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THE BAPTIST HISTORY COLLECTION

NATIONAL HISTORIES

The History of the English Baptists

by Thomas Crosby

VOLUME 1

*Containing Their History from the Restoration of
King Charles I..*

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

—  **Psalm 60:4**

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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
ENGLISH BAPTISTS,
FROM THE
REFORMATION
To the Beginning of the
REIGN OF KING GEORGE I.
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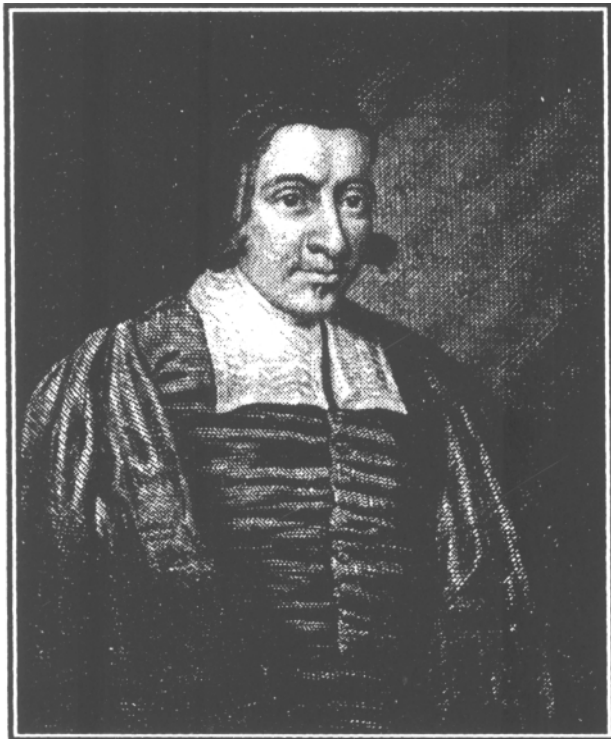
Containing Their History To The Restoration Of King Charles II.

BY THO. CROSBY.

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HANSERD KNOLLYS
1598-1691

TO THE READER

I AM well aware, that some things contained in this history may awaken prejudice, censure, or displeasure, and occasion objections and offence, both to the treatise and my self. And I know that some have already declared their opinion, that facts which bring no credit to the persons of whom they are related, ought to be buried in oblivion. But such persons seem to me to be very ignorant of the duty of an historian. In answer to whom I shall only observe, that those heretical persons of the denomination of Baptists, on whom the sword of the magistrate fell so heavy, are yet upon record, and not omitted even by so late an author as the reverend Mr. Neal, and so exposed to the view of men from age to age. Therefore I thought it needful, as well as just, to have these things set in a clear open light, to disabuse all those who may have been imposed upon by false or partial and defective history in this matter, and to remove, or prevent, or allay, scandal, or censure, for time to come; and I am apt to think that many readers now and hereafter would have thought me partial, had I not taken notice of them. Neither do I think that it reflects any odium on the English Baptists, that some of their opinion in the point of Baptism, have been charged with heretical notions and heterodox opinions, Name me that body of christians in the world, which may not be equally, if not more, chargeable with the same. And yet I doubt not, God hath many faithful servants in this kingdom, amongst all the denominations of christians, who notwithstanding the imputation of heresy and heterodoxy charged on them by others, will be found among the blessed in the kingdom of glory.

And as it is utterly unreasonable to impute the miscarriages of some, to the rest of that body to which they belong, until they profess and manifest their approbation of them; so it is much more unreasonable to impute the miscarriages and bad principles of persons long since dead, to those, who in some one point, now believe and act as they did, but own not, nor abet either their bad principles, or their practical enormities.

Now though many, even of the learned, and so late an author as Mr. Neal, from whom we might have looked for more christian treatment, have made it their business to represent the Anabaptists, as they are pleaded in contempt to stile them, in odious colours, and to write many bitter things, even notorious falsehoods concerning them, nay, to fatten doctrines upon them, which they never approved; yet, as shall be shewn in the sequel of this history, no one sect of christians in this kingdom have merited more the favour and good esteem of their governours and christian brethren, by their peaceable carriage and behaviour towards them, than they have done. What sect of christians have shewed the like contentedness under the deprivations which the legislature has

seen needful to lay upon the Dissenters in general, than they? Who have been more content with the liberty allowed them by law than they? But not to be tedious in an epistolary way, I shall refer the reader to the work itself and leave him to judge whether I deserve to be reproached for avoiding partiality.

He that considers the great trouble and pains that must attend the reading so many voluminous books, to take in the compass of so many years included in this history; and the perplexing thoughts and difficulties under which an author labours, whose principal end is to let things in a just and fair light, will, if he be candid, easily pass by small faults and little inadvertencies; but if there shall appear in the course of this history any considerable mistakes, I shall hold my self obliged to such gentlemen, who shall be pleased to represent them, promising to take the first opportunity that shall present, to retract or amend the same.

Tho. Crosby.

THE PREFACE.

Mr. Benjamin Stinton.

WHOEVER writes a Book seems by custom obliged to write a *preface* to it; wherein it is expected, he should shew the motives which induced him to write the same.

‘Tis now many years since the materials, of which a great part of this treatise is formed, came into my hands. Had the ingenious collector of them lived to digest them in their proper order, according to his design, they would have appeared much more beautiful and correct, than now they do. I might here expatiate in his praise, and say a great deal of my own knowledge, both as to his industry and acquirements: But, as I shall hereafter have occasion to mention him, I omit it here: And shall annex to this *preface* the several opinions of the first rise of the *Baptists*, which he designed as an introduction to his intended history of them; being the only piece of that work which he had completed.

Mr. Wallin. Mr. Arnold.

I WAS in hopes some able hand would have undertaken to compleat what was wanting, in order to finish this work. To render the same less burthensome to such an undertaker, I employed my spare hours, in the best manner I could, to digest the materials in their proper order, and supply the vacancies; till at length, at the request of two worthy *Baptist* ministers, both since deceased, I communicated them to the Reverend Mr. *Neal*, who had undertaken to write an *History of the Puritans*; under which general name, I did apprehend the *English Baptists* might very well be included: And he had them in his hands some years.

THE good character of the gentleman, with the importunity of my two friends aforementioned concurring (though I must confess it was with doubting) yet made me yield so to do. But I was surprized to see the ill use Mr. *Neal* made of these materials; and that the rise and progress of the *English Baptists*, their confession of faith, their character, and their sufferings, were contained in less than five pages of his third volume; and that too with very great partiality, as shall hereafter be proved.

AND it is but too well known, concerning *Paedobaptist* authors in general, that when they have been necessitated to speak in favour of the opinion of the *Baptists*, presently a vail has been drawn over the same, either respecting their persons, principles, or morals; so that it is not an easy thing for strangers to

form a right judgment of them; which makes an history of them necessary, without any further apology. Yet, considering the great variety of opinions and humours that are in this kingdom, and the coarse treatment even of the most celebrated authors, upon the most sublime subjects; a man had need have a good share of courage, and a firm assurance of the justice of his cause, that ventures to appear publickly in such a censorious age.

THE *Editor* does presume he is thus supported; and declares, That what he has here written is purely designed to inform the honest and well-meaning Christian, whether *Paedobaptist*, or *Baptist*; by whom he hopes it may be candidly received, in proportion to the integrity of his intentions.

Mr. *Neal*, in his preface, concludes thus:

I am sufficiently aware of the delicacy of the *Puritans*, the affairs treated of in this volume, and of the tenderness of the ground I go over; and, though I have been very careful of my temper and language, and have endeavoured to look into the mysterious conduct of the several parties with all the in difference of a spectator, I find it very difficult to form an exact judgment of the most important events, or to speak freely without offence; therefore, if any passionate or angry writer should appear against this, or any of the former Volumes, I humbly request the reader to pay no regard to personal reflections, or to insinuations of any ill designs against the establish'd religion, or the publick peace, which are entirely groundless. (*History of the Puritans*, Vol. III.)

IN historical debates, says he, nothing is to be received upon trust, but facts are to be examined, and a judgment formed upon the authority by which those facts are supported; by this method we shall arrive at truth: And if it shall appear, that, in the course of this long history, there are any considerable mistakes, the world may be assured I will take the first opportunity to retract or amend them.

A NOBLE declaration, indeed! But let us now see how consentaneous his representation of the *English Baptists* is thereto, especially, considering what materials he was intrusted with.

HE allows there were no less than fifty four congregations of them in *England* in the year 1644 and says:

THEIR confession [of faith] consisted of fifty two articles, and is strictly *Calvinistical* in the doctrinal part, and according to the independant discipline; it confines the subject of baptism to grown Christians, and the mode to dipping; it admits of gifted lay-preachers, and acknowledges a due subjection to the civil magistrate in all things lawful. (Vol. III. p. 161.)

HE proceeds then to their character; which, in my opinion, is one piece of that *tender ground* he was to go over: And how careful he was of his temper and language, let the reader judge. For, says he, (Ib. p. 162).

THE advocates of this doctrine were, for the most part, of the meanest of the people; their preachers were generally illiterate, and went about the countries making proselytes of all that would submit to their immersion, without a due regard to their acquaintance with the principles of religion, or their moral characters.

WHAT a malicious slander is this! cast upon a whole body of Christians, consisting of fifty four congregations, according to his own acknowledgment! To me it seems unchristian, without ground, a fact unexamined, a judgment formed without any authority produced to support the fact; and consequently the reader left to form his judgment upon Mr. *Neal's ipse dixit*, repugnant to his noble declaration.

But lest this should not be enough, he concludes their character by adding thus:

The people of this persuasion were more exposed to the publick resentments, because they would hold communion with none but such as had been dipped. All, says he, *must pass under this cloud* before they could be received into their churches; and the same *narrow spirit* prevails too generally amongst them even at this day.

This is a home stroke; and reaches the present as well as preceding ages. But I am verily persuaded the present *English Baptists* will not be much affected with his raillery; since our blessed Lord and Saviour himself did not disdain to *pass under this cloud*, as Mr. *Neal* is pleased to phrase it.

