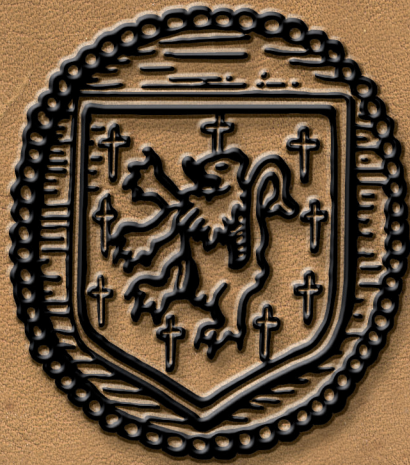
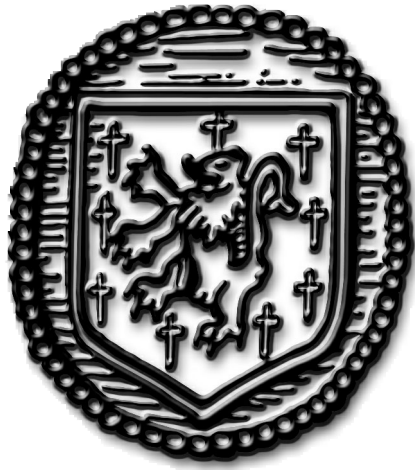


The Complete Writings of Roger Williams



Volume 7

THE
Complete Writings of
ROGER WILLIAMS



Roger William's Personal Seal

THE
COMPLETE WRITINGS
OF
ROGER
WILLIAMS

VOLUME SEVEN



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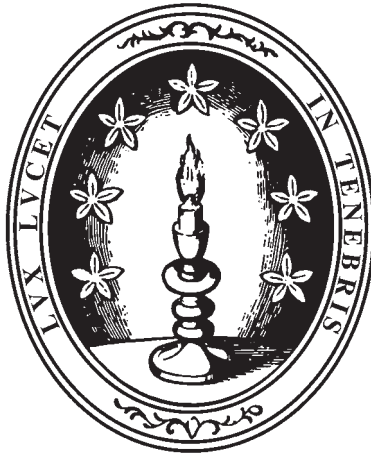
Thou hast given a *standard* to them that fear thee;
that it may be displayed because of the truth.

-- *Psalms 60:4*

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THE WALDENSIAN EMBLEM

lux lucet in tenebris

“The Light Shineth in the Darkness”

THE COMPLETE WRITINGS OF ROGER WILLIAMS
IN SEVEN VOLUMES

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VOLUME VII

Publisher's Foreword
ROGER WILLIAMS: An Essay in Interpretation
by Perry Miller
Christenings make Not Christians
Experiments of Spiritual Life and Health
The Fourth Paper Presented by Major Butler
The Hireling Ministry None of Christs
The Examiner—Defended in a Fair and Sober Answer

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.

THE COMPLETE WRITINGS OF ROGER WILLIAMS

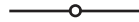
*Issued in Seven Volumes in a Limited Edition
of Four Hundred Sets*

Published in 1963 by Russell & Russell, Inc.

Library of Congress Catalog Card Number: 63-11034

Printed in The United States of America

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Publishers' Foreword

THE warm reception accorded by the reading public in 1953 to Perry Miller's book, *ROGER WILLIAMS, His Contribution to the American Tradition*, has encouraged the Publishers to set the present edition before the academic world. The necessarily brief excerpts which were woven into the narrative of that book have whetted the curiosity of students and scholars for a wider knowledge of Williams' text and matter. For many, however, the study has had to be pursued under severe handicaps. The original editions are excessively rare and costly. The few reprints made in the nineteenth century are not to be had merely by inquiry in antiquarian bookshops. As for the collected writings, almost ninety years have passed since the final volume of the *Narragansett Edition* was delivered to subscribers. Fewer than 200 sets were printed. This too is scarce, and this scarcity has been aggravated by the ravages of time on a brittle paper that crumbles to the touch.

If Roger Williams' very words were to be read again, another collection of the works had to be provided. In an ideal world of dedicated scholars and unlimited funds, nothing less than an entirely re-edited edition would be called for. Preliminary investigation indicated that such an edition would take years to prepare, and careful estimates of printing and editorial costs suggested a finally prohibitive price. The constitution of the present edition was adopted as a happy compromise. It has the immediate advantage of making available literal and authentic texts of Williams' writings. The first six volumes are an exact

reprint of the *Narragansett Edition*; the five tracts not printed therein, together with new forewords and Prof. Miller's essay, make up the seventh volume.

Care has been taken to ensure texts of the utmost fidelity. The eccentric spelling, the whimsical use of capitals and italics, even the most egregious printer's errors, all have been retained as conforming to the canons of usage adopted by the *Narragansett* editors. For their volumes these scholars provided annotations which are models of erudition. It would be a rash editor indeed who would attempt to improve upon them, except in matters of minor detail and emphasis. Reuben Aldridge Guild's Biographical Introduction, it must be confessed, is sadly out of date. It should be read in conjunction with any of the several biographies written by James Ernst, Samuel Brockunier, or Ola Winslow. The twentieth century reader, stumbling momentarily over the archaic *f*, should regard its retention by the editors as no more than a sentimental attachment to an antique type face.

The sophisticated student who has worked with 17th century books will accommodate himself readily to this irritant, as he will to Williams' archaic constructions. The difficulties of Williams' style, we venture to say, have been exaggerated. Although the texts have been corrupted by numerous printer's errors, Williams' spelling is itself so inconsistent as to discourage editorial tampering. What difference that in one line appears the spelling *Jews*, and in the next, *Jewes*? A modern reader capable of finding the important words in any sentence will be more amused than distracted by his emphatic use of italics. The punctuation is a more difficult matter. By modern standards there is too much of it. Williams was barely acquainted with the period, and dearly loved the comma. It is possible to become momentarily lost among the hedgerows of his parentheses. An occasional sentence has to be retraced in order to rescue the sense from the semi-colons. Notwithstanding these reservations, the sympathetic reader will discover that the punctuation has its own rationale. This was as much a part of his style as his vocabulary. It enforces its own discipline, a close reading of each word.

Williams' rhetoric requires the reader's complete attention. The sentences are long. Parallels are heaped one upon the other. The ques-

tion and answer form in which he cast his disputations leads to tedious repetition. In the 17th century, theological controversy stretched out interminably because its etiquette, its dialectic, required the protagonists to dot every "i" and to cross every "t." Williams' forensic writings deal only with a few basic ideas. Because they were important ideas, and because he held them steadfastly against redoubtable opposition, there are also passages of superb prose in these pages. In each successive tract he returns to the same conclusions. He will not rest. He will not be silent. His persistence triumphs over the tiresome polemics, and makes them finally bearable. The reader becomes aware of a massive and overwhelming sincerity.

No century is likely to speak the last word about Roger Williams. To his contemporaries he was the arch-radical of his time, a dissenter, a non-conformist. The nineteenth century revered him as a prophet of religious liberty who dared to test his principles in a small corner of America. Now in our own time his definition of freedom needs re-examination. Against the mass conformity pressing upon us from every side, modern man may be forced to erect the barrier of Williams' central idea, the sanctity of the individual and his inviolable conscience. How he came to hold this principle so tenaciously, Perry Miller undertakes to clarify on the following pages.

ROGER WILLIAMS

An Essay in Interpretation

by PERRY MILLER

I

IN Geneva, Switzerland—within what was in the sixteenth century the mighty fortress of John Calvin—stands a massive monument to the memory of the Calvinistic wing of the Reformation. In the center are the four most majestic figures: Calvin himself, Guillaume Farel, Theodore Beza, John Knox. Flanking them on either side are the militant warriors of the many nations in which Calvinism fought, perished, or conquered. All but one are obvious choices, soldiers of the faith: Gustavus Adolphus for Sweden, William the Silent for Holland, Coligny for France, Oliver Cromwell for England, men who in the certainty of their calling and election waged bloody battles against the unregenerate. The exception is the space assigned to American Calvinism. In that portico there stands—to the never-ending bafflement of American tourists—not John Winthrop, John Cotton, nor Cotton Mather; not even Jonathan Edwards, nor Lyman Beecher, no military hero at all.

The stolid inaccurately costumed statue is of Roger Williams. Beside him, in letters of stone are inscribed words from *The Bloudy Tenent of Persecution*. His "orthodox" contemporaries in New England have been heaving in their graves ever since that monument was erected.

In their eyes, Roger Williams was the arch-radical of the age or of any age, a demon of discord and subversion who fancied himself an angel of light. This image of the man is extremely difficult for us to recapture. The cause with which his name is forever associated, that of absolute religious liberty, has become for citizens of the United States so much taken for granted, at least as it relates to the service of the lip, that it has been reduced to a platitude. American visitors to Geneva may for a moment be astonished at encountering Williams there, but quickly accept him as being somehow, even though a Calvinist, a forerunner of Thomas Jefferson and the First Amendment to the Constitution. Thus they can salute him in passing, and immediately forget all about him. His "persecutors" can likewise be comfortably classified as intolerant bigots, and dismissed forthwith. Few realize that he is today, if he be listened to, as serious a threat to any sort of "establishment" as he was visibly to that constructed by the Puritans in Massachusetts Bay.

The admiration of posterity for the founder of Providence is so perfunctory because his heirs do not even begin to grasp the reasoning that drove him to his magnificent protest against persecution. He is not a rationalist whose liberalism rests in part upon a cynical indifference toward theological niceties. He did not demand freedom for all believers (or unbelievers) out of a deficiency of piety, but from an exuberance of it, from an extravagance of fervor.

He did not conceive the prohibition of a state church to be a negative device, but as a positive gesture, strengthening human reason with the immeasurable grace of God. He was not a humanitarian outraged by the cruelties of fanaticism, but a "seeker" after an unattainable perfection. He would build a wall of separation between state and church not to prevent the state from becoming an instrument of "priestcraft," but in order to keep the holy and pure religion of Jesus Christ from contamination by the slightest taint of earthly support. He beheld in

the ecclesiastical order of New England not what its apologists claimed for it, a primitive Christianity purified of the last remnants of Popery and restored to the simplicity of the New Testament, but rather a prostitution of the churches to the foul embraces of the civil power. To him "The Way of the Churches in New England" was more insidious than Rome had ever been, because it was more fiendishly hypocritical.

At his trial in October, 1635, Governor John Winthrop (who personally cherished a warm affection for Williams) solemnly enumerated the four charges upon which, once they were proven, Williams had "banished himself" from the polity of Massachusetts [Vol. I, 23; II, 40-49]. Firstly, Williams had maintained that the colony could not hold its title to the land by a royal charter, for King Charles never owned the soil in the first place, and so had no right or power to bestow it. The true owners were the Indians, and they should have been paid for the territory (as Williams later scrupulously did in Rhode Island). Clearly for the Bay authorities to allow this kind of talk to be disseminated would bring down upon it the wrath of the Crown. Viewed in the context of the already delicate relations of the colony to London, Williams had on this matter made himself a menace to their society; rationally he could and should be silenced.

Secondly, he was accused of propounding that no unregenerated man could lawfully be required to pray, nor to swear upon his oath. Clearly this notion, if enacted into official policy, would destroy the legal system, paralyze the courts, and empty the churches. On this score also, the banishment of Williams makes perfect sense.

Thirdly, he had stated it unlawful to hear any ministers who had not formally repented of their having served in the pulpits of the "parish" assemblies of England. In other words he was demanding that Massachusetts Bay openly declare that it had "separated" from the Church of England. But at the cost of an immense expenditure of casuistry, defenders of the New England Way had established a base for the thesis that they never had and never would secede from their beloved Mother; that they had only transported some of her Children to the wilderness, and there reformed the assemblies according to the model set forth in the New Testament. In the course of time they hoped the

parish churches of England would be likewise reformed. As a demonstration of their loyalty they insisted upon all possible occasions that the churches of the home land were "true" churches, even though for the moment unfortunately defective in ritual and in manner of admitting members to the Lord's Supper. The basic legitimacy of the Massachusetts enterprise, without which it had no reason for being, hung upon its unwavering insistence that it was not Separatist. Again Williams was not merely a social nuisance, but a real danger to the very structure of that society. Any government in its right mind would and should exterminate him.

The fourth article of the indictment is variously phrased in the several accounts, but the purport of it is clear. John Cotton put it [Vol. II, 41] that Williams had said the civil power should be limited to only the outward state of mankind. Other versions have it that he denied the magistrate any right to enforce obedience to "the First Table"—that is, to the first four of the Ten Commandments, they being of a purely personal and subjective nature, not, like those against murder or adultery, susceptible of objective adjudication. But to any state existing in the early seventeenth century the power to police the consciences of its subjects was conceived to be a sacred trust, given it by the laws of God and of Nature. The responsibility for enforcing conformity was a deep one, reaching to the innermost being of the individuals, not restricted to mere externals. Whatever language Williams may have used, his assertion could have struck his colleagues only as utter madness. In any Christian community it would automatically call for stern measures. We can thus perceive that while the first three counts against him were grave enough to justify the Court's action, the head and front of Williams' offending is contained in this fourth article. Here was the seedling which he would nurse to a great flowering in *The Bloudy Tenent*.

There is little evidence that the General Court of Massachusetts which tried Roger Williams had any later qualms about the necessity of its decision. Public policy required it. Indeed the disowning of Williams' Separatism by the Massachusetts Puritans was a timely assist to the propaganda of their brethren in London. Puritan spokesmen in England, who were striving in 1635 to walk the ever more precarious

tightrope of non-separation, even while agitating for more reform, rushed a grateful letter of congratulation to John Winthrop.

Nor did those who banished Williams ever show, publicly at least, any uneasiness over "enlarging" him out of Massachusetts. Indeed the leaders of Calvinist New England for a century thereafter did not recognize in him a hero of the region's culture. Cotton Mather in the *MAGNALIA* (1702) opened his account of Williams with an elaborate allegory, "In the year 1654, a certain windmill in the Low Countries, whirling round with extraordinary violence by reason of a violent storm then blowing; the stone at length by its rapid motion became so intensely hot as to fire the mill, from whence the flames, being dispersed by high winds, did set a whole town on fire. But I can tell my reader that, above twenty years before this, there was a whole country in America like to be set on fire by the rapid motion of a windmill in the head of one particular man." This vivid passage from so prominent a spokesman underlined the image of Williams' role as a divisive and inflammatory character. It had been an unpleasant episode.

In the nineteenth century, when the "standing order" of Connecticut was abolished (1818), and at long last that of Massachusetts (1833), the states were yielding to the pressures of that age, but they were not in any conscious manner following the leadership of Roger Williams. In 1876 the General Court of Massachusetts entertained a petition to rescind the sentence of banishment, and probably would have yielded, except for a passionate tract, *As to Roger Williams*, written by a learned historian of Congregationalism, the Reverend Henry Martyn Dexter, conclusively demonstrating that on the four counts listed by Winthrop the accusation of being incendiary was sufficiently proved and the sentence entirely just. In the twentieth century a legislature, largely made up of Catholics, officially revoked the judgment, apparently without serious objection from the Brahmin families of Boston. They no longer cared.

Thus Roger Williams, if viewed in a strictly historical perspective, is a relatively minor character. He furnishes an episode in the history of Massachusetts. He is the chief pioneer of Rhode Island, but only one among the obstreperous band who finally created the colony, more

by good luck than by good management. As for any direct influence of his thought on the ultimate achievement of religious liberty in America, he had none. Only after the spread of the enlightenment, after the teachings of Jefferson, the First Amendment, and the sheer multiplication of denominations had made the "voluntary principle" the only possible mode of religious activity, would liberals, including reluctant ones, look back with pleasure upon Roger Williams and salute in him an almost forgotten prophet of themselves.

This secular interpretation of Roger Williams is a misreading of his real thought. It is altogether too easy to render him the greatest honor without truly coming to grips with the deeper springs of his dissent. To understand him rightly we must recognize that his slant was theological not political. What did he actually say? We have not bothered to read *The Bloudy Tenent* closely, to study the whole book to the revealing final chapters, beyond number eighty-five, there to extricate from Williams' rhetorical eloquence the real ground for his heresy, the open secret of his radicalism.

It is his writings that reveal the true issue between Williams and the spokesmen for the New England theocracy; between him and Winthrop; between him and John Calvin. The issue was not at all the content of the four indictments. It was rather the broad, the undermining, the truly dangerous conviction from which he deduced these specific corollaries. The difference was an irreconcilable opposition between two methods of reading the Bible.

Let us quickly remind ourselves that for this society, even more than for that of Geneva or Holland, the Bible was the all-encompassing rule of human existence, social or individual. Wherefore a division of this sort was no mere textual business, nothing to be resolved by objective scholarship. It was a concern of life and death. Roger Williams was a "typologist." John Cotton and his colleagues were "federalists." Williams held that the historical Israel was a "type" that had been absorbed into the timeless and a-historical "antitype" of Jesus Christ. Cotton and his friends held that God had entered into a covenant with Abraham to nominate a chosen people, that Christ was the seal upon this covenant, which continued still to bind Him and His people together.

They founded their social and historical endeavor upon the reality of this temporal and organic development from Palestine to Boston, out of which came a solid system of interpreting the growth, the step-by-step unfolding of Christianity. Without this demonstrable continuity human history would be meaningless; without it the Christian community would dissolve into chaos.

But Williams, by treating the Israel of Moses, Abraham and Isaac as a "figurative" prophecy of a purely spiritual and invisible church (which by its nature would be utterly alienated from any physically embodied political order) was putting a chasm between the Old Testament and the New. He was cutting off the present from its origins.

Consequently, when he wrote that he would prove [Vol. III, 316] "that the *state of Israel* as a *Nationall State* made up of *Spirituall* and *Civill power*, so farre as it attended upon the *spirituall*, was meerly figurative and typing out the *Christian Churches* consisting of both *Jewes* and *Gentiles*, enjoying the true power of the *Lord Jesus*, establishing, reforming, correcting, defending in all cases concerning his *Kingdome* and Government," Williams was hacking savagely at the root of every ecclesiastical organization through which Western civilization had striven to confine the anarchical impulses of humanity. If he was correct then all coherence was gone, not only theological but social; there could then be nothing but make-shift and fallible expedients, such as a "social compact" too tenuous to claim any sanctions which a rebel need respect. If he was correct, the colonization of New England was a gigantic and senseless blunder.

2

THE fascinating and probably impenetrable mystery about the mind of Roger Williams is just how he could have become so obsessed by

typological lore as to extrapolate out of it his ecclesiastical radicalism. We do not know enough about his intellectual biography to say from what sources he acquired the awesome insight. Since Reuben Aldridge Guild wrote his biographical introduction to the Narragansett Club edition, researchers have turned up many more factual items in the story. For example, we may now be persuaded that he was born in 1603 and assuredly not in 1599; furthermore, and fundamentally, that he was born in London, not in Wales, and was a city boy. But little or nothing has been revealed about his reading. Lacking any documentary evidence we are compelled to assume that somewhere he must have fallen upon some tract or several treatises in the literature which circulated surreptitiously among Protestant scholars. At Pembroke, his college in Cambridge, he may have heard some lecturer bold enough to venture into the forbidden terrain. Or it may have been that a repeated admonition from his elders to eschew the black magic inspired in one of his temperament a determination to find out for himself.

Certainly the passion with which Williams embraced the esoteric system distinguishes him from all contemporary pioneers of religious freedom. The tracts listed by Samuel L. Caldwell as fellow advocacies along with *The Bloody Tenent* [Vol. III, x-xiii] take their stands on quite other grounds. Chief among these was the pragmatic calculation of English Independents that if all sects were free to enjoy their own ways of worship, they would then cheerfully unite against the repressive tyranny of the Church of England, and thereafter against the new presbyter when he revealed himself to be "old priest writ large." Oliver Cromwell wanted soldiers who would fight; he understood that the discipline of the New Model Army did not require a theological uniform. An Arminian could charge as fiercely as a Calvinist, an Anabaptist could kill as many cavaliers as an Antinomian. This mode of renouncing the bloody tenent is quite alien to Williams' thought. Neither Cromwell nor many of his cohorts indulged in speculations about the relation of Israel as a type to Christ the antitype. We do not know how many readers were even equipped to follow Williams' fantastic windings.

But in 1644 the still dominant Presbyterians sensed enough treason

in *The Bloudy Tenent* to have Parliament order it publicly burned. There is no evidence that it meant anything more to them than it means to modern historians—a trenchant attack upon their attempt to impose religious uniformity. In the long run they were to be thwarted by the beef-and-ale realism of the English minority sects, and not by the shifting hallucinations of typology.

The several introductions and notes to the Narragansett Club volumes show that scholars as tenderly devoted to the texts as these editors could not seize the significance of the language spread before their eyes. Their emphasis throughout is upon the Williams who objected to the use of political compulsion to regulate belief and worship. They frequently see the central point of his argument, that such a policy makes the state a dictator to the church as to what is the truth of Christianity; but they do not perceive his underlying paradox, that truth cannot be dictated to a church whose essence is that its truth is perpetually to be sought for—in places other than the sea or the land to which the state is abjectly confined.

More recent studies exhibit the same blindness. The best of them, Ola Elizabeth Winslow's *Master Roger Williams* (1957) summarizes the meaning of *The Bloudy Tenent* thus: "Freedom of conscience in matters of religion is an individual human right, and civil and religious must be kept separate in the government of a state." The trouble with this report is not that it misrepresents Williams, but that it reduces his poetry to platitudinous prose. Miss Winslow ignores the presence of "type" and "antitype" almost to the same degree as did the Narragansett Club editors. The fatal inaccuracy in all these accounts lies in the use of a language of exegesis best described as "secular historiography." Insensitive to the ethos of the time, the scholars translate Williams into terms applicable to Cromwell or to Jefferson, terms which simply do not apply to the fervent typological passion of Roger Williams.

There may be a clue to the springs of Williams' thought in the fact that before he sailed for New England (December 1, 1630) he had already become a convinced Separatist. Soon after his arrival he refused a call to the First Church of Boston because they were "an unseparated people." In 1627 he had signed the Cambridge Subscription Book,

agreeing to use the Book of Common Prayer. But a reference in *The Bloody Tenent Yet More Bloody* [Vol. IV, 65-66] indicates that he had recanted, for at a meeting in Essex in 1629 he was scolding John Cotton and Thomas Hooker for still using the Book. Winthrop had not heard of this development, and at first hailed Williams as "a godly minister." He was deeply shocked when Williams revealed how far he had gone into Separatism by rejecting the best pastoral opportunity in the colony.

Now it is a fact that within the literature of early Separatism, most of it printed surreptitiously, there can be discovered a tendency to indulge in typological flights. Both the Presbyterians and Independents held a conception of church organization, of creedal orthodoxy, and above all of institutional continuity, which enabled them to insist, at least to themselves, that they were loyal to the Church of England even while actively "reforming" it from within. By the same token they stoutly adhered to Calvin's hostility to this dangerously subjective form of Biblical exegesis, typology. Those who had the courage, or the foolhardiness, to break with the rule of uniformity and to plunge into separation "without tarrying for any" were often ready to leap also into this intellectual gulf. In either form of action the Separatists would be violating the Puritans' determination to keep their movement from becoming an anarchical revolution.

Williams was so intense a Biblicist that he made little use, in his writings, of secondary sources, of the works of the Fathers, or of Protestant theologians. He simply presented his own reading of the Testaments, whether out of cunning or bland innocence, as being so obvious that the charge of perversity in refusing to recognize the obvious is by implication turned against John Cotton. Yet in the first *Tenent* he does mention "That most despised (while living) and now much honoured Mr. Ainsworth" [Vol. III, 307]. Henry Ainsworth was an early Separatist who fled persecution to Amsterdam, and there in 1596 became minister of a church-in-exile whose tumultuous internal discords were constantly adduced to the Puritans as proof of the folly of secession. He was the author of a series of "annotations" on books of the Old Testament, the most eloquent being *Annotations of The Five Books of*

Moses, The Psalms, and The Song of Solomon published in London, 1627; this book is replete with typological divinations. However we hardly need seek in such sources alone for Williams' addiction. It may after all be quite adequate to explain his behavior in terms of his personality. One whom Governor Edward Winslow of Plymouth Colony called, even while firmly disagreeing with him, "the sweetest soul I ever knew" was bound by that very sweetness to recoil before the notion of a brutal uniformity forced upon the church, and a dogmatic rendition of the voluptuous enigmas of the two Testaments. On either score, but especially upon both together, he would find himself in opposition to the orthodox mentality. Hence he would appear to that mentality not at all a martyr for the cause of conscience, but one who wantonly invited his own destruction.

3

BEYOND a doubt the time has come for this discourse to pause for a few definitions of terms, even though hewed out roughly. It is necessary to bear in mind that typology took shape in Patristic centuries as a scheme for interpreting the New Testament in the light of the Old. At the same time, and more importantly, it provided a method of showing their interconnection. After all, viewed with the mildest of sceptical eyes, and even more so when seen through the eyes of unconverted pagans, the two anthologies may well seem to be separate books, each capable of standing by itself, and not related to each other beyond the geographical location of their stories. Indeed, Judaism by resisting conversion would stand for centuries as a challenge to the New Testament that it pertained in the slightest degree to the Old. Persecution of the Jews was one way of answering this charge, but not intellectually satisfying. No problem in Christian thought was more threatening, more

persistent, more exasperating than that of establishing a plausible continuity, a convincing rationale of an unbroken progress from Abraham through Christ to the Pope and the Archbishop of Canterbury all the way to the Congregational churches of New England.

On no other article of the creed, however knotty—the dual nature of Christ, the Trinity, the Eucharist—has organized Christianity been so sensitive, felt itself so vulnerable. Mere assertion that the Testaments were both divinely inspired, that the authors were supernaturally guided, promised again and again to collapse in the face of an incorrigible suspicion that they had been joined together by artificial human contrivance. What, to speak frankly, could be the inherent relation between the biography of Joseph and that of the crucified Christ? And what could the history of Solomon in his harem have to do with that of Christ in Gethsemane?

Various programs of reconciliation have been propounded: the fulfillment of prophecies, traditions, and the many evolutionary ideas from St. Augustine's *City of God* to Rauschenbush's *A Theology for the Social Gospel*. The mighty *Summa* of Thomas Aquinas in part evaded the issue by taking proof-texts indifferently from either Testament, using them as basic propositions for logical exemplification, while in another part brought the problem to heel by a subtle doctrine of the fourfold levels of meaning in Scripture. By discriminating first the historical level, then the moral, and thereafter the allegorical, and finally the anagogical, Thomas enabled Scholasticism to weave so complex a web around the whole of Revelation that the two segments were inextricably enveloped. But somehow, despite these immensely learned arguments, the simple mortal anxiety persisted. Why should one, deeply concerned about his salvation, seeking the grace of God by the worship of Christ on the Cross, pay any heed to the miserable affair of David and Bathsheba?

Typology was a way of forging a link between the Testaments which did not depend upon any ingenious or manufactured theory of historical transmission. It said, albeit in many ways, that all events in the Old Testament and all episodes of the kingdom of Israel were only physical rehearsals of spiritual significances ultimately to be made intelligible

in the New Testament. They were awkward, often stunted, premonitions of acts to be performed in the culminating drama of the Passion. In the typological view of the matter, we might say that the Old Testament would become what Elizabethan Englishmen—and Williams was one of these—called in their theatre the “dumb-show.” *Hamlet* exemplifies to us the relation of this kind of prologue to the actual play; it foretells but it does not make clear; it mystifies and alerts the intelligence; but it would be meaningless unless followed by the perfected and realized performance. So, for instance, Joseph was cast into the pit and after three days was lifted out of it. Joseph as an historical personage, a body living in a certain time and place, has no relation to Christ and therefore no more meaning than any other person in the past. But Joseph as a “type,” of which the resurrected Christ is the “anti-type,” yields up his true being, his timeless significance. History therefore is not development; it is repetition, increasing through time in intensity, but not moving through graduated stages. History gains its deepening insight, not by becoming aware of an evolutionary direction, but by irregular bursts of consciousness, by discovering more and more the intimations which flicker through the prophetic soul. The illuminations of typology are outside all the logics of progression. There is no organic descent from the state church of Jerusalem to the political bodies of church and state in Massachusetts. Wherefore those bodies are not allowed to deal with dissenters as the Kings of Israel proceeded against heretics.

Meanwhile, of course, in the world of normal causality, sequence remains unbroken. Empires rise and fall, and in any of them a murderer may be tried and executed for physically harming society. The decisive break in chronology was the mission of Christ, the one irruption by spiritual eternity into the merely historical flow. With Him everything in the Old Testament, which up till that moment had been no more than a factual record of a particular people and its dealings with a divinity, became an entirely different kind of book—it became “figurative.” Wherefore after Him, the relations of His faithful believers with earthly authority can be only civil. They are to be judged, where judgment is called for, by the most utilitarian of interests. The

magistrates may be of any persuasion—professing Christians, or pagans, or savage Indians. Christian men as seculars are concerned with the justice of the laws, but as recipients of grace they are not in the slightest involved in any quest for a flawless society on this earth. They conform to statutes, but they die a thousand deaths in the spirit.

By this form of argument David and Solomon are not to be condemned for executing Jewish heretics; in fact the justice or injustice of their administrative actions is irrelevant, except in a “figurative” sense. They ruled over both the civil and spiritual kingdom. But no Christian magistrate since the Resurrection can play the dual role. No ruler, Spanish, English, or Bostonian, has any right to punish one who dissents from his idea of true Christianity, even if the offender appear irretrievably anti-Christian. All typical regimes have been abolished in the consuming light of the disclosure of their hidden secret; they have given way to the antitype, which is the true church, radically “separated” from pretended religious institutions, such as the parish churches of England and the Book of Common Prayer. No national church may any longer claim to be in covenant with God, and least of all the churches of New England. Advertising themselves as purified, they remain “national” because they are still hugging the poisonous pretensions. There is no longer any community that can regard itself as chosen; there is no such thing as “God’s country.”

If we wish to approach the center of Williams’ impassioned reasoning, we must bring our minds around, however painful the effort, to an understanding of what his religious opponents could not abide in his intellectual make-up, what many students still find offensive. By treating the Old Testament as figurative he did not explicitly deny that it was also valid as a chronicle of facts. But in effect he demoted that aspect of the sacred books to virtual insignificance. The true thread on which they are strung was a sort of literary, a rhetorical, schematism. Churches which in Christian times claim the right to act upon the precedents of Israel are confusing categories hopelessly. They are attempting to act in prose what can only be expressed in poetry. In a way, the Old Testament may or may not be an accurate copy of what actually happened, but the question is immaterial. For man’s receptivity it is a work of the imagination. It is not historical, it is dramatic.

To put this emphasis upon Williams is to employ terms used in literary criticism. But Williams, we can be assured, was no theorist of the "creative" mind. He could not have conceived of the Bible "as literature," a twentieth-century notion. He was a Calvinist theologian endeavoring to frame anew the issue between the individual conscience and authority in a post-Reformation world. Yet he does appertain to what modern scholars call the literary or at least symbolizing turn of mind, rather than the historical. He advocated the apprehended meaning, disregarding archaeological and philological interpretations in their historical context. All this he conveyed in lengthy expositions of the terrible consequences to modern nations that must follow a "literal" application of the parallel of Jerusalem. For example the deduction in *The Bloody Tenent* [Vol. III, 282] that by this pedantry "—such as know no *Church* estate, nor *God*, nor *Christ*, yea every wicked person and evill doer, must be hanged or stoned, &c. as it was in Israel." By a failure of literary sensitivity the churches of New England have fallen into a contradiction, trying to be Congregational, yet acting "nationally." "What *riddle* or *mysterie*, or rather *fallacie* of Sathan is this?"

We have only to contrast Williams' approach with that of orthodox New England, with the conception of a legitimacy based upon the continuous covenant, to perceive why the orthodox had to see in Williams their most dangerous foe. He declared at the end of the chapter cited above, and elsewhere a thousand times, that they who follow Moses' church constitution, "which the *New English* by such a practice implicitly doe, must cease to pretend to the Lord *Jesus Christ* and his *institutions*." Massachusetts Bay and Connecticut and Plymouth first tried to surround him, and then were compelled to quarantine him. Their greatest leaders, Winslow, Bradford, Winthrop, esteemed him, even loved him. His implacable foe, John Cotton, could shed tears over him which were not those of the crocodile. If they saw him as a firebrand, it was not because he proclaimed the doctrine of liberty for all consciences, but because he set up a conception of cause and effect, within the framework of time, which made every Protestant assertion of the civil authority in matters of religion a blasphemy against their own Saviour. New England theocracy was taking its stand on grounds no different from those on which the Vatican was built. Williams equated

the Assembly of New England, which in 1648 drew up the Cambridge Platform, with the Inquisition. Both interpreted their mission to be the continuation of the typical policy of Israel, persecution of one another in the name of the true religion. Both were equally criminal.

The only resolution of the insane and bloody situation was for Christians of all persuasions to learn the readily available lesson of typology; for Christ to rise from the ashes of Joseph, for the crucifixion to lead to no earthly kingdom at all, either Protestant or Catholic, but to the undefined, undefinable yet all comprehensive fellowship of the inscrutable Gospels.

Something of this nature is the heart of Roger Williams' matter. He does not anywhere, it must be admitted, put it so bluntly. His "prolixitie," which he himself ruefully acknowledged, interferes with his directness. But then most religious writers to whom the figures, the emblems, the shadows, the images of divine things have been of major concern are illusive and elliptical. They would rather skirt about the inexpressible than make a frontal attack upon it. If this reading be permitted, it follows that the real objective in Williams' writing was not an assertion of the political wisdom of tolerating dissenters of all sorts so long as they did not disrupt the secular state. This aspect of his teaching he summarized for the common understanding of his fellows of Providence in the oft-quoted letter of 1655 [Vol. VI, 278-9]. In the more complex works, *The Key* and the two *Tenents*, he intended something deeper, something less egalitarian.

He meant that only the true Christians—of whom there are not many—will understand the dis severance of Christian conviction from formal conversion. By this conviction the spiritual church is committed to resist any compulsory Christian state. Williams was never preaching a Christian utopia. He was saying that those who have received the blessing must ever resist the self-appointed virtuous trying to inflict communal formulations upon others. He found strength for such resistance in an esoteric science; and he pressed its logic hard enough upon the community to make trouble for everybody. Call him, if you will, perverse, or obscurantist, eccentric. Yet he did say what a few great Christian spokesmen have put differently (one thinks of the typological strain,

for instance, in Pascal) : break, break with the past—or else concede yourself to worldliness. Williams was the one worldling, in the terms of his time, who would never, never concede an inch to worldliness.

4

IN the area of theological doctrine Williams was a sound, one may even say a conventional Calvinist. Only those students of the twentieth century who are unfamiliar with the Puritan literature of the early seventeenth century are surprised to discover so much fervid eloquence within the iron cage of the creed. Williams belonged to the same intense breed as Thomas Hooker and Thomas Shepard. Had he been as orthodox as they his sermons would have survived to be printed alongside their vibrant eloquence. What would we not give now to have an example of his pulpit rhetoric? To repeat, his theology was conventional. He did not contract the slightest taint of the "Antinomianism" which the banished Anne Hutchinson carried into Rhode Island, there to create discord, secure in the tolerant climate he had created. He does not hint at any relaxation of his acceptance of the decrees of election and reprobation. Not in any measure was he an Arminian. Arrogant as he sometimes sounds, and self-righteous as his enemies held him to be, he sees no merit whatsoever in the unregenerated will of the natural man. The terror of innate depravity is always with him. As the *Experiments* disclose, he prayed for and depended utterly upon the grace of God. He would not invoke the civil authority to strike down the Quakers. He nobly protested against their persecution by Massachusetts, but their heretical theology appalled him, as his *George Fox Digg'd Out of His Burrowes* [Vol. V] tediously shows.

He has hardly a trace of rationalism, despite the amount of it which modern eulogists attribute to him. He employed a certain amount

of the logic he had learned at Cambridge in his disputations, though even here he depended more upon the rush of rhetoric. He respected the untutored intellects of the Indians, but not because they exhibited any of the virtues which the eighteenth century would assign to the noble savage. In *The Examiner Defended*, 1652 [Vol. VII], he attacked most specifically the "Cultus Naturalis." Undoubtedly he sensed a growing disposition in Cromwellian England toward a natural and rational religion as a refuge from the proliferation of jarring sects. But the "light of nature," Williams declared, is nothing but "a downright Doctrine of *Free-will*, in depraved nature." The experience of mankind attests the reality of original sin. There is no ground for attributing "so much *Light* to any of the *Eldest* and *Gallantest* sons of Nature" to believe they could attain to a saving knowledge of God and of the articles of true belief, the Trinity, the Incarnation, the Creation, "or to any thing but *Splendidum Peccatum*, without the Revelation of the *Word* and *Spirit* of God, out of his absolute, free, and peculiar Grace and Mercy in Christ Jesus."

In all doctrinal respects Roger Williams was as rigidly unbending as Thomas Hooker himself, and probably was more correct confessionally than John Cotton, who in the Anne Hutchinson crisis came perilously close to deviation. Yes, Williams the arch-liberal in polity was in his creed a conservative Biblicist. Not only did he use a minimum of secondary sources in his arguments, preferring to depend upon the Bible and nothing but the Bible, but he held a low opinion of secular and rationalistic scholarship in general. Just as he endeavored to wrest religion from the grasp of the state, so also did he seek to separate true piety from the learning taught at Oxford and Cambridge. The only difference between him and the Massachusetts Bay oligarchy was the peculiar maggot in his brain which drove him to interpret his Bible by a method which respectable scholars for centuries had branded as being, at its best, irresponsibly whimsical, and at its worse, criminally insane.

So, had he been no more than a Calvinist who had contracted this strange illness, we should be obliged to share Cotton Mather's wish that some apothecary could have administered a purge to cure Williams

of typology. In the late Middle Ages a kind of typological craze seized upon European theologians, especially the rhetoricians; the cult of it ran riot and produced a mystagogic maze in which, it seemed to the Reformers, the Scriptures were being strangled. The Reformation sought to destroy the whole structure. Calvinists insisted as the primary article of their hermeneutics that only one reading of the Bible is permissible, and that is the historical, literal purport. They had had a surfeit of, to use a modern phrase, "types of ambiguity." In the opinion of the New England Puritans the doctrine of the continuous unbroken covenant reaching from Abraham to the end of time was not only plain in the entire structure of the two Testaments, but it was also sane, reasonable, noble. In fact "federalism" was not really a doctrine at all; to John Cotton and his brethren it was the Bible. To them Williams' resort to typology was a relapse into a fever which the Reformation believed it had nursed to health. He was a dog returning to the vomit of a decadent scholasticism.

No doubt the name of Roger Williams would deserve to be celebrated were he only the prophet of religious liberty in the terms which nineteenth century eulogists thought sufficiently honorific. At first sight, then, it may appear that no more glory can accrue to him from pointing out that he adhered to a highly suspect mode of exegesis. But it is suggested that when we penetrate to this ground of his thinking, and grasp what this signified for the humanity of his time, he justifiably enlists our sympathy, and aligns us correctly against his persecutors. Out of his typological meditations, bizarre as they may have been, he emerged with a generous conviction that no man could say for certain what is ultimate truth. This was not a sceptical or agnostic resting place. On the contrary this realization empowered him to say with the utmost of positive conviction, "Having bought Truth deare, we must not sell it cheape." For him, the Christian predicament—which was also the glory of Christianity—was to hold what the believer conceives to be truth with fierce tenacity, yet never attempting to impose that truth upon the minds or souls of other men. Williams proved that he could practice this difficult etiquette in his relations with the Indians. He would tell them about Christianity if they asked questions. He would not lift a finger

or raise his voice to convert them, see *Christenings Make Not Christians* [Vol. VII].

Williams' insight into this pit invites comparison with the way modern existentialism has tried to illuminate the same darkness. When the truth-seeker, anxious and insecure, declares that what was being sought has now been found, and then turns to compelling others to accept his discovery, he has not found anything which deserves the name of truth. He is simply indulging the hysterical compulsions of his own will. In Calvinistic language he no longer lives by grace, but by an insensate depravity masquerading as righteousness. The persecutor supposes that he is working in the freedom given by God to the elect; actually he is enslaved to his own wilfulness. Playing out the masquerade he offers the accused heretic the right to defend his heresy. But the heretic knows, says Williams in one of his best sentences [Vol. III, 277], that "he disputes in *feare*, as the poor *theefe*, the *Mouse* disputes with a terrible persecuting *Cat*: who while she seemes to play and gently tosse, yet the conclusion is a proud insulting and devouring crueltie." John Cotton was destroying whatever dignity the doctrine of the covenant might justly claim when he employed it to subdue the unsubduable Roger Williams.

When the long debate between Williams and Cotton is seen in these flickering lights, the essence of their disagreement may here and there be glimpsed. The typology of Williams may be wild and impressionistic, but it enabled him to step aside from the juggernaut of historical continuity. It freed him from the vise of consistency in which Cotton and Puritanism, in their misguided assurance, strove to incarcerate the sprawling luxuriance of human experience. It is a plea for an awareness of the infinite depths of human consciousness.

It is well to remember that for both men the ultimate concern was salvation. Neither could find any other word to signify a resolution of man's ordeal. In this respect they started from a common premise; they addressed each other in terms which were, at the beginning, mutually comprehensible. But Cotton endeavored to cut short the dialogue by making the answer seem easy. He repeatedly declared [Vol. III, 64] that the fundamentals of true belief are so clear and simple that anyone in his right mind must be convinced once they are properly explained

by competent instructors; therefore if he still persists in his disbelief, he is being wilfully obstinate and may justifiably be persecuted "for sinning against his own conscience."

Literalists like Cotton could not begin to comprehend Williams' ripostè [Vol. III, 64, 70] that genuine Christians may be utterly wrong in all the fundamentals and resist every endeavor to set them to rights, yet no pious breast should "imagine that they are not saved, and that their soules are not bound up in the bundle of *eternall life*." It should not surprise us that an antagonist like John Cotton could not understand how Williams moved from their original proposition, the supreme necessity of salvation, to this logically absurd conclusion that men may be saved whose Christianity is manifestly fallacious. But if Cotton could not grasp the notion, neither, it seems, can Williams' modern admirers follow the dialectic.

Williams was accused, even by those who loved him, of pride, of imperiousness, of conceit. Yet a student who applies himself to a close study of Williams' writing, though frequently irritated by his prolixity and pedantry, will soon come to know why even those who persecuted him had also to love him. To such a student Williams becomes most valuable—nay, truly invaluable—not merely because he propounded the idea of religious liberty to unheeding ears in America, but because underneath his arrogance lies a humility which true freedom begets. Supremely this grace concludes his letter to Major Mason of Connecticut when that colony was cruelly trespassing on the soil of Rhode Island [Vol. VI, 350]: "As to myself, in endeavoring after your temporall and spirituall peace, I humbly desire to say, if I perish, I perish. It is but a shadow vanished, a bubble broke, a dream finished. Eternity will pay for all."

This is the man who also said that we must not sell Truth cheap, "no not for the saving of Soules, though our owne most precious." All authentic messengers of Jesus Christ, he told John Cotton [Vol. III, 172], "are esteemed seducing and seditious teachers and turners of the World upside downe." To learn to know, even a little, the mind and heart of Roger Williams, especially for those complacent admirers who suppose that he was as they are, is to find the world ecstatically and generously turned upside down.

FOREWORD TO

Christenings Make Not *CHRISTIANS*

ROGER WILLIAMS sailed from London in the summer of 1644 and landed at Boston September 17th carrying with him a most important document, the Parliamentary charter for the "Providence Plantations in the Narragansett Bay in New England." This meant that Rhode Island henceforth was, as far as Parliament could make it, a legal entity with guaranteed rights equal to Massachusetts and Connecticut. He was also equipped with a letter signed by twelve powerful leaders requesting safe passage through Massachusetts to Providence, couched in polite language which the Bay authorities knew was a command.

Behind him in London lay copies of four publications, the fame of which had already reached and profoundly disturbed Boston. They were the further fruits of his dramatic year as emissary for Providence Plantations—*A Key into the Language of America*, *Mr. Cotton's Letter Lately Printed*, *Queries of Highest Consideration*, and *The Bloudy Tenent*. Evidently he left in the hands of friends the short manuscript which was issued in January, 1645, under the title *Christenings Make Not Christians*. On the first page, as a second title, he explained that it was a discourse "concerning that name *Heathen*." It is an essential part of the cluster of the first five utterances, and forms a link between *A Key* and *The Bloudy Tenent*.

A Key into the Language of America is a crude but picturesque

endeavor in anthropology and linguistics, yet it reveals Williams' striking success in getting along with the Indians—indeed of winning their respect and affection. Also it suggests that one reason for this success was the respect he showed for native customs and religion, even though "heathen." In *Christenings Make Not Christians*, he makes clear again that he took no advantage of his prestige to press them into becoming professing Christians. He could, he remarked, have brought the whole country to baptism and observance of the Sabbath, but conscientiously refrained.

The Bloody Tenent provides the clue for this curious manifestation of self-denial—which his orthodox brethren considered the height of perversity. The explanation, of course, lies in Williams' dedication to the uses of typology. While Israel was *the* chosen people, while it was "figuratively" forecasting the Gospel, it was the exclusive church of God. But once the partition was broken down, "and in respect of the *Lords* speciall proprietie to one Country more then another, what difference between *Asia* and *Africa*, between *Europe* and *America*, between *England* and *Turkie*, *London* and *Constantinople*?" Because no one nation could any longer stand in a typical relation to the spiritual antitype, then all nations are on the same footing, which is no more than that of maintaining law and order according to local conventions. Hence it followed that no Englishman or Christian could rightly look down upon the Indians as inferior or barbarian, and attempt to "civilize" them by converting them.

In this amazing pamphlet Williams lays particular stress upon an argument that enraged his Puritan critics. If, he said, by the admission of the godly throughout Protestantism, the vast majority of the people, even of England and Scotland, remain unconverted, then they too are as "heathen" as the Narragansetts. Then, if Europe is in fact Christian in name only, and not in reality, why bring the simple children of the wilderness into this conspiracy of civilized hypocrisy?

In the years when the Narragansett Club was preparing its edition of Williams' writings the existence of this tract was hardly suspected. It was not until 1881 that Henry Martyn Dexter uncovered the long-lost pamphlet in the Thomason Collection in the British Museum,

where it had lain uncatalogued for almost 250 years. Unique in contents, the presence of this little book remains literally unique. It is the only known surviving copy. Dexter's note, somewhat compressed, of its dramatic discovery is given below.

"Some years since, in studying Robert Baylie's *Dissuasive From the Errours of the Time*, I came upon three citations which he credits to 'Williams, Of the name Heathen;' and since that time have diligently searched in every probable locality for such a book. Last winter in London almost my first opening of the Catalogue of the British Museum was to Williams's name, trusting that, since former searches there, the missing treatise might have been added to their shelves. My endeavor was vain. But 26 March last, having occasion there to consult R. Fage's *Lawfulnessse of Infants Baptisme*, that treatise came to my desk bringing with it, among the eight or ten pamphlets bound together, the long-sought tract, *Christenings Make Not Christians.*" H.M.D., Sept., 1881.

Christenings

make not

CHRISTIANS,

OR

A Briefe Discourse concerning that
name *Heathen*, commonly given to
the INDIANS.

*As also concerning that great point of their
CONVERSION.*



Published according to Order.

London, Printed by Iane Coe, for I. H. 1645.

A Briefe Discourse concerning that
name *Heathen*, commonly given to
the INDIANS

*As also concerning that great point of their
CONVERSION.*

I Shall first be humbly bold to inquire into the name *Heathen*, which the English give them, & the Dutch approve and practise in their name HEYDENEN, signifying Heathen or Nations.

How oft have I heard both the English and Dutch (not onely the civill, but the most debauched and profane) say, These *Heathen* Dogges, better kill a thousand of them then that we *Christians* should be indangered or troubled with them; Better they were all cut off, & then we shall be no more troubled with them: They have spilt our *Christian* bloud, the best way to make riddance of them, cut them all off, and so make way for Christians.

I shall therefore humbly intreat my country-men of all sorts to consider, that although men have used to apply this word *Heathen* to the Indians that go naked, and have not heard of that One-God, yet this word *Heathen* is most improperly sinfully, and unchristianly so used in this sence. The word *Heathen* signifieth no more then *Nations* or *Gentiles*; so do our Translations from the Hebrew **גוים** and the Greeke **ἔθνη**, in the old and New Testament promiscuously render these words *Gentiles*, *Nations*, *Heathens*.

Why Nations? Because the Jewes being the onely People and Nation of God, esteemed (and that rightly) all other People, not only those that went naked, but the famous BABYLONIANS, CALDEANS, MEDES, and PERSIANS, GREEKES and ROMANES, their stately Cities and Citizens, inferiour themselves, and not partakers of their glorious privileges, but Ethnicke, Gentiles, Heathen, or the Nations of the world.

Now then we must enquire who are the People of God, his *holy nation*, since the coming of the Lord Jesus, and the rejection of his first typicall holy Nation the Jewes.

It is confest by all, that the CHRISTIANS the followers of Jesus, are now the onely People of God, his *holy nation*, &c. ἔθνος ἅγιον I. *Pet.* 2.9.

Who are then the *nations*, *heathen*, or *gentiles*, in opposition to this *People of God*? I answer, All People, *civilized* as well as *uncivilized*, even the most famous States, Cities, and the Kingdomes of the World: For all must come within that distinction. I. Cor. 5. *within* or *without*.

Within the *People of God*, his Church at CORINTH: *Without* the City of CORINTH worshipping *Idols*, and so consequently all other People, HEATHENS, or NATIONS, opposed to the People of God, the true *Jewes*: And therefore now the naturall *Jewes* themselves, not being of this People, are *Heathens*, *Nations* or *Gentiles*. Yea, this will by many hands be yeilded, but what say you to the *Christian world*? What say you to *Christ endome*? I answer, what do you thinke *Peter* or *John*, or *Paul*, or any of the first Messengers of the Lord Jesus; Yea if the Lord Jesus himselfe were here, (as he will be shortly) and were to make answer, what would they, what would he say to a CHRISTIAN WORLD? TO CHRISTENDOME? And otherwise then what He would speak, that is indeed what he hath spoken, and will shortly speake, must no man speak that names himselfe a Christian.

Herdious in his Map of his CHRISTIAN WORLD takes in all *Asia*, *Europe*, a vaste part of *Africa*, and a great part also of *America*, so far as the *Popes Christnings* have reached to.

This is the CHRISSION WORLD, or Christendome, in which respect men stand upon their tearmes of *high opposition* between the

CHRISTIAN and the TURKE, (the Christian shore, and the Turkish shore) between the CHRISTIANS of this Christian WORLD and the JEW, and the CHRISTIAN and the HEATHEN, that is the naked *American*.

But since *Without* is turned to be *Within*, the WORLD turned CHRISTIAN, and atheittle *flocke* of JESUS CHRIST hath mforvellously increased in such wonderfull conversions, let me be bold to aske what is Christ? What are the Christians? The Hebrew משיח, and the Greeke χριστος will tell us that Christ was and in (is) the *Anointed* of God, whom the prophets and Kings and preists of Israel in their *anointings* did prefigure and type out; whence his followers are called χριστιανοι christians, that is *Anointed* also: So that indeed to be a *christian* implyes two things, first, to be a follower of that anointed one in all his Offices; secondly, to pertake of his anointings, for the Anointing of the Lord Jesus (like to the anointings of AARON, to which none might make the like on pain of death) descend to the skirt of his garments.

To come nearer to this Christian world, (where the world becomes christian holy, anointed, Gods People, &c.) what saith John? What saith the Angel? Yea, what saith Jesus Christ and his Father (from whom the Revelation came *Revel* I.I.? What say they unto the *Beast* and his Worshipers *Revel*. 13.

If that *beast* be not the *Turke*, nor the *Roman Emperour* (as the grossest interpret) but either the generall counceles, or the catholike church of *Rome*, or the Popes or Papacy (as the most refined interpret) why then all the *world*, *Revel*. 13. ὅλη ἡ γῆ *wonders* after the *Beast*, worships the *Beast*, followeth the *Beast*, and boasts of the *Beast*, that there is none like him, and all People, Tongues, and Nations, come under the power of this *Beast*, & no man shall buy nor sell, nor live, who hath not the marke of the *Beast* in his *Fore-head*, or in his hand, or the number of his name.

If this *world* or *earth* then be not intended of the whole terrestriall Globe, *Europe*, *Asia*, *Africa* and *America*, (which sence and experience denyes) but of the *Roman earth*, or world, and the People, Languages, and Nations, of the *Roman Monarchy*, transferred from the *Roman*

Emperour to the *Roman Popes*, and the *Popish Kingdomes*, branches of that **ROMAN-ROOT**, (as all *history* and content of time make evident.)

Then we know by this time what the Lord Jesus would say of the Christian world and of the *Christian*: Indeed what he saith *Revel.* 14. If any man worship the *Beast* or his *picture*, he shall drinke &c. even the dread fullest cup that the whole Booke of God ever held forth to sinners.

Grant this, say some of *Popish Countries*, that notwithstanding they make up Christendome, or Christian world, yet submitting to that *Beast*, they are the *earth* or *world* and must drinke of that most dreadfull cup: But now for those nations that have withdrawn their necks from that *beastly yoke*, & protesting against him, are not Papists, but Protestants, shall we, may we thinke of them, that they, or any of them may also be called (in true Scripture sence) *Heathens*, that is Nations or Gentiles, in opposition to the People of God, which is the onely holy Nation.

I answer, that all Nations now called *Protestants* were at first part of that whole Earth, or main (**ANTICHRISTIAN**) Continent, that wondered after, worshipped the *Beast*, &c. This must then with holy feare and trembling (because it concernes the **KINGDOME** of God, and salvation) be attended to, Whether such a departure from the *Beast*, and coming out from **ANTICHRISTIAN** abominations, from his markes in a false conversion, and a false constitution, or framing of **NATIONALL CHURCHES** in false **MINISTERIES**, and ministrations of **BAPTISME**, *Supper of the Lord*, *Admonitions*, *Excommunications* as amounts to a true perfect Hand, cut off from that Earth which wonderd after and worshipped the *Beast*: or whether, not being so cut off, they remaine not *Peninsula* or necks of land, contiguous and joyned still unto his *Christendome*? If now the bodies of Protestant Nations remaine in an unrepentant, unregenerate, naturall estate, and so consequently farre from hearing the admonitions of the Lord Jesus, *Math* 18. I say they must sadly consider and know (least their profession of the name of Jesus prove at last but an aggravation of condemnation) that Christ Jesus hath said, they are but as *Heathens* and *Publicanes*, *vers.* 17. How might I therefore humbly beseech my country

men to consider what deepe cause they have to search their conversions from that *Beast* and his *Pisture*? And whether having no more of Christ then the name (beside the invented wayes of worship, derived from, or drawn after *Romes pattern*) their hearts and conversations will not evince them unconverted and *unchristian Christians*, and not yet knowing what it is to come by true Regeneration within, to the true spirituall Jew from without amongst the Nations, that is *Heathens* or *Gentiles*.

How deeply and eternally this concerns each soule to search into! yea, and much more deeply such is professe to be Guides, Leaders, and Builders of the HOUSE of God.

First, as they look to *Formes* and *Frame* of Buildings, or Churches. Secondly, as they attend to *Meanes* and *Instruments*, &c.

Thirdly, as they would lay sure Foundations; and lasting Groundsells.

Fourthly, as they account the cost and charge such buildings will amount unto.

Fifthly, so they may not forget the true spirituall matter and materials of which a true House, Citty, Kingdome, or Nation of God, now in the new Testament are to be composed or gathered.

Now Secondly, for the hopes of CONVERSION, and turning the People of *America* unto God: There is no respect of Persons with him, for we are all the worke of his hands; from the rising of the Sunne to the going downe thereof, his name shall be great among the nations from the East & from the West, &c. If we respect their sins, they are far short of *European* sinners: They neither abuse such corporall mercies for they have them not; nor sin they against the Gospell light, (which shines not amongst them) as the men of *Europe* do: And yet if they were greater sinners then they are, or greater sinners then the *Europeans*, they are not the further from the great *Ocean* of mercy in that respect.

Lastly, they are intelligent, many very ingenuous, plaine-hearted, inquisitive and (as I said before) prepared with many convictions, &c.

Now secondly, for the Catholicks conversion, although I believe I may safely hope that God hath his in Rome, in Spaine, yet if Antichrist be their false head (as most true it is) the body, faith, baptisme,

hope (opposite to the true, Ephes. 4.) are all false also; yea consequently their preachings, conversions, salvations (leaving secret things to God) must all be of the same false nature likewise.

If the reports (yea some of their owne *Historians*) be true, what monstrous and most inhumane conversions have they made; baptizing thousands, yea ten thousands of the poore Natives, sometimes by wiles and subtle devices, sometimes by force compelling them to submit to that which they understood not, neither before nor after such their monstrous Christning of them. Thirdly, for our *New-england* parts, I can speake uprightly and confidently, I know it to have been easie for my selfe, long ere this, to have brought many thousands of these Natives, yea the whole country, to a far greater Antichristian conversion then ever was yet heard of in *America*. I have reported something in the Chapter of their Religion, how readily I could have brought the whole Country to have observed one day in seven; I adde to have received a *Baptisme* (or washing) though it were in *Rivers* (as the first *Christians* and the Lord *Jesus* himselfe did) to have come to a *stated Church meeting*, maintained priests and formes of prayer, and a whole forme of *Antichristian* worship in life and death. Let none wonder at this, for *plausible perswasions* in the mouths of those whom naturall men esteem and love: for the power of prevailling forces and armies hath done this in all the *Nations* (as men speake) of *Christendome*. Yea what lamentable experience have we of the *Turnings* and *Turnings* of the *body* of this Land in point of Religion in few yeares?

When *England* was all *Popish* under Henry the seventh, how easie is conversion wrought to halfe Papist halfe-Protestant under *Henry* the eighth?

From halfe-Protestanisme halfe-Popery under *Henry* the eight, to absolute Protestanisme under Edward the sixth: from absoluer Protestation under *Edward* the sixt to absalute popery under Quegne *Mary*, and from absolute Popery under Queene *Mary*, (just like the Weather-cocke, with the breath of every Prince) to absolute Protestanisme under Queene *Elizabeth* &c.

For all this, yet some may aske, why hath there been such a price in my hand not improved? why have I not brought them to such a con-

version as I speake of? I answer, woe be to me, if I call light darknesse, or darknesse light; sweet bitter, or bitter sweet; woe be to me if I call that conversion unto God, which is indeed subversion of the soules of Millions in *Christendome*, from one false worship to another, and the prophanation of the holy name of God, his holy Son and blessed Ordinances. *America* (as *Europe* and all nations) lyes dead in sin and trespasses: It is not a suite of crimson Satten will make a dead man live, take off and change his crimson into white he is dead still, off with that, and shift him into cloth of gold, and from that to cloth of diamonds, he is but a dead man still: For it is not a forme, nor the change of one forme into another, a finer, and a finer, and yet more fine, that makes a man a convert I meane such a convert as is acceptable to God in Jesus Christ, according to the visible Rule of his last will and Testament. I speake not of Hypocrites, (which may but glister, and be no solid gold as *Simon Magus*, *Judas* &c.) But of a true externall conversion; I say then, woe be to me if intending to catch men (as the Lord Jesus said to *Peter*) I should pretend conversion) and the bringing of men as mistical fish, into a *Church-estate*, that is a converted estate, and so build them up with *Ordinances* as a converted Christian People, and yet afterward still pretend to catch them by an after conversion. I question not but that it hath pleased God in his infinit pittie and patience, to suffer this among us, yea and to codvert thousands, whom all men, yea and the persons (in their personall estates converted) have esteemed themselves good converts before.

But I question whether this hath been so frequent in these late yeares, when the times of ignorance (which God pleaseth to passe by) are over, and now a greater light concerning the Church, Ministry, and conversion, is arisen. I question whether if such rare talents, which God hath betrusted many of his precious Worthies with, were laid out (as they shall be in the Lord's most holy season) according to the first pattern; I say, I question whether or no, where there hath been one (in his personall estate converted) there have not been, and I hope in the Lords time shall be, thousands truly converted from *Antichristian Idols* (both in *person* and *worship*) to serve the living and true God.

And lastly, it is out of question to me, that I may not pretend a *false conversion*, and *false state of worship*, to the true Lord Jesus.

If any noble *Berean* shall make inquiry what is that true conversion I intend; I answer first negatively.

First, it is not a conversion of a People from one false worship to another, as *Nebuchadnezzar* compeld all Nations under his Monarchy.

Secondly, it is not to a mixture of the manner or worship of the true God, the God of Israel, with false gods & their worships, as the People were converted by the King of *Assyria*, 2, Kin. 17. in which worship for many Generations did these *Samaritans* continue, having a forme of many wholesome truths amongst them, concerning God and the *Messiah*, Joh. 4.

