferings," Heb. ii. 10., who, that his own flock might the better avoid that great danger of forswearing, either by ignorance, forgetfulness, mistakings, or by reason of fear, favour, or affection, he perswadeth them "not to swear at all," Matt. v. 34., who also telleth us, Matt.

v. 20., that "except our righteousness shall exceed the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees, we shall in no wise enter into the kingdom of heaven; and therefore, in verse 37, he requireth that our Yea should be Yea, and our Nay, Nay; and he addeth this as a reason, for, saith he, "Whatsoever is more than this cometh of evil," or of that evil-one; as much as if he should have said, when you either assert or deny a thing, you shall do it with such singleness of heart, and with such sincerity of soul, being in me, or in my way, order, or worship, as that you shall not cause the name of God, nor his gospel, to be blasphemed or evil spoken of, by reason of your deceitful denials or affirmings, but that you speak the truth in me, who am made of my Father unto you, both "wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption;" and so am become to you the "Lord your righteousness," Jer. xxiii. 6., who, as I judge, doth not tie us distinctly to the circumstance of the terms, Yea and Nay, but to the substance of the verity or truth of the thing asserted, although the terms may differ, as do his own, who saith, "Verily, verily, I say unto you," John iii. 3., who also useth the same expression above twenty times in that Gospel by St John, the which verily, verily, had it been an evil, or if it had come of that evil one, and he himself speaking it had been his evil, to have tied us from it as an evil, and yet acted it himself; and so he would have laid himself under a guilt, the which to say I really believe is no less than blasphemy; so that he tieth us, as I judge, not to the circumstance of the words, but to the substance of the matter, and that without swearing, in saying, "Swear not at all;" so that though we cannot swear to King Charles, yet we can and shall be freely willing to promise to King Charles what we can safely and upon a scripture account promise. And as we are not ourselves free to plot, contrive, nor by force of arms to undermine him nor his government, so to prevent the shedding of blood, and the breach of the peace of the three nations, we shall and will be ready and willing to discover all plots, conspiracies, or any thing that by force of arms we shall know of against him, to some justices of the peace, or other his ministers, within twenty-four hours after the knowledge of such plot or force intended; and shall resolve (the Lord assisting us) to be as true and faithful in our yeas and nays, whether promissary or testimonial, to King Charles and his subjects, of what rank or quality soever they be, as our brethren of Holland are to the States, and to their fellow-citizens and townsmen: And we hope our performances therein will be found far more real than the multitudes either are or have been, who have been ready to swear for this to-day and against it to-morrow; whose own interests generally cause their mouths to open in such swearings and forswearings more than conscience; the which we dare not do lest we be found transgressing the law of our Saviour, and his faithful servant, who say, "Swear not, and swear not at all," Matt. v. 34. Jam. v. 12.

Fifthly, We look upon it to be our duties, to be a peaceable, a quiet, a harmless, and an innocent people, and to keep ourselves from all manner of acts of war, violence, and hostility; because to kill, inslave, bring under, ruin, or destroy, our friends were most inhumane; and to do so to our enemies we dare not, because our lawgiver, by his faithful servant, Rom. xii. 17, &c. requireth us to "recompense to no man evil for evil, but that we provide things honest in the sight of all men;" and that if possible, as much as in us lieth, we should live peaceably with all men; who requireth us not to "avenge ourselves, but rather to give place unto wrath;" because it is written, "vengeance is mine, and I will repay it, saith the Lord;" therefore, saith he, "if thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink; for in so doing thou shalt heap coals of fire on his head; and be not overcome with evil, but overcome evil with good:" yea, and so saith our Saviour himself, Matt. v. 44. "But I say unto you, love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them that despitefully use you; that you may be (or that you may evidence yourselves to be) the children of your Father, which is in Heaven; for he maketh the sun to rise on

the evil and on the good, and his rain to fall on the just and on the unjust : for if you love them which love you, what reward have ye ? Do not even the publicans the same ? And if ye salute your brethren only, what do ye more than others ? do not even the publicans the same ? Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father, which is in Heaven, is perfect." And we look upon it to be our duties to follow our Lord and Master, who left himself a pattern for us to follow, who saith, Matt. xi. 29. " Learn of me, for I am lowly and meek, and ye shall find rest for your souls ;" who, saith the apostle, 1. Pet. ii. 21, 23. " When he was reviled, reviled not again ; when he suffered, he threatened not ; but committed himself to him who judgeth righteously." Much more might be said to their particular, the which, for brevity's sake, I shall omit ; and shall thus affirm, that for this cause, and such requirements as these are, we dare not have to do with weapons of war, nor that the acts of violence in any case be found in our hands, no not for the best things, and to advance or promote either the gospel or kingdom of Christ by any such way or means, we dare not in the least have so much as a thought, but look upon it to be our duties patiently to wait, and earnestly, according to that other requirement of Christ, to pray, " That his kingdom may come," that so his " will may be done on earth as is in Heaven," Matt. vi. 10. And as we have declared in the said declaration, in 1659, " that we could not hold society with, nor own those that were in the same faith and order with us, and from whom we then stood at a distance, that acted with the carnal weapons, weapons of war, and acts of hostility then ;" so still, we look upon it to be our bounden duty so to do, because it is so frequently forbidden in scripture, and also because it bringeth such an odium upon the truth, and also upon the peaceable people of God that are in gospel order, and walk close to the appointments of Christ in all his ordinances, and in church-fellowship, as it is at this day : And therefore we cannot have to do with any such as do so act, or that look upon it to be their liberties or privileges so to act ; and shall have as little to do with them now as then, or with any one that hath so acted, unless they shall freely relinquish the same, and shall acknowledge their failing and evil in their so acting, whether it be either against or for King Charles the First, or King Charles the Second ; it being so clearly made out to us, and also to several of them that formerly so acted, from the Holy Scriptures, to be contrary to the qualifications of a gospel disciple to have to do with weapons of war, or the sword of slaughter, whose weapon only ought to be the " sword of the spirit, which is the word of God, to cut down, kill, and slay, wound, and bring under every imagination, and every high thought that exalteth itself against the knowledge of Jesus Christ ;" and to bring every soul to the obedience of Christ, in all his laws, statutes, ordinances, and appointments : In order whereunto,

Sixthly, We look upon it to be agreeable to the pure will and mind of God, that there be a free toleration for men and women to worship God, without either constraint or restraint ; and that no acts of violence be used against them therein, to force the conscience of any, no not the meanest of the sons and daughters of men, of what persuasion or judgment soever they be of ; because Jesus Christ, out of that exceeding love of the Father, was sent " to lay down his life for the sins of the world," John i. 29. " and to be a redemption for that first transgression," Heb. ix. 15. under the guilt of which all the whole bulk of mankind that ever were, are, or ever shall be, by imputation, do lie under ; and from the punishment of which, by Jesus Christ, they shall all be released and restored, Rom. v. 18. And not only so, but they are also, by Jesus Christ, that second Adam, brought into a capacity to have that salvation that is in Jesus Christ, with eternal glory, 2 Tim. ii. 10. whose work was to " come to seek and to save that which was lost," as he himself saith, Luke xix. 10. And therefore he gave out his universal commission, the benefit whereof extendeth to all ; and therefore to be preached to all, Matt. xxviii. 19. Mark xvi. 15.

And we having this universal gospel to preach, to wit, " That God was in Christ,

reconciling the world unto himself by Jesus Christ, not imputing their trespasses unto them, and hath committed unto us the ministry of reconciliation;" now then we are "ambassadors for Christ, as though God did beseech you by us; we pray you (yea) (you great tall cedars of England) [we pray] you in Christ stead be ye reconciled unto God," 2 Cor. v. 19. 20 And have a care, I beseech you, in the fear of the great Jehovah, that ye neither slight our message, as you tender the good of your own souls to eternity; neither be ye, I pray you, as those Pharisees and hypocrites, against whom a wo was pronounced by our master King Jesus, Matt. xxiii. 13. who shut up the kingdom of Heaven against men, who neither desired to go in themselves, nor suffered those that were entering to go in: Oh, I beseech you, have a care of this, for men are backward enough of themselves; and should you but seem to hinder them, happily their disobedience may be put upon your score; and he that is found forwards now to hinder, will be found most guilty at that day when Christ shall dispense to every man according as his work shall be, 2 Cor. v. 10. Oh, I beseech you once again, yea and again I intreat you, have a care every one of you, as you tender your own good to eternity, that you hinder none, though ever so rich nor ever so poor; for God is "no respecter of persons; but in every nation he that feareth him and worketh righteousness, is accepted of him," Acts x. 34. Hinder none, be they ever so young, nor ever so old; for our householder, the master of our family, Jesus Christ, who is a son over his own house, comes to some early in the morning, Matt. xx. 1. &c. even whilst they are tender and young, even so soon as they come to reason and understanding, God, by the incomings of his Holy Spirit, comes to hire them into his vineyard: To some he comes at the third hour in their youth; to others at the sixth hour in their manhood; to others at the ninth hour in their declining age; and to some again at the eleventh hour, even in their old age. O then I say again, I beseech you have a care that none be hindred of their entrance into the vineyard of Christ, of no age or sex whatsoever; for he may be loitering in the market-place of the world this day that may be hired into the vineyard of Jesus Christ to-morrow; for Christ of a persecuting Saul may suddenly make a preaching Paul; one voice from Heaven can do it, through mercy I know it by good experience, and therefore I am the bolder to assert it; and that provoketh me the more earnestly to beg again and again that no violence be used, because the householder, Matt. xx. 1. is said to hire, not to frighten, nor beat, force, or constrain, but to hire labourers to go into his vineyard, telling them what they shall have for their pains if they will labour when they are there. And as I told the king in my Fanatic's Mite, in page the ninth of the last impression, "That a gospel minister was not as a general in an army, to frighten, beat, or fight men into faith, but as an ambassador to persuade and invite, and gently treat with, and to intreat into the way of God, the one being gospel or evangelical, but the way of force being diabolical and of the devil, and proceedeth from the fruits of the flesh," a part whereof I told the mayor of London, in Christian love to his soul, the danger whereof, in my Alarm given to him in his Quarters, in page 34, in which some of them are clearly laid down, and how they will exclude a soul from Heaven's glory.

Again, it is required, that "all things be tried, and that which is good be held fast;" but how shall there be a trying of all things if there be a constraint only to one? for, how can there be a choice where the trying any but one is restrained? the which restraint confounds the choice. Again, if those of the episcopal government do look upon toleration or liberty of conscience, simply so considered, to be a sin, then I query if it be not an evil to tolerate any; and whether that evil is not then more aggravated if they shall tolerate that opinion or religion that they would have us swear against, because they say it is idolatrous and sinful? And whether there is not a farther aggravation, if the worsers be allowed and the better be suppressed? And whether they will not evidence themselves to be such as judge not as God judgeth, if they shall

tolerate the great, the rich, and mighty, and suppress the mean, the poor, and the low? when God "respecteth not persons, but in every nation he that feareth him, and worketh righteousness, is accepted of him."

And, therefore, I would earnestly beg every one (the bent of whose spirit carrieth him that way) according to the requirement of the apostle, "to try their spirits whether they are of God or not," 1. John iv. 1. and to examine their wisdom in this case of persecution, whether it be that wisdom that is from above, which is "first pure, then peaceable, gentle and easy to be intreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality, without hypocrisy," Jam. iii. 17.

Whether it be without partiality? whether they would be willing to be served so themselves? whether, if they have at any time undergone persecution for conscience sake, and have not cried out against it as abominable, as the Roman Catholics and Episcopalians have done in that grand usurper Oliver Cromwell's days, and the general Baptists, confident I am should have done, had he longer continued; even as they with others now do, and as that people of the Presbyterian persuasion suddenly (unless my judgment greatly fail me) will do, if this horrid Rome-bred persecuting spirit still be predominant in England, which is contrary to the true spirit of God, whose fruit is love, joy, peace, long suffering, gentleness, goodness, meekness, and temperance, against which there is no law; no law of God, although there be now some laws of man intended to be made against them: Oh! that this were taking upon your spirits that now sit at the stern!

Was not your loyalty to King Charles the First and King Charles the Second a great cause of your hardships, most of you? How fared it with you, you that were continually in England? Were not those that bore sway in England your continual tormentors, your fear and daily dread? and those that were not away did they not feel the smart of it? Did you not all, both abroad and at home, cry out of oppression, cruelty, and tyranny? Did you cry out of them, and think you that others will not cry out of you if you be found such actors to others? Was it evil in them to use you so for your loyalty to King Charles? And can you be so cruel to those that are loyal to King Jesus, and never acted any thing against King Charles the First, nor King Charles the Second, or against the meanest of you, nor ever took part with them that did? Did the hand of God follow them for their cruel and unjust actings to you and the king, as most of you do say it did? And can you be the same to others for their loyalty to him who hath righted you of them, and brought you to your own again; and that against some of them too that never got the worth of one farthing by all their pillagings, plunderings, or sales, neither of goods nor lands? Can you be contented to enjoy your own? And are you not willing that those that never harmed you should enjoy theirs? Are you glad that you are brought into the land of your nativity again? And would you now most unjustly jostle others out? Are you now setting up that worship that you judge to be agreeable to the mind of God? And will you now force others to forsake what they are persuaded to?

Oh! that you would but consider what your own oppressions were, and who you are now about to oppress; let not your fury, nor revenge, fall heavy upon the innocent: Why should iniquity and injustice be found in your hands?

Oh! consider with yourselves apart, and discourse it each with other seriously, what such a judgment as I, in the singleness of my soul, have laid before you, can or ever did do you harm; who never did any acts of violence for nor against you or the king, nor ever shall resolve to do; who have not gone with a defensive weapon, so much as to defend myself with, above these fifteen years; and am of the same judgment with our brethren of Holland, whose innocent and harmless behaviour, confident I am, many of you, in that time of your absence from this land of your nativity, are well acquainted with; the which I am confident the strictest of you have no just ex-

ception against, either for endeavouring to undermine government, or to pull down governors, or, by fraud or force, to have to do with any man's possession, goods, or estate; who am willing to do by another as I would have another do by me, and am as willing another should live as myself, whose endeayours, in all my teachings, have been to persuade persons to forsake and avoid all acts of violence and oppression, and to cleave to God with purpose of heart, and to persuade those that have owned God in his own way, to continue stedfast in the same, and to prove faithfull to him, whose laws teach the best loyalty to our earthly princes, and purest love to all, yea to our very enemies, who with singleheartedness to all, and, without either fawning or flattery, have and shall still resolve to tell every one with whom I have to do, the worst of their condition, and shew them the danger they are in by reason of their misactings; with an earnest desire that, in order to their eternal well-being, they would refuse the evil and choose the good.

And so I have at this time done with you, the great council of the nation, and if for my plainness of speech either as to the matter or manner of it, you shall become mine enemy, because I deale so plainly with you, I shall let you know, that, notwithstanding, I shall, in the singleness of my soul, pray for you and for your conversion, not in the least endeavouring or plotting your confusion.

And now I shall earnestly desire both the king, his people, and you their representative, to judge with equity our innocent cause, that so, when you shall yourselves be summoned at that great session, before that great tribunal and righteous Judge, who shall give to every man according as his work shall be, that then you be found innocent and without blame as to your actings against the peaceable ones of Christ's flock, whose sentence of either, "Come, ye blessed, inherit the kingdom," or, "Go, ye cursed, into everlasting fire," will be of an eternal extent, and that upon the account of men's actings to his people, either for doing them good, or for refusing to do them that good they might have done them; who looketh upon what is either neglected or done to them to be done unto himself: And hence it is that he uttered that from Heaven, saying, "Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? I am Jesus whom thou persecutest," Acts ix. 3, 4. And after the same manner will be his sentence at that great day of account, even, "Go, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels; for when I was hungry, ye fed me not; and naked, ye clothed me not; sick, and in prison, and ye visited me not; for inasmuch as ye did it not to one of these little ones, ye did it not unto me."

Oh then, I beseech thee, whoever thou be, that art of a persecuting spirit, I say again, I would beg thee seriously to consider, Oh persecuting spirit, that if the Lord Christ will thus severely punish the neglecting the doing good to his people, when hungry, naked, sick, and imprisoned, what then will be the portion of those that cause them to come into such difficulties and straits as imprisonments, hungerings, nakedness, and sickness; and cause them to be thrown, as it were, on heaps, one upon another, as some of the Baptists lately have been, sixty in one room, some nine foot broad and fourteen foot long in Newgate: And much after the same way in several other gaols and prisons in the nation, enough to breed infections and diseases, had not the God whom we serve appeared mightily on our behalfs.

And seeing the eternal sentence will be so severe against such violent actors, in love to their souls I cannot choose but give them a timely caution, and in their behalfs, with that servant of the Lord, Deut. xxxii. 29. cry out and say, "O that they were wise, that they would understand this, that they would consider their latter end."

And now let not the king, his peers, nor his people be angry, and I will speak but this once more in the behalf of myself, and all that are of the separation, of what judgment soever, that so, if possible, I may be instrumental that the peace of the nation be preserved and kept; and this I shall humbly beg, that if you are not willing that we

should serve our God in that way which we have received, but that we shall be taken into custody for our so doing, that then you would commissionate some peace-officers for that work to have to do with us, and that we be not left to the mercy of the rude multitude, nor the violent laws of the mercenary soldiers, whose actings towards the peaceable have been very rude and inhumane in London and Westminster; where, at one meeting, they wounded one man so dangerously on the arm, that it is greatly feared he will lose the use of one of his hands.

At another meeting-place, they rudely came and drank up the wine that was provided by that congregation to celebrate that holy ordinance of communicating at the table of the Lord.

At another meeting-place, the congregation being generally dispersed before they came, in revenge whereof the soldiery set on the rude multitude to break in pieces the table that they used to make use of to celebrate the Lord's Supper upon.

At another meeting-place they rudely behaved themselves, violently casting some of them head-long down the stairs, but the stairs being winding, and some people upon them, the force of the falls (through mercy) being thereby broken, there was not much harm done as to the people; the greatest harm that was done was by one of the soldiers to himself; for he set that up then upon his own score, the which (unrepented of) will exclude him Heaven's glory, if the saying of our apostle be true, in 1 Cor. vi. 9. who would not have men to be deceived, for, saith he, "neither fornicators, nor idolaters, nor adulterers, nor effeminate, nor abusers of themselves with mankind, nor thieves, &c. shall inherit the kingdom of God:" And such was one of them who stole a Bible, as I am informed by one, who saith, that at the very interim of time charged him with it in the face of the congregation; and if such acts of deceit should be winked at and allowed, we should be in as bad a condition as when our houses were searched upon the late insurrection, when who would come and forced into houses, and took and bore away what they pleased, to the great hindrance of some, as can be clearly evidenced; and when our pockets were searched in the main guard, and our knives and other things taken from us, and never restored to us again; and if such acts of violence be not restrained, our peaceable and well-governed land, in a short time may (it is to be feared) become Acheldama.

And therefore, in the behalf of myself and all others, whose light it is to walk in a separated way, if by your appointments we shall be taken into custody for our peaceable meeting together in the service of our God, I shall humbly beg that we may have the privileges of free-born Englishmen, and that which the worst of offenders enjoy; who, though the laws, both of God and man, will condemn to the shamefullest death, yet they are apprehended by peace officers, and peaceably preserved from the hands of violence and cruelty till they be legally charged, adjudged, and condemned; the which security, if this great assembly shall vouchsafe us, and that the nation be forbidden to make any tumultuous insurrections contrary to the peace of the nation, and that they forbear to commit any acts of violence upon us, either in our peaceable assemblings together, or apart at our habitations, or elsewhere, till further order from the assembly; the which, if this national assembly shall vouchsafe us the privilege of, we shall in all humility and thankfulness acknowledge it; but if not, yet it shall be our great care in our meetings, to perform our duties in obedience to our God, and to follow that Christian advice of his servant, in 1 Tim. ii. 1. "To make prayers, supplications, intercessions, and giving of thanks for all men, for kings, and all that are in authority; that under them we may lead a peaceable and quiet life in all godliness and honesty, because it is good and acceptable in the sight of God our Saviour:" and this shall be the resolution of him, whose only end and aim is the glory of God, the good of the king, the well-being of his people, and the eternal benefit of all your souls;

Who in the singleness of heart, in the sight of the all-seeing God, shall subscribe himself a friend to your souls, in order to your eternal well-being, in the behalf of himself and those he hath communion withall.

HENRY ADIS.

The Naked Truth, or the True State of the Primitive Church. By an Humble Moderator, Herbert Croft, Bishop of Hereford, as verily supposed.

Zach. viii. 19. Love the truth and peace.

Gal. iv. 16. Am I therefore become your enemy, because I tell you the truth?

Anno 1675.

The loyal, pious, and moderate author of the following treatise was Herbert Croft, third son of Sir Herbert Croft of Croft Castle. He was educated to the church, but had scarcely attained the situation of Dean of Hereford, when the civil wars broke out. His temper being as firm as gentle, he continued to preach in behalf of the king and church of England, until the parliamentary soldiers threatened to fire upon him in the pulpit. He also suffered from straitened circumstances, until, in 1659, he succeeded to the family estate of his father by the successive deaths of his two brothers. Upon the restoration he was promoted, in 1661, to the bishopric of Hereford, then vacant by the death of Nicollus Monk, brother to the restorer of monarchy.

In 1675, the dissensions among English protestants rose to such a height, that this pious bishop, with other moderate divines, began to entertain fears that popery might enter through the breach. In order to avert such a calamity, he published the following moderating pamphlet, eminent for its charitable and truly Christian spirit, and to which it can only be objected, that the passions and prejudices on both sides rendered the purpose which it labours to effect altogether impossible. The tract had, however, a prodigious circulation, and doubtless, among the cool and sensible persons of all sects, made some converts. Bishop Croft survived the revolution, and died in 1691.