DR. *Featly*, writing against the *Baptists* in his day, says:

He could hardly dip his pen in any other liquor, than the juice of gall.

And I find Mr. *Neal* has not only read the *Doctor*, because he quotes him two or three times, but learned some of his language a too: What of wit he may imagine in such kind of phraseology, I know not; but sure I am, *Christ's Ordinances* ought to be mentioned with more reverence, by those who profess themselves to be Christians.

THE ingenious Dr. *Wall*, in his elaborate history of infant baptism, speaking of the most ancient rites in baptism, acknowledges dipping to be ordinarily used in baptism. For, says he:

THEIR general and ordinary way was to baptise by immersion, or dipping the person, whether it were an infant, or grown man or woman, into the water. This, he adds, is so plain and clear, by an infinite number of passages, that as one cannot but pity the weak endeavours of such *Paedobaptists*, as would

maintain the negative of it; so also we ought to disown, and shew a dislike of the profane scoffs which some people give to the *English Anti-Paedobaptists*, merely for their use of dipping. 'Tis one thing to maintain, that that circumstance is not absolutely necessary to the essence of baptism; and another, to go about to represent it as ridiculous and foolish, or as shameful and indecent; when it was, in all probability, the way by which our blessed Saviour, and for certain was the most usual and ordinary way by which the ancient Christians, did receive their baptism. (Vol. II. p. 291.)

AND, speaking of the present state of the *Anti-Paedobaptists in England*, he says:

THEY, that are now, are as commendable, as any other sort of men are, for a sober and grave, quiet and peaceable way of living. They profess obedience to Magistrates: *And a little further*, They are particularly commended for maintaining their poor liberally; as also for passing censures upon such members of their own congregations as live disorderly. This character of obedient subjects, is what they now own and profess, and what I hope is the real sentiment of most of them. (Ib. p. 216.)

AND I add, it was what they did always own and profess ever since they had a being in this kingdom; and that neither Dr. *Wall*, nor any other, is able to prove the contrary. His silly story about Mr. *Hicks*, I find in his latter edition, is recanted; therefore than say nothing about it. (*History of his own Time*, p. 702.)

BISHOP *Burnet*, speaking of the *English Baptists*, gives them this character:

THE *Anabaptists*, says he, were generally men of virtue, and of an universal charity.

AND I would here observe, That though in the title page of this book, and throughout the same, I use the term *Baptist*, except in quotations from authors; it is not, as Dr. *Wall* observes, to cast a reproach on our adversaries; but because I think it the most proper term, by which we can be distinguished from other Christians.

INDEED he says:

As they disown the name of *Anabaptists*, or *Rebaptizers*, so I have no where given it to them. As on the contrary, I do not give them the name of *Baptists*, nor of the baptized people; for that is to cast a reproach upon their adversaries, as concluding that they are not so. Every party, while the matter continues in dispute, ought to give and take such names as call no reproach on themselves, nor their opponents, but such as each of them own; and such are the names that I use. (*Dr. Wall*, p. 2, 99.)

So that this worthy gentleman has taken upon himself to be our godfather, and given us the name of *Anti-Paedobaptists*: But, as we are not infants, we have an undoubted right to put in our exceptions.

BESIDES the length of the word, for I do not love hard names, it seems to me no proper name; because the people called *Quakers*, from whom we differ in judgment, as well as from the *Paedobaptists*, may be included; and therefore I have rejected it. Neither shall I think that he has assumed to himself and party a proper name, till sprinkling, pouring, or any other way of washing besides dipping, is fairly proved to be baptism, either from scripture or antiquity.

BUT, to return to Mr. *Neal*. If he would have us to understand by his ill-natured phrase, *narrow Spirit*, that he means, because we will not receive unbaptized persons to the communion of our churches, therefore we are a people of *narrow Spirits*; then the designed reproach, which he would fix on the *English Baptists*, fits all the christian churches in all ages: For it is their declared opinion, That no persons unbaptized ought to be received to the communion of the christian church, and they practise accordingly.

To omit a cloud of witnesses I might produce, who concur in their testimonies, that this *great ordinance of baptism*, is not only the sacrament of *initiation*, but also to be continued in the church unto the end of the world, I shall only add a few general and comprehending testimonies:

1. IN the articles of religion, published by his Majesty's special command, *Anno* 1642. we have the judgment of the *church of England*, viz.

BAPTISM is not only a sign of profession, and mark of difference, whereby christian men are discerned from others that be not christned; but it is also a sign of regeneration, or new birth, whereby, as by an instrument, they that receive baptism rightly are grafted into the church; the promises of the forgiveness of sin, and of our adoption to be the sons of God by the Holy Ghost, and visibly signed and sealed; faith is confirmed, and grace increased by virtue of prayer unto God, &c.

2. THE judgment of the *Presbyterians*, suitable to which they express themselves in their larger and shorter catechisms, we find in the confession of faith put forth by the assembly of divines, *Anno* 1658.

BAPTISM, say they, is a sacrament of the *New Testament*, ordained by Jesus Christ, not only for the solemn admission of the party baptized into the visible church, *but also to be unto him a sign and seal of the covenant of grace, of his ingrafting into Christ, of regeneration, of remission of sins, and of his giving up unto God, through Jesus Christ, to walk in newness of life*: Which sacrament is by Christ's own appointment to continue in his church until the end of the world.

3. THE judgment of the *Congregational* (commonly called *Independent*) churches, we have in their confession of faith at the *Savoy*; where were many of their Elders in *October 1658*, printed *Anno 1659*.

BAPTISM, say they, is a sacrament of the New Testament, ordained by Jesus Christ, to be unto the party baptized, a sign and seal of the covenant of grace, of his ingrafting into Christ, of regeneration, of remission of sins, and of his giving up unto God, through Jesus Christ, to walk in newness of life: Which ordinance is by Christ's own appointment to be continued in his church until the end of the world.

4. THE *English Baptists* judgment you have in their confession of faith, Appendix N^o 2. Art. XXXIX. and N^o 3. Art. XXIV.

IT is certainly commendable to keep the ordinances of Christ pure, as they were delivered; because it prevents the creeping in of the inventions of men in the worship of God. Man is naturally apt to be meddling that way, and mixing something of his own with those sacred institutions which God has with greatest severity prohibited; having not spared any, no not his own people, though what they have done seems not to be out of any wicked intentions, but rather out of an ignorant zeal: Of which there are many instances in scripture.

The Reverend Mr. *Neal* would do well to convince the *English Baptists*, That sprinkling of infants is the baptism which Christ instituted, and the Apostles practiced. For we grant, that it is praise-worthy for the churches of Jesus Christ to preserve and keep the ordinances of Christ, as they have been delivered by Christ and his Apostles to them. And if, after a full and fair conviction from scripture, we remain still obstinate, a worse name than that of *narrow Spirits* might be justly fixed on us.

I SHALL only reply to Mr. *Neal* in the words of the Reverend Mr. *Jeremiah Burroughs*; who, though a *Paedobaptist*, very excellently expresses himself in his book, intituled, *Gospel Worship, or the right Manner of sanctifying the Name of God*, p. 8, 9, &c. His words are these: (page 10.)

ALL things in God's worship must have a warrant out of God's word, must be commanded; it is not enough that it is not forbidden, and what hurt is there in it but it must be commanded — When we come to *matters of religion*, and the *worship of God*, we must either have a *command*, or somewhat out of *God's word*, by some consequence drawn from some *command*, wherein God manifests his will; either a *direct command*, or by comparing one thing with another, or drawing consequences *plainly* from the words, we must have a warrant for the *worship of God*, &c. — When any creature is raised in a religious way above what it hath in it by nature, if I have not scripture to warrant me, I am therein *superstitious* — We must be all *willing worshippers*, but not *will worshippers*. You see how severe God was to *Nadab* and *Abihu*,

for but taking *other fire*, than that which God appointed, to offer up incense, though there was no direct commandment *against* it, &c.

IN the matters of *worship* God stands upon *little* things; such things as seem to be very small and little to us, yet God stands much upon them in the matter of worship. For there is nothing wherein the prerogative of God doth more appear than in worship, as princes stand much upon their prerogatives — There are things in the worship of God that are not written in our *hearts*, that only depend upon the will of God revealed in his word; which were no duties except they were revealed there. And these are of such a nature as we can see no reason for, but only this, *because God will have them* — Though men would think it a little matter, whether *this* fire or *that* fire, and will not *this* burn as well as *that*? but God stands upon it — When *Uzzah* did but touch the ark, when it was ready to fall, we would think it no great matter; but one touch of the ark cost him his life. There is not a *Minim* in the *worship* of *God*, but *God* stands mightily upon it — For a man to gather a few sticks on the sabbath, what great matter was it? but God stands upon it. So when the men of *Bethshemesh* did but look into the ark, it cost the lives of fifty thousand and seventy men, &c. (page 11.)

HE *further adds*,

That there is no privileges or dignities of man that can secure them from God's stroke; instancing *Nadab* and *Abihu's* case, *Moses* the man of God being their uncle, and *Aaron* their father, men newly consecrated to the priests office, renowned men that God put much glory upon; yet, if they will venture but to offend God in this little thing, his wrath breaks out upon them, and kills them presently, &c. (page 12.)

HE adds much more to the same effect, and offers several reasons by which he judgeth that *Nadab* and *Abihu* were good men; and gives a plain demonstration that they had no wicked design: As,

1. THEY were young men, newly come to their office, and might not understand all things, as if they had had longer experience.
2. IT'S observable, for *ver. 1.* 'tis called *strange fire which he commanded not*, that if there be not a command for our practice, nor such a president as the scripture approves of, no human *pretence* can excuse the transgressor from the judgment of God.

Will Mr. *Neal* admit *Roman Catholicks*, who profane the ordinance of the supper, to the communion of his church? We believe in our consciences that sprinkling children is a profanation of the ordinance of baptism, and so consequently reject it; therefore our spirits will appear no narrower than his own. And if, upon a serious review of this passage last quoted, he will

endeavour to be careful of his temper, I may hope in the next edition to see it appear in better language.

