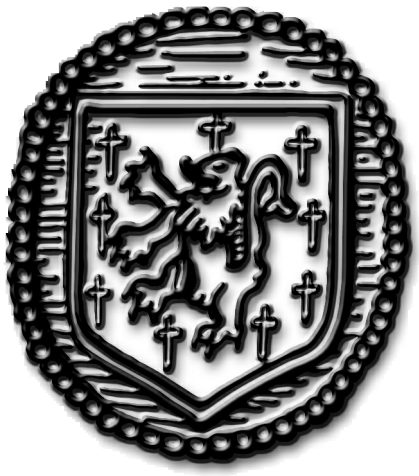
The Complete Writings of Roger Williams

Volume 2

THE

Complete Writings of

ROGER WILLIAMS



Roger William's Personal Seal

THE

COMPLETE WRITINGS

OF

ROGER WILLIAMS

VOLUME TWO

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Thou hast given a *standard* to them that fear thee;
that it may be displayed because of the truth.
-- *Psalm 60:4*

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THE WALDENSIAN EMBLEM
lux lucet in tenebris
"The Light Shineth in the Darkness"

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THE COMPLETE WRITINGS OF ROGER WILLIAMS

IN SEVEN VOLUMES

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by Reuben Aldridge Guild, A.M.
Key into the Language of America
Edited by James Hammond Trumbull, A.M.
Letter of MR. JOHN COTTON
MR. COTTON'S Letter Examined and Answered
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Edited by Reuben Aldridge Guild, A.M.

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PUBLISHER'S NOTE

All the new matter contained in this edition, including Prof. Miller's essay, will be found in VOLUME SEVEN. This arrangement was adopted in order to retain the original pagination of the first six volumes and thereby maintain the integrity of the voluminous references to the *Narragansett Edition* in the literature about ROGER WILLIAMS. The reader is directed to the inclusive Table of Contents for guidance.

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VOLUME 2 - CONTENTS.

MASTER JOHN COTTON'S

ANSWER TO

MASTER ROGER WILLIAMS.

EDITED BY

Rev. J. Lewis Diman.

EDITOR'S PREFACE.

MASTER John Cotton's *Anſwer to Maſter* Roger Williams cloſes a diſcuſſion which deſerves the careful ſtudy of all who would correctly eſtimate the controverſy between Williams and the Colony of Maſſachuſetts Bay. Nowhere elſe will the grounds of that controverſy be found exhibited with ſuch diſtinctneſs. The tract, which is here for the firſt time reprinted, is entitled therefore to a conſpicuous place in any collection relating to Rhode Iſland hiſtory.

About ten years before this Reply was written, at ſome time it would ſeem, during his "ſorrowfull Winters flight," Williams received from Cotton the Letter which was the immediate occaſion of the diſcuſſion. In this Letter, which has been reprinted in the firſt volume of the *Publications of the Narraganſett Club*, Cotton ſought to convince Williams of the inſufficiency of thoſe grounds which had led him to reject the fellowſhip of the Maſſachuſetts churches. When Roger Williams was in England, in the year 1643, he probably ſubmitted this Letter to the inſpection of his

friends, and by ſome means, but without his authority, it was put in print. His "formerly intended Anſwer," which he had withheld with the hope that the views of Cotton might in time be modified, was accordingly preſented "to the ſame publike view," and in turn drew from Cotton this elaborate Reply. At this time Cotton and Williams were engaged in their more celebrated controverſy reſpecting Toleration, and it therefore happened that this tract, which was publiſhed in 1647, made its appearance in the ſame volume with *The Bloudy Tenent Waſhed*, a circumſtance which has cauſed it to be ſometimes confounded with a work with which in reality it had no connection. It was the earlier written of the two, although in the volume it has the ſecond place.

In this diſcuſſion is furniſhed the fulleſt illuſtration of opinions which ſeem to have been more prominent than any other in the mind of Williams from the day when, according to his own ſtatement, he had declined to become Teacher of the Boſton Church, "becauſe he durſt not officiate to an unſeparated people," until the day when he renounced the communion of his own church in Salem, becauſe they would not ſunder themſelves from the churches in the Bay. Like Robinſon, of Leyden, in the earlier ſtage of his career, like Canne, of Amſterdam, Williams urged a renunciation of all fellowſhip with the Church of England, a poſition which the Puritans of Maſſachuſetts had never taken, and which they now wholly refuſed to ſanction. Whether Williams, during his five years reſidence in Maſſachuſetts, rendered himſelf more obnoxious by his advocacy of Religious Toleration, or by his advocacy of the principles of Rigid Separation, is a queſtion upon which the Reply of Cotton will be found to throw great light.

The preciſe queſtion at iſſue between Cotton and Williams was, whether it was "neceſſary to Church-fellowſhip, that the members admitted thereunto, ſhould all of them ſee, and expreſſly bewaile all the pollutions which they have been defiled with in their former Church-fellowſhip, Miniſtry, Worſhip, Government, &c." This theſis Williams zealouſly advocated, and Cotton oppoſed. While acknowledging and deploring the corruptions that exiſted in the Church of England, Cotton maintained that the "mixt fellowſhip of ignorant and prophane perſons doth not evacuate or diſannul their Church eſtate—the ſtore of malignant and noyſome humors in the body, yea the deadneſſe and rottenneſſe of many members in the body, though they make the body an unſound and corrupt body, yet they do not make the body no body." And touching the corruption in Government, Cotton denied that the "church eſtate" of the Pariſhes had been extinguiſhed by the national eſtabliſhment; nor would he acknowledge that there had been any pollution in a miniſtry marked by ſuch "Truth of Godlineſſe, Truth of Miniſterial Gifts, Truth of Election and acceptance unto Office by true Churches of Chriſt, Truth of ſound, and wholeſome, and ſoule-ſaving Doctrine, and Truth of holy and exemplary Converſation."

While, however, the main ſubject diſcuſſed in this Reply relates to the diſpute between the Nonconformiſt and the Separatiſt, its chief hiſtorical value ariſes from its incidental diſcuſſion of another queſtion reſpecting which the moſt oppoſite opinions are ſtill maintained.[1] A ſingle alluſion in Cotton's Letter to the "ſentence of civill baniſhment" paſſed againſt

[1] "In reviewing the meaſures which led to the baniſhment of Roger Williams, we find that they all proceeded from the firmneſs with which, upon every occaſion, he maintained the doctrine that the civil power has no control over the re-

Williams, drew from the latter a ſtatement of the grounds of that decree, as they were "rightly ſummed up" by one of the magiſtrates after the trial. This ſtatement, which Williams thus endorſes, with Cotton's extended obſervations in reply, furniſhes the moſt complete account that now remains of theſe proceedings, and by the two perſons whoſe teſtimony is on every account entitled to the greateſt weight. Although Cotton ſomewhat harſhly criticiſes the ſtatement made by Williams, yet a careful compariſon of the two accounts will ſhow that they do not involve any eſſential contradiction.

According to Williams the grounds of his baniſhment were the following opinions:

"1. That we have not our Land by Pattent from the King, but that the Natives are the true owners of it; and that we ought to repent of ſuch a receiving it by Pattent.

"2. That it is not lawfull to call a wicked perſon to Sweare, to Pray, as being actions of Gods Worſhip.

"3. That it is not lawfull to heare any of the Miniſters of the Pariſh Aſſemblies in England.

"4. That the Civill Magiſtrates power extends only to the Bodies, and Goods, and outward ſtate of men."[2]

This account of the matter Cotton terms "a fraudulent expreſſion of the Particulars," for each one of theſe four opinions, he affirms, was known to be held by many who were ſtill tolerated in the full enjoyment both of civil and religious liberty. It was not for the mere holding of opinions, but for the turbulent aſſertion of them, that Roger Williams had

ligious opinions of men." Arnold, *Hiſt. R. I.*, vol. 1, p. 41.

"The ſound and generous principles of a perfect freedom of the conſcience in religious concerns can ſcarcely be ſhown to have been involved in this diſpute." Palfrey, *Hiſt. New England*, vol. 1, p. 413.

[2] Mr. Cotton's *Letter Examined and Anſwered*, pp. 4, 5.

been baniſhed. According to Cotton's "beſt obſervation and remembrance," the two things which cauſed the ſentence of baniſhment againſt Williams were: firſt, his violent and tumultuous carriage againſt the Patent; and ſecond, his vehement oppoſition to the Oath of Fidelity. The ſentence was however haſtened by the courſe of Williams in inducing the Salem church to join with him in remonſtrating againſt the action of the magiſtrates, and in afterwards renouncing communion with it.[3]

But what at once arreſts attention in theſe two ſtatements is, that they both agree in regarding as entirely ſubordinate that opinion of Williams reſpecting the province of the Civil Magiſtrate which has been ſo frequently repreſented as the chief ground of difference between him and the Maſſachuſetts Colony. If we had ſimply Cotton's ſtatement, there might be ſome grounds for ſuſpecting that his account of the proceedings, like the account which he gives in a ſubſequent paſſage in this Reply, of his connection with the Antinomians, was not quite ingenuous, but the fact of chief importance is that Williams himſelf, while enumerating, among the four cauſes of his baniſhment, his opinion reſpecting the power of the Civil Magiſtrate, yet nowhere, throughout the whole courſe of this diſcuſſion, lays any ſpecial emphaſis upon it. It is certainly ſurpriſing, if this opinion were, as has been aſſerted, the real ground of all theſe proceedings, that he himſelf ſhould here have claimed for it ſuch an entirely ſubordinate importance.

With ſuch ſubſtantial agreement between the two moſt important witneſſes there ſeems no longer any room for controverſy reſpecting the baniſhment of Williams. The queſtion has been involved in difficulty by attaching an undue

[3] Cotton's *Anſwer*, pp. 27–29.

ſignificance to the ſtatement made by Winthrop reſpecting the action of the Court in July, 1635. In the charges preſented at that time there is no alluſion either to the Patent or to the Oath, an omiſſion which can as little be reconciled with the ſtatement of Williams as with that of Cotton, unleſs we ſuppoſe that the final ſtep was baſed not on thoſe charges ſimply, but on the whole antecedent action of the Court, an inference which the phraſeology of the decree of baniſhment fully juſtifies.

The explanation of the proceedings againſt Williams, preſented in this diſcuſſion, receives additional ſupport from the unprejudiced teſtimony of Edward Winſlow, who in reply to a ſtatement of Gorton in *Simplicitie's Defence* that Williams had been baniſhed "for diſſenting in ſome points about church government," ſays: "I know that Mr. *Williams* (though a man lovely in his carriage, and whom I truſt the Lord will yet recall) held forth in thoſe times *the unlawfulneſſe of our Letters Patents* from the King, &c., would not allow the *Colours of our Nation*, denyed the *lawfulneſſe of a publique oath as being needleſſe to the Saints, and a prophanation of Gods name to tender it to the wicked*, &c. And truly I never heard but he was dealt with for theſe and ſuch like points: however I am ſorry for the love I beare to him and his, I am forced to mention it, but God cals mee at this time to take off theſe aſperſions."[4]

That the grounds aſſigned by the Maſſachuſetts magiſtrates for their proceedings againſt Williams were not however the real grounds has been frequently aſſerted, and even in the very year in which Williams publiſhed his Anſwer to Cotton's Letter, a leading Preſbyterian writer alleged the treatment of Williams and the Antinomians as inſtances of

[4] *Hypocriſie Unmaſked*, by Edward Winſlow. London, 1646. pp. 65–66.

perſecution for opinion's ſake, under the pretext of preſerving the public peace.[5] But even could it be proved that Williams had rendered himſelf obnoxious by his opinions, rather than by his diſorderly expreſſion of them, there would ſtill be no reaſon whatever to ſuppoſe that the opinions which rendered him thus obnoxious were connected, to any conſiderable extent, with his views reſpecting religious toleration. The unmiſtakable tone of this whole diſcuſſion ſhows that his rigid principle of Separation was what made him ſuſpected and diſliked. Were it then required to go back of the reaſons publicly aſſigned to diſcover a deeper motive for the treatment which he received, this attitude, maintained from firſt to laſt, would furniſh the real explanation.

Beſides illuſtrating with ſo much clearneſs the career of Roger Williams, this Reply of Cotton diſcuſſes a moſt perplexing chapter of his own hiſtory, in the vindication which he eſſays of his conduct during the Antinomian controverſy. It alſo throws much light upon his perſonal relations with the leading men among the Engliſh puritans, and by the freedom of its ſtrictures provoked from Bradford a rejoinder which ſets in clear relief the poſition of the Semi-ſeparatiſt church at Plymouth. A paragraph at the beginning enables us to aſſign with certainty to the pen of Williams the anonymous *Queries* which were publiſhed in the ſame year with his Anſwer; and the account of the origin of the name Puritan will attract the notice of the curious reader.[6] The conflicting ſtatements reſpecting the date of the decree of baniſhment pronounced againſt Williams are fully diſcuſſed in the Appendix.

[5] *Antapologia*, by Thomas Edwards.— London, 1644, p. 166.

[6] In the note on this paſſage, (ſee page 119, note 88,) I ventured, on the authority of Bayle, to correct Cotton for calling Sanders a Jeſuit, but I have ſince obſerved that Ellis does the ſame. See Ellis's *Letters*, 2d Series, III, 92.

That the views expreſſed in the foregoing pages do not in the leaſt affect the fame of Roger Williams as an aſſerter of the Rights of Conſcience need ſcarcely be obſerved. Like every great leader of opinion he reached by degrees his own concluſions. It does not detract from his real merit to ſuppoſe that his exile was a powerful means of modifying his relative eſtimate of truths. How far, indeed, the miniſter of Salem cheriſhed, in his own mind, thoſe diſtinctive principles the ſubſequent avowal of which ſhed ſuch enduring luſtre upon the founder of Providence, cannot be determined, but that he did not make them prominent in his controverſy with the Maſſachuſetts Colony may be fairly inferred from the tenor of the following diſcuſſion. Nor is this inference without ſupport from another and wholly independent ſource. No one can ſuppoſe that Thomas Lechford was ignorant of the facts, or that he had any motive for ſuppreſſing them. On the contrary it would have exactly fallen in with the deſign of the *Plain Dealing*, to give due credit to an advocate of toleration, yet it is a ſignificant circumſtance that Lechford, while alluding to thoſe views of Williams reſpecting the Chriſtian miniſtry, which are ſo ſharply commented upon in this Reply, does not connect his name with any aſſertion of Religious Liberty.

J. L. D.

PROVIDENCE, March, 1867.

A REPLY TO
Mr. VVILLIAMS his EXAMINATION;
And Anſwer of the Letters ſent to him by JOHN COTTON.

SUch a Letter to ſuch a purpoſe, I doe remember I wrote unto Mr. *Williams* about halfe a ſcore yeares agoe. But whether this printed Letter be a true Copie thereof, or no, I doe not know; for the Letter being ſent ſo long ſince, and no Copie of it (that I can finde) reſerved by me; I can own it no further then I finde the matter and ſtyle, expreſſing the judgement which I then had of his cauſe of Separation, and the affection I bare unto his perſon. And for ought I ſee, the Letter doth not unfitly expreſſe both.

But how it came to be put in print, I cannot imagine. Sure I am it was without my privitie: and when I heard of it, it was to me unwelcome Newes, as knowing the truth, and weight of *Plinies* ſpeech, *Aliud eſt ſcribere uni, aliud omnibus.* There be who thinke it was publiſhed by Mr. *Williams* himſelfe, or by ſome of his friends, who had the Copie from him. Which latter might be the more probable, becauſe himſelfe denieth the publiſhing of it: and it ſticketh

in my mind that I received many yeares agoe, a refutation of it (in a brotherly and ingenuous way) from a ſtranger to me, but one (as I heare) well affected to him, M^r. *Sabine Stareſmore.*[1] To whom I had long agoe returned an Anſwer, but that he did [2] not direct me where my Letter might find him. But I doe not ſuſpect M^r. *Stareſmore*, nor M^r. *Williams* himſelfe to have publiſhed it; but rather ſome other (unadviſed) Chriſtian, who (having gotten a copie of the Letter, tooke more libertie, then God alloweth, to draw forth a private Admonition to publick notice in a diſorderly way.

But howſoever it was, upon the publiſhing of this Letter, M^r. *Williams* hath taken occaſion (as is obſerved by ſome who are acquainted with the Spirit of the man) firſt to riſe up againſt me (the meaneſt of many) in the examining and refuting of that Letter: And then (as if one *Mordecai* were too ſmall a morſell) to ſtand forth againſt all the Churches, and Elders in *New-England*, in his *Bloudy Tenent:* And then (as if *New-England* were but an handfull) from thence to riſe up againſt the choiſeſt Ornaments of two populous Nations, *England* and *Scotland*, the reverend Aſſembly of Divines, together with the reverend Brethren of the Apology: and above them all to addreſſe himſelfe (according to his high thoughts) to propound Quæries of high concernment (as he calleth them) to the High and Honourable Court of Parliament. So a Bird of prey, affecting to ſoare aloft, getteth firſt upon the top of a molehill, and from thence taketh his riſe from Pale to Tree, till he have ſurmounted the higheſt Mountaines.

[1] Governor Bradford has preſerved in his Hiſtory, pp. 39, 40, an intereſting letter of Stareſmore, dated Sept. 4, 1618, "From my chamber in Wodeſtreete Compter," a priſon in which he was then confined. He was a friend of Cuſhman and Carver, and was aſſociated with Henry Jacob in founding the Independent Church in London, in 1616. Neal's Puritans, vol. 1, page 476.

In this apprehenſion of him they are the more confirmed, as having diſcerned the like frame of Spirit in his former walking amongſt us. Time was, when of all Chriſtian Churches, the Churches of *New-England* were accounted, and profeſſed by him, to be the moſt pure: and of all the Churches in *New-England*, *Salem* (where himſelfe was Teacher) to be the moſt pure. But when the Churches of *New-England* tooke juſt offence at ſundry of his proceedings, he firſt renounced communion with them all: and becauſe the Church of *Salem* refuſed to joyne with him in ſuch a groundleſſe Cenſure, he then renounced communion with *Salem* alſo. And then fell off from his Miniſtery, and then from all Church-fellowſhip, and then from his Baptiſme, (and was himſelfe baptized againe) and then from the Lords Supper, and from all Ordinances of Chriſt diſpenſed in any Church-way, till God ſhall ſtirre up himſelfe, or ſome other new Apoſtles to recover, and reſtore all the Ordinances, and Churches of Chriſt out of the ruines of Antichriſtian Apoſtaſie. 3] But for mine own part, whatſoever thoughts, others (who ſeeme to know him well) have conceived of his Spirit, and courſe in theſe things: yet I chooſe rather to leave all Judgement of him, to Him, who ſeeth, and ſearcheth the heart, and reines, and will one day bring every ſecret thing, yea the very thoughts, and intents of the ſonnes of men, unto righteous Judgement.

Nevertheleſſe, ſeeing the Tree is knowne by his fruits, I doe rather apprehend, that he knowing the Spirit breatheth where he pleaſeth, and conceiving himſelfe to have received a clearer illumination and apprehenſion of the eſtate of Chriſts Kingdome, and of the purity of holy Communion, then all Chriſtendome (yea even Chriſtendome it ſelfe is an unſavoury word to him) he therefore taketh it to be his duty, to give

publique advertiſement, and admonition to all men, whether of meaner note, (ſuch as my ſelfe) or of more publique note, and place, of the corruptions of Religion, which himſelfe obſerveth in their judgement, and practice. Neither would I deny, *but that* (to uſe his own words) *God ſometimes ſtirreth up one Elijah againſt eight hundred of Baals Prieſts, one Micajah againſt foure hundred of Ahabs Prophets; one Athanaſius againſt many hundreths of Arrian Biſhops; one John Hus againſt the whole Councell of Conſtance; Luther and the two witneſſes againſt many thouſands*, &c. And therefore I durſt not neglect, much leſſe deſpiſe any advertiſement from him alone againſt ſo many; provided that the word of the Lord be found in his mouth, or pen. I come therefore to conſider, and weigh what he ſaith to my ſelfe, without prejudice againſt him, and (I hope) without partiality to my ſelfe.

In his Epiſtle to the Reader, before his Anſwer to my Letter, he utterly miſconſtrueth the ground and ſcope, whether of this Letter, or of any other Letters of mine to him, *As if I wrote upon occaſion of the griefe, which ſome friends conceived, That ſuch an one as himſelfe (publickly acknowledged to be godly, and dearely beloved) ſhould be expoſed to the mercy of an howling Wilderneſſe, in froſt and ſnow*, &c. *And that my intent in writing was, to take off the edge of Cenſure from my ſelfe, by profeſſing in ſpeech, and writing, That I was no procurer of his ſorrowes*, &c. In which few lines, foure things preſent themſelves, which if they be cleared, may cleare both his miſtake of himſelfe, and his cauſe, and together therewith the innocency of others.

1. When he ſpeaketh of himſelfe as one publickly acknowledged, [4] to be godly and dearely beloved, I did never perceive juſt ground for ſuch publick acknowledgement. For before my coming into *New-England*, the godly-wife, and

vigilant Ruling-Elder of *Plymouth* (aged Mr. *Bruiſter*) had warned the whole Church of the danger of his ſpirit, which moved the better part of the Church, to be glad of his removall from them into the Bay. And in the Bay not long before my coming, he began to oppoſe the Kings Patent with much vehemency, (as he had done at *Plymouth* before;) which made the Magiſtrates to feare, they ſhould have more to doe with him, then with a man publickly acknowledged to be godly, and dearely beloved.

Soone after, when upon hearing of ſome Epiſcopall, and malignant practiſes againſt the Countrey, the Magiſtrates, and whole generall Court thought meet to take a tryall of the fidelity of the people (not by impoſing upon them, but) by offering to them an Oath of Fidelitie, That in caſe any ſhould refuſe, they might not betruſt them with place of publick Command; He vehemently withſtood it, partly becauſe it was Chriſts Prerogative to have his Office eſtabliſhed by Oath; partly, becauſe an Oath was a part of Gods worſhip, and many of the people being carnall (as he conceived) it was not meet to put upon them an Oath, which was an act of Gods worſhip. Upon ſuch, and the like diſturbances to the Civill Peace (for upon this ſundry refuſed the Oath, and upon their refuſall the Magiſtrates could not diſcerne how the people ſtood affected to the publick Safety) therefore, both the Magiſtrates, and ſundry Elders (though I doe not remember my ſelfe to be one) adviſed the Church of *Salem*, not to proceed to chooſe him (as they were then about to doe) unto office in the Church. Yea and in *Salem* (though many of the Members were taken with him) ſome judicious amongſt them told me, they could not chooſe him to office, becauſe they found him to be (contrary to the Apoſtles rule) *αὐθάδης*, ſelfe-pleaſing, ſelfe-full, or (as it is tranſla-

ted) ſelfe-willed, *Tit.* 1. 7. Nevertheleſſe, the major part of the Church made choice of him. Soone after the Church of *Salem* made ſuit to the Court, for a parcell of Land, which lay commodious for them: But the Court delayed to grant their requeſt, becauſe the Church had refuſed to hearken to their motion, in forbearing the choice of M^r. *Williams*. Which ſo much incenſed M^r. *Williams*, that he cauſed [5] the Church to joyne with him, in writing Letters of Admonition to all the Churches, whereof any of the Magiſtrates were members, to admoniſh their Magiſtrates of their breach of the rule of Juſtice, in not granting their Petition. Which following upon all the former diſturbances raiſed by M^r. *Williams*, it ſtill aggravated the former jealouſies, which generally, the judicious ſort of Chriſtians had conceived of his ſelfe-conceited, and unquiet, and unlambelike frame of his Spirit: So that from firſt to laſt of my knowledge of him here, I cannot ſee, nor ſay, what ground he had of ſuch a Teſtimony, as he giveth of himſelfe, as of one *publickly acknowledged to be godly, and dearely beloved.*

2. *When he maketh it an occaſion of my excuſe of my ſelfe, (from having an hand in his ſufferings) that ſome friends were much grieved that ſuch an one ſhould be expoſed to ſuch ſufferings.*

I do beleeve indeed, that not ſome friends onely, but many were grieved at the unmoveable ſtiffneſſe, and headineſſe of his Spirit, that expoſed him to ſuch ſufferings.

But he doth not well to ſay, that ſome friends were grieved, that one ſo publickly acknowledged, ſhould be expoſed to ſuch ſufferings; thereby to intimate as if his ſufferings were greater then his deſervings. For neither might ſuch friends be truely called his friends; nor was their judgement of any weight in his cauſe. For they cleaved to him, and his cauſe, not

out of judicious charity, but out of an itching levity, taken with every wind of new Doctrine: which ſoone after appeared. For within a ſhort time, when his new Notions grew ſtale to them, they ſeparated from him, (as he from them) and began to liſten after a more prodigious Minter of exorbitant novelties, (the very dregs of Familiſme) held forth by one M^r. *Gorton*. *Gorton* at firſt arrived in our Bay, and continued a while in our Towne, till a reverend Miniſter in *London*, (M^r. *Walker*)[2] ſent over Directions to ſome friends, to demand an 100.^li. debt of him, which he having borrowed of a Citizen, the Citizen bequeathed it to ſome good uſe, whereof M^r. *Walker* was called to ſome Truſt. But then M^r. *Gorton* departed out of this Juriſdiction to *Plymouth:* and there beginning to ſpread ſome of his Opinions, to the diſturbance of the Church, and fearing diſturbance to himſelfe, he came to *Roade-Iſland*; and there raiſing ſome ſeditious diſturbance againſt the Magiſtrates, he met with publick correction. From thence [6] therefore he went to *Providence*, the place where M^r. *Williams*, (and thoſe ſome friends he ſpake of) ſat downe. But thoſe friends of M^r. *Williams* were ſoone taken with that greater Light, which they conceived was held forth by M^r. *Gorton*.

What kind of light that was came to our view upon this occaſion: One or two of the *Indian-Sagamores*, who lived neare *Providence*, came over into the Bay, to offer the ſubjection of themſelves, and their people, to the Government of the *Engliſh*, hoping by this meanes to avoyde the oppreſſion of the *Narhaganſets* (their potent Neighbours) as alſo of

[2] The Rev. George Walker, for nearly forty years Rector of St. John, the Evangeliſt, in Watling-ſtreet, and a member of the Weſtminſter Aſſembly. The biographer of Gorton queſtions the above ſtatement, as repeated by Hubbard and Cotton Mather, apparently not aware that they both derived it from this nearly contemporaneous account. See Life of Gorton, by J. M. Mackie, in Sparks's American Biography, Second Series, vol. 5, page 324.

Mr. *Gortons* company, who took their lands from them. Afterwards thoſe *Indians* complaining to our Magiſtrates of ſome further injury done to them by Mr. *Gortons* company; our Court ſent over to Mr. *Gortons* company, requiring ſome of them to come over, and ſhew what right they had to thoſe lands, which they had taken from the *Indians*, their Subjects. He and his company in ſtead of coming, or ſending any to cleare their Right, ſent two Books written by ſome of themſelves, full of ſundry hereſies, and malignant blaſphemies, againſt *Chriſt*, againſt his Churches, Miniſters, Sacraments, Cenſures, and Magiſtrates: yet withall offered that if this Court would ſend their Agents over unto them, they would cleare their Right to the Land, which they took from the *Indians*. The Court therefore ſent over ſome, with Commiſſion to Treat with them; and becauſe *Gortons* company had threatened the former Meſſengers with the offer of ſome violence, they therefore ſent as many armed men with theſe, as might ſecure their Agents from injury: And in caſe they refuſed to ſhew the right, and equitie of their cauſe, then to bring ſome of the principall of them, by ſtrong hand, to cleare it heare. When hither they were come, (not to digreſſe to another Story) *Gorton*, deſiring libertie to ſpeak his minde freely, held it forth (as the minde of himſelfe, and his company,) (whereof thoſe of Mr. *Williams* his friends were no ſmall part;) *That Chriſt was Incarnate when Adam was made after Gods Image: For God had but one Image, and that Image was Chriſts. And this making of Adam in that Image, was the exinanition of Chriſt.* But when it was objected, that that exinanition of Chriſt was unto life in *Adam*, but Chriſt was to ſuffer exinanition unto death: He anſwered; *That Chriſt dyed when the Image of God dyed: and the Image of God dyed in Adams fall.*

7] But when it was further objected, That Chriſts death was the Price and Purchaſe of our Redemption; but the fall of *Adam* was not the Price of our Redemption, but the cauſe of our condemnation. He ſtopped, and would neither proceed to cleare his minde further, nor by any meanes be perſwaded to revoke that helliſh blaſphemy. Theſe, and many ſuch like Tenents were vented by him, and his company: and this company was made up of thoſe friends of M^r^. *Williams*, who (as he ſaith) were grieved at his expoſall to the mercy of the Wilderneſſe. Which I thought meet to declare, leſt any ſhould thinke that his ſufferings (conſidering the cauſes of them) were grievous or offenſive to godly mindes.

Where by the way, a ſincere-hearted humble Chriſtian may eaſily diſcerne the vaſt difference between the ſpirit of M^r^. *Williams*, and of *John* the Apoſtle, in relating their ſufferings by way of Baniſhment: *John* was a beloved Diſciple, yea (by way of eminency) the Diſciple whom Jeſus loved: and He, for the teſtimony of Jeſus, was baniſhed by the bloudy Emperour *Domitian*, into the Iſle of *Patmos*, a deſolate Wilderneſſe, deſtitute (for the moſt part) of Inhabitants: yet he maketh no expreſſe mention of his Baniſhment, nor of the howling Wilderneſſe, nor of froſt, and ſnow, and ſuch winter miſeries: *But* (ſaith he) *I was in the Iſle of Patmos for the Teſtimony of Jeſus.* But M^r^. *Williams* being called by a weak man beloved in Chriſt, he aggravateth the baniſhment of ſuch an one as himſelfe, by all the ſad exaggerations, which wit and words could well paint it out withall; to wit, *That he was, onely for the holy Truth of Chriſt Jeſus, denied the common ayre to breath in, and a civill cohabitation upon the ſame common earth, yea and without mercy, and humane compaſſion expoſed to winter miſeries in an howling Wilderneſſe, in froſt, and ſnow, and that amongst Barbarians.* So deeply

affected the ſonnes of men can be in deſcribing their own ſufferings for themſelves, and their own wayes, above what the children of God be in their farre greater ſufferings for the Teſtimony of Jeſus.

3. What cauſes moved the Magiſtrates ſo to proceed againſt him at that time, is fully declared by another faithfull and diligent hand, in another Treatiſe of that matter.[3]

But whereas he ſaith, *He was expoſed to the mercies of an howling Wilderneſſe in froſt and ſnow*, &c.

The truth is, the Sentence of his Baniſhment out of the Patent [8] was pronounced againſt him in the Court before winter; and reſpite was given him to tarry certain weeks (ſix or more) to prepare for his journey.[4]

In the meane time, ſome of his friends went to the place appointed by himſelfe before hand, to make proviſion of houſing, and other neceſſaries for him againſt his coming; otherwiſe he might have choſen to have gone either Southward to his acquaintance at *Plymouth*, or Eaſtward to *Paſcatoque*, or *Aganimticus*. And then the wilderneſſe had been as no wilderneſſe, (at leaſt, no howling wilderneſſe) where men ſit downe under warme and dry Roofes, ſheltred from the annoyance of froſt, and ſnow, and other winter hardſhips.

4. When he ſaith, *That my ſelfe profeſt in ſpeech and writing, that I was no procurer of his ſorrowes.* I doe not beleeve that I made any ſuch profeſſion at all, either in ſpeech, or writing. For it was my ſerious intendment, (if it had been

3 On page 26 Cotton refers again to this Treatiſe, "penned by a reverend faithful Brother, (the Teacher of the Church at Rockſbury.)" This was the Rev. John Eliot, the apoſtle to the Indians, but no mention of ſuch a treatiſe is made by any of his biographers. For further diſcuſſion of this, ſee p. 26, note 9.

4 To appreciate the force of this reply it muſt be borne in mind that the Sentence of Baniſhment was not pronounced November 3, 1635, as ſtated by all the biographers of Williams, and by Arnold, Hiſt. R. I., vol. 1, p. 37, but September 3. See, after, p. 30, note 13. See alſo Maſs. Col. Records, 1, 160.

the will of God to breath in ſuch weake meanes for ſuch an end) to have procured his unfained godly ſorrow for his Errours in Judgement, and for his offenſive diſturbances of Churches, and Common-wealth. But this is that which I have profeſſed, That I had no hand in procuring, or ſoliciting the Sentence of his Baniſhment. And that not for the cauſe, which he noteth in his margent, as if I had ſome reluctancy in my ſelfe, concerning the way of Perſecution.

For 1. I did never doubt, that the way of perſecution, (truly ſo called) that is, the affliction of others for righteouſneſſe ſake, was utterly unlawfull.

2. I did never beleeve, that the ſentence paſſed againſt him was an act of Perſecution.

3. Nor did I ever ſee cauſe to doubt, but that in ſome caſes, (ſuch as this of his was,) Baniſhment is a lawfull, and juſt puniſhment: if it be in proper ſpeech a puniſhment at all in ſuch a Countrey as this is, where the Juriſdiction (whence a man is baniſhed) is but ſmall, and the Countrey round about it, large, and fruitfull: where a man may make his choice of variety of more pleaſant, and profitable ſeats, then he leaveth behinde him. In which reſpect, Baniſhment in this Countrey, is not counted ſo much a confinement, as an enlargement, where a man doth not ſo much looſe civill comforts, as change them. And as for ſpirituall liberties, (liberty [9] of Church Ordinances) they were a burden and bondage to his ſpirit here: And therefore he caſt them off, before they left him; neither doth he to this day, look at it as a way of God, for any Chriſtian man to look after the Ordinances of God in a Church-eſtate at all; As conceiving that the Apoſtaſie of Antichriſt hath ſo farre corrupted all, that there can be no recovery out of that Apoſtaſie, till Chriſt ſhall ſend forth new Apoſtles to plant Churches anew.

But as for the true cauſe why I medled not in his civill Cenſure, it was, chiefly becauſe Civill Cenſures belong unto another Kingdome, then that which we are called to adminiſter: (Civill Cenſures are not the weapons of our warfare:) and partly alſo becauſe I was carried (as ſtill I am) with a compaſſion of his Perſon, and likewiſe of his wife, (a woman as then, of a meek and modeſt ſpirit) who a long time ſuffered in ſpirit, (as I was informed) for his offenſive courſe: which occaſioned him for a ſeaſon to withdraw communion in ſpirituall duties, even from her alſo, till at length he drew her to partake with him in the errour of his way.

But Mr. *Williams* affirmeth, *That in Letters paſt between him, and me, he proved, and expreſt, that if he had periſhed in that ſorrowfull winters flight, onely the bloud of Chriſt could have waſhed me from the guilt of his.*

Anſw. That he did expreſſe ſuch a thing in ſome Letters to me, as I doe not remember it, ſo neither will I deny it: but that he proved it, I may as ſafely deny it, as he boldly affirme it. Could he then have given any ſuch prooſes, doubtleſſe he would not have concealed them now, when he undertaketh to cleare to the world the pretended innocency of himſelfe, and the ſuppoſed iniquitie of his ſuppoſed Perſecutors. How precious the bloud of Chriſt is to me, and how needfull (I bleſſe the Lord) my ſoule knoweth: but that I needed it to waſh away the guilt of any injurious proceedings againſt the bloud of Mr. *Williams*, (I ſpeake it in holy confidence) I never diſcerned it to this day. The prooſes which he alledgeth in the ſequell for my hand in his Baniſhment, I ſhall (God willing) cleare them anon in due place. Meane while, what anſwers I made to him concerning the ſame in other Letters, he wiſely concealeth: but contenteth himſelfe to tell us, that my finall Anſwer was; *That had he periſhed*

in his flight, his bloud had been upon [10] *his own head: It was his ſinne to procure it, and his ſorrow to ſuffer it.*

If this was my finall Anſwer, it ſeemeth I gave him other former Anſwers: what they were I have now forgotten; but I ſuppoſe, had they been inſufficient, or impertinent, I ſhould have heard of them.

But what is amiſſe in this finall Anſwer? The margent noteth it, "*as an unmercifull ſpeech, of a mercifull man.*

But when it ſhall pleaſe the Father of mercies to ſoften the heart of M^r^. *Williams*, and to give him an heart, and eare to hearken unto the wholeſome Counſell of his true friends, he will at length ſee the ſpeech was truly mercifull, as well as the man that ſpake it. *When a Fountaine is opened to Hieruſalem for ſinne, and for uncleanneſſe*, the Prophets who have deceived the people ſhall at length ſee, and acknowledge their errour, and being demanded the cauſe of the wounds in their hands, They ſhall anſwer (each of them for himſelfe) *thus was I wounded in the houſe of my Friends*, Zach. 13. 1. with verſes 4, 5, 6. An heart ſoftened with the Bloud of Chriſt, will judge the wounds of his friends faithfull, *Prov.* 27. 6. I meane, ſuch reproofes for ſinne, which though they may ſeeme to wound, yet wound to heale. *David* thought ſuch ſmiting to be a kindneſſe, yea an excellent Oyle, which doth not breake the head, but heale the heart, *Pſal.* 141. 5.

There is one thing more in his Epiſtle to the Reader, which calleth for Anſwer:

It cannot now (ſaith he) *be juſtly offenſive, that finding this Letter publick,* (*by whoſe procurement I know not*) *I now preſent to publick view my formerly intended Anſwer.*

Anſw. It had not been offenſive to me, that he did preſent his Anſwer to publick view, if he found my Letter publick, without his own, or his friends procurement: eſpecially

if his Anſwer had been returned in words of truth, and faithfulneſſe. Which how farre they fall ſhort of, I hope (by the help of Chriſt) will appeare in the ſequell.

Meanewhile, I feare it is juſtly offenſive to the Spirit of Grace, and Love, That whereas he judged me to allow my ſelfe, and others, to reſt ſecurely in the Doctrine, and Practiſe of bloudy Perſecution, that all this while (even for the ſpace of nine or ten yeares) he ſuffered me to ſleep ſo long ſo quietly under the guilt of ſuch a [11] crying ſinne. Nay, it may ſeeme by his own words, if he had not found my Letter publick, it may be doubted whether ever I ſhould have heard any further word from him hereabouts, at all. If I had been eſteemed as a Brother, ſinne ſhould not have been ſuffered to lie ſo long upon a Brother, *Levit.* 19. 17. If an enemy, yet the very Oxe or Aſſe of an enemy, is not to be ſuffered to lye ſo long groveling under his burden, *Deut.* 22. 4.

But when he addeth in the next ſentence; *That he rejoyceth in the goodneſſe, and wiſedome of him, who is the Father of lights, and mercies, in ordering the ſeaſon of his own preſent opportunitie of Anſwer.*

I confeſſe we on the contrary have cauſe to admire, and adore the wiſdome, and dreadfull Juſtice of God herein, That ſeeing M^r^. *Williams* hath been now as a branch cut off from the Church of *Salem* theſe many yeares, he ſhould bring forth no ſpirituall good fruits in due ſeaſon: and that which he bringeth forth now at the laſt is bitter, and wild fruit: and that in ſuch a ſeaſon, when the Spirit of Error is let looſe to deceive ſo many thouſand ſoules of our Engliſh Nation: So that now their hearts are become as Tinder, ready to catch and kindle at every ſparke of falſe light. Even ſo, O Father, becauſe thy good pleaſure is ſuch, to let looſe this Spirit of Error in the mouth of this Backſlider, in the very houre and

power of darkneſſe: for theſe are the dayes of vengeance; when the Antinomians deny the whole Law; the Anti-Sabbatarians deny the Morality of the fourth Commandement; the Papiſts deny the Negative part of the ſecond Commandement. It is a wofull opportunitie that God hath left M^r^. *Williams* to, now to ſtep in, and deny the Affirmative part of it alſo, (as the Papiſts doe the Negative) and ſo He and the Papiſts to combine together to evacuate the whole ſecond Commandement altogether. For, take away (as M^r^. *Williams* doth) all Inſtituted worſhip of God, as Churches, Paſtors, Teachers, Elders, Deacons, Members, publick Miniſtery of the Word, Covenant, Seales of the Covenant, (Baptiſme, and the Lords Supper) the Cenſures of the Church, and the like, what is then left of all the Inſtitutions, and Ordinances of God, which the Lord eſtabliſhed in the ſecond Commandement, againſt the Inſtitutions, Images, and Inventions of men in his worſhip? But it is an holy wiſdome, and righteouſneſſe of the Lord, that he that refuſeth the Communion with the Churches of the Saints, ſhould [12] joyne in communion with the enemies of the Saints, even Anti-chriſtians; and that in ſuch a worke, as to blot out and extinguiſh that holy ſecond Commandement of the Law: The violating whereof kindleth the jealouſie of the moſt High: and the obſervation thereof would have opened a doore of mercy to a thouſand Generations! It is no vaine word of our Saviour, *He that ſhall breake one of the leaſt Commandements, and ſhall Teach men ſo to doe, he ſhall be called the leaſt in the kingdome of Heaven.*

This advice would I ſhut up this Point withall, (if I had any hope of an open eare in him to heare it) he that ſeparateth from all Churches, and all Ordinances, let him at laſt ſeparate alſo from himſelfe: and ſo he ſhall then be better

able to diſcerne the way to returne againe unto holy Communion with the Lord, and his people.

Let me conclude this Preface with this Advertiſement to the Reader, who may perhaps marvell, that I now (ſo much againſt my uſuall cuſtome) ſhould lay open the nakedneſſe of another to publick view. I bleſſe the Lord, I am not ignorant, That love covereth a multitude of offences: and that the Diſciples of Chriſt, when they are reviled are taught to Bleſſe. And therefore were the caſe meerely mine own, and all the reproaches and ſlanders caſt upon my ſelfe, had terminated in my ſelfe, I ſhould have been as a deafe man, and as a dumb man that openeth not his lips. But when through my ſides, not onely ſo many Elders, and Churches in this Countrey, who had as much (or more) influence into his ſufferings, as my ſelfe, (and yet none of us any further influence, then by private, and publick conviction of himſelfe, and of the demerit of his way;) yea when Courts of Juſtice ſuffer for Juſtice ſake: yea further, when the Truth and Righteouſneſſe of God alſo ſuffer for inflicting juſt recompence of reward upon the diſturbers of Civill and ſacred Truth, and Peace: and under pretence of maintaining Liberty of Conſcience, Purity of Conſcience is violated, and deſtroyed: In ſuch a caſe as this, juſt it is, and equall, rather that the name of an evill-worker ſhould juſtly ſuffer, then that the name of God called upon Judgement ſeats, upon the Churches of Chriſt, and upon the Miniſters of the Goſpel, ſhould unjuſtly ſuffer for his ſake.

13] To his CHAP. I.

MY Letter to Mr. *Williams*, (which he undertaketh to Examine, and Anſwer) began (it ſeemeth) with this Compellation of him, *Beloved in Chriſt.* For I conſidered, he had been not onely a member, but an Officer of the Church at *Salem:* and though from thence he was then Excommunicate; yet I took the Apoſtles Commandement for a Rule, *Account him not as an enemy, but Admoniſh him as a Brother*, 2 Theſ. 3. 14. If a Brother of the Church, (though caſt out of the Church, yet not caſt out of Chriſt) then in Chriſt, at leaſt in judgement of charity. And if in Chriſt (though but in judgement of charity, yet) in charity to be Beloved.

But (ſaith Mr. *Williams*) *how can it be well-pleaſing to Chriſt, that one beloved in Chriſt, ſhould be ſo afflicted, and perſecuted by himſelfe, and others, (for ſuch cauſes) as to be denyed the common ayre to breath in, and a civill cohabitation upon the ſame common earth, yea and alſo without mercy, and humane compaſſion, be expoſed to winter miſeries in an howling Wilderneſſe?*

Anſw. If Mr. *Williams* may be Judge in his own cauſe, himſelfe hath been perſecuted without mercy, and without humane compaſſion: And which the more concerneth my ſelfe to enquire into, he hath been ſo perſecuted by me, and ſome others; but chiefly (it ſhould ſeeme) by me; for I onely am charged herewith by name: and thoſe others, who ever they were, are not ſo much as deſcribed, much leſſe expreſly named. But ſuch Prieſts, and Perſons, as be thus partiall in the Law, the Holy Ghoſt threatneth to make them baſe, and contemptible in the eyes of all the People, *Mal.* 2. 9. Which the Lord give him to foreſee, and feare, that he may timely prevent ſuch a Judgement.

But to weigh his words particularly: Perſecution is the affliction of another for Righteouſneſſe ſake. Now two things it will be requiſite for Mr. *Williams* to prove, to make good his charge. 1. That the cauſe for which he ſuffered, was a cauſe of Righteouſneſſe. 2. That he ſuffered this Perſecution, which he complaineth of, by me. And to make this latter charge good in ſuch manner as he layeth it upon me, it were further requiſite that he ſhould prove two things more. 1. That my ſelfe was the principall mover and actor 14] in this his Perſecution, (for I onely am ſingled out by name;) 2. That this hath been evidenced to him by two, or three witneſſes at leaſt, if he account me for an Elder of a Church, 1 *Tim.* 5. 19. But whether he account me for an Elder, or no Elder, (I claime no priviledge of Office;) yet I require attendance to an eternall Law of morall Righteouſneſſe; *One witneſſe ſhall not riſe up againſt a man for any Iniquity, or for any ſinne: at the mouth of two witneſſes, or at the mouth of three witneſſes, ſhall every word be eſtabliſhed*, Deut. 15. 15. But on the contrary, if it doe appeare, that the cauſe for which he ſuffered was not for Righteouſneſſe ſake: and that the affliction which he did ſuffer was not put upon him by me at all, much leſſe in any eminent, and ſingular manner, then it will behoove Mr. *Williams* in Conſcience to underſtand, that himſelfe is the Perſecutor, as of other ſervants of God, ſo of my ſelfe eſpecially. For it is a caſe judged by the Holy Ghoſt, that he who mocketh, or reproacheth any of the leaſt of Chriſts little ones, for walking in his way, he is a Perſecutor, *Gal.* 4. 29. It hath been the lot of the faithfull of old to be tryed by cruell mockings, *Heb.* 11. 36. If a man be publickly accuſed to the world as a Perſecutor, in caſe the accuſation be proved true, Perſecution is a cruell, and crying ſinne: but if it be not proved, nor true, the falſe

accuſation is a grievous Perſecution, even a cruell mocking. But I ſhall referre the tryall of his accuſation to the place himſelfe appointed, where he giveth Inſtance of the cauſe of his ſufferings.

Meane while, let him ſuſpend his Marginall note, *That it is a monſtrous Paradox, that Gods children ſhould Perſecute Gods children, and they that hope to live eternally with Chriſt Jeſus in Heaven, ſhould not ſuffer each other to live in this common ayre together.*

For though Gods children may not perſecute Gods children, nor wicked men neither, for well-doing: yet if the children of God be found to walke in the way of the wicked, their ſinne is the greater, becauſe they ſinne againſt greater light, and grace: and their Brethren (in Place) may juſtly afflict them for it: to deprive them, in ſome caſes, not onely of the common ayre of the Countrey by baniſhment, but even of the common ayre of the world by death: & yet hope to live eternally with them in the Heavens with Chriſt Jeſus. Yea what if a child of God were infected with a plague-ſore, or ſome other contagious diſeaſe, may not their Brethren exclude [15] them the common ayre, both of their religious, and Civill Aſſemblies, and yet hope to live eternally with them in the Heavens? Truely there be ſome unſound, and corrupt opinions, and practiſes, (and that of him too) which are more infectious, and contagious, then any plague-ſore.

That other Marginall note of his, (*What Chriſt Perſecute Chriſt in New-England?*) calleth for another Anſwer.

Chriſt doth not perſecute Chriſt in *New-England:* For Chriſt doth not perſecute any at all, (to ſpeake in the proper ſence of Perſecution;) much leſſe doth Chriſt perſecute Chriſt. For though Chriſt may and doth afflict his own members; yet he doth not afflict (much leſſe perſecute) Chriſt in them,

but that which is left of old *Adam* in them, or that which is found of the ſeed of the Serpent in them. For even Satan may fill the heart of Church-members, *Acts* 5. 3. Yea breathe and act in an Elect Apoſtle, *Mat.* 16. 22, 23 And then the Lord Jeſus may afflict in his members, that which he ſeeth in them not of his own.

But he proceeds, and asks further, (*Since* M^r^. Cotton *expecteth farre greater light then yet ſhineth*) *whether upon the ſame grounds, and practice, if Chriſt Jeſus in any of his ſervants ſhall be pleaſed to hold forth a further light, ſhall he himſelfe find the mercy, and humanitie of a Civill, and temporall life, and being with them?*

Anſ. The greateſt light that I expect is not above the Word, much leſſe againſt it: nor is it deſtructive to the Church, and Ordinances of Chriſt, eſtabliſhed according to the Word, but inſtructive of them in the way of the word. If therefore Chriſt Jeſus ſhall come in any of his ſervants, holding forth a further light to us, we truſt, that he that offereth us light, will give us (as hitherto he hath done) eyes to ſee it, and hearts to follow it. Light is diſcernable (through the Grace of the Father of Lights) by the children of light: The Spirit of the Prophets is diſcerned, and judged by the Prophets: Wiſdome is juſtified of her Children: When Judgement returneth to Righteouſneſſe, all the upright in heart ſhall follow it: The Sheep of Chriſt that ſee his face, will ſee his Light, and heare his voyce: his Spirit of Truth will lead them into all truth. And yet becauſe we all know in part, and Prophecy in part, we are taught of God in meekneſſe of wiſdome to inſtruct one another, (till light of Inſtruction be obſtinately rejected;) and to ſuffer [16] one another in differences of weakneſſe, till weakneſſe prove wilfulneſſe, and will not ſuffer Truth to live in Peace.

But what is all this to Mr. *Williams? Hath he therefore not found the mercy, and humanity of Civill, and temporall life, and being amongst us, becauſe Chriſt Jeſus held forth by him a further light unto us?*

So it ſhould ſeeme, or elſe his Quære is nothing to the purpoſe; ſurely if it be a further light which is held forth by him, it is ſuch a tranſcendent light, as putteth out all other lights in the world beſides: as (they ſay) *Majus lumen extinguit minus.* The Churches of Chriſt have been wont to be counted lights, the Miniſtery, lights, the Sacraments, and Cenſures, lights. But this new light held forth by Mr. *Williams*, hath put out all theſe lights, yea and all poſſibilitie of their ſhining forth againe, till the Reſtitution of new Apoſtles. And yet if he had held forth any light from the word of light to manifeſt this great new light to us, truly I hope the Lord would give us hearts, not to ſhut our eyes againſt the light, but to follow the Lambe whitherſoever he goeth, and follow the light of his word whitherſoever it leadeth us. Chriſtian Magiſtrates, they alſo have been wonted to be counted the light of *Iſrael:* and Oaths likewiſe have been thought to give light to diſcerne the end of all Controverſies: But by this new light, we may not accept from the Patents of Princes any light or direction where to ſit downe, with their warrant, and leave, in forreine Plantations: Neither may we make uſe of the light of Oaths between Magiſtrates, and people, to diſcerne of the fidelity and conſtancy of the one to the other in times of danger. Where then ſhall his Marginall Note appeare?

Mr. *Cotton* (ſaith he) *expecting more light, muſt (according to his way of Perſecution) Perſecute Chriſt Jeſus, if he bring it.*

Doth Mr. *Williams* hold me ſo farre forſaken of common ſence, as to fruſtrate, and deſtroy mine own expectations? If

I expect more light, muſt I (according to mine own way) needs Perſecute him that brings it, yea perſecute Chriſt himſelfe, if he bring it? But thus when a mans head runneth round, he thinketh all the Houſe runneth round about him.

But what is my way of Perſecution, according to which, I expecting more light, muſt needs perſecute him that brings it? It is but a few days agoe, ſince there came to my hand a book, publiſhed [17] (as is ſaid) by M^r. *Williams*, and entituled, *The Bloudy Tenent*. In which M^r. *Williams* (without my privity) publiſhed a private Letter of mine, and therewith a Confutation of it, touching Perſecution for cauſe of Conſcience. In my ſtating of that Queſtion, (which he relateth in the 7^th Page of that Book) he declareth my Judgement to be ſo farre from perſecuting any for cauſe of Conſcience, that he layeth it downe for my firſt Concluſion; *That it is not lawfull to perſecute any for Conſcience ſake rightly informed* [*that is to ſay, bringing more, and true light.*]

2. *For an erroneous and blind Conſcience,* (*even in fundamentall, and weighty Points*) *it is not lawfull to perſecute any, till after Admonition once or twice, according to the Apoſtles direction,* Tit. 3. 10, 11. *That ſo ſuch a man being convinced of the dangerous error of his way; if he ſtill perſiſt* (*being condemned of himſelfe,* ver. 11.) *it may appeare, he is not perſecuted for Cauſe of Conſcience, but for ſinning againſt his own Conſcience.*

3. *In things of leſſe moment, whether Points of Doctrine or worſhip, if a man hold them forth in a ſpirit of Chriſtian meekneſſe and love,* (*though with zeale and conſtancy*) *he is not to be perſecuted, but tolerated, till God may be pleaſed to manifeſt his Truth to him,* Phil. 3. 17. Rom. 14. 11, 12, 13, 14.

4. *But if a man hold forth or profeſſe any error, or falſe way, with a boyſterous, and arrogant ſpirit, to the diſturbance of Civill*

Peace, he may juſtly be puniſhed according to the meaſure of the diſturbance cauſed by him.

This is that way of Perſecution which Mr. *Williams* expreſſeth to be mine. In all which I durſt appeale to Mr. *Williams* his own Conſcience, (were it not Leavened with overdeepe prejudice) whether in all this way there be any creviſe opening a doore for the Perſecution of Chriſt himſelfe bringing further light?

Let no man take it amiſſe, that (in the Parentheſis) I intimate, the Conſcience of Mr. *Williams* in this caſe to be leavened with overmuch prejudice. For if extreme prejudice were not predominant in him in this caſe, I ſhould ſtand amazed how a man of underſtanding could out of ſuch Concluſions make up this Inference, which he gives in the Title of the Chapt. *pag.* 7. *That I doe profeſſedly maintaine Perſecution for Cauſe of Conſcience.* I that doe expreſly, profeſſedly deny Perſecution of any, even of Hereticks, unleſſe it be 18] when they come to perſiſt in hereſie, after conviction, againſt conſcience; how can I be ſaid to maintaine Perſecution for Cauſe of Conſcience? But oh the wofull perverſeneſſe and blindneſſe of a Conſcience, when it is left of God, to be ſo farre tranſported with prejudice, as to judge a Cauſe of Conſcience, and a cauſe againſt Conſcience to be all one.

For the ſhutting up of his Chapter, he is pleaſed to Comment upon a phraſe in my Letter, wherein I ſtyled my ſelfe a man of uncircumciſed lips. And he doth acknowledge it to be *an holy Character of an heavenly Spirit, to make an ingenuous, and true acknowledgement of an uncircumciſed lip. Yet* (ſaith he) *that diſcerning Spirit, which God graciouſly vouchſafeth to them that tremble at his Word, ſhall finde, that not onely the will-worſhips of men may be painted, and varniſhed over with the glittering ſhew of Humilitie,* Coloſ. 2. *but even Gods deareſt*

ſervants (eminent for humility, and meekneſſe) may yet be troubled with a ſwelling of ſpirituall pride, out of the very ſence of their humilitie, &c. Humilitie is never in ſeaſon to ſet up ſuperſtition, or perſecute Gods children.

Anſw. I could intreat ſome or other of M^r^. *Williams* his acquaintance (whoſe words may finde better acceptance with him, then mine doe) to perſwade him, not to attribute too much to his own Spirit of diſcerning; which though he truely ſaith, God doth vouchſafe to them that tremble at his word: yet I never read, nor heard, that God did vouchſafe a Spirit of diſcerning to any that are ſo farre from trembling at the word, that they doe not vouchſafe to heare the word from the mouth of ſo many thouſand faithfull Miniſters of the Goſpel. As for me, I deſire not to neglect any word from the mouth of M^r^. *Williams*, (upon what pretence ſoever ſpoken) that putteth me in minde of ſpirituall pride, ariſing out of the very ſence of humilitie. Such ſmiting ſhall not breake my head.

But when he concludeth with this Aphoriſme; *Humilitie is never in ſeaſon to ſet up ſuperſtition, or to perſecute Gods children.*

I deſire it may be conſidered, what is Superſtition? what is Perſecution? and whether my Letter unto him tended to ſet up the one, or to ſet forward the other?

Superſtition is properly *cultus ſupra ſtatutum*, which I ſpeake not from the Etymology of the word, (for I know Latiniſts doe otherwiſe [19] derive it) but from the nature of the thing. And what is Perſecution? It hath been anſwered above, the affliction of any for their Righteouſneſſe ſake. If t appeare in the ſequele, that my Letter tended either to ſet up any worſhip of God, which he hath not appointed, or to afflict any for their Righteouſneſſe ſake, then I will confeſſe

it tended to ſet up Superſtition, and Perſecution: And the humilitie which he acknowledgeth to be expreſſed in my Letter, I ſhall acknowledge to be out of ſeaſon: Meane while, *Affirmanti incumbit Probatio.*[5]

To Chap. II.

His ſecond Chapter is ſpent in anſwering to a double charge, which he ſaith, he obſerveth, I laid againſt him. Though in very Truth, I layd neither of them downe as charges againſt him, but as diſcharges to my ſelfe from expecting that *He ſhould vouchſafe to hearken to my voyce, who had refuſed to hearken both to the voyce of the body of the whole Church of Salem* (whereof he was a member) *and to the voyces of ſo many Elders, and brethren of other Churches.*

But ſuppoſe I did charge him with a double ſinne in refuſing to hearken to this double voyce, (though I did not ſay it was a ſinne:) how doth he diſcharge himſelfe? *For neglect of the former, he excuſeth himſelfe by the charge of his Office, which lay upon him, on a Faſt-day to diſcover to them eleven publick ſinnes, as cauſes of the preſent, and publick calamities. Which moſt of the Church ſeemed at firſt to aſſent unto, untill afterwards, the greater part of the Church (whether for feare of Perſecution, or otherwiſe) was ſwayed, and bowed to practiſe ſuch things, which with ſighes and groanes many of them mourned under.*

5 The curious play upon words at the beginning of this paragraph is characteriſtic of the age. The common derivation of Superſtition is from ſuperſtes. Compare Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, 2, 28: Nam qui totos dies precabantur, et immolabant, ut ſui ſibi liberi ſuperſtites eſſent, ſuperſtitioſi ſunt appellati: quod nomen poſtea latius patuit. Cotton, when at College, was a famous Latiniſt.

But will this indeed diſcharge an Elder of the Church before the Lord, from coming into the preſence of the Church, when they ſend for him, becauſe the greater part of them, *are bowed, and ſwayed for feare of Perſecution, to ſlip, and ſlide, and to ſay and practiſe that, which with ſighes and groanes they mourned under?* Why then, if the Wolfe come, and ſcatter the ſheepe, and they ſlip out of the way, let the Shepheard fly, and leave them; that the word of the Lord Jeſus might be fulfilled; *He that is an Hireling, and not the Shepheard,* 20] *whoſe own the ſheepe are not, he ſeeth the Wolfe coming, and leaveth the ſheepe, and fleeth, and the Wolfe catcheth them, and ſcattereth the ſheepe, Joh.* 10. 12.

Or will it goe for currant Doctrine before the Lord, that if the greater part of a Church fall (through feare, or otherwiſe) into ſinne, and ſuch a ſinne, which they mourne under with ſighes, and groanes, and which in it ſelfe is not hainous, that then they doe *ipſo facto*, ceaſe to be a Church, and utterly to be caſt out? Why then let the Covenant between the Lord and his Church be no more reputed any branch of the Covenant of Grace, but let it ſtand and fall as a Covenant of workes.

But ſurely if the greater part of the Church were gone aſtray, I ſhould think it would well become the faithfulneſſe of a Church-Elder, to haſten to them, (ſpecially when he is lovingly and reſpectively ſent for) and to convince them of the errour of their way before the Lord, and to ſeek to bring them back againe to the Biſhop and Shepheard of their ſoules. Sure I am, that in a caſe of greater defection of the Churches of *Galatia*, then M^r^. *Williams* imagined was found in the Church of *Salem*. *Paul* did not reject them, but profeſſed; *I deſire* (ſaith he) *to be preſent with you now, and to change my voyce, for I ſtand in doubt of you*, Gal. 4. 20.

M^r^. *Williams* acknowledgeth in the next Paragraph, *That the Church of Coloſſe might ſay to Archippus; Take heed to thy*

Miniſtery, and that Archippus might negligently, and proudly refuſe to hearken to them: but for his caſe, his faithfulneſſe, and uprightneſſe to God, and the ſoules of the people will witneſſe for him, when his ſoule ſhall come to Hezekiahs *caſe on his deathbed, and in the great day approaching.*

I do not know but that *Archippus* might as juſtly refuſe to hearken to the Church of *Coloſſe*, as M^r^. *Williams* to the Church of *Salem*. What though *Coloſſe* was more eminent in gifts then *Salem*, yet the mutuall power, and ſubjection of Paſtor and people, dependeth not upon eminency of gifts, but upon the Inſtitution of Chriſt, and their mutuall Covenant, and Relation. If it had been a negligent and proud part in *Archippus* (as M^r^. *Williams* confeſſeth) to refuſe to hearken to the lawfull voyce of the Church of *Coloſſe*, admoniſhing him of his ſlackneſſe in his Miniſtery: I know not but it might be ſuch a like part in M^r^. *Williams* to refuſe to hearken to the voyce of the Church of *Salem*, admoniſhing him to 21] take heed of deſerting his Miniſtery. Whether is a greater ſinne in a Miniſter, not to fulfill his Miniſtery, or to deſert his Miniſtery? Neither doe I know but that *Archippus* might have pretended the like evaſions with M^r^. *Williams*, if not fairer. For he might plead there were amongſt them, ſuch as ſpoyled them through Philoſophy, and vaine deceit, after the Traditions of men, and Rudiments of the world, and not after Chriſt, (*Col.* 2. 8.) that beguiled them alſo in a voluntary humilitie, and worſhip of Angels, not holding the Head, (*ver.* 18, 19.) Yea ſo farre that themſelves come to be dogmatized with the Traditions of men, *ver.* 20, 21, 22. And why might not then *Archippus* as juſtly refuſe to heare the Church of *Coloſſe*, as M^r^. *Williams* refuſe to heare the Church of *Salem?*

Let not M^r^. *Williams* pleaſe himſelfe in ſuiting his faithfulneſſe, and uprightneſſe to *Hezekiahs* caſe. *Hezekiah* faith-

fully, and uprightly endeavoured, and (through grace) procured the reformation of the Apoſtate Church of *Hieruſalem* in the dayes of his Father *Ahaz:* But M^r^. *Williams* in ſtead of reforming one Church, renounceth all.

For his neglect of hearkening to the ſecond voyce, the voyce and teſtimony of ſo many Elders, and Brethren of other Churches; He ſaith (becauſe he truely eſteemeth the Perſons) he will not anſwer the Argument of numbers, and multitudes againſt one, as our men are wont to anſwer the Popiſh univerſalitie, that God ſtirreth up ſometimes one Elijah *againſt eight hundred of* Baals *Prieſts, &c. But this he ſaith that* David *himſelfe, and the Princes of* Iſrael, *and* 30000. *of* Iſrael *carrying up the Arke, were not to be hearkened unto in their holy intentions of rejoycings, and triumphs, when the due order of the Lord was wanting to them. In which caſe one Scripture in the mouth of a Mechanick, is to be preferred before a whole Councell.*

Anſw. I will not here obſerve (as M^r^. *Williams* doth in a like caſe, in Chap. 38. of his *Bloudy Tenent*) his haſt and light attention to the Scriptures which himſelfe alledgeth. The Text ſpeaketh but of 450. of *Baals* Prieſts, 1 *Kings* 18. 19. Now for him to multiply them to 800, is to fetch in alſo the Prophets of the Groves, (the Prophets of *Jeroboams* Calves) whom the Text expreſly diſtinguiſheth from the Prophets of *Baal.*

But to let that paſſe, as not materiall to the Argument, (no more then the miſquotation, which he obſerveth of *Titus* for *Timothy*) [22] we will not reply as the Papiſts doe againſt ſingle witneſſes, let him call for fire from Heaven as *Elijah* did, and we will ſubmit the teſtimonies of many to one ſingle witneſſe: No we call not for Miracles at his hand: but let him produce one teſtimony of holy Scripture (rightly underſtood, and applyed) againſt the advice, and voyce of thoſe Elders, and Brethren, and then though he be but one (yea

though that one were but a Mechanick too) we ſhall gratifie his demand, and (by the Grace of Chriſt) be ready rather to hearken to him, then require that he ſhould hearken to us.

Meanewhile, we anſwer him as the Apoſtle did to the *Corrinthians*, (1 Cor. 14. 36.) *What, came the word of God out from you? or came it unto you onely?*

It is true, *David* and the Princes, and the 30000. of *Iſrael*, were not to be hearkened unto, nor followed in their diſorderly carrying of the Arke; becauſe the word of the Lord had given expreſſe order to the contrary, requiring that the *Kohathites* ſhould beare the Arke upon their ſhoulders, and not touch it, leaſt they dye, *Num.* 4. 15. Let him ſhew us the like order violated by us, and we ſhall freely excuſe him (yea and juſtifie him) in not hearkening to us, nor following of us.

But ſuppoſe ſome one Prophet, or Brother of *Iſrael*, had diſcerned the diſorder of *David*, and of the whole Congregation of the 30000. of *Iſrael*, and had therefore not onely refuſed to follow them, but had proceeded further (as many of Chriſts Diſciples did with him, *Joh.* 6. 66.) to goe back from them with an utter Apoſtaſie, and to walke no more with them, no not though they were willing to reforme their diſorder, if any were made knowne to them? Would *Perez Vzzah* have juſtified that? Or did that diſorder of *David*, and of that Congregation of *Iſrael*, diſchurch them all from fellowſhip with God, or diſcharge their Brethren from having any fellowſhip with them, as with the Church of God?