Anthony Wood gives the following account of the Naked Truth, and of the long and warm controversy to which its appearance gave occasion:—

“The Naked Truth; or the true State of the Primitive Church, Lond. 1675. qu. ibid. 1680, fol. The appearance of this book at such a time (1675) was like a comet. “It drew (as one saith) the eyes of all that could look upon it. It was a divine manifestation of a Christian spirit of love.” And certainly, as that pious endeavour hath increased his (the author’s) comforts, so he hath not lost all his labour; for since that we have had more overtures of peace than we heard of in many years before of discord and troubles from the learned in the church of England,” &c. Thus a certain lukewarm conformist (quoted here in the margin) in behalf of the non-conformists, who, as they before had a great esteem for John Hales his book of schism, so as much, if not more, now for this, which they characterize with grand encomiums. Will. Jenkyn, one of the principal heads of them, while he lived, styles it, “among others, *Tractatus egregius*; and Andrew Marvell, who, after he had termed the author of it judicious, learned, conscientious, a sincere protestant, and a true son, if not a father, of the church of England, saith of the

¹ Edward Pearce, in his book, intitled the Conformists third Plea for Nonconformists, &c. Lond. 1682, qu. in the first and second page of the preface.

² In his *Celeusma*, p. 9.

³ In his preface to his book entitled *Mr Smirke on the Divine Mode*, &c.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 3.

book itself, that " 'Tis a treatise which, if not for its opposer (meaning Francis Turner, whom he calls Mr Smirke) needs no commendation, being writ with that evidence and demonstration of spirit that all sober men cannot but give their assent and consent to it unasked. It is a book of that kind that no Christian scarce can peruse it without wishing himself to be the author, and almost imagining that he is so; the conceptions therein being of so eternal idea, that every man finds it to be but a copy of the original of his own mind," &c. The said book making a great noise at its first publication, it was soon after answered by several persons, as (1.) by Franc. Turner, D. D. head or master of St John's college in Cambridge, in a booke entitled, *Animadversions on a Pamphlet entitled The Naked Truth, &c.* Printed twice in 1676 in qu. (2.) By the author of *Lex Talionis*, or the Author of the Naked Truth stript naked. Lond. 1676, qu. supposed then to be written by Dr Pet. Gunning, Bishop of Chichester, concerning which book the author¹ before mentioned saith thus: " But as to a new book fresh come out, entitled the Author of the Naked Truth stript naked (to the Fell, or to the skin) that hieroglyphical quibble of the great gun in the title page will not excuse Bishop Gunning; for his sermon is still expected." I guess that the word Fell, included before in the parenthesis, to allude to Philip Fell, fellow of Eaton College, who was then generally supposed to be the author of *Lex Talionis* before mentioned, at its first coming forth, though some (as I remember) said that Dr William Lloyd, Dean of Bangor, was the author of it. The said Bishop Gunning, soon after the publishing of the Naked Truth, preached a smart and learned sermon before the king against it, which was much talked of, and expected in print, being commanded, as 'twas said, by his majesty to do it: and therefore it gave occasion to Andrew Marvell, before quoted, to say that Bishop Gunning's sermon is still expected. (3.) By Gilbert Burnet, D. D. in his book called, *A modest Survey of the most considerable Things, in a Discourse lately published entitled The Naked Truth*, Lond. 1676. qu. This, I say, was written by Dr Burnet (though his name is not set to it) because I have seen it reckoned as his in a catalogue of those books written by him put at the end of another by a bookseller, to shew that such books were sold by him. Thus far the answers of the said book called the Naked Truth, which (as I understand by a letter written by a knowing gentleman, a neighbour of Bishop Croft, in Herefordshire, dated 13th June, 1676, was then lately (as he was credibly informed) translated into French by the Hugonets, who are at great variance about it, some liking it, others not, &c. The reader may be now pleased to know that, besides the aforesaid pamphlet, entitled the Naked Truth, have been other parts since published, entitled the Naked Truth, but not written by the same author. Such are these, (1.) the Naked Truth, the second Part, in several Enquiries concerning the Canons and Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, &c. Lond. 1671, in 17 sh. in fol. which book, with a Vindication of the Naked Truth, the second Part, against the trivial Objections of one Fulwood² in a libelling pamphlet, called *Leges Angliae*, &c. were written by Edmund Hickeringhill, rector of All-Saints church in Colchester, first a pensioner of St John's coll. in Cambridge, then, in 1650, jun. bach. fellow of Gonvill and Caius college, soon after a lieutenant in the English army in Scotland, then a captain in major-gen. or gen. major Fleetwood's regiment, when he was the Swedish ambassador in England from Carolus Gustavus, and afterwards author of Jamaica revived, with all the Ports, Harbours, &c. thereunto belonging, &c. Lond. 1661. oct. sec. edit. (2.) The third Part of Naked Truth, or some serious Considerations that are of high Concern to the ruling Clergy of England, Scotland, or any other Protestant Nation, &c. Lond. 1681, in 11 sh. in fol. There is no name to it, but a noted author,³ who calls it a posthumous book, saith it was written by Dr Worsley, meaning Dr Benj. Worsley, whose library was exposed to sale by way of auction, 19th May, 1678. (3.) The fourth Part of Naked Truth, or the Complaint of the Church to some of her Sons for Breach of her Articles, &c. Lond. 1682, in 10 sh. in fol. By whom this was written I know not, only so far, that he was a legal son and a sincere conformist to the church of England. Much about this time came out the Black Non-conformist, discovered in more Naked Truth, &c. Lond. 1682, in a thin fol. written by Hickeringhill before mentioned. To all these I may add, the Catholic Naked Truth, or the Puritans Convert to Apostolical Christianity, printed 1676, qu. To which are the initial letters of W. H. set, that is, Hubert, commonly called Berry, sometime of Cambridge, who took orders from the bishop of Ely, but, leaving his religion soon after, he went beyond the seas, and spent sometime among the Jesuits. Afterwards returning into England, wrote several books, of which the said Catholic Naked Truth was one. About which time, being betrayed to Dr Compton, Bishop of London, by one

¹ Andr. Marvell, in Mr Smirke, &c. p. 76, being the last page.

² Francis Fulwood, archdeacon of Totness.

³ Rich. Baxter, in his second true Defence of the mere Nonconformists, &c. Lond. 1681, qu. cap. 2. p. ii.

Laurence, a servant to Will. Knott, a bookbinder of St James in Westminster, was for some time kept in custody, but no proof appearing that he was a Rom. priest, he was set at liberty. The said Laurence, by the way it must be noted, had left the protestant religion and turned papist; but being afterwards recoupled to the English church again, he did do much mischief to the papists in betraying them to the magistrates. Soon after there was another pamphlet published, entitled *Naked Truth, or Truth manifesting itself in several Particulars for the Removing of Hindrances, &c. given forth by way of Question and Answer*, printed 1676, in oct. There is no name set to the book, but upon my perusal of it, I find the author of it to be possessed with quaking principles, and therefore it may really be called the Quaker's Naked Truth." Wood's *Athenæ*, vol. ii. p. 866.

An Humble Petition to the Right Honourable the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament.

My Lords and noble Gentlemen, you have fully expressed your zeal to God and his church in making laws for unity in faith, and uniformity in discipline: for, as our Saviour said, "A kingdom divided against itself cannot stand," so the same may certainly be said of a church, the reason being the same for both: and I call the searcher of all hearts, the God of life and death, to witness, that I would most readily, yea most joyfully, sacrifice all I have in this world, my life and all, that all non-conformists were reduced to our church. But it falls out most sadly that your laws have not the desired effect, our church is more and more divided; such is the perverse nature of man, *niti in vetitum*, obstinately to oppose authority, especially when they can pretend the colour of religion and conscience: this carries so great an applause among the vulgar (still envious at superiors) that it is, as it were, nuts to an ape, sweeter to them than any other thing this world affords: for the enjoyment of this they will endure any thing, imprisonment, loss of goods, yea sometime of life also. And this is it which mainly nourishes our divisions, gives great advantage to the growth of popery, and threatens the total ruin of our church. Many, who were formerly very zealous for our church, seeing these our sad divisions, and not seeing those of the Roman church, nor their gross superstitions (which their priests conceal till they have got men fast) are easily seduc'd by their pretended unity, and daily fall from us. This makes my heart to bleed, and my soul with anguish ready to expire, rather than live to see that dismal day of relapse into their manifold idolatries. Wherefore I humbled my soul before God in fasting and prayer, begging daily the assistance of his holy spirit to direct me to some healing salve for these our bleeding wounds: and therefore I have some reason to believe that what is contained in these following papers comes from the great goodness of God, who never fails those who seek him in humility and sincerity, both which I am confident I have done; and this I am sure of, that no worldly designs have moved me to this, but have often tempted me to give it over; I am also sure, that there is nothing contained therein which is contrary to the known laws of the land: in this only I confess I have transgressed, in putting it forth without licence; and for this I beg of God and you, as Naaman did of Elisha; "In this thing the Lord and you pardon your servant;" and I hope you will say unto me as Elisha did unto Naaman, "Go in peace;" and I farther hope this shall not cast such a prejudice upon it, as to make you cast it by, or read it with disgust. I do not expect you should approve any thing upon the account of my seeking God in this, but upon my reasons alledged; nor do I expect that upon my reasons you should approve all: yet I beseech you seriously consider all, and God of his infinite goodness direct you to that

which may make for the unity of our church, by yielding to weak ones (if not wilful ones also) as far as your reason and conscience will permit: sure you cannot so loath all condescension, as not to loath more, and detest papal confusion, which certainly comes on apace by our division; and of two evils, both reason and religion require us to chuse the less; now doubtless you cannot think condescension (if evil at all, sure not) so evil as papal idolatry, and that papistry is idolatry is so clearly proved by our learned Dr Stillingfleet, as it were lost labour to say more of it.¹ Condescension may seem in some respects imprudent, but whether in this conjuncture of affairs imprudent I beseech you again consider well. The wisest men have changed their counsels and resolves upon second thoughts, much more upon experience, and approaching evils not at first discovered. It is a common thing with princes, when they find their main enemies power encrease much, to make peace with lesser enemies, on conditions never before to be endured; self-preservation being the prime principle in all creatures rational and irrational, springing from nature itself, it should in nature and reason overbalance any other consideration; and whatever is done to this end, if not sinfully done, must needs be wisely done. I most humbly beseech the all-wise God, and sole giver of wisdom, to pour down his holy and wise spirit upon you. Amen.

To the Reader.

CHRISTIAN reader, so I term you, hoping you have in some measure the spirit of Christ, and desire it more, the spirit of meekness, humility, charity, not to censure my errors, and inveigh against them, but to pity and endeavour to rectify them, if you find any; and I assure you, in the word of a Christian, I shall be far more ready to recant than to vent an error: If you be not thus christianly disposed, I earnestly beseech you read no further, for I am sure you will be displeased with it; and can you think it wisdom to run yourself into displeasure? Enjoy your present quiet, and let me rest. But if you be so christianly disposed as I mentioned, then I as earnestly beg of you to proceed, to discover my errors, and amend them. But perchance you will ask who I am, why did I not tell you, by putting my name to this pamphlet? I will ingenuously confess the cause. I am a meek man, of great passions, not able to bear commendations or reproach; my small ability puts me out of danger of the first, but in great fear of the latter. Why then was I so forward to publish my weakness? to have it cured; yet truly I have not been very forward, for it is now above two years since I had these thoughts, in which time I have read and conferred all I could to discover if I were in an error; but, for all I yet could meet with, do not find it so, but hope all I say is truth, and that it may be useful to the publick in this present conjuncture of affairs. Therefore I proceed, and, in the next place, most humbly beseech all that read this, to lay aside all bias of interest or education; both are very great, I am sure I found it so very long before I could master them, and that of education most difficult; were it not so, there could not be that difference of opinion in Christian religion, all allowing the Bible for the rule of faith; the papists themselves do not reject it, but add to it the authority of the church. I verily believe there are thousands of Papists, Lutherans, Calvinists, both learned and religious, who would lay down their lives for the truth they profess, and yet are divided in opinion merely by education, having in their youth so imprinted their own opinions in their mind, as you may sooner separate their body than their opinion from their soul. Nay, I have heard, that among the Turks there are many wise and moderate persons, that are as zealous to maintain

¹ In 1671, Dr Stillingfleet published his "Discourse concerning the Idolatry practised in the Church of Rome, and the Hazard of Salvation in the Communion of it, in Answer to some Papers of a revolted Protestant."

their ridiculous Alcoran as we our Bible ; which cannot proceed from any thing but the strong bias of education, which so wheels about and intoxicates their brain. And, to say somewhat more particular of our own nation here, those that have been educated in that way, as to sit at the communion, and baptize their children without the cross, had rather omit those sacraments than use kneeling, or the cross ; and those that have been educated in kneeling and crossing, though they acknowledge they are meer ceremonies indifferent, yet had rather omit the sacraments than omit the ceremonies, just as if a man had rather starve than eat bread baked in a pan, because he hath used bread baked in an oven. So that religion in many is really but their humour ; fancy passeth for reason, and custom is more prevalent than any argument. This is the thing which makes me fear I shall meet with very few that will calmly and indifferently consider what I write, but will presently startle at it as new and cross to their genius, or to their interest, or their reputation, which they value above all ; I mean the esteem and kindness of their best friends and acquaintance, whose taunts and reproach they cannot bear ; but I humbly beseech them to pause a while, and lay it by till the passion be over, till they have mastered all these difficulties. I beseech them to set before their eyes the beauty, the honour, the stedfastness of truth, the comfort, the delight, the everlasting felicity of a clear and rectified conscience ; then resume it, and consider again. But they cry, Pish ! 'tis not worth it, 'tis a ridiculous toy, and savours something of the sectarian : I grant there are some things among the sectarians I approve of ; I will not reject and condemn any truth uttered, nor any good action performed, though said and done by the devil. I consider the things, and, if good, embrace them, whoever utters them, though I detest his errors in other things ; you will say the same ; then I beseech you do the same ; consider what I say simply in itself, whether the papists or anabaptists say the same it matters not ; I hope you will not reject Christ because they both profess him. But if, after all your serious, patient, unbiass'd consideration, you find it an erroneous, contemptible pamphlet, yet condemn not the person that wrote it in the sincerity of his heart, lest you receive the same measure again from Christ, who hath assured us, that shall be his rule, to mete unto us the like. Christ died for the salvation of my poor soul as well as yours, condemn it not therefore, but endeavour to rectify it ; if God hath given you more knowledge and wisdom than me, " Be not high-minded, but fear ; and let him that stands take heed lest he fall." Thus I pray for you, do you the like for me, and, however we differ in opinion, let us accord in charity, and in Christ Jesus, the Redeemer of us all. Amen.

Concerning Articles of Faith

THAT which we commonly call the Apostles Creed, if it were not composed by them, yet certainly by primitive and apostolick men, and proposed as the sum of Christian faith, the sum total necessary to salvation ; it can't be supposed they left out any thing which they thought necessary to salvation, they might as well have omitted half, or all : As one commandment broken, is the same in effect with all ; so one necessary principle of faith denied cancels all, and shuts out from heaven. When I speak of believing the Apostles Creed, I do not mean that we believe all there contained with a divine faith because it is there contained, for we have no assurance that the apostles composed that creed ; but we are sure all that is in that creed is evident in scripture to any common understanding ; therefore we believe all with a divine faith. But I mention this creed only, to shew that the primitive church received this as the sum total of faith necessary to salvation ; why not now ? Is the state of salvation altered ? If it be compleat, what needs any other article ? You would have men improve in faith, so would

I, but rather intensive than extensive, to confirm it rather than enlarge it: one sound grain of mustard-seed is better than a bushel of unsound chaffy stuff. 'Tis good to know all gospel-truths, and to believe them, no doubt of that; but the question is not what is good, but what is necessary. I pray remember the treasurer to Candace, queen of Ethiopia, whom Philip instructed in the faith; his time of catechising was very short, and soon proceeded to baptism. But Philip first required a confession of his faith, and the eunuch made it, and I beseech you observe it; "I believe that Jesus Christ is the son of God:" And straitway he was baptized. How? No more than this? No more; this little grain of faith being sound, believed with all his heart, purchased the kingdom of heaven; had he believed the whole gospel with half his heart, it had been of less value in the sight of God; 'tis not the quantity, but the quality of our faith God requireth. But sure the eunuch was more fully instructed; it may be you are sure of it, but I could never yet meet with any assurance of it, nor any great probability of it; I am sure he saw Philip no more, and I am sure Philip required no more, but baptized him on this, and had the eunuch departed this life in the same instant that Philip parted from him, I believe I have better assurance that this faith would have saved the eunuch than any man hath that he ever was taught more: See 1 John, iv. 2. "Every spirit that confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, is of God." But the more the better still I grant, though no more necessary. Hast thou more faith, have it to thy self before God. "Happy is he who condemneth not himself in the thing which he alloweth;" happy is he who is thankful to God for having received much, and despiseth not him that hath received little: God dispenseth his gifts and graces according to his free will and pleasure, nor doth he require more of any man than according to the proportion he hath given, no more should we.

Nothing hath caused more mischief in the church, than the establishing new and many articles of faith, and requiring all to assent unto them. I am willing to believe that zealous men endeavoured this with pious intentions to promote that which they conceived truth; but by imposing it on the dissenters, caused furious wars, and lamentable bloodshed among Christians, brother fighting against brother, and murdering each other. Can there be any thing more irrational, than to endeavour to promote the truth of the gospel contrary to the laws of the gospel? To break an evident commandment to establish a doubtful truth? I say, doubtful to him on whom it is imposed, though seeming clear to him that imposes it. If it were fully expressed in scripture-words, there would need no new expression, no new article; if it be not fully express'd in scripture, but deduced from scripture-expressions, then what one man thinks clearly deduced, another may think not so; I mean, not another ignorant and weak, but as learned and as able. What more common than in divinity and philosophy schools? One cries, this is a clear demonstration; another cries, no such matter, but flatly denies it. Mens understandings are as various as their speech or their countenance, otherwise it were impossible there should be so many understanding and moderate, yea, and conscientious men also, Papists, Lutherans, Calvinists, all in such opposition one against another, all believing scripture, yet so differing in the deductions from scripture. Truly I think him very defective in charity, however he abound in faith, who thinks all Papists, or Lutherans, or Calvinists maliciously or wilfully blind.

As for my part, I think nothing can be more clearly deduced from scripture, nothing more fully expressed in scripture, nothing more suitable to natural reason, than that no man should be forced to believe, for no man can be forced to believe; you may force a man to say this or that, but not to believe it. First, as to reason: If you bring a man an evident demonstration, and he hath a brain to understand your demonstration, he can't but assent to it. If you hold a clear printed book, with a clear candle to a man of clear eyes, and able to read, he will certainly read; but if the print be not clear,

or the candle, or his sight not clear, or he not learned to read, can your force make him read? And just so it is with our understanding, which is the eye of our soul, and a demonstration being as a candle to give light; if then your demonstration or deduction, or his understanding be not clear, or he not learned, you may with a club dash out his brains, but never clear them. He then that believes the scripture, can't but believe what you clearly demonstrate from scripture, if he hath clear brains; if he hath not, your force may puzzle and puddle his brains more by the passion of anger and hatred, make him abhor you and your arguments, but never lovingly embrace you or them: and thus you may hazard his soul by hatred, and your own soul also by provoking him to it, but never save his soul by a true belief. But perchance you will conclude, he doth not believe the scripture, because he doth not believe your arguments from scripture; (a strange conclusion) but what then? Would you, can you force him to believe the scripture? Can you drive faith like a nail into his head or heart with a hammer? Nay, 'tis not in a man's own power to make himself believe any thing farther than his reason shews him, much less divine things; this is the peculiar work of grace; and if faith be the gift of God, your argument cannot give it, nor your hammer force it; arguments may be good inducements, and if right, will prevail with those to believe whom God hath ordained to eternal life, but no other; preaching the word is the means God himself hath appointed, but as for force, I can't find in the gospel either commandment or countenance given for it. If the scripture command to speak the truth in love, to instruct our brother in the spirit of meekness, if we are to pray and beseech him to receive the grace of God, can any thing be more contrary to scripture rule than force and violence? To what purpose then is force, since it cannot make him believe the gospel? And if he doth believe the gospel, he will, I am sure, he can; not chuse, but believe what you clearly shew him is contained there, (supposing his brain to be clear;) and I am also sure, if he believe what is clearly contained, he need not believe any thing else. The scripture is our rule of faith compleat and full, the scripture itself tells us so, John xx. 31. "These things are written that you might believe, and believing ye might have life;" and our Saviour tells us, "That in them we have eternal life," John v. 39., and the 2 Tim. iii. 15. St Paul tells us, "The scriptures are able to make us wise unto salvation through faith which is in Christ Jesus; all scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness, that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works." And I beseech all men further to consider what is said, Deut. xii. 32. "Thou shalt not add thereto, nor diminish from it;" and likewise how they will avoid the curse in the last of the Revelations, if they add to the words there written; and surely 'tis the same crime to any other book of scripture. If it be answered, They do not require us to believe it to be scripture, I reply, They require men to believe it as scripture, with divine faith, which is as bad, they make their own words equal with God's word; or if they say they require not divine faith, then I am sure it is no matter of salvation whether I believe it or no, human faith cannot save. Thus you see how impertinent, how irrational, how impious it is, to require a man to believe any thing more than is clearly contained in scripture; and if it be clearly contained there, he that believes scripture and sees it clearly contained there, can't but believe it; if he do not see it clearly contained there, you can't force either his sight or his faith. Your force may make him blinder, but never see clearer, may make him an hypocrite, no true convert.