WITH respect to their sufferings Mr. *Neal* very justly observes, that ministers have a right by preaching to oppose doctrines;^{f1} but unjustifiable at the same time to fight them with the sword of the civil magistrate, and shut them up in prison: And then mentions five or six, with little more than their names, of whom he had a large account, respecting their sufferings, before him. But they were *Baptists*, and so not worthy of his notice, unless he can add something to degrade them.

The first he mentions is Mr. *Henry Denne*; of whom he only says, he was formerly ordained by the bishop of *St. Davids*, and possessed of the living of *Pyrton* in *Hertfordshire*. Then he mentions Mr. *Coppe*; and says, he was minister in *Warwickshire*, and some time preacher to the garrison in *Compton House*. (page 163.)

THE next he mentions is Mr. *Hanserd Knollys*; who was, says he,

Several times before the committee for preaching *Antinomianism*, and *Anti-Paedobaptism*; and being forbid to preach in the publick churches, he opened a separate meeting in great *St. Hellens*; from whence he was quickly dislodged, and his followers dispersed.

IF *Antinomianism* be such a brand of infamy, as to put a vail upon the character of so good and pious a man as Mr. *Hanserd Knollys*; how came it to pass that Dr. *Crisp* had more than a whole page bestowed on him in encomiums to his praise, which I doubt not but he justly deserved? If I may be permitted to answer without offence, and incurring the censure of an angry writer; it should be, because he was an *Independent Paedobaptist*.

IN the next place he says,

Mr. *Andrew Wyke*, in the county of *Suffolk*, was imprisoned on the same account; and Mr. *Oates* in *Essex* tried for his life at *Chelmsford* assizes for the murder of *Ann Martin*, because she died a few days after her immersion of a cold that seized her at that time.

This is so unrighteous a piece of partiality, that no sentence too severe can be passed upon it; because he had before him a full account of that affair; and thereby knew how honourably he was acquitted, notwithstanding the most earnest and pressing endeavours of his *Paedobaptist* Brethren to bring him in guilty, thereby to fix an odium on the practice of immersion.

I was at a stand why this gentleman's christian name, *Samuel*, was left out in Mr. *Neal's* narration; seeing Mr. *Neal* had it before him. And I can assign no other reason for it, unless it were to impose on his readers, that they might take

him to be *Titus Oates*, so noted in our histories with a brand of infamy upon him. But I must leave that to his own conscience; and refer my readers to page 236 of this history, where they will find, among others, the same account of these persons mentioned by Mr. *Neal* as communicated to him, and leave them to judge of his partiality in this matter.

To bring up the rear of the *Baptists* sufferings; poor *Laurence Clarkson*, with his recantation at large, is exhibited.

Among the thousands of *Baptists* in *England* here is one produced; who, through the severity of the times, and being but an unsteady man in his principles, and one that had not been used to suffer for conscience sake, was tempted to make this recantation, finding he could no other way obtain his liberty.

HE had been six months in prison, committed by the *Paedobaptist* committee of *Suffolk*, for that so heinous a crime of baptizing by immersion; a crime so great, that all the intercession of his friends, though he had several, could not procure his release; the committee being fully resolved not to let such crimes go unpunished: Nay, though an order came down, either from a committee of parliament, or chairman of it, to discharge him, yet they refused to obey it.

MR. *Edwards*, who first published this account, did it to expose the sectaries, against whom he had an implacable hatred. But, whether the weakness of this man under his oppression, or the folly and wickedness of his persecutors, were hereby more exposed, let the reader judge.

HOWEVER, the *Paedobaptists* gain'd no great honour by a proselyte made after this manner: For upon his release he turned *seeker*; and when the *Baptists* expelled him from their society, as a man that had denied the truth to escape suffering, he writ a small Pamphlet,^{f2} wherein he endeavours to excuse himself, by saying, That he did not assert the baptism of believers by immersion to be an error, but only intended that it was erroneously prodded, there being now no true churches, nor true administrators of that ordinance. And it is no wonder, that a person who could make such a vile submission to his worshipful persecutors, should afterwards make such equivocations, to extenuate his crime.

BISHOP *Jewel* signed the popish articles and archbishop *Cranmer* subscribed a recantation. Here are for Mr. *Neal* two eminent *Paedobaptist* Recanters, for one poor Baptist: And if he has any more such instances, I will endeavour to supply him at the same rate. (Fuller, *Song of Solomon* 16. Lib. 8. p. 9, 23.)

THIS partiality of Mr. *Neal* revived my resolution to compleat this Treatise, in the best manner I could, for a publication; and what is wanting in it of

elegancy of phrase, hath been endeavoured to be supplied in the truth of the relation, which is the only commendation of history, and much preferable to that artificial stuff, which may find better access to some ears.

AND therefore to the *English reader* I would now address my self; because in this land were these actions done; and their fore-fathers, with bleeding hearts and distilling eyes, were spectators of, and common sufferers under, the insulting paces of tyrannical, arbitrary power, and unlimited prerogative, and had a cup of blood prepared for them; though, blessed be God, it is otherwise with us.

THIS Essay being the first of the kind, that has been published in this kingdom, it is to be hoped some abler hand in time may improve the same, and a more full account be given of the *English Baptists*.

THE design of the reverend Mr. *Benjamin Stinton's* History being to give an account of the *English Baptists* only, he thought it might not be improper, and did intend to introduce it with some account of the origin of their opinion, and who have been reported to be the authors of it. And since there are various accounts given of this matter, says he, I shall briefly relate the different opinions about it, as well those held by the *Paedobaptists*, as those of the *Anti-Paedobaptists*, concerning their own original, and then leave the reader to judge which has the greatest appearance of truth.

THEY are generally condemned as a new *sect*, whose opinion and practice, with relation to baptism, was not known in the Christian church till about two hundred years ago. Bishop *Burnet* says,

At this time [*anno* 1549] there were many *Anabaptists* in several parts of *England*. They were generally *Germans*, whom the revolutions there had forced to change their seats. Upon *Luther's* first preaching in *Germany*, there arose many, who building on some of his principles, carried things much further than he did. The chief foundation he laid down was, that the scripture was to be the only rule of Christians. Upon this many argued, that the mysteries of the Trinity, and Christ's in carnation and suffering, of the fall of man, and the aids of grace, were indeed philosophical subtilties, and only pretended to be deduced from scripture, as almost all opinions of religion were, and therefore they rejected them. Among these the baptism of infants was one: They held that to be no baptism, and so were re-baptized. But from this; which was most taken notice of, as being a visible thing, they carried all the general name of *Anabaptists*. (*Hist. Ref.* Part. II. p. 110.)

MR. *Marshal* says,

That the first that ever made a head against it [infant-baptism] or a division in the church about it, was *Baltazar Pacommitanus* in *Germany*, in *Luther's* time, about the year 1527. (*Sermon on Infant-baptism*, p. 5.)

*Zuinglius, in the epistle before his answer
to his book on Baptism.*

This *Baltazar* is stiled *Baltazar Huebmar Pacimontanus*, Dr. in *Waldshut*, a town near the *Helvetians*. He was a man of great note book on for learning, and did by his preaching and writing very much promote his opinion. He was burnt at *Vienna*, in 1528. for which he is esteemed a martyr by his followers.

But, says Mr. *Tombs*, *Bellarmino* and *Cochleus* say, that *Erasmus* himself had sowed form seeds of it also. And whoever reads his works, will find several things in them favouring the opinion of the *Anti-Paedobaptists*; As when he saith, in his union of the church,

It is no where expressed, in the apostolical writings, that they baptized children;

and again, upon *Romans* 6.

Baptizing of children was not in use in St. *Paul*'s time; and that they are not to be condemned, who doubt whether childrens baptism was ordained by the Apostles.

JOHN GERHARD, a *Lutheran* minister, derives the original of this sect from *Carlostadius*, who was conversant with *Luther*, *Melancthon*, and the other reformers, and anted them in that blessed work. He says, that he is called the father of the *Anabaptists*, by *Erasmus Aiberus*. (*Sermon on Infant-baptism*, p. 5.)

SLEIDAN, who writ the history of the *Anabaptists*, does not go so far, but asserts of him,

that he praised their opinion.

OSIANDER affirms,

that he joined himself to them.

MELANCTHON, who was well acquainted, both with the man and his opinions, says of him, (Com. ~~402~~ 1 *Corinthians* 9:24. page 6.)

that he endeavoured to promote the gospel, tho' in a wrong course.

THE short history of the *Anabaptists*, published in 1647, says;

It is hard to say, whether *Carlostadius*, or one *Nicholas Stork*, was the first founder of baptism. (Hist. Anab. Lib. ii., Sect. ii.)

ARNOLDUS MESHOVIUS, another historian of those times, lays it still nearer the door of the first reformers; and says,

That the business of *Anabaptism* began at *Wittenburg*, anno Christi 1522. *Luther* then lurking in the castle of *Wartburg* in *Thuringia*, by *Nicholas Pelargus*; and that he had companions at first, *Carlostadius*, *Philip Melancthon*, and others; and that *Luther* returning from his *Patmos*, as he called it, banished *Carlostadius*, and the rest, and only received *Philip Melancthon* into favour again. (Tombe's Examen. p. 22.)

THESE passages make it probable that this question about Infant-baptism was agitated among the reformers themselves, and that some of them were at first for rejecting that practice.

VICECOMES, a learned *Papist*, has left upon record, that *Luther*, *Calvin*, and *Beza*, were adversaries of infant-baptism: Though the *Paedobaptists* look upon this only as a slander cast upon them. (De Rit. Bap. Lib. 2:c. 1. Wall, Part II. p. 179.)

'Tis certain that *Zuinglius*, that holy and learned reformer, who flourished about the year 1520, was for some time against it, as he ingenuously confesses, in these words: (De Bap. Tom. II. p. 63.)