To Chap. III.

His third Chapter is taken up in anſwering to a Phraſe in my Letter, in which I had ſaid, *I endeavoured to ſhew him the ſandineſſe of thoſe grounds, upon which he had baniſhed himſelfe from the fellowſhip of all the Churches in this Countrey.* 23] The ſumme of his Anſwer is, *That his grounds were the firme rocke of the Truth of Jeſus, and that my endeavours to prove them ſandy, are but the weake, and uncertain ſand of mans Invention, which ſhall therefore periſh, and burne like hay, or ſtubble; And the Rocky ſtrength of his grounds ſhall appeare in the Lords ſeaſon, and that my ſelfe alſo may yet confeſſe ſo much, as I have (ſince I came to* New-England) *confeſt the ſandineſſe of the gronnds of many of my Practiſes in* Old-England: *and the rockineſſe of their grounds that witneſſed againſt me, and them: for Inſtance, that himſelfe had diſcovered to me, and other ſervants of God, his grounds againſt the uſe of the Common Prayer Booke: which though they then ſeemed ſandy to me, yet ſince I have acknowledged to be rocky, and have ſeene cauſe ſo to publiſh to the world in my Diſcourſe to M*r. Ball,[6] *againſt ſet formes of Prayer.*

For a reply, let me begin where he leaveth; How ready he is to build upon ſandy grounds, may appeare by this very Paſſage, where he maintaineth his rockineſſe. For here he

[6] The Rev. John Ball, of Brazen-Noſe College, Oxford, whoſe Treatiſe entitled a "Friendly Trial of the Grounds tending to Separation, in a plain and modeſt Diſpute touching the Unlawfulneſs of ſtinted Liturgy and ſet Form of Common Prayer, Communion in mixed Aſſemblies," &c., was publiſhed in 1640. This work was in part an expanſion of the "brief Diſcourſe" to which Cotton replied, which was circulated in manuſcript, a common practice at that day. See Wood, Athenæ Oxonienſes, 2, 670. Fuller's Worthies, 2, 232. He alſo wrote againſt Can, of Amſterdam. Cotton, at the cloſe of his "Reaſons for his Removal to New-England," requeſts that his "dear affection" may be preſented to "Mr. Ball," but Dr. Young ſuppoſes that Thomas Ball is here intended. See Young's Chronicles of Maſſachuſetts, p. 443.

avoucheth, *I have ſeene cauſe to publiſh to the world, the rockineſſe of his grounds in a Diſcourſe to M*r. Ball *againſt ſet Formes of Prayer.*

What rocky ground doe you thinke this Aſſertion of his ſtandeth upon? I know no other but this; He findeth ſuch a Diſcourſe publiſhed to the world: and he thence concludeth (for other Grounds he hath none) *that I publiſhed that Diſcourſe, and that I ſaw cauſe to publiſh it:* both which hang upon that ground like ropes of ſand. The truth is, I did not publiſh that Diſcourſe to the world, much leſſe did I ſee cauſe to publiſh it upon the Grounds he ſpeaketh of. A briefe Diſcourſe in defence of ſet formes of Prayer was penned by Mr. *Ball*, much briefer then that which ſince is put forth in Print. That briefe Diſcourſe a religious Knight[7] ſent over, (whether to my ſelfe, or to a Gentleman of note then dwelling in my houſe, I remember not) but with deſire to heare our judgement of it. At his requeſt I drew up a ſhort Anſwer, and ſent one Copie of it to the Knight, and another to Mr. *Ball*, divers yeares agoe. How it came (in proceſſe of time) to be publiſhed to the world, or by whom, I doe not know. And yet Mr. *Williams* doubteth not to affirme it, that *I publiſhed that Diſcourſe to the world, and ſaw cauſe to doe it.* Rocky ſpirits can expreſſe all their conceits, in rocky firmneſſe, though upon ſandy conjectures.

Beſides, when he ſaith, *That himſelfe diſcovered to me, and to other* [24] *ſervants of God, his grounds againſt our uſing of the Common Prayer; which then ſeemed ſandy to us, but now in* New-England, *I have acknowledged to be rocky in my Diſcourſe to M*r. Ball. I could have wiſhed he had expreſſed, what grounds thoſe were, which he diſcovered to us; For my ſelfe

[7] Probably Sir Henry Vane, the younger, whoſe relations with Cotton were always of the moſt intimate nature. Vane had returned to England in 1637.

I can call to minde no ſuch matter, that ever I heard, or received from him, either by word, or writing, any ſolide grounds againſt that Practiſe. But this I am ſure of, that the grounds of altering my judgement touching that practiſe, did chiefly ſtand upon the expoſition of the ſecond Commandement; which if I ſhould ſay, I received from him, I ſhould greatly feare my forehead were more rocky than his grounds were. I thinke it no diſgrace to change either my judgement or practiſe upon better grounds then I formerly diſcerned. Nor would I thinke it a diſgrace to learne any grounds of truth, and to profeſſe that I had learned them from himſelfe, if ſo I had done. But ſure I am, it hath not been wont to be the manner of the ſervants of God to upbraid their Brethren, with their Retractions of their former Aberrations.

I have read of the Churches of *Judea*, that when they heard *Paul* now preached the Faith, which once he deſtroyed, they glorified God for him, (*Gal.* 1. 23, 24.) but I never read, that any of the Churches of Chriſt, or any ſincere member of the Churches, did ever upbraid *Paul* for his former Perſecution, or for his preſent change.

The other part of the Chapter, he ſpendeth in relating the grounds of the ſentence of his Baniſhment, and in the avouchment of his confidence of the firmneſſe of them.

The grounds of the ſentence of his Baniſhment, ſome whereof *He ſaith I am pleaſed to diſcuſſe in the Letter, and others not to mention*; *He ſaith were rightly ſummed up by one of the Magiſtrates after his publick Tryall, and Anſwers.*

*M*r. Williams (*ſaid that publick Perſon*) *holdeth forth theſe foure particulars.*

1. *That we have not our Land by Patent from the King, but that the Natives are the true owners of it*; *and that we ought to repent of ſuch a receiving it by Patent.*

2. *That it is not lawfull to call a wicked Perſon to ſweare, to pray, as being actions of Gods worſhip.*

25] 3. *That it is not lawfull to heare any of the Miniſters of the Pariſh-Aſſemblies in* England.

4. *That the Civill Magiſtrates Power extends onely to the bodies, and goods, and outward ſtate of men, &c.*

Theſe particulars he hopeth, that as he maintained the rockie ſtrength of them to his own, and other Conſciences ſatisfaction: So (through the Lords aſſiſtance,) he ſhall be ready not onely to be bound, and baniſhed, but to dye alſo in New-England, *as for moſt holy Truths of God in Chriſt Jeſus.*[8]

It was not my intent in that Letter which he examineth, to diſcuſſe the Grounds of his Civill Baniſhment at all, neither did I diſcuſſe one or other of them. And it is a prepoſterous ſhifting of the State of the Queſtion, to put it upon me to give account of the cauſes of his Baniſhment, who neither did baniſh him, nor provoked the Court to baniſh him out of the Countrey. The Magiſtrates and Deputies of the Common-wealth (who were then the Members of that Court) are all of them of age, and able themſelves to give account of their own actions. To them or ſome of them he ſhould

[8] According to Governor Winthrop, Williams was charged at the General Court held in July, 1635, with holding, 1: That the Magiſtrates ought not to puniſh the breach of the firſt table, otherwiſe than in ſuch caſes as did diſturb the civil peace; 2. That he ought not to tender an oath to an unregenerate man; 3. That a man ought not to pray with ſuch, though wife, child, &c.; 4. That a man ought not to give thanks after the Sacrament, nor after meat, &c. At the ſeſſion of the Court in September, he was further charged with writing letters againſt the magiſtrates, and with perſuading his own church to renounce communion with the churches in the Bay. See Winthrop, vol. 1, pp. 162–171. But it is clear from the account above, in which Williams himſelf ſays, that the grounds of his baniſhment "were rightly ſummed up," as well as from the ſtatement of Cotton, that the final proceedings were not baſed in thoſe charges ſimply, but upon the whole antecedent action of the Court. This removes the apparent diſcrepancy between the ſtatements of Winthrop and Cotton.

in reaſon have addreſſed himſelfe for ſatisfaction in this caſe (if any were due) and not to me, who am as ſeldome preſent at any Civill Court, (if not more ſeldome) then any man of our calling in Towne or Countrey, where the Courts are kept. It were more then *Ægyptian* bondage to me, and more then Pharaonicall tyranny in him, to exact of me, an account of all the capitall, or notable ſentences of Judgement, which paſſe in all the Civill Courts of Juſtice in the Countrey, unleſſe I had a calling to ſit amongſt them.

But why did I then endeavour in my Letter *to ſhew him the ſandineſſe of thoſe grounds, upon which he had baniſhed himſelfe, &c.* If I did not meane to declare, and diſcuſſe the cauſes of his Baniſhment?

He doth very well, and wiſely to expreſſe the Grounds upon which I ſaid he baniſhed himſelfe with an, &c. For he knows that if he had related my whole ſentence in my own words, he had cut off himſelfe from all opportunitie of pleading with me the cauſes of his Civill Baniſhment.

My words are plaine, — *I endeavour to ſhew you the ſandineſſe of thoſe grounds, upon which you have baniſhed your ſelfe from the fellowſhip of all the Churches in theſe Countreyes.*

It is one thing to baniſh ones ſelfe (or to be baniſhed) out of the [26] fellowſhip of all the Churches in the Countrey; another thing to baniſh ones ſelfe (or to be baniſhed) out of the Countrey. There be at this day that baniſh (and ſeparate) themſelves from all the Churches in the Countrey, and yet are not baniſhed out of the Countrey: and there be that are baniſhed out of the Countrey, and yet are not baniſhed out of the fellowſhip of all the Churches in the Countrey. Himſelfe hath ſeparated (and ſo baniſhed himſelfe) from the fellowſhip of all the Churches in the world: and yet he hath not baniſhed himſelfe out of the world.

But though it be impertinent to my Letter to diſcuſſe the grounds of his Civill Baniſhment: yet ſince he is pleaſed (by hook or crook) to draw it in, I referre the Reader for Anſwer to a full Treatiſe of that Argument, penned by a reverend faithfull Brother, (the Teacher of the Church at *Rocksbury*;)[9] and withall as I have touched ſomewhat of it above in Anſwer to his Preface, ſo I ſhall ſpeak a word or two more unto it here.

Whom that eminent Magiſtrate was, that ſo ſummed up the grounds of M^r. *Williams* his Baniſhment in thoſe foure Particulars above mentioned, M^r. *Williams* doth wiſely conceale his name, leſt if he were named, he ſhould be occaſioned to beare witneſſe againſt ſuch fraudulent expreſſion of the Particulars: whereof ſome were no cauſes of his Baniſhment at all, and ſuch as were cauſes, were not delivered in ſuch generall Tearmes. For *in univerſalibus latet Dolus.* It is evident the two latter cauſes which he giveth of his Ban-

9 The preciſe language here uſed leaves no room for doubt that the apoſtle Eliot is the perſon to whom reference is made. Eliot was "Teacher" of the church of which Thomas Welde for ſome time was "Paſtor." In the early New England churches the two offices were carefully diſtinguiſhed. There exiſts no trace, that I have been able to diſcover, of any ſuch "full Treatiſe" by Eliot of the grounds of Williams's baniſhment. It was not uncommon, at that period, for works to be circulated in manuſcript, as in the caſe of Mr. Ball's Diſcourſe, before referred to, but it is not eaſy to ſee why Cotton, in a book publiſhed in London, ſhould "referre the Reader," to an unprinted treatiſe on this ſide the Atlantic.

It is a noteworthy fact that Eliot himſelf, a few years later, was called to account before the magiſtrates for conſenting to the publication of a work which they found to be "full of ſeditious principles and notions in regard to all eſtabliſhed governments in the Chriſtian world." This work, "The Chriſtian Commonwealth, or the Civil Policy of the Riſing Kingdom of Jeſus Chriſt," though not publiſhed till 1659, was ſent over to England in manuſcript nine or ten years before. Eliot holds that civil Rulers are "keepers of both Tables," and "are eminently concerned to maintain the purity of Religion, with all care and power." The book gave offence on account of certain paſſages "relating to kingly Government in England." This work is reprinted in Maſs. Hiſt. Soc. Col., 3d Series, vol. ix.

iſhment, were no cauſes at all, as he expreſſeth them. There are many knowne to hold both theſe Opinions, *That it is not lawfull to heare any of the Miniſters of the Pariſh Aſſemblies in* England, *and that the Civill Magiſtrates power extendeth onely to the bodies, and goods, and outward eſtates of men:* and yet they are tolerated not onely to live in the Commonwealth, but alſo in the fellowſhip of the Churches.

The two former, though they be not ſo much noyſed, yet there be many, if not moſt, that hold, *That we have not our Land, meerly by right of Patent from the King, but that the Natives are true owners of all that they poſſeſſe, or improve.* Neither doe I know any amongſt us, that either then were, or now are of another minde.

And as for the other Point; *That it is not lawfull to call a wicked Perſon to ſweare, or pray.*

27] Though that be not commonly held, yet it is knowne to be held of ſome, who yet are tolerated to enjoy both Civill, and Church-liberties amongſt us.

To come therefore to Particulars: Two things there were, which (to my beſt obſervation, and remembrance) cauſed the Sentence of his Baniſhment: and two other fell in, that haſtened it.

1. His violent and tumultuous carriage againſt the Patent.[10]

[10] The peculiar views entertained by Williams reſpecting the Patent rights granted to the colonies by the Engliſh king were firſt expreſſed during his reſidence at Plymouth. He preſented to Governor and Aſſiſtants of that Colony a treatiſe, in which according to Winthrop, he diſputed "their right to the lands they poſſeſſed here, and concluded that, claiming by the king's grant, they could have no title, nor otherwiſe, except they compounded with the natives." It would ſeem that this treatiſe, which, according to the account that Williams afterwards gave was only written for the private ſatisfaction of the governor and magiſtrates of Plymouth, was never printed, but after the return of Williams to Salem, in 1633, it was brought by ſome means to the notice of the Maſſachuſetts authorities. At a meeting of the governor and aſſiſtants held at Boſton, Dec.

By the Patent it is, that we received allowance from the King to depart his Kingdome, and to carry our goods with us, without offence to his Officers, and without paying cuſtome to himſelfe.

By the Patent, certain ſelect men (as Magiſtrates, and Freemen) have power to make Lawes, and the Magiſtrates to execute Juſtice, and Judgement amongſt the People, according to ſuch Lawes.

By the Patent we have Power to erect ſuch a Government of the Church, as is moſt agreeable to the Word, to the eſtate

27, 1633, the treatiſe was ſubjected to examination, and having taken the advice of ſome of the moſt judicious miniſters, "who much condemned Mr. Williams's error and preſumption," the court gave order that the offender ſhould be brought before them at their next meeting, to be cenſured. "There were," ſays Winthrop, "three paſſages chiefly whereat they were much offended: 1, for that he chargeth King James to have told a ſolemn public lie, becauſe in his Patent he bleſſed God that he was the firſt Chriſtian prince that had diſcovered the land: 2, for that he chargeth him and others with blaſphemy for calling Europe Chriſtendom, or the Chriſtian world: 3, for that he did perſonally apply to our preſent king, Charles, theſe three places in the Revelations, viz.: [theſe paſſages are not given.] Winthrop 1, 122.

Williams wrote a letter of explanation which was preſented at the next meeting of the court, Jan. 24, 1634, "when," ſays Winthrop, "with the advice of Mr. Cotton and Mr. Wilſon, and weighing his letter, and further conſidering of the aforeſaid offenſive paſſages in his book, (which, being written in very obſcure and implicative phraſes, might well admit of doubtful interpretation,) they found the matters not to be ſo evil as at firſt they ſeemed.— Whereupon they agreed, that, upon his retraction, etc., on taking an oath of allegiance to the king, etc., it ſhould be paſſed over." Winthrop, 1, 123.

The next mention of Williams, in connection with the Patent, is under date of Nov. 27, 1634, when the aſſiſtants met at the governor's to adviſe about the defacing of the croſs in the enſign at Salem. "It was likewiſe informed," ſays Winthrop, "that Mr. Williams of Salem had broken his promiſe to us, in teaching publickly againſt the king's patent, and our great ſin in claiming right thereby to this country &c, and for uſual terming the churches of England antichriſtian. We granted ſummons to him for his appearance at the next court." Winthrop, 1, 151.

Williams was alſo before the court April 30, and July 8, 1635, but on neither of theſe occaſions was the queſtion of the Patent agitated, nor is there any ſpecific reference to it in the final ſentence.

of the People, and to the gaining of Natives (in Gods time) firſt to Civility, and then to Chriſtianity.

To this Authority eſtabliſhed by this Patent, *Engliſh-men* doe readily ſubmit themſelves: and foraine Plantations (the *French*, the *Dutch*, and *Swediſh*) doe willingly tranſact their Negotiations with us, as with a Colony eſtabliſhed by the Royall Authority of the State of *England*.

This Patent, Mr. *Williams* publickly, and vehemently preached againſt, as containing matter of falſhood, and injuſtice: Falſhood in making the King the firſt Chriſtian Prince who had diſcovered theſe parts: and injuſtice, in giving the Countrey to his *Engliſh* Subjects, which belonged to the Native *Indians*. This therefore he preſſed upon the Magiſtrates and People, to be humbled for from time to time in dayes of ſolemne Humiliation, and to returne the Patent back againe to the King. It was anſwered to him, firſt, That it was neither the Kings intendement, nor the *Engliſh* Planters to take poſſeſſion of the Countrey by murther of the Natives, or by robbery: but either to take poſſeſſion of the voyd places of the Countrey by the Law of Nature, (for *Vacuum Domicilium cedit occupanti:*) or if we tooke any Lands from the Natives, it was by way of purchaſe, and free conſent.

A little before our coming, God had by peſtilence, and other contagious diſeaſes, ſwept away many thouſands of the Natives, [28] who had inhabited the Bay of *Maſſachuſets*, for which the Patent was granted. Such few of them as ſurvived were glad of the coming of the *Engliſh*, who might preſerve them from the oppreſſion of the *Naharganſets*. For it is the manner of the Natives, the ſtronger Nations to oppreſſe the weaker.

This anſwer did not ſatisfie Mr. *Williams*, who pleaded, the Natives, though they did not, nor could ſubdue the Coun-

trey, (but left it *vacuum Domicilium*) yet they hunted all the Countrey over, and for the expedition of their hunting voyages, they burnt up all the underwoods in the Countrey, once or twice a yeare, and therefore as Noble men in *England* poſſeſſed great Parkes, and the King, great Forreſts in *England* onely for their game, and no man might lawfully invade their Propriety: So might the Natives challenge the like Propriety of the Countrey here.

It was replyed unto him. 1. That the King, and Noble men in *England*, as they poſſeſſed greater Territories then other men, ſo they did greater ſervice to Church, and Common-wealth.

2. That they employed their Parkes, and Forreſts, not for hunting onely, but for Timber, and for the nouriſhment of tame beaſts, as well as wild, and alſo for habitation to ſundry Tenants.

3. That our Townes here did not diſturb the huntings of the Natives, but did rather keepe their Game fitter for their taking; for they take their Deere by Traps, and not by Hounds.

4. That if they complained of any ſtraites wee put upon them, wee gave ſatisfaction in ſome payments, or other, to their content.

5. We did not conceive that it is a juſt Title to ſo vaſt a Continent, to make no other improvement of millions of Acres in it, but onely to burne it up for paſtime.

But theſe Anſwers not ſatisfying him, this was ſtill preſſed by him as a Nationall ſinne, to hold to the Patent, yea, and a Nationall duty to renounce the Patent: which to have done, had ſubverted the fundamentall State, and Government of the Countrey.

2. The ſecond offence, which procured his Baniſhment, was occaſioned as I touched before. The Magiſtrates, and

other members of the Generall Court upon Intelligence of ſome Epiſcopall, and malignant practiſes againſt the Countrey, they made an order of Court to take tryall of the fidelitie of the People, (not by impoſing [29] upon them, but) by offering to them an Oath of Fidelitie:[11] that in caſe any ſhould refuſe to take it, they might not betruſt them with place of publick charge, and Command. This Oath when it came abroad, he vehemently withſtood it, and diſſwaded ſundry from it, partly becauſe it was, as he ſaid, Chriſts Prerogative, to have his Office eſtabliſhed by Oath: partly becauſe an oath was a part of Gods worſhip, and Gods worſhip was not to be put upon carnall perſons, as he conceived many of the People to be.[12] So by his Tenent neither might Church-members, nor other godly men, take the Oath, becauſe it was the eſtabliſhment not of Chriſt, but of mortall men in their office; nor might men out of the Church take it, becauſe in his eye they were but carnall. So the Court was

[11] Cotton here repeats the aſſertion made once before (p. 4), that this "Oath of Fidelitie" was not impoſed, but offered. The form of the oath (ſee Maſs. Col. Records, 1, 117,) furniſhes no ground for this diſtinction. From the words which Cotton adds: "that in caſe any ſhould refuſe to take it, they might not betruſt them with place of publick charge, and Command," it would ſeem that he regarded the oath as deſigned only for perſons accepting public office. But the oath was required of all freemen. The "Freemans Oath" was enacted in May, 1634, and was in addition to the "Reſidents Oath" previouſly preſcribed by the Aſſiſtants.

The error into which Cotton here falls ſeems hardly to deſerve the ſevere ſtricture of Backus: "Indeed when I come to find how the truth of this matter was, by the colony records, and to think that Mr. Cotton had them at his door when he wrote, I am the moſt ſhocked about him by this publication of his againſt Mr. Williams, of any thing I ever met with concerning him."—Backus, Hiſt. N. E., vol. 1, p. 61.

[12] Mr. Knowles, quoting the foregoing paſſage erroneouſly refers it to the "Bloudy Tenent Waſhed." See Life of Roger Williams, p. 67. In this miſtake he is followed by the other biographers of Williams. Mr. Knowles ſeems alſo to miſunderſtand Backus as aſſenting to the aſſertion of Cotton that the oath at firſt was only offered, but Backus is far from making any ſuch admiſſion. So far as the ground taken by Williams was concerned, the queſtion as to the form of the oath was evidently of no conſequence.

forced to deſiſt from that proceeding: which practiſe of his was held to be the more dangerous, becauſe it tended to unſettle all the Kingdomes, and Common-wealths in Europe.

Reſpecting this ground ſee the ſtatement on page 4, that Williams withſtood the oath of Fidelity "partly becauſe it was Chriſts Prerogative to have his office eſtabliſhed by Oath; partly, becauſe an Oath was a part of Gods worſhip;" and on page 55, to the ſame effect. Winthrop ſays, under date of April 30, 1635, "The governour and aſſiſtants ſent for Mr. Williams. The occaſion was, for that he had taught publicly, that a Magiſtrate ought not to tender an oath to an unregenerate man, for that we thereby have communion with a wicked man in the worſhip of God, and cauſe him to take the name of God in vain." Winthrop, 1, 158. In view of the preciſe agreement of theſe accounts, I ſee no grounds whatever for the remark of Mr. Knowles, that "The reaſons aſſigned by Mr. Cotton for Mr. Williams' oppoſition to the oath are, we ſuſpect, not all the reaſons which really moved him to this courſe." Life of Roger Williams, page 67. Mr. Knowles is of the opinion, which Arnold adopts, (Hiſt. R. I., 1, 31,) that the oppoſition of Williams to the oath aroſe in part from the fact "that it might be underſtood to claim for the Court an authority ſuperior to the Charter," but this ſurely was not a conſideration likely to weigh with one who denied the validity of the Charter itſelf. Still leſs is there any ground for the further conjecture of Mr. Knowles, that the objection of Williams to the oath may have ariſen from the fact that, being deſigned to guard againſt "Epiſcopall and malignant practiſes," it ſeemed to reſtrain liberty of conſcience. Life of Roger Williams, page 68.

The opinions of Williams reſpecting oaths were expreſſed by himſelf with great clearneſs in a work publiſhed a few years later: "Although it be lawfull (in caſe) for *Chriſtians* to invoke the Name of the moſt *High* in *Swearing;* yet ſince it is a part of his holy *worſhip*, and ſometimes put for his whole *worſhip*, and therefore proper unto ſuch as are his true *Worſhippers* in *Spirit* and *Truth;* and perſons may as well be forced unto any part of the *worſhip* of *God* as unto this, ſince it ought not to be uſed but moſt *ſolemnly*, and in moſt *ſolemn* and *weighty* caſes, and (ordinarily) in ſuch as are not otherwiſe determinable; ſince it is the voice of the two great *Law-givers* from *God*, *Moſes* and *Chriſt Jeſus*, that in the mouth of two or three *Witneſſes* (not *Swearing*) every *Word* ſhall ſtand." See "Hireling Miniſtry None of Chriſts;" An *Appendix* as touching *Oathes*. According to his own ſtatement he had, in England, loſt "great ſums" in Chancery, in conſequence of his conſcientious ſcruples on this ſubject. See "George Fox digged out of his Burrowes," Appendix, pp. 59, 60.

While it is quite probable that the oppoſition of Williams to the Oath of Fidelity had in the eyes of the Magiſtrates, juſt at this juncture, a "ſpecial political ſignificance," (Palfrey, Hiſt. N. E., 1, 410,) as the language of Cotton implies, yet it is clear that, in the mind of Williams himſelf, it was connected ſolely with religious ſcruples.

Theſe were (as I tooke it) the cauſes of his Baniſhment: two other things fell in upon theſe that haſtened the Sentence. The former fell out thus: The Magiſtrates diſcerning by the former paſſages, the heady and turbulent ſpirit of M^r^. *Williams*, both they, and others adviſed the Church of *Salem* not to call him to office in their Church; nevertheleſſe, the major part of the Church made choice of him. Soone after, when the Church made ſuit to the Court for a parcell of Land adjoyning to them, the Court delayed to grant their Requeſt (as hath been mentioned before) becauſe the Church had refuſed to hearken to the Magiſtrates, and others in forbearing the choice of M^r^. *Williams*. Whereupon M^r^. *Williams* took occaſion to ſtirre up the Church to joyne with him in writing Letters of Admonition unto all the Churches, whereof thoſe Magiſtrates were members, to admoniſh them of their open tranſgreſſion of the Rule of Juſtice. Which Letters coming to the ſeverall Churches, provoked the Magiſtrates to take the more ſpeedy courſe with ſo heady, and violent a Spirit.

But to prevent his ſufferings, (if it might be) it was mooved by ſome of the Elders, that themſelves might have liberty (according to the Rule of Chriſt) to deale with him, and with the Church alſo in a Church-way. It might be, the Church might heare us, and he the Church; which being conſented to, ſome of our Churches wrote to the Church of *Salem*, to preſent before them the offenſive [30] Spirit, and way of their Officer, (M^r^. *Williams*) both in Judgement, and Practiſe. The Church finally began to hearken to us, and accordingly began to addreſſe themſelves to the healing of his Spirit. Which he diſcerning, renounced communion with the Church of *Salem*, pretending they held communion with the Churches in the Bay, and the Churches in the Bay held communion

with the Pariſh-Churches in *England*, becauſe they ſuffered their members to heare the word amongſt them in *England*, as they came over into their native Countrey. He then refuſing to reſort to the Publick Aſſembly of the Church. Soone after ſundry began to reſort to his Family, where he preached to them on the Lords day. But this carriage of his in renouncing the Church upon ſuch an occaſion, and with them all the Churches in the Countrey, and the ſpreading of his Leaven to ſundry that reſorted to him; this gave the Magiſtrates the more cauſe to obſerve the heady unrulelineſſe of his ſpirit, and the incorrigibleneſſe thereof by any Church-way, all the Churches in the Countrey being then renounced by him. And this was the other occaſion which haſtened the Sentence of his Baniſhment, upon the former Grounds.[13]

If upon theſe Grounds M^r^. *Williams* be ready, (as he profeſſeth) *not onely to be bound, and baniſhed, but alſo to dye in*

[13] Compare the Record of the General Court at Newe Towne, September 2, 1635. Maſſachuſetts Records, vol. 1, p. 160.

"Whereas M^r^ Roger Williams, one of the elders of the church of Salem, hath broached & dyvulged dyvers newe & dangerous opinions, againſt the authortie of magiſtrates, as alſo with ltres of defamacôn, both of the magiſtrates & churches here, & that before any convicôn, & yet mainetaineth the ſame without retraccôn, it is therefore ordered, that the ſaid M^r^ Williams ſhall dêpte out of this juriſdicôn within ſixe weekes nowe nexte enſueing, w^ch^ if hee neglect to pform, it ſhall be lawful for the Goûn^r^ & two of the magiſtrates to ſend him to ſome place out of this juriſdicôn, not to returne any more without licence from the Court."

Reſpecting the date of this important proceeding a ſingular confuſion exiſts. Governor Winthrop, evidently through overſight, enters it in his Hiſtory under the date of October. Mr. Knowles, quoting the Colonial Records, gives the date as November 3. In this he is followed by ſubſequent biographers. But the ſentence of baniſhment was paſſed September 3, the day after the meeting of the Court. The date is given correctly by Palfrey, Hiſt. New Eng. vol. 1, p. 412. The error deſerves to be noted, ſince it added an undue harſhneſs to the ſentence. Williams however, it will be remembered, afterwards received permiſſion to remain at Salem until ſpring.

New-England; let him remember, (what he knowes) *Non pœna, ſed cauſa facit Martyrem*; No Martyr of Chriſt did ever ſuffer for ſuch a cauſe.

When he feareth not to profeſſe, that *he did in open Court maintaine the rocky ſtrength of his grounds, to the ſatisfaction of his own, and (as he ſaith) of other mens Conſciences.*

I can but wonder at the rocky flintineſſe of his ſelfe-confidence: To give a taſte of the rocky ſtrength of his maintenance of theſe things; He made complaint in open Court, that he was wronged by a ſlanderous report up and downe the Countrey, as if he did hold it to be unlawfull for a Father to call upon his childe to eate his meate. Our reverend Brother M^r^. *Hooker*,[14] (the Paſtor of the Church, where the Court was then kept) being mooved to ſpeake a word to it, Why, ſaith he, you will ſay as much againe, (if you ſtand to your own Principles) or be forced to ſay nothing. When M^r^. *Williams* was confident he ſhould never ſay it: M^r^. *Hooker* replyed, If it be unlawfull to call an unregenerate perſon to take an Oath, or to Pray, as being actions of Gods worſhip, then it is unlawfull [31] for your unregenerate childe, to pray for a bleſſing upon his own meate. If it be unlawfull for him to pray for a bleſſing upon his meate, it is unlawfull for him to eate it, (for it is ſanctified by prayer, and without prayer unſanctified, 1 *Tim.* 4. 4, 5.) If it be unlawfull for him to eate it, it is unlawfull for you to call upon him to eate it, for it is unlawfull for you to call upon him to ſinne.

[14] Thomas Hooker, paſtor of the church at New-Towne, who came to New England in the ſame ſhip with Cotton in the year 1633. In June, 1636, he removed to Connecticut. According to Cotton Mather, "He had a ſingular ability at giving anſwers to caſes of conſcience." When Williams was ſummoned before the Court for final action, "Mr. Hooker was appointed to diſpute with him, but could not reduce him from any of his errors." Winthrop, 1, 171.

Here M^r. *Williams* thought better to hold his peace, then to give an Anſwer.

But thus have I opened the grounds, and occaſions of his Civill Baniſhment; which whether they be ſandy, or rocky, let the ſervants of Chriſt judge. Howſoever, my Letter gave him no occaſion at all to put me upon this Diſcourſe; for in my Letter I intended only to ſhew him *the ſandineſſe of thoſe grounds upon which he baniſhed himſelfe from the ſociety* (*not of the Common-wealth, but*) *of all the Churches in theſe Countreys.*

But whether I intended the one, or the other, he giveth an Anſwer for both; *If M^r.* Cotton *meane* (ſaith he) *my own voluntary withdrawing from all theſe Churches reſolved to continue in thoſe evills, and in perſecuting the witneſſes of the Lord, preſenting light unto them. I confeſſe it was mine own voluntary act: yea I hope the act of the Lord Jeſus ſounding forth in me* (*a poore deſpiſed Rams-horne*) *the blaſt which ſhall in his own holy ſeaſon caſt down the ſtrength, and confidence of the Inventions of men in the worſhip of God: and laſtly his act in inabling me to be faithfull in any meaſure to ſuffer ſuch great, and mightie Tryalls for his Names ſake.*

Reply, That I meant onely his own act in withdrawing himſelfe from theſe Churches, doth plainly enough appeare both from my expreſſe words, and from the Reaſons which I expreſly aſſigne of that act of his, which I called the ſandy grounds, upon which he built his Separation. My expreſſe words are, *He had baniſhed himſelfe from the ſociety of all the Churches in this Countrey.* The ſociety of the Church is one thing, the ſociety of the Common-wealth, is another. And the Grounds upon which he built his Separation, were not the cauſes of his baniſhment, but of his withdrawing from the ſociety of the Churches.

But if I ſo meant, *He confeſſeth it was his own voluntary act; and profeſſeth alſo, it was a double act of the Lord Jeſus in him.*

32] The ground which he giveth of his own voluntary act, *was becauſe theſe Churches were reſolved to continue in thoſe evills, and perſecuting the witneſſes of the Lord Jeſus, preſenting light to them.*

Reply; Thoſe evills? What were thoſe evills, which wee were reſolved to continue in? He expreſſeth none: but ſure meet it had been, that as his voluntary withdrawing from theſe Churches was publickly known; ſo the evills in which we reſolved to continue, and for which he withdrew himſelfe, ſhould in like manner have been publickly knowne alſo. It is an unrighteous thing to paſſe publick known acts, upon private unknowne evills. But whatſoever thoſe unknown evills were, I ſuppoſe he conceiveth them to be ſuch wayes, either of Judgement, or Practiſe, wherein wee walke according to the light of our Conſciences. And then by his Rule he ſhould have allowed us the like liberty of conſcience, which himſelfe requireth. And ſurely by the Royall Rule of the Lord Jeſus, no Brother may be ſo much as admoniſhed, (much leſſe ſeparated from) till he be convinced, (ἔλεγξον αὐτὸν) *Mat.* 18. 15.

And as for *perſecuting the witneſſes of the Lord, preſenting light to us*; himſelfe (for ought I know) was the firſt in this Countrey, that ever pretended ſuffering for bearing witneſſe in any matter of Religion true or falſe: And for him to withdraw himſelfe from the ſociety of all the Churches for their perſecution of him, before he had ſuffered from them any thing but conference, and conviction, is to make them ſufferers for well-doing, and to chooſe ſuffering, that he might have cauſe to complaine of ſufferings. Let him, if he be able, name any one in this Countrey of the witneſſes of the Lord, (for he ſpeaketh of witneſſes) that ever did ſo much as pretend before himſelfe to ſuffer Perſecution, for preſenting light to us.

Thus he maketh that the ground of his withdrawing, which was not then *in Rerum naturâ*, (no not in pretence) till after his withdrawing. As a furious School-maſter will beate a childe for nothing till he cry, and then beate him for crying.[15]

But he further preſumeth to affirme; *That his withdrawing was the act of the Lord Jeſus in him, ſounding forth that Blaſt, which ſhall one day caſt downe the ſtrength, and confidence of the Inventions of men in the worſhip of God.*

Reply. If a particular viſible Church, conſiſting of viſible Saints, and united by holy Covenant into one Congregation, to worſhip [33] the Lord, and to edifie one another in all his holy Ordinances; If ſuch a Church be an Invention of man; If Elders called, and ordained by them for Adminiſtration of theſe Ordinances, be an invention of man; If the Covenant of Grace between the Lord, and his Church, and the Seales thereof, and the Cenſures diſpenſed againſt the violation thereof; If all theſe be the Inventions of man, then indeed the Lord hath ſounded a blaſt in Mr. *Williams* his horne, to caſt down the Inventions of men in the worſhip of God. But if all theſe be the holy Inſtitutions of the Lord Jeſus, then let Mr. *Williams* know, that this ſpeech of his is a blaſt of blaſphemy againſt the Lord Jeſus, to put upon him that which is the proper worke of Satan, to blaſt all the Churches, and Ordinances of Chriſt. And whereas it was wont to be the worke of Antichriſt to defile all the Ordinances of Chriſt, it is now the worke of this examiner to deface, and aboliſh

[15] The voluntary withdrawing of Williams from the churches, on which Cotton lays ſo much ſtreſs, muſt have taken place in July or Auguſt, 1635, ſince on July 8, Williams was before the Court, ſtill in full communion, while under date of Auguſt, Winthrop writes, "Mr. Williams paſtor of Salem, being ſick and not able to ſpeak, wrote to his church a proteſtation, that he could not communicate with the churches in the bay; neither would he communicate with them, except they would refuſe communion with the reſt; but the whole church was grieved herewith." Winthrop, 1, 166.

them all from the face of the earth. Whether of theſe workes are the more Antichriſtian? It may be he will be ready to ſay, (as the Prophet ſaid in another caſe of *Senacherib*, Iſai. 10. 7.) he meaneth not ſo, nor doth his heart thinke ſo: and as *Hazael* ſaid to the Prophet, *Is thy ſervant a dog, that he ſhould doe this great thing?* (2 King. 8. 13.) *Sed quid verba audiam, cum facta videam?* Why doth he ſeparate from all Churches under Heaven, and refuſe to gather into any Church where himſelfe liveth, if he did not in theſe times look at all Church-Eſtate, and Fellowſhip, and Ordinances, as not to be found in the Land of the Living?

Laſtly, *He looketh at it, as an act of Chriſt enabling him to be faithfull in any meaſure, to ſuffer ſuch great and mightie Tryalls for his Names ſake.*

But if the Spirit of the Apoſtle *John* had in ſome meaſure reſted upon him, he would no more have mentioned (much leſſe have magnified) his great, and mighty Tryalls, till he had ſeene *John* goe before him in ſuch a like predication of his ſufferings, who doubtleſſe had leſſe deſerved it, and yet ſuffered more great, and mighty Tryalls, *Revel.* 1. 9. But full veſſels make leaſt ſound.

Againe, He recoyleth to his civill Baniſhment, and obſerveth, *That if by baniſhing himſelfe I meant his Civill Baniſhment, then* 1. *He diſcerneth the language of the Dragon in a Lambes lip; to put the ſufferings of the Saints upon themſelves, and the Devill.*

34] 2. *That I ſilently confeſſe, that the frame and conſtitution of our Churches is implicitly Nationall. Elſe if the Commonwealth, and Church were not one, how could he that is baniſhed from the one, be neceſſarily baniſhed from the other alſo?*

Reply. It was farre from my meaning, and words, when I ſpake of his baniſhing of himſelfe from the Fellowſhip of

all the Churches in the Countrey, to intend his civill baniſhment. I knew his civill baniſhment was not meerly his own Act. I knew alſo that he might have been baniſhed from the Commonwealth, and yet have retained (as ſome others have done) Fellowſhip with ſome Churches, if not with all the Churches in the Countrey. And therefore both his obſervations are but empty flouriſhes, and vaniſh like Bubbles. It is the wilineſſe of the Spirit of the Serpent, to hide his head under fig-leaved evaſions.

But ſuppoſe I had meant by his baniſhment of himſelfe, his civill baniſhment, and had meant, that by expoſing himſelfe deſervedly to that cenſure, he had deprived himſelfe of enjoying all the ſpirituall liberties of the Churches in the Countrey: might I not ſo have ſaid, and yet not have ſpoken the language of the Dragon? What if the Dragon uſe ſuch language to the Saints ſuffering innocently? may not the Spirit of God uſe the ſame words to a guilty perſon ſuffering deſervedly? The language of the Dragon lyeth not alwayes in the words or meaning, but in the application, and intent of them. The Dragon ſaid to Chriſt, *I know who thou art, the holy One of God*, Mar. 1. 24. *Peter* might ſay the ſame, or the like words, *Mat.* 16. 16. And yet in his mouth, it was not the language of the Dragon, but of the Holy Ghoſt.

Neither will it imply, That the Church, and Commonwealth, are all one, becauſe he that deſervedly is baniſhed from the Common-wealth, baniſheth himſelfe alſo from the communion of the Churches; For the ſame ſinnes which may be offenſive civilly to the Common-wealth, may be alſo ſpiritually offenſive to the Church, and both proceed to cenſure the ſame perſon in their own way, ſeverally.

35] TO CHAP. IV.

IN his fourth Chapter the Examiner anſwereth to a ſpeech of mine, wherein to prevent his prejudice againſt my perſon, (which might weaken the fruit of my counſell to him) *I told him, I had not haſted forward the ſentence of his Civill Baniſhment: and that what was done by the Magiſtrates in that kinde, was neither done by my Counſell, nor conſent.*

Whereto he anſwereth, firſt, *That he obſerveth, I cannot but confeſſe, that it is hard for any man to doe good, or to ſpeake effectually to the ſoule, or Conſcience of any, whoſe body he afflicteth, and perſecuteth, and that onely for their ſoule and Conſcience ſake.*

Reply. All that can truely be obſerved from my words is, That it is hard for any to take good from thoſe, againſt whom they have conceived a prejudice, whether juſtly, or unjuſtly. But when he ſubjoyneth a Serpentine, that is, a ſubtile, and venomous inſinuation, *as if I had afflicted, and perſecuted his body, and that onely for his ſoule, and Conſcience ſake.*

Anſw. I have been ſo farre from afflicting, or perſecuting his body, (eſpecially for his ſoule, or conſcience ſake) that in very truth, whileſt I had any hope of prevailing for him, I may ſay, as *David* ſaid for himſelfe, againſt a like ſlander, *Pſal.* 7. 3, 4. *I have ſought to deliver him who without cauſe reproacheth me.*

Let not Mr. *Williams* pleaſe himſelfe (as he doth in this Paragraph) in comparing the dealing of the Elders with him here, to the Perſecutions of the Biſhops againſt the godly Preachers in *England.* If the Biſhops had dealt no worſe with the godly Preachers there, and upon no more unjuſt cauſes, then the Elders dealt with him here, they might with good conſcience, and good countenance have looked with

comfort, and confidence, both God, and man in the face, even now when God hath laid their carnall pompe, and worldly honour in the duſt.

Neither let him pleaſe himſelfe (as he doth in the next Paragraph) in his undoubted Aſſertion; *That what M^r.* Cotton, *and others did in procuring his ſorrowes, was not without ſome regret, and reluctancy of Conſcience, and affection,* (*as* David *in procuring* Uriah's *death, or* Aſa *in impriſoning the Prophet.*) 36] For neither was he ſo innocent, as was *Uriah*, and that Prophet: nor had my ſelfe the like hand in his ſufferings, as *David* and *Aſa* had in the other: nor did I ever ſee cauſe of regret, and reluctancy of conſcience, for any act of mine own about his ſufferings. Onely I confeſſe I had (as he ſaith) ſome regret, and reluctancy of affection, and of compaſſion, to ſee one who had received from God, ſtirring and uſefull gifts, to beſtirre himſelfe ſo buſily, and eagerly to abuſe them, to the diſturbance of himſelfe, his family, the Churches, and the Common-wealth.

That I conſented not to his Baniſhment, he in part admitteth; *For what need was there* (ſaith he) *of that, being not one of the Civill Court?*

As if I might not have conſented to it, though I needed not to have done it. I might have drawn up Articles againſt him. I might have come in as a witneſſe againſt him, I might have ſolicited, and ſtirred up the body of the Magiſtrates againſt him, to rid the countrey of him: and then I had conſented before-hand to what was done by the Magiſtrates in that kinde, though my ſelfe had been none of the Court; but none of all theſe acts, nor any ſuch like were done by me.

But be it that I conſented not, yet I counſelled it, (and ſo conſented) and to prove that he ſaith, *He will produce a double, and unanſwerable Teſtimony for it.*

Firſt, That I publickly taught, (and ſtill doe Teach, except lately Chriſt hath taught me better) that body-killing, ſoule-killing, and State-killing Doctrine of Perſecuting all other Conſciences, and wayes of worſhip but mine own, in the Civill State, and conſequently in the whole world, if the Power, or Empire thereof were in mine hand.

Reply. Were it not that I have learned from the word of truth, that when men are caſt out of the Church of Chriſt, they are delivered up unto Satan, and ſo neither their wits, nor their tongues are their own. I could not eaſily have beleeved that Mr. *Williams* could ſo confidently and openly have avouched ſuch a notorious ſlander. Since the Lord taught me to know any thing, what conſcience, or the worſhip of God meant, it hath been my conſtant judgement, and doctrine, and practiſe to the contrary.[16] Beſides, *To teach the killing of the bodies of all ſuch Conſciences, and wayes of worſhip, as are not mine own,* is to make mine own conſcience, and way [37] of worſhip, the infallible Rule, and ſoveraigne Standard, by which all conſciences, and wayes of worſhip throughout the world, were to be regulated: yea, and as if this were a light meaſure of arrogancy, and uſurpation, I make it a capitall crime, (a body-killing offence) for any man to ſwerve from my conſcience, and way of worſhip, even in ſuch Points wherein the Holy Ghoſt hath given expreſſe charge, that we ſhould not judge, nor condemne one another, *Rom.* 14. 3. But I durſt appeale even unto the conſcience of Mr. *Williams* himſelfe, (if it were now in the gracious

[16] "Neither is it true, that we ſuffer no man of any different Conſcience or worſhip to live in our Juriſdiction. For not to ſpeak of *Preſbyterians*, who doe not onely live amongſt us, but exerciſe their publick Miniſtry without diſturbance, there be *Anabaptiſts*, and *Antinomians* tolerated to live not onely in our Juriſdiction, but even in ſome of our Churches." Cotton's Bloudy Tenent Waſhed, p. 165.

keeping of Chriſt, or of himſelfe, as in former times) that himſelfe knoweth, I doe not thinke it lawfull to Excommunicate an Heretick, much leſſe to perſecute him with the civill Sword, till it may appeare, even by juſt and full conviction, that he ſinneth not out of conſcience, but againſt the very light of his own conſcience. Sure I am, ſuch a Point he reporteth is received from me, to the very ſame purpoſe, (and he reporteth it truely) in his *Bloudy Tenent*, pag. 8. This Anſwer may ſuffice to his firſt (as he calleth it) *unanſwerable Teſtimony*.

His ſecond unanſwerable Teſtimony is, *That ſome Gentlemen that did conſent to his Sentence, have ſolemnly teſtified, and with teares ſince confeſſed to himſelfe, that they could not in their ſoules have been brought to have conſented to the Sentence of his Baniſhment, had not M^r^. Cotton in private given them advice, and counſell, proving it juſt, and warrantable to their Conſciences.*

Reply. I might here juſtly plead the equitie of the Romane Cuſtome, to excuſe my ſelfe from this accuſation, untill the accuſers come before me face to face: And truely, if Apocryphall witneſſes may goe for unanſwerable Teſtimonies, it is an eaſie matter to oppreſſe any innocency: I might alſo plead the incompetency of ſuch a witneſſe, as (haply lying under ſome cenſure from our Church, and removing himſelfe from our fellowſhip) might take more liberty to ſpeake againſt me in a pang of paſſion, what he would be loath to juſtifie in cold bloud.) I might likewiſe alledge that one or two Magiſtrates makes not a Court, nor was his Sentence caſt by the vote of one, or two: So that if I had counſelled one or two to it, it would not argue that the act of the Magiſtrates, and of the Deputies, (which is the body of the Court) had been done by my counſell or conſent. And indeed it

was the very true [38] meaning of my ſpeech, that for the haſtening of the Sentence of the Court againſt Mr. *Williams*, that act of the Court (which was the act of the body of the Magiſtrates, and of the Deputies) it was neither done by my counſell, nor conſent. For the body of them neither required my counſell, nor received my conſent. What one of them did (for I remember but one that conſulted with me about it) was not the act done by the Magiſtrates, whereof I ſpake. And let the occaſion, and ſcope, and matter of that ſpeech be remembred, and it will be found to tend to that purpoſe, and no other. About a yeare before the Sentence in Court paſſed againſt Mr. *Williams*, the Governour, and other Magiſtrates having underſtood of the diſturbances put upon the Civill State by Mr. *Williams*, (which have been declared above) they ſent for the Elders of the Churches in theſe parts, to acquaint us therewith, and to declare thereupon, the juſt grounds which they had to proceed againſt him: yet willing to conferre thereof with us, becauſe he was an Elder of a Church. I doe not love to predicate mine own good offices to any: but his importunitie forceth me to utter it; when I heard the motion, I preſented (with the conſent of my fellow-Elders and Brethren) a ſerious Requeſt to the Magiſtrates, that they would be pleaſed to forbeare all civill proſecution againſt him, till our ſelves (with our Churches) had dealt with him in a Church way, to convince him of ſinne: alledging that my ſelfe, and brethren hoped, his violent courſe did rather ſpring from ſcruple of conſcience, (though carried with an inordinate zeale) then from a ſeditious Principle. To which the Governour replyed, *That wee were deceived in him, if we thought he would condeſcend to learne of any of us: And what will you doe* (ſaith he) *when you have*

run your courſe, and found all your labour loſt?[17] I anſwered for the reſt, we hoped better things: if it fell out contrary to our hopes, we could not helpe it, but muſt ſit downe, and quiet our conſcience in the Lords acceptance of our will, and endeavour for the deed.[18]

This interceding of my ſelfe, and other Elders in his behalfe, gave me juſt occaſion of that profeſſion above-mentioned, *That I had ſought to deliver him, who without cauſe reproached mee.*

The iſſue was when the Church of *New-Towne*, with our owne, and others had endeavoured to convince both M. *Williams* of theſe offences, and the Church of *Salem* of their indulgent toleration [39] of him therein; it pleaſed the Lord to open the hearts of the Church to aſſiſt us in dealing with him: but he in ſtead of hearkening, either to them, or us, renounced us all, as no Churches of Chriſt: and therefore not at all to be hearkened unto.

[17] The Governour, whoſe words are here quoted, was Thomas Dudley, who had been elected ſucceſſor of Winthrop, by the Court which met in May, 1634, partly in conſequence of an injudicious ſermon which Cotton himſelf preached, in which he laid down the direction "that a Magiſtrate ought not to be turned into the condition of a private man without juſt cauſe, and to be publicly convict, no more than the Magiſtrates may not turn a private man out of his freehold, etc., without like public trial etc." Winthrop, 1, 132. Dudley died July 31, 1653, and in his pocket were found ſome lines of his own compoſing, of which the following are a characteriſtic ſpecimen:

Let men of God in courts and churches watch
O'er ſuch as do a *toleration* hatch,
Leſt that ill egg bring forth a cockatrice,
To poiſon all with hereſies and vice.

See the account of Thomas Dudley in Mather's Magnalia.

[18] The ſtatement which Cotton here makes reſpecting his perſonal attitude towards Williams is confirmed by the account of Winthrop, who ſays that both Cotton and Wilſon interceded with the Court to ſtay the proceedings againſt Williams when he was firſt called to anſwer for his denunciation of the Patent. See Winthrop, 1, 123. The words "About a yeare before the Sentence," would ſeem to imply that Cotton interfered in behalf of Williams for the ſecond time. Beſides this interceſſion with the Court, Cotton, according to his own account, "ſpent a great part of the Summer in ſeeking by word and writing" to ſatisfy the ſcruples of Williams. See p. 47.

Whereupon the Magiſtrates being to aſſemble to the next Generall Court at *New-Towne*, intending (as appeared by the event) to proceed againſt him: And one of the Magiſtrates of our Towne being to goe thither, acquainted me that it was likely Mr. *Williams* his cauſe would then be iſſued, and asked me what I thought of it. *Truely* (ſaid I,) *I pitie the man, and have already interceded for him, whileſt there was any hope of doing good. But now he having refuſed to heare both his own Church, and us, and having rejected us all, as no Churches of Chriſt before any conviction, we have now no more to ſay in his behalfe, nor hope to prevaile for him.*[19] *Wee have told the Governour, and Magiſtrates before, that if our labour was in vaine, wee could not helpe it, but muſt ſit downe. And you know they are generally ſo much incenſed againſt his courſe, that it is not your voyce, nor the voyces of two, or three more, that can ſuſpend the Sentence. Some further ſpeech I had with him of mine own marvell at the weakneſſe, and ſlenderneſſe of the grounds of his opinions, motions, and courſes, and yet carried on with ſuch vehemency, and impetuouſneſſe, and preſidence of Spirit.*

19 The language here uſed implies that Williams, "before any conviction," had renounced communion, not only with the Churches in the Bay, but with "his own Church" at Salem. The ſame impreſſion is made in the enumeration, on a former page, of the "two other things that haſtened the Sentence." p. 30. See alſo Preface, p. 6. But according to Winthrop, Williams did not ſeparate from his own church until after ſentence had been paſſed. "So, the next morning, the court ſentenced him to depart out of our juriſdiction within ſix weeks, all the miniſters, ſave one, approving the ſentence; and his own church had him under queſtion alſo for the ſame cauſe; and he, at his return home, refuſed communion with his own church, who openly diſclaimed his errors, and wrote an humble ſubmiſſion to the magiſtrates, acknowledging their fault in joining with Mr. Williams in that letter to the churches againſt them, etc." Winthrop, vol. 1, p. 171. The diſcrepancy between the two accounts may be reconciled by the obvious explanation that Cotton had in mind the fact which Winthrop ſtates, that Williams, before ſentence was paſſed, "wrote to his church a proteſtation, that he could not communicate with the churches in the bay; neither would he communicate with them except they would refuſe communion with the reſt." Volume 1, page 166.

To this purpoſe was my ſpeech to him, nor can I call to minde that I ſpake ſo much as this to any man elſe; nor can I remember at all, that further then ſo, I gave him any grounds to prove the ſentencing of him to Baniſhment, to be juſt and warrantable to his Conſcience. Nor would it infringe the truth of my ſpeech if I had ſo done, ſeeing it is not one mans vote (nor two, if there had been two) that denominateth the ſentence of the Court, or the act to be done by the Magiſtrates, much leſſe done by the Magiſtrates with my counſell, and conſent: but though I looked at the Sentence of the Court, as neither haſtened nor done by my counſell, and conſent, yet I did never intend to ſay, that I did not conſent to the juſtice of the Sentence when it was paſt. Not that I withdrew my ſelfe out of the Court (as he is pleaſed to conſtrue it) *out of ſome reluctation*; *or that I meant it, I neither counſelled nor conſented in the very time of the ſentence paſſing*: but that I did not before-hand either give counſell, or conſent to the body of the Magiſtrates, or Deputies, to paſſe that Sentence againſt him.

40] To Chap. V.

I ſee I have been ſo large in anſwering the former foure Chapters of this Examination of my Letter, that if I ſhould proceed in the like ſort in a particular ſearch of the other twenty-foure Chapters which remaine, I ſhould take up more time then were meet about the perſonall concernments of him, or my ſelfe. Who are wee, that we ſhould publickly invite the ſervants of Chriſt (who are employed in more weighty affaires of their Lord and ours) to attend unto perſonall Tranſactions between him, and me? Where any thing

ſhall occurre tending to more publick edification, I ſhall inſiſt with more attention thereupon, and paſſe over other lighter Diſcourſes, with a lighter touch. Yet who ſo can ſpare ſo much time, and leiſure, as to compare each Chapter of his, with each Chapter of this Diſcourſe, he ſhall finde (if I be not miſtaken) no paſſage of weight paſſed over without returning due Anſwer to each particular. That Text in *Prov.* 11. 26. (*He that withholdeth the Corne*, (which is the ſtaffe of life) *from the people, the multitude ſhall curſe him:*) *I alledged to prove that the people had much more cauſe to ſeparate ſuch from amongst them, (whether by Civill, or Church-Cenſure, as doe withhold, or ſeparate them from the Ordinances, or the Ordinances from them, which are (in Chriſt) the bread of life.* Let not the Reader be ſo farre miſ-led by the Examiner his mif-information, as to thinke, that this Scripture was produced againſt him, to juſtifie either a falſe Miniſtery, or an unfit people to chooſe and enjoy a true Miniſtery. The Miniſtery, and people, are the Miniſtery and people of this Countrey: of which, the people he acknowledgeth to be Saints: and the Miniſters of the Churches (choſen by them) not to be deſtitute of ſuch qualifications, as Chriſt requireth, ſave onely that we doe not forbid the people when they goe over into *England*, to heare the word of God preached by godly Miniſters in the Pariſh Churches. Now for this cauſe, becauſe we doe not ſeparate theſe *Engliſh* hearers from us, he ſeparated himſelfe, and withdrew others from hearing the word in our Churches with us: which I accounted as great, and as unſufferable an injury to the ſoules of Gods people, as it would be to their bodies to withhold the Corne from them, or them from the Corne: and for that end I produced this Scripture.

41] That I produced this Scripture alone to juſtifie the Sentence of the Court, it was not for want of others, (if that

had been the Queſtion;) but becauſe the ſcope of my Letter was, not to confirme the equitie of his Baniſhment, but to convince the iniquitie of his Separation. The mention of the cauſe of his civill Baniſhment fell in onely upon the by, to remove an objection out of the way, that becauſe I denied the act of the Court to be done by my counſell, or conſent, therefore it might ſeeme I diſallowed the ſentence. To prevent that miſtake I acknowledged the righteouſneſſe of the Sentence, and for that end I produced that Scripture, as that which might give both ſome juſt reaſon before God of his Civill Baniſhment: and alſo make way for the diſcovery of his ſinne of groundleſſe Separation. Let no man be ſo farre miſtaken, as to thinke, that his Separation from the Churches, was either the chiefe difference between the Court and him, (though it was the chiefe between him and me in my Letter;) or that it was the chiefeſt offence for which he ſuffered, though he ſo pretended.

What though neither corporall nor ſpirituall food may lawfully be ſold or bought, but with the good will, and conſent, and authoritie of the owner? &c.

Let him make it appeare, that Chriſt hath not committed the Miniſtery of the Goſpel to us; and wee ſhall give place to others whom Chriſt ſhall ſend: Meane while, if the budding, and bloſſoming, and fruit-bearing of *Aarons* rod was a witneſſe from Heaven, that the Lord approved his Miniſtery againſt all the murmurings of the Children of *Iſrael*, Num. 17. 5. to 8. We muſt leave him, and others to their murmurings againſt us, and quiet our conſcices in an humble bleſſing of the Lord for his gracious bleſſing upon our weake labours in that holy Miniſtery wee have received from him.

What though the Apoſtles were to turne away, and to ſhake off the duſt of their feete, againſt ſcorners, contradictors, deſpiſers, perſecutors?

It was not till they had ſinned againſt the Holy Ghoſt, and ſcorned, and perſecuted the convincing light of the Goſpel, *Acts* 13. 45. to 51.

Otherwiſe the *Jewes* were ſcorners, and perſecutors of Chriſt himſelfe, and of all that confeſſed his Name, *Joh.* 9. 22. yet ſtill the Apoſtles ceaſed not to Preach to them, and pray with them, [42] *Acts* 3. 1. &c. to wit, whileſt their Perſecutors ſinned of ignorance, *ver.* 17.

What though the Apoſtles were forbidden to preach to ſome places?

He wiſely quoteth no Text for it, leſt the quoting might be the confuting of himſelfe. He knoweth, it was but for a time that others (according to the good pleaſure of Chriſts will) might be ſerved before them.

What if M^r. Cotton *ſaw juſt cauſe to refuſe to ſell ſpirituall Corne in a miſ-hallowed Surplice?* Is it ſafe therefore for M^r. *Williams* to ſhut up his ſacks mouth, and to refuſe to ſell corne in his ordinary apparrell?

What if M^r. Cotton *forbeare to adminiſter the Lords Supper to all beleevers, or Baptiſme unto their children, untill the beleevers profeſſe their Faith, and Repentance before the Church?* Is it ſafe therefore for M^r. *Williams* to refuſe to Breake the Bread of Life unto the Church of *Salem*, whereunto their Election, and Ordination of him, and his own voluntary acceptance thereof, had engaged him unto ſtuwardly office?

What though in all Civill Tranſactions, and in all the preſent diſturbances of England, *principall reſpect is had unto a right Commiſſion, and right Order?* Let him ſhew wherein our Commiſſion, or Order is defective, and reaſon would we ſhould hearken to him.

But ſee the warineſſe, and ſlineſſe of the Examiner: *I judge it not* (ſaith he) *ſeaſonable here, to entertaine the Diſpute of the true Power, and call of Chriſts Miniſtery.* An handſome

evaſion. Now when the grounds of his Separation are queſtioned, now when he ſtandeth upon his open juſtification, now in Print before the eyes of all men, now he thinketh it not ſeaſonable, to entertaine any diſpute of ſuch things at all. Thus *Fælix* would heare *Paul* when he had a more convenient time: and yet that was the very time and houre of his viſitation, *Acts* 24. 25.

His evaſion of this Text in *Prov.* 11. 26. (by comparing it with *Deut.* 17. 12.) doth but adde a deluſion to an evaſion. [*Deut.* 17. I ſuppoſe he meaneth, though his printed copie ſay *Deut.* 15.][20] For it is a deluſion to make the capitall puniſhment preſcribed againſt the preſumptuous rejection of the Sentence of the chiefeſt Court in *Iſrael*, a figure of Excommunication in the Church of Chriſt.

43] For firſt, no Scripture of old or new Teſtament giveth any intimation of any ſuch figure in this Law. And to make a judiciall Law a figure without ſome light from ſome Scripture, is to make a mans ſelfe, wiſe above that which is written.

2. That law is of morall equitie, that is of univerſall and perpetuall equitie, in all Nations, in all Ages: He that ſhall preſumptuouſly appeale from, or riſe up againſt the ſentence of the chiefeſt and higheſt Court in a free State, is guilty *Læſæ majeſtatis publicæ*, and therfore as a capitall offender to be cenſured in any free Common-wealth.

3. This Law in *Deut.* 17. provided an effectuall puniſhment againſt ſuch preſumptuous offenders, and an effectuall remedy againſt all ſuch like preſumption in others, that *all Iſrael might heare, and feare, and doe no more preſumptuouſly,*

[20] Deut. 17: 12, reads, "And the man that will do preſumptuouſly, and will not hearken unto the prieſt that ſtandeth to miniſter there before the LORD thy God, or unto the judge, even that man ſhall die: and thou ſhalt put away the evil from Iſrael." A compariſon with Chap. 15, will ſhow the propriety of Cotton's correction.

ver. 13. But ſo doth not Excommunication. For what if an Excommunicate perſon preſume againſt the ſentence of Chriſt in his Church, (as M^r. *Williams* doth againſt the Sentence of the Church of *Salem?*) doth the power of the Church provide, that all the *Iſrael* of God may heare, and feare, and doe no more preſumptuouſly? Is the figure become more powerfull, and effectuall, then the ſubſtance? the ſhadow, then the body? the type, then the Antitype?

From this miſtaken Figure, the Examiner would inferre, *The withholding of the Corne preſumptuouſly to be death in Iſrael: but not ſo in every State of the world: much leſſe the pleading againſt a falſe Miniſtery to be a capitall crime: for as for Baniſhment never ſuch a courſe was heard of in Iſrael.*

Anſw. That law in *Deut.* hath nothing to doe with the withholding of Corne preſumptuouſly, unleſſe there had firſt paſſed ſome ſentence of the Soveraigne Court againſt the withholding of Corne. But otherwiſe ordinary ſinnes of preſumption, doe fall under the Judicature of another Law, *Num.* 15. 30, 31.

Neither hath this Text in *Solomons Proverbs* any thing to doe with that Law in *Deut.* 17. nor with capitall puniſhment. *Solomon* doth not ſay, that every man that withholdeth his corne, ſhall be put to death in *Iſrael:* nor doe I ſay that he is to be put to death in any State of the world: leaſt of all doe I ſay that Pleading againſt a falſe Miniſtery is a capitall crime: Theſe are all but excurſions, and evaporations of the ſuperfluity of wit. But this I ſay, (and not [44] I but *Solomon*) *He that withholdeth the Corne, the people ſhall curſe him*, Prov. 11. 26. And curſing implyeth Separation. He therefore that ſhall withdraw, or ſeparate, the Corne from the people, or the people from the Corne; the people have juſt cauſe to ſeparate either him from themſelves, or them-

ſelves from him. And this proportion will hold as well in ſpirituall Corne as bodily: the Argument ſtill ſtandeth unſhaken.

What though we never read of Baniſhment in *Iſrael?* we read of ſomething proportionable: what elſe meaneth that Decree? *Let Judgement be executed to death, or to Baniſhment*, Ezra. 7. 27. And *Ezra.* 10. 8? *Let all his ſubſtance be forfeited, and himſelfe ſeparated from the Congregation of thoſe that had been carried away.* And in *Moſes*, frequent mention is made of, *Cutting off from the people*; which though in *Iſrael*, it may ſometime ſignifie, cutting off by Gods hand, ſometime by the ſword of the Magiſtrate, and ſometime cutting off from the fellowſhip of Gods Houſe: yet in *Abrahams* Family, The cutting off (in *Gen.* 17. 14.) may very well reach, cutting off from their civill Cohabitation: as for a like offence *Iſhmael*, and his mother were cut off from cohabitation in the Tents of *Abrahams* people, *Gen.* 21. 9. to 14.

Alſo he that had unawares ſlaine a man, was baniſhed, though not out of all *Iſrael*, yet from his own Houſe, and Towne, and Tribe, till the death of the High Prieſt, and that was as much as Baniſhment out of any Society of Chriſts people now, whether in Church, or Civill Fellowſhip. For though out of *Iſrael*, there was no full Baniſhment legally enjoyned, becauſe there was then no other Church extant in the world, (and ſo to baniſh a man out of *Iſrael*, was as much as to ſay, Goe, and ſerve other Gods, 1 *Sam.* 26. 19) yet now when Church-fellowſhip in the true Religion may be had in ſo many places, to baniſh a man out of his Countrey, is no more then it was then to baniſh an *Iſraelite* into a Citie of Refuge. But though baniſhment be now a lawfull puniſhment in ſome caſe, yet I goe not about to prove that every wilfull withholding of corne, in every State is baniſhment,

much leſſe death. But he that ſhall withhold his own corne, and goe about to perſwade all others that have corne lying by them, to ſhut up their ſacks mouths, and not to bring forth their corne for the nouriſhment of the people, (which is, if we ſpeake of ſpirituall corne, the very caſe of the 45] Examiner) I doe not ſee but ſuch an one may be juſtly accounted as *Hoſtis Reipublicæ*, a publick enemy of the Countrey, and, as ſuch an one, in due order, to be caſt out of it.