Again, I desire all men soberly to consider. Are not the prime and most necessary principles of faith, the Trinity, three persons and one God, the incarnation of Jesus Christ, the same person to be God and man, the resurrection of the dead, that we shall rise with the same body, when one body may be eaten and converted into several bodies, and such like? Are they not things far above the highest reason and sharpest

understanding that ever had man? Yet we believe them, because God (who cannot lye) hath declared them: Is it not then a strange thing for any man to take upon him to declare one tittle more of them than God hath declared, seeing we understand not what is declared? I mean, we have no comprehensive knowledge of the matter declared, but only a believing knowledge, our faith, not our reason reaches it: the apostles by the scriptures teach us this, not the schools by syllogisms. If then our reason understands not what is declared, how can we by reason make any deduction by way of argument from that which we understand not? As, for example, some hold, that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and the Son; some, that he proceeds from the Father by the Son. I pray, doth any man understand how the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father, from the Son, or by the Son? No, certainly; how then can he affirm or believe a tittle more of the Holy Ghost than the Holy Ghost hath declared? seeing, as I said, he understands not all what is declared. Discourse must be of things intelligible, though faith believes things not intelligible. Can any man prove, that rota on and circulation are all one, who understands not what rotation or circulation is? The like may be said of procession or mission of the Holy Ghost. The scripture plainly tells, that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father, and that he is sent by the Father, that he is also sent by the Son; but whether he proceeds from the Son, or by the Son, the scripture is silent, and I am therefore ignorant, having no knowledge at all of any divine mysteries, but from the scriptures. I grant, that by rational deductions, and human way of argumenting, 'tis probable that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Son as from the Father; but if in divine matters we once give way to human deductions, a cunning sophister may soon lead a weak disputant into many errors. By human deductions you may infer, that the Son is inferior to the Father, as begotten by him; the Holy Ghost inferior to both, being sent by both; with us, the less is sent by the greater; by human deduction, from three distinct persons you may prove three distinct substances; I hope you will make no such inferences in the divine persons. Again, what a business have the school-men made about these words of our Saviour, "This is my body;" with their *prædicatum*, and *subjectum*, and *copula*, and *inviduum vagum*, in the pronoun *this*. Innumerable are their intricate impertinencies in this matter, and in their conclusion; the papists hold Christ to be present in the sacrament *transubstantialiter*; the Lutherans, *consubstantialiter*; the Calvinists, *sacramentaliter*; and yet all confess they understand none of these ways; as St Paul saith, "Desiring to be teachers, they understand not what they say, neither whereof they affirm," 1 Tim. i. 17. Had the scripture affirmed any of these ways, we ought to have submitted our reason in things above reason, though we understand them not, and 'tis reasonable so to do; but to go about to prove by reason what is above reason, is wonderful; and to discourse of what we understand not, is doubtless a spice of madness, and the conclusions we draw from such discourses must needs be very dangerous, we following the *ignem fatuum*, the uncertain light of human reason in divine matters, so totally beyond our reach; wherefore, we have no other safe way to speak of divine matters but in scripture language, *ipsissimis verbis*, with the very same words, according to that, 2 Tim. i. 13. "Hold fast the form of sound words which thou hast heard of me in faith:" Mark, "Hold fast" not only the matter of faith, but "the form of sound words," these are safe; human words in divine and high mysteries are dangerous; man can no more set them forth in human words, than express the divine substance by human painting; 'tis the sole work of the Holy Ghost, who is also divine.

There hath not been a greater plague to Christian religion than school-divinity, where men take upon them the liberty to propose new questions, make nice distinctions and rash conclusions of divine matters, tossing them up and down with their tongues like tennis balls; and from hence proceed all the dangerous heresies, and cruel bickerings

about them, falling from words to blows. The first divinity-school we read of was set up at Alexandria by Pantæus; and from thence, soon after, sprung forth a damnable heresy of the Arrians, which over-run all Christendom, and was the cause of destruction to many millions of Christians, both body and soul. The heresies before this were so gross and sensual, that none took them up but dissolute or frantick people, and soon vanished; but after this school subtile way of arguing was brought into Christianity, heresy grew more refined, and so subtile, that the plain and pious fathers of the church knew not how to lay hold of it and repress it, the school distinctions and evasions quite baffled them; and these sophisters, proud of their conquest, triumphed, and carried away a specious appearance of truth as well as learning, (or rather cunning) in-somuch, that many godly persons were also deluded and fell in unto them, and many of their heresies continue unto this day. This great bane of the church took its rise from hence; many of the primitive doctors and fathers being converted from heathenism, and having, by long and great industry, acquired much knowledge in natural philosophy, antiquity, history, and subtile logick, or sophistry, were very unwilling to abandon quite these their long studied and dearly beloved sciences, (falsly so called,) and therefore translated them into Christianity, applying their school terms, distinctions, syllogisms, &c. to divine matters; intending perchance, through indiscreet zeal, to illustrate and imbellish Christian knowledge with such artificial forms and figures, but rather defaced and spoiled it; Col. ii. 8. "Beware lest any man spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit, after the tradition of men, after the rudiments of the world, and not after Christ." I humbly conceive it had been far better for them and all Christendom, had they determined with St Paul, "To know nothing but Christ and him crucified," and not to intermingle mans wisdom and excellency of speech with divine knowledge and scripture doctrine, which is to be taught "by the demonstration of the spirit and power," as is set forth, 1 Cor. ii. not with logical syllogisms and sophistical enthymems; for, as the wisdom of God was foolishness to the Greeks and Gentiles, so the wisdom of the Greeks and Gentiles was foolishness to God, and destruction to his church; who, by the foolishness of preaching, had overcome all their wisdom, and captivated their understandings in obedience to the faith. But when the Christian doctors left this plain and simple way of preaching, and fell to cunning disputing, introducing new forms of speech, and nice expressions of their own coining, some approving, some opposing them, great discords, wars and confusions soon followed. Had that most prudent and most pious Constantine, the first and best of Christian emperors; had he pursued his own intentions to suppress all disputes, and all new questions of God the Son, both Homoousian and Homoiousion, and commanded all to acquiesce in the very scripture expressions without any addition, I am confident the Arrian heresy had soon expired; but by continual disputation, the heat of passion was raised, and the matter pursued with far more violence, which at length grew into rancour and malice irreconcilable: for some godly bishops (I humbly conceive more zealous than discreet) would not rest satisfied unless the Arrians were forced either to subscribe to the new word *Homoousian*, or to quit their livings; and this caused that great persecution against the orthodox, where the Arrians prevailed; whereas, by silence imposed on all parties, the malice, rancour, persecution, war, all had been prevented, and "the truth spoken in love" would at length most probably have prevailed: For, was not the gospel at first planted this way? Preaching, and praying men to receive it? by this way of weakness it prevailed; for "the weak things of God are stronger than men." But when men will be wiser than God's weakness, as a speedier and surer way to establish the truth, God, to convince them of their folly, suffers that strong man, the enemy of the gospel (whom none but his almighty arm can bind and master) to come and sow his tares of division, which soon over-run the good seed of the church, and bring all to confusion.

But what then? would I have all heretical opinions broached and spread abroad without any controul? Are not princes and magistrates to be nursing fathers unto the church? Must they not add the power of the sword to that of the word? "Not hold the sword in vain, but for the punishment of evil doers?" &c. All this I grant, and desire as much as any man, that both prince and pastor would hold fast "the faith once delivered to the saints," fully declared and contained in scripture; let them suffer no new doctrine to be set on foot, certainly superfluous, (the scripture being all-sufficient) and probably dangerous, as being of man, and not of God, who, having given us a compleat rule of faith and life, by his prophets, apostles, and his only Son, we have no reason to believe any new doctrine proceeds from him; therefore St Paul is very bold, and crieth out, "If an angel from heaven preach unto you any other gospel than is already preached, let him be accursed." The magistrate then is to countenance and protect the pastor preaching the gospel of Christ, to silence, oppose, punish all that preach any thing contrary, or not clearly contained in the gospel. Heresies never at first appear in their own natural shape, but disguised with specious pretences drawn from some obscure places of scripture, capable of various interpretations; and thus having gotten footing, by degrees they lay aside their disguises, and march on bare-faced. Therefore, both pastor and magistrate ought to be very watchful, and oppose all beginnings ever so specious, as dangerous, or at least superfluous, as I said. Let the pastors at first endeavour, by plain and sound doctrine, to stop the mouths of gainsayers; but if these turbulent spirits will not be stopt, neither by admonitions nor entreaties, then let the pastors proceed to the power of the keys; which, were it used with that gravity and severity as it was in the primitive times, would have great effect; that is, were it used in a solemn assembly, by the reverend bishop and his clergy, (not by lay-chancellors and their surrogates,) and the person excommunicated and shut out of the church, was likewise excluded from all conversation and commerce, every one shunning his company as a person infected with the plague, (so it was of old, and so it ought to be now, and so it would be now, if men made any conscience of their ways,) this I am confident would reduce many a one: But, if after this any persevere in their perverseness, then the magistrate may doubtless, by his power used with Christian moderation, endeavour to stop the spreading of the contagion, and do what in wisdom he thinks meet, to preserve the purity and peace of church and state, urging against them that scripture, "Hast thou faith, have it to thyself before God," Rom. xiv. 22. Or that, "Give none offence, neither to the Jew nor to the Gentile, nor to the church of God," 1 Cor. x. 32. Or that, Gal. v. 12. "I would they were even cut off that trouble you." St Paul was not here in jest, but in great earnest, as appears by his continued fervency all along this epistle; and doubtless he means not here a cutting off from the church by way of excommunication, for that was in his power to do; why then should he wish it? Nay, they had cut themselves off from the church before; certainly then he means a cutting off by the civil power, which then was heathen, and therefore St Paul would not have it made use of by Christians; for he would not allow them to appeal to unbelieving magistrates, no not in civil things, 1 Cor. vi. much less in spiritual things. Wherefore, when St Paul wishes they were cut off, he wishes there were a fitting power, that is, a Christian magistrate, to punish or banish those that trouble the church of Christ with doctrines apparently contrary to the clear text, and such as are destructive to Christianity: I dare go no farther. But as for those who keep their erroneous opinions to themselves, who neither publish nor practise any thing to the disturbance of the church and state, but only refuse to conform to the churches established doctrine or discipline, pardon me if I say, that really I cannot find any warrant, or so much as any hint from the gospel, to use any force to compell them; and from reason sure, there is no motive to use force; because, (as I shewed before)

force can't make a man believe your doctrine, but only, as an hypocrite, profess what he believes not.

I know full well there is a common objection against this, taken from St Austin, who was long of my opinion, but seems to be altered on this occasion. Some hereticks, Donatists, came to him in his latter days, and gave thanks, that the civil power was made use of to restrain them; confessing, that was the means which brought them to consider more calmly their own former extravagant opinions, and so brought them home to the true church. This objection is easily answered. First, the Donatists are well known to have been a sect, not only erroneous in judgment; but very-turbulent in behaviour, always in seditious practices; and, in that case, I shewed before how the civil magistrate may proceed to punishment; but our case is not in repressing seditious practices, but enforcing a confession of faith quite of another nature. Then, secondly, to answer more particularly this story, I suppose there is no man such a stranger to the world, as to be ignorant that there are hypocrites in it; and such (for ought we know) these seeming converted Donatists might be, who, for love of this world more than for love of the truth, forsook their heretical profession, though not their opinion; who, conscious to themselves of their own dissimulation, and desirous to get favour with St Austin, a person of great veneration and authority withal, related unto him this specious story, which St Austin's great charity was apt to believe, as St Paul saith, "believeth all things;" and from hence concludeth, that it might be lawful to use the power of the civil sword to reduce heretics to the church. But unless it can be evinced that these Donatists hearts were changed as well as their profession, (a thing impossible to prove) all this proves nothing. Thirdly, put the case, their hearts were really changed as to matter of belief, 'tis evident their hearts were very worldly still, grovelling on the earth, not one step nearer Heaven; our Saviour saith, "An evil tree can't bring forth good fruit," and sure their heart was evil, which was far more moved for the quiet enjoyment of this world's good, than for the blessed enjoyment of Christ. Fourthly, though we farther grant, that the pruning of the magistrates sword did really correct the viciousness of the tree, and made it bring forth some good fruit, yet shall "we do evil, that good may come of it? God forbid," saith St Paul. Put the case, Malchus had been converted by St Peter's cutting off his ear, this would not have excused St Peter's act, which our Saviour so sharply reprov'd and threatned with perishing by the sword, and gave him the reason why he ought not to use the sword in his cause; "Thinkest thou that I cannot pray unto my Father, and he will presently give me more than twelve legions of angels?" Canst thou do any thing more prejudicial to the honour of my Godhead, than to think I want the help of man to defend me? And according to this may our Saviour say, Thinkest thou that I cannot pray unto my Father, and he shall give me more than twelve millions of souls to worship my name? Or canst thou do any thing to eclipse more the power and glory of the gospel, which I have ordained to be set up by weakness and foolishness of preaching, and thereby to subdue both the wisdom of the Greeks, and the power of the Gentiles: As I my self have conquered all enemies by preaching and suffering, so must my disciples tread in my steps. And just so we find that the gospel was most miraculously advanced over all the world by preaching and suffering for it, not by compelling others to it. 'Tis evident that upon preaching of the gospel, as many as were not ordained by God to eternal life, can never be brought thither by the ordinance or power of man; wherefore, when the ministers have preached and prayed, they have performed all they can do, the rest must be left to the justice or mercy of God, "who hath mercy on whom he will have mercy, and whom he will he hardeneth;" so that the sharpest sword in this world shall not enter their hard heart more than an adamant.

All this I say in reference to compelling men to believe or conform, still reserving to the magistrate power, according to scripture, "To punish evil doers," not evil believers, not who think, but do publish or do practise something to subvert the fundamentals of religion, or disturb the peace of the state, or injure their neighbour. God, the only searcher of hearts, reserves unto himself the punishment of evil thoughts, of evil belief; which man can never have a right cognizance of, for the greatest professor may be the greatest atheist. But the magistrate shall conceive he hath sufficient warrant to punish also evil believers, and shall proceed to execution, or on that pretence shall punish true believers; the scripture is most clear, that the subject is bound to submit and bear it with all Christian patience, to the loss of goods, liberty, or life, not only patiently to bear it, but rejoice in it; and I am sure if he hath any true religion, and right understanding in him, he will rejoice on his own behalf, because his "reward is exceeding great." Therefore whoever, under pretence of religion, raises any tumult, or takes up arms against the magistrate to preserve himself from persecution, absolutely declares himself either a stark fool or a stark atheist; either he believes there is no such reward, or is mad to reject the opportunity of gaining it; and so at the best is fit for Bedlam, at the worst for the gallows; now let him choose.

An Appendix to the former Subjects.

Before I leave this matter of imposing new articles of faith, I desire to speak a word or two concerning the authority of councils and fathers in relation to it.

When the superstitions and abuses of the popish church, especially in the matters of indulgences, grew very gross, as not longer to be endured, Luther, Melancthon, Oecolompadius, Bucer, and divers others opposed them; and coming to dispute with their adversaries about these things, the popish doctors having no scripture for their errors, quoted several fathers and councils, to give countenance unto them. The evangelical doctors (so called, because they chiefly urged *Evangelium*, the Gospel, for the defence of their doctrine) were most of them bred up from their infancy in the popish church, and therein taught even to adore all councils and fathers, and (education being of great force to command and awe both the wills and judgments of men) made them very shy and timorous to reject that authority which they had long revered; in modesty, therefore, some of the evangelical doctors were content to admit the authority of fathers and councils for three or four of the first centuries; some admitted five or six, whereby they were reduced sometimes to great streights in their disputations; for though neither all nor half the popish errors can be found in the councils and fathers of these centuries, yet some of them were crept very early into the church. This superstition of the cross and chrysm were in use in the second century: the millenary error got footing about that time; the necessity of infants receiving the blessed sacrament of the Lord's Supper came in soon after. About the fourth century there were some touches in oratory sermons, by way of rhetorical ejaculations, like praying to saints, but long after came to be formally used, as now in churches; and so superstitions came in some at one time and some at another. The Papists themselves do not receive all these errors, but reject some, as that of the Millenaries, and the necessity of infants receiving the Lord's Supper. Now I ask, first the Papists, by what rule they retain some of these things and reject others? Secondly, I ask the Evangelical by what rule they submit to the authority of some centuries, and refuse others? Both will answer me, because they believe some to be erroneous, some to be orthodox. Wherby 'tis evident, that neither submit to the fathers authority, as commanding their judgments, but receive their opinions as agreeing with their judgments; this is evidently true, clearly, and rational, and fully agrees with the rules given by

some of the fathers, as St Cyprian and St Austin, two as generally and as deservedly revered as any in the Christian church. St Cyprian tells us, that the very *Præpositus* (which we call bishop) is to be guided by his own reason and conscience, and is responsible only to God for his doctrine. St Austin tells us, that he submits to no doctor of the church ever so learned, ever so holy, any further than he proves his doctrine by scripture or reason, and desires none should do otherwise by him. This is plain and rational dealing; had the evangelical doctors taken this course in the beginning, they had saved themselves from many intricate troubles which their in-bred over-reverence to antiquity entangled them in: But sure they needed not have been so scrupulous in this matter, seeing there is scarce any one father whose authority the Papists themselves do not in some particular or other reject; though, other whiles, when he speaks for them, they cry it up to that height as if it were a matter of damnation not to submit unto it. I say not this, as if I would have antiquity wholly rejected, by no means, but to consult the fathers with great regard as expositors of scriptures, and attentively observe what they shew us from thence. I am not of those who admire the great knowledge, in divine matters, revealed in this latter age of the world; I do not think there are any now so likely to discover the truth of the gospel mysteries as those of ancient days. As for that saying, "a pigmy set on a giant's shoulder may see more than the giant," pardon me if I call it a shallow and silly fancy, nothing to our purpose; for our question is not of seeing more, but of the clear discerning and judging those things we all see, but are in doubt what they mean. If a pigmy and a giant see a beast at a mile's distance, and are in dispute whether it be a horse or an ox, the pigmy set on the giant's shoulder is never the nearer discerning what it is, which depends on the sharpness of sight, not the height of his shoulders. Now that the ancient and holy fathers of the church were more spiritual, and consequently sharper sighted in spiritual things than we carnal creatures of this latter age, is evident by their spiritual holy lives. "The natural man receiveth not the things of the spirit of God, neither can he know them because they are spiritually discerned," 1 Cor. ii. 14. And how natural, how carnal, how purblind we are, is too too visible. Besides, a purblind man near the object will discern it better than a much sharper sight at greater distance as we are; for if you ask those lofty conceited pigmies why they give more credit to the fathers of the second and third century, than to those of the sixth or seventh? they answer, because those that lived nearer the days of Christ and his apostles are likelier to know their minds better than those of remoter and corrupted ages; the reason is good, but mightily confounds those who live at the very foot of the hill in the valley of darkness and all iniquity, and therefore not likely to discern the truth of the doctrine of Christ, preach'd on the top of Mount Sion, as those who live in higher ascents. Wherefore I shall always hearken with due reverence unto what those primitive holy fathers deliver, and the more holy and more ancient, doubtless more to be regarded. And yet seeing that Irenæus, and before him Papius, held to be a disciple of St John the apostle, taught the error of the Millenaries, rejected now by all the church, why might not others do so as well as they? And therefore there can be no certainty of their doctrine farther than they shew us clearly from scripture, which ought to be our rule of faith, as I shewed before. But in any point of religion, either of faith or discipline, if, after diligent and humble search of scripture, the matter be doubtful, then certainly I would so much reverence antiquity as to embrace what I found approved of by the greater number of ancient fathers; and what I found generally approved by them, though my own judgment did much incline to the contrary, yet I would receive it, unless it appeared to me flatly opposite to scripture, which we believe to be the word of God; then it were damnation in me to forsake that, and hearken to the words of the fathers on earth, or angels coming from Heaven, till they could make me understand their word agreed with God's word.

I must be saved by faith in God and Christ, and not by faith in men or angels. And now I shall be bold to make this assertion, that the man who reads scripture humbly and attentively, fasts and prays to God earnestly, consults his pastors and teachers carefully and modestly, and yet after all continues in some error by blind ignorance and mistake of scripture (if such a thing was, or ever will be suffered by the infinite goodness of God) that man shall sooner be saved than he who receives a true opinion from the authority of men; which he soberly conceives to be contrary to scripture; for 'tis all one to him, as if it were really so; all things are unclean to him that believes them unclean; so all things are damnable to him that believes them damnable, as he must who believes them flatly contrary to scripture. Let no man count me a libertine in faith; because I would neither compel nor be compelled to submit to the doctrines of men. I trust in God, no man shall out-go me in zealous "contending for the faith once delivered to the saints," once for all, never to receive any new doctrine, any other gospel than that preached by Christ and his apostles, herein I am no libertine; by God's gracious assistance, neither men nor angels shall make me recede from one tittle of this, nor to embrace with divine faith one tittle more than this; for, doubtless, it is far greater idolatry to believe in man than to sacrifice to man, more to give him my heart than my hand. And yet, notwithstanding all this, no man is forwarder than myself to receive from others human doctrine as human; that is, I believe it is not only possible but probable also, that another may have more natural understanding, more acquired learning, than myself, and so may find out that in scripture, or from scripture, or by reason, which I cannot do myself; but yet I can have no possible assurance that the doctrine he delivers to me is absolutely true, because I have assurance that 'tis possible for him to err, and then I can have no assurance but that he may err in that very doctrine he now delivers me. There is no man I ever heard or read of, to whom I could more readily submit to than St Austin, a person of wonderful sharpness in understanding, and yet of great modesty, no way affecting to take new opinions, much less to impose them on others. Now, I pray, consider how can we have assurance of any doctrine he delivers more than another. I mean assurance from his own authority or reason; what he delivers from scripture authority is another matter; we believe St Austin erred in some things whereof he was most confident; he believed it absolutely necessary for children to receive the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, as I said; he believed it a direct heresy to hold there were any Antipodes: Lactantius, another great wit and great scholar, believed the like, with divers others. Who then can doubt that they might be mistaken in other things also? Wherefore let God be true, and all men liars, in this sense, to deliver lies materially; that is, falsities for truths.