Thirdly, it is not from the true to a false, as *Jereboam* turned the ten Tribes to their ruine and dispersion unto this day, I. Kin. 12.

Fourthly, it must not be a conversion to some externall submission to Gods Ordinances upon earthly respects, as *JACOBS* sons converted the *Sichemites*, *Gen.* 34.

Fiftly, it must not be, (it is not possible it should be in truth) a conversion of People to the woship of the Lord Jesus, by force of Armes and swords of steele: So indeed did *Nebuchadnezzar* deale with all the world, *Dan.* 3. so doth his *Antitype* and *successor* the *Beast* deal with all the earth, *Rev.* 13. &c.

But so did never the Lord Jesus bring any unto his most pure worship, for he abhorres (as all men, yea the very *Indians* doe) an unwilling Spouse, and to enter into a forced bed: The will in worship, if true, is like a free Vote, *nec cogit, nec cogitur*: *JESUS CHRIST* compells by the mighty perswasions of his Messengers to come in, but otherwise with earthly weapons he never did compell nor can be compelled.

The not discerning of this ttuth hath let out the bloud of thousands in civill combustions in all ages; and made the whore drunk, & the Earth drunk with the bloud of the Saints, and witnesses of Jesus.

And it is yet like to be the destruction & and dissolution of (that which is called) the Christian world, unlesse the God of peace and pity looke downe upon it, and satisfy the soules of men, that he hath not so required. I should be far yet from unsecuring the peace of a City,

of a Land, (which I confesse ought to be maintained by civill weapons, & which I have so much cause to be earnest with God for) Nor would I leave a gap open to any mutinous hand or tongue, nor wish a weapon left in the hand of any known to be mutinous and peace-breakers.

I know (lastly) the consciences of many are otherwise perswaded, both from Israels state of old, and other Allegations; yet I shall be humbly bold to say, I am able to present such considerations to the eyes of all who love the Prince of truth and Peace, that shall discover the weaknesse of all such allegations, and answer all objections, that have been, or can be made in this point. So much negatively.

Secondly, affirmatively: I answer in generall, A true Conversion (whether of *Americans* or *Europeans*) must be such as those Conversions were of the first pattern, either of the Jewes or the Heathens; That Rule is the golden *Mece wand* in the hand of the Angell or Messenger, *rev. II. I.* beside which all other are leaden and crooked.

In particular: First, it must be by the free proclaiming or preaching of Repentance & forgiveness of sins. *Luk. 24.* by such Messengers as can prove their lawfull sending and Commission from the Lord Jesus, to make Disciples out of all nations: and so to baptize or wash them *εἰς τὸ ὄνομα* into the *name* or *profession* of the holy Trinity, *Mat, 28. 19 Rom. 10. 14. 15.*

Secondly, such a conversion (so farre as mans Judgement can reach which is fallible, (as was the judgement of the first Messengers, as in *Simon Magus*, &c.) as is a turning of the whole man from the power of *Sathan* unto God, *act. 26.* Such a change, as if an old man became a new Babe *B 2 Joh. 3.* yea, as amounts to Gods new creation in the soule, *Ephes, 2. 10.*

Thirdly, Visibly it is a turning from Idols not only of *conversation* but of *worship* (whether *Pagan*, *Turkish*, *Jewish*, or *ANTICHRISTIAN*) to the Living and true God in the waies of his holy worship, appointed by his Son, *I Thes. I. 9.*

I know Objections use to be made against this, but the *golden Rule*, if well attended to, will discover all crooked *swerwings* and *aberrations*.

If any now say unto me, Why then if this be *Conversion*, and you have such a *Key of Language*, and such a dore of *opportunity*, in the

knowledge of the Country and the inhabitants, why proceed you not to produce in *America* some patternes of such conversions as you speake of?

I answer, first, it must be a great deale of practise, and mighty paines and hardship undergone by my selfe, or any that would proceed to such a further degree of the Language, as to be able in propriety of speech to open matters of salvation to them.

In matters of Earth men will helpe to spell out each other, but in matters of Heaven (to which the soule is naturally so averse) how far are the Eares of man hedged up from listening to all improper Language?

Secondly, my desires and endeavours are constant (by the helpe of God) to attaine a propriety of Language.

Thirdly, I confesse to the honour of my worthy Countrymen in the Bay of *Massachuset*, and elsewhere, that I received not long since expressions of their holy desires and proffers of assistance in the worke, by the hand of my worthy friend Colonell *Humphreys*, during his abode there.

Yet fourthly, I answer, if a man were as affectionate and zealous as *David* to build an house for God, and as wise and holy to advise and incourage, as *Nathan*, attempt this worke without a *Word*, *Warrant* and *Commission*, for *matter*, and *manner*, from GOD himselfe, they must afterwards heare a voice (though accepting good desires, yet re-proving want of Commission) *Did I ever speak a word saith the Lord?* &c. 2. *Sam.* 7.7.

The truth is, having not been without (through the mercy of God) abundant and constant thoughts about a true Commission for such an Embassie and Ministry. I must ingenuously confesse the restlesse unsatisfiednesse of my soule in divers *main particulars*: As first whether (since the Law must go forth from *Zion*, and the word of the Lord from *Jerusalem*) I say whether Gods great businesse between Christ Jesus the holy Son of God and Antichrist the man of sin and Sonne of perdition, must not be first over, and *Zion* and *Jerusalem* be rebuilt and re-established, before the Law and word of life be sent forth to the rest of the Nations of the World, who have not heard of Christ: The Prophets are deep concerning this.

Secondly since there can be no preaching (according to the last Will and Testament of Christ Jesus) without a true sending *Rom.* 14. 15. Where the power and authority of *sending* and *giving* that *Commission Math.* 28 &c. I say where that power now lyes?

It is here unseasonable to number up all that lay claime to this *Power*, with their grounds for their pretences, either those of the *Romish* sort, or those of the *Reforming* or *Re-building* sort, and the mighty controversies which are this day in all parts about it: in due place (haply) I may present such sad *Queries* to consideration, that may occasion some to cry with DANIEL (concer-JERUSALEMS desolation *Dan.* 9) *Under the whole Heaven hath not been done, as hath been done to JERUSALEM:* and with JEREMY in the same respect, *Lam.* 2. 12. *Have you no respect all you that passe by, behold and see if there were ever sorrow like to my sorrow, wherewith the Lord hath afflicted me in the day of his fierce wrath.*

That may make us ashamed for all that wee have done, *Ezek.* 43 and loath our selves, for that (in whorish worships) wee have broken him with our whorish hearts *Ezek.* 9. To fall dead at the feet of JESUS, *Rev.* I. as JOHN did, and to weepe much as hee *Rev.* 5. that so the Lamb may please to open unto us that WONDERFUL BOOK and the seven SEALED MYSTERIES thereof.

Your unworthy Country-man
ROGER WILLIAMS.

FINIS.

FOREWORD TO
Experiments of *Spiritual Life*
and *Health*

IN THE YEAR 1650, or thereabouts, while away on a distant trading expedition, Williams received word from Providence that his wife Mary had been ill and was but lately recovered. Apparently he composed a long letter of consolation, to be delivered in person, since the dedication suggests that he carried the manuscript about with him and jotted down lines by the light of a fire in various wigwams. At any rate it is such a note of sympathy as only the purest of Puritans could devise in such a situation. Furthermore it displays the poetry and tenderness that lay so close beneath his rugged Calvinist surface.

“My *dear Love*, since it pleaseth the *Lord* so to dispose of me, and my affairs at present, that I cannot often see thee, I desire often to send to thee. I now send thee that which I know will be sweeter to thee then the *Honey* and the *Honey-combe*, and stronger refreshment then the strongest *wines* or *waters*, and of more value then if every line or letter were thousands of *gold* and *silver* . . . I send thee (though in *Winter*) an handfull of *flowers* made up in a little *Posey*, for thy dear selfe, and our dear children, to look and smell on, when *I as the grasse of the field shall be gone, and withered.*”

In 1652 the “little Posey” which Williams had tendered his wife

was printed in England. Apparently he had been prevailed upon to publish it "by the earnest *desire* of some *Godly Friends*" and "mine own *desire* of sowing a little handfull of *spirituall seed*. . . ." He says "the most of it was penned and writ (as seldom or never such discourses were) in the thickest of the naked Indians of America, in their very wild houses," . . . and that "the form and stile will seem, to this refined age, too rude and barbarous." Nevertheless it falls naturally into the long line of Puritan manuals of introspection, and withal, one of the most moving.

"Experiments" was a word variously used in Puritan devotional literature. It signified generally not the modern connotation but something closer to our "experiences." It also conveyed a sense of "evidences." Williams was endeavoring to cheer up his wife by summarizing the characteristic Christian, or at least Calvinist, ideal of behavior under the lash of adversity. At the same time he was offering her a scheme of "evidences" by which she could pass her own judgment on the state of her calling and election.

Since Calvinism dispensed with the Confessional and the Mass, it thrust upon the single individual, standing utterly alone, whether in Cheapside or in Rhode Island, the terrible task of an unrelenting, a merciless search of his own soul. The prospect was dismaying, the more so as the intensity of the examination mounted. The ocean of the heart is so uncharted that constant efforts had to be made by those who sailed it, to teach, as best they could, such sailors as Mary Williams, the rudiments of navigation. Since he was writing for a woman who assuredly was no scholar—he frankly tells her that she is slow in her "writing"—he does not confuse her mind with the subtleties of typology, but does endeavor to explain the uses of "parables and similitudes." Furthermore, the care he takes to document for her the texts which authorize his statements illustrates anew the intensely Biblicist character of Williams' mind. For the student of Williams this devotional book is of basic importance. Placed alongside the two *Tenents* it shows how Williams' ecclesiastical radicalism arose out of a profound Puritan piety. Here is the "root of the matter" which even Cotton Mather admitted was in him.

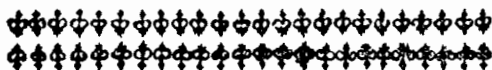
The last complete printing of *Experiments* was at Providence in 1863 by Sidney S. Rider. It may still have been in print some years later, and this remains the only plausible explanation for its omission from the Narragansett Edition. The Editors probably saw no good reason for duplicating a readily available and careful edition. Rider's note states that he was at great pains to obtain the use of one of the two known copies, to produce "a facsimile retaining, unchanged, all the obsolete words and phrases, with all the peculiarities of orthography." During the intervening century further copies have come to light, and the original may now be consulted in a number of the larger depositories of rare books in this country. An excellent modernized edition, edited by Winthrop S. Hudson, was published in 1951.

EXPERIMENTS
OF
Spiritual Life & Health,
And their
PRESERVATIVES

In which the *weakest* Child of God may
get *Assurance* of his Spirituall Life
and *Blessedness*

And the *Strongest* may finde proportionable *Discov-
eries* of his *Christian Growth*, and the *means* of it.

By *Roger Williams* of *Providence* in
New-England.



London, Printed, in the Second Month,
1652.

To the truly Honorable
the Lady *VANE*, the Younger

MADAM,

Your favourable, and Christian respects to me (both of former and latter date), your Godly and Christian Letters to me, so many thousand miles distant in America: And your many gracious Demonstrations of an humble and Christian Spirit breathing in you; are a three fold Cord which have drawn these lines into your presence.

While I have sometimes mused how to express a Christian gratitude, I am at last perswaded to crave your Ladyships acceptance of these poore Experiments of each true Christians personall union and communion with the Father of Spirits.

It is true, I have been sometimes prest to engage in controversies, but I can really and uprightly say, my Witnes is on high, how harsh and doleful the touch of those strings are, especially, against such Worthies both in old and new-England, in whom I joyfully before the world acknowledge (in many heavenly respects) a lively character and Image of the Son of God. This broken piece, is a breath of a still and gentle voice, none but the God of this world, and the men of this world, can I lightly (at this turne) expect my opposites

At other times I have been drawne to consider of the little flock of Jesus, his Army, his body, his building, that for these many hundred years have been scattered, routed and laid wast and desolat: At present, I onely examine who are the personall and particular Sheep of Jesus Christ, his Souldiers, his living materials, though scattered, divided, and not compos'd and ordred at their souls desire.

I confess (Madam) it was but a private and sudden discourse, sent in private to my poor Companion and Yoak-fellow, occasioned by a sudden sickness threatening death, into which, and from which it pleased the Lord most graciously to cast and raise her.

The forme and stile I know will seem to this refined Age, too rude and barbarous: And the truth is, the most of it was penn'd and writ (so as seldom or never such discourses were) in the thickest of the naked Indians of America, in their very wild houses, and by their barbarous fires; when the Lord was pleased this last year (more than ordinarily) to dispose of my abode and travell amongst them. And yet, is the Language plaine? it is the like Christs: Is the composure rude? such was his outward Beauty: Are the tryals (seemingly) too close? such is the two edged Sword of his most holy Spirit, which pierceth between the very Soul and Spirit, and bringeth every thought into the obedience of Christ Jesus.

Amongst the many Crowns of mercy (Madam) which it hath pleased the Father of mercies to crowne your soul with, as David speaks of his, Psal. 103. there are two which justly challenge (and your Ladyship I know doth humbly acknowledge them) to be the fairest.

1 Cor. 3. The first, That he himselfe most high, most holy, (who makes his common choice, the poor, Jam. 2. and chooseth few Lords, few Knights, few Ladies, (few wise, few noble, few mighty) hath freely chosen you Madam, in so gracious and blessed a measure, to desire to feare his Name.

A second, That for your dearest Companion and Guide in this vale of tears (amongst the famous Worthies of this age) he hath graciously guided you to such a blessed choice, of such an Husband on earth, who beares so bright an Image of your Husband in the Heavens, and in whose most holy and gracious hand, he hath been such a mercifull and faithfull Instrument, for both the freedoms both of the outward and inner man.

I doe humbly acknowledge (that upon an absolute account) all is mercy, and yet I am also humbly confident, that in a respect (as he graciously remembered his old friend Abraham, and tels us of a speciall love he yet bears the Jewes for Abrahams sake, even so, he hath graciously vouchsafed at this present an honorable remembrance to the Names of some of his more eminent former friends and witnesses.

*How hath he crowned the memory of those his 2 zealous Servants in K. Henry the 8th. his days * with a most eminent and blessed succession of such names and spirits at this day? and in a gracious remembrance of his love to that blessed daughter and witsesse of his the Lady Vane in Q. Maries dayes; how hath it pleased his wisdom and goodnesse, to remember and to honour that Name, both in your Ladiship and so many otherways, with so many loving kindnesses at this day?*

* Cromwel
and
Lambert

My humble cry (Madam) to the Lord shall never cease, those all those your many obligations of both temporall and eternall mercies, may (like chaines of Adamant) draw and bind your precious Soul more and more to resolve (by his grace assisting) to make his name great, who hath made your so and so love his Name, his Son, his Spirit, his Truth, his Children, that others at the Torch of your exemplary meeknesse and fear of God, may light and kindle theirs; That your Souls-eye more and more brightly may see him who is invisible, and may so experimentally resent

those invisible and internal Honors, pleasures, and profits that are in him that in comparison thereof the visible and worldly, may be accounted by you but dreams of shadows, etc. That your great desire may be a likeness of so high and holy, and so dear a Saviour, and (as in other excellencies so) in that especially of a desire of saving others, your Children, Kindred, Servants, Friends, yea, Enemies: that neither the pleasing calme of prosperity, nor the dreadful storms of changes, may quench or dampe that holy fire of your souls love (in Life and Death) to Him whom your Ladyship hath so much infinite cause to love, but never yet saw, in whom, and forever I desire to be

Your Honours unfeignedly faithfull
R. W.

To every truly CHRISTIAN READER.

As it is in the *Earthly*, so it is in the *Heavenly Marriage* of a poor *Sinner* to his *Maker*. There useth first to passe a *private* kindling of Love, and a *private consent* and *promise* (which sometimes are long) before the *open solemnity*, and the *publike profession* of a Married Life together. This is my present *designe*, (not to controvert the matters of *publike Order* and *Worship*, but) to present some poor *Experiments* of those Personall *excellencies* of each true beleaving soule and *spirit*. *Thy Maker is thy Husband, Isa. 52*

The Holy *Spirit* (in *Isaiah*) tels us of *Ballances* wherein the most *High* weighs the *Hills* and *Mountains*: As also in *Solomon*, of *Ballances* wherein hee weighs the very *Spirits*, even of men whose way is right in their owne eyes. And in *John* (14) he commands us to try the *Spirits*, pretending to come from *Christ Jesus*, whether they be of *God*, or no. *Isa. 40 Prov. 21.*

There is not the grossest *Protestant* or *Papist*, but pretends to the *Spirit* of *God*; yea that horrid *Monster Mahomet*, blusht not to avouch that in the *Forme* of a *Dove*, the holy *Spirit* of *God* did whisper in his *eare* from *Heaven*. Now blessed is that *Spirit*, *publike* or *private*, who is truly willing and joyfull to lye downe in the *Ballances* of the *Lords* weighings. *Great pretences to the Holy Spirit of God*

Hitherto tend these *Experiments* of personal Communion with *God* in the *Spirit of Holinesse*, *Rom.* 1.3.

To counterfeit the holy Spirit dreadful

'Tis true, all publike and private *Christian Spirits*, pretend the *Spirit of Holinesse*: yea, how great a part of the *World* pretend to be *Christendome*, the *Christian world*, that is, anointed with the *Spirit of Christ Jesus*? But was it *Death* in *Moses Rites* to counterfeit that ceremoniall and figurative *Ointment*, *Exod.* 30. what shall it be to counterfeit the *Spirit of Life and Holiness* it self? What I beleeve therefore (as *David* and *Paul* once spake) I freely speak: Yea, who can but speak (saith *Peter* and *John*) the Things they have seene and heard? I confesse I spake these first but in a private *Letter* in *America*, and thought not that the *light* in *Europe* should have seen them: But a two-fold *desire* hath prevailed with me to expose these *Tryalls* to the *Trying* of all men.

1. The earnest *desire* of some *Godly Friends*.

2. Mine own *desire* of sowing a little handfull of *spirituall seed* while the short *Minute* of my *seed-time* (the *opportunity* of life) lasteth.

The least of the little ones of Christ Jesus ought to rejoyce.

My scope is to fill each truly *Christian soule* with *triumphing* and *rejoycing*: I speak *peace* and *joy* to the *Weakest Lamb* and *Child* (in *Christianity*) that is so *low*, so *weake*, so *litle*, so *poor* in its owne eyes, that it sometimes saith, it hath no *Christ*, no *Spirit*, no *Faith*, no *Love*, no nor true *Desire* in it selfe. To this poore weake one I speak *peace* and *joy*, and say, this *spirituall poverty* is blessed, and is the first *step* or *round* of that *spirituall Ladder*, *Mat.* 5. Blessed are the poor in *spirit*, for theirs is the *Kingdome of Heaven*.

Secondly, I found joyfull *Alarums* of *Encouragement* to the *strong* to grow (as *Peter* exhorteth) in the *Grace* and *Knowledge* of the Lord *Jesus*.

'Tis true, the *communion* of *Saints* is *sweet* and joyfull, *strong* and powerfull, eternally *gainfull* and profitable; and

holy and blessed is that *Spirit* that makes the *Saints* (who are the *Excellent* of the Earth) its *Delight*, and after that blessed hour of the *Saints uniting in one Heart, one Spirit, one Worship*, let all that love *Christ Jesus* mourne and lament, and breath and pant: and yet the weakest and the faintest *Lamb* that comes but stealing in the Crowd to touch the hemb of the *Lord Jesus* his garment, that is content to be esteemed a *Dog*, and to wait for *crums* of *mercy* under the *Table* of the Son of *God*: let them I say rejoyce also, for he that hath begun that blessed work by his owne free and eternall *Spirit*, will by the same his owne holy *Arme*, gloriously finish it.

Communion of Saints most sweet, and to be lamented after.

I end (*Deare Christian*) with the *proposall* of two *Christian knots*, or *Riddles*, not unsuitable to these present *Times* and *Spirits*?

First, why is the *Heart* of a *David* himself (*Psa.* 30.) more apt to decline from *God*, upon the Mountaine of *Joy*, *Deliverance*, *Victory*, *Prosperity*, then in the dark *Vale* of the shadow of *Death*, *Persecution*, *Sickness*, *Adversity*, etc.

Two Christian Riddles, suiting these times and spirits.

Secondly, Why is it, since *God* worketh freely in us to *doe* and to *will* of his owne good pleasure, that yet he is pleased to command us to *work* out our owne *Salvation* with *Feare* and *Trembling*? Let us all humbly beg the *Finger* (the *Spirit*) of the Lord to untie these *Knots* for us.

I desire to be thine unfeigned in
 Christ Jesus,
 R. W.

The Contents of this Discourse.

The Heads are three.

Under the first are contained the Arguments of Spirituall Life, wherein the Weakest and the Sickest Child of God may finde its Spirituall Life apparent, though over-cast and eclipsed with spiritual Weaknesse and Distempers.

Under the second Head, Arguments of the strength and vigour of the Spirit of Life and Holinesse: In which the strongest and the eldest in Christ, may find Experiments of Spirituall Health, and Christian Activity and chearfullnesse.

These Experiments respect,

- 1. The Souls private correspondency with the Lord himselfe.*
- 2. Converse and correspondency with Men.*
- 3. Private Retirednesses with it selfe.*

Under the third Head are proposed some Means wherein the Spirit of God usually breatheth for the preserving and maintaining of a truly Spirituall and Christian Health and Chearfullnesse.

The Letter which the Author sent with this Discourse to his Wife *M.W.* upon her recovery from a dangerous sicknesse.

My Dearest Love and Companion in this Vale of Tears.

Thy late *sudden* and *dangerous Sicknesse*, and the *Lords* most *gracious* and *speedy raising* thee up from the *gates* and *jawes* of *Death*: as they were wonderfull in thine *own*, and others *eyes*, so I hope, and earnestly desire, they may be ever in our *thoughts*, as a *warning* from *Heaven* to make ready for a *sudden call* to be gone from hence: to live the rest of our *short uncertaine span*, more as *strangers*, longing and breathing after another *Home* and *Country*; To cast off our *great cares* and *fears* and *desires* and *joyes* about this *Candle* of this *vaine life*, that is so soon *blowne* out, and to trust in the living *God*, of whose wonderfull power and mercy thou hast had so much and so late *experience*, which must make thee sing with *David*, (Psal. 103.) *Blesse the Lord O my Soul, and all that is within me blesse his holy Name: Blesse the Lord, O my Soul, and forget not all his benefits, who forgiveth all thy sins, and healeth thine infirmities: who redeemeth thy life from destruction, and crowneth thee with mercy and loving kindnesse.*

*The true use
of sicknesse.*

My *dear Love*, since it pleaseth the *Lord* so to dispose of me, and of my affairs at present, that I cannot often see

thee, I desire often to send to thee. I now send thee that which I know will be sweeter to thee then the *Honey* and the *Honey-combe*, and stronger refreshment then the strongest *wines* or *waters*, and of more value then if every line and letter were thousands of *gold* and *silver*. *Hezekiah* upon his *recovery* from his *sickness*, made a writing (*Isai.* 38.) as an *everlasting monument* of his *praise* unto *God*, and as a *Goad* or *spur* to *himselſe* and *others* in the *wayes* of *godlinesse* for the future.

Thy *holy* and *humble* desires are *strong*, but I know thy *writing* is slow, and that thou wilt gladly accept of this my *poore helpe*, which with *humble thankfulnesse* and *praise* to the *Lord*, I humbly tender to his *holy service*, and thine in him.

*The outward
and inner
man.*

I send thee (though in *Winter*) an handfull of *flowers* made up in a little *Posey*, for thy dear selfe, and our dear children, to look and smell on, when *I as the grasse of the field shall be gone, and withered*.

Wee know how it pleaseth the *spirit* of *God* to distinguish between the *outward* and the *inner* man, *2 Cor.* 4. [Though our *outward* man perish; yet our *inner* is renewed day by day:] It hath pleased the most *high* to cast downe thy *outward* man, and againe graciously to lift him up, and thereby to teach us both, to examine and try the *health*, and *strength*, and *welfare* of the *inner*.

I will not now enter upon the *Disputes* about that *question*, what is the *Inner-man*, whether *Christ himselſe*, as some say, or an *Image* or *likenesse* of *Christ Jesus*, as others say. That is a *Candle* or *Torch* to me, which is written *Ephes.* 3. That *Christ* may dwell in your *Hearts* by *faith*: unto which agrees that of the first of *John*: As many as received him, that is received *Christ Jesus* into the *house* of their *hearts* to dwell there by *believing* and *obeying* of him, they are borne of the *Spirit*, and are the *Sons* of *God*.

This *Inner* man, this *new-man* (which after *God* is cre-

ated in *holinesse* and *righteousnesse*) I say, this *Inner-man* hath his *tempers* and *distemper*s, his *health* and *sickness*e, as well as this *outward-man* this *body of Clay*.

What the inner-man is.

Subject to many distempers

Hence we hear so often mentioned, the *renewing* of the *inward-man*, the *growing* and *increasing* of *Faith* and *Love*, and other *breathings* of *Gods Spirit*: the *losse* (that is in a measure,) of the *Ephesians first love*. Hence the many *falls* of the *Lords best Servants*, recorded in *Scripture*, and the *sleep* of the *Spouse of Christ Jesus*, although her *heart* wake in the truth of *marriage-love*, which can never wholly dye in her and be extinguished.

The holy *Scripture* mentioneth a *three-fold person* in all that are borne againe, First, the body of *Flesh* and *clay*, this *outward naturall being*, which must be dissolved and dye, then rise againe to *Glory*.

A threefold person in Gods children.

The second is the body of *corruption*, or *old man*, which being deadly wounded by the *Son of God* already in all that are his, shall shortly give up the *ghost*, and rot, and never rise again.

The third is this holy, heavenly *inner man*, of whose *health* and daily *renewing* I now discourse, who is born of an immortall seed, and therefore can no more die then *Christ* himself: *Rom. 6*.

Now as this *outward man* desires not onely *life*, and *being*, but also *health* and *cheerfulness* in all the living *motions* and *actions* thereof: So, (and much more ten thousand fold) requires the *inward* and *spirituall* man, an *healthfull* and *cheerfull temper*. For as the Lord loveth a *cheerfull giver*: So loves he also a *cheerfull Preacher*, a *cheerfull hearer*, a *cheerfull prayer*, and a *cheerfull sufferer* for his Name sake: He loves that the shoes of *preparation* be on our *feet* ready to run (all *wayes* and *weathers*) the *paths* of his *Commandments*: That like a *vessel* our *leaks* be stopt, and our whole *soul* be ready in an holy *trim*, and *tightness*, for all his holy employments of us in the

A spirituall cheerfull temper.

greatest *tempests*: that like heavenly souldiers, our *Arms* be fixt, or like an *Instrument*, the *strings* of our *affections* and *parts* be all in tune, to make heavenly *musick* in the holy *ears* of our heavenly *Lord* and *King*.

Tis true, as it is between a loving *couple*, (and as it was in the Church at *Ephesus*) it is not easie to keep in the first *flame* of *Love*, *fresh* and *equall*, although the *fire* of the *truth* and *sinceritie* of *marriage love* never die, or be extinguished.

*Spirituell
distempers.*

It is true that *Paul* cries out (how much more may we) *O wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from this body of death?*

Tis true, that sometimes *corruption* and *Satan surprize* and carry away the strongest *champions* of *Christ Jesus*, as *slaves* and *captives* for a time, untill *Christ Jesus* rescue, redeem and ransome, by giving *repentance* unto his *Israel*, as he did to *David*, *Peter*, *etc.* as *Abraham* rescued *Lot*, and as *David* recovered all his precious *captives*, led *slaves* away from *Ziklag*.

I am far therefore from passing the *sentence* of *death* upon the least of the little ones of *Jesus*, (notwithstanding their *Spirituell weaknes*, and *sicknesses*) in whom the least *spark* or breathing of the *spirit* of *Life* can be discerned.

And I desire to see and lament the *spirituell sicknesses*, and *diseases* of mine own and others *Spirits*, which yet are not unto *death* (as *Christ Jesus* spake of *Lazarus*) but for the *glory* of *God*, in the *fall* and *rising* of his *servants*.

*Distinction
between
spirituell
death,
spirituell
sickness and
spirituell
weakness.*

Yea as *Paul* distinguisheth of *Gods* afflicting hand on his *Saints* at *Corinth*, so must I distinguish, between these three, *death*, *sicknes* and *weakness*: Every *sicknes* of *Gods Children* is not a *death*, for the *inner man* cannot die, no more then *Christ* himself. *Rom: 6.*

Again, every *weaknes* is not a *sicknes*, for some are *weak*, little ones in the *knowledge* and *love* of *Christ*, while others are grown to be *strong* and *aged* in *Christ Jesus*; Yea, the

strongest and oldest *Souldiers* of *Christ Jesus*, who have not thought their dearest *Heartblood* to dear for such a *Lord* and *Master*, have yet been troubled with some *weaknes*, and fits of spirituall *distempers*: *Weaknes* in their *Eyes* is not discerning aright the mind of *Christ Jesus*, *weaknes* in their *hands*, and *Feet*, hindring their spirituall *cheerfulness*, and *activity* in *Christs* wayes, which weaknesses yet have not brought them to a down right halting in *Christianity*.

I propose therefore (with the assistance of *Gods holy spirit*) to examine these three particulars.

First, what are the *Arguments* of that measure of *spirituall life* in *Christ*, which yet may stand with great *spirituall weaknesses* and *diseases*.

*The Heads
of this
Discourse.*

2Ly. What is the *measure* of the *grace* of *Christ Jesus*, which may be called the *health*, and *cheerfull temper*, and disposition of the *inner man*.

3dly. What are those spiritual *preservatives*, which may keep the *Soul* in an healthful *temper*, free from spirituall *sicknesses* and *distempers*.

In these *Examinations* I professe two things: First not to *opprese* thy *thoughts* and *memory*, with any long *discourse*, intending only to send thee after thy sicknes, a little posey fit and easie for thy *meditation*, and *refreshing*.

2Ly. All my *Flowers* shall be some choice *example*, or *speech* of some *son* or *daughter* of *God*, pickt out from the *Garden* of the holy *Scriptures* for our spiritually *refreshing* and *consolation*.

I begin therefore with such *trialls* and *arguments* as declare, the true life of the *inner man*, notwithstanding spirituall *weaknes*, *sicknes*, and *distempers*.

First then when the *Spirit* of the *Lord* in I *Job*. 2. describeth the severall *Ages* and *growths* of this inward *man* (to wit a *child*, a *strong man*, and an *old man*) it pleaseth him to describe the young or little one by this *difference*,

*The weakest
of Gods
children cry
unto God as
to a Father.*

that [He knows the *Father*] to wit, that he knows the *Lord* so, as to Look upon him (in his measure) as to a *Father*, that he fears him, loves him, obeys him, and calls upon him as on a *Father*: according to that of *Gal: 4*. Because you are sons, he hath sent forth the spirit of his Son crying in your Hearts *Abba Father: Father* pardon me, *Father* help me, *Father* give me, Etc.

Obj. But may not the *Hypocrites* call upon God, (and sometime more boldly then *Gods Little ones*) *Lord Lord, Almighty* and most mercifull *Father*, Etc.

An. I answer, an *Hypocrite* hath many *Lords*, and many *Fathers*, besides, and joyned with their (pretended) heavenly *Father*. Whereas *Gods Little ones* cry out, (*Isa. 63.*) Doubtles thou art our *Father*, though *Abraham* be ignorant of us, as if they had said: Thou art our only *Father*, above all *Fathers*, Etc.

False calling upon God as upon a Father. 2Ly. The *Hypocrite* saies *Lord, Lord*, but cares for no more of the *will* of the *Lord* then may serve his own *turne*: But a child of *God* declares his child like *submission*, to an heavenly *Fathers* will in all things, according to the difference proposed by the *Lord Jesus*, (*Mat: 7.*) Not every one that saith unto me *Lord, Lord*, but he that doth the wil of my *Father* which is in *Heaven*: The difference lies not in the *words*, but in the *Heart*, in the upright *submission* of a *child* of *God*, to all that he believes to be the *will* and *pleasure* of his heavenly *Father*.

2. Argum: God children long for more and more knowledge of God. For a second *triall* therefore: Where *spirituall life* is (notwithstanding *weaknes* or *distemper*) there is always a professed *willingnesse* to get more and more *knowledg* of this heavenly *Father*, of his *name*, of his *works*, of his *word*, of his *Christ*, of his *Spirit*, his *Saints*, and *Ordinances*.

Hence *Beleevers* in *Jesus*, both *Men* and *Women*, are called *Disciples*, or *Scholars* of *Christ Jesus*, professing continually to learn more and more of this heavenly *teacher*.

Hence his *Disciples* or *Scholars* petition to *Christ Jesus*,
Lord teach us to pray: *Lord* increase our *Faith*, Etc.

Hence they ask him many *Questions*, and are by little
and little instructed, though for a while they were ignorant
of the mystery of his *Death*, and *Resurrection*.

But may not an *Hypocrite* desire to know more and more *Obj.*
of *God*, of *Christ*, Etc.

I answer, although an *Hypocrite* out of an itching desire, *Ans.*
of *knowledg*, of *novelty*, and out of *self love*, to make use
of so much of *God*, and of *Christ*, as may serve his own
ends, may *desire*, and *attain*, and *professe*, and *preach* much
of *God* and *Christ*, yet will he pick and choose as *Saul* did,
while *David* and all *Gods children* uprightly desire to have
respect to all the *Commandments* of *God* in *Christ Jesus*.

Again, the *obedience* of *Hypocrites* if but the *task* of a
slave, or *Hireling*, when the obedience of a *child* of *God*,
is that of a dutifull *child* to his *Father*, or an endeared *Wife*
to her *Husband*, not caused by *terroure* or *wages*, but hearty
Reverence and *Affection*.

Hence follows a third *triall* of *spirituall life*, (though *Arg. 3. Gods*
accompanied with much *weaknes*,) to wit a vehement *children*
hunger and *longing* after the *Ordinance* of the *word* *hunger and*
preached: Hence that *similitude* by *Peter*. As *New born* *thirst after*
Babes desire the sincere *milk* of the *word*, that you may *Gods Word.*
grow thereby, I. *Pet.* 2.

But may not *Hypocrits* and *counterfeits*, both affection- *Obj.*
ately hear and preach, Etc?

I answer, no question, but *false worshippers*, and *false* *Ans.*
Christians may easily satisfie themselves, and stop the
mouths of their *consciencs*, with any formal *performance* *Gods word*
of a *Sermon* by an *houre-glasse*, or other *traditions*, or *cus-* *in Gods way.*
tomies of *Fathers*, or the *times*. But a child of *God* desires
to be as well carefull (according to his *sight*, for the true
Mothers-Breast, (a true *Ministrie*) as for a *Womans Milk*, *Cant. 1.*
the opening of the *word* by any in any way, etc. And there-

fore cries the *Spouse* to *Christ Jesus*: Oh thou whom my *soul* loveth, shew me where thou *feedest*, for why should I be as one that turns aside to the *flocks* of thy *companions*.

2ly. A true *child* of *God* (though weak) looks chiefly at *God*, and *Christ*, himself in the *Ministry*, and *dispensation* of the *word*, and therefore saith (*Cant: 1.*) Let *Him* kisse me with the *kisses* of his *mouth*, for his *love* is better then *wine*.

*True hunger
after Gods
word.*

3. While the *Hypocrites* find their natural *delight* in the word, as in *musick*, while yet they obey not: The child of *God* comes to the *breasts* of the *Church*, as a child hangs upon the Mothers *Breast*, not only for the *delight* of *sucking*, but out of a vehement painfull *longing*, to have its *soul* satisfied, and its strength of *spirituall life* and *grace* increased in the ways of *God*: according to that in *I. Pet. 2.* [That you may grow thereby.]

*True desire
in all Gods
people.*

A 4th. Argument of the *life* of the *inner man*, (though in much *weaknes*, or *sicknes*, is a true and unfained *desire*, to do that which it finds it cannot do, but falls short in doing or suffering the *will* of *God*: So *Nehemiah* pleads with *God*, from the *uprightnes* of their hearts, that they desired to fear his *Name*, when a *soul* can say uprightly in *Gods* presence, I desire, that is, unfainedly longing to know his will, although I am much *ignorant*, I desire to *believe*, though I find an *unbeleeving heart*, I desire to be *willing* and *able* to *suffer*, though I find much *fearfulness*, Etc.

Ob. May not an *Hypocrite* desire to *know* and love *God*, Etc.

*Difference
between the
true and
false desire.*

*God must be
chosen for
himself.*

I answer, an *Hypocrite* may desire to know so much of *God*, and to have so much of his *grace*, and so much of his *power* against some sins, as may serve to save his *soul*, when he sees he cannot be *saved* without it: But a *child* of *God*, only can desire *God* for *himself*, and desire to be like unto *God* in his holy *Nature*, and to have every *thought* brought under the *obedience* of *Christ Jesus*.

Hence though an *Hypocrite* may weep as *Esau* and *Saul*, and others have done, yet a true *child* of *God* can only in truth cry out, with the *Father*, of the possessed *child* in an humble sence of his own *weaknes*, and *spirituall poverty*, *Lord I believe*, help thou my *unbelief*, that is help me against my *unbelief*, against my *passions*, against my *uncleanesse*, against my *pride*, against my *covetousnes* Etc.

A 5th: *triall* of a true *life* (though in *weaknes*, or *sicknes*) is a constant *resisting* and *fighting* against all known *sin*, as *sin*. He that is born of *God*, (I. *John* 5.) keepeth himself that the *evill* one toucheth him not, unles he be suddenly *surprised*, or violently *forced*, by mighty *temptations*, or *cousoned* and *deceived* by the *deceitfulnesse* of *sin*, he can no more willingly touch it, then *fire* or *poison*, or the *Devill* himself.

Gods children cannot live in known sin without struggling & mourning.

Hence is there a continuall *war* between the *flesh* and the *spirit*, *Gal: 5*. The *law* of the *mind*, wars against the *law* of the *members*; The *New-man* against the *old*, Etc. For instance, although good *Jacob* was overcome by his *Mothers* powerful *perswasion*, yet suspecting a *sin* he first struggled against it, my *Father* saith he, will feel me, and I shall bring a *curse* instead of a *Blessing*.

But may not an *Hypocrite* resist *temptation*, and fight against *sin*? I answer, No, not against *sin* as *sin*, but as it is dangerous and hurtful to *soul*, to *body*, to *purse*, to *credit*. So *Balaam*, (I conceive in earnest) refused *Balacks* mony, and would not *sin* for an house full of *gold* and *silver*, when as yet he loved that *sin* of cursing *Gods* people, and the *wages* of it.

Obj. No hypocrite can fight against sin as sin.

2ly. An *Hypocrite* cannot resist the *sin* of *Hypocrisie*, and other *darling sins*: but a child of *God* with *David* (*Psal: 139*.) begs of *God* to search him, that is to help him against *Hypocrisie* it self, and every false way, and to lead him in the *way everlasting*.

Sixtly, a *child* of *God* though overwhelmed with many

*A true child
of God
tender of
Gods name.*

weaknesses or temptations, yet he cannot possibly be brought to an ill *opinion or thought* of *God*, but is always ready to take his *part*, to *speak* well of him, and endures not, with a quiet mind, to hear his name dishonored: Hence *Job* in his great *passions* and *cursings* could not be brought (no not by his *wife*) to speak ill of *God*: but although he complained much of his own *affliction*, and stood to his *uprightness*, against the *charge* of *Hypocrisie*, yet still he magnifies the name of his *God* in all his *discourses*, and professeth to trust in him, although his *God* should kill him.

*Instances of
Samson and
Jehosaphat.*

Hence *Samson*, though carried away first by a *Philistian wife*, and then by a *Philistian whore*, yet can he not be carried away so from the *God* of Israel, but that still he acknowledgeth his *high* and *holy hand* in his *victories* and *deliverances*, and accordingly poures forth his *soul* to him for *grace* and *assistance*. And hence good *Jehosaphat* though very strongly carried away with the flatterie of the *idolatrous King* of Israel, yet he endures not to hear the name of his *God* smitten through the sides of his *servant* the Prophet *Micaiah*, but plainly (though weakly) takes part with his *God* and his *Prophet*, against the *King* of Israel, and all his *Priests* and *Courtiers*, saying, *Let not the King say so*.

Obj. May not *Balaam* and other *hypocrites* pretend the name of *God* and *Christ*, be *preachers* of him, cast out *devils*, and in *Christs name* do many *wonderfull* things?

I answer: *Hypocrites* use the name of *God* onely as *Jehu* did, for a *stirrup* to get up into the *sadle* of their own *Names* and *Honours*, or as a *commodity* to get something by it, as an *hireling* (of whom the *Lord Jesus* speaks John 10.) that serves *God* for *wages*, and while he cries, let the *Lord* be glorified, (*Isa.* 66.) her *persecutes* his servants, but a child of *God* cannot be brought except by surprisall for a time, to prefer his *name* before *Gods*, but upon *cool thoughts*, is seriously willing to be trodden in the dust, and

to be cast out, that the *name* of *God* alone may be exalted, and glorified, as *David* after the causing of the name of *God* to be blasphemed.

A 7th. Argument of the true *life* of *grace* (though in much *weaknes* or *sicknes*) I observe to be an humble *acknowledgement* of, and a *submitting* unto the *correcting* and *afflicting* hand of *God*, in *sicknesses*, *crosses*, *losses*, Etc.

This admirably appears in old *Ely*, who though he were a bad *Father* to his own sons, in suffering them *unpunished* (though not *unreproved*) in their outrageous *transgressions*: Yet was he at the same time a good son to *God*, his heavenly *Father*, in giving that heavenly *and* submissive *answer* to that fearfull *threatening* sent from the *Lord* by *Samuel* against him, saying, It is the *Lord*, let him do what seemeth him good.

Ob: But did not *Pharaoh* acknowledg, and the *Philistines* acknowledg *Gods* hand in smiting them, did not *Ahab* humble himself, *Pharaoh* sues unto *God* by *Moses*, the *Philistins* send a trespassse *offering*, and *Ahab* humbles himself by fasting, Etc.

I answer, a *Saul*, a *Pharaoh*, Etc. if it were in their choice, would not submit to the *Lord* at all, and when they do acknowledge and submit, they are forced to it, by *Gods* powerfull hand, whom they yet look at as a conqueror of *Julian* said of *Christ Jesus*, and *Jaolor* or *executioner*, not as a *Father*, with a child like *submission*, as appears by *Pharaoh*, the *Philistines*, *Ahab*, and many more wofull *instances*, when the *hand* of *God* is removed, Etc.

Whereas a true *child* of *God* desires, as to acknowledge his *Fathers* hand correcting his *righteously*, because he hath deserved it, so also *graciously* and *faithfully*, because he hopes *God* aims at his good, as a *Father* doth at a *childs* in giving him fatherly *correction*, bitter *Pills* and *Physick*.

And therefore (2Ly) as when the *Lord* strikes an *Hypocrite*, he either *runs* from him as a *strange child* stricken by

*A true childe
of God is
patient under
the rod of
his Heavenly
Father.*

*I
The enemies
of God, and
flatterers
cannot submit
to God
as to a
Father.*

Gods children less grieve for their own affliction, then for Gods displeasure.

another man, or *flies against* him in *murmuring*, or *howls* out for anguish as a *Dog*, (*Hos: 7.*) They howl upon their Beds: So contrarily the true *child* of *God* truly desires to run to his heavenly *Father*, and it as well, yea infinitely more *grieved*, for the *anger*, and *displeasure* of the *Lord*, as for his own *smart* and *affliction*.

3Ly. The *Hypocrite* if he might have his own choice, had rather be rid of his *pain* than his *sin*, and therefore when his *pain* is over, he returns with the *Dog* to his *Vomit*: But a true *child* of *God*, truly (though weakly) desires to *see*, and *abhor*, and slay his *dearest sins*, because he knows they are but flattering *traytors* and *gilded poysons*: Hence *Job* cries out in the midst of all his *weaknesses* and *passions*, O teach me wherein I have offended.

Gods children joyn with Gods rod against themselves.

In a word, the *Lord* is fain to force *affliction* upon an *Hypocrite*, as men force down a *drench* into the throat of an *Horse*, but a true *child* of *God*, (if under *Gods rod*) desires to joyn with the *Lords hand*, and the *Lords ends*, as a child of some understanding is willing to have its *wormes* killed, and therefore strives (*willingly*, *unwillingly*) to swallow down the bitter *aloes*, or other bitter *medicine*.

An 8th: Triall of true *life*, (though in *weaknes*) is a *true* (though *faint*) *willingnes* and inclination to enjoy more and more of *Christ Jesus*, in the *society* of his *Saints*, after his own *appointment*, although with *hardship* and *difficulty* attained unto.

Gods people long after Gods true worship in Christ Jesus.

Hence the *Spuose* was both *asleep*, and *awake*, toward *Christ Jesus: Cant: 5.* She was *willing*, and *unwilling* to rise to *open* to *Christ Jesus*: Hence she thinks she hears her *Husbands voice*: It is the *voice* of my *Beloved*: She thinks *Christ* is knocking at the *door* of her *heart*, and *will*, in such and such *arguments*, in such and such *Scriptures*, in such and such *professions*, and *professours*, in such and such their *suffrings*, Etc.

Obj. May it not possibly be that the true *children of God*, not only may neglect, but even deny the *Ordinances of Christ Jesus*, appointed and practised in his first *Churches*.

I answer, *Gods Israel* and *people* under the *Gospel*, may as possibly be spirituall *slaves* and *captives* to *Egypt* and *Babylon* spirituall, as *Israel* of old was to *Babell*, *literall* and *materiall*, in respect of the *worshipping* of *God*, according to the *appointment* of *Christ Jesus*.

Gods people both awake & asleep as to Christ Jesus.

In respect of false *worship*, *Gods Israel* may be a *slave*, and *asleep*, and yet *awake*, and *free* in true *inclinations* and *desires*, *willing* (though mixt with *sleepy unwillingnes*) to be at any pains and cost, to enjoy her *souls beloved Christ Jesus*, in his own appointments.

Hence such *expressions* with *sighs* and *tears*, if I were perswaded of *Gods will*, if I were perswaded of the *necessity* of such public *ordinances* and *formes*.

Hence others *expressions*, if I were perswaded of *such* and *such ordinances*, that *such* a people, or *such* a people were in the true way of enjoying *Christ Jesus*, how *joyfully* should I joyn with them?

Gods people cannot but be full of struggling of spirit as to the visible worship of God in Christ Jesus.

Hence holy *David*, though not so thoroughly awaked, to enjoy the *Ark* and *presence* of *God*, he and all *Israel* brings up the *Ark* of *God* with *rejoycing*, though not after the *Lords due order*, which caused his holy *jealousie* to send that *perez Uzza* that breach of *Uzzah* amongst them.

It is in the *heavenly* as in the *earthly marriage*, there are degrees of *marriage affection*, and yet all true: The *affections* of some are more *lively* and *strong*, of some more *dull* and *weak*: When yet the *truth* and *life* appears in a true and longing desire to enjoy the *Lord Jesus*, in what way soever, himself is pleased to appoint, and to turn from the *bed* and *bozome*, (that is the *worships*) of all *false Christs*, and *strangers*.

True marriage affection in all Gods people to Christ Jesus, yet with much difference.

A 9th. discovery of true *spirituall life*, in *weaknes*, I find to be a *painfull* and a *restles* mind, in *temptations* to *sin*, in

Gods chil-
dren have no
peace in sin
unrepented
of.

yeelding to *sin*, and lying in *sin*, the breach not being made up with the Lord in humble *confession* and *suit* for *mercy*, in the blood of a *Saviour*. This was *Davids* painfull case in his *silence*, Psal. 32 When I kept silence my *bones* waxed old, through my *roaring* all the *Day*.

So that as a *Fish* out of the *water* (its element) as a *bone* broak or disjoynted, is the *troubled mind* of a child of *God*, upon his *discovered* or but (strongly) *suspected*, sinfull way or *practice*.

Obj. May not *Hypocrites* be troubled in the sence of *Gods displeasure* for *sin*, as *Saul*, *Ahab*, and *Judas*, Etc.

Only Gods
people can
truly desire
peace with
God.

I answer, an *Hypocrite* like some *Traytor* or *murtherer*, may desire a pardon from the *King of Kings*, whose person he hates, so did *Saul* and *Ahab*, and so may any dissembler for his own ends of *peace* and *safety*, Etc. But *Gods children*, and they only grieve at *Gods displeasure* and grievance. Only a true *Wife* and *Spouse* of *Christ Jesus* can grieve and morun for the displeased *absence* of *Christ Jesus*, and cries out in humble *bitterness* of *soul*, saw ye him whom my soul loveth?

Two sorts of
Gods people
enquiring &
longing
after Christ
Jesus.

A 10th. triall of the true *life* of the *inner man*, (though *weak* and *sickly*,) is a *discerning*, and *liking*, and secret *wishing* that *beauty* and *shining* of the *grace* of *Christ Jesus*, which appears in others of *Gods Children*, and which we see wanting in our *selves*. Thus were there a sort of *Gods children*, which could see *beauty* and *excellency* in those which so affectionately inquired after *Christ Jesus*, in his visible worship, and the severall parts thereof, although themselves were not so zealously affected. Thus therefore say they: O thou the *fairest* of *Women*, (an *acknowledgment* of heavenly *grace* and *beauty*, and they also enquire, and desire to see that *beauty* of *Christ Jesus*, which the other *Saints* so praised. And in *Cant: 6.* they say, whither is thy *Beloved* gone, oh thou *fairest* among *Women*, that we may seek him with thee: Hence many of *Gods* dear *Saints* in

Qu: *Maries* time, and other bloody days, in our own and other *countries*, have praised *God* for, and have been ravished with the *beauties* of the heavenly *love* and *zeal*, and *patience* in others of *Gods* *servants*, which they have seen wanting in themselves: And thus, (whatever be our *weaknesses*) it must needs argue a *life* of *grace*, when we can view the *lives* and *deaths* of the blessed *martyrs*, or *witnesses* of *Christ Jesus*, (either in the holy *Scriptures*, or other *Records*, I say can view them with a *liking* and true *affecting* of their *graces*, with an humble acknowledgment of our own *wants* and *poverties*, and a mourning *desire* of *attaining* to such a beauteous *profession* of *Christ Jesus*.

The liking of Gods gracious Spirit in others, a true argument of the same Spirit in ourselves.

Such a *beauty* (doubtles) did many of *Gods* *children* apprehend in the *Lords* *Ordinances*, and in such as suffred for them in *England*, who yet found not strength themselves, to stand and suffer for, and with them, yet left much and fled to *New England*, hoping to enjoy there (though with too much weak desire of *peace* and *liberty*) the *Ordinances* of *Christ Jesus*, their *souls* *Beloved*.

Obj. But did not *Balaam* see the *beauty* and *excellency* of *Gods* *Saints*, when he cried out, let me dye the *death* of the *righteous*, and let my last end be like his, Etc.

I answer, it is usually well said, *Balaam* desired the *death*, and *blessedness* of the *righteous*, but not the *life* and *righteousnesse* of the *righteous*.

Obj. *Balaam* seems to have seen the *beauty* of *righteousnesse* it self.

I answer, he might see and like *righteousnes* in the *end*, and *fruit* of it, and yet not in the true *nature* and *beauty* of it, for then he would have as well desired the *life*, as the *death* of the *righteous*, just as these *Indians* (amongst whom I write these lines) they see the *excellency* of the *English* *industry*, joyned with *plenty*, and a better *condition* then their own, but endure not that *life* of *labour* and *indeavour*, wherein that *plenty* and better *state* is found. But

Dissemblers, in a respect may desire righteousness, but only Gods children can long for it in truth, and for it self.

Gods children beholding the *beauty* and *excellency* of the heavenly *lives* and *deaths* of others, (like *souldiers* in a *Field*) are provoked by those *examples*, to desire to follow *Christ Jesus* in those holy *paths*, and secretly to bemoan their own *infirmities* and *deformities*.

These and many more *discoveries* of the *life* of *Christ Jesus* in the *soul*, (though in the midst of *weaknesses*, and spirituall *sicknesses*) I hope (my *dear love* and faithfull *companion*) thou in truth discernest in thy *self*, and I, and others have discerned in thee: But oh search diligently in the *Lords* holy *presence*, and humbly beg his help, that as the *Spirit* of *God* admonisheth, (*Gal.* 6.) thou maiest have rejoicing in thy *self*, and not in anothers good opinion of thee.

Gods children cannot but desire spirituall health, as wel as life and Christian being.

But grant all these, and the *assurance* of a true and blessed *life* of *grace* within us?

Grant this *life* is as the *life* of *Christ*, never again to be extinguished. Yet who rejoyceth not in *health*, who mourns not under the *pains* and *weaknesses* of a sick bed?

Next therefore to the *discovery* of *spirituall life*, all that are born of *God* must try their *spirituall strength*, and *health*, and *chearfull temper*: The particular *instances* whereof, being propounded as *examples*, *copies*, and *samples* for us to follow in the holy *Scripture*, I shall pick, and gather, and bind up, for both our *incouragement*, and *comfort*.

I confesse the beholding of such *heavenly patterns* may astonish and amaze us, and make us dispair to attain to the like heavenly *temper*: I pray thee therefore (*dear love*) observe, (what before I said) that these *particulars* next following are not *discouragements* from *Christ*, as if we had no *life* at all: but *incouragements* to draw neerer to *Christ Jesus*, when we see such *virtue* proceed out from him, to such poor *sinner*s like our selves.

These *particulars* then following are as an holy *looking-glasse* to discover to us our souls *spots*, & *blemishes*, as also sweet *cordial flowers*, to refresh and encourage our *drooping spirits*.

The severall particular *trialls* of this *spirituall health*, and *cheerfulnesse*, I shall bind up (as I may so speak) into three severall *parcells* as sometimes we see sweet *flowers* bound up into smaller *bundles*, to make up at last one larger *bundle* or *posie* in one.

The three severall sorts shall be according to that *division* of the *holy Spirit* by *Paul* to *Titus*.

First such as concern *holines*, respecting our *communion* with *God* in *Christ Jesus*.

2. Such as concern *righteousnesse*, respecting others.

3. Such as concern *sobriety*, respecting our private *selves* and *persons*.

First, then it is an *argument* of the *strength*, and *healthful temper* of the *inner man*, when our *apprehensions* of *God* are always such, as bring us to holy *wonderment* and *amazement*, at the *nature* of incomprehensible *God*, at his *properties*, and *works*, from the *Sun* in the *Firmament*, to the poorest *Worme*, at his wonderfull *dispensing* of his *justice*, and *mercy*, and *disposing*, and *ruling* all things in *Heaven*, *Earth*, and *Seas*, from the highest *Angels* in *Heaven*, to the lowest *Devils* in *Hell*.

Incomprehensible nature of God.

This was *Davids temper* when he cried out, (*Psal: 104*) Oh Lord how *wonderfull* are thy *works*, in *wisedome* hast thou made them all! Also (*Psal. 8.*) O *Jehovah* our Lord, how *wonderfull* is thy *Name* in all the *earth*! And *Psal: 139.* he brings this wonder nearer to *himself*, saying, I will praise thee, for I am *fearfully* and *wonderfully* made. As if he would say, *fearfully* and *wonderfully* bred in the *womb*, *fearfully* and *wonderfully* brought forth: and we may further say, ever since we came thus *fearfully* and

Gods children ought to walk in constant amazedness of spirit as to God his nature, works, Etc.

wonderfully into the world, fearfully and wonderfully brought up, fearfully and wonderfully preserved, delivered, Etc.

Obj. But may not *naturall* men, and *Hypocrites* admire the the *Nature*, and *works* of *God*.

I answer, yes, but the *wonder* which doth possesse a *child* of *God*, causeth him to cry out with *David*, *Psal.* 119. Thy *hands* have made me, and fashioned me, give me understanding that I may learn thy statutes. Tis such a wonder as draweth up the heart unto *God*, with *longings* to be united unto him, to fear his *Name*, to partake of his divine *Nature*, and to be like unto *Him* in *holines*, and *true Righteousnes*.

Obj. The *Devills* believe, and tremble at *God*.

I answer, to tremble at the *word* of *God*, is alone the *property* of *Gods Servants*, *Isa.* 66. The *Devills* may wonder and tremble at the just sentence, and threatening part of *Gods word*: But *Gods children* tremble at the *commanding* part, yea at the *comforting* and *promising* part of it also, least they should depart or fall off from it, or loose, though but for a time as *David*, the joy and sweetness of it.

The glorifying of God the great work of Gods children.

Secondly, it is an *Argument* of *health* and spirituall *strength*, when the *hallowing*, the *magnifying*, and *glorifying* of the *name* of *God* is our great *work* and *business* in this *world*, unto which all the *businesses* and *works* we have in hand in the world beside give way, Etc.

Thus *Christ Jesus* teacheth all his to make it their *first request* to *God*, that they may *hallow*, or *glorifie* his *name*: Thus he professeth (as it were upon his *death bed*) *John* 17. that he had done his *work*, that he had *glorified* his *Father* upon the *earth*: Hence he professeth at his most solemn *Arraignment*, *Job.* 18. for this *end* was I born, and for this *end* came I into the *world*, that I might bear *witness* to the *truth*; that is, to give his *Father* the *glory* of his *truth*, and to destroy the *lyes* of the *devill* the *father* of them, who

belyeth *God* in all his holy *attributes*, and *works*, and *servants*, and *ordinances*, and profaneth and dishonoreth his holy *name* in them all.

Obj. *Hypocrites* professe to glorifie *God*, and to say, *Isa.* 66. Let the *Lord* be glorified.

I answer: No *hypocrite* can make it his *work* to glorifie *God*, when it crosseth his own *glory*: No *hypocrite* can purely and simply, out of *love* to *Gods name* and *glory*, be content to loose the offer of a *kingdom* as *Moses* did, when the *Lord* himself offered it him, and as *Christ Jesus* did, when the people offered and would have made him a *King* by force, and the *devil* proffered him all the *kingdoms* of the world, and the glory of them.

Thirdly, it is an *Argument* of *strength* of *Gods grace* and *Spirit* in us, when we perform *actions* of *godliness*, with a *single* and upright *eye* unto *God* himself in secret. *Frequent* and *constant* delight in private *converses* argues strong *affection* to *God* or *men*: *Hypocrites* (saith *Christ Jesus*) will *pray* and *fast*, and give *alms*, but with a *squint* eye of *private* and *sinister* self respect to be *seen* of men, Etc. But *Gods children* pray, and do good, and fast in secret, regarding no eye but the eye of an heavenly *Father*, who seeing in *secret* will not fail to reward *openly*.

*Delightfull
privacie
with God
argues strong
affection.*

Ob. But may not *hypocrites* speak and *preach* against *hipocrisie*, against *self-love*, *self-respect*, and *fleshly* and worldly *ends* in the *performance* of *spirituall duties*? And is it not possible for *Gods children* to perform *spirituall duties* with carnall *ends* and *respects*?

I answer: *Hypocrites* may do this, and pretend pure and upright *ends* for *God*, as *Jehu* did: yet discover they *hipocrisie*, in the very pretence of *sinceritie*, for not content with the *Lords* eye and approbation, Come see my *zeal* (saith he) *Jonadab*, which I have for the *Lord*.

*Hypocrites
pretend far
in glorifying
of God.*

2ly, *Gods children* (doubtless) may look aside, and mark who *sees* and *hears*, and *rewards* their *performances* of *serv-*

ice unto God: But this is either in *sins of ignorance*; as for instance, many of Gods dear children perform service to God in preaching as hirelings, and conceive themselves not bound although to glorifie Christ Jesus in saving souls) to preach without an hire, and so in other cases.

Or 2ly, this may be knowingly and discerningly, as Paul saith, *Rom. 7.* When I would do good, evil is present with me: such temptations come in as water into a ship, or as dust and diseases into a sound eye, and then Gods children be never quiet untill such distempers be cleansed, and got out again.

A frequent
& constant
spirit of
prayer an
argument of
much of
Gods Spirit.

Fourthly, it is an Argument of *spirituall strength* when the Spirit of prayer breatheth forth frequently, and constantly, and fervently to God in us: Hence David prays and cries in the morning, at noon, and in the evening, he riseth at midnight to pray: Thus Daniel is thrice each day on his knees to God, and would not be beaten off, with the powers and terrors of cruel enemies and Lyons.

Thus the Lord Jesus frequently retired alone to private prayer, and sometimes spent the whole night in prayer to God with strong cries, tears and supplications: And therefore is it true that all true Christians are the spiritual Israelites, that is, wrastlers and strivers with God in prayer; like unto their Father Jacob, who wrestled all night in prayer with God, with weeping and supplications, and would not let the Angel go until he blessed him; and therefore his name was called Israel, a wrastler or prevailer with God, as well as Jacob a supplanter and prevailer with men.