In due order I ſay; for if ſuch an one be detained from bringing forth his corne by ſome ſcruple of Conſcience, (as ſuppoſe a man able to Preach Chriſt, and ſo able to diſpenſe ſpirituall corne, yet doubting of the true way of the Miniſtery ſince the Apoſtaſie of Antichriſt, dare not practiſe the Miniſtery.) Such an one ſhould not be ſodainly caſt out of the Countrey, till he be firſt convinced, that the Apoſtaſie of Antichrſt, did never ſo farre prevaile againſt the Church of Chriſt, as to roote it out from off the face of the earth. The woman (which is the Church of Chriſt) was ſtill nouriſhed in a Wilderneſſe, even during all the Reigne of Antichriſt, *Rev.* 12. 14, 15, 16. The Temple of God, (which is his Church) together with the Altar, and them that worſhip therein, were ſtill meaſured, and that by *John* (by Apoſtolick meaſure) all the time, when Antichriſt trod downe the outward Court of the holy City, *Rev.* 11. 1, 2. The Golden veſſels of the Temple ſtill continued in the middeſt of the Babyloniſh Captivitie. And if ſpirituall Babylon have now ſo farre prevailed againſt the Church of Chriſt, as that they have rooted it up from the face of the earth, then what is become of the promiſe of Chriſt; *The gates of Hell ſhall never prevaile againſt it?* Mat. 16. 18. Surely the Promiſe is given to a particular Congregationall Church, that it ſhall never faile, but ſhall alwayes be extant in ſome Countrey, or

other; for he ſpeaks of ſuch a Church, to whom the keyes of the Kingdome are committed, *ver.* 19. It will be vaine to look for new Apoſtles to replant Churches out of the ruines of the Antichriſtian Apoſtaſie. For the new Teſtament acknowledgeth *Paul* and *Barnabas* to be the laſt Apoſtles, 1 *Cor.* 4. 9. If any Apoſtles riſe up after them, then *Paul* and *Barnabas* will not be the laſt. And when the New *Hieruſalem* comes downe from Heaven, yet ſhee ſhall not be builded by any new Apoſtles, but built upon that foundation which the Lambes twelve Apoſtles have already laid, *Rev.* 21. 14.[21]

[21] In the foregoing paragraph Cotton had in mind ſome particular paſſages in the life of Williams, already alluded to on page 11, which are thus deſcribed by Winthrop, under date of July, 1639. "At Providence matters went after the old manner. Mr. Williams and many of his company, a few months ſince, were in all haſte rebaptized, and denied communion with all others, and now he was come to queſtion his ſecond baptiſm, not being able to derive the authority of it from the apoſtles, otherwiſe than by the miniſters of England, (whom he judged to be ill authority,) ſo as he conceived God would raiſe up ſome apoſtolic power. Therefore he bent himſelf that way, expecting (as was ſuppoſed) to become an apoſtle; and having a little before refuſed communion with all, ſave his own wife, now he would preach and pray with all comers." Winthrop, vol. 1, 307.

Theſe peculiar opinions which led Williams to renounce the Church at Providence only a few months after he had joined it, he continued to cheriſh during the remainder of his life. In his "Hireling Miniſtry None of Chriſts," publiſhed in 1652, he ſays: "In the poor ſmall ſpan of my life, I deſired to have been a diligent and conſtant obſerver, and have been myſelf many ways engaged, in city, in country, in court, in ſchools, in univerſities, in churches, in Old and New England, and yet cannot, in the holy preſence of God, bring in the reſult of a ſatisfying diſcovery, that either the begetting miniſtry of the apoſtles or meſſengers to the nations, or the feeding and nouriſhing miniſtery of paſtors and teachers, according to the firſt inſtitution of the Lord Jeſus, are yet reſtored and extant." Hireling Miniſtry, p. 4.

The opinions of Williams reſpecting the miniſtry ſeem to have been almoſt identical with thoſe of his illuſtrious friend, Sir Henry Vane, and they certainly reſemble the views entertained, in our own times, by the diſciples of Edward Irving. The connection of Williams with the Baptiſts was accidental and temporary. He did not join them until nearly two years had elapſed from the ſettlement of Providence, and remained connected with them only three or four months. See Letter of Richard Scot, in "New-Eng-

As for thoſe many excellent, and worthy Gentlemen, Lawyers, Phyſicians, and others, whom the Examiner commendeth to be as well gifted in the knowledge of the Scripture, and furniſhed with gifts, of tongues, and utterance, as moſt that profeſſe the Miniſtery, and yet are not perſwaded [46] *to ſell ſpirituall Corne, as queſtioning their true calling, and Commiſſion.*

In ſuch a caſe I would firſt ſeeke (by the helpe of Chriſt) to remove the ſcruples upon which they queſtion their calling, and Commiſſion.

Secondly, I would thinke it meet, to put a difference between ſuch as never received a lawfull calling and commiſſion to the Miniſtery, and them that have received it. But if any of them have received a lawfull calling into the Miniſtery, and yet will neither Preach themſelves, nor ſuffer them that would, I ſuppoſe that both Church, and Common-wealth, may juſtly account them unworthy of any Chriſtian ſociety; and as ſuch unprofitable ſervants refuſe to miniſter themſelves, or to ſuffer others to miniſter ſpirituall things; ſo others ſhould refuſe to miniſter to them carnall things.

But (ſaith he) *the ſelling, or withholding of ſpirituall Corne, are both of a ſpirituall nature: and therefore muſt neceſſarily in a true Paralell beare Relation to a ſpirituall Curſe.*

land Fire-Brand Quenched," page 247. What Toland ſays of Milton is equally true of Williams: "In his middle years he was beſt pleas'd with the *Independents* and *Anabaptiſts*, as allowing of more Liberty than others, and coming neareſt in his opinion to the primitive practice. But in the latter part of his Life he was not a profeſſed Member of any particular Sect among Chriſtians, he frequented none of their Aſſemblies, nor made uſe of their peculiar Rites in his Family. Whether this proceeded from a diſlike of their uncharitable and endleſs Diſputes, and that Love of Dominion, or Inclination to Perſecution, which, he ſaid, was a piece of Popery inſeperable from all Churches; or whether he thought one might be a good Man, without ſubſcribing to any Party; and that they had all in ſom things corrupted the Inſtitutions of Jesus Christ, I will by no means adventure to determine." See Life of John Milton, Lond. 1699, p. 151.

Anſw. If they that miniſter ſpirituall good things may duely reape carnall good things, (1 *Cor.* 9. 11.) then they that hinder the miniſtring of ſpirituall good things, may juſtly reape the hinderance of enjoyment of carnall good things. What if ſpirituall, and carnall good things be not paralell? Are there no Arguments but *a Pari?* Is it not lawfull reaſoning *a majori ad minus?* If men hinder the enjoyment of ſpirituall good things, may they not be hindred from the enjoyment of that which is leſſe, carnall good things? It would weary a ſober minde to purſue ſuch windy fancies: though I hope the Lord will helpe me not to count it weariſome, either to ſatisfie a tender Conſcience, or to convince a Gainſayer.

To Chap. VI.

THough my Letter expreſſeth, *That it may be the Court paſſed that ſentence againſt M*r. Williams, *not upon that ground, (from* Prov. 11. 26.) *but for ought I know, for his other corrupt Doctrines (ſuitable to his Practiſes) tending to the diſturbance of Civill, and holy Peace:* Yet I doe not therefore queſtion (as he ſaith I ſeeme to [47] doe) *the ſandineſſe of ſuch a ground (as that place of Scripture) to warrant ſuch proceedings; nor doe I therein confeſſe that my ſelfe had no diſtinct knowledge of the cauſes of his Baniſhment.*

For I did not alledge that place of Scripture, as a ground upon which the Court proceeded to his Baniſhment: and therefore I ſaid in my Letter, it may be they paſſed Sentence not upon that ground. But I alledged it as a reaſon, which provoked the Lord to moove the Court to proceed againſt M*r*. *Williams*, for ſuch other offenſive, and diſturbant Doc-

trines, and Practiſes againſt the Patent, and againſt the oath of fidelitie, and againſt the Magiſtrates delay of the Petition of *Salem*, which he himſelfe knoweth, I had diſtinct knowledge of before, which maketh me the more to marvell at his wonder, *Where was my waking care in his behalfe*;[22] Whereas he knoweth I ſpent a great part of the Summer in ſeeking by word and writing to ſatisfie his ſcruples in the former particulars: untill he rejected both our callings, and our Churches. And even then I ceaſed not to follow him ſtill, with ſuch meanes of conviction, and ſatisfaction in that Point alſo, as God brought to my hand: whereof this very Letter, (which he examineth, and anſwereth) is a pregnant, and evident demonſtration.

What though in this Letter I did not name his other corrupt Doctrines and Practiſes, nor any Scriptures to prove them corrupt? His heart knoweth full well both the Points, and the Scriptures, that were charged upon him all that Summer. And to have rehearſed them againe in this Letter, it had been but *actum agere*, neither was it the worke in hand. For having done it before, wee looked for ſome ſatisfactory

[22] The ſtatement which Cotton here makes, that the ſeparation of Williams from the Churches, or in other words, his "withholding of ſpirituall Corne," though not itſelf the "ground upon which the Court proceeded to his Baniſhment," was yet "a reaſon which provoked the Lord to moove the Court to proceed againſt Mr. *Williams* for "other offenſive, and diſturbant Doctrines, and Practiſes," agrees with the ſtatement before made that while the "cauſes of his Baniſhment" were his oppoſition to the Patent, and to the Oath of Fidelity, yet "two other things fell in upon theſe that haſtened the Sentence." See p. 29.

According to the account given by Williams, (*Mr.* Cottons *Letter* examined and anſwered, p. 7,) the verſe Proverbs 11: 26, of which ſo much uſe is here made, was connected with a diſpute between himſelf and Cotton "concerning the true Miniſtery appointed by the Lord Jeſus." Without doubt this diſpute was a part of the diſcuſſion during "a greater part of the Summer," to which Cotton refers above. But Williams confounded what was a "chief difference" between himſelf and Cotton, with that for which he "chiefly ſuffered" at the hands of the civil authority. Compare Preface, p. 8.

anſwer: but in ſtead thereof wee received onely a rejection of our callings, and Churches: ſo that there was nothing now left, but to endeavour to ſatisfie his Conſcience in the ſandineſſe of thoſe grounds, upon which he rejected communion with us.

To Chap. VII.

IN the 7th Chapter Mr. *Williams* examineth thoſe words of my Letter, wherein I ſay, that *were my ſoule in his ſoules ſtead, I ſhould accept it as a mercy of God, to baniſh me from the Civill Society of ſuch a Common-wealth, where I could not enjoy holy Fellowſhip with any Church of God amongst them without ſinne. For what ſhould the daughter of* [48] *Zion doe in Babel? Why ſhould ſhee not haſten to flee from thence?*

To this the Examiner anſwereth, that *though his love bids him to hope, that* Mr. Cotton *herein intended him a Cordiall, yet if the Ingredients be examined, there will appeare no leſſe then diſhonour to the Name of God, danger to every Civill State, a miſerable comfort to him, and a contradiction within it ſelfe.*

Reply. It is true, what I wrote was in love to his ſoule: but I intended not a cordiall of conſolation to him, (for I did not conceive his Spirit at the preſent prepared for it;) but I intended onely a conviction, to abate the rigour of his indignation againſt diſpenſation of divine Juſtice: And therefore preſented before him the mercy of God in that Adminiſtration.

But he beginneth with the laſt, firſt, to ſhew me the evill of theſe Ingredients.

And firſt for the contradiction to my ſelfe, in *that I ſpeake of the daughter of Zion in Babel: If he call* (ſaith he) *the Land Babel, how can it be Babel, and the Church of Chriſt alſo?*

As if *Zion* cannot be in *Babel*, but it muſt be *Babel?* or as if the Church cannot be in the world, but it muſt be the world? Or as if when I call the Land *Babel*, I ſpeake of it as it is in it ſelfe, and not rather as it is in his apprehenſion? the Churches (in his imagination) ſtill holding communion with Antichriſtian *Babylon.*

Secondly, He maketh it a dangerous Doctrine to affirme it, *a miſery to live in that State where a Chriſtian cannot enjoy the fellowſhip of the publick Churches of God without ſinne.*

Reply. 1. Though I doe affirme it to be a mercy to be delivered out of ſuch a State, yet I doe not affirme it to be a miſery to live in it. It is a mercy to be tranſlated, not onely from miſery to happineſſe, but from a leſſe good to a greater. It is a mercy to a faithfull ſoule to be tranſlated from a Saint to a Miniſter; and yet Saintſhip is no miſery.

2. It is ſome degree of miſery, and no ſmall one to a ſpirituall mind, for a Chriſtian to live where he cannot enjoy the fellowſhip of Churches: or elſe *David* complained without cauſe; *Woe is me, that I am conſtrained to dwell in Meſhek,* Pſal. 120. 5. & 42. 4.

What if there be many famous States, wherein no Church of Jeſus Chriſt is knowne? Is it not a mercy to be dimiſſed from ſuch a State to a Land of more liberty, and piety?

49] *What if God commanded his people to Pray for the Peace of materiall Babel, whileſt they were forced to abide in it?*

Was it not therefore a mercy from God, for *Cyrus* to deliver them out of *Babel?*

What if Sodom, Ægypt, Babel, be ſpiritually underſtood, *Rev.* 11. 8. & 14. 8.

Is it not therefore a mercy when God calleth his People out of ſuch Dungeons, and ſinkes of abomination?

What if there were a true Church in materiall Babel? 1 Pet. 5. 13.

Let him remember what he ſpake a little before; *That if I ſpeake not of Babel myſtically, I ſpeake not to the Point:* Let him apply it to himſelfe.

Wherefore doth he tell us againe of *his being driven into the miſeries of an howling Wilderneſſe?*

1. It was no howling Wilderneſſe when he came to it, as hath been ſaid above.

2. He might have gone to other *Engliſh* Plantations Eaſtward, *Paſcatoq*;, and *Agaminticus.*

3. *Solomon* telleth us, *It is better to live in a Wilderneſſe, then with a contentious, and angry woman,* Prov. 21. 19. And ſuch he accounteth all our Churches, and Courts to be.

Thirdly, ſaith he, *M^r.* Cotton *himſelfe would have counted it a mercy, if he might have Practiſed in* Old-England, *what he doth in* New-England, *with the enjoyment of Civill Peace, &c.*

Reply. True; but what is that to the purpoſe? The Queſtion is if I could not enjoy the Fellowſhip of publick Churches without ſinne, (as in thoſe dayes I could not) whether then I would account it a mercy to be removed? Verily, I doe ſo account it, and bleſſe the Lord from my ſoule for his aboundant mercy in forcing me out thence, in ſo fit a ſeaſon.

But further, (ſaith he) *what if M^r.* Cotton *ſhould diſſent from the new Engliſh Churches, and joyne in worſhip with ſome other, (as ſome few yeares ſince, he was upon the Point to doe, in a ſeparation from the Churches there, as Legall) would he count it a mercy to be pluckt up by the rootes, him, and his, and to endure the loſſes, diſtractions, miſeries, that doe attend ſuch a condition?*

Reply. The Examiner is falſly, and foully miſ-informed, when he ſaith, *I was about to ſeparate ſome few yeares ſince from the new Engliſh* [50] *Churches as Legall.* For I never counted them as Legall Churches; nor was I ever about to ſeparate from them as Legall, or otherwiſe ſo uncleane, that a good conſcience might not hold communion with them without ſinne.

The truth is, There was a Generation of Familiſts in our own, and other Townes, who under pretence of holding forth, what I had taught, touching union with Chriſt, and evidencing of that union, did ſecretly vent ſundry corrupt, and dangerous errors, and hereſies, denying all inherent righteouſneſſe, and all evidencing of a good eſtate thereby in any ſort, and ſome of them denying alſo the Immortalitie of the ſoule, and Reſurrection of the body.[23] When they were queſtioned

[23] The firſt mention by Winthrop of the gifted and unfortunate Anne Hutchinſon is as follows: "One Mrs. Hutchinſon, a member of the church of Boſton, brought over with her two dangerous errors: 1. That the perſon of the Holy Ghoſt dwells in a juſtified perſon. 2. That no ſanctification can help to evidence to us our juſtification. From theſe two grew many branches; as, 1., Our union with the Holy Ghoſt, ſo as a Chriſtian remains dead to every ſpiritual action, and hath no gifts nor graces, other than ſuch as are in hypocrites, nor any other ſanctification but the Holy Ghoſt himſelf." Winthrop, 1, 200.

According to her own ſtatement, made to the General Court, Mrs. Hutchinſon had come to New England for the expreſs reaſon that ſhe might continue to enjoy the ſpiritual miniſtrations of Cotton, who had been her near neighbor in Lincolnſhire. See "A Short Story of the Riſe, reign, and ruine of the *Antinomians, Familiſts* & *Libertines*," p. 38.

The expreſſion which Cotton uſes to deſcribe the Antinomians, "a Generation of Familiſts," hardly conveys an adequate notion of their importance. Says Thomas Welde, who has never been accuſed of preſenting them in too favorable a light: "And that which added rigour and boldneſs to them was this, that now by this time they had ſome of all ſorts, and quality, in all places to defend and Patroniſe them; Some of the Magiſtrates, ſome Gentlemen, ſome Scholars, and men of learning, ſome Burgeſſes of our Generall Court, ſome of our Captains and Soldiers, ſome chiefe men in Townes, and ſome men eminent for Religion, parts and wit. So in Towne-meetings, Military-trainings, and all other Societies, yea almoſt in every family, it was hard if ſome or other were not ready to riſe up in defence of them, even as of the apple of their owne eye." See "Short Story, &c.," Preface.

by ſome Brethren about thoſe things, they carried it as if they held forth nothing but what they had received from me.[24] Whereof when I was advertiſed, to cleare my ſelfe, I publickly Preached againſt theſe errors. Then ſaid the Brethren to the erring party, See, your Teacher declares himſelfe clearely to differ from you. No matter (ſay the other) what he ſaith in publick, we underſtand him otherwiſe, and we know what he ſaith to us in private. Yea and I my ſelfe could not eaſily beleeve that thoſe erring Brethren, and Siſters were ſo corrupt in their Judgements, as they were reported, they ſeeming to me forward Chriſtians, and utterly denying unto me any ſuch Tenents, or any thing elſe but what they received from my ſelfe. All which bred in ſundry of the Countrey a jealouſie that I was in ſecret a Fomenter of the Spirit of Familiſme, if not leavened my ſelfe that

[24] That it was not alone the belief of Mrs. Hutchinſon and her friends that Cotton agreed with their opinions appears from the following account by Thomas Shepard. Deſcribing his ſettlement at Cambridge, he ſays: "No ſooner were we thus ſet down and entered into church fellowſhip, but the Lord exerciſed us and the whole country with the opinions of Familiſts; begun by Mrs. Hutchinſon, raiſed up to a great height by Mr. Vane, too ſuddenly choſen Governor, and maintained too obſcurely by Mr. Cotton, and propagated too boldly by the members of Boſton, and ſome in other churches." And after ſpeaking of the "monſtrous opinions" gendered in the country, he adds: "Which the elders perceiving, having uſed all private brotherly means with Mr. Cotton firſt, and yet no healing, hereupon, they publicly preached both againſt opinions publicly and privately maintained." See "Thomas Shepard's Memoir of his own Life," in Young's Chronicles of Maſs., pp. 546–47. This laſt ſtatement gives color to the aſſertion of the Antinomians that Cotton ſaid to them in private what he did not ſay in public. On this point compare further the ſtatement of Winthrop, (vol. 1, p. 202,) that, the Boſton church having under conſideration the queſtion of calling Mr. Wheelwright, the brother-in-law of Mrs. Hutchinſon, to be teacher, when it was objected that he held to her opinions, "Hereupon the governour (Vane) ſpake, that he marvelled at this, ſeeing Mr. Cotton had lately approved his doctrine." Winthrop further ſtates, that Cotton agreed with Vane in holding that the Holy Ghoſt dwelt perſonally in the believer, and that when a queſtion aroſe in the church "about ſanctification," Vane and Cotton took the ſame view. pp. 206, 210.

way.[25] Which I diſcerning, it wrought in me thoughts, (as it did in many other ſincerely godly Brethren of our Church) not of a Separation from the Churches, as Legall, (whom we truely embraced, and honoured in the Lord) but of a Remoovall to *New Haven*, as being better knowne to the Paſtor,[26] and ſome others there, then to ſuch as were at that time jealous of me here. The true Ground whereof was, an inward loathneſſe to be troubleſome to godly mindes, and a feare of the unprofitableneſſe of my Miniſtery there, where my way was ſuſpected to be doubtfull, and dangerous. I choſe therefore rather to meditate a ſilent departure in Peace, then by tarrying here to make way for the breaking forth of

[25] That Winthrop himſelf ſhared, in ſome degree, this "jealouſie," ſeems likely from the letter that he wrote to Cotton, (Winthrop, vol. 1, p. 211,) and the wide extent to which it was diffuſed among the clergy appears from various paſſages; as for example, the ſtatement p. 212, that "About this time the reſt of the miniſters, taking offence at ſome doctrines delivered by Mr. Cotton, and eſpecially at ſome opinions, which ſome of his church did broach, and for he ſeemed to have too good an opinion of, and too much familiarity with thoſe perſons, drew out ſixteen points, and gave them to him, entreating him to deliver his judgment directly in them, which accordingly he did, and many copies thereof were diſperſed about. Some doubts he well cleared, but in ſome things he gave not ſatisfaction." Winthrop, 1, 212. Again p. 213, Winthrop ſpeaks of "Mr. Cotton's party," and p. 218, referring to the fact that Vane, Cotton and Wheelwright did not attend an ordination at Concord, adds, "The reaſon was conceived to be, becauſe they accounted them as legal preachers, and therefore would not give approbation to their ordination."

[26] The Rev. John Davenport, who was born in 1597, and educated firſt in Merton College, then in Magdalen Hall, Oxford. He afterwards preached in London. Driven by the arbitrary proceedings of Laud to Holland, he came to New England in 1637, in compliance with the earneſt requeſt of Cotton, and in 1638, with Theophilus Eaton, founded the colony of New Haven. Between him and Cotton the warmeſt friendſhip exiſted, and on the death of Cotton, Davenport was invited to become his ſucceſſor. He died in Boſton, 1670, and was buried in the ſame tomb with his friend, near that of Governor Winthrop, in the northern corner of King's Chapel Grave-yard. As the colony of New Haven was not founded until ſome time after the meeting of the Synod at New-Towne, it is evident that the qualified aſſent yielded by Cotton to its deciſions was ſtill far from removing the ſuſpicions felt reſpecting him.

Temptations. But when at the Synod[27] I had diſcovered the corruption of the Judgement of the erring Brethren, and ſaw their fraudulent pretence of [51] holding forth no other, but what they received from me, (when as indeed they pleaded for groſſe errors, contrary to my judgement;) and thereupon bare witneſſe againſt them; and when in a pri-

[27] Held at New Towne, Auguſt 30, 1637, at which eighty-two erroneous opinions, "found to have been brought into New-England, and ſpread underhand there," were condemned. Theſe opinions are enumerated in the "Short Story," before quoted. One of the moderators of the Synod was Bulkeley, of Concord, in whoſe ordination Cotton had refuſed to take part, on the ground that he was a "legall preacher."

One reſult of the Antinomian controverſy was an Order of the Court to the effect, "that none ſhould be received to inhabite within this Juriſdiction but ſuch as ſhould be allowed by ſome of the Magiſtrates." This order gave great offence, and Winthrop prepared and publiſhed an elaborate vindication of it. From this "Defence" the following extract is quoted from its direct bearing upon a queſtion previouſly diſcuſſed in theſe notes. Referring to the caſe of Wheelwright, Winthrop ſays: "If we conceive and find by ſadd experience that his opinions are ſuch, as by his own profeſſion cannot ſtand with externall peace, may we not provide for our peace, by keeping off ſuch as would ſtrengthen him, and infect others with ſuch dangerous tenents? and if we finde his opinions ſuch as will cauſe diviſions, and make people look at their magiſtrates, miniſters and brethren as enemies to Chriſt; and Antichriſt, &c were it not ſinne and unfaithfullneſs in us, to revive more of thoſe opinions, which we allready finde the evill fruit of; Nay, why doe not thoſe who now complayne joyne with us in keeping out of ſuch, as well as formerly they did in expelling Mr. Williams for the like, though leſſe dangerous?" Life and Letters of John Winthrop, 1630–49, p. 186. Vane replied to Winthrop's "Defence." See Upham's Life of Vane, in Sparks' Amer. Biography, p. 152.

It is a remarkable fact that while this controverſy reſpecting religious toleration was at its height, Roger Williams, writing from Providence, to his friend Governor Winthrop, about certain "ſubſcriptions" which "he had thoughts of propounding" as a baſis of government for the new ſettlement, which as yet had no legal exiſtence, makes no reference whatever to that diſtinctive principle, which, according to the commonly received opinion, was uppermoſt in his thoughts at this time. The ſignificant limitation "only in civil things," which forms a part of the ſubſcription as it was finally entered upon the Records of the town, does not appear in the original draught which Williams ſubmitted to Winthrop. See Letter of Roger Williams to John Winthrop, in Maſs. Hiſt. Coll., Fourth Series, vol. 6, page 186. Compare with Staples, Annals of Providence, p. 39.

vate conference with ſome chiefe Magiſtrates, and Elders, I perceived that my purpoſe of removall upon ſuch differences was unwelcome to them, and that ſuch Points needed not to occaſion any diſtance (neither in place, nor in heart) amongſt Brethren, I then reſted ſatisfied in my abode amongſt them, and ſo have continued by the Grace of Chriſt unto this day.[28]

But now to returne to M^r^. *Williams* his Queſtion; *In the time of this Difference, would I count it* (ſaith he) *a mercy to be pluckt up by the rootes, me, and mine, and to endure the loſſes, diſtractions, and miſeries, that doe attend ſuch a condition?*

[28] Cotton retained his poſition as Teacher of the Boſton church until his death, which took place on Thurſday, Dec. 23, 1652, between the hours of eleven and twelve, after the bell had called to the uſual Lecture. "Upon the 29th he was interred in a brick tomb in the old burying ground, (adjoining the King's Chapel,) in the northern corner, near the Savings' Bank, and not far from Winthrop's tomb." Young's Chronicles of Maſs. p. 429, note. His grand-ſon, Cotton Mather, ſtates that his funeral was the "moſt grievous and ſolemn that was ever known perhaps upon the American ſtrand; and the lectures in his church, the whole winter following, performed by the neighboring miniſters, were but ſo many funeral ſermons upon the death and worth of this extraordinary perſon." The beſt account of Cotton is in the biography written by his friend the Rev. Samuel Whiting, of Emanuel College, Cambridge, who arrived at Boſton, May 26, 1636, and ſoon after became miniſter of the church at Lynn. Whiting's "Life" is the baſis of thoſe by Norton and Cotton Mather. It is printed in Young's Chronicles of Maſs. But in the remarkable paragraph, to which this note is appended, the diſcerning reader will find the character of Cotton more diſtinctly portrayed than by either of his admiring biographers. In this moſt unſatisfactory account of his connection with the Antinomians may be clearly traced the vacillating temper, the love of middle courſes, that gave to the title "Melanchthon of New England" applied to him by Cotton Mather, a fitneſs which was not deſigned, and that ſeems to juſtify the language of Mr. Bancroft, "the flexible Cotton." Hiſt. U. S., vol. 1, p. 391. And there are ſeveral circumſtances which ſerve to ſhow that the high eſtimate in which he was held by all for piety and learning is not to be accepted as meaſure of his public influence. See Palfrey, Hiſt. N. E., vol. 2, p. 409.

It is certainly a moſt inſtructive illuſtration of the ſpirit of that time that he who was afterwards termed "the father and glory of Boſton," ſhould, by his own account, have ſeriouſly meditated a removal to a diſtant town, from "an inward loathneſſe to be troubleſome to godly mindes," and becauſe his "way was ſuſpected to be doubtfull and dangerous."

Anſw. Yea truely, if thoſe jealouſies, and differences had ſtill held, I ſhould have accounted it, and then did account it a mercy to ſee a doore open for remoovall. And therefore in my heart choſe it, and purpoſed it, as a way of wiſdome, and mercy.

But whereas he talketh of plucking up by the rootes, the Metaphor is too Catachreſticall. An old Tree pluckt up by the rootes is not like to grow againe: but neither he, nor I, was expoſed to ſuch an Eradication: we might have remooved (with our ſelves) whatſoever mooveables we had; and what we could not remoove, we might put it off (ſooner, or later) unto others for a valuable conſideration. So that though wee had been plucked up by the rootes, our rootes had not been dried up, but would have ſprung forth againe to our comfortable ſupportance.

It is a queſtion altogether impertinent, which the Examiner putteth in the next place, *Whether if the Inhabitants in* New-England *were permitted to enjoy in* Old-England *their Congregationall way, whether then M^r.* Cotton *himſelfe* (*if he were ſeated in* Old England *againe*) *would count it a mercy to be baniſhed from the Civill State?*

For that is not at all the Queſtion in hand, but this: whether if there were no Congregationall Churches in *Old-England*, unto which we might joyne without ſinne, whether then it were a mercy to be thruſt out? And verily for my ſelfe (and I doubt not for many a thouſand more) I ſhould account it a mercy, to be haſtened out, yea, (if I lingred) to be thruſt out in ſuch a caſe. If many thouſand godly perſons in this Countrey did not make the ſame [52] account, how came we to dwell here, as we doe this day?

Neither yet doe I make God the Author of ſuch cruell mercy, in them that were the cauſes of our caſting out, as he calumniateth.

For the Inſtruments of any unjuſt dealing with the ſervants of God may be cruell: when yet the hand of God in ordering ſuch a worke may be moſt mercifull. The hand of God was moſt mercifull to *Joſeph* in caſting him out of his Fathers houſe into Ægypt, when yet the hand of his brethren was defiled with bloud-guiltie cruelty.

When the Examiner concludeth, that *if I had been expoſed to the miſeries, poverties, neceſſities, wants, debts, hardſhips of Sea and Land, in a baniſhed Condition, he preſumeth I would reach forth a more mercifull Cordiall to the afflicted; and therefore looketh at himſelfe afflicted, as a Lampe deſpiſed in the eyes of him that is at eaſe*, Job 12. 5.

I deſire the Lord might be pleaſed to open his eyes by ſuch afflictions, wiſely to conſider whether he be not out of his way, when he meeteth with ſuch miſeries, poverties, debts, hardſhips? Surely when God hedgeth in the way of his people with thornes, he calleth them to returne to their firſt husband, for then it was better with them, then now, *Hoſ.* 2. 6. His baniſhment was doubtleſſe no cauſe of ſuch afflictions: Divers others have been caſt out of the Countrey, as well as he, and yet God hath generally reſcued them from affliction, & proſpered their eſtates before his eyes. But when he chooſeth rather to betake himſelfe to merchandiſe by Land and Sea, (unto which he was never brought up) then to ſerve the Lord, and his People in diſpenſing ſpirituall food to them in a Church-way, no marvell if the Lord doe not ſhine upon his way, but expoſe him to debts, neceſſities, poverties, miſeries, hardſhips by Sea and Land.[29] It is farre off

[29] From a paſſage in Williams's Letter to Major Maſon, dated June 22, 1670, it would appear that he had extenſively engaged in trade before leaving Salem. "And ſurely, between thoſe, my friends of the Bay and Plymouth, I was ſorely toſſed, for one fourteen weeks, in a bitter winter ſeaſon, not knowing what bread or bed did mean, beſides the yearly loſs of no ſmall matter in my trading

from me to deſpiſe his afflicted condition: but the trueſt mercifull cordiall to his afflicted eſtate, would be to perſwade him that he is out of his way, and ſtill bleſſeth himſelfe (though God both croſſe his eſtate, and blaſt his ſpirit) in ſuch a way.

As for my being at eaſe, (as he calleth it) had he been a little longer acquainted with the faithfull diſcharge of a Miniſters office, he would not judge it ſuch a ſtate of eaſe. If I durſt allow my ſelfe to ſeeke, and take mine eaſe, I ſhould ſooner chooſe a private ſolitary condition in his Wilderneſſe, then all the throng of employment in this numerous ſociety.

53] To Chap. VIII.

IN his 8th Chapter Mr. *Williams* rehearſeth, and examineth thoſe words of my Letter, wherein to helpe him to a ſeri-

with the Engliſh and natives, being debarred from Boſton, the chief mart and port of New England. God knows that many thouſand pounds cannot repay my temporary loſſes I have ſuſtained." See Knowles, "Life of Roger Williams," Appendix, p. 395. The paſſage is quoted in Pub. Narr. Club, vol. 1, p. 32. Unleſs the ſtatement is exaggerated the buſineſs operations of Williams muſt have been conducted on an extenſive ſcale. After he relinquiſhed the miniſtry he ſupported himſelf chiefly by trade. In 1649, he was near loſing his life by the upſetting of a canoe, loaded with goods, in which he was going from Providence to Narraganſett. According to his own account, his trading houſe at Narraganſett, which he was obliged to give up on going to England, had yielded him "one hundred pounds profit per annum." See Knowles's Life, pp. 232–247.

It alſo ſeems clear to my mind that the words "by Sea and Land," which Cotton here quotes from Williams's Anſwer, (Cotton's Letter examined and anſwered, p. 12,) do not refer, as has been ſuppoſed, to the "fourteen weeks" during which Williams ſays he "was ſorely toſſed," but to the whole period of his "baniſhed condition." On this account I am unable to ſubſcribe to the opinion that Williams fled from Salem by ſea. (See Publications Narr. Club, vol. 1, p. 33.) The common metaphor, "I ſteered my courſe from Salem," made uſe of in his Letter to Major Maſon, muſt obviouſly be interpreted by the words which directly follow, "though in winter ſnow," language that could ſcarcely have been uſed to deſcribe a voyage by water. In ſpeaking of "hardſhips by Sea," Williams doubtleſs had in mind ſuch miſhaps as the one above referred to.

ous ſight of his ſinne, I ſaid *that it pleaſed the Lord Jeſus to fight againſt his corrupt wayes with the ſword of his mouth, in the mouths and teſtimonies of the Churches, and Brethren. Againſt whom, when M^r.* Williams *over-heated himſelfe in reaſoning, and diſputing against the light of his Truth, it pleaſed the Lord to ſtop his mouth, by a ſodaine diſeaſe, and to threaten to take his breath from him. But he in ſtead of recoyling* (*as even* Balaam *offered to doe in the like caſe*) *choſe rather to perſiſt in his way, and to proteſt againſt all the Churches, and Brethren that ſtood in his way, &c.*

In theſe lines, the Examiner telleth us, *an humble, and diſcerning Spirit may eſpie, firſt, a glorious juſtification, and boaſting of my ſelfe, and others concurring with me: ſecondly, an unrighteous, and uncharitable Cenſure of the afflicted.*

Reply. Whether is it a more glorious boaſting, to challenge to a mans ſelfe, *an humble, and diſcerning Spirit,* (as the Examiner doth here, and elſewhere in this Treatiſe) or to aſcribe the glory to Chriſt in fighting with the ſword of his mouth, in the teſtimonies and labours of the Churches, and Brethren againſt his corrupt wayes?

Surely when our glorying is not in our ſelves, but in the Lord Jeſus, we are allowed ſo to doe by the Holy Ghoſt, *Iſa* 45. 25. *In the Lord ſhall all the ſeed of Iſrael be juſtified, and ſhall glory.*

Object. *But is it not a glorious boaſting of our ſelves, when as wee make the ſword in our mouths, and teſtimonies, to be the ſword of the mouth of Chriſt; when as the holy Scripture putteth the ſword of Chriſt in the mouths of ſuch witneſſes, as himſelfe, and ſome others, who in meekneſſe, and patience, teſtifie the truth of Jeſus againſt Antichriſt, and againſt all falſe Callings of Miniſters? And whether is M^r.* Cotton, *ſwimming with the ſtreame of outward credit, and profit, and ſmiting with the fiſt,*

and ſword of Perſecution: or himſelfe, and ſuch other the witneſſes of Chriſt, moſt like unto Balaam?

Reply. 1. The quickneſſe of the Examiners wit over-runneth his judgement; for I did not compare him to *Balaam* as like, much leſſe [54] as moſt like; but as unlike. For that which *Balaam* would have done, I ſaid, he would not doe.

2. Let the light of the holy word of God diſcover, and judge, whether the ſword of the mouth of the Lord Jeſus be found in his mouth, and his fellowes, or in the mouths of the Churches, and Brethren here: and let the tryall be upon this very Point, whether witneſſeth for Chriſt, or for Antichriſt?

1. We witneſſe that Chriſt was never ſo farre overthrowne, and overcome by Antichriſt, but that ſtill the Lord Jeſus hath preſerved a Congregationall Church, one or more, eſpecially ſince the Reformation of Religion, by the Miniſtery of *Luther*, and *Calvin*, and other Miniſters of Chriſt in the dayes of our Fathers.

The Examiner witneſſeth, that ſince the Apoſtaſie of Antichriſt, Antichriſt hath ſo farre prevailed againſt Chriſt, and his Kingdome, that he hath no Church, nor Church-Officers left upon the face of the earth to this day.

2. Wee witneſſe the godly perſons, viſible Saints, confeſſing their knowne ſinnes, and profeſſing their faith, are fit materialls for Church-fellowſhip.

The Examiner witneſſeth, that the Churches (which conſiſt of ſuch viſible Saints) are nullities, unleſſe they diſcerne every ſpot, and pollution of Antichriſt, and forſake it: (for Inſtance) unleſſe they ſee the Antichriſtian pollution of the Miniſtery in *England*, and doe refuſe to heare the word from it.

3. We witneſſe, that Perſons qualified with a convenient meaſure of ſpirituall gifts, fit to lead Gods people; and choſen,

and elected by a Congregation of viſible Saints, and ordained, and ſet apart unto the worke of the Miniſtry, have received a lawfull calling from Chriſt to that office.

The Examiner witneſſeth againſt this as a falſe Calling, upon what pretence himſelfe better knowes then I.

4. We witneſſe, that it is lawfull for the King of *England*, to give a Patent to a certain number of his Subjects, to tranſplant themſelves out of *England* into *America*, and to poſſeſſe ſuch Lands as the Providence of God layeth open before them, between ſuch, and ſuch Degrees of the Horizon. Provided that his Subjects adventure not upon ſuch acts as the Patent never intended, as to murther the Natives, or to diſpoſſeſſe them by violence or fraud of their lawfull [55] Poſſeſſions: but either to plant themſelves in a *vacuum Domicilium*, or if they ſit downe upon the Poſſeſſion of the Natives, to receive the ſame from them by a reaſonable Purchaſe, or free Aſſignement.

The Examiner witneſſeth againſt all ſuch Patents, and Preacheth it to be unlawfull for Magiſtrates to execute Juſtice upon the *Engliſh* by them, and that it is neceſſary to repent of receiving ſuch Patents, and to returne them back againe into the hands of thoſe Princes, or of their Succeſſors, from whom they received them.

5. We witneſſe, that it is lawfull for Magiſtrates (eſpecially in time of danger) to offer to the Subjects under them an Oath of Fidelity, whether they be regenerate, or unregenerate.

M^r. *Williams* witneſſeth it to be utterly unlawfull ſo to doe: an Oath for confirmation of Office being peculiar to Chriſt: and an Oath being a worſhip of God not meete for unregenerate Perſons to take into their mouths.

6. Wee witneſſe, that if a Church refuſe to hearken to the voyce of Magiſtrates in delaying the Election, or ordina-

tion of ſuch an one to Office, whom they finde to be troubleſome to the State, then it may be lawfull for Magiſtrates to delay the granting of the Petition of ſuch a Church for Lands that lie convenient for them.

Mr. *Williams* witneſſeth, that in ſuch a caſe the Church, whoſe Petition is ſo delayed, may write Letters of Admonition to all the Churches, whereof ſuch Magiſtrates are members, to require them to grant without delay ſuch Petitions, or elſe to Proceed againſt them in a Church-way.

Now let the Churches of Jeſus Chriſt, and all the Saints on earth judge, in whether ſort of theſe witneſſes, the word, and Spirit of Chriſt, or Antichriſt breatheth. As for the deciphering which the Examiner maketh of Mr. *Cotton, as ſwimming with the ſtreame of outward credit, and profit, and ſmiting with the fiſt, and ſword of Perſecution of ſuch as doe not joyne in worſhip with him.* I cannot ſay that I have ſworn, but I thanke God I have waded through credit, and diſcredit, through evill report, and good report, as a deceiver, and yet true. And for profit, I have neither abounded in ſuperfluities, nor (through mercy) have been long deſtitute of neceſſaries: but whether this be a badge of Antichriſt, and not compatible to the witneſſes of Chriſt, I have not yet learned. 56] And for ſmiting with the fiſt, and ſword of Perſecution, if Perſecution be affliction for Righteouſneſſe ſake, I would willingly learne of the Examiner, whom of all the Righteous I have ſmitten with the fiſt, or wounded with the ſword? I ſpeake according to his own meaning, meaning (as I ſuppoſe himſelfe doth) neither bodily fiſt, nor materiall ſword; but let him then Inſtance in ſome one, or other, that hath felt the heavineſſe of my fiſt, or the keeneſſe of my ſword, or elſe let him remember what the Spirit of God hath ſaid (*Pſal.* 31. 18.) concerning ſuch, as ſpeake bitter things

proudly, and contemptuouſly, (and I alſo adde) injurioufly, and falſely againſt thoſe whom himſelfe in the next line ſtyleth *holy, and beloved.*

To the ſecond, *the Cenſure which he calleth unrighteous, and uncharitable*; *He confeſſeth, it pleaſed God to bring him neere unto death:* But his Anſwer he returneth in two things. 1. *By deriving the cauſe of his ſickneſſe, not from his exceſſive heate in diſputing againſt the teſtimonies, and writings of the Churches, and Elders, but from his exceſſive Labours on the Lords dayes, and thrice a weeke at* Salem, *by labours day and night in the field with his own hands, by travels day and night alſo to goe, and returne from the Court.*[30]

Reply. The Court being held within twelve or fourteene miles diſtance from *Salem*, travell to, and fro, was no likely cauſe of ſuch diſtemper. And whatſoever his Labours were in Towne or Field, on the Lords Dayes, or weeke dayes, (I detract not from them;) but this is all I would ſay, That that ſodaine diſtemper fell not upon him, neither in the field at his labour, nor on the weeke dayes, or Lords dayes in his Preaching: but in his vehement publick arguing againſt the writings, and teſtimonies of the Churches, and Brethren ſent to him, and to the Church of *Salem*, againſt his corrupt wayes. Wherein though I know, *All things fall alike to all:* yet if *Moſes* himſelfe (as well as *Balaam*) meet with a check in his journey from the hand of God, I beleeve it is a juſt call to conſider; Is there not a lye in my right hand? Or is there not an Idol in my heart? or doe I goe about the worke of God, in a way of God? Howſoever, it was farre from me to upbraide your ſickneſſe, (as your marginall note taxeth;) but rather to call you to conſider of your unprofitable, and perverſe uſe of it.

[30] Winthrop alludes to this ſickneſs. See, *ante*, p. 32, note 15.

The ſecond part of his Anſwer is a Recrimination of the *Officer* [57] *of Juſtice, by whom in this time he was unmercifully driven from his Chamber to a winters flight.*

Reply. When he ſaith, *in this time*; if he meane (as the words foregoing expreſſe) the time wherein he was neere unto death, it is a manifeſt untruth. For the Officer of Juſtice (who then was) is a man fearing God, and of a tender Conſcience, and who dare not allow that liberty to his tongue, which the Examiner often uſeth in this Diſcourſe: He teſtifieth, he then ſpake with M^r^. *Williams*, and that he diſcerned no ſigne of ſickneſſe upon him, much leſſe of neerneſſe unto death. He teſtifieth further, that upon the mourning complaint of ſome of M^r^. *Williams* his neighbours, who did adhere to him, he left onely the Warrant with him, but left him in his houſe to take the time for his departure limited in his warrant, which was not that night, though he doe not well remember how many dayes were ſet him. But this I have been given to underſtand, that the increaſe of concourſe of people to him on the Lords dayes in private, to the neglect or deſerting of publick Ordinances, and to the ſpreading of the Leaven of his corrupt imaginations, provoked the Magiſtrates rather then to breed a winters ſpirituall plague in the Countrey, to put upon him a winters journey out of the Countrey.[31] *Gangrænam amoveas, né pars ſincera trahatur.* *James Bonne*

[31] Winthrop gives the following account, under date of January, 1636: "The governour and aſſiſtants met at Boſton to conſider about Mr. Williams, for that they were candidly informed, that, notwithſtanding the injunction laid upon him (upon the liberty granted him to ſtay till the ſpring) not to go about to draw others to his opinions, he did uſe to entertain company in his houſe, and to preach to them, even of ſuch points as he had been cenſured for; and it was agreed to ſend him into England by a ſhip then ready to depart. The reaſon was, becauſe he had drawn above twenty perſons to his opinion, and they were intended to erect a plantation about the Narraganſett Bay, from whence the in-

To Chap. IX.

TO his 9th Chapter, I ſhall not need to returne any large Reply. Let him read over my words againe, which he examineth, and anſwereth in this Chapter, and they may ſerve for a juſt Reply unto his Anſwer, ſo farre as it is needfull.

Onely let me touch a Paſſage, or two. When he ſaith, *That after the firſt manifeſtation of the countenance of God, reconciled in the bloud of Chriſt unto his ſoule, it hath been with*

fection would eaſily ſpread into theſe churches, (the people being, many of them, much taken with the apprehenſion of his godlineſs.) Whereupon a warrant was ſent to him to come preſently to Boſton, to be ſhipped &c. He returned anſwer, (and divers of Salem came with it,) that he could not come without hazard of his life, etc. Whereupon a pinnace was ſent with commiſſion to Capt. Underhill, etc., to apprehend him, and carry him aboard the ſhip, (which then rode at Nantaſcutt;) but, when they came to his houſe, they found he had been gone three days before, but whither they could not learn. Winthrop, 1, 175–176.

Winthrop adds: "He had ſo far prevailed at Salem, as many there (eſpecially of devout women) did embrace his opinions, and ſeparated from the churches, for this cauſe, that ſome of their members, going into England, did hear the miniſters there, and when they came home the churches here held communion with them." This ſtatement clearly indicates that, up to this time, the prominent queſtion in diſpute was not that of religious toleration but fellowſhip with the Engliſh Churches. Compare with this the additional ſtatement of Winthrop, April 12: "The church of Salem was ſtill infected with Mr. Williams, his opinions, ſo as moſt of them held it unlawful to hear in the ordinary aſſemblies of England, becauſe their foundation was anti-chriſtian, and we ſhould, by hearing, hold communion with them; and ſome went ſo far as they were ready to ſeparate from the Church upon it." Winthrop, vol. 1, p. 185.

The governor referred to by Winthrop was John Haynes, who was choſen in May, 1635. Thirty-five years after theſe events, Williams wrote to Major Maſon: "And thus that heavenly man, Mr. Haynes, Governor of Connecticut, though he pronounced the ſentence of my long baniſhment againſt me, at Cambridge, then New town, yet ſaid unto me, in his own houſe at Hartford, being then in ſome difference with the Bay: 'I think, Mr. Williams, I muſt now confeſs to you, that the moſt wiſe God hath provided and cut out this part of his world for a refuge and receptacle for all ſorts of conſciences. I am now under a cloud, and my brother Hooker, with the Bay, as you have been, we have removed from them thus far, and yet they are not ſatisfied.'" See Pub. Narr. Club, vol. 1, p. 50.

him, as with one whom he ſaith, I told him off, his Queſtions, and Troubles have not been concerning his Reconciliation, and Peace with God, but concerning Sanctification, &c.

I would it might pleaſe the Lord to perſwade his heart, that, that one of whom I ſpake to him, was but one to whom the Lord [58] diſpenſed himſelfe in that manner; and he a man, though he ſuffered much, and wrote much, yet no where magnified his ſufferings, nor vilified the Authors of his ſufferings: A man that cleaved to the Ordinances, and Saints of God, and not willing to manifeſt his diſſent from his Brethren, no not there where he did diſſent, as willing to attribute more to the judgements of other ſervants of God, then to arrogate to himſelfe.

But ſurely the ordinary manner of Gods diſpenſation of himſelfe to his ſervants, is otherwiſe; even to thoſe that have been moſt precious in his ſight. *Job* hath ſometimes complained, that *God tooke him for his enemy*, Job 13. 24. 26. *David* ſometimes complaineth, that *he was cut off from before Gods eyes*, Pſal. 31. 22. And that God ſometimes *hid his face from him*, Pſal. 30. 7. That his ſoule was alſo *ſore vexed* with the ſence of Gods anger, and *hot diſpleaſure*, Pſal. 6. 1. 3. *Aſaph* alſo complaineth of the ſame, in *Pſal.* 77. and *Heman* the *Ezrahite* in *Pſal.* 88. and *Hezekiah* in *Iſai.* 38. If the Lord have dealt more indulgently with M^r. *Williams*, he hath the more cauſe to walke humbly, and circumſpectly, and fruitfully before the Lord, which is the worſt that I wiſh him. And let him alſo conſider, that whileſt he liveth under the Sunne, himſelfe is not exempted from the dangerous Inmate of a deceitfull heart. As for Maſter *Smith*[32] he

[32] Rev. John Smyth, fellow of Chriſt's College, Cambridge. While a preacher in the city of Lincoln he was brought into contact with the Browniſts, and zealouſly eſpouſed their principles. After enduring inceſſant perſecution he fled to Holland in 1606, and joined the Engliſh church at Amſterdam, of which

ſtandeth, and falleth to his own Maſter: whileſt he was Preacher to the Citie of *Lincolne*, he wrought with God then: what temptations befell him after, by the evill workings of evill men, and ſome good men too, I chooſe rather to tremble at, then diſcourſe of. If I had made uſe of his Principles, and Arguments, (as this Examiner ſaith I have) it is more then my ſelfe know: for I have not been acquainted with ſundry of his writings, as being diſcouraged with that one, wherein he maketh Originall ſinne an idle name. Albeit, I refuſe not to learne from any man, as being conſcious to my ſelfe of mine own emptineſſe.

But (ſaith the Examiner) *whatſoever M^r.* Smiths *Temptations, and Falls have been: yet that opinion of M^r.* Cotton, *or any, is moſt grievous to God, and man, and not comparable to any that ever M^r.* Smith *could be charged withall: nor is any ſinne comparably ſo grievous in Gods* Davids, *as a treacherous ſlaughter of the faithfull, whom wee are forced to call,* Beloved in Chriſt.

Reply. This is one of the Inſtances amongſt many others, upon [59] which I was mooved to ſpeake even now, that the Examiner alloweth more liberty to his tongue, then the Meſſenger of Juſtice, a man of tender Conſcience, (of whom

Henry Ainſworth was teacher. (See, *poſt*, p. 119.) Soon after a ſerious breach took place, Mr. Smyth maintaining the opinions which were afterwards termed Arminian. He was the author of ſeveral treatiſes. So rigid, however, did his principles of Separation come to be, that he would not grant that even the baptiſm adminiſtered by miniſters of the Engliſh church was valid, and becoming at the ſame time convinced that immerſion was the only proper form, he remedied the defect, in his own caſe, by plunging into the ſea, whence he received the name of a Se-baptiſt. He was, by all accounts, an able and learned man, and his views have probably been much miſrepreſented. At leaſt he ſaid himſelf, "We diſclaim the errors commonly, but moſt ſlanderouſly imputed to us." He died about the cloſe of the year 1610. See Brooks, Lives of the Puritans, 2, 195. Neal's Puritans, vol. 1, p. 437, of the quarto ed. An attempt has been made to diſprove the ſtory of the baptiſm.

I ſpake) durſt uſe. But when a man is delivered up to Satan, and neither his minde, nor conſcience, nor tongue, nor pen, are his own, no marvell if he caſt forth fire-brands, and arrowes, and mortall things, which I ſuppoſe a Publican, or Pagan would hardly utter, without ſome more colourable pretence then the Examiner hath to ſay, *That M^r^. Cotton is of opinion, that it is lawfull to commit a treacherous ſlaughter of the Saints, whom we are forced to call,* Beloved in Chriſt.

To the accuſation I ſhall (God helping) make further Anſwer in his Place: Meane while, let the Examiner know, that I was not forced to call him, *Beloved in Chriſt.* That I did ſo ſtyle him, it was out of indulgence of charitie, not out of any neceſſitie of dutie.

To Chap. X.

THe reſidue of my Letter to M^r^. *Williams* was taken up in remooving two ſtumbling blocks out of his way, which turned him off from fellowſhip with us. The former was, the want of fit matter of our Churches. The latter, our diſreſpect to the ſeparate Churches in *England.* Our want of fit matter he acknowledged ſtood, not in this, that *we wanted godly perſons to be the viſible members of our Churches, (for with joy, he acknowledgeth that:) but in this, that all godly perſons are not matter fit to conſtitute a Church, no more then Trees, or Quarries are fit matter proportioned to a Building.*

This exception of his ſeemed to me to imply a contradiction: *for if the matter of our Churches were (ſuch as himſelfe acknowledged) godly perſons, they were not then as Trees unfeld, nor as ſtones in the Quarry unhewen: for godlineſſe cutteth men*

downe from their former roote, and heweth them out of the Pit of corrupt Nature, and fitteth them for fellowſhip with Chriſt, and with his People.

The ſumme of his Anſwer is (though delivered in other words obſcurely and confuſedly, yet in ſence) thus much; That he accounteth our members, as Trees or Quarries, not for that they are not yet cut out of the pit or roote of naturall corruption, but for that they are not yet removed and clenſed from actuall and Antichriſtian [60] pollution. *In which caſe*, Noah, Abraham, Lot, Sampſon, Job, David, Peter, *in their drunkenneſſe, lying, whoredomes, curſings, murders, Perjuries, though they were godly perſons: yet not fit members for Church eſtate. And ſo our Church-members, howſoever godly otherwiſe, yet through ignorance, and negligence, lying under Antichriſtian pollutions, ever ſince the Apoſtaſie, are not fit members for Church-eſtate.*

Reply. 1. I doe willingly allow him to be the Interpreter of his own meaning: and doe eaſily grant him, that with that diſtinction, he ſalveth his contradiction. But yet let him remember, his *words were very unproper, to account godly Perſons fallen into any actuall Pollution, to be matter fitted for a Church, no more then Trees or Quarries are fit matter proportioned to a Building.*

Wee are not wont, neither in common ſpeech, nor in proper ſpeech, to account ſuch perſons, as have been already cut off from the roote and pit of naturall corruption, to be no more then Trees and Quarries, though they have ſince fallen into actuall pollution; but we rather account them like Timber and Stones, cut out, and hewen, yet fallen into ſome mire by the breach of the Axeltree of their Carriage, and therefore fit to be waſhed before they be layed in the Building. But leave that, as it pleaſe him.

Reply. 2. He may doe well to conſider, that the moſt of thoſe Saints he nameth, were not as rude Trees and Quarries unproportioned to the Building, but as Trees of Righteouſneſſe, and living Stones, layed by God himſelfe in the Building of his Church. But I eaſily grant him, that according to the Diſcipline of the Churches of Chriſt in the dayes of the Goſpel, it were meete that godly perſons falling into any groſſe, and ſcandalous, and notorious pollution, they ſhould firſt give ſatisfaction to the Church by profeſſion of their Repentance, before they be received into holy fellowſhip with the Lord, and his People, in Church-communion. In which reſpect, if Chriſt be conſidered as head of the viſible Church, he who is a member of the Church, (and ſo a member of Chriſt) may fall ſo foully into groſſe ſinne, and be ſo enthralled to it, as to be ſeparate from the Church, yea and from Chriſt too, conſidered as the viſible head of it. *And therefore the Examiner miſtook himſelfe, and me too, when he writeth, that I affirmed, that godly perſons cannot be ſo enthralled to Antichriſt, as to ſeparate them from Chriſt.* For I never denied, that godly perſons may fall, as into other groſſe 61] and notorious ſinnes; ſo alſo into groſſe and notorious Antichriſtian Pollutions, ſo as to ſeparate them from Church-Communion, yea and from Chriſt himſelfe, as he is the Head of the viſible Church.

Reply. 3. But to cleare the point more fully and plainly; Put the caſe, that the Saints whom the Examiner ſetteth forth in their pollutions, (as *Noah*, *Abraham*, *Lot*, *Sampſon*, *Job*, *David*, *Peter*,) ſuppoſe, I ſay, they had openly profeſſed their Repentance for their open ſcandalls, of drunkenneſſe, lying, inceſt, murder, &c. and all their other knowne ſcandalls, but had neither diſcerned nor bewayled the ſinne of Polygamy: yea, ſuppoſe the Church with which they might

joyne, did neither diſcerne the neceſſitie, nor dutie of acknowledging that ſinne, whether ſuch Saints were to be refuſed from Church-communion, (as rude Trees and Quarries?) or if they were received as members into the Church, whether was ſuch a Church to be ſeparated from? If yea, we muſt look for new Rules for it out of a new Goſpel. If no, then will the Examiner want a Rule for his ſeparation from all the Churches in *New-England.*

For this is the very ſtate of the Queſtion, as the Examiner himſelfe rehearſeth it, in this Chapter. For he having objected, that *a neceſſitie lieth upon godly men, before they can be fit matter for Church-fellowſhip, to ſee, bewaile, repent, and come out of the falſe Churches, worſhip, Miniſtery, Government,* (*according to Scriptures,* Iſai. 62. 11. 2 Cor. 6. 17.) *And this to be done, not by a locall remoovall, but by a deliverance of the ſoule, underſtanding, will, judgement and affection, &c.*

He ſubjoyneth my Anſwer out of my Letter in theſe words;

1. *We grant, that it is not locall remoovall from former pollution, nor contrary practiſe, that fitteth us for fellowſhip with Chriſt, and his Church: but that it is neceſſary alſo, that we doe repent of ſuch former Pollutions, wherewith we have been defiled and enthralled.*

2. *We grant further, that it is neceſſary to Church-fellowſhip, that we ſhould ſee and diſcerne all ſuch pollutions, as doe ſo farre enthrall us to Antichriſt, as to ſeparate us from Chriſt. But this we profeſſe unto you, that wherein we have reformed our practiſe, therein we have endeavoured unfainedly to humble our ſoules for our former contrary walking. If any through hypocriſie are wanting herein, the hidden hypocriſie of ſome will not prejudice the ſinceritie, and faithfulneſſe of others, nor the Church-eſtate of all.*

This though the Examiner doe rehearſe it here in this Chapter: [62] yet here he anſwereth nothing to it, though it be the very hinge of the Controverſie. If we meet with any Anſwer to it in the ſequele, we ſhall (God willing) conſider of it in its place.

Onely let me adde this third thing to cleare the ſtate of the controverſie more fully, That to this day we doe not ſee nor diſcerne, that it is any Antichriſtian pollution at all, for a member of any of our Churches, going over into *England*, to heare the word Preached by a well-gifted Miniſter in the Pariſh Aſſemblies.

To Chap. XI.

IN this Chapter, the Examiner propoundeth a ſecond, third, fourth, and fifth Reaſon, to prove that, (which I deny not) to wit, *That a neceſſitie lyeth upon godly men, before they can be fit matter for Church-fellowſhip, truely to ſee and humbly to bewaile their ſpirituall bondage under Antichriſtian pollution, and withall to obtaine ſome power and ſtrength from Jeſus Chriſt to bring them out of it.*

This I ſay, I deny not, nor ever did. But this neceſſitie I conceive to be *Neceſſitas præcepti*, (as they call it, or *officii*) as that which is the commandement of God, and the duty of godly men to doe: But not *Neceſſitas medij ad finem*, ſuch a neceſſitie, as without which a godly perſon cannot be a member of the Church, unleſſe the ſpirituall bondage under Antichriſtian pollution, doe ſo farre enthrall him to Antichriſt, as to ſeparate him from Chriſt as he is the Head of the viſible Church. Which what it is, we ſhall have fitter occaſion to ſpeake of in the ſequele.

To his ſecond Argument I would therefore Anſwer, that as an holy Altar and Temple to God, could not have been built to God in the midſt of *Babylon*, but the Builders muſt come locally out of *Babel* to build it in *Hieruſalem:* So a Church of Chriſt cannot be built to God, but by ſuch Builders as ſpiritually come out of Antichriſtian pollutions and inventions, at leaſt out of ſuch pollutions as keepe them ſtill in *Babel*, and detaine them under Antichriſt, and ſeparate them from Chriſt.

To his third Argument, I would grant all that he ſaith in it to be true: But how he applieth it to inferre his concluſion, he neither expreſſeth, nor is it eaſie for me to gather. If his meaning be, [63] that *Luther*, and other godly perſons, might not be received into Church-fellowſhip in thoſe dayes, becauſe they ſaw not the bottomleſſe gulfe of all thoſe Antichriſtian corruptions, which the Lord hath ſince diſcovered; It is a concluſion that I durſt not inferre, nor will he be ever able to make good. It is not alwayes full Moone in reſpect of ſpirituall light with every Church of God in all ages alike.

To his fourth Argument, taken from my own Practiſe; *In that I doe not receive all Perſons, eminent for Grace and godlineſſe, forthwith to the fellowſhip of the Lords Supper, till upon their entrance into Covenant, with a Confeſſion of faith, &c.*

I would anſwer, it is not becauſe I thinke ſuch perſons are not fit matter for Church eſtate; but becauſe they yet want a fit Forme, requiſite to Church-eſtate.

His laſt Argument, is taken from a *famous Paſſage* (as he calls it) *of a ſolemne Queſtion put to me, and to the other New-Engliſh Elders, unto which I with the reſt did anſwer Negatively, That if godly perſons coming over hither did refuſe to ſubmit to our way of worſhip and Government, that then they could not onely not enjoy Church-fellowſhip together, but not be*

permitted to breath and live in the ſame common ayre and Common-wealth together.

To which I anſwer; 1. That it is ſuitable to his wonted boldneſſe, to affirme that of me which is more then he knoweth, and indeed more then is truth. For though he ſay, that M^r^. *Cotton*, and the New-Engliſh Elders returned that Anſwer: yet the anſwer to that Queſtion, and to all the other thirty-two Queſtions, were drawne up by M^r^. *Mader*,[33] and neither drawne up nor ſent by me, nor (for ought I know) by the other Elders here, though publiſhed by one of our Elders there. Howſoever, the ſubſtance of that Anſwer (not which M^r^. *Williams* rehearſeth, but which M^r^. *Mader* returned) doth generally ſuite with all our mindes, as I conceive.

2. In particular; The Anſwer which our reverend and beloved brother M^r^. *Mader* did returne unto that Queſtion, I have read it, and did readily approve it (as I doe the ſubſtance of all his Anſwers) to be judicious, and ſolide. But this I muſt needs profeſſe, that his Anſwer to this Queſtion is notoriouſly ſlandered, and abuſed by the Examiner.

[33] This is a miſprint. The Rev. Richard Mather, of Dorcheſter, is meant. "The diſcourſe about the *Church-Covenant*, and the anſwer to the *thirty-two* queſtions, both written in the year 1639, though they paſs under the name of the miniſters of New England, Mr. Mather was the ſole author of them." See the Life of Mr. Richard Mather, in Cotton Mather's Magnalia.

Richard Mather was born of an ancient but reduced family, in 1596. For many years he was a miniſter of the Engliſh Church, but having been twice ſuſpended for non-conformity, he removed, at the urgent ſolicitation of Cotton and Hooker, to New England. In 1636, he was ordained Teacher of the Church in Dorcheſter, and remained there until his death, April 22, 1669. In his old age he married the widow of Cotton, his ſon Increaſe, Preſident of Harvard College, having married a daughter. From this latter union ſprang Cotton Mather.

In 1844 the Journal of his Voyage was diſcovered in a box of old papers in Dorcheſter, and afterwards publiſhed by Dr. Young, in the "Chronicles of Maſs." See alſo, Brook's Lives of the Puritans, 3, 440. Neal's Hiſtory of the Puritans, 1, 586.

64] For 1. There is no word at all in that Anſwer, *that denieth permiſſion to ſuch godly perſons to live and breath in the ſame ayre of the Common-wealth.* Let the Anſwer be peruſed; It is too long for me to tranſcribe; the Book is publiquely extant, and obvious: and ſee if there be a ſyllable ſounding that way.[34]

2. In that Anſwer he diſtinguiſheth (out of Mr. *Cartwright*,[35]

[34] In 1643, about the time of the meeting of the Weſtminſter Aſſembly, the Anſwer of Mather was publiſhed in London, with the title, "Church Government and Church Covenant diſcuſſed, in an Anſwer of the Elders of the ſeveral Churches in New England to Two and Thirty Queſtions ſent over to them by divers Miniſters in England."