What I have said of fathers, must certainly hold good of councils also, though ever so general, ever so primitive; for this and that father may and have erred; surely, then, that and that may, also err? I can have no assurance in men, nor can I be saved by faith in men. The general objection made against this is, the promise which Christ made unto his church, "That the gates of hell should not prevail against it, and that he would be with the apostles unto the world's end." As for that other saying of our Saviour, "He that will not hear the church, let him be to thee as a heathen and a publican," I can't but wonder that men of any brains or modesty should so grossly abuse this saying, spoken of several differences between man and man, to be referred to the termination of the church; that is, the congregation of the faithful, which they usually and by order should assemble in; and refer this to the church in general matters of faith, not in the least pointed at there. Wherefore I pass this over as very impertinent, and proceed to answer the former objection of more weight, yet no way concluding as they would have it: No man in the Christian world can more firmly believe than I do, "That the gates of hell shall not prevail against it, and that Christ will be

with his church unto the end of the world ;" but I do not believe, nor am I bound by scripture to believe, such expositions as the popish church makes of this place. By what authority doth the Romish church challenge to themselves to be expositors of scriptures more than other churches? I find nothing for it in scripture, which is my rule of faith. I proceed then to the business of general councils. Whether they may err in some points of faith, and why not? All the evangelical doctors grant the later general councils have erred; if so, why not the former? What promise had the former from Christ more than the latter? What period is there set in scripture for their not erring, or what promise is there at all for any not to err? "The gates of hell shall not prevail against the church," I grant, what's this to a general council? Not the thousandth part of the clergy, not the thousand thousandth part of the church, which in scripture is always put for the whole body of the faithful, though of late it be translated into quite another notion, and taken for the clergy only. But you will say a general council is the representative of the whole church: What then? What promise is made in scripture that the representative shall not err? You further urge, if the representative err, 'tis probable the whole church will receive their error. I answer, we are now treating of matter of faith, which must not depend on human probabilities, but divine certainties; besides, 'tis not so probable the church will receive the error of the representative. We know the whole church hath not received a truth determined by them, much less an error. And, I pray, have not councils been against councils? Put then the case, a general council should err in some matters, you can't therefore say the whole church hath erred; the gates of hell hath prevailed against the church. I pray consider, can you truly say, the Great Turk hath prevailed against the Christian army, because he hath killed the thousandth part of it? And yet the greatest general council holds a less proportion to the whole church. But I will grant yet more: Put the case, the whole church should deviate into some erroneous superstitions, had the devil therefore prevailed against it? Can I say, I have prevailed against another man because I gave him some slight hurt in his leg or thigh? As long as his head, his heart, his arm are whole, he is still able to fight and wound me as bad or worse; till the devil can so wound the whole body of the church as to destroy the vitals, the fundamentals, and make it no church, the gates of hell can't be said to have prevail'd against it. Now, God be blessed, there have continued all along several churches, as great or greater than the Romish church, which have still maintained, in defiance of Satan, "One God the Father, of whom are all things, and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things," and several other sound doctrines of Christianity; how then hath Satan prevailed, when so many millions have waged war against him, and upheld the kingdom of God and his Christ? The scripture plainly tells us, that in the days of Anti-Christ's great power, the church should be driven into the wilderness, scarce visible in the world; neither pope nor devil hath yet so prevailed, but as then Christ shall have, so Christ hath still had a church warring against Satan. Sure no learned Papist will deny, but that about the second century the Millenaries were far the greater part of the church, scarce any writing doctor in those days but had this error. Did Satan then prevail? And in St Austin's days the necessity of infants receiving the Lord's Supper was so general, and held so necessary a principle, that it was made use of to prove the necessity of infant baptism, this sacrament being to precede the other: In those days a lanthorn would have been necessary to find out a church without this error. Did Satan then prevail? But say you, no general council determined those errors; why? Because none was called about them; had any been called, who can doubt but that they would have avowed that in the council which they all taught in their churches? No, the spirit of God would have preserved them from it: Shew me that promise in scripture; if God's spirit did not preserve them from teaching the whole church so, I fear the spirit would not have preserved them.

more in council than in congregation, where all sucking in this error from their infancy, would hardly have quitted it by a determination of council. I humbly crave pardon for this bold presumption, being led into it by the bold assertion of the Papists, telling us without warrant how God will preserve their councils from error, as if they had been of his privy council. We are not to search into God's secret counsels for what he will permit, or why he permits this or that. I search only into his declared promises, and with all the search I can possibly make, I can't find any such promise to general councils as not to err: no, only that the gates of hell shall not prevail against his church to destroy it, which he hath hitherto made good, and I am sure will to the end of the world; but beyond his promise I am not sure of any thing, though it seems ever so rational. God will not endure to be fettered with sophistical sophisms and human consequences; and therefore I am afraid to wander from his wise and holy word, and trust to the doctrine of men seeming ever so wise, ever so holy; I reverence their persons, but can't believe in their doctrine. I am taught to believe only in God, not in the church, much less in any member, or congregation, or council; but to believe the holy catholick church, that is, that God hath had, now hath, and will have to the world's end, a select company of faithful ones, confessing and serving him; to whom be honour and glory for ever. Amen.

Concerning Ceremonies and Church Service.

First, as to ceremonies. I wonder men of any tolerable discretion should be so eager either for or against them, our salvation no way depending on them, but much hazarded by our contention about them, breaking peace, the principal thing recommended to us by the gospel of peace: sure both are very sinful. For my part, I think all subjects are bound in conscience to conform to the established ceremonies of that church whereof they are members, unless there be any thing flatly against the word of God: For to disobey our superiors is directly against the word of God: 1 Pet. ii. 13. "Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake." And therefore he that doth not submit, had need have as clear an evidence out of scripture, that the thing he rejects is directly contrary to the word of God, otherwise he breaks an evident commandment to satisfy himself in a doubtful thing, which without doubt is damnable. St Paul requires one brother to yield unto another in things indifferent, much more children to parents, subjects to governors. But no man that knows this world can expect all children, all subjects will be dutiful and obedient; and therefore as children are to obey their parents, so parents ought not to provoke their children to disobedience, by imposing unnecessary things and very offensive: Yet if they do impose such things, the children are bound to obey, unless the things imposed be offensive to God also; then they are acquitted, not otherwise. But still parents must remember they are to give account to God for their commands, as children are for their obedience: and, setting this aside, nature alone should prompt parents to seek the love of their children, especially spiritual parents, styled the ministers of God, who is love: should not they desire rather to lead the people into the house of God by love, than to whip them in by fear, to have their churches full rather than empty; to put on such a habit as would invite them in, and not such as will fright them out. What wise and loving father would put on a winding-sheet on his head to fright his weak and simple child? I say this to the chief rulers of the church, not to inferior ministers, who must observe the constitutions of the chief, and the chief ought to consider the disposition of inferiors, what will be most edifying for them. As the apostles in the beginning of Christianity, continued the observing not eating of blood, and things strangled, to comply with the Jews, so the surplice, with other things, was wisely and piously retained by the reformers from popery, when, probably, many

long nourished up in those ceremonies would not have come into the church, had all these been cast out; but now to be zealous for them, when the people are so passionate against them, savours more of passion likewise in governours than religion; as if they had rather shew their authority than their charity. If they answer, that many of their flock are as zealous for these things as others against them, and they had rather gratify the obedient conformers, than the most disobedient gainsayers, I reply. First, This is no obedience to conform to such ordinances of their superiors as they have a passion for; the superiors in this conform rather to them than they to their superiors: try their obedience, if they will submit to the taking of these things away, and then you may have more reason to gratify them; yet you know you are rather to bear with the infirmities of the weak, than please the strong. Love your friends most, value the obedient most; but love your enemies also, endeavour to gain the disobedient also: the first are your dutiful sons, abide always with you, all that you have is theirs; but yet when the prodigal, the stray returns, rejoyce and kill the fatted calf: yea, if he will not return, leave the ninety and nine, and go seek that one that is lost. But you have no hopes of gaining him, you believe 'tis not conscience but faction, and wilful perverseness keeps him off; oh do not despair, believe better of him; charity hopeth all things, believeth all things. But you know it is so with him; then pity him the more going headlong into hell, yield the more to save his soul from hell, overcome evil with good, fetter him, bind him fast with chains of love; what is stronger than love? it will overcome schism, faction, sedition, any thing; it will overcome God himself, and even force God to withhold him by his merciful and powerful hand; and thus, converting this perverse "sinner from the error of his way, you will save his soul alive, and cover the multitude of your sins;" a blessed and joyful work, whereat the angels of heaven will rejoyce and sing Alleluja, amen. Oh my fathers! my fathers! that should preach and practise the gospel of peace and love to your children, vouchsafe at my humble request to read Rom. xiv. See what great liberty that great grandfather of the church allows his children, and observe in the general how he became all things to all men to save some; and will not you in some things comply to gain all? will you restrain the liberty of the gospel to the rigidity of your discipline to lose some, to lose many, and perchance in the end to lose all, yourselves and all. Be pious, be charitable, be prudent, build your church on a rock that will endure storms, and not on the sand of ceremonies, that will both raise storms, and probably overturn your church e're long. But you will say, if you yield to some dissenters in this, you may as well yield to others in that, and so by degrees abolish all your ceremonies: I beseech you, is not the body more than rayment, substance more than ceremony, will not you quit the latter to preserve the former? but you will preserve both, God grant you loose not both. But you will say, this is the way to loose both, first take away ceremonies, thereby you loose your friends, and then lie exposed to your enemies to spoil your goods. If your goods be the substance of your religion, and you preserve your ceremonies to preserve these, then really my fear of your loosing all is encreased; this is a very sandy and dirty foundation, can't hold out against storms; but if faith, hope and charity be the substance of your religion, (as I hope it is) these stood firm and encreased in the primitive times, in the greatest storms, when the whole world of Jews and Gentiles were enemies to the church, and not one of your ceremonies in the church to preserve it: the simple naked truth without any surplice to cover it, without any ecclesiastical policy to maintain it, overcame all, and so would do now, did we trust to that and the defender of it. Perchance I appear a great enemy to the surplice, so often naming that; I confess I am; would you know why? Not that I dislike, but, in my own judgement, much approve a pure white robe on the minister's shoulders, to put him in mind that purity becomes a minister of the gospel; but such dirty nasty surplises as most of them wear, and especially the singers in

cathedrals (where they should be most decent) is rather an imitation of their dirty lives, and have given my stomach such a surfeit of them, as I have almost an averseness to all: and I am confident, had not this decent habit been so undecently abused, it had never been so generally loathed.

I will name another ceremony which gives great offence, with greater reason, the bowing towards the altar, which, in my judgement, I allow and practise in some measure, when I come into such congregations as generally use it, avoiding still to give offence to any as far as I may, with a safe conscience. I affirm, 'tis a very fitting thing to shew reverence in the house of God, and to shew it by bowing as well as any other means, and to bow that way as well as any other way, and in bowing, if the congregation did it to the south or the west, I should as readily conform to that. But you will say the primitive Christians, as we read, did generally bow towards the east (the primitive Christians did so, I grant, but not the prime primitive) what then? Is this any obligation on us now? the primitive did also use chrysm, or consecrated oyl, yet we retain it not; it grew into an abuse, therefore left off, so hath this bowing towards the altar by the papists, supposing Christ corporally present there: and truly many of our church-men give great suspicion to the people, that they also believe some such thing, otherwise pray answer me, when a minister at his entring into the church hath bowed to shew his reverence in the house of God, and when he ascends up to the altar bows again, to shew some particular reverence in that place where that blessed sacrament is consecrated. (let this pass for good also, though something may be said against it) yet I pray tell me, why the reader, passing from one side of the church to the other, and the minister passing from one end of the altar to the other, bows again? surely in reverence to the King of kings he supposes there sitting, who can imagine any other cause of his homage? and yet I verily believe this is not the cause, but merely for a causeless custom taken up one from another (the common beginning of all superstitions) having no reason for it, but much against it, giving thereby great scandal to weak ones, and ground of slander to malicious ones, who lay hold on any occasions to accuse them of papistry; for certainly 'tis done with little or no reason, or with a great deal of superstition.

Now as to that grand debated ceremony of kneeling at the Lord's Supper, I think there is no reason to condemn those that use it, nor much reason to press it on those that disuse it. Why? are we not to perform this great act of devotion with all possible reverence? I grant it, but is this to be express'd altogether in the outward posture of the body? if so, then your opposers thus retort it upon you: if outward humility be the thing you contend for, you ought to shew it to your God in the humblest way, and that is by prostrating rather than kneeling; but if inward humility, sure that consists chiefly in obedience to what Christ commanded, and to do it as he practised it, who can doubt but this is the most perfect obedience? and you know when our Saviour instituted this blessed sacrament, he gave this command in the close, "Do this in remembrance of me;" and sure he remembers our Saviour best who doth every thing as he did, both in substance and ceremony, and so we find the primitive Christians did, observing also to receive it at supper, as our Saviour did; but when this grew into a sinful abuse, the ceremony was altered to preserve the substance in more purity: so was kneeling abused by the papists and turned into superstition, why not therefore changed in like manner? But you kneel without any superstition, you do not adore the elements on the table, as the papists do, but Christ in Heaven. And so this man receives sitting and at supper without any irreverence, he doth it so merely in obedience to Christ's command, both in ceremony and substance, "Do this in remembrance of me." But you do not conceive Christ's command extended to the ceremonies, but only to the substance, and the church hath expressly commanded kneeling as the more reverend posture, therefore you ought to obey, I think so too: but

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Now as to that grand debated ceremony of kneeling at the Lord's Supper, I think there is no reason to condemn those that use it, nor much reason to press it on those that disuse it. Why? are we not to perform this great act of devotion with all possible reverence? I grant it, but is this to be express'd altogether in the outward posture of the body? if so, then your opposers thus retort it upon you: if outward humility be the thing you contend for, you ought to shew it to your God in the humblest way, and that is by prostrating rather than kneeling; but if inward humility, sure that consists chiefly in obedience to what Christ commanded, and to do it as he practised it, who can doubt but this is the most perfect obedience? and you know when our Saviour instituted this blessed sacrament, he gave this command in the close, "Do this in remembrance of me;" and sure he remembers our Saviour best who doth every thing as he did, both in substance and ceremony, and so we find the primitive Christians did, observing also to receive it at supper, as our Saviour did; but when this grew into a sinful abuse, the ceremony was altered to preserve the substance in more purity: so was kneeling abused by the papists and turned into superstition, why not therefore changed in like manner? But you kneel without any superstition, you do not adore the elements on the table, as the papists do, but Christ in Heaven. And so this man receives sitting and at supper without any irreverence, he doth it so merely in obedience to Christ's command, both in ceremony and substance, "Do this in remembrance of me." But you do not conceive Christ's command extended to the ceremonies, but only to the substance, and the church hath expressly commanded kneeling as the more reverend posture, therefore you ought to obey, I think so too: but

this man conceives Christ commands both substance and ceremonies to be observed, and consequently conceives the church's command contrary to Christ's, therefore he ought not to obey till you can rectify his judgment; if you can, then he ought to obey also; if you cannot, have patience with your weak brother, require no more of him in this matter than Christ required of his disciples; sure Christ would not have allowed any unfitting posture; be not overwise, nor over holy, condemn not that which Christ allowed. God is so infinitely gracious as to accept our poor devotions in any form, if but sincere in substance, nay though weak and frail in the substantial part, he will not break the bruised reed, nor quench the smoking flax; his tender fatherly bowels yern upon his dear children coming to him afar off. Oh then let us learn to be like minded, tender and compassionate to our weak brethren, admit them into God's worship in any posture; if they come in sincerity of heart, reject not those whom God accepts.

I might go on thus to handle other ceremonies, as the cross in baptism, the ring in marriage, &c.; but I conceive it needless, the same reasons being applicable to all, and he that is once brought to be indifferent and unconcerned in one, will soon be so disposed to all. Wherefore I conclude this point of ceremonies with St Paul, "He that regardeth a day, regardeth it unto the Lord, and he that regardeth not the day, to the Lord he doth not regard it, he that eateth, eateth to the Lord, for he giveth God thanks, and he that eateth not to the Lord, he eateth not, and giveth God thanks:" So he that kneeleth, kneeleth to the Lord, and he that kneeleth not to the Lord, he kneeleth not. And I desire you farther to observe this circumstance in St Paul's words, how he calls the zealous observer of ceremonial matters, the weak brother, and commands the strong not to despise him, it being really a despicable weakness and a childish or effeminate kind of devotion to be zealous in any ceremonial observance, which masculine spirits are apt to despise, but in Christian charity ought rather to pity and bear the infirmities of others. Wherefore let us be the men of understanding, men in devotion, be zealous, and hold fast the substantial parts of religion, piety, justice, temperance, chastity, truth, sincerity, stand fast for these, not recede one hair's breadth from these, keep but our ground and fight it out like men to death against all powers and principalities on earth, or under the earth, and let us leave it to women and children to contend about ceremonies, let it be indifferent to us, whether this or that, or no ceremony, whether kneel or not kneel, bow or not bow, surplice or not surplice, cross or no cross, ring or no ring, let us give glory to God in all, and no offence to our brethren in any thing.

Now if any man would be so curious as to ask, why St Paul did not determine this point, whether they should eat herbs only, or other meats also; whether regard a day or not; and so establish uniformity among them? I cannot imagine any other reason, but meerly to teach us this charitable compliance with one another, as necessary a practice as any other. Man is a very ticklish animal to govern; he will not always be guided by reason and authority; man hath a will as well as reason, and will have his own will in many things, even the godly: Very few are found so entirely pious as wholly to deny themselves, 'tis so high and sharp a point of religion, as you may break the heart strings of many in winding them up so high, and thus crack all their religion; perchance you would find it so yourselves, had the nonconformists the screwing you up as you them. Wherefore consider yourselves, lest ye also be tempted, be charitable to the weak, proceed not so severely against them in your courts of judicature, but remember what St Paul saith, Colos. ii. "Let no man judge you in meat, or drink, or in respect of an holy-day, or of the new moon, or of the sabbath days, which are a shadow of things to come, but the body is of Christ;" will you then, in respect of an holy-day, cross in baptism, standing at the Creed, kneeling at the sacrament, and the like, will you in respect of such shadows, judge, excommunicate, sen-

tence to everlasting flames a soul that holds of the body of Christ, believes all his holy gospel, accords with you in one faith, one baptism, who acknowledges the only true God, Creator of Heaven and earth, and Jesus Christ, whom he hath sent to be the Redeemer of mankind, which our Saviour affirms, "To be eternal life;" will you condemn such a one to eternal death? God forbid. My reverend fathers and judges of the church, I with St Paul, Col. iii. beseech you, "Put on fatherly bowels of mercies, kindness, humbleness of mind, meekness, long suffering," towards your poor weak children, and so long as they hold fast the body of Christ, be not so rigorous with them for shadows; if they submit to you in substance, have patience though they do not submit in ceremonies; and give me leave to tell you my poor opinion: This violent pressings of ceremonies hath, I humbly conceive, been a great hindrance from embracing them, men fearing your intentions therein to be far worse than really they are, and therefore abhor them. Have you never observed a flock of sheep forcibly driven over a narrow bridge; the poor sheep fearing they are going into some penn or slaughter, chuse rather to leap into the river than go forwards; but drive them on gently and patiently, they will of themselves take the way you desire. Uniformity in ceremony is a good and desirable thing, therefore endeavour it; but unity in faith and charity is better, and therefore, if you cannot obtain that, be sure to preserve this; this is the one thing necessary; chuse this better part if you cannot have both; for this force, urging uniformity in worship, hath caused great division in faith as well as charity; for had you, by abolishing some ceremonies, taken the weak brethren into your church, they had not wandred about after seducing teachers, nor fallen into so many gross opinions of their own, but, being daily catechised and instructed by your orthodox and sound preaching, they would have followed you like good sheep, whereas now they wander about into a hundred by-paths of error, many whereof lead headlong to hell. Now I beseech you in the fear of God, set before your eyes the dreadful day of judgment, when Christ on his tribunal of justice shall require an account of every word and deed, and shall thus question you: Here are several souls who, taking offence at your ceremonies, have forsaken my church, have forsaken the faith, have run into hell, the souls for which I shed my precious blood; why have you suffered this? Nay, why have you occasioned this? Will you answer, it was to preserve your ceremonies? Will not Christ return unto you, are your ceremonies more dear unto you than the souls for which I died? Who hath required these things at your hands? Will you for ceremonies, which you yourselves confess to be indifferent, no way necessary unto salvation, suffer your weak brethren to perish, for whom I died? Have not I shewed you how "David and his soldiers were guiltless in eating the shew-bread, which was not lawful but only for the priests to eat?" If David dispensed with a ceremony commanded by God, to satisfy the hunger of his people, will not you dispence with your own ceremonies to satisfy the souls of my people, who are called by my name, and profess my name, though in weakness? Or will you tell Christ they ought to suffer for their own wilfulness and perverseness, who will not submit to the laws of the church as they ought; will not Christ return? Shall they perish for transgressing your humane laws, which they ignorantly conclude erroneous, and shall not you perish for transgressing my divine laws, which you know to be good and holy? Had I mercy on you, and should not you have had mercy on your fellow servants? With the same measure you metted it shall be measured to you again. I tremble to go farther, but most humbly beseech you for Christ's sake, endeavour to regain these stray sheep, for whom he shed his precious blood, and think it as great an advantage, as great an honour to you, as it was to St Paul to become all things to all men, that you may gain some, as doubtless you will many, though not all; and the few standers off will become the more convinced, and at long running wearied out and gained also. Thus, having reduced all into one fold in true faith and Christian charity, the present generation

will much forget, the succeeding generation will be wholly ignorant of, these ceremonious fancies; and all animosities being quite extinguished, wholesome edifying ceremonies may be easily introduced again with comfort to all, which are now irksome and grievous to many. And so I pass on to the second matter, the church service, contained in the Books of Common Prayer, whereof briefly, because what I said before may be reply'd to this also.

Concerning Church Service.