When this opinion was every where so rashly and without consideration received, That all men believed that faith was confirmed by signs, we must necessarily expect this sad issue, that some would even deny baptism to infants; for how should it confirm the faith of infants, when it is manifest that they as yet have no faith? Wherefore I myself, that I may ingenuously confess the truth, some years ago, being deceived with this error, thought it better that childrens baptism should be delayed, till they came to full age: Though (adds he) I never broke forth into that immodesty and importunity, as some now do. (Baxter's Scripture Proofs. p. 291)

If some of the other reformers were at first of this opinion, as his Words imply, yet they might think it impracticable to carry their reformation so far at once, and that it might overthrow what they had already so happily done: And when some of this opinion afterwards had brought a scandal upon the *Protestants*, and occasioned such confusions all over *Germany*, they might be tempted to renounce this opinion, and write with so much zeal and anger, as they did against those who maintained it.

'Tis still more evident, that these first reformers look'd upon sprinkling as a corruption of baptism, and endeavoured to introduce the primitive rite of dipping, as is practised by the *English Baptists*.

LUTHER has, in several, places, fully declared his opinion in this matter:

BAPTISM, saith he, is a *Greek* word; it may be termed a dipping, when we dip something in water, that it may be wholly covered with water: And although that custom be now altogether abolished among the most part, for neither do

they dip the whole children, but only sprinkle them with a little water, they ought altogether nevertheless to be dipt, and presently to be drawn out again; for the etymology of the word seems to require that. (Duveil on ~~<408>~~ Acts 8:38.)

IN another place he says;

Washing from sins is attributed to baptism; it is truly indeed attributed, but the signification is softer and flower than that it can express baptism, which is rather a sign both of death and resurrection. Being moved by this reason I would have those that are to be baptized, to be altogether dipt into the water, as the word doth sound, and the mystery doth signify.

AND that this was the opinion and practice of the chief leaders in the reformation, appears by something remarkable, that happen in those times concerning this matter.

JOHANNES BUGENHAGIUS POMERANIUS, who was a companion of *Luther*, and succeeded him in the ministry at *Wittenburg*, a very pious and learned divine, tells us, in a book he published in the *German* tongue, Anno 1542,

That he was desired to be a witness of a baptism at *Hamburgh*, in the year 1529. That when he had seen the minister only sprinkled the infant wrapped in swathlingclothes on the top of the head, he was amazed; because he neither heard nor saw any such thing, ¹³ nor yet read in any history, except in case of necessity, in bed-ridden persons. In a general assembly therefore of all the ministers of the word, that was convened, he did ask of a certain minister, *John Fritz* by name, who was some time minister of *Lubec*, how the sacrament of baptism was administered at *Lubec*? Who for his piety and candour did answer gravely, that infants were baptized naked at *Lubec*, after the same fashion altogether as in *Germany*. But from whence and how that peculiar manner of baptizing hath crept into *Hamburgh*, he was ignorant. At length they did agree among themselves, that the judgment of *Luther*, and of the divines of *Wittenburg*, should be demanded about this point: Which being done, *Luther* did write back to *Hamburgh*, that this sprinkling was an abuse, which they ought to remove, Thus plunging was restored at *Hamburgh*.

But notwithstanding this, Dr. *Featly* and many others will have it, that *Anabaptism* took its first rise at *Munster*; and that *Nicholas Stork*, *Thomas Muncer*, *John of Leyden*, *Mark Stubner*, *Knipperdoling*, *Phiffer*, and such like, were the first teachers of this doctrine, and founders of the sect.

THESE men denied the doctrine of the Trinity, the incarnation of Christ, the authority of magistrates, the lawfulness of taking oaths, and almost all the Christian doctrines; and were guilty of several gross enormities, such as polygamy, rebellion, theft and murder; They seized the city of *Munster*,

proclaimed *John of Leyden* their king, committed abundance of violence, and caused tumults and rebellions in several places.

THE extravagant doctrines, and seditious practices of these men, are every where charged upon the opposers of infant-baptism, to render them odious, and a dangerous and seditious sect, not fit to be tolerated in any nation, whose principles have so bad a tendency, and whole beginning was so scandalous.

IN return to all which, the *Baptists* alledge in their own defence, that the *Papists* improve this story after the like manner, against the new begun reformation it self, and represent it as the consequence of letting men have the scriptures to read, and the liberty of judging for themselves in matters of religion.

THAT there is great reason to suspect the truth of many things reported of this people, is evident; For in a time of war, and popular tumults, it is not easy to come at a certain knowledge of what is transacted; and if a design miscarries, it is generally censured, how just or good soever it was. The *Roman Catholicks* charge the *Vaudois*, and *Albigeois*, and sometimes the *Lutherans*, with crimes almost as black as they do these *Anabaptists* And as for the Protestants of those times, they persecuted this sect with so much cruelty, and wrote against them with so much bitterness, that it discredits very much what they say of them, at least makes it probable they took up some reports concerning them upon very slender evidence.

NEITHER do the histories of those times agree in the accounts they give of them; for some charge them with more crimes, and much greater, than others do; some accuse them with those things which are directly contrary to what is affirmed of them by others and same with things so incredible, that their adversaries themselves look upon them to be but slanders. (*Bayle's Dictionary*, *Anabaptists*.)

THEY say also, that there is no just reason to lay those wars and tumults in *Germany* at the door of the *Anabaptists*; for it is plain, in the histories of those times, that *Papists*, as well as *Protestants*, and of these the *Paedobaptists* as well as *Anabaptists*, were concerned in them. (*Bishop Jewel's Defence*, P.I. c. 4.)

AND the chief occasion of their rising, was the defence of their civil liberties. When they drew up a manifesto of their demands, in twelve heads, and presented it to the magistrates, who had promised to hear their complaints, and do them justice, there is but one article, that directly regards religion; which was, that they might have liberty to chuse the ministers of their churches, and depose them afterwards, if they saw occasion. (*Dupins Ecc. Hist. Cent. 16. Lib. 1:p. 79.*)

THE confusions at *Munster*, where the blackest part of this tragedy was acted, were begun by a *Paedobaptist* minister of the *Lutheran* persuasion, one *Bernard Rotman*, preacher at the church of *St. Maurice* in that city; and were carried on by him, with several other *Lutherans*, for some time, before *any Anabaptist* appeared to have a hand in it. (Spanhemius Hist. Anab. p. 12. Hook's Apol. p. 11. Sleidan.)

AND though *Muncer* and *Phisser* are said to have denied infant-baptism, and to have instilled the same opinion into others, yet they had not received or professed this principle till some time after these insurrections were begun in several parts of *Germany*, If these men were as vile as they are represented to be, and guilty of all those crimes of which they are accused, this could not have proceeded from their opinion about baptism, which can have no such tendency Nor is there any colour of justice, in charging those crimes upon other Christians of that denomination, who abhor their erroneous tenets, and behave themselves after the most inoffensive manner. If all the errors which have been maintained, and all the thefts, murders, adulteries, and rebellions, which have been committed by *Paedobaptists*, were to be made the consequence of that opinion, it would soon appear a very bloody and dangerous tenet indeed, and render those who held it much more odious than *Anabaptists*.

But that which is more material to our enquiry after the first rise of this sect is, That these men did not advance this tenet concerning baptism, as a thing entirely new, but what was taught by others, who rejected the errors and corruptions of the church of *Rome*, as well as themselves; and affirmed it to have been the opinion of the *Waldenses* and *Petrobrusians*, who had gone before them.

THEY did not set up themselves upon this account as the heads and founders of a new sect, or religion, as enthusiastical persons are too, ready to do, if there be but the least room for it.

DUPIN, a person well acquainted with ecclesiastical history, calls this the revival of the error. (Vol. I. Cent. 16. Lib. v. p. 45.)

THERE were before, and about this time, many people of their opinion concerning baptism, who had made a declaration of much better principles, and under better leaders.

BISHOP *Burnet* says,

There were two sorts of these [*Anabaptists*] most remarkable; The one was of those who only thought that baptism ought not to be given but to those who were of an age capable of instruction, and who did earnestly desire it — These were called the gentle, or moderate *Anabaptists*: But others, who carried that

name, denied almost all the principles of the Christian doctrine, and were men of fierce and barbarous tempers — These being joined in the common name of *Anabaptists*, with the other, brought them also under an ill character. (Hist. Reform. Vol. II. p. 110.)

MONSEIUR *Bayle*, speaking of the many martyrs that the *Anabaptists* boast of, and their martyrology, being a large book in *Folio*, says: (*Dictionary, Anabaptists, Letter F*, 2d. Edit.)

COULD it only produce those that were put to death for attempts against the government, its bulky martyrology would make but a ridiculous figure. But it is certain, that several *Anabaptists*, who suffered death courageously for their opinions, had never any intention of rebelling. Give me leave to cite an evidence, which cannot be suspected; it is that of a writer, who has exerted his whole force in refuting this sect. He observes, that its great progress was owing to three things: The first was, That its teachers deafened their hearers with numberless passages of scripture: The second, That they affected a great appearance of sanctity: The third, That their followers discovered great constancy in their sufferings and deaths. But he gives not the least hint, that the *Anabaptist* martyrs suffered death for taking up arms against the state, or stirring up the people to rebellion.

MONSEIUR *Bayle* being a *Papist*, and the author he cites a *Protestant*, made this remark upon it:

OBSERVE by the way, says he, that this author refutes his adversaries, just as the *Catholicks* refute the *Protestants*: And then shews how the arguments used against the one, are of equal force against the other.

GEORGE CASSANDER, who lived in those times, had disputed with the *Anabaptists*, and visited some of their ministers in prison, does in his epistle to the duke of *Gulick* and *Cleve*, give a very good charmer of them who dwelt in *Belgick* and lower *Germany*, even when some others were guilty of such extravagancies at *Munster* and *Battenburgh*. He says,

That they discovered an honest and a pious mind; and that they erred from the faith, through a mistaken zeal, rather than an evil disposition; that they condemned the outrageous behaviour of their brethren of *Munster*; that they taught that the kingdom of Jesus Christ was to be established only by the cross. They deserve therefore, adds he, to be pitied and instructed, rather than to be persecuted.