[35] Thomas Cartwright, the famous Lady Margaret's Profeſſor of Divinity at Cambridge, whoſe lectures are juſtly regarded as the beginning of the ſecond period of Engliſh Puritaniſm, was born about the year 1535, and was educated at St. John's College, Cambridge. During the reign of Mary he purſued the ſtudy of law, but at the acceſſion of Elizabeth he returned to the Univerſity, and, ſoon after, his great learning cauſed him to be elected fellow of Trinity College. In 1570, he commenced delivering a courſe of lectures upon Acts, in which he inculcated the unlawfulneſs of any form of church government, except that which the Apoſtles themſelves had inſtituted. A ſtrong effort was made by Archbiſhop Grindal to induce Cecil, who at that time was Chancellor of the Univerſity, to ſilence Cartwright and his adherents, but as the prudent ſtateſman was inclined to act with moderation, the obnoxious profeſſor was ſummoned before the Vice Chancellor, Whitgift, and on refuſing to revoke the opinions he had advanced, was removed from his poſition and forbidden to preach within the juriſdiction of the Univerſity. Cartwright ſoon after went abroad, and became miniſter of the Engliſh merchants at Antwerp.

His perſonal qualities combined with his great attainments to make him a formidable party leader. In 1572 he publiſhed his celebrated Admonition to the Parliament, calling on that body to reform the various abuſes in the church. From this moment the conteſt ceaſed to be a mere quarrel about veſtments, it involved the whole authority of the Anglican hierarchy. He was anſwered by Whitgift, and the controverſy was continued for ſome time. Cartwright maintained that the Scriptures were the ſole ſtandard, not only for doctrine, but alſo for government and diſcipline.

Being ſummoned before the High Commiſſion, Cartwright fled a ſecond time to Antwerp, where he continued ſeveral years, until declining health forced him to return to his native country, when he was apprehended and thrown into priſon. His old adverſary, Whitgift, who was now Archbiſhop, releaſed him, on promiſe of remaining quiet, and by the favor of the Earl of Leiceſter he was made Maſter of the Hoſpital at Warwick. He was once more before the High Commiſſion in

and M^r. *Parker*)[36] touching matters of Church Diſcipline, and maketh ſome to be the ſubſtantiall and immutable, others of a more accidentall and circumſtantiall nature.

In the former, *he doubteth not but that we and all the godly Miniſters in* England *ſhould accord* (*if they were here*;) *as beleeving, that either we ſhould ſatisfie them in our way, or they us in theirs*; *ſo as there would never be Queſtion, whether we ſhould embrace one another as Siſter-Churches.*

In the latter, to wit, in matters circumſtantiall, we are all taught of God, *Placide ferre aliud ſentientes.*

3. When the Examiner maketh it his own caſe, *not to be permitted to live and breath in the ſame ayre and Common-wealth, though M^r. Cotton, and others, moſt incenſed, gave him a teſtimony of godlineſſe, &c.*

Let him be pleaſed to look back, to what hath been formerly laid open, and he will finde this Inſtance of himſelfe wholly impertinent. For the caſting of him out of the Com-

1590, and again was caſt into priſon. During his confinement, King James, of Scotland, warmly interceded in his behalf, but he was not releaſed for ſome time. The remainder of his days were paſſed at Warwick, where he died Dec. 27, 1603. Abundant mention of Cartwright may be found in Strype and Neal; ſee alſo Hallam, Cons. Hiſt. Eng., ch. 4.

[36] The Rev. Robert Parker became rector of a church in Eſſex in 1571. He was ſuſpended by Biſhop Aylmer, for refuſing ſubſcription to Whitgift's three articles. He was afterwards beneficed at Wilton, in Wiltſhire, where he remained many years. By the publication of a Treatiſe on the Croſs in Baptiſm he was involved in difficulties with Archbiſhop Bancroft, and fleeing to Holland, would have been choſen miniſter of the Engliſh Church at Amſterdam, had not the magiſtrates been afraid of diſpleaſing James Firſt. He then removed to Doeſburg, where, ſoon after, he died, in 1614.

The moſt important of his works was a treatiſe "De Politia Eccleſiaſtica," in which he advanced opinions like thoſe of Cartwright. "We hold," ſaid he, "that Chriſt alone is the doctor or teacher of the church in matters of religion; and that the word of Chriſt, which he hath given to his church, is of abſolute perfection, containing all parts of true religion, both for ſubſtance and ceremony, and a perfect direction in all eccleſiaſtical matters whatſover, unto which it is not lawful for any man or angel to add, or from which to detract." See Neal, vol. 1, pp. 436, 456. Brooks's Lives, 2, 237.

mon-wealth, ſprung not from his difference in matters of Church Diſcipline.[37] It was well knowne that whileſt he lived at *Salem*, he neither admitted, nor permitted any Church-members, but ſuch as rejected all Communion with the Pariſh Aſſemblies, ſo much as in hearing of the Word amongſt them. And this libertie he did uſe and might have uſed to this day, without any diſturbance to his Civill or Church-Peace, (ſave onely in a way of brotherly diſquiſition ;) but it was his Doctrines and Practiſes which tended to the Civill diſturbance of the Common-wealth, together with his heady and buſie purſuite of the ſame, even to the rejection of all Churches here.

37 Compare the following paſſage from Cotton's Treatiſe "Of the Holineſſe of Church-Members," London, 1650. "The objector is too credulous, if he believes every ſuch fabulous report, *That we exclude any from our Churches whom we grant to be truly gracious and elect.* We exclude none ſuch, and much leſſe, upon this ground alone, *Becauſe they cannot approve of our Independency and Covenant.* We have received ſome members in our Churches, who are not onely Preſbyteriall in judgment, but Epiſcopall alſo. Nor do I know, that even we refuſed any approved godly perſon upon point of difference in judgment about Church-government. Nor do we pinch upon any godly man's conſcience in point of Covenant, in caſe he be willing to profeſſe his ſubjection to Chriſt in his Church according to the order of the Goſpel. Nor do we limit him to our own way of the order of the Goſpel, but as it ſhall be cleared and approved to his own conſcience." p. 60.

This Treatiſe of Cotton, deſigned as a reply to Baylie's "Diſſuaſive from the Errors of the Time," was addreſſed "To my honored, worſhipfull, and worthy Friends, the Mayor, and Juſtices, the Aldermen and Common Councell, together with the whole Congregation and Church at Boſton." After the abolition of Epiſcopal church government in England, Cotton had been invited to return and reſume his old poſition. A paſſage in this preface furniſhes an intereſting proof of the affectionate intercourſe that had always been maintained between Cotton and his former pariſh. "And ever ſince that time wherein the ſtrong hand of the Lord, and the malignancy of the times, had ſet this vaſt diſtance of place, and great gulf of Seas between us: yet ſtill you claimed an intereſt in me, and have yeerly miniſtered, ſome reall teſtimony of your love: and at laſt when the Lord (of his rich grace) had diſpelled the ſtorme of malignant Church-government, you invited me again and again, to return to the place and work wherein I had walked, before the Lord and you in former times." Perhaps it was this "yeerly" miniſtration that enabled Cotton to ſay "I have neither abounded in ſuperfluities, nor, (through mercy) have been long deſtitute of neceſſaries." *ante*, p. 55.

Theſe they were that made him unfit for enjoying Communion either in the one ſtate, or in the other. When he reckoneth me, and me onely by name, (as one of the moſt incenſed againſt him) I reckon it as one of his uſuall exorbitant Hyperboles: unleſſe by *Incenſed*, he meane one that with ſome others, were moſt kindled, [65] and ſtirred up to endeavour his ſatisfaction. And then his terme *Incenſed*, though it be not an Hyperbole, yet it is an Acurology.

Neither doe I remember, that he hath any cauſe to ſay, *I gave him a Teſtimony of godlineſſe.*

For his godlineſſe, I leave it to him who is the ſearcher of hearts: I neither atteſted it, nor denied it.

Every brother in the Church, though he may be called a brother in Chriſt, as Chriſt is the Head of the viſible Church: and being caſt out of the Church, though he may be admoniſhed as a Brother, and ſo have ſome reference ſtill to Chriſt, yet godlineſſe requireth a Participation of the Divine Nature, (I ſpeake in *Peters* ſence, 2 *Pet.* 1. 4.) by the power of the Spirit of Grace, conforming us to fellowſhip with Chriſt, and his Churches: the which things have not ſo evidently appeared to me, (I ſpeak it with griefe) either in his ſpirit, or in his way theſe many yeares.[38] And yet I deny not, others may diſcerne more Power of Godlineſſe in him, then I doe,

[38] This moſt uncharitable remark, only too characteriſtic of the religious controverſies of that age, is explained by ſome obſervations of Cotton on page 11. From a compariſon of the two paſſages it is ſufficiently clear that what prevents Cotton from recognizing the "Power of Godlineſſe" in Williams is the poſition which the latter had aſſumed with regard to the outward ordinances of religion. Cotton ſeems to have been ſingularly blinded to thoſe practical proofs of a "Participation of the Divine Nature," which ſecured for Williams, through all his troubles, the ſteady friendſhip of Winthrop, and which elicited a cordial recognition from "that great and pious ſoul," Edward Winſlow. See Preface, p. 7. The beſt indication of the purity and elevation of the religious life of Williams is furniſhed in the remarkable tract which forms a part of the preſent volume, the "Experiments of Spiritual Life & Health."

and may ſpeake of him accordingly. But it was no uncharitable ſpeech of *Paul*, to tell the *Galatians*, and that before all the Churches, that he ſtood in feare of them, *Gal.* 4. 10. The life of faith (from whence ſpringeth both the truth, and the Power of Godlineſſe) is very repugnant to Self-fulneſſe, ἀυθάδεια; Faith emptieth a man of ſelf-confidence, and maketh him apt to acknowledge with *Agur*, *Truely I am more fooliſh then any man*, Prov. 30. 2. But the Lord help us to tremble before him: If he leave us (though but a while) to our ſelves, we can ſoone learne to reigne as Kings, (like the *Corinthians*) without Church-Officers, or the Ordinances of Chriſt, 1 *Cor.* 4. 8.

To Chap. XII.

His 12th Chapter is taken up in Examining and Anſwering a ſpeech of mine, *That godly perſons are not ſo enthralled to Antichriſt, as to ſeparate from Chriſt: Elſe they could not be godly perſons.*

His Anſwer is, *That this cometh not neere the Queſtion, which is not concerning perſonall godlineſſe, or Grace in Chriſt, but the godlineſſe or Chriſtianitie of worſhip.*

66] Whereupon he diſtinguiſheth of Chriſt, as conſidered two waies: 1. *Perſonally, as God-man, &c.* 2. *As Head of his Church. In the former ſence* (*he acknowledgeth*) *they cannot be ſo enthralled to Antichriſt, as to be ſeparate from Chriſt: in the latter they may.*

Reply. This diſtinction of Chriſt is inconveniently expreſſed, as was the like once before. For the *membra dividentia*, the parts of the diviſion are coincident. Chriſt as God-man is the Head of the viſible Church. But his meaning I appre-

hend, and accept. Chriſt God-man is Head both of the inviſible Church, and of the viſible; As he is Head of the inviſible Church, ſo he is received by faith: As he is head of the viſible, ſo he is received by profeſſion of the true faith, both of the grace of faith, and of the Doctrine of faith. The proper fruit whereof is holy worſhip, and profeſſed ſubjection to the Rule of the Goſpel.[39]

Now for his application of his Diſtinction, in the generall I doe approve it, and doe willingly acknowledge, that a godly perſon may be (through ignorance, or negligence) ſo farre enthralled to Antichriſt, as to be ſeparate from Chriſt, taking Chriſt as Head of the viſible Church. For he may fall into ſuch ſundamentall Antichriſtian corruption, in Doctrine, or Worſhip, or Government, as either may juſtly prevent his admiſſion into the Church, or being in the Church, and yet (through pang of Temptation) continuing obſtinate

39 "And whence is all that ſpiritual power and life, which the people of God do ordinarily finde in all the viſible Churches of the Saints, in all their holy adminiſtrations, if Chriſt be not the head of thoſe viſible Churches, and if the holy Ghoſt dwell not in them. Mr. *Baily* may ſpeak long enough of our leading men towards Anabaptiſme, and and Socinianiſme: but (to ſpeak the truth, as conſcience conſtraineth me before the Lord) if I ſhould intend to drive men to Enthuſiaſme, and Familiſme (which is the worſt kinde of Anabaptiſme, and Socinianiſme) I ſhould take no other courſe, but theſe principles chiefly; why do men ſtand ſo much upon viſible Churches, and their purity? They are neither temples of the holy Ghoſt, nor members of Chriſt, nor children of God almighty: theſe glorious ſtiles belong not to them, but to an hidden inviſible company of Saints ſcattered univerſally, and inviſibly all the world over. And will not theſe ſtrengthen the hands of Seekers and Familiſts, to ſeek Chriſt (where he may be found in true ſpirituall life) in deſerts and ſecret chambers? Matth. 24. 26. what ſtand we upon viſible Churches, or ordained Elders, or cenſures? Theſe are huſks, and ſhels: the kernel, and Spirit of life lyeth in an hidden ſociety. But ſurely it is neither good nor ſafe to pluck away from the viſible Churches of Saints, I ſay not, theſe ornaments, and vails: but their very vitals, and cordials, which is the fellowſhip of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt breathing amongſt them." See Cotton's Treatiſe "Of the Holineſſe of Church-Members," London, 1650: p. 48.

in his corruption after conviction, he may juſtly be excommunicate out of the Church. But leſt I may ſeeme to hover (and ſo to vaniſh) in Generalities, whileſt I onely ſpeake of Antichriſtian corruptions in generall: I ſhall willingly Inſtance in ſome Particulars, which may give light to others of like nature. It is an Antichriſtian corruption in Doctrine, to accept any Propitiatory Sacrifices for our reconciliation, but the death of Chriſt only.

It is a like corruption, to look for Juſtification from ſinne in the ſight of God by our own works.

It is an Antichriſtian corruption in worſhip, to worſhip Angels, or Saints, or Images.

It is an Antichriſtian corruption in Government, to take the Pope to be the Head of the Church: and ſuch an Head as hath Power to make Laws to binde the Conſcience, to authorize Scripture to be Canonicall, to adde other Books to Scripture with like Authoritie, to be himſelfe the onely Authenticall Interpreter of Scripture, and Judge of Controverſies.

67] Theſe and the like corruptions are ſuch as make Antichriſt a Sonne of Perdition, and them that are led by him to fall into like Perdition with him. Of one of theſe Points *Paul* ſaith, They that hold it, hold not the Head, *Col.* 2. 18, 19. Of another of theſe *Paul* ſaith, They that hold it are aboliſhed from Chriſt, *Gal.* 5. 4. The like wee may ſay of all the reſt. Yet in times of former darkneſſe, ſome of the faithfull members of Chriſt, might and were for a time entangled with a yoke of Bondage, in ſome, or moſt, or all of theſe Particulars: out of which the Lord at length reſcued them by variety of Temptations, and by ſome breaking forth of light in the mouths of ſome of his witneſſes in every age.

But whileſt any of them walked in theſe, or like corruptions, they might juſtly be debarred from admiſſion into

Church-fellowſhip: or ſtanding faſt in them after conviction, they might juſtly be caſt forth out of Church-fellowſhip.

But there be other corruptions, and Antichriſtian corruptions too, which becauſe they doe not ſubvert the Foundation, neither of faith, nor of Church-order, I would not ſay that they ſeparate from Chriſt, no not as he is the Head of the viſible Church. For then if ſome whole Church were leavened with them, they might ſoone ceaſe to be a Church. But we ſee the contrary in Scripture, the High Places were tolerated in *Judah*, and yet *Judah* ceaſed not to be a Church: And by like proportion ſome more high and eminent Power may be given by ſome Churches to their Officers, (according to an Antichriſtian Patterne in ſome meaſure) and yet they not ceaſe to be a Church. *David* and all the Congregation of *Iſrael* might bring up the Arke of God in a Cart, (after the manner of the *Philiſtims*) and yet not diſanull their Church-eſtate: And by like proportion, ſo may a Church of Chriſt take up ſome orders, (as the carting of ſome part of their worſhip upon a Book) after the manner of Antichriſt, and yet not forthwith evacuate their Church-eſtate.

But this let me further adde, that a godly perſon may have ſome kinde of communion, ſo farre as hearing the word from a Miniſter well gifted by Chriſt, to whoſe calling ſome corruption may cleave, both in his Church-eſtate, and in his Ordination: And yet nevertheleſſe, no Antichriſtian Pollution at all may cleave or redound to the hearer by his hearing of him. And this being the [68] Principall Exception w^ch^ the Examiner taketh againſt ſome of the members of our churches, & againſt all the churches for their ſakes, we ſhall further (God willing) cleare when the Examiner putteth it upon us in the ſequele. Meane while, we profeſſe as we doe beleeve, that ſuch an action is not any Church-cómunion

with Antichriſt, nor doth ſo enthrall the People of God unto Antichriſt, as to ſeparate them from Chriſt, no not as he is Head of the viſible Church.

The Anſwer which (upon occaſion of this Point) the Examiner giveth to the Papiſts Queſtion, (*Where was your Church before Luther?*) though it ſeeme to him well and good: yet it gratifieth the Papiſts, and ſtraitneth the holy Counſell of God in Scripture. *The Queſtion*, ſaith he, *is thus well anſwered*, to wit, *That ſince the Apoſtaſie of Antichriſt, Truth, and the holy Citie*, (*according to the Prophecy*, Rev. 11. & 13.) *have been troden under-foot, and the whole Earth hath wandered after the Beaſt; yet God hath ſtirred up witneſſes to Prophecy in ſackcloth againſt the Beaſt, during his* 42 *moneths Reigne. Nevertheleſſe, theſe witneſſes have in their times more or leſſe ſubmitted to Antichriſt, and his Church, Worſhip, Miniſtery, &c. And ſo conſequently have been ignorant of the true Church, that is, Chriſt taken for the Church in the true Profeſſion of that holy way of worſhip, which he himſelfe at firſt appointed.* This Anſwer giveth away the cauſe to the Papiſts. They demand, *Where was your Church before Luther?* This Anſwer giveth it for granted, that ſince the Apoſtaſie there was no particular church extant in the world. This fully ſatisfieth their deſire, and expectation: for if there were no Church of Chriſt in the world, for ſo many Centuries of yeares till *Luther*, then they readily conclude, That their Church of *Rome* was (before *Luther*) the onely Church in the world. For they urge it, (and I know not how we can fairely deny it) that the Church of Chriſt, even that Church to which the keys of the kingdome are committed, (which is the viſible Church) is that againſt which the *Gates of Hell ſhall not be able to prevaile*, and ſo not all the Power of Antichriſt. If then the viſible Church of Chriſt ſhall never ceaſe,

and yet during all that time of the Apoſtaſie of Antichriſt, no Church was extant in the world, but the Church of *Rome*, then during all that time (which is not yet expired) the Church of *Rome* is, and hath been the onely Church of Chriſt theſe many ages. Beſides, as this Anſwerer gratifieth the Papiſt, and maketh the promiſe of Chriſt (*Mat.* 16. 18, 19,) of none effect: ſo it [69] ſtraitneth the Counſell of God in the very Texts of Scripture alledged by himſelf. For in that Text (*Rev.* 11.) where the outward Court is given to the Gentiles, (that is, Eccleſiaſticall Courts, given to Antichriſt & his Clergy) *v.* 2. There alſo a rod or reed is given by the Angel unto *John*, to meaſure the Temple of God, and the Altar, and them that worſhip therein, *v.* 1. Which evidently holdeth forth that even then there was ſomewhere extant the Temple, that is, the viſible Church of Chriſt, which had communion with Chriſt as Head of the Church, there called *The Altar, and the Temple*, was furniſhed with true worſhippers, and all meaſured according to the Patterne of Apoſtolicall Rule. What if Eccleſiaſticall Stories be deficient in telling us the times and places of their Church-Aſſemblies? Is therefore the Word of God deficient, or the Church deficient, becauſe humane Stories are deficient? Great hath been the induſtry and vigilancy of Satan and Antichriſt, to blot out (as much as in them lay) all Monuments and Records of ſuch holy Aſſemblies: but yet ſometimes their own Inquiſitors confeſſe, that the Churches of the *Waldenſes*, or men of that way, have been extant *a tempore Apoſtolorum*.[40]

Furthermore, evident it is, that when the Dragon perſecuted the woman, (that is, the Church) the Church fled into the Wildernes, *and was there nouriſhed for a time, and times,*

[40] The peculiar views of Williams reſpecting the Church, to which Cotton here refers, have been explained in Note 21, page 45, *ante*.

and halfe a time, (Rev. 12. 14.) which is all the time, wherein the Beaſt reigned, *Rev.* 13. 5. And wherein the Gentiles, having obtained Rule in the Court, *trod downe the holy Citie under-foote*, Rev. 11. 2.

Moreover, evident alſo it is, that all the Angels (or Miniſters) of Gods wrath that poured out their Vialls upon the Antichriſtian State, did all of them iſſue forth out of the Temple, and out of the Temple as then opened, *Rev.* 15. 5, 6. Which argueth that the Temple or Church was not onely then viſible, but openly viſible: not viſible onely to the ſecret Aſſembly of the true worſhippers, but openly conſpicuous to them that had not ſeene it before. Now how all thoſe ſeven Angels ſhould come out of the Temple, and it openly viſible, and all of them poure out their Vialls upon the Antichriſtian State by ſeven Degrees, to the utter deſolation of it: and yet no Church extant, either before *Luther*, or ſince *Luther*, till the utter extirpation of Antichriſt, paſſeth all my comprehenſion.

70] To Chap. XIII.

His 13th Chapter is taken up in Examining and Anſwering a ſecond Anſwer, which I gave to his Objection propounded above in Chap. 10. The Anſwer was this, as he ſetteth it downe.

Secondly, we deny that it is neceſſary to Church-fellowſhip, (that is ſo neceſſary, that without it a Church cannot be) That the members admitted thereunto, ſhould all of them ſee, and expreſly bewaile all the pollutions which they have been defiled with in their former Church-fellowſhip, Miniſtery, worſhip,

Government, &c.[41] *If they ſee and bewaile ſo much of their former pollutions, as did enthrall them to Antichriſt, ſo, as to ſeparate them from Chriſt: and withall be ready in preparation of heart, as they ſhall ſee more light, ſo to hate more and more every falſe way. This we conceive to be as much, as is neceſſarily required to ſeparate them from Antichriſt unto fellowſhip with Chriſt, and his Churches, &c.*

For Anſwer hereunto, the Examiner deſireth three things to be obſerved:

1. *M^r.* Cottons *own Confeſſion of that two-fold Churcheſtate, worſhip, &c. The former falſe: or elſe why to be ſo bewailed and forſaken? The ſecond true, to be embraced and ſubmitted to.*

Reply. This obſervation is more then is intended, or can juſtly be gathered from my words: For even a true Eſtate of a Church, Worſhip, Miniſtery, &c. may be bewailed, though not in regard of the falſhood of the eſtate, yet in regard of the pollutions that cleaved to it, which were as ſo many falſe wayes in the Adminiſtration of it.

2. The ſecond thing, which he would have to be obſerved, is my own confeſſion of that which a little before I would

[41] It ſhould be remembered that Williams, on firſt coming to New England, "had refuſed to join with the congregation at Boſton, becauſe they would not make a public declaration of their repentance for having communion with the churches of England, while they lived there." See Winthrop, 1, 53.

Winthrop here uſes the expreſſion, "churches" of England, while in the "Humble Requeſt," publiſhed in London immediately after the ſailing of the Arbella, and which in all probability proceeded from his pen, (ſee Life and Letters of Winthrop, 1630–1649,) the expreſſion "Church of England" occurs in the well known paſſage in which he ſpeaks of his Company, "as thoſe who eſteem it our honor to call the Church of England, from whence we riſe, our dear Mother." p. 11. Is this change of expreſſion to be regarded as accidental, or had Winthrop, at this time, adopted the Congregational theory? By taking part in the ordination of Wilſon, (ſee *poſt*, p. 77, note 45,) he certainly recognized the diſtinction between National and Pariſhional churches.

make ſo odious in him to hold, to wit, *That Gods People may be ſo farre enthralled to Antichriſt, as to ſeparate them from Chriſt.* For theſe were my words; *If they ſee and bewaile ſo much of their former pollutions, as did enthrall them to Antichriſt, ſo as to ſeparate them from Chriſt.*

Reply. 1. His expreſſions of himſelfe in that Point were ſo incommodious, as that a plaine Reader, (ſuch as my ſelfe, unwonted to heare ſuch language, in his ſence) could not eaſily conceive, *that he ſpeaking of godly perſons, no leſſe unfit for Church-fellowſhip, then Trees and Quarries unfit for a Building.*

71] I ſay, I could not eaſily conceive, that by Trees and Quarries ſhould be meant any other perſons then unregenerate: and it ſeemed to me, to imply a contradiction, to call them ungodly, who were unregenerate.

Reply. 2. The Examiner wrongeth himſelfe and me, to ſay, *That I would have made it odious in him, to ſay that godly perſons cannot be ſo enthralled to Antichriſt, as to ſeparate them from Chriſt.* The odiouſneſſe he ſpeaketh of is a contradiction: And it was himſelfe, not I, that forged that contradiction, as hath been ſhewed above.

Reply. 3. My words out of which he gathereth this obſervation, are miſreported: and the contradiction ariſeth from his miſreport, not from my words. For Gods People, and godly perſons are not all one. Any Church-members may be called Gods People, as being in externall Covenant with him, (*Pſal.* 81. 11.) and yet they are not alwayes godly perſons. Gods People may be ſo enthralled to Antichriſt, as to ſeparate them utterly from Chriſt, both as Head of the viſible, and inviſible Church alſo. But godly perſons cannot be ſo enthralled to Antichriſt, as to ſeparate them from Chriſt, as the Head of the inviſible Church: though, as I ſaid before,

they may be ſeparated from him, as the Head of the viſible Church.

3. The third thing which the Examiner would have to be obſerved in my words, is, *How eaſily a ſoule may wander in his generalls: for thus I write, though they ſee not all the pollutions, wherewith they have been defiled in their former Church-fellowſhip: Againe, if they did ſee ſo much as did enthrall them to Antichriſt, and ſeparate them from Chriſt. And yet* (ſaith he) *he expreſſeth nothing of that, all the pollutions, nor what ſo much is, as will ſeparate them from Chriſt.*

Reply. 1. Though theſe words might ſeeme generall to a ſtranger, who knew nothing of the occaſion of them: yet to the Examiner himſelfe, (to whom in private I writ them) it was eaſie and obvious to poynt with the finger, at the particular I intended in theſe. He knoweth the Queſtion was; *Whether the hearing of the Miniſters of the Pariſhes in* England, *was ſuch an Antichriſtian pollution, as either to cut off ſuch perſons from Church-fellowſhip, or the Churches themſelves from Chriſt.* Our Anſwer was; 1. That it was no Antichriſtian pollution at all: 2. If it were, it was more then either our members, or our Churches yet ſaw, or were convinced of: and then generall confeſſions, and generall repentance would ſerve for unknowne [72] ſinnes. To the ſame purpoſe, is this generall Anſwer framed here: which himſelfe well knoweth upon what particular occaſion it grew, and to what particular caſe it had reference.

Reply. 2. Beſides, why ſhould we count the Anſwer as wandring in Generalities, when it was fitted to his generall Objection? His Objection was *Chapt.* 10. *That a neceſſitie lay upon godly men, before they can be fit matter for Church-fellowſhip, to ſee, bewaile, repent, come out of the falſe Churches, Worſhip, Miniſtery, Government.*

Now here are onely generall words: no particular mention of the falſhoods that lye in the Churches, Worſhip, Miniſtery, Government. Why ſhould he blame wandring in Generalitie in the Anſwer, when his own Objection wandereth in the like Generalities.

Reply. 3. If he pleaſe to look back to the Reply given in his 12. Chapter, he may finde me plaine and punctuall in Inſtancing in particulars. But thus having paſſed over his Obſervations upon my former Anſwer, he now cometh to returne Anſwer to me, by demanding a Queſtion or two, to wit, 1. *Whether if a godly perſon remaine a member of a falſely conſtituted Church, and ſo conſequently (in that reſpect) of a falſe Chriſt, whether in viſible worſhip he be not ſeparate from the true Chriſt?*

Anſw. That I may not delude neither him, nor my ſelfe, by anſwering to obſcure and ambiguous termes, I would know (by ſome that underſtand his ſpeech) what he meaneth *by a falſely conſtituted Church*: or elſe give me leave to explaine the termes my ſelfe. There be but two two things intrinſecally neceſſary to the conſtitution of any thing, & ſo of a Church, to wit, a fit matter, and a fit forme. The matter of a Church are viſible Saints, Profeſſors of the faith of Chriſt.[42] The forme, is an holy Covenant, or Agreement,

[42] Compare Cotton's "Way of the Churches of Chriſt in New England," Chapter 1: Propoſition 1.; "That the Church which Chriſt in his Goſpell hath inſtituted, and to which he hath committed the keys of his kingdom, the power of binding or looſing, the tables and ſeals of the Covenant, the Officers and cenſures of his Church, the adminiſtration of all his public Worſhip and Ordinances, is, *Cœtus fidelium*, a Communion of Saints, a Combination of faithfull godly men, meeting for that end, by common and joynt conſent, into one Congregation; which is commonly called *a particular viſible Church*. For the Church to the which Chriſt committed the power of binding and looſing, was a company of ſuch (as whereof *Peter* was one,) Beleevers profeſſing that faith on Chriſt, whereon (as on a rock) the Church is built, Mat. 16. 18, 19. and ſuch as unto whom Peter, or any brother offended, might (in due order) tell the

(either explicite or implicite) to joyne together in one Congregation, to worſhip the Lord, and to edifie one another in the Adminiſtration of his holy Ordinances.[43] Now if in ſtead

offence which any brother had given him, & perſiſted in, *Mat.* 18. 17. And the Church of *Corinth*, to which the Apoſtles commendeth the caſting out of the Inceſtuous *Corinthian*, (1 *Cor.* 5.) was ſuch a Church, of which the Apoſtle ſaith, *They were Saints by calling, ſanctified by Jeſus Chriſt*, 1 *Cor.* 1. 2. and all of them, even the whole Church, did meet together every Lords day, in one place, for the Adminiſtration of the holy Ordinances of God, to publick Edification, 1 *Cor.* 14. 23. & 16. 1, 2. Which frequent meeting every Lords day in one place, to ſuch ends, cannot poſſibly be compatible to any Dioceſan, Provinciall, or Nationall Aſſembly."

This important Treatiſe was "Publiſhed according to Order," at London, in the year 1645, with an "Epiſtle to the Reader" prefixed, ſigned with the initials N. H. and I. H. It was part of the movement againſt the Preſbyterians occaſioned by the miſunderſtanding relative to the meaning of the adoption of the "Solemn League and Covenant" by the Weſtminſter Aſſembly. The Preſbyterians held this proceeding to be equivalent to the adoption of their entire church polity, which the Independents would not admit. In 1644, Goodwin and Nye, two leaders of the Independents, publiſhed Cotton's "Keyes of the Kingdom of Heaven," with a preface in which they ſay: "As for our ſelves, we are yet, neither afraid nor aſhamed to make profeſſion (in the midſt of all the high waves on both ſides daſhing on us) that the ſubſtance of this brief Extract from the Author's longer Diſcourſe, is that very *Middle-Way* (which in our Apologie we did in the generall intimate and intend) between that which is called *Browniſme*, and the *Preſbyteriall-government*, as it is practiſed." The Editors of the "Way of the Churches," ſay in their "Epiſtle to the Reader," "Leaſt any ſhould imagine, that everything in the *Keyes* doth not fit all the wards in this Treatiſe to a hair, wee will here inſert Mr. Cottons own words, in his Letter coming from him in *New England* to our hands in the very nick of time, while this Epiſtle lay under the Preſſe; viz. 'If you think the Draught of Church Diſcipline, which was ſent over in your Ship, varieth from that of the Power of the Keyes, ſent over the yeare after; you may have ſome occaſion ſo to conceive from ſome difference of Expreſſion in Logical Termes, but not a jote in any Doctrine of Divinity, *or* Church-Practise.' So Mr. Cotton in his Letter to Mr. R. W." Baylie's "Diſſuaſive from the Errors of the Time," was one of the replies to Cotton's treatiſe.

43 "For the joyning of faithfull Chriſtians into the fellowſhip and eſtate of a Church, we finde not in Scripture that God hath done it in any other way than by entering all of them together, (as one Man) into an holy Covenant with himſelfe, To take the Lord (as the head of his Church) for their God, and to give up themſelves to him, to be his Church and people; which implyeth their ſubmitting of themſelves to him, and one to another in his feare; and their walking in profeſſed ſubjection to all his holy Ordinances: their cleaving one to an-

of viſible Saints profeſſing the Name of Chriſt, there be a company of prophane perſons, Idolaters, Hereticks, that ſhall covenant, or agree together to joyne in a Congregation to worſhip Idolls, and to build up one another in Hereſie, and Apoſtaſie; This is *Eccleſia Malignantium*, a falſe conſtituted Church: And conſequently, the Head of this Church is a falſe Chriſt, and every member of this Church, who joyneth 73] with them in this way, is in viſible worſhip, ſeparate from the true Chriſt.

In this ſence, I would anſwer to the Examiners firſt Queſtion, Affirmatively.

His ſecond Queſtion then is, *Whether it be not abſolutely neceſſary to a godly perſons uniting with the true Church, (that is, with Chriſt in true Chriſtian worſhip) that he ſee and bewaile, and abſolutely come out from that former falſe Church, or Chriſt, and his Miniſtery, Worſhip, &c. before he can be united to the true Iſrael?*

Anſw. I would readily anſwer this Queſtion, Affirmatively

other, as fellow members of the ſame body, in brotherly love and holy watchfulneſſe unto mutuall edification in Chriſt Jeſus."

"Neither is there any colour to conceive this way of entering into Church eſtate by Covenant, to be peculiar to the Pædagogy of the Old Teſtament; for it is evident by the light of nature, that all civill Relations are founded in Covenant. For, to paſſe by naturall Relations between Parents and Children, and violent Relations between Conquerors and Captives; there is no other way given whereby a people (*ſui Juris*) free from naturall and compulſory engagements, can be united or combined together in the viſible, to ſtand by mutuall Relation, fellow members of the ſame body, but onely by mutuall Covenant; as appeareth between huſband and wife in the family, Magiſtrates and ſubjects in the Common-wealth, fellow Citizens in the ſame Citie." "The Way of the Churches," pp. 2, 4.

This paſſage is important not only as illuſtrating Cotton's eccleſiaſtical opinions, but alſo for the light it caſts upon his action with reference to Williams. Attaching as he did ſo much ſignificance to the Covenant relation, he could but view Williams's wilful ſeparation from the Salem Church as an act in violation of the firſt principles on which ſociety was founded. It is clear that this proceeding of Williams was the turning point in Cotton's relations with him. See *ante*, pp. 30, 39, 46.

alſo, unleſſe there be a fallacy in the latter abſolutely. For his Queſtion is, *Whether it be not abſolutely neceſſary unto uniting with a true Church, to ſee, and bewaile, and come out abſolutely from the falſe Church, or Chriſt, or Miniſtery, or Worſhip, &c.* This latter abſolutely, if it imply no more then coming out altogether from all that ſeparateth from true Chriſt, I grant it abſolutely: but if he meane coming out from every thing of theirs, ſay from every good gift, yea from every error amongſt them, which doth not ſeparate from Chriſt, and then I deny that it is abſolutely neceſſary, either to ſee or bewaile all, or in that ſence abſolutely to come out of all.

His ſimilitudes brought to the contrary, may perſwade a ſelfe-pleaſing fancy, but will not convince nor ſatisfie any ſolid Judgement. Might not the *Iſraelites* that came out of Ægypt, borrow Jewells of ſilver and gold from the Ægyptians, yea and carry up alſo a mixed multitude of People, and yet build a Tabernacle to the Lord in the Wilderneſſe? *Exod.* 12. 35. to 38. Might not the *Jewes* come out of *Babel*, and accept from all the People, where they had ſojourned, veſſells of ſilver, and gold, with goods and beaſts, and other precious things, and yet build a Temple at *Hieruſalem? Ezra* 1. 4, 5, 6. May not a ſoule be married to Chriſt, and yet his former husband (his corrupt nature) not be ſo abſolutely dead, as the husband of a wife muſt be, before ſhee can be lawfully married to another?

The Graft cut off from one tree, may be engrafted to another: and yet carry forth his old leaves with him. The kingdome of Chriſt that is cut off from the Romane Monarchy, may yet for a time have ſome entercourſe with the Romane Monarchy.

The *Corinthians*, though united with Chriſt, and waſhed

from [74] their former Idolatry, as well as from other ſinnes: yet ſtill were defiled with communion in Idols Temples, and with Fornication.

The *Theſſalonians* turned from their former Idolls, to ſerve the living and true God: yet they had ſome amongſt them, that walked inordinately after their entrance into Church-eſtate, as well as before, 2 *Theſ.* 3. 6. Beſides, for a further anſwer to his ſimilitudes, the Examiner may remember, that though *Iſrael* came out of *Egypt* locally, before they could ſacrifice to God in the Wildernes, yet in their hearts and ſoules they were ſtill for *Ægypt*, Exod. 14. 11, 12. Yea and for Ægyptian Idolls, *Act.* 7. 39. *Ezek.* 20. 7, 8. which is more then we doe allow to our ſelves.[44]

To Chap. XIV.

His 14th Chapter is ſpent in Examining and anſwering a Reaſon that I gave of my ſecond Anſwer to his Objection, which was propounded and cleared in the former Chapter. The Reaſon was this. *The Church of Chriſt received many thouſand* Jewes, *who beleeved on the Name of Chriſt,*

[44] The ground taken by Cotton in the preceding diſcuſſion is preciſely identical with the poſition all along held by the leaders of the Independent party in England, who ſpared no pains to remove from themſelves the reproach of narrow ſectarianiſm which had been incurred by the early Separatiſts. Thus in "An Apologetical Narration, humbly ſubmitted to the Honorable Houſes of Parliament, by Thomas Goodwin, Philip Nye, Sidrach Simpſon, Jeremiah Burroughs, William Bridge," the admiſſion is freely made that even in the worſt times of the Church of England, "Multitudes of the aſſemblies and parochial congregations thereof were *the true churches and body of Chriſt, and the miniſtry a true miniſtry;* and that they both had held and would hold communion with them as the churches of Chriſt." See Hetherington's Hiſt. of the Weſtminſter Aſſembly, p. 159. The "Quæries" of Williams, to which alluſſion is made on page 2, *ante*, were called forth by this "Apologetical Narration."

although they were ſtill zealous of the Law, and ſaw not the beggarly emptineſſe of Moſes *his Ceremonies*, Act. 21. 20. *And the Apoſtle* Paul *directeth the* Romans *to receive ſuch unto them, as were weake in the faith, and ſaw not their liberty from the ſervile difference of Meats and Dayes, but ſtill lay under the bondage of the Law. Yea he wiſhed them to receive ſuch upon this ground, becauſe Chriſt had received them*, Rom. 14. 1. to 6. *And leſt it ſhould be objected, there was not the like danger of lying under bondage to* Moſes, *as to Antichriſt; It was ſaid, that even the bondage under* Moſes *was ſuch, as that if it were continued in, after inſtruction and conviction, it would ſeparate them from Chriſt*, (Gal. 5. 2.) *and bondage under Antichriſt could doe no more.*

For Anſwer hereto, the Examiner would have two things to be carefully minded:

1. *That the Ordinances of* Moſes *were ſometimes the Ordinances of God: and when they were to vaniſh, they were to be taken away with ſolemnity. The Ordinances of Antichriſt were the Inventions of Satan, and from firſt to laſt never to be received, nor ſubmitted to, no not for a moment.*

75] 2. *He would have the difference of times to be obſerved, (which ſaith he, M^r^.* Cotton *himſelfe confeſſeth) after inſtruction and conviction,* Moſes *Law was deadly, and would ſeparate fr[illegible]n Chriſt. Therefore there was a time, when they were not deadly, and did not ſeparate from Chriſt, to wit, untill* Moſes *was honorably fallen aſleep, &c. To apply then,* Paul *obſerved a vow, and the Ceremonies of it, Circumciſed* Timothy, *&c. May therefore a Meſſenger of Chriſt now (as* Paul) *goe to Maſſe, Pray to Saints, performe Pennance, keepe Chriſtmaſſe, and other Popiſh Feaſts, and Faſts? &c.*

Reply. 1. I never heard or read till now, that *Paul* ever went to Maſſe, Prayed to Saints, kept Chriſtmaſſe, or the

like: nor did I ever imagine, that any ingenuous minde would thinke that ever it came into my heart to plead for ſuch things now, or for the retaining of any Popiſh Rite at all. But the wit and lip of man being let looſe, and left to it ſelfe, may inferre *quodlibet ex quolibet.*

If it be ſaid, his Parentheſis (as *Paul*) had reference onely to a Meſſenger of Chriſt, (as *Paul*) not to any ſuch like act of *Paul*, then his Argument is no more concluſive then a *Baculo ad Angulum.* What colour were there that any man now ſhould plead *Pauls* example, to doe that now, which *Paul* never did, nor any thing like it?

Reply. 2. The Examiner requireth two things here to be carefully minded: In anſwer whereto, I deſire but one thing to be carefully minded: to wit, to what end, I alledged the ignorance of the *Jewes* in the Primitive times, and the indulgence of the Chriſtian Churches, for receiving them into Church-fellowſhip, notwithſtanding ſuch ignorance: And then ſee, if it doe not inferre that which I brought it for.

If in the Primitive times, the ignorance of the *Jewes* in many waighty Points of Religion, and ſome of them fundamentall, did not hinder their receiving into Chriſtian Church-fellowſhip, nor diſanull their Church-eſtate (who ſo received them) then it is not ſo neceſſary to Church-fellowſhip, as that without it a Church cannot be, that the Members admitted thereunto, ſhould all of them ſee and expreſly bewaile, all the pollutions, wherewith they have been defiled in their former Church-fellowſhip, Miniſtery, Worſhip, Government, &c. But the former is true, as hath been opened from *Acts* 21. 20. *Rom.* 14. 1. to 6. *Gal.* 5. 2. To which [76] may be added, *Acts* 15. 5. with 24. Where it appeareth ſome of the members of the Church and of the Synod, held forth ſuch Doctrine and Worſhip, touching the neceſſitie of Circum-

ciſion, and obſervation of the Law, as tended to the ſubverſion of ſoules: and yet neither their memberſhip, nor the Eſtate of the Church was thereby diſanulled.

The Concluſion is evident from theſe Premiſes.

It is a vaine thing now to alledge, that the Ordinances of Moſes *were ſometimes the Ordinances of God, but ſo the inventions of Antichriſt never were: and there is not the like honourable reſpect and tenderneſſe to be ſhewed to the inventions of Antichriſt, as to the vaniſhing Ordinances of God*; For though this were of weight, in caſe I had pleaded for the practiſe of any Antichriſtian invention, (which indeed was farre off, both from my meaning and words:) yet in this caſe it is wholly impertinent. For that which I pleaded for, was, the capableneſſe of godly Perſons of Church-eſtate, notwithſtanding their ignorance of ſome weighty and neceſſary truths: and the ſoundneſſe of their Church-eſtate, notwithſtanding their admiſſion and toleration of ſuch ignorant members: unto which the difference of the ſeverall objects of their ignorance maketh nothing at all. For the ignorance of weighty Truths (of one ſort as well as another) neceſſary to ſalvation, is a ſinne of like deſtructive nature, of what kinde ſoever the Truths be.

Beſides, there is no need, either for the clearing of our members, or of our Church-eſtate, to plead for the capableneſſe of godly perſons of Church-eſtate, notwithſtanding their ignorance of the Truths of God, whether more or leſſe neceſſary: For wee doe not look at it as any point of ignorance at all, for our members to believe, they may partake in the gifts of the godly Miniſters in *England*, in hearing the word of God from them. I know the Examiner is vehement and peremptory in pleading for an *abſolute neceſſitie, that godly perſons before they doe joyne to a true Church, and Miniſtery*,

ſhould ſee and bewaile ſo much as may amount to cut off the ſoule from a falſe Church, (whether Nationall, Pariſhionall, or any other falſly conſtituted Church) Miniſtery, Worſhip, and Government of it.

But the voyce of God is not alwayes in every vehement and mightie winde, that rendeth mountaines, and breaketh rockes, 1 *Kings* 19. 11. The Examiner is not ignorant, that we have ſeene, [77] and bewailed Nationall, and Pariſhionall Church-eſtate, and have cut off our ſelves (by the Grace of Chriſt) from any invented worſhip or government of it: yea and from ſuch entrance into the Miniſtery or Adminiſtration of it, as was corrupt either by Nationall or Pariſhionall Relation. But this is that which he requireth further, (He I ſay, but not the Lord) that wee ſhould cut off our ſelves from hearing the Miniſtery of the Pariſhes in *England*, as being the Miniſtery of a Nationall, or Pariſhionall Church, whereof both the Church-eſtate is falſly conſtituted, and all the Miniſtery, Worſhip, and Government thereof falſe alſo.

But two things here may ſuffice to anſwer this clamour.

1. Suppoſe all this were true, that he clamoureth, but prooveth not: yet this would I faine learne, wherein lieth the ſinne of our members in hearing the godly Miniſters in the Pariſhes? *Why*, ſaith he, *in that they doe not cut off themſelves from a falſe Miniſtery.*

Now by the Miniſtery may be meant, either the office of the Miniſtery, or the exerciſe of the office, and gifts of the Miniſtery. From the office, and from the exerciſe of the office, our members have cut off themſelves, partly by ſubmitting themſelves to a Miniſtery of their own Election in theſe Churches,[45] and partly by ſubmitting themſelves to no

[45] Under date of Aug. 27, 1630, Winthrop writes: "We, of the congregation, kept a part, and choſe Mr. Wilſon our teacher, and Mr. Newell as elder, and Mr. Gager and Mr. Aſpinwall deacons. We uſed impoſition of hands, but

act of their Miniſteriall office in *England*, but what an Indian, or any Pagan might partake in, who yet is cut off farre enough from fellowſhip in their office.

Cutting off, is an act of diſunion, and ſomewhat more violent, and keene, then (it may be) the Examiner requireth. The ſinne he chargeth upon our members in hearing ſuch Miniſters, is union, or communion with them. And what ſhall wee ſay, is there no Communion between our members, and the Miniſters in *England*, whom they doe heare?

Yes doubtleſſe: For 1. There is a naturall communion between the ſpeaker and the hearer: the one giveth coun-

with this proteſtation by all, that it was only as a ſign of election and confirmation, not of any intent that Mr. Wilſon ſhould renounce his miniſtery he received in England." Winthrop, 1, 33. Wilſon was ſubſequently made Paſtor and Cotton was elected Teacher in his place, "and ordained by impoſition of the hands of the preſbytery, in this manner: Firſt, he was choſen by all the congregation teſtifying their conſent by erection of hands. Then Mr. Wilſon, the paſtor, demanded of him, if he did accept of that call. He pauſed, and then ſpake to this effect: that howſoever he knew himſelf unworthy and unſufficient for that place; yet, having obſerved all the paſſages of God's providence, (which he reckoned up in particular) in calling him to it, he could not but accept it. Then the paſtor and the two elders laid their hands upon his head, and the paſtor prayed, and then, taking off their hands, laid them on again, and, ſpeaking to him by his name, they did thenceforth aſſign him to the ſaid office, in the name of the Holy Ghoſt, and did give him the charge of the congregation, and did thereby (as by a ſign from God) indue him with the gifts fit for his office; and laſtly did bleſs him. Then the neighboring miniſters, who were preſent, did (at the paſtor's motion) give him the right hands of fellowſhip, and the paſtor made a ſtipulation between him and the congregation." Winthrop, 1, 114. For Cotton's view of the nature of the Power derived from Ordination, ſee, *poſt*, pp. 82–83. Compare alſo, "The Way of the Churches of Chriſt," p. 39, and "The Keyes of the Kingdom of Heaven," p. 12.

According to Baylie, in his "Diſſuaſive," Cotton, ſo long as he remained in England did not go beyond Cartwright and the Preſbyterians, but the reaſons which Cotton himſelf gave the Boſton Church for not baptiſing his infant at ſea—"1. Becauſe they had no ſettled congregation then; 2. becauſe a miniſter hath no power to give the ſeals but in his own congregation," (Winthrop, 1, 110,) proves that he had adopted the congregational theory before "he did taſte of the New-Engliſh air." Diſſuaſive, p. 56. Cotton meets this charge in his "Way of Congregational Churches Cleared," p. 25.

ſell, or inſtruction, or reproofe, or comfort; and the other receiveth it.

2. There is a morall Communion between a Teacher and a learner: and doubtleſſe, our hearers may learne many precious Truths from them.

3. What ſhall I ſay further; Is there not alſo a ſpirituall Communion between the Preacher and the Hearer, when the Preacher communicateth many ſpirituall and heavenly Points, and the Hearer receiveth them?

78] *Anſw.* 1. Some would ſay; It is not neceſſary, that this ſhould breed a ſpirituall Communion between the Preacher and the Hearer: No more then it maketh a Mathematicall Communion between a reader of the Mathematicks, and the learner of ſome Principles, or Concluſions from him.

But 2. I would rather anſwer otherwiſe. For ſuppoſe a member of our Churches, though a viſible Saint here, yet indeed an hypocrite, ſhould occaſionally heare a Miniſter in *England*, and by the Power of the Spirit of Grace breathing in his Miniſtery, be effectually brought home to Chriſt, and by lively faith united to him: Here is a ſpirituall Relation and Communion wrought between them: the one is a ſpirituall Father; the other a naturall Sonne in the Faith.

Nevertheleſſe, this I would ſay, that this ſpirituall Communion is not between this Hearer and this Miniſter, in reſpect of his Office, but in reſpect of his Gifts, and of the Power of the Spirit of Grace breathing in the diſpenſation of his Gifts. In which reſpect this Communion doth not amount to Church-communion: Any ſtranger might enjoy as much. Any Pagan *Corinthians* might come in, and heare in the Church of *Corinth*, 1 Cor. 14. 24, 25. and reape a bleſſing thereby, who yet had not Eccleſiaſticall Communion with their Office. Alſo the Prophet *Jeremy* heard the falſe

Prophet *Hanani*, yea (and in ſome ſence) ſaid Amen to his Prophecy: yet had he no communion with his falſe Office, *Jer.* 28. 1. to 6. If he ſtill urge, that we have not yet cut off our ſelves from communion, no not with the falſe office of the Miniſtery of *England*, and with their falſe Church-eſtate, in as much as we ſtill retaine their Baptiſme, wherein we ſubjected our ſelves to their Office, and to their Church-eſtate, (which are both falſe:) as well as their Worſhip, and their Government.

Anſw. This is a further Objection, then he held forth whileſt he continued with us: and therefore no marvell, if my Letter ſpake nothing to it. But therefore let me now propound another Point, which may ſuffice both for an Anſwer to this Objection, as alſo for a ſecond Anſwer unto the former clamour, and exception againſt hearing of the godly Miniſters in *England*. The Point is this; That I doe not ſee, how the Examiner can juſtifie his grievous charge, that their Church is falſly conſtituted, (whether Nationall or Pariſhionall) [79] and accordingly, that their Miniſtery, Worſhip, and Government are all of them falſe. Foure things he chargeth to be falſe. 1. Their Church conſtitution, Pariſhionall and Nationall. 2. Their Miniſters. 3. Their Worſhip. 4. Their Government.

For the firſt, touching the conſtitution of their Pariſhionall Churches, let it be conſidered what I ſaid before, that where there be viſible Saints, there is the true matter of the Church; and where there is a Covenant or Agreement (whether explicite or implicite) to aſſemble together in one Congregation, to worſhip the Lord, and to edifie one another in the Ordinances of Chriſt, there is (for ſubſtance) the true forme of a Church. And where there is the true matter and true forme of a Church, it cannot be truely ſaid, that ſuch a

Church is falſly conſtituted. For there being but two cauſes of which a thing is conſtituted, matter and forme: whatſoever hath true matter, and true forme, is truly conſtituted.

Againſt this, what he will accept I doe not know: and therefore know not how to prevent him with a fit and juſt defence. But by others, two things are wont to be objected.

Object. 1. From the matter of the Church. *Object.* 2. From the efficient cauſe of the Church.

From the matter of the Church, it is objected, that there be not onely viſible Saints in the Engliſh Pariſhes, but with them are mingled many ignorant, and ſcandalous perſons, drunkards, whoremongers, deſpiſers and perſecutors of them that are good, Prophane ſwearers, that have not ſo much as a forme of godlineſſe, but doe utterly deny and deride the power of it.

Anſw. This is indeed juſt matter of mourning and lamentation to all the Saints of Chriſt, and may be alſo (in due order) juſt warrant of ſome degree of ſeparation from them, as from a corrupt Church. It cannot but offend and deeply grieve the ſpirit of a Chriſtian, to ſit downe at the Lords Table, and drinke the bloud of the Lord with ſuch, who may be ready the next day to ſpill the bloud of ſincere Communicants as Puritan Round-Heads.

But whileſt the Saints of Chriſt continue amongſt them, the mixt fellowſhip of ignorant and prophane perſons doth not evacuate or diſanull their Church-eſtate. The ſtore of malignant and noyſome humours in the body, yea the deadneſſe and rottenneſſe of many members in the body, though they may make the body [80] an unſound and corrupt body, yet they doe not make the body no body. When the Prophet *Iſaiah* complained, that in the Church of *Judah*, from the ſoale of the foote to the crowne of the head, there was no

ſoundneſſe in it, but wounds, and bruiſes, and putrifying ſores; yet whileſt there was a Remnant amongſt them of faithfull Saints, they were not yet no Church, they were not yet *Sodome* and *Gomorrha*, though but for that Remnant, they had been as *Sodome*, and like unto *Gomorrha*, Iſa. 1. 6. with 9. Say not though *Hieruſalem* and *Judah* were at that time degenerate, yet they had been at firſt an holy Nation, a faithfull Citie, (*Iſa.* 1. 21) and ſo had a true conſtitution: which the Churches of *England* never had.

For 1. I might anſwer, That though in regard of ſome prime members, *Hieruſalem* was counted a faithfull Citie, and the Nation Holy, by Priviledge of their Covenant: yet for the body of the people, *Hieruſalem* was alwayes a City of the provocation of Gods wrath from the day they built it, *Jer.* 32. 31, 32. And for the body of the Nation, *Moſes* charged them; *Yee have alwayes been rebellious againſt the Lord, ſince the day that I knew you*, Deut. 9. 7. 24. And *Stephen* proteſteth againſt them; *They had alwayes wont to reſiſt the Holy Ghoſt, they and their fathers*, Act. 7. 51.

2. I doe not underſtand, but that (according to Scripture) thoſe corruptions which doe not deſtroy a Church conſtituted, the ſame do not deſtroy the conſtitution of a Church. The Church is conſtituted, and continued by the ſame Grace.

3. The eſtate of the Churches of *England* was not corrupt in their firſt conſtitution. *Baronius* himſelfe confeſſeth, that *England* received the Goſpel ten yeares before *Rome*;[46] and

[46] I am at loſs to conjecture on what ground Cotton makes this ſtatement, ſince Baronius ſtrongly advocates the theory that St. Peter preached the Goſpel in Rome in the ſecond year of Claudius, in the year 44 of our era. See Annals Eccleſiaſtici, Tome 1, p. 296. Baronius further aſſerts, on the authority of Simeon Metaphraſtes, that Peter preached in Britain in the year 58. do. p. 508. The common Proteſtant opinion is that he did not viſit Rome until the laſt year of his life.

Cæſar Baronius was born in 1538. He purſued his ſtudies at Rome, in 1593 became Superior of the Congregation of

that from the Miniſtery of the Apoſtles, and Apoſtolick men: who doubtleſſe conſtituted the *Engliſh* Churches:) not after the manner of *Rome*, (which was then Pagan;) but after the Apoſtolick Rules and Patternes.

This may ſuffice touching the matter of the *Engliſh* Churches. Now touching the ſecond thing objected, which was from the efficient cauſe of their conſtitution; It is ſaid, they were gathered not by the preaching of the Goſpel, (by which Churches ſhould be planted and conſtituted) but by the Proclamation of Princes.

Anſw. 1. The efficient cauſe of a Church is a thing without the [81] Church, and ſo no eſſential cauſe of the conſtitution of a Church. The Proclamation of King *Hezekiah*, and of the Princes, drew on multitudes of Apoſtate *Iſraelites* to the Communion of the Church at *Hieruſalem*, and many of them in much pollution: yet neither their own pollution, nor the Proclamation of the King and Princes did evacuate their Church-eſtate, but encourage them rather in their Church-worke, 2 *Chron.* 30. 5. to 9. and verſes 11, 12. 17, 18, 19, 20. It was no pollution to the ſecond Temple at *Hieruſalem*, that it was built by the encouragement of the Proclamation of *Cyrus*, Ezra 1.

Anſw. 2. Whereſoever there be viſible Saints gathered into a Church, they were firſt gathered by the Miniſtery of the Goſpel. For Proclamations cannot make Saints, but the word of the Goſpel onely. If any hypocrites, or time-ſervers,

the Oratory, and in 1596 was raiſed to the rank of Cardinal by Pope Clement VIII. He was afterwards made librarian to the Vatican, and died from exceſſive ſtudy in 1607. His great work, the Annales Eccleſiaſtici, deſigned eſpecially as a vindication of the Church of Rome againſt the Magdeburg Centuriators, was publiſhed at Rome, 1588–93, the reſult of thirty years ſtudy. The chief value of this coloſſal work ariſes from the uſe made of ſome material in the Vatican Library inacceſſible to the Proteſtant ſcholar. The references in this note are to the Lucca edition, 1738–1787, in thirty-eight volumes folio.

doe for feare joyne themſelves with the Saints in ſuch a worke; though their fellowſhip may weaken and blemiſh the worke, yet it doth not deſtroy it.

Thus much touching the conſtitution of their Pariſhionall Churches: Now touching their Nationall Conſtitution, it ſtandeth partly in their Nationall Officers, Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and their Servitors; partly, in their Nationall Synods and convocations; and partly alſo in their Nationall Eccleſiaſticall Courts.

The Examiner is not ignorant, that (by the Grace of Chriſt) we have withdrawen our ſelves, and our Churches alſo from this Nationall Conſtitution, and from all Communion with them.[47]

If it be ſaid; But we ſtill keepe Communion with the Pariſh-Churches, (in hearing the Word there) who doe ſubject themſelves to theſe Nationall Officers, Convocations, and Courts.

Anſw. 1. Though the Pariſh-Churches were lately ſubject to them, it was a burden (which as they did diſcerne the

[47] "In the New Teſtament, it is not a new obſervation that we never read of any nationall church, nor of any nationall officers given to them by Chriſt. In the old Teſtament indeed, we reade of a Nationall Church. All the tribes of *Iſrael* were three times a yeer to appeare before the Lord in *Jeruſalem*, *Deut.* 16. 16. And he appointed them there an high Prieſt of the whole nation, and certain ſolemne ſacrifices by him to be adminiſtered, *Lev.* 16. 1 to 29. and with him other Prieſts and Elders, and Judges, to whom all appeals ſhould be brought, and who ſhould judge all difficult and tranſcendent caſes, *Deut.* 17. 8 to 11. but wee reade of no ſuch nationall church or high Prieſt, or court in the new Teſtament; and yet we willingly grant that particular churches of equall power, may in ſome caſes appointed by Chriſt, meet together by themſelves, or by their meſſengers in a Synod, and may perform ſundry acts of power there, as hath been ſhowed above. But the officers themſelves, and all the Brethren members of the Synod; yea, and the Synods themſelves, and all the power they put forth, they are all of them *primarily* given to the ſeverall churches of particular Congregations, either as the firſt ſubject in whom they are reſident, or as the firſt object about whom they are converſant, and for whoſe ſake they are gathered and imployed." Keyes of the Kingdom of Heaven, pp. 31, 32.

iniquitie thereof) they groaned under, and now by the mightie Power of the gracious Redemption of the Lord Jeſus, they have ſhaken off through the helpe of the Honorable, and Religious Prudence and Piety of the Parliament.[48]

2. Though thoſe Nationall Courts in their Officers, did for many yeares tread downe the Pariſh-Churches, yet they did not extinguiſh their Church-eſtate. The Text is plaine, *The Gentiles* (that is, men of Gentile-like prophaneneſſe, and malignitie, and [82] iniquitie, who had the keeping of the Church-Courts) *they did tread downe the Holy City*, Rev. 11. 2. Tread downe (I ſay) but not deſtroy the Holy City. Yea though the Tranſlation reade it, *They did tread it downe*, or, *Tread it under-foote:* yet the Originall word may be rendred ſomewhat more mildly: πατήσουσι, may expreſſe their walking upon it, or elſe the Peripateticks were a more violent ſect, then either their Principles, or their Practiſe did declare them.

I come now to ſpeake of the ſecond Falſhood, which the Examiner chargeth upon the *Engliſh* Churches, which was the falſeneſſe of their Miniſtery: which wherein it lyeth, he ſhould have done well to have told us: *for himſelfe diſliketh it in me, to wander in Generalities.*

But for our ſelves, we are farre from that ſupercilious, and Phariſaicall arrogancy, as to condemne ſuch for falſe Miniſters, in whom we finde Truth of Godlineſſe, Truth of Miniſteriall Gifts, Truth of Election and acceptance unto Office

[48] In September, 1642, Parliament paſſed an ordinance providing that the epiſcopal juriſdiction ſhould ceaſe after fourteen months. In June, 1643, the ordinance for calling the Weſtminſter Aſſembly was paſſed, which recited that the government of the Church "by Archbiſhops, biſhops, and other eccleſiaſtical officers, is evil and juſtly offenſive and burdenſome to the kingdom, and an impediment to reformation and religion." In Auguſt, 1645, a further ordinance was paſſed authorizing the Preſbyterian form of national church government. Cotton had perhaps not heard of this laſt ſtep when he wrote the above ſentence in praiſe of the Parliament.

by true Churches of Chriſt, Truth of ſound, & wholeſome, and ſoule-ſaving Doctrine, and Truth of holy and exemplary Converſation. And ſuch are all the Miniſters whom either the members of our Churches affect to Heare, or our Churches doe allow them ordinarily for to Heare. And when I ſay Truth, I ſpeake it not in oppoſition to Eminency, (for ſundry of them excell in Eminency of ſundry of theſe things:) but in oppoſition to the falſhood which the Examiner objecteth.

I know not what exception lyeth againſt their Miniſtery, to argue it of falſhood, (ſave what hath been excepted and anſwered already touching the conſtitution of their Pariſhionall Churches) but onely the falſeneſſe of the Power from whence their Miniſtery is derived, to wit, from Epiſcopall Ordination.

But the Examiner is much miſtaken, if he take us to conceive, or if he himſelfe conceive, that the Power of the Miniſteriall calling is derived from Ordination, whether Epiſcopall or Presbyteriall, or Congregationall.[49] The Power of the Miniſteriall Calling is derived chiefly from Chriſt, furniſhing

[49] "For the Rite of Ordination we doe not looke at it as any Eſſential Part of our vocation to the Miniſtery, no more than Coronation is an Eſſential Part of the Office of the King." Bloody Tenent Waſhed, p. 8.

"For the Church hath not *abſolute* power to chooſe whom they liſt, but *miniſteriall* power onely, to chooſe whom Chriſt hath choſen, hath gifted and fitted for them."

"As the Authoritie of the *Paſtor*, and other *Elders*, is not from the Church, but from Chriſt; ſo neither is their Office and Authoritie from the Biſhop, nor from the *Preſbytery*, nor from the *Claſſis of Preſbyteries*; If therefore that were a juſt impediment, why the Church ſhould not lay hands upon their elect *Paſtors* or *Elders*, becauſe neither their office, nor their Authoritie, is from the Church, then neither may the *Biſhop*, nor the *Preſbytery*, nor the Claſſis lay their hands upon them; becauſe their office and Authoritie is no more (nor ſo much) from them, as from the Church; nor by this Argument might the *Apoſtles* themſelves (if they were preſent) ordaine Officers, becauſe neither the *office* nor the *Authority* is from the Apoſtles, but from *Chriſt* onely." Way of the Churches, pp. 39 and 44.

his ſervants with Gifts fit for the Calling; and nextly, from the Church, (or Congregation) who obſerving ſuch whom the Lord hath gifted, doe elect and call them forth to come and helpe them. For from that ground, *Paul* and *Silas* (to uſe the words of the Text) aſſuredly gathered that [83] the Lord had called them to preach the Goſpel to the *Macedonians*, Acts 16. 9, 10. to wit, becauſe a man of *Macedonia* (in the name of the reſt) had called unto them to come into *Macedonia* and helpe them. Paſtor and flock are Relatives: and Relatives doe conſiſt *ex mutuâ alterius affectione*, Their mutuall acceptance of one another is the eſſential cauſe of their Relation. Ordination is but *adjunctum conſummans* (as Dr. *Ames*[50] rightly obſerveth) of the Miniſters Calling:

[50] William Ames was born in 1576, and educated at Chriſt College, Cambridge. Rather than wear the ſurplice he reſigned his fellowſhip, and ſoon after, to eſcape the indignation of Bancroft, fled to Holland, where he was choſen miniſter of the Engliſh Church at the Hague. He was about to be choſen Profeſſor of Divinity at Leyden, but the Engliſh Ambaſſador, at the inſtigation of Archbiſhop Abbott, prevented the execution of the plan. He was afterwards elected by the States of Frieſland to a ſimilar office at the Univerſity of Franeker. After filling the office with great diſtinction for twelve years, he was led by failing health to accept an invitation to the Engliſh Church at Rotterdam. Here he died, Nov. 14, 1633, being juſt on the point of embarking for New England. The following year his wife and children embarked, carrying with them his valuable library. His Latin works were publiſhed at Amſterdam in 1658, in five volumes. See Brook's Lives, 2, 405. Neal, 1, pp. 436, 578.

In the preparation of his "Freſh Suit againſt Ceremonies," Ames was aſſiſted by Hooker, at that time ſtaying in Rotterdam, who ſaid "If a ſcholar were but well ſtudied in Dr. Ames his *Medulla Theologiæ*, and *Caſus Conſcientiæ*, ſo as to underſtand them thoroughly, they would make him (ſuppoſing him verſed in the Scriptures) a *good divine*, though he had no more books in the world." Cotton cheriſhed an equally exalted opinion of him, declaring when on his death bed, that it contributed unto his readineſs to be be gone "when he conſidered the ſaints, whoſe company and communion he was going unto; particularly Perkins, Ames, Preſton, Hilderſham, Dod, and others, which had been peculiarly dear unto himſelf." See Life of Cotton, in Cotton Mather's Magnalia.