I will not here enter into the dispute, whether it be lawful for a church to have a set form of prayer, supposing that there are none but either highly fanatick, or highly factious, that affirm it unlawful; and with such I have no reason to expect that reasonable arguments should prevail; for enough hath been already printed to this purpose. I may also suppose, that there is nothing contained in our Book of Common Prayer that is directly contrary to the word of God; for had there been any such thing, we should have heard of it long since, which I never yet did from any sober man. And truly I might, in the third place, suppose, that (a Book of Common Prayer being no way contrary to the word of God) the use of it is far more conducing to piety than to suffer extemporary prayer to be used generally in churches; experience hath fully declared it in our late confused times, when a man should have heard in many churches such extravagant, such wild, such rash, such blasphemous expressions as would drive any sober conscientious person out of their churches. Can you with reason expect it otherwise, when half the churches in this nation have not a tolerable maintenance to support men of parts and discretion fit to perform so solemn and holy an office? Had we the holiness, the zeal, the charity, the humility of the primitive times, when men forsook all the world, and daily sacrificed their lives for the service of God, we might hope that God would graciously pour down upon us, as he did on them, the special gifts of praying and prophesying; but now, when most serve God for gain, and would neither open nor shut the church doors for nought, as Malachi saith, we must not expect those gifts and graces. And therefore I conceive it absolutely necessary to have some form prescribed to be used by all; for were there liberty left to the more able and discreet, most would suppose themselves to be such, (few discovering their own weakness) and were it left to the bishop to licence as he saw fit, it would prove a very great cause of heart-burning among his clergy; and hatred towards himself, yea and rebellion against him and the laws. But now, in Christ, I humbly beseech the governors of the church calmly to consider, were it not better to have such a form of service as would satisfy most. The fathers of our church, as I said before, when they reformed this nation from popery, were desirous to fetch off as many as they could, retaining for this cause all the ceremonies and forms of prayer they could with a good rectified conscience, and therefore they prescribed that form of second service to be at the altar, as carrying some resemblance to the mass, then the people's delight, which, being now become the people's hate, should for the same resemblance, according to the same rule of reason, be now taken away. We commend our forefathers for doing piously and wisely, and yet we will not imitate them; they endeavoured to please and gain the people, we will needs displease and lose them: Certainly we cannot do our forefathers a greater honour than to observe their rule of reason, to conform to the times; and therefore they are grossly mistaken who think it a dishonour to them for us to take away what they have established, when we keep close to the reason wherefore they did establish it. Wise physicians, by the same rule of reason, prescribe things clear contrary, according to the temper of their patients.

hot or cold; some other things I could mention in the Book of Common Prayer (though no ways ill in themselves) yet fit to be altered, and would obviously appear so to every wise man once resolved to compose such a form as would take in most of this nation, which I humbly conceive governors should in conscience endeavour, becoming all things to all men to gain some, though not all; yet happily gain all in process of time, for the reason before specified.

But though I desire such a form of service, such ceremonies also to be established, as may give most general satisfaction, yet I desire what is established may be generally observed, and not a liberty left (as some do propose) to add or detract ceremonies or prayers according to the various opinions and humours of men; for certainly this would cause great faction and division; those that are for ceremonies would run from their own church to others where they were used, others to some fine fancied prayers of such as they approve of; and thus some churches would be thronged, others deserted, and no account could be taken by the pastor of this congregation; atheists also, and papists, under pretence of frequenting other churches, would abandon all. This course (say you) would bring but few into the church, and perchance drive some out, who, having been long bred up to such and such ceremonies, would have small devotion to frequent the church if all or many were abolished. To this I answer, that certainly his religion is vain, that would abandon the substance for want of the ceremonies, which he acknowledgeth to be no way necessary, but only more satisfaction to his mind: Surely a very ignorant mind, who hath not learnt, "That obedience is better than sacrifice and whole burnt-offerings." And surely a very uncharitable mind, who would not leave ninety and nine unnecessary ceremonies, to bring one sinful strayed sheep into the congregation, and convert him from the error of his non-conforming way. I profess I am amazed to see how many men of a very good sence in most things, so zealously erroneous in this business of religion, seeing the scripture so plainly declares, that nothing so covers the multitude of our sins as an act of charity; nothing so acceptable unto God, so joyful to his holy angels, as conversion of a sinner. Yet these men will most passionately (and pardon me if I say most uncharitably and irreligiously) cry, Away with these idiot sectaries and mad fanaticks, let them wander and perish in their own wild imaginations, we will not leave one ceremony, nor any one line of our Common-Prayer Book, to gain thousands of them. No, if you alter that, we will rather leave the church, and go to the papists mass. If these be not as simple sectaries and mad fanaticks as any whatsoever, let God and his holy angels judge. But as for you, my reverend fathers of the church, I hope you will consult with scripture in this weighty affair, and model all according to the rules of meekness, charity, and compassionate tenderness to weak ones there set down; and endeavour, with prudent admonitions to rectify the errors of these too zealous ceremonists, and with fatherly bowels of condescension to win the hearts of blind and wilful seperatists. Certainly the more understanding and powerful leaders of them will not, cannot, have the face to stand off after your charitable condescension, their populous pretences will be so confuted, their mouths so stopped, their faces so confounded, as for mere shame, if not for reason and religion, they must come into our church; and their pastors coming in, the sheep will follow, though some stand a while and gaze; but at length, having no men of ability to lead them on their perverse ways, the shop-prating weavers and cobblers will soon be deserted, and made heartless, seeing their own naked folly. And then shall we all join and joyfully sing *Te Deum* in our churches, and the holy angels in the Heavens. And then I shall most gladly sing with good old Simeon, "Lord, now let thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation."

Concerning Preaching.

It remains that I now handle this great business of preaching, wherein I fear I shall displease many, there being but a few who use it according to the original institution; and yet I had rather they should preach as they do then quite omit it; for certainly 'tis a necessary work for a minister of the gospel to preach the gospel. Saint Paul tells us, "That some preach the gospel out of envy;" yet he was pleased that Christ should be so preached rather than not preached; and so I say of preaching Christ out of vanity, as 'tis evident many do, preaching themselves and their own abilities, at least as they think abilities, though often great weaknesses and conceited impertinences. I beseech you tell me, did not Christ and the apostles preach the best way? and are not we to follow their example? Who dare say otherwise? yet many do otherwise; they take here or there a sentence of scripture, the shorter and more abstruse the better, to shew their skill and invention, this they divide and subdivide into generals and particulars, the *quid*, the *quale*, the *quantum*, and such like quack-salving forms; then they study how to hook in this or that quaint sentence of philosopher or father, this or that nice speculation, endeavouring to couch all this in most elegant language; in short, their main end is to shew their wit, their reading, and whatever they think is excellent in them: No doubt rarely agreeing with that of St Paul, "I determined not to know any thing among you save Jesus Christ and him crucified; and my speech and preaching was not with enticing words of man's wisdom, but in demonstration of the Spirit and of power:" 1 Cor. ii. And I verily believe this is the reason why preaching hath so little effect in these days, because they labour to speak the wisdom of this world, which is foolishness with God, nor do they preach in demonstration of the spirit, but in demonstration of their learning. I know full well this unapostolick way of preaching was used by some of the ancient fathers, especially the Greeks, always fond of niceties and curiosities, and being now become Christians (as I said before) transplanted their beloved rhetorical flowers of human learning into Christian gardens, which proved rather weeds to over-run the seed of sound and plain apostolick doctrine, human nature being a soil apter to give nourishment and vigour to human principles than divine. But when did ever any learned, witty, rhetorical harangue, or cunning syllogistical discourse, convert the tythe of St Peter's or St Paul's foolish preaching, as he terms it, "but the wisdom of God to those that are perfect," and sound in the faith? Who is ignorant of that famous passage at the council of Nice? whither resorted, with divers others, one eminent heathen philosopher, offering himself (as the manner of those vain-glorious sophisters was) to dispute with the Christian doctors; some bishops of great repute for learning, under him, as they thought, clearly confuted, but no way converted him; at last rises up a grave ancient bishop of small learning, but of great faith and piety, and (with great dissatisfaction of his brethren, fearing some gross baffle should befall this good man) comes up to the philosopher, and with great majestic authority recites unto him the apostolick creed, "I believe in God the Father Almighty"—and in the close calls to him, O philosopher, believest thou this? The philosopher answered, I believe, not being able to resist the demonstration of spirit and power wherewith he uttered those divine mysteries, as he confess'd before them all. You will say this was a miracle of great rarity; I grant it, but many such miracles should we see, had we the faith and powerful spirit of this holy bishop, and would endeavour to imitate apostolical preaching, not philosophical arguing, nor rhetorical declaiming.

We see plainly the apostolical preaching was either catechistical instructions, or pious admonitions; not tying themselves to any form, but past from one matter to another as the auditor's condition required, not as the preacher's fancy and reading

prompted ; just as the Roman emperor Caligula, who, when delinquents came before him to be judged, condemned or acquitted them as agreed best with the current of his oration : So these men shape their discourse more to the applause than edification of the hearers. And so much time is spent in composing these oratory sermons, as the minister hath not leisure to perform a quarter of his parochial duty, of visiting the sick, of admonishing the scandalous, of reconciling the janglers, of private examining and instructing the poor ignorant souls, thousands in every country as ignorant as heathens, who understand no more of most sermons than if in Greek ; so that the sermon is rather a banquet for the wantons that are full, than instruction to those who are even starved for want of spiritual food, the plain and saving word of Christ, not the nice conceited word of man, which may nourish camelions, never make solid sound Christians. There are others of a different strain, who, wanting both wit and learning also, think to supply all by strength of lungs, by loud and long babbling, riding hackney from one good town to another, and with fervency of spirit like a boiling pot running over where-ever they come. Were it a laughing matter, who could contain to hear some seeming zealot pastors talk so much of their obligation to preach the gospel, and must (forsooth) do it in the pulpit twice a Sunday, counting those almost accursed that do not so, and yet have many poor sheep in their flock as ignorant as any sheep, whom they never regard, never instruct in the first principles of the gospel ; as if preaching were tyed to the pulpit and the sabbath-day. Pardon me, if I tell you a story which now comes into my head. I chanced to be in a lord's house on a Saturday, when a zealous minister came in ; after some compliments and ceremonious discourse, he told the lord, that where-ever he was, he never failed to preach the gospel on the Lord's day as his duty, and therefore entreated that the pastor of the parish might be desired to give place to him next morning. I suspecting both his zeal and design (which afterwards appeared) asked him, if he had received any particular command from Christ to preach at this place, and that hour ? The minister starting at my question, answered, No. I replied, sure then other ministers had the same obligation to preach the gospel as he had, and, moreover, it was the pastor's particular duty to preach to his own congregation on the Lord's day, how then could he in conscience desire the pastor to omit his duty, and give place to a stranger who had there no duty incumbent upon him ? But the lord pulled me by the elbow, and took me off from farther pressing him, and told him, he would send to the pastor to give him place. But to return to our business. Very few are to be found, here and there one of piety and discretion, that demean himself prudently in his office ; and the reason is this : It is grown up into a general opinion, That none are to be admitted into holy orders but such as have studied in the university ; and if he hath learnt a little to chop logick, he is presently deemed fit to divide the word of truth, and is easily instituted into a living ; and if he can bring some nice metaphysical speculations from Aristotle, or some theological distinctions from Aquinas, then he is worthy of two or three livings or prebends : And thus university youths, and even boys of no experience or discretion, are made spiritual pastors, the gravest and most weighty office in the world. I beseech you, what have these sciences (falsly so-called) to do with the gospel, where we find not one tittle of them ; but rather decryed as enemies to the gospel, as tending to vain jangling, strife, and contention, nothing of edification. We had lately a brave story of the jesuits in China, who, finding the king and his courtiers much delighted with the mathematicks, but not very knowing in them, wrote to the general of their order at Rome to send them some priests, very skilful in that science, to preach the gospel there. Why did they not send for some also well skilled in puppet plays ? Ridiculous creatures shall I say, or rather impious, who think to support the dignity, the majesty, the divinity of the gospel with such human toys ? Just as if a king, having some potent enemy invading his country, should, instead of leading on

a stout and gallant army against him, lead on a morrice-dance, capering and frisking most featly, thinking thereby to appease and gain the heart of his adversary. "Yea fools and blind; we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places," Eph. vi. 12. "And therefore the weapons of our warfare must not be carnal, but mighty through God to the pulling down of strong holds," 2 Cor. x. 4. "We must then take the whole armour of God, the helmet of salvation, the breast-plate of righteousness, the shield of faith, the sword of the spirit." Read also St Paul to Timothy and Titus, setting down the required qualifications of bishops and deacons; see if you can find any such mathematick, logick, physick? No, but gravity, sobriety, meekness, diligence, and the like. Were such men taken into holy orders, and constituted pastors, the church of Christ had been far better edified, and the pastors far more revered, than now they are: though Plato, Aristotle, Euclid, Scotus, Aquinas, were never known to them, so much as by name, yet they would want no pastoral knowledge, which is compleatly contained in scripture, as St Paul told Timothy, "That it was sufficient to make him wise unto salvation, profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction, that the man of God might be thoroughly furnished;" Mark, thoroughly furnished without logick, physick, mathematick, metaphysick, or school divinity. Scripture divinity thoroughly furnishes the man of God for all. I speak not this in disparagement of university learning, which I highly value, if rightly made use of, 'tis as useful as honourable to a nation; but much of university learning, as useless to a spiritual pastor as the art of navigation to a physician; the pastors only requisite and compleatly qualifying science being, according to St Paul, "to know nothing but Christ and him crucified, and to preach Christ, not with enticing words of man's wisdom, but in demonstration of the spirit and of power;" to preach Christ as well out of pulpit as in the pulpit; in season and out of season; to the poor and to the rich; to the simple and ignorant, far rather than the knowing; to rebuke, to correct, to edify both by word and deed.

Wherefore I most humbly beseech the church governors to remember the original institution of the ministry, what kind of men the apostles chose into it, grave elderly men, therefore styl'd elders, and known as well by that name as bishops, who, having by long conversation, gotten experience and knowledge to govern themselves, were made governors of others. I grant we have Timothy for an example of younger years, that is, young by way of comparison to the other seniors; as a man of forty may be called young, compared to those of sixty; yet no youth simply, nor simple youth: and 'tis plain he was a person no way short of the elders in gravity, though somewhat in years: St Paul's general rule was, not to admit of novices; but all general rules have some exceptions, Timothy was one and a rare one, we find not another. Next, I pray consider what kind of preaching they used: You may easily guess at their sermons by their epistles, full of short catechetical instructions, grave exhortations, sober reproofs, discreet corrections, and then tell me whether a raw novice from the university, with all his sciences and languages, be fit for this, or rather a grave sober person of age and experience, having a good natural capacity, illuminated by scripture instruction and prayer, using also the help of grave and sound interpreters. Really 'tis most evident that the church is run into great contempt by the slowness and giddiness of many ministers, who intend nothing but to make a handsome school-boy's exercise in the pulpit on Sunday, but never attend the other parochial duties, nor their own advance in spiritual knowledge, but give them wholly either to idle studies, or idle recreations, and are very children in divine knowledge and behaviour: I do affirm this in the presence of God as a truth, and I have known some pass for very good preachers, that could not give a good account of the Athanasian creed, nor

scarce of the childrens catechism; masters of art, but school-boys in true divinity, and so their parishioners continue very babes all their life long.

It would make any true Christian's heart bleed to think, how many thousand poor souls there are in this land, that have no more knowledge of God than heathens; thousands of the mendicant condition never come to church, and are never look'd after by any; likewise thousands of mean husbandry men, that do come to church, understand no more of the sermon than brutes: Perchance in their infancy some of them learnt a little of their catechism, that is, they could, like parrots, say some broken pieces, but never understand the meaning of one line; (this is the common way of catechising), but afterwards, as they grow up to be men, grow more babes in religion, so ignorant as scarce to know their heavenly Father, and are admitted to the sacrament of the Lord's supper before they are able to give account of the sacrament of baptism. Thus it is generally in the country, and in the city as bad, partly for the reason before specified, and partly by reason the number in many parishes is far greater than any one pastor can have a due care of; he cannot know half the names or faces of them, much less their faith and behaviour, which is requisite that he may both instruct and reprove where there is need. Wherefore I humbly conceive 'tis necessary to divide these numerous parishes into several parts; but withal to provide means out of them for several ministers, for there is no hope to gain it from their charity or piety, which is plain hypocrisy, seeming so zealous to hear the word, but to contribute nothing towards it; the minister may preach his heart out, and yet not get out of their purses any tolerable maintenance; a poor husbandman in the country of twenty pounds a year, that gets his bread by the sweat of his brows, pays more to a minister than a citizen that gets hundreds a year, sitting at ease in his shop, and spends more in ribbons, laces, and perriwigs in one year, than he pays to a minister in ten or twenty: I beseech them to consider what account they will give to their Lord and Master at that day.

But I return to the requisite qualities of a minister, who, according to St Paul, is to be a governor as well as a preacher; to admonish and rebuke as well as instruct, and therefore of two evils chuse the lesser, rather men defective in parts to preach, which may be supplied by homilies, than defective in wisdom and discretion to govern, which cannot be supplied by other means. But would men be content with the true gospel and apostolick preaching, doubtless there might persons be found out fit for both, to govern and to preach: to preach one God the Creator of all, to preach the baptism of repentance, and the sacrament of the Lord's supper, to preach godliness, justice, mercy, chastity, &c. all which will be far better performed by a grave and godly conscientious man, well catechized, though he never saw university, though he knew no other language but his mother tongue, than by any Aristotelist, Scotist, Aquinatist, with all their knacks of quidities and qualities, syllogisms and enthymems, distinctions and subsumptions, &c.* Not one Greek; or Italian, or French of a thousand knew any language but his mother tongue when the gospel first flourished there; not one Indian of a hundred thousand, where St Thomas planted the gospel, ever heard of Plato or Aristotle; and so I may say of many other nations where the gospel was planted and priests ordained. When God instituted Aaron and that priesthood, not a tittle mentioned of school sciences or foreign languages. 'Tis true, the apostles by the Holy Ghost received the gift of tongues, because they were to preach to all nations, but we find not any infusion of school-learning by the Holy Ghost, nor any more gift of tongues after the gospel once spread over the world; God thought it then needless; I pray let's be no wiser than God and his Christ, who converted the world by the foolishness of preaching, but I never yet heard of any one nation converted by the wisdom of philosophical rhetorical preaching. Mistake me not; I say that sciences and languages are no way necessary for common parochial preachers,

yet I grant that sciences, especially historical, and languages, especially the oriental, are very useful to the perfect understanding of scripture, and very fit for some ministers to study, to whom God hath given parts and means to acquire them, who may be helpful to others; and the universities are very good places to train up youths to this purpose; but still these faculties are no way necessary to a parochial cure; a small proportion of learning, with a great deal of piety and discretion, is much better. Besides, there is another thing much to be considered: Were there such grave conscientious persons admitted into the ministry as the apostles ordained, such preaching set up as they practised, and all other decayed, such double honour paid unto the ministry as St Paul commanded and primitively was rendred, (such grave persons would scarce ever fail of it) then we might find thousands in the nation that, having means of their own, would preach the gospel to the poor for conscience sake. The maintenance for ministers in most parts is so wretchedly small (and so like to be, the tythes being in the hands of lay-men without hopes of recovery) that there is no convenient support for men of worth and gravity, and therefore youths and stripplings as wretched are put into them of meer necessity, that they lie not wholly void; whereas, if men that had some estate to help to maintain themselves, being persons of conscience and convenient knowledge, were put into the ministry, and such preaching the gospel accepted of as the apostles and primitive disciples used, the cures would be served with far more edification of the people, and honour to the church, than now they are.

I most humbly beseech all in the spirit of meekness humbly to consider these things, laying aside the veil of pomp and vanity, which blinds their eyes, and hinders them from discovering the naked truth and simplicity of the gospel; I call the Searcher of all hearts to witness, I wish unto all clergymen both double honour and double maintenance also, I can't think any thing too much for those who conscientiously labour in the ministry. But seeing (as I said) there is no hopes of regaining the church maintenance, we in prudence should seek out such helps as may be had. And truly I have great reason to hope that, were this rule observed of putting only grave, discreet, and conscientious persons into the ministry (whether university men or not, it matters not, so as fully instructed in the doctrine of the gospel by sound commentators) many persons of good rank and estate would think it no dishonour, but rather a higher honour, to enter it, as they did in the primitive time: Julian, nearly related to the Roman emperor, and afterwards emperor himself, thought it an honour to be admitted a reader, one of the lowest offices in the church. And for the better advancing this business, and fitting all sorts of men with convenient knowledge for the ministry, I humbly conceive it very fit there should be one good and brief English comment of scripture selected and compiled out of those many voluminous authors, laying aside all impertinent criticisms, abstruse questions, nice speculations, and the like, setting down only the plain and most obvious sense in matters of faith and good life, necessary to salvation; such a book to be set forth by authority, with a command, that no man in sermons, exhortations, or catechisings, teach any thing contrary to it; and whatever learning beyond that is brought into the pulpit, let it rather be exploded than applauded; for if any countenance be given to excursions, there will be no end; the itch men have to shew their learning will soon bring us again into the vain unedifying practice we now are in. I humbly conceive it fit also that the book of homilies be reviewed, not to correct any thing in them, for they are most excellent sound exhortations, containing the true primitive spirit, but to add to them whatever is wanting to the necessary doctrine of faith and good manners, to teach every person how to behave himself in his several vocations, and these commanded to be read once over every year; for I have observed several, even good and conscientious preachers to take quite another method, and preach on this or that chapter, and so in the whole year, yea

perchance in two or three years, never preach on the duty between man and wife, parents and children, masters and servants, magistrates and subjects; or omit to treat of pride, or malice, or cheating, or the like, by reason of which omissions, several in the congregation are ignorant in necessary duties, though rightly instructed in things unnecessary.