Ob. But may not Hypocrites be frequent and fervent in prayer to God? Did not the Pharisees and Jews pray and fast often? Do not the very Turks solemnly pray five times each 24. houres? And the Papists not onely keep their solemn morning and evening times of prayer, but many other solemn prayers unto which the severall orders of Friars, Monks and Nuns bind themselves? And how easie

is it by worldly engines to wheel about the *Indians of America* to become frequent prayers unto God, Etc.

I answer: Many are the differences between the true prayers of Gods children, and the false of dissemblers and hypocrites: I will name a few for instance.

First then *hypocrites* pray but in a *form* and *lip-labour*, as a *talk* and *work* to be done for *carnall respects*, to merit at Gods hand, or to stop the mouth of *conscience*, which tells them they cannot be Gods children except they pray: But true prayer is the pouring out of the heart to God, the true breathing of the *soul* to God, arising as *Incense* and *perfume* unto God: Hence (no doubt) although *Paul* before his conversion prayed much unto *God*, (for he was a *Pharisee*) yet he never praid *indeed*, untill his great *change*, and the descending of the holy *Spirit* of prayer upon him; And therefore the Lord sends *Ananias* with this encouragement unto *Paul*: Behold he prayeth, *Act. 9.*

True prayer
is the souls
breathing
unto God.

Hence Gods children find a kind of holy *pleasure* and *delight* in prayer, whatever be the event or issue, it pleaseth God to give, like as a man finds delight in casting off an heavy *burthen* from his *shoulder*, or in the *unbossoming* of a *grief*, into the *bosome* of a *friend*. Thus *Hanna* opprest with *grief* weeps no more, when she had *powred* forth her *supplication* before the *Lord*: And the *Lord Jesus* *powred* forth his *prayers*, and *tears*, in the *bosome* of his *Father*, and then rests quiet in his *Fathers pleasure*, as touching the *passing by*, or *drinking* of the *bitter cup*.

and hath
more or lesse
some soul-
pleasure in
it.

Obj. But may not the *children* of *God* want holy *pleasure* and *delight* in prayer, and depart from Gods *presence* as heavy as they came?

I answer, some *spirituall distempers* may hinder and *obstruct* the *operations* of the *Spirit* of prayer: nevertheles the *soul* and *spirit* praies and mourns for the *absence* of holy *pleasure*, and *delight* in this holy *exercise*. Hence *Dauids* *mourning* (as a *Turtledove*) in his prayers, and *Jeremies*

Gods chil-
dren are
most in
private with
God.

lamentings for the *obstructions*, between the *Lord* and their *souls*, in this holy *Communion*.

The second *difference* is, the *Hypocrites* prayers more respect the *ears* of *men* then *God*, as the *Lord Jesus* tells us: They pray that *men* may know so much, and esteem them *Religious: Gods children*, like true *lovers*, delight to be private, and fervent with their heavenly *Father* and *Husband*.

The prayers
of Gods
people most
respect
spiritual and
soul mercies.

Thirdly, *Hypocrites* in their *prayers*, most commonly respect *earthly* things, (and therefore *Hos.* 7.) they cry and howl upon their *Beds*, for *corn* and *wine*: or at the best they respect but *themselves*, Etc. although it be in the *pardon* of their *sins*, and *saving* of their *Souls*: But the *prayers* of *Gods children*, chiefly eye *heavenly* things.

Hence the wonderfull *spirituallity* of *Christs prayer* to his *Father*, (*John* 7.) for the *glorifying* of his *name*, and *spirituall Grace*, and *mercy* in the *souls* of *Beleevers*: Hence the admirable *spirituality* of *Davids* prayers, for *spirituall* and *soul mercies*, *Psal:* 119. And the fervent prayers of *Paul* in all his *Epistles* for heavenly and *spirituall mercies* to the *Saints* of *God*.

Hypocrites like *Dogs* howl and fawn for *bones* and *crusts*, Etc. But *Gods children* beg the proper *tokens*, and characters of a *spirituall Father*, to his *spirituall children*, and *Beloved*.

4thly, *Hypocrites* will not always cry unto *God* (*Job.* 27.) but at last with *Saul*, if *God* answer not, they run to the *Devill* in *evil* means, murmur and despair: but *Gods children* can no more cease to cry unto *God*, then to live a *spiritual life*, and therefore resolve to give *God* no *rest* untill they receive an *answer*, and therefore also wait for his holy *pleasure*, and *leasure*, and at last are satisfied with the *Lord* holy *pleasure*, and *sentence*, although it seem *crosse*, add bitter to *flesh*, and *blood*: So *Moses* in respect of his suit to *God*, for his going into the land of *Canaan*: So *David* praying for his *child*: So *Christ Jesus* in respect

Gods people
wait for, and
rest in Gods
answer.

of his *bitter cup*. So *Paul* praying against his great *temptation*.

Obj. But may not *Hypocrites* pray long, and also wait upon *God*?

I answer, they may, yet at last, out of unbelief, and anger, like an *angry Dog*, or *sturdy Beggar*, they cry out in murmur, and wrath, as the unbelieving King of *Israel*, what should I wait upon *God* any longer? But *Gods* children never give over: for when they grow weary, they (like *Moses*) beg help to their fainting hands in *prayer*, and desire their *eyes* may never cease trickling tears unto *God*, untill he look down from *Heaven*, *Lament: 2*.

A 5th: *Argument of spiritual health*, and *strength*, is a constant holy sence of our own *unworthiness*, *vilenes*, and *basenes* in *Gods* presence: Hence *Jacob* professeth himself less then the least of *Gods* mercies, that is, then the least *crum*, or *drop*, or *rag*, or *look* of mercy: Hence the *Centurion* professeth himself not worthy that *Christ* should come under his *Roof*: Hence *Elizabeth* her holy wonder, whence is it (saith she) that the *Mother* of my *Lord* should come unto me? Hence *Mephiboseth* wonders that *David* should look upon such a *dead Dog*.

Ob. But may not *Hypocrites* professe they are not *Papists*, that they can deserve nothing at *Gods* hands, that if they had their *deserts* it were woe with them?

I answer, *Hypocrites* may say so, but yet are angry when *God* seems to deal with them, as he deals with others. Hence they quarrell with *God*, as if that *God* seemed not to respect their offerings of *prayer*, and *fasting*, *Isa: 58*. But *Gods* children confessing themselves *Beggars* at *Gods* door, and *Dogs* under his *Table*, they wait for, and are humbly thankfull for every *crum* of grace and mercy: So *Christ Jesus* teacheth us to give thanks for the mercy of a little *bread*, and then for a little *Fish*, (*Mark 6*) So after most heavy and wonderfull *afflictions*, *Jeremie* cries out

Gods People
are only
truly sensible
of unworthi-
ness.

Jehova is righteous, and professeth it is *mercy* that it is not worse, and that they were not burnt up and consumed.

6thly.

A 6th. *Argument* of the spiritual *health* and *temper*, is when the *affections* work strong and lively after *God*, after *God* for himself, after *God* as a *portion* and *inheritance*, after *God* as an *Husband*: when as the *Heart* panteth after the *water-brooks*, so pant our *Hearts* after *God*, when as the thirsty *ground* longeth for the *showers* of *Rain*, so long our *souls* after *God*: When his words are sweeter then the honey, and honey comb, and of more esteem then thousands of *gold* and *silver*.

Ob. But may not *Hypocrites* (as *Balaam*) professe so much and that in earnest?

Hypocrite
affection to
God.

I answer, the deceitful *heart* of a man will go wonderfull far this way: Yet certain it is an *Hypocrite* respects *God*, but as a *Dog* respects his *Master*, yea sometimes a *stranger*, and an *Enemy* for a crust, or as an *Hireling* for his *wages*: But *Gods children*, in the want of all things, are content with *God* alone, his *Christ*, his *Spirit*, his *Favour*, His *Word*, his *Ordinances*: Hence *David* professeth *Psal.* 4. Thou puttest more *joy* into my *heart*, then in the time when their *corn* and *wine* increaseth: And *Habacuck*, when *Vine*, and *Fig-tree*, and *Flock* and *Heard* fail, he professeth to rejoyce in *God*, and to glory in the *God* of his *salvation*.

God himself
the portion
of his.

2ly. In the losse of all things, in the greatest *straights* and *extremities*, *Gods children* yet find comfort in *God*, that *God* their *portion* is not lost. Thus as *David* when his *wives*, and *children*, and *friends*, and *servants*, and *cattell* were all devoured by an enslaving and captivating *sword*, and he finds no *Remainder*, but burnt *walls* and *ashes*, and his own company ready to *stone* him, yet as *David* they take comfort, and encourage themselves injoying their *God*.

7thly.

7thly. It is an argument of spirituall *health*, and *strength*, when the holy *Commandments* of *God* are not grievous, but pleasant and delightful to us: when we can say as the

Lord Jesus said, it is our meat and drink, to do our heavenly *Fathers will*: when we are active and ready at the *commands of God*, and can say (when the *Lord* asketh whom shall we send) *send me*, as the *Prophet Esay* said: And as the *Lord Jesus* *Psal: 40*. Here I am, I delight to do thy will O my God: when we can without repining, grudging, or delaying, obey *commands* most grievous to *flesh* and *blood*, against not only *flesh* and *blood*, but against carnall *reason*, yea against *Hope* and *Faith* itself, as *Abraham* did, in offering up his most dear and only son *Isaac*.

Ready obedience to God.

Obj. But may not *Hypocrites* obey the *commands of God*, as *Saul* did, Etc?

I answer, they may indeed obey *Gods commands* by halves as he did, and as a *servant*, and *hireling*, serve *God* for *wages*, and with *eye service*, with opinion of *merit*, and boast of their *halt* and *lame* service, as *Saul* did. But *Gods children* imbrace all the *commands of God* with delight, even the *least*, and most despised, with the greatest and most *difficult*, and when all is done, they confesse they have need of *mercy*, and are *unprofitable Servants*.

Obj. But may not *Gods children* live in the *disobedience* of some *commands of God*, and yet be healthfull, and strong in grace?

I answer, it is impossible that a child of *God* should (either in spirituall *health* or *sicknes*) live in the breach of any known *command of God* his *Father*. Tis true, *Abraham*, and *Jacob*, and *David*, and others, lived long in the sin of many wives, out of *ignorance of Gods will*, and *Gods children* to this day, even the holy *Martyrs* or *Witnesses of Jesus*, (who accounted their heart bloods not to dear for *Christ*) have and do live in the breach of many *Commandments*, that concern the *worship of God*: But they are herein like a *traveller* deceived, by a false path, which when he once really *suspects*, he cannot walk a step with ease, now do they cry out with *David*, *Psal: 119*. I will walk at

The sins of Gods people.

liberty, for I seek thy precepts: And when *God* saith seek my *Face*, their *Hearts* answer, *Lord* thy face will I seek. Psalm 27.

8thly.

The patience
of Gods chil-
dren, under
Gods hand.

An 8th. discovery of *spirituall health* and *strength*, is an humble, a patient and thankfull *submission* to the *afflicting*, and *chastising* hand of *God*. Thus it is said of *Aaron*, in that dreadfull stroak of *Gods* hand, depriving him of his two sons in the *floure* of their *Youth*, in the midst of their *sin*, in the *performance* of their *Priests Office*: it is said, *Aaron* held his peace: I was dumb and held my peace, (saith *David*) Psal. 39. for thou didst it: Thus *Jeremiah* (Lam: 1.) *Jehovah* is righteous, for I have grievously transgressed against him. Yea *Job* not only express an humble and patient mind, but also (which is wonderfull, but proper to *Gods* children, when in right temper) be blessed *God* in the midst of so many fearfull and astonishing *losses*, of so many *Cattel*, *Servants*, and *Children*, saying, Blessed be the name of the *Lord*.

Obj. May not *wicked* men and *Hypocrites* acknowledg *Gods* afflicting hand, and humble themselves?

The counter-
feit patience
of Hypo-
crites.

I answer, *Hypocrites* may see *Gods* hand, and humble themselves as the *Egyptians*, and the *Philistins* did, but cannot possibly be thankfull for it: They acknowledg *Gods* hand as a *Dog* his *Masters* when he is beaten, but not as a child his *Fathers*. As a loving and dutifull *Wife*, receiving *Pills* or *Phisic* from the hand of her loving *Husband*, a *skilfull Physitian*, who knows her *sicknes*, and out of *love* and *care*, prepares them for her, she cannot but be thankfull for those bitter *medicins*, and earnestly desire a kindly working: Thus *David*, Psal: 119. I know O *Lord* that thou in *faithfulness* hast afflicted me, for all thy commands are *righteous*.

9thly.

A 9th. Argument of *spiritual health*, and *strength*, is an humble free *confession*, and giving *glory* unto *God*, in the rising up, or recovering out of any *scandalous transgression*,

against *God* Hence the *Israelites* confession of their sin in desiring a *King*, (so impatiently, and imperiously as they did, with large confessions, I. Sam. 6.

Hence the many bitter and lamentable *confessions* of Holy *David* and other holy Servants of *God*, after their committing of *known evils*: Hence the *Corinthians* repenting of their fellowship with the *incestuous* person in his sin, they give such an exemplary *evidence* of their true *Repentance*, that their holy *practice* is set as an holy *Samplar*, and *Copy* for all *Saints* afterward to follow, and write after.

The mournful confession of Gods people.

Obj. But did not *Pharaoh*, *Saul* and *Judas* confesse their sins Etc?

I answer, not with intent to glorifie *God* as *Gods* Saints ^{1.} do, taking shame before the *world* unto themselves, lying down in the *Dust* that *God* may tread upon them, and be exalted.

Not with hatred of their *sins*, but in horreur and trouble ^{2.} at the *danger* of them, or in the *evidence* of them flying in their faces. Thus a *Merchant* casteth those *goods* over board into the *sea* in a storme, which afterward he wisheth in again: Like a *Dog*, they vomit up the filth which (after their stomach is eased) they return unto, and lick up by new *Commissions*: But *Gods children* confesse in hatred of their *sins*, and loathing of themselves, and (like men in some *sicknesses*) are willing to take those *medicines* which may *provoke* and *cause vomit*, which afterward they are so far from returning to, that they abhor to touch, or look on it.

False confessions.

Obj. But may not *Gods children* return again to their vomit, and commit the same *sins*, which they have cast up by humble *confession*?

I answer, the sins of *Gods children* are either, I. *grosse* or *scandalous*, which when they recover out of, and give *glory* unto *God*, by *publike* confession, we seldome or never find them returning to such their *vomit* again. Hence we

The sins of Gods people distinguished.

hear no more of *Noahs Drunkenesse*, of *Dauids Adultry*, of *Peters denial* of *Christ Jesus*, Etc.

Or 2ly. Their *sins* are *sins* of a more private and ordinary *distemper*, wherein their *passions* of *anger*, or *neglect*, or *forgetfullnes* prevail against them, never without some *bitternes*, and *grief*, and *humiliation*, and *endeavour*, with *resolution* of a more watchfull, and heavenly, and spirituall *conversation*?

10thly.

Gods people
long after
visible en-
joyments of
God.

10thly. It is an *argument* of *spiritual health*, and *strength*, to *maintain* or *recover* an holy vehement longing, after the *enjoyment* of *God*, and of *Christ*, in a *visible*, and *open* *profession* of his own holy *worship* and *Ordinances*, separate from all false *worships*, *Gods*, and *Christs*, Etc.

Hence that of *David*, *Lord* I have loved the *Habitation* of thy *house*, and the place where thine *honour* dwelleth: Hence he professeth he had rather be a *door keeper* in the house of the *Lord*, (that is in a low condition, in *Gods* house) then to dwell in the *tents* of *wickednes*, though in never so safe and pleasant a *condition*.

Hence he sums up all his *desires* in one, *Psal: 27*. One thing have I desired of the *Lord*, that I may dwell in the house of the *Lord*, Etc.

Hence (though *David* mist of the *Lords Order* in carrying of the *Lords Ark*, and afterwards he mist in his *thoughts* about the building of *God* an *house* and *Temple*: Yet in both he discovered his holy strong *affection*, to *Gods* publike *honour*, and *worship*. The very same which afterward the Prophet *Jeremy*, and *Daniel* declared in their bitter *Lamentations*, for the *Ruine* of *Gods* house. And both *Daniel* and *Zacharie*, and *Haggie*, mightily declare this *affection* for the *rebuilding*, and setting up again this *Temple* and *worship* of *God*, and what they prophesied, that both *Ezra* and *Nehemiah*, and afterward *Jehoshua* and *Zerubabel* zealously performed and executed.

True Chris-
tians affec-
tion to
Christ Jesus
in his visible
worship.

Hence it is that in the heavenly *Love Song*, the *love* of

Christians to Christ Jesus in his ordinances is most elegantly set forth by a *similitude* taken from the *strong affection of married persons*: I am, saith the *Spouse, sick of love*, and O ye daughters of *Jerusalem* tell *Christ Jesus* so: If I finde him without I will *kisse* him openly in the *streets*, and will not be ashamed: True heavenly *affection* (like *marriage love*) at first kindles from some private *sparks*, to an open flame of publick *profession*, without shame before all men.

Obj. May not *Hypocrites* (as *Saul* in slaying the *Gibeonites*, and *Jehu* in slaying the *Baalites*) discover strong *affection* and *zeal* to the *Lord* and his *worship*, and consequently in these times to *Christ Jesus* and his holy *kingdom*?

I answer: *Hypocrites* and *countefeits* in their profession of *love* to *Gods* publick worship ever run upon one of these two *Rocks*. For,

First, either they set up, and maintain, and fight for a *fancie*, a *counterfeit*, a false *Christ*, according to the *prophe-sie* of the *Lord Jesus*, that many (that is, *thousands* and *multitudes* of people) should so use his *name*, that is, with a willing ignorance and delusion.

Or 2ly, if it be the true *worship* of the true *God* according to the *appointment* of *Christ Jesus*, yet ever in two things the sincere *wife* (the true love of *Christ Jesus*) outgoes the *whore* and *counterfeit*.

First, the true *wife* contents not herself with the bare *exercise, ordinance* or *administration* (as the *hypocrites* do) but in all is restless to enjoy the *Lord* himself: For as the *ordinance* is *Spirituell*, and heavenly; so longs the true *be-liever* for a *spirituall* and heavenly *communion* with the *Lord* himself in it, that he may become one *spirit* with him more and more in all these outward and *subordinate means* and *administrations*.

Hence it pleaseth the *Spirit* of *God* to resemble his *wor-ship* to the *marriage bed*, which satisfies not the heavenly

Spouse, when the *Husband Christ Jesus*, is not spiritually embraced therein, but absent.

2ly, The desire of the true *beleever* in the enjoyment of *Christ Jesus* in any of his *appointments* is to be made *fruitfull* by him: but the desire of a *whore* extends no futher then *Lust* or a *Reward*. Hence *Rom. 7*. We are married unto *Christ Jesus*, that we should bring forth *fruit* unto *God*: A *whoorish heart* willingly endures not *fruitfulness*, but kills her own *conceptions* which the true *Wife* cherisheth, and tendreth as her *life*.

Obj. What should be the *reason* why so many of *Gods children* who in all *ages* have discovered their strong *affection* to *Gods visible worship*, and *communion in Christ*, have yet so varied, and wandred from the right, and first *institution* of the *Church*, and *ministry*, and *Ordinances* of *worship*.

I answer, *Gods councill* touching the *spirituall captivity*, and *desolation*, must be fulfilled, when yet notwithstanding, the strength of the *affection* of *Gods people* hath appear'd in their *mourning* and *weeping*, and lamenting after, and contending for the truth of the *spiritual injoyment* of their souls *Beloved*, in all the *means* of his own holy *appointments*.

11thly. Again it is an *Argument* of *spirituall health*, & strength, in respect of *God*, when the *Heart* is fixed, and readily prepared for all the holy *pleasure* of *God*. Hence *Hezekiah* praies for such whose *hearts* were prepared to seek *Jehovah, God* of their *Fathers*: Hence this *readines*, and *preparation* of mind, is compared to the *shoes* on our *Feet*, without which we are unfit for *travelling*, *walking*, Etc. and with which we are *ready* for any *spirituall imployment*. Hence *David* professeth that his *heart* was fixed, and ready, and when the *Lord* said seek my *Face*, *Davids heart* answered, *Lord*, thy *Face* will I seek, Etc.

Obj. What is the reason that *Gods children* are some-

times hardly brought on to difficult *services*, and *duties*?

I answer, *unreadines*, and *unfitnes* is a *spirituall sicknes* or *distemper*, which when *Gods children* recover out of, then they say as the *Lord Jesus* in *David Psal: 41.* *Lord my heart* is willing, *my heart* is ready to do thy will O my *God*: And they say to *Christ Jesus*, as his holy servant *John Bradford* said to *Queen Mary*; If she keep me in *prison*, I will thank her; If she *release* me I will *thank* her; If she *burn* me, I will still *thank* her.

Lastly, it is an *Argument* of *spirituall health*, and *strength* when *Gods children* walk in a continuall sence of their own *insufficiencies*, and *distempers*, when they discern the evill *inclination* of their own *spirits*, and the *excellency*, and *sufficiency* of *Gods* most holy *Spirit*: And therefore continually say with *David*, *Psalm* 143. Thy *Spirit* is good, lead me, Etc. and *Psal.* 139. Search me O *God*, and try my *heart*, and see if thou findest any way of *wickednes* in me, and lead me in the way everlasting. 12thly.

These and many more, are the *trials* of *spirituall strength*, *health*, and *cheerfulnes*, in matters concerning *God*: We now come to the second Head of *trialls* of *spirituall health*, and *strength*, in matters concerning ourselves.

First, then it is an *Argument* of *spiritual health*, and *strength*, when, (especially) after known sins committed, our *hearts* are in a *broken* frame and temper, when our *spirits* are as it were *contrite*, and pounded like *spice* in a *Morter*, then yeelding the most delightfull *smell* and *savour* unto *God*. Brokennes
of Spirit.

Hence (*Isa.* 66) a *contrite*, and broken heart is an *House* wherein *God* dwels, an *House* well ordered, *swept*, and *garnished*.

Hence a *Spirit* of *trembling*, (*Isa.* 66.) is an *Argument* and *character* of the most dutifull *children* of *God*: but of this formerly.

2dly.
Spiritually
battles.

2ndly. It is an *Argument of spirituall strength*, when we make it our *work to observe, watch, and kill our corruptions, and rebellions*, and labour to keep under, and beat down our *body to an holy fitnes, and readines for Gods service, in fasting, and prayer against temptations.*

Obj. But may not *Hypocrites* humble themselves, and labour to mortifie their *lusts and corruptions*?

I answer, no question, but in horreur of *conscience*, and fear of *Gods judgments*, an *Hypocrite* may humble himself in fasting, as *Ahab*, Etc but to kill sin, as sin, and to desire to be ready for *Gods will, in denying, and subduing his own, is only the character and property of a child of God.*

3dly.
Godly loath-
ing for sin.

3dly. It is an *Argument of spirituall health, and strength*, when we so look upon our *sins*, and our sinfull *dispositions*, that we not only loath our *sins*, but also loath our selves for them: So saith the *Lord, (Ezek 6.) My people shall loath themselves for their abominations, and for their whoorish heart against me: Thus Job when he recovers himself from his murmurings against God, he cries out, Behold I abhor my self, and repent in dust, and ashes. And David (Psal: 73.) looks upon himself for his murmuring against Gods providence, as an ignorant person, as a fool and a beast in Gods presence.*

Object. But may not an *Hypocrite* loath and abhor himself for *sin*.

Hypocrites may in a respect loath themselves for sin.

I answer, It is possible for an *Hypocrite* to be sorry for some *sins*, and to be angry with *himselpe*, and to loath *himselpe*, but not properly for his *sins*, which he loveth, but (as *theeves, whores, drunkards, etc.*) for the *danger, damage and disgrace* which his sin may bring upon him. It is onely the property of *Gods children* to look at *sin as sin*, with a loathing eye, and to behold themselves *vile and loathsome*, even for the most *pleasing and profitable, and delightfull, and most secret sins.*

Fourthly, It is an *Argument* of the *strength* of *Spiritual* Fourthly.
life, when we lay downe our selves at the feet of *God*, when
as a *Servants will*, our *wils* are subdued to the *Lords will*,
when the *Lord* is become our *selfe*, when his *ends* are our True selfe
ends, which give us content and *pleasure*, although our denyall.
selves, our *ends* are lost and destroyed, that wee may finde
new *ends* and *delights* in *God*.

Hence *Epaphroditus* to further the worke of the *Lord*
(*Phil.* 2) he regardeth not his health, and consequently not
his *life*; as a true *Souldier* in the Service of his heavenly
King and *Captaine*.

Object. But may not an *Hypocrite* deny himselfe; his
owne *ends*, his *pleasures*, his *profits*, his *credit*, his *liberty*,
his *life*.

I answer, It is impossible; for all that he doth is still for
himselfe: like *Israel*, *Hosea* 7. He is an *empty vine*, he
bringeth forth fruit to *himselfe*: All that he aims at in using No Hypo-
the name of *God*, his *glory*, his *Christ*, is still to exalt *him-*
selfe, to save *himselfe*: But *Gods children* eye ever a greater crite can
end then *selfe*, to wit, the glorifying of their *God*, although truly deny
it be in their own *destructions*. himselfe.

Fifthly, Our hearts are then in an healthfull frame and Fifthly.
disposition, when we are *cordially* willing to goe from
hence, that we may be with *Christ*, *Phil.* 3. yet for the serv-
ice of *Christ* and his *Saints*, we are cordially willing to stay
in *hard* and *difficult* Service.

Object. But may not an *Hypocrite* desire to dye, and to
be with *Christ*?

I answer, An *Hypocrite* may desire to dye, and to be with
Christ in a glorious *condition*, but no *Hypocrite* can endure
to dye, to be with *Christ* in an holy and spirituall *condition*,
free from *sin*: and therefore can he not endure uprightly,
Etc to worke for *Christ* on *Earth*.

Sixthly, Then are we in an healthfull *frame* of *Grace*, Sixtly.
when *God* hath brought down our *hearts* to be content with

*Spiritual
contentation
in Gods will.*

the changes of his *right-hand* upon us: when we have learnt the *lesson* of *Paul*, to be content with *food* and *raiment*, with a *travellers* and *strangers* *portion*, of so much as may serve us in our *Journey*: When we can tell how to abound without *Pride*, or *security*, or *trust* in earthly things, and when we can tell how to want all outward *mercies* with *quietnesse* and *contentation*.

Obj. But may not *Hypocrites* be contented with smal *matters*, and suppress their desires of great *things*, and say with *Esau* unto *Jacob*: Keep that thou hast *my brother*, I have enough?

*All changes
and losses
are made up
to Gods
people only
by himselfe.*

I answer, the desires of all men are not alike *greedy*; but yet the desires of men are truly satisfied without *God*: Now when *changes* and the *losse* of all things fall upon the *Hypocrite*, he cannot finde those *changes* and those *losses* made up in *God*: No *Habakkuk* tels us, That it is the *Character* of *Gods* children, when the *corne* is gone, and the *flocks* and the *heards*, and the *vine* and *figtree* faile, to rejoyce in *God* alone for a *portion*, and to *glory* in the *God* of their *Salvation*.

Seventhly.

Seventhly, Then are our hearts in an *healthfull* frame, when we are not onely willing to suffer for the name of *Christ Jesus*, but when we also conceive a kinde of *pleasure* in it; so saith *Paul*, I take *pleasure* in *necessities*, in *distresses*, and for *Christs* sake; Hence the *Saints* (*Heb.* 13. 10.) not only suffered the spoyling of their *goods*, but they took the spoyling of their *goods* with *joy*.

*Joy in Sor-
row.*

Object. May not *Hipocrites* suffer joyfully for *Christ*?

*Hypocrites
pretend to
suffer for
Christ.*

I answer, An *Hypocrite* may doe and suffer with a seeming *joy* for *Christ*: But he can never doe this out of *love* to *Christ*, *I Cor.* 13. but always out of *self-love* for his owne *glory* and *honour*, out of strong conviction of *conscience*, least he be damned in denying his *light*, Etc. Onely *Gods* children can out of *love* to *Christ Jesus* rejoyce (as

some true *friend* or *wife*) to be *afflicted* and to *sorrow* and loose for their *Souls beloved*.

Object. Why then are many of *Gods children* so heavy in their *sufferings* and *losses* for *Christ Jesus*?

I answer, This hapneth sometimes out of distemper of *body*; sometimes out of distemper and weaknesse of *minde*, which they labour against, and chide themselves for as did *David, Psal. 42. & 43.* why art thou disquieted O my *Soul*, and why art thou so heavy within me? still trust in *God*, for I will praise him, who is the *health* of my *countenance* and my *God*.

Eighthly, It argues strength of *Grace* when we use this *world*, and all the *comforts* of it with a *weaned eye* and *mind*, as if we used it not: as *English Travellers* that lodge in an *Indian house*, use all the wild *Indians* comforts with a strange *affection*, willing and ready to be gone: or as *Passengers* in a *Ship*, willing and ready (when *God* will) to land, and goe ashoar in our own *countrey*, to our owne *House*, and *comforts* in the *Heavens*.

Eightly.
Christian
weanedness
from this
worlds
comforts.

Thus *Gideons Souldiers* (in a figure of such as are fit for *Christs Battels*) are not only *couragious* and depart not with the *cowards*, but also lap at the *comforts* of this life, with a speedy *necessity*, but lye not downe to them in *excesse* of *affection* and *delight*.

Object. May not *Hypocrites* use this world with a strange *affection*, weaned from the vanities of it, Etc.

I answer, Doubtlesse not onely a false *Christian* or *Hypocrite*, but other naturall men (out of the *sence* and *experience* of the *vanitie* and *uncertainty* of this life, and the *comforts* of it) may attaine to a great seeming *dispising* of these *earthly things*, though never without *sorrow* that they are not more *full* and *certain*, as being their *portion*: Onely *Gods children* who have made the *Lord* himselfe their *portion*, and his *word* and *Ordinances* their *inheritance*,

The
heavenly use
of earthly
comforts.

they only I say use them as from *God*, tokens of his *Love* and *goodnesse*, and as *golden chaines* to draw them unto him, and humbly submit to *Gods* holy pleasure, in his gracious *bestowing* or *withdrawing* of them.

Ninthly.

Ninthly, It is an *Argument* of a strong *fear* of and *affection* to *God*, when in all our earthly businesses, we see *God*, and minde his *name* and *praise*. Hence saith *James*: Yee ought in all Journeys and purposes to say, If *God* will: Hence *Boaz* that holy man, when he comes into his *Field* hath *God* in his *mouth*: The *Lord* Blesse you sayed he to his *Reapers*: Hence the poorest *Christian* able to contribute (I *Cor.* 16) observes *weekly*, and therefore *daily* the *dispensations* of *God* towards him; He observes the *givings* and *takings* of *Gods* hand, and walks with him though in the poorest and meanest *calling* and *condition*.

Object. But may not *Hypocrites* observe *Gods* blessing in *worldly things*, in *faire winds*, *good voyages*, in the *increase* of *children*, *corne*, *wine*, *cattel*, Etc?

The glorifying of God proper to Gods children only.

I answer, *Naturall conviction* enforceth even *Pagans* to confesse (a *Manittoo*) an *Invisible Deity* and *God-head* in these visible things; But to make it a *worke* and *Businesse* in all these earthly things to see and *glorifie God*, to walke with him, and to be full of his *praise* all the day long; this is onely the *Character* of *Gods children*, who only truly see his *hand*, and love his *name* and *glory*.

Tenthly.

The true watch of Gods people over their Tongue.

Tenthly, It is an *Argument* of strength and vigour of *grace*, to keep a constant *watch* and *bridle* on our *lips* and *tongue*, that no words passe but such as are seasoned with *Salt*, to the *glorifying* of our *Maker* with our *glory*, and the *edifying* or *benefitting* of others. This *Tongue* of ours the *Lord* compares to the *bridle* of a *Horse*, to the *Helm* of a *Ship*, which if well managed rules the *horse* and *ship*, with *safety* and *comfort*: and the *Spirit* of *God* concludes; that he is a *perfect* and *strong* man in *Christ*, that is thus able to command his *Speech* and *Tongue* in this world.

Hence *Christ Jesus* preacheth *Judgement* to the *world*, for the *abuse* of the *Tongue*, and the *idle words* of it, when our *words* are not *working words*, and tend not to heavenly profiting of others.

Hence the *Spirit* by *Paul* commands (*Ephes. 5.*) that neither *uncleannesse*, nor *covetousnesse*, nor *foolish talking*, nor *jeasting*, be once heard from the mouths of the *Saints*, but rather giving of *thanks*, and praising of *God*.

Object. But may not *worldly* persons set a watch before the door of their *lips*?

I answer, *Morall wisdome* may teach persons the *vanity* and grosse *wickednesse* of the *Tongue*, but onely *Gods spirit* (and strength of it) doth teach *Gods children*, in true *feare* and *love* of *God*, not onely to *restraine* from *vaine* and *foolish*, but also to attaine to a *spirituall* and *heavenly Language*.

Lastly, It argues strength and life and *Grace* in *Christ*, when our *hearts* by *Gods spirit* are wrought to such a degree of *hatred* of sin, that we not onely abhor the *acts* thereof, but also fly and shun the *looks* and *appearance* of it: so that we not only fly *pride* and *passion*, and *covetousnesse* and *uncleannesse*, but also the *appearance* of them.

Hence *Boaz*, when *Ruth* lay downe at his feet in the night, as claiming *marriage* by *right*, he not only refrained from *uncleannesse*, or uncleane *touches*, but also he gravely advised her to be gone so early in the morning, that no man should say there came a woman into the floar.

Object. But may not *worldly* persons not only avoid sin, but also the *appearance* of it?

I answer, No *worldly* or *unregenerate* person can truly hate *sin*, or the appearance of it, for it is his *nature* and *Element*, they can onely hate the *dammages* and *disgrace*, and *discredit* of it, and so a *Whore* may hate *whoredome*. 'Tis only the *property* of *Gods children*, and the *newborne* to hate *sin* as *sin*, with the sinfull *appearances* of it as oppo-

Only Gods children can truly hate sin.

site to their *new* and *heavenly* nature in *Jesus Christ*.

I now come to the third head of the tryalls of spirituall *health* and *strength*, and that respects our *conversation* with men, in which

*Christ and
Christians
worke to
glorify God
in doing
good.*

First I argue, that it is a strong *argument* of a strong *constitution* and *spirituall health*, when we can make it our *worke* and *trade*, to aime at *glorifying* our Maker in doing good to men.

Thus our great example *Christ Jesus* made it his *worke* and *trade*, to goe about to doe *good*, which he did abundantly and constantly to the *souls* and *bodies* of men.

Obj. *Christ Jesus* and his *Apostles* and *messengers* were endued with *power* from on high, not only to preach the *Word* for *conversion* but also with *power* of casting out *Devils*, and healing *bodily diseases*.

*Holy women
great helps
in the Gospel
of Christ
Jesus.*

I answer, as an *holy witnessse* of *Christ Jesus* (a *Woman*) once answered a Bishop, *I am a member of Christ Jesus* as well as *Peter* himselfe. The least *Believer* and *Follower* of *Jesus* pertakes of the *nature* and *spirit* of him their holy *head* and *husband*, as well as the *strongest* and *holiest* that ever did or suffered for his holy *name*.

Therefore it is that we read not only of the *service* of those great *master-builders* and *work-men* of *Christ Jesus*, the *Apostles*, but also the *service* and helpe of *Christian women*, for instance (*Rom.* 16.) *Phebe*, *Priscilla*, *Mary*, *Persis*, were eminently noted for helping forward the work of *Christ Jesus*, to wit, the glorifying of *God* in the saving of the poor sons of men.

Object. But is it not possible for *Gods children* to be slack in this *work* and *trade* of doing good to the *souls* and *bodies* of others, and yet be strong in *grace* and *healthfull*?

I answer, Doubtlesse *Gods Children* may be *strong* one way, and *weak* in another, *strong* in one *tryal* and *weak* in another: But it is their *weaknesse* and *sicknesse*, when they are slow and negligent of so *glorious* and *heavenly* a *worke*.

Thus *Paul* complains of the Saints of *Asia*, that he found none that stuck close to him but *Timothie*. Thus was it in *Barucks* weaknesse and sicknesse to seek great and earthly things, and *Jeremie* (strong in spirituall health and life) chides and reproves him for it, *Jer.* 45.

Secondly, It argues strength of spirituall life, when we bear a strong affection to the seed of the woman, *Christs* seed, *Gods* children. To doe good to all men is a *Christian* trade, but especially to the household of faith. This was *Davids* affection (*Psalme* 16.) when he look't upon *Gods* children as the excellent of the *Earth*, and placed all his delight in them: Thus *Jonathan* though he lost his *Fathers* love for *Davids*, though he was to loose a *Kingdom* by *David*, yet he loves him as his own *Soul*.

Secondly.

Gods children cannot but naturally love one another.

Thus *Ruth* so loved that holy woman *Naomi*, that although she were growne poor, a widow, and now in a tedious travel from *Moab* to *Israel*, and *Naomi* did also intreat her and her sister to goe back, and *Orpah* her sister was already returned to her kindred and her *Gods*, yet such was the flame of her holy affection, that she intreats *Naomi* not to intreat her: Intreat me not to leave thee, for whether thou goest I will goe, where thou dyest I will dye, and there will I be buried: thy *God* shall be my *God*, Etc.

Object. May not wicked persons favour, love, and respect *Gods* children? Did not *Saul* greatly respect *Samuel*; and for a while *Herod*, *John* the *Baptist*? Did not *Michol* love King *David*, as well as did her brother *Jonathan*? yea did not *David* finde wonderfull favour in the eyes of a *Philistian Achaz*?

Worldly men may in a kind love *Gods* people.

I answer, The nature and the grounds of the love of naturall persons to *Gods* children must be rightly distinguished: *Gods* children themselves may and ought to love each other, and others also, according to any naturall and civill Relation; yet onely *Gods* children can love *Gods*

children for the *grace* and *spirit* of *God*, which they see and finde in each other.

But Gods children can only love each other with a spiritual love.

Thus as two *Candles* or *Torches* they spiritually close and embrace each other with heavenly affection, being of one common *heavenly nature* together. Thus *Countrey-men* meeting in strange and forraign *nations* presently know each other by their *language*, Etc.

Thus *Brethren* rejoyce to finde each other in *strange* places, and to know themselves the sons of one *Father* and *Mother*.

Thus *Fellow-souldiers* which stick close each to other in *life* and *death*, yea, although *routed*, *disordered* and *flying*, if possible they can discern and know each other.

Gods children may possibly be unkind and cruel each to other.

Object. But did not holy *David* (who was a man strong in *grace*) did not he lay *plots* for the *life* of an holy man, noble and faithful *Uriah*? Did not *Asah* that holy King of *Judah*, practice false *Imprisoning*, in committing the man of *God* to prison, and that onely for his *faithfulnesse* in reproving him from *God*?

I answer, This shews that both *David* and *Asah* at this time were very sick, and *David* upon his *recovery* laments his *weaknesse* and *wickednesse* and *Blood-guiltinesse*, *Psal.* 51,

Gods people in case may be sharp each to other, so was *David* sharply reproved by *Nathan*.

Quest. But may not *Gods* children have just cause of exercising *sharpnesse* each to others?

Yea doubtlesse, for *Paul* withstood even *Peter* himselfe to his face, and the *Church* of *Corinth* must put away and deliver the *incestuous* person to the *Devill*; though probably yet deare, and a brother, according to that of *Paul* to the *Thessalonians*, yet count him not as an *Enemie*, but admonish him as a *Brother*.

In a way of *Justice*, in a way of *Physick*, the dearest *friend* or *Brother* may exercise much *bitternesse*, though with much *sweetnesse* of *temper*, and with much tender melting and bemoaning of *affection*.

Thus in cases have we seen mounfull violence used, to a wife or brother in some kind of *distempers* and *distractions*.

But when *Gods children* shall so far degenerate, as to pursue the life of each other, though it be with desire to cover a sin, and to keep *Gods name* from being dishonored (as in *Davids case*) it is a weaknesse, it is a sicknesse, which although it be not unto death, yet bringeth it neer unto *Deaths door*, and made *David* cry out with *bitternesse* of his soul, *Deliver me from blood-guiltinesse O my God, and my tongue shall sing loud of thy righteousnesse*.

A third tryal of spirituall health and strength is a *compassionate* and *pitifull*, *melting-heart* over the *afflicted* or *miserable*, yea, although our *enemies*, or *enemies* of their owne *Salvation*.

Thus the Lord *Jesus* sighs for the *hardnesse* of the *heart* of his *Enemies*: thus he *weeps* over *Jerusalem* that was to kill him, and prayed for his *persecutors* and *enemies*.

Thus *Jeremy* powres forth his *Book* and *Rivers* of *Lamentations* for *Jerusalem* of old, as *Christ* for the latter. Thus *Gods* people are commanded to *weep* with them that *weep*: And when any oppose themselves, wee ought in *meeknesse* and *patience* to bear it, as knowing their wofull and miserable *bondage* and *slavery* to *Sathan*: And who knows whether it will please *God* in infinite mercy and compassion to deliver them by vouchsafing *repentance* in *Christ Jesus*, as he hath done to us?

Object. But may not *Gods* children exceed and over-grieve for others?

Yea doubtlesse, and therefore *God* chideth *Samuel* for over-grieving for *Saul*, because *God* hath rejected him: *Gods* children may as well exceed the bounds of *griefs* as of *joy* and *anger*, and any kind of *Passion* or *affection*: but it is ever safer to fall on the right hand of too much *mercy* and *compassion*, then on the left of *Anger*, *Wrath* and *Cruelty*.

One of the blackest transgressions in the world for

Thirdly. A compassionate heart even towards enemies is a Christian heart.

2 Tim. 2.26.

Gods people mourn for others.

Hence *David* weeps over *sinners* with Rivers of Tears, because they kept not *Gods Law*. Hence we are commanded to bear the *burthens* of others, and so fulfill *Christs Law*. All sin is a *burthen*, but especially to *Gods children*, whether they commit it out of a deceived *judgment*, and *conscience*, or out of *passion*, and sudden *flight of temptation*: Their *sins* therefore (especially if *superiours*) we must cover, and with shame, and sorrow go backward like *Shem*, and *Japheth*, as grieving, and unwilling to behold their *nakednes*.

Obj. But we are commanded not to suffer *sin* upon our *Brethren*, but reprove them?

I answer, then is the *tongue* a fit *instrument* to reprove others, when it is tuned by a grieved *heart*, that considers, and ponders it self, as subject to *temptation*, and *sin*, as others, except *mercy* make the difference, and deliver from *temptation*.

4thly.

Impartial
reproving a
character of
Gods people.

Fourthly, it is a good evidence of *spirituall health*, respecting others, when we endure not sin to lie upon them, or rather them to lie in the pit of *sin*, but endeavour to help them out by wise, and loving, and seasonable *reproof*, and *exhortation*.

Hence *Job* endures not *sin* in the wife of his *Bozome*, but chargeth her with *folly* for her impatient, & impious *counsell*: Hence *David* smites deeply his dearest *Michol*, when she mocks at his holy zeal for the *Lord*, and his *worship*.

Hence *Christ Jesus* sharply reproves his faithful servant and Apostle *Peter*, and that only for (seeming) loving, and affection-*counsell*: Get thee behind me *Satan*.

Bold reproves
for sin.

Again, as true love, and zeal for *God*, (when strong) spares not the dearest: so neither doth it balk, or shun the *highest*. Thus deal *Gods Prophets*, even with *Kings*, and *Princes*: Thus *Samuel* spares not *Saul*, nor *Nathan David*, *Eliab Ahab*, nor *John Baptist Herod* and his *Queen*, even

for those most neer, and darling *sins*, which were most *dangerous* to touch, and meddle with.

Qu: How stands such bold, and sharp *language*, (as some of the *Prophets* used) with humble *Duty*, *Fear*, and *Reverence*, due unto *superiours*?

I answer, as true *affection* stands with plain, and sharp reproof of *dearest*, so true *humility* in bold dealing on *Gods* behalf, with the most *supream*, and highest.

Hence are *Gods* people also commanded not only to reprove, but separate in case of finall *obstinacy* in *sin*.

Obj. This course may seem to destroy humane *society*, yea *nature*, and civillity out of the world.

I answer, it is true that *Godlines*, and *Christian affection*, and *zeal* for *God* destroys corrupt *nature*, and *humanity*, but otherwise *Godlines* sanctifieth, and directeth *nature*, and *civility*, in the fear of *God*.

Godliness makes civilitie more beautifull.
5thly.

Fifthly, it argues *strength* of *spirituall life*, and *grace*, when a *Soul* is able to withstand, resist, and repell such *sins*, unto which the *opportunity* of *temptation* solliciteth, and invites us.

Hence holy *Joseph*, and *David*, are propounded to us for heavenly *examples* of *power*, and strength of *grace*, in resisting those most, two plausible *temptations* (to which the wicked *nature* of man is so *prone*, and *subject*;) the one of *lust* to *Women*, when strongly and often solicited by his wanton Mistris: the other of *revenge* toward man, when his bloody *persecutor* *Saul*, seemed by *God* himself to be delivered, and brought into his hand.

Joseph and David admirable for resisting of temptations.

Obj. But *David* himself was conquered by *uncleanes*, and *Asa* wrecks his *wrath*, upon the very *servant*, and *Prophet* of the most *High*, and yet both *David*, and *Asa* were thought to be *strong* in *grace*, and *power* of *Godlines*?

I answer, *Gods champions* are sometimes strong, and sometimes weak, *strong* in some things, *weak* in others,

The falls of Gods children and to what end.

A Christian bearing of reproof a good argument of much of Christ Jesus.

Gods people may possibly be angry at reproofs.

Naturall wisdom goes far, but not so far as spirituall.

and (as the strongest *bodies*) subject to spirituall *colds* and *falls*, and *hurts*, which are most graciously recorded for our *comfort* in our *falls*, as well as the holy *victories* of the *Saints*, to make us *watchfull*, and *couragious*.

Sixtly, in matters concerning others, it is a good *argument* of *strength* of *grace*, when we can patiently, and thankfully bear a *Reproof*, and *Admonition*, when we can esteem a *Reproof* for our evill *words*, or *ways*, not as a *blow* or *stroak* on the *Head*, but as a sweet, and precious *Ointment* powred on us

Hence the admirable *patience*, and *meecknes* of *Hanna*, when *Eli* zealously, but *uncharitably* reprov'd her for *Drunkennes*. Hence when *Christ Jesus* most sharply reprov'd *Peter*, and afterward *Paul* dealt severely with him about dissembling in the matter of *Communion*; We hear not of the least *impatience*, or *bitter* word to either, yea when he was unjustly charged, and that by *Saints* (Act. 11) he patiently bears it, and returns a soft, and gentle *answer*, which turned their murmuring *accusations* into joyfull *satisfaction*, and *thanksgiving*.

But now the *scorner*, yea the godly being (weak) reprov'd burst out in wrath. Thus not only *Ahab* imprisons *Micaiah*, and *Herod*, *John the Baptist*, but *Asa* also claps up fast the reprov'ing Prophet, and the best of *Gods children* are subject to such sad *distempers*, when either a mistake of *judgment*, or a *pang* of *passion* sinfully hinders the *receit* and *working* of the *Reproofs* of the *Almighty*, which are wholesome heavenly *potions* intended by him the *Father* of mercies, for our good, who ever be the *cup*, the *vial*, or *instrument*.

Obj. Many *Philosophers* by *naturall wisdom*, and many *civill* and *morall* men, out of the *principles* of *civility* and *morality*, and sometimes for some private ends, will bear a *Reproof* with *patience*: And hence that of *Solomon*, rebuke a wise *man*, and he will love thee: whence it may seem that

men by strength of *wisdom* may receive in *love*, and *profit* by a *Reprehension*.

I answer, *Gods children* (as well as naturall men) may also act from *Rules of Reason*, and naturall wisdom, but withall they act from an higher *ground*, and *principle*, that is they hear they see *Gods wise*, and *holy* permitting hand in the foulest *mouth*; So *David* acknowledgeth *God* in *Shimeis* railing, and *Hezekiah* in *Rabsheka* his provocations, and *blasphemies*.

2dly. *Gods children* by *reproofs*, by *slanders*, and *reproaches*, are sent to *God*: So *David* as a figure of *Christ Jesus*, and so *Moses* also, when the people in their *murmurings*, reproached him, as the *cause* or *occasion* of their *miseries*, he runs to *God*, and praies even for those *unworthy*, and *unthankfull* men.

Reproaches
send Gods
people unto
God.

Lastly, with reference to our walking with others, it is an *argument* of great strength of *grace*, when the *glory* of the *Lord* and the salvation of *Gods* people is so great, and so *dear* in our eyes, that we can wish (upon *supposition* of them two) that we not onely loose our *temporall*, but our eternall *state* and *welfare*: Hence those two famous and *wonderfull speeches* of those two glorious stars *Moses* and *Paul*: Blot me out of thy *book* saith *Moses*: And I could wish to be accursed from *Christ*, saith *Paul*, for *Israels* sake.

Ob. But can such a *wish* be lawfull though for the *gain* and *glory* of *Christ*, since to be accursed from *Christ* cannot be without sin against *Christ*?

I answer: I will not dispute what *accursedness* or *separation* from *Christ*, that is, some saying that *Paul* wished onely a *temporall*, and some an *eternall separation* from *Christ*: some a *separation* from *joy* and *delight* in the *presence* of *Christ*, but not from the *puritie* and holiness of *Christ*: But I say, doubtless so neer as any soul approacheth to these heavenly *copies* of *Moses* and *Paul*, so neer comes he to the greatest *strength*, and health, and beautie of a *Christian* life.

Ob. But can any man now attain to such a *strength of grace* as this, so to wish?

Different manifestations of Christ Jesus in his people.

I answer: as it is in *nature* so in *grace*, there are *children* and *young men* (or *strong men*,) and there are *old* and *aged men* in *Christ*: Again, as it is *nature*, so in *grace*; there are *differences of children*, and *differences of young and aged men* in *Christ*: every *Israelite* had not the *strength of Samson*: nor every of *Davids Souldiers* the *strength and valour of Davids worthies*: yet so neer to these heavenly *copies* as we approach, the *stronger* we are in the *grace of God* in *Christ*: And doubtless it cannot be but it is in the *desire of every true childe of God*, not onely to enjoy a *prettie moderate health of spirituall life*, but to be as *strong in faith as Abraham*, in *meeckness as Moses*, in *patience as Job*, in *affection to God as David*, and as *zealous for the Lord and his glory*, as were this blessed *pair of zealous servants of the most high, Paul and Moses*.

Some means which Gods Spirit useth as preservatives.

I am now come (dear Love) to the third and last *Head* proposed, which is some few means of *recovering and preserving of Christian health* and *cheerfulness*, and the *preventing of spirituall sicknesses and diseases*: In this I shall desire to be *brief*, lest by too long a *discourse* I discourage thy *reading*, and hinder thy use and *improvement* of it.

Soul-examination a soul means of spirituall preservation.

First then, *holy consideration of our estate*, a *deep and frequent examination of our spirituall condition* is an excellent means of *Christian health* and *temper*: Thus teacheth us the *holy Spirit of God* by *Jeremie, Lam: 2. Let us search and try our ways, and turn unto the Lord*.

This *searching and examining of our ways in Gods presence* is (as it were) a *casting up of our accounts* between *God* and our *souls*, wherein we truly *verifie that true saying*, That often *reckoning* makes *God* and our *souls* true *friends*.

This *dutie* is hard, and therefore we must often *crie to God* with *David*, *Psal. 139. Search me O God, and try my*

heart, and see if there be any *wicked* way in me, and lead me in the way *everlasting*.

This holy *practice* ought to be frequent, but then especially when the hand, and *Rods* of the *Lord* are upon us: For then (as *Job* saith) *God* softeneth our *Hearts*, and we are most like then to be as the ground, mollified upon a *Thaw*, fit to be broken up, or like the ground moistened with *storms*, and *showers* from Heaven, then in some hopeful turn for the *Lords* most gracious *seed*, and heavenly *planting*.

Secondly, maintain an earnest longing, and endeavour to enjoy *Christ Jesus*, who is our *souls* life in every holy *Ordinance*, which he hath appointed. If it be possible (with true *satisfaction* to our *consciences*, and *doubts* in *Gods* presence) let us never rest from being planted into the holy *society* of *Gods* children, gathered into the *order* of *Christ Jesus*, according to his most holy *will* and *Testament*: Remembering that *Christian health*, *growth*, and *flourishing*, are promised to the *Trees* planted in *Jehovahs* house: And that the holy *Ordinances* are the *Lords* *provisions*, and *soul meals*, and *Breasts* which he hath graciously appointed for his *children*, of all *sorts*, and *ages*.

Especially be much in holy *prayer*, and *fasting* before the *Lord*: this is an *Ordinance* of which neither *Pope* nor *Deuill* could ever deprive a child of *God*: If it be possible practice this duty with others, however before the *Lord* in secret: remembering how frequent the *children* of *God* in holy *scripture* were in this *duty*. *Daniel* is an heavenly *pattern*: and so is *David*, who wept and chastised his soul with *fasting* although he was reproached for it, *Psal.* 69.

Our holy *Bridegroom* the *Lord Jesus*, tels us that the *Bridegroom* shall be taken away, and then his servants fast: as if he had expressly named the times of the *Anti-christian* bondage, wherein the *followers* of *Jesus*, like the blessed *Women*, (*John* the 20.) *weeping*, cry out, they have taken

Affliction the season of Examination.

2dly. Christ Jesus his appointments undoubted means of Christian health and chearfulness.

Prayer with fasting a most Christian and mighty ordinance.

away my *Lord*, and I know not where they have laid him.

This holy *Ordinance* is of such admirable use among the *Saints*, that even in the first, and purest times of *Christianity*, we read of *Christian yoke fellows*, consenting to a *separation* from each other, for a time that they may give themselves to *prayer*, and *fasting*, I Cor: 7.

Obj. But some say *fasting* as it seems to be more proper to the *Old Testament*, so seems it not so usefull in the *New Covenant*, when more *spirituall* worship, and *spirituall* joys seem more *suitable*, and *seasonable*.

The excellent use of prayer and fasting.

I answer, all the former *Scriptures* declare it to be an *Ordinance* of the *New Testament*, as well as a *prayer* itself: And for the use of it, it is most admirable for the *separating*, and *abstracting* of the *mind*, and *spirit*, from earthly *occasions*, and *comforts*, for the devoting of the *soul* to heavenly *consideration*, and *examination* of our wayes, for the pouring forth of *prayers*, and *cries* to *God* in the many great, and mighty *straights* which *Gods* people passe through in this *vale* of *tears*, and *Lamentation*. And indeed it is (as I may say) the taking of a *soul sweat*, or *soul purge* for the avoiding and cleansing out our *spirituall Humours*, and *corruptions*.

3rdly

Spirituall taking of cold.

Thirdly, as ever we would preserve our *spirituall health*, let us carefully take heed of *spirituall colds* and *obstructions*: For as it is in the *naturall* man, a *cold* it self is a great *distemper*, and the *ground* and *beginning* of others, when the *warm streams* of *blood*, and *spirits* are stopt up, and obstructed: So is it, (and much more in the *spirituall*) when our heavenly *spirits* are stopt by damp *colds*, and *obstructions* of unnecessary frequenting of *cold societies*, and *places* destitute of the *life* of the *Sun* of *Righteousnes Christ Jesus*.

The *Lord Jesus* is a *Christians Garment*: O let us keep that blessed *garment* always close about us, and in all places, and in all companies, and upon all *occasions* expresse the *life*, and *power* of *Christ Jesus*, longing to know, and to

follow his blessed *words*, and *examples* in *life*, and *death*.

Fourthly, take heed of *spirituall surfets*, that the feeding too much upon the *comforts* of *yoak fellows*, *children*, *credit*, *profit*, (though sweet, and wholesome as *hony*) turn not to *bitternes*, and *loathing*.

Gods children as *travailleurs* on the Land, as *Passengers* in a *ship*, must use this world, and all *comforts* of it, with *dead*, and *weaned*, and *mortified affections*, as if they used them not: If *Riches*, if *Children*, if *Cattel*, if *Friends*, if whatsoever increase, let us watch that the *Heart* fly not loose upon them: But as we use *salt* with raw and fresh meats, let us use no worldly *comfort* without a savoury Remembrance, that these worldly *Goods* and *comforts* are the common portion of the men of this perishing world, who must perish together with them. Let us muse upon their *insufficiency* to content, and fill our *Hearts*, upon their uncertain coming, and going with *Eagles wings*: upon their *anxiety*, and perplexednes full of *Thorns*, & *vexations*: upon their *certainty* of departing, how soon we know not. O let us therefor beg *grace* from *Heaven*, that we may use earthly *comforts* as a *stool* or *ladder* to help us upward to heavenly *comforts*, *profits*, *pleasures*, which are only *true*, and *lasting*, even *eternall* in *God* himself, when these *Heavens*, and *earth* are gone.

Fifthly, to maintain a spirituall *health* and *cheerfulness* is of no small use (as *Paul* writes to *Timothie*) sometimes to help our *cold stomachs* with a little *wine* or *strong drink* of the *hope* of the *joyes* to come: Lay hold (saith *Paul* to *Timothie*) of *eternall life*: and as the *Souldier* meditates upon the *glory* of his *victories*: The sick *passenger* at Sea upon his *sweet refreshings* on shore: the *Traveller* upon his *journeys end* and *comforts* at his home: the *Labourer* and the *Hireling* on his *wages*, the *Husbandman* on his *harvest*: the *Merchant* on his gain: the *woman* in *travail*, on her *fruit*: so let us sometimes warm and revive our cold *hearts*

4thly.

Gods people must watch against the surfeiting upon worldly comforts.

5.

The power of meditating the joyes that are to come.

and fainting *spirits*, with the assured hope of those *victories*, those *crowns*, those *harvests*, those *refreshings* and *fruits*, which never *eye* hath seen, nor *ear* hath heard, nor never entred into mans *heart* the things which *God* hath prepared for them that love him: Of which however it pleaseth *God* to give his servants a *taste* in this *life*, yet the *harvest* and the *vintage* are to come, when they that suffer with *Christ Jesus* shall reign with him, and they that have sown in *tears* shall reap the never ending *harvest* of inconceivable joyes.

sithly.

Bitter and untoothsome things may yet be of a blessed and wholesome use to Gods people.

Sixthly, as it is in the *restoring* of the *body* to *health*, or in the *preserving* of it in an healthfull *condition*: it is often necessarie to use the help of *sharp* and *bitter* things, *bitter pills*, *bitter potions*, *bitter medicines*, *sweatings*, *purgings*, *vomitings*, *blood-letting*, Etc. So is it with our *souls*, and *spirits*, and preservation of the *health* and *cheerfulness* of the spirituell and the *inner* man.

The *sharp* and *bitter* things which it pleaseth *God* to make use of in these cases are of two sorts.

Two sorts of bitter afflictions.

First, such as himself is pleased to use towards us in the *way* of his fatherly *afflictions* of all *sorts*: on our *spirits*, our *bodies*, our *yoak-fellows*, *children*, *servants*, *cattel*, *goods*, Etc. out of which, yea also out of the *injurious*, and *slanderos*, and persecuting dealing of others, yea and out of our own *sins* and failings his most holy and infinite *wisdom*, fetcheth all sorts of *cleansing* and *purging*, yea and sometimes a *cordiall* and healing *physick*.

The second sort of sharp and *bitter* means are such, as we *voluntarily* use and *apply* our selves unto our selves, for the *slaying* and the *purging* out of the *filthy humours* and *corruptions* of *pride*, *securitie*, *uncleanness*, *self-love*, *covetousness*, and what ever else remains behinde of the *body* of *death* in us.

It is true that the *word* of *God*, and all his holy *Ordinances*, they are not only of a *feeding*, and *nourishing*, but also of a *purging*, and *cleansing* *Nature*, of a *preserving*,

and a *restoring Quality*: and therefore out of these, we must take *direction* for all our *spirituall Remedies*, against those *soul distempers*, unto which our *spirituall*, and *inner* men are subject.

The Scripture the true storehouse of soul physick.

First, then it is an *wholsome* though *bitter pill*, often to call to mind our *many*, our *great*, our *known*, our *unknown* transgressions against the *Lord* as a *Creatour*, against the *Lord* as a *Father*, against the *Lord* as a *Redeemer*, against *Christ Jesus*, against his holy *Spirit*, against his *Ordinances*, against his *Saints*, against our *selves*, etc. Yea the *sins* and severall *corruptions* of our *Natures*, *callings*, and *conditions*, to which we yet are subject, and lye open, and without *supply* of *Grace*, and *strength* from *Heaven*, we shall fall and tumble into, as well as the strongest of *Gods servants*, of whose wofull *fals* we read of in holy Scripture

1.