Ames exerted much influence on Cotton's eccleſiaſtical opinions, as appears from the following paſſage in the reply of the latter to the charge of Baylie, *ante*, p. 77, note 45: "But when he ſaith, 'I minded no more than the Old Non-

the Relation between him and the people was truly wrought before. As the Coronation of the Prince is not that which giveth the Eſſency of his Princely Calling, but Election by the People, (where the Government is Elective:) ſo neither is Ordination that which giveth Eſſence to the Miniſters Calling, but the peoples choice. Ordination by Impoſition of Epiſcopall hands, doth pollute an Adjunct of the Miniſters calling, (to wit, the ſolemnitie of it:) but doth not deſtroy the eſſence, or nature of it, much leſſe derive a falſe power to it, to evacuate the true.

The third Falſhood, which the Examiner chargeth upon the *Engliſh* Pariſh-Churches, is the Falſe worſhip. And truly whatſoever hath been corrupt in their worſhip, whether Preſcript, Liturgies, or undue Honour put upon Saints or Angels, in denominating Dayes or Temples after them, and ſuch times and places dedicated to God, which he never required, and what ever other Devices of like nature, I had rather bewaile before the Lord, then excuſe or juſtifie before men.

Conformity whileſt I abode in *England*,' he muſt be more privie to my mind than any mortall man is, and than myſelf to, to make it good. There were ſome ſcores of godly perſons in *Boſton* in *Lincolnſhire*, (whereof ſome are there ſtill, and ſome here, and ſome are fallen aſleep) who can witneſſe, that we entered into a Covenant with the Lord, and one with another, to follow after the Lord in the purity of his Worſhip; which though it was defective, yet it was more than the Old Non-Conformity. Beſides I had then learned of Mr. *Parker*, and Mr. *Baynes* (and ſoon after of Dr. *Ames*) that the Miniſters of Chriſt, and the Keyes of the Government of his Church are given to each particular Congregationall Church reſpectively: and therefore neither Miniſters nor Congregations ſubject to the Eccleſiaſticall juriſdiction of Cathedrall Churches, no, nor of Claſſicall Aſſemblies neither, but by voluntary conſociation, and that in ſome caſes; and thoſe falling ſhort of that which is properly called ſubjection to their Juriſdiction." Way of the Cong. Churches Cleared, p. 20. Compare ſtatement to the ſame effect on p. 21. "The particular viſible Church of a Congregation to be the firſt ſubject of the power of the Keyes, we received by the light of the Word from Mr. *Parker*, Mr. *Baynes*, and Dr. *Ames*." Theſe paſſages are important as ſhowing who were the authors of that "Order of the Churches" with which the name of Cotton came afterwards to be ſo cloſely aſſociated.

And I ſhould thinke it had been a better ſervice to God, and his Churches, and a greater comfort to the ſoule of the Examiner, to have expreſſed particularly what the falſe worſhip had been which he beareth witneſſe againſt, and to have cleared wherein their falſhood lyeth, rather then to have reſted in condemning all falſe worſhips in overly Generalities: and eſpecially at ſuch a time when (through mercy) the State is ſet upon Reformation, and calleth for light. He that ſhall cry out againſt all falſe wayes in Travels by Land, and exclaime againſt all Rocks and Quick-ſands by Sea, and give no particular notice where they lye, what helpe doth he afford to the carefull Paſſenger or Marriner, either by Land or Sea? When Trumpets give ſuch an uncertain and obſcure ſound, who ſhall prepare themſelves to avoyd the danger on the one hand, or on the other?

But for the preſent, two things would I ſay, touching the point in hand.

84] 1. It is not every corruption in worſhip, that denominateth the worſhip to be falſe worſhip. It was doubtleſſe a corrupt worſhip to Sacrifice in the High Places: yet God doth not call it a falſe worſhip, but rather ſeemeth to accept it, as done to himſelfe, 2 *Kings* 33. 17. Falſe worſhip (to ſpeake properly) is as good as no worſhip: nor is the God of Truth wont to accept that which is falſe. But there may be many aberrations in the manner of worſhip, when yet both the object of the worſhip is the true God, and the ſubſtance of the worſhip is true worſhip: and God may accept that which is Truth, from an honeſt and true heart, and paſſe by many aberrations, (as infirmities) and not reject all as falſities.

The ſecond thing I would ſay, is, That whatſoever we have diſcerned to be corrupt, or irregular in the worſhip of

God, we have beleeved it to be our duty, both to judge our ſelves for it before the Lord, and to reforme it in our practiſe. If any ſhall diſcover any further failings in our worſhip, or in the worſhip of thoſe Churches whom wee communicate with, I hope the Lord will not ſhut our eyes againſt the light.

The fourth Falſhood, which the Examiner chargeth upon the *Engliſh*-Churches, is falſe Government, which if he meane the Government of the Pariſhes, by the godly Miniſters, (with whom our people communicate in hearing;) that Government is chiefly adminiſtred by the publick Preaching of the Goſpel, and by private admonition. Which he that ſhall challenge it to be a falſe Government, (though it may be defective in ſome Directions;) verily the ſpirit of Truth and Grace in thoſe who are governed and led by it, from darkneſſe to light, from the Power of Satan unto God, from a ſtate of Grace to aſſured hopes of eternall Glory in Chriſt Jeſus, will convince all ſuch ſlanderous tongues of notorious falſhood.

But if he ſpeake of the Nationall-Church-Government, we muſt confeſſe the Truth, there indeed Truth is fallen, and falſhood hath prevailed much. For whether we ſpeake of the Hands, by which that Government hath been adminiſtred, or of the Eccleſiaſticall Courts, in which it is adminiſtred, or of the Rule, according to which it is adminiſtred, or of the End for which it is adminiſtred; All of them are forſaken of Truth, and can challenge no warrant of Truth but falſly.

85] The Hands by which that Government hath been adminiſtred, are the Prelacy, and their Servitors: who though they have of late challenged Inſtitution by Divine Right: yet the claime is utterly falſe. The Divine Authoritie hath none to attend upon Rule and Government in the Church,

but ſuch as are inferior to Paſtors and Teachers in Congregations, who labour in Word and Doctrine, 1 *Tim.* 5. 17. Dioceſan Biſhops in the dayes of the Goſpel, are like Kings in *Iſrael* in the dayes of the Judges, both of them wanting Divine Inſtitution.[51] What a pity is it, that ſome men eminent for Piety and Preaching, and others for learning and moderation, ſhould come to be (as *Jothams* Parable ſpeaketh) advanced over their Brethren, and ſo leave their fatneſſe, and ſweetneſſe, and fruitfulneſſe, wherewith they had been wont to ſerve both God and man?

The Eccleſiaſticall Courts in which that Government is adminiſtred, are like the Courts of the High Prieſts, and Phariſees, which *Solomon* (by a ſpirit of Prophecy) ſtyleth, *Dens of Lyons, Mountaines of Leopards*, (Cant. 4. 8.) And thoſe who have had to doe with them, have found them Markets of the ſinnes of the People, the Cages of uncleanneſſe, the forgers of Extortion, the Tabernacles of Bribery.

The Rule according to which the Government is adminiſtred, is not the word of God, (which alone is able to make a Church-Governour perfect to every good worke, 2 *Tim.* 1. 17.) but in ſtead thereof the Canon Law, the Decretalls of Antichriſt, and moſt unworthily and falſly applyed to the Government of the Spouſe of Chriſt.

The End alſo for which this Government now for many yeares hath been adminiſtred, hath not onely been contrary

[51] "Now the Apoſtle acknowledgeth no *Acts of Rule*, nor any *Elders* (or *Biſhops*) that doe *Rule*, as worthy of *greater honour* than ſuch *Elders* as *labour in Word and Doctrine*, 1 Tim. 5. 17. It is therefore apparently contradictory to the inſtitutions given by *Paul* in the Epiſtles to *Timothy* and *Titus*, to ſet up any eminent or tranſcendent Biſhop in the Church, in reſpect of *Rule*, or exerciſe of office of more *honour* and *power*, than pertaineth to *all* the Miniſters of the *Word*. So that evident it is, that neither *Ordination*, nor *Juriſdiction* (which are both of them Acts of *Rule*) are to be fetched from tranſcendent Biſhops, but pertaine indifferently to *all the Preſbyters*." Way of the Churches, pp. 48, 49.

to the ends of Church-Government, (which is to order the people in holineſſe, and love) but even contrary to the end of Civill Government, which is the puniſhment of evill doers, and the praiſe of them that doe well, *Rom.* 9. 4. But here the very edge of Government, hath been bent and ſharpened chiefly againſt holineſſe and puritie. No malefactors ſo hainous, (drunkards, whoremongers, prophane perſons) but might expect the approach of Courts with leſſe terror, and paſſe from under their hands, with more favourable Cenſure then the ſheepe of Chriſt, and the faithfull Shepheards of them.[52] 86] This Government therefore being adminiſtred with falſe Hands, on falſe Thrones, by falſe Rules, for falſe Ends, I blame not the Examiner, though he ſtyle it, (as juſtly he may) a falſe Government.

But to conclude therefore this 14th Chapter, the Examiner telleth us, *He beleeveth it is abſolutely neceſſary to ſee and bewaile ſo much as may amount to cut off the ſoule from a falſe Church, (whether Nationall, or Pariſhionall, or any other falſly conſtituted Church) together with the Miniſtery, Worſhip, and Government of it.*

Now in that which hath been ſpoken, wee have given account, how farre we have ſeene any of theſe things to be falſe in the Churches, which his charge hath reſpect unto. And ſo farre as we have ſeene, the Lord knoweth how farre

[52] Cotton Mather, referring to the time when the purſuivants of the High Commiſſion Court were ſearching for Cotton, ſays: "Application was made, in the meantime, to the Earl of Dorſet, for the fulfilment of his old engagement with Mr. Cotton; and the Earl did indeed intercede for him, until the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, who would often wiſh, 'Oh that I could meet with Cotton,' rendered all his interceſſions both ineffectual and unſeaſonable. Hereupon that noble perſon ſent word unto him, that if he had been guilty of *drunkenneſs*, or *uncleanneſs*, or any ſuch *leſſer fault*, he could have obtained his pardon; but inaſmuch as he had been guilty of nonconformity, and puritaniſm, the crime was unpardonable; and therefore, ſaid he, 'you muſt fly for your ſafety.'" Life of John Cotton, in Mather's Magnalia.

we have bewailed, and cut off our ſelves from the Fellowſhip thereof. Yea not onely from the fellowſhip of that which we diſcerne to be falſe, but alſo from what we have diſcerned to be unſound and corrupt. If we doe not diſcerne all thoſe things to be falſe, which he accounteth to be falſe; we have given the grounds thereof from the Scriptures of Truth. If we doe not follow him in all his imaginations, it is no marvell: The ſheepe of Chriſt know the voyce of their Shepheard: a ſtranger they will not follow. His charges of Falſhood upon Churches have been vehement, and peremptory, and in a manner ſorbonicall, without any touch of Scripture-grounds, as if he had learned not onely from them, but from the Conclave of Antichriſt, to obtrude upon the Churches of Chriſt, his unwritten imaginations and cenſorious Decrees, as the very Oracles of God.

Proceed we now therefore to his next Chapter, wherein, there is ſome mention of ſome Texts of Scripture, and let us ſee, whether they will ſpeake more to his purpoſe in that which remaineth.

To Chap. XV.

THe Texts of Scripture which M^r^. *Williams* alledged, not to prove the Churches of *England* to be falſe in their Conſtitution, Miniſtery, Worſhip, Government, (for to that end he alledgeth no Scriptures at all) but to urge upon us a ſeparation from them, (even from hearing in their Aſſemblies) were three, *Iſai.* 52. [87] 11. 2 *Cor.* 6. 17. *Rev.* 18. 4. Whereof I certified him in my Letter, *That two of them* (to wit, the firſt and laſt) *made nothing to his purpoſe. For that of* Iſaiah, *and the other of the* Revelation *ſpeake of locall ſepa-*

ration, which he knew we had made: and which neither he, nor indeed our ſelves apprehended to be ſufficient, though ſufficient to anſwer, in part, the literall fence of thoſe Places.

To which he anſwereth, *That he could not well have beleeved that M^r^. Cotton, or any other, would have made that coming forth of Babel in the Antitype,* Rev. 18. 4. *to be locall and materiall alſo. For what Civill State, or Nation, or Countrey in the world, in the Antitype could now be called Babel? If any, then ſurely Babel it ſelfe properly ſo called: but there we finde a true Church of Jeſus Chriſt,* 1 Pet. 5. Secondly, *If Babel be locall now, whence Gods People are called, then muſt there be a locall* Judea, *a Land of* Canaan *alſo, into which they are called, &c.*

Reply. If the Examiner had been pleaſed to have read M^r^. *Brightman*[53] on *Rev.* 18. 4. He might finde, I was not the firſt that Interpreted, either that place in *Iſaiah*, or this in *Revelation*, of a locall ſeparation. For as there was in old *Babel*, ſundry of Gods *Iſrael*, Inhabitants then when the *Medes* and *Perſians* were about to take it, and deſtroy it: ſo will there be in new *Babel* ſundry of Gods choſen people ſtill inhabiting amongſt them, even then when the ten Kings will be ready to take the Citie, and to burne it with fire. Unto whom as the Lord ſent his Angels to haſten *Lot* out of *Sodome*, when he was about to deſtroy it: ſo he hath ſent and will ſend the voyce of his Meſſengers to haſten his people,

[53] Rev. Thomas Brightman, fellow of Queen's College, Cambridge, and afterwards rector of Hawnes, in Bedfordſhire. Though a ſubſcriber to the "Book of Diſcipline," he was no friend to ſeparation. He died Aug. 24, 1607, aged fifty-one. His moſt renowned work was the Commentary on the "Revelation of St. John," referred to by Cotton, in which he makes Cranmer the angel having power over the fire, Thomas Cromwell the angel which came out of the temple of heaven, and Cecil the angel of the waters. When Epiſcopacy was aboliſhed, the book attracted great notice, as this event was viewed as a fulfilment of its predictions. Brightman had interpreted Antichriſt to mean the Prelacy.

as well out of new *Babel*, (as he did out of old) before that ſodaine deſtruction fall upon the City, and upon them in it.

He need not make it ſo ſtrange, *What Civill State, or Nation, or Countrey in the world ſhall be called Babel now?* As if the very expreſſe letter of the Text had not clearly enough deciphered the City of *Rome*, the great City, which in *Johns* time reigned over the Kings of the Earth, to be the *Babylon*, (the Antitype of *Babel* in *Chaldea*,) whom the Lord would deſtroy, and out of whom he calleth his people to depart? Why doth he tell us of *Babel* in *Peter*, (*Babel in Chaldea*,) as if the Type and the Antitype were literally the ſame place? Or as if he were altogether a ſtranger in the Booke of the *Revelation*, and never underſtood *Rome* to be called *Babylon?*

88] *But* ſecondly, *ſaith he, If Babel be locall now, then there muſt be a locall* Judea, *a Land of* Canaan *alſo, into which the Saints are called.*

Reply. 1. It followeth not for the Angel that calleth them out of *Babel*, doth not call them into *Judea*, or *Canaan*. There is no mention of ſuch places in that call at all.

2. There be, and will be, when *Rome* is deſtroyed, and before it be deſtroyed, viſible Churches of Chriſt, (as was *Judea* and *Canaan* of old;) into which theſe Saints who are called to depart out of *Rome*, have a juſt calling to come and to joyne themſelves. For it is out of the Temple, and out of the Temple open in Heaven, out of which thoſe Angels come, who powre out the vialls of Gods wrath, both upon the Antichriſtian State, and upon the Citie of *Babylon* it ſelfe, *Rev.* 15. 5, 6. with *Chap.* 16. 19.

The Examiner need not here aske, *Whether M^r.* Cotton *can ſatisfie his own ſoule, or the ſoules of other men, in making a locall departure from old* England *to New, as if therein we*

had obeyed that voyce of the Angel, Come out of Babylon my People, partake not of her ſinnes, &c.

For 1. I doe not count *England*, literally to be *Babel*, nor myſtically neither. I beleeve a man may live and dye in *England*, and yet obey that Commandement of the Angel in all the parts of it. Some other godly men might finde more favour and exemption from Babyloniſh corruptions in the midſt of *England*, then I was ſuffered to doe, without locall departure.

2. Though I thinke, that in thoſe words, *Come out of Babel my People*, locall ſeparation be intended, yet when he addeth, *Leſt yee be partakers of her ſinnes*, I beleeve, ſpirituall ſeparation is much more required: and locall ſeparation as a meanes the better to attaine that end of ſpirituall ſeparation from partaking in her ſinnes.

Which may alſo cleare the meaning of the Text, and the fraud of the Examiner. For the words are not (as he alledgeth them) *Come out of Babel, my people, Partake not of her ſinnes:* For ſo the latter part might be an ἐξήγησις, or explanation of the former: Coming out of *Babel*, might be all one with, *Partake not of her ſinnes.* But the words of the Text be, *Come out of her, my People, that yee be not partaker of her ſinnes.* Which plainly argueth, that coming out [89] of *Babel* locally, is a meanes to prevent partaking in her ſinnes ſpiritually.

It is true which he ſaith, *The Lord Jeſus hath broken downe all difference of Places*, (Joh. 4.) *and all difference of Perſons*, Acts 10. To wit, in regard of ceremoniall pollution, or ceremoniall holineſſe. But if he thinke, there is no difference between one Citie, or Countrey more then another in morall pollutions of Idolatry, & ſuperſtition, unrighteouſneſſe and uncleanneſſe, he maketh himſelfe a greater ſtranger both

to the Word and to the world, then I did thinke he had been.

The two cauſes of Gods Indignation againſt *England*, which he ſuggeſteth, are worthy due conſideration and attention. I would rather ſay Amen to them, then weaken the weight of them. Onely I ſhould ſo aſſent to the latter, as not to moove for a Toleration of all Diſſenters, Diſſenters in Fundamentalls, and that out of obſtinacy againſt conſcience, and Seducers, to the perdition of ſoules, and to the diſturbance of Civill and Church-Peace: but onely of ſuch Diſſenters, as vary either in matters of leſſe weight, or of fundamentall, yet not out of wilfull obſtinacy, but out of tenderneſſe of Conſcience.[54]

[54] The diſtinction which Cotton here draws is between paſſive nonconformity, and active oppoſition. The former was illuſtrated in his own career of twenty years as a miniſter of the Church of England. Thus in the "Bloudy Tenent Waſhed," he ſays, ſpeaking of the perſecutions of the Puritans under James the Firſt, "For by the Rule of the Word, thoſe (whom they called) Puritans ought not to have been perſecuted, no though they had been erroneous in their way, which they were not. For though they conſented not to the State-Government of the Church; yet neither did they tumultuouſly and ſeditiouſly reſiſt it." p. 137. The latter, in Cotton's view, was illuſtrated in the career of Williams at Salem. Thus he ſays: "He holdeth forth an erroneous Doctrine, or Practiſe, in an Arrogant and Impetuous way, not onely who carrieth it in a reviling and daring way (which is a diſturbance to Civill Peace: But alſo he who refuſeth to ſubject his ſpirit to the ſpirit of the Prophets in a holy Church of Chriſt (contrary to 1 Cor. 14. 32.) which is a diſturbance to the peace of the Church. And withall, he that ſhall oppoſe ſuch as diſſent from his Errors, either by violent means (as the Circumcellians did by Clubbs, and Swords,) and as Zedekiah did Micajah with Fiſts, (1 Kings, 22. 24.) or by cenſorious reproaches, and by rejecting Communion with them even before conviction or admonition, all theſe are wayes of Arrogance, and Impetuouſneſſe, and tend to the diſturbance either of civill, or Church Peace, or of both." Bloudy Tenent Waſhed, p. 14.

Cotton held that even "Diſſenters in Fundamentalls" might be tolerated, if their diſſent was paſſive. "And for the Civill State, we know no ground they have to perſecute *Jewes*, or *Turkes*, or other *Pagans* for cauſe of Religion, though they all erre in Fundamentalls. No nor would I exempt Anti-Chriſtians neither, from Toleration, notwithſtanding their Fundamentall Errors, unleſſe after conviction they ſtill continue to ſeduce ſimple ſoules into their damnable,

As for the Controverſie, which the Examiner ſaith, *He hath with me, Whether falſe worſhip be not onely locall, but a ſpirituall Guilt, and not onely a Guilt, but alſo an Habit, &c.* I doe acknowledge no ſuch controverſie between us: I wholly conſent with him in the Point. Onely I doe not beleeve, all that to be either a Guilt, or an Habit of falſe worſhip, which he doth imagine: but in his termes I accord.

To Chap. XVI.

His 16th Chapter is taken up in examining and Anſwering the Expoſition which my Letter gave of that Text formerly alledged, 2 *Cor.* 6. 14, 15, 16. Of which I ſaid.

That the Text onely requireth Coming out from Idolaters in the fellowſhip of their Idolatry: No Marriages were they to make with them: No Feaſts were they to hold with them in the Idolls Temples: No intimate Familiaritie were they to maintaine with them: Nor any Fellowſhip [90] *were they to keepe with them in the unfruitfull workes of Darkneſſe.*

And this is all which the place requireth. But what maketh all this to proove, that we may not receive ſuch Perſons to Church-fellowſhip as our ſelves confeſſe to be godly, and who doe

and pernicious Hereſies." Bloudy Tenent Waſhed. p. 33. See, alſo, p. 83. Compare Cotton's ſtatement, *ante*, pp. 36, 37. The reaſon for the interference of the civil magiſtrate is thus ſtated: "Nor doth the Civill State in ſuch puniſhment attend ſo much, how to procure the converſion of Hereticks, or Apoſtates, or ſuch like ſcandalous turbulent offenders: as how to prevent the perverſion of their founder people (*Gangrænam amoveas, ne pars ſincera trahatur:*) or elſe to worke the ſubverſion of ſuch, as doe ſubvert both truth and peace." do. p. 20.

Cotton argued that the peculiar views of Williams reſpecting the Churches, "as all diſſipated and rooted out from the fear of the Earth by the Apoſtacy of Antichriſt," rendered it the more incumbent on the civil power to interfere and prevent the ſpread of error. do. p. 69.

profeſſedly bewaile and renounce all knowne ſinne, and would renounce more, if they knew more? Although, it may be, they doe not ſee the utmoſt skirts of all that pollution they have ſometimes been defiled with: as the Patriarchs ſaw not the pollution of their Polygamy?

In Anſwer to this, the Examiner telleth us;

1. *That if the regenerate and repenting Engliſh did come thus farre forth, it would availe much to the ſanctifying of the Name of the Lord Jeſus, to the pacifying of his jealouſie, &c.*

Reply. But this is no Anſwer at all, unleſſe he did aſſume that our repenting *Engliſh* did not come thus farre forth. Therefore he giveth for another Anſwer, (that which is indeed but a part of this) *That according to the former Diſtinction of Godly Perſons, who poſſibly may live in ungodly practiſes (eſpecially of falſe worſhip:) And then according to M^r.* Cottons *Interpretation, they come not forth.*

Reply. That former Diſtinction hath been conſidered above and weighed; but hath been found impertinent to the caſe in hand. The Examiner neither doth, nor ever will make it good, That the Godly perſons amongſt us doe live in any ungodly practiſes of falſe worſhip. Nor doe they take his Affirmation (without any mention of Scripture-ground) for a ſufficient conviction.

But (ſaith he) *if there be any voyce of Chriſt in the mouths of his witneſſes againſt theſe ſinnes, they are not then of ignorance, but negligence, and ſpirituall hardneſſe againſt the wayes of Gods feare,* Iſai. 63. *&c.*

Reply. If there be (ſaith he) *any voyce of Chriſt in the mouths of his witneſſes againſt theſe ſinnes, &c.* If there be: he doth not ſay, there be. And if there were, how doth it appeare, that their voyce is the voyce of Chriſt, or that they be the witneſſes of Chriſt, in whoſe mouths this voyce is? How

eaſie had it been for the Examiner, if he himſelfe knew any ſuch voyce of Chriſt in the mouths of any of his witneſſes againſt theſe ſinnes of falſe worſhip which our godly Brethren doe live in, to have alledged the ſame, and the word of Chriſt, which might have been witneſſe to the voyce of thoſe witneſſes? But theſe Ifs and Overtures will neither convince nor edifie others, nor juſtifie himſelfe.

91] Beſides, what if there be ſome witneſſes have teſtified againſt the falſe worſhip in *England*, and againſt the hearing of thoſe Miniſters, by reaſon of that falſe worſhip? What if the Godly Perſons (of whom he ſpeaketh) here, are not ſo ignorant, but they know what thoſe witneſſes have ſaid, nor ſo negligent, but they have duly conſidered and pondered the ſame, and weighing it in the Balance of the Scriptures, have found it too light? Is it ſpirituall hardneſſe, to chooſe, rather to feare God, and his Word, then to feare the falſe Interpretations and Applications of it by the ſpirit of Error? The word of the Lord wee reverence and acknowledge, *Come not yee to Gilgall, neither goe yee up to Bethaven:* But doe wee come to *Gilgall*, or goe up to *Bethaven*, when we heare the word of the Lord from the godly Preachers in the Pariſhes in *England?* If ſuch alledgements of Scripture may goe for the voyce of Chriſt in the mouths of his witneſſes, we ſhall ſoone forget the Counſell of *Solomon*; *Ceaſe my Sonne to heare the Inſtruction, which cauſeth to erre from the words of knowledge*, Pro. 19. 27. The Apoſtle *John* hath long ſince directed us, *Hereby know we the ſpirit of Truth, and the ſpirit of Error: He that knoweth God, heareth us*, (that is, the Apoſtles, and thoſe that preach their Doctrine;) *He that is not of God, heareth us not*, 1 Joh. 4. 6.

But for another Anſwer, the Examiner proceedeth; *Moreover*, (ſaith he) *the Queſtion is not of the utmoſt skirts of*

pollution, but the ſubſtance of a true and falſe Bed of worſhip, Cant. 1. 16. *In reſpect of coming out of the falſe, before the entrance into the true.*

Reply. I ſaid indeed, that *Godly Perſons repenting of all knowne ſinnes, may be received to Church-fellowſhip, although they doe not ſee the utmoſt skirts of all the pollution they have ſometimes been defiled with.*

But, ſaith he, *the Queſtion is not of utmoſt skirts, but of the ſubſtance of a true and falſe Bed of worſhip.*

What he meaneth by the *Bed of worſhip,* I know not. If he meane the Church, to be the Bed of worſhip, and the Churches of *England* to be falſe Churches, that Point hath been cleared above: that no voyce of Chriſt hath declared the Churches of *England* to be falſe Churches.

But yet further, the Examiner anſwereth, *That if there were but filthineſſe in the skirts of an Harlot, he beleeveth M^r.* Cotton *would* [92] *not receive an Harlot, infamous for corporall whoredome, without ſound repentance, not onely for her actuall whoredomes, but alſo for her whoriſh ſpeeches, geſtures, appearances, provocations. And why ſhould there be a greater ſtrictneſſe for the skirts of common whoredome, then for ſpirituall and ſoule-whoredome, againſt the chaſtitie of Gods worſhip?*

Reply. 1. There may be the greater ſtrictneſſe about the skirts of bodily whoredome, not becauſe it is a greater ſinne, but becauſe it is more eaſily diſcernable, and convinceable by ordinary light.

2. Where any ſpeeches, geſtures, appearances, provocations of ſpirituall whoredome ſhall diſcover themſelves, we beleeve there ought to be as great ſtrictneſſe about them, as about the like whoriſh appearances of bodily whoredome. But when will the Examiner diſcover to us, what thoſe ſpirituall whoriſh geſtures or ſpeeches be, wherein we ſhew leſſe ſtrictneſſe, then the chaſtitie of Gods holy worſhip requireth?

Touching the Polygamy of the Fathers, the Examiner anſwereth, three wayes.

1. *By obſerving what great ſinnes Godly Perſons may be ſubject to, notwithſtanding Godlineſſe in the Roote.*

Wee conſent to that, eſpecially in caſe of ignorance.

2. He demandeth, *If any godly Perſons ſhould now beleeve, and maintaine, that he ought to have many wives, and accordingly did ſo Practiſe, whether M^r^. Cotton would receive ſuch a godly Perſon to Church-fellowſhip?*

Yea whether the Church of the Jewes (*if they had ſeene the evill of it*) *would ever have received ſuch a Proſelyte into fellowſhip with them?*

The ſame Anſwers may ſerve to both the Demands.

1. Neither would I receive them, nor doe I thinke the Church of the *Jewes* would, in caſe the ſinne had appeared ſo plaine and palpable, as by the light of the Goſpel it hath been diſcovered.

2. This is not the caſe in hand, what my ſelfe or a Church ought to doe, about receiving a member living in knowne ſinne: but when he that liveth in no knowne ſinne, (none knowne either to himſelfe, or the Church) whether the Church if they receive him, doth thereby evacuate their Church-eſtate? Or whether the Church, and every member thereof, be ſo farre bound to a diſtinct knowledge of all appearances of ſpirituall whoredome, that if they [93] be ignorant of any one or two of them, they are utterly uncapable of Church-eſtate?

For a third Anſwer to the caſe of Polygamy, the Examiner demandeth *what was this perſonall ſinne of Polygamy in the godly Patriarchs? Was it any matter of Gods worſhip, any joyning with a falſe Church, Miniſtery, Worſhip, Government, from whence they were to come, before they could conſtitute his true Church, and enjoy his Worſhip, Miniſtery, Government, &c.*

Reply. 1. Polygamy if it had been knowne to be as great a ſinne amongſt the *Iſraelites*, as it is now knowne to be by the Doctrine of the Lord Jeſus, it is of ſo hainous a nature now, that every godly perſon guilty of it, muſt come out of it, before he could lawfully be received into a pure Church of Chriſt.

2. If a Church were now ignorant of ſuch a knowne caſe, and ſhould in their ignorance admit ſundry members living in that ſinne, into fellowſhip with them, though it would much defile them: yet I doe not conceive it would evacuate their Church-eſtate.

3. The Examiner will never proove, that the eſtate of the Churches in *England* is falſe, their Miniſtery falſe, nor their worſhip falſe. And as for their Epiſcopall Government, he is not ignorant we have come out of it both in place and heart. Neither will he ever be able to prove, that any of our Churches partake in the communion of any ſuch knowne ſinne, either in Church-eſtate, Worſhip, Miniſtery, Government, as Polygamy is.

But touching that place in 2 *Cor.* 6. 14, 15, 16. urged by the Examiner, that I might give a further Anſwer then before, I adde further in my Letter; *That the place was wreſted beſides the Apoſtles ſcope, when M^r.* Williams *argued from it, That ſuch Perſons are not fit matter for Church-fellowſhip, as are defiled with any remnants of Antichriſtian Pollution: nor ſuch Churches any more to be counted Churches, as doe receive ſuch amongst them: For were there not at that time in the Church of* Corinth, *ſuch as partaked with Idolaters in their Idolls Temples? And was not this the touching of an uncleane thing? And did this ſinne reject members from Church-fellowſhip before Conviction? Or did it evacuate their Church-eſtate for not caſting out ſuch members?*

To this Argument the Examiner giveth (as he calleth it) an Anſwer in foure Paragraphs: whereof the three former hold not forth ſo much as the face, or ſhape, or colour of an Anſwer. 94] For in the firſt Paragraph, ſaith he, *This was indeed an uncleane thing, from which God calleth his People: and M^r.* Cotton *confeſſeth, that after conviction any member obſtinate in theſe uncleane Touches ought to be rejected.*

But what is this to the Argument?

Againe, in the next Paragraph, *Upon the ſame ground,* (ſaith he) *that one obſtinate Perſon ought to be rejected out of Church-eſtate, upon the ſame ground, if a greater company or a Church were obſtinate in ſuch uncleane touches, ought every ſound Chriſtian Church to reject them, and every ſound member to withdraw from them.*

But is this any more to the Argument?

In the third Paragraph, *Further* (ſaith he) *it is cleare, that if ſuch uncleane Touches obſtinately maintained,* (*as M^r.* Cotton *profeſſeth and practiſeth*) *be a ground of a rejection of a Perſon in a Church, queſtionleſſe, it is a ground of rejection when ſuch Perſons are to joyne unto the Church. And if obſtinacy in the whole Church after Conviction be a ground for ſuch a Churches rejection, queſtionleſſe, ſuch a Church or number of perſons obſtinate in ſuch evills, cannot congregate, nor become a true conſtituted Church of Chriſt.*

But ſtill the Argument is where it was, not onely unſhaken, but untoucht. Neither is the Text in 2 *Cor.* 16. any whit at all cleared by theſe diſcourſes, to argue them to be no true conſtituted Churches who live in ſuch uncleane touches, without conviction, without obſtinacy. For the Text ſpeaketh nothing of obſtinacy, nor conviction: but onely implieth, that ſuch uncleane Touches were found in the Church of *Corinth*, and yet that did not evacuate their Church-eſtate.

His laſt Paragraph holdeth forth ſome more ſhape of an Anſwer, but as little ſubſtance.

The greateſt Queſtion here (ſaith he) *would be whether the* Corinthians *in their firſt Conſtitution were ſeparate or no from ſuch Idols Temples? And this M^r.* Cotton *neither doth nor can deny; A Church-eſtate being a ſtate of marriage unto Chriſt Jeſus; and ſo* Paul *profeſſedly ſaith, He had eſpouſed them as a chaſte Virgin unto Chriſt,* 2 Cor. 11.

Reply. 1. To put any ſubſtance into this Anſwer, or any force pertinent to the cauſe in hand, it muſt be no great Queſtion, but cleare out of Queſtion, that theſe *Corinthians* in their firſt conſtitution were cleane, and abſolutely ſeparate from ſuch Idolls Temples: [95] and that not onely locally, but in their ſoule and judgement, minde and heart, utterly cut off from ſuch uncleane Touches, ſo that they both undoubtedly ſaw the evill thereof, and from their hearts abhorred it, and forſooke it. For all theſe Acts of coming off in a way of ſeparation from the Churches of *England,* he requireth from us, as abſolutely neceſſary to enter into a true Church-eſtate. *Now if he thinke that M^r.* Cotton (to uſe his words) *neither doth nor can deny, that in their firſt conſtitution they were thus ſeparate from Idolls Temples.*

I muſt profeſſe, though not to him, yet to all that love and ſeek the Truth without prejudice, that I both can and doe deny it, that in their firſt conſtitution, they were locally ſeparate from Idolls Temples, it is likely enough; or elſe I ſuppoſe the Apoſtle would have admoniſhed them thereof in their firſt Plantation. But that in their minde and judgement, they ſaw the evill thereof, and did in heart and ſoule bewaile it, and confeſſe it before the Apoſtle and their Brethren, and ſo enter into ſolemne Covenant, expreſly againſt it; this is altogether incredible to me: For would not the Apoſ-

tle then (out of his faithfulneſſe) have reproved them as well for their Apoſtacy, as for their Fellowſhip in Idolatry? Would he not as well have rebuked the prevarication of their Covenant, as their pollution of their communion with Pagans?

What though a Church-eſtate be a ſtate of Marriage unto Jeſus Chriſt? May not a married Spouſe of Chriſt be ignorant of ſome part of her marriage-dutie towards him? And what though *Paul* profeſſe, *He had eſpouſed them as a chaſte Virgin to Jeſus Chriſt?* May not he call them a chaſte Virgin, who had ſeene and bewailed their former worſhip of Idolls, though they neither bewailed nor ſaw the evill of feaſting with their neighbours in Idolls Temples?

Reply. 2. Though the Examiner make it a great Queſtion whether a Church can be truely conſtituted, that in her firſt conſtitution is not ſeparate from all uncleane Touches, ſo as both to ſee them, and come out of them, howſoever they may fall into ſuch ſinnes afterwards: yet I looke at it as an ungrounded diſtinction, to require more purity to the being of a Church in her firſt conſtitution, then is neceſſary to the being of it, after it is conſtituted. I ſhould thinke the longer a Church hath enjoyed communion with the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, the more ſhee ought to grow both in [96] knowledge and purity. Where more hath been given, the more will be required of the Lord. Yea I conceive it more agreeable to the word of Truth, that God will ſooner ſeparate from a Church conſtituted, for their whoriſh pollutions, then deny them Church-eſtate for the like pollutions in their firſt conſtitution. The people of *Iſrael* were not conſtituted a Nationall Church till the Lord gave them Nationall Ordinances, and Nationall Officers, and entered them together into a Nationall Covenant, *Ezod.* 19. 5, 6. Their Church-

eſtate before, was rather domeſticall, diſperſed into ſeverall Families. When they were thus conſtituted a Nationall Church, and afterwards fell into an Idolatrous crime, the Lord directed *Moſes* to breake the Tables of his Covenant between them, and did alſo ſeparate his Tabernacle from them, till upon their repentance he renewed communion with them, *Exod.* 32. 19. with *Exod.* 33. 3. to 7. But yet the like Idolatry (if not worſe) being found in the ſame People, when they dwelt in Ægypt, it did not hinder the Lord from accepting them unto a Nationall Conſtitution of a Church-eſtate.

To Chap. XVII. XVIII. XIX.

His 17, 18, 19. Chapters are taken up, in Examining and Anſwering my Anſwers to his ſecond Objection, which he made to prove, a *Neceſſitie lying upon Godly men, before they can be fit matter for Church fellowſhip, to ſee, bewaile, repent, and come out of falſe Churches, Miniſtery, Worſhip, and Government.* To prove which, his firſt Objection, or Argument was taken from *Iſaiah* 52. 11. 2 *Cor.* 6. 14, 15, 16. Whereto we have returned a Reply in the former Chapters. His ſecond Objection was taken from the *Confeſſion made by* Johns *Diſciples, and the Proſelyte Gentiles before admiſſion into Church-fellowſhip*, Mat. 3. 6. Act. 19. 18. *Whence he gathered, That Chriſtian Churches are conſtituted of ſuch members, as make open and plaine confeſſion of their ſinnes: and if any ſinnes be to be confeſſed and lamented (Jewiſh or Paganiſh) then Antichriſtian drunkenneſſe and whoredome much more, &c. Yea every ſipping of the Whores Cup.*

To which Objection of his, (to paſſe by all verball velitations, for I love not to take up time about words) the ſubſtance of my Anſwer was two-fold.

97] 1. *That it was not neceſſary to the Admiſſion of members, that they ſhould ſee, and bewaile the ſinfulneſſe of every ſipping of the whores Cup, (as he called it) (though the Whores cup doe more intoxicate the minde, then the drunkards Cup doth the Body:) becauſe bodily drunkenneſſe and whoredome are ſuch notorious and groſſe ſinnes, that no man having true Repentance in him, cannot but be convinced of the ſinfulneſſe of them, and of the neceſſitie of repentance of them in particular, if he doe remember them. But the whores Cup being a myſtery of Iniquitie, the ſinfulneſſe of every ſipping of it, is nothing ſo evident and notorious, as that every repentant ſoule doth at firſt diſcerne it. And therefore as the* 3000 *Converts,* Acts 3. 37. to 47. *were admitted into the firſt Chriſtian Church, upon the Profeſſion of their repentance of the murther of Chriſt, though they neither ſaw nor confeſſed all the ſuperſtitious leavenings wherewith the Phariſees had bewitched them: ſo here, &c. Yea and the Diſciples of* John (*whom he inſtanceth in*) *though they did confeſſe their ſinnes,* (*the Publicans theirs, the Souldiers theirs, the People theirs:*) *to wit, the notorious ſinnes incident to their callings: yet it doth not appeare that they confeſſed their Phariſaicall pollutions. And the Gentiles in* Act. 19. 18, 19. *Though they confeſſed their curious Arts, and burnt their conjuring Bookes, yet it doth not appeare, that they confeſſed all their deeds.*

Whereunto the Examiner returneth a two-fold Anſwer.

1. *That ſpirituall whoredome and drunkenneſſe is not indeed ſo eaſily diſcerned as corporall: but yet not the leſſe ſinfull, but infinitely tranſcendent, as much as ſpirituall ſobriety exceedeth corporall; and the bed of the moſt High God exceedeth the beds of men, who are but duſt and aſhes.*

Reply. 1. It is an exorbitant Hyperbole to make every paſſage of ſpirituall whoredome, a ſinne infinitely tranſcendent above bodily whoredome. For ſpirituall whoredome is not infinite in the act of it, but onely in reſpect of the object of it, to wit, in reſpect of the infinite God, againſt whom it is committed. And is not bodily whoredome infinite in that reſpect alſo? Can a man defile himſelfe with bodily whoredome, and not ſinne againſt the infinite God? What ſaith *Joſeph?* Gen. 39. 9.

2. What if ſpirituall whoredome (though leſſe evident) be more ſinfull then bodily? The nature of true Evangelicall Repantance ſtandeth not in ſeeing and bewailing every ſinne, no nor alwayes of the greateſt, but of thoſe which are moſt evident and notorious. [98] A Chriſtian man may more ſafely omit repentance of greater ſins, if unknowne, then of leſſe ſinnes knowne. I ſuppoſe the *Iſraelites* were guiltie of many Idolatries, and ſuperſtitions in the dayes of *Samuel*, yet their repentance was chiefly faſtned upon their asking of a King, of which they were then principally convinced, 1 *Sam.* 12. 19. And ſuch Repentance was then accepted of the Lord, and of *Samuel*, ver. 22, 23.

The very truth is, the ground and roote of the Examiners Error in this caſe is, That he maketh Church-Covenant to be no better then a Covenant of workes: whereas indeed if Church-Covenant be not a branch of the Covenant of grace, the Churches of Chriſt are not built upon Chriſt. In a Covenant of workes, all ſinnes muſt be avoyed: or if not avoyded, yet repented of expreſly, and the greateſt ſinnes moſt. But in Evangelicall Repentance, God *dealeth not with us after our ſinnes, nor rewardeth us according to our Iniquities*, Pſal. 103 10. The Grace of Chriſt is not given either to his Church, or to any Chriſtian, upon the perfection of our

Repentance, nor upon our Repentance of our greateſt ſinnes, in the greateſt meaſure. But if the heart be truly humbled for any knowne ſinne, as ſinne, though the ſinne knowne be often leſſe hainous, then others unknowne, yet God accepteth his own worke, and putteth away all ſinne in the acknowledgement of one. Yea in ſinnes that be knowne, the compunction of the heart is ſometimes more expreſſed for the occaſions and inducements of the ſinne, which are leſſe hainous; then for the greater ſinnes, which are more grievous and dangerous. *Solomon* in his ſolemne Repentance in the Booke of *Eccleſiaſtes*, doth more expreſly bewaile his entanglement with lewd women, *Eccleſ.* 7. 27, 28. then all his Idolatrous Temples and worſhip, which were erected, and maintained at his charge. By the Examiners Doctrine, *Solomon* had never been received, and reſtored to the Church upon that Repentance.

His ſecond Anſwer is, *That though the converted Jewes did not ſee all the leavenings of the Phariſees, yet they mourned for killing of Chriſt, and embraced him in his Worſhip, Miniſtery, Government, &c. and thereupon neceſſarily followeth a withdrawing from the Church, Miniſtery, and Worſhip of the falſe Chriſt, &c.*

Reply. This anſwer doth not reach the defence of his cauſe, to wit, *That it is abſolutely neceſſary unto Church-fellowſhip, to ſee and bewaile,* [99] *not onely actuall whoredomes, but alſo whoriſh ſpeeches, geſtures, appearances, provocations.* Yet here he granteth, that *the converted Jewes did not ſee all the leavenings of the Phariſees, which yet were ſuch,* as in the end of that Paragraph, he *implyeth they had detained them under a falſe Chriſt.*

But whereas he ſaith, that *they by embracing Chriſt, in his Worſhip and Miniſtery, there neceſſarily followed a with-*

drawing from the Church, Miniſtery, and worſhip of the falſe Chriſt.

It may truely be Replyed, 1. That he will not grant us that liberty, that upon our embracing of Chriſt in his worſhip & Miniſtery, there neceſſarily followeth our withdrawing from the Church, Miniſtery, and Worſhip, wherein we had been formerly polluted in any ſort. Is not this to deteine the glorious Truth of our Lord Jeſus with reſpect of Perſons?

2. It is evident by the Story, that ſome of thoſe members of the Church of *Hieruſalem*, who had been leavened by the ſect of the *Phariſees*, they did neither ſee nor bewaile, nor did come off from fellowſhip with the *Phariſees* in their Miniſtery, and falſe Doctrine, which taught the neceſſitie of Circumciſion, and of the whole Law of *Moſes* to juſtification and ſalvation, *Acts* 15. 1. 5.

As for the confeſſion of ſinne by the Diſciples unto *John Baptiſt*, (Mat. 3.) and by the Gentiles unto *Paul*, (Act. 19.) though it be not ſaid, that the one ſort confeſſed their Phariſaicall pollutions, nor the other all their Deeds:

Yet (ſaith he) *if both theſe confeſt their notorious ſinnes*, (as Mr. *Cotton* confeſſeth) *why not as well their notorious ſinnes againſt God, their Idolatries, ſuperſtitions, worſhips, &c? Surely throughout the whole Scripture, the matters of God, and his worſhip, are firſt and moſt tenderly handled, &c.*

Anſw. It is not true, that the matters of Gods worſhip and defects there, are alwayes moſt tenderly acknowledged throughout the Confeſſions of the Saints in Scripture. *Solomon* in his Repentance was moſt ſparing of confeſſion of his Idolatrous Temples and worſhips. And the People in *Samuel* did more repent of asking a King, then of all their other ſinnes, and yet their Idolatries were then flagrant, 1 *Sam.* 12 9, 10, 11. Beſides, wee never reade of ſuch deepe Humili-

ation of *David* for carrying the Arke after the manner of the *Philiſtims*, as of his bodily adultery with *Bathſhehah*, and murder of *Uriah*.

100] The ſubſtance of my other Anſwer to his former Objection, which was to prove *a neceſſitie lying upon godly men to ſee and bewaile their pollutions in a former Church-fellowſhip, before they can be fit matter for a new.*

It was to this purpoſe, that we have not been wanting (through the guidance of the grace of Chriſt) to performe that which he pleadeth for, ſo farre as God hath called us to it: the which I expreſſed in my Letter in two particulars:

1. *That the body of our members doe in generall Profeſſe, that the reaſon of their coming over to us, was that they might be freed from the bondage of humane Inventions and Ordinances, under which as their ſoule groaned there, ſo they have profeſſed their ſorrow, ſo farre as through ignorance or infirmitie they have been defiled there.*

2. *That in our daily meetings, eſpecially in the times of our ſolemne Humiliations, we doe generally all of us bewaile all our former Pollutions, wherewith we have defiled our ſelves, and the holy things of God in our former Adminiſtrations, and Communions: the which we have rather choſen to doe, then to talke of, and therefore doe marvell, that he ſhould ſo reſolutely renounce us for that, which he knew not whether we had neglected or no, and before he had admoniſhed us of our ſinfulneſſe in ſuch neglect, if it had been found amongst us.*

Whereto his Anſwer is; *That we make no mention, what ſuch Inventions, and Ordinances, what ſuch Adminiſtrations and Communions were, which we confeſſed and bewailed.*

Reply. And yet leſt he ſhould too much wound his own Conſcience with ſuch a generall charge, he acknowledgeth; *That we have borne witneſſe againſt Biſhops, and Ceremonies,*

and doe conſtitute onely particular and Independent Churches, and have therefore ſo farre at leaſt ſeene the evill of a Nationall Church. But I dare ſay further, that his own Conſcience beareth him witneſſe, that we have witneſſed alſo both in Profeſſion and Practiſe, againſt Preſcript Liturgies and mixt Communions, both in Church-fellowſhip, and at the Lords Table.[55]

[55] The views of Cotton reſpecting "Preſcript Liturgies" and "mixt Communions" are fully preſented in his "Way of the Churches," pp. 70 to 80. His objections to a Liturgy were alſo preſented in a treatiſe publiſhed three years earlier, entitled "A Modeſt and Cleare Anſwer to Mr. Balls Diſcourſe of Set formes of Prayer. Set forth in a moſt Seaſonable time, when this Kingdome is now in Conſultation about Matters of that Nature, and ſo many godly *Long* after the Reſolution in that Point. Written by the Reverend and Learned *John Cotton*, B. D. and Teacher of the Church of Chriſt at *Boſton* in new *England*. London 1642." This diſcourſe, the occaſion of which is fully explained by Cotton on page 23, *ante*, was publiſhed without his knowledge. It forms a quarto of forty-nine pages, and examines nine reaſons which Mr. Ball had advanced on the other ſide. But the change in Cotton's opinions on the queſtion of the uſe of forms of prayer had taken place ſome time before the publication of this diſcourſe, ſince we find him writing under date of October, 1635, to the members of his former pariſh in England: "That if I were with them again, I durſt not take that liberty which ſometimes I had done: I durſt not joyne in Book-prayers: I durſt not now partake in the Sacraments with you: to wit, in reſpect of thoſe ſcandalous perſons who communicate with you, and will ſettle upon their Lees with the more ſecurity by your fellowſhip with them." See "Way of Cong. Churches Cleared," pp. 28, 29.

The language of Williams (*ante*, p. 23,) leaves us to infer that Cotton, ſo long as he remained in England, had felt no ſcruple about uſing the Book of Common Prayer. This is confirmed by Cotton's own account, from which it is clear that his difficulty, ſo far as the mode of worſhip was concerned, related to ceremonies. In reply to the ſtatement of Baylie, that while in England he had only fallen off from the practice of ſome of the ceremonies; Cotton ſays, "For (by the grace of Chriſt) I forbore all the Ceremonies alike at once, many years before I left *England*. The firſt grounds which prevailed with me to forbear one Ceremony, would not allow me to practiſe any. The grounds I well remember were two: 1. The ſignificancy and efficacy put upon them in the Preface to the Book of Common-prayer: 'That they were neither dumb nor dark, but apt to ſtir up the dull minde of man to the remembrance of his duty to God, by ſome notable and ſpeciall ſignification, whereby he may be edified,' or words to the like purpoſe.

"The ſecond was the limitation of

What hath been then wanting to us? *That we doe not fully ſee the evill of a Nationall Church*; How doth he make it to appeare?

By two Inſtances.

By our conſtant Practiſe in ſtill joyning with ſuch Churches and Miniſtery in the Ordinances of the Word and Prayer: and

Church-power (even of the higheſt Apoſtolicall Commiſſion) to the obſervation of the Commandments of Chriſt, Matth. 28. 20. which made it appear to me utterly unlawfull for any Church-power to enjoyn the obſervation of indifferent Ceremonies which Chriſt had not commanded. And all the Ceremonies were alike deſtitute of the commandement of Chriſt, though they had been indifferent otherwiſe, which indeed others have juſtly pleaded they were not.

"What favor I was offered not onely for connivance, but for preferment, if I would have conformed to any one of the Ceremonies, I forbear to mention. Yea, when I was ſuſpended upon ſpeciall complaint made againſt me to the King that then was, and all hope of reſtitution denyed to me, without yeelding to ſome conformity, at leaſt in one Ceremony at leaſt once; yet the good hand of the Lord ſo kept me, that I durſt not buy my Miniſtery ſo dear: And yet (I thank the Lord) my Miniſtery was dearer to me (to ſpeak the leaſt) than any preferment.

"When the Biſhop of Lincoln-Dioceſſe (Dr. *Mountaigne*) offered me liberty upon once kneeling at Sacrament with him the next Lord-day after: or elſe to give ſome reaſon, why (in conſcience I could not) unto Dr. *Davenant* (then Biſhop-elect of *Saliſbury*, who was at that time preſent with him at *Weſtminſter*) I durſt not accept his offer of liberty upon once kneeling; but I gave them this reaſon for my excuſe and defence, *Cultus non inſtitutus, non eſt acceptus: Genuflexio in perceptione Euchariſtiæ eſt cultus non iuſtitutus; Ergo, non eſt acceptus.*" Way of Cong. Churches, pp. 18, 19.

The change in Cotton's ſentiments was received with diſapprobation by many of his friends in England. In 1637 a number of Puritan miniſters wrote over to the miniſters of New England complaining that they had embraced new opinions "which they in England then judged to be groundleſs and unwarrantable." The firſt of theſe opinions was, "That a ſtinted form of prayer and ſet liturgy is unlawful." They add, "that letters in New England had induced many in Old to leave their Aſſemblies, becauſe of a ſtinted liturgy, and to abſent themſelves from the Lord's ſupper becauſe ſuch as ought to be were not debarred from it." Hooker wrote to Shepard reſpecting this letter, "I confeſs freely to thee my fears that the firſt and ſecond queſtions, touching a ſtinted form of prayer, will prove very hard to make any handſome work upon." See Hutchinſon's Hiſtory, 1, 81. London, 1765.

The treatiſe of Ball, mentioned on p. 23, note 6, *ante*, was prompted by the ſpread of theſe "new opinions" in England.

by our Perſecuting [101] *of him for his humble, faithfull, and conſtant admoniſhing of us for ſuch an uncleane walking, between a particular Church, and a Nationall.*

Reply. Our joyning with the Miniſters of *England* in hearing of the Word and Prayer, doth not argue our Church-Communion with the Pariſh-Churches in *England*, much leſſe with the Nationall Church: as hath been ſhewed above in *Chap.* 14.

Beſides, when *Jeroboam* heard the word from the young Prophet of *Judah*, and joyned with him in Prayer, I demand whether in ſo doing, he joyned in Church-Communion with the Nationall Church of *Judah?* If yea, then was the Church of *Judah* pollutedly the uncleane Communion of Idolatrous *Jeroboam:* If not, then the Examiner may eaſily diſcerne, how weake an Argument it is to argue our Communion with the Nationall Church of *England*, from our members joyning in the Hearing of the Word, and Prayer in the Pariſh-Churches of *England*.[56]

[56] "The *Diſcuſſer* ſometimes endeavoured to draw away the Church of *Salem* (whereof he was ſometime Teacher) from holding Communion with all the Churches in the Bay, becauſe wee tolerated our members to heare the word in the Pariſhes of *England*. Wee to ſatisfie him in that, held forth (that which here he calleth a varniſh) that hearing was a common Duty lying upon all men, where the word of God was truly taught. He replyed, as he doth now, that Teaching and hearing in a Church-Eſtate is Church worſhip, Acts 2. 46. To which we gave Anſwer (as now againe) That though Teaching and being taught in a Church-Eſtate be Church-Worſhip (according to *Acts* 2. 46.) yet it is not a Church-Worſhip, but to ſuch as are in a Church-Eſtate: To all it is an holy Ordinance of Gods worſhip, and a Chriſtian Duty. And though Teaching and hearing doth imply a Relation, yet not a Church-relation. There is a relation between a Teacher and a Learner, in any Art, or Knowledge: and there may be a nearer relation between a Preacher and an Hearer, in caſe the Hearer be begotten to God by ſuch a Sermon (even the ſame relation as is between a Spiritual Father, and Sonne:) but this doth not amount to Church-relation, and Communion, till there paſſe ſome mutuall profeſſion of Covenant (explicit or implicit) between them. A Pagan Infidell may come into a Chriſtian Church-Aſſembly to heare the word, and may be convinced and converted by it, (as ſup-

His ſecond Inſtance to make it appeare, *That we ſee not the evill of a Nationall Church, from our Perſecuting of him, &c.*

In this I chooſe rather to blame his memory then his conſcience. But the one of them is much to blame, in that it maketh him ſo farre forget himſelfe and the Truth, as boldly to avouch a notorious falſhood; *That we Perſecuted him for his humble, and faithfull, and conſtant admoniſhing of us of ſuch uncleane walking, between a particular Church and a Nationall.*

It is one notable falſhood to ſay, that he did conſtantly admoniſh, either our Elders or Churches of ſuch an offence; much leſſe, humbly, and faithfully. If he did ſo admoniſh us, where are his witneſſes? His Letters? his Meſſengers ſent to us?

Beſides, It is another falſhood, and no leſſe palpable, that we did perſecute him for ſuch admoniſhing of us. It hath been declared above, upon what grounds the ſentence of his Baniſhment did Proceed:[57] whereof this Admonition (which he pretendeth) was none of them; neither did they perſecute him at all, who did ſo proceed againſt him.

Now whereas in that Paſſage of the Letter even now recited I ſaid, *He knew not what Profeſſions we had made in our Churches of our Humiliations for former Pollutions, nor had he admoniſhed us of our defects therein: He demandeth how he could poſſibly be ignorant of our eſtate, who had been from firſt to laſt in fellowſhip with us, an Officer* [102] *amongst us, had private*

poſe he in *Corinth*, 1 *Corinthians* 14. 24, 25.) yet is he not therefore joyned in Church-Eſtate, and Fellowſhip with them, without profeſſion of acknowledgement, and acceptance." Bloudy Tenent Waſhed, p. 166.

57 For theſe grounds ſee, *ante*, pp. 24 to 30. It is worthy of note that while in the paſſage above Williams lays great ſtreſs on his views reſpecting communion with the Engliſh churches as a cauſe of his baniſhment, he makes no alluſion whatever to his opinions reſpecting the power of the civil magiſtrates, as contributing to the ſame reſult, although ſuch alluſion would naturally find a place in a diſcuſſion reſpecting "the evill of a National Church."

and publique agitations concerning our eſtate and condition, and at laſt ſuffered for ſuch Admonition to us, the miſery of a Winters Baniſhment amongſt the Barbarians?

Reply. As if every man in fellowſhip with us, an Officer amongſt us, one that had private and publique agitations with us, muſt needs know what our members profeſſed in their admiſſions to the Church, or what our Elders confeſſed in their dayes of ſolemne Humiliation, when himſelfe was generally abſent, both on the Lords dayes, and on the dayes of ſolemne faſting? Or as if the private and publique agitations that he had with us, were taken up about our Communion with a Nationall Church? I am yet to learne, what Arguments he did propound to us in that cauſe: what convictions he left upon us. When he is ſtill ſo full of the miſeries of his winters baniſhment amongſt the *Barbarians*, it maketh me call to minde a grave and godly ſpeech of a bleſſed Saint, now with God, (reverend M^r^. *Dod*)[58] *Where ſinne lyeth heavy, afflictions lyeth light: where affliction lyeth heavy, ſinne lyeth light.*

[58] The Rev. John Dod, fellow of Jeſus College, Cambridge, was born in 1549. He was afterwards ſettled for twenty years at Hanwell, in Oxfordſhire. He was a ſubſcriber to the "Book of Diſcipline," and was ſuſpended for ſeveral years, but on the acceſſion of James the Firſt was reſtored, and continued in the miniſtry until his death, in 1645. Like all the leading Puritan divines he had a very high reputation for learning, and Archbiſhop Uſher ſaid of him, "Whatever ſome affirm of Mr. Dod's ſtrictneſs, and ſcrupling ſome ceremonies, I deſire that when I die my ſoul may reſt with his." He was much in the habit of uttering pithy maxims, which might be ſeen paſted on the walls of cottages. For the one here quoted he was, however, indebted to his father-in-law, Mr. Greenham.

Dod was deſervedly held in great eſteem by Cotton, who ſpoke of him when dying. See, *ante*, p. 83, note 50. Before relinquiſhing his charge in England Cotton conſulted Dod, who gave this advice, "I am old Peter, and therefore muſt ſtand ſtill, and bear the brunt; but you being young Peter, may go whither you will, and ought, being perſecuted in one city, to flee unto another;" and when it was urged by ſome of the Boſton church that ſhould Cotton leave, very many of them would be expoſed to extreme temptation, Dod replied, "That the removing of a miniſter was like the

To Chap. XX.

THe maine Objection which Mr. *Williams* made againſt the Eſtate of our Church-members, was chiefly this; That though he acknowledgeth them to be godly, yet not ſufficiently ſeparate from Antichriſt. And that he endeavoured to prove, 1. From the Texts that call for ſeparation from *Babylon*, Iſa. 52. 2 Cor. 6. Rev. 18. 2. From the confeſſion of ſinnes made by *Johns* Diſciples, *Mat.* 3. and the Proſelyte Gentiles, *Acts* 19. To both theſe we have returned Anſwer already.

His third Objection followeth from *Haggai* 2. 13, 14, 15. where the Prophet telleth the Church of the *Jewes*, *That if a Perſon uncleane by a dead body, doe touch holy things, thoſe holy things become uncleane to him. And ſo* (ſaith he) *is this Nation, and ſo is every worke of their hands, and that which they offer here is uncleane.* And from hence he argueth; *That even Church-Covenants made and Ordinances practiſed by perſons polluted through ſpirituall deadneſſe, and filthineſſe of Communion, they become uncleane to them, and are prophaned by them: which he ſolemnely deſireth might be adviſedly weighed.*

103] Whereto my Anſwer was; *That if he had well weighed this place himſelfe, he would never have alledged it to his purpoſe. His purpoſe was to prove, that Churches cannot be conſtituted of ſuch members, as are uncleane by Antichriſtian pollutions: or if they be ſo conſtituted, they are not to be Communicated with, but ſeparated from. To prove this, you alledge* (*ſaid I*) *this*

draining of a fiſh pond: the good fiſh will follow the water, but eels, and other baggage fiſh, will ſtick in the mud." According to Cotton Mather there were two ways eſpecially in which Cotton followed the example of Dod, in not quoting Latin in Sermons, and in making ſhort family prayers. Dod was one of the ſigners of the Letter to the miniſters of New England, mentioned *ante*, p. 100, note 55. See Fuller's Worthies, part 1, p. 181. Brooks's Lives, 3, 1.

place, where the Prophet acknowledgeth the whole Church to be uncleane, and yet neither denieth them to be a Church truely conſtituted, nor ſtirreth up himſelfe, or others to ſeparate from them. If you ſay, why, but they were uncleane.

I anſwered; *Be it ſo. But were they therefore no Church truely Conſtituted? Or to be ſeparated from? Did not* Haggai, *and* Zachary *themſelves Communicate with them? And did they not call others alſo to come out of Babel to Communicate with them, even whileſt* Joſhua *the High Prieſt was ſtill polluted with his uncleane Garments?* Zach. 2. 6, 7. with *Chapt.* 3. 8.

Whereupon I tooke occaſion to cleare up to him the occaſion, and ſcope, and true ſence of the words at large, as may appeare in the Letter, which having gathered up I ſaid, *That if he did apply it to the Point in hand, it would reach nothing neere to his purpoſe. Hypocrites in the Church, yea and godly ſincere Chriſtians themſelves, whileſt they attend to the world more then to the things of God, (as at that time the* Jewes *did) both their perſons, and their labours, and their Civill Oblations are uncleane in the ſight of God:*

Therefore the Church of Chriſt cannot be conſtituted of ſuch: or if it doe conſiſt of ſuch, the People of God muſt ſeparate from them. You might well have gathered.

Therefore the Church of Chriſt, and the members thereof muſt ſeparate themſelves from their hypocriſie and inordinate love of this world, or elſe they and their duties will ſtill be uncleane in the ſight of God, notwithſtanding their Church-Eſtate.

This Collection tendeth to edification; the other to diſſipation, and deſtruction of the Church, and wreſteth Bloud inſtead of Milke from the Breaſts of holy Scripture.

This Text is ſo evident, and pregnant, and full againſt himſelfe, that I could not but marvell, why he ſhould alledge it, and eſpecially why he ſhould *deſire it might be throughly*

weighed, and the Lord to hold the ſcales himſelfe. How doe you then thinke, that he will hence inferre his Concluſion; That Godly perſons, if uncleane, [104] cannot conſtitute a true Church? or if they doe, they are to be ſeparated from? Surely not from the words of the Text, nor from the ſence, which I make of it: nor from any ſence, which himſelfe can give of it. How then? Onely from his miſtake of my words, and that ſurely either through a drouſie Oſcitancy, or a fleighty Precipitancy.

What (ſaith he) *have I ſpoken more then M^r.* Cotton *himſelfe hath uttered in his Explication and Application of this Scripture*; *As*,

1. *That Godly perſons may become defiled, and uncleane, by hypocriſie and worldlineſſe.*

2. *While they lye in ſuch a condition of uncleanneſſe, all their offerings, perſons, labours are uncleane in the ſight of God, notwithſtanding their Church-eſtate.*

3. *The Church cannot be conſtituted of ſuch worldly Perſons* (*though otherwiſe godly and Chriſtian.*)

Or 4. *If they doe, the People of God muſt ſeparate from them. Theſe be* (ſaith he) *M^r.* Cottons *own expreſſe words.*

Reply. He might as well ſay, theſe be the expreſſe words of Chriſt, *Hang all the Law, and the Prophets*, becauſe Chriſt ſaith, (*Mat.* 19. 40.) *upon theſe two Commandements, Hang all the Law and the Prophets.* So theſe be my expreſſe words; *The true and genuine meaning of the place, if you doe apply to the Point in hand, it will reach nothing neere to your purpoſe. Hypocrites in the Church and godly Chriſtians themſelves, whileſt they attend to the world more then to the things of God, their perſons, their labours, their Civill Oblations are all uncleane in the ſight of God.* Ergo. *The Church of Chriſt cannot be conſti-*

tuted of ſuch: or if it doe conſiſt of ſuch, the People of God muſt ſeparate from them.

Who ſeeth not that attendeth to what he ſeeth, that in theſe words I expreſſe not mine own meaning or reaſoning, but his: and that I expreſly ſay, The true meaning of the Text will nothing neere reach to his purpoſe, and ſo bring in his reaſon, in forme of an Enthymeme, which he draws from it? But if I had made that Enthymeme the expreſſion of mine own meaning, and of the meaning of the Text, it had fully and cloſely reached his own purpoſe.