THE learned *Beza* also gives a very honourable account of many of them in his epistle to the *Gallo-Belgic* churches at *Embden*, and says: (*Hornbeek's Sum. Con. p. 364.*)

Many of the *Anabaptists* are good men, servants of God, and our most dear brethren.

THESE authors had more justice than to condemn the innocent with the guilty, and to asperse the whole for the errors and disorders of a small part.

THE great number of *Anabaptists* that were about this time in several parts of *Germany*, and other countries, make it improbable, that these frantick men at *Munster* should be the founders of this sect, or so much as the first that revived the question, about childrens baptism in those times.

THOSE stirs at *Munster* did not begin till the year 1532. nor did they come to any great height, or any *Anabaptists* appear in that city till the year 1533. And yet we find great opposition made against *Anabaptists* before this in several parts, both by disputations and writings, and some severe laws made against their opinion. (Spanhemius, 13.)

THEY were opposed at *Augsburg* about the year 1516 by *Regius*: In *Saxony* by *Luther*, 1522. In *Thuringia* by *Micerius*, 1525. In *Switzerland*, at *Zurick*, there were three publick disputations held between *Zuinglius* and the heads of the *Anabaptists*, in *Jan. March*, and *Nov. 1525*. *Oecolampadius* also disputed with these Hereticks, as he calls them, the same year at *Bazil*; and again in the Years 1527, and 1529.

This opinion prevailed so fast, that to prevent the growth of it, the magistrates of *Zurick* published a solemn edict against it in 1525. requiring all persons to have their children baptized, and forbidding rebaptization, under the penalty of being fined, banished, or imprisoned. Another was put forth in 1530. making it punishable with death.

IN the year 1528. *Hans Shaeffer*, and *Leonard Freek*, for opposing infants baptism, were beheaded at *Schwas* in *Germany*; and *Leopald Suyder* at *Augsburg* for the same. (Hooke's *Apology*, p. 29.)

AT *Saltzburg* eighteen persons of the same faith were burnt; and twenty five at *Waltzen* the same year.

ANNO 1529. twenty of them were put to death in the *Palatinate*; and three hundred and fifty at *Altze* in *Germany*. The men for the most part beheaded, and the women drowned.

ANNO 1533. *Hugh Crane*, and *Margeret* his wife, with two more, were martyred at *Harlem*; the woman was drowned; the three men were chained to a post, and roasted by a fire, at a distance, till they died. This was the very same year that the rising was at *Munster*.

LIKEWISE in the Protestant *Cantons* in *Switzerland*, they were used as hardly, about the same time. (Ib. p. 30.)

ANNO 1526. one *Felix Mentz*, a Baptist minister, was drowned at *Zurich*.

ANNO 1530. two of the baptized brethren were burnt.

ANNO 1531. six more of the congregation of *Baptists* were martyr'd in the same place.

ANNO 1533. two persons, *Lodwick Test*, and *Catherine Harngen*, were burnt at *Munster*.

THERE is part of a letter, preserved in an author not to be suspected, that was written to *Erasmus*, out of *Bohemia*, dated *October 10*, 1519. in which an account is given of a sect then in being, and which had been in that country for above ninety years, who by the character given of them, appear to be *Anabaptists*; and were not only long before *Stork* and *Muncer*, but also before *Luther* and *Calvin*, who set themselves to oppose the church of *Rome*. The letter describes them thus: (Colmesius's Collection, ep. 30.)

These men have no other opinion of the Pope, cardinals, bishops, and other clergy, than as of manifest antichrists. They call the Pope sometimes the beast, and sometimes the whore, mentioned in the *Revelations*. Their own bishops and priests they themselves do chuse for themselves; ignorant and unlearned laymen, that have wife and children. They mutually salute one another by the name of brother and filter. They own no other authority than the scriptures of the Old and New Testament: They flight all the Doctors, both ancient and modern, and give no regard to their doctrine, Their priests, when they celebrate the offices of the mass [or communion] do it without any priestly garments; nor do they use any prayer or collects on this occasion, but only the Lord's prayer, by which they consecrate bread that has been leavened. They believe or own little or nothing of the sacraments of the church: Such as come over to their sect, must every one be baptized anew, in mere water. They make no blessing of salt, nor of water; nor make any use of consecrated oil. They believe nothing of divinity in the sacrament of the Eucharist, only that the consecrated bread and wine do by some occult signs represent the death of Christ; and accordingly, that all that do kneel down to or worship it, are guilty of idolatry. That that sacrament was instituted by Christ to no other purpose but to renew the memory of his passion, and not to be carried about, or held up by the priest to be gazed on. For that Christ himself, who is to be adored and worshipped with the honour of *Latreia*, sits at the right hand of *God*, as the Christian church confesses in the creed. Prayers to saints, and for the dead, they count a vain and ridiculous thing; as likewise auricular confession and penance, enjoined by the priest for sins. Eves and fast-days are, they say, a mockery, and the disguise of hypocrites. They say, the holy days of the virgin *Mary*, and the Apostles, and other saints, are the invention of idle people; but yet they keep the *Lord's-day*, and *Christmas*, and *Easter*, and *Whitsontide*, &c. (Wall's Hist. Bapt. Part II. p. 200.)

THIS description does almost in every thing fit the modern *Anabaptists*, especially those in *England*. Their saluting one another by the name of brother and sister; their chusing their own ministers, and from among the laity; their rejecting all priestly garments, and refusing to kneel at the sacrament; their fighting all authorities but that of the scriptures, but especially their baptizing again all that embraced their way, does certainly give the *Baptists* a better right than any other Protestants, to claim those people for their predecessors.

‘Tis true, some zealous *Paedobaptists*, who would willingly have none thought sober and religious, who deny baptism to children, have insinuated that these *Pyghards*, and followers of *Hus* in *Bohemia*, did not baptize such as came over to them, from any dislike of infant-baptism, but of those ceremonies which the church of *Rome* used in it. And *Ottius* does positively affirm this to be the reason of it.

BUT there is no proof from any authentic histories that those early Protestants, who retained infant-baptism, did any of them, upon their departing from Popery, reject their *haptism* in *that* church, and receive a new baptism.

WALDEN, who lived in those times, and writ against the *Hussites* in *Bohemia* above an hundred years before *Ottius*, affirms, (Tom. III. Titus v. c. 53.)

That some of them maintained this heresy, That believers children were not to be baptized; and that baptism was to no purpose administred to them.
(Marshal against Tombs, page 65.)

WE must therefore look for a more early beginning of this sect and opinion than the insurrection at *Munster*, or the reformation in *Germany*. And we find there are some of the *Paedobaptists*, and those of no small repute, who affirm, that the *Albigenses* were the first who dared positively to declare against infant-baptism, and call the preaching of this opinion, by *Muncer*, *Stork*, &c. only a reviving of that error. (Cassander Dupin. Cent. 16. Lib. v. page 45.)

OF this sect there was a great number, in divers parts of *France* and *Bohemia*, above three hundred years before *Luther’s* and *Calvin’s* reformation. They went under different names, either from the places that were fullest of them, or the persons who were their principal leaders: But the name of *Albigenses* and *Waldenses* were the titles most commonly given to them; the one from *Albi*, a place so called in *Languedoc*, in which were great numbers of them; the other from one *Waldus*, the supposed founder of that sect, who was a rich and learned citizen of *Lyons*, and began there to oppose the errors and superstitions of the church of *Rome*, about the year 1160. (Fox. vol. I. p 299.)

THE *Papists* impute a great many heinous crimes to these people; a method which they generally take with all who have dissented from their church. And

yet *Reinerus*, a zealous opposer of them, gives a very honourable account of this sea.

THEY are, says he, in their *manner* compos'd, and modest; no pride in apparel, because they are therein neither costly nor sordid. They transact their affairs without lying, fraud, and swearing, being most upon handicraft trades: Yea, their doctors or teachers are *weavers* and *shoe makers*, who do not multiply riches, but content themselves with necessary things. These *Lyonists* are very chaste and temperate, both in meats and drinks; who neither haunt taverns, or stews They do much curb their passions; they are always either working, teaching, or learning, &c. very frequent in their assemblies and worships, &c. They are very modest and precise in their words, avoiding scurrility, detraction, levity, and falsehood. (Danvers, page 344.)

THOSE who write against the *Baptists*, charge them with abundance of heresies, and monstrous doctrines; so that it is not easy with certainty to come at their opinions.

As to the matter of Baptism, some represent those they write against, as denying all baptism, baptism. Others speak of some that allowed baptism to the adult, but denied it to infants. Others again accuse them of no error at all about baptism. But there is an expedient found out to reconcile this historical difference, which both parties agree to, and seems to be the truth, *viz*: That there were several sects, who went under this general name of *Waldenses* or *Albigenses*, like as there are of *Dissenters* in *England*: That some of these did deny all baptism, and others only the baptism of infants. That many of them were of this latter opinion, is affirmed in several histories of this people, as well ancient as modern. I will for brevity-sake only mention one, whose authority is the rather to be taken, because he was not only a *Paedobaptist*, but also set himself with great care to find out the truth of this matter: 'Tis that of *Chassanian*, who in his history of the *Albigensis* says:

SOME writers have affirmed that the *Albigensis* approved not of the baptism of infants: Others, that they entirely slighted this holy sacrament, as if it was of no use, either to great or small. The same has been said of the *Vaudois*; though some affirm, that they have *always* baptized their children: This difference of authors kept me for some time in suspense, before I could come to be resolved on which side the truth lay, At last considering what *St. Bernard* says of this matter, in his 66th Homily on the second chapter of the *Song of Songs*, and the *reasons* he brings to refute this error, and also what he wrote *ad Hildesonsum comitem Sancti AEgidii*, I cannot deny that the *Albigensis*, for the greatest part, were of that opinion. And that which confirms me yet more in the belief of it, is, that in the history of the city of *Treves*, which I have mentioned before, at the end of the fourth chapter, 'tis said, that at *Ivoi*, in the diocese of *Treves*, there were some who denied that the sacrament of baptism was available to the salvation of infants: And one

Catherine Saube, who was burnt at *Montpelier*, in the year 1417, for being of the mind of the *Albigensis*, in not believing the traditions of the *Romish* church, had the same thoughts concerning infant baptism, as 'tis recorded in the register of the town-house of the said city of *Montpelier*; of which we than speak at the end of the fourth book. The truth is, they did not reject this sacrament, or say it was use less; but only counted it unnecessary to infants, because they are not of age to believe, or capable of giving evidence of their faith. That which induced them, as I suppose, to entertain this opinion, is what our Lord says: *He that believeth, and is baptized, shall be saved; but he that believeth not, shall be damned.* (Stennet against Reffen, p. 81.)