I expect that many will cry out of this as a means to introduce laziness into the ministry, and a hindrance from exercising those talents God hath indowed them with. To this I answer, first, That I had rather the ministers should be lazy than the people ignorant in their duty. But secondly, I answer, That, besides pulpit preaching, the minister may find enough to do to keep him from laziness, and exercise the best, that is, the most useful talents of a minister, to visit and comfort the sick and afflicted, to compose differences and reconcile janglers, examine and instruct the meaner and duller part of his flock, who are not capable of pulpit preaching, to whom they must inculcate both doctrines and admonitions ten times over, and scarcely so make them apprehend any spiritual matters. Experience only can raise a belief how extremely dull the common people are in the mysteries of faith, and but little quicker in the principles of a good life: Christ died to save these poor vulgar souls as well as those of the gentry and more learn'd, yet the labour of most ministers is to entertain those that know enough, and are very lazy in catechising those poor souls that know nothing; let these be fully instructed, and then for me, let them shew their talents that those may have it who most want it, either by injoining such homilies, and mentioned to be yearly read, or such sermons to be yearly preached: I am no enemy to true apostolical preaching, God forbid I should; but to vain scholastical, useless preaching, to have the pastor, who should daily watch over his flock, sit in his study all the week long, picking from that or this quaint author a few beautiful flowers, and then to come on Sunday with his nosegay in his hand to entertain ladies and courtiers; for my part I count this far more sinful laziness than to read a pious homily on Sunday, and all the week after go up and down from house to house, taking pains to instruct and exhort such as I mentioned: But these shall be called dumb dogs, yet surely by none but barking curs, who are wholly ignorant in true apostolick preaching; pardon me if I return them their due, who speak evil of that they understand not.

They will object, The apostles and primitive disciples did not read homilies, but preach'd themselves; neither do I desire that any one homily should ever be read, so as we had the true apostolick preaching both on Sundays in publick, and week-days also in private, where there is need: But I am sure such pious homilies as I mentioned are no ways contrary to the apostolick and primitive practice, and are far more useful than such preaching as we have now-a-days. And I am also sure, that in the purest and most primitive time, homilies under another name were read in the churches, that is, epistles of apostolick godly bishops written to other churches, were read in the congregation with great veneration. Shall the name of epistle make the one applauded, the name of homily make the other reproached, the contents and the intent being the same, to stir up the people to godliness? If this will satisfy, let the homilies be stiled epistles to such or such a church, and then I hope they will pass for current. But you will say, the compilers of our homilies are not of equal authority to those primitive epistles: let that pass, but I am sure they are of far more authority than most of our preachers. I pray consider, how many giddy youths are of our ministry, how many of greater age, but of as little gravity or discretion; how many that vainly preach themselves and their own abilities, not Christ and his gospel; how many that preach piously and yet not usefully, but, as I said before, many things unnecessary, omitting many necessary: Sum up all these particulars, and you will find a small remainder that preach piously and edifying also, very few to equal the compilers of our homilies; and then calmly consider the great use, yea, the great necessity, of such homilies. But if you

can furnish all our churches with pious, discreet, edifying, preaching pastors, I am abundantly satisfied, and do you seal up the book of homilies till a new dearth of spiritual food, which God in his great mercy prevent. Amen.

Concerning Bishops and Priests.

Whoever unbiass'd reads the scripture, thence proceeds to the first christian writers, and so goes on from age to age, can not doubt but that the church was always governed by bishops, that is, by one elder, or presbyter, or president, or what else you please to call him, set over the rest of the clergy; with authority to ordain, to exhort, to rebuke, to judge and censure as he found cause: No other form of government is mentioned by any authority for fifteen hundred years from the apostles downwards. Now who can in reason and modesty suspect those primitive bishops who lived in the days of the apostles, chosen by them into the church, succeeded them in church government, yea, and in martyrdom also for the faith, as Clemens, Ignatius, Polycarpus, and others, who, I say, can suspect them to be prevaricators in church discipline, and take upon them another form of episcopal government contrary to apostolical institution? These great masters of self-denial, who gave their lives for the truth, would they transmit unto posterity a church government contrary to the truth? let who will believe it, I can neither believe it nor suspect it. And there is yet another thing very observable, that all the orthodox church dispersed all the world over, some parts having no correspondence at all with the other by reason of distance, some by wars divided and made cruel enemies, yet all agreed in this form of government; and not only the orthodox, but also the schismatics and hereticks, who separated from, hated, and persecuted the orthodox church, they likewise retained still this form of government, as if all were of necessity compelled to acknowledge this, having never known, heard, nor dreamed of any other. And therefore nothing but necessity, if that, can excuse those who first set up another form of government to their own masters; let them stand or fall, I will not presume to censure them; I will only say, That from the beginning it was not so, and I thank God 'tis not so with us, and never shall be I trust in God. Amen.

But notwithstanding all this, yet 'tis very much to be doubted, whether they were of any distinct superior order from and above the presbyters, or one of the same order set over the rest with power to ordain elders, to exhort, rebuke, chastise, as Timothy and Titus were constituted by St Paul. For though they were of the same order with the other elders and pastors, yet there was great reason for some to be placed with greater authority to rule over the rest. The scripture tells us, "That even in the days of the apostles there were several seducing teachers, leading the people into errors and heresies, and more were to follow after the apostles times, grievous wolves in sheep's clothing;" and therefore it was very necessary to pick out some of eminent soundness in faith and godliness of life, and set them up on high with great authority, as fixed stars in the heavens, (so stiled Revel. i.) to whom all might have regard in dangerous times, as mariners observe in their sea-faring journies. But the scripture no where expresses any distinction of order among the elders; we find there but two orders mentioned, bishops and deacons. Of deacons we shall treat afterwards, let us now proceed to the order of bishops and priests, which the scripture distinguishes not; for there we find but one kind of ordination, then certainly but one order, for two distinct orders cannot be conferred in the same instant, by the same words, by the same actions. They who think deaconship and priesthood distinct, the one subservient to the other, though they intend the same hour to consecrate the man deacon and priest, do they not first compleat him deacon, then priest? I pray, let any man shew me from scripture (as I said) Timothy

or Titus, or any one ordained twice, made first priest then bishop, which is absolutely necessary if they be distinct characters; and 'tis generally affirmed, though I humbly conceive they scarce understand what they affirm, I mean they understand not what these characters are, whether Greek, Hebrew, or Arabick, or what else. But let that pass, I desire them only to shew me how a man can make two characters with one stroke or motion, A and B at the same instant. If then neither Timothy nor Titus, nor any other, were but once ordained, whence can we gather these two distinct characters, these two distinct orders? We find the apostles themselves but once ordained, those by the apostles but once ordained, and so on. When St Paul left Titus in Crete to ordain, he mentions only one ordination, that of presbyters, (so the word in Greek) no other; there's no commission given him to ordain bishops there. Nor Titus, he had no such command, we do not find that St Paul himself did; and sure you will not grant that the presbyters which Titus ordained, that they could ordain bishops there, for you will not allow them to ordain so much as presbyters? Yet bishops you will needs have in every city, and in Crete were very many; who ordained bishops for them all? Truly I can't find, nor you neither, I believe. But you will say, the superior order contains in it, virtually, the inferior order, (let this pass at present;) doth presbyter then virtually contain bishop? If so, then all presbyters are bishops. No, say you, bishop is the superior order, and that contains in it presbyter. You say so, but, by your leave, you are to prove so, or give me leave to say otherwise, especially seeing I have scripture for my saying and you have none for yours. But should I grant bishop the superior, what then? we find Titus ordained not any but presbyters, as he was commanded by St Paul, so we are still at a loss for our bishops, we find not their ordination. Or did St Paul mistake in his expression, and, meaning bishops in every city, said presbyters in every city; let this pass also, and I pray let us see what you mean by this, the superior order virtually contains the inferior. Do not you say they are two distinct orders, two real distinct indelible characters imprinted in the soul, as the school-men affirm (give me leave to talk their language, though I understand it not.) If I take a fair paper, and make an A upon it for the character of presbyter, and then make a B upon it for the character of a bishop, the same paper contains both characters, but sure one character doth not contain the other, A doth not contain B, nor doth B contain A. So the same soul may receive two characters, two orders, but if the two orders be distinct, how they can contain each other, I understand no more than I do these holy characters. If they can paint them out to me in their proper figures, perchance I may understand them better, but as yet I ingenuously confess my ignorance. I grant, in a metaphysical way of abstraction, the superior species contains the inferior genus. A man, a rational creature, contains the animality of a horse, the inferior creature, but doth not contain a real horse in his belly, nor can a man beget horses or men when he pleases. Nor can you truly say a man is a horse; I believe my school-men would take it in snuff should I affirm any of them to be horses, &c. But they affirm, that a bishop doth not only virtually contain the priesthood, but is really a priest, and can make priests or bishops as he please, whereby you may see this answer, that the superior order virtually contains the inferior, is a meer evasion; it sounds as if it were something, but really is nothing to our purpose at all; for we are not now upon metaphysical abstractions, but real individual substances, two actual distinct orders, as they would have it, two distinct indelible characters imprinted on mens souls by ordination, as A and B, which can never be truly affirmed one of the other. A is not B, and B is not A, a man is not a horse, and a horse is not a man; so a bishop ordained only bishop is not a priest, nor a priest a bishop if they be distinct. Wherefore I must believe them one and the same order, especially seeing the scripture applies the same name promiscuously to both; which is the second argument of their identity to be one and the same.

Acts xx. St Paul sends to Ephesus to call the presbyters of that church unto him at Miletum, and speaking to them he calls them all bishops (in our translation 'tis overseers) verse 28. So in his Epistle to the Phillippians, he directs to "all the saints, with the bishops and deacons," both in the plural number, so that by the word bishops, we must needs understand presbyters; for bishops, as we now take the word, were never many in one city. I pray observe also St Paul, Epistle to Titus i. 5. "For this cause left I thee in Crete—that thou should'st ordain elders in every city—if any be blameless—for a bishop must be blameless." Is it not here evident, that an elder and a bishop in St Paul's language is one and the same, otherwise there were no coherency at all in St Paul's speech. If this be not convincing, beyond all possible evasion, I understand nothing of discourse. Other such places are obvious in scripture to every one, I need mention no more; only I desire to inform the reader of a passage to this purpose in an epistle of Clemens to the Corinthians; this Clemens is mentioned in scripture, and is he whom St Peter appointed his successor at Rome, and who was of so great authority, that, as St Hierome tells us, this his epistle was read in churches. Now, in this epistle, Clemens particularly sets forth the constitution of the church by the apostles, and what ministers they ordained in the church; to wit, bishops and deacons, he names no other, which seems to me as full an evidence as can be that there were no other orders in the church in those days but those two: And yet we are sure there were then presbyters in the church; for Peter and John call themselves presbyters, and St Peter calls them presbyters to whom he wrote his epistle; so that if there were but two orders, to wit, bishops and deacons, presbyters must be one and the same with bishops or with deacons; not with deacons, therefore one and the same with bishops; one order called by two names promiscuously in scripture, as hath been shewed before. And I desire you to observe, that of those two names, presbyter and bishop, if there be any dignity and eminency express'd in one more than the other, sure it is in the name of presbyter, not bishop; because the apostles themselves, and the chief of the apostles (as some would have it who stand highest on their pantables) are in scripture styled presbyters or elders, as the word in our English translation signifies, but never bishops, as I remember. And therefore I cannot but wonder why that haughty head of the papists should not assume to himself the title of his pretended predecessor St Peter, presbyter rather than bishop, unless it be by God's providential disposure to shew his blindness in this as well as in other things, and make him confute himself by this name of bishop, which was never given to St Peter, no more than St Peter gave unto him the headship of the church. As to the interpretations and answers given to these and such like scripture expressions, sure I need not take any pains to confute them; for they are so weak as that Petavius, a late writer, and great stickler for the superiority of episcopacy, durst not trust to them, nor would venture his credit to make use of them, but found out a new and rare conceit, as he conceives, that these presbyters mentioned in scripture, and called by both names, were all really bishops, and that the apostles ordained them so, as most convenient for that time; for the congregations of the faithful being small, there needed no priests under the bishops to officiate, and yet there was need of a bishop in those small congregations, because there were several things to be done which were not within the power and capacity of presbyters to act, (as he supposes) viz. the laying on of hands, and confirming the faithful after baptism, the veiling of devoted women, the reconciling of penitents, the ordaining deacons where there was need; and adds moreover several impertinencies, as the making of chrysm, consecrating church-vessels, &c. And Petavius mightily applauds himself in this conceit, as the only means to clear all difficulties. Our Doctor Hammond also finding the usual interpretations of those places of scripture above-mentioned too weak to sustain the arguments builded on them for the unity of order, goes along after Petavius a great way in the fore-cited discourse

(though not in the latter impertinencies,) and affirms that the presbyters then were all bishops; and so far I go with them, that all were presbyters, all bishops, because all was one, and one was all, several names not several orders, as they would have it, and this I humbly conceive firmly proved by my former argument of one ordination, wherein two distinct orders could not be referred, so that still I require them to shew me from scripture where these presbyter-bishops were twice ordained, else it cannot be truly affirmed they were really and actually priests and bishops. As for that answer, that though but one order was conferred, viz. episcopal, yet that being superior to the priesthood, contains this virtually in it: First, you are to prove bishop to be superior to presbyter, which I deny, the apostles being peculiarly called presbyters. Secondly, that one contains the other, I suppose is already confuted, and fully declared that it cannot be; and, as I mentioned before, you do in effect confess it yourselves by your practice; for if the superior order so contains the inferior as to enable a man thereby to act all things belonging to the inferior, it is a very impertinent thing to ordain a man, as you do, first a deacon, then a priest, then a bishop, when you design to confer all upon him in the same day and hour.

And now I pray give me leave to examine a little Petavius's rare conceits, which he conceives will settle all former objections, and will meet with no new ones. He confesses the presbyters of the apostles times were all of one order, viz. bishops, because the pastors of each congregation might perform those several acts he mentions, which a bare presbyter is not capable of. And why not capable of them? how doth he prove this? He brings not one tittle of proof for this out of scripture, where there are good proofs to the contrary. St Peter and St John, presbyters, could do all these and more; *ergo*, presbyters are capable of all. But saith he, "the apostles were bishops also;" "also" is impertinent, as signifying somewhat else; whereas I say and prove 'tis one and the same order, only another name; it lies upon him to prove this difference of orders; and how doth he prove it? because presbyters can't do the acts of a bishop; why this is the thing in question; and thus he runs round to prove this by that, and that by this, and not one tittle out of scripture for either. I know full well of several canons of councils made some at one time, some at another, the bishops reserved many things to themselves, whereof most of them had been practised formerly by presbyters, and the canons were made to prevent the like for the future; for had there not been such a practice, there had been no need of such canons, whereby they reserved these things unto themselves; and for their own greatness would needs persuade the world that presbyters were not capable of them. I grant, that, for decency and order in that sense, some thing may be reserved to some, other things to other, to perform; but that the order of priesthood was not capable is even ridiculous, that the priesthood being capable to do the greatest things, should not be capable to do the least; he can consecrate the souls of men by baptism and the Lord's supper, yet, forsooth, can't consecrate their oyl, and their cups, and their candlesticks, which we never heard the apostles did or dream'd of, but are the fond dreams of dotting men, just like the Pharisees washing cups and platters after the doctrines of men. Really there needs no better confutation of their distinction and superiority of episcopal order, than the mean ridiculous things which they ascribe unto their bishops, and debar presbyters of, which methinks a presbyter should condemn were they offered him; and therefore such arguments as these are not worth the small pains I have taken about them.

I proceed to somewhat that seems a little better; Petavius tells us, that the number of Christians encreasing, and factions arising in the church, the apostles at length, towards the end of their times, chose out of these presbyter-bishops, some chief men, and placed them as governors over the rest, and reserved unto these principal men the power of ordaining; thus far I freely consent, the scriptures declare it, and it seems

most rational. And I humbly conceive these governors and ordainers were men of great prudence and moderation, and probably had also that gift of the Holy Ghost; the discerning of spirits and judging of men (a gift mentioned in scripture among others) that none might be admitted into the priesthood but men of meek and peaceable spirits. But now I would ask Petavius when these governing, ordaining bishops were set over the rest of the presbyter-bishops, when Titus was first settled with this authority in Crete, and when Timothy was thus placed at Ephesus, where we find before were several presbyter-bishops, what became of them? were they un-bishop'd and made simple presbyters? they must no more ordain nor govern, but be subject to Timothy and Titus. I am sure it was thought no small punishment in future ages, when bishops were thus by decrees of council abased and cast down unto presbyter form, and it was for some notorious crimes. I pray what crime were all these presbyter-bishops guilty of to be thus handled and tumbled down into a lower form? truly Petavius deals hardly with them, unless he can shew us their crime. Or will he, instead of accusing them excuse himself, and say they were not un-bishop'd or abased, but only restrained from exercising that power their order was capable of, had they been commissioned thereto. Truly I must commend Petavius if he will thus ingenuously confess the truth, for I shall by and by fully declare that 'tis the diversity of commission, and not of order, that enables men to act diversly, and that a bishop without commission can do no more than a presbyter without commission; and therefore I farther beg of Petavius, that, till he can prove the contrary, he would confess them also to be all of one single order, called only by divers names, priest or bishop, and one chosen out of the number, not the rest abased, but he exalted, with authority to govern. This is the rational and common practice of all societies, corporations, colleges, monasteries, conclave of cardinals, what not; there is no new order supposed in any of these, but only a new election, and a new authority given, according to the fundamental constitution of each society. The pope himself with his triple crown and triple dominion over all patriarchs, arch-bishops, bishops, pretends to have no new order of popeship, but only the new authority conferred by his election: why then may not presbyters chosen to preside over the rest, without any new order, do the like? And for this very reason I conceive Justin Martyr uses the name of president always for bishop; and St Cyprian also, a bishop himself, and most glorious martyr, he calls himself and other bishops generally by the name of *Præpositus*, as if this were the main distinction betwixt himself and his presbyters, that he was *Præpositus* only, one of them placed with authority over them: no more, nor doth the name of bishop in the original Greek signify any more than the overseer of the rest. And as for the avoiding of heresies and factions, they thought it meet to settle some bishop, of great soundness in faith and godliness of life, with authority to restrain and chastise disorderly pastors. Just so, when whole nations were converted, and not only the pastors but the bishops also (who had oversight of the pastors) encreased in number, then for the same reason it was thought fit there should be an overseer of the bishops, and be called an arch-bishop; when the arch-bishops were multiplied, then another set over them, and he called a patriarch; and at last one over the patriarchs, and he called *Papa*, *Pope Catexochen*, though *Papa* before was a name attributed to other bishops. Now as pope, patriarch, archbishop, bishop, are all one and the same order; (papists themselves grant this) so bishop, elder, presbyter, priest, all one and the same, only one of these set over the rest, and he now particularly called *Episcopus*, that is, bishop *Catexochen*, because he oversees the overseers: but this last constitution only is apostolical; the other of arch-bishop, patriarch, pope, are merely human, not at all mentioned in scripture.

But now another objection arises: Petavius grants that all the elders which the apostles ordained were bishops, and towards the end of the apostles days they set some

eminent amongst them over the rest to govern and ordain elders in every city, as Timothy and Titus, and these elders in every city were bishops, and thus the apostles left the church with bishops only and deacons. And this is evident by what I brought before out of Clemens, who lived after the apostles days, and mentions only bishops, and deacons left by the apostles. This being so, I desire to know who after the apostles days began this new kind of ordination of presbyters or elders, not bishops; the apostles ordained none such; who then? and by what authority was this new order set up? the scripture mentions it not; when and by whom came it in? a very bold undertaking without scripture or apostolical practice.

I will not boast my conceit as Petavius doth his; only I wish the reader to consider which is most tractable, most rational, or rather most scriptural, thereon I frame this whole fabrick as the rock and only sure foundation; human brain is too weak to erect and to support the fabrick of the church of God, which the Romanists have made a very Babel with their human inventions and multiplied characters and orders; some of them would have nine several holy orders in God's church militant here on earth, because there are nine several orders of celestial spirits in the church triumphant in heaven. This is a castle of their own building in the air, a rare foundation for God's church. Others will have seven several orders and characters as seven gifts of the Holy Ghost. Hath the Holy Ghost then but seven several gifts to confer on men? St Paul, 1 Cor. xii. counts unto us nine; not as if these were all, but only for example sake, to shew us that many and divers gifts are conferred on us by one and the same spirit; and in the conclusion of the same chapter he mentions eight. These things were uttered accidentally according to the occasion, not as limiting the gifts of the Holy Ghost to any set number. But if you will farther look into their application of these gifts of the Holy Ghost, and see to what kind of several orders they appropriate them, it would make a man amazed to see sober learned men, even that great wit and scholar Aquinas, discourse in such wild manner; as, did you but stand behind a curtain to hear and not to see them, you doubtless would conclude you heard some old woman in the nursery telling her dreams to children, rather than divine doctors in school. I will name but one or two of their orders. The porter of the church door is one, and (he forsooth) hath a sacred character imprinted on his soul, and his gift is the discerning of spirits, that he may judge who are fit to enter into God's church, who to be shut out. Another of their orders is that of *Acolothi*, who are now (anciently they were quite another thing) certain boys carrying torches, and attending on the bishop saying mass; these have their character also, and their gift of the Holy Ghost is the interpretation of tongues, signified (no doubt on't) by the light in their hands, but understand no more of tongues than the stick of their torch. I will not weary you with more of their absurdities.

Our episcopal divines rejecting these chimerical fancies of orders and characters, suppose it to be a certain faculty and power conferred by the laying on of hands for the exercise of ministerial duties; and according to this purpose the superior order contains the inferior, as the greater power contains in it the less: Thus episcopacy, being the superior order, contains in it priesthood and deaconship; these three are their supposed distinct orders. They may suppose this if they please, and I may suppose the contrary; but I would gladly know on what scripture they ground this discourse, that's the thing I still require; and there we find no larger faculty or power given to bishops, but rather to presbyters, as I have shewed, the apostles who had the greatest power being stiled presbyters, not bishops. And when our bishops do ordain presbyters, do not they use the very same form of words which our Saviour used when he ordained the apostles? "Receive ye the Holy Ghost: whose sins ye forgive, they are forgiven," &c. Do they not then by the same words confer the same power? (for I hope they use no equivocation, nor mental reservation) if the power be the same, the

order is the same by their own rule. Again, let us examine their own practice; do they not require a man should be ordained first deacon, before he be ordained priest, and priest before bishop? what needs this, if the superior contains the inferior? But in scripture we find it otherwise. Timothy, who long officiated under St Paul as a presbyter, when he was left at Ephesus, and so when Titus was left at Crete, both to be bishops, we find no new ordination; were this requisite, sure the scripture would have given us at least some hint of it, but not one tittle there. But if the scripture be defective in expressions, you will supply it by the expressions and practice of the church in the first succeeding ages.