The remembrance of our sins bitter, yet an wholsome pill.

Obj. It is a part of the *Lords New Covenant*, that he will forgive our *sins*, and remember our *iniquities* no more.

I answer, unto all the *promises* of all sorts, (Ezek. 36.) it pleaseth the *Lord* to adde this Gospel *Proviso*; For all this I will be sought unto saith the *Lord*, according to that most holy direction, of the *Lord Jesus*, to pray daily, not only for *daily Bread*, but also for *daily forgivenes*.

Gods children bound to beg for pardon of sin.

Obj. The *Lord* hath forgiven them already in *Christ*, what need to pray for forgivenesse of them again.

I answer, We must marke the *Lords Ordinance*, for all this I will be sought unto: *Prayer* and other *spirituall Ordinances* hath the *Lord* appointed for our *souls* good, as well as *corporall meanes* for our bodily comfort.

Hence the many examples of the servants of *God* throughout the whole Scripture, both before *Jesus Christ* and since, *David*, *Peter*, *Mary Magdalen*, breaking forth into heavenly showres of godly *teares*. Hence the *Paschall Lambe*, (the figure of *Christ Jesus*) was appointed by the *Lord* to be eaten with *bitter herbs*, implying and teaching that *Jesus Christ* himselfe, his *blood*, *pardon of sin*, *Life*

Godly sorrow not inconsistent but subservient to spirituall joy.

and *Salvation*, and all the *spirituall* and *eternall sweets* that here below we finde in *Christ Jesus*, they have not their *native* and proper rellish without the helpe of such sharp and bitter *heerbs*.

*Gods coun-
cels absolve
not us from
menes &
endeavours.*

What though therefore in *Gods council* before the *world* was, all his works of *creation* and *redemption*, *vocation*, *justification*, *glorification* are knowne to him and acted by him? I say, in the most inconceivable deep *councils* of his will, according to which he worketh all things, *Ephes. I. 11*? yet were it *presumptuous madnesse* in us, and a tempting of the *jealous eyes* of the most *High*, to neglect the *wayes*, and *meanes*, and *paths* of *mercy* for *Soul* or *Body*, which his most holy *Wisedome* out of *infinite Grace* and *goodnesse* hath appointed to us?

*The due con-
sideration of
Gods justice
is an
heavenly
though bitter
pill.*

A second sharp and bitter *pill* to purge out *spirituall corruption*, is a due and serious pondering of the *nature*, of the *justice* of the most *High*; notwithstanding all the *infinite sweetnesse* of the *Ocean* of his *mercy*, and notwithstanding all the *colours* and *pretences* which we poor sinners invent to our selves, to hide from our eyes, the *greatnesse* and *dreadfulnesse* and *terrors* of it.

Well therefore might *Job* say: therefore am I troubled at his presence, and when I consider I am afraid of him; and *David, Psal. 119*. My *Flesh* trembleth for fear of thee, and I am afraid of thy *judgements*.

Object. But *John* saith, perfect *love* casteth out *fear*.

I answer, The true love of *God*, never casteth out the true feare of *God*, but only that which is false and *counterfeit*, that which is the feare of a *Beast* of *slaves* and *Devils*.

Hence it is that the *Spirit* of the feare of the *Lord* was poured upon the *Lord Jesus* himself.

This *feare* is an holy *awe* or *reverence* proper to a true and heavenly ingenuous child of *God*, even (first and chiefly) to *Christ Jesus*, the *elder Brother* (in a sence) of all the *children* of *God*. To cherish which holy *feare* of *God*,

let us cast our eyes upon the fiery flashes of his severe *justice* revealed unto us in a three-fold time, the time *past, present,* and to *come.*

For the time past, how dreadfull is that we finde of the *rejection* and *ejection* of so many glorious heavenly Spirits the *Angels*, tumbled down for their sin of *Pride*, from the height of *Heaven*, and their glorious attendance upon *God*, to the depth of *Hell* in horrible *slavery* to everlasting sinnes and torments.

The dreadfull rejection of the Angels.

How dreadfull was that dolefull *Sentence* upon the whole race of *mankinde*, for the Sin of the first *root*, our first *Parents* in *Paradise*? How wonderfull those *Plagues* and *Destructions* upon *Pharaoh* and the land of *Egypt*, for their oppressing Gods people.

The dreadfull sentence upon all mankind.

And (before that) how fearfull and horroble was that *destruction* and *burning* up of *Sodom*, and *Gomorrah* and other *Cities* with *fire* and *brimstone* from *Heaven*?

The destruction of Egypt and Sodom & the whole World.

And (before both these) how wonderfully fearefull and universall was, the *destruction* of the whole *world*, in that choaking, and All-o'erwhelming *flood* or *deluge*.

How fearfull were the stroaks of *Gods* displeasure upon his owne people of *Israel*, in their many *Destructions* and *Captivities*? How fearfull the rejection of the ten *Tribes* wholly swallowed up and lost for so many *ages* and *generations*?

Fearfull stroaks of Gods justice upon Israel.

How lamentable were the *destructions* (and especiall that by *Titus* and *Vespasion*) of the holy *City*, that glorious *Jerusalem*, in the slaughter and captivity of 1100000 thousand *Jewes, men women,* and *children*?

Upon the Jewes and Jerusalem.

How fearfull was the rejection of that whole *Nation* of the *Jewes*, ever since but a *curse* and a *scorne* to all the rest of the *Nations* of the world to this day?

And (above all) who can but tremble at the *impartiall flames* of *Gods justice* on that *green* and *innocent* tree, his owne, and only begotten son *Christ Jesus*, when he stood

Upon the Son of his love the Lord Jesus.

surety in the room of *sinner*s to make *satisfaction* for their *transgressions*?

Object. Grant *Gods justice* and *fierce wrath* to be so hot, so fiery and fearfull towards his *enemies*, yet, what need his *children* fear his *justice*, since that it is satisfied and his wrath appeased towards his people, by the *sufferings* and *bloodshed* of *Christ Jesus*.

The heavy
& dolefull
stroaks of
Gods right-
eous hand
upon his
own people
in this
world.

I answer, It is so evident, that although *Christ Jesus* his blood, hath quenched the fire of *Gods eternal wrath* toward his people, and sweetened the bitter *Cup* of all present *Judgements* and *afflictions*: yet for his *Name* and *Justice* sake in this world, *Gods children* have temporally felt the fearfull stroks of his displeasure, and judgment must begin at the house of *God*.

Hence that dreadfull *blow* of *Gods righteous hand* upon our first *Parents Adam* and *Eve*, cast out of *Paradice* with their *posterity* (even the whole race of *mankind*) notwithstanding their belief in the *promised seed* of *Christ Jesus*.

Hence the heavy *stroakes* upon *Lot*, upon *Lots wife*, upon *Moses*, upon *Aaron*, upon *Sampson*, upon *Eli*, upon *David*, upon *Hezekiah*, upon *Josiah*, etc.

Object. But some say, *God* sees no sin in *Jacob*, etc.

Gods holy
end in his
sore afflic-
tions upon
his people.

I answer, Their calamities are *Judgements*, that is righteous sentences of the most high, *Judgements*, though not eternall *Judgements*: these vindicate *Gods name* and *Justice* before an unrighteous *world*, and beare him witness of his *impartiality*, even towards his owne *children*; these humble and bring his people to repentance and confession, and quicken their pace, and their hearts, to watch against future *sins* and *provocations*.

Hence saith the *Spirit* of *God* expresly, I. *Cor.* II. For this *cause* (that is for his childrens abuse of the *Lords Supper*) many are *weak* and *sick*, and some are *falne asleep*; *God* chastiseth his own people, true *christian Churches*, for the abuse of his holy *Ordinances* and *appointments*.

The direfull judgement of Mahumatism, and Antichristianisme.

thousand and millions of men given up for so long a time (in so many and so mighty flourishing *Nations* of the world) I say, given up to those two monstrously bewitching *Worships* of *Mahumatisme* and *Antichristianisme*, the dire effects of *Gods* most righteous judgements upon the *Easterne* and *Westerne* professors of the knowledge of *God* in *Christ Jesus*?

The lamentable captivity of Gods own people to Antichristian worships.

Adde to these that most fearfull and deplorable *captivity* of the very *soules* and *consciencs* of *Gods* owne people (for so many hundred years) under false and superstitious *Worships*. A righteous *judgement*, though not so easily discerned, yet in it selfe most dreadfull, and exceeding all the temporall calamities in the *world*.

The dreadfull and eternall judgement yet to come.

But (thirdly) from these two times of *past* and *present*, let us cast our eyes on the third which is yet to come, as *sure* and *wonderfull*, will shortly be these two most wonderfull and dreadfull *downfals* of those two so mighty *Monarchies* (so great enemies to *Christ Jesus*) the *Turkish* and the *Popish*: according to the Prediction of the holy *Prophets*. How fearfull the *effusion* of the *Viols*, in part fulfilled, and yet to be powred forth in their season? And not a little wonderfull is that mighty *destruction* of the *Nations Gog* and *Magog* gathered as the *sand* of the *Sea* against the camp of the *saints* of the holy *City*.

And (to come to the full *period* and *finall sentence* of the most righteous *Judge* of the whole *world*) with what horrors and *terrors* shall these *Heavens* and *Earth* passe away; this *Earth* with the works thereof being consumed and burnt up? How inconceivably direfull will the last *eternall judgement* be, when two worlds of men (the former destroyed by *water*, and this by *fire*) shall appeare, before the most glorious *Tribunall* of the Son of *God*? When all the most *secret sins* shall be brought to *tryal*, and an account shall be given for *every idle word*?

O who who can conceive the *terrors* of that thundering

In the second place, let us cast our eyes abroad and behold the direfull signs and tokens, of *Gods* severe Justice executed at this present in the *world*. How lamentably doe we see before our eyes the daily and continued effects of that first *wrath* upon mankind, in so many *sorrows* of all sorts for the first transgression.

Gods justice visibly seen in the present sorrows of all sorts.

Let us consider of the great constant *reproach* and misery over all the *Nations* of the *World*, by reason of *Gods* righteous *Sentence* in the division of so many *Tongues* and *Languages*.

O come and see (saith *David*) what *Desolations* (*Psal.* 46.) the *Lord* hath wrought in the *Earth*? How many *hundred thousands* of *men*, *women* and *children* have of late years been swept away in the *world*, by *wars*, *famines*, and *pestilences*?

The horrible desolations of late years.

And since we are commanded to *weep* with them that *weep*; O that our *heads* were *fountains*, and our *eyes* *rivers* of *waters*, that wee might weep with *Germany*, weep with *Ireland*, yea, weep day and night with *England* and *Scotland* (to speake nothing of other remote *Nations*) in laying againe and againe to *heart* the stroakes of *Gods* most righteous *judgements*, in their most fearfull slaughters and *desolations*.

The effects and marks of these most dreadfull *blowes*, every *eye* is forced to see but yet there are some *stroakes*, more fearfull and yet not easily perceived; such are the righteous *judgements* of *God*, giving up the *Nations* of the *world* to so many horrible and blasphemous *worships*, *idolatries* and *superstitions*. To speak nothing of whole *Nations* and *Kingdomes*, that know not at all the true and living *God*, how *cold* and *hard* is that *stone* that lyes upon the *mouth* of that wonderfull *grave* of *unbeliefe*, wherein the *Nation* of (*Gods* choice and love) the *Jewes* lye buried and o'rewhelmed to this day?

The wonderfull spirituell judgements upon the Nations.

The direfull judgement upon the Jewes.

Who can but *wonder* and *tremble* at so many hundreth

sentence [*Goe yee cursed into everlasting fire, prepared for the Devill and his Angels, where the worm never dyes, and the fire never goes out.*]

Object. But some may say, Can these sayings be any other then a *Parable* or *similitude*? for is the *Devill* capable of any *materiall fire*? such as now is grievous and painfull to *flesh* and *blood*?

I answer, Grant these sayings *Parabolicall* or *similitudes*, as also that of *Dives* and *Lazarus*: yet what are *Parables* and *similitudes* but *Glasses* to represent unto us in more plain and easie wayes the holy *truth* and mind of *God*?

The *Kernell* of *truth* is not the lesse sweet though wrapt up in the *shels* and *husks*; Beyond all question therefore *Christ Jesus* foretels most sure and inconceivable plagues to all that know not *God*, and obey not his glorious *Gospel*: And by this *Worme* that never dyes, and this *fire* that never goes out, declares a *torment* to be inflicted upon both *men* and *devils* which shall be extream like fire which shall be universall upon the whole sinfull *creature*, no part exempted, which shall be also *eternall*, never dying, never ending, yet we may adore *Gods* righteous judgements and (working out *Salvation* with fear and trembling) make sure of a *Jesus* a *Saviour* to deliver us from the *wrath* that is to come.

In the next place (my deare Love) let us downe together by the *steps* of holy *meditation* into the *valley* of the shadow of *Death*. It is of excellent use to walke often into *Golgotha*, and to view the rotten *skuls* of so many innumerable thousands of millions of millions of men and women, like our selves, gone, gone forever from this life and being (as if they never had *life* nor being) as the swift *Ships*, as the *Weavers shuttle*, as an *arrow*, as the *lightning* through the *aire*, etc.

It is not unprofitable to remember the faces of such whom

The Parables of holy Scripture are full of heavenly kernels of Truth.

The worme that never dyes, and the fire that never goes out.

The meditation of death.

we knew, with whom we had sweet acquaintance, sweet society, with whom we have familiarly eaten and lodged, but now growne *loathsome, ugly, terrible*, even to their dearest, since they fell into the *jawes of death, the King of terrors*.

And yet they are but gone before us, in the *path all flesh* must tread: How then should we make sure, and infinitely much of a *Saviour*, who delivers us from the *power, and bitterness of Death, and Grave, and Hell*, who is a *resurrection and life* unto us, and will raise up, and make our bodies glorious, like his glorious *Body*, when he shall shortly appear in glory.

It is further of great and sweet use against the *bitternesse of Death*, and against the *bitter-sweet delusions* of this world daily to thinke each day our *last*, the day of our *last farewell*, the day of the splitting of this *vessell*, the breaking of this *buble*, the quenching of this *Candle*, and of our passage into the land of *Darknesse*, never more to behold a sparke of *light* untill the Heavens be no more.

Terrible uncertainties.

Those three uncertainties of that most certain *blow*, to wit, of the *Time* when, the *Place* where, the *Manner* how it shall come upon us, and dash our *Earthern Pitcher* all to pieces, I say the consideration of these three, should be a threefold *cord* to bind us fast to an holy *watchfulness* for our *departures*, and a *spur* to quicken us to abundant *faithfulness* in *doing* and *suffering* for the *Lord* and his *Christ*, it should draw up our minds unto *heavenly objects*, and loosen us from the vexing *vanities* of this vaine *puffe* of this present sinfull life.

Meditations of death powerfull as to many heavenly purposes.

Oh how weaned, how sober, how temperate, how mortified should our *spirits*, our *affections*, our *desires* be, when we remember that we are but strangers, converse with *strange companies*, dwel in strange houses, lodge in strange beds and know not whether this day, this night shall be our finall change of this strange place for one far *stranger*,

darke and dolefull, except enlightened by the *Death* and *Life* of the Son of *God*.

How contented should we be with any *Pittance*, any *Allowance* of *Bread*, of *Cloaths*, of *Friendship*, of *Respect*, etc.?

How thankful unto *God*, unto *man* should we poor strangers be for the least *crum*, or *drop*, or *rag*, vouchsafed unto us, when we remember we are but strangers in an *In*, but passengers in a Ship, and though we dreame of long *Summer* dayes, yet our very life and being is but a swift short *passage* from the bank of *time* to the other side or *Banck* of a dolefull *eternity*?

How patient should our *minds* and *bodies* be under the *crossing*, disappointing hand of our all-powerful *Maker*, of our most gracious *Father*, when we remember that this is the short *span* of our *purging* and *fitting* for an eternall *Glory*, and that when we are *judged* we are *chastened* of the *Lord*, that we should not be *condemned* with the world?

How quietly (without the *swellings* of *revenge* and *wrath*) should we bear the daily *injuries*, *reproaches*, *persecutions*, etc. from the hands of men, who passe away and wither (it may be before night) like *grasse*, or as the *smoake* on the chimnies top, and their *love* and *hatred* shall quickly perish?

Yea, how *busie*, how *diligent*, how *solicitous* should we be (like *strangers* upon a strange *Coast*) waiting for a *winde* or *passage*) to get *dispatched* what we have to doe before wee hear that finall call, *Away*, *Away*, let us be gone from hence, etc.

How should we ply to get *aboard* that which will passe, and turne to blessed *account* in our own *countrey*?

How should we over-look and despise this *worlds trash* which (as the holy *woman* going to be burnt for *Christ* said of money) will not passe in *Heaven*?

How zealous for the true *God*, the true *Christ*, his *praise*,

his *truth*, his *worship*, how faithfull in an humble witsnesse against the *lyes* and cozening delusions of the *Father of lies*, though guilded o're with *truth*, and that by the hands of the highest or holiest upon the Earth?

How frequent, how constant (like *Christ Jesus* our *Founder* and *Example*) in doing good (especially to the *Souls*) of all men, especially to the *Household of Faith*, yea even to our enemies, when we remember that this is our *seed time*, of which every minute is precious, and that as our *sowing* is, must be our eternall *Harvest*: for so sayeth the Spirit by *Paul* to the *Galathians*: *He that soweth to the flesh, shall of the flesh reap corruption or rottennesse, and he that soweth to the Spirit, shall of the Spirit reap life everlasting.*

FINIS.

FOREWORD TO

The Fourth Paper, Presented by
Major Butler

ROGER WILLIAMS sailed on his second mission to England in November, 1651, with the object of procuring the repeal of Coddington's commission as Governor of Rhode Island, and to seek clarification of the 1644 Charter from the Commonwealth authorities. His arrival coincided with a most troubled condition in English politics and religion. The House of Commons had scarcely recovered from its tragic victory over King Charles, and was attempting to administer the affairs of the Commonwealth, guided by the hand of Cromwell. The constant jealousy of the power of Parliament, manifested by the army, prevented any harmonious settlement of social and religious differences.

During the decade prior to 1652 the realm had been visited with no less than three changes in its established church. In 1645 the Episcopal organization imposed by Laud had been displaced by the Presbyterians; this system was coolly received by the mass of the English people. Then in 1648 the great body of Independents had ridden into power on the shoulders of Cromwell and the army. This party, which now considered itself as voicing the national religion, strenuously opposed a Presbyterian state church, although differing but little from it as to forms of worship. About them clamored numerous minor sects—Antitrinitarians,

Anabaptists, Antinomians, Arminians, Familists, Libertines, Seekers—all urging their several peculiar doctrines.

Parliament remained strangely passive amidst all this spiritual chaos. As the guardian of public morals it occasionally enacted laws against such crimes as drunkenness, blasphemy, or profanation of the Sabbath. It was not yet so sure of its own footing that it could attack the momentous problem of a national religion. The larger question of religious toleration did not become an important issue until early in 1652, when there was published in London a Latin edition of the Racovian Catechism, containing the so-called heretical doctrines of the Socinians. For a group of Independent ministers this was too much to swallow. Liberty had become license. Led by John Owen, who possessed considerable influence with Cromwell, they entered a protest with Parliament. The complaint against the heretical book was referred to a committee of forty, which a few months later ordered the edition to be burned.

A more far-reaching result was the appointment of a smaller committee "to consider upon such Proposals as shall be offered for the better Propagation of the Gospel." Shortly, the chief subject of controversy became a series of fifteen proposals made by the same ministers who had complained against the Socinian heresy. They were in favor of a Church partially fostered by the State, and allowing toleration within certain limits. Dissenters would be required to meet in "places publicly known," and those who opposed the principles of the Christian Religion would not be suffered to preach any doctrine to the contrary.

To the Presbyterians, even these proposals seemed by far too liberal. But the dissenting sects realized at once that religious liberty was not here recognized as a principle, and speedily assaulted the committee with petitions of protest and advice. Among these was a series of four proposals made by Major William Butler, a soldier in Cromwell's army, and an extreme Tolerationist. His arguments were not only in favor of absolute toleration, but opposed directly the theory of even a partial state church.

It was at this juncture that Roger Williams, fresh from New England, entered into the controversy. In the midst of a contest concerning freedom of conscience, he could hardly stand idle. Professor Masson,

in his monumental *Life of Milton*, pertinently asks, "Was he not the man in the whole world who had done most to propagate the theory of Absolute Voluntarism in Religion, or No State-Church of any kind; and might it not be said that the controversy he now found going on was the result in great part of the ideas he had himself sown in the English mind in his former visit, more especially in his famous book of 1644 called the *Bloudy Tenent of Persecution*, and that the Voluntaries he now found so numerous in England were his own pupils?"

Williams found Major Butler's proposals exactly in accordance with his own sentiments. Realizing the importance of placing them more prominently before the English public, he published, in March of 1652, *The Fourth Paper, Presented By Major Butler*. The tract contains the original fifteen proposals of the ministers, Major Butler's counter-proposals, a letter from Mr. Christopher Goad written in their favor, and an explanatory testimony by Williams himself. This testimony to the Proposals occupies the larger part of the pamphlet. It is a gratifyingly brief summation of Williams' position, concentrated on the first paragraph's declaration that no man or group of men are sufficient to bring about "*one unanimous Consent and Vote*." In discussing the question of the spiritual power of the civil magistrate, he says that "in these late years God hath made it evident, that all Civil Magistracie in the World is meerly and essentially Civil; And that the Civil Magistrate can truly take cognisance of nothing, as a Civil Magistrate, but what is proper and within his Civil Sphear." And in a burst of eloquence adds, "Oh that it would please the Father of Spirits to affect the heart of the Parliament—to proclaim a true and absolute Soul-freedom to all the people of the Land impartially; so that no person be forced to pray nor pay, otherwise than as his Soul believeth and consenteth."

The Fourth Paper, like most of Williams' shorter works, is a great rarity. Its existence was known to scholars, but no copy was found until 1874, just too late for inclusion in the Narragansett Club Publications. J. Hammond Trumbull uncovered the tract in London in a bound volume of pamphlets. Dr. Trumbull's note on the fly leaf reads, "This lost tract of Roger Williams—unknown to any of his biographers—I have been in search of for ten years. A lucky chance brought it to my

hands today, May 22, 1874. J.H.T." There can be no doubt that it was written by Williams. All the internal evidence points to his authorship. Besides the familiar appearance of the signature "R.W.," the gnarled style and erratic punctuation are entirely characteristic. More conclusively there is an express reference to the "great controversie of the Bloody Tenet, between Mr. COTTON and myself," and a marginal note says, "Of which I have spoken more particularly in the Hireling Ministry." The latter tract was then in the hands of the printer, and in fact appeared a month later.

The Fourth Paper,

Presented by

Maioꝛ Butler,

To the Honourable Committee of
Parliament, for the Propagating the
Gospel of *Christ* JESUS.

Which Paper was humbly owned, and
was, and is attended to be made good

By { Major Butler. }
{ Mr. Charles Vane. } } Mr. Jackson.
{ Col. Danvers. } } Mr. Vall. And
{ } } Mr. Turner.

A L S O

A Letter from Mr. *Goad*, to Major
BUTLER, upon occasion of the said
PAPER and PROPOSALS.

Together with

A Testimony to the said fourth Paper,
By way of Explanation upon the four
PROPOSALS of it.

BY R. W.

Unto which is subjoyned the Fifteen Proposals
of the MINISTERS.

London, Printed for Giles Calvert, at the Black-spred-Eagle at the
West-end of Pauls. MDC LII.

To the truly *Christian* Reader.

If all the Angels in Heaven were turned into a grand Committee, to consult upon this high point of Propagating the Gospel of Jesus Christ, they must needs agree in one unanimous Consent and Vote (as Paul once spake upon the like occasion). Who is sufficient? We are not sufficient for these things.

The Honourable Committee (according to the Parliaments order) hath freely (and with abundance of Christian Civility and gentleness) received many and several Papers from many and several sorts of Men and Consciences.

I acknowledge a most wise providence of God, furnishing this fourth paper with many Christian Voluntiers, who chearfully subscribing, left no convenience for my subscription: But since the number of Proposals is so increased, that little hopes appears of their Honours Time and Purpose (if of Reading, yet hardly) of Examining and debating all of them. I am therefore humbly bold to present this Explication and Testimony, together with the Scriptures at large, for the more clear and easie discovery of the sence and scope intended.

The Stationer was solicitous of gratifying the desire of many with the sight of the Ministers fifteen Proposals, as also of Mr. Goads Letter, and therefore are they both presented. The liberty of Prophesying, and the liberty of Trying, and the liberty of presenting unto Trial, are Mercies now vouchsafed to us, of higher value, then if our streets (like

those of Jerusalem to come) were (literally) of pure Gold, or if all our stones were the richest Diamonds and Rubies.

My humble desire is, to all that fear God, to cry to him to guide by his own Spirit, both the Honourable Committee, and the high Court of Parliament, to be jealous of their own Insufficiencies to perceive the height of this business: the easiness of mistaking, the subtlety of the Serpent (who is not yet bound up from deceiving whole Nations) the Piety and Equity of Soul-freedom, the guilt of this Nation, As to National superstitions, and Will-worships: As to the setting of the Spiritual Crown of Christ Jesus upon Henry 8, his head, and so ever since, As to the stopping the breath of the Spirit of Christ Jesus, and the persecuting of the said Lord Jesus in his Witnesses and Servants.

And since I have mentioned that point of persecution, I will end with two excellent late Speeches of his Excellency the Lord General, upon occasion of these papers. The one before many witnesses, to this purpose. I shall need no Revelation (said that Noble Lord) to discover unto me that man that endeavours to impose upon his Brethren. The other, at a Debate of the Honourable Committee, and in a confluence of many Auditors; When it pleased an Honourable Gentleman of the Committee, zealously to argue against a Laodicean, and lukewarm indifferency in Religion, professing for his part, That he had rather be a Saul than a Gallio. His Excellency with much Christian zeal and affection for his own Conscience professed also, That he had rather that Mahumetanism were permitted amongst us, then that one of Gods Children should be persecuted.

Such a spirit as it is from God, and the Lamb of God; so is it like to guard this Nation from the Terrours of Ecclipses, of Pestilencies, of Navies, of Armies, of Men and Devils: For the pouring forth of this Spirit, and the Peace and Tranquility of this Nation humbly prays

*The Unworthiest of all the Followers
and Witnesses of Christ Jesus.*

R. W.

Certain *Proposals* from the Scriptures, humbly
Presented to the Honourable Committee
for the Propagating of the Gospel.

Propos. I

From Mat. 9. ult. Pray therefore the Lord of the Harvest, that he would send forth Labourers, etc.

Mat. 10.5.16. Behold I send you forth as Sheep amongst Wolves etc.
Act. 4.19,20. But Peter and John said unto them, whether it be right in the sight of God to hearken unto you, more then unto God, judge ye: For we cannot but speak the things Which we have seen and heard.

Ephes. 4.11. And he gave some Apostles, some Prophets, some Evangelists, and some Pastors and Teachers: for the Work of the Ministry, etc.

I Cor. 12.3. No man can say that Jesus is the Lord, but by the Holy Spirit, etc.

Gal. 1.12. But I certife you, that the Gospel that was preached of me, is not after man, for neither received it I of man, neither was I taught it but by the Revelation of Jesus Christ.

John 10.11. Verily I say unto you, He that entreth not in by the door into the Sheepfold, but climbeth up some other way, the same is a Thief and a Robber: but he that entreth in by the door is the Shepherd of the sheep.

James 2.1. *My brethren, have not the faith of the Lord Jesus, the Lord of glory, with respect of persons.*

1. It is humbly Proposed, Whether Christ Jesus, the Lord of the Harvest, doth not send forth Labourers into his Vineyard, furnishing them by his Spirit, and bearing witness to their Labours, without the Testimony and Reward of men?

Propos. II

From Mat. 13.24. The Parable of the Tares, ver. 38. The Field is the world; the good seed the children of the Kingdom, but the Tares the children of the wicked one.

Acts 5.34. to the 40. Gamaliels advice concerning the Apostles.

I Cor. 11.19. For there must be also Heresies amongst you, that they which are approved may be made manifest amongst you.

2 Pet. 2.1. But there were false Prophets amongst them: even so there shall be false Teachers amongst you, who privily shall bring in damnable Heresies, even denying the Lord that bought them, and bring upon themselves swift destruction. So on to ver. 10.

Jude 3.4.15. Contend earnestly for the faith which was once delivered to the Saints, for there are certain men crept in etc.

2 Tim. 2.24,25,26. And the servant of the Lord must not strive, but be gentle towards all men; If God peradventure will give them Repentance, etc.

Luke 9.49,50. And John answered and said, Master, we saw one casting out devils in thy name, and we forbid him, because he followeth not with us. And Jesus said unto him, Forbid him not, for he that is not against us, is for us.

2. It is humbly Proposed, Whether it be not the Will (or Counsell) of God that there must be Heresies, yea damnable Heresies, that such who are approved may be made manifest? And whether it be not the pleasure of God, that the Judgement and Condemnation of such false Teachers and Hereticks be left to himself?

Propos. III

From Rom. 14.4. *Who art thou that judgest another mans servant?*

I Cor. 7.23. *You are bought with a price, be not the servants of men.*

Gal. 1.16. *I conferred not with flesh and blood.*

Gal. 5.1. *Stand fast in the liberties wherewith Christ hath made you free.*

Heb. 11.6. *Without faith it is impossible to please God.*

I John 4.1. *Believe not every spirit, but try the spirits, whether they be of God.*

Rom. 14. ult. *Whatsoever is not of faith is sin, etc.*

3. It is humbly Proposed, Whether for the Civil powers to assume a Judgement in Spirituals, be not against the Liberties given by Christ Jesus to his people?

Propos. IV

From Rom. II

4. Whether it be not the duty of the Magistrate to permit the Jews, whose conversion we look for, to live freely and peaceably amongst us?

Mr. Goads Letter to Major Butler

Major Butler,

Your *Paper* which you left with me, hath set my thoughts on work about the way of the propagating of the *Gospel*, concerning which, *quot homines tot sententiae*; we are neither of *Paul*, nor *Apollo*, nor *Cephas*: we are come into the unity of the *Spirit*, we are come to *God* the *Judge* of all, and to *Jesus* the *Mediator* of the new *Covenant*, we are returned unto the *Archbishop* of our *Souls*, and we cannot go back to mens *Judgements*, though seeming *Pillars*, nor give our voice for the use of any *Carnal weapons*; knowing such as are *mighty* through *God* to cast down *strong holds*, and high imaginations, and to wrastle with *principalities* and powers, and the *Ruler* of the darkness of this world, to which all the *power*, *wisdom*, and *righteousness* of man is altogether insufficient, whilst reaching not unto the *Conscience*, where only comes the demonstration of the *Spirit* and power: and if it be said that the *Spirit* goes forth in these, it is answered, that the *Spirit* going forth, dismisseth these, as *Gideon* did his *Souldiers*. Thus saith the *Lord* of *Hosts*, Not by might, nor by *power*, but by my *Spirit*, when he was to build the *Temple*: it is the *Cross* of *Christ* by which we are saved, and *God* forbid we should rejoyce in any thing save that, by which the *world* is *Crucified* unto us, even in its *wisdom* and *righteousness*, and to undertake to carry the *Cross* by these, is nonsense and contradiction; it is to make it of none effect, which is *weakness* and *foolishness* unto the world, *stronger* and *wiser* then the world. *God* hath made us able

Ministers of the new Testament, not of the Letter, but of the *Spirit*; and to go forth in any *strength* and *wisdom*, but in the *Spirits*, is to doubt of the *Spirits* truth and power: and if it be asked where this *power* is, we answer that it hath been long withdrawn, that the man of *Sin* might be revealed: but it will come forth, and is now coming, and we are resolved to be *weak*, and *fools* in Christ, till we come forth in him, the *wisdom* of God, and the *power* of God: to go forth in man, according to the *Proposals* of some unto the *Committee*, is to go forth for *Christ*, against him: The *Spirit* of God his presence did let and hinder the revealing of the man of *sin*, as the *light* keeps out the *darkness*: It is his return only that can destroy that *sin*: and All goings forth of man against it, is the going forth of *darkness*, and *sin*, and *Satan*, and so is but a further revealing of the man of sin, whose appearance is in all *deceivableness* of *unrighteousness* in them that perish. Blessed are they who go forth in, and with the Lord, to the propagation of the *Gospel*, pray that it may have free passage, and be glorified: The Causewayes that we make for it, obstruct it, that is, not *preparing* the way of the Lord: *Christ* is the *way*, the *truth*, and the *life*: let me have no *God*, no *Christ*, nor *Truth* that cannot defend themselves and me, or deliver themselves and me into *freedom*: having upon *design* suffered bonds to be put upon them, and therefore let *error*, *sin*, and *hell*, and *darkness* come forth in their power, it is the will of *God* they should do so, and that *Pharaoh* should rise unto his full greatness, that he may appear to be above him, and get himself honour upon him. *Antichrist* is now getting up upon his last legs, whose feet are *Iron* and *Clay*, there is life no where but in his *stump*, which is not enough to quicken him thoroughly in this his last image and *form*, in which he is coming forth: how soon was he thrown down in his last *appearance* and rising among us: even before he could *bite*, his teeth were *broken*: God smote him on the *Cheek bone*: before the *Thorns* were grown hard to prick, the *fire* took hold of them, and *God* is finishing the work apace, and cutting it short in righteousness, even his utter *consumption* and *destruction* by the *brightness* of his *coming*. There is no cause to fear for the tayl of this smoking firebrand, for the *fire* of the *Lord* upon it is not quenched, *God* will bear swift witness against this *Sorcery*, for so

are all the dealings of men in the things of God: and this foundation that some *Proposers* are laying, will appear to be the *abomination of desolation*. When there is talking of *foundation doctrines*, when *Christ* is thrust out of his *office*, who is the Corner stone refused of the *builders*, setting up themselves in his place, and putting *weapons* into the evil *servants* hands to beat his *fellow servants*, because the *Lord* and *Master* defers his coming, not knowing that our strength is to sit still; other foundation can no man lay but that which is laid, even *Jesus Christ*: and to make *Paul* or *Apollo* any thing, is by the *Spirit of God* in *Paul*, interpreted to be the laying of another *foundation*, and defiling the Temple of *God*, which he that doth, him shall *God* destroy, I Cor. 3.

That which is now held forth in some *Proposals*, hath been the *foundation* of all the persecution and confusion which hath been in the *Churches*: how hath the *God* of this world blinded mens eyes: how are those which were clothed in *Scarlet*, now imbracing the *dunghils*? my soul goes forth in pitty to them, sure they shall be saved, but it will be by *fire*; but how would I save them from that fire, *God* is going on his way conquering and to conquer, who will set the thorns and bryars against him: he will go through them, and burn them together: Mark where the indignation of the *Lord* hath of late fallen, even upon those that have stood in his way, and would not give him free passage: there is no weapon hath prospered against our present State, every tongue that hath risen up in Judgement, hath been condemned: The hostility of the *Bishops*, and the *treachery* joyned with *hostility* in the *Presbyters*, and now that *Balams* incantations are in vain, he hath nothing left him to do but this; *Midian*, bring forth your women to them, snare them with your *prudential* way of *Gospel propagation*, tell them what a reproach lies upon them from all *Nations*, that they have no *care of Religion*, and that they give *liberty* to all *heresies* and *fanatical spirits*, but ere they begin again to vex with these *wiles*, the *Lord* by his *Spirit* will suddenly be upon them from his *Temple*, and his voice will be heard, *vex the Midianites, and smite them*, and to the *Moles* and *Bats*, they go from the *glory* of his *Majesty*, from henceforth be silent all flesh.

The *Philistims* know where *Sampsons* strength lies, but he hath been

weak and blind long enough, he shall make you no more sport with him, your house is left desolate, his hands are shaking the main pillars of it, O ye *Philistims!* All the risings and puttings forth of *Antichrist* are fair and well looking, and there is nothing intended but weeding out the *Tares*, and the good of the *Corn*; but the *Husbandman* knows that by this *husbandry* the *Wheat* will be pulled up with the *Tares*; nay the *Wheat* will be destroyed, and the *Tares* nourished, and the *Lord* is now resolved that the *Wheat* shall spread and flourish, and he will come himself and sever the *Tares* from it, and throw out these *husbandmen*, with them, into the fire.

The *Spirit* of *Christ* saith, *Remove from these mens Tents*. Your last *Querie* is concerning the *Jews*, whether they may be tolerated among us, or no? I am sure that this is now in design in some *Proposals*, which I believe the *Proposers* do not see, therefore *Father* forgive them, for they know not what they do; even to cast out, scatter, and destroy those *inward spiritual Jews*, and have no confidence in the flesh; I have given my testimony in this thing, and it stands before the *world* in *Print*, and now I look when the *Lord* will witness unto me, not *secretly* to them; which he doth already but *openly*, for which work he is at the door. And so wishing you the presence of the *Lord* with you, I rest, waiting with you for his *Kingdome*, which is not of this world.
March 8. 1651.

Yours
Christopher Goad.

A *Testimony* to the 4th *Paper* presented
by *Major* Butler to the Honorable
Committee for propagating the *Gospel*.

It is my humble Petition to the *God* of Heaven, to vouchsafe that that Honourable *Committee* Time and Hearts to examine the *Scriptures* alleged in that Paper: And at present, that they may please to weigh (with those double *weights* of the *Sanctuary*) this humble *Explication* of the *Four Proposals*.

First, As to the first *Head*, viz. of *Christ Jesus* sending forth of his own *Messengers*: I humbly pray it may be remembered, that there is a twofold *Ministry* of *Christ Jesus*.

Ephes. 4.11
The twofold
Ministry of
Christ Jesus

1. The one of *Pastors* and *Teachers*, feeding the *Flocks* already *Christian* and *Converted*.

2. The other of *Messengers* or *Apostles*, sent forth to *convert* and and beget to *Christ*. Of this sort I humbly conceive is the *Sending* now in debate before you: and of this sort is that *Sending* and *Questioning* so large and punctual (Rom. 10). *How can they Preach, except* , *except they be* *Apostliz'd*, or *Sent*? Upon which Distinction I humbly offer three things to be necessarily supposed. First, *Apostolical Gifts* and *Abilities* in the Men *sent*. Secondly, a greater *spiritual power* in the *Senders*,

according to that Rule: *Greater* is the Sender *then* the Sent. Thirdly, it supposes an *unconverted estate* in the *People* to whom such *Messengers* are sent to preach and baptize. Which are three such *Knots*, that none that I know of professing *Christ Jesus* these many hundred years, have been able to untie, and to prove such a *Ministry* extant, otherwise then by some (seemingly) *Prudential Inventions*, or the Power of the *Sword*, Yet,

Secondly, *Christ Jesus* did immediately send forth his *Messengers* (*Legatos a Latere*) his *LXX*. Luc. 10, his *XII*, First to the *Jews*, Mat. 10. afterwards to all Nations, Mat. 16. *Christ Jesus* did immediately send forth by his *Spirit*, and mediately by the *Church* at *Antioch*, Act. 13. He immediately stirr'd up *Paul* and *Apollon*, etc. not only without *Civil*, but also without *Spiritual* and *Church* power. Yea since the *Apostasie* and *Rising* of *Antichrist*, He hath in all *Ages* stirr'd up his *Prophets* to witness (in a poor and mournful *sackcloth*) *Rev.* 10. & 11. & 14 Chapters. The *Waldenses*, the *Wicklevis*, the *Hussites*, the *Lutherans*, the *Calvinists*, etc.

Christ Jesus
his first im-
mediate
sending.

His sending
of *Prophets*
all the reign
of *Antichrist*

These Protestant *Witnesses* could never clear up their *Functions* or *Ministeries* (as *Bishops* or *Presbyters*) yet doubtless hath *Christ Jesus* endowed them with *Prophetical Gifts* of *Translating* and *Expounding* the *Scriptures*. I say, they were as *Prophets* immediately stirr'd up by *Christ Jesus*; who doubtless hath now stirred up more than ever were in this *Nation*, men of *Prophetical Gifts* and *Spirits*, [*Gentlemen*, *Lawyers*, *Physicians*, *Souldiers*, *Tradesmen*] some adorned with *Humane Learning*, others only with the *Scriptures*. And doubtless such is his *faithfulness* and *love* to his *Chosen*, that he will yet stir up his *Witnesses* and *Prophets*, yea and in his time *Apostles* and *Messengers* to to the *Nations* of the World, Whose * *Gifts*, *Calling*, *Work* and *Wages* shall all be from Himself.

* Of which I
have spoken
more par-
ticularly in
the *Hireling-*
Ministry etc.

Lastly, as to those Terms of *Testimony*, or *Reward* of

were it not
for the
Magistrates
sword and
mony, his
Text or
testimony
would be
little re-
garded.

Men; I am far from obstructing any *countenance* or *encouragement* to any whom *Christ Jesus* stirs up. This only I say, I. It seems to be an *ungospel* or *unchristian* task put upon the *Civil State*, viz. To grant *Licenses* (as the *Bishops*) for Preaching, etc. 2. It is not hard to guess, That were it not for the *Magistrates Pay* and *Sword*, very few would be found to sollicite his *Text* or *Testimony*. But doubtless such *Preachers*, who (either *above* or *under board*) make a Bargain for so much, or so much, without which they will not be *sent*; I humbly conceive they can never be said to be *sent* by *Christ Jesus*, although all the *Civil Powers* in the World should subscribe to their *Commissions* and *Sendings*.

To the second *Head*, of Permitting *False teachers* and *Hereticks*: I am humbly confident, that (from the *Scriptures* alleadged) it will appear to be the *will of God*, that *Christians* and *Antichristians*, the *Wheat* and the *Tares*, should be permitted to dwell, to trade, to live and die in the *common Field* of the *World* together.

2. Upon a due survey it will be found, that the *Lord Jesus Christ* himself, and his *Servants*, have most commonly been accounted, and have suffered as the greatest *Deceivers*, *Seducers*, *Hereticks*, and *Blasphemers* in the World.

3. The *Body* of this *Nation*, and of all *Nations* professing *Christianity*, professing to know *Christ Jesus* in *word*, and in *works* denying him, cannot but be acknowledged to live and die (if without Repentance) in constant *real* and *practical Denyings* and *Blasphemings* of *Christ Jesus*.

Christ Jesus
his course
with Blas-
phemers.

4. *Christ Jesus* hath not been without Care against *Hereticks* and *Blasphemers*:

First, by judging them that are within among the *Saints*: therefore (I *Tim. I.*) *Paul* delivered *Hymineus* and *Alexander* unto *Sathan*, that they may learn not to *Blaspheme*.

Secondly, by judging them without: First, sometimes by horrible *judgments* in this life; sometimes by subduing

them by his *Spirit*, as *Paul* from his *persecuting* and *blasphemous* courses.

Thirdly, As for the wilfully and finally *obstinate*, they are ordained (saith *Peter* and *Jude*) to condemnation; And their *judgment* and *damnation* sleepeth not.

To the third *Head*, concerning *Civil Magistrates* Commission in *Spirituals*, I humbly conceive,

1. That in these late years *GOD* hath made it evident, that all *Civil Magistracie* in the World is meerly and essentially *Civil*; And that the *Civil Magistrate* can truly take cognisance of nothing, as a *Civil Magistrate*, but what is proper and within his *Civil Sphear*. The *Magistrate*, if a *Saint*, hath a *Spiritual* power, and so have all *Saints*; and he that partakes more of *Christs* Spirit, hath more of *Christs* Power, whatever his outward condition be.

2. By the last Will and Testament of *Christ Jesus*, we find not the least title of *Commission* to the *Civil Magistrate* (as *Civil*) to *judge* and *act* in the matters of his *Spiritual Kingdom*.

3. That great pretence from the Land of *Canaan*, and the *Kings of Israel* and *Judah*, hath been in these late years proved but weak and sandie, and the *Lord Jesus Christ* himself to be the *Antitype* of all those *Figures*, the *King* and *Head* of all the *Israel of God*. Forming, Reforming his people, etc.

Hence, although it be the *Duty* of *Kings*, *Queens*, *Magistrates*, to be nursing *Fathers* and *Mothers* to the *Saints*: Although it be the *Saints* Duty to pray for *Magistrates*, that they may live *peaceably* under them in all *Godliness* and *Honesty*, Jer. 29. and I. Tim. 2. Yet suppose the *Magistrates* be never so *ungodly*, *idolatrous*, *blasphemous*, *bloody*, (as they were in the first 300 years after *Christ*) yet *Christ Jesus* failed not, nor wil, to preserve his *Saints* in the *Power* and *Spirit* of true *Christianity* and *Godliness*: And contrarily, the *Saints* never discovered so bright an *Image* of

The full debate of this point, may be seen in that great Controversie of the Bloody Tenet, between Mr. Cotton and my self.

The Saints will be Saints, whatever the Magistrates & the Times be.

Christ Jesus since, in those times wherein *Constantine* and so many after him have used and drawn their Civil swords in Spiritual causes.

Our *Fathers* before us in *England*, though famous for *Civil Laws* and *Wars*, and *Victories*, yet have they but trod the Round, and walked in a Circle; *plant* and *pluck up*, *plant* and *pluck up*; as we their Children do: and all for want of Commissions from *Christ Jesus*, and his Instructions and Promises in such a Work. The *Parliament* established King *Henry* the 8. *Head of the Church*: this *Supremacy* hath continued in four *Protestant Princes* since. Yet first, what Disagreements about the Title? For while the *Clergy* have preacht the *Jus Divinum* of the Princes Authority in *Spirituals*, after the pattern of the Kings of *Israel* and *Judah*; the truth is, that *Parliaments* and *People* since have pleaded, That *Princes* could not receive but what the *Parliaments* gave them, and the *Parliaments* could not give them but what the *People* gave the *Parliament* their *Representative*; which could not possibly be a Spiritual and Soul-power.

The bickerings of the Clergy from H.8. his time, all zealous for the Civil sword.

Secondly, the Work hath never prospered: but succeeding Times, more enlightened by *Christ Jesus*, have still been *breaking down* and *pulling up*. For instance: the *Protestant Bishops* with their *English Common Prayer*, supplanted the *Popish Bishops* and their *Latine Masse*: The *Presbyterians* and their *Scotch Directories*, after some Disputes, at last rout the *Protestant Bishops* and their *Common Prayers*: Now the *Parliament* being graciously pleased to remind the Providence of the most *High*, in using *Instruments* of various *Consciencences* in their late Service, cannot but expect to be solicited by some of these *Consciencences*, and to be zealously told, that *Christian Kings* and *Magistrates* succeed the Kings of *Israel* and *Judah*, in the power of Establishing *Religion*, and Reforming it; of Defining *Doctrines*, especially *Fundamentals*; of Punishing the contrary as *Here-*

ticks and *Blasphemers*; of Granting *Licenses* and Authority to *Preachers*, of seeing their *Wages* paid them, etc. And therefore that they are bound, as they will answer it to God, to Christ, to their own souls, and the souls of others, to settle *Religion*, to Establish something, etc. But,

My humble Prayer shall be to Him that is *only wise*, so to guide this Renowned *Parliament*, that they may see and shun the Rocks on which our *Fathers* (as touching a *State-Religion*) both *Papist* and *Protestant* have made most woful shipwrack. And that they may be pleased to remember, that be the *Plants* never so *new*, so *fair*, so *hopeful*; yet while *National*, while *State-plants*, and *inforced*, our Spiritual Lord the *Lord Jesus* will sooner or later *eradicate* and pluck them up, untill at last the *work* and *glory* be given to Himself, to work freely and in his own way, by the free *Breathings* of his most *powerfull Spirit*, in the *mouths* and *hearts* of such by whom and in whom he freely pleaseth.

Hence, oh that it would please the *Father of Spirits* to affect the heart of the *Parliament* with such a merciful sense of the *Soul-Bars* and *Yokes* which our *Fathers* have laid upon the *neck* of this *Nation*, and at last to proclaim a true and absolute *Soul-Freedom* to all the people of the Land impartially; so that no person be forced to *pray* nor *pay*, otherwise then as his Soul believeth and consenteth. This *Act*, as I believe it to be the absolute will of *God*, as to this and all the oppressed Nations of the World; so will this most *prudent State* find it to be a principal Expedient for two great ends: First, the *easing* and *sweetening* the *minds* of the people of this *Nation*, who have so long cried out of *Burthens* etc. Secondly, the preventing all the *Clergical* Designs of one sort or another, when the whole people of the *Nation* shall be engaged as one man to maintain that *Power*, that hath from *Heaven* set them free from so great and so long continued *Slavery*.

Soul freedom of mighty consequence to this Nation.

Such a Service for *God* and the *Nation*, cannot but be attended with many *objections*: To all which (as also for some *mercifull* and *humane consideration* (at least for a season) to such of the *Clergie*, whom any *Town* or *people* of the *Nation* shall not freely close with in *Worship* and *Maintenance*) the *wisdome* of the most *High* is infinitely able to direct the *Commonwealths High-Senate* of *Parliament*; and doubtless will, if they humbly see their want, and beg supply from him.

Upon the *Scriptures*, and the fourth *Head*, as touching the *JEWS*: I humbly conceive it to be the Duty of the *Civil Magistrate* to break down that superstitious *wall of separation* (as to Civil things) between us *Gentiles* and the *Jews*, and freely (without their asking) to make way for their free and peaceable Habitation amongst us. And the rather, because that People (however for a season under a most terrible *Eclipse*) yet,

*Arguments
for permis-
sion of the
Jews.*

1. The holy Scripture saith, that they are a *Beloved people*, and *beloved* (as we sometimes love *unworthy children*) for their *Fathers* sake.

2. They are a *people* above all the *peoples* and *Nations* in the World, under most gracious and express Promises.

3. We *Gentiles* by their *fall* have had the occasion of our *rising* to the blessed and joyful Knowledge of a *Saviour*.

4. Their *rising* again to own and imbrace *Christ Jesus*, is promised to be as *life* from the *dead*, not only to themselves, but as to the propagating of *Christ Jesus* to other peoples.

5. Out of some kind of sense of these things, we pretend to *look*, and *long*, and *pray* for their *Return* and *Calling*.

*The Guilt of
England and
the Kings of
it, as to the
Jews.*

6. As other *Nations*, so this especially, and the *Kings* thereof, have had just cause to fear, that the *unchristian oppressions*, *incivilities*, and *inhumanities* of this *Nation* against the *Jews*, have cried to *Heaven* against this *Nation* and the *Kings* and *Princes* of it.

What horrible *oppressions* and horrible *slaughters* have the Jews suffered from the Kings and peoples of this Nation, in the Reigns of *Henry 2. K. John, Richard I. and Edward I.* Concerning which not only we, but the *Jews* themselves keep *Chronicles*?

For the removing of which *guilt*, and the pacifying of the *wrath* of the most *High* against this Nation, and for the furthering of that great end of propagating the *Gospel* of *Christ Jesus*; It is humbly conceived to be a great and weighty Duty which lies upon this *State*, to provide (on the *Jews* account) some gracious *Expedients* for such holy and truly *Christian* Ends.

Lastly, I humbly crave leave to say, That I am not without thoughts of many *Objections*, and cannot without *horror* think of the *Jews* killing of the *Lord Jesus*, of their *cursing* themselves and their *posterity*; of the *wrath* of *God* upon them; of their denying the *Fundamentals* of all our *Christian* *Worship*; of some *crimes* alleaged for which they have been so afflicted by this *Nation*; of their known *Industry* of enriching themselves in all places where they come. But I dare not prejudice the high *wisdom* and *experience* of the *State*, abundantly rich and able to provide answerable *Expedients*, if once it please the most *High* to affect their *Honorable* breasts with the *piety* and *equity*, the *duty* and *necessity* of so great a *Work*.

*Objections
against the
Jews*

R. W.

The humble *Proposals* of the *Ministers*

Because many have earnestly desired a sight of the Ministers Proposals, they are therefore here sub-joined.

who presented the *Petition* to the Parliament, Feb. 11. and other Persons, for the Furtherance and Propagation of the *Gospel* in this Nation: wherein they having had equal Respect to all Persons fearing *God*, though of differing *judgments*, do hope also that they will tend to *Union* and *Peace*.

1. *That Persons of Godliness and Gifts, in the Universities and elsewhere, though not Ordained, may be admitted to preach the Gospel, being approved when they are called thereunto.*

2. *That no person shall be admitted to Trial and Approbation, unless he bring a Testimonial of his Piety and Soundness in the Faith, under the hands of six Godly Ministers and Christians gathered together for that end and purpose, unto whom he is personally known: of which number two at the least to be Ministers.*

3. *That a certain number of persons, Ministers and others of Eminence, and known Ability and Godliness, be appointed to sit in every County; to examine, judge and approve all such persons, as being to preach the Gospel, have received Testimony as above. And in case there shall not be found a competent number of such persons in the same County, that others of one or more neighbour Counties be adjoined to them.*

4. *That care be taken for the removing the Residue of the Ministers who are Ignorant, Scandalous, Nonresident, or Disturbers of the Publike peace; and of all Schoolmasters who shall be found Popish, Scandalous, or disaffected to the Government of the Commonwealth.*

5. *That to this end, a Number of persons, Ministers and others of eminent piety, zeal, faithfulness, ability and prudence, be appointed by Authority of Parliament to go through the Nation, to enquire after, examine, judge of, and eject all such persons as shall be found unfit for the Ministry, or teaching of Schools, being such as above described.*

6. *That for the expediting this work, these persons may be assigned in several Companies or Committees, to the six Circuits of the Nation, to reside in each of the Counties for such a convenient space of time as shall be requisite, untill the work be done: And calling to their Assistance in their respective Circuits such Godly and able Ministers and others in each of the Counties where they shall reside, to assist them in this work, as they shall think fit.*

7. *That these persons so sent and Commissioned, may be empower'd, before they shall depart out of each County, to return and to represent unto the Parliament the Names of fit and sufficient persons, Ministers & others to be appointed and approved of, such as shall be called to preach the Gospel in such Counties: And in the mean time, the persons so Commissioned as aforesaid, shall have power while they reside in each County, to examine, judge, and approve of such persons, as having a Call to preach the Gospel in such Counties, shall upon such Testimonial as aforesaid, offer themselves to such Examination.*

8. *That it be proposed, that the Parliament be pleased to take some speedy and effectual course, either by empowering the persons in the several Counties to be appointed for Trial and Approbation of such persons as shall be called to*

preach the Gospel there: Or in such other way as they shall think fit, for the uniting and dividing of Parishes in the severall Counties & Cities within this Commonwealth, in reference to the preaching of the Gospel there, saving the Civil rights and privileges of each Parish.

9. *That all Ministers so sent forth and established, be enjoyned and required to attend the solemn Worship of God, in Prayer, Reading and Preaching the Word, Catechising, and Expounding the Scriptures, as occasion shall require, visiting the sick, and instructing from house to house; residing amongst the people to whom they are sent, and using all care and diligence by all ways and means to win souls unto Christ.*

10. *That it is desired, that no persons be required to receive the Sacrament, further then their Light shall lead them unto. Nor no person sent forth to preach, and already placed, or which shall be placed in any Parish within this Nation, be compelled to administer the Sacrament to any, but such as he shall approve of, as fit for the same.*

11. *That a Law may be provided, that all persons whatsoever within this Nation be required to attend to the publike Preaching of the Gospel, every Lords Day, in places commonly allowed, and usually called Churches, except such persons as through scruple of Conscience do abstain from those Assemblies.*

12. *That whereas divers persons are unsatisfied to come to the publike places of hearing the Word, upon this account, that those places were Dedicated and Consecrated: That the Parliament will be pleased to declare, that such places are made use of and continued only for the better conveniencie of persons meeting for the publike Worship of God, and upon no other consideration.*

13. *That all persons dissenting from the Doctrine and Way of Worship owned by the State, or consenting thereunto, and yet not having advantage or opportunity of some*

of the publike Meeting-places, commonly called Churches; be required to meet (if they have any constant meetings) in places publikely known, and to give notice to some Magistrate of such their place of ordinary meetings.

14. That this Honorable Committee be desired to propose to the Parliament, That such who do not receive, but oppose those* Principles of Christian Religion, without acknowledgement whereof the Scriptures do clearly and plainly affirm that Salvation is not to be obtained, as those formerly complained of by the Ministers; may not be suffered to preach or promulgate any thing in opposition unto such Principles.

15. And further, That the Parliament be humbly desired to take some speedy and effectual course for the utter suppressing of that Abominable Cheat of Judicial Astrologie, whereby the minds of Multitudes are corrupted, and turned aside from depending upon the Providence of God, to put their Trust in the Lyes of Men and Delusions of Sathan.

* Upon occasion of which motion, the Ministers were desired to instance, who therefore presented 15 Fundamentals, the Copy whereof is not yet come to my hand.

Upon this new Project of these Fifteen *Proposals*, and Fifteen *Fundamentals*: I do humbly beg of the *Father of Spirits*, that He will either graciously please to stir up the Hearts of these Worthy Men to put in some *Christian Retraction*; or else the Hearts of some of his Faithful Witnesses (against such *Graven Images*) to present some faithful and truly *Christian Observations*.

FINIS.

FOREWORD TO
The Hireling Ministry
None of CHRISTS

APRIL OF 1652 found Roger Williams addressing himself for the third time that Spring to an immediate issue of the hour. A passionate debate was under way concerning forced tithes. Ever since the beginnings of centralized government in Christian England the people, under civil compulsion, had been taxed for the support of the Church and the clergy. But during the English Civil Wars there was no power capable of collecting the tithes, and the numerous dissenting sects that had sprung up in the land gleefully escaped them. Nevertheless orthodox Puritans, whether Presbyterian or Independent, had no intention of abandoning the practice. Their convenience waited only upon a more stable political situation. Once Cromwell had restored a semblance of order, the occupants of the pulpits began calling for their wages, even though it was no longer clear what established church remained. The sectarians flatly refused to support ministers who were not of their own persuasion. The more radical dissenters demanded that no official collection be made, and that each preacher depend on the free offerings of his flock.

Any issue concerning the civil authority in religion was bound to gain Roger Williams' immediate attention. It was always central to

his thought. Again he is "*humbly bold to profess my readiness to discuss, debate, dispute; either by Word or Writing, with whom, or before whom soever the present Debate concerns having been engaged in several points of this Nature, in my former and later Endeavours*"

The argument opens with a list of Ten Particulars. They are a statement of his position on the issue at hand, and at the same time a concise restatement of his lifelong attitude toward the civil authority in matters of conscience. Each point is taken up in order, and carefully argued. Point Five displays his credentials, "*And why therefore (since I have not been altogether a stranger to the Learning of the Aegyptians, and have trod the hopefullest paths to Worldly preferments, which for Christ's sake I have forsaken) since I know what it is to Study, to Preach, to be an Elder, to be applauded; and yet also what it is also to tug at the Oar, to dig with the Spade, and Plow, and to labour and travel day and night amongst English, amongst Barbarians! why should I not be humbly bold to give my witness faithfully, to give my counsel effectually, and to persuade with some truly pious and conscientious spirits, rather to turn to Law, to Physic, to Souldiery, to Educating of Children, to Digging rather than to live under the slavery, yea and the censure of a mercenary and Hireling Ministry?*"

Aside from his central theses, with which his opponents were all too familiar, Williams' gravest offense here was the use of the word "Hireling". It was already being used by the hated Quaker, George Fox, to describe the clergy who took pay for their work. Williams could and did coin the additional phrase "no longer pay no longer pray." Nor did he endear himself to the academic Puritans by attacking Oxford and Cambridge conservatism, the joining of piety with "humane learning." The Fourth Particular reads, "*The Universities of the Nation, as subordinate and subservient to such ministries and Churches, are none of the Institutions of Christ Jesus.*" The scholarly pundits could only regard Williams, himself a former Cantabrigian, as a traitor to his class and an irresponsible troublemaker. But it was merely another example of his forthright honesty in any controversy, with friends, as well as with foes.

Point Seven strikes into the heart of the controversy, "*I plead for*

Impartiality and equal freedom, peace, and safety to other Consciences and Assemblies, unto which the people may as freely goe, and this according to each conscience, what conscience soever this conscience be I judge it here only seasonable to say, that no opinion in the world is comparably so bloody, or so blasphemous as that of punishing, and not permitting, in a civil way of Cohabitation, the consciences and worships, both of Jewes and Gentiles.”

Here follow two vivid paragraphs on the persecutions in Ireland:

“Ireland hath been an Akeldama, a field of blood; probable it is, that the guilt of all that blood, Protestant and Papist, will fall upon this Bloody Tenent, of which both Papist and Protestant are guilty; to wit, of not permitting the Hereticks, the Blasphemers, &c. as the Sword falls either into the hand of a Popish or a Protestant Victor.