The next words following might alſo plainly have cleared my meaning to him: when in ſtead of that falſe collection which he [105] gathered, I tell him, you might well have gathered: *therefore the Church of Chriſt, and the members thereof muſt ſeparate themſelves from their hypocriſie, and their inordinate love of this world: Or elſe they and their duties will be ſtill uncleane in the ſight of God, notwithſtanding their Church-eſtate.*

This Collection tendeth to edification: the other to the diſſipation, and deſtruction of the Flock, and wreſteth bloud inſtead of milke from the Breaſts of holy Scripture.

Doe I not here plainly expreſſe two ſeverall, and contrary Collections from the Text, the one his, the other mine own; the one tending to edification, the other to deſtruction? And yet this falſe collection, and miſapplication of the Text, which is his own, and a manifeſt Perverting both of the Text, and of my words, he will needs force upon me, contrary to my meaning, and contrary alſo to my expreſſe words above in the entrance of mine Anſwer to this Text. Where I ſay,

Your purpoſe was to prove, That Churches cannot be conſtituted by ſuch perſons as are uncleane by Antichriſtian pollu-

tions: or if they be ſo conſtituted, they are not to be communicated with, but ſeparated from. To prove this, you alledge this place where the Prophet acknowledgeth the whole Church of the Jewes *to be uncleane: and yet neither denieth them to be a Church truely conſtituted, nor ſtirreth up himſelfe or others to ſeparate from them.*

What by the way he diſcourſeth of the Excommunication in the Nationall Church of the *Jewes*, ſomewhat hath been ſpoken to it above. When he ſaith, *That their Ceremoniall Excommunication was either putting to death in* Canaan, *or Captivitie out of* Canaan. If he meane this was all their Excommunication, I cannot aſſent to it. King *Uzziah* was neither put to death in *Canaan*, nor carried captive out of *Canaan*, and yet he was Excommunicated both from Temple-worſhip, Synagogue-worſhip, and all familiar communion of the Saints.

Againe, when he maketh it an Excommunication from God, in caſe God ſell his Church into ſpirituall Captivitie, to confuſed Babyloniſh Lords, and worſhip, and that ſo he driveth them out of his ſight: He might remember, that God ſometime ſold his people under the Bondage of Babyloniſh Lords, even in the Land of *Canaan*, (Jer. 40. 9. & 42. 10, 11, 12.) And yet he had not ſtraight way driven them out of his ſight.

106] To Chap. XXI.

IT was my ſerious and unfeigned endeavour, in my Letter which the Examiner hath anſwered, to have removed thoſe two ſtumbling blocks out of his way, which I perceived had turned him off, from holding fellowſhip with theſe Churches.

The former was, *The want of fit matter of our Churches:* The latter, *Our diſ-reſpect to the ſeparate Churches in* England, *under affliction, when nevertheleſſe our ſelves practiſe ſeparation in peace.*

From the beginning of his tenth Chapter, he hath endeavoured to faſten the former of theſe ſtumbling blocks, that it may ſtill lie in his way, and ſtand (as an everlaſting wall of partition) between us. Which nevertheleſſe I have (as you ſee) through the helpe of Chriſt endeavoured to dig through the ſandineſſe thereof, that if it were the holy will of God, it might fall downe (like the walles of *Jericho*) before the Arke of the Lord, and neither detaine him, nor others, from Communion with us.

The latter ſtumbling block, he goeth about to re-eſtabliſh in this, and the following Chapters to the end of his Booke; Come we therefore to conſider, whether there may be any hope, of removing this ſtumbling block alſo, and the eſtabliſhment thereof by the ſame helpe. The ſtumbling block lieth ſomewhat broader, then at firſt was propounded. The Examiner takes it as a great offence; *That we walke between Chriſt and Antichriſt.*

1. *In practiſing ſeparation here, and not repenting of our preaching, and printing againſt it in our own Countrey.*[59]

59 Among the Puritan divines conſpicuous as opponents of Separation, were Ames and Parker, to whom Cotton was ſo much indebted, ſee, *ante*, notes 36 and 50. And although Cotton became afterwards the foremoſt advocate of the Congregational diſcipline eſtabliſhed in New England, yet he was never willing to acknowledge any affinity with the early Separatiſts. When Baylie, in his "Diſſuaſive," declared that the Separatiſts, through Robinſon and the Church at Leyden, were the Fathers of the New England Churches, Cotton replied, "That the Separatiſts were our Fathers, we have juſtly denyed it above; ſeeing they neither begat us to God, nor to the Church, nor to their Schiſms. That we are (through grace) begotten to God, and to his Church, we received (many of us) from the bleſſing of Chriſt upon the Miniſtery of *England*. That we grew weary of the burden of Epiſcopacy and Conformity, we received from the

2. *In reproaching himſelfe at* Salem, *and others, for ſeparation.*

3. *In particular, that my ſelfe have conceived and ſpoken, That ſeparation is a way, which God hath not proſpered: as if* (ſaith he) *the truth of the Churches depended upon the countenance of men, or upon outward peace and libertie.*

To the firſt of theſe I anſwered in my Letter, *That inſtead of halting betwixt Chriſt, and Antichriſt, the Lord hath guided us to walke with an even foote between two extreames: ſo that we neither defile our ſelves with the remnants of pollution in other Churches; nor doe we for the remnants of pollution, renounce the Churches themſelves, nor the holy things of God amongst them, which our ſelves have found powerfull to* [107] *ſalvation. This moderation ſo farre as we have kept it in preaching or printing, we have ſeene no cauſe to repent of it; But if any ſhall ſhew us cauſe, why we ſhould repent of it, we ſhall deſire to repent of it, yea and to repent, that we repented no ſooner.*

Word of God by the help of the Nonconformiſts there. That we laid aſide the Book of Common-prayer, we received from the ſerious meditation of the ſecond Commandment, and not from the writings of the Separatiſts, though they alſo have taken up the ſame concluſion upon other premiſes. The particular viſible Church of a Congregation to be the firſt ſubject of the power of the Keyes, we received by the light of the Word from Mr. *Parker*, Mr. *Baynes*, and Dr. *Ames:* from whom alſo, (from two of them at leaſt) we received light out of the Word, for the matter of the viſible Church to be viſible Saints; and for the Form of it, to be a naturall Covenant, whether an explicite or implicite Profeſſion of Faith, and ſubjection to the Goſpel of Chriſt in the ſociety of the Church, or Preſbytery thereof. And theſe be the chief Doctrines and practiſes of our way, ſo far as it differeth from other Reformed Churches. And having received them, not from the Separatiſts, but from the Lord Jeſus, by gracious Saints, and faithfull witneſſes of Jeſus; the conſanguinity of our Tenents with any the like found amongſt the Separatiſts, will not demonſtrate the Separatiſts to be our Fathers.

"It is very likely (and by the fruits of ſome of them, it is very evident) that the Church of *Plymouth* in *New England* received very much light and life, by the bleſſing of Chriſt upon Mr. *Robinſon* his Miniſtery, whileſt he lived with them in *Holland:* nor need we to be aſhamed, to learn any truth of God from him, or them, or from any other Saints of God, of farre meaner gifts, than he or they had received. But I muſt confeſſe ingenuouſly, that his denyall of the Pariſhionall

The Examiner here undertaketh to prove this *middle walking to be no leſſe then halting, of which we have cauſe to repent.* And this he endeavours to prove to me, out of mine own Confeſſions.

Firſt, ſaith he, *M*r. Cotton *himſelfe confeſſeth, that no Nationall, Provinciall, Dioceſan, or Pariſh Church, wherein ſome truely godly are not, are true Churches.*

Secondly, *He practiſeth no Church-eſtate, but ſuch as is conſtituted onely of godly perſons, nor admitteth any unregenerate, or ungodly perſons.*

Thirdly, *He confeſſeth, that a Church of Chriſt cannot be conſtituted of ſuch godly perſons, who are in bondage to the inordinate love of the world.*

Fourthly, *That if a Church conſiſt of ſuch, Gods people ought to ſeparate from them.*

Reply. If theſe (which he calleth confeſſions of M*r*. *Cotton*) have been ſtumblings to him, I ſhall (by the helpe of

Congregations in *England* to be true Churches, (either by reaſon of their mixt and corrupt matter, or for defect in their Covenant, or for exceſſe of their Epiſcopall Government) was never received into any heart, from thence to inferre a nullity of their Church-eſtate. Neither was our departure from them even in thoſe evill times, a Separation from them as no Churches, but rather a Seceſſion from the corruptions found amongſt them, unto which alſo we muſt have been forced to conforme, even in our own Practiſe through the Rigour of the times, unleſſe wee had timely departed from them. In which caſe, Doctor *Ames* will excuſe us (yea and the Holy Ghoſt alſo) from aſperſion of ſchiſm or any other ſin, in ſo doing." Way of Cong. Churches Cleared, p. 14.

That the attitude of Cotton towards the Separatiſts gave offence to the Plymouth church is very clear from the curious tract of Governor Bradford, called "A Dialogue, or the Sum of a Conference between ſome Young Men born in New England and ſundry Ancient Men that came out of Holland and Old England, Anno Domini 1648." In it Bradford ſays: "For our Churches here in New England do the ſame thing under the name of *Seceſſion* from the corruptions found amongſt them, as the other did under the name or term of *Separation* from them—Only this declines the odium the better." See Young's Chronicles of the Pilgrims, p. 417. The difference between the Puritans and the Separatiſts is ſet forth by Prince, Annals, pp. 302, 305.

Chriſt) ſoone remove them out of his way. For I doe profeſſe, that I never made any ſuch Confeſſions, but looke at them all as contrary to my judgement, both in former times and to this day.

For the firſt, Though there were no truely godly perſons in a Church, yet if there be ſuch as profeſſe godlineſſe (ſuch as they call viſible Saints) to meete together in a Congregation to worſhip the Lord, and to edifie one another in the adminiſtration of his holy Ordinances, I doe beleeve there is truth of Church-eſtate.

It is true, I doe beleeve, and confeſſe, that God requireth more then profeſſion of godlineſſe, even ſinceritie of holineſſe in Church-members, and it is no ſmall ſinne in them, if it be wanting; But what if ſome, if moſt, if all beleeve not? *Shall their unbeliefe make the faith of God of none effect? God forbid?* Rom. 3. 3, 4. If an hypocriticall Church were no Church, then an hypocriticall Miniſter were no Miniſter, and his adminiſtrations nullities. *Cultus inſtitutus*, in the whole latitude of it, as Churches, Miniſteries, Seales, Cenſures, &c. they are all ordained for the Elects ſake. And the 108] Elect God would have them to be ἀμερίμνους, without carefull ſcruples and diſtractions. If truth of Churches, and Miniſteries, and Ordinances, depended upon the perſonall ſinceritie of the godlineſſe of the diſpenſers, the Elect of God would ever be intangled with inextricable ſcruples, touching their cómunion here or there, with this or that Church, or the adminiſtrations of the Officers thereof. But God hath called us in peace.

For the ſecond part (which he maketh) of my Confeſſions, he had ſaid true, if he had ſaid, I endeavour ſuch a thing, that our Church ſhould be conſtitute of godly perſons: but I doe not ſay I have attained it; for God ſeeth not as man

ſeeth: man looketh at the outward appearance, but the Lord regardeth the heart, 1 *Sam.* 16. 7. And ſure I am, we looke at Infants as members of our Church, (as being fœdurally holy) but I am ſlow to beleeve that all of them are regenerate, or truly godly.

As for the third and fourth point (which he maketh) of my Confeſſion; *That a Church of Chriſt cannot be conſtituted of godly perſons, taken with the inordinate love of the world: or that a Church conſiſting of ſuch, ought to be ſeparated from:* Theſe are onely his own palpable miſtakes of thoſe words of mine, which I expreſſed as the ſumme of his words, which he (through haſt) conceived to be mine, whereof we have ſpoken in the 20th Chapter.

Let him not ſay (as he doth) that when I would not have *Pariſh Churches to be ſeparated from, for the remnants of pollution, I mean onely, Ceremonies, and Biſhops: neither let him ſay, that I doe extenuate and mince the roote, maſſe, and ſubſtance of the matter of Nationall Churches, (though for the greater part unregenerate) by naming onely a remnant of pollutions.*

For he knoweth we wholly avoyde Nationall, Provinciall, and Dioceſan Government of the Churches by Epiſcopall Authority: He knoweth alſo, we avoyde their preſcript Liturgies, and Communion with openly ſcandalous perſons in any Church-order; He knoweth likewiſe, (or at leaſt may know) that it is a continuall ſorrow of heart, and a mourning of our ſoules, that there is yet ſo much of thoſe notorious evills (which he nameth) ſtill continuing in the Pariſhes, worldlineſſe, ignorance, ſuperſtition, ſcoffing, ſwearing, curſing, whoredome, drunkenneſſe, theft, lying, I may adde alſo murther, and malignity againſt the godly, ſuffered [109] to thruſt themſelves into the fellowſhip of the Churches, and to ſit downe with the Saints at the Lords Table.

But yet I count all theſe but remnants of pollution, when as the ſubſtance of the true eſtate of Churches abideth (as I opened above) in their Congregationall Aſſemblies. And in ſo ſpeaking, I follow the holy patterne of the Prophet *Iſaiah*, who acknowledging a great forſaking (or Apoſtacy) in the midſt of the Land, yet reſembleth the eſtate of the Church to an Oake, whoſe ſubſtance is in it, (when the leaves fall off) and maketh the holy ſeed to be that ſubſtance, *Iſai.* 6. 12, 13.

To Chap. XXII.

THe ſecond offence which the Examiner tooke at our neglect of the Churches of the ſeparation, *Was the reproach of himſelfe and others at* Salem, *for their ſeparation.*

To which I anſwered in my Letter, *That I knew no man who reproached* Salem *for their ſeparation, nor did I beleeve, that they did ſeparate. Howſoever, if any did reproach them for it, I did thinke it a ſinne meete to be Cenſured, but not with ſo deepe a Cenſure, as to excommunicate all the Churches, or to ſeparate from them, before it doth appeare, that they doe tolerate their members in ſuch their cauſleſſe reproachings. The errors of men are to be contended againſt, not with reproaches, but with the ſword of the Spirit. But on the other ſide, the failings of the Churches are not forthwith to be healed by ſeparation. It is not Chirurgery, but Butchery, to heale every ſore in a member, with no other but Abſciſſion from the body.*

Whereto the Examiner anſwereth, *That the Church of* Salem *was knowne to profeſſe ſeparation, and publickly reproached (yea he could mention a Caſe wherein ſhee was puniſhed) for it, implicitely.*

Reply. This anſwer is ſo implicit, that I cannot make an explicite anſwer to it. That which I ſaid, was, *I knew no man that reproached* Salem *for their ſeparation: nor did I beleeve, that they did ſeparate.* His anſwer is, *That the Church of* Salem *was knowne to profeſſe ſeparation:* which croſſeth not what I ſaid; for it might be ſo, and yet I knew not of it, unleſſe the profeſſion had been more publick. Nor did I ever perceive, that they refuſed communion with [110] us, when any of them came over to us. If they were publickly reproached for ſeparation, it was more then I heard of, till I read it in his Booke. And for any publick puniſhment that *Salem* ſuffered for it, I may well ſay, it was implicitly, if at all; for ſurely there is no Law of the Countrey, that puniſheth ſuch an offence, either explicitly, or implicitly. But ſince he is pleaſed to conceale it, I ſee no cauſe of giving account of it.[60]

[60] Although the Salem church called Williams to be their teacher, he "being under queſtion before the magiſtracy and churches for divers dangerous opinions," yet that by this act they did not deſign "to profeſſe ſeparation," was clearly ſhown by the fact that he himſelf afterwards renounced communion with them for the expreſs reaſon that they would not ſeparate from the churches of the Bay. (*ante*, p. 39, note 19.) Nor was it correct to ſay that the Salem church was puniſhed for profeſſing ſeparation, for the only proceedings to which the term puniſhment could with any propriety be applied, the action of the Court with reference to the Marblehead land, and the refuſal to receive the deputies from Salem, had no reference whatever to any threatened ſeparation. See Winthrop, 1, 164.

How far the views of Williams were embraced at Salem is a queſtion that cannot be eaſily decided. Winthrop ſays the "whole church was grieved" by his threat to renounce communion with them, and that after he had done ſo they "openly diſclaimed his errors," pp. 166, 171. Again he aſſigns as a reaſon for the final ſummary execution of the ſentence, "becauſe he had drawn above twenty perſons to his opinions, and they were intended to erect a plantation about the Narraganſett Bay," p. 175. And he adds, that Williams "had ſo far prevailed at Salem, as many there (eſpecially of decent women) did embrace his opinions, and ſeparated from the churches, for this cauſe, that ſome of their members, going into England, did hear the miniſters there, and when they came home the churches here held communion with them," p. 176, but further on he ſtates, that when the Salem church aſked the other churches with reference to thoſe

Nextly, He takes up from me a Confeſſion of two things, which he leaveth to me to reconcile: 1. *That I ſay, if any reproach them for Separation, it is a ſinne meete to be Cenſured.* 2. *That Churches themſelves may be ſeparated from, who tolerate their members in ſuch cauſeleſſe reproachings.*

Reply. It is true, that I doe not account reproaches, (which are a worke of the fleſh) a meete remedy to heale an error: And therefore the reproacher meete to be delt withall, either by private admonition, (if his reproach were private;) or with a publick admonition, if it were publick. But the latter of the two things which he ſaith I confeſſe, I am farre from either confeſſing it, or beleeving it; to wit, *That the Churches themſelves may be ſeparated from, who tolerate their members in ſuch cauſeleſſe reproachings.*

I ſaid indeed, *that a cauſeleſſe reproach is a ſinne meete to be cenſured: But I ſaid withall, it is not to be cenſured with ſo*

who deſired to ſeparate, whether it "were not better to grant them diſmiſſion to be a church by themſelves," the magiſtrates "would not allow them to be a church, being but three men, and eight women." It ſeems probable from theſe ſtatements, that while the great body of the church were attached to Williams, but a ſmall number adopted his extreme views. It ſeems alſo clear that the diſpute was not reſpecting Toleration but Separation.

The queſtion has been raiſed whether this whole controverſy has not been inveſted by later writers with an importance which did not belong to it. Winthrop mentions a circumſtance which will help to furniſh an anſwer. About the time that Williams fled from Salem, a difficulty aroſe in the church at Sagus, which the magiſtrates ſettled by requiring the miniſter "to remove out of the town within three months," page 177. Under date of February 25, 1636, Winthrop writes, "The diſtractions about the churches of Salem and Sagus, and the removal of other churches, and the great ſcarcity of corn, etc. occaſioned a general faſt to be proclaimed," evidently regarding all theſe reaſons as poſſeſſing about the ſame ſignificance.

Another fact which may be cited as bearing upon the ſame queſtion is that Johnſon, in his "Wonder-working Providence of Sions Saviour," which was publiſhed in 1654, makes no mention of Roger Williams, although he enters at length into the controverſies awakened by Gorton and Anne Hutchinſon. The views of Williams reſpecting the Civil Magiſtrates, and Church ordinances, are poſſibly alluded to on pp. 8 and 24.

deepe a Cenſure, as excommunication, eſpecially of all the Churches, and that too, before that it doe appeare, that they doe tolerate their members in ſuch their cauſeleſſe reproachings.

But it may be, he will ſay, doth it not imply, that if it doth appeare, that they doe tolerate their members in ſuch cauſeleſſe reproaches, that then I thinke they are to be ſeparated from?

Anſw. No verily: Put it in a like caſe: Suppoſe a childe ſhould miſcall and revile his Mothers Siſter, I might ſay, it is a fault meete to be corrected, yet not with ſo deepe a correction, as to be diſinherited: or that his Mother ſhould be diſpoſſeſſed of her inheritance, before it doe appeare, that ſhe doe tolerate her childe in ſuch revilings. Would ſuch a ſpeech inferre, that in caſe it did appeare, his Mother did tolerate him, that then his Mother were to be diſpoſſeſſed of her inheritance? The true meaning of my ſpeech, was to expreſſe, that ſuch a ſinne, as reproaching of a Church for a ſin, might deſerve a Cenſure: yet not forthwith excommunication: [111] much leſſe the Church to be excommunicated, whereof ſuch an one is a member, and leaſt of all, before it did appear, that the Church knew of it, or did tolerate it: The ſcope of my ſpeech was, not to hold forth the grievous deſert of a reproach, but the groundleſſe proceeding unto ſeparation for a reproach, both againſt a member, and againſt the Church that tolerated him, without any further conviction, or obſtinacy, which was the caſe in hand of M^r^. *Williams.* Somebody, he ſaith, reproached the Church of *Salem* for ſeparation, ſome member of ſome Church. But what member of what Church, he ſaith not? And yet this is one of the ſtumbling blocks that turned him out of the way of communion with all the Churches in the Countrey, who (for ought I know) never heard of it unto this day.

Let him now ſay, that mine owne confeſſions are ſufficient Anſwers to my ſelfe, as if I granted, that in caſe the member had been knowne, who ſo reproached *Salem*, and the Church knowne whereof he was a member, *That then there were a lawfull ſeparation from the Church that doth but tolerate her member in a cauſeleſſe reproach, yea and from all other Churches too, that hold Communion with that Church.*

For he is not ignorant, more goeth to a ſeparation then ſo, unleſſe he hath forgotten the principles and rudiments of Church-Government.

He confeſſeth that to be true which I ſaid, *That it is not Chirurgery but Butchery, to heale every ſore with no other medicine, but with Abſciſſion from the body:* But yet as if he could make mine own expreſſions, confutations of my ſelfe, he ſaith that I have confeſſed (that which indeed is not my confeſſion, but my collection of his Argument;) *That Churches of Godly perſons muſt be ſeparated from, for inordinate worldlineſſe.*

If this be a Contradiction, it is his, and not mine, as I ſhewed above; neither doe I own any ſuch confeſſion, as mine, which he ſubjoyneth; *That Churches may be ſeparated from, when they tolerate their members in their cauſeleſſe reproaches.*

It ſeemeth, he thinketh, I neither remember mine own words, nor know any Church-Cenſure, but Excommunication.

He proceedeth to tell us his judgement in ſo waighty a caſe as excommunication or ſeparation is: *It is not* (ſaith he) *every ſore of infirmitie, or ignorance, but an Ulcer or Gangrene of obſtinacy, for* [112] *which I maintained, that a perſon ought to be cut off, or a Church ſeparated from.*

I know not how this judgement of his may ſatisfie his

neighbours; but a good Conſcience willing to walke by rule, would ſtill inquire, (where it was meete) Firſt, whether every obſtinacy, even before conviction, and that in a ſinne leſſe hainous, be ſuch an ulcer, or Gangrene, for which either a perſon ought to be cut off, or a Church ſeparated from? For there is an obſtinacy againſt a good way, as there is a ſcorning of a good way, which is before conviction, even of ignorance: and to theſe Wiſdome communicateth good Counſell, *Prov.* 1. 20. 22. But there is a ſcorning, and ſo an obſtinacy, after conviction, and to ſuch, Wiſdome refuſeth to communicate any wholeſome words, *Prov.* 9. 8, 9.

If he meane the former, why did he refuſe communion with us upon ſuch an obſtinacy of ignorance? By what rule did he proceede?

If he meane the latter, let him produce his cauſe, and bring forth all his ſtrong reaſons, whereby he did ſo much as offer to convince us of our obſtinacy in any crime, and we will acknowledge his ſeparation to be juſt, and our ſinne to be great in not hearkening to him.

If he tell us againe, (as he doth in the next words, as indeed the mouth is moſt full of the aboundance of the heart) if he tell us againe of our guiltineſſe of cruelty, both againſt conſciences and bodies, in perſecuting of them, wee muſt needs tell him againe, that neither himſelfe, nor any others, (that I can heare off) did ever ſuffer any Cenſure, (which he calleth cruelty to conſciences and bodies) till after his ſeparation from all the Churches in the Countrey. And though he ſaith in the next words, *He ſeparated Conſcientiouſly and peaceably:* Yet did ever peaceable Conſcience (before him) ſeparate from Churches for an offence before it was committed?

If he tell us, he ſeparated, for our communion with the Churches of *England*, in hearing the word in the Pariſhes

there, let all that feare God (whoſe hearts are not foreſtalled with prejudice or partiality) judge whether his reaſons alledged to convince us of ſuch a ſinne, (the ſtrongeſt whereof were anſwered in my Letter to him, and have been againe refuted in this Reply) have been of [113] ſuch convincing power, as that wee for not hearkening to him muſt needs lie under the guilt of an ulcer, or Gangrene of obſtinacy, and that after conviction. I may therefore well call it, not Chirurgery but Butchery, to cut off not onely ſo many members of Chriſt, but alſo ſo many Churches of Chriſt from fellowſhip with Chriſt, before any ulcer or Gangrene of obſtinacy was diſcovered to us; Nay, I feare I might ſpeake a further word, (and yet I would be loath to ſpeake any doubtfull thing;) but ſurely (my memory much faileth me or elſe) he broke forth into this ſeparation, before he gave us any grounds of his ſeparation at all, or of our conviction of any ſuch ſinne, as might deſerve ſuch a Cenſure.[61] And whether that be Butchery or Chirurgery, let the upright judge.

But, ſaith he, *if it be Butchery to ſeparate conſcientiouſly and peaceably from the ſpirituall communion of a Church, or Saints, what ſhall it be called by the Lord Jeſus, to cut off perſons, them, and theirs, branch, and roote, from any Civill being in their Territories, &c. Becauſe their Conſciences dare not bow downe to any worſhip, but what the Lord Jeſus hath appointed, and being alſo otherwiſe ſubject to the Civill eſtate, and Lawes thereof?*

Here be many extenuations, and mincings of his own carriage, and as many falſe aggravations of Guilt upon his ſentence of Baniſhment, and the Authors of it.

As, 1. In that he was cut off, he and his, branch and roote, from any Civill being in theſe Territories, becauſe their Con-

[61] Compare *ante*, p. 39, note 19.

ſciences durſt not bow downe to any worſhip, but what they beleeve the Lord had appointed: Whereas the truth is, his Baniſhment proceeded not againſt him, or his, for his own refuſall of any worſhip, but for ſeditious oppoſition againſt the Patent, and againſt the Oath of fidelitie offered to the people.[62]

2. That he was ſubject to the Civill eſtate, and Lawes thereof, when yet he vehemently oppoſed the Civill foundation of the Civill eſtate, which was the Patent: And earneſtly alſo oppoſed the Law of the generall Court, by which the tender of that Oath was enjoyned: and alſo wrote Letters of Admonition to all the Churches, whereof the Magiſtrates were members, for deferring to give preſent Anſwer to a Petition of *Salem*, who had refuſed to hearken to a lawfull motion of theirs.[63]

114] 3. That he did but ſeparate from the ſpirituall ſociety of a Church, or Saints: whereas he both drew away many others alſo, and as much as in him lay, ſeparated all the Churches from Chriſt.[64]

4. In that he maketh the cutting off of perſons, them and theirs, branch and ruſh, from civill Territories, a farre more hainous and odious offence in the eyes of the Lord Jeſus, then himſelfe to cut off, not onely himſelfe and his, branch and ruſh, but many of his neighbours (by ſedition) from ſpirituall Communion with the Churches, and all the Churches from Communion with Chriſt. As if the cutting off perſons, them and theirs, branch and ruſh, from the Covenant, and ſpirituall Ordinances in the Church, were a matter of no account in reſpect of cutting off from Civill Liberties in the Territories of the Common-wealth.

[62] Compare *ante*, p. 27, note 10; p. 29, note 12.

[63] Compare *ante*, p. 29.

[64] Compare *ante*, p. 110, note 60.

5. In that, what himſelfe did, he predicateth as done conſcientiouſly and peaceably, as if what the Court had done againſt him, they had not done conſcientiouſly alſo, and with regard to publick peace, which they ſaw he diſturbed, and ſtood ſtiffly in his own courſe, though he was openly convinced in open Court (as I ſhewed before) that he could not maintaine his way, but by ſinning againſt the light of his own Conſcience.[65] As for his Marginall note, *wherein he chargeth M^r^. Cotton to be deeply guilty of Cruelty, both againſt Conſciences and bodies, in perſecuting of them.*

I will onely Anſwer thus much, (partly from *David*, partly from *Job*,) If the Lord have ſtirred him up thus to reproach me, (as *Shimei* did him) I hope the Lord will looke upon mine affliction, and requite me good for all his ſlander, this day, or this yeare, 2 *Sam.* 16. 12. But if he himſelfe (who without cauſe is mine adverſary) hath whet his tongue like a ſword, and his bow to ſhoot out his arrowes, even bitter words, (*Pſal.* 64. 3. as he frequently doth in his Booke) ſurely I ſhall take his booke upon my ſhoulder, and bind it as a Crowne to me, *Job* 31. 36.

To Chap. XXIII.

His 23. Chapter examineth a ſpeech of mine which might tend to the diſhonour of the Separation, as the reproach againſt [115] *Salem* had done before. My Speech was, *That God had not proſpered the way of Separation: which leaſt it ſhould be miſtaken, I interpreted, not in reſpect of outward proſperitie: for they found more favour in our native Countrey, then*

[65] Cotton here alludes to Hooker's argument with Williams, *ante*, pp. 30, 31.

thoſe who walked in the way of Reformation, which is commonly reproached by the name of Puritaniſme.[66] *The meetings of the* Separatiſts *might be knowne to the Officers in the Courts, and winked at, when the Conventicles of the* Puritans (*as they call them*) *are hunted out with all diligence, and purſued with more violence, then any Law can juſtifie. But I ſaid, that God had not proſpered the way of Separation, in that he had not bleſſed it, either with peace amongst themſelves, or with growth of grace, ſuch as erring through ſimplicitie, and tenderneſſe of Conſcience, have growne in grace, have growne alſo to diſcerne their lawfull libertie, to returne to the hearing of the Word from Engliſh Preachers.*

To give Anſwer to this, the Examiner beſtoweth many Chapters. His firſt Anſwer is, (that which is not unworthy

[66] Bradford evidently does not reliſh this aſſertion: "Far be it from any of us to detract from or to extenuate the ſufferings of any of the ſervants of God, much leſs from thoſe worthies forenamed, or any others afterwards mentioned. Yet, under favor, we crave pardon if we cannot conſent to the judgement of ſuch eminent ones for piety and learning above hinted. We doubt not, but do eaſily grant, that the ſufferings of thoſe reproached by the name of Puritans were great, eſpecially ſome of them, and were better known to thoſe pious and learned [men] firſt above intimated, than the ſufferings of thoſe that are reproached by the name of Browniſts and Separatiſts." He then recites ſome facts which go to ſhow that the number of Separatiſts who ſuffered perſecution of various kinds "would not only equaliſe but far exceed the number of thoſe godly called Puritans that have ſuffered. Suppoſe they were but few of their miniſters that ſuffered, as above expreſſed; yet their ſorrows might be as great, and their wants more, and their ſouls as much afflicted, becauſe more contemned and neglected of men." He adds: "To ſpeak the truth, the profeſſors in England, though many of them ſuffered much at the hands of the prelates, yet they had a great advantage of the Separatiſts; for the Separatiſts had not only the prelates and their faction to encounter with, (and what hard meaſures they met with at their hands, above the others, doth ſufficiently appear by what is before declared,) but alſo they muſt endure the frowns, and many times the ſharp invectives, of the forward miniſters againſt them, both in public and private; and what influence they had upon the ſpirits of the people, is well enough known alſo; by reaſon hereof the miniſters in foreign countries did look awry at them when they would give help and countenance to the other." See Bradford's "Dialogue," &c., in Young's Chronicles of the Pilgrims, pp. 435, 440.

to be attended to, by all whom it concerneth,) *That doubtleſſe the Lord hath a great Controverſie with the Land for their ſuch violent purſuit and perſecution of both. For both of them have borne witneſſe to ſeverall truths of the Lord Jeſus.* Albeit, I deny not, the one party might have borne witneſſe to more points of Truth: the other might have borne witneſſe to fewer, and ſo have leſſe exceeded bounds of Truth. To make the *Engliſh* Churches, and their Miniſteries, and their Worſhip, and their Profeſſors, either nullities, or Antichriſtian, is a witneſſe not onely beyond the truth, but againſt the Truth of the Lord Jeſus, and his word of Truth.

But for their ſufferings; *The Puritans* (ſaith he) *have not ſuffered comparatively to the other, (as but ſeldome Congregating in ſeparate Aſſemblies from the common:) And none of them ſuffering unto death for the way of Non-Conformitie. Indeed* (ſaith he) *the worthy witneſſe M^r.* Udall[67] *was neere unto death*

[67] The Rev. John Udal was educated at Cambridge, and for ſeven years was ſettled at Kingſton-upon-Thames. After having been twice ſuſpended, he was again ſettled at Newcaſtle. In 1590 he was convicted, upon wholly inſufficient evidence, of writing the "Demonſtration of the Truth of that Diſcipline which Chriſt hath provided in his Word for the Government of his Church, in all Times and Places until the end of the World." For ſome juſt obſervations upon this trial by one never inclined to favor the Puritans, ſee Hume, Hiſt. of Eng., 4, 196. Udal was ſentenced to death, but was offered pardon on condition of ſigning a recantation, which he refuſed to do. But becauſe the Queen had been miſinformed reſpecting his opinions, Udal, at the ſuggeſtion of his friend, Sir Walter Raleigh, who held him in high eſteem, ſent her majeſty a ſhort confeſſion of his faith, the firſt paragraph of which clearly ſets forth his poſition. "I believe, and have often preached, that the church of England is a part of the true viſible church, the word and ſacraments being duly diſpenſed; for which reaſon, I have communicated with it ſeveral years at Kingſton, and a year at Newcaſtle-upon-Tyne; and do ſtill deſire to be a preacher in the ſame church. Therefore I utterly renounce the ſchiſm and ſeparation of the Brownińſts." The interceſſion of King James, of Scotland, and others, delayed the execution of the ſentence, until Udal died in priſon of ſorrow and grief, at the cloſe of the year 1592. Becauſe the ſentence was not executed, Williams uſes the expreſſion "neere unto death." See State Trials, vol. 1, p. 144; Neal, 1, 340, 347; Fuller, Church Hiſtory, B. ix.

for his witneſſe againſt Biſhops, and Ceremonies; *But* M^r. Penry,[68] *M^r.* Barrow,[69] *M^r.* Greenwood[70] *followed the Lord Jeſus, with their Gibbets, and were hanged with him, and for him, in the way of ſeparation. Many more have been condemned to dye, baniſhed, and choaked in Priſons, whom I could produce upon occaſion.*

[68] The Rev. John Penry ſtudied firſt at Cambridge, afterwards at Oxford, where he took the degree of Maſter of Arts in 1586. "When he firſt went to Cambridge," ſays Anthony Ward, "he was as arrant a Papiſt as ever came out of Wales. But being full of Welſh blood, and of a hot, reſtleſs head, he changed his courſe and became a notorious Anabaptiſt, and in ſome ſort a Browniſt, and a moſt bitter enemy to the church of England." Athenæ Oxon., 1, 227. Upon the publication of Martin Mar-Prelate, in 1590, a warrant was iſſued to apprehend Penry, as an enemy to the State. Penry fled to Scotland, but returning to England was arraigned, condemned, and executed in May, 1593, being "turned off in a hurry about five of the clock in the evening, May 29." Penry was a member of the church of Browniſts that was accuſtomed to meet in the fields and woods about London. His trial, like that of Udal, was a diſgrace to Engliſh juſtice. The judge who paſſed ſentence upon him was the Chief Juſtice Popham, afterwards connected with the abortive attempt at coloniſation in Maine, which has recently been the ſubject of ſo much diſcuſſion. Ward, Athenæ Oxonienſes, 1, 227; Neal, 1, 374; Hallam, Cons. Hiſt., vol. 1, p. 205.

[69] Henry Barrow was a lawyer, of Gray's Inn. His name appears among the ſignatures to the "Humble petition of many poor Chriſtians, impriſoned by the biſhops in ſundry priſons in and about London," which was preſented to the Lord Treaſurer Burleigh. After a long impriſonment, Barrow was brought to trial with others, in March, 1592, on charge of "writing and publiſhing ſundry ſeditious books and pamphlets, tending to the ſlander of the Queen and govvernment," and was hung at Tyburn, April 6. Neal, 1, 373; Brooks, 2. 24. Cotton ſays of Barrow that he was given up "to a ſpirit of bitterneſſe and raſhneſſe," and infers that "his way was not right, or his heart not upright in it." Way of Cong. Churches Cleared, p. 51.

[70] The Rev. John Greenwood was firſt chaplain to Lord Rich, but became afterwards a rigid Browniſt, and was choſen teacher of the congregation about London. He was an intimate friend of Barrow, and their careers became identical. After undergoing ſeveral years impriſonment, he ſuffered death with Barrow. Neal, 1, 372; Brooks, 2, 23.

Barrow and Greenwood were both condemned for ſedition, while their real offence was oppoſition to the church. Their ſtrong proteſtations of loyalty awakened the public attention, and it was ſaid that the Queen herſelf, on learning the facts, repented that ſhe had conſented to their death.

The "Examinations of Barrowe, Greenwood and Penrie," are in the Harleian Miſcellany.

Reply. *Paul* accounteth it a folly to make boaſts in compariſons, even of ſufferings: And therefore I chooſe to be ſparing and briefe in this Argument: wherein otherwiſe I could be copious, there being [116] another Volume of the Booke of Martyrs (as I heare) extant in the Countrey, (though not in print) of the ſufferings of the godly Miniſters and people, beginning where M^r. *Fox*[71] left. When he ſaith, *Their witneſſes againſt Biſhops and Ceremonies, (whom he calleth Puritans) have ſeldome met in ſeparate Aſſemblies from the common:* It ſeemeth he never read the ſtory of the Claſſes[72] in *Northamptonſhire, Suffolk, Eſſex, London, Cambridge,* diſ-

[71] John Fox, the celebrated author of the "Acts and Monuments," was born at Boſton, where Cotton was ſo long ſettled, in 1517. He died in 1587. His great work, commonly called the "Book of Martyrs," was firſt publiſhed in 1563. The ninth edition was publiſhed in 1684, in three volumes folio. I can find no account of the additional volume to which Cotton alludes.

[72] The Claſſes were voluntary aſſociations of the clergy, deſigned for mutual conference, and for the promotion of parochial diſcipline, which, as appears from the "Concluſions" drawn up by Cartwright and Travers, were in the habit of meeting as early as 1576. They aimed only at reformation within the Church. In the form of ſubſcription to the Book of Diſcipline, the ſigners promiſed to frequent "every ſix weeks, claſſical conferences." Theſe aſſociations were formed in ſeveral counties, but chiefly in Northamptonſhire and Warwickſhire, under the direction of Cartwright, at that time Maſter of the Warwick hoſpital. (*Ante*, p. 64, note 35.) For taking part in theſe meetings Cartwright and many others were ſummoned before the Court of High Commiſſion in 1590. After lying for two years in priſon they united in an Addreſs to the Queen, in which they diſclaimed utterly the charge of ſchiſm, acknowledging that the Church of England was "a true viſible church of Chriſt, from the holy communion whereof, by way of *ſchiſm*, it is not lawful to depart." As a juſtification of their meeting in Claſſes they ſay: "Some late years alſo have given us more ſpecial cauſe of conferring together, when *Jeſuits, Seminaries, and other heretics*, ſought to ſeduce many; and wherein alſo ſome ſchiſmaticks condemned the whole ſtate of our church, as no part of the true viſible church of Chriſt, and therefore refuſed to have any part or communion with it; upon which occaſion it is needful for us to adviſe of the beſt way and means we could, to keep the people that we had charge to inſtruct, from ſuch damnable errors." Hallam, Cons. Hiſt., 1, 207; Neal, 1, 231, 324, 355.

covered by a falſe brother to Doctor *Bancroft*[73] (Chaplain then to Lord Chancellor *Hatton*, afterwards Biſhop of *London*, and after that Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*;) nor that he ever tooke notice of Doctor *Bancrofts* Booke againſt them, entituled, *Dangerous Poſitions and practiſes againſt Religion and State*; neither doth it ſeeme, that he doth acknowledge their frequent and continuall meetings to duties of humiliation, as any ſeparate meetings from the common. But I doubt not, the Lord tooke notice of both, and hath now rewarded their ſighes and groanes, prayers and teares in private with an open recompence and deliverance in the view of all men.

Beſides, though he pleaſed to confine the witneſſe of theſe he calleth *Puritans*, unto Teſtimony againſt Biſhops and Ceremonies: yet I did not thinke, he had been ſuch a ſtranger in *Iſrael*, (if by his leave I may call it *Iſrael*) as to be ignorant, how farre both the Admonitions to the Parliament[74] have reached to beare witneſſe beyond Biſhops and Ceremonies. To ſay nothing of M^r^. *Deerings*[75] Sermon before

[73] Richard Bancroft, "the great adverſary of the Puritans," became Biſhop of London in 1696, and was tranſlated to the ſee of Canterbury in December, 1604. It has been ſaid that Bancroft, in his famous ſermon at Paul's Croſs, in 1588, was the firſt to lay down the doctrine of the divine right of Epiſcopacy. See Neal, 1, 331. Hallam doubts this, and thinks that the firſt traces of the doctrine are found about the end of Elizabeth's reign. Hallam, Cons. Hiſt. Eng., 1, 395. Lord Bacon ſtigmatiſes this newly broached theory as "diſhonourable and derogatory ſpeech and cenſure of the churches abroad." do. note. The book of Bancroft which Cotton mentions, was publiſhed in 1593.

[74] The Firſt Admonition to Parliament was drawn up by Field and Wilcox, in 1572, and expoſed with ſeverity the corruptions of the hierarchy, and the proceedings of the biſhops. The impriſonment of theſe two miniſters occaſioned the Second, and more celebrated Admonition by Cartwright. (*ante*, p. 64, note 35.)

[75] The Rev. Edward Deering, fellow of Chriſt's College, Cambridge. He was choſen proctor in 1566, and Lady Margaret's preacher the year following. In his Sermon before the Queen, February 25, 1569, he had the boldneſs to ſay, "If you have ſometimes ſaid (meaning in the days of his ſiſter Mary,) *tanquam ovis*, as a ſheep appointed to be

the Queene, or Mr. *Chadertons*[76] at *Pauls* Croſſe, or Mr. *Parkers Eccleſiaſtica Politica*,[77] or Mr. *Baines*[78] his Dioceſans Tryall.

Though he ſay, *None of them ſuffered unto death*, onely Mr. *Udall* was neere it: Yet the truth is, he dyed by the annoyance of the Priſon, which he might as well have acknowledged as he doth of ſome of the Separatiſts in this very Paragraph, that they were choaked in Priſon. This I have underſtood by faithfull witneſſes, that when the Coroners Jury (according to the Law of *England*) came (as the manner is in ſuch caſes) to ſurvey the dead body of Mr. *Udall* in Priſon, he bled freſhly (though cold before) as a teſtimony againſt the murderous illegall proceedings of the State againſt him: for ſo the godly did apprehend it; judicious *Perkins*[79]

ſlain; take heed you hear not now of the prophet, *tanquam indomica juvenca*, as an untamed and unruly heifer." In his Letter to Burleigh, November 1, 1573, Deering took ſtrong ground againſt Epiſcopal government as then eſtabliſhed in England. Brooks's Lives, 1, 193; Hopkins's Puritans, 1, 500.

[76] The Rev. Lawrence Chaderton was born in 1537, of a wealthy Roman Catholic family, but became a Proteſtant and entered Chriſt's College, Cambridge. For his change of religion he was diſinherited. In 1584 he became Maſter of the newly founded Emanuel College, and continued in that office for thirty-eight years. He was a decided, but moderate, Puritan. He was one of the tranſlators of the authorized verſion of the Bible. He died Nov. 13, 1640. The Sermon at Paul's Croſs, to which Cotton alludes, was preached October 26, 1578. Neal, 1, 640; Brooks, 2, 445; Fuller's Worthies, 1, 550.

[77] See *ante*, p. 64, note 36.

[78] Rev. Paul Bains, fellow of Chriſt's College, Cambridge, where he died in 1617. He incurred the diſpleaſure of Bancroft, and becauſe many under diſtreſs of conſcience reſorted to him for advice, was accuſed of holding conventicles. The "Dioceſans Tryall" was publiſhed in 1621. Cotton Mather ſtates that when Cotton was ſettled at Boſton "his dear friend, holy Mr. Bayns, recommended unto him a pious gentlewoman, one Mrs. Elizabeth Horrocks, the ſiſter of Mr. James Horrocks, a famous miniſter in Lancaſhire, to become his conſort in a *married eſtate*. See Life of Cotton, in Mather's Magnalia; Brooks's Lives, 2, 261; Neal, 1, 478. Bains was one of the three divines from whom Cotton received the Congregational ſyſtem. See *ante*, p. 83, note 50.

[79] The Rev. William Perkins, fellow of Chriſt's College, Cambridge, was born in 1558. He commenced his ca-

acknowledgeth ſuch a kinde of bleeding to be a part of the accompliſhment of that Scripture in *Heb.* 11. *That the bloud of* Abel *ſtill ſpeaketh.*

117] In like ſort, for the ſame cauſe (choaked in the priſon) ſuffered M^r^. *Randall Bates*[80] (an heavenly Saint) nor could he be releaſed, though Doctor *Hering* (a learned and beloved Phyſician) earneſtly ſolicited Biſhop *Neale*[81] for his enlargement as he tendred his life, but the ſuite of the Phyſician

reer as a preacher by voluntary miniſtrations to the priſoners confined in Cambridge, but the multitudes that flocked to hear him ſpread his fame throughout the Univerſity, and he was choſen preacher at St. Andrews. He was a thorough Puritan, a ſubſcriber to the Book of Diſcipline, and more than once convened for non-conformity. He died in 1642. His controverſy with Arminius is ſaid to have occaſioned the calling of the Synod of Dort. Cotton, while a ſtudent at Cambridge, was ſo powerfully wrought upon by his preaching, that "when he heard the bell toll for the funeral of Mr. Perkins, his mind ſecretly rejoiced in his deliverance from that powerful miniſtry, by which his conſcience had been ſo oft beleagured," but, when on his death-bed, Cotton declared that the expectation of meeting Perkins contributed "unto his readineſs to be gone." See Life of Cotton, in the Magnalia. In his Letter to Lord Say and Seal, 1636, Cotton ſays: "I am very apt to believe, what Mr. Perkins hath, in one of his prefatory pages to his golden chaine, that the word, and ſcriptures of God doe conteyne a ſhort *upolupoſis*, or platforme, not onely of theology, but alſo of other ſacred ſciences, (as he calleth them) attendants, and handmaids thereunto, which he maketh ethicks, œconomicks, politicks, church-government, prophecy, academy." See Hutchinſon's Hiſt., 1, 496. Governor Winthrop, in his remarkable relation of his "Chriſtian Experience," refers to Perkins. See Life and Letters of Winthrop, 1630–1649, p. 168.

[80] Randall Bates, a zealous non-conformiſt, was profecuted in the eccleſiaſtical courts, and committed to the Gatehouſe, where he died, after an impriſonment of twenty months, in 1613. From a book which he wrote in priſon his views appear to have been a compound of preſbyterianiſm and independency. Cotton is the only authority for the ſtatement reſpecting the manner of his death. Brooks's Lives, 2, 234.

[81] Dr. Richard Neill, ſucceſſively biſhop of Rocheſter, Litchfield, Lincoln, Durham, Wincheſter, and at laſt Archbiſhop of York, died Oct. 31, 1640. He was the ſon of a tallow-chandler, and his career juſtifies the ſevere remark of Hallam: "The ſyſtem purſued by Bancroft and his imitators, biſhops Neill and Laud, with the approbation of the King, far oppoſed to the healing counſels of Burleigh and Bacon, was juſt ſuch as low-born and little-minded men, raiſed to power by fortune's caprice, are ever found to purſue." Hallam, Cons. Hiſt. Eng., vol. 1, p. 395.

was repulſed with reproaches: And the life of his patient ſpilt by that rigor. He is therefore much miſtaken, when he ſaith, *None of them ſuffered unto death.* And it is alike miſtake, when he maketh M^r^. *Penry* one of his witneſſes unto the death for Separation. I have received it from M^r^. *Hilderſom*[82] (a man of a thouſand) that M^r^. *Penry* did ingen-

[82] The Rev. Arthur Hilderſham, of Chriſt's College, Cambridge, was born in 1563, like Chaderton, of Roman Catholic parents. He was connected with the royal family, and the celebrated Cardinal Pole was his great uncle. After leaving the Univerſity he was ſettled at Aſhby-de-la-Zouch, where, with repeated interruptions he remained until his death, March 4, 1631. Hilderſham was an earneſt non-conformiſt, but was ſo far oppoſed to Separation that he was called "the hammer of heretics." According to Lilly, the aſtrologer, he "diſſented not from the Church of England in any article of faith; but only about wearing the ſurplice, baptiſing with the croſs, and kneeling in the ſacrament." See Brooks's Lives, 2, 376; Fuller's Worthies, 1, 164, and Church Hiſt., 111, 370. He was greatly eſteemed by Cotton, who mentioned him with Ames and Preſton, in his dying words. Whiting, in his life of Cotton, after ſpeaking of his abounding hoſpitality, adds: "And eſpecially his heart and doors were open to receive, as all that feared God, ſo eſpecially godly miniſters, which he moſt courteouſly entertained, and many other ſtrangers beſides. Only one miniſter, Mr. Hacket by name, which had got into the fellowſhip of famous Mr. Arthur Hilderſham, with many other godly miniſters, and being acquainted with the ſecrets, betrayed them into the prelates hands, this man, coming into Boſton, and meeting with Mr. Cotton, that good man had not the heart to ſpeak to him, nor invite him to his houſe; which he ſaid he never did to any ſtranger that he knew before, much leſs to any miniſter." See Young, Chronicles of Maſs., p. 427.

Hubbard ſays: "It is certainly known that the old non-conformiſts, and good old puritans of queen Elizabeth and king James his time, did in many things not ſymbolize with the Separatiſts, whoſe way and form of diſcipline was always diſowned and diſclaimed, yea publickly condemned by the writings of the learned non-conformiſts of that age, ſuch as Mr. Robert Parker, Dr. Ames, Mr. Cartwright, Mr. Hilderſham, that *malleus* Browniſtarum, as he uſed to be called, eſpecially as to their notions about Separation from the Church of England as antichriſtian." He adds, that when Higginſon and others came to New England, "Mr. Hilderſham, upon their firſt removing, adviſed him and other miniſters looking this way, to agree upon their form of church government, before they came away from England. The which counſel, if it had been attended, might have prevented ſome inconveniency that hath ſince fallen out, or at leaſt have ſaved ſome of the ſucceeding miniſters from the imputation of departing from their firſt principles."

uouſly acknowledge before his death, That though he had not deſerved death for any diſhonour put upon the Queene, by that Booke[83] (which was found in his ſtudy, and intended by himſelfe to be preſented to her own hand:) nor by the compiling of *Martin Marprelate*,[84] (of both which he was falſly charged;) yet he confeſſed, he *deſerved death at the Queenes hand, for that he had ſeduced many of her loyall Subjects to a ſeparation from hearing the Word of life in the Pariſh Churches. Which though himſelfe had learned to diſcerne the evill thereof, yet he could never prevaile to recover divers of her Subjects, whom he had ſeduced: and therefore the bloud of their ſoules, was now juſtly required at his hands.*

Let the Examiner conſider, whether he will own this Mr. *Penry* for one of his faithfull witneſſes hereafter; If he doe, let him endeavour to doe as he did, ſeeke to reduce thoſe ſoules whom he hath ſeduced from hearing the word of life: or elſe, let him confeſſe (as Mr. *Penry* did) the bloud of thoſe ſoules may juſtly be required at his hands, if Mr. *Penries* witneſſe be of waight with him.

Touching his other witneſſe, to the death of Mr. *Barrow*,[85]

See Hubbard's Hiſt. of New England, in Maſs. Hiſt. Coll., 2d Series, 5, 118. In the laſt ſentence there is an evident alluſſion to the charge that Baylie brought againſt Cotton.

[83] The ſpecific charges againſt Penry were collected from an unpubliſhed addreſs to the Queen, drawn up during his reſidence in Scotland, and deſigned to repreſent to her the true ſtate of religion, and the many abuſes in the church.

[84] Among the anonymous pamphlets, inveighing againſt the prelacy, that were circulated throughout the country, the moſt famous went under the name of Martin Mar-prelate. They were printed on a moveable preſs, which was ſhifted to different parts of the country as the purſuit grew hot. The firſt appeared in 1588. In November of that year, the archbiſhop is directed by a letter from the council to ſearch for and commit to priſon the authors and printers. Udal and Penry were arreſted in conſequence, but the authors were never diſcovered. See Strype's Whitgift, 1, 549, 551; Annals, III: 2. 102, 602, and trial of Sir Richard Knightley, in State Trials, 1, 1263.

[85] Bradford enters into a full and earneſt vindication of Barrow from theſe charges of Cotton. "Truly with due

this I can ſay, from the teſtimony of holy and bleſſed Mr. *Dod*,[86] who ſpeaking of this Mr. *Barrow*, *God is not want* (ſaith he) *to make choice of men, infamous for groſſe vices before their calling, to make them any notable inſtruments of Reformation after their Calling.* Mr. Barrow *whileſt he lived in Court, was wont to be a great Gamſter, and Dicer, and often getting much by play, would boaſt*, Vivo de die, in ſpem noctis, *nothing aſhamed to boaſt of his hopes of his nights lodgings in the boſomes of his Courtizens. As his ſpirit was high and rough before his reformation, ſo was it after, even to his death. When he ſtood under the Gibbet, he lift up his eyes, and Lord* (ſaith he) *if I be deceived, thou haſt deceived* [118] *me: And ſo being ſtopt by the hand of God, he was not able to proceed to ſpeake any thing to purpoſe more, either to the glory of God, or to the edification of the people.*

Mr. *Greenwood* (the Examiners laſt witneſſe unto death) he indeed of all the reſt was the more to be lamented, as being of a more tender, and conſcientious ſpirit: but this have I

reſpect to ſuch reverend men be it ſpoken, thoſe things might well have been ſpared from putting in print, eſpecially ſo long after his death, when not only he, but all his friends are taken out of the world, that might vindicate his name. That he was tainted with vices at the court before his converſion and calling, it is not very ſtrange; and if he had lived and died in that condition, it is like he might have gone out of the world without any public brand on his name, and have paſſed for a tolerable Chriſtian and member of the church. He had hurt enough done him, whileſt he lived, by evil and cruel enemies; why ſhould godly men be prejucated to him after his death." After reciting ſome "public teſtimonies" concerning him, Bradford adds, as a reaſon why Barrow had been "by ſo many aſperſed;" "It is not much to be marvelled at; for he was moſt plain in diſcovering the cruelty, fraud and hypocriſy of the enemies of the truth, and ſearching into the corruptions of the time, which made him abhorred of them; and peradventure ſomething too harſh againſt the haltings of divers of the preachers and profeſſors that he had to deal with in thoſe times, who out of fear or weakneſs did not come ſo cloſe up to the truth in their practice as their doctrines and grounds ſeemed to hold forth." See Bradford, "Dialogue," in Young's Chronicles of the Pilgrims, pp. 429–435.

[86] See *ante*, p. 102, note 58.

heard reported of him by the ſame credible hands, That if he could have been ſundred from Mr. *Barrow*, he was tractable to have been gained to the truth. But when the Examiner goeth on to make compariſons between the Sufferings of the Separatiſts, and of (thoſe he ſtyleth) Puritans, in his Margent, and in his Booke. No compariſon will hold from the Separatiſts to them, but a *Minori.* What compulſory baniſhments have been put upon thoſe bleſſed and glorious lights, Mr. *Cartwright, Parker, Ames?* To ſay nothing of thoſe in *Scotland,* or *New-England:* When have the Priſons been vacant of ſome or other godly Miniſters, and Profeſſors? When will the Examiner ſhew forth alike company of his witneſſes, to thoſe 300. Miniſters (whom Mr. *Parker* compareth to the 300. Souldiers of *Gideon*) who in one ſtorme of perſecution, were ſome ſuſpended, ſome excommunicated, ſome impriſoned, all of them deprived of their Miniſtery, and of their maintenance? And proviſion made, that none might practiſe Phyſicke, or teach Schoole, unleſſe they would accept a Licenſe with ſubſcription? So that of neceſſitie (had not the Lord been wiſer, and ſtronger then men) they muſt in remedileſſe miſery, they and theirs, have either begged, or ſtarved; But that with the Lord there be bowells of mercy, and fatherly compaſſions, and with him are plenteous redemptions, and proviſions, and protections, when men faile.

The Examiner proceedeth (in his Anſwer) to tell us further, *That he beleeveth there hath hardly ever been a Conſcientious Separatiſt, who was not firſt a Puritan. For* (*as* Mr. Can[87] *hath unanſwerably proved*) *the grounds and principles of*

[87] The accounts reſpecting this learned divine are ſomewhat conflicting. That he was educated in the eſtabliſhed church and probably received epiſcopal ordination is agreed by all. But according to Neal, he ſoon after joined the Separatiſts, and became paſtor of Mr. Lathrop's congregation in London, and being driven by perſecution to Holland, was choſen paſtor of the Browniſt congregation at

the Puritans againſt Biſhops, and Ceremonies, and prophaneſſe of people profeſſing Chriſt: and the neceſſitie of Chriſts flock and diſcipline, muſt neceſſarily (if truly followed) lead on to, and enforce a ſeparation.

Reply. 1. If there were hardly ever any conſcientious Separatiſt, who was not firſt a Puritan, then it ſeemeth, that if there be any Conſcience in the Separatiſts, it was firſt wrought in them by the Miniſters of thoſe whom he calleth Puritans. 119] 2. Say it were true, that he pretendeth, That the principles and grounds of Puritaniſme, did enforce Separation:) yet I doe not underſtand, what it maketh to the point in hand.

3. Neither doe I underſtand, how it ſuiteth with the Examiners profeſſion who is wont to renounce all communion with Antichriſtian inventions, ſo frequently to take up into his mouth and pen the Nickname of Puritans: which was at firſt deviſed by *Sanders*[88] the Jeſuite, to caſt a reproach

Amſterdam. The moſt recent biographer of Canne, on the other hand, maintains that the name by which his charge was deſignated, "The ancient Engliſh Church in Amſterdam," could ſcarcely have been the title of any Browniſt congregation. The church of Canne was in fact part of the Church of England. He could not therefore at firſt have ſeparated. According to the ſame writer, the critical poſition of Ames and Parker and others, within the Eſtabliſhed Church, gave a greater acrimony to the treatment of Canne when he felt it his duty to ſeparate. Canne returned to England in 1640, and formed the Broadmead church, in Briſtol. He is ſaid to have died at Amſterdam, in 1667. See Neal, 1, 437, 663; Brooks, 3, 332, and the Introductory Notice by Rev. Charles Stovel to the edition of the "Neceſſity of Separation," publiſhed by the Hanſerd Knollys Society.

[88] The Rev. Nicholas Sanders, D. D., a very prominent Roman Catholic controverſial writer, was educated at New College, Oxford, where he became fellow. On the acceſſion of Elizabeth he went to Rome, and afterwards Cardinal Hoſius, hearing of his ability, took him to the Council of Trent. Afterwards Sanders was ſettled in Louvain, and ſpent much of his time in writing againſt the Proteſtant divines. In 1579 he was ſent as nuncio to Ireland, and taking part in the rebellion of the Earl of Deſmond, in 1583, he fled to the woods and died of hunger. According to Camden, Sanders "wandered up and down troubled in mind" on account of the failure of the plot. Cotton is in error in calling him a Jeſuit. See Strype's Parker, 2, 168; Camden's Elizabeth, 290; Baylie's Dict. art. Sanders; Moreri, tome ix., art.

upon the perſons and way of reformers, to render them ſuſpicious and odious to the State. The righteous hand of the Lord ſtruck him with madneſſe who invented the name: nor doth he delight in them that delight to take up a reproach againſt the innocent.

4. How unanſwerably M^r^. *Can* hath proved the neceſſity of Separation from their grounds and principles, I will not judge, becauſe I have not ſeene his Booke.[89] But to ſeparate from the Churches of *England*, as no Churches, or falſe Churches, from their Miniſtery, as a falſe Miniſtery, from their Sermons as falſe worſhip, from their profeſſors as no viſible Saints. And to prove all this out of the Principles and grounds of thoſe holy Saints of God, whom he miſnameth Puritans, will require a ſtrong efficacy of deluſions, to make it appeare probable to a ſad and judicious ſpirit, that is not foreſtalled with prejudice, or partialitie.

Sanders. The ſtatement that Sanders loſt his reaſon is open to doubt. See Wood, Athenæ Oxonienſes, 1, 469.

I have ſearched in vain for any confirmation of Cotton's ſtatement that Sanders was the firſt to give the name which was deſtined to become ſo famous. Strype, who makes frequent mention of Sanders, nowhere alludes to this circumſtance. He ſimply ſtates that in the year 1571, thoſe who would not comply with the eſtabliſhed orders of the church, were commonly called Puritans. Strype's Parker, 2, 65. Camden, deſcribing the movements of Coleman, Benſon, and others, in 1568, adds, "which Sect began preſently to be known by the odious name of *Puritans*." Camden's Elizabeth, p. 107. Fuller aſſigns an earlier date. According to his ſtatement "the odious name of the Puritans" firſt began to be uſed in the year 1564, "and the grief had not been great had it ended in the ſame." Church Hiſtory of Britain, Book ix., p. 67. Neal goes even further back, and finds the term uſed in 1559. See Hiſt. Puritans, 1, 91. Marſden ſays: "No clear account of the origin of this now famous title has been handed down." Hiſtory of the Early Puritans, p. 3.

Cotton's account of the Roman Catholic origin of the name Puritan may ſeem to derive ſome confirmation from the words which Hopkins puts into the mouth of a Roman Catholic prieſt, executed at York, May 10, 1566, (ſee Hopkins's Puritans, vol. 1, p. 339,) but there is no authority for any ſuch uſe of the name. See Strype's Parker, 1, 141. The references to Strype, in this note, are to the octavo edition.

[89] "Neceſſitie of Separation," publiſhed in 1634, and republiſhed by the Hanſerd Knollys Society.

But the Examiner proceedeth in his Anſwer to enquire, *What ſhould be the Reaſon, why the Separatiſt (who witneſſeth againſt the Roote of the Conſtitution it ſelfe) ſhould finde more favour then the Puritan, or Non-conformiſt?*

And he telleth us,

Doubtleſſe the reaſons are evident: 1. *Becauſe moſt of the Separatiſts have been poore and low, and not ſuch gainfull Cuſtomers to the Biſhops, their Courts, and Officers. M^r.* Ainſworth[90] *himſelfe (though a worthy inſtrument of Gods praiſe) lived upon nine pence in the weeke with roots boyled,*[91] *&c.*

[90] The Rev. Henry Ainſworth was a diſtinguiſhed leader of the Browniſts, but little is known of him until he became a reſident of Holland, which was probably at the time of the general baniſhment of his ſect in 1593. He lived at Amſterdam, when he became teacher of the church of which Johnſon was paſtor. In the midſt of the unhappy controverſies which afterwards tore this church in pieces, and in which the Rev. John Smyth was ſo conſpicuous, (ſee *ante*, p. 58, note 32, and compare Cotton, Way of Cong. Churches Cleared, p. 6,) he maintained a reputation for great meekneſs and piety, and gained the reſpect of all parties by his uncommon learning and abilities. His great work, the "Annotations of the Five Books of Moſes, the Pſalms, and the Song of Solomon," was publiſhed in 1612, and the following year. The circumſtances of his death, which took place about the cloſe of the year 1622, afford a ſtriking illuſtration of his character. Having found a diamond of great value in the ſtreets of Amſterdam, he advertiſed it, and when the owner, a Jew claimed it, and offered any acknowledgement, Mr. Ainſworth, though very poor, would accept nothing but a conference with ſome of the Rabbis, upon the Meſſianic prophecies, which the Jew not being able to procure, it was thought, cauſed Ainſworth to be poiſoned. According to another account, he was poiſoned by the Jews for vanquiſhing them in the diſcuſſion. Brooks's Lives, 2, 229.

Cotton ſeems to have regarded Ainſworth with more favor than he did moſt of the Separatiſts. He ſays of him: "Mr. *Ainſworth*, a man of a more modeſt and humble ſpirit, and diligently ſtudious of the Hebrew Text, hath not been unuſeful to the Church in his Expoſition of the *Pentateuch*, eſpecially of *Moſes* his Rituals, notwithſtanding ſome uncircumciſed, and ungrounded Rabbinical obſervations recited, but not refuted. For though in ſimplicity of heart, in ſome things he went aſtray: yet the way he walked in, did not ſuffer diſgrace by him, nor by the might and evidence of God's hand upon him." Way of Congregational Churches Cleared, p. 6. Ainſworth was author of the verſion of the Pſalms long uſed by the church at Plymouth.

[91] This unqualified ſtatement of Williams leaves a falſe impreſſion. See Bradford's explanation, *poſt*, p. 123, note 99.

Reply. In part I will not deny ſome truth and weight in this reaſon; But take it for granted, and it doth but confirme what I ſaid, that the Separatiſt found more favour then the Non-conformiſt, whatſoever the reaſon was.

The ſecond reaſon that he giveth is, *That it is a principle in nature to preferre a profeſſed enemy, before a pretended friend. The Separatiſts* [120] *have been looked at by the Biſhops, and their adherents, as knowne and profeſſed enemies: whereas the Puritans have profeſſed ſubjection, and ſubmitted to the Biſhops, their Courts, their Officers, their Common Prayer, and worſhips: And yet (the Biſhops have well knowne) with no greater affection, then the* Iſraelites *bore the* Ægyptians *cruell taskmaſters.*

Reply. 1. What the Non-conformiſts did beare, it was no more then they thought they might beare with a good Conſcience, according to the light they had received. If they did beare more, then what in Conſcience they judged lawfull to be borne, they had no reaſon to beare with themſelves in ſo doing.