Before you go on, and take much pains to shew me this, give me leave to tell you that I shall not easily recede from scripture in fundamentals, either of faith or church-discipline; in things indifferent of themselves, or in more weighty matters very doubtfully expressed in scripture, I shall always most readily submit to the interpretation of the primitive and universal church, I require both primitive and universal; for I shewed before, that in matters of faith there were some errors very primitive, yet not continued by the universal church, but rejected in succeeding ages. And at the time of the evangelical reformation by Luther, Melancthon, Calvin &c. I can shew some errors generally received in most, if not in all the churches of Christendom, but neither approved nor known by the primitive church: Wherefore I require what you produce should be both primitive and universal, and this to interpret some place of scripture doubtful in itself, not plain. Now as to the business in hand, I cannot yield, that the scripture is very doubtful in it, or scarce doubtful at all; for though in scripture it is not *in terminis* said, presbytery and episcopacy are both one and the same order, yet the same circumstantial expressions are (as I have shewed) so strong and many, that they are equivalent to a clear expression *in terminis*. Secondly, This is not a matter of any indifferency, but of vast and dangerous consequence, if mistaken, That a church without such bishops as you require cannot be truly called a church, and so we shall exclude many godly reformed churches: For if bishops be of such a superior distinct order as you pretend, if the power of ordination be inherent in them only, then where no bishop no true priests ordained, where no priests no sacraments, where no sacraments no church. Wherefore I humbly beseech you be not too positive in this point, lest thereby you do not only condemn all the reformed churches, but the scripture and St Paul also; who tells us, That the scripture is sufficient to make us wise unto salvation, both in matters of faith and works also, to instruct and thoroughly furnish us to every good work: and will any deny this of ordination to be both a good and necessary work, seeing that the powerful preaching the word and administration of the sacraments depend upon it? Wherefore I dare not by any means suspect the scripture defective in this weighty affair; yet, to shew you our willingness to hear all things, let us hear what you can tell us from antiquity.

The first you bring is Epiphanius, three hundred years after the apostles, from whom the main objection is drawn against the identity of order, and shot as a cannon ball against us beyond all possible resistance, but you will find it to be a mere tennis-ball. Epiphanius, making a catalogue of hereticks, puts in Aërius for one, who was an Arian, and moreover held that bishops and priests were of one order, and of equal dignity and authority, and that a presbyter had power to ordain, confirm, and, in short, to act any thing equal with a bishop. That he was an heretick is apparent, being an Arian; nay, I shall not scruple to yield unto you that he was an heretick in this his assertion concerning episcopacy and presbytery, (as we now understand them;) I say, the assertion contains heresy in one part but not in every part, viz. That the bishop and other presbyters are of equal authority and power to act: This may, in some sense, be called heresy, for it is against apostolical constitution declared in scripture, therefore an heresy; and if you can shew me from scripture as

much against identity of order, I shall brand him for an heretick in that also; but being sure there is no such thing in scripture, there can be no heresy in affirming the identity. I fully agree with Tertullian, we can make no judgment *de rebus fidei, nisi ex literis fidei*, of matters of faith, but from the writings of faith, that is, the scripture, and therefore I shall never be pulled from this pillar of truth. The scripture is our compleat rule of faith; no opinion is heretical and damnable which is not against that. Now, good reader, I pray take notice that Epiphanius was a very godly bishop in the main, but yet a very choleric man, as appears in that his fierce contest with John, Bishop of Constantinople, and his bitter expressions therein, which I do not mention in disparagement of this holy man, but only give the reader a caution to remember, that passionate men do sometimes censure more severely than there is cause: Epiphanius being a bishop, and finding the authority and dignity of episcopacy much disparaged by Ærius being an Arian heretick, falls upon him sharply for this his opinion also, wherein he was in part much to be condemned, as I freely confess'd before, but not in the very point now in question; nor doth Epiphanius himself condemn him in this particular as an heretick, but only in the gross, to which I freely give my vote. But you will tell me, that a man of a far milder temper, St Austin, doth also enrol Ærius among hereticks. I know it well, but I desire you to know that St Austin doth not lay this to his charge as an heresy, for he saith only thus: Ærius also was an heretick, for he fell into the Arian heresy, and he added some opinions of his own; then St Austin recounts several of his opinions, whereof this was one, That he affirmed there was no difference between a bishop and a presbyter; where, I pray you observe, St Austin gives us the reason why he ranks him with hereticks, viz. because he fell into the Arian heresy; then follows; And he added some opinions of his own: St Austin calls these opinions not heresies, for he doth not say he added more heresies of his own. Secondly, I pray you observe, St Austin makes no mention of his affirming the identity of order, but only this, That there was no difference at all between bishop and presbyter, wherein I will condemn Ærius as well as you. But as for the identity of order, 'tis well known that St Austin is noted by Medina, a papist writer, and others, to incline to this opinion; but for my part, I think the words quoted from St Austin do not express any opinion one way or other to this purpose, but are only a compliment to St Hierom, who was but a presbyter; yet in humility, St Austin being a bishop, acknowledges him to be his superior in many things. But I desire you to take notice of another very remarkable and most worthy passage of St Austin, who tells us plainly that we are not to read him, or any other author ever so holy, or ever so learned, with any obligation to submit to his or their opinions, unless they prove their opinions by scripture, or convincing reasons. So then, had Ærius been declared both by Epiphanius and St Austin also, to have been a heretick in this very particular of identity of order, yet they bringing neither scripture nor any reason at all, but merely a bare narrative of Ærius and his opinions, not so much as calling his opinion in this particular, heresy, much less offering proofs for it; by St. Austin's rule we may, with great civility to them and great confidence in the truth, still affirm the identity of order.

But how will I answer that objection taken out of St Hierom, who, say you, was as great a leveller of bishops with priests as any (and therefore whatever comes from him, you may be sure is extracted from him by the powerfulness of undeniable truth) yet he confesses that bishops have the authority of ordination more than presbyters. A man may smile to see this used as an argument for the pre-eminency of bishops, which is directly against it: For St Hierom having discours'd of the quality and identity of presbyters and bishops, and having brought many arguments from scripture to prove that bishop and presbyter was only two names for one and the same office; for

a further confirmation hereof asks this question, I pray what doth a bishop do more than a presbyter except ordination? Plainly intimating thereby, that this could make no such distinction of eminency in them above presbyters: I beseech you consider, Do not presbyters perform offices of a higher nature than ordination? Presbyters are ordained ambassadors for Christ, to preach his holy gospel for the salvation of souls; they are under Christ, mediators between God and the people to make intercession for them; they administer the sacrament of baptism, wherein the children of wrath are regenerated and made the children of God, and heirs of eternal life; yea, they administer the sacrament of the Lord's supper also, the most transcendent act of religion and christian dignity, whereby we are made partakers of the body and blood of Christ: And what doth a bishop more than these except ordination? Which, being no sacrament, sure is inferior in dignity to the other mentioned acts, and therefore cannot elevate them to a higher degree. Judge now, I beseech you, whether this question makes *pro* or *con*: Are not such questions always tending to disparagement? When any man is boasting his power and authority, should I come and ask, What can you do more than others, unless it be in this or that poor business not worth speaking of? Would he not take this as an affront? Wherefore it cannot enter into my head, that St Hierom intended by this question to express any superior order above the priesthood, but plainly the contrary, viz. That bishops, having no other power distinct from priests but ordination, this could be no argument for a distinct and superior order. And now I desire my reader, if he understand Latin, to view the epistle of St Hierom to Evagrius, and doubtless he will wonder to see men have the confidence to quote any thing out of it for the distinction between episcopacy and presbytery, for the whole epistle is to shew the identity of them. Before I chanced to read this epistle, as I was of the erroneous opinion, that bishops were a distinct order, but so convinced by this epistle, as I was forced to submit to a change: And I farther desire my reader to observe the various fate of St Hierom and Ærius: Ærius is reviled as an heretick for affirming this identity of order; Hierom passes for a saint, and a great doctor of the church, though he affirms the very same as fully as Ærius, or any man can do; and therefore it may be my fate to be reviled as Ærius was; but our Saviour bids us rejoice and be exceeding glad when we are reviled for his name's sake, (or for his word's sake, sure all is one) for great is our reward; and so I proceed.

But there lies yet a great objection made by our good Bishop Hall: he tells how that Callathus, a presbyter of Alexandria, took upon him to ordain others; and that afterwards, in a council of a hundred bishops in Egypt, their ordination was declared null, because ordained by a presbyter: From this and some other such instances, the bishop would prove that the order of presbyters is not capable to ordain, therefore bishops are a distinct order. I am sorry so good a man had no better a proof for his intended purpose. It seems he quite forgot how that the famous council of Nice, consisting of above three hundred, made a canon, wherein they declare, that if any bishop should ordain any of the clergy belonging to another bishop's diocese, without consent and leave had of that bishop to whose diocese they did belong, their ordination should be null. You see then the irregular ordination of a bishop is as null as the irregular ordination of a presbyter; therefore the irregular bishop and the irregular presbyter are of the same order, of the same authority, neither able to ordain. Is it not most evident by this, that 'tis not their order but commission that makes them capable to ordain? sure an irregular bishop is of the same order with the regular: Is the line of his diocese, like a conjurer's circle, within it he is a bishop, without it he is none? No, but within it he hath commission given him to ordain, without it no commission, no nor to act in his own diocese beyond his commission, which is to ordain only the clergy of his own diocese, and within his own diocese. Can any thing be plainer? Callathus then be-

ing but a presbyter, and under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Alexandria; his taking upon him to ordain presbyters was highly irregular and insolent, and therefore most justly declared null. I desire the papistical school-divines, with their manifold indelible characters, to observe here, how easily the councils dash'd out the indelible character of presbyter imprinted on the souls of these men irregularly ordained; they made a clear rasure, not one tittle of it left. And could they so easily cancel the gift of the Holy Ghost? I leave my school-men to find out how this rare feat was done; and I proceed to add a canon taken from a council at Antioch concerning Chorepiscopi, much to our purpose.

When the apostles had settled bishops in every city, with authority of ordaining and governing the several churches or congregations within the circuits of those cities, some were very large, and therefore in process of time, when more were converted to the faith, and the congregations increased more in number, and at greater distance than the bishop himself could well have the oversight of, the bishop chose some principal men for his assistance, and, dividing a great circuit into several lesser circuits, placed these men as overseers under him; and these were called Chorepiscopi, that is, country bishops, and were much after the manner of our rural deans. Those Chorepiscopi, country bishops, being thus settled in authority to govern the pastoral priests in their circuits, took upon them to ordain more priests than occasion required, which the chief bishops took very ill at their hands, as a great lessening to their supreme authority; and, to prevent it for the future, a canon was made in the council of Antioch, about the year 340, to forbid these country bishops to ordain any priests. Now I pray you observe, these Chorepiscopi were either really ordained in the order of the chief bishop or not; if they were as full bishops as he, (as really they were) why might they not ordain priests as well as he? The chief bishop answers, because he gave them no commission. Whereby you see that the power of ordaining priests was annexed no more to bishops than to priests, unless the bishops received a new commission to ordain, as well as a new ordination. If it be answered, that these Chorepiscopi were mere priests sent forth to have inspection only over other priests, then I pray observe, that these Chorepiscopi being mere priests, took upon them to ordain other priests; which certainly had been madness for them to do, had they then such a belief of bishops as is now required. They might as well have undertaken to create stars in the heavens: For if bishops only have received a divine power from Christ and his apostles to ordain priests, he that hath not this divine power of ordination can no more ordain a priest, than a man without the divine power of creation can create a star, both are impossible in nature: from whence it must follow, that these country bishops were directly mad in undertaking to ordain priests, having received no such divine power from Christ, his apostles, or their successors: But if we take these country bishops for sober godly persons in their right wits (as doubtless they were, being selected for that office) they must needs believe that, being priests alone, they had power to ordain other priests; and also believed, that the bishops, having made them overseers and governors in their little circuits, they had also received thereby commission to ordain as well as to govern, and were as little bishops under an archbishop, for such really they were; so that I can't in charity censure them so much as of contumacy in taking upon them more than (they thought at least) they had commission to act: I doubt not the chief bishop would be wary enough not to employ any contumacious persons. I conclude then, first, that it was only a mere mistake, an easy and pardonable mistake of their commission. Secondly, that in those times it was not thought an impossible thing for bare priests, no bishops, to ordain other priests, for then certainly they would never have undertaken it. And I confess myself of their opinion, and can't but so continue till I see more reason to the contrary.

And I hope my reader will see what weak proofs are brought for this distinction and superiority of order, no scripture, no primitive general council, no general consent of primitive doctors and fathers, no not one primitive father of note speaking particularly and home to our purpose; only a touch of Epiphanius and St Austin upon Arius, the Arian heretick, but not declared, no not by them, an heretick in this particular of episcopacy; so that I myself declare more particularly against him than these fathers do, accusing him of heresy in part of his affirmation concerning bishops, though not in every part.

I shall conclude this business by giving my poor judgment drawn from the preceding arguments. I find in scripture that the priesthood is a holy order, into which no man is to thrust himself unless he be called; I do not find that deaconship hath an inferior part in it, or episcopacy above it, but that it is compleat and entire in it self, and that it may involve many administrations in one and the same order, and sometimes many in one and the same person. St John was an apostle, an evangelist, a prophet, a pastor, a teacher, an ordainer, (which we call bishop) all these gifts he had by one and the same spirit, in one and the same priesthood. Christ himself was of this order, a priest for ever after the order of Melchizedeck, that is, both king and priest, these were his offices; he is called also the bishop of our souls: Was this in Christ a distinct and superior office or order of his priesthood, who will presume to affirm this? And Christ told his apostles, "as my Father sent me, so send I you;" Christ therefore made them also kings and priests, as St John tells us, Rev. i. Our Saviour's kingdom was not of this world, no more was that of the apostles; our Saviour's office of priest and bishop was one and the same, so was that of the apostles; and they ordained and sent others, as Christ ordained and sent them; there was no distinction or diversity of order in Christ and his apostles, no more was there in those who were ordained and sent by the apostles, though there might be diversity of gifts or administrations; all were not evangelists nor prophets, some had the gift of tongues, some of prophecy, some of miracles, some of discerning spirits; and some such gift I conceive they might have whom the apostles constituted superintendent overseers, bishops over the rest, endued especially with the gift of discerning and judging of men, and therefore fit to be entrusted with the ordaining of others, for which there needed no new order, but the enlargement only of their commission to ordain, to oversee and govern those that were ordained. And these, as I said before, being settled in this eminent manner over the rest, were called by that name in Greek which signifies as much, and which we in English call bishop; and by degrees this name was wholly appropriate to them. In this order the apostles left the church at their death, and in this order their successors continued it (as in duty sure they ought) from time to time near one thousand five hundred years without any interruption. Wherefore for any to alter this way of government, or to take upon them to ordain, not being chosen this way to it, they would be guilty of great rashness and high presumption; and I thank God, I am as zealous for the preserving this primitive way as any man, yet I cannot by any means consent to them who would have episcopacy to be a distinct order, for the reasons before given; nor can I think the ordination of a priest made by priests invalid, for though it ought not to be done, (but only of necessity) yet being done 'tis valid, and certainly may without any crime be done by any priest, by shipwreck or any such chance cast into a country where there were none commissioned to ordain; in such a case he might and ought to ordain other fit persons for the service of God and preaching of the gospel. For who can doubt but that the substance is to be prefer'd before ceremony? And as St Paul approved of the preaching of Christ out of envy rather than no preaching, so doubtless to ordain out of order is better than no ordination, and the church of Christ be deprived of preaching, pray-

ing, and administering the sacraments, and all other pastoral duties ; so great necessity may well excuse any irregularity : Yet where order can possibly be observed, it ought to be, for God is the God of order : Wherefore he that wilfully transgresses against order, transgresses against God, and shall " receive to himself damnation : " for, if to resist the ordinance of man only in human and temporal things be damnation, much more is it to resist an apostolick ordinance in things spiritual and divine.

Concerning Deacons.

Having thus stated and united the two pretended distinct orders of episcopacy and presbytery, I now proceed to the third pretended spiritual order, that of deaconship. Whether this of deaconship be properly to be called an order or an office I will not dispute, but certainly no spiritual order, for their office was to serve tables, as the scripture phrases it, which in plain English is nothing else but overseers of the poor, to distribute justly and discreetly the alms of the faithful ; which the apostles would not trouble themselves withall, lest it should hinder them in the ministration of the word and prayer. But as most matters of this world, in process of time, deflect much from the original constitution, so it fell out in this business ; for the bishops, who pretended to be successors to the apostles, by little and little took to themselves the dispensation of alms, first by way of inspection over the deacons, but at length the total management, and the deacons, who were mere lay-officers, by degrees crept into the church ministration, and became a reputed spiritual order, and a necessary degree and step to the priesthood, of which I can find nothing in scripture and the original institution, not a word relating to any thing but the ordering of alms for the poor. And the first I find of their officiating in spiritual matters, is in Justin Martyr, who lived in the second century. He relates, that when the bishop had consecrated the bread and wine for the Lord's Supper, the deacons took it from him and delivered it to the lay-communicants there present, and carried it also to the faithful that were absent, hindred, I guess, from coming by sickness, or some other good excusing cause. In the beginning, when the congregations of the faithful were small, the bishop himself delivered the communion to them, but at length encreasing to great numbers, it would have taken too much of their time for the bishop to have delivered it to the whole congregation, so the deacons were made use of as fit persons for this matter ; for in those days there was always a communion in the assemblies on the Lord's-day, and the laity that day brought their alms and presents with them, which were delivered unto the deacons to dispose of to the poor by the bishops direction, and therefore the deacons receiving from their hands their charitable benevolence, were thought the fittest to return again to their hands the consecrated mysteries being part of their offerings. But 'tis evident this was not yet come to be the general practice of all churches, but only in Greece, where Justin Martyr lived ; for Tertullian, who lived in Africk some years after Justin, declares that the custom there was to receive the blessed sacrament from the hands of the bishop only, whom he calls the president, that is, whosoever was chief in the assembly whether bishop or presbyter : But yet I confess that this custom of the deacons delivering the blessed sacrament, or at least one part of it, viz. the chalice, by degrees became the custom in most churches in after ages ; and so passing from one thing to another, in time they came to administer the sacrament of baptism, and at last to the ministration of the word, the business which the apostles peculiarly reserved to themselves, and which the bishops also for a long time reserved so entirely to themselves as it was thought a great insolence for any, even for the presbyters, to take upon them to preach in presence of the bishop. Valerius, Bishop of Hippo (as Possidius relates) was sharply rebuked by his fellow bishops for

suffering St Austin, then but a presbyter, to preach before him. I know sometimes it was suffered also in other churches, but very rarely, where the bishop himself was of weak abilities for the work, and had some presbyters under him very eminent. And so it was with Bishop Valerius and St Austin, a person of great note in those days. And thus you see in process of time how strangely things alter from their original institution, the bishops omit preaching and become servants of tables, and the deacons from serving of tables step up into the pulpit and became preachers. But Petavius takes upon him to prove deaconship a spiritual order, and brings us a more early author for it than Justin, that noble martyr, mentioned before Ignatius; who, in his Epistle *ad Tralli*, calls deacons (as Petavius conceives) ministers of the mysteries of Christ. Here I find that, which I often lament, learned men to go on in a track one after another, and some through inadvertancy, some through partiality, take many passages of ancient authors quite different from their meaning, as here, all following the first erroneous interpreter of Ignatius. Whoever first translated this epistle of Ignatius, sure this fancy of deacons run much in his head, otherwise he could never have found them here, for 'tis evident the word *diaconus* in this place relates to the presbytery newly before mentioned, telling the people they ought to be obedient to the presbyters as to the apostles of Christ; (then follows) "You must therefore please them in all things, being ministers in the mysteries of Christ." Mark, I beseech you, "you must therefore;" is not "therefore" a particle relating to what went before, viz. to the presbyters, otherwise the speech is very absurd. Should I say, presbyters are as the apostles of Christ, therefore you must in all things please the deacons, were it sense? No, but just, *Deus in cælo, ergo baculus in angulo*; but to say the presbyters are as the apostles, therefore you must please them in all things, being the ministers of the mysteries of Christ, as the apostles were; this is very good coherent sense: And so run the words of Ignatius; but the weak interpreter mistaking the word *diaconus*, ran into this error, and many learned men without any consideration have run after him. I grant the word *diaconus* is often set for deacons specifically distinguished from presbyters; but 'tis very often set for all ministers in general, apostles, bishops, presbyters, as you find frequently in scripture. St Paul in one epistle, viz. 2 Cor. twice styles himself and other apostles *diaconous*. And I do the more wonder at the interpreter's mistake in this place, because by the following words Ignatius here excludes the specifical deacons, saying, "not the ministers of meats and drinks." Now we know the specifical deacons were ministers of meats and drinks to the poor; it was their proper work, for this very end they were chosen and for no other, as appears evidently in the Acts; and therefore Ignatius saying, "not the ministers of meats and drinks," directly excludes such deacons, and the word *diaconus* must necessarily be taken in the larger sense, and relate to the presbyters before mentioned, therefore please them in all things, being the ministers of the mysteries of Christ, not of meats and drinks for the poor. Whoever understands the Greek, and will see, must needs see the truth of what I affirm. But Petavius, intoxicated with this spiritual order of deaconship, turns all this round quite another way, according to the working of his fancy. And so he doth some places of scripture as little to his purpose as this. He tells us out of the Acts, that Philip and Stephen, both deacons, were preachers of the word, that is a spiritual work, therefore belongs to a spiritual order. I would gladly know who informed Petavius that Philip, who preached to the eunuch, and afterwards went about preaching to others, was Philip the deacon, and not rather Philip the apostle, as seems to me far more probable; for Philip the deacon was by his office to reside at Jerusalem and take care of the poor; thither the alms of the faithful were sent to relieve the saints at Jerusalem. But you farther urge, surely Stephen was a deacon; and let Philip also, if you please, it signifies little to the purpose. Sure, I can shew out of scripture, preachers