“What a voice from heaven is there, in the forepast ages of our Fathers, now rotten under us! From Henry the second his time, when Englands first yoke was clapt on poore Irelands neck, I say from Henry the second his time, unto Henry the eight, while their consciences had freedom under Popish Kings of England, how little bloud was spilt, English or Irish, compared with the showers and rivers both of one and the other, spilt in the few years of our Protestant Princes, while the consciences of the Catholicks have been restrained by the civil Sword and Penalties?”

We have quoted thus copiously to illustrate the directness and intensity of Williams’ style when writing hurriedly on an issue of the moment. In this tract he escapes from the narrow Puritan vocabulary into the densely packed imagery of Elizabethan rhetoric, into a prose of irresistible sincerity. Contrast all this with the gentle language of Experiments, “I speak peace and joy to the weakest Lamb and Child (in Christianity) that is so low, so weake, so little, so poor in its owne eyes, that it sometimes saith, it hath no Christ. . . .” This is the instinctive versatility of an honest man’s diction.

The HIRELING MINISTRY is one of the rarest of Roger Williams’ works. It was not reissued until the nineteenth century when Cyrus P. Grosvenor incorporated the text into his book “A Review of the correspondence of Messrs. Fuller and Wayland on the subject of

American Slavery," Utica, 1847. The precious tract was not printed in the Narragansett Edition. The Editors were certainly aware of its existence, since the title appears in their bibliography of his writings. The reasons behind this omission remain obscure, and no plausible explanation comes readily to mind.

The
Hireling Ministry

None of
CHRISTS,

OR

A Discourse touching the Propa-
gating the Gospel of CHRIST
JESUS.

*Humbly Presented to such Pious
and Honourable Hands, whom
the present Debate thereof con-
cerns.*

By ROGER WILLIAMS, of Providence
in New England.

London, Printed in the second
Moneth, 1652.

*In this Discourse are briefly touched
these Particulars.*

1. The *Nationall* and *Parishional* Constitution of Churches, is found to be the *Grand Idoll* of the Nation.
2. The inforcing of the *Nation* to such a *constitution* is the greatest soul *oppression* in this *Nation*.
3. The *Hireling Ministrie* attending upon such *assemblies* or others is none of the *ministrie* of *Christ Jesus*.
4. The *Universities* of the *Nation*, as subordinate and subservient to such *ministries* and *Churches*, are none of the *Institutions* of *Christ Jesus*.
5. It is the absolute *duty* of the *civil state* to set free the souls of all men from that so long oppressing *yoake* of such *ministries* and *churches*. Yet
6. Ought the *Nation* and every *person* in it, be permitted to see with its own eyes, and to make *free choice* of what *worship* and *ministrie*, and *maintenance* they please, whether *parochial* or otherwise?
7. The *Apostolical Commission* and *ministrie* is long since interrupted and discontinued. Yet
8. Ever since the *beast Antichrist* rose, the *Lord* hath stirred up the *ministrie* of *Prophesie*, who must continue their *witness*, and *prophesie* until their *witness* be finished, and *slaughters* probably neer approaching accomplished.

- 9 The provocation of the holy eyes is great in all *courts* throughout the *Nation*, by *millions* of legal *oaths*, which if not redressed, may yet be a fire kindled from his *Jealousie*; who will not hold him *guiltless* which taketh his name in vain.
10. The free permitting of the *consciences* and *meetings* of *conscionable* and faithful *people* throughout the *Nation*, and the free *permission* of the *Nation* to frequent such *assemblies*, will be one of the principal Meanes and expedients (as the present state of Christianity stands) for the propagating and spreading of the Gospel of the Son of God.

To all such *Honourable* and *Pious* hands,
whom the present *Debate* touching the
propagating of CHRIST'S Gospel
concernes:

AND TO

All such gentle *Bereans*, who with in-
genious *Civility* desire to search whether
what's presented concerning
Christ Jesus, be so or no.

All humble respective Salutations.

*It being a present high Debate (Honourable and Be-
loved) how the Gospel of Christ Jesus might more be
propagated in this Nation: 2. And being desired by eminent
friends, to cast in my mite towards it: 3. And having been
engaged in several points of this Nature, in my former and
later Endeavours, against that bloody Tenent of Persecu-
tion for cause of Conscience: 4. And also having been forced
to observe the Goings of God, and the spirits of Men, both*

*The Authors
Call to this
Endeavour.*

in Old and New England, as touching the Church, the Ministry and Ordinances of Jesus Christ; I did humbly apprehend my Call from Heaven; not to hide my candle under a Bed of Ease and Pleasure, or a Bushel of Gain and Profit; but to set it on a Candlestick of this publike Profession, for the Benefit of others, and the Praise of the Father of all Lights and Godliness,

*Contrary to
Intention
and Desire.*

2. For the Substance and most of this, I suddenly drew it up, and delivered two Copies unto two eminent friends of Jesus Christ, and this Nation: But being importuned for more Copies then I was possibly able to transcribe, and being (therefore) advised by some honourable Friends, to use the help of the Press; I am thus (beyond my first Intentions and Desires) held forth in Publike.

3. If ought I have expressed seem harsh, dissatisfactory, or offensive; I am humbly bold (I hope in the power of the Most High) to profess my readiness to discuss, debate, dispute; either by Word or Writing, with whom, or before whom soever the present Debate concerns, with all Christian meekness, and due submission.

*The Civil
Power in all
Ages, de-
ceived by the
deceived and
deceiving
Hirelings.*

4. It is true, I do absolutely deny it (against all comers) to be the Burthen of the Civil State to take cognisance of any Spiritual cause; and I do positively assert it, to be the proper and alone work of the holy Son and Spirit of God in the hands of his Saints and Prophets, to manage Heavenly and Spiritual causes (and that only with Spiritual Weapons against Spiritual Oppositions). And therefore that the Higher Powers have been constantly deceived by the Mercenary and Hireling Ministry; who being themselves deceived, deceive; and tack about (as the Wind, and Time, and Advantage blows) from Popery to Protestantisme, from Protestantisme to Popery, from Popery to Protestantisme again! From Prelacie to Presbyterie, from Presbyterie, from Presbyterie, many to Independency; and will again to Presbyterie and Prelacie, if not to Popery (in some cases)

rather than lose (as they say) the Liberty of Preaching! But what that loss is of somewhat else (Gain, Honour, &c.) let themselves, and all men, judge impartially in the fear of God. Yet

5. I humbly acknowledge (as to Personal worth) I deal with men, for many excellent gifts, elevated above the common rank of men; yea, and for Personal Holiness (many of them) worthy of all true Christian Love and Honour: In which respects when I look down upon myself, I am really perswaded to acknowledge my unworthiness to hold a Candle or Book unto them. And yet, if I give flattering Titles unto men, my Maker (said Elihu) would quickly take me away; and why therefore (since I have not been altogether a stranger to the Learning of the Aegyptians, and have trod the hopefullest paths to Worldly preferments, which for Christ's sake I have forsaken) since I know what it is to Study, to Preach, to be an Elder, to be applauded; and yet also what it is also to tug at the Oar, to dig with the Spade, and Plow, and to labour and travel day and night amongst English, amongst Barbarians!) why should I not be humbly bold to give my witness faithfully, to give my counsel effectually, and to perswade with some truly pious and conscientious spirits, rather to turn to Law, to Physic, to Souldiery, to Educating of Children, to Digging (and yet not cease from Prophecyng) rather then to live under the slavery, yea and the censure (from Christ Jesus and his Saints, and others also) of a mercenary and Hireling Ministry?

6. To which end, my humble and hearty cry is to the Father of Lights, to plead with all his Children of Light effectually; so that they may look up, wonder, and say, Am I a Child of Light? Is the Father of Lights my Father, and the Saints my fellow Brethren and Schollars in Christ Jesus, the children of light also? What make I then in dark places, like those that have been dead of old? What make I

The excellent Gifts and Spirits of many, who are yet captivated with a mercenary spirit and principle.

The Author's humble advice to such excellent and worthy Spirits as are yet captivated in the Trade of Hireling.

Holy persons most unfit for unholy places.

amongst the Graves and Tombs; the Livings, Benefices, Promotions, Stipends, &c?

I have been told a quick passage between the truly Noble Earl of Essex (in Queen Elizabeth her days) and a truly able and zealous Non-conformist: I have said the Earl, been studying a great while these two points; First, the Persons of the Bishops; and I have laboured with the Queen to prefer none but good men to her Bishopricks.

The next thing is their Places; which if I find them to be as bad as their Persons be; then, then &c. But they soon cropt off that Noble head &c.

God most wisely disposeth of his work, some the Fathers, and some to the Children.

That same blessed Spirit breaths (I doubt not) in many heavenly spirits of our Times in Parliament, in Council, in the Army; and their holy desire hath been to prefer the choice and flower of Able and Godly men to Places in City, in Country, in University. It may yet so please the Father of Spirits, to stir up their Noble minds to meditate as well Hireling places, as they have too well known their persons. It may also be, that his most holy and pure Eye sees they have been highly honoured, and enough already: More work is left for growing sprigs, for whom some Crownes are kept to which their Fathers heads were not so fitted.

Impartial soul freedom to all the people of the Nations.

7. And yet although I humbly give the Civil state it's Right, to wit, to take down places or persons which themselves or Fathers have erected: yet am I also far from taking off a yoke from one, to clap on the neck of others. Let the Townes, the Parishes, and divisions of people in the three Nations be undisturbed by any civil Sword, from their consciences and worships; though traditional, though Parochial: and let their maintenance be by Tenths and Fifths, or how they freely please.

1. Only let it be their souls choice, and no inforcing Sword, but what is spiritual in their spiritual causes.

2. I plead for Impartiality and equal freedom, peace, and safety to other Consciences and Assemblies, unto which

the people may as freely goe, and this according to each conscience, what conscience soever this conscience be (not transgressing against Civilities) whether of Jews or Gentile.

Object. But would you have say some Jews, Turks, and Papists live in Protestant countries?

I answer, I judge it here only seasonable to say, that I humbly conceive, that this objection, and all that can be said (as to piety or policy) is satisfied in my late unwashing of M. Cotton's washing of the Bloody Tenent: in that late endeavour, I humbly hope, I have made it evident, that no opinion in the world is comparably so bloody, or so blasphemous as that of punishing, and not permitting, in a civil way of Cohabitation, the consciences and worships, both of Jewes and Gentiles.

Ireland hath been an Akeldama, a field of blood; probable it is, that the guilt of all that blood, Protestant and Papist, will fall upon this Bloody Tenent, of which both Papist and Protestant are guilty; to wit, of not permitting the Hereticks, the Blasphemers, &c. as the Sword falls either into the hand of a Popish or a Protestant Victor.

*Where the
guilt of all
the bloud
spilt in
Ireland lies.*

What a voice from heaven is there, in the forepast ages of our Fathers, now rotten under us! From Henry the second his time, when Englands first yoke was clapt on poore Irelands neck, I say from Henry the second his time, unto Henry the eight, while their consciences had freedom under popish Kings of England, how little bloud was spilt. English or Irish, compared with the showers and rivers both of one and the other, spilt in the few years of our Protestant Princes, while the consciences of the Catholicks have been restrained by the civil Sword and penalties?

Eightly, In the discourse it will appear, how greatly some mistake, which say I declame 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 immedi-

The ministry of Prophets, and the People of God have assembled with them all the reigne of Antichrist.

ately stirred up and sent forth the ministrie of his Prophets, who during all the raigne of Antichrist, have 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 do, notwithstanding that some are not perswaded and satisfied, (as others conceive themselves to be) as touching the doctrines of Baptismes, and laying on of hands.

The duty of each particular child of God in the midst of differences and distractions.

Lastly what ever be the Issue of all their publick agitations, my humble and hearty cry to the Father of mercies, is for every soul in the three Nations, that desire to fear him; whether of higher or lower rank, that we may more and more cry and endeavour for assurance of personal reconciliation in the blood of the lambe, more and more for participation of the divine Nature in the purity and holiness of the spirit of God: more and more lament (with Jeremy) the division and desolations of God's people and the holy Ordinances and Worship of God in Christ Jesus: more and more press after love and all possible communion with God's people in the midst of many differences: more and more abound in mercy and compassion to the soules and consciences; and wofull conditions of others, Jews or Gentiles, and more and more prepared with the golden shoes of the preparation of the Gospel of peace, ready for all the good pleasure of God in Christ Jesus: for prosperity, for adversity, for abundance, for want, for liberty, for imprisonment, for honour, for dishonour, for life, for death, as knowing that they that suffer with Jesus, shall not only Reigne with him, but here also in the midst of outward sorrows, be filled with Joy unspeakable, and full of Glory.

Being Desired by some Loving Friends
 to cast in my *Mite* as to that Heavenly
Proposition of Propagating the Gos-
pel of *Christ Jesus*, I am humbly
 bold to *Propose* these *Conclu-*
sions, and their *Confectaries*
following.

The two great *Prophets* of *Gods* Revealed Councell,
Moses (the *Servant*) and *Christ Jesus* (the *Lord*)
 as they have both declared unto us a *Creation*, a
Creatour, the *Shipwrack* of *Mankind*, the *Restauration*, the
Restorer, so have they both revealed unto us a *visible Com-*
pany of the holy *Worshippers* of this one most glorious
Creatour and *Redeemer*, and that as for his owne most
glorious praise, so in opposition to all *false Gods*, who also
 are attended with their visible *Worships* and *Worshippers*.

In order to *Gods visible worship* the *Lord Jesus* hath
 broken downe the *Wall* of *Division* between the *Jewes* and
 the rest of the *Nations* of the *World*, and sent forth his
Ministers (*Wisdomes Maidens*) unto all *Nations*, to bring

1. *Conclus.*
Moses &
Christ re-
veale from
God a Visible
Worship.

2. *Conclus.*
Prov. 9.

*Christs
Messengers
sent into the
World.*

in (by the *Gospels Invitation*) *Proselites, Converts, Disciples*, such as should Eternally be saved, to begin that heavenly and Eternall *Communion* in Heaven, here in an holy and *visible Worship* on the Earth.

*The white
Troopers.*

This going forth of the true *Ministers* of *Christ Jesus* is represented under the *Figure* of the *white Troopers* in the opening of the first Seale where the *Lord Jesus* in his first *Messengers* rode forth upon the *White horse*, or *Horses* of the *word of truth* and *meeknesse* (Psal. 45.) *Conquering* and to conquer in the *souls* of Men.

3. *Conclus.*

Thirdly, From the 6. of the *Revelations* to the 19. we hear no more of those *white-horsemen*, that is (as I conceive) of the *Apostles* or *Messengers* of *Jesus Christ*, (the whole *streame* of the *Intervening Prophecies*, from the 6. to the 19. insinuating a total routing of the *Church* and *Ministry* of *Christ Jesus*, put to flight, and retired into the *Wilderness* of *Desolation*.)

*The White
Troopers
Routed.*

4. *Conclus.*

Fourthly, during the dreadful *Apostacy* and *Desolation*, the *Lord* hath not left the *World* without *witnesse*, but hath graciously and wonderfully stirred up his holy *Prophets* and *Witnesses*, such as were before the *Waldenses* mor obscure, but more eminently the *Waldenses*, the *Wicklewists*, the *Hussites*, the *Lutherans*, the *Calvinists* (so called) who have as *Witnesses* prophecyed and mourned in *Sack-cloath* 1260 dayes or years (prophetically) I say mourned for the routing, desolating of the *Christian Church* or *Army*: and panted and laboured after the most glorious *Rally* thereof, and *Restauration*.

*A state of
Witnesses
during the
Apostasie,
Revel. 10 &
11.*

This *Testimony* is probably neer finished, and the *Saints* by their *late* and yet *following* wars (I say probably) must intrage the *Antichristian world*, so far as to provoke the *Nations*, to their great and generall *slaughter*, called the *slaughter* of the *Witnesses*, Revel. 11. After which and their shame three years and a halfe, followeth their most glorious and joyfull *Rising*.

These *Witnesses*, these *Prophets*, are probably those one hundred forty four thousand *Virgins*, mysticall *Israelites*, twelve times twelve, which stand with the *Lamb* on Mount *Zion*, against the *Romish Beast*, and are the same Number sealed *twelve times twelve*, *Revelations* 7.

But there is in the same seventh Chapter, a numberles *Number*, which no man can number, to wit, the *Converts* of the *Nations* of the world, which must yet come flowing unto *Christ Jesus*, after this his famous second *Conquest* of the *Devil*, the *Dragon* in the *Romane Popes*, having before triumphed over him in the *Romane Emperours*.

The *World* divided (say our ablest *Cosmographers*) into *thirty* parts, as yet but *five* of *thirty* have heard of the sweet name of *Jesus* a *Saviour*: His *Messengers* must yet goe forth into the other twenty five, after the downfall of the *Papacie*, when also at the fullnesse of the *Gentiles*, or *Nations* comming in, shall be the joyful *Raising* us from the *Dead* of the (*Accursed*, and yet *Beloved Nation* of the) *Jewes*, Rom. 11. Revel. 18. & 19.

The *Civill* state of the *Nations* beeing meerly and essentially *civill*, cannot (Christianly) be called *Christian States*, after the patterne of that holy and typical Land of *Canaan*, which I have proved at large in the *Bloudy Tenent*, to be a *Non-such* and an *unparalel'd Figure* of the *Spiritual State* of the *Church* of *Christ Jesus*, *dispersed*, yet gathered to him in all *Nations*.

The *civill Sword* (therefore) cannot (rightfully) act either in *Restraining* the *Souls* of the people from *Worship*, &c. or in *constraining* them to *Worship*, considering that there is not a *Title* in the *New Testament* of *Christ Jesus*, that commits the *Forming* or *Reforming* of his *Spouse* and *Church* to the *civill* and *worldly Powers*.

Seventhly, no man ever did nor ever shall truly go forth to forth to *Convert* the *Nations*, nor to *Prophecy* in the present state of *Witnesses*, against *Antichrist*, but by the

5. *Conclus.*

The 144000
Virgins, the
twelve times
12000 mysti-
call Israel-
ites, Prophets
and Wit-
nesses.

A two-fold
famous
number of
the follovers
of Christ
Jesus in these
times.

The full-
nesse of the
Gentiles and
Conversion
of the Jewes.

6. *Conclus.*

The Civill
state cannot
restraine or
constraine in
Spirituals.

gracious *Inspiration* and *Instigation* of the holy *Spirit* of *God*, according to I. Cor. 12. where the holy *Spirit* discoursing of those three [Gifts, Administrations, Operations] tells us that No man can say that *Jesus* is the *Lord*, but by the *Holy Spirit*: And *Revel.* 11. I will give *power* to my two *Witnesses*, &c.

No other present Sender but the holy Spirit of God.

I prejudice not an *Externall Test* and *Call*, which was at first and shall be againe in force at the *Resurrection* of the *Churches* (as Mr. COTTON himselfe calls it in *Revel.* 20.) But in the present *State* of things, I cannot but be humbly bold to say, that I know no other *true Sender*, but the most *Holy Spirit*. And when he sends, his *Messengers* will goe, his *Prophets* will *prophecy*, though All the *World* should forbid them.

Confectarie.

Pretenders to that grand Commission, Matth. 28. mistaken.

From the former *Conclusions* we may first see upon what a false *Sent* or *Word* our *Fathers* and our selves have run as to the true *Ministry* appointed by *Christ Jesus*: How many thousand *Pretenders* have been and are (*Protestants* and *Papists*) to that *Grand Commission*, Matth. 28. Goe into all *Nations*, Teach and Baptise, &c?

Not the true Begetting or Feeding Ministry appointed by Christ Jesus, yet extant.

In the poor small span of my *Life*, I desired to have been a diligent and *Constant Observer*, and have been my selfe many ways engaged in *City*, in *Countrey*, 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 Ministry* of *Pastors* and *Teachers*, according to the first *Institution* of the *Lord Jesus*, are yet restored and extant.

Quest.

It may then be said, what is that *Ministry* that hath been extant since *Luther* and *Calvins* time (especially what is that *Ministry* that hath been *Instrumentall* in the hand of the *Lord*, to *conversion* of thousands?)

I answer, The *Ministry* of *Prophets* or *Witnesses*, stand-

ing with *Christ Jesus*, against his great *corrival*, and competitor *Antichrist*, Revel. 10. 11.

The whole Books of *Martyrs* (or *Witnesses*) is nothing else but a large *Commentary* or *History*, of the *Ministry* of *Witnesses*, during all the *Reigne* of the *Beast*, to this day.

Look upon *Berengarius* with the *Saints* enlightned by him; Look upon the *Waldus* with his *Waldenses* in *France*, *Wickliffe* in *England*, *John Hus*, and *Jerome* of *Prague* in *Bohemia*; *Luther* in *Germany*, *Calvin* in *Geneva*; what were they but the holy *Prophets* of *Christ Jesus*, in those *Parts*, and other *Places*, and *Countries*, now examine their *Witnesses* in two *Particulars*.

I. *Negatively*, wherein they *Witnessed* against the *False*, against the *Usurpations* and *Abominations* of *Antichrist*; and therein they were the *Infalible Witnesses*, and *Prophets* of *Christ Jesus*, *Preaching* and oft times *Suffering* to the *Death* for his *Names* sake. But,

2. View them in their *Positive Practice* and *Worships*, as they have assumed and pretended to such and such *Ministries*, and *Titles*, and *Churches*, and *Ministrations*, and there is not one of them, no not *Calvin* himselfe (the greatest *Pretender* to *Church-Order*) but the *Father* of *Lights*, in our times of *Light*, hath been graciously pleased to discover their great *mistakes*, and *wandrings* from the first *Patternes* and *Institutions* of *Christ Jesus*.

I know the multitudes of *Interpretations* given upon *Revel. II.* as touching the two *Witnesses*, and that many, if not most, incline to beleeve, at least to hope and desire, that their *slaughter* may be past and over: unto which in all humble submission to the holy *councells* of *God*, for *Zions* sake, I most heartily say as *Jeremy* once said in another, something a like case, *Amen*. But all the *Interpretations* extant, that ever I have yet heard or read of, they seem to me to lock up the *Sun* in a *Chamber*, they are too narrow and particular, and like some *Almanacks*, calculated

The Ministry of Prophets immediately stirred up by God.

The two Prophets in Sack-cloath.

A glance on Revel. II.

The Apostacy the Witnesse the slaughter, the after rising all Universall.

for one *Meridian* and *Climate*. For *Antichristianisme* is an *Universall plague-sore* spread over all the *Empire* that was *Romane*: The *Romane Popes*, as *Vicars of Christ Jesus*, pretend to a *Romane Catholicisme*, or *Universality* also. The *Lord Jesus* his *cause* therefore, and the *cause* of his *Saints*, is of a more *generall* and *universall concernment*, such hath the *Witnesse* of his *Servants* been in all *Ages* and *Countries of Europe*. Now notwithstanding many particular *slaughters* (as the *Book of Martyrs* and other *Catologues of Christs Witnesses* testifie) yet I see it not possible that that *Scripture* can be satisfied, but that after the *Universall finishing* of the *Witnesse*, there must follow an *universall persecution* and *slaughter* unto which an *universall provocation*, and *Exasperation* by the *Saints* must probably precede and give Occasion.

Quest.

Wherein hath the former and latter *Ministry* been defective?

I answer, In all these four, their *Gifts*, their *Calling*, their *Worke*, their *Wages*.

Gifts.

First, In their *Gifts*, for notwithstanding they pretend to the *Apostles Commission*, and to succeed them, *Mat. 28.* yet they have never pretended to the *Gifts* and *Qualifications* of such a *Ministry*, nor have they ever been able to clear up those two *Foundations* of the *Christian Religion* (*Heb. 6.*) the *Doctrine of Baptisme*, and the *laying on* of hands.

*Pretences
Mat. 28.
examined.*

Calling.

Secondly, Notwithstanding that some plead their *Succession* from the *Apostles* or *Messengers*, yet are they forced to run into the *Tents of Antichrist*, and to plead *Succession* from *Rome*, and neither such nor others which plead their *Calling* from the *People*, can prove to my *Conscience*, from the *testimony of Christ Jesus*, that either, *Christs succession* did run in an *Antichristian* line, or that two or three godly persons might first *make them selves a church*, & then make their *Ministers*, without a preceding

Ministry from *Christ Jesus* unto them, to *gather*, and to *guide* them in such their *Administrations*.

Thirdly the *worke* of that *Commission* (Mat. 28.) was exercised and administred to the *Nations*, as *Nations*, and the *World*, but all our professed *Ministrations*, former and latter have been carried on (in a grand and common mistery) for the *converting* of a *converted* people, for if we grant all *Protestant Nations* to be *Christians*, and so act with them in prayers as *Christians*, and the *children* of *God*; how can we pretend to *convert* the *converted*, and to preach unto them to convert them? One or other must be denied, to wit, that they are converted, or if *unconverted*, that we may offer up *Christian* and *Spirituell Sacrifices* with them. No *Herauld*, no *Embassador* sent to a *city* or *army* of *Rebels* did ever (constantly least of all) performe such *actions* of *state* with those *Rebels*, which represents or renders them in a *capacity* of honest and *faithfull Subjects*. Oh the *Patience* and *Forbearance* and *Long-suffering* of the *most High*, whose *Eyes* yet are as a flame of *Fire*.

Fourthly, In their *Wages*, whether by *Tithes* or otherwise, they have alwayes run in the way of an *Hire*, and rendred such *Workemen* absolute *Hirelings* between whom and the true *Sheapheard* (Joh. 10.) the *Lord Jesus* puts so expresse and sharp a *Difference*: so that in all humble submission, I am bold to maintaine, that it is one of grand *Designes* of the *most High*, to breake downe the *Hireling Ministry*, that *Trade*, *Faculty*, *Calling*, and *Living*, by *Preaching*, and that if All the *Princes*, *States*, *Parliaments* and *Armies*, in the world should joyne their *Heads* and *Hearts* and *Armes* and *Shoulders* to support it, yet being a part of *Babel* and *confusion*, it shall sinke as a *Mil-stone* from the *Angels* hand into the deeps for ever.

But is not the *Labourer* worthy of his *Reward*?

I answer, There is no *Reward* (by infinite degrees) comparable to an hundred fold (though with persecution) in

Worke.

A stuperdious Mistery of Preaching to convert the converted.

Wages.

Object.

this *Life*, and in the world to come *eternal life*, to all that deny themselves in this *Life*, and *doe*, and *teach*, and *suffer* for the name of the *Son of God*.

More strictly and particularly I answer,

Christ Jesus never made Bargaine with his Messengers or Pastors.

First, He that makes a *Trade of Preaching*, that makes the *cure of Souls*, and the charge of mens *eternall* wellfare, a *trade*, a *maintenance*, and *living*, and that explicitly makes a *covenant* or *bargaine* (and therefore no longer *penny* no longer *Paternoster*, no long *pay* no longer *pray*, no longer *Preach*, no longer *fast*, &c.) I am humbly confident to maintaine, that the *Son of God* never sent such a one to be a *Labourer* in his *Vineyard*: Such *Motions* spring not from the living and voluntary *Spring* of the holy *Spirit of God*, but from the *Artificiall* and worldly respects of *Money*, *Maintenance*, &c.

Quest.

Wherein consists the making of the *Hirelings*, *explicit*, and *implicite* Bargaine.

The Lands & Countries divided for gain as Daniel speaks, and men know in a way of Hire what to be sure of expressly.

I answer, Tis *explicite*, expresse and plaine, when there is a mutuall declaring and agreeing, for so much or so much, in one kinde or another, as the *Levite* agreed with *Micha* in the *Judges*.

Of this sort of *explicite* and *plaine* Bargaines by way of *Tithes*, *stipend*, &c. How is our owne and other *Nations* full, and how many thousands are there of the instances of *moving* and *removing* from *Leaner* to *fatter* Benefices, like the former *Levite*, from the poor *Chaplain*-ship of *Micahs* family, to the more rich and eminent *Devotion* of a *Tribe* of *Dan*, just like *Servants* hired by the yeare (more or lesse) stay not when they hear of proffers of more *Ease* and better *Wages*.

Secondly, an *implicite* or implied *Bargaine* or *Compact* is when there passeth no *expresse Agreement* for so much or so much, but having been brought up (as we say) to that only *Trade*, they must make their living of it, and therefore being something convinced of the *Grosser* way, they are

content as *Water-men, Porters*, and the like, with some kind of *Intimations* by word of mouth, or in course which shall amount to such a promise as this expresse: I know your *Fare*, your *Due*, I will content you, &c. Trust to my *Courtesie*: The triall of this is plaine, for without such an Implication or implicite promise, the *Hireling* will not, indeed he cannot (having no other way to live on) move his *Lip* or *Tongue*, no more then a *Water-man* or *Porter*, his *Hand* or *Foot*.

An implicit Bargaine (like an Onion) is a Bargaine infolded and wrapt up with more subtle peelings, &c.

Secondly, as to the *Labourer* worthy of his *Reward*, I answer, we find no other *patterne* in the *Testament* of *Christ Jesus*, but that both the *Converting* (or *Apostolicall Ministry*) and the *Feeding* (or *Pastorall Ministry*) did *freely* serve or minister, and yet were *freely* supported by the *Saints* and *Churches*, and that not in stinted *Wages*, *Tithes*, *Stipends*, *Sallaries*, &c. but with larger or lesser *supplies*, as the *Hand* of the *Lord* was more or lesse extended in his *weekly blessings* on them.

The first patterne of Ministers Maintenance.

Thirdly, when either through *poverty* or *neglect*, *support* and *maintenance* failed, yet still they eyed (as *Sea men* and *Souldiers* say) the *Good* of the *Voyage*, and the *Battel* (the *common Cause* of the *Lord Jesus*) and their owne hands day and night, supplied their owne and others *Necessities*. And this was and will be the *onely* way of the *Labourers* of the *Son of God*.

The *Priests* and *Levites* under the *Law* had settled and constant *Maintenance*.

Objection.

I answer, Blessed be the *Father* of *Lights* who hath shewne his people of late times, the great difference between the *stated* and settled *Nationall Church*, the *Ministry*, and *maintenance* thereof, and the (ordinary) afflicted, moving, flying, state of the *Church*, and *Churches* of *Christ Jesus* all the world over.

Although it be granted that the *Hireling Ministry*, both *explicite* and *implicite*, is none of *Christs*, yet this is won-

Objection.

derfull, what should be the *Reason* why so much good hath been wrought thereby, as the conversion of thousands? &c.

*Gods infinite
patience in
bearing with
his peoples
Failings.*

I answer, All the *wisedom*, *mercy*, *goodnesse*, and *piety* that is in us, is but a *drop* to the *Ocean* of that which is in the *Father* of *mercies*, who with infinite *pity* and *patience*, passeth by the *ignorances* and *weaknesses* of his Children. Hence *Luther* and other *Monks*, *Cranmer* and other *Bishops*, *Calvin* and other *Presbyterians*, God hath graciously covered their *Failings*, and accepted his owne *Grace* of good *Desires*, good *Affections* and *Endeavours*, though many wayes defiled with sin.

Thus was his infinite *Goodnesse* pleased to overlook the sin of *Poligamie*, or many Wives, in which so many of the *Fathers* or *Patriarchs* of *Israel*, were brought forth.

Thus was he pleased to passe by the sins of the *High places*, where *Solomon* himselfe offered Sacrifice. And yet as to this great point of *good* being done, we may with *truth* assert *two things*.

*The most
voluntary
preaching
ever most
fruitfull.*

First, where *God* hath been pleased to bring in one *soule* to Himselfe by the *Hireling Ministry*, many more have been brought home by the *voluntary* and more *single preachings* of some, whether publick or private; by the endeavour of *private christians*, by the *reading* of the holy *Scriptures*, by *godly examples*, by *afflictions*, &c.

*Excellent
Prophets of
God, who
never knew
the pre-
tended
School of
the Prophets.*

Hence wofull experience hath made it evident, that many excellent men (in their *persons*, and the *graces* of *Gods Spirit*) have laboured a score of yeares and more, in an *Hireling way*, without the *birth* of one *child* to *God*: while others singly out of *Love* to *Christ Jesus*, have despised *Bargains* and *Hire*, and been more abundantly blest with mercifull *successe* and *fruitfulness*. Hence sure it is that there have been and are many *excellent Prophets* and *Witnesses* of *Christ Jesus*, who never entred (as they say) into the *Ministry*, to wit, *Lawyers*, *Physitians*, *Souldiers*, *Trades-*

men, and others of higher and lower rank, who by Gods holy Spirit (breathing on their meditations of the holy Scriptures, and other private helps) have attained and much improved, an excellent Spirit of knowledge, and Utterance in the holy things of Jesus Christ, which spirit they ought to cherish, and further to improve, to the praise of Christ.

Amongst so many Instances (dead and living) to the everlasting praise of Christ Jesus, and of his holy Spirit, breathing and blessing where he listeth, I cannot but with honorable Testimony remember that Eminent Christian Witness & Prophet of Christ, even that despised and yet beloved Samuel How, who being by Calling a Cobler, and without humane Learning (which yet in its spheare and place be honoured) who yet I say, by searching the holy Scriptures, grew so excellent a Textuary or Scripture learned man, that few of those high Rabbies that scorne to mend or make a Shoe, could aptly and readily from the holy Scripture, outgo him. And however (through the Oppressions upon some mens Consciences, even in Life and Death, and after death in respect of Burying, as yet unthought and unremedied) I say, however he was forced to seek a Grave or bed in the very Highway, yet was his life, and death, and buriall (being attended with many hundreds of Gods people) honourable, and (how much more his Rising againe) glorious.

But secondly, True and Right prophecying and Preaching, at first was, and shall be (because after Gods own way and Ordinance) beyond all compare with present Times, gloriously and wonderfully Successfull. Thus Acts 2. & 5. &c. poore Sinners came mourning after a Saviour by thousands.

The Church and people of God since the Apostacy, is an Army routed, and can hardly preserve and secure itselfe, much lesse subdue and conquer others, like a Vessell becalmed at Sea, which though it make some way by Rowing

An honourable remembrance of a despised Witnesse of Christ Jesus, Samuel How.

No Successes in Preaching now comparable to the first, and why.

and *Towing*, yet not comparable to what it doth when the mighty *gales* of *Gods* holy *Spirit* breath (as most he useth to doe) in the wayes of his owne most holy *Appointments*.

3. *Con-
fectorie.*

Thirdly, We may see a great mistake as touching that great point of *Conversion*: There is a great breathing in the *souls* of *Gods* people after the *Conversion* of the *English*, *Irish*, *Jewes*, *Indians*, and blessed be *God* for those *Breathings*. Yet doubtlesse the first great *worke* is the bringing of the *Saints* out of *Babel*, or *confused worships*, and the *downefall* of the *Papacie*, after the *witnesses slaughtered*. Hence it is probably conceived by some upon *Revel. 15.* that untill the *Vyals* be powred forth upon *Antichrist*, the smoak so filleth the Temple, that no man, that is (few of the *Jewes* or *Gentiles*) shall by conversion enter in.

No. remark-
able Con-
version of
the Nations,
as yet to be
expected.

Quest.

Some will say, have there not been great and mighty *conversions* of whole Nations, *England*, *Scotland*, *French*, *Dutch*, &c. from *Poperie* to be good Protestants, &c?

The bodies
of Protestant
Nations yet
unconverted.

I answer, If the holy *Scripture*, the first pattern, and dolefull experience may be judge, as an eminent Person lately spake (upon occasion of a Debate touching the *Conversion* of the *Indians*) we have *Indians* at home, *Indians* in *Cornewall*, *Indians* in *Wales*, *Indians* in *Ireland*, yea as to the point of true *Conversion*, and *Regeneration* by *Gods spirit*, who can deny but that the body of this and of all other *Protestant Nations* (as well as *Popish*) are unconverted, and (as formerly) ready to be converted and turned forward and backward, as the *Weather-cock*, according as the powerfull *wind* of a prevailing *Sword* and *Authority*, shall blow from the various *points* and *quarters* of it.

The present
Designes and
purposes of
Christ Jesus.

By the mercifull *Assistance* of the most *High*, I have desired to labour in *Europe*, in *America*, with *English*, with *Barbarians*, yea and also I have longed after some trading with the *Jewes* themselves (for whose *hard measure* I feare the *Nations* and *England*, hath yet a score to pay) But yet (as before) I cannot see but that the first and present great

Designe of the *Lord Jesus* is to destroy the *Papacy*, in order to which, two great *Works* are first to be effected.

First, His *calling* of his *people* more and more out of the *Babel* of confused *Worships*, *Ministries*, &c. and the finishing of their *Testimony* against the *Beast*.

Secondly, the great *sufferings* and *slaughters* of the *Saints*, upon occasion of which *Christ Jesus* in his holy *wrath* and *jealousie*, will burne and teare the bloody *whore* of *Rome* in pieces. After which effected, the numberlesse number, *Rev. 7.* the *fullnesse* of the *Gentiles* or *Nations* (*Rom. 9.*) together *with the Jewes*, shall flow to *Jesus Christ*.

Thirdly, we may hence see our great mistakes, both of our selves & our *Fore-fathers*, as to the pretended *Seed* plots and *Seminaries* for the *Ministry*, the *Universities* of *Europe*, and the *Universities* of this *Nation*, for although I heartily acknowledge that among all the *outward Gifts* of God, humane learning and the *knowledge* of *Languages*, and good *Arts*, are excellent and excell other outward *gifts*, as far as *light* excels *darknesse*, and therefore that *Schools* of *humane Learning*, ought to be maintained, in a die way and cherished; yet notwithstanding, *In ordine ad ministerium*, as to the *ministry* of *Christ Jesus* (any one of those *ministeries*, *Ephes. 4.* & *I Cor. 12.*) upon a due survey of their *Institutions* and continuall practices compared with the last *will* and *Testament* of *Christ Jesus*, they will be found to be none of *Christs*, and that in many respects.

First, as to the name *Schollar*, although as to *humane learning*, many wayes lawfull, yet as it is appropriated to such as practice the *Ministry*, have been at the *Universities* (as they say) It is a *sacrilegious* and theevish *title*, robbing all *believers* and *Saints* who are frequently in the *Testament* of *Christ*, stiled *Disciples* or *Schollars* of *Christ Jesus*, and only they as *Beleever*s, and this *Title* is so much theirs, that both *men* and *women* beleaving, were called *Schollars*,

3. Con-
fectary.

Universities
as to the
Ministry of
Christ Jesus;
none of his
Institutions.

The title
Schollar ap-
propriated
to the *Min-*
isters, a *sac-*
rilegious
title.

Act. 9. There was a certaine *Disciple* or *Schollar* called *Dorkas*.

Universities
in order to
Christs Min-
istry but re-
fined Mon-
asteries.

Secondly, As to their *Monkish* and idle course of life, partly so *gentile* and *stately*, partly so *vain* & *superstious*, that to wet a *finger* in any *pains* or *labor*, it is a disgraceful and an unworthy *Act*: But the *Church* is built upon the *Foundation* of the *Apostles* & *Prophets*, who were *Labourers*, *Fishermen*, *Tent-makers*, *Jesus Christ* (although the *Prince of Life* yet) a poor *carpenter*, the *chief corner stone*. And I cannot but conceive, that although it should not please the most holy and jealous God to stir up this *renowned State*, and their *renowned Cromwell* (the 2nd) to deal with our *refined Monasteries*, as that blessed *Cromwell* the first did with the more grosse and *Palpably Superstitious* in *Henry* the Eighth his days: Yet in his time the Lord *Jesus* whose is all power in *Heaven* and *Earth* will spue out these *Seminaries* of *Hirelings*, and misticall *Merchants* out of his mouth, as he hath done their *Fathers* the *superstitious* and *bloudy Bishops* before them.

Pharisaicall
and Popish
Titles,

Thirdly, As to their *Popish* and vaunting *Titles*, so strange from the *New Testament* and *Language* of *Christ Jesus*, or any word or title that came forth of his blessed mouth, *Bachelors* of *Divinity* (or *Godlinesse*) *Doctor* of *Divinity*, so clearly and expresly opposite to the command of the Lord *Jesus*: Call no man *Father*, *Doctor*, &c. that is, by way of *Eminency* in *spirituall* and *heavenly* regards, *Rabbi*, *Rabbi*, *Doctor*, *Doctor*, &c. I omit (because possibly for shame left off in these dayes) their childish *ceremonies* (used even by the most holy and consciencious) in their *superstitious commencings* and *creatings*, &c. Their holy *Gownes* (black and red) holy *cassocks*, holy *caps*, holy *scarfs*, holy *Rings*, yea and holy *bootes* also, &c. All as far from the purity and simplicity of the Son of God, as far as the honest *Attire* of some sober and chaste *Matron*, from the wanton and flaunting *vanities*, of some Painted *Harlot*.

and Cere-
monies in
their Creat-
ings and
Comment-
ings.

Fourthly, As to their (pretended) *Spiritually* and holy exercises proper onely to the *Churches* and *Assemblies* of the *Saints* (the onely *Schools* of the *Prophets* appointed by *Christ Jesus*;) How have they been by Courts imposed upon every *naturall* and *unspiritually* man, who (in Truth) perceives not the *things* that be of God: How have they been prostituted to every prophane and unclean *lyp*; unto whom saith God (Psa. 50) What hast thou to doe to preach my word, and to take my name into thy mouth?

Spiritually exercises proper only to the Churches and Assemblies of Saints, the true Schools of the Prophets.

Fifthly, As to their being prepared and fitted by these means, as in a way of *Prentiship*, to set up the *Trade* and way of *Preaching*, the science or faculty of *Spiritually merchandize* (*Revel.* 18. in a deep *Mystery*) of all sorts of *spices* and precious things, the precious sweet *Truths* and *Promises* of holy *Scripture*; yea, (which we may with holy trembling add) a trade of selling *God* himselfe, *Christ Jesus*, the *Holy Spirit*, *Heaven* and *Hel*, and (too too often) their own *Souls*, and the *Souls* of thousands.

But have there not come *excellent men* from thence, famous for *Learning*, *Holinesse*, *Labours*, *Sucsesse* in the *Souls* of *thousands* &c?

Object.

I say, There have been excellent men (some say *Popes* and *Cardinals*, and we are sure) *Lord Bishops* and *Monks* in their Personall *Holinesse*, *gifts*, *Learning*, *Labours*, *Sucsesse*, and therein famous *Prophets* and *Witnesses* of *Christ Jesus*; yea, they have sealed the holy *Truths* of *God*, which they have learned from the holy *Scriptures*, and which they have declared to others, I say they have sealed them with their heart blood, but that's no *justification* of their evill standings, *Institutions*, *Administrations*, &c. which (as by degrees it hath pleased the *Father* of *Lights* to discover unto them) they have come out of such *Bondage* with *shame* and *sorrow*, and laboured after the *purity* and *simplicity* of the *Son* of *God*.

Answer.

Excellent & holy men in the bondage of sinfull Institutions, Superstitutions.

But *extraordinary gifts* be ceased, how shall now the

Quest.

people of this *Nation* be supplied with *Ministers*, byt from such *Seminaries* of *Learning*, which fit men both with *Learning* to know, and *Eloquence* to utter the heavenly *Mysterries*: Or would you have the people be of no *Religion* at all, meer *Atheists*, without *God*, without his *Word*, without a *Ministry*, &c.?

*The counter-
feit of the
Apostolical
Ministry.*

I answer, 'Tis true, those glorious *first ministeriall gifts* are ceased, and that's or should be the *lamentation* of all *Saints*, to wit, the *desolation* and *widow-hood* of *Zion*: yet I humbly conceive that without those *gifts*, it is no ground of *imitation*, and of going forth to *Teach* and *Baptise* the *Nations*, for, the *Apostles* themselves did not attempt that *mighty enterprise*, but waited at *Jerusalem* untill the *Holy Spirit* descended on them, and inabled them for that *might work*: least of all is that a *ground* of *counterfeiting*, and suborning a *livelesse picture* of that first *Ministry* (like *Jeroboams Institutions*) when every one that hath *Friends* may be preferred to *Fellowships* in *Colledges*, to the superstitious *Degrees* and *Titles* of *Divinity* (as they call it) and by these *staires* ascend up the *Gospel* preferments of rich and honourable *Benefices*.

*Institution
of Youth in
humane
learning
withall in-
structing
them with
the knowl-
edge & feare
of the Lord,
most Chris-
tian and
honourable.*

Secondly, Far be it from me to derogate from that *honourable civility* of training up of *Youth* in *Languages*, and other humane *Learning*, whether in the City of *LONDON*, or other *Townes* and *Cities*. All that I bear witness against, is the *counterfeiting* and *sacrilegious* arrogating of the *titles* and *rights* of *Gods Saints*, and *Churches* (as before) which are the only *Schools* of the *Prophets*: As also against their *sacrilegious* and *superstitious Degrees* (as they call them) in the profession of *Divinity*, as if they only knew *Divinity*, *Godlinesse*, *Holinesse*, and by such skille in *godlinesse*, and by such *Degrees* might succeed the ancient *Scribes* and *Pharisees*, in the uppermost *seats* in *Synagogues* and *Feasts*, in Reverend *titles* and *Salutations*, as the only *Masters* and *Teachers* of *Religion* and *godlinesse*, and all this in the way

of the *Hireling*, dividing (*Dan. II.*) the whole *Land* for gaine: so that there hath not been *roome* (without some speciall and extraordinary *priviledge* and *license*) for the poorest *Cottager* to live in *England*, out of the *Bishops Diocese* and the *Priests Parish*, and *Payments*: therefore,

Thirdly, In all humble reverence and due submission to the *Higher Powers*, I affirme, there was never meerly *Civill State* in the *World* (for that of the *Jewes* was mixt and *Ceremonial*) that ever did or ever shall make good work of it, with a *civill sword* in spirituall matters, and therefore have but *builded & pluckt down, planted and pluckt up, Churches, Ministries, Disciplines*, &c. I acknowledge with thankfulness, that many heavenly *Spirits*, in *K: Edwards, Q: Elizabeths* days, and since that, have been *forming* and reforming the *states and nations, Religion, Worship, Ministry*, &c. Doubtlesse *Intentions* were holy (as *Davids*) *labours* great, & *Gods* mercy, and *pity* and *patience* infinite: yet *experience* long and ever hath told us That there was never a *Nation* yet born in a day to *God*, That the *bodies* of all *Nations* is a part of the world, and although the holy *Spirit* of *God*, in every *Nation* where the *Word* comes, washeth white some *Blackamores*, and changeth some *Leopards spots*, yet the *bodies* and *bulks* of *Nations*, cannot by all the *Acts* and *Statutes* under heaven, put off the *Blackamores* skin, the *Leopard* spots, &c. O why then should the *wisdom*e of so many Ages, still each after other, be preacht (by the prevailing *Hirelings* of each time, againe and again) into the selfe-same delusion of washing the *Blackamore*, &c?

There is not a *Towne*, nor a *Parish*, nor a *person* in *England*, but judge themselves *christian*, and to that end challenge the *right* and *use* of (a *Minister, in sacris*) some (as in all Religions in the world it is) to serve the Dietie they worship, *ex officio*, as *Sacerdotes*, or holy persons for and with them, in prayers and holy Rites.

This mine eyes have often seen among thousands of the

The Civill State never made good work in spiritualls.

The body of a civill state or Nation, and the elect or chosen of God out of each Nation, must be rightly distinguished.

wild, yet wise Americans, who yet (alas) as all the Nations of Europe, and the world are utterly uncapable of Formes and Ministers (or Officers) of Christian worship, while yet in their naturall and worldly capacities, not borne againe, made spirituall and heavenly, by the holy spirit of God. Yet,

*Absolute
freedome in
matters
meerly spir-
ituall for all
the con-
sciencences in
the world.*

Fifthly, I desire uprightly to be far from divers waights and measures in the things of God (especially): and therefore I desire not that liberty to my selfe, which I would not freely and impartially weigh out to all the consciences of the world beside: And therefore I doe humbly conceive, that it is the will of the most High, and the expresse and absolute Duty of the civill powers to proclaim an absolute freedom in all the 3 Nations, yea in all the world (were their power so large) that each Towne, and Division of people, yea, and person, may freely enjoy what worship, what ministry, what maintenance to afford them, their soul desireth.

*The people
ought not to
be forced to
nor from the
paying of
Tenth or
Fifths, ac-
cording to
their Con-
science.*

To this end I am humbly bold to offer, that it is not the will of the Father of Spirits, that all the consciences and Spirits of this Nation should violently (*Vi & armis*) be forced into one way of worship, or that any Towne or Parish (so called) in England, Scotland, or Ireland, be disturbed in their worship (what worship soever it be) by the civill sword: If the people freely choose that way of worship, and ministry, and maintenance they walk in, yea if they will freely pay them the Tenth or Fifths, I shall not envy their Ministers maintenance, nor disturb either minister or peoples conscience by any other sword, but with that spirituall sword of two edges, the sword of Gods spirit, the holy word of God.

Objection.

Grant the bodies of the Nations to be but naturall, but civill, and therefore cannot without the changings of Gods spirit, be possibly fit as spirituall flocks of sheep, for spirituall Pastors, or shepheards to feed and build them up with the spiritual Ordinance of Christ Jesus? yet, need they not a converting or begetting ministry of Christ Jesus, to preach

Repentance to them, to *spiritualize* and change them? And if so, where shall ten thousand Ministers be had to goe to (about) that number of *Parishes* in *England*, without the constant supplies of the *seed-plots* and *Seminaries*, the *Universities* of the *Nation*?

I answer, First, there are great *Disputes* among *Gods* people whether *Apostles* or *Messengers* sent out to teach and baptise, that is, to Convert the *Nations*, be yet an *Ordinance* of *Christ Jesus* continued, or being extraordinary ceased? There is a great dispute whether the *Ministry* of the twelve (*Matth.* 10.) or of the 70 (*Luk.* 10.) be continued since they both had an *immediate call* from *Christ*.

And secondly, Such excellent *gifts*, *abilities*, and *furniture* from *Christ*, which now we find none are furnished with, as healing the *sick*, raising the *dead*, casting out *Devils*, &c. Further, whether all these *gifts* and *administrations*, *Ephes.* 4. & *I Cor.* 12. be to be expected?

For my selfe I am sure of two things.

First, It is but little of the *World* yet that hath heard of the lost *estate* of *mankinde*, and of a *Saviour*, *Christ Jesus*, and as yet the *fullnesse* of the *Gentiles* is not yet come, and probably shall not, untill the *downefall* of the *Papacy*. Yet

Secondly, The *Ministry* or *Service* of *Prophets*, and *Witnesses*, *mourning* and *Prophecying* in *Sack-cloath*, God hath immediately stirred up and continued all along the *reigne* of the *Beast*, and *Antichrist* of *Rome*.

This *Witnesse* is (probably) neer finished, and the bloody *storme* of the *slaughter* of the *Witnesses*, is yet to be expected and prepared for: But this, and the time, and many passages of *Revel.* II. is *Controversiall*, and something like that of *Christs* expected *personall presence*, the state of the *New Jerusalem*, the new *Heavens* and *Earth*, &c.

However this is cleare, that all that are betruſted with *spirituall* or temporal *Tallents*, must lay them out for their *Lord* and *Master*, his *Advantage*.

The Apostolical Ministry to the lost Nations interrupted.

Yet of the Prophets and Witnesses mourning in sackcloth continued.

The Ministry of Prophets more opened.

Gods Prophets of high or low condition must not keep silence, and hide their Talents, &c.

The Apostolical ministry to the Nations and Peoples.

The Lords worke only in the Lords way.

That, all (of what rank soever) that have *knowledge & utterance* of heavenly *Mysterics*, & therein are the *Lords Prophets & Witnesses* against *Antichrist*, must *prophecy* against false *Christs*, false *Faith*, false *Love*, false *Joy*, false *Worship*, and *Ministrations*, false *Hope*, and false *Heaven*, which poor souls in a golden dream expect & look for.

This *Prophecy* ought to be (chiefly) exercised among the *Saints* in the *companies, meetings, and assemblies* of the fellow-mourners, and *witnesses* against the *falsehoods* of *Antichrist*: If any come in (as in I Cor. 14.) yea if they come to *catch*, *God* will graciously more or lesse vouchsafe to *catch* them if he intends to save them.

But for the going out to the *Nations, Cities, Townes*, as to the *Nations, Cities, and Townes* of the *World*, *unconverted*, untill the *downefall* of the *Papacy*, Revel. 18. and so the mounting of the *Lord Jesus*, and his *white Troopers* againe, Revel. 19. &c. For the going out of any to preach upon *hire*, for the going out to convert *sinner*s, and yet to hold *communion* with them as *Saints* in *prayer*: For the going out without such a powerfull *call* from *Christ*, as the twelve and the seventy had: or without such suitable *gifts* as the first *Ministry* was furnished with, and this especially without a due knowledge of the *Period* of the *Prophecies* to be fulfilled, I have no *faith* to *act*, nor in the *Actings* and *Ministrings* of others: for

There is but one *God, Lord* and *Spirit*, from whom those *Gifts, Administrations* and *Operations* proceed, I Cor. 12. without whose holy & heavenly concurrence in all those three, both *Gifts* and *Administrations* and *operations*, instead of *Glorifying* the name of *Christ*, and saving *Souls*, we may *Blaspheame* his *Name*, and grieve his *spirit*, and *hinder* and *harden* poor souls against *Repentance*, when by *fellowship* in *prayer* with them as with *Saints*, we perswade them of their (already) blessed state of *Christianity*, and

that they are *Newborn*, the *Saints*, and *sons*, and *daughters* of the living God; therefore

Lastly, If it shall please our most *Noble Governours*, to search into the *institution* and *constitution* (as they have done of the *Diocesan* so also) of the *National* and *Parish Churches* (concerning which I shal humbly subjoyn some *Queries* in the close of all;)

The grand oppression of the whole Nation is the Parish inforced constitution.

If they please to take off the *Yoaks*, the *Soul Yoaks* of *binding* all *persons* to such *parochial* or *parish formes*, permitting them to enjoy their own *belief*, whether within or without such *Parish worships*, *Parish maintenance*, *Parish marryings*, *Parish buryings*, by which the *souls* and *consciencies* of so many have been inbondaged in *life* and *death*, and (their *bodies*, in respect of *Buryings*) after death.

Freedom for the people to frequent the word in other Assemblies beside the Parish, a great and hopefull means of blessed and Soul-saving fruit to the Nation.

If they shall please so far (if not to *countenance* yet) to permit impartially All *consciencies*, and especially the *consciencies*, the *meetings* and *assemblings* of faithfull and conscionable people, (the *Voluntiers* in preaching *Christ Jesus*): so as that what *people* and *persons* please, may *peaceably* frequent and repaire to such *spirituall meetings* and *assemblies*, as they doe the *Parish Churches*: I am humbly confident, that as to the point of *converting souls* to *God* (so far as the present *state* of *Christianity* can be so promoted) the *souls* of *thousands* will blesse *God* more, then if *Millions* of *Hirelings* were sent abroad from all the *Universities*, both of *Popish* and *Protestant Countries*.

Fourthly, Upon the *grounds* first laid, I observe the great and wonderfull *mistake* both our owne and our *Fathers*, as to the *civill powers* of this *world*, acting in *spirituall matters*. I have read (as blessed *Latimer* once said) the last *Will* and *Testament* of the Lord *Jesus* over many times, and yet I cannot finde by one *tittle* of that *Testament*, that if he had been pleased to have accepted of a *temporall Crowne* and *Government*, that ever he would have put

⁴
Confectary.

Christ Jesus no founder of Civill power, in spirituall causes.

forth the least *finger* of *temporall* or *civill* power, in the matters of his *spirituall* affairs and *Kingdome*.

Hence must it lamentably be against the Testimony of *Christ Jesus*, for the Civill state to impose upon the Soules of the People, a *Religion*, a *Worship*, a *Ministry*, *Oaths* (in Religious and Civill affairs) *Tithes*, *Times*, *Days*, *Marryings* and *Buryings* in holy ground, yet inforce, as I have (I hope) by the helpe of God, fully debated that great *Question* with Master *Cotton*, and washt off all his late washings of that bloody Tenent of Persecution, &c.

Quest. What is then the expresse duty of the Civill Magistrate, as to *Christ Jesus* his *Gospell* and *Kingdome*?

I answer, I know how woefully that Scripture, *Kings shall be thy nursing Fathers*, &c. hath been abused, and elsewhere I have at large discussed that, and other such *Objections*: At present, I humbly conceive, that the great *Duty* of the *Magistrate*, as to *spirituals*, will turne upon these two *Hinges*.

The Civill Magistrates duty, as to spirituals, turning upon upon two hinges.

First, In removing the Civill *Bars*, *Obstructions*, *Hinderances*, in taking of those *Yoaks*, that pinch the very Soules and *consciencences* of men, such as yet are the *payments* of *Tithes*, and the *Maintenance* of *Ministers*, they have no faith in: Such are the inforced *Oaths*, and some *ceremonies* therein, in all the Courts of *Justice*, such are the holy *Marryings*, holy *buryings*, &c.

Secondly, In a free and absolute *permission* of the *consciencences* of all men, in what is meerly spirituall, not the very *consciencences* of the *Jews*, nor the *consciencences* of the *Turkes* or *Papists*, or *Pagans* themselves excepted.

Quest. But how will this *Propagate* the *Gospell* of *Christ Jesus*?

I answer thus, The first grand *Design* of *Christ Jesus* is, to destroy and consume his *Mortal enemy Antichrist*. This must be done by the *breath* of his *Mouth* in his *Prophets* and *Witnesses*: Now the *Nations* of the *World*, have impiouly *stopt* this heavenly *breath*, and stifled the *Lord Jesus*

in his *Servants*: Now if it shall please the *civill State* to remove the *state bars*, set up to resist the holy *Spirit* of God in his *Servants* (whom yet finally to resist, is not in all the powers of the *world*) I humbly conceive that the *civill state* hath made a fair progresse in promoting the *Gospel* of *Jesus Christ*.

The breath of Christ Jesus by which he consumes Antichrist, stopt by the Nations.

This *Mercy* and *freedome* is due to the (meerly) religious *conscienc*es of all men in the *world*. Is there no more due from the *Magistrate* to *Christ Jesus* his *saints* and *Kingdome*?

Quest

I answer, While I pleade the *Conscience* of All men to be at *Liberty*, doubtlesse I must plead the *Liberty* of the *Magistrates* also, and therefore were his *bounties* and *donations* to his *Bishops* and *Ministers*, as large as those of *Constantine*; who, but the holy *Spirit* of God in the mouths of his *Prophets* can restrain him? Onely let not *Caesar*, (as *Constantine* in his settled *prosperity* did) rob the *God* of *Heaven* of his *Rights*, the *conscienc*es of his *subjects* their heavenly *Rights* and *Liberties*.

The Magistrates and all men ought to excell in fruits of Piety and Mercy according to conscience.

But under the pretence of propagating the *Gospell* of *Christ Jesus* (it may be said) what horrible *opinions* and *Spirits* will be vented, as woefull *experience* hath manifested:

Object.

I answer, *Opinions* offensive are of two sorts: some savouring of *Impiety*, and some of *Incivility*.

Against the first, *Christ Jesus* never cald for the *Sword* of *Steel* to helpe the *Sword* of the *Spirit* that two-edged *Sword* that comes out of the mouth of the *Lord Jesus*: And therefore if a world of *Arrians* deny the *Deity* of *Christ Jesus*: If a *Maniche* his *humane nature*: If the *Jews* deny both, and blasphemously call our *Christ* a *Deceiver*: Nay, if the *Mahumetans* the *Turkes* (the greater number by far of one *Religion* in the *World*) if they I say, pefer their cheating *Mahomet* before him, What now? must we raile, revile, &c. and cry out *Blasphemers*, *Hereticks*? Must we

No sword to be used against the most horrid Blasphemies & Heresies, but the two-edged sword of the Word, the sword of the Spirit of God.

run to the *Cutlers shop*, the *Armories* and *Magazines* of the *Cities* and *Nations*? Must we run to the *Cities* or *Nations*, and *Senates*, and cry, *Helpe* you men of *Ephesus*, *helpe* O *Inhabitants* of *Jerusalem*, &c. Or must we fly up to *Heaven* by *Prayers* and *Curses*, to fetch downe *Fire* upon the persecuting *Captains* and their *fifties*? This doe the *Nations*, this doe false *Christs* and *Christians*, but this did not, this will not doe the *Lambe* of *God*, the *Lyon* of *Judahs Tribe*, who with his *Word* and *Spirit* alone (which the *Father* hath promised to put into his *Mouth*, and the *Mouth* of his *Seed*, and the *Mouth* of his *Seeds Seed* (*Isa.* 59) will either kill or save the gain-saying *Opposite*.

The *Second* sort, to wit *opinions* of *Incivility*, doubtlesse the *Opinions* as well as *practices*, are the proper *Object* of the *Civill Sword*: according to that *Magna Charta* for the *civill Magistrate*, *Rom.* 13. and that true *Apothegme* or saying, *Ex malis moribus bona leges*: Good Laws occasioned by *Evill manners*.