CASSANDER, who has examined the question about infant-baptism with much care, and is said to have writ with more impartiality concerning the *Anabaptists* than any other author, makes *Peter de Bruis*, and *Henry*, who lived four hundred years before all this, to be the first that taught this opinion, and practised according to it. For, speaking of these pretended hereticks, he affirms of them; (Cassander's *Infant bapt.* Pref.)

That they first openly condemned infant-baptism, and stiffly asserted that baptism was fit only for the adult; which they both verbally taught, and really practised in their administration of baptism.

AND after him, Dr. *Wall* says:

I take this *Peter Bruis*, and *Henry*, to be the first *Antipaedobaptist* preachers that ever set up a church, or society of men holding that opinion against infant-baptism, and re-baptizing such as had been baptized in infancy; (*History of Infant-baptism*, Book II. p. 184.)

and calls them, in the contents, the two first *Antipidobaptist* preachers in the world.

But lest these early reformers should bring any reputation to the *Anabaptists*, he relates several infamous stories and malicious slanders cast upon them by the *Papists*, without any endeavours to clear them: A method that he would hardly have taken with the first leaders of the reformation, either in *England* or *Germany*.

THESE were both *Frenchmen*, and began to propagate their doctrines, and found the sect, who after their names were called *Petrobrusians* and *Henricians*, in *Dauphine*, about the year 1126.

THEY had both of them been in priests orders, and had each of them a place or employment in that office: The former having been a minister of a parish-church, but was turned out: The latter a monk, but had deserted the monastery, upon the change of his principles; for which reason they were called apostates, as well as hereticks.

PETER began first; and after he had for some time published his opinions, and drawn many followers after him, Henry became his disciple, and afterwards his successor,

THE errors they are said to defend, are digested into six articles.

1. THAT infants are not to be baptized.
2. THAT temples or altars ought not to be built; and, if built, to be pulled down again.
2. THAT crosses are not to be worshipped, but rather broken, or trodden under foot.
3. THAT the mass is nothing, and ought not to be celebrated.
4. THAT dead men receive no benefit from the prayers, sacrifices, &c. of the living.
5. THAT it is a mocking of God, to sing prayers in the church.

THEIR opinion concerning Baptism, is all that needs here to be enquired into.

PETER, abbot of *Clugny*, writ an epistle to three bishops of *France*, against these hereticks and their followers, in the year 1146. the time when they chiefly prevailed. He accuses them of all these tenets, and makes their denying of infant-baptism the *first*, and expresses it thus.

The first Proposition of the new Hereticks.

THEY say, Christ sending his disciples to preach, says in the gospel, *Go ye out into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature: He that believeth, and is baptized, shall be saved; but he that believeth a not, shall be damned.* From these words of our Saviour it is plain that none can be saved, unless he believe, and be baptized.; that is, have both christian faith and baptism; for not one of these, but both together, does save: So that infants, tho' they be by you baptized, yet since by reason of their age they cannot believe, are not saved. It is therefore an idle and vain thing, for you to wash persons with water, at such a time when you may indeed cleanse their sin from dirt in a human manner, but not purge their souls from sin: But we do stay till the proper time of faith; and when a person is capable to know his God, and believe in him, then we do, not as you charge us, re-baptize him, but baptize him; for he is so to be accounted, as not yet baptized, who is not washed with that baptism, by which sins are done away. (*Wall's History of Infant-baptism*, Part II. p. 173)

This account of their practice does perfectly agree with the *modern Baptists*: And the author who relates it, says also,

THAT they were reported to renounce all the Old Testament, and all the New, except the four gospels. But this he says he was not sure of; and would not impute it to them, for fear he might slander them.

So it appears that he took some care in reporting their opinions, and can hardly be supposed to accuse them so positively of that which he only had by hearsay, or at least to make it the first article of their heresy.

A YEAR after this *author* had written against them, *St. Bernard*, abbot of *Clareval*, was desired by the Pope to accompany some bishops, whom he had sent to stop the spreading of these doctrines, and reduce those who had been led into them. When they came nigh to the territory of the earl of *St. Giles*, *Bernard* writes a letter to the said earl, in whose country the aforesaid *Henry* was at this time harboured; in which he recounts what mischiefs that heretick, as he calls him, had done.

THE churches, says he, are without people; the without priests, &c. God's people without priests, &c. God's holy place is accounted profane; the sacraments are esteemed unholy, &c. Men die in their sins; their souls carried to that terrible judicature, alas! neither reconciled by penance, nor strengthened by the holy communion: The infants of *Christians* are hindred from the life of Christ, the grace of baptism being denied them: Nor are they suffered to come to their salvation, tho' our Saviour compassionately cries out in their behalf, saying, *Suffer little children to come to me*, &c. (Wall's Hist. Bapt. Part II. p. 175.)

THE same *St. Bernard* published a little after several sermons; in one of which he complains of a sort of hereticks, who pretended to derive their doctrines from the Apostles, supposed to be these *Petrobrusians* and *Henricians*: Concerning whom he says,

They laugh at us for baptizing infants, for our praying for the dead, and for desiring the prayers of the saints: They believe no fire of purgatory after death, but that the soul when it departs the body presently pares either into rest or damnation. (*Sermon in Song of Solomon 66.*)

'Tis true, that both these authors give them but an ill character, and impute many errors and vile practices to them: But, of these, the *Paedobaptists* themselves are willing to clear them.

THE truth is, says Mr. Marshall,

These two men did, for twenty years together, so much spread the doctrine of the *Waldenses*, and so plague the bishops mitres, and the monks bellies, that I wonder not, though they charged any thing upon them, which might make them odious to the people. (*Infant-bapt.* p. 66.)

THEIR new doctrine did strangely spread in a little time; and tho' it began only in *Dauphine*, it soon obtained in most of the provinces of *France*; and from being buzz'd about in deserts, and little villages, it began quickly to be owned by great crouds of people, and entertained in populous towns and cities: Which greatly enraged the *popish* clergy, and occasioned a very hot persecution. *Peter* was in the year 1144 taken in the territory of St. *Giles*, and according to the laws of those times burnt to death. *Henry* escaped for some time after this, and went on to propagate the same doctrines in several places; but at length he was taken also, and delivered in chains to the bishop of *Ostia*: But what was done with him is not said, tho' it may easily be supposed; for the men of that character don't use to be guilty of letting hereticks escape out of their hands.

THESE persons lived in the 12th century after Christ, and had a great number of followers, who kept themselves clear of many gross errors, with which the church of *Rome* was corrupted in that dark time. And yet there were two famous persons, who lived and attempted a reformation of religion, above an hundred years before these; who are also accused of broaching this doctrine, and founding a sect that denied the baptism of infants. That is, *Bruno* and *Berengarius*; the former was bishop of *Angers*, and the latter deacon of the same church:

Both these are said to have attempted a reformation of some corrupt doctrines and practices of the church of *Rome*, about the year 1035, among which the practice of baptizing infants was one. Of this there are two witnesses produced, which Dr. *Wall* acknowledges to have great appearance of truth, notwithstanding his endeavours to render it suspicious.

ONE proof that these men were against infant-baptism, is from a letter written by *Deodwinus*, bishop of *Leige*, to *Henry I.* king of *France*; in which are these words:

‘There is a report come out of *France*, and which goes thro’ all *Germany*, that these two,

viz. *Bruno* and *Berengarius*.

do maintain that the Lord's body [the host] is not the body, but a shadow and figure of the Lord's body: And that they do disannul lawful marriages; and, as far as in them lies, overthrow the baptism of infants. (Wall's Hist. c. 7, Part II. p. 159.)

THE other proof produced, is from *Guilmund*, who wrote against *Berengarius*, towards the latter end of his life. This author, after he had taken notice of the aforementioned letter, and the opinions therein laid to their charge, says:

That *Berengarius* finding that those two opinions [of marriage, and baptism] would not be endured, by the ears even of the worst men that were, and that there was no pretence in scripture to be brought for them, betook himself wholly to uphold the other [*viz.* that against tran-subiantiation] in which he seemed to have the testimony of our senses on his side, and against which none of the holy fathers had so fully spoken, and for which he pitied up some reasons, and some places of scripture misunderstood. (*Ibid.* Part II. p. 160.)

This seems to be agreeable to the method of the first *authors* of the present reformation in *England* and *Germany*. They set out with a design to rescue both the sacraments from their corruptions and abuses, as has been proved; yet finding the common people incapable of receiving so great an alteration at once, dropt the business of baptizing children, and bent their chief endeavours against Transubstantiation.

THESE were two famous *champions* for the truth, against popish errors and superstitions; especially the latter: And for above an hundred years after, all that stood up for the purity of the Christian religion, were called *Berengarians*. And so many were his followers, that *Matthew Paris* says, he drew all *France*, *Italy*, and *England*, to his opinion.

IF any still doubt, whether there were in this age several who opposed the baptism of infants, let them read Dr. *Alix's* remarks on the ancient church of *Piedmont*, and particularly what he says concerning one *Gundulphus*, and his followers in *Italy*; divers of whom were examined by the bishop of *Cambray* and *Arras*, in the Year 1025. who represents them to have given the following Reason against infant baptism, *viz.*

BECAUSE to an infant, that neither wills nor runs, that knows nothing of faith, is ignorant of its own salvation and welfare; in whom there can be no desire of regeneration, or confession of faith; the will, faith, and confession of another man, seems not in the least to appertain. (*Stennet against Ruffen*, p. 85.)