But if the Biſhops bore the leſſe with them in ſuch their ſubjection, it was becauſe they looked at them not as pretended friends, but as more dangerons enemies: as knowing both that the Lord was with them, (which made *Saul* the more afraid of *David,* 1 *Sam.* 18. 28, 29.) as alſo that the grounds which they gave of their judgement and practiſe, were more agreeable to Scripture, and to the judgement of all reformed Churches, and therefore more likely in time to prevaile, to the utter overthrow of their uſurped Hierarchy. But as for the Sparatiſts, the Biſhops did not diſcerne, either the Lord going forth in like ſort with them, or their grounds ſo likely to ſubvert their freehold. Though the Separatiſts ſtruck at the roote of the Conſtitutions of their Churches,

(which was indeed a greater blow then to ſtrike at the roote of Epiſcopacy:) yet becauſe the Epiſcopacy ſaw that the Separatiſts ſtruck at the things of Chriſt, together with themſelves, they knew ſuch ſtroakes would not much hurt their ſtanding.

The next word which the Examiner anſwereth, is unto that I ſaid; *God hath not proſpered the way of Separation, neither with peace amongst themſelves, nor with growth of grace.*

His Anſwer is; 1. *That want of peace may befall the trueſt Churches of the Lord Jeſus, as them at* Antioch, Corinth, Galatia.

Reply. The diſtraction at *Antioch* was ſoone healed by the Counſell of the Synod at *Hieruſalem*, which is a way of peace which the Churches of the rigid Separation have not knowne, nor will condeſcend unto: which makes their diſſentions deſtitute of hopes of reconciliation without ſeparation one from another. The like may be ſaid of the Churches of *Galatia* and *Corinth.* I [121] doe not read their differences were healed by Separation, but by liſtning to Apoſtolicall Counſell.

2. His ſecond Anſwer is, *that it is a common Character of a falſe Church (maintained by the Smiths and Cutlers ſhop) to enjoy peace, none daring for feare of civill puniſhment to queſtion, or differ, &c.*

Reply. Though it be a common Character of a falſe Church, to enjoy a forced and violent peace: yet it is a peculiar Character of a true Church, to enjoy holy peace with God, and one with another, which where it is wanting, there is ſomething elſe wanting, either in their Faith or Order.

3. His third Anſwer is, *That Gods people in that way have ſometimes long enjoyed ſweet peace, and ſoule contentment, in* England, Holland, New-England, *and other places, &c.*

Reply. The Anſwer had been more cleare and evident, if he had named thoſe Churches, who have long enjoyed ſuch peace in that way: in that way I ſay, of rigid Separation, ſeparating from the Churches of *England*, as altogether falſe, in their Conſtitution, Miniſtry, worſhip, and therefore refuſing to heare the word in the beſt of the Pariſh Aſſemblies. It is a wiſe Proverb of a wiſer then *Soloman*, *The back-ſlider in heart* (from any Truth or way of God) *ſhall be filled with his owne wayes.* They that ſeparate from their brethren further then they have juſt cauſe, ſhall at length find cauſe (or at leaſt thinke they have found cauſe) juſt enough to ſeparate one from another. I never yet heard of any inſtance to the contrary, either in *England*,[92] or *Holland*.[93] And for

[92] Cotton probably alludes to the difficulty which aroſe in the Separatiſt congregation, in London, of which the Rev. John Lathrop was paſtor. A majority of the church having declined to expreſs any opinion upon the queſtion whether pariſh churches were true churches, the more rigid minority requeſted diſmiſſion, and uniting with ſome who queſtioned the lawfulneſs of infant baptiſm, formed, according to Neal, in 1633, the earlieſt Baptiſt church in England. Neal, 1, 663. But a church on eſſentially the ſame baſis was formed by Hubbard, in 1621, and both theſe churches not only admitted Pædobaptiſts as members, but alſo to the miniſtry. The earlieſt church founded in England on excluſive Baptiſt principles was probably that in Devonſhire Square, formed by William Kiffin, in the year 1653. See Introduction to Canne's Neceſſity of Separation, by Rev. Charles Stovel, p. xix.

[93] The unhappy difficulties in the Engliſh church at Amſterdam, in which Ainſworth became involved, firſt with Francis Johnſon and afterwards with the Rev. John Smyth, have been alluded to in previous notes. It is, however, probable that theſe difficulties have been much exaggerated by the enemies of the Separatiſts.

Baylie goes ſo far as to aſſert, in his "Diſſuaſive," that the Church at Leyden was "well neare brought to nought" by diviſions, "till ſome of them went over to *New-England*, and purſuaded their neighbours who ſate down with them in New-*Plymouth* to erect with them a Congregation after their Separate way;" but Cotton denies this, and ſays that "the Church at *Leyden* was in peace, and free from any diviſion, when they took thoughts of tranſporting themſelves into *America* with common conſent." Way of Cong. Churches Cleared, p. 14. Bradford, the higheſt authority on this point, ſays: "And that which was a crown unto them, they lived together in love and peace all their days, without any conſiderable differences, or any diſturbances that grew thereby, but ſuch as

New-England, there is no ſuch Church of the Separation at al that I know of.[94] That ſeparate Church (if it may be called

was eaſily healed in love; and ſo they continued until with mutual conſent they removed into New England." Bradford's "Dialogue," in Young's Chronicles of the Pilgrims, p. 456. In reply to the ſame charge of Baylie, Edward Winſlow ſays: "For I perſuade myſelf, never people upon earth, lived more lovingly together and parted more ſweetly than we, the church at Leyden, did; not raſhly, in a diſtracted humor, but upon joint and ſerious deliberations, after ſeeking the mind of God by faſting and prayer; whoſe gracious preſence we not only found with us, but his bleſſing upon us, from that time to this inſtant, to the indignation of our adverſaries, the admiration of ſtrangers, and the exceeding conſolation of ourſelves, to ſee ſuch effects of our prayers and tears before our pilgrimage here be ended." See Winſlow's "Brief Narration," in Young's Chron. of the Pilgrims, p. 380.

The toleration extended to all comers in Holland gained for that country little favor at the hands of ſome Maſſachuſetts writers. Says Johnſon, "Yee *Dutch* come out of your hods-podge, the great mingle-mangle of Religion among you hath cauſed the Churches of Chriſt to increaſe ſo little with you, ſtanding at a ſtay like Corne among Weeds." Wonder-working Providence, pp. 32, 33. And Ward, who in the early part of his life was on the Continent, evidently has in mind ſome Dutch city when he ſays: "I lived in a City where a Papiſt preached in one Church, a Lutheran in another, a Calviniſt in a third; a Lutheran one part of the day, a Calviniſt the other, in the ſame Pulpit: the Religion of that place was but motly and meagre, their affections Leopardlike." See "*The Simple Cobler of Aggawam in America*," p. 5.

94 The Church of Plymouth never profeſſed principles of rigid ſeparation. Cotton adduces Elder Brewſter's diſtruſt of Williams on page 4, *ante*. The ground of this diſtruſt was, leſt Williams ſhould "run the ſame courſe of rigid ſeparation and anabaptiſtry, which Mr. John Smith, the Se-Baptiſt, at Amſterdam, had done." See Morton's Memorial, p. 151. In reply to Baylie's ſtatement, quoted in the laſt note, that the Pilgrims had erected a church in "the ſeparate way," Cotton ſays: "Neither did that company which came over to *Plymouth*, erect here a New-Church (as the Diſſuader taketh it,) for by conſent of the Church which they left, they came over in Church-eſtate, and onely renewed their Covenant when they came hither." See Way of Cong. Churches Cleared, p. 16. And much more ſtrongly to the ſame effect, Edward Winſlow, who, in his "Brief Narration," earneſtly clears up the "groſs miſtake" that "the Church of Plymouth, which went firſt from Leyden, were Schiſmatics, Browniſts, rigid Separatiſts, &c." Chronicles of the Pilgrims, pp. 387, 388. In the celebrated farewell diſcourſe of Robinſon, preſerved by Winſlow, is this paſſage, which ſets in clear light the attitude of the Pilgrims with reference to Separation: "Another thing he commendeth to us, was that we ſhould uſe all means to avoid and ſhake off the name of Browniſt, being a mere nickname and brand to make religion odious and the

a Church) which ſeparated with Mr. *Williams*, firſt broke into a diviſion about a ſmall occaſion (as I have heard) and then broke forth into *Anabaptiſme*, and then into *Antibaptiſme*, and *Familiſme*, and now finally into no Church at all.[95]

But whereas I ſaid, God had not proſpered the way *of the Separation, as not with peace amongst themſelves, ſo neither with growth of Grace,*

He anſwereth, for growth of Grace, though ſome falſe *brethren have crept in, yet Satan himſelfe cannot but confeſſe that multitudes of Gods witneſſes* (*reproached with the names of* Browniſts, *and* Anabaptiſts) *have kept themſelves from the errours of the wicked, and doe* [122] *grow in Grace, and knowledge of our Lord Jeſus, &c.*

Reply. It is an unwelcome Subject to goe about to convince others of want of growth in Grace, eſpecially, when wee ſpeake of Churches, and that before wee have in a more private manner dealt with them. I looke at it as more ſeaſonable to provoke our owne Churches, to more growth of Grace at home. For even true Churches (as that of *Epheſus, Revel.* 2.) may decay in their firſt love.

Onely thus much I would ſay, the firſt Inventor of that way which is called *Browniſme*, from whom the Sect tooke its name,[96] it is well knowne that he did not grow in Grace,

profeſſors of it to the Chriſtian world. And to that end, ſaid he, I ſhould be glad if ſome godly miniſter would go over with you before my coming; for, ſaid he, there will be no difference between the unconformable miniſters and you, when they come to the practice of the ordinances out of the kingdom. And ſo adviſed us by all means to endeavour to cloſe with the godly party of the kingdom of England, and rather to ſtudy union than diviſion, viz, how near we might poſſibly without ſin cloſe with them, than in the leaſt meaſure to affect diviſion or ſeparation from them." See Chronicles of the Pilgrims, pp. 397, 398. For the light in which the Pilgrims were viewed by the firſt ſettlers of Maſſachuſetts, ſee Endicott's letter to Bradford, in Morton's Memorial, p. 146.

[95] Compare *ante*, p. 45, note 21.

[96] Robert Brown, of whom it has been juſtly ſaid that "he takes a place in hiſtory from his connection with a great

but fell back firſt from his owne way, to take a Parſonage of a Pariſh-Church in *England* in *Northamptonſheire*, called a Church: God ſo in a ſtrange (yet wiſe) providence ordering, that he who had utterly renounced all the Churches in *England*, as no Church ſhould afterwards accept of one Pariſh-Church amongſt them, and it called a Church,[97] and from

religious movement, which he by no means originated, and which he did quite as much to prejudice as to promote," (Palfrey, Hiſt. N. E., 1, 123,) was born of an ancient and honorable family, being nearly related to the Lord Treaſurer Burleigh. He was educated in Corpus Chriſti College, Cambridge, and having received ordination in the Church of England, preached for ſome time, with reputation in London, and afterwards became chaplain to the Duke of Norfolk. In 1571, he was cited before the high commiſſioners for nonconformity, and ſoon afterwards eſpouſed the moſt extreme principles of Separation. After having been, according to his own account, impriſoned two and thirty times, he fled to Holland, and gathered a church, according to his own model, at Middleburg, Zealand. In 1589 he returned to England, and having renounced his principles of Separation, became rector of a church in Northamptonſhire. Here he led an idle and irregular life, and died in 1630, in the 81ſt year of his age. He died in gaol, to which he had been committed for ſtriking the conſtable of his pariſh. Neal, 1, 251; Fuller's Church Hiſtory, B. ix. p. 167.

Cotton remarks: "Yet this backſliding of *Brown*, from that way of Separation, is a juſt reaſon why the Separatiſts may diſclaim denomination from him, and refuſe to be called after his name, Browniſts. To ſpeak with reaſon, if any be juſtly to be called Browniſts, it is onely ſuch as revolt from Separation to Formality, and from thence to prophaneneſſe." Way Congregational Churches Cleared, p. 5.

To the aſſertion of Cotton that Brown was "the firſt Inventor of that way which is called Browniſme," Bradford replies: "No, verily; for, as one anſwers this queſtion very well in a printed book, almoſt forty years ago, that the prophets, apoſtles and evangeliſts have in their authentic writings laid down the grounds thereof; and upon that ground is their building reared up and ſurely ſettled. Moreover, many of the martyrs, both former and latter, have maintained it, as is to be ſeen in the Acts and Monuments of the Church. Alſo, in the days of Queen Elizabeth there was a ſeparated church, whereof Mr. Fitts was paſtor, and another before that in the time of Queen Mary, of which Mr. Rough was paſtor or teacher, and Cudbert Simpſon a deacon, who exerciſed amongſt themſelves, as other ordinances, ſo church cenſures, as excommunications, &c., and profeſſed and practiſed that cauſe before Mr. Brown wrote for it." Bradford's Dialogue, p. 442. Cotton himſelf, in his reply to Baylie, acknowledges all that Bradford here claims. Way of Cong. Churches Cleared, p. 4.

97 The Pariſh of which Brown became rector, after he had renounced Separation, was named A-church, which Cot-

thence he fell to Organs,[98] in the Temple of his owne Church (as I have been credibly informed) and from thence to diſcord with his beſt hearers, and bitter perſecution of them at the laſt. It is not Gods uſuall manner of dealing to leave any of the firſt publiſhers or reſtorers of any Truth of his to ſuch fearefull Apoſtacy from his Grace, though I Judge not his finall Eſtate.

I will not rehearſe what I read in printed Books of the unkind, and ungracious, and unbrotherly dealings of ſome of note in that way, whilſt they maintained the rigor of it. That which the Examiner himſelfe hath rehearſed in this very chapter, may ſuffice to ſhew what growth of Godlineſſe was found in that Church, the Officer whereof himſelfe ſtyleth a worthy Inſtrument of Gods prayſe: and ſurely he was a man that deſerved well of the Church, for ſundry of his Learned, and painfull, and profitable labours. One would hope, that where the Lord bleſſeth a people with growth of godlineſſe, the people would grow beſt under the beſt Miniſters of that way. M^r^. *Aynſworths* name is of beſt eſteeme (without all exception) in that way, who refuſed Communion with hearing in *England.* And if his people ſuffered him to

ton calls "a reall check to his error, who formerly counted every Church in *England* no church." Way of Congregational Churches Cleared, p. 5.

98 In the eyes of Cotton this ſeems to have been one of the moſt convincing proofs of Brown's depravity. The objection of the Puritans to inſtrumental muſic is well known. Compare the following: "Organs and other church muſic they call idol ſervice, becauſe it ſerves not to any edification, but draws the mind to carnal delight; beſides, this was a part of the Levitical ſervice which is now ceaſed in Chriſt, and for many hundred years after the apoſtles muſical inſtruments were not known to the Church, till in the year 653, the old ſerpent, by pope Vitelianus, brought up the organs, and to have them go, about the ſame time, that beaſt, with Gregory and Gelaſius, (two monſters like himſelf,) ordained deſcant, forward and backward, plain ſong and prickſong, and thus was the muſic made up, juſt as the devil would have it." See Canne's "Neceſſitie of Separation proved by the Nonconformiſts' Principles," p. 111.

live upon nince pence a week, with roots boyled (as the Examiner told us) ſurely either the people were growne to a very extreme, low [123] Eſtate, or elſe the growth of their godlineſſe was growen to a very low ebb.[99]

To Chap. XXIIII.

IN his 24. and 25. Chapters, the Examiner giveth Anſwer to that ſpeech in my Letter, *That ſuch (of the Separation) as erring through ſimplicity and tenderneſſe, have growne in Grace, have growne alſo to diſcerne their lawfull Liberty for the hearing of the word from the Engliſh Preachers.* This I ſpeake with reſpect to M^r. *Robinſon*,[100] and to his Church,

[99] Bradford gives this explanation:— "The truth is, their condition for the moſt part was for ſome time very low and hard. It was with them as, if it ſhould be related, would hardly be believed. And no marvel. For many of them had lain long in priſons, and then were baniſhed into New foundland, where they were abuſed, and at laſt came into the Low Countries, and wanting money, trades, friends or acquaintances, and languages to help themſelves, how could it be otherwiſe? The report of Mr. Ainſworth was near thoſe times, when he was newly come out of Ireland with others poor, and being a ſingle young man and very ſtudious, was content with a little. And yet, to take off the aſperſion from the people in that particular, the chief and true reaſon thereof is miſtaken; for he was a very modeſt and baſhful man, and concealed his wants from others, until ſome ſuſpected how it was with him, and preſſed him to ſee how it was; and after it was known, ſuch as were able mended his condition; and when he married afterwards, he and his family were comfortably provided for. But we have ſaid enough of theſe things. They had few friends to comfort them, nor any arm of fleſh to ſupport them; and if in ſome things they were too rigid, they are rather to be pitied, conſidering their times and ſufferings, than to be blaſted with reproach to poſterity." See Bradford's "Dialogue," in Chronicles of the Pilgrims, pp. 440, 441.

[100] The Rev. John Robinſon, the celebrated paſtor of the Pilgrim church at Scrooby, and at Leyden, was born in 1575, and probably received his education at the Univerſity of Cambridge. He died at Leyden, March 1, 1625.

Robinſon began his career by profeſſing the moſt extreme principles of Separation. The change in his views alluded to above, is thus deſcribed by Cot-

who as he grew to many excellent gifts both of Grace and nature: ſo he grew to acknowledge, and in a Judicious, and godly diſcourſe to approve and defend the lawfull Liberty of hearing the word from the godly Preachers of the Pariſhes in *England*.[101]

But in this 24. Chapter the Examiner anſwereth nothing againſt the truth of my ſpeech. Onely he telleth of *foure ſorts of Backſliders from ſundry Truthes of God, whom he hath*

ton: "As a fruit of his ſtudious inquiſition after the Truth, hee reſorted (as I have underſtood) to many judicious Divines in *England* for the clearing of his Scruples, which inclined him to ſeparation: and when hee came into Holland, hee addreſſed himſelf to Doctor *Ames*, and Mr. *Parker:* rather preventing them with ſeeking counſell and ſatisfaction, than waiting for their compaſſion. But as they excelled in learning and godlineſſe, ſo in compaſſion and brotherly love alſo; and therefore as they diſcerned his weanedneſſe from ſelfulneſſe, ſo did they more freely communicate light to him, and received alſo ſome things from him, the fruit of which was (through the grace of Chriſt) that the Diſſuader himſelf confeſſeth, 'hee came back indeed one halfe of the way: Acknowledging the lawfulneſſe of communicating with the Church of *England*, in the Word and Prayer: but not in the Sacraments and Diſcipline, which was (ſaith he) a faire Bridge, at leaſt a faire Arch of a Bridge for union.'" Way of Cong. Churches Cleared, p. 8.

Edward Winſlow teſtifies to the ſame effect: "For his doctrine, I living three years under his miniſtry, before we began the work of plantation in New England, it was always againſt ſeparation from any of the churches of Chriſt; profeſſing and holding communion both with the French and Dutch churches, yea, tendering it to the Scotch alſo, as I ſhall make appear more particularly anon; even holding forth how wary perſons ought to be in ſeparating from a Church, and not till Chriſt the Lord departed wholly from it, man ought not to leave it, only to bear witneſs againſt the corruption that was in it.

"Tis true, I confeſs, he was more rigid in his courſe and way at firſt than towards his latter end; for his ſtudy was peace and union, ſo far as might agree with faith and a good conſcience; and for ſchiſm and diviſion, there was nothing in the world more hateful to him." See Winſlow's Briefe Narration, in Young's Chronicles of the Pilgrims, pp. 388, 389.

[101] This diſcourſe was entitled "A Treatiſe of the lawfulneſs of hearing of the miniſters in the Church of England; penned by that learned and reverend divine, John Robinſon, late paſtor to the Engliſh church of God at Leyden. Printed according to the copy that was found in his ſtudy after his deceaſe; and now publiſhed for the common good. Anno 1634."

obſerved to be left of God to ſad and exemplary ſpirituall Judgements.

But becauſe he ſpeaketh of ſuch as have decayed in grace, and I ſpeake of ſuch as grow in grace, his inſtances come not neere the point in hand. I eaſily beleive that Hypocrites may grow from evill to worſe deceiving and being deceived: 2 *Tim.* 3. 13. But a ſincere humble Chriſtian, though he may ſtart aſide for a ſeaſon, yet Chriſt is not wont to leave him ſo: but ſeeketh up every ſtray-ſheep of his, and bringeth them to heare and know his voyce in the mouthes of his Shepheards.

To Chap. XXV.

IN this 25. chapter, becauſe I had ſaid, as they *have growne in Grace, they have growne in diſcerning their lawfull Liberty to heare the word from the Engliſh Preachers.*

He tels us, *he might here engage himſelfe in a controverſie with me, but that neither the Treatiſe will permit: nor is there need, ſince it hath pleaſed the Father of Lights to ſtirre up the ſpirit of a faithfull* [124] *witneſſe of his Truth, in this particular,* M^r^. Canne, *to make a large and faithfull Reply to a Booke printed in* M^r^. Robinſons *name, tending to prove ſuch a lawfull Liberty.*

Reply. M^r^. *Cann* is unknowne unto me, and his Booke[102]

[102] The title of Mr. Canne's book was, "A Stay againſt Straying: wherein, in oppoſition to Mr. John Robinſon, he undertakes to prove the unlawfulneſs of hearing the Miniſters of the Church of England, 1642." The "Neceſſitie of Separation from the Church of England, proved by the Nonconformiſts Principles," which has been before referred to, was publiſhed in 1634, and was deſigned eſpecially as a reply to Dr. Ames.

It is greatly to be regretted that not one of the biographers of Williams has taken pains to trace his connection with

alſo: which I have not had the Liberty to get, in theſe remote ends of the world. I ſhall willingly beſtow the reading of them if they come to my hands, and God give opportunity, eſpecially if I ſee the ſpirit of a faithfull witneſſe in them, which the Examiner extolleth. Onely I am apt to thinke, as young men grow in yeares, and gifts, they will alſo grow up to the mellow-mildneſſe, and ſoftneſſe and moderation of riper age as M^r^. *Robinſon* in many things did.

Now from the name of *Engliſh* Preachers (which I uſed in my ſpeech) the *E*xaminer though he ſeeme to decline the engaging of himſelfe in a controverſie about hearing of them, yet he taketh occaſion to enter into a threefold diſcourſe about them.

The firſt in (*this chapter*) *concerning this title*, Engliſh *Preachers. Secondly, concerning hearing them in chapter* 26. Thirdly concerning their calling in chap. 27.

The ſumme of his diſcourſe about the title of theſe Preachers, ſtandeth in theſe particulars.

Firſt, that M^r^. Cotton *acknowledgeth, the ordinary Miniſters of the Goſpel, to Paſtors, Teachers, Biſhops, Overſeers, Elders: and that their proper worke is, to feed and governe, a truly converted, holy, and godly people, gathered into a flock or Church-Eſtate.*

And not properly Preachers, to convert, beget, make Diſciples, which the Apoſtles, and Evangeliſts properly were: ſo that according to M^r^. Cottons *confeſſions*, Engliſh *Preachers are not*

the Separatiſts. From his arrival in New England, when he "refuſed to join with the congregation at Boſton, becauſe they would not make a public declaration of their repentance for having communion with the churches of England, while they lived there," until the day when he renounced the communion of his own church in Salem, the queſtion of Separation was evidently foremoſt in his thoughts, but the preciſe nature of his views, and their relation to ſimilar views of other men, have never been exhibited. What ſeemed the vagary of an individual was in fact the logical concluſion forced on many minds.

Paſtors, Teachers, Biſhops, Elders, but Preachers of glad newes (*Evangeliſts*) *men ſent to convert and gather Churches,* (*Apoſtles,*) *&c.*

Secondly, yet the Examiner confeſſeth, that at the Paſtors *feeding his flock, and at the Prophets prophecying in the Church, an unbeliever coming in may be convinced, &c. but this is accidentall, &c.*

Thirdly, the Examiner acknowledgeth that it pleaſed God *to worke perſonall Repentance in the hearts of thouſands in* Germany, England, Low-Countries, France, Scotland, Ireland, &c. *Yea, and who knoweth but in* Italy, Spaine, *and* Rome, *alſo, &c. but all this hath been under the notion of Miniſters feeding their flocks,* [125] *not of Preachers ſent to convert the unconverted, and unbelieving.*

Reply. 1. Though I acknowledge the ordinary Miniſters of the Goſpel, to be Paſtors and Teachers: yet it is farre from me to thinke (howſoever the Examiner againſt my mind reporteth my mind otherwiſe) that they are not properly Preachers, to convert, beget, or make Diſciples, &c.

For firſt though the worke of ordinary Miniſters were not to convert, but to feed ſoules: yet their act of feeding is properly exerciſed by preaching the word. *Timothy* (as a Miniſter) is taught of *Paul* how to behave himſelfe in the houſe of God which is the Church of God, 1 *Tim.* 3. 15.

And this he gave him in charge (as one great part of his worke) to preach the word *in ſeaſon and out of ſeaſon,* 2 *Tim.* 4. 1, 2. Beſides they were neither Evangeliſts, nor Apoſtles, ſurely (for then they could not have been ſo miſcarried) but the ordinary Miniſters of the Goſpel, (Paſtors, and Teachers of Churches) of whom *Paul* ſpeaketh, (*Phil.* 1. 15, 16.) Some preach Chriſt faith he, even of envie, and ſtrife, and ſome of good will: The one preach Chriſt of contention not ſincerely: the other of Love.

Againe, *Paul* ſaith *the Lord hath ordained, that they who preach the Goſpel ſhould live of the Goſpel*, 1 *Cor.* 9. 14. Speaketh he that only of Apoſtles, and Evangeliſts onely, and not of ordinary Church-Officers? of all doubtleſſe, according to *Gal.* 6. 6.

Moreover, what are Preachers but publiſhers of the Goſpel, of glad tydings of the word of God? for ſo ſaith the Apoſtle, *preach the word*, 2 *Tim.* 4. 2. And what is preaching the word, but explication and application of it? and is not the explication and application of the word, as fit to feed ſoules, as to convert them?

Secondly, when he makes it to be not the proper worke *of Paſtors, and Teachers, to preach for converſion, but accidentall onely, and counteth and calleth it a moſt prepoſterous worke for ordinary Miniſters to preach for converſion, &c.*

He muſt needs give me leave to diſſent from him, my Reaſons be 1. from the inſtitution and worke of the Miniſtery to the worlds end, whereof one is, to make Diſciples, *Matth.* 28. 19, 20.

Say not, that is a peculiar Act of the Apoſtolick Office: for the Lord Jeſus ſpeaketh of three Acts: making Diſciples, Baptizing, [126] Teaching: and in the exerciſe of theſe he promiſeth to be with his Apoſtles, and their ſucceſſours unto the end of the world, *ver.* 20. Succeſſours I ſay, for the Apoſtles themſelves were not to continue themſelves in the exerciſe of thoſe Acts to the end of the world, in their owne perſons, but in their ſucceſſors, the ordinary Miniſters of the Goſpel.

Secondly, from the end why Chriſt gave Paſtors, and Teachers, as well as Apoſtles and Evangeliſts: which was for the worke of the Miniſtery, for the gathering together of the Saints, as well as for the building of them up to a perfect man, *Epheſ.* 4. 11, 12, 13.

Thirdly from the Eſtate of the Church, wherein it ſeldome or never falleth out, but ſome Hypocrites are found: and beſides them, many Infants, and theſe had need of converting Grace.

Fourthly, from the ordinary way of Converſion, which is by hearing the word, and the word preached by a Miniſter ſent, *Rom.* 10. 14. to 17. either therefore there muſt be no converſion of ſoules after the deceaſe of the Apoſtles and Evangeliſts: or thoſe who are to be converted, muſt be converted by private Chriſtians, or by the ordinary Miniſters of the Goſpel, the ſucceſſors of the Apoſtles; but ſurely not the firſt: for God will have in every age ſome or other converted to his Grace to praiſe his name throughout all Generations.

Not the ſecond: for they ſhall not be ordinarily converted by private Chriſtians, for the Apoſtle ſaith, *Faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by a Preacher, and him ſent.* Therefore the third way remaineth, that Faith is intended of God to be wrought from age to age by the ordinary Miniſtery of the Goſpel.

If the Converſion of ſoules were accidentall to the worke of the Miniſter, it were then *præter ſcopum efficientis*, beſides the intent of the worker. But it is neither beſide the intention of the principall worker, God (*for he worketh all things according to the Counſell of his owne will, Epheſ.* 1. 11.) nor beſides the intention of the Miniſter, for as hath been ſaid, it is one maine intent and end of his Office, to make Diſciples, and gather Saints; and *Solomon* maketh it an act of wiſdome, and therefore not an act of accidentall caſualty to winne ſoules, *Prov.* 11. 30.

If it be ſaid why are they called Paſtors, if they be alſo Fathers? Paſtors are for feeding, not for begetting.

127] *Anſw.* Paſtors are alſo Fathers: and though they be

called Paſtors, yet the ordinary Miniſters of the Goſpel have other Titles alſo, which imply more then feeding: as they are called Teachers, and Teachers of the ignorant, *Rom.* 2. 20. (to miniſter ſaving knowledge to them) as well as of men of underſtanding. And Elders in the greek Language have their name from Embaſſadors, *Πρεσβύτερος* an Elder, from *πρέσβυς* an Embaſſador, and it is one worke of heavenly Embaſſadors to beſeech men to be reconciled unto God, 2 *Cor.* 5. 20. yea and Paſtors themſelves (whoſe worke is properly to feed) their feeding is with the word of Life, which is able to quicken dead ſoules to life, as to nouriſh living ſoules to growth in Chriſt Jeſus. The whole worke of *Peters* Apoſtolicall calling was wrapped up in a Paſtorall name, and worke, *John* 21. 15, 16, 17.

Thoſe two Reaſons therefore are voyd of true and ſound reaſon, which moved the Examiner to enter upon this *paſſage*. *Firſt, becauſe* (ſaith he) *ſo many excellent and worthy perſons mainly preach for Converſion, and yet account themſelves fixed and conſtant Miniſters to particular Congregations, &c.*

Secondly, that in theſe great Earth-quakes of all Eſtates civill and ſpirituall, ſuch a Miniſtery might be ſought after, whoſe proper worke might be preaching for converting of ſoules to Chriſt.

For by that which hath been ſaid may plainely appeare that thoſe conſtant Miniſters who mainly preach for Converſion (ſo be it they attend, not to that onely, but to building up alſo) they doe herein attend to a proper worke of their calling: and now to looke for another new Miniſtry (ſay of Apoſtles or Evangeliſts) to attend converſion of ſoules onely, is to looke for a bleſſing which the Lord hath not promiſed: and beſides himſelfe hath ordained ſufficient ordinary meanes for that end, as hath been ſhewed both here, and in ſome former paſſages of this Treatiſe.

To Chap. XXVI.

IN this Chapter the Examiner falleth upon the ſecond part of diſcourſe, about Engliſh Preachers, to wit, about the lawfulneſſe of hearing of them, and though he ſaid before in the former [128] chapter, *he would not engage himſelfe in this Controverſie:* yet here he giveth a double Argument againſt it.

His firſt Argument is, from my teſtimony, which how much he weigheth, is better knowne to himſelfe then to me.

Mr. Cotton (ſaith he) *himſelfe maintaineth, that the diſpenſing of the word in a Church-ſtate, is Chriſts feeding of his flock,* Cant. 1. 8. *Chriſts kiſſing of his Spouſe,* Cant. 1. 2. *Chriſts embracing of his Spouſe in the marriage bed,* Cant. 1. 16. *Chriſts nurſing of his Children at his wives breaſts,* Cant. 4. *And is there no communion between the Shepheard and his ſheep? the Husband and the wife in chaſte kiſſes and embraces? the Mother and the child at the breaſts?*

Anſwer. 1. The diſpenſing of the word in a Church-State (that is by Church-Officers to Church-members, united together in Church-State) it is indeed an expreſſion of familiar and deare Communion between Chriſt and his Church, as between the husband and his ſpouſe, between the nurſing mother and the child, and between the ſhepheard and his flock: But ſuppoſe Pagans and Indians ſhould ordinarily frequent our Church-Aſſemblies (as they are wont to doe in hearing the word) doth he think, I would maintaine, that there is the like ſpirituall and familiar Communion between Chriſt, and them, as between Chriſt, and his Church?

Anſwer, 2. Beſides, the queſtion is not what communion Chriſt may have with a ſtranger in the hearing of the word in the Aſſembly of his Church: but what communion there is between the Officer of the Church, who preacheth the

word and the ſtranger. Chriſt out of his ſoveraigne grace may diſpenſe himſelfe to the ſtranger in what relation he pleaſeth; hee may make the word both as ſpirituall ſeed, and as food to him, and ſo may declare himſelf both a father, and a Paſtor, and husband, and a mother to him; and yet no ſuch Church-relation paſſe between the Church-Officer, and the ſtranger.

Anſwer. 3. Suppoſe there did grow ſome ſpirituall relation between the Church-Officer, and the ſtranger, (as God might ſo bleſſe his Miniſtery, as to make him a ſpirituall Father, and feeder to the ſtranger:) yet this Relation is not between the Preacher and the ſtranger in reſpect of his Office, but in reſpect of his gift, as I declared above.

129] The reaſon of the difference is evident:

1. Church-relation, between a Church-Officer, and Church member, is conſtant, and permanent, and not to be diſſolved, but by conſent of the Church: but this relation between the Preacher and ſtranger is tranſient, and the intercourſe of the exerciſe of their relation eaſily changeable, at the diſcretion of the ſtranger, without the conſent, or cognizance of the Church.

2. Church relation between an Officer and a member, carrieth on the duties of Church-worke between them unto full accompliſhment. If any offence grow between an Officer, and a member, the one hath power to deale with the other in a Church-way unto a perfect healing: but there is not the like power or liberty, either in preacher, or ſtranger, ſo to proceed one with another, in caſe of any ſuch offence.

The Examiners ſecond Argument is taken alſo from mine own confeſſion, as if there were no waighty Argument to be found in this caſe, but what might be gathered up from the weakneſſe, or unwarineſſe of my expreſſions. But thankes be

to God, that hath ſo guided my words, that no ſuch advantage can juſtly be taken from them, as to countenance ſo ungodly an error.

Mr. Cotton (ſaith he) *confeſſeth, that the fellowſhip in the Goſpel,* (Phil. 1. 5.) *is a fellowſhip or Communion in the Apoſtles doctrine, Community, breaking of bread, and prayer, in which the firſt Church continued,* Acts 2. 46. *All which overthroweth the doctrine of lawfull participation of the word and prayer in a Church-ſtate, where it is not lawfull to communicate, in the breaking of bread, or ſeales.*

Anſw. If this be all the Concluſion that he ſtriveth for, that participation of the word and prayer, is not lawfull in a Church-eſtate, where it is not lawfull to communicate in the ſeales, I ſhall never contend with him about it. I ſhould never thinke it lawfull there to enter into a Church-eſtate, where I thought it lawfull onely to partake in hearing, and prayer, and not in the ſeales alſo. But this is that I deny, A man to participate in a Church-eſtate, where he partaketh onely in hearing and prayer, before and after Sermon; and joyneth not with them, neither in their Covenant, nor in the ſeales of the Covenant.

130] To Chap. XXVII.

THe third part of the Examiners diſcourſe touching *Engliſh* Preachers, taketh up this 27 Chapter: and it is concerning the calling and commiſſion of the *Engliſh* Preachers.

Mr. Cotton *himſelfe* (ſaith he) *and others moſt eminent in* New-England, *have freely confeſt:*

Firſt, *That notwithſtanding their profeſſion of Miniſtery in* Old England: *yet in* New-England (*till they received a Call-*

ing from a particular Church) *that they were but private Chriſtians.*

Secondly, *That Chriſt Jeſus hath appointed no other Calling to the Miniſtery, but ſuch as they practiſe in* New-England, *and therefore conſequently, that all other, which is not from a particular Congregation of godly perſons, is none of Chriſts.*

As firſt, a Calling and Commiſſion from the Biſhops.

Secondly, *From a Pariſh of naturall and unregenerate perſons.*

Thirdly, *From ſome few godly perſons, yet remaining in Church-fellowſhip after the Pariſh way.*

Fourthly, *That eminent gifts and abilities are but qualifications fitting or preparing for a Call to an Office,* 1 Tim. 3. Tit. 1.

All which premiſes duly conſidered, he deſireth that M . Cotton, *and all that feare God, might try what will abide the fiery Triall in this particular, when the Lord Jeſus ſhall be revealed in flaming fire, &c.*

Reply. It is a weake cauſe that is maintained onely by the teſtimonies of adverſaries, and them either miſtaken or falſified.

It is in him either a miſtake, or a fraudulent expreſſion of our mindes, to ſay, *That notwithſtanding our former profeſſion of Miniſtery in* Old England, *yet* (*till we received a Calling from a particular Church*) *we were but private Chriſtians.*

This ſpeech may be ſo conceived, as if notwithſtanding our former profeſſion of Miniſtery in *Old England:* yet indeed we confeſt, our Miniſtery there was no Miniſtery: and this is a falſe expreſſion of our mindes.[103]

[103] Opinions reſpecting this queſtion were, however, far from being as harmonious as the language of Cotton would imply. Says Thomas Lechford, who took eſpecial pains to acquaint himſelf with the eccleſiaſtical theories prevailing in New England: "Some Miniſters have there heretofore, as I have heard, diſclaimed the power of their Miniſtry received in *England*, but others among

It may be alſo conceived, that we confeſt, we had no calling from a particular Church, till we came to *New-England.* And this is alſo a falſe expreſſion of our mindes likewiſe.

Or it may be conceived, that notwithſtanding our former profeſſion [131] and exerciſe of Miniſtery in *Old England:* yet being caſt out from thence by the uſurping power of the Prelacy, and diſmiſſed (though againſt their wills) by our Congregations, (ſave onely ſuch as came along with us) we looked at our ſelves as private members, and not Officers to any Church here, untill one or other Church might call us unto Office. This ſence of our profeſſion is true, but nothing availeable to the Examiners intendment.

Secondly, It is in him another miſtake, or elſe a fraudulent expreſſion of our mindes, when he ſaith, *Wee hold and freely confeſſe, that Chriſt Jeſus hath appointed no other Calling to the Miniſtery, but ſuch as we practiſe in* New-England*: And that any other Calling to the Miniſtery, which is not from a particular Congregation of godly perſons, is none of Chriſts.*

Though we doe beleeve and profeſſe the calling which we have received to the Miniſtery in *New-England,* to be of Chriſt: yet

1. It is an inſolent phraſe that ſavoureth of more arrogancy, then either we dare uſe, or allow in our ſelves or others, to ſeeme to make our calling to the Miniſtery in *New-England,* a Rule, and patterne, and precedent to all the Churches of Chriſt throughout the world. Did ever any man meete with ſuch an expreſſion in any of our writings? *That Chriſt*

them did not." See "Plain Dealing: or, Newes from New-England," in Maſs. Hiſt. Col., 3d Series, 3, 65. This tract was publiſhed in London, in 1642. Cotton ſays of it: "The Book is unfitly called plaine dealing, which (in reſpect of many paſſages in it) might rather be called falſe and fraudulent." Way of Cong. Churches Cleared, p. 71. It is evident, however, that conſiderable modification had taken place in the views expreſſed "by all," at the ordination of Wilſon, compare *ante,* page 77, note 45.

Jeſus hath appointed no other Calling to the Miniſtery, but ſuch as we practiſe in New-England? Such language doth neither become the lips of Mr. *Williams*, nor of any Miniſter in *New-England.*

2. Though we beleeve our calling to be of God, yet we doe neither beleeve nor profeſſe, that every difference from us which other Churches may uſe in the calling of their Miniſters, doth ſtraight way make their callings no callings, or no callings of Chriſt. Though it be our manner (and as wee beleeve according to the word) that every Church chooſeth and calleth their own Miniſters, and ordaineth them by the Presbytery of the ſame Church: yet if the Presbytery of other Churches commend a Miniſter to a vacant Church, and upon the acceptance of the Church, if the presbyters of thoſe Churches doe ordaine him with the conſent of the Church, we doe not profeſſe that this is no calling of Chriſt, or that theſe are no Miniſters of Chriſt. The free choice of the Church is preſerved (for ought we know) in their free acceptance of a Miniſter commended to them. And whether the Miniſter be [132] ordained by impoſition of hands, at all, or no, and if by impoſition of hands, by the hands of fellow-Elders of other Churches with the conſent of the Church: We neither put ſo much waight in ſuch a Rite, though Apoſtolicall; nor doe we ſo farre reſtraine the libertie of communion of Churches, that if they ſhall communicate ſuch entercourſe of Church-actions one to another, then all their callings and adminiſtrations to be of none effect. Wee are not ſo maſterly and peremptory in our apprehenſions: And yet (with ſubmiſſion) we conceive, the more plainly and exactly all Church-actions are carried on according to the letter of the rule, the more glory wee ſhall give unto the Lord Jeſus, and procure the more peace

to our Conſciences, and to our Churches, and reſerve more purity and power to all our Adminiſtrations.

3. Though we doe beleeve, and profeſſe, that a Church (by rule) ought to be a Congregation of godly perſons, or at leaſt of ſuch as profeſſe godlineſſe: yet if (through neglect of the power of doctrine) few godly perſons be left in a Congregation, & (through neglect of diſcipline) few of thoſe who profeſſe godlineſſe be found ſo blameleſſe, as the purity of the Sanctuary requireth: yet we doe not ſtraight way profeſſe that ſuch Congregations are no Churches, or that a Miniſtery choſen by ſuch a Congregation, are none of Chriſts.

It is true, Gods chiefeſt regard is of his choſen Saints, godly perſons. To them, and for them, he hath given Church-eſtate, Church-Covenant, and ſeales, Church-Officers, with all the power of the adminiſtrations of the holy things, the ordinances of Chriſt, *Epheſ.* 4. 11, 12, 13. But yet that his holy Saints might be preſerved, ἀμερίμνοι, without ſcruples and diſtracting perplexities in their Church-Communion, the Lord is pleaſed for their ſakes to tolerate much hypocriſie, and many aberrations in Church-matters, before he reject Churches as no Churches, Miniſtery as no Miniſtery of Chriſt, callings as no callings.

To ſpeake then a word to the inferences, which the Examiner gathereth from the two former miſtaken confeſſions of ours.

As, 1. *That a Calling or Commiſſion received from the Biſhops is none of Chriſts.*

Reply. 1. We doe not beleeve nor profeſſe, that the Miniſters of *England*, who received Ordination from the Biſhops, did receive [133] their calling from the Biſhops; their Epiſcopall ordination is no part of their vocation to the Miniſtery. Their vocation or calling is from Chriſt by the Elec-

tion or at leaſt acceptation of the Congregation: The ordination is onely *Adjunctum Conſummans* of the ſolemnity of their calling, as hath been ſhewed above.[104]

Reply. 2. Epiſcopall ordination, though it be an aberration from the inſtitution: yet we doe not conceive, that it maketh an abrogation of the calling of a Miniſter. Extrinſecall pollutions, though they defile the calling, yet they doe not deſtroy it.

His ſecond inference is; *That a Calling from a Pariſh of naturall and unregenerate perſons, is none of Chriſts.*

Reply. 1. It is an hard ſaying, to ſay that all of the Pariſh are naturall and unregenerate Perſons. Such as are ſwift to judge themſelves, are ſlow to judge others.

Reply. 2. Suppoſe they were all naturall and unregenerate perſons; yet they profeſſing Chriſtianitie, and meeting together every Lords day, for the worſhip of the Lord Jeſus, and deſiring to have a Miniſter to inſtruct them therein, their calling is not a nullitie. I cannot ſay, that the worſhippers of God at *Philippi*, (whereof *Lydia* was one) (who met together for prayer every Sabbath day) were any of them better then unregenerate perſons, before *Paul* and *Sylas* came

[104] See *ante*, p. 83. Compare alſo the Cambridge Platform, Chap. IX., Sect. 2. "This ordination we account nothing elſe but the ſolemn putting a man into his place and office in the church, whereunto he had a right before by election; being like the inſtalling of a magiſtrate in the Common-wealth, Ordination therefore is not to go before but to follow election. The eſſence and ſubſtance of the outward calling of an ordinary office in the church, does not conſiſt in his ordination, but in his voluntary and free election by the church, and his accepting of that election; whereupon is founded that relation between paſtor and flock, between ſuch a miniſter and ſuch a people. Ordination does not conſtitute an officer, nor give him the eſſentials of his office." The Cambridge Platform was "agreed upon by the Elders and Meſſengers of the Churches, aſſembled in the Synod, at Cambridge, the 8th Month, Anno 1649."

It is an inſtance of Cotton's fondneſs for ſpecial pleading that he thus ſtrangely claſſes the forced "acceptation" of the Engliſh pariſhes with the free "election" that prevailed in the New England churches.

amongſt them. And yet if a man of *Macedonia* come and call *Paul* and *Sylas*, to come and helpe them, they aſſuredly gather, that the Lord had called them to preach the Goſpel to them, *Acts* 16. 9, 10.

His third inference is; *That a Calling from ſome few godly perſons, yet remaining in Church fellowſhip after the Pariſh way, is not of Chriſt.*

Reply. Then it would follow, that a remnant of godly perſons is not ſufficient to conſtitute and denominate a Church, if the greater part be corrupt and uncleane. But the Prophet *Iſaiah* was of another minde, and hath taught us by the Holy Ghoſt to judge otherwiſe: *Except* (ſaith he, *Iſai.* 1. 9.) *the Lord of Hoſts had left us a very ſmall Remnant, wee ſhould have been as Sodom, wee ſhould have been like unto Gomorrah*; In his judgement, it is not a multitude of hypocrites and prophane perſons, that maketh a Church (where a remnant of godly perſons are found) to become as *Sodom* or *Gomorrah:* But it is a remnant, a very ſmall remnant, that preſerve the Church from becoming as *Sodom*, or *Gomorrah.*

134] His fourth and laſt inference is; *That eminent gifts and abilities, are but qualifications fitting and preparing for a Call, or Office, according to* 1 Tim. 3. Tit. 1.

Reply. We readily acknowledge it: but yet if a few godly perſons ſhall call for the employment of theſe gifts to their ſpirituall edification: The men who are qualified with theſe gifts, are not onely fitted and prepared for a call, or office, but actually called unto office; at leaſt, to preach the word unto them, though not to adminiſter the Covenant, or ſeales of the Covenant, but onely to them and their ſeed, who yeeld profeſſed ſubjection to the Goſpel of Chriſt Jeſus. If any through ignorance or infirmitie proceed further in their adminiſtrations, I doe beleeve the repentance of the Miniſ-

ters, (for ſinnes knowne and ſecret) and the faith of the godly party, is more able to ſanctifie the corrupt and uncleane ſort to their Communion; then the corruption of the uncleane ſort is able to corrupt the Miniſter, and Worſhip, and Church-eſtate of all.

To Chap. XXVIII.

IN this laſt Chapter of his, though he doe repeate ſome paſſages of the cloſe of my Letter; yet I doe not diſcerne how his Anſwer is fitted at all to thoſe paſſages. Nevertheleſſe, becauſe he is pleaſed to gather from thoſe paſſages, *That I have not duly conſidered ſundry particulars:* I am willing to take up the conſideration of them, for a Concluſion: The firſt particular is, *The neceſſitie of Separation between the garden of the Church, and the wilderneſſe of the world: As the Church of the* Jewes *under the old Teſtament was ſeparate from the world; ſo ought the Church of the New Teſtament to be.*

Reply. 1. Of this particular I have conſidered, not in a confuſed generalitie (as he delivereth it) but in a diſtinct apprehenſion, thus; The world is taken in Scripture more wayes then one, and ſo is ſeparation: The world is taken ſometimes for the frame of heaven and earth, and all the hoſts of them, man and beaſt, &c. as when God is ſaid to *have made the world*, Act. 17. 24. Sometimes for the ſtate of the world; as when Chriſt is ſaid to *have redeemed us from this preſent evill world*, Gal. 1. 4. Sometimes for the Civill 135] Government of this world; as when the Apoſtle exhorteth the *Romans*, not to conforme their Church-bodies according to the platforme of the Romane Monarchy, into Oecumenicall, Nationall, Provinciall, Dioceſan Bodies, *Rom.* 12.

2. Sometime for the wicked of the world; as when it is ſaid, *The world loveth his own*, Joh. 15. 19. *And the whole world lyeth in wickedneſſe*, 1 Joh. 5. 19. Sometimes likewiſe, for the corruption that is in the world, 2 *Pet.* 1. 4. *The luſts of the world*, 1 Joh. 2. 16.

In like manner, there be more wayes of Separation then one; As, firſt, there is a ſeparation in affection, *Love not the world*, 1 Joh. 2. 16. Jam. 4. 4. Secondly, there is a ſeparation in habitation, which is part of the meaning of *Iſai.* 52. 11. *Revel.* 18. 4. Thirdly, there is a ſeparation of Communion, 2 *Cor.* 6. 14. to 17th. Beſides, there be diverſities likewiſe of Communion: for there is a Civill Communion; and there is a religious Communion. And of either ſort, there is a confederate Communion: And there is a Communion without confederacy: And of confederate Communion, there is a confederacy in matters of common civilitie; and there is a confederacy in matters of more intimate friendſhip, ſocietie, and familiaritie.

To apply theſe different conſiderations of the world, and of Separations, according to the due and right apprehenſion thereof in the word of truth.

Firſt, It is lawfull to have civill peace, and loving correſpondency with neighbours in the world, yea even with Idolaters, and Infidels, ſo as not onely to trade with them, but to feaſt with them, yea and to ſuccour them in their diſtreſſes, *Rom.* 12. 18. 1 *Cor.* 10. 27. *Luk.* 10. 34.

Secondly, It is lawfull to make leagues of peace with all men in the world, (even with Idolaters and Infidels) to wit, for free commerce, for trade, and inoffenſive neighbourhood, *Gen.* 31. 44. to 53. *Judg.* 4. 17.

Thirdly, It is lawfull for the Subjects of the ſame State, to enter into confederacy amongſt themſelves, and with their

Princes, to ſubmit to the ſame Civill Government, and Lawes, and to aſſiſt one another in mutuall defence againſt a common enemy, 2 *Sam.* 5. 3. *Eccleſ.* 8. 3.

But on the other ſide, this conſideration I have had of Separation [136] from the world: which the Examiner may conſider, whether it be due or no.

Firſt, That from the world (as taken for the creatures of the world) we are to ſeparate in affection, to wit, from the inordinate love thereof, *Jam.* 4. 4.

Secondly, From the world, as taken for the carnall malignant eſtate of it, we are to ſeparate both in our affection, and in our converſation, *Gal.* 1. 4. *Phil.* 3. 20.

Thirdly, From the world, as taken for the Civill Government of it, we are to ſeparate our Church-bodies, and the government thereof in frame and conſtitution, *Rom.* 12. 1, 2.

Fourthly, From the world, as taken for the Cities and Countreys thereof, which are fit to pollute us with their prevalent pollutions, we are to ſeparate in our habitations; which is part of the meaning of *Iſai.* 52. 11. *Rev.* 18. 4.

Fiftly, From the world, as taken for the corruptions and luſts thereof, their evill examples, corrupt worſhip, Idolatries, ſuperſtitions, vaine faſhions, and the worldly perſons addicted to theſe things, we are to ſeparate, both in affection, and in Communion, whether we ſpeake of religious Communion, or of Civill Confederate Communion in matters of intimate friendſhip, ſociety, and familiaritie. As we may not partake in Idolatrous feaſts, or worſhip, nor enter into marriage-Covenant with Idolaters, 2 *Cor.* 6. 14. to 17. Nor may we confederate with them in leagues of amitie, to have friends and enemies in common, 1 *Kings* 20. 4. nor to have partnerſhip in trade and commerce, 2 *Chron.* 20. 35, 36, 37.

Sixtly, There is yet another ſeparation whereby the Church

and people of God, doe ſeparate from the ſcandalous offenders of their own body, 2 *Theſ.* 3. 6. 1 *Cor.* 5. 11. This, though it be in a ſpeciall manner aymed at here by the Examiner, yet is it by him moſt improperly and confuſedly called ſeparation from the world. The Apoſtle doth moſt expreſly contradiſtinguiſh theſe, the one from the other: *I wrote unto you* (ſaith he) *in an Epiſtle, not to company with fornicators: yet not altogether with the fornicators of this world, or with the covetous, or extortioners, or with Idolaters, for then muſt yee needs goe out of the world. But if any man that is called a brother, be a fornicator, or covetous, or an Idolater, with ſuch an one, no not to eate,* 1 Cor. 5. 9, 10, 11. As who ſhould ſay, a fornicator or Idolatrous [137] brother of the Church is one thing; a fornicator and Idolater of the world is another, from a fornicator or Idolatrous brother, you are to be ſeparate: from a fornicator or Idolater of the world, in ſome kinde you need not to ſeparate; In as much therefore as the Churches of *England* doe not ſeparate ſundry notorious ſcandalous perſons from their Church-Communion, though it be a leavening corruption: yet their ſinne is not want of Separation from the world, but want of purification of the Church. In the meane time, they are ſeparated from the world of Pagans, and Infidels, as the Church of *Iſrael* notwithſtanding their toleration of all ſorts of offenders, Idolaters, murderers, adulterers, they were yet ſeparated from Pagans by profeſſion of a different Religion, and the ordinances thereof.

The ſecond particular which the Examiner ſaith M^r^. *Cotton* hath not duely conſidered, is, *That all the grounds and principles leading to oppoſe Biſhops, Ceremonies, Common-Prayer, proſtitution, of the Ordinances of Chriſt to the ungodly, and the true practiſe of Chriſts own Ordinances, doe neceſſarily conclude*

a ſeparation of holy from unholy, penitent from impenitent, godly from ungodly. And that to frame any other building upon ſuch grounds and foundations, is no other then to raiſe the forme of a ſquare houſe upon the keele of a Ship, which will never prove a ſoule-ſaving true Arke or Church of Chriſt Jeſus according to the patterne.

Reply. I cannot acknowledge what he ſaith, *that I have not duely conſidered, that all the grounds and principles leading to oppoſe Biſhops, and Ceremonies, &c. doe neceſſarily conclude a ſeparation of holy from unholy, &c.* For I have conſidered, and well weighed (after my ſlender meaſure) that they doe indeed conclude a three-fold ſeparation of holy from unholy.

1. Doctrinall, that the Miniſter of Chriſt, whileſt he liveth amongſt ſuch diſſolute and ſcandalous perſons, he is to ſeparate them in the application of his doctrine, between the holy and unholy, between the precious and the vile: ſo as to make ſad the hearts of the wicked, whom God would have to be made ſad, and to ſtrengthen the heart and hands of the righteous, whom God would have to be comforted.

Secondly, A practicall ſeparation in a mans own perſon, that what a man findeth upon thoſe grounds and principles to be [138] unwarrantable and ſinfull, he doe forbeare the ſame in his own practiſe, and diſſwade others from the ſame by his doctrine and example.

Thirdly, An Eccleſiaſticall ſeparation, that when a man cannot continue in fellowſhip with ſuch a Church, but that he ſhall be compelled to the practiſe of ſome ſinne, or of neceſſitie to communicate with the ſinnes of others, then (after all good means uſed, in vaine, to redreſſe thoſe evils) meekly to ſeparate and withdraw himſelfe from fellowſhip with them in Church-Communion, as one that cannot enjoy

the good which is found amongſt them, without partaking in ſundry evils that cleave to them.

Thus farre I have conſidered the grounds and Principles of Reformation, (of which the Examiner ſpeaketh) and doe finde that they doe neceſſarily conclude, a ſeparation of holy from unholy thus farre. But I confeſſe, I have not conſidered, nor can I finde out, by any further due conſideration, that the principles and grounds of Reformation doe neceſſarily conclude a ſeparation from the *Engliſh* Churches, as falſe Churches, from their Miniſtery, as a falſe Miniſtery, from their worſhip as a falſe worſhip, from all their profeſſors, as from no viſible Saints. Nor can I finde, that they doe either neceſſarily or probably conclude, a ſeparation from hearing the word preached by godly Miniſters in the Pariſh-Churches in *England:* Nor can I finde, that the building of our Churches in theſe ends of the world, *is the raiſing up of a ſquare houſe upon the keele of a Ship*, unleſſe it be the Arke of *Noah:* for as the ſoules in the Arke were ſaved from water; ſo we finde by experience, and good evidence from the word, that the Lord bleſſeth our Church-Communion and adminiſtrations with ſoule-ſaving efficacy, through his grace in Chriſt.

Thirdly, The third particular, which the Examiner ſaith, I have not duely conſidered, is, *The multitudes of holy and faithfull men and women, who have witneſſed this truth from Queene* Maries *dayes, by writing, diſputing, and ſuffering, farre above what the Non-conformiſts have done, &c.*

Reply. This particular hath been conſidered above in Anſwer to Chapter 23.

Fourthly, The fourth particular, which he deſireth might be better conſidered, *Is our own practiſe, and profeſſion. Our practiſe, in* [139] *conſtituting our Churches of none but godly*

perſons, and uniting them into a body by voluntary mutuall Covenant, and adding none to them, but perſons carefully examined and approved, and entering by way of confeſſion, both of their ſinnes, and of their faith. Our practiſe alſo, in ſuppreſſing other Engliſh, *who have attempted to ſet up a Congregation in a Pariſhionall way. Our profeſſion in the late Anſwer we gave to many worthy perſons, (whom yet we account godly Miniſters and people) that we could not permit them to live in the ſame Common-wealth together with us, if they ſhould ſet up any other Church and Worſhip, then what our ſelves practiſe.*

Reply. 1. Our practiſe in the conſtituting and ordering our own Churches here, holdeth forth, what matter, and forme, and order of the Church, we doe beleeve to be moſt agreeable to the patterne ſet before us in the Goſpel of Chriſt. And our not receiving all commers unto the Communion of the Lords Table, and other parts of Church-fellowſhip, (ſaving onely, unto the publick hearing of the Word, and preſence at other duties) it argueth indeed, that ſuch perſons, either thinke themſelves unfit materialls for Church-fellowſhip, (and ſo they never offer themſelves to us) or elſe that we our ſelves conceive them to be as ſtones ſtanding in need of a little more hewing and ſquaring, before they be layd, as living ſtones in the walls of the Lords houſe. All which amounteth onely to this, That we doe conſider and bewaile the defects of the Churches of *England*, in receiving ignorant and ſcandalous perſons to all the liberties of the Lords Table, and of his houſe, as other wayes. But it doth not at all argue (neither is it our minde it ſhould argue) their Churches, and worſhip, and Miniſtery, and members, ſhould all of them be ſeparated from as falſe, or none at all.[105]

[105] "The Queſtion of Seperation, is a diſtinct Queſtion from this in hand: every delinquencie in a Church, (whether Officers, or Members, or both) doth not forthwith put upon us a neceſſity of Seperation, *Omnia prius tentanda:* neceſſity

Our practiſe in ſuppreſſing ſuch as have attempted to ſet up a Pariſhionall way, I never heard of ſuch a thing here to this day.[106] And if any ſuch thing were done, before my coming into the Countrey, I do not thinke it was done by forcible compulſion, but by rationall conviction.

But as for our profeſſion, that wee ſhould *anſwer many worthy Miniſters and people in* England, *that wee could not permit them to live in the ſame Common-wealth with us, if they varied from us.*

I have cleared it above (in Anſwer to Chapt. 11.) to be a notorious [140] falſhood: and but that I know the Devill is able to create ſlander of nothing, (as God is able to create truths of nothing) I ſhould thinke it incredible, that any man who hath been in *New-England* ſhould be able to ſay, (as the Examiner here doth) *that we perſecute the Pariſhes in* New-England, *and yet frequent the Pariſhes in* Old England.

Fiftly, The fift particular which he thinks I have not duely conſidered is, *That in the Pariſhes* (*which M^r.* Cotton *holdeth*

of Seperation is thē laſt remedy of groſſe and notorious ſcandals, after all good meanes, ſtill remaining incurable. Nevertheleſſe there may be a lawful expediencie of remooving from a more impure Church, to a more pure, without the neceſſity of ſeperation, as hath been opened above, in clearing the ſtate of the Queſtion in hand with Mr. *Rutterford.*" Cotton's Holineſſe of Church-members, p. 40.

[106] Williams doubtleſs had in mind the well known caſe of the Brownes, at Salem, with the particulars of which he muſt, from his reſidence there, have been familiar. See Morton's Memorial, page 148. The Brownes were baniſhed in 1629. It is poſſible that Cotton, coming to New England as he did in 1633, had never heard of this tranſaction; but it is unaccountable how one ſo prominent as an adviſer of the magiſtrates ſhould have been ſo ignorant of the ſettled policy of the Maſſachuſetts colony, eſpecially as twice already, in this very Reply, he has alluded to the apprehenſion felt for "Epiſcopall and malignant practiſes." See *ante*, pp. 4 and 28. Johnſon, in his "Wonder-working Providence," claſſes with Arians, Gortoniſts, Antinomians, Arminians, and Familiſts, the "*Conformitants* or *Formaliſts*, who being in a forme of worſhip of their owne, and joyne it with the worſhip God hath appointed in his Word." p. 24. This no doubt expreſſes the feeling with which any attempt "to ſet up a Pariſhionall way," would have been regarded.

but inventions of men) *how ever they would have liberty to frequent the worſhip of the Word, yet they ſeparate from the Sacraments: And yet* (*according to our own Principles*) *there is as true Communion in the miniſtration of the Word, as in the Seales. What myſtery* (ſaith he) *ſhould be in this, but that here,* (*to wit, in* Old England) *the Croſſe of Chriſt may be avoyded, if perſons come to Church?*

Reply. 1. It is an untruth, that M^r^. *Cotton* holdeth the Pariſhes to be but inventions of men; for though I hold, that the receiving of all the Inhabitants in the Pariſh, into the full fellowſhip of the Church, and the admitting of them all unto the liberty of all the Ordinances, is an humane corruption, (and ſo if he will, an humane invention;) yet I doe not hold, nor ever did, that their Pariſhes were onely an humane invention. For I beleeve, the Lord Jeſus hath the truth of his Churches, and Miniſtery, and worſhip in them, notwithſtanding the inventions of men ſuperadded to them.

Reply. 2. Though I doe beleeve, there *is as true Communion in the miniſtration of the Word in a Church-eſtate* (*to wit, to ſuch as are in Church-eſtate*) *with the Miniſter of the Word, as in the Seales.* Yet it is farre from me to hold, and from any principle of mine to inferre, that there is as true Communion in the miniſtration of the Word to every hearer, as in the Seales; for then we might as eaſily admit our *Indians* to the Seales, as we doe admit them daily to the miniſtration of the Word.

Reply. 3. It is a malignant and Satanicall miſconſtruction of the intentions of ſuch godly perſons, who (out of ſincere affection to ſpirituall growth) doe heare the Miniſtry of the Word from godly Preachers in *England*, to accuſe them before God, and Angels, and men, that they doe it to avoyd

the Croſſe of Chriſt, (to wit, perſecution) which may be avoyded in a great meaſure, if perſons come to Church.

141] It is well knowne, that ſundry of them are ſo ſincere and conſtant in their profeſſion, that as they have ſuffered much for the cauſe of Chriſt, againſt humane corruptions in Gods worſhip: ſo they would be ready to ſuffer yet more, for neglecting to come to Church, if they ſuſpected any humane corruption at all in it.

Againe, It is well knowne, that any ſtranger in *London*, (by removing now and then his lodging) may eſcape not onely perſecution, but obſervation, for a longer time, then any of our hearers are ordinarily wont to ſojourne there: Beſides, in this time of univerſall freedome from all perſecution during this long Parliament, why doe not our members of theſe Churches forbeare to heare the Word in the Pariſhes now, when there is no feare nor danger at all of perſecution, for not coming to Church?

His ſixt and laſt particular conſideration is, *That how ever M^r.* Cotton *ſaith, He hath not found ſuch preſence of Chriſt and evidence of the Spirit in ſuch (ſeparate) Churches, as in the Pariſhes: What ſhould be the reaſon of their great rejoycings and boaſtings of their own ſeparations in* New-England, *in ſo much, that ſome of the moſt eminent amongst them have affirmed, that even the Apoſtles Churches were not ſo pure? Surely if the ſame new* Engliſh *Churches were in* Old England, *they could not meete in* Old England *without perſecution: which therefore in* Old England *they avoyde, by frequenting the way of Church-worſhip in the Pariſhes, which in* New-England *they perſecute.*

Reply. 1. The Examiner might eaſily have ſatisfied himſelfe in this conſideration, if he had been willing to underſtand that which he knoweth to be our meaning. He knoweth very well, and hath often told us of it before, that we our

ſelves in our Churches doe practiſe ſome kinde of ſeparation here, to wit, ſeparation, not from the Churches in *Old England*, as no Churches, but from ſome corruptions found in them. In ſuch Churches as ſo ſeparate, wee never ſpeake of them, that we had not found the preſence of Chriſt, or evidence of the Spirit in ſuch Churches. But I ſpeake of ſuch rigid Separatiſts Churches, as renounce the Churches, and Miniſtery, and worſhip, and Saints of *England*, as if they were all falſe, or none at all, and therefore utterly doe refuſe to heare the word in their Aſſemblies, which is ſuch a way of ſeparation, as I told him in my Letter, *the Lord Jeſus never delivered, nor any of his Apoſtles after him, nor any of his Prophets before him.* Of which he taketh no [142] notice, nor giveth any ground either from Chriſt, or his Apoſtles, or Prophets, for ſuch practiſe; but putteth us off, that we practiſe ſeparation our ſelves, and rejoyce therein, as if our ſeparation and theirs were both of one nature, and meaſure: which indeed differ as much (as I ſaid before) as Chirurgery, and Butchery.