Quest.

But ought not the *civill Magistrate* to repeal their *Ordinance* for *Tithes*, and also to appoint some course for the *maintenance* of the *Ministry*?

Tithes ought not to be enjoyned, or forbidden.

I answer, Upon that *Ground* of *Removing Soule Yoaks*, and not *Restraining*, nor *constraining conscience*, I humbly conceive, that the *civil State* cannot by any *Rule* from *Christ Jesus*, either forbid the payment of *Tithes* to such whose *conscience* is to pay them, or *enjoyne* them where the *conscience* is not so perswaded: For the further clearing of which *assertion*, I distinguish of the *People* of this *Nation* into two sorts.

The people of this Nation according to their severall Consciences distinguished.

First, Such as have a *Freedome* in their minde to frequent the *Publick Parish Assemblies* of the *Nation*, and they are also of two sorts.

First, Such as *conscienciosly* frequent such places, either out of a *consciencious zeale* of *worshipping* of *God*, or out of a *superstitious* and *traditionall awe*.

Secondly such as can goe or not goe, and care not what *Religion* themselves and the State be of.

There is a second sort of *people* in this *Nation*, which out of *conscience* dare not frequent such *Places*, and they are such;

First, Such as indeed feare *God*, and are in their *consciences* perswaded of an indelible *Character* of *Holinesse* upon such *Temples*, as *Temples* dedicated to a *Parish* worship.

Secondly, Such as out of an utter dislike of all *Protestant* *Worship*, and an high esteem of their owne *Catholick Faith*, are as far from love to such places as the former sort.

Now all these *Consciences* (yea the very *conscience* of the *Papists*, *Jewes*, &c. (as I have proved at large in my Answer to Master *Cottons* washings) ought freely and impartially to be permitted their several respective *Worships*, their *Ministers* of *Worships*, and what way of *maintaining* them they freely choose.

But if the *civill state* injoyne not the *maintenance* of the *Ministry*: If they quite let loose the *Golden Raimes* of *Discipline* (as the *Parliament* exprest, and the *Scots* objected) What will become of the *Ministry* of the *Gospel*, and the *Soules* of *men*? For if each mans *conscience* be at *Liberty* to come to *Church* or not, to pay the *Minister* or not, the *prophane* and *loose* will neither *pay* nor *pray*, but turne *Atheisticall* and *irreligious*: The *Ministers* of *Worship* will be discouraged and destitute, and Parents will have little mind to expend their *Momies* to make their children *Scholars*, when the *Hope* of their *preferment* is cut off. Objection.

I answer, First that *Supream Court* in their *Declaration* never Declared to barre up all the *Doors* and *Windows* of that Honourable House, so that no further *Light* from *Heaven* should breake into their *Souls* and *councils* from the most glorious *Sun* of all *Righteousnes* the *Lord Jesus*.

Although the *Loose* will be more *loose* (yet) possibly *The Sun of Righteousnesse is able to shine more light upon the wisest and the highest.*

Some prophane-
nesse
better then
inforced
Hypocrisie

being at more *Liberty* they may be put upon *considoration* and *choice* of wayes of *life* and *peace* yet however it is infinitely better, that the *Prophane* and *loose* be unmasked, then to be *muffled* up under the *veile* and *hood* of Traditionall *Hypocrisie*, which turnes and duls the very edge of all *conscience* either toward *God* or *Man*.

Severall con-
sciences
sometimes
emulate each
other.

Thirdly, it is not be doubted, but that each *conscience*, the *Papists* and the *Protestants*, both *Presbiterians* and *Independents* will aemulously strive for (their not onely *conscience* but) *credit* sake, to excell and win the *Garland* in the fruits of *bounty*, &c. Thus a *Jesuite* once in *New-Gate* boasted of the *Papists* *charity* to a *Protestant* (put in also for his *conscience* by the *Bishops*) for, pulling out his hand full of *Gold*, look here (said he) are the *fruits* of our *Religion*.

Gain, Godli-
nesse, and
God belly.

Fourthly, Such *Parents* or *children* as aime at the *gaine*, and *preferment* of *Religion*, doe often mistake *Gaine* and *Gold* for *Godlinesse*, *God-belly* for the true *God*, and some *false* for the true *God*, and some *false* for the true *Lord Jesus*: I adde, such *Priests* or *Ministers* as can force a *maintenance* of *Tithes* or otherwise, by the *Sword*, or else cease *preaching* for want of such a *maintenance*, or can remove from *Bishopricks* or *Benefices* (as *Calves* and *Bulls* of *Bashan*) for fatter and rancker *Pastures*: or wanting *spirituall worke* and *maintenance*, are too fine to worke with their hands, as the first *Patternes*, *Christ* first *Ministers* did, how can they say as *Peter* to *Christ Jesus*, Lord thou knowest all things, Thou knowest I love thee? &c. therefore

The wonder-
full burning
of Hay and
Stubble in
this Nation.

Lastly, The Father of *Spirits* graciously be pleased to preserve the *Spirits* of our *higher powers* from laying on of *Hay* and *Stubble*, though upon the *Golden foundation* *Christ Jesus*, for all such worke in *matters spirituall*, which our *Forefathers* either *Popish* or *Protestant* in their severall *changes* in this *Nation* have made, they have been *consum'd* and *burnt* (like *Hay* and *stubble*) and come to nothing.

The *Summa totalis* of all the former *particulars* is this, First, since the people of this *Nation* have been forc't into a *Nationall way of Worship*, both *Popish* and *Protestant* (as the *Wheels of times* revolutions, by *Gods* mighty *providence* and *permission* have turned about) The *civill state* is bound before *God* to take of that *bond* and *yoak* of *Soul-oppression*, and to proclaime free and impartiall Liberty to all the people of the three *Nations*, to choose and maintaine what *Worship* and *Ministry* their *Soules* and *Consciences* are perswaded of: which *Act*, as it will prove an *Act of mercy* and *righteousnesse* to the inslaved *Nations*, so is it of a binding force to ingage the whole and every *Interest* and *Conscience*, to preserve the *Common-freedom* and *peace*. However, an *Act* most suiting with the *piety* and *Christianity* of the holy *Testament* of *Christ Jesus*.

Soul Liberty ought to be impartially restored to the three Nations.

Secondly, the *civill state* is humbly to be implored, to provide in their high *Wisdome* for the *security* of all the respective *consciences*, in their respective *meetings*, *assemblies*, *worshippings*, *preachings*, *Disputings*, &c. and that *civil peace*, and the *beauty of civility* and *humanity* be maintained among the chiefe *opposers* and dissenters.

Thirdly, It is the *duty* of all that are in *Authority*, and of all that are *able*, to *countenance*, *incourage*, and *supply* such true *Voluntiers* as give and devote themselves to the *service* and *Ministry* of *Christ Jesus* in any kind: although it be also the *duty*, and will be the practice of all such whom the *Spirit of God* sends upon any *work of Christs*, rather to work as *Paul* did, among the *Corinthians* and *Thessalonians*, then the work and service of their *Lord* and *Master*, should be neglected.

All Christs true Followers and especially the Leaders among them, are a willing people and Voluntiers.

Such true *Christian* worthies (whether endowed with *humane Learning*, or without it) will alone be found that *despised modell* which the *God of Heaven* will onely blesse; that poor *handfull* and three hundred out of *Israels* thirty two thousand by whom the work of the *God of Israel*

must be effected. And if this course be effected in the three *Nations*, the *bodies* and *soules* of the three *Nations* will be more and more at peace, and in a fairer way then ever, to that peace which is Eternall when this World is gone.

A few Queries subjoyned as to the former high Question, of propagating the Gospel or glad Newes of a Saviour.

Dan. 11.

Queries as touching the Parochiall Division of the whole land.

First, whether the yet remaining *Division* of the whole *Land*, into *Nationall* and *Parish Churches*, and the *centuring* and *assembling* of *people* into a *Parish Church*, be suitable to the true *Religion* and *Testament* of *Christ Jesus*: Or rather an invention of *Satan* and *Antichrist*, to divide the *Land* for *gaine*, into *Nationall*, *Provinciall*, *Diocesan*, *Parochiall*, so that there is not a foot of land left in the whole *Nation*, for the holiest of the highest (without some extraordinary privilege) where to finde a resting place out of such a *Church* compasse. And whether is not such a *Profession* of *Christ Jesus*, a *denyall* of *Christ Jesus*, whether is it not to make a *State-Religion* and the *ministry* thereof (like the *Dutch*) state *Ministers*, as it was truly said of late, that the *Bishops* were the *Kings Bishops*: And if so, since the *Head* of the *Nationall Church*, or *Parishes* is *civill*, the *body* be not so likewise, and consequently the whole frame of *Worship*, but *civill* and *politicall*, and consequently the *Grand Idol* of *Jealousie*, before the flaming eyes of the *Son of God*.

2. Whether this *Nationall* and *Parishionall Forme* of *Worship* be a *State-Act*, and so removeable at their pleasure. Or is it the *Peoples Act* and choise, and not removeable without the peoples free consent: To which end, can the *Nation* give, or the *Parliament* take a power of *framing* and *imposing* a *Religion* upon the *people*, any more (if not com-

parably so much) then of choosing and imposing Husbands and Wives (in way of Marriage) to all the people of this Nation: And whether therefore to enforce an Uniformity of a Nation to one Religion or Worship (after the Jewish patterne) be not a soul oppression and usurpation, not after Moses, much lesse after Christ Jesus the Son of God.

The Inforcing of a nationall way, a national oppression.

3. If such an holy Division of the Land be not a State-Act, and removeable at pleasure, whether the not removing of such a Forme will not be set upon the Parliaments score, and be a Controversie from the God of Heaven against them; For sure it is, being a plant which neither God nor the Son of God ever planted, it must irresistibly be plucked up and cast into the Fire.

4. If the State be found the Founders and Owners of the Parish Churches (the meeting places) whether ought they not to demolish them as Jehu did, or at least slight the Holinesse and Forme of them by reducing them to a civill forme and use, as the Army of late dealt with some such Holy Places. And whether is it possible for all the men in the World, or Angels in Heaven, to wash off that Popish Character of Holinesse while still onely reserved for holy use, which both Papists and Protestants (successively and interchangeably) have made of them, as the Temple for the Parish worship, and so consequently the High places, and Idol Temples.

The Parish Churches, Idol Temples.

5. Is it not more conducible a thousand fold to the peoples eternall welfare, that each Towne and Division of people in the Land, be impartially permitted to make a stand, to examine and choose their way of worship Ministry, and Maintenance: yet whether or no is it not absolutely better that they did freely choose rather a false Religion (Jewish, Popish, Turkish, &c.) then without their owne free choise, to be nusled up in a way of Traditionall and Customary Religion, or else in an enforced Hypocrisie against perswasion and Conscience?

There is a strange Prophecy extant, Henry the 8th Abbeyes and Cels, Henry the Ninth Churches and Bells.

Traditionall Religion the Nurse of Hypocrisie and Destruction.

Dangerous
State-policy.

6. Whether that *policie* that refuseth to search into these things, pretending danger of *discomposing* the present Government and *peace* of the Nation, the *dismounting* of the present *Governors*, the misse of *State-Ministers* in every *Towne*, to keep the people in *Obedience*, by publishing their *Acts* unto them; I say, is not such *Policie*, *ungodly*, *irreligious*, *unchristian*, and the next way to provoke the *jealousie* of the most *High*, against both *State* and *Statesmen*, and to cause from *Heaven*, some other *turne* upon this *Power* and *Commonwealth*.

The want of
Civill Officers
in this
Nation as to
birth of
Children,
Marriages
and Burials
being all but
naturall &
Civill things.

7. Whatever the *duty* of the *civill State* be found to be, as touching the *Parish Formes* and *Churches*, yet is not the unquestionable *duty* of the *State* to take off the *soul yoaks* from the *Necks* of all that doe or may inhabite this *Nation*, *Jewes* or *Gentiles*: and as to *Civill things* (the proper object of the *civill state*) to cast the *Nation* into a *civill forme*, and to appoint *civill Officers* thorow-out the *Nation*; To Record the *Birth* of *children*: to take order as to *marriages* and *buryings* of all *people* impartially in a *civill way*: The want of which *civil Ordinance*, as to the latter, hath been a second *death* in this *Nation* to *multitudes* of *Yoak-fellows*, *Parents*, &c. who being not able to walk in the *Parish wayes* of burying in *holy ground*, and by the *Parish Officers*, they have been forced (not without danger also) to the *High-wayes* for succour to their own *consciencs*, and to their *Dead-beloveds*.

8. Whether since the most *high* hath made bare and naked his *holy arme* from *heaven* for this *Nation*, this *Parliament*, this *Army*, in most wonderfull and singular *deliverances*, *preservations*, *victories*. And since this *Nation* is set in the midst of the *Nations* of the *world*, wearing a *Crowne* of *advantage* to be *exemplary* and *presidential* to the *whole world* about us: Whether hath not the most *High* reserved some *wonderfull* and *singular Acts* for the *trial* of their *singular* love and *gratitude*: And since he rewarded

Jehu with *temporall honour* to many *generations*, and will not forget to pay richly for a cup of *cold water*, &c. since he hath promised an hundred fold in this life, to such as loose for his sake, and in the world to come *life everlasting*: Is it not the best *Policy, wisdom* and *reason* under *Heaven* to search out only what is his only and acceptable pleasure in *Christ Jesus*, and to trust his infinite *power, wisdom* and *goodnesse*, what ever be the present *successes* or *consequents*.

Singular mercies call for singular Acts of Exemplary & singular Gratitude.

An *Appendix* as touching *Oathes*, *A Querie*,

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 *solemne* 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: Whether the inforing of *Oaths* and *spirituall Covenants* upon a *Nation* promiscuously, and the constant inforing of all *persons* to practice this *Worship* in the most *triviall* and *common* cases in all Courts (together with the *Ceremonies* of *Booke*, and holding up the hand &c.) be not a prostituting of the *Holy Name* of the most *High* to every unclean *Lip*, and that on slight occasions, and taking of it by Millions, and so many millions of times in vaine, and whether it be not a provoking of the eyes of his jealousy who hath said it, That he will not hold him (what him or them soever) guiltlesse that taketh his name in *vaine*.

An Humble and Christian proffer of
Disputation.

Whereas in the Epistle I intimated my readinesse to debate the Particulars of this Discourse, &c. I am here humbly bold to Professe, as in the holy presence of the most High, that I am not Conscious to the least Designe or Aime, but that of a Conscionable and Peaceable presenting Verbum opportunum (an Apple of Gold in a Picture of Silver) into those Honorable hands whom it so highly concernes. 'Tis true, my long Exile into and in America, have rendred me now a Stranger, and (after the Dispatch of some Civill Affaires) I should unspeakably rejoyce to be gone tomorrow; But while the Most High is pleased to force my stay: He hath also (as I beleeve) inforced my Spirit, againe to proffer, in all Christian meekness and humility to agitate with whom or before whom soever, these following Proposals.

First, Since the remoulding of this Nation into the Modell of Protestantisme: the Clergy or Ministry (so call'd) of this Nation, both Prelaticall, Presbiterian and Independent, (however in their persons many of them precious and excellent, yet) as to their Functions and Offices, as to procuring the Magistrates actings in spiritual cases, as to the Worships and Consciences of this Nation, they have been bewildred, if not wholly blinded: For as the Hireling way of Ministry is none of Christs: So for this Hire, have not only the Popish, but the Protestant Clergy, tost up and downe (even like Tennis-bals) the Mag-

istrates and Laws, the Consciences and Worships, the Peace and War, the Weale and Woe of this Nation.

Secondly, In all ages since Constantine, the Hireling Ministry have most woefully mislead the Consciences of the Civill state by preaching them out of their Civill Spheare and Line, sometimes into an Headship, sometimes into a Footship, (now over and above, and againe as the Revolutions have been) inferiour to, and under the Church: Out of this Civill line or Sphear as this present Age is forced to confesse, that the Civill Magistrates our Fathers before us never made true Christian Worke of it, so I am humbly bold to maintaine they never shall: and therefore

Thirdly, As the Civill permission of all the Consciences and Worships of all men in Things meerly spirituall is no wayes inconsistent with true Christianity and true Civility: So is it the Duty of the Civill Magistrate to suppress all violences to the Bodies and Goods of men for their Soules believe, and to provide, that not one person in the Land be Restrained from, or Constrained to any Worship, Ministry, or Maintenance, but peaceably maintained in his Soul, as well as Corporall Freedome, to which end I add, that the violent putting in, and putting out of the severall sorts of Ministers of Worship in this Nation (if against the Peoples Free choice and desire) hath ever and will be yet, while so practiced, a Grand oppression, and a Powerfull occasion, both of Civill Insurrections, and Soul mischiefs.

Fourthly, The Lord Jesus Christ, hath not forgotten to be infinitely Faithfull, and infinitely Wise and Tender to the Soules of his Chosen, but hath in all Ages, and in all Conditions and Changes of his Spouse, stirred up by his holy Spirit, and sent such Voluntary Labourers into his Vineyard, and so will, as have been, and shall be abundantly sufficient for this Nation and all Nations, as may best suit the Holy ends and Periods of his Time and Kingdome.

Fifthly, As he never appointed, so he never needed the casting of whole Nations into Oecumenicall, Nationall, Provinciaall, Parochiall or Parish forms and Classes: To feed which Churches and the Ministries thereof, he never appointed nor needed, the Divinity (or Godlinesse) degrees of Universities and Colledges, Nor the enforcing of all the

People of a Nation to come to Church (as they call it) nor the Distinction between inforcing to some Ordinances, but not to others, as to the Word and Prayer, and Singing and Paying, but not to the Lords Supper. All which are Plants which God his Father never planted, and therefore (as all such like, though fairer Plants and Inventions) must all in his holy Season be plucked up, and cast into the Fire.

FINIS.

FOREWORD TO

The Examiner defended

IN THE hectic spring of 1652, amid the avalanche of pamphlets sliding from the London presses was an item entitled *Zeal Examined*. Written by someone on friendly terms with Roger Williams, as yet unidentified, it was an effort to defend the proponents of complete religious liberty from the charge of being "zealots" or "enthusiasts," pejorative terms in the language of strict Calvinism. The author maintained that the program of freedom was rational, sane, level-headed.

In April this examination was answered by another anonymous tract, *The Examiner Examined*. In the form of twenty-two questions, a defender of the principle of an established church, and of civil enforcement of uniform orthodoxy, fought a rear-guard action against the rising strength of the dissenting sects. Because the author of the original work, possibly Sir Harry Vane himself, was engaged in "Publicke affairs," Roger Williams undertook to answer these clever interrogations. The questions had been put with precision and arranged in a logical progression. They upheld the orthodox stand on church-state relations, those against which Williams had devoted a tireless opposition.

Since this conservative was a logician, he compelled Williams to compress the substance of the two *Tenents* and the other tracts into a succinct recapitulation. Though there is nothing essentially new in this

polemic, it has a conciseness which makes it a fine summary of Williams' whole mind. Where his opponent has introduced the Old Testament phrase beloved of all the orthodoxies, that the civil magistrate must be "as a *nursing father*, to provide *saving food* for the people," Williams briefly invokes his typological lore to declare that this injunction could apply only to the typical state of Israel. Because the Temple of God is no longer any physical edifice, but only the "Conciences of Gods own people," the persecutors have violated the sanctuary. In pungent phrases he summons a contemporary instance, "Yea, was not this the very Doctrine that cost the late King *Charles* his *Crown*, and *Life*? who being flattered and bewitched into this *dream* of a *Nursing Father*, and a *judge* of *wholesome food* and *poyson* for his people; he forced *poyson* for *food* upon the *Scotch Nation*, and upon that occasion was perswaded to maintain his *stewards* and *cooks*, the *Bishops*, by commencing and prosecuting those *fatal Wars*, which (by a naked Hand from heaven) *justly* pluckt up *root* and *branch*, both *Ceremonies*, *Bishops*, and King together."

The general tenor of Williams' writing in this tract is calm and temperate. Yet in the long essay on truth occupying the first pages he shows the subtle edge of his irony, "This cannot be *Truth*; it is a *Novelty*. What will this babler say? he seemeth to be a setter forth of new Gods; (as) *though all the old were false, and indeed but new, and therefore false: because not the Alpha and Omega, the First and the Last. Thus cry the Papists against the Protestants and the Protestants against each other*" And later, "*Truth is a prisoner upon suspition, How many millions are the conspirators against the life of it? And yet, let's examine the prisoner, call Assemblies, Classes, Synods, Councils, appoint Disputations, Conferences, &c. But before the prisoner come to the Governour, the Parliament, the Council, stab it, kill it. Yet God Forbid we should wound the Truth . . .*"

Realistically but sadly he declares, "Truth findes few at leasure. *How many whom Christ invites, send Christ this answer: I have not such time to search the Scriptures, as the Bereans had: So many are my distractions, so necessary are my occasions, about my Farm, about my Oxen, about my Merchandise, about my Marriage. Go thy way, Paul, (and Peter, and*

Christ, *and* God) *saieth* Festus, *until I have a more convenient time.*”

Although this tract was issued anonymously Williams' signature can be read on almost every page. Matter, style, language, imagery, all testify unmistakably to his authorship. The identification was first made by James Ernst in 1930 while pursuing research in the British Museum for his book, *Roger Williams, New England Firebrand*, N. Y., 1932. It was quarried from that inexhaustible mine of source material, The Thomason Collection of Commonwealth Pamphlets.

The Examiner defended,

IN

A Fair and Sober

ANSWER

TO

The Two and twenty QUESTIONS
which lately examined the Author of
Zeal Examined.

In this ANSWER are (not unseasonably) touched,

Christ's interest in this and all Nations.
Christ's interest in his Conventions,
as to the present affairs.

The true nature of all Civil States,
The nature of all Civil Magistracie, and of
the Civil Sword.

The Title of Christian Magistrate.
National Churches and Covenants.

The world of Religions and Conscience
thoroughout the world.

The permission due to Conscience in
every; Spirituals, all the world over.

Idolatry, and the kinds of it.

The Spiritual and Civil Sword, and the ef-
fects of them, in Spirituals.

The Forms of Worship.

The causes of destruction to Nations.

The Violence to the Souls of men, and of
Interest the cause of it.

The dangerous consequence of such Vio-
lences, experimented in so many places.

The difference of the Land of Canaan, and
the Kings thereof, from all Lands and
Kings besides.

Christ Jesus himself, and his followers, ever
accounted and punished, as the greatest He-
reticks, Blasphemers, &c.

The crying guilt of Soul Rapes and Na-
tional Hypocritie in us.

The light of Nature in Spirituals.

The acts of Aia, Artaxerxes, &c.

The Fall of Nineveh.

The Conscientious differences of the most
Conscientious in the world, about God's
Worship.

The justice and prudence of State-provisi-
on against all incivilities both of Popish
and Protestant Ranters.

LONDON,

Printed by James Cottrel. 1652.

To the Reader.

Pious Reader,

Two honorable Gentlemen (*as is said*) have so far (*lately*) honoured Christ Jesus *and their* honorable stations, *and themselves, as to try by the Sword of God's Spirit (the Word of God) whether the World, and the Civil States and Nations thereof, may permit Idolaters, Hereticks, &c.* *The occasion of this Discourse.*

The first of these Two Worthies published his Zeal Examined: The second attempts upon the former with Two and twenty Questions, under this Title; The Examiner Examined.

It was desired that the Examiner of Zeal might have examined these Questions also. But finding an indisposition of health upon his person, and multiplicity of Publike affairs engaging his hours and minutes, I have been humbly bold to look up to heaven, and to beg the finger of God's most holy and gracious Spirit, for the dissolving and untying of them.

It was a truly gallant and heavenly speech of the Author of these Questions, (whoever he be) in his Epistle or Preface: [I profess my self a lover of Truth, wheresoever I finde it, though in an heap of Errours: for I know well, that it is the high way to be given up to strong delusions, *An heavenly speech.*

not to receive the love of the Truth, yea, an universal love of all truth.] *But I had almost said, (not onely, What Saint, what Angel, but) What man will not say, Vincat Veritas? We know who said, Amicus Plato, &c. magis Amica Veritas. Such counsel is like our common counsel of Physick to others, but not so pleasing and practical in our own distempers.*

And Oh how many are the Skreens, the Veils, the Hoods, the Vizards, the Curtains, the Hangings, the Cloaks, the Clouds, and Colours, by which the lustre and shining of that which we call Truth, is hidden and eclipsed from us!

1. Truth suspected for a Novelty.

Quod antiquissimas optimum.

2. Commonly Truth is outwardly poor.

3. Truth is costly.

4. Truth is in disgrace.

For instance: This cannot be Truth; it is a Novelty. What will this babler say? (said the famous Academians of Athens) he seemeth to be a setter forth of new Gods; though all the old were false, and indeed but new, and therefore false: because not the Alpha and Omega, the First and the Last. Thus cry the Papists against the Protestants, and the Protestants against each other. New Doctrines, New Men, New Lights, New Christs, New Gods, &c.

There is no room in the Inne for Christ Jesus & his Mother, onely among the beasts in the stable, in the Manger: A poor Carpenters son, whence hath he such learning? How should such base and unlikely medicines as Clay and Spittle, open mens eyes? How should the dry and lowe tree be fruitful? How poor Fisher-men, Tent-makers, Mechanicks, know and preach Christ Jesus? &c.

He takes away our Hogs (say the Gadarenes) and therefore beseech him to depart from us. By this Trade (saith Demetrius and his Crafts men) we have our living, &c. our Popedom, Bishopricks, Benefices. If we believe this Doctrine, the Romanes will come and take away our place and nation, &c.

How can you believe (saith Christ Jesus) who receive honour from one another, and not that honor which comes from God alone? How many had been convinced and per-

swaded *that* Christ Jesus *was* the Son of God, *but that they loved the* praise of men, *more then* the praise of God?

Howsoever sometimes it hath pleased God to take off the Rod and Plough of the wicked, from the back of the righteous; yet the general Rule is, That All that will live godly in Christ Jesus, must be hunted. The great Lord General, Christ Jesus, carried his Cross and Gallows; and professeth it impossible for any to follow him, without a denying of himself, and taking up his Cross, or Gallows also. Thus are we (saith David and Paul) as sheep for the shambles all the day long. Thus must those blessed Petitioners under the Altar wait, until the rest of their fellow-brethren and servants were slain also. Hence (though Christs followers have ever found the sweetest enjoyments of God and Christ, and the holy Spirit, in sufferings, yet) how harsh is the Alarm to flesh and blood! which therefore rather seeks a thousand shifts, to swear, to subscribe, to conform (upon the point) to deny Jesus Christ, &c.

5. Truth is persecuted.

Can there any good thing come out of *Nazareth? Can Micaiah ever speak good to me, who never yet spake good to me? And hast thou found me, O mine enemy? (said Ahab to two Prophets.) This Stone the builders have already refused, &c. This may be Jehovah's miraculous work, to chase the stones cast by, &c. but flesh and blood cannot get over this mountain.*

6. Truth is prejudiced.

Do any of the Rulers believe in him? *Do the learned Scribes, the Reverend Clergie, the King, the Queen, the Parliament, the Cuncel, the University, the Convocation, the Assembly, the Synod? Oh how thick is this Cloud, that the eyes of the wisest cannot pierce it! for it is Gods designe, that few wise and piercing eyes are chosen, to see Christ Jesus, and his despised Truths and Mysteries.*

7. Truth is followed with few wise, great learned.

How many whom Christ invites, send Christ this answer: I have not such time to search the Scriptures, as the Bereans had: So many are my distractions, so necessary are my

8. Truth findes few at leasure.

occasions, *about my Farm, about my Oxen, about my Merchandise, about my Marriage.* Go thy way, Paul, (and Peter, and Christ, and God) *saieth Festus, until I have a more convenient time, &c.* It is the voice of my Beloved, *saieth the soul, Cant. I. yea, Marcha knows 'tis Christs voice; but dinner must be drest; and 'tis for Christ himself also, &c.*

9. *Truth is slandered.*

The lives of Gods children, causing his name to be blasphemed, like to kindle Fires of persecution.

This Jesus (*say the Jews*) cannot be He: *This man is a Glutton, a Drunkard, a Company-keeper. And just as John, because austere and harsh, came from hell, and had a devil, was Jesus a Glutton, &c. because of a more loving and sociable, of a more merciful and pitiful disposition and conversation. I acknowledge, the followers of Christ Jesus, by unchristian courses, may cause the Name of Christ to be blasphemed (as questionless the lives of many Papists and Protestants cause both Jews, and Turks, and Pagans, to stumble at him; and therefore, were there no slaughter of Witnesses in question, I cannot but suspect a storm, a fire, a straight impending, which shall bring forth a more refined and purer Edition of Christianity to the whole world;) yet since the devil in English is an Accuser, slanderer, &c. it is but devilish to reproach; and it is but foolish to stumble at reproaches.*

10. *Our spiritual senses may deceive us.*

Truth kept out by experience.

There is another, of a finer spun and thread, which damps the ingenuous searchings after Truth; and that is (like unto deceptio visus) a Delusion from our very Senses, and from our very experiments of our good conditions. Thus (not onely ignorant souls plead for the Old Religion, and the Jews for their cakes to the Queen of heaven; then 'twas better, &c. but) what rejoycing findes the heart of David himself, and so many thousands of Israel with him, even in a false carrying of the Ark, the signe of God's most holy presence? Yea, is it not one of the unkindest Answers that ever was given to so dear a Saviour, (Cant. 5.) My feet are washed, how shall I defile them? &c.

Lastly, What trembling calls for that most black and

horrid sackcloth of hell it self (to the weaving of which many of the former contribute) to wit, a malicious hatred of the very purity and holiness of the Son of God.

11. Hatred of Truth the highest wall against it.

There is a twofold hatred of Christ Jesus.

First, Natural. The wisdom of the flesh, is enmity with God. But this wall is faltable and breakable, and blessedly gives way in Gods chosen, to reconciliation, and leagues of eternal loves with Jesus Christ.

Two walls of hatred of Truth.

The second, is a wall so high and strong, as it stands for ever. This is a malice and hatred after light. Such (probably) was Saul's against David the shadow, and the Pharisees against Christ Jesus himself: They hated him, and said, He shall not reign over us. Thus, among the many hundreds of false Prophets, there is one more saith Ahab, Micaiah; but I hate him, &c.

The result of all these (gentle Reader) is too often evil in the heart of the greatest lovers of Truth in the world, a secret prejudice, a barricado, a resolution against some Truths of God. Such a resolution was that of the Captains, consulting Jeremiah about their stay in Caldea, yet secretly resolved to go down to Egypt. Thus, like those fourty resolved to kill Paul, they pretend to enquire something more perfectly.

Resolutions against truth.

The truth is, Truth is a prisoner upon suspicion, How many millions are the conspirators against the life of it? And yet, let's examine the prisoner, call Assemblies, Classes, Synods, Councils, &c. appoint Disputations, Conferences, &c. But before the prisoner come to the Governour, the Parliament, the Council, &c. stab it, kill it. Yet God forbid we should wound the Truth, but the Heretick, the Seducer, the Disturber, &c.

My humble prayer therefore is presented to the Father of lights, (who is light, and love, and truth) that these honorable Examiners, and all those noble Bereans who candidly shall please to examine them and this, may cry with David,

sensibly and cordially, (Psal. 119.) I am a stranger in the earth: O hide not thy commandments from me.

ERRATA.

Page 10. read *shadowing rocks and trees*. p. 17. L. 4. put out *but*. p. 41. for *Religions*, r. *religious*. p. 42. for *ought they*, r. *ought they not*. p. 54. L. 24, for *height and prudence*, r. *high prudence*. p. 56. L. 29. for *Uhether*, r. *Whether*. p. 57. L. 12. for *Sorms*, r. *Storms*. p. 61. L. 2. r. *Canaan*. p. 74. in the margin, r. *whether the Bishops*. p. 76. for *the Idolatry*, r. *Idolatry*.

The errata refer to the pagination of the first edition of this tract.

The EXAMINER defended.

The *Ship* of the *Commonwealth* (like that gallant *Ship* now going forth, so called) must share her *weals* and *woes* in *common*.

The Sovereign, or Commonwealth.

As the *one*, so the *other* hath its dangers of *Rocks* and *Sands*, *Storms* and *Tempests*, *Want* of *Provisions*, *Sicknesses* and *Diseases*, treacherous and professed *enemies*, *Fires*, *Leaks*, *Mutinies*, &c.

Common Woes. and Weals.

I humbly beg of *God*, and wish to both, their *Fair Windes* and *Weathers*, *Plentiful provisions*, *Unanimity* and *Peace*, *Preservations*, *Victories*, *Boon-Voyages*, and joyful *Anchoring* in their desired *Ports* and *Harbours*. Such *woes* and *weals* are common to all that fail in either.

Now in a *Ship* there is the *whole*, and there is each *private Cabbim*. A *private* good engageth our desires for the *publike*, and raiseth *cares* and *fears* for the due prevention of *common evils*.

Hence is it, that in a *Ship* all agree (in their *commanding orders*, and *obeying stations*) to give and take the *Word*, to stand to the *Helm* and *Compass*, to the *Sails* and *Tackling*, to the *Guns* and *Artillery*. This is, this must be done in *Artificial*, and in each *Civil Ship* and *Commonweal*.

Common duty.

Hence, not to *study*, and not to *endeavour* the *common*

good, and to exempt our selves from the sense of *common evil*, is a *treacherous Baseness*, a *selfish Monopoly*, a kinde of *Tyranny*, and tendeth to the destruction both of *Cabin* and *Ship*, that is, of *private* and *publike safety*.

Christ's Interest the Commonweals.

I hope it will not therefore be offensive, that into the *great* and *common treasury* I cast my *mite*, and say, *Christ's interest* is the *Commonweals*. *Christ's interest* is that *Sheat-Anchor*, at which this *Ship* hath rid, and can onely ride in safety. All *power* in *heaven* and *earth* is his. If *England* make *peace* with him, *ally* with him, &c. though every *dust* of the field were an *army*, and every *drop* of the Ocean sprung up a *Navy* against us; yet our *tranquility* should not be shortned, our *Commonweal*, our *Parliament*, our *Peace* should flourish.

Every Christ but one (the true) calls for the Civil Sword and maintenance.

But where is that man whose *Case* is not *right*? Where is the conscientious *Papist*, or *Prelatist*, or *Presbyterian*, or *Independent* that assumes not thus; [*Christ's interest* is *mine*?] And (in some sense) I verily believe they all say true; plainly thus. As no *Religion* in the world can justly chalenge the drawing of the *sword* for its defence; so, least of all desires it that which is, of all, the best (and onely true) the *Christian*.

I know each *Sect* is apt to plead, Mine interest being *Christ's*, the *Purse* and *Sword* of the *State* is not onely *mine*, but 'tis *Christ's* due: But,

Christ's Interest in any Nation is soul freedom.

I also maintain, that 'tis not true *Civility*, not true *Christianity*, that draws the *Sword* for one or other. *Christ's Interest* in this *Commonweal* (or any) is the *freedom* of the *souls* of the *People*. I confess that all *Nations*, all *Peoples*, *Kings*, *Princes*, *Judges*, &c. ought to *kiss the Son*, to be *nursing fathers and mothers* to *Christ Jesus* and his followers. But what a dreadfull mistake is this, that no people must live but *Christians*? That the many millions of millions in our own and other *Nations* of the world, must either at the shaking of a *sword* fall down before *Christ*, or

with the edge of it be cut off for *Idolaters, Hereticks, Blasphemers* (or evil speakers) against *Christ* and his *Religion*?

Hath not the God of heaven, *the Father of lights*, written it with the beams of the noon-day-sun, that (notwithstanding *pretences*) the truth is, That the *Parliament* of *England*, and the *Religion* of *England*, hath ever followed the *Sword* of *England*? Was not the *Parliament* and the *Religion* of *England* all *Popish* in *Henry* the seventh's days? But in his son's, *Henry* the eighth, the *Parliament* and *Religion* divided, and turned half *Popish*, half *Protestant*. In *Henry* the eighth his three children's days, what *turns*, what *wonders*? Was not the *Parliament* and the *Religion* all *Protestant*, in that most hopeful *Edward's* spring, &c. and as altogether *Popish*, when the *Sword* fell into the hands of that bloody *Mary*? And when *Gods providence* and *vengeance* wrung the *Sword* from the paw of that *Lioness*, and reacht it to the hands of that tender *Lamb Elizabeth*, how hath the *Parliament* and the *Religion* of *England* (since her time) carried the *face*, and hung out the *flag* of all *Protestants*? &c.

The Parliament and the Religion of England, have ever followed the Sword of England.

In these late *Earthquakes* and *Combustions* (which the late King begun, by *imposing* upon the *consciencs* of the *Scotch Presbyters*, in favour of his *Prelates*) how dreadfully hath a *naked Arm* from Heaven snatcht away the *Sword* from *both*, and fixt it in a hand more merciful (I hope) to the souls of all men, *Jews* and *Gentiles*!

Who sees not this to be the *designe* and the *decree* of Heaven, To bring into the *light*, and to break to pieces the more then iron *Yokes* and *Chains* upon the *souls* and *consciencs* of men? Who sees not, with holy *fear* and *wonder*, that this his *Decree* hath begun to break the *arms* and *necks* of all both *Popish* and *Protestant persecutors*?

Gods present designe in England.

What eye so weak, but may observe how *little* and how *seldom* it pleased the *God of heaven* to go out with our

*The Goings
of God in
the late
Wars.*

Armies until this interest of the Son of God (*soul-freedom*) begun to be *seen* and *served* by our Armies, and that they fought not for one *sect* or *conscience*, but (as to *Religion*) against *tyranny*, and *persecution* of any *conscience*?

Till then, the *Balance* turned not, and our *Armies* could hardly be said to *prosper*: And ever since, they never did *but prosper*; and, I verily believe, *still* shall, and the *Commonwealth* of *England*, and the *Parliament* thereof still *flourish*, till that *fatal hour*, when they shall cease to *break the yokes*, (*soul-yokes* especially) and to let the *oppressed* go *free*.

*One of the
greatest
knots this
day in Eng-
land untied.*

One of the greatest *Knots* this day in *England*, concerns the *rising* of *this* *Parliament*, and the *sitting* of the *next*. I confess, *Alexander's sword* will cut all *Gordian* knots, but none but the *finger* of *Christ's interest* will untie them. There was none in heaven, nor earth, nor under the earth, that could *open the seals*; but the *Lamb* did. The same blessed *Lamb of God*, and the *interest* of *soul-freedom* to *all men*, can, and can onely maintain this *Commonweal* in the *freedom* and *glory* of it: for,

Who but *soul-oppressors* can be unwilling that mens *Consciencences* be free to see with their own *eyes*, and themselves be *judges* of the *path* they chuse, in which they hope to finde *eternal* life and *Blessedness*?

Who but *Tyrants* and *Oppressors* can be grieved, that the *souls* of men should chuse whom to *hear*, what and with whom to *pray*, whom and how to *pay* and *maintain*, according to their *Abilities* and *Consciencences*?

Who but such as *buy* and *sell* *Christ Jesus*, and make a *trade* and *living* of *Heaven* and *Hell*, can cry out, *Great is Diana*, for hours and yeers together?

Will not *all* the people of the *Nation* stand obliged, as *one man*, to live and die with such *Saviours* and *Deliverers*, and to elect and chuse such *Vindicators* of their *spiritual Freedoms*?

How will *all men* be enforced (either from the freedom of their *consciences*, or from the freedom of their *purses* (which is their due) I say, be obliged and enforced to send such Representatives as have stood for, and may maintain the Common Freedoms and Liberties (especially the *soul-freedoms*) of the *Commonweal of England*?

The onely way (according to God) of obliging the people of this Nation to the present Government and Governours.

Against many *Objections*, I briefly oppose my *Answer* to these two and twenty *Questions*: onely to one *Objection*, thus,

That I *answer* with *Questions*.

Object.

First, it was frequent with our *Founder*, Christ Jesus.

Answ.

Secondly, in *justice*, this *Re-examiner* cannot refuse his *own coyn*.

I confess, my Principle of *Soul-freedom* commands me to *applaud* and *honour* this *searching* and *proposing* from the holy Scripture: yet since the *Sun of righteousness* is risen so high (as to soul-freedom) and darts the *beams* of his Light upon the very eyes of all that love his Name (especially) I plead for a more gentle censure, if in any *line* or *letter* I speak too loud to such a most *unseasonable sleeper*.

The sum of the first *Question*.

Whether the *Civil Magistrate*, who knows the Doctrine of Salvation, &c. be not bound, as a *nursing father*, to provide *saving* food for the people, and to provide that *poyson* be kept from them?

Quest. 1.

I answer, and ask, first, Whether this Prophecie of *Kings* and *Queens* being *nursing fathers* and *nursing mothers* to the Saints, be not (as many wise and godly take it) a *peculiar* prophecie and promise to that *peculiar* and *distinct* Nation and People of God, the Jews: And whether these words (vers. 22 of that 49 of *Isaiah*) *I will lift up mine hand to the Gentiles*, &c. be not a *character* fixing this Prophecie unto that (yet) beloved people?

Answ.
The prophecie of Kings and Queens nursing fathers and mothers.

And so consequently, Whether all those bloody Persecutors (Papists and Protestants) who have used to draw this

shaft out of this *Quiver* of Scripture, whereby to pierce the tender *heart* of Christ Jesus; yea and all that give a power to the *Civil Magistrate* in *Spirituals* from this Scripture, Have not most ignorantly profaned this Prophecie, and that to *usurpation* over the *Temple of God*, the Consciences of Gods own people; and to bloody *violence* against their Bodies, although under a cloak of providing *wholesome* food for their children, and prohibiting *poyson*? &c.

Fathers,
Mothers,
Nurses, dis-
tinguished.

Secondly, I ask, Whether there be not two sorts of Nurses, *literal* and *mystical*; and again of *mystical* two sorts, *Civil* and *Spiritual*? as also, Whether there be not the same distinction of Fathers and Mothers, who are distinct from Nurses? &c.

And whether these *Kings* and *Queens* (in *Isa.* 40.) yea and suppose all other lawfull Magistrates, must needs be understood to be *spiritual Nurses*, such as *Paul* (who was no *King*, &c.) professeth himself to be, being a *Messenger* of Christ Jesus to the *Thessalomians*; and *spiritual fathers* and *mothers*, such as he profess'd he was to the *Corinthians* and *Galatians*?

Or, Whether here is not prophesied and promised to this People; or rather, whether is there not here prophesied and promised to these Saints (whether *literal* or *spiritual Jews*) that *Kings* and *Queens* shall put off their *Lion-like* and *Liones-like* nature toward Gods people, and shall be (as the *Poets* used to write good Kings ought to be) shepherds of the people, &c.

Wonderful
honour that
Kings and
Queens shall
yeeld to the
Saints.

If this be not the true meaning, I aske why is it said, verse 23, That these *Kings* and *Queens*, shall *bow down* to these *Jewes* with their *Face* toward the *Earth*, and lick the *dust* of their *feet*? which *posture* and *practice* seems not to imply a disrobing themselves of their civil *Dignities* and *Authorities* (for that is it by which they show such kindness to the Saints) their high esteem unto these Saints, in heav-
enly and *soul* matters; and that in *Spiritual* respects they

are so far from challenging to be *Fathers* and *Judges* of what is wholesome *food* and *poyson*, that they bow downe and kisse the feet of *Christ Jesus* in his Saints, far more superiour in spirituals than themselves.

Thirdly, I aske whether the Office of Kings and Queens, &c. be not (in the *Ship* of all Commonweals in the world) meerly and essentially *Civil*, just as the Office of a Captain, or Master of a Ship at Sea, who ought of all his Passengers to be honoured and respected, paid and rewarded for his *service*: But as to the *Conscienc*es of the Passengers, whether Jews, Turks, Persians, Pagans, Papists, Protestants, &c. whom he transports from Port to Port upon a *civil* account of *payment* and *recompense*; I ask whether he go not beyond the Sphere of his *Activity*, if he act by any authoritative *restraining* them from their *own* *Worship*, or *constraining* them to *his*? And whether he have any more to do, but a shewing kindness and countenance, according to the quality and temper of his owne *Beliefe* and *Conscience*?

Kings and Queens, and all Magistrates essentially Civil, and as a Master of a Ship, &c.

Fourthly, I ask, Whether all *Magistrates* in the world (of what *quality* and *conscience* soever) be not as true and lawful *Magistrates*, as he that is most truly *Godly* and *Christian*; like as *Idolatrous* and *Pagan Fathers, Husbands, Masters*, are as truly such in their Relations, &c? Whether doth not the holy Testament of *Christ Jesus* acknowledge this? the *Lord Jesus*, both by his word and practice, commanding *obedience, honour, maintenance*, for their *Civil* relations and work sake?

Idolatrous and Popish Magistrates as lawful &c.

Fifthly, Whether Kings and Queens, and other Princes, receive not all their *Power* and *Authority* from the several and respective *Peoples* who them and impower them to their several and respective *Services*? Accordingly, Whether it have not been declared by the *Parliament*, that the *fountain* and *original* of all *Authority* and *Rule*, is the *People*, consenting and agreeing in their several *Combinations*, by

The People of each Nation the fountain of the Government of it.

*Power of
judging in
Spirituals
detected to
be but usurp-
ation in
Kings and
Queens, &c.*

themselves or their *Deputies*, for their better subsistence in *Peace?* &c. And consequently, Whether have the Nations and People of the world, in their meer *natural* and *national* capacities, any one jot of *Spiritual* and *Divine* power, with which to betrust their Magistrates and Officers? And if, upon due weighing in the *Balance of the Sanctuary*, it be found that they have not, Is not this chalinging of Spiritual power to judge and determine what is *soul-food* and *soul-poyson*, (I mean, in a *coercive* way binding *all* souls, and the very souls of *them that sent them*, and who neither did nor could commit *such* Power unto them) Is not this, I say, a *soul-rape*, and *tyranny*, and a meer *policy* of Satan, deceiving (too often) honest and zealous mindes, but most commonly acting the subtil *Jeroboams* and *Nebuchadnezzars* of the world, to erect their *State-Calves* and *Images?* &c.

*Few Magis-
trates in the
world (sav-
ingly) know
Christ Jesus.*

Sixthly, Admit some Kings & Queens thus to have been impower'd by God, in some juncture of time, either for the Jews sake, or any of his people, upon some especial and extraordinary account; yet I ask, What is this to all Kings, and Queens, and Magistrates in the World, that it should be their *charge*, *duty*, and calling, imposed upon them from Heaven? when the *counsel of God* is revealed, that as his flock is a *little flock*, and that he appointed *spiritual Pastors* and *Shepherds* for the feeding of them; so his holy purpose was to call *few wise*, *few noble*, *few mighty*, to the saving knowledge of Christ Jesus.

*Christ Jesus
rarely sends
godly Kings,
Queens, &c.*

Seventhly, If the counsel of Christ Jesus had been otherwise, and that he had committed (as is pleaded) the *judging* of *soul-food* and *poyson*, to the Kings and Queens, &c. since he wanted not *power*, (for *all power in heaven and earth* was his) nor *love* and *faithfulness*, (for he *laid down his life*, and *poured out his heart-blood* for his;) I ask, Why in the first three hundred yeers (under the *Romane Emperours*) nor in the second and third three hundred, (under

Emperours and *Popes*) nor ever since, he hath not been pleased to furnish the world with *such Shepherds*, but rather permitted *Wolves*, and *Lions*? &c. notwithstanding that he is pleased sometimes (after long and sharp *persecutions*, to stir up some blessed *instruments*, as *Rocks*, and *Trees*, *Fathers*, *Mothers*, *Nurses*, to refresh, and shade, and comfort, and countenance his servants.

Eighthly, When it hath pleased him graciously to *call* and *change* by his Word and Spirit, any of the *Wise*, and *Noble*, and *Mighty of the world*; I ask, Whether their Regeneration and New birth hath made any addition to their Civil Magistracie and Authority; and more especially (as *Popish* and *Protestant Rabbins* have taught us) that now the *Christian Magistrate* he must judge in *spiritual matters* more then *all* the Magistrates in the world beside; who though (say they) they have equal *Authority* and *Duty*, yet they ought to suspend acting in *Spirituals* (saith *M. Cotton*) until they be *rightly informed*, that is, upon the point, until they be of *his Church* and *Conscience*? And if so, that by this professing *Christianity*, they receive this addition of *Magisterial* power in *Spirituals*; I ask if it do not clearly follow, that (according to that most *dangerous* and *seditious* doctrine of some *Papists* and *Protestants*) such Magistrates who *change* their judgements and way of *Worship*, must lose their *Headship* in *Spirituals*, and consequently be found unfit at last to govern in *Civils* also?

A Magistrate is not more or less a Magistrate, by being a Christian or Anti-christian.

And will not this doctrine extend to *all other* Civil Officers, both at *Land* and *Sea*; yea, even to all *Fathers*, *Husbands*, *Masters*; and so at last confound all *Relations*, and tear up by the roots all *Civility*, and all *Order*, and the *world* out of the *world*?

Ninthly, As to the *matter of fact*, do not all *Histories* and all experience demonstrate, that most of all those *Kings*, and *Queens*, and *Princes*, and *Magistrates* (*Popish* and *Protestant*) that have pretended to this power of judging

All Magistrates pretending power in spirituals, have ever forced down poyson instead of food.

From Constantine to the last Presbyterian Magistrate.

The doctrine of Kings & Queens being nursing fathers, the Firebrand of the world.

of saving food and poyson, have grossly mistaken the poyson of *Satans inventions, Superstitions, Will-worships, &c.* for that *wholesome and heavenly food* pretended; and with bloody hands have forced this poyson down the throat of thousands and millions, or else forced and fired them out of the world with *barbarous persecutions*, if any have been enlightened by *Christ Jesus* to discern this poyson, and to refuse it?

Hath not Christ Jesus, in these last times, declared it, that neither *Constantine*, nor the *good Emperors* before the *Popes* rose, nor *Protestant Kings, Queens, and Magistrates* departing from the Pope unto this day, but have been still mistaken most grossly (either in *Doctrine* or *Discipline*) and that in great quantities (sometimes) of *dangerous poyson*, for saving and wholesome food?

What man, but may furnish himself with instances, even down to the very *Presbyterian Magistracy*? And whoever shall next pretend to judge between this poyson and food, and put forth a *restraining* or a *constraining Sword* accordingly, How is it possible but they must also dash upon those Rocks, whereon the very *Tyde* of such a practice doth necessarily inforce so many *gallant Ships* miscarriage? Therefore (lastly) since that typical land of *Canaan* is abolished the *partition-wall* broken down, and in every nation (not whole nations) he that feareth God and worketh righteousness, is accepted with him, Acts 10. since *Magistracy* is a meerly-Civil Ordinance, and the forms and sword thereof derived from the *People*; and all *Magistrates* in the world (so derived) are lawful, and none can receive any addition to the power of *Magistracie*, by his (*spirituality* or) *Christianity*; I ask, Whether this doctrine of Kings and Queens judging of *soul-food* and *poyson* for all their subjects, &c. hath not been (especially in *Popish* and *Protestant Nations*) the *Fire-brand* that hath kindled so many *devouring flames* of *War*? &c. Yea, was not this the very *Doctrine* that cost the

late King *Charles* his *Crown*, and *Life*? who being flattered and bewitched into this *dream* of a *Nursing father*, and a *judge* of *wholesome food* and *poysou* for his people; he forced *poysou for food* upon the *Scotch Nation*, and upon that occasion was perswaded to maintain his *stewards* and *cooks*, the *Bishops*, by commencing and prosecuting those *fatal Wars*, which (by a naked Hand from heaven) *justly* pluckt up *root* and *branch*, both *Ceremonies*, *Bishops*, and *King* together.

The Ax that cut off the last King's head.

The sum of the second Question.

Whether the Magistrate be not bound to advance the doctrine of *Grace*, which doth advance the peace and prosperity of a *Nation*?

Quest. 2. and 3.

Of which nature is the third Question, *viz.*

Whether a Magistrate be not bound to advance that *Godliness* which giveth all good and happiness to a nation?

I answer, and ask, (as before) Whether since *Civil Magistracie* is *meerly civil*, and the power thereof derived from the *People*, the *fountain* of it; it will not appear, that the *Magistrate* can no more judge authoritatively what is the *doctrine of Grace*, & what is the *doctrine of Godliness*, no more (I say) then the people of each *Nation*, in its *national* and *natural* capacity, can be the primitive and original *Judges* thereof, and may therefore rightly delegate such a *Spiritual power* unto their *Officers* or *Magistrates*?

Answer.

Secondly, I ask, Whether the proposer of these Questions intendeth not, by the *Magistrates* advancing the doctrine of *Grace*, and the doctrine of *Godliness*, these two things:

1. A *National* profession of the doctrine of *Grace*, and the doctrine of *Godliness*.

2. The advancing of such doctrines by the power of the *civil Sword*? And if so, (as the scope of all the *Questions* seem to imply) then,

Thirdly, Whether there be any such thing to be found in the last *Will* and *Testament* of *Christ Jesus*, as a *National*

Church; that is, whether (as the Land of *Canaan* was a Land *holy* unto *God*, so) any *Nation*, as a *Nation*, may lawfully pretend to be the *Spouse*, and *Wife*, and *Body* of *Christ Jesus*, according to his own holy *Order* and *Appointment*? Or rather,

The world (and England in a national respect) lies in wickedness.

Four great changes of the Religion of this Nation in about 12 yeers space, in Hen. 8, Edw. 6. Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth.

Kings & Queens &c. the Gods of people; and Religions their pictures in which themselves are worshipped.

Fourthly, Whether, since *the world lieth in wickedness, dead in sins, and trespasses*, &c. since every *Nation* in the world is a part of it; since *such as fear God* in a *Nation*, are *distinguished* from the *Nation*, (*Act. 10.*) I ask, Whether this *Nation*, as a part of the *World*, lieth not in the same estate of wickedness also, more or less, and the *body* of the people estranged from the life of *grace* and *godliness*, notwithstanding that this *body* be sometimes clothed with the name of *Christianity*, under (sometimes) a *Popish*, and sometimes a *Protestant fashion*, as it pleaseth *God* to permit the *Sword* to pretend to and advance its way of doctrine of *grace* and *Godliness*? And whether, beside the *common nature* of mankind, the wonderful *changes* of Religion in *other Nations*, and in none more then in *this*, and that in the same individual persons, in a few yeers, do not make this undeniably evident and demonstrate?

For illustration, I ask, Whether the *Kings* and *Queens*, *Parliaments* and *Princes* of *all Nations*, and of *this*, have not been the *Gods* of the *Nations*, whom they have worshipped in and by the several *Images* and *Representations* of their mindes and wills, which they have set up as ways of *Worship* and *Religion* to the *Nations*? Thus *Jeroboam* pretends the Name of the *God* of *Israel*; but, upon the point, *Jeroboam* was their *God*, and robb'd the *true God* of his honour, by the *golen calves* which *Jeroboam* had set up. Thus *Nebuchadnezzar* pretends honour to his *golden Image*; but *himself* was really the *Deity* which all *Nations* worshipped, through the *golden image* which he had set up.

Fifthly, I ask, Whether *Gods people* (that is, such as fear *God* in every *Nation*, *Act. 10.*) be not the true, and proper,

and only *Antitype* of that typical *Nation* the *Jewes*, in that typical land of *Canaan*, according to I *Pet.* 2. You are a chosen *Generation* (as *Abraham* and his off-spring in the *Type* were) a *Kingly Priesthood*, an *holy Nation*? &c. And therefore I aske, Whether, to modellize a *Body* or *Church* of *Christ*, with *Natural* and *National* bounds and circuits (after the pattern of the *typical* Land of *Canaan*) be not to dwell in the old *Levitical* shadowes, in the *A.B.C.* and *Horn-book* of *Judaism*, and in the denial of *Christ Jesus* to be yet come?

A National Church in Judaism.

To this end, I ask, Whether some *Presbyterians* (in for-raign parts come not neerer to the truth of the first *Christian worship*, who admit not one of ten or twenty to be of their *Churches*: And the *Independents* yet neerer, who admit onely such in their *Societies*, in whom they hopefully see the Spirit of *Regeneration* and *Holiness*?

Sixthly, I ask, Whether there hath not been in all *Ages* of the *World*, and are at this day, many great and mighty *Nations* of the *World* (some of some hundreds, yea of some thousands of years continuance and flourishing) in which the *Doctrine of Grace*, and the *Doctrine of Godliness* hath not been (I am sure not *nationally*) advanced? And notwithstanding that *Godliness* hath promises belonging to this life, as well as to the life approaching, and the *God* of heaven is pleased to to imprint a *Character* and *Crown* of his favour and love upon some *Persons* and *Actions*, when his Name is greatly engaged (as in *Queen Elizabeth* her daies against the *Spaniard*, and in our late *Wars* both against *English*, *Scotch*, and *Irish*, yet) whether it be not generally and ordinarily true, that all that will live godly in *Christ Jesus*, must be persecuted or hunted; and the more *Godly*, the more persecuted? and according to the *mystery* of the fifth Seal, the *Souls* under the *Altar* must rest but until the rest of their fellow-servants are slain, &c.

Flourishing States of the World in which Christ Jesus is not heard of, &c.

Is it not (upon the matter) a *Turkish* argument, We have

*The peace
and pros-
perity of
Gods people
in this world
is spirituall
&c.*

conquered so many *Nations, Kingdoms, &c.* Therefore *Ma-homet* is above *Christ*? And also, is it not a *Popish* plea, All *Nations* have bowed down to our *Church*, who sits as a *Queen*; therefore it is the onely true, &c. *God* hath given the *Western Mines* of *Gold* and *Silver* to the *Catholicks*, not to the *Protestants*; and to the *Spaniards* before the *English*, (who had the first offer; therefore, &c. Since then that *National* and *typical holiness*, with all the annexed outward peace and prosperity, promised upon condition, is vanished, and the *Lord Jesus*, by his *Birth* in a *stable* and his *Death* on a *Gallows*, hath taught all his followers to despise this *Worlds Goods* and this *Worlds Evils*; how should his *Saints* study the difference between the Tenour of the *Old* and *New Covenant*, the *Jewish* and the *Christian Canaan*, and at last finde out that peace and prosperity they speak of, in those spiritual *pleasures, Beauties, Honors, Riches, Joyes*, which are even in this present *life* unspeakable and full of *Glory*?

*Mercy to the
persecuted,
the upholder
of States.*

Eightly, Since the *Throne* is upholden by *Mercy*, *Prov.* 20. and both the holy *Scriptures* and *Histories* tell us how many *Thrones* of *Kings* and *States*, that seemed to have been placed among the *stars*, are tumbled downe, &c. I aske if it be not at last the *wisdome* of this *State*, to tremble at the *shipwracks* and downfall of our *Predecessors*, and to learne not onely the song of *judgement* and *Zeal* (as we judge) for the doctrine of *grace* and *godliness*, but the song of *mercy* also to such whose *Consciencences* (whether out of a *slavish* or *child-like awe* of *God*, are (it may be) *Antipades* to ours? To say nothing of all *former examples*, are not *two* most wonderful before our eyes and feet?

First, What was it that within the memory of man hath so wonderfully (almost miraculously) raised and advanced from the low *valleys*, that poor *fisher-town* of *Amsterdam* (now one of the gallantest of the *Lady-Cities* of the world? I say, What was it but *Mercy, Mercy* which that poor

Fisher-town shewed to *distressed* and *persecuted consciences*, who fled from *Enchuysin* and other *persecuting* parts thither?

Secondly, What was it (as before) that pluckt up the *roots* and *foundations* of so many *Thrones* of late among our selves, and lift up and exalted our present *State* and *States-men*, but *mercy* to the long oppressed souls of men, amongst whom *Christ Jesus* (who will not suffer a *cup of water*, given to his, to pass unpaid for) hath been favoured and relieved? *Break off thy sins by righteousness, and thine iniquities by shewing mercy to the poor, if it may be a lengthning to thy tranquility:* For,

The rise of this State and Commonwealth.

Are not *false Worship*s, as to *God*, and *Tyranny* as to men, the two *Generals*, under whose bloody colours the most *Sins* and *Plagues*, in all the *Nations* of the *World*, have ever marched? I question not, but *Ambition* and *Pride*, *Covetousness*, and *Greediness*, *Ingratitude* and *Unthankfulness*, *Excess*, and *Drunkenness*, now lodge in the new-raised *Towers* of the aforesaid *Fisher-Towne*. But 'tis that *Sin of Sodom*, the not strengthening the hand of the poor, the poor oppressed in *England*, oppressed both in their *spiritual* and *temporal* liberties, and their late notorious strengthening the hand Oppressours, the *King*, and his *Cavaliers*; that sin (I say) if any, will staine the *Pride* of all their rising *Glory*.