Thus do the most learned of the *Paedobaptists* themselves make the first rise of the *sect*, they in contempt term *Anabaptists*, to be at least five hundred years before the confusions at *Munster*, where others would fix their origin. Nor do some stop here; but go still farther back, to find out the authors and founders of this sea, even to the fourth century. For Mr. *Long*, Prebendary of St. *Peter's*, *Exon*, says:

For, though there were great fewds between the *Donatists*, and others, that separated from them, on the like pretences as they separated from the *Catholicks*, as *Maximinianists* and *Luciferians*, who were professed *Anabaptists*. (*History*, Donatists, p. 60.)

Now the *Donatists* flourished about the year 400. as appears by several edicts published against them about that time: And, though the name of *Anabaptists*,

given in several ancient writers to the *Donatists*, and *Arians* in general, this was not because they objected against the baptism of infants; but for their baptizing those again, who had been baptized before by the *Catholicks*, either in infancy, or at age.

BUT now, concerning the *Luciferians*, Mr. *Long* asserts:

THAT they did not only rebaptize the adult, that came over to them, but refused to baptize children, contrary to the practice of the Church, as appears, says he, by several discourses of St. *Augustin*. (Ib. p. 103.)

THESE, by his account, were the moth moderate of those who separated from the Catholick church in those times: That they were called *Luciferians* from *Lucifer Calaritanus*, bishop of *Sardinia*, once a zealous defender of the Catholick faith against the *Arians*, for which he was banished by them, when they had the Power; and that his separation from the *Catholicks* was occasioned by their shewing too much countenance to the *Arians*, and admitting them upon too easy conditions, not only into their communion, but into ecclesiastical dignities. (History, *Donatists*, p. 102.)

HE was a man greatly esteemed and commended on many accounts by the *Catholicks*; great numbers were of his perswasion, and followed him, and stood independent on the *Donatists* congregations, or any of the other factions.

MR. *Philpot* the martyr, in a letter of his to his fellow-sufferer, who scrupled infants baptism, finds out another about this time, on whom he fathers the first rise of this opinion. (Ib. p. 103.)

ONE of his fellow-sufferers for the Protestant religion, being in doubt about the lawfulness of infant baptism, writ a letter to him about it. In *Philpot's answer* to this, he says,

THAT *Auxentius* one of the *Arians* sect, with his adherents, was one of the first that denied the baptism of children; and next after him, *Pelagius* the Heretick, and some other that were in St. *Bernard's* time, as it appears by his writings. (*Case of Infant Baptism*, p. 96.)

This *Auxentius* was bishop of *Milan*, and departed this life in the year 378. being succeeded in his bishoprick by St. *Ambrose*, who is remarkable for his being elected a bishop before he was baptized. (Socrates, *Ecclesi. Lib. IV. Ch. XXV. Greek Copy, Ch. XXX.*)

OTHERS have followed this opinion; as *Bullinger*,^{f4} *George Phillips*,^{f5} *Holms*,^{f6} and the *Athenian Oracle*.^{f7}

I SHALL not enquire into the truth of these representations: Both the *Donatists* and *Arians* are termed *Anabaptists* in several ancient authors; but the occasion

of giving them that title is disputed. However, since they were accused of gross heresies, and the authors of a dreadful schism in the church, some writers against the *Baptists* are willing enough to represent these as their predecessors. (Wall's Hist. Vol. II. Ch. IV. Sect. III.)

BUT, if this be doubtful, there is still a more early opposer of infant baptism produced by others; of which there is such authentic proof, as not to be denied by any; and that is *Tertullian*, who flourished about the year 200 and was very famous in the Christian church, leaving many learned writings behind him.

This man is the first christian writer, who expressly mentions such a practice as baptizing of infants, and at the same time condemns it, as an unwarrantable and irrational practice.

CHASSANIAN, a learned *Frenchman*, and zealous *Paedobaptist*, in his history of the *Albiges*, having proved that they rejected the baptism of infants, tho' he thinks that they erred in this matter, yet endeavours to excuse them, by alledging, (Stennet *against* Ruffen, p. 83.)

That they were not the first who were of this opinion, seeing *Tertullian* was for deferring baptism, till persons came to years of discretion.' (Wall's *Hist. Bapt.* Part I. p. 82.)

Dr. Wall, who in one place calls *Peter Bruis* and *Henry* the two first *Antipaedobaptist* preachers in the world, yet in another place acknowledges there was, in the first four hundred years, one *Tertullian*, who advised it to be deferred till the age of reason; and one *Nazianzen* till three years of age, in case of no danger of death. Mr. John Goodwin the *Independent*, being engaged in this controversy, says,

That *Tertullian* seems to have been the first who persuaded Christians to delay baptism, especially the baptism of their children, until afterwards. (*Catabap.* p. 74. *Remarks on Dr. Gale*, p. 53.)

Mr. Stokes also calls *Tertullian* the first *Antipaedobaptist* in the world.

Both parties in this controversy cite *Tertullian's* words, as making for them. The *Pedobaptists*, to prove there was such a practice as baptizing infants in the Christian church, as early as *Tertullian's* time: The *Baptists*, to improve what he says against it; and to shew that the first writer that makes any mention of such a custom, dislikes and condemns it. For thus he expresseth himself: (*Tertull. de Bapt.* c. 18.)

THEY whose duty it is to administer baptism are to know, That it must not be given rashly, give to every one that asketh thee, has its proper subject, and relates to almsgiving: But the command rather is here to be considered; Give

not that which is holy to dogs, neither cast your pearls before swine and that, lay hands suddenly on no man, neither be partaker of other mens faults.

Therefore, according to every ones condition and disposition, and also their age, the delaying of baptism is more profitable, especially in the case of little children t for what need is there, that the godfathers should be brought into danger, because they may either fail of their promises by death, or they may be mistaken, by a child's proving of wicked disposition. Our Lord says, indeed, *forbid them not to come unto me*; therefore let them come when they are grown up; let them come when they understand, when they are instructed, whither it is that they come; let them be made Christians, when they can know Christ: What need their guiltless age make such haste to the forgiveness of sins? Men will proceed more warily in worldly things; and he that should not have earthly goods committed to him, yet shall have heavenly; let them know how to desire this salvation, that you may appear to have *given to one that asketh.* (*Wall's Hist Bap.* p. 1, 26.)

HERE then is a *Baptist* as early as the year 200. and if, by that term, we only understand an opposer of infant baptism, he bids very fair for being the first; because that supposes such a practice to be introduced, or at least attempted. We cannot expect, that any should expressly declare themselves against infants baptism before such an opinion was broached, or that any could separate till such a practice was introduced. But, if that term be stiled to signify such as hold the doctrine, on which infant-baptism is rejected, viz. That a personal profession of repentance and faith is necessary from those who are admitted to baptism, this was taught and practised by persons of greater authority than *Tertullian*, and who lived long before his time; as will appear by the next account, which some have given concerning this matter, viz.

THAT the baptism of infants was, in the primitive times, left as an indifferent thing; being by some practised, by others omitted.

SOME *Paedobaptists*, of no small reputation, finding themselves so hardly pressed in the business of antiquity, are willing to halve the matter with their Brethren.

I FIND several men of great learning, and diligent searchers into antiquity, to go this way; as *Grotius*, *Daille*, bishop *Taylor*, and Mr. *Baxter*. What they say to this purpose is worth observing.

GROTIUS, who his adversaries acknowledge, had a vast flock of learning, and was well read in antiquity, says to this purpose in his Annotations on ~~<0194>~~ *Matthew* 19:14. taken partly from *Wall*, and partly from *Poole*.

It does not appear, that infant-baptism did universally obtain in the primitive times, but was more frequent in Africa than any where else. In the councils of

the ancients, one shall find no earlier mention of *Paedobaptism* than in the council of *Carthage*. (Wall, par. 2, p. 23.)

IN *Tertullian's* time it appears, there was nothing defined concerning the age in which they were to be baptized, that were consecrated by their parents to Christian discipline; because he dissuades, by so many reasons, the baptizing of infants. (*Tertullian on Baptism*, Ch. xviii.)

GREGORY NAZIANZEN, speaking of those who die without baptism, mentions among the rest those that were not baptized by reason of infancy; and he himself, though a bishop's son, and educated a long time under the care of his father, was not baptized till he became a youth, as is related in his life. And *Chrysostom*, though according to the true opinion born of Christian parents, and educated by *Miletus* a bishop, was not baptized till past twenty one years of age.

But most of all, the canon of the synod of *Neo Cesarea*, held in the year 315. is worthy our notice; which determines, that a woman with child may be baptized when she will; for in baptism the mother communicates nothing to the child, because, in the profession at baptism, every one declares his own resolution: How much soever interpreters draw it to another sense, it is plain, that the doubt concerning baptizing women great with child was for that reason; because the child might seem to be baptized together with its mother, and a child was not wont to be baptized, but upon its own will and profession; and so *Balsamon* explains it, that cannot be enlightened or baptized; and also *Zonaras*, the child in the womb has then need of baptism, when it shall be able to deliberate and choose; and many of the *Greeks*, says *Grotius*, from the beginning to this day, observe the custom of detaining the baptism of their infants, until they are able to make confession of their own faith; and then concludes, by saying, he has not brought this to overthrow the baptism of infants, but to shew the liberty, antiquity, and difference of the custom. (Com. Song of Solomon Titus 4.)

But notwithstanding this last clause, wherein he endeavours to excuse what he had laid, the *Paedobaptists* are very angry with him, for what he has published against that practice. One says,

That he was perverted by cardinal *Perron*, who, in his answer to King *James*, pleaded the cause of the *Anabaptists* with all his might. (*Rivet's Apology*.)

Another accuses him with an intention herein to gratify both the *Socinians* and the *Papists*. And a third says upon this,

That he was naturally inclined to trim all controversies in religion that came in his way; and using that vast stock of learning which he had, as princes that

would hold the balance, do their power, to help the weakest side. (Marshal, *Def.* p. 29. *Wall's Hist. Bap.* par. 2:p. 22.)

The learned bishop *Taylor* gives the same account, not only when he is representing the arguments of the *Anabaptists*, but when he gives his own sentiments in the case. His words are these, as quoted by Mr. *Wall*:

IN the first age, says he, they did, or they did not, according as they pleased; for there is no pretence of tradition that the church, in all ages, did baptize all the infants of Christian parents: It is more certain that they did not do it always, than that they did it in the first age. St. *Ambrose*, St. *Jerome*, and St. *Austin*, were born of Christian parents; and yet not baptized until the full age of a man, or more. (*Disswasive from Popery*, par. ii, lib. 2:sect. 3:p. 117. *Wall's Hist. Bap.* par. 2:p. 24.)

AND a little after:

That it was the custom so to do in some churches, and at some times, is without all question; but that there is a tradition from the *Apostles* so to do, relies on but two witnesses, *Origen* and *Austin*; and, the latter having received it from the former, it wholly relies on one single testimony; which is but a pitiful argument to prove a tradition Apostolical. He is the first that spoke it; but *Tertullian*, that was before him, seems to speak against it; which he would not have done, if it had been a tradition apostolical.

RIGALTUS, another writer who was very conversant with the works of the fathers, gives the same account:

From the age of the *Apostles*, says he, to the time of *Tertullian*, the matter continued in *ambiguo*, doubtful or various; and there were some, who, on occasion of our Lord's saying, *Suffer little children to come to me*, though he gave no order to baptize them, did baptize even new-born infants; and, as if they were transacting some secular bargain with God Almighty, brought sponsors and bondsmen to be bound for them, that when they were grown up, they should not depart from the Christian faith; which *custom Tertullian* did not like. (*Annot.* in *Cypriani, Ep. ad Fid.* *Wall's Hist. Bap.* par. 2:p. 13.)

MONSIEUR *Daille* also, who must be reckoned amongst the men of no small learning, was of the same opinion. He says, (*De Usu Patrum*, lib. 2:ch. vi.)

IN ancient times, they often deferred the baptizing both of infants, and of other people, as appears by the history of the Emperours, *Constantine* the great, of *Constantius*, of *Theodolites*, of *Valentinian*, and *Gratian*, out of St. *Ambrose*; and also by the orations and homilies of *Gregory Nazianzen*, and of St. *Basil* on this subject: And some of the Fathers too have been of opinion that it is fit it should be deferred. (*Wall's Hist. Bap.* par. 2:p. 25.)

AND one would wonder to find, even Mr. *Baxter*, though he had writ so zealously for infant-baptism, and cast such bitter reflections upon those that

deny it; yet at length to center in this opinion, and speak more favourably of them. (Baxter's *Life*, book I. p. 140.)

AND for the *Anabaptists* themselves, says he, as I found that most of them were persons of zeal in religion, so *many* of them were sober, godly people, and differed from others but in the point of infant-baptism, or at most in the points of predestination, and free-will, and perseverance. And I found in all antiquity, that though infantbaptism was held lawful by the church, yet some, with *Tertullian* and *Nazianzen*, thought it most convenient to make no haste; and the rest left the time of baptism to every ones liberty, and forced none to be baptized. Insomuch, as not only *Constantine*, *Theodosius*, and such others, as were converted at years of discretion, but *Augustine*, and many such as were the children of Christian parents, one or both, did defer their baptism much longer, than I think they should have done. So that in the primitive church some were baptized in infancy, and some at ripe age, and some a little before their death; and none were forced, but all left free,

At another time, he says,

In the days of *Tertullian*, *Nazianzen* and *Austin*, men had liberty to be baptized, or to bring their children, when, and at what age they pleased; and none were forced to go against their consciences therein. (Wall's *Hist. Bap.* par. 2:p. 26. Bap. par. 2:p. 26.)

THE last account we have of this matter is, That in the first ages of Christianity, no infants were baptized; but that this prance was brought in, after a certain term of years, without any precedent from *Christ*, his *Apostles*, or those apostolical men that lived next after them. And this is not only the opinion of the *Baptists*, but many of the *Paedobaptists*, who have searched antiquity about this matter, do ingenuously confess the same. Many instances might be produced of this; I will only give three or four.

WALAFRIDUS STRABO, who lived about the year 750, is very express in this point: (Ib. p. 10.)

It is to be noted, says he, That in the primitive times, the grace of baptism was wont to be given to those only, who were arrived to that maturity of body and mind, that they could know and understand what were the benefits of baptism, what was to be confessed and believed; and, in a word, what was to be observed of those that are regenerated in Christ. But when the diligence about our divine religion encreased, the Christians undemanding that the original sin of *Adam* did involve in guilt, not only those who had added to it by their own wicked works, but those also, who having done no wickedness themselves. The orthodox *Christians*, I say, understanding this, left children should perish, if they died without the remedy of the grace of regeneration, appointed them to be baptized for the forgiveness of sins. (Stennet *against* Russen, p. 86.)

LUDOVICUS VIVES, in his notes on *Augustin*, de *Civitate Dei*, says:

No person was formerly brought to the sacred baptistery, till he was of adult age, and both understood the meaning of that mystical water, and requested once and again to be washed in it.

SUICERUS says the same thing, but is more positive as to the time.

In the two first ages, says he, no person was baptized till he was instructed in the faith, and instructed with the doctrine of Christ, and could testify his own faith; because of those words of Christ, *He that believeth, and is baptized*. Therefore believing was first. (Ib. p. 86.)

CURCELLAEUS does not only confess the same, but fixes the time of bringing in infant-baptism. His words are these:

PAEDOBAPTISM was not known in the world the two first ages after Christ. In the third and fourth it was approved by a few. At length in the fifth, and following ages, it began to obtain in divers places. And therefore we observe this rite indeed as an ancient custom, but not as an apostolical tradition. (Ib. p. 87)

AND in another place, according to Mr. *Stennet*, he says:

The custom of baptizing infants did not begin before the third age after Christ; and there appears not the least footstep of it, in the two first centuries.

I will only add to these an *English* writer, whole great learning, and diligent search into antiquity, are well known. I mean the reverend Dr. *Barlow*, afterwards bishop of *Lincoln*.

THIS famous gentleman, before his great preferment in the establish'd church had either biass'd his opinion, or tempted him to conceal it, frankly acknowledged, That both scripture and antiquity were on the side of the *Baptists*.

I BELIEVE and know,

says he, in a letter to Mr. *Tombs*, (Danvers, *Cent.* 4. p. 63.)

that there is neither precept nor example in scripture for Paedobaptism, nor any just evidence for it for about two hundred years after Christ. Sure I am, that in the primitive times they were *Catechumeni*, then *illuminati*, or *baptizati*. The truth is, I do believe, Paedobaptism, how or by whom I know not, came into the world in the second century, and in the third and fourth began to be practised, tho' not generally; and defended, as lawful, from the text grossly misunderstood, ~~<BIB>~~ *John* 3:5. Upon the like gross mistake of ~~<BIB>~~ *John* 6:53. they did, for many centuries, both in the *Greek* and *Latin* church, communicate *infants*, and give them the Lord's Supper: And I do confess, says he, they might do both, as well as either.

WHEN this letter was published, and improved by the *Baptists*, the advocates for Paedobaptism would not let the bishop rest, till he had either denied the letter, or writ a recantation. At length Mr. *Wills* extorted a letter from him, and leave to publish it. In this the bishop acknowledges his writing as above; but is so far from proving he was mistaken, or had misrepresented the history of those times, that he does not affirm any such thing; only tries to excuse himself, by saying, that he writ it twenty years ago, when he talked more, and understood less and that whatever objections he had against infant-baptism, he never disturbed the peace of the church, nor declined the practice.

Thus have I traced this matter, till we are brought up to the beginning of Christianity it self: And this last opinion is that wherein the controversy resteth.

I SHALL only add some brief remarks on the account given of the different times al; signed by the learned for the first rise of the *Baptists*, and the several persons whom they represent to have been the founders of that sect.

1. THAT the most common opinion concerning the first rise of the *Baptists*, and that which would reflect the greatest odium upon them, has the least appearance of truth in it, and is sufficiently confuted by the *Paedobaptists* themselves: viz. That they sprung from those mad and heretical people at *Munster* in *Germany*, a little after the reformation. The most learned of their adversaries, and those that have examined the histories of this people with the greatest care and diligence, make them to be much ancients, and assign no less than seven other different periods of time for their origin; any one of which being true, will wipe away that scandal.

2. THAT as tradition is generally acknowledged to be the best and chief support of infant-baptism; so even this appears, from their own accounts, to be very precarious and uncertain.

THERE are but two ways, by which they can pretend to justify this practice; viz. from scripture, and from antiquity.

Now the most learned and ingenious of the *Paedobaptists* themselves do confess, that there is no express mention of any such thing in scripture; and that the arguments from thence are, at most, but probable. Their more usual way therefore is to recur to ecclesiastical history, and the writings of the *Fathers*; But how uncertain and contradictory their accounts are from hence, does sufficiently appear by this collection.

3. WE may see here also, that the advocates of infant-baptism do themselves confess and prove, that in all ages of Christianity almost, there have been some

who have opposed that practice, as an human tradition, and unwarrantable custom.

THE writings of the first two hundred years are wholly silent about it; The first that mentions it, condemns it; and very many of those, who stood up afterwards to oppose the corruptions and abuses brought into religion, declared their dislike of it.

Now for all this to be granted, and proved too, by the adversaries of the *Baptists*, is no small argument in their favour; and may convince the world, that their scruples in this case are not wholly groundless, nor a mere novelty.

4. IN this variety of opinions, and these different accounts from ancient history, those, who either want ability or opportunity to search those writings themselves, have most reason to depend on their account, who say, that there are no footsteps of infant-baptism in the first ages of Christianity; and that it appears to have been introduced a considerable time after Christ and his Apostles