Reply. 2. When he telleth us, *We boaſt of our ſeparations in* New-England, *yea ſo farre, as that ſome of our moſt eminent have ſaid, that even the Apoſtles Churches were not ſo pure.*

I muſt needs profeſſe, I never heard, nor read of ſuch a ſpeech, but onely in this Examiners Booke. The ſpeech it ſelfe ſavoureth, I know not whether of more ignorance, or arrogancy, or blaſphemy. The broadeſt ſpeech in this kinde, that ever I heard to fall from the lips of any in this Countrey, was that of M^r^. *Williams* himſelfe, who whileſt he lived at *Salem* (as I am credibly informed) would ſay, *That of all the Churches of Chriſt in the world, the new* Engliſh *were the moſt pure, and of all the new* Engliſh, *the Church of* Salem. I am ſo well acquainted with the liberty and boldneſſe of the Examiners tongue in calumniations, that untill I know the

name of that eminent perſon, whom he reproacheth to have ſo ſpoken, he muſt give me leave to feare, either a miſtake, or that which is worſe.[107]

Reply. 3. It is a double calumny, (but ſuitable to many other of the former) *that wee in* New-England *doe perſecute the way of ſeparation, whether the one kinde of ſeparation, or the other.* It is true of neither, for we practiſe the one, and tolerate the other.

And againe, *that we frequent the Pariſh-Churches in* Old England, *to avoyd perſecution.*

Unleſſe mens tongues were their own, I wonder, how they can allow themſelves to ſpeake ſo exceſſively at random.

Theſe his ſix Conſiderations, having ſo little conſiderable truth, or waight in them, I juſtly ſaid, *That he in withdrawing the people of God from hearing the voyce of Chriſt in ſo many Congregations, both in* New-England, *and in Old, did not helpe Jehovah againſt the mighty, but Satan againſt Jehovah, and againſt the mighty Ordinances of his Word, and Miniſtry.*

But he anſwereth, that *he helpeth the zealous ſoules of the Separation, and he helpeth us to ſeeke the Lord Jeſus without halting.*

How he helpeth them I know not, unleſſe it be by depriving [143] them of many precious meanes of grace, which

[107] In reply to Baylie, who had quoted in his "Diſſuaſive" the ſtatement of Williams, Cotton ſays: "Beſides, Mr. *Williams* doth not aſcribe theſe words to any definite perſons in *New-England.* And, as I ſaid before, Apocrypha teſtimonies will never goe with equall mindes for authenticall evidences. It is no new thing for Mr. *Williams* to miſtake both himſelf and others, as hath appeared in the Reply both to his examination of that Letter, and to his *Bloody Tenent.* I never heard of any mans ſpeech in *New-England* ſo hyperbolicall in the praiſe of *New-Engliſh* Churches, nor coming nearer to the words in hand, that the words reported of Mr. *Williams* himſelf: *That of all the Churches in the world, the Churches of* New-England *were the moſt pure; and of all the* New-Engliſh *Churches, Salem* (whereof himſelf was Teacher) *was the pureſt.* But ſuch arrogant compariſons are as ſmoke in Gods noſtrils, *Eſay,* 65, 5. the firſt born of vanity, and the firſt ſtep to apoſtaſie." Way of Cong. Churches Cleared, p. 28.

they might enjoy by hearing the Word in either *England:* or unleſſe by his own example he now helpe them, *Proficere in peius*, to ſeparate further from all inſtituted worſhip of the Lord, to caſt off their own Churches, Miniſtery, Worſhip, as they have caſt off others before, that ſo they might ſeeke (for that which will never be found under the Sunne) new Apoſtles to make all things new. And as little doe I know, how he helpeth us to ſeeke the Lord Jeſus without halting, unleſſe it be to ſeeke him, as he himſelfe doth without Church-Ordinances.[108]

For the Concluſion of his Booke, he is willing to take up the concluſion of my Letter; *That whoſoever will not kiſſe the Sunne*, (that is, will not heare and embrace the words of his mouth) *ſhall periſh in their way*, Pſal. 2. 12.

This word is eſtabliſhed in heaven, and will take place in the earth throughout all generations.

But leaſt this word might profit himſelfe, (as ſelfe-love is apt to apply a word of threatening to any rather then to it ſelfe) he applieth it to M^r^. *Cotton*, and *to every ſoule*, (to whom theſe lines of his may come) *ſeriouſly to conſider, in this Controverſie, if the Lord Jeſus were himſelfe in perſon in Old, or* New-England, *what Church, what Miniſtery, what Worſhip,*

[108] Compare *ante*, page 45, note 21. The following paſſage, from a later treatiſe of Williams, will, perhaps, put his views in a clearer light: "Eightly, In the diſcourſe it will appear, how greatly ſome miſtake, which ſay I declaime againſt all Miniſtries, all Churches, all Ordinances; for I profeſſedly avow and maintain, that ſince the Apoſtaſie, and the interrupting of the firſt miniſtry and order, God hath graciouſly and immediately ſtirred up and ſent forth the miniſtrie of his Prophets, who during all the raigne of Antichriſt, have here propheſied in ſackcloth, and the ſaints and people of God have more or leſs gathered to and aſſembled with them: they have praid and faſted together, and exhorted and comforted each other, and ſo de, notwithſtanding that ſome are not perſuaded and ſatisfied, (as others conceive themſelves to be) as teaching the doctrines of Baptiſmes, and laying on of hands." See "The Hireling Miniſtry None of Chriſts;" The Epiſtle Dedicatory, p. 5.

what Government he would ſet up, and what perſecution he would practiſe toward them that would not receive him.

For Anſwer, let me ſay in a word, this point hath been ſeriouſly conſidered already: and let it be ſtill conſidered and pondered in the Ballance of the Sanctuary, and doubtleſſe, for the firſt of theſe points, it will be found, that if the Lord Jeſus were here himſelfe in perſon, he would ſet up no other Church, nor Miniſtery, nor worſhip, nor government, then what himſelfe hath appointed in his Word: which though the Examiner, and many others, have ſought and ſearched what enormities they might finde in it, yet they have wearied themſelves, and found nothing. So true is the faithfull promiſe of the Lord Jeſus, that he hath built his Church upon a Rock, and the gates of Hell ſhall not prevaile againſt it, nor againſt the Ordinances thereof.

And for the latter point; *What perſecution the Lord Jeſus if he were on earth, would practiſe againſt thoſe who would not receive him.*

144] The Anſwer is neere at hand, and is written for the warning of all gain-ſayers; *Thoſe mine enemies which would not that I ſhould reigne over them, bring them hither, and ſlay them before my face, Luk.* 19. 27. . And yet I would not be ſo underſtood (in alledging this Scripture) as if Chriſt did allow his Vicegerents to practiſe all, that himſelfe would practiſe in his own perſon. For not all the practiſes, or acts of Chriſt, (as the Examiner ſeemeth to intimate) but the Lawes of Chriſt, are the Rules of mans Adminiſtrations. But of that more diſtinctly in due time, if the Lord ſhall give libertie to enquire further into the Examiners *Bloudy Tenent.*

To the Lord Jeſus, be the kingdome, power, and glory.

Amen.

APPENDIX.

In adopting September third as the correct date of the Decree of Baniſhment pronounced againſt Roger Williams (ſee page 8, note 4, and page 30, note 13,) I followed, with Mr. Palfrey, the marginal date as given in the "Records of the Governor and Company of the Maſſachuſetts Bay in New England," publiſhed with official ſanction, in the year 1853, under the editorial ſupervision of Dr. N. B. Shurtleff. Since the labors of the Editor ſeemed to be limited to the determination of theſe dates I did not allow myſelf to queſtion their entire correctneſs. A ſubſequent perſonal inſpection of the original records, preſerved in the State Houſe at Boſton, has led me to a different concluſion, the grounds of which I will briefly indicate.

The Colonial Records of Maſſachuſetts are contained in five folio volumes, the firſt of which includes the proçeedings of the Company previous to the removal of the letters patent to America, and alſo the Minutes of the ſucceſſive Courts from Auguſt 23, 1630, to December 10, 1641. This volume, though defaced in places, in the main is perfectly well preſerved, and exhibits the diſtinctly marked chirography of four ſucceſſive Secretaries, John Waſhburne, William Burgis, Simon Bradſtreete, and Increaſe Newell.

It was the practice of each of them, in entering the minutes of a Court, to begin with a full ſtatement of the place, and date, of meeting, and a roll of the magiſtrates and deputies preſent. But in caſe of an adjournment of the Court, the vote of adjournment was ſimply entered, the minutes of the adjourned meeting following directly after, the change of time being indicated by the inſertion of a new date in the body of the record. Thus, for example, the General Court which met May 6, 1635, was twice adjourned, the fact being indicated in the record by the ſucceſſive entries, "The Court is adiourned till the firſt Wedneſday in June," and "The Court is adiourned till the firſt Wedneſday in July nexte." In each of theſe caſes the new date is inſerted in the body of the record, and is correctly noted by the Editor in the margin. From repeated inſtances of this kind, occurring in the records, the the inference is inevitable that wherever a vote of adjournment is entered, an adjournment actually took place, and that all entries which follow ſuch a vote muſt be regarded as minutes of the proceedings of ſuch adjourned meeting.

It was alſo the practice to add, from time to time, a marginal ſynopſis of the more important matters embraced in the minutes of ſucceſſive Courts, with the obvious deſign of facilitating reference. This marginal ſynopſis the Editor has printed, but reſpecting it he remarks, in his Preface, "The writing in the margin of theſe volumes is by many different perſons, chiefly by Secretary Rawſon,

whoſe entries are far from being what they ſhould have been. Many entries are by modern hands, who, with a miſtaken idea that they were making the ancient marginal writing more intelligible, have made numerous repetitions." The Editor further ſtates that "all intended obliterations have been omitted in the printed copy." A too indiſcriminate obſervance of this latter rule ſeems to have been the cauſe of the error under conſideration.

The Minutes of the Court which decreed the ſentence of Baniſhment, are in the ſtrongly marked handwriting of Secretary Bradſtreet. The record begins in the uſual form, "Att the Gen^rall Court, holden att Newe Towne, Sept^r 2, 1635," with the roll of thoſe preſent, and after reciting a few items of buſineſs, the entry is made, "The Court is adiorned till 8 aclocke to morrowe," and in accordance with this the marginal date, placed by the Editor oppoſite the next entry, changes from Sept. 2, to Sept. 3. But for ſome unaccountable reaſon this ſecond date, Sept. 3, is repeated in the margin throughout the remainder of the record, notwithſtanding the fact, which ſeems to have eſcaped the notice of the Editor, that at the bottom of page 161 of the original a ſecond vote of adjournment is recorded. The record reads, "The Court is adiorned to the Thurſday after the nexte pti'cul^r Court." The next particular, or Quarter Court, which conſiſted of the magiſtrates alone, met at Newe Towne, October 6, 1635, which that year fell on Tueſday. The Thurſday following would give us October 8th as the day to which the General Court ſtood adjourned. It is true that the new date is not inſerted as uſual in the body of the record, but now comes the important fact which I diſcovered by an inſpection of the original record, but of which the printed volume contains no evidence. As if to remedy the inadvertent omiſſion of the date there is inſerted in the margin, in the handwriting of Secretary Bradſtreet, the correct date, "Octob^r 8th." A later pen, from a compariſon of ink evidently that of Secretary Rawſon, has drawn a line of eraſure acroſs this marginal entry, without, however, rendering it in the leaſt degree illegible. Deferring to the authority of Rawſon, whoſe reaſons for making this "obliteration" do not appear, the Editor, in the printed record, has taken no notice of this date, although following as it does the vote of adjournment, and written as it is by the ſame hand, it is difficult to ſee why it ſhould not be regarded as part of the original minute. After the remark, already quoted from the Preface, that Secretary Rawſon's entries "are far from being what they ſhould have been," it is ſomewhat ſurpriſing that in this particular caſe, and in the face of ſo much evidence the other way, the Editor ſhould have adopted his emendation.

In view of all theſe facts I ſubmit that there is every reaſon to accept as correct the ſtatement of Governor Winthrop, in his Journal, that the ſentence of baniſhment againſt Williams was paſſed in the month of October. Hitherto this ſtatement has ſeemed irreconcilable with the record, but if we accept as correct the date given by Secretary Bradſtreet, what ſeemed an error on the part of Winthrop, becomes a moſt convincing corroboration. The only circumſtance in the account of Winthrop that conflicts with this view is that he ſpeaks of the ſentence as having been paſſed

"the next morning," after Williams appeared before the court, while the record makes no mention of any further adjournment. But as Winthrop, from the fact that he omits the day of the month, and moreover inſerts the account in his Journal after having already made an entry in November, evidently wrote it ſometime after the event and from memory, it is not impoſſible that he may have confounded this meeting of the Court with the earlier meetings in September, or it may be that a preliminary hearing was granted Williams, before the magiſtrates, of which, ſince it involved no action, no mention was made in the record; or, again, which ſeems moſt probable, Winthrop may mean, not that the vote of baniſhment was paſſed the next morning, but that the next morning it was officially announced to Williams. Hence the expreſſion uſed by Winthrop, "Sentenced him to depart."

For the aſſertion of Mr. Knowles, which has been repeated by all the biographers of Williams, that the Colonial Records give the date of baniſhment as November third, there is no ſupport whatever. The Court which met Nov. 3, was the Quarter Court, and in minutes of its proceedings there is not the ſlighteſt alluſion to Roger Williams, nor to any thing connected with him. The aſſertion is the more ſurpriſing ſince Backus, whoſe work Mr. Knowles muſt have had conſtantly before him, after giving the account of Winthrop, adds in a note, "The province records agree with this account, only they do not ſet any date after the court met in September, before Mr. Williams ſentence; but it might be October before it was paſſed." (Backus, 1, 70, note.) Profeſſor Elton, combining in a ſingle paragraph the accounts of Winthrop and Knowles, makes the ſomewhat remarkable ſtatement that the Court met in October, and the next day, November 3d, "this cruel and unjuſtifiable ſentence was paſſed."

With a view to economizing paper, the minutes of the Quarter Court were ſometimes inſerted without reference to chronological order. Thus the minutes of the Quarter Court that met Nov. 3, were inſerted in a blank ſpace before the minutes of the General Court that met Sept. 2. It ſeems moſt likely that from not obſerving this confuſion the error of Mr. Knowles aroſe. A ſingle reference to the original record would have corrected it.

QUERIES

OF

HIGHEST CONSIDERATION.

EDITED BY

REUBEN ALDRIDGE GUILD.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

REV. Mr. Orme, in his Memoirs of Dr. Owen, ſpeaks of an "anonymous pamphlet by ſome Browniſt in 1644, entitled 'Queries of Higheſt Conſideration,' preſented to the Diſſenting Brethren, and the Weſtminſter Aſſembly," as an important work, containing ſome moſt accurate ſtatements relating to the diſtinct provinces of civil and eccleſiaſtical authority. Who this "Browniſt" was, is not now a matter of doubt. Aſide from the ſtyle and ſubject matter of the pamphlet, which clearly indicate the author, we have the poſitive language of John Cotton. In his "Anſwer to Maſter Roger Williams," occurs the following paſſage: "And then, as if New England were but an handful, from thence to riſe up againſt the choiceſt ornaments of two populous nations, England and Scotland, the reverend Aſſembly of Divines, together with the reverend Brethren of the Apology, and above them all to addreſs himſelf, according to his high thoughts, to propound Queries of high Concernment, as he (Williams) calleth them, to the High and Honorable Court of Parliament."

Charles I. and his Parliament were on the eve of their final rupture, when, in deference to the petition of the London clergy, praying for eccleſiaſtical reform, the Houſe of

Commons requeſted that a general ſynod might be called by royal authority. The King refuſed to comply with their requeſt, and the civil war began. The Scotch, with an army of twenty thouſand men, marched into England to aſſiſt the Parliament, and to endeavor to eſtabliſh Preſbyterianiſm in place of Prelacy, which had been virtually overthrown. The Houſe reſolved, in conſequence, "that ſuch a government ſhould be ſettled in the church as might be moſt agreeable to God's holy word, and moſt apt to procure and preſerve the peace of the church at home, and bring it into nearer agreement with the church of Scotland, and the reformed churches abroad." An ordinance followed, bearing date June 12, 1643, "for the calling of an aſſembly of learned and godly divines, and others, to be conſulted with by the Parliament, for ſettling the government and liturgy of the church of England, and for vindicating and clearing the doctrine of the ſaid church from falſe aſperſions and interpretations." Such in brief was the origin of the Weſtminſter Aſſembly.

This diſtinguiſhed body firſt met in Henry VII.'s Chapel, July 1, 1643. It was compoſed of one hundred and twenty-one divines, ſelected by the Houſe of Commons; ſix deputies from Scotland; ten Engliſh Peers; and twenty members of the Lower Houſe of Parliament. From this time until February 22, 1649, they continued to meet, holding in all eleven hundred and ſixty-three ſeſſions. During this period they originated the Confeſſion of Faith, the Directory of Public Worſhip, the Form of Church Government, and the Catechiſms, which have ſo long been conſidered the ſtandards of Preſbyterian churches throughout the world. Hetherington regards the meeting of this body as "the moſt important event in the century in which it occurred," exerting and

yet to exert a wide and permanent influence upon the civil and religious hiſtory of mankind.

Of the one hundred and fifty-ſeven members compoſing the Weſtminſter Aſſembly, ſeldom more than ſixty were in attendance. Amongſt them were a few Epiſcopalians, including Archbiſhop Uſher, the Biſhops of Briſtol and Exeter, and Drs. Sanderſon and Hammond. But the king, by proclamation, forbad the meeting, and the Epiſcopalians immediately withdrew. Of thoſe who remained ſome were Independents; a few, of whom Selden was the leader, were called Eraſtians, having no fixed ſentiments in regard to the theories of church government and diſcipline then advocated;—the great body of the members, however, were Preſbyterians, or at leaſt ſo favorably inclined to that form of eccleſiaſtical polity as to be readily induced to accept it. The criſis at this time in national affairs was great. The Scotch allies were impatient, and the Houſe of Commons was anxious to ſettle and diſmiſs a queſtion which diſtracted its attention, while it agitated the whole kingdom. Sir Henry Vane and two other commiſſioners were ſent to Edinburgh, where they accepted, on behalf of England, the ancient Scotch Covenant, with a few ſlight alterations, under the title of the Solemn League and Covenant. The Houſe of Commons ſolemnly ſubſcribed their hands, and ſwore to obſerve it, September 15, 1643, and the Houſe of Lords followed their example a few days afterwards.

The Independents, who now began to appear as a diſtinct organization, under the political leaderſhip and guidance of Vane, Cromwell, Fiennes, and St. John, conſtituted a moſt important element in the Weſtminſter Aſſembly. Although but a ſmall minority of ten or twelve, they were ſupported by a powerful party in the Houſe of Commons and in the

Army;—and they ſoon became the ruling party in the land. They rejected all eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhments, and would admit of no ſpiritual courts, no government among paſtors, no interference of the magiſtrate in religious concerns, and no fixed encouragement annexed to any ſyſtem of doctrines or opinions. According to their principles, each congregation, united voluntarily and by ſpiritual ties, compoſed within itſelf a ſeparate church, and exerciſed a juriſdiction, but one deſtitute of temporal ſanctions, over its own paſtor and its own members. The names of the twelve Independents to whom we have referred, are given by Orme, as follows: Thomas Goodwin, D. D., of London; Philip Nye, of Kimbolton; William Bridge, of Yarmouth; Jeremiah Burroughs, of Stepney; Sidrach Simpſon, of London; and William Greenhill, Peter Sterry, William Carter, Joſeph Caryl, John Dury, John Philips, and William Strong. The laſt ſeven in this liſt of names were more or leſs inclined to the principles of the Independents;—the firſt five were generally known by the name of the Five Diſſenting Brethren, as they generally took the lead in all public diſcuſſions, and were moſtly employed in drawing up the printed papers.

Theſe men having in former years been ſilenced by the violent perſecutions of Laud and Wren, had retired to Holland, where they founded Independent churches and preached for a time to their expatriated countrymen. Goodwin and Nye reſided at Arnheim, and were highly eſteemed for their piety and talents. Bridge went to Rotterdam and became paſtor of an Engliſh congregation which had previouſly been formed by the notorious Hugh Peters. Burroughs and Simpſon alſo reſided in Rotterdam. They were all men of acknowledged ability, and ſeem to have been ſpecially fitted for the prominent part, to which their poſition in the Weſtminſter Aſſembly, as Independents, naturally aſſigned them.

The queſtion of the government of the future church was warmly conteſted in the Aſſembly. The Preſbyterians maintained the divine authority of their diſcipline, while the Independents proteſted againſt the eccleſiaſtical tyranny which they believed it would introduce. "It is inconvenient," ſaid Nye, "to nouriſh ſuch a vaſt body in a commonweaith: it is not to be endured. Men are already troubled to think whether Preſbytery ſhall be ſet up jure divino, and no wonder; for, if it be it will grow ſo as to become as big as the civil power. When two vaſt bodies are of equal amplitude, if they diſagree it will be naught, and if they agree it will be worſe." The Preſbyterians prevailed both in the Aſſembly and in the Houſe of Commons. Thereupon the five Independent leaders publiſhed, about the end of January, 1644, a treatiſe or proteſt, entitled "An Apologetical Narration, humbly ſubmitted to the Honorable Houſes of Parliament, by Thomas Goodwin, Philip Nye, Sidrach Simpſon, Jeremiah Burroughs, William Bridge." This naturally led to the publication of an Apology, or a ſeries of anſwers on the part of the Scotch commiſſioners and others. From this time forward, ſays Hetherington, the conteſt between the Independents and the Preſbyterians became one of irreconcilable rivalry, to which the utter defeat of the one or the other was the only poſſible termination.

The author of "Paradiſe Loſt" was now in the beginning of his career of fame as a great writer and ſcholar, and a zealous advocate of civil and religious liberty. Abandoning for a time his literary ſchemes, he had already plunged into the tumult of political controverſy. Regarding Prelacy as the cauſe of all that was wrong and reactionary in Engliſh ſociety, he urged with reſiſtleſs eloquence and logic, that it be aboliſhed root and branch, and that the Long

Parliament and other legiſlative powers be ſtirred up and incited, by every poſſible means, to the work of changing the eccleſiaſtical ſyſtem of England, and ſubſtituting therefor a more popular and democratic form of church government and diſcipline. For ſeveral years he devoted his time mainly to this one topic. His firſt treatiſe was an elaborate hiſtorical eſſay on "Reformation in England, and the Cauſes that hitherto have hindered it." This was followed by a ſecond on "Prelatical Epiſcopacy," containing an examination of arguments in favor of its antiquity and apoſtolic origin, advanced at the time by Biſhop Hall and Archbiſhop Uſher. A third and more comprehenſive treatiſe followed this laſt, entitled "The Reaſon of Church-government urged againſt Prelaty." His next treatiſe was "Animadverſions upon the Remonſtrant's Defence againſt Smectymnuus," the Remonſtrant being Biſhop Hall, and Smectymnuus a deſignation for five Preſbyterian miniſters who had attacked him; and his fifth and laſt, was "An Apology for Smectymnuus," drawn out by an anſwer to the preceding. Theſe treatiſes contributed preëminently to humiliate the Prelacy and abridge its power; but the Preſbyterians, who had now attained the aſcendancy, exhibited the ſame intolerant diſpoſition that the Epiſcopalians had done. Like all rulers whoſe object is to abridge the liberties of the people, their firſt care was to reſtrain the preſs. They revived the *imprimatur* of the Star-chamber, and expurgated every book of every word or phraſe which accorded not with their taſte. This grievance Milton alſo combatted in his noble "Areopagetica," or "A Speech for the Liberty of Unlicenſed Printing; addreſſed to the Parliament of England." "If," ſaid the author, "it come to inquiſitioning again, and licenſing, and that we are ſo timorous of ourſelves and ſuſpicious of all men, as to fear each

book, and the ſhaking of every leaf, before we know what the contents are; if ſome who but of late were little better than ſilenced from preaching, ſhall now come to ſilence us from reading, except what they pleaſe, it cannot be gueſſed what is intended by ſome, but a ſecond tyranny over learning; and will ſoon put it out of controverſy, that Biſhops and Preſbyters are the ſame to us, both name and thing." The "Areopagitica" was publiſhed in the year 1644, and contributed in no ſmall degree to the decline of the Preſbyterian party.

It was about this time that Williams, who had arrived in England in the autumn of the previous year, publiſhed his "Queries" propoſed to both the Independents and the Preſbyterians, "upon occaſion of their late printed Apologies," and "preſented to the view of the Right Honorable the Houſes of the High Court of Parliament." With characteriſtic boldneſs he criticiſes whatever he finds in the acts and principles of the contending parties at variance with the word of God. His liberal views as ſet forth in theſe "Queries of Higheſt Conſideration," were evidently far in advance of his times. The cloſing paragraph of the introduction illuſtrates the ſpirit and deſign of the author.

"It ſhall never be your honor to this or future ages, to be confined to the patterns of either French, Dutch, Scotch or New-Engliſh Churches. We humbly conceive ſome higher act concerning religion attends and becomes your conſultations. If He whoſe name is Wonderful, Counſellor, be conſulted according to His laſt will and teſtament, as you may pleaſe in the Queries to view, we are confident you ſhall exceed the acts and patterns of all neighbor nations; highly exalt the name of the Son of God; provide for the peace of this diſtreſſed State; engage the ſouls of all that fear God to

give thanks and ſupplicate for you; further the ſalvation of thouſands, and leave the ſweet perfume of your names precious to all ſucceeding generations."

The only copy of the "Queries" of which we have any knowledge is in the Library of the Britiſh Muſeum. From this an exact tranſcript has been made for the Narraganſett Club by one of the employees of the Inſtitution, through the kindly offices of the Rev. Dr. E. B. Underhill, formerly Honorary Secretary of the Hanſerd Knollys Society, and editor of moſt of their publications. The preſent reprint is undoubtedly accurate, although we have not been able of courſe to compare it with the original.

R. A. G.

Brown University, March, 1867.

QVERIES
OF HIGHEST
CONSIDERATION,

Propoſed to

Mr. *Tho. Goodwin*, Mr. *Phillip Nye*, Mr. *Wil. Bridges*,
Mr. *Jer. Burroughs*, Mr. *Sidr. Simpſon*.

AND

To the Commiſsioners from the Generall Aſſembly (ſo called) of the Church Of

SCOTLAND;

Vpon occaſion of their late Printed Apologies for themſelves and their *Churches*.

In all Humble Reverence preſented to the view of the Right Honourable the Houſes of the High Court of Parlament.

LONDON,
Imprinted in the yeare MDCXLIV.

TO THE

Right Honourable

Both Houſes of the High Court

Of

PARLIAMENT.

Right Honourable,

IT *is a wofull* Priviledge *attending all great* States *and* Perſonages, *that they ſeldome heare any other* Muſick *but what is Known will* pleaſe *them.*

Though our Muſick *ſound not* ſweet *but* harſh, *yet pleaſe you firſt to Know, it is not fitted to your* Eares, *but to your* Hearts, *and the bleeding* Heart *of this afflicted* Nation.

'Tis true, we have been humbly bold to preſume as Eſter *into* Ahaſuerus *his preſence, againſt your Order: For who can paſſe the many Locks and Bars of any the ſeverall* Licencers *appointed by you with ſuch a Meſſage? By ſuch Circumſcribing and immuring of your ſelves by ſuch a* Guard (*their Perſons we honour and eſteem*) *it is rarely poſſible that any other* Light, *but what their Hemiſpheare affoords, ſhall ever ſhine on your* Honours *Souls, though ne're ſo* ſweet, *ſo* neceſſary, *and though it come from* God, *from* Heaven.

Theſe worthy and much eſteemed Perſons unto whom we Quæry we have heard to be Men of Conſcience, *of* Abilities,

and are in this worthy of double Honour, *that* (*according to their* Conſciences) *they appear in the* Front *and preſent their* Moulds *and* Patterns *of* Church Government *from* Holland, *from* Scotland, *to our inquiring* England.

Their mutual juſt Exceptions *which they have already or may further expreſſe againſt each others* Tenents *we leave to themſelves*, (*though we might expreſſe them to our advantage*) *we ſhall be humbly bold in the name of the Lord Jeſus; and the many thouſand precious ſouls, for whom he hath paid ſo deare a Ranſome; to preſent ſuch* Quæries *to your* Honours *view, as reſpect their joint Agreement* (*Pardon the Phraſe*) *like* Ephraim *and* Manaſſeh (*though fighting each againſt other, yet*) *both againſt Chriſt Jeſus the Lion of Judah's Tribe; we mean ſo farre as they oppoſe the Truth and Purity of his laſt will and Teſtament.*

Moſt Renowned Patriots, You ſit at Helme *in as great a* Storm, *as ere poor* Englands Common-wealth *was loſt in: Yet be you pleaſed to remember, that* (*excepting the affaires of* Heaven, *of* Religion, *of* Soules, *of* Eternity) *all your* Conſultations, Concluſions, Executions, *are not of the* Quantity, *of the* value *of one poor* drop *of* water, *or the little* duſt *of the* Ballance, *if* Eſaiah *were a true Prophet.* Eſa. 40. 15.

Yet concerning Soules, *we will not* (*as moſt doe*) *charge you with the loads of all the* Soules *in* England, Scotland, Ireland: *wee ſhall humbly affirme, and* (*by the help of Chriſt*) *maintaine, that the* Bodies *and* Goods *of the Subject is your charge: Their* Soules *and yours are ſet on account to thoſe that profeſſe to be the* Lights *and* Guides, *the* Meſſengers *and* Embaſſadors *ſent from* Heaven *to them.*

You will pleaſe to ſay: We are conſtantly told and we believe it, that Religion *is our firſt* Care, *and* Reformation *of that our greateſt* Taſke.

Right Honourable, your Wiſdomes *Know the* Fatall Miſcarriages *of* Englands Parliaments *in this point; what* ſetting *up*, pulling *downe, what* Formings, Reformings, *and againe* Deformings, *to* admiration.

Three Inſtances are dreadfull, yet to expreſſe ſeaſonable

Firſt, The laſt and beſt of Englands changes, *eſtabliſhed* Lord Biſhops: *they and two more* (Prieſts *and* Deacons) *are by Law the eſtabliſhed* Miniſters *of* Englands Church: *The former makes the latter, ſo far as concerns a lawfull* externall *Calling. The* Lord Biſhops *themſelves, are now voted* Antichriſtian; *Your Wiſdomes then ſee what Callings by Law, the other two ſorts,* Prieſts *and* Deacons *have all this while bin furniſhed with.*

Secondly if hee that eates and drinkes the Body *and* blood *of* Chriſt *unworthily, eateth and drinketh his owne* judgement, *and all* Engliſh *ſoules are bound by* Law *to eate that* Body *and* Blood *at ſixteene, who ſees not, ſince* (*as tis confeſt ſcarce one of a thouſand but is found* ignorant, Impenitent, Unregenerate *at thoſe yeeres*) *that the* Body *of the People are compelled by* Law, *to eat and drink at ſixteen their own* judgment.[1]

Thirdly, for Non-conforming *to theſe and other practiſes, the* Engliſh Maſſe-Booke, *&c., what heavy* Perſecution *have* thouſands *felt and that by* Law *eſtabliſhed?*

We ſhall in all humble Reverence, *ſuggeſt our* Feares, *that for the very* Laws *and* Statutes *of* Englands Parliaments *concerning* Religion, *and happily for ſome not yet ſuſpected, the* Lord Ieſus *hath drawne this* Sword, *that's daily drunke with* Engliſh Blood.

It ſhall never be your Honour to this or future Ages, to be

[1] The Solemn League and Covenant, ſays Neal, was by act of Parliament, ordered to be taken throughout the kingdom of England by all perſons above the age of *eighteen* years. By what law "all Engliſh ſouls" were bound to eat the body and drink the blood of Chriſt at *ſixteen*, does not ſo readily appear.

confined to the Patterns *of either* French, Dutch, Scotch, *or* New-Engliſh Churches *We humbly conceive ſome higher* Act *concerning* Religion, *attends and becomes your* Conſultations *If he whoſe name is,* wonderfull, Counſellor, *be conſulted and obeyed according to his laſt Will and Teſtament* (*as you may pleaſe in the* Quæries *to view*) *wee are confident you ſhall* exceed *the* Acts *and* Patternes *of all* Neighbour Nations; *highly exalt the name of the* Son *of* God; *provide for the* Peace *of this diſtreſſed* State, *engage the* Soules *of all that feare* God, *to give* Thankes and Supplicate *for you; further the* Salvation *of thouſands, and leave the ſweet perfume of your Names, precious to all ſucceeding* Generations.

QUERIES

PROPOUNDED

To the five *Holland* Miniſters, and the *Scotch Commiſſioners.*

WORTHY SIRS,

IN ſerious Examination of your late *Apologies*, we ſhall in all due reſpect and tenderneſſe humbly Querie:

Querie I. *What warrant from the Lord Ieſus for the Aſſembly of Divines?*

Firſt, what Precept or Pattern hath the Lord Jeſus left you in his laſt Will and Teſtament for your *Synod* or Aſſembly of Divines, by vertue of which you may expect his *preſence* and *aſſiſtance.*

Acts 15. *examined.*

If you ſay (as all Popiſh *Synods* and Councels doe) the Pattern is plain, *Acts* 15. We aſke if two or three Brethren of one particular Congregation at *Antioch*, ſent to that firſt Mother Church at *Jeruſalem*, where the Apoſtles were, who being (immediatly) inſpir'd from God, could ſay, *It ſeemeth good to the* holy Spirit *and Vs, to lay upon you no greater burthen, &c.*, as alſo who had power to make Decrees for all the Churches, *Acts* 16. We aſke whether

A Nationall Aſſembly neceſſarily inforceth an Aſſembly of the whole world.

this be a Pattern, for a Nation or Kingdome (and ſo conſequently for more Nations and all the World if under one Government, as in *Auguſtus Cæſars* tax) to ſend their ſeverall Prieſts and Deacons (for other ſpirituall Officers than Biſhops, Prieſts and Deacons you know we have not) to reforme or forme a Religion, &c?

Dan. 3. Daniel's *Image a type of State Religions.*

We pray you to conſider, if the golden Image be not a type and figure of the ſeverall Nationall and State Religions, which all Nations ſet up and Ours hath done, for which the wrath of God is now upon Us?

The Title, the Aſſembly of Divines examined.

We pray you alſo to anſwer in what part of Chriſts Teſtament is found that title, *The Aſſembly of Divines;* and whether it be not in Engliſh, *The Church of Godly ones?* And as we Queried your ground for ſuch a Church ſo have we alſo cauſe to pray you to tell us, Where Chriſt Jeſus hath given you power to aſſume and appropriate ſuch a Title to your ſelves, which ſeems in Scripture to be common to all the Children of God?

That Title the Aſſembly of godly Divines examined.

Some expreſſe it in Print and pulpit, the Aſſembly of godly Divines; we derogate not from the worth or godlineſſe of any of them; yet you Know the Aſſembly of Saints or godly Divines is no other in Engliſh then the Aſſembly or Church of Saints, or *godly godly ones All that will live godly in Chriſt Ieſus muſt ſuffer perſecution:* We preſume you will grant others to be Saints and godly too in that ſence: but Oh that that whole Aſſembly or Congregation were truly reſolved (by way of Eminencie) to lead all the godly in the Land in ſuch a Chriſtian practice.

QUERIE II.

Whereas you both agree (though with ſome difference) that the Civill Magiſtrate muſt Reform the Church, eſtabliſh Religion, and ſo conſequently muſt firſt Judge, and Judicially Determine which is True, which is Falſe: or elſe muſt implicitly beleeve as the Aſſembly beleeves, and take it upon truſt, and ſo conſequently is he the Head, Root and Fountain of the Supremacie of all Spirituall power and hath the power of the Keyes of *opening* and *ſhutting heaven gates*, *&c.* Of which power upon a grudge (as tis ſaid) about his Wife, King *Henry deſpoild the Pope*, and with conſent and Act of Parlament, ſate down himſelfe in the Popes Chaire in *England* as ſince his Succeſſors have done?

King Henry the 8 ſet down in the Popes chaire.

We now Querie ſince the Parlament (being the repreſentative Commonwealth) hath no other power but what the Common weale derive unto, and betruſt it with; whether it will not evidently follow, that the Common-weale, the Nation, the Kingdome, and (if it were in *Auguſtus* his time) the whole world muſt rule and govern the Church, and Chriſt himſelfe as the Church is called, 1 *Cor.* 12. 12.

The Common weale, yea the world the head of the Church.

Furthermore, if the Honourable Houſes (the repreſentative Common-weale) ſhall erect a Spirituall Court, for the judging of Spirituall Men and Spirituall Cauſes (although a new Name be put upon it, yet) whether or no ſuch a Court is not in the true nature and kind of it, an High Commiſſion? And is not this a reviving of *Moſes*, and the ſanctifying of a new Land of *Canaan*, of which we heare nothing in

A new High Commiſſion.

the Teſtament of Chriſt Jeſus, nor of any other holy Nation, but the particular Church of Chriſt? 1 *Pet.* 2. 9.

Is not this to ſubject this *holy Nation*, this heavenly Jeruſalem, the Wife and Spouſe of Jeſus, *the pillar and ground of Truth*, to the vain uncertain and changeable Mutations of this preſent evill world?

The Parlaments of Englands *wonderfull changes in Religion.*

Who knowes not in how few yeares the Common weale of *England* hath ſet up and pull'd down? The Fathers made the Children Hereticks, and the Children the Fathers. How doth the Parlament in *Henry* the 8. his days condemn the abſolute Popery in *Henry* the ſeventh? How is in *Edwards* the 6. his time the Parlament of Henry the 8 condemned for their halfe Popery halfe Proteſtantiſme? How ſoon doth Queen *Maries* Parlament condemn *Edward* for his abſolute Proteſtaniſme? And *Elizabeths* Parlament as ſoon condemn Queen *Maries* for their abſolute Popery? 'Tis true, Queen *Elizabeth* made Lawes againſt Popery and Papiſts but the Government of Biſhops, the Common Prayer, the Ceremonies were then ſo high in that Queen and Parlaments eye, that the Members of this preſent and ever renowned Parlament, would have then been counted little leſſe than Hereticks. And oh! ſince the Common-weale cannot without a ſpirituall rape force the conſciences of all to one Worſhip, oh that it may never commit that rape, in forcing the conſciences of all men to one Worſhip, which a ſtronger arme and Sword may ſoon (as formerly) ariſe to alter.

The preſent Parlament would have been eſteemed Heretical in former times.

QUERIE III.

Whether ſince you profeſſe to be Builders, you have not cauſe to feare and tremble, leaſt you be found to reject the *Corner ſtone*, in not fitting to him only *living ſtones?* 1 *Pet.* 2. Of theſe *living ſtones*, (true Beleevers) the coſtly Stones of the Temple were types: and without true matter, which (as it is in all works in the World) it is impoſſible to build a ſpirituall Houſe unto God?

The only true Matter for a true Church are living Stones.

This matter, the One of you confeſſe and practice, the Other queſtions and mingles Sheep and Goats together, contrary to the ſpirituall nature of the Lord Jeſus, and his true Pattern; contrary to the nature of God, who is a Spirit and will be Worſhipped by Spirituall Worſhippers; contrary to the peace and Safety of any naturall Soule and conſcience, hardned in a dream of Fellowſhip with God, who ſaith to the ungodly, *What hath thou to doe to take my Covenant into thy mouth and hateſt to be reformed?* Pſal. 50.

QUERIE IV.

Whether in your conſciences before God, you be not perſwaded (notwithſtanding your promiſcuous joyning with all) that few of the People of *England* and *Scotland*, and fewer of the Nobles and Gentry are ſuch *ſpirituall matter*, *living ſtones*, truely *regenerate* and *converted;* and therefore, Whether it be not the greateſt Courteſie in the world, which you may poſſibly perform unto them, to acquaint them impartially with their conditions and how impoſſible it is for a

Few of the people of England *or* Scotland *living Stones.*

dead Stone to have Fellowſhip with the *living God*, and for any man to enter into the Kingdome of God, without a ſecond Birth? *John* 3.

Querie V.

Impoſſible to reforme the dead in Sin, the ſpiritually living, are only capable of reformation according to Chriſt.

Although the fame and ſound is great of Reformation we Querie, Whether a dead ſoule is capable of any Reformation, untill the firſt principle of Chriſtianity, Repentance (*Heb.* 6. 6.) be found in him: otherwiſe, as a thouſand ſeverall renewed Forms of Apparell, alters not the condition of a dead man; or a thouſand new Formes of Poſtures of an Armie of Cavaliers cannot make a Parlament Army: So we Querie how poſſible that a perſon or perſons, viſibly in a ſtate of *nature*, *dead* in ſinne, in a ſtate of *enmitie* and *oppoſition* againſt God (*Ephes.* 2. *Rom.* 8.) can ever pleaſe God, be viſibly maried to God, fight for him under the Banners of Love, &c. Allegations may be brought from the *corruptions* of the Church of the Jewes and the Churches of Chriſt: but We doe not uſe to define a Man by his Diſeaſes, nor a Garden by Weeds, nor a Citie by a Tumult, or an Army by a Rout or diſorder, eſpecially when we treat upon an Inſtitution or Reſtauration.

Definitions of ought muſt not be from the corruption but Inſtitution of it according to which muſt be the Reformation.

Querie VI.

Excellent Witneſſes of Chriſt Ieſus who never pro-

Although you both profeſſe your Holyneſſe, Diligence, Zeale, Courage, Selfe-denyall, Patience, and the one of you the incomparable ſpirit of your Fathers in the work of Reformation; yet we Querie, Whether

there hath not been as Holy, Able and Zealous Men ſince the Apoſtacie, Men like *Antipas*, Rev. 2. *faithfull Witneſſes* of the Lord Jeſus (in what Light they ſaw) even to Death, who yet never came up to ſuch a worke of Reformation as you ſpeak of: yea (without offence be it ſpoken) have there not been as excellent and heavenly Reformers as your ſelves and Fathers, whoſe profeſſed Reformation you now diſlike? Who ſhall outſhine many of the Waldenſian Reformers for Holyneſſe, Zeale, patience? Where is, or hath that pretious man been found, who hath (for perſonall excellencies) outſhined *Luther?* and who ſhall o'retop thoſe glorious Cedars *Biſhops*, *Doctors*, *&c* burnt for Chriſt Jeſus in Queen *Maries* dayes? *ceeded to a Church eſtate.* *Excellent reformers whoſe work now ſeems to be beſide the firſt Pattern, and this Age diſlikes, forſakes, &c.*

Yea, where the Church we grant to have been true (according to its Inſtitution, for the time of it) What Aſſembly, what Parlament can compare with that of *David* and his Captains of thouſands, Captains of hundreths, and every Leader and all the Congregation of *Iſrael* from *Shiſhor* of Egypt, to the entring in of *Hemath* aſſembled together to reform the worſhip of God, in that true, but Nationall, Typical, Church eſtate of *Iſrael?* What rejoycing, what playing was there of *David* and all *Iſrael* with Harps, Pſalteries, Timbrells, Cymballs and Trumpets, and yet how angry was God, what a Breach did he make? for *David* and all *Iſrael* tranſgreſt the appointed Order, 1 *Cron.* 1. 13. 1 *Cron.* 15. *One of the greateſt Parlaments that ever was, after all rejoycing and triumphing in it found Gods anger for their errors, in reformation of His worſhip.*

QUERIE VII.

A Nationall Covenant *and a Nationall* Church, *not found in the Doctrine of the Son of God.*

Since the Law was given by *Moſes*, but Grace and Truth came by Jeſus Chriſt, by whom (though God ſpake divers times and divers wayes to the Fathers) he hath now revealed his councell in theſe laſt times, Heb. 1. We Querie, where you now find one foot-ſtep, Print or Pattern in this Doctrine of the Son of God, for a Nationall holy Covenant, and ſo conſequently (though we conceive the one of you ſtumble at it) a Nationall Church? Where find you evidence of a whole Nation, Country or Kingdom converted to the Faith and of Chriſts appointing of a whole Nation or Kingdome to walk in one way of Religion?

Such as hold a Nationall Church of God muſt needs diſclaim Chriſt and follow Moſes.

If you repaire to *Moſes*, conſult with *Moſes* and the old Covenant or Teſtament, we aſke, are you *Moſes* or *Chriſts* Followers? or do you yet expect the coming of the Son of God to ſet up the Chriſtian *Iſrael*, the holy Nation, the particular Congregaton of Chriſtian Worſhippers, in all parts of the world? 1 *Pet.* 2. *Heb.* 12. *&c.*

If one whole Nation, where ſhould we ſtop, why may not many and the whole world? &c.

We further Querie, Whether a Nationall Covenant lead not (in caſe, and as is practiſed) unavoydably to a holy Covenant of many Nations? yet to a holy league or Covenant (in caſe of *Auguſtus* his Government) of the whole world, which ſhould then turne the Darling and Spouſe of God between whom and it there is ſuch enmitie, that *if any man love the world, the love of the Father is not in him?* 1 John 2.

The nature of the true

The Doctrine of Chriſt Jeſus tells us that, *Acts* 10. 35. *That in every Nation he that feares God* &c.

Not every Nation that feares God. Chriſt Jeſus tells us that his Church may come together to break bread in One place, 1 *Cor.* 11. which Nations and Countries cannot poſſibly doe: Chriſt Jeſus tells us that his Congregation is now the Common-weale of *Iſrael*, inveſted with the true Kingly power of the Lord Jeſus, to put forth every wicked perſon (though King or Keyſar) from amongſt them.

Church or Congregation of Chriſt Ieſus.

We Querie, Whether it be poſſible there ſhould be 2 true ſorts or kinds of Churches, any more then 'tis poſſible there may be 2 true Parlaments in *England*, though many ſcores or hundreths ſhould be called?

There cannot be 2 true kinds of Churches, no more then 2 true Parlaments.

There are indeed 3 ſcore Queens, and 4 ſcore Concubines and Virgins without number, which ſeem to imply (and that even in theſe times, as ſome alſo have interpreted) ſeverall kinds of Congregations or Churches, and yet Chriſts Dove is but *one, and the only one of her mother*, Cant. 6. The Light of much Truth may ſhine forth on the *brazen Candleſticks* of ſtrong Nationall Churches maintained and held up by the ſeeming ſtrong Sword of Steel in an Arme of Fleſhe &c. There may be *ſilver Candleſticks* more refin'd and pure in reſpect of the Matter of which they are conſtituted, viz. godly perſons, &c. But Chriſt Jeſus only walks in the midd'ſt of his *Golden Candleſticks*, Gathered and Governed after the Golden Inſtitution of Chriſts Word, which is like fine Gold, *Rev.* 1. *Pſa.* 19.

Severall ſorts of Churches, like Brazen Silver and Golden Candleſticks.

Againe, we aſke, Whether in the Conſtitution of a Nationall Church, it can poſſibly be framed without a racking and tormenting of the Soules, as well

A Nationall Religion muſt

rack Soules and Bodies. as of the Bodies of perſons, for it ſeems not poſſible to fit it to every conſcience: ſooner ſhall one ſuit of Apparell fit every Body, one Law preſident every Caſe, or one Size or Laſt every Foot?

The dangerous conſequences of it. Laſtly, Whether it be not the cauſe of a world of Hyprocrites, the Soothing up of people in a Formall State Worſhip to the ruine of their Soules: the ground of Perſecution to Chriſt Jeſus in his Members, and ſooner or later, the Kindling of the devouring flames of Civill Warres, as all Ages juſtifie?

Querie VIII.

No Wars for Chriſt but Chriſtian or Spirituall. Whether, although (as is expreſt) the godly in the 3 Kingdomes deſire a Reformation: yet ſince the Lamb of God and Prince of Peace hath not in his Teſtament given us a Pattern, Precept or Promiſe, for the undertaking of a civill War for his ſake: we Querie how with comfort to your Souls you may incourage the Engliſh Treaſure to be Exhauſted, and the Engliſh Blood to be ſpilt for the Cauſe of Chriſt?

War lawfull in civill caſes. We readily grant the Civill Magiſtrate armed by God with a civill Sword (*Rom.* 13.) to execute vengeance againſt Robbers, Murtherers, Tyrants, &c. Yet where it meerly concerns Chriſt, we find when his Diſciples deſire vengeance upon Offenders, *Luke* 9, he meekly anſwers, *You know not what ſpirit you are of, I came not to deſtroy Mens Lives, but to ſave them.*

Chriſt Ieſus forbids fighting for his ſake. If ever there were cauſe for the ſervants of Chriſt Jeſus to fight it was then when (not his Truth, or Servants, or Ordinances, but) his own moſt holy Perſon was in danger, Math. 26. yet then, that Lamb of

God checks *Peter* beginning to fight for him, telling him, *that all that take the Sword ſhall periſh by the Sword*, for with one Requeſt to his Father, he could have been reſcued by more than 12 Legions of Angells: He renders the Reaſon of his unwillingneſſe to have Fighting for his ſake, which was his Fathers good pleaſure in the fulfilling of the Scripture: Unto which alſo may be added, *John* 18. 36. *My Kingdome is not of this world, if my Kingdome were of this world, then would my ſervants fight that I ſhould not be delivered, &c.* *The Reaſons of it.*

If it be ſaid his Kingdome then was not of this world, but now it is or ſhall be: then was the hower of his Suffring, but now of his ſervants Reigning: we Querie, What *filling up of the ſuffrings of Chriſt* *Paul* ſpeaks of, *Col.* 1. when he mentioneth *that which is behind of the ſufferings of Chriſt?* What means that generall Rule of the Lord Jeſus *Luke* 9. *If any man will follow me, let him take up his Croſſe or Gibbet:* and that of *Paul*, 2 Tim. 4. *all that will live godly in Chriſt Jeſus muſt ſuffer perſecution?* *Chriſt's ſufferings to be fill'd up by his Followers.*

We Querie (if Securitie may be taken by the Wiſdome of the State for civill Subjection) why even the Papiſts themſelves and their Conſciences may not be permitted in the World? For otherwiſe, if *Englands* Government were the Government of the whole World, not onley They, but a world of Idolaters of all ſorts, yea the whole World muſt be driven out of the World? *The conſciences of Idolaters not to be oppreſt by the Sword.*

We Querie, Whether the Common Body of Proteſtants, impenitent and unregenerate, be not further off Salvation, and lye not under a greater guilt (like *Ignorant Papiſts not ſuch great ſinners as*

Knowing Proteſtants. *Chorazin* and *Bethſaida*) then does the body of ignorant Papiſts? and we humbly deſire it may be deeply pondered what ſhould be the kindling of the Jealouſie of God, to poure forth the Blood of ſo many Thouſands of Proteſtants, by the bloody hands of the Papiſts (ſince moſt juſt He is and righteous in all his Judgements) whether or no the Lawes inacted, and Violence offred even to the Conſciences of the Papiſts themſelves, have not kindled theſe devouring flames?

The Prophefies of Daniel *and* John *not ſo eaſily demonſtrated.* 'Tis true, the Propheſies are great concerning Chriſt and Antichriſt throughout the Prophets and the *Revelation*, but can you ſufficiently demonſtrate theſe to the conſciences of men? Are you thoſe our bleſſed Prophets which can tell us *how long Pſal.* 74. Can you clear up the myſteries of *Daniels* 2300 dayes, *Dan.* 8. *Daniels* 7 weeks and 3 ſcore and 2 weeks, his one week, and his halfe week, *Dan.* 9? His *time*, *times*, and *half* a *time*, his 1290 dayes, and 1335 dayes, *Dan.* 12?

Daniels *and* Johns *myſtical Numbers.* Can you unlock thoſe myſticall numbers of *Johns* 42 moneths, 1260 dayes; the 3 dayes and a halfe *Rev.* 11. 12. the *time*, *times* and *halfe* a *time*, *Rev.* 12, and the *thouſand yeare*, *Rev.* 20 with divers others, which may eſtabliſh the Judgements and Conſciences of Men, and give them Warrant whereon to venture their Souls, and ſhed their Bloods, for the preſent deſtruction of Pope and Popery (not by the breath of Chriſts mouth, and the Sword of the Spirit, but) by the breath of murthering Canons, and a flaming Sword of ſteele?

The wonderful Otherwiſe we Querie, Whether the the blood of ſo many hundreth thouſand Proteſtants, mingled with

the blood of ſo many hundreth thouſand Papiſts, as was ſpilt ſome hundreth yeares ſince in the Waldenſian warres, when all the Proteſtant partie that took the Sword periſhed with it, be not a warning to us their offspring?

ſlaughter of Papiſts and Proteſtants in the famous Warres of the Waldenſians.

'Tis true, *Iohn* tells us of Chriſts great Battells againſt the Kings of the Earth, againſt the Beaſt and and falſe Prophet againſt *Gog* and *Magog;* but where ſpeaks he of other Ammunition and Artillerie, uſed by the Saints, but what we find in *Pauls* Chriſtian Magazine, *Ephes.* 6?

The great battels of Chriſt Ieſus yet to be fought.

Where read we of any other Horſe and Armes but thoſe all *white Rev.* 19. and yet the Lamb ſhall have the Victorie over the Beaſt, and falſe Prophet, and over *Gog* and *Magog* in the appointed ſeaſon.

Querie IX.

You both profeſſe great Sufferings, *&c.* We Querie, Whether any of the Sufferings of Gods Witneſſes ſince the Apoſtacie, have not been only right againſt the *darke* part, the Inventions, Abominations and Uſurpations of Anti-chriſt, according to *Rev.* 11? As for the *light* part, who ſees not, but to this day the Childrens Reformations in new changes condemn their Fathers, whoſe Zeale and Patience againſt the *dark* part, have hitherto exceeded the Childrens.

Gods children have been ſucceſſfull Witneſſes againſt the Abominations, &c., but never did well in Church Reformation, which their children after them diſcover, to vary from the Pat-

We Querie, Whether the finiſhing of the Teſtimonie, with the ſlaughter of the Witneſſes, and their 3 dayes and halfe laſt great oppreſſion be over and paſt, that ſo the *light* part may ariſe in its brightneſſe? And though you commonly and only call thoſe Mar-

tern. Martyrs, that is Witneſſes, not peculiar to thoſe that die for Chriſt.

tyrs, who loſt their lives for Jeſus yet we alſo Querie, Whether Martyrs, that is Witneſſes, *Rev.* 11. be not applyable to all the ſervants of Chriſt, who Witneſſe againſt any part of the Beaſts Kingdome and Tyranny, although they never Witneſſe to the Death?

Querie X.

Since you report your oppoſing and ſuppreſſing of Hereſies and glorious ſucceſs, *&c.* We Querie, Whether that be a demonſtrative argument from the Scriptures, for a Truth of a Church, or Government of it, ſince even the Church of Rome may boaſt of the ſame againſt many Schiſmes and Hereſies, and doth tryumph with wonderfull ſucceſſe, even againſt the Truth, and the Witneſſes of it, according to *Daniels* and *Johns* Propheſies? *Dan.* 11. *Rev.* 13.

God ſometimes gives great ſucceſſe of Victorie, even to Idolaters.

Thus it pleaſed God in his Providence to turn the ſcales of Victorie (with a reliefe of their Armies) to the Idolatrous *Iſraelites* and *Edomites* againſt the *Moabites*, 2 *Kings* 3. and miraculouſly to deliver Idolatrous Apoſtate *Iſrael* from the mighty Armies of the *Syrians*, 2 *Kings* 7. Thus he alſo rewarded hypocriticall *Jehu* for his temporall ſervice in deſtroying *Ahabs* houſe with a temporall Honour to the fourth generation, though himſelf and his continued in the Schiſme, Apoſtacie and Idolatry of the houſe of *Iſrael.*

We pray you alſo to call to mind how it pleaſeth God, out of the bottomleſs Ocean of his Goodneſſe, *to cauſe his Sun to ſhine, and his raines to fall upon the righteous and the wicked; and time and chance* (ſaith *Salomon*) *happens unto all, and one event.*

It pleaſed the Lord to heare the Prayers of wicked *Ahab*, and to remit his temporall Affliction upon his temporall Humiliation.

God ſometimes heares the prayers of legall cries of Idolaters, and the Divells themſelves.

Thus the Lord Jeſus heard the prayers of the Divels themſelves, *Luke* 8. Upon the cry of the Idolatrous Mariners God mercifully provided to anſwer their prayers, and ceaſe the Storme by the caſting out of *Jonah*. Thus upon the external legall Humiliation of *Ninivie*, it was reprieved and ſpar'd a ſeaſon; and *Sodome* had not been burned to aſhes, but had continued untill Chriſts time, upon a ſuppoſition of their legall Humiliation, *Matth.* 11.

Iudgements taken off from the Aſſyrians, upon the leaſt ſhadow of Gods Worſhip.

Thus although the Idolatrous *Aſſirians* feared *Jehovah*, and ſerved their gods (2 *Kings* 17.) yet we hear no more of the Lions amongſt them when the King of *Aſſyria* had taken order for one of Iſraels Idolatrous Prieſts, to teach the *Aſſyreans* ſomething of the manner of Gods ſervice.

We Querie, Whether all theſe Inſtances amount to more than Evidences of the infinite Mercies, Goodneſſe and Patience of God but are not proofs of their Worſhipping of God according to his Ordinance, that their Inſtitutions were from him and their Reformations according to his Appointment?

The power of godlines may ſhine in ſome perſons living in great prophanations of Gods worſhip.

Yea, we further Querie, Whether the *power* of *godlineſſe*, ſhining forth in perſons may evidence their *ſtate* and *Worſhip* good? You both confeſſe the great *profeſſion* of the *power* of *godlineſſe* in *England:* yet we beleeve the one of you acknowledge the Church of *England* as a Nationall Church not true; and both confeſſe the Government, Governours, and the Common Prayer (the Service and Worſhip of it) to be

abominable. Yet it is confeſſed that *Englands falſe* Nationall *Church* with her *Biſhops*, *Common Prayer*, *ceremonies*, &c., had more *evidence* of the *power* of *Godlines* in her Children, then was to be found amongſt the Scotch, French, Dutch, who pretend a Reformation purer. It ſeems therfore evident that neither oppoſing of Hereſies, nor ſucceſſe in Victories Deliverances, nor *power* of *godlineſſe* in ſome perſons, can evidence and prove their State and Worſhip to be right and pleaſing unto God, according to his Ordinance in Chriſt Jeſus.

Querie XI.

Since you both ſeem to magnifie the Scales of Baptiſme and the Lords Supper with a difference and excellency above other Ordinances, We Querie where the Lord Jeſus appointed ſuch a difference and diſtinction? And whether there was not as full Communion practiſed by the firſt Chriſtians in the Word, Prayer, and Communitie, as in the breaking of Bread? *Acts* 2. 42.

Further we Querie, ſince Baptiſme is one of thoſe Fundamentalls, *Heb.* 6., and every one that will be ſaved is bound to prove his Faith and his Baptiſme true (*Mark* 16. 16. *he that beleeveth and is baptiſed ſhall be ſaved.*) We Quere, how 2 Baptiſmes or 2 Great Seals can be true in the Kingdome of *Chriſt Jeſus*, any more than 2 Great Seales can be true in the Kingdome of *England?* And whether a Chriſtian Commiſſion, Pattent, Pardon, Writ, can be truly ſeal'd (as is maintained) from *Rome*, any more than

a civill Commiſſion, Pattent, Pardon or Writ can be truly Sealed at *Oxford?*

To inſiſt upon a late inſtance: ſince the Biſhops power and Calling is condemned as Antichriſtian, how can we evidence the Seale of Baptiſme true, which we have received from them?

Furthermore, ſince a true Baptiſme giveth Right to all the Ordinances of Chriſt Jeſus, we Querie, how any Proteſtant or Papiſt, whoſe Baptiſme you acknowledge to be true, can be denied Communion in the Supper alſo, according to 1 *Cor.* 12. 12. *By one ſpirit are we all baptized into one body*, and conſequently into the participation of the Ordinances thereof: and if ſo, we Querie how farre off *Rome* and the Pope himſelfe is from our boſomes?

Querie XII.

Since you both profeſſe to want more Light, and that a greater Light is yet to be expected; yea, that the Church of *Scotland* may yet have need of a greater Reformation *&c.*, we Querie, how you can profeſſe and Sweare to Perſecute all others as Schiſmatiques, Hereticks, &c., that beleeve they ſee a further Light and dare not joyn with either of your Churches? Whether the Lambes Wife have received any ſuch Commiſſion or Diſpoſition from the Lamb her Huſband, ſo to practiſe? Whether (as King James once wrote upon Re. 20.) it be not a true mark and character of a falſe Church to Perſecute? It being the nature only of a Wolf to hunt the Lambs and Sheep, but impoſſible for a Lamb or Sheep, or a

thouſand Flocks of Sheep to perſecute one Wolfe: we ſpeak of ſpirituall Sheep and ſpirituall Wolves: for other Wolves againſt the Civill State, We profeſſe it to be the Dutie of the Civill State to perſecute and ſuppreſſe them.

The States of Holland *in permitting other conſciences obey the Command of Chriſt of permitting the Tares.*

And laſtly, whether the States of *Holland* who tollerate, though not owne (as you ſay) the ſeveral Sects amongſt them which differ from them, & are of another *conſcience* & *worſhip*, whether or no they com not neerer the *holy Pattern & commäd* of the Lord Jeſus, to permit the *tares* to have a civill being in the *field* of the *world*, untill the *harveſt* the end of it. *Mat.* 13.

Whether thoſe *tares* can poſſibly be taken for Hipocrites in the Church, or Scandalous perſons in the Common weal, but are moſt properly falſe *worſhippers*, and in eſpeciall, and punctually intended by the Lord Jeſus Antichriſtians, the Children *of the wicked one*, oppoſite to the true Chriſtians, the Children *of the Kingdome?*

No State for the time hath been bleſt by God as that to admiration.

Whether for this very Truth which thoſe States profeſſe, beyond either *England* or *Scotland*, it hath not pleaſed the *Lord* to proſper the State, above any other State in the world, for the time, ſince ſuch their wiſe Permiſſion?

Whether there can poſſibly be expected the leaſt look of Peace, in theſe fatall Diſtractions and Tempeſts raiſed, but by taking Councel of the great and wiſeſt Polititian that ever was, the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, in this particular?

We Know the Allegations againſt this Councell: the head of all is that from *Moſes* (not Chriſt) his

Pattern in the typicall Land of *Canaan*, the Kings of *Iſrael* and *Judah*, &c. We humbly deſire it may be ſearched into, & we beleeve it will be found but one of *Moſes* ſhadows vaniſhed at the comming of the Lord Jeſus: yet ſuch a ſhadow as is directly oppoſite to the very Teſtament and coming of the Lord Jeſus. Oppoſite to the very nature of a Chriſtian Church, the only holy *Nation* and *Iſrael* of *God*. Oppoſite to the very tender Bowels of Humanity, (how much more of Chriſtianity?) abhorring to poure out the blood of Men meerly for their Soules beliefe and worſhip. Oppoſite to the very Eſſentialls and Fundamentalls of the Nature of a Civill Magiſtracie, a Civil *Common weal* or *combination* of Men, which can only reſpect *civill* things. Oppoſite to the Jewes Converſion to Chriſt, by not permitting them a civill life or being. Oppoſite to the civill Peace, and the lives of Millions, ſlaughter'd upon this ground, in mutuall perſecuting each others Conſcience, eſpecially the Proteſtant and the Papiſt. Oppoſite to the Souls of all Men, who by perſecutions are raviſhed into a diſſembled Worſhip, which their Hearts imbrace not. Oppoſite to the beſt of Gods ſervants, who in all Popiſh and Proteſtant States have been commonly eſteemed and perſecuted, as the only Schiſmaticks, Hereticks, *&c.* Oppoſite to that Light of Scripture which is expected yet to ſhine, which muſt by that Doctrine be ſuppreſt as a new or old Hereſie or Noveltie. All this in all Ages experience teſtifies, which never ſaw any long liv'd Fruit of Peace or Righteouſneſſe to grow upon that fatall Tree.

The danger and miſchiefe of bringing Moſes *his Pattern into Kingdomes now ſince Chriſt Jeſus his comming.*

FINIS.

APPENDIX.

THE following intereſting letter from the Rev. Dr. Underhill, was received too late for the Narraganſett Club to avail themſelves of all the "tracings" which it deſcribes. The original tract it appears has two titles, the firſt, which does not differ eſſentially from the ſecond, being on the outſide or cover. The words "all Independents," which are given in the TRANSCRIPT from which the "Queries" have been reprinted, and hence found in the title publiſhed in our Biographical Introduction to the Writings of Roger Williams, were added, it will be obſerved, with a pen, by Mr. Thomaſin, the Collector of the Commonwealth pamphlets in the Britiſh Muſeum.

BAPTIST MISSION HOUSE,
2 John Street, Bedford Row,
LONDON, March 1, 1867.

MY DEAR SIR:

I have now the pleaſure of forwarding you the tracings of Roger Williams's "Queries." They are all the titles and headings the tract contains. The copyiſt (F. E. Tucker) has given the ſhadings as near as poſſible, as well as the imperfections of the typography. On both title pages there are ſome pen and ink additions. Theſe are ſaid by the Librarian of the Britiſh Muſeum to be in the handwriting of the collector. You probably know that the Collection of Commonwealth Pamphlets in the Muſeum was the work of a man named Thomaſin, who ſold his collection to Charles II.; ſo that this valuable ſeries came to be the poſſeſſion of the Crown. George IV. gave it to the Muſeum. The collector it ſeems was in the habit of placing on every copy the exact date of its publication. Thus on the ſecond title he has written Feby. 19, 1643—that is of courſe old ſtyle. We ſhould now ſay 1644; but the collector wiſhed doubtleſs to be very accurate, and ſo corrected a very common practice among publiſhers, of dating their publications forward when near the end of a year. He has alſo on this page added in ink "all Independents" to the names of the five miniſters. The ink of 1643 in this ſecond page is rubbed, as the tracing ſhows, and ſo the collector added 1643 again above. Curiouſly on the third page the head ornament is printed upſide down. The tracings are ſo good, that I have not thought it neceſſary to get a photograph; but I can do this if you ſhould ſtill deſire it. I ſhall be very happy to aſſiſt you in any further work of the ſort. * * * *

Believe me to remain
Yours very truly,
EDWARD B. UNDERHILL.

MR. REUBEN A. GUILD,
Librarian Brown Univerſity.

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