Hollands greatest sin as to England.

But are there not the *cries* of the *oppressed* ascending to the *Heavens* against us also? (to say nothing of the many other particulars of *Soul-Violence* and *Oppression*, which some have reckoned up yet still in *England*) I ask, if ever such cries went up to *Heaven* in the late *Kings Reigne*, or his *Fathers*, or all the long tyranny of *Elizabeth's* *Bishops*, from such, whose either consciences or necessities, cannot permit them to practice that notorious *Judaism* or *Tythes*?

The oppression of Tythes now greater in England then formerly, I hope before their downfall.

The *Nonconformers* (it's true) were *sued*, and *cast*, and *paid*; but they were never so torn with the three-tooth'd

Hook of Elies Sons, the Treble damages and oppressions.

I ask therefore, What *Grace*, what *Godliness* that is, that teacheth us, after all our former sins, and judgements, and deliverances, and vows, to stop our Eares from the oppressed, their Cries, their Teares, their Consciences, and to imagine that our *Commonweal*, our *Parliament*, our *Council*, our *Army*, our *Navy* must prosper, in our most knowne oppressings of *Him*, whose is all power in *Heaven* and *Earth*, the Son of *God Christ Jesus*?

The sum of the fourth Question.

Quest. 4. Whether the *Magistrate*, be not bound to love God, and to advance his Glory, true worship and service, and the good of his people, with all his *might*?

Answer. I ask, Whether (as before) the *Magistrate* being the *Civil Officer* of the People, hath any *Might*, *Authority*, or *Power*, but what the People commit unto him? And Whether any People will or can betrust such a *Power* to the *civil Magistrate*, to compel their Souls and consciences unto his?

Spiritual weapons and carnal compared. Secondly, Whether the *Spirit of God* speak not expressly that the Weapons of *Christians* are not *Sword* and *Might*, but the *Spirit*? and whether his *Spiritual Weapons* (2 Cor. 10.) be not sufficiently and abundantly able and *mighty*, to bring down every strong *hold*, and every high *thing*, and every *imagination* and *thought* to the obedience of *Jesus Christ*? And Whether ever any carnal *might* ever did or can effect ought in *Christianity*, but the storming of the Nations into an *Antichristian Hypocrisie* and *Compliance*?

The woful effects of carnal weapons in spirituals. Thirdly, Whether this *Principle* of the *Magistrates* putting forth his *carnal might* in spirituals, hath not constantly occasioned the *Magistrate* (according to the mistakes of his owne *conscience*) to promote *Superstition* and *Idolatry*; And also hath rendred the strongest *sword* to be the measure and standard of all *Religion* in the World; and the *Magis-*

trates thereof, the *Nimrods* and mighty *Hunters* before the *Lord*?

Fourthly, I ask, Where *Christ Jesus* (the onely *Law-giver* to *Christians*) hath appointed in his holy *Testament*, the *civil sword* the *judge* and *defender* of his *Religion* and *Worship*? And why he hath not furnished his *civil Magistrates* of *Justice* in the *World* with such *hearts* and *spirits*, but contrarily hath call'd few of them to the profession of his *Name*? And whether he hath not ever furnished, and doth, and will, his *spiritual Ministers* and *Messengers* with *spiritual* might and power, sufficiently and abundantly efficacious for the propagating of his holy *Name* and *Truth*, and for the confounding of *Antichrist* and *Antichristians* by the breath of his *Mouth*, that two edged *Sword* of his *Spirit*?

Christ Jesus not forgetful to furnish his kingdom with spiritual weapons.

Fifthly, Whether *Christianity* did ever so flourish, as when the people of *God* in the first 300 years after *Christ*, had no might but that of *Christs spiritual weapons*? And when it pleased *God* to raise up *Constantine*, to give some rest to his people from *persecution*; whether *Christianity* did most flourish in the first time of *Constantine*, when he with his Colleague *Licinius* published the edict of *Freedome* of *Religion* to his subjects; or in his aftertimes, when he compelled all the *World* to *Christianity*, but (as is confest by many) occasioned the *World* to put on the bare and empty name of *Christian*? &c.

The first and last times of Constantine considered.

Lastly, I ask, Whether this *Principle* of the *Magistrates* employing the carnal *sword* or *Might* in *spirituals*, have not in all *Histories* and *Experience* been the *Firebrand* which hath kindled such devouring flames of *War* about *Religion*; in all both *Popish* and *Protestant* Countries? And Whether it did not kindle our late *Wars*, and occasion all the dreadfull *Calamities*, between the *Bishops* and the *Presbyters*, which proved fatal to them both? And whether all these *Experiences* are not the voice of *God* out of the whirl-

The Carnal sword in Spirituals, the occasion of so much bloodshed in former, and in our late Wars.

wind, to waken all the *Magistrates* of the *World*, to keep within the Civil sphere of *Civil Jurisdiction* and *Dominion*?

The sum of the fifth Question.

Quest. 5. Whether the People be not bound to pray for *Magistrates*, that under them we may live a peaceable and quiet life in all *Godliness* and *Honesty*? and whether the Magistrate is not bound to do that for which the People pray? &c.

Answ. 1. I ask, Whether (as some have urged) these words godliness and honesty, be rightly translated; but rather, upon a *mistake* in the Translation, weakly made the *ground* for the Magistrates being the *keeper* of *godliness* in the *first*, and *honesty* in the *second Table*?

The purity and pre-eminence of the first Christian times. 2. I ask, To *whom* this *direction* of *praying* for Magistrates was given? Whether they were not the *first* and *purest Saints*, and those times the most *glorious*, wherein the Saints enjoyed two such *helps* as no Christians ever since did?

First, the *presence* of the holy *Apostles* or *messengers* of Christ Jesus amongst them.

Secondly, the wonderful *effusion* of the holy *Spirit of God*, in those *rare* and *miraculous gifts* and *operations*, (I *Cor.* 12.) Now to imagine that those *first Saints* should pray for the *Civil sword* to defend (I speak not of their *persons*, but) their *godliness*, and suppress *ungodliness*, &c; doth it not imply this twofold strange and most unchristian *Paradox*?

Two strange Paradoxes. First, that those Saints must imagine those Civil Magistrates to have a clearer sight in discerning, and an higher Authority in judging of *Godliness* and *Christianity* than themselves and the *Apostles* of *Christ Jesus*, who are call'd expressly the (Ministerial) *Foundations* of the *Churches*, *Ephes.* 2.

Secondly, That they being thus call'd of *God*, and indued with the *Spirit of God* so savingly, so miraculously, yet should not be able to live in *Godliness* and the pure pro-

fession of *Christ Jesus*, without the help of a carnal sword to preserve them pure, establish and reform them, &c.

Thirdly, I ask therefore, Whether the scope of the holy Exhortation be not this; That those first *Believers*, and all *Believers* in the Ages following, should be much in prayer with *God*, and not onely for themselves, but for all men, and especially for *Magistrates* the *Chiefe* of men?

*The scope of
I Tim. 2.
pray for
Magistrates.*

1. That such as were *Gods Elect* amongst them might be called.

2. For the peace of the *Nation* and *Cities* wherein they lived; and so, consequently, that *God* would graciously guide the hearts of the *Helms-men* the *Magistrates*, that the ships of the several *States* (wherein the Saints as *Pas-sengers* were imbarqued) might Sail in peace and safety, that in the peace thereof they might have peace, (accord-ing to the command of *God* to his People in *Babel*, Jer. 29.) That so the Saints injoying *civil peace*, and also (if it may be the holy pleasure of *God*) injoying rest from persecution (*Act. 9.*) they might multiply, walking in the fear of *God* and *Christian* Edification, whatever the *Religions* of the *States* or the *Magistrates* there should be, though *Baby-lonian*, *Roman*, &c.

Fourthly, I ask, Whether the blessed *Spirit* of Life and Regeneration which is in all *Gods* people, be not abundantly sufficient to preserve them in *Godliness* and true *Christi-anity*, to preserve them from falling, and to reform and restore them from all their *Backslidings* and *declensions*? I add, to preserve them, that sin have no dominion over them; that they sin not, and watch against the touching of *Satan*; to preserve them in the use of the *Word* and *prayer*, and all such paths and meanes, which in *Faith* they are per-swaded of to be the commands of *Christ Jesus*? All this, and more, the holy *Spirit* of *God* works in *Gods* Children, al-though there should not be a *Magistrate* in the *World*, yea although all the *World* and the whole *World* oppose them;

*I John 3.
Rom. 6.
I John 5.*

The most holy and most powerful and eternal Indwelling of Gods most holy Spirit in all Gods Children.

The divisions of the Clergie show, like that of the Friars in Chaucers time.

What pray-ers ought to be put up for Magistrates?

Soul Yoaks.

yea although there were no *Heaven* nor *Hell*, no *Resurrection*, no *Judgement*, nor *World* to come, wherein they should be rewarded or punished, glorified or tormented; yea although they should want all Spiritual helps and *Teachers* (which respectively are necessary) for they have received an Anointing, which teacheth them, and abideth with them, and will abide with them for ever.

Fifthly, I ask, Whether in the present state and juncture of affaires in *England*, wherein (as *Chaucer* observes of the four great differing Orders of *Friers* in his time) every *Sect*, every *Order* and *conscience* pleads the integrity and purity of their way, and the People of God themselves are so divided and differently perswaded, as of late (in the *Scotch* wars) to blood and dreadfull slaughters (I say) I ask, Whether we may pray, without prophaning of the holy Name of *God*, and the guilt of the breach of the *civil peace* of the Nation, that *God* would send such *Magistrates*, who should authoritatively judge, whose *Conscience*, whose *Worship*, whose *Godliness* is true, and accordingly maintain that *Godliness*, defend that *Faith*, advance that *Worship* and service of *God*, &c. As also prohibite by his carnal *Sword* all other *Consciences*, *Worships* and *Godliness*, as Schismatical, Heretical, Seditious, Blasphemous? &c.

How much rather ought we to pray, that it may please the most holy and only wise *God*, to vouchsafe such a *Spirit* of *Godliness* and *Wisdom*e to the *Rulers* of this *Commonweal*, that the *civil Rights* may be preserved and *Civilities* may flourish in *Righteousness* and *Mercy*, even in the midst of so much spiritual *Division* and *Opposition*, which are and must be greater and greater, in all *Nations* of the *World*, when once the *Chains* and *Yoaks* of *implicite Faith*, believe as the *Church* believes, *Decrees* and *Precepts* of Men, *Tradition* of *Elders*, *Customes*, *Antiquity*, &c. are torn off, and broke from the *souls* and *necks* of the People, and Inhabitants thereof?

The sum of the sixth Question.

Whether *Abraham* and *Jacob*, and others before the Law, *Question 6.* were not *Magistrates* in their Families, and commanded and reformed their Families in matters of *Religion*, or were merely fellow-Servants, with their Servants, as the Examiner saith?

First, I ask, Whether the *Questionist* hath dealt fairly *Answer.* with the *Examiner*, in bringing him in (odiously) to say, that *Abrahams* and *Jacobs* Housholds might command them, as well as *Abraham* and *Jacob* might command their Housholds? And Whether or no did the Examiner once mention *Abraham* or *Jacob*? It is true, he maintaineth, (and with express words and clear light of holy Scripture well may) that in *Religious* matters the *Magistrate* and *Subject* are fellow-Servants: but gave he any colour or appearance of *Countenance* to *Servants* to be inobsequious to their *Masters*, *Children* to their *Parents*, *Wives* to their *Husbands*, *People* to *Magistrates*, in all their civil spheres and respects?

I ask further, Is the consequence fairly gathered, that because *Abraham*, *Isaack*, and *Jacob*, and those *Fathers* of *Families* and *Elder Brothers*, those *Saviors*, *Judges*, *Governours*, and *Kings* of the *Israel* and *People of God*, in those *figurative* times and *typical* administrations, commanded and punished, even with a material and carnal sword in *spiritual* matters; therefore every *Master* of a *Family*, *Husband*, *Father*, *Elder Brother*, *Judge*, *Governour*, *King*, *Magistrate*, hath the same *Authority* in *spiritual* matters now? And that therefore, according to *Numb. 30.* an *Husband* or *Father* may now disannul and overrule the merely *Religious Vowes* and *Devotions* of their *Wives* and *Daughters*? Or rather, since the *Lord Jesus* the substance of those shadowes is come, Whether it be not one express end of his coming, to set a man at variance with his *Father*, & (*Mat. 10.*) in a family of five persons, to set two

The dispensations of the Fathers and Magistrates of Gods Israel, figurative and typical.

Great divisions in matters of Conscience, necessary, &c.

against three, three against two; that is, in the matter of *Religion* and *Conscience*? And I ask, Whether the wife (notwithstanding in civil converse she submit with all wife like *submission* and *affection*, yet) as to *Religion* ought she not to judge of her *Husbands Believe* or *Unbelieve* in *God*? and may she not joyn with him or separate from him, labouring to be a Saviour to him? *How knowest thou; O Wife, but that thou mayest save thy Husband?* &c. And so consequently, the *Servant* to his *Master*, the *Child* to his *Parent*, the *subject* and *souldier* to the highest *Magistrate* and *Commander*? For, *Gal. 3. there is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female; for yea are all one in Christ Jesus.*

Gods designe of chusing men of low degree, not many wise, nobl nor mighty.

Secondly, I ask, Whether it be not the designe of *God* (for the manifestation of his owne most glorious *Brightness*) to cary on the *Mystery* and *Glory* of *Christianity* in the meanest and lowest of *Earthen Vessels*, according to that of *James 2. Hath not God chosen the poor of this World, rich in Faith, and Heires of the Kingdom?* Hence, in a most stupendious condescension, *God* manifesteth himself in *Flesh*, and that *Flesh* must be taken from a poor *Carpenters wife*, and she delivered of her blessed fruit in a *stable* amongst *Beasts*: And however he command thousand thousands of those most blessed *Invisible Spirits* the *Angels*, yet, for his visible attendants and *Embassadours* to the *World*, were they not (ordinarily) of a low Rank and condition, even those two *Pillars* whose names have so sounded in all parts (especially at *Rome*, and *London*) *Peter* the *Fisherman*, and *Paul* the *Tent-Maker*? Further I ask, Whether that *Rule* be not constant in the *Christian* Profession, Not many *Wise*, not many *Noble*, not many *Mighty*? And therefore, Whether it be not against the purpose and designe of *God*, and against his declared will and course, that his *Servants* should expect many *Christian* great or noble persons, many *Christian* wise or learned men, many *Chris-*

tian mighty men either for wealth or valour, many *Christian* Magistrates, &c.

Hence though we finde the Saints in *Caesars* houshold (*Phil.* 4.) yet I ask, How many *Caesars* (*Masters* of those housholds) do we finde the believing in *Jesus*, for three hundred years together? and therefore, Whether the poorest *Saint* in the *Household* or *Court* of these *Caesars*, were not higher (in *Spiritual* and *Christian* respects) then those *Emperours* of the *World* themselves?

Thirdly, What is it that makes a *Christian*, but the *Spirit* of *Christ* in a person, manifested in the profession of his Name before the *World*? *Mat.* 16. *Rom.* 10. And if so, I ask, Whether that more of the *Grace* and knowledge of *Christ*, render not persons more and more eminent and glorious in *Christianity*? And consequently, Whether the poorest Subject or Servant, participating of more of the *Grace* and *Spirit* of *Christ*, be not invested with more of the *Authority* and *Power* of *Christ Jesus*, in his affaires and *Kingdome*, then the highest *Magistrates* or *Superiours*, that are not so indowed. According to that *Honour* of all his *Saints*, who (especially) bind *Kings* in chains, &c. And that charge from *Heaven*, *James* 2.1. *My Brethren, have not the faith of our Lord Jesus with respect of persons; a Scripture*, that being read out in the following words, seems, at first blush, to intrench upon civility and good manners, except it be granted, that in *Christianity* the greatest respect is not given to greatness of *Place*, *Birth*, *Wealth*, *Authority*, *Braverie*, &c. but to the greatness of *Humility* and *Grace* of *Christ*, according to that of the *Lord Jesus* (*Matth.* 18.) *Whosoever shall humble himself as this little child, the same is the greatest in the Kingdom of Heaven.*

*A true
Christian
who.*

*What Chris-
tians the
highest.*

We read of two mighty *Princes* professing the name of *Christ*, meeting together in *England*; *Charles* the Fifth *Emperour* of *Germany*, and *Henry* the Eighth of *England*: Their names then soar'd so high for *Christianity*, that they

Two mighty
Princes pre-
tending to
glorious
Hights in
Christianity.

Yet the
poorest wit-
ness of any
truth of
Christ Jesus
above them.

The
Authority of
reproving in
the name of
Christ.

were both in *Letters of Gold*, set upon the very *Gates of Guildhal* in London, *Carolus Defensor Ecclesiae*, *Henricus Fidei*: yet when *Luther*, or the poorest follower of the truth of *Christ Jesus* witnessed by *Luther*, were condemned and persecuted by that *Charles* the Fifth, the great defender of the *Church*; I ask, Who had the greatest *Authority* in *Christs* affaires, the great *Emperour* Charles, or the poorest true *Christian*? And when that glorious (pretended *Defendour* of the Faith) *Henry* the Eighth, with all his *Nobles* and *Bishops*, sat in person with so much *Glory* and *Majesty*, *Terrour* and *Authority*, in that famous Disputa- tion, and Condemnation of that faithful witness of Christ Jesus *John Lambert*; I ask, where was in truth the true Authority and power of *Christ Jesus*, Whether in the stately assembly of *Kings*, *Nobles*, and *Bishops*, or in the two-edged Sword of the *Word* and *Spirit* of *God*, in the mouth of that one single, and yet most faithful witness of *Christ Jesus*?

Nay further, I ask, If that rule of *Christ Jesus* (*Luk. 17*) be not yet in force (*If thy Brother sin against thee, reprove him; if he repent, forgive him*), Consequently, Whether a *Magistrate* (eminent in the grace and knowledge of Christ, yet) if a Brother in Christ be not to be reprov'd for sin, by his lowest Groom or Handmaid, and that by way of *Authority* in the Name of Christ Jesus? Yea and I add, Whether have not such inferiour persons *Authority* from Christ upon *Repentance*, to grant a truer *pardon* to such a *Magistrates* penitent Soul, then all the *Popes* and *Priests* in the World can afford him? And in case of final *obstinacy*, *contradicting* and *blaspheming*; I ask, Whether such a poor *Believer* in Christ Jesus hath not a *power* and *privilege* to separate from such a *Magistrate* (in spiritual respects) and refuse to touch Spiritually such a (Spiritually) unclean person?

The sum of the seventh Question.

Whether Artaxerxes and the K. of Nineveh, did well in making their decrees? &c. *Quest. 7.*

I ask, Whether these two *Kings* and the *Instances* be not ill coupled, for the one, *Artaxerxes* (*Ezra. 7.*) gave free liberty of *conscience* to the *Jewes*; whereas the *King* of *Nineveh* forced all his people to a positive Act of *Fasting*? But more particularly, as to *Artaxerxes*: *Answ.*

1. Was he not an *Idolatrous King*, a stranger from the *God* of *Israel*, one that held the people of *God* in slavery, one that had no true love to the *God* of *Israel* nor his people, but onely out of a fear of the wrath of the *God* of *Israel*, shewed favour to his people, granted them free liberty of their *conscience*, to go up to *Jerusalem* to worship? *Artaxerxes his decree examined.*
A Terror of God sometimes causeth Idolatry to favour Gods people.

2. He bountifully encouraged and assisted them.

3. He furnished them with a *Decree*, suiting to their *National Estate*, and mixt condition of Church and Commonweal.

But (Secondly) I ask, Did this *Artaxerxes* compel any of these *Jewes* to his owne *Religion* (which he believed to be the onely true) the *Religion* of the *Persians*? Or did he compel the *Persians* to the worship of the *God* of *Israel*? Or did he compel the *Jewes* themselves, or any one man of them, to go up to the worship of their owne *God* at *Jerusalem*? but verse 13. *Let all which are minded of their owne free will go up*, &c. Therefore,

Thirdly, I ask, What Conclusion can be gathered from thence, but that it sometime pleaseth *God* to affect the hearts of *Idolatrous Kings* with kindness to his people, and forceth them to permit his people the liberty of their *consciences*, yea and that with *Countenance*, *Incouragements*, and *Authority*? for which mercy (although the *Nations* where they live, and the *Princes* thereof, partake not of such mercies themselves, yet, ought *Gods* people to praise *God*, as *Ezra* doth. *Artaxerxes his edict freely made for soul freedom.*

Fourthly, I ask, Whether this Instance of *Artaxerxes*, do

not absolutely condemn the forcing of all the people and *consciences* in a *Nation* to one way of worship, whether *Popish* or *Protestant*, or to any particular sect or way of either of them? And Whether it do not absolutely make for *Soul-Freedom* in spiritual matters, in that these very *Jewes* were not forced to their own *Jerusalem*, but as every one was freely willing? &c.

Secondly As to the Proclamation of the *King of Nineveh*?

First, I ask, Whether all examples recorded in holy *Scriptures*, bind our *consciences* in our *worships* and communion with *God*?

*The King of
Nineveh his
Proclaiming
a Fast,
examined.*

In particular, must there be a *King* and *Nobles* in *London* to Proclaim a *Fast*, as we know there was in *Nineveh*? must the *Beasts* also be kept from *Food* and *Water*, as there? must *Man* and *Beast* be covered with Sackcloth, as there? If one part of the *Example* bind us, why not the other? Or if we say that such practices were *ceremonial* and *typical*, how will that be proved amongst the *Ninevites*, strangers to the true *God* and *Servant Moses*? although probably they might light their *Candle* from the *Example* of that national Church of *Israel*, which kept their *National Fasts*, ordinary and extraordinary, &c. And if example be *Rule* for *Gods* *Servants*, I ask, Whether all *Ship-masters* or *Magistrates*, in their respective stormes and tempests, may exhort their *Passengers*, and *Sea-men*, and *People*, to arise and call upon their several *Gods* and *Deities*, as the *Ship-master* deals with *Jonah* in the first Chapter?

*No Warrant
in Christs
Testament
for a
national
(much less
inforced)
worship.*

Secondly, I ask, Whether in the *New Testament* of *Christ Jesus*, by which the *National Church*, and the worship of that Church, was abolished, there be any *Example* or *Rule* for any such *National* worship, of one sort or another, for what cause soever?

And although it may be said, *Christ Jesus* approves the *Action*: yet I ask, Whether he *speakes* one *Title* to the *Decree* of the *King* and his *Nobles*, but onely to the *Re-*

penitance of the People, as the preaching of *Jonah*? And upon the point, Whether the scope of the *Lord Jesus*, was not to upbraid the hardness of our *hearts*, in not repenting at the threatenings of *Gods Judgements*, as the *Ninevites* did?

Thirdly, I ask, Whether this example of the *King of Nineveh*, can be a proper and fit example for the imitation of all the *Nations* of the World, whose Consciences (like the various *Meridians* and *Climates* of Nations and places) may wonderfully differ in one and the same *Commonweal* and *Kingdom*; the Magistrates (possibly) may be of one Conscience, and all or the greatest part of another: And (like as in a Ship) where several Consciences of *Seamen* and *Passengers* happen, how can there be an inforing of all Consciences unto one worship, without great Violence and Distraction, and sometimes hazard of the whole, in breach of Peace by mutinies? &c.

Many various Consciences; and more will be in the Nations.

Fourthly, I ask, Whether the holy Name of *God* hath not been mightily prophaned, and the holy Eyes of his *Jealousie* mightily provoked in this *Nation*, by the *Fasts* and *Thanksgivings*, which the People of this *Nation* have been forced to observe, even against their hearts, and souls, and consciences? How did the *Parliament* at first, inforce the People of this *Nation* to *Fast* and *Pray*, for the defence of *Religion, King, Parliament, Lawes, Liberties*? And how did the *King* at the same time, command that part of the *Nation* under his command to *Fast* and *Pray*, for his contrary Forces fighting upon the very same Grounds and Causes?

How did the *Parliament* command the People to give thanks to *God* for those Victories, for which the *King* commanded the People to give thanks for, as his, got over and against the *Parliament*?

How have thousands been forced to pray for the *Parliament*, whose hearts and courses have rather joynd with the *King*, against the *Parliament*; and thousands, com-

The wonderful prophaning of the name of God, by the enforced Worships of Prayer and Thanksgiving in this Nation.

manded by the *King* to pray and fast for him, whose hearts and causes have more adhered to the *Parliaments cause* and *Interest*? Yea as to the Presbyterians, whose cause of violence this was (and therefore, O that their Souls may see it as from *God*, just upon them) how have they been forced to such publike Actions of *prayer* and *thanksgivings* (and especially, in reference to the *Scotch Nation* and cause) the which their Soules and Consciences have much abhorred? O the infinite and unsearchable Treasure of the patience of *God*, to such *Worships*, such *Violences*! &c.: and therefore,

The duty of the Magistrates apprehending Gods Judgements.

Lastly, I ask, Whether the *Governour* of Ships, artificial at Sea, or mystical, *Commonweales* on shore, in their severall stormes and tempests, can do any more rightly and *Christianly*, by the Testament of Christ Jesus, then,

First, Humble themselves in such waies of *Worship* and with such Societies and Communions, wherein they have fellowship with *God*, and one with another, and to stand in the Gap by *Humiliation*, by *Righteousness* and *Mercy*? Daniel 4.27. &c.

Secondly, Use all possible perswasions and exhortations, to the severall *Passengers* under their civil care and charge, to turn to *God*, to pray unto him. Thus *Peter* exhorteth *Simon Magus* (fearing *Gods judgements*) to turne unto *God* by repentance, and then to call upon him; And thus *Paul*, knowing the Terour of the *Lord*, 2 Cor. 4. perswades men to be reconciled to *God*, &c. implying this to be the way for the prevention both of *Temporal* and *Eternal Judgements*.

The Duty of good Magistrates in publike Calamities.

Thirdly, Intreat the Prayers and Supplications of such, whom they believe to be the People of *God*, whose Prayers he professeth to be his *Delight*, and hath promised to hear them, while the Prayer of the wicked is an *Abomination*, and therefore more provokes him.

Thus some good *Emperours* have used to desire the In-

tercessions of *Gods* People, in times of danger and distress. Yea and *Paul* himself, so high in favour with *God*, and so full of the *Grace* and Spirit of *God*, yea and so ful of the Spirit of prayer (as next to the *Lord Jesus*, we read of no man more in the *New Testament*) yet no man do we read of, that so frequently and earnestly begs the prayers of *Gods* people.

The eighth Question.

Whether any of the *Prophets* or *Apostles*, yea our *Saviour* himself, did ever except against the *Magistrates Authority*, for questioning them in matters of *Religion*? Quest. 6.

First, I ask, Whether the *Prophets* and *Christ Jesus* and his *Apostles*, are here so fitly joyned in this *Witness*, since the *Prophets* before *Christs* coming, were under the dispensation of shadowes and figures, in that *National* and typical *Church* of *Israel*, and onely prophesied of that great *High-Priest*, and *King*, and *Prophet* to come, *Christ Jesus*? The *Law* and the *Prophets* were until *John* (saith *Christ Jesus*) and their actions (as relating to a *National Church*) cannot be brought as witnesses with *John* or *Jesus*? Answ.

The dispensation of the Prophets before Christ.

Secondly, I ask, Did not all the *Prophets* foretel of this most absolute and independent *King* and *Law-giver* to his *People*, the *King* of *Kings*, and *Lord* of *Lords*, by whom onely *God* hath spoken in these last times? *Heb.* 1. Did not the *Angel* declare to *Mary*, that he should be the *King* of *Israel*, and should sit on the *Throne* of his *Father David*, (which yet he never did literally?) *Luke* 1. Was he not saluted by his followers, Thou art the *King* of *Israel*, *John* 1. And was it not for this very cause, viz [that he was the *King* of the *Jewes*,] that he was *Arraigned*, *Condemned*, and *Executed*, and the crime pretended, fixed on his *Gibbet*, in *Hebrew*, *Greek*, and *Latin*; *Jesus* of *Nazareth* *King* of the *Jewes*? All which he was, not in any *temporal* or *worldly* respect (for he disclaimed and refused the offer of a *temporal Crown*) but in an absolute *spiritual* consideration, re-

Christ Jesus the onely King of Israel, and that spiritually.

specting the souls and consciences, the *Religions* and *Worships* of the children of men.

*Cesars due is
Gods due,
and yet Gods
due distinct
from Cesars.*

Thirdly, I ask, Whether the *Lord Jesus* except not expressly against the *Magistrates* in matters of *Religion*, in that so famous Distinction between *Cesars* right and *Gods*; give unto *Cesar* the things that are *Cesars*, and unto *God* the things that are *Gods*? More particularly and concisely, I ask, Whether *Cesars Sword* was not *Gods Sword*? *Rom.* 13. And Whether by giving unto *Cesar* his *Submission, Honour, Tribute, &c.* was not a giving *God* his due (in a true sense) by giving this his due to *Cesar*? And if so, then what singular and distinct Character is this, which gives unto *God* his due, distinct from *Cesar*? And Whether there can be any other Characteristical difference imagined, but onely that of matter of *conscience, spiritual,* and *Religious,* which *Cesar* himself (as the old Martyrs witness of *Jesus,* were wont to say) had no power over?

*The Apostles
were the
highest and
next to
Christ Jesus,
in matters of
the Christian
name and
Worship.*

Fourthly, As to the *Apostles,* I ask, If the book of the *Acts,* and the *Epistles, &c.* breathe not forth the most absolute *Independency* of their Ministry and Apostleship, from the highest *civil* powers in the World?

Tis true, *Paul* makes an humble *Appeal* (against the Persecuters of his life) to the highest *Magistrate Cesar:* But as to the matters of *Religion* and *Christianity,* was not the *Church* built upon the Foundation of the *Apostles* and *Prophets?* (*Eph.* 2) Were not their Commands, in spiritual things, the command of *Christ Jesus* (*I Cor.* 14.) even to the highest *Kings* and *Keysars?* Was not that an *Apostles* voice (in case of *Religion*) Ye are bought with a price, (*I Cor.* 7) let no man (consequently not the highest, &c.) *judge* you in respect of meats and drinks, or an holy day? And what can be more express, then such peremptory, not onely refusalls to obey ungodly and unchristian commands (*Act.* 4.5.) but even to own the very Courts and Judicatures

of the highest in the matters of the *King of Kings* and *Lord of Lords, Christ Jesus?*

Lastly, Since the *Magistrates Authority* in questioning matters of *Religion*, may be taken two waies:

First, For demanding a *private* reason of a *Christians Faith* or *Practice*; so here it cannot be intended: for there is no question, but that every *Servant of Christ Jesus* ought to be ready, to give a reason to every one, &c. I *Pet.* 4. *Twofold questioning in Religious matters.*

Secondly, For *Authoritative* questioning either by inferiour *Magistrates, Executive, or Superiour, Legislative*: and if *Christ Jesus* had been subjected, and bound to answer any *Authority* questioning him, or his *Apostles*, as to matter of his *Kingdom* or *Christian Worship*, if himself and his *Apostles* and followers, had or should owne any *Tribunal* in *Spirituals* but his owne, they should have pluckt up the roots of his most glorious and most absolute *Government* and *Headship*. And if so, what kinde of *Heresie* and *Blasphemy* against *Christ Jesus* this is, let the *Heaven* and the *Earth* be *Judges*. *Christ Jesus the most absolute Monarck.*

The sum of the ninth Question:

Whether the *Examiner* have cause to say, that the *Believing Magistrates* giving wholesome Food, and forbidding of Poyson, be a ground for a *Magistrate* to command Poyson? &c. *Quest. 9.*

Unto which may be added, the sum of the tenth Question.

Whether *Asa's* Authority from God to advance the true Religion, were a ground for *Manasseh* to set up *Idolatry*, and a principle of Persecution, to kill those that would not worship his Idols? *10.*

As also the sum of the Eleventh.

Whether Gods Law, punishing *Blasphemy* unto Death, laid a principle for *Jezabel* to kill *Naboth*? *11.*

And of the Twelfth.

Whether *Paul* commanding Parents to bring up their *12.*

Children in the *Nurture* and *Admonition* of the *Lord*, laies a principle for Children to be brought up in *Idolatry*?

Answ.
All Gods
work and
Institution
and God
himself
abused by
man.

I ask, Whether the proposer of the Questions do indeed think the *Examiner* so void of Zeal and Reason, as to imagine that *Corruption* and *Abuses*, are sufficient ground to overthrow a truly *Christian*, yea or the least *natural* or *Civil Constitution* and *Appointment*? Or rather that he grants all *Natural Bodies*, both *Caelestial* and *Terrestrial*, yea all *Divine* and *Civil Constitutions* from *God*, or *Men*, are *Gods* works, and excellent in their kinde, although by man abused to *Idolatry*, *Superstition*, *Oppression*, *Gluttony*, *Drunkenness*, *Whoredom*, *Pride*, *Ambition*, *Revenge*? &c.

Secondly, I ask, Whether all the *Questions* are not built upon these *Principles*, which are not one in *Dispute*, and not granted, but now at this time of the day, they do most shamefully beg of *Moses*, of *Christ*, of these late *Times*, and mercifull discoveries of the true principles, both of *Spiritual* and *Civil Government*; I say, beg for that which can never more be granted, without horrible *Oppression* and *Tyranny*, over the souls and bodies of all the sons of men? viz.

Foundations
out of
course.

To particularize: First, That *Civil Magistracy* is not meerly a *Civil Thing*, in the very nature and essential *Qualities* and beings thereof; but rather some *Divinum quid*, and that *Kings* and *Queens* and *Magistrates* are *Gods* (not onely by way of *Allusion* and *Consimilitude*, and in a respect, but really they are *Sacred* (or holy) persons, their *Majesties Sacred*, their *Crownes Sacred*, their *Thrones Sacred*, and their very *Kingdomes* and *Empires Sacred*. Hence that most horrid *Blasphemous Character*, on the Forehead of the *Whore* and of the *Beast*, *Sacrum Romanum Imperium*, that *Sacred* or holy *Roman Empire*.

The Blas-
phemies of
the Kings,
Emperours,
&c.

Secondly, That the People and Inhabitants of the Nations of the Earth, are borne *Slaves*, and *Villaines*, and are not the

Original and *Fountain* both of their Offices, Officers, and of the *Authority* committed to them.

Thirdly, that no *Magistrates* in the whole world, are lawful *Magistrates*, but *Christian* and consequently none but the *Protestant*; and among them, none but of such a *Sect* or *Conscience*.

Fourthly, That the Land of *Canaan* (that Land of *Ceremonies*, *Types*, and *Miracles*) was a Land of *patterne* and *example*, for all Lands, all Nations, all *Magistrates*, and that not in matters of *Morality*, *Civility*, and *Humanity* onely (which is not controverted) but even in the matters of *Religion*, and *Spiritual Covenant*, of *Conscience* in *Gods Worship*, &c. If these Questions are built upon these grounds, I ask, if these *Roots* be found rotten and withered, what can be lookt for on the *Branches*?

Thirdly, I ask, How can it be avoided, but that one of these two Consequences must be granted? Either,

First, if *Magistrates*, as *Magistrates*, be keepers of both Tables, then must they keep them and interpret them, and determine Controversies about *Religion* by those Eyes, and by that Eye-sight, which they have in *Religions* and heavenly things (be it *Pagan*, or *Turkish*, or *Popish*, or *Protestant*.)

The dangerous hanging or suspending Magistrates.

Or else, secondly, they must flie to *Master Cottons* refuge of *suspending* (or hanging up) all the *Magistrates* in the *World* from acting in *Spirituals*, if they see not the true and onely way of *Worship*; and that for all the daies of their life, except *God* give *Repentance*, and reveal the true and onely way unto them.

The rooting up of all Societies out of the World.

And I add, and ask, Whether this *Doctrine* incline not strongly, to these two more (justly exploded) dangerous *Consequences*?

First, That as no *Magistrate* must act in *Spirituals*, but such as are of the pretended true (which every *Sect* is prone

to plead to be his) and *Magistrates* (many thousands and ten thousands, must be hanged up as above said) yea and hanged outright, for want of those *Essential* and *Fundamental Qualifications*, which may inable him to discharge the principal end of his Office; so, neither may the People, which are the *Original* and *Fountain* of *Government*, lawfully combine and live in civil Cohabitation, or Societies, but must live *Barbarians* or worse, since that all the People and *Nations* of the *World*, in this depraved state of mankinde, are wholly void of heavenly understanding, and can no more convey to their *Magistrates* any spiritual *Authority* or *Power*, then a *Dead* man can appoint his *Officers*, &c.

*Protestant
Jesuits.*

Secondly, If such Orthodox, sound and right *Magistrates* chosen by the People, come to be of another conscience, perswasion and *Worship* (true or false) ought they to be *deposed*? &c. and may not that *Oxford*-Author, who put forth that Book, called the *Puritan* turned *Jesuite*, and all that hold that principle of *Magistrates* being *Custodes utrinque Tabulae*, be forced to say, that (in this respect) the *Bishops* were *Jesuits*, the *Presbyterians* are *Jesuits*, the *Independents* are *Jesuits*, and hold that dangerous *Doctrine* of *Deposing heretical Magistrates*? &c.

*Strange
violence to
Childrens
and Parents
consciences.*

Lastly, As to the Question from the *New Testament* (*Ephes. 5.4 Fathers, provoke not your children to wrath, but bring them up in the Instruction and admonition of the Lord*) may not he do this, except he force them to his owne conscience and *Worship*?

And I ask further, if it followes not, that if the child by some providence of *God* (as sometimes it falls out) become Superiour and *Magistrate* to the Parent, The Child now being *Father*, must force his Fathers Conscience, according to that typical Example of *Asa* (punishing his Mother *Maachah* for her Conscience?) Yea I ask, how could it be avoided, but by this Rule *King Edward* did well, in forbidding his Sister *Mary* the use of her Conscience, when

he (though younger) was her *Head*; and *Mary* (though a woman, yet now *Head* of the *Church*) could not do other, but forbid her Sister *Elizabeth*, the use of her *Protestant Prayers* and *Conscience* also? And therefore I ask, Whether it followes not by this Rule, that all *Conscience* and *Religion* in the whole world, be not (except we grant the monstrous suspension of almost all the *Magistrates* and *Fathers* in the world) be not, I say, to be measured by the accidental turns of *Superiority*, and the *Civil Sword*?

The sum of the thirteenth Question, *viz.*

Whether since *Idolatry* was punished by the light of Nature (as *Job* acknowledged, *Job* 31. 28.) the *Magistrate* ought not much more to punish it in the *Gospel-light*? &c. Quest. 13.

First, I ask, As to that place in *Job*, Whether there be not many various *Translations* and *Interpretations* of this Scripture? Doth not the *Septuagint*, (the *Seventy*) interpret those words [that were an *Iniquity* (as we turn it) to be punished by the *Judges*] I say, the *Seventy* turn it thus: *Και τὸ τοῦ ἀνομίας ἢ μεγίστη λογίθει.* *For this would have been accounted, judged or esteemed, the greatest, or a very great iniquity.* Answ.

Others, *Qua est Iniquitas maxima*, which is the greatest, or a very great *Iniquity*. Job 31. 28. Examined.

Others, *Etiam hoc fuisset Iniquitas judicata*; For this had been a plain condemned or judged *Iniquity*.

2. For *Interpretation*, some interpret those words (*If I beheld the sun when it shined, or the moon walking in brightness*) to imply *Jobs* denying of his worshipping the *Sun* and *Moon*, &c. Some Metaphorically, for being puffed up with prosperity and success, which tempts all men, and even *Gods* People themselves, (as *Agur* confesseth) to say unto *God* when they are full, who is the *Lord*? and to deny Him who is the *Alpha* and *Omega*, the *Author* and *Fountain*, &c. of all their mercies. And therefore I ask, If it be not probable, that *Job* might sooner be tempted to that so Gods people most apt in prosperity to deny him.

pleasing a sin of applauding himself in the shining of the *sun* (Heavenly (and right-hand) mercies) and the brightness of the *Moon* (left-hand, and inferiour mercies) then to be inticed to that gross and so palpable an *Idolatry*, of worshipping the *sun* and *moon*? &c.

The dispensations of God, both before and after Moses.

The Land of Canaan a nonesuch, and typical.

Christ Jesus not a temporal king.

Secondly, Grant that the beholding of the *Sun* and *Moon* by *Job*, and the secret inticement of his *Heart*, and the kissing of his mouth, &c. relates to *Idolatry*, in the very real and literal *Worshipping* of those Creatures; grant that was *Iniquity* to be punished by the *Judges*: As also that *Job* lived before *Moses*, and acknowledged the Justice of such punishments (all which particulars can be but probably disputed, *pro* and *con*; and therefore is not such a Building and Fabrick, to be laid upon so uncertain a *Groundsel* and *Foundation*.) But admit all, yea and further [that the *Gospel* gives more light for the Discovery of the sinfulness and Guilt of *Idolatry*] Yet, since both *Moses* and *Job* also lived under such dispensations of *National Covenants* and *Worships*, such as *Abrahams*, *Isaacks*, *Jacobs*, and the *Patriarchs*, wherein the *Fathers of Families*, and the elder brothers (in a figurative *Birthright* of the first born) carried on the figure *Christ Jesus* to come, as supream *Heads* and *Governours* in all causes, as well *Ecclesiastical* as *Civil*; shall we now then, in the bright light of the *Sun* of Righteousness, the true King of *Israel*, &c. erect new Lands of *Canaan* in all the *Nations* of the World? Will they not be meer *Skeletons*, *Shadowes* and *Carkases*, without those living *Demonstrations*, and miraculous appearances of *God*, from first to last with that wonderful and typical People? Shall we still take the *Lord Jesus* by force to make him a temporal *King*, and a temporal *Judge*; when he peremptorily refuseth, and proclaimes that his *Kingdome* is not of this World? &c.

Will not this be as *Job* there saith, to deny the *God* that is above, or (as the Word seems to cary it) the *God* de-

scending? who hath ascended, but first descended God in *Flesh*, and dwelt in *Flesh* of the *Lord Jesus* Bodily, and established a spiritual *Kingdom*, in the Consciences, and Worship, and Conversations of Men, &c.

And however the *Devil* (despairing to destroy the appearance of *God* in *Flesh*, either in the Person of *Christs humane* body, or in his *mystical Body* his Saints, by three hundred years persecution) hath taken the advantage, by the shining of Peace and Favour to the Saints by *Constantine*, to turn the very World it self *Christian*, designing, under the Masks and Flags of the *Christian* name, to conceal his Serpentine malice to pure and true *Christianity*, and to effect that by the *Roman Popes*, the *Foxes*, which he could never do by the *Roman Lyons*, the *Emperours*.

Yet (I ask) Shall *Gods* people still inhabit *Babilon*, (or confusion) and darkly confound all the most holy, most wise, distinct appearances of God together? and not rather listen to the holy Spirit of *God*, in that absolute prohibition (Col. 2.) Let no man judge you in meats and drinks, &c that is, upon any *Spiritual* account and *Consideration*, albeit in Civil affaires, we ought to be judged, and submit to every *Ordinance* (or Creation) of man, for the *Lords sake*? I *Pet. 2.*

*Gods people
commanded
to disobey
the civil
power in
Spirituals.*

Thirdly, I ask (as before) Whether the *Gospel*-light hath not discovered unto us (more clearly at least, then ever the *Old Testament* did) a twofold *Idolatry*?

*Two kinds
of Idolatry.*

First, Religious, which is (in a word) the fearing or Worshipping of false *Deities*, or *Gods*, or *God-heads*, which all the Nations, all the World over, live in

Secondly, Moral *Idolatry*, which is *Idolatry* in the Hearts and Lives of all mankinde, according to that of *Paul* to the *Ephesians*: and Covetousness, which is *Idolatry*, &c.

According to this Distinction, how are all the *Nations* of the World (even that which is called *Christian* also) or'e-spread with these *Idolatries*? Yea and (in lamentably too

great a measure) how are *Gods* owne people reported (at least in the moral sence) to be *Idoltrous*? &c. For,

The over-spreading of Idolatry in England, and all Nations.

If Coveting of Gold and Silver, *House* and *Lands*, be *Idolatry*, and consequently, all covetous actions (such as raking, lying, stealing, &c.) are acts of *Idolatry* in a *Gospel*-sense: Then consequently the goings out of the heart in other Sins, *Pride*, *Self-love*, *Ambition*, *Whoredom*, are *Idolatry* also, and all the Acts attending such motions and desires, *Acts of Idolatry* also in all the Inhabitants of the World, and then especially and more eminently (or rather odiously) in such as profess the name of *Christ Jesus*. Oh what an object of the *Jealousie* of the most *High*, is this *Idoltrous Ball* of the Earth, and even that part above all others, which pretends the name of the Son of *God*, and which (yet above all others) cries out against *Idolaters*? &c.

Fourthly, As to the Light of Nature, discovering *Idolatry*, I ask,

First, If there be not a wonderful mistake, a fallacie and snare in the term or expression, *Light of Nature*?

Gods people in a glorious state of Light.

'Tis true, The *Nature of Gods Children* is *Light*, *Ephes.* 5. *Ye are light in the Lord*; and *Phil.* 2. They shin as *Lights*: God is a *Sun* and shield unto them; *Christ Jesus* is a *Sun* of Righteousness shining on them; The holy Scripture is a *Light* and *Lanterne* to them; the words of the *Prophets*, as a *Light* shining in a dark place, until the *Day-star Christ Jesus* arise spiritually in their hearts: They have glorious promises, that the *Light* of the *Moon* shall be as the *Light* of the *Sun*, and the *Light* of the *Sun* seven times brighter: They expect that time, when they shall need no more *Candle* nor *Sun*, but the *Lord God* and the *Lamb* will be their *Light*: and knowing that *Light* is sown for the Righteous, they expect and shall assuredly reap the *Harvest* of *Light* to all *Eternity*. But what is this to corrupt Nature, to dark Nature? *You were not onely in darkness and children of the night, but darkness it self* (*Ephes.* 5.) And if

Light of Nature in spiritual things but darkness.

that which we call *Light* in men, be *Darkness* (as the *Lord Jesus* speaks) how great is that *Darkness*?

But if it be said, that *Job* and *Paul* say, that the *Light of Nature* discovers *Idolatry*; I ask, Whether *Job* say so expressly, or by any consequence, which may not rather be counterbalanced another way? Or if *Job* should say so, whether upon an equal dispensation? when in those times *corporal* Judgements, and in *Gospel*-times *spiritual* Judgements are proper; as in this very *Rom. I.* is abundantly testified.

It is true, as *Solomon* saith, The Spirit of a man is the *Candle* of the *Lord*, searching all the inward parts of the *Belly*: It is an *Excuser* and an *Accuser*; a *Secretary*, a *Sergeant*, an *Adversary*, a *Judge*, and *Executioner*, within the bosome of all mankinde: But yet I ask, how far this Spirit of Man, this *Candle* of *Jehovah* hath searched, and doth, or possibly may search, into all the inward parts of the *Belly*, or *Heart* of man, as touching this great mystery of true or false *Deities*, and their respective *Worships*? And

What knowledge of God, corrupt Nature may attain to.

I ask, Where lies the *Harmonie* between these two Scriptures, this of *Rom. 2.* When they knew *God*, they glorified him not as *God*: and that of *I. Cor. I.* The World by Wisdome knew not *God*. And

I ask, If natural wisdom (that *Candle* or *Light* remaining in man) be not twofold?

Natural light twofold.

First, That which is *Common* to all mankinde in general; to the people, the lowest, the vulgar?

Secondly, That which is more *Noble* and *High*, (in degrees) refined and elevated by finer *Animal Spirits*, by *Education*, by *Study*, by *Observation*, by *Experience*. And

The highest attainments of the highest sons of nature, in spirituals.

I ask, Whether these highest *Lights*, and greatest *Candles* can attain, by their utmost *Activity*, to a true, and saving, and *Gospel*-knowledge, even of *God* himselfe? And therefore, whether the place of *Rom. I.* They knew *God*, can amount unto more, even in the *Princes* of natural knowl-

edge, *Plato*, *Seneca*, *Aristotle*, &c. but unto a confession of a *Deity*, a *Godhead* above us, in us, about us; an Invisible mighty power, *Creating*, *Ruling*, *Ordering* all things; as also, a *Conviction* of *Blessedness* in the favour of this *Deity*, and of *Cursedness* in *Disunion* from it?

No spiritual
object seen
with a
natural eye.

But now let's descend to *Cultus Institutus* and *Cultus Naturalis*, an *Instituted*, and a natural *Worship*. Come to the light of nature worshipping this *Deity*: Come to the seven precepts of *Noah*, which some, both *Jewes*, and other ancients, talk of; and then I ask, if it be not a downright *Doctrine* of *Free-will*, in depraved nature? If it be not to run pointblank against all the *Histories* of the *Nations*, and all present *Experience* of mankind, in all known parts of the *World*, to attribute so much *Light* to any of the *Eldest* and *Gallantest* sons of *Nature*, as to attain a *Spiritual* and saving knowledge of *God*, to attain a love unto *God*, in all their knowledge; to attain the mystery of the *Father* and of the *Son*, *God* manifested in *Flesh*, by whom *Creation* and *Redemption* are wrought; to the matter of true worship, or to any thing but *Splendidum Peccatum*, without the *Revelation* of the *Word* and *Spirit* of *God*, out of his absolute, free, and peculiar *Grace* and *Mercy* in *Christ Jesus*.

The monstrous opinions of the Nations, as to Deities and their worships.

Hence I ask, If from this *Corruption* of *Nature* it have not sprung, that the wisest *Nations*, *Councils*, *Parliaments*, have run into such monstrous opinions about the *Gods*, and the number of them; and so many monstrous and horrible, and some ridiculous kindes and waies of worship? Thus did the *Chaldeans*, the *Egyptians*, the *Persians*, the *Greeks*, the *Romans*, and all the *Generations* and *Nations* of men, unto this day.

It is true, It is charged upon the wisest of the *Sons* of men, *Rom.* I. They glorified not *God*, as *God*; that they were not thankful; that they gave the glory of the *Creator* to the *Creature*; and that therefore *God* delivered them up to those moral filthinesses and defilements.

It is true, That because men received not the Truth in the Love of it, *God* delivered them up to strong delusions, to believe lyes. And also these Spiritual Judgements have proceeded so far, that the poor deluded Generations of men, have tumbled down millions of millions, one upon the neck of another, into these two deep and doleful *Dungeons*.

Two deep dungeons of moral wickedness into which the conscience of some in worshipping have tumbled.

The first, Of practicing uncleanness and *Whoredom*, practised by some Nations, even upon the very account of Religion and Conscience.

Whoredom and Murder.

The second, Of Cruely and Murder, as of *Baals Priests*, cutting and launcing themselves, and of many *Priests* and *Sects*, afflicting themselves in some Nations, with many Torments; and above all, that of the abominable and most inhumane Sacrificing mankind: In which horrid *Worship*, not onely the *Mexicans* did abound, in their Sacrificing yearly many thousands *Infants* to their bloody *Deities*, before the coming of *Pizarro* amongst them; but also Gods owne people of *Israel*, and one of the very Kings of *Judah* (before repentance) fell into this bloody pit, of offering up their Children through the fire to *Molech*.

The Sacrificing of mankind out of conscience.

I readily acknowledge, that in these cases mentioned, and in all other cases wherein Civility is wronged, in the *Bodies* or *goods* of any, the Civil Sword is *Gods* Sword, as well as mans, for the suppressing of such Practices and Appearances, yea and the very *Principles* of them; and for the Incouragement and applause of the contrary, *Chastity*, *Humanity*, &c.

The Civil Sword must cut off all Incivilities though under Religious pretences masked and covered.

Hence, I honour that noble act of the *Emperour* of *Rome*, who censured that famous *Ovid*, for that wanton *Book* of his *De Arte amandi*, as a sparke to immodesty and uncleanness: and doubtless it is the duty of the *civil sword*, to cut off the *Incivilities* of our times; as the monstrous haire of women, up the heads of some men, &c.

But yet I ask, Whether *Paul* speak ought, in the first of the *Romans*, of any humane Judge or Judgement upon the

Nations of the World, for their meer *Idolatries*, thus most dreadfully plagued already, by the most righteous *Judge* of the whole World, in those strong *Delusions* and *Lyes*, and deliveries up to so many *Lusts* and *Sins*, which also run upon the Civil Sword of *God* and man, for their uncivil and unrighteous practices?

All seeming incivilities not to be lookt upon with one eye.

I ask further, Whether or no some seeming *Incivilities*, which the *Light* of Nature more fairly may condemn, and hale before the *Civil Tribunal*, yet may not be such; and so Circumstantiated with *Impressions* from *Heaven*, that they ought not so suddenly and easily to be condemned and punished, but with a more tender and observant Eye, be distinguished?

The practice of Circumcision, a seeming Incivility.

For, (not to instance in any disputable Acts which the holy *Scripture* and *experience* presents us with) what shall be said to that very common and constant *Practice* of *Circumcision*, commanded by *God* himself to the *Jewes*, and now entertained by one of the greatest Empires of the World, the *Turks*? may not it be (with faire probability) argued to be against the light of *Nature*? Although the *Jewes* might plead, The *Institution* of this *Ordinance* was from *Heaven*, and the *Lord* of *Nature*, That it was done in so solemn and *Religious* a way, that it was not performed with any lascivious or unclean observations or gestures, but with *Horror*, and *Pain*, and *Bloodshedding*, and great *Affliction* of the outward man (as we see in the *Shechemites*) And lastly, That it was attended with heavenly and mystical *significations*, as a *Type* and *Figure*, &c. Yet notwithstanding, how was it branded and blackt with the *Scornes* and *Jeers* of the *Nations*? insomuch that the very *Sabbath* (the solemn worshipping of *God* one day in seven, in a most religious acknowledgement of his most glorious Creating of this wonderful frame of the *World* in six) was jeered, from this very seeming Incivility of *Circumcision*: *Recuti-taque Sabbata*, &c. the Circumcised *Sabbaths*, &c.

If *Abraham* had lived now in *England* (one of the most zealous Nations of the *World*, for inflicting torments on others, and being tormented for *Religion* and *Conscience*) what would our rash *Zealots* have done with *Abraham*, in case he had Sacrificed his son *Isaac*? &c. would they have examined the *miraculous* conception of the Child as from Heaven, and the reason that that most holy and most glorious hand, that so *miraculously* and *supernaturally* gave him, now call'd againe for him, by a Voice *miraculous* from Heaven? also, would they have observed the Man, so *Holy*, and so *Faithful*, his *Addresses* to the Act so *Holy*, and so free from *Passion*, from *Designe*? &c.

*Abrahams
Sacrificing
of Isaak a
seeming
Incivility.*

Or if the Mother of the *Lord Jesus* had brought forth her Son amongst us, and (it should have been acknowledged) without the company of her Husband, Yet who can be so impious against *God*, and so unchristian and blasphemous against *Christ Jesus*; as to question, but that the most Civil, and the severest *Judge*, upon due *Examination* of the whole matter, might rationally and judiciously have pronounced to have found no violence of *Civility*, no wrong to the Bodies or Goods of any (the proper object and cause of all *Civil Officers*) but contrarily a most holy and glorious appearance of the living *God*, and gloriously free from such *Impurities*, with which even the *Religion* of whole Nations are defiled?

*So Maries
bringing
forth of
Christ Jesus.*

But, oh the madness of the *Children* of *Men* (said I?) yea the precious Children of the very *God* of Heaven! Into what furious *Extremes* do we leap and run into, without the *Light* and *Lanterne* of the holy Spirit and Word of *God*; notwithstanding our great pretences of such pure *Natures light*? For how fiery would we be to condemn such a *Birth* as *spurious*, the *Parents* and the *child* unclean (Bring her forth and burn her, as *Judah* said of *Thamar*) until we owne the Child (in *Religion*) ours, the Mothers ours? &c. And therefore againe, how ready to sheath our *swords* in

*The Extreme
madness of
the Religious
zeal of men,
seldome but
in extreams.*

the bowels of the poor *Jew* or *Gentile*, which cannot see with our *Eyes* and *spectacles*, and believe this Child to be the *Christ*, the *true* Messiah?

The Incivilities of the Ranters.

I profess my self unsatisfied, as to the *Baptisme* and *Dipping* now used; I abhor the debauchedness of those poor deluded high *Attainers*, the *Mad Folks* (as Master *Pennington* well calls them) the Ranters: And I praise *God*, for the height and prudence of the *State*, to prevent and punish the *Practices* and *Doctrines* of such Abominations, &c. But, are there but one sort of (*Religious*) *Mad Folks*, *Ranters*? &c.

Ranters and Ranting more sorts than one.

What is it but *Ranting*, to call *Fire* from *Heaven* (as the gracious *Disciples* of *Christ Jesus* did and may do) because (as they think) men practice Incivilities (against the light of *Nature*) refusing to entertain the Son of *God Christ Jesus*?

What is it but *Ranting*, to forbid the very casting out of *Devils* (as done by *Conjuration*, *Heresie*, *Blasphemy*, &c.) because these *Exorcists*, these *Casters* out, they follow not us, our *Way*, our *Church*, our *Faith*, our *Worship*? &c.

Many Consciences differing about the blood of Christ.

Yea, what is it but *Rantisme*, to fling stones at the *Conscience* of any, perswaded to finde out the *Blood of Christ*, in the way of dipping into *Water*; or at the *Conscience* of the poor *Jew*, accounting of that blood as false and Counterfeit? or of the *Papist*, perswaded that the *Jewes* are wanderers; but that there's need of *Maries Milk* to her Sons blood? or at the *Consciences* of the *Turkes*, the *Persians*, the *Pagans*, the millions of millions of millions of poor deluded *Consciences* whose oppositions the meek *Lamb of God* commandeth gently to be born, and his *Servants* patiently to wait, if yet it might please the *God* of *Heaven* to give *Repentance*, and a *Rescue* from the snares and chains of *Satan* and *Destruction*?

Yea, If ever there was *Ranting* in this *World*, what is it, but the mad flinging about of *Firebrands*, *Arrows*, and

Death, (which *Solomon* speaks of) to fling all the World topsi-turvy, and to Fire the Nations with uncivil and irreligious *Heats, Tumults, Plundrings, Ravishings, Slaughters*, about the *Hereticks, the Blasphemers, the Diablos?* &c.

And therefore (lastly) I ask the *Proposer*, of these Questions, Whether in case it had pleased the *Lord* to conceal the *Old Testament* from us, or that of the *New* bound up alone (as it is frequently) should fall into the hands of some people in the World; I ask (I say) Whether, therein, *Christ Jesus* hath not left his Followers full, and compleat, and absolute Directions in all Cases? I ask, then, in what part of his *Testament*, hath he given the least *Direction*, for the Civil Sword to be drawn in his *Quarrel*, for the *Body* of any man to be afflicted for his sake? and therefore in this case proclaims to his zealous *Followers* (who in this case did not know of what Spirits they were) that he came not to destroy mens *Bodies*, no not for the highest *opposition* made against him; no not that of calling him *Beelzebub*, and charging him with Sorcery, and casting out of *Devils* by the *Devil* himself.

The New Testament in case the Old were not.

Christ Jesus no Author of civil force, against the highest of his opposites and Blasphemers.

Yea I ask, Whether in the very *Old Testament* it self, such *Persons*, such *Nations* as were wholly Idolaters, were punished even by *David* himself; as the *Moabites, the Ammonites*, &c. when they were subdued under him; although in the Land of *Canaan* (the onely Church in Covenant with *God*) there were just Lawes in force against such sins and practices?

I therefore conclude with this *Question*, Whether (notwithstanding the *Proposers* plea, of the purity of the *Gospel*, discovering *Idolatry* more clearly;) whether the *Gospel*, and *Covenant* it self, *Christ Jesus*, have not expressly lockt up the hands of all that call him *Lord* and *Master*, saying, Let the Tares alone until the Harvest?

The sum of the fourteenth Question.

Whether, since *Idolatry* brings plagues upon the people, *Quest. 14.*

the *Magistrate* ought not to deliver the people from those plagues, by removing *Idolatry*?

Ans.

I ask, First, since *Idolatry* is twofold (as before) *Religious* and *Moral*; And making the *Belly a God*, or *Gold a God*, is as real *Idolatry*, as the making of the *sun a God*; and the honouring, and loving, and serving them before the true *God*, is as real *Idolatry*, as the worshipping of the *sun*, or a *Golden Image*: As also, since *Christ Jesus* commands his people to separate from a Covetous person professing to be a brother in *Christ Jesus*, I Cor. 5?

The World lies in Idolatry and this Nation and People.