that were in no spiritual order, neither presbyters, nor deacons neither, as Aquila, and Priscilla his wife too, and Apollo likewise, to whom they both preached and instructed him more fully ; sure they did not ordain Apollo a deacon, nor can I believe any of the apostles ordained him deacon, and sent him forth to preach before he was well catechised in the word ; he was not so much as baptized in Christ, but knew only the baptism of John ; if not baptised, surely not ordained deacon, yet he prevailed, and mightily convinced the Jews. It is in reason strange, though in practice common, to see how men wedded to an opinion, think whatever they read speaks to that, so fathers, doctors, all clink as they think. In the primitive time, all, both men and women, did preach the gospel, taken in a large sense, as St Peter calls " Noah a preacher of righteousness," that is, they endeavoured to instruct all they conversed with in the faith of Christ and godliness, for which many, both men and women, suffered martyrdom. Wherefore, though Philip the deacon and Stephen preach the gospel, it signifies nothing to the spirituality of the deaconship, seeing that thousands of lay-men and women also did the like. And so the apostles laying their hands on those chosen to be deacons, signifies as little to this purpose. Do not we find that Paul laid his hands on the converted disciples at Ephesus, and they received the Holy Ghost, and prophesied, yet none of them ordained either presbyter or deacon. And sometimes the apostles laid their hands on those that were already ordained, both presbyters and apostles also, as on Barnabas and Paul, when they were sent forth to preach. This laying on hands was a ceremony used on several occasions, I need not mention more, they are obvious to any that read the scripture. 'Tis evident then from scripture, that the first institution of deacons was a mere lay-office, I will not say a prophane office (as some too grossly and irreverently have termed it) but a pious and honourable office in the church of God, to serve tables, to take care of God's poor ; but (as I have shewed) in process of time it became quite another thing, and so different from the original institution, as it made Chrysostom, and divers other great and good men, doubt whether the apostles did not constitute two sorts of deacons, some for this lay-office, some for spiritual offices : Had Chrysostom consulted only scripture, he would never have doubted nor dreamed of two sorts of deacons, there being no mention at all but of one ; but he seeing the practice of the church (which he was unwilling to condemn) so different from that one apostolical institution of deacons ; this so confounded the good man that he knew not well what to make of it, and, willing to piece scripture and the present practice together, to put a new patch upon an old garment, made the rent the wider, rending the deaconship in two pieces, which of old was but one, only to serve tables ; which office he that used well purchased to himself a good degree, a good esteem, and so it might be a recommendation to the degree of priesthood, though no necessary step to it. And so we find that holy deacon and most renowned martyr St Lawrence was made a priest, but continued afterwards in that same office of deacon unto death, which he suffered in a most cruel manner, laid on a gridiron over coals, rather than he would give up the treasury of the church and alms to the poor, to the covetous cruel tyrant. This holy deacon Petavius brings to prove, that deacons, by virtue of that order only, did minister in holy things, telling us that St Ambrose mentions how he did distribute, in the Lord's Supper, the blood of Christ, to the communicants under bishop Xistus. Whereas St Ambrose tells us how he consecrated the blood of Christ, which plainly shews how untruly Petavius deals with us, and that St Lawrence was a priest, not a bare deacon ; for neither Petavius, nor ever any other, allowed deacons the consecration of these sacred mysteries. Wherefore, seeing the scripture allows deacons, as deacons, no more than serving of tables for the poor, whatever else ministration is allowed them is by human authority, not divine, and their office or order, which you please to call it, being about temporal things, must be temporal not

spiritual. And so I leave them to their proper office of serving tables, not finding in scripture any thing more belonging to them.

Concerning Confirmation.

Confirmation, or some such thing, is so necessary, that, for want of due execution thereof, persons extremely unfit are admitted to the holy table of the Lord's Supper. I fear a quarter of the communicants of this nation do not sufficiently understand the true meaning of these holy mysteries, the due preparation for them, the benefits, the damages, in worthily or unworthily receiving them: This I affirm upon experience, having, by way of discourse, questioned many both of low and high degree, where one would little expect such ignorance. And by reason of this gross ignorance in due preparing and conscientious receiving, this blessed cordial and medicine of the soul (of power in itself to cure all our diseases if rightly applied) is turned into our destruction and damnation of the soul. For this holy sacrament rightly apprehended, would strike a terror into the soul and a dread of sin, but men receiving it without any regard into their sinful souls, the beams of grace which this sun of righteousness brings with it, harden their dirty hearts, and make them afterwards unsensible of any horrid abomination whatsoever. And all this is occasioned by the want of some fit person of authority to examine youth of all degrees, ever so high or ever so low, before they are admitted to the Lord's table. For there being many poor ignorant curates, many unconscientious careless ministers, many overawed by the superior quality of their parishioners, some cannot, some will not, some dare not, search into the requisite abilities of persons to be admitted. All which was prevented in the primitive times of Christianity, when able and holy bishops were elected, and therefore revered and obeyed in all spiritual matters by the greatest as well as by the least. These diligently and publicly before the congregation, at set times of the year, chiefly at Easter, examined all those who had been converted to the faith from infidelity that year, and all those who, baptised in the faith, desired admittance to the Lord's table; and upon approbation and confirmation of the bishop, fit persons only were publicly baptized by him, and at the church door, as soon as churches were built, where the baptistry was placed, and then brought into the church and admitted to the Lord's table: And no inferior minister did either baptize or administer the holy communion, unless it were by the bishop's order on urgent occasions. These things are very well known to the learned who are conversant in Ignatius's epistles, Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Cyprian, and other succeeding writers. And, in short, nothing was done of any moment, as is plain in Ignatius, but by the bishop's directions. But at length the number of Christians growing great, and multitudes of children daily born, and an opinion growing up also that it was absolutely necessary for the salvation of children not only to be baptized, but also to receive the holy communion before death, it was impossible for the bishop to be at hand to perform all, or to give particular order for all: necessity forced every priest in his cure to perform these offices. Yet, in process of time, the opinion of the necessity for children to receive the holy communion before death declining, and few or none admitted till the age of discretion, and the necessity of baptism for children still continuing, the bishops suffered still all ministers to baptize, but resumed to themselves again the power of confirming and licensing youth to the holy communion. And bishops only for a long time executing this office, it grew by degrees into an opinion that bishops only were capable to do it, and that confirmation was a sacrament, and such a sacrament as inferior priests, supposed then also to be of an inferior order, were not to meddle with. What errors will men, yea learned men, car-

ried along with a crowd, slide into, not willing to stand in opposition with a multitude, especially when countenanced by the bishop their superior. And then succeeding learned men having in their infancy sucked in the error, continue it in their riper learned years, and endeavour to defend it as a certain truth, and at last it passeth for an article of faith necessary to be believed. Thus have I laid out before you the true state and progress of this business of confirmation.

Now, I pray, consider first, suppose confirmation to be a sacrament, and to be administered by the bishop only, and none to be admitted to the Lord's table till confirmed, how is it possible for a bishop of so large a diocese as some of ours are (some extended three or fourscore miles, many forty or fifty) personally to confirm half the youth in a diocese, if he duly examine each one, as is most fit and necessary? We see how this is performed in their triennial visitations; not a quarter of those who are admitted ever come to the bishop, and yet the crowd is great: What is then done to those that come? They are asked by the bishop, whether they believe and will perform those things their godfathers and godmothers affirmed and promised for them at their baptism? they answer yes, and so are confirmed: But what those things are, whether they understand and can give a good account of those things, not a word of this. Oh but the curate, who presents those children to the bishop, assures him that they are fully instructed for it; this is the thing we complain of and desire to be redressed, that it may not be left to the discretion and care of every curate, seeing what pitiful creatures are by them admitted. And do we not see sometimes (the curate desiring to please the fond mother) children confirmed so young as cannot, without a miracle, be of a capacity to understand those divine mysteries? Besides, it may often happen that a pious child well fitted for the holy sacrament, and perchance being weak, earnestly desires it before his death, yet must stay some years 'till next visitation, or take a long journey to the bishop, for which he may want strength or means to support him. But in the primitive times the bishop confirmed every year; their diocess also was very narrow, so that access to him was quick and easy, and the work was as easy to the bishop, yea and easy also to their inferior curate, to instruct and prepare them; for parents and masters did then, according to their bounden duty (the great neglect whereof in these days will find sore punishment at the last day,) made it their chief care to instruct their servants and children from their infancy in the principles of religion.

You see how impossible it is for a bishop in a large diocess and triennial visitation to perform this necessary work as it ought; and therefore, in the second place, consider how necessary it is for the bishop to appoint some discreet conscientious ministers (as our dean rurals should be) in several circuits, to examine and license to the Lord's table: For I pass it as granted, that confirmation is no sacrament, and if it were, why may not priests, not bishops, perform it? Certainly there is not one word in scripture forbidding it, or any colourable pretence against it, nor can I discover the least ground of reason to forbid it; inferior ministers performing other offices superior to it, and certainly equal to it, though it were a sacrament, which our church denies. There is nothing in the world can be pretended, but that in the beginning bishops did only perform it. To this I answer, that from the very beginning there were no other priests but bishops, as I have shewed you, and then bishops did all other ministerial duties, preach, pray, baptize, catechise; and in succeeding ages, when there were several inferior priests, not bishops, all but confirming was ever transmitted to them; and to deacons also preaching, praying, and baptizing, nay baptizing tolerated in necessity to midwives, (I would gladly see any such thing in antiquity) and shall confirming, the meanest of all these, be denied priests? You will tell me there have been decrees in some councils to forbid it: And will you be bound up to all the decrees of councils, without scripture or any reason for

them? If once we leave scripture, and hearken to the doctrine of men, ever so holy, ever so learned, ever so primitive, we shall soon be wheedled into the papists religion, and many other errors which the papists themselves now reject, as I have declared at large before; and therefore I forbear saying more now to this purpose, but proceed to a third consideration, What will be the best means to prepare youth for the receiving the holy communion in every cure, and then present them to such as are appointed to license them?

In the first place, I humbly conceive it will be necessary to add unto the catechism a short and plain paraphrase upon every sentence in the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and Ten Commandments, and particularly to explain every unusual hard word therein; for those general questions at the end of them do not so sufficiently open the understandings of the weaker or duller youth, as that they know how to apply those generals to each particular sentence; but many youths, who can most readily say the catechism to a tittle, yet understand many words no more than if they were Greek, and scarce are able to give you the meaning of any sentence in their own words: And although they have all perfectly by heart, as we say, yet have very little in their heads and understandings; and so a parrot may be well nigh as capable of the Lord's Supper as some of those.

In the next place, I must tell you, that I fear as much ministers of the best parts as those of the meanest for this necessary work of catechizing, lest both have the same effect, though they act extremely different, the one talk non-sense, the other above common-sense, both of them confounding the brains of the poor youths, who understand neither of them. I have heard some learned ministers call the youth together, ask a few Catechism questions, which the boys answering readily, are commended and dismissed: And then begins this learned man a profound lecture, shaped according to his own large dimensions, at which both boys and men also for the most part gaze as at a prodigious monster of learning; and perchance some of them say to themselves the same that Festus said to St Paul, "The man is besides himself, much learning hath made him mad." Sure he doth not know where he is, not in an university school of divinity, but in an assembly of weak and silly youth (who must "be fed with milk, and are not capable of strong meat,") where it were better for him, with St Paul, "to speak five words with his understanding, that by his voice he may teach others also, than ten thousand words in an unknown tongue," or in such English as they understand no more than an unknown tongue. I humbly beseech these men to attend to the form and phrase of the gospel, and mark what kind of matter and language the divine oracle used in preaching it, even to the learned Scribes and Pharisees, and to learn of him who was "lowly in heart, and came not to seek his own glory but the glory of Him that sent him." I desire them also to read the latter end of the first chapter of 1 Cor. and the beginning of the second, and learn from thence to speak the wisdom of God in the weak and foolish way of preaching, to instruct and gain the weak and foolish, yet wise unto God. Really no man that hath not made some experience can believe how strangely weak and dull thousands both of boys and men also are in apprehending spiritual matters: So that a man had need to study much how to fit their weak heads with a suitable discourse, and hath as much need of great patience also to repeat every thing again and again, and even beat it into their heads. I have observed, that Plato's manner of many short and plain questions and answers to effect much; and likewise familiar similitudes from things within their own occupation and knowledge. And now, to encourage them to this toilsome work, I beseech them to consider that the souls of these weak simple ones cost our Saviour as dear as those of the philosophers, and are as dear to him, yea it seems dearer, seeing St Paul tells us in the place before cited, that he calls more of them to salvation; and therefore they ought

to be as dear to our Saviour's ministers, and to be chiefly called and sought by them; and then they shall be sure to have their reward from this our lowly Saviour.

In the last place, I conceive it necessary to consider, what course may be taken to bring all to catechising: For I have heard some pious ministers much complain, that they have used their utmost endeavours, yet cannot effect it; and it can never be expected, that many of the youth will come, unless compelled by parents and masters; of whom many are so careless, many so covetous, as they think every hour lost, which is not spent on their worldly affairs; so that the parents and masters need compulsion as well as their children and servants. And, considering how this necessary work of catechising hath been neglected for many years past, it is much to be feared that the aged need it as much as the youth. But would parents and masters well consider the great advantages that would accrue to them, even in their worldly concerns, they would be very zealous to come themselves, and both see and hear their youth catechised, and bred up in piety and godliness; the want whereof hath bred that great undutifulness in children, that sloth and falseness of servants, which we sadly behold in this degenerated age. And let me mention once again the strict account parents and masters must give to God for so great neglect to those committed to their charge. Wherefore, unless some fitter expedient can be found, I humbly conceive it would have some effect, if such careless parents and masters were not admitted themselves to the holy communion, who were faulty in this kind: For though many of them are not very zealous of the holy communion, could easily pass it by, yet for reputation sake they would not easily incur the being rejected; and doubtless many of them would be moved thereby, and the example of some would be followed by others, and so by degrees the number would increase: And when catechising by this means begins to grow in fashion, it would quickly be taken up by all. God be merciful to us, that religion in many is chiefly for fashion sake! yet I hope, by God's assisting grace, religion, beginning though but in fashion, would end at last in true devotion, at least in many, if not in all. However it is good that God should publickly be glorified, the publick would speed the better for it, though the private hypocrites suffer punishment in the end. God in his mercy turn their hearts that they may escape.

Of Church Government.

My last particular which remains yet to be handled, is that of the authority of bishops to govern as well as to ordain. And, in the first place, who can but wonder to see men so zealous in assuming to themselves the sole power of ordination, so much neglect, and even wholly abandon the power of the keys, that of excommunication, so high and so dreadful; which, though by great abuse in latter times is made very contemptible, yet in the original institution and primitive practice was very terrible: A power to deliver men over unto Satan, that prince of darkness, to take full possession of their souls, and sometimes of their bodies also, both being sentenced thereby to the everlasting flames of hell; and likewise a power to release penitent souls from the chains of darkness and slavery of the devil, and restore them to the glorious liberty of the sons of God, whereby they are made heirs of the kingdom of Heaven. If there be any thing under Heaven fit to stir up the ambition of mortal men, yea an ambition in angels themselves, sure this is it. Who can forgive sins but God alone? said the Jews to our Saviour Christ, swelling with indignation against him for this, though they had seen many divine miracles wrought by him, yet this is so peculiar, so transcendent a divine act, as not to be offered at by any but the great God Jehovah himself. But blessed for ever be this great and gracious God, who, by his eternal Son

Christ Jesus, hath given this power unto men. As his heavenly Father sent him with this power, so sent he his apostles with this power, saying unto them, "Whosoever sins ye remit they are remitted unto them, and whosoever sins ye retain they are retained:" Wherefore, if there be any thing in the office of a bishop to be stood upon and challenged peculiar to themselves, certainly it should be this; yet this is in a manner quite relinquished unto their chancellors, laymen, who have no more capacity to sentence or absolve a sinner, than to dissolve the heavens and earth, and make a new heaven and a new earth, and this pretended power of chancellors is sometimes purchased with a sum of money,—their money perish with them! Good God! what a horrid abuse is this of the divine authority! But this notorious transgression is excused, as they think, by this, that a minister called the bishop's surrogate, but is indeed the chancellor's servant, chosen, call'd, and placed there by him, to be his crier in the court, no better, that, when he hath examined, heard and sentenced the cause, then the minister (forsooth) pronounces the sentence. Just as a rector of a parish church should exclude any of his congregation, and lock him out of the church, then comes the clerk, shews and gingles the keys, that all may take notice that he is excluded. And by this his authority the chancellor takes upon him to sentence not only laymen, but clergymen also brought into his court for any delinquency, and in the court of the arches there they sentence even bishops themselves. This is a common practice in later ages, but in St Ambrose's time so great a wonder, as with amazement crieth out against the emperor Valentinian, when he took upon him to judge in such cases, saying, "When was it ever heard of since the beginning of the world, that laymen should judge of spirituals?" (he means in spiritual things, not in temporal things, which, by the laws of God and man, belongs to the lay-magistrate). This was that Ambrose of whom the other great emperor, as good as great Theodosius, father to this Valentinian, affirmed, Ambrose only knew how to act the bishop, and with all Christian humility this great emperor submitted to the sentence of this godly bishop, denying him entrance into the church for the cruelty acted by his soldiers at Thessalonica by his command; and upon his great repentance and penance performed six months together, and after publick confession in the church, was again absolved and joyfully received into the church. Oh my great and reverend fathers of the church the bishops, whom Christ hath cleaved to his high dignity, whom he hath made kings and princes, whom he called to sit with him on his throne, there to give sentence of eternal life or eternal death, can you so tamely part with this prime flower of your crown, yea the very apex of it, and suffer the lay-members of the church to usurp this divine authority? Or how can you answer it to the chief bishop of our souls, if any one soul, by the ill management of the chancellors, should certainly perish? shall not his blood be required at your hands? But perchance some of you will answer, 'tis no fault of yours, but of your predecessors, who gave such patents unto them, as by virtue thereof they exercise this power, will ye nill ye. 'Tis too true, and I remember, when the bishop of Wells, hearing of a cause corruptly managed, and coming into the court to rectify it, the chancellor, Dr Duke, fairly and mannerly bid him be gone, for he had no power there to act any thing, and therewithall pulls out his patent sealed by the bishop's predecessor, which, like Perseus's shield with the Gorgon's head, frighted the poor bishop out of the court. Where are you parliament-men, you great sons of the church so zealous for episcopal government, yet suffer this principal part of it to be thus alienated and usurped by lay-men? If an unordained person take upon him to pray or preach, with what outcries and severe laws, and with great reason also, you fall upon him; but if an unordained person take upon him to judge, sentence, and excommunicate bishops themselves, you calmly pass it over, take no notice of it. You will answer me, the bishops themselves pass it over, yea and pass it away from themselves

and their successors for to gratify their kinsmen, or their friends, or perchance for worse, why then should you stir in it? Truly in this you have reason, and the blame must wholly light on them who do not use all possible endeavour, and implore your assistance also, to rectify this great abuse, which subverts the main pillar of the church government; this is no ceremonial matter, but the very substance of it,—they strain at gnats and swallow camels. For chancellors to intermeddle in probates of wills, payment of tythes, or any other temporal matters, there is no scripture nor reason to condemn, but rather to condemn bishops, should they interpose in such matters for which they have no commission from scripture, but rather a prohibition from that saying of our Saviour, “Man, who made me a judge or a divider over you?” But then it will be necessary that chancellors have also power of temporal punishments, and not prophane that high and holy power in sordid earthly things; certainly a greater prophaneation than to convert a church into a chandler’s shop; the church is a bulk of earthly materials, and holy only by dedication; the power of its keys is in its nature and original constitution spiritual and divine: If Uzza, being no Levite, suffered death for laying hold on the sacred ark of God to support and hold it up, what shall he suffer who, being no consecrated person, lays hold on the sacred authority of God to pull it down from heaven to earth? Let them consider. *

But let not the civilians for this account me an enemy to their profession, which no man honours more, and I heartily wish much more of our civil matters were committed to their management and judicature. The civil law is that whereby most of the civilized world is govern’d, and if we will have commerce with them, ’tis fit we should be able civilians to deal with them, which will never be unless they have profitable and honourable places to encourage them for it; all that I beg of them is, that they would contain themselves within their own sphere of activity, and not intrude into spiritual and sacred matters committed by Christ and his apostles to the priesthood. And so I beg of priests, that they would not intermeddle in lay and temporal offices. In the time of popery, when spiritual and temporal affairs were all intermingled and horribly confounded, as the pope took upon him secular and imperial authority, directly contrary to the word and constitutions of Christ, so the bishops and priests under him intermeddled in all secular affairs and offices, and in this nation bishops were frequently lord-keepers, treasurers, chief justices, vice-roys, what not? which is strangely unapostolical and unlawful, their vocation being wholly spiritual, as men chosen out of the world should have no more to do with it, than of mere necessity for food and raiment. Wherefore to take upon them any lay-office, which must needs take them off much from the ministry of the word and prayer, is doubtless very sinful; For, Acts vi. we find the apostles gave themselves continually to these, and would not endure to have these interrupted by that charitable office of taking care for the poor; certainly then they would have much less endured, yea, abominated to be taken off by temporal and worldly offices. And on this occasion let me speak a word to those of the inferior clergy, who take upon them to study and practise physick for hire; this must needs be likewise sinful, as taking them off from their spiritual employment; had they studied physick before they entered holy orders, and would after make use of their skill among their poor neighbours out of charity, this were commendable, but being entered on a spiritual and pastoral charge, which requires the whole man, and more; to spend their time in this, or any other study not spiritual, is contrary to their vocation, and consequently sinful, and to do it for gain is sordid, and unworthy their high and holy calling. But *necessitas cogit ad turpia*, the maintenance of many ministers is so small, as it forces them, even for food and raiment, to seek it by other employment, which may in some measure excuse them, but mightily condemn those who should provide better for them: Whether this belongs not to king and parliament, I