With what face then, before the flaming Eyes of *Christ Jesus*, can we cry out so much against *Idolatry* in *Worshipping*, and raise such Sormes and Tempests in the World about *Idolatry*? &c. When the whole World, and each Nation, and our Selves, lie in the second kind of *Idolatry*, of many sorts; *Worshipping* (according to the several Lusts of the *Eye*, the *Flesh*, and the *Pride* of Life) several sorts of Creatures, before the Creator, *God* blessed for evermore. This kinde of *Idolatry* especially in *Gods* people, and especially after so much light and experience from *God*, the *Lord* abhors as much (having commanded it not to be named among the Saints) yea, and in some respect, above the grossest *Idolatry* of all the World beside. What *Anti-christian Blindness* and *Madness* is it therefore to cry out, like the *Spaniards* and *Portugals*, against the poor *Indians Idolatry*; when besides their owne *Images* and *Superstitions*, they were notorious worshippers of, and bowed down to the *Indians Gold*, which to their astonishment, the *Indians* beheld and stumbled at?

The greater Idolaters, cry out against the less.

Secondly, I ask, Doth *Idolatry* alone, without a ripeness in other sins, bring *Plagues* and *Destructions* upon Lands and People? Were not others sins alleadged the cause of *Sodoms* destruction (one of the most fearful and most famous *Destructions*, since the beginning of the World) and

Sodom.

amongst other sins, that of oppressing the poor? and *soul-oppression* is still the highest.

Was not *Egypt* the wonder of the World for Plagues? *And Egypt.*
and though most infamous for *Idolatry*, yet was there not one Sin, which especially unstopped the Vials of Plagues and Vengeance on them, to wit, their *Oppressions*, indeed their *Soul-oppressions*, on the *Israel* and people of *God*?

It is true, *Gods* People were guilty of *Religious Idolatry*, *And Israel.*
I. *Chron.* 36. but yet there was a *remedy*, until they mocked, and dispised, and misused the Messengers from *God*, sent unto them.

Hence, What was the complaint of the *Lord Jesus* against *Jerusalem*, when he wept over it, foreseeing the *Destruction* of it shortly after his death (in which Eleven hundred thousand *Jewes*, Men, Women, and Children perished, and were captivated) What was his great complaint, but this, *O Jerusalem, Jerusalem Thou which killest the Prophets, and stonest them which are sent unto thee! &c.* *And Jerusalem, destroyed for oppression and Soul-oppression chiefly.*

And if that second *Wo* (*Rev.* 9.) be the Plague of the *Turks*, upon the *Antichristian* World, beside their *Idolatry*, read we not (verse the last) *That neither repented they of their Murders, nor of their Sorceries, nor of their Fornications, nor of their Thefts?*

And when we read of the *great Whore* (commonly interpreted the *Church of Rome*, the greatest professed State of *Christianity*, though most *Whorish*, in all abominable worships and practices, under the pretence of being the most chast, and onely Spouse of *Christ Jesus*) read we not also, before the *tearing* of her *Flesh*, and *burning* of her, That she is a *whore*, drunk with the blood of the *Saints*, and the *Witnesses* of *Jesus*? *Rev.* 17. And when (*Rev.* 18.) three famous causes are assigned, of her most famous *downfal*, is not this among the rest, a principal one, that in her is found *Bloody Oppressions*, to wit (verse the last) the blood *Oppression and Bloudy Persecution one chief cause of the downfall of the bloodie Church of Rome.*

of the *Prophets* and *Saints*, and of all that were slain upon the earth?

*Spiritual
plagues follow
abuse of
light.*

Thirdly, I ask, Whether that place of *Paul*, *Rom. I.* speak not there onely of *spiritual plagues*, and not of Gods punishing sins with *temporal plagues*; but of punishing *sin* with *sin*; and implies no more, but that God justly punisheth mankinde, for his abuse of, and not improving of all his Light, (though but *moral, civil, natural*) with a spirit and conscience *hardned*, and delivered up to *further alienation* from him, into several degrees and sorts of sin and wickedness?

What hinders this, but that such as have some *convictions* of a *Deity*, and yet improve not these *convictions* to the highest, but worship that Deity corruptly, That such (I say) yet ought to be suffered to live, and are not to be destroyed as *Idolaters* and *Blasphemers*, yea and with meekness ought to be instructed, if peradventure it may please God to give them *repentance*, that they may recover themselves out of the snare of the devil, whereby they are taken captive at his will? 2. *Tim. 2.*

Yea, I pray leave humbly to ask, without offence, What if some *Edw. 3.* or *Hen. 5.* should rise again, and that in a *Protestant* profession, and conquer *France*, as those Kings did; yea, suppose that *France* should conquer *England*, What should the *Catholike conqueror* do with so many thousand *Protestant Hereticks*, so accounted? And what should the *Protestant conqueror* do with so many hundred thousand *Popish Idolaters* in *France* and *Spain*, yea suppose all the world over?

I know what some furious *Zelots* would say, on either side; I know what *Superstition*, what *self-interest*, what intemperate and unbridled *Zeal*, hath done in former and present times: But I ask, what *Christ Jesus* would do, what the meek *Lamb of God* would do, who tells his fiery Disciples in such cases, *Luke 9.* you know not what *Spirit*

you are of; *I came not to destroy mens lives, but to save them.*

Fourthly, As to that particular case of the *Land of Canaan*, I ask, whether that *Land* and *Nation*, the people of it, whom the Land spued out, and the people of *Israel*, whom the Land recieved, were not all of them *typical* and *figurative*, and attended with *extraordinary, supernatural,* and *miraculous* Considerations? Further, may we not as well expect, to pass over to *Ireland, France, or Holland*, on dry Land (as *Israel* from *Egypt* toward *Canaan-land*) and to tumble down City-Wals and Castles, with the sound of *Rams-Hornes*, &c. as to think of a material or literal *Antitype* or parallel, now in these Gospel-daies?

The Land of Canaan a figurative Land, it and the people attended with miracles.

Hath not the irreconcilable *Disproportion* and *Dissimilitude*, between that Land of *Canaan*, and all others, been alleadged by some, against the most conscientious and able in this Controversie, Master *Cotton*, and that without any reply of his, or any man else, as unto that great Argument of the difference between the Land of *Canaan*, and all other Lands that are, or ever have been, or shall be?

And since the Proposer of this Question is pleased to mention *Lev. 20*. I ask, Is not this the Ground, even of *Israels ceremonial* and *typical* holiness, touching their not eating of *Swines* Flesh, and all unclean Beasts and Fowl? verse 25. I am *Jehovah* your *God*, who have separated you from other peoples: and verse 25. Therefore I have separated these unclean Beasts and Fowle from you, as unclean: and verse 26. You shall be holy unto me, for I *Jehovah* am holy, and have severed you from other Peoples, that you should be mine.

Israel a Nation separated from all Lands to God.

Did not all these unclean Beasts and Birds, signifie men in *Gospel*-times, from whom we ought not to separate in civil converse, as the *Jewes* did, *Act. 10*. for then we must go out of the *World*, *I Cor. 5*. but in spiritual communion and Worshipping of *God*, *I Cor. 6*. Come out from among

them, and be ye separated, and touch no unclean thing, and I will receive you, and be a *Father* unto you, &c.

The Israel and people of God, the onely type of Gods Israel in Canaan.

Doth not Master *Cotton* himself acknowledge, that this punishing of the *Idolater*, in the Land of *Canaan* was *typical*, and that the *Antitype* is onely the *Church* of Christ, which ought not to purge out *Idolaters*: which Church (whether Congregational, as Master *Cotton* holds) or National, as others; Yet I ask, what weapons hath either the one or the other, as Christs Church, or Wife, but Spiritual? &c. What can be then the Result from this, *Lev.* 20. but that the *Israel* and People of *God*, who are (*Nazarites*, or) separated unto him, from all the people of the World, ought to touch no uncleanness; and not onely to separate from *Religious Idolatry*, but even to separate from, and abhor that *Moral Idolatry*, *Covetousness*, and to hold no Spiritual Society with that man, being called a Saint or Brother, who covets this Worlds goods? which thing, is not to be once named, among the Saints, *Ephes.* 5.

All Gods people are separated unto himself.

But fifthly, I ask, What is this to all the Nations of the *World*, who, as *Nations*, are all parts of the *World*, and lie (saith *John*) in wickedness, in Idolatries and Superstitions, rolling and changing as Waves of the Sea, in restless Lusts, and Passions of all sorts? &c.

The State of all the numberless numbers of the Sons of men, without Christ in the world.

Did not *God* wink at the Nations, *Act.* 17. and is he not still pleased to wink at those numberless Nations of the *World* unto whom the sound of a *Saviour* reacheth not? How wonderful are the Dominions of the *Grand Seignour* (the *Turkish Emperour*) and the mighty Empire of the *Persians*, the great *Mogul*, the *Chinois*, the *Tartars*, and the many millions of millions of the Sons and Daughters of Men, who in all Ages and Nations pass on in outward Peace, Prosperity and Glory, amongst some of whom, *God* may call some to fear him, and love the *Lord Jesus*?

But for any of these whole Nations to become *Christians*, that is, to be anointed with Christs Spirit; I ask, Whether

such a thing be found in *Christs Testament*, or be in experience true, of the Body of this, or any other Nation?

A National Church a fiction, and not found in Christs Testament.

Sixthly, Whatever be the *pretence* and *mist* which Satan *casteth*, I ask (with a famous observer once *Lord Chancellor* of England) Whether all *Violence* in *Religion*, be not for some sinister cause and *Interest*? John pretends and boasts, Come, see my zeal for the *God* of *Israel*, &c. He acted gloriously, with wonderful *Activity*, *Impartiality*, and (*seeming*) *Piety*: And yet I will visit the blood of *Jehu*, saith the Lord (*Hes. 1.*) for, he took not heed with all his Heart, &c. For, having got the *Throne* of *Jeroboam*, to maintain that *Throne* and *Crown*, he goes on in the sins of *Jeroboam*, and kept up still the worship of the Calves, which *Jeroboam* had set up.

Magistrates act zealously for an interest.

What a wonderful noyse and sound have those three Greek names, *Idolatri*, *Heresie*, *Blasphemy*, made in the world, to the scaring and affrightment of poor people, in both *Popish* and *Protestant* Countries? But let the *Zeal* of the most *Zealous* outcries be examined in *plain English*, and let the *Zealous* (even such as make profession of the most reformed *National Ministeries*, in the most Reformed *Churches*) I say, let the most *Zealous* impartially *Examine*; and it shall be found, that the *Bottome* and *Root* of the matter, is a plain *Merchandizing* with the word of *God*, and as it was in *Rome* and is (*Omnia Romae, cum precio*, &c.) a very *Sale* of *Law* and *Gospel*, *Moses* and *Christ*, *Heaven* and *Hell*, *God* himself, and the *Soules* of men?

The World scared by strange names.

I truly honour the many excellent *Persons*, and the excellent *Abilities*, both humane and *Divine*, of many, that have profest, and do, the Nations *Ministry* or *Service*.

Ministers pretend zealously but for an Interest.

I confess, there is a due of *Temporals*, to such as *Minister Spiritualls*; but withall I ask, What is it but a *Trade* and *Living*, but a *Merchandising* for *gain*, when men profess they cannot, without so much or so much, preach *Christ Jesus*?

*The main-
tenance of
Christs true
Ministers.*

Surely the *Apostacie* hath benn most wonderful and dreadful. None can say but that the Lord Jesus did send out such Preachers of his Truth, as did *trust him*, and *lacked nothing*; who did as *freely give*, as *freely* they had *received*; who did labour *spiritually*, and upon defect of supplies (through the *poverty* or *coldness* of the Saints) did labour with their own hands: and other course for his *Messengers* (in most infinite wisdom) took he none, nor will his *true Ministers* and *Prophets* desire he should: and whatever other *Prudential* Images and Inventions are set up, will he disclaim and judge, when he appears in flaming fire, &c.

*What more
free, and yet
what more
bought and
sold then
Light.*

What should be so free in the world, as *divine* and *heavenly light*? and yet what is so frequently and so dearly sold, as *that Light*? (I speak as to the *external* preaching of many holy Truths.)

*Mercenary
light.*

I shall desire to be *corrected*, If I *erre* in the *Piety* or *Charity* of the *Question*; and ask, If any man can possibly, by *rules* of Christ Jesus, profess a *Ministry* of Christ Jesus, and depend on that for *maintenance* to him and his? Yea, although he have so much *Civility*, as not to make a *Bargain*, for so much or so much; yet if there be an implicate Expectation or Dependence, upon such a Service or *Ministry*, for a *Salary*, maintenance, &c. I ask, (Whatever the *Person*, his *Gifts*, *Experiences*, *Light* be) whether his Calling and Standing be not as truly *Mercenary* and *Unchristian* as his that stands at the Corners of the Streets in dark *Nights*, with ready lights and linkes, offering to go with any call (presuming on a pay) and therefore his word is to every *likely* passenger, Will you have a light Sir?

*Bloody
fruits of a
pretended
holy Root.*

Lastly, I ask, Whether (as the *Lord Jesus* speaks of false *Prophets*) we may not discern false Doctrines, Tenents, and Opinions, by the horrible fruits, which this bitter *Root* hath brought forth, to the slaughter of so many thousands, and ten thousand times ten thousand of mankinde, Religiously and Zealously (as is pretended) hunting one an-

other, as wild *Beasts, Monsters, Idolaters, Hereticks, Blasphemers?* &c.

Yea, And which may cause a Soul, truly in love with *Christ Jesus*, to tremble; this, above all other, hath been that bloody Knife, that hath so many thousand and ten thousand times stab'd the *Lord Jesus* to the Heart, in the bloody *hunting* of so many his Servants and Followers, as the greatest *Hereticks, Blasphemers, &c.* both in this and other Nations.

The sum of the fifteenth Question.

Whether the Examiner hath not set himself to confute *Paul*, saying it is not easie to finde, that the *Heathen* should not make a *Graven Image*; nor any marvel, that they should by the forme of some Creature, represent him, &c. Whereas *Paul* proves, that the Eternal power and *Godhead*, are so manifest, that they are without excuse, who knowing God, do not glorifie him as God, &c. but change the glory of God into an *Image?* &c. *Quest. 15.*

First, I ask, Whether the *Proposer* of these questions expresseth not very little of that *Christian Moderation, and Equity, and Equanimity* of Spirit, which a Follower of Christ Jesus pretends to, in setting the words (which bear a better sence) yea and the Heart of the *Examiner* upon the Rack, by insinuating little less, then that he hath set himself to contradict and fight against *God* himself, and his most holy Spirit in *Paul*, his Servant and Penman? Whereas a more sober and Dove-like *Christian Eye* will read no more, but a faithful and *Christian* plea, for moderate and *Christian* thoughts, to all the Nations and Generations of the World; who although by the hightned power of *Reason*, they may possibly attaine to (as above hath been discoursed, by the light of *Nature*) many Convictions and Confessions of a *Godhead*; Yet is it not so facile and easie for them (having so many thousand clogs and chaines, of barbarous Ignorance, and *Education, and Lusts* hanging on them) to soare so *Answ.*
The Examiner unchristianly dealt with.

The Natural estate of all and the very best of mankind.

high, with the wings of meer *Natural* corrupted Reason, as to finde the true *God*, and the true *Way* of glorifying *God* acceptably in *Christ Jesus*. Yea I ask, Whether this is possible to be attained unto (as above-said?) But rather that this place of *Paul, Rom. I.* implies, that the wisest and most industrious of the Sons of Men, will be found guilty of gross Negligence and undervaluing of *God*, and of being inslaved by many corrupt *Lusts, Examples, Customes, Fear* of men, *Tradition* of Fathers, and of not improving that *Power of Reason*, and understanding in themselves so far, and so high, as they ought and might also do?

All the Nations of the World, wandering in Idolatry and Superstition.

Secondly, I ask, If it be easie for the Nations of the *World* to escape and miss these Rocks of *Idolatry, Superstition, Will-worship*, &c. how comes it to pass, that all the *Generations* of mankinde, from the first *Creation and Fall* of Man to this day (the *Phoenicians, the Chaldeans, the Egyptians, the Persians, the Grecians, the Romans*, and the many millions of millions of wise and understanding men, not onely the *Pagans*, but the *Turks, the Jewes, the Papists*, and carnal *Protestant*, should so stupendiously and constantly wander from the glorifying of *God*, as *God*, but by invented *Images, and Representations* of *Superstition, Will-worship*, darken his *Glory*? &c.

Gods owne people and choicest Servants hardly kept from Superstition and Will-worship &c.

Thirdly, If it be so easie to escape *Idolatry, Superstition, Will-worship*, &c. How is it that the holy Spirit records, how easily, how wonderfully, and fearfully, *Gods owne people* (*Aaron* the Leader, all *Israel* with him) slipt into the *Idolatry* of the *Golden Calf*? yea and afterwards, the whole ten Tribes of twelve (*Gods owne people*) apostate to the *Calves* (again) of *Jeroboam*?

How is it, that onely the Godly *Kings* of *Judah*, neglected the demolishing of the high places, and the reforming of what was notoriously Superstitious, and that not onely *Solomon* built houses for the gods of his Wives, but even *David*, and thirty thousand of *Israel* with him, brings up the Arke

of *God* (the signe of *Gods* presence) with wonderfull Sol-
emnities shootings and rejoycings, until they met with
Perez-Uzzah, the *Breach* of *Uzzah*, the signal of *Gods* dis-
pleasure?

How is it, that not onely many shall seek to enter, and
shall not be able; and *Israel* obtained not that which they
sought for, as it is written, *Rom. 2*. But even the tender
Love, and *Dove*, and undefiled of *Christ Jesus* (*Cant. 5*.)
rising up to open to her *Beloved*, she findes him agrieved
at her unkindness, and gone; she sought him, but she found
him not; she called him, but he gave no answer?

Christ Jesus
not easily
found of,
not onely
pretenders,
but Cordial
Intenders.

Fourthly, How is it, that not onely *God* sendeth *Anti-
christians* strong *Delusions*, which so hold their *Under-
standing*, *Conscience*, *Judgement*, and *Affections*, that they
really belive *Lyes*, notorious and great *Lyes*; but even at
this *Day* among our selves, the *Consciences* of *Gods* chil-
dren and people (in whom the blessed fear and love of *God*
hath shined) how are they (I say) divided each from other,
not onely *Ephraim* against *Manasseh*, and *Manasseh* against
Ephraim, and both against *Judah*, but even *Judah* against
Judah, Insomuch that *Gods* people at this day have not
onely occasioned that reproachfull terme of *Sectaries*; be-
cause of their *separation* from the *National Churches*, gath-
ering themselves into *separate* Congregations, but even from
their *Sects* and *Divisions* among themselves? And I ask,
whether this shall not be, and must continue, until the
blessed time of *one* Heart, and *one* Spirit, and *one* Lip,
which *God* will vouchsafe to all his people?

The di-
visions of
Reuben, yea
even of
Judah.

Fifthly, Since every Way, *Manner* or *Forme* of *Worship*,
of *Church*, of *Ministry*, of *Prayer*, of *Baptisme*, &c. (that
onely excepted which the *Lord Jesus* appointed) is an In-
vention, an *Image*, a molten or *carved Image*; And conse-
quently, the many strange waies, and kindes, and formes of
Protestant Churches, *National*, *Provincial*, *Diocesan*, *Paro-
chial*, *Presbyterian*, *Independent*, *Separated*, *Half-separated*,

Gods people
full of
Images, how
much more
the *Nations*.

Baptized one way, a *second*, a *third* way (as to their various Formes and Constitutions) are but *Images* and *Pictures*, and none but one of them (if any of them be yet) according to the first pattern; And since Gods own people, have had a great share and hand in such framings, &c. both in *England*, *Scotland*, *France*, *Low-Countries*, &c. I ask, If it be not much more easie for the poor *Nations* of the World, who sit in darkness (as of old) to erect Images of *Gold* and *Silver*, *Wood*, *Stone*, &c. and of late, *waies* and *Manners* of *Worship* (though more subtle and mysterious, yet) as real *Images*, as those of the grossest Composition?

Gods designe to suffer the Nations, and his own people, to wander and feel the want of his holy Spirit, in the use of all means.

Lastly, I ask, If there be not a deep and heaven-designe, of the most holy and onely wise *God*, thus to suffer the world and his people also, to divide and scatter, and dissipate themselves; Thus to cause the holy *Scriptures*, amongst both *Papists* and *Protestants* (the pretended Rule of *Life* and *Light* unto all their waies and Consciences) to be so Pen'd, so Written, so translated, that as it was said of *Jesus Christ*, he was given for a stumbling *Block*, and *Rock* of offence, as well as for a *Rock* and *Foundation* to his people: So, may it not also be said of the holy *Scripture*, and the texts and writings thereof, from whence so many, and so wonderfully different perswasions and Consciences are risen?

In particular, I ask, If it have not been wonderfully easie, from the seeming light of *Nature* and *Scripture* too, to slide into the many *wandrings* and *Labyrinths* of consciences now extant, which though but *Threads* and *Strawes*, yet do hold the conscience as with *Chaines* of *Adamant*, until the holy and blessed Spirit of *God* discover and dissolve? &c.

If there be any *Bowells* (therefore) of pity in us, toward poor sinners, like our selves; If any sence of the mercies, and pitie of Christ Jesus to our selves, How should we compassionate the Captivated and (sometimes) the striving and relucting souls of thousands, about these and the like Opinions?

How many thousands and ten thousands of *Gods* ancient Friends and Acquaintance, the *Jewes*, will say unto us, How can that *Jesus* whom you pretend, be the true *Messiah*, the anointed of *God*, he whom all the *Prophets* told of, whom all the *Fathers* lookt for? How did he deliver us from the *Roman* yoakes? how hath he redeemed us, these 1600 years since, from all our *Enemies*, in the *Lands* of our *Dispersions* and *Scatterings*?

*The Jewes
conscientious
plea from
Scripture.*

How many thousand *Papists* will tell us, that *Jesus* the *Son* of *Mary*, he is the blessed *Messiah* that was to come? and why should we not believe him, that plainly said, This is my *Body*? Is he not able to make good his word, in a real and corporal presence? Did he not say to *Peter*, thou art *Peter*, and upon this *Rock* will I build my *Church*; To thee will I give the *Keys* of the kingdom of heaven?

How many thousand will tell us, that the great and wonderful *mystery* of the *holy Trinity* is beyond their understanding and reach; and they cannot *believe* and *die* for that which passeth their comprehension; as also, that the *knots* of *holy Scripture* (besides those of *Reason*) are very great and wonderful?

How many thousands are perswaded that the several *Orders* in the government of *Christs House* and *Kingdom*, are not manifested in vain unto us, in the *Word* of *God*, & in particular, the order of *Bishops*?

*The several
conscientious
pleas of the
more know-
ing and
most godly
persons in
England.*

Nor are there thousands and ten thousands wanting, who will (triumphantly) ask us, What that *laying on the hands* of the *Presbytery* was?

How many *Consciences* will ask how we can dare to say, that *Christ Jesus* *died not for all*, when so many *Scriptures* speak of the *propitiation* for the sins of the *whole world*?

And why (say they) shall the power of *Nature* be so slighted, when *Christ Jesus* tells us, that *he would*, but *Jerusalem would not*?

And how is *that doctrine* (say they) so infallible, of the

impossibility of a final breach between Christ Jesus and Believers; when so many Caveats, Warnings, Items, are given us nor to fall; and so many dreadful examples (especially in these times) of the departure of so many from Christ Jesus, to the world with Demas and Judas, to honour and preferments with Diotrephes, to lusts, and pleasures, and many abominations, with the stony ground?

How many are assaulted by Satan, to question the *God-head* of the Son of God, and of the Holy Spirit, and of the *truth* of the holy Scriptures; Whether there are *no more* holy Scriptures but these; and whether the *Translations* are infallible, and which are to be *rested* or *relied* on?

Oh how *merciful*, how *pitiful* are the bowels of the *Lamb of God*, to poor wandring sinners? And how *fierce*, how *cruel* are the thoughts of his *Co-rival Antichrist*, who makes it so easie to be born againe, to have Gods Spirit, to be Orthodox, to be truly Zealous against *Idolaters, Blasphemers, Hereticks?* &c.

Quest. 16. The sum of the sixteenth Question.

Whether *Idolaters* may not be punished, because the Magistrate doth not know the heart of the *Idolaters*; and whether this opposeth not the word of God by *Moses*, and the punishment of the worshippers of the *Calfe*, and *Baal*, and the Prophets of *Baal?*

17. Unto which may be added the seventeenth Question, viz: Whether *Idolaters* may not be convinced by Acts, as well as a *Murtherer*, and thereby the heart of the *Idolater* is discovered? for the *Murtherer* is discovered guilty, because of Malice in his heart.

As also the eighteenth.

18. Whether of two sins, that which is discerned ought not to be punished; because the other is not punished, for want of discerning?

Answer. First, Not to respect what hath been said, as to the Distinction of *Idolatory*, as to the nature of civil *Magistracie* and

its power, the different dispensations of *God*, divers times, and divers waies, and at last by his Son; To the Fathers in families, to *Moses* and the *Prophets* in the typical Land of *Canaan*, and at last all the world over, by his most glorious and dear Son, *God* blessed forever!

I ask, first, Whether the *Examiner* can be fairly charged, to bring it in as a reason, that *Idolatry* should not be punished, because the *Magistrate* doth not know the heart of the *Idolater*? And will all that the *Examiner* speaks there of the heart, be fairly cast up and amount to more, then the forementioned distinction of *Religious* and moral *Idolatry*, and that opened by that so famous instance of the *Spaniards*, in the *West-Indies*, who cryed out against the poor *Indians*, *Idolaters*, *Idolaters*, *Heathens*, worshippers of the *Sun*; and yet themselves did most notoriously bow down to the *Golden God*, the *Indians Gold* (as all *Europes* Nations, and *England* more or less) and in a sordid and bloody devotion, did sacrifice to that *Golden Image*, so many thousands, yea millions of the *Inhabitants*? It is incredible how many millions of mankind were there destroyed (as their own *Cardinal* ——— wrote to the *Emperour Charles* the fifth) as *Idolaters*, *Blasphemers*, &c. But it is very credible and easie to believe, what stumbling-blocks, such their *Covetousness* and *Cruelties* were, to the poor *Indians*, insomuch that they abhor'd to hear the *Spanish Priests* to talk of heaven, whither the *Spaniards* were said to go; whose *Covetousness* and *Cruelties* they thought would never send them to a place of *Blessedness*.

Secondly, I ask, Whether those Examples of punishing the *Worshippers* of the *Calfe*, and of *Baal*, and of *Baals Priests*, are presidential and binding unto all the Nations of the World? And whether the paralleling of all Times, to that ceremonial Time, and all places to that typical and ceremonial place, be not indeed (upon the point) a new piecing up of the vaile of the *Temple*, which the right hand of the

The Spaniards sacrificing millions of men to that grand idol of the world, the Indian gold.

*The new
piecing up
of the waile
of the
temple.*

God of Heaven hath rent, and a preferring of *Moses* the Servant, before the *Lord Jesus* the Son, yea and (consequently) a denying of the *Lord Jesus*, the great Messiah, to be yet come?

*The Bishops
root and
branch, and
all false
Ministers
ought to be
put to death.*

Thirdly, I ask, if these Examples be now presidential, Whether if there were such *Civil Magistrates Monarchs* of the world as formerly (yea and however) whether it be not the duty of all the *Magistrates* in the World, to destroy (even beyond all compare and Imagination) the greatest part, if not almost all the Inhabitants of the whole World, for some false Worship, *Idolatry*, and one *Golden Calf* or another?

Yea I ask, Whether by this rule, the State of *England*, then favouring the *Nonconformitant* and *Presbyterian*, ought not onely to have abolished *Episcopacy* (branch and root) but also to have slain the Bishops by the sword? And by this rule, whether all false and *Antichristian Ministers*, whether *Bishops, Priests, Monks, Friars, Parsons, Vicars, Curates, Deanes, Doctors, Chaplains*, &c. yea and all several *Priests* in the World, ought not without mercy to be put to death?

*Presbyterian
and Inde-
pendent
Ministers
put to death.*

Yea, I ask, If this State of *England* should resent the *Presbytery* of *England, Scotland*, &c. as false: And if another *Power* or *Parliament* should revolve, in the constant turning of the Wheelles of *Providence* and should condemn the Independent *Ministers*, to be as false as *Presbyters*; Where will this bloody Issue stop? What Heaps upon Heaps? How would (by this Doctrine) not onely this hopeful *Commonweal* but also the whole world, be turned to *Shambles*, and *Akeldama's*, Fields of blood? for must we not slay the worshippers of *Calves* as *Baal*, as *Moses* and *Elias* did?

Fourthly, As to the instance of Murther, I ask, If there be not three apparent differences between *civil* crimes

against the State, and those of *spiritual* nature against God, his worship? &c.

First, There are no generations of men, nor never were in the world, but by the dark light of nature, have condemned these four sins, *viz. Murther, Adultery, Theft, Lying*, as inconsistent to the converse of man with man: But all the Generation and Nations of men, have most constantly differed, and varied into many thousand differences about the true *God*, and his waies of worship, &c.

Four sins which all mankind have agreed to condemn: not so about Religion.

Secondly, Those four sorts of Sinners, *Murtherers, Adulterers, Thieves* and *Lyers*, are easily convinced and ashamed (*Jer. 6.*) they cannot but confess themselves sinners, and justly punished, &c. But *Idolaters* all the world over are ready to cry out (houres, and yeares, and ages together) Great is our *Diana*. And however (*Tit. 3.*) an *Heretick* or obstinate, withdrawn from *Christ's* admonition, hath some checkings and convincings in his owne conscience; yet both *Papists*, and *Turkes*, and *Jews*, and *Pagans* that are serious, have trampled over Posts and Prisons, Torments and Deaths, to keep their Consciences.

Civil transgressions more discernable then Spirituals.

Thirdly, Without some Order of *Civiltie* (more or less) some civil Officers of *Justice* to punish those four sins (especially) it is impossible that men can live (as men, and not as Beasts or worse) together, &c. But notwithstanding several *Religions* in one *Nation*, in one *Shire*, yea in one *Family*; if men be either truly *Christian*, like unto *Christ Jesus*, whom they pretend to follow, or but truly *Civil*, and walk but by the rules of *Humanity* and *Civility*; Families, Townes, Cities, and Commonweals (in the midst of *Spiritual* Differences) may flourish.

Without Civil Order, no Civility; without spiritual, no Christianity.

Fourthly, I ask, As to the punishing of the *Idolatry*, and all other transgressions of *Spiritual* account, Are the wounds and deaths of the two edged sword, proceeding from the mouth of *Christ Jesus*, little, and of no estimation with us?

*Spiritual
plagues
the forest.*

Are *Levi's* impartial slayings of *Brethren, Sisters, Fathers, Mothers, &c.* (*Deut.* 33.) Is the delivering up of the Nations of the world (*Rom.* 1.) to such unnatural and monstrous *Lusts*, And the Chaines of strong *Lyes* and *Delusions* upon all the *Antichristian* World, no dread nor terrour with us? *Ephraim* is joyned to Idols, let him alone (especially now in more spiritual and Gospel-times) is far more dreadfull and horrible ten thousand fold, then cutting off for murder, &c.

*A fourth
plague
added to the
three of
Davids
choise.*

And I end this Question, with this *Quere*: If it had pleased the most holy and onely wise, to have added one Judgement more to *Davids* choise of the three sore plagues, *Sword, Famine, Pestilence*, I say If he had been pleased to add a fourth, to wit, a giving up to the least of sins, the least hiding of his holy *Countenance*, &c. would not *David*, yea our selves (if our Hearts be after *Gods* and *Davids*) chuse ten thousand times all the first three, then the least Spiritual stroke of *Blindness, Hardness* from the fear of *God*? *Isa.* 63.

The nineteenth Question.

Quest. 19

Whether *Asa* did well in bringing the people into Covenant, since as the Examiner saith, he might thereby have made many turn *Hypocrites*, whereas the people swore with all their heart? &c. And although *Hypocrisie* do follow, yet this flows from the Corruption of the hypocrite, and not from the holiness of the command.

Answ.

I have before, and it is elsewhere discovered, the figurative Nature of this Land of *Canaan*, that people miraculously-cast out, and the seed of *Abraham* and *Israel* miraculously brought in; their Kings & Judges immediately designed and stirred up by *God*, as the Saviour, and types of the great Saviour to come: these were anointed, as also were their Prophets and *Priests*, in figure of that great *King, Prophet, and Priest, Christ Jesus*: All which, with all those figurative *Ceremonies* and miraculous goings of *God* with that people, is acknowledged by so many of *Gods* people,

and by Master *Cotton* in this Controversie; and that the people of *God* in the *New Testament* is the onely *Antitype*; As also that there is no Footstep nor Colour, in the *New Testament* of *Christ Jesus*, for a National Church or Covenant: And therefore,

I ask, First, Whether this be not an overthrowing of the whole designe of *God* concerning *Christ Jesus*, and a denying of him yet to be come, and to have fulfilled the *National* and *Ceremonial* figures? But since we say he is come, and hath brought the discovery of his Fathers displeasure, otherwise dispensed then was in former times, to the Fathers and the Prophets; Is not his *Testament* compleat, and the *Revelation* of his Fathers minde full in all matters, as to his Servants and Followers, although we had never heard of *Moses*, and although it should have pleased *God* to have concealed the whole *Old Testament* from us?

Christ Jesus his Testament enough for Christians, although we had never heard of Moses.

I further ask, Whether *Asa* did compel any Nation that had not been so miraculously bought and brought by *God* as *Israel* was, into Covenant with him? And may indeed a *King* now, if he conquer all *Nations*, compel and force them all to swear to serve his *God*, to make a Covenant and Contract with him, and this under pain of death, as *Asa* did? Did or might *Asa* or any of the Kings of *Israel* or *Judah*, so compel other Nations, which they did or might have conquered, and that under pain of death?

The difference between Israel and other Nations.

Is not *Christ Jesus* the truly and onely King of *Israel*? And is not his sword, his two-edged sword, and his mighty weapons, spiritual (2. *Cor.* 10.) entering into the very *Heart*, and *Spirit*, and *Conscience*, and thoughts of the *Heart*?

Secondly, I ask, If this poor *Nation* of *England* and *Scotland*, &c. have not heard the voice of the *God* of heaven out of the whirlwind (as in *Job*) declaring himself in thundring language, and dialects of *Blood*, *Distractions*, and *Destructions*, about this National League and Covenant? Were ever

The wonderful Character of Gods jealousy upon the Scotch National Covenant.

two Nations so solemnly, and with such seeming glorious *Holiness* united, to make this *Island* an holy Land, and to purge out, as out of an holy Land and Aire (as *Canaan* was) all *Idolatri*, *Schisme*, and *Hereticks*? And were there ever more evident Characters of the *Jealousie* and *displeasure* of the most *High*, written upon such Covenants, such Conjunctions?

Or was there ever (almost) such a miraculous *Decision* of the controversie, between the *Covenanters* themselves, about the Interpretations of it?

And hath not the most holy and invisible *God* made bare his holy Arme, and written it in *National* letters of blood, that he that runs may read it, That this *National* Covenanting, and *National* Churching, and *National* compelling, and *National* conforming (as to the Soules and Consciences of men and as to the worship of the *God* of heaven) is but *Levitical* and *Ceremonial*, but *Mosaical* and *lowish*, but *Unchristian* and destructive to the *New Testament* of *Christ*, to the *freedome* of the soul and conscience, to the gracious free breathings of the most holy *Spirit* of *God*, perswading and spiritually compelling the *Spirits* and *Souls* of men, to knit the onely true *Lovers Knot* and Covenant, that Death and Hell, and all the powers of Earth and Hell, Men and Devils, shall never be able to untie?

The Hypocrisie of Nationall Covenants.

Thirdly, It was no guilt of *Hypocrisie* in *Asa*, to compel that whole Nation, which, according to those figurative times and old Covenant, were miraculously brought and kept in Covenant with *God*; upon which the *Examiner* doth not fix the least charge of *Hypocrisie*: But now he may (and all men may) ask, why other whole Nations, and all Nations would be forced (like Cattel) by thousands and ten thousands, *Cities*, *Nations*, &c. to a *Religion*, and *Covenant*, and *Worship*, which their Forefathers knew not, which their Souls owne not, and their Consciences secretly disclaim as

false? &c. Doth not this, as *Isaiah* tels us, fill a Nation with *Hypocrisie*? And hath not this *Doctrine* filled this Nation (if ever any) with wonderful *Hipocrises*, as the Civil Sword and power of compulsion hath fallen by *Gods* most holy providence, into the hands of *Pagan*, or *Popish*, or *Protes- tant*, or *Presbyterian*, or *Independent* (if persecuting) Con- sciences?

I ask further, Is there not a twofold *Hypocrisie*, First, that which is more hidden and secret, such as *Achitophels* with *David*, and *Judas* with *Christ Jesus*, Thieves and Tray- tors in the Bosome, &c. Yet outwardly true, faithful, holy, Cordial? &c.

*A twofold
Hypocrisie
amongst
Protestants.*

Secondly, That which is more open, evident and plausible, such as that of the ten *Tribes*, professing the name of the *God* of *Israel*, and yet withall, the Worship of the *Calves*; and *Jeroboams Feasts* and *Priests*, and other his Inventions; and moreover, living without the life of the true *God* of *Israel*.

In the late Wars, some that professed to side with the Parliament, voted in the *House*, sat in *Committees*; yea fought for the *Parliament*, *Lawes*, and *Liberties*, &c. yet lay they like *Traitours* in the *Bosome*, as after was discovered. Others fought for the Parliament, *Lawes* and *Liberties*, and yet joyn'd openly with the *King*, fought under his Colours, and pretended onely the name of that (to wit, holiness and the Love of *God*) which they hated more then *Sim*, and *Hell*, and *damning*.

Or as in our Streets dayly, we finde two sorts of *Beggers*, one speaks such wants, so predicates *Christ Jesus*, so prays for you, that many are taken & moved to real pity and compassion, and yet deceived. A second sort, profess the Trade of *Begging*, they keep open those Sores, which they will not have heal'd; they steal or get Children to beg with, they abhor to *labour*, and make a *Trade* of *Hypocrisie*: Tis

*Anti-
christian
hypocrisie
illustrated.*

true, that they crie up the name of *Christ Jesus* too, and pray for you; but if you put not into their mouth, how soon fall they from *blessing* to *cursing*! &c.

The pretended Christian Nations found Antichristian.

Of this second sort, are not the Christian *Nations* (so call'd) made up and constituted, whether *East* or *West*, *Greek* or *Latine*, the *Popish* or *Protestant* Churches, who like the ten Tribes, and (many of them) like the strange *Nations*, brought in after the Captivity by *Salmanasser*, 2. *King*. 17. They feared the *God of Israel* and served him, and their owne Gods too; and the *Spirit of God* concludes of them, that they served their owne *Gods*, and served not the true *God* at all?

Is not this apparently the state of thousands and ten thousands and millions of (named) *Christians*, professing Christ in Word, *Tit*. 1. but in works denying of him, overspread with the Abominations of *Religious* and moral *Idolatry*, spiritual and corporal *Murthers*, *Whoredoms*, *Oppressions*, *Drunkenness*, &c. either as the great *Whore* (probably the *Whore of Rome*) actually drunk with the blood of the *Saints* and *Prophets* of *Jesus*, or else thirsting after the day of their bloody filse? &c.

Religious Ravishments and horrid Abominations.

Fourthly, I ask, Whether as to force the Consciences of the *Unwilling* is a *Soul-rape*, so to force the (Ignorant, prophane, and unregenerate) *Nations*, into a pretended holy fellowship and Communion with *God*, be not ten thousand fold more unholy and unrighteous, then to force into the Beds of any *Men of Honour*, *ugly* and *deformed* strangers, yea enemies, yea and impudent Whores and Strumpets? Would the *Proposer* stile their commands holy, just, good, did the matter concerne but his owne *Bed*? as who can but know the matter in question so neerly concerns the *Lord*, being communion, which (*Cant*. 1.) is no other then the mystical and spiritual *Bed* of the *Lord Jesus*?

Did ever *God* or *Man* command to do well, before a

ceasing from *Evil*? Doth *God* or man ever strike up Covenants of *Love*, Leagues of *Amity*, yea or admit a *treaty*, before *Repentance* and *Satisfaction* for former Injuries, before the Removeall of *Force*, the laying down of *Armes*, and the acknowledging of *Power* and *State* of such with whom they treat? If these be waies of *civility*, *righteousness*, *order*, *prudence*, what commands shall they be call'd, what *holiness* and *goodness* shall be found in them, which carry written (like the *Whores forehead*, Rev. 18.) *Mysteri- es*, *Babylon*, *Hypocrises*, *Dissimulations*? &c.

The methods of Friendship with God and men.

Therefore (lastly) I ask, how much infinitely sweeter are *Gods* Methods, delighting onely in a *willing* people? how sweet are the paths of the *Lamb* of *God* Christ Jesus, whose true Messengers are *Maidens* (*Pro.* 9.) who with *Virgin-Chastity* and *Modesty*, invite poor sinners to the heavenly *Feast* and *Banquet*? And because three are not onely Rivers of pleasures at the right hand of *God*, but Rivers of *Fire* and *Brimstone* for the obstinate, they knowing these *Terrours* of *God*, perswade, and pull, and compel poor sinners as *Brands* from the everlasting *Burnings*, &c.

The sum of the twentieth Question.

Whether those portions of Scripture, that contain principles necessary to Salvation, deserve to be call'd and despised by the name of *Formes*; and whether the Examiner think fit upon the title of formes, to despise the Principles of the Doctrine of Christ Jesus, *Heb.* 6.2. Whether if the Examiner were ready to starve, or sick neer Death, he would refuse Bread or Physick, because they came in *Formes*?

Quest. 20.

1. I ask, Whether the *Proposer* of these Questions have fairly collected from any words of the *Examiner* in the quoted ninth *Section*, that the *Examiner* doth call any Principle, necessary to Salvation, or despise them under the name of *Formes*; or doth despise those Principles of the Doctrine of Christ, *Heb.* 6. under the title of *Formes*? or whether

Answ.

he do simply, or without all due consideration, contend against the Title, or the substance of a *Forme*?

*Of outward
Forms of
worship.*

For can it be supposed, that the *Examiner* should plead so much for the *Light* of the holy *Scripture* and the *holy Spirit* of God, and yet to want that light of *Reason*, as not to know that *forma dat esse*; and (although there are very intricate Disputes *deformis internis & externis*, and whence the *forms* of creatures are produced) to imagine that any thing in the world should have a *being* (much less the *best* and *perfectest*, spiritual and heavenly things) and be *formless*? or that there should be so much visible *Acknowledgement*, *service* or *Worship* of God left in the world, as of the *Word* and *Prayer*, (which the *Examiner* is known to approve and practise) without some *form* and *order*, without which it must prove a *Chaos*, a *Babel* and *confusion*?

*Several sorts
of Forms
pretending
all to be
Christs.*

Besides, are not these his very words excepted against, [Do yet make so much of outward Forms, as to *force* men to bow down to them]

In which, doth there not fairly seem to be couched this double Assertion,

First, That there are many sorts of *outward forms*, Forms of *Confessions*, Forms of *Prayers*, Formes of Churches, Formes of *Worship*, &c.

Secondly, That every Sect and Sort are wofully apt to force one another to bow down unto their owne most excellent waies and manners, of which they severally and respectively are so and so perswaded: And is not this most wofully and lamentably true, in all Nations, in all Religions, in all Sects of all sorts, now extant among our selves, and upon all the Face of the whole Earth?

*Of doctrines
necessary to
Salvation.*

Secondly, I ask, If the *Proposer* walk not upon a most dangerous *Bridge*, whiles he disputes of Principles necessary to *Salvation*? And indeed, whether both *Papist* and *Prot-estant* are not both in the woods, while they force whole Nations to believe many Doctrines necessary to Salvation,

and yet wind up all in one, *viz.* to believe as the *Church* believes? For if they prove but obedient Sons to the doctrine of their Mother the *Church* (although they wholly want the *Life* and *Spirit* of God their (pretended) Father, yet how have such Children been ten thousand times more accepted, then such who cannot see or live, but by their owne Eyes and Faith, and desire to taste, to examine and try all things, and to hold fast that onely which they are perswaded comes from *God*?

Againe, notwithstanding several numbers of Fundamentals, which others both Papists and Protestants are pleased to assert: Yet I ask, what we think of the short word of the *Lord Jesus*, *Mark.* 16. He that *Believeth* and is *Baptized*, shall be saved? yea whether upon the point, the first of these two be not absolutely necessary; because he pincheth onely upon not *Believing* as *Damnable*; He that believeth not shall be damned?

Fundamentals of Religion.

And howsoever some grant that as to the visible profession of the *Christian Religion*, a distinct knowledge of Christ Jesus is necessary, Yet we know what is extant abroad of a possibility of Salvation, without an express and distinct knowledge of the name of Christ, according to that of *Heb.* 1. He that comes to *God*, must believe that *God* is, and that he is a *Rewarder* of them that diligently seek him. And I ask, Whether (although it be a duty to work out Salvation with fear and trembling, and to grow in the *Grace* and *Knowledge* of the *Lord Jesus*) yet is it not very presumptuous and dangerous to set a *Ne plus infra*, a *stint* and *bound* of so much *Knowledge*, and so much grace of Christ (as to the degrees of it) without which there is no Salvation.

It is dangerous to say, with how little faith God will save.

I ask, once more, from that *Heb.* 6. Whether (although I question not but that both the *Proposer* and *Examiner* believe four of these Principles, *viz.* *Repentance*, *Faith*, the *Resurrection* and *Judgement*, yet) whether the *Proposer* be able to dissolve the doubts of thousands, as to those other

Two of the Principles Heb. 6. of great Controversie.

two, the *Doctrine* of Baptismes, and the Laying on of hands; concerning which, the more Conscientious and tender the People of *God* are, about the true worship of God and Christ Jesus, the more they finde their loss, about the holy waies and means of it?

The meer Formalities of State-Forms of worship.

Thirdly, I ask, What have been most of all the Forms, and Prescripts of Doctrine and worship (since the great *Apostacie* and falling away) but *meer* Formes and Pictures, without the power and life of *Godliness*? In which respect, may I not say in the Language of *James*, As the Body without the Spirit, and Faith without works is dead; So, what have been the several National Models, Platforms, Frames and Forms, of the *Ecclesiastical* Governments (which the *Fathers* have built, and the *Children* have broke) either in the *East* or *Western* Churches, even to the last, and *Youngest*, and *Fairest* of the Pictures, but Pictures drawn to the Life, and yet but liveless Pictures and *Pro forma*?

Gods light and Gods people wrapt up in the National Reformation.

I most humbly and thankfully acknowledge the Heavenly discoveries of many Truths of *Jesus*, wrapt up confusedly even in *Babylon* it selfe, and the people of the *God* of heaven with them; from whence he hath, and will gloriously redeem them both: I acknowledge the several blessed degrees, and increasings of *Light*, wrapt up in several *Clouds* of Reformationes (so call'd) in our owne and other Nations: I am far from imagining that people should hold nothing, do nothing, &c. for I unfeignedly desire (as the Scripture speaks) in a Scripture-sence, that all men might be saved; That every Man were a *Noble* Man, an ingenious *Berean*, Examining by the Scriptures, and holding fast to the Death, what he believes he hath received from the *Father* of Lights.

And yet, *better sit still, then still rise and fall*: Have all the *Spirit*, the *Calling*, the *Gifts*, the *Life* and the presence of *God* with them; as those first Messengers the *Apostles*, whose Successours Men yet pretend to be?

Were it not better for us to acknowledge, how *poor*, how *naked*, how miserable we are, and to listen to the holy Counsel of *Christ Jesus*, &c. to buy of him, that blessed *Gold* and *Eye-salve*, that white *Rayment* and fine *Linnen*, that we may truly *see*, and be truly *rich*, and be truly *glorious* and *beautiful*; then boasting of our *Knowledge*, and *Abundance*, and want of nothing; we prove so grievous to the stomach of *Christ Jesus*, that he vomit us with loathing out of his mouth?

The danger of our own Inventions in heavenly matters.

Lastly, I ask, In case we had for unquestionable *Fundamentals*, a *Creed* composed by the twelve *Apostles* of the *Lamb*: That a *Synod* of heavenly *Angels* assembled and concluded of *Fundamentals*, of *Forms of Worship*, *Ordinations*, *Ministeries*, *Maintenance*, &c. (and all without the reach of a *Curse*, for another *Gospel*, *Gal. 1.*) Yet I ask, what rule can be produced from the Testament of *Christ Jesus*, that these *Forms*, these *Prescripts* must be imposed, and beaten into (not the *Brains* and *Hearts* of men, which is impossible) but into the *outsides* and *knees* of men, with *Swords* and *Staves*, that (as *Christ Jesus* said of the *Samaritans*) they might worship they know not what? What reason of *Christianity*, or *Civility*, that the *Talmud* of the *Jewes*, the *Alcaron* of the *Turks*, and the *Canons* of all sorts of *Popes* must not be questioned? What *Scripture* or *Reason* shall force a man to be a *Scholar* to a *Teacher*, and force him to pay for his *Teaching*; To trust his *Ship* with a *Pilot*, and to pay him for his *Piloting*; to trust himself with a *Guide*, and to pay him for his *Conduct*, when he believes that *Teacher*, that *Pilot*, are dangerously ignorant, that *Guide* is blind? &c. Yea further, from whom he must receive all upon *Trust*, and not dare (in the very place and time of *Teaching*) to propose his *Doubt*, his *Question*, his *Objection*, or desire *Explanation*?

External force in Spirituals can only pierce the outside.

The mystery and tyranny of persecuting Teachers.

And I add, What *Christianity* is that, which commands that no *Churches* be gathered, no *Ministers* chosen, no *Doc-*

trine preached, but what the civil *Sword* shall say is true and Orthodox? Nay no *Magistrate* himself chosen, nor any Civil *Officer*, except he be of our Church, our Way, and Conscience, as some say is the Mystery and Tyranny of New-Englands practice?

The two and twentieth Question.

Quest. 22.

If God was to be blessed for putting it into the Heart of a *Heathen* Magistrate to make Lawes for Religion (Isa. 7.27.) Whether he comes not neer to a curse, that would take out of the heart of a Christian Magistrate the advancement of true Religion, and perswade him to give a Toleration to the chiefe Enemies of Religion, Idolatry and Heresie?

Answ.

Sure the Proposer highly esteems this *Example* of *Ezra* 7. for, not content to mention it in the seventh Question, he attempts to win it by *Force* and *Storming* (indeed in a very stormy *Language*) in this last Question.

*Artaxerxes
his favour to
the Jewes.*

To many Branches of the same hath been spoken: As to the nature of Civil *Magistracie*, essentially Civil all the world over: As to the power of the *Magistrates* or *Officers* designed unto them by the people, as but their *Deputies*, either *Legislative* or *Executive*: As to the perfection of Civil *Magistracie* in its self and in its kind, not capable of *Diminution* or *Addition*, by the *Magistrates* change of *Religion*, to or from *Christianity* or any other *Religion* in the world: As to *Artaxerxes* his fact, not being moved out of any heart to the true *Religion*; for neither did he, or his people, forsake their owne; but out of a Conquering *Terrour* of *God*, he shews just *mercy* to his captives and people; he feares wrath to himself and his Sons from that *God*, whose love and acquaintance he cared not for. But I shall add (with Christs help) these few *Queries*.

First, Whether this Supposition of making Laws to advance *Religion*, and especially in a National way, doth not overthrow and *Evacuate* one great end of the comming of

the *Lord Jesus*, which was to fulfill all those former shadows of *Temple, Altar, Priests, Sacrifice*, &c. to tear the *veil*, to break downe the *partition Wall*, and with the two edged Sword of his Spirit, (his Word) to conquer poor sinners in a way of love? For if *Ezra's* pattern of carrying Lawes and Authority from this *King*, to force men to keep the Law of *God*, in this *Jewish Religion, Jewish Nation*, be a president for all *Nations*, where is the abolishing of the holy *Nation, holy Cities, holy Temples, Altars, Priests?* &c. Or ought we not (if *Christ Jesus* be not come) to have the Officers commanded by the King to be Tole-free, verse 24. the *Priests, the Levites, the Singers, the Porters, the Nethinims, or Ministers* of the house of *God*?

National holiness and shadows, &c. abolished by Christ Jesus the body and substance.

If it be said, the *Morality* of such a Law remaineth, I ask, Whether according to *Heb. 7.* there being a necessity of the change of the Priesthood, there is not a necessity of the change of the Law also, of that Law of Shadows, the holy Land, holy Temples, holy Priests, holy Swords? &c.

I further ask, If that people of *God* (the figure of *Gods Israel* in after-Ages to arise, in all Nations of the world) if they had not been captivated, but had been in their owne Land, and not restrained by force; whether they ought not to have builded the *Altar and Temple*, without the Kings command, yea and against it? Yea it is expressly said, *chap. 4.* they were made to cease the building by power and Force; yet they went on, *chap. 5.* to build again, at the instigation of *Haggai and Zachary*, notwithstanding the prohibition of the King, yet lying in force against them.

Gods people in Spiritualls know no Cesar but himself, and dear Son.

And lastly I ask, If these things were not *Examples* (*I. Cor. 10.*) or Types, figuring out the freedoms of *Gods* people, who if not hindred by actual Force and Power, ought onely to regard (in Spiritualls) the Scepter, and Sword, and Crown of the *Lord Jesus Christ*?

Secondly, I ask, What Lawes this *Artaxerxes* made for the advancement of *Religion*? Is not the first of absolute

Freedome and Toleration to these poor captive *Jewes*? Was there any *Babylonian* or *Persian* command to go up to *Jerusalem*, any commanded to pay, or to offer a peny toward this *Expedition*? Yea were not the *Jewes* themselves absolutely free, whether to go up to *Jerusalem*, or stay in *Babel*; whether to offer to this work one peny, or not, as appeares both by the *Decrees* of *Cyrus*, in the first Chapter; of *Darius*, in the sixth; and of *Artaxerxes*, in the seventh? Secondly, he decreed bountiful *Assistance* out of his owne *Treasury*, toward the building of the *Temple*, the *Sacrifices*, &c.

Thirdly, a *Decree* against any that should oppose, or hinder the building of this *House*; and therefore (accordingly) whosoever would not do the Law of *God*, and of the *King*, judgement must be executed speedily, &c. And chap. 6. II. whosoever should alter *Darius* his decree, Timber should be pull'd downe from his house, and being set up, he must be hanged thereon, and his house made a dunghil.

If any shall say, the command of *God* and the *King* here mentioned, was a command and Law in Spiritualls, &c.

The law of Artaxerxes, was an absolute Law of Toleration of the Jews Conscience, vastly differing from, and opposite to his.

I ask, What Law was the Law of *Artaxerxes* the *King*? was it of commanding the *Jewes* to his *Worship* and *Conscience*, in an *Uniformity* of *Worship* to the *Nation* wherein they were captive? Yea, was it a commanding of the *Jewes* to their owne *Religion*, or onely (on his part) a Law of *Toleration* and *Freedome* to practice their owne *Religion*, *Conscience*, and *Worship*, and that with favourable *Incouragement* from himself?

For (as before) if the force were removed, although *Artaxerxes* should have given them no Countenance nor Incouragement; Yet I ask, whether as *Jewes* (Gods people and subjects) they ought not of themselves to have departed from *Babylon*, and from all parts of the World, and to have ascended to *Jerusalem* (as the *Jews* literally dream)

to their holy City, and there have built the *Temple*, and presented their Sacrifices? &c.

Further, I ask, As *Artaxerxes* made not one Law either how or when the *Jewes* should pray, or fast, &c. but left them free to their owne Conscience, to go up, or not to go up to *Jerusalem*; so when these Kings did make Lawes in Spiritualls (as concerning prayer) whether *Daniel* did not well, in refusing to cease praying, or by shutting of his window to give appearance of obedience, though to the extream ruine of life? &c.

*The literal
and Spiritual
Jew.*

And consequently, Whether as the *Jewes* refused to be subject to any Judicature but *Gods* alone revealed by *Moses*; So whether *Christian Israel* and *Jews* ought to acknowledge any Tribunal but *Gods*?

Thirdly, I ask, Whether the plain *English* of not tolerating the *Idolater* and *Heretick*, hath not been in all Ages since *Christ Jesus*, the not tolerating indeed of *Christ Jesus*, *God* manifested in flesh, and both in his owne *Person*, and in his *Followers*, the hunting or persecuting of him out of the world?

Was there ever any of the *Prophets* esteemed so great an *Heretick* from the *Jewish Religion*, as *Christ Jesus* was? was there ever such a *Blasphemer* of *God* (as the *High Priest* esteemed him) as the blessed *Son of God* *God* himself, *Christ Jesus*? And doth not the many Books of *Martyrs*, in our owne and other Languages set forth, that under this *Hood* and *Vizard*, the Devil hath cast the *Saints* into *Prison*, *Rev.* 2. He hath watched to devour the *Man-child*, *Rev.* 12. and hunted the *Woman* the *Spouse* of *Christ Jesus*, and her seed: And the great *Whore* pretending that she drinks the blood of *Hereticks*, &c. hath been drunk with the blood of the *Saints*, and *Witnesses* of *Jesus*? *Rev.* 17.

*Christ Jesus
accounted
and hanged
as the great-
est Blas-
phemer and
Heretick
that was.*

Hence will not Reason suspect a Murtherous snare in the Law pretended against *Thieves*, *Robbers*, *Whores*, &c. and

True
grounds sus-
pition, in
Spirituals.

yet most commonly falling upon none but *honest* and *faithful*, *chast*, and modest Persons?

Are not these *Engines* worthily to be questioned, which pretending to take none but *Birds* of prey, and *Wolves*, &c. and yet ordinarily catch nothing but harmless *Doves*, the *Sheep* and *Lambs*? &c.

If it be said, *Idolatry*, *Heresie*, &c. are the chiefest Enemies in *Religion*, &c.

I ask, First, If those very famous Religions, which have pretended themselves the truest in the World, have not been found the greatest *Idols*? &c.

Christ Jesus
his Spiritual
provision,
against
Spiritual
Adversaries.

Secondly, Grant them to be the greatest Enemies, yet since Enemies are of two sorts, Spiritual and Corporal, I ask, Whether as Corporal weapon are proper against Corporal, so whether Spiritual weapons are not onely proper against (meerly) Spiritual Adversaries?

Thirdly, Could *Christ Jesus* so forget himselfe, as not to take sufficient order for Spiritual weapons against all his Spiritual enemies? In a *Battel* or *Fight*, by Sea or Land, how apt are men to charge *Generals* and *Commanders*, if *Ammunition* be wanting, &c. Yea in that case, how justly may men complain (as in 83) that *Powder* was said to be wanting in our own Ships, at our owne doores? And shall it be imagined that the *Last Will* and *Testament* of the Son of God, his whole Life, his 40 daies after his Resurrection, and those Gifts, which upon his *Triumph* in Heaven he sent upon men, should leave his *Army*, his *Family*, his *Kingdome*, his *Wife*, unprovided, &c. so that in the very day of the *Battel*, they must be forced to the Forge of the *Philistims* to borrow Swords, Halberts, Guns, Pikes, Prisons, Halters, against *Idolaters*, *Hereticks*? &c.

Fourthly, I may end and ask, in the Proposers owne words (whether he be not neer a Curse, that would change the two-edged Sword of *Gods Spirit*, the word of *God*, for a Sword of Steel, in the hands of *Civil Officers*; and the

Arme of the eternal Spirit of *God*, for an *arme* of *Flesh*? &c.

And if blessed are Christs peace-makers, and Christs persecuted (*Matth.* 5.) how neer to a curse doth he come, that brings not Buckets to quench, but Bellows to kindle the *Fire* of Gods Jealousie against State Inventions; the Fires of persecutions and hunting of Christs Saints, the Fires of devouring *Wars* amongst the Nations, for their respective Religions and Consciences? How neer to a curse doth he come, who under a Cloak of *Christian Magistrate*, True Religion, Zeal against *Idolaters*, *Hereticks*, &c. shall conceal a *Dagger* (which yet, I hope this *Proposer* knowingly doth not) stabbing at the heart of *God*, his Christ, his Spirit, his Saints, his pure Worship, yea and at the Heart of all *Civil peace* and *Civil Magistracie*, and *Civility* it self throughout the whole World?

And therefore lastly, I ask, Whether these two Examining *Worthies* shall not be wrapt up in the everlasting Armes of *Blessedness* it self, while they improve their *Talents* uprightly, and impartially, in the further Examination of this *Fire* of *Zeal* in question? Yea and whether not onely these two honourable Senatours, but the most renowned Senate of the world (the Parliament it self) shall not be truly crowned with the Lawrells of true Nobility, as the *Bereans* were, while they Candidly and Impartially Examine whether these things are so or no?

FINIS.

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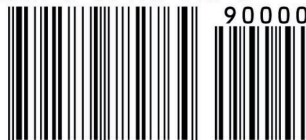
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ISBN 1-57978-276-0



9 781579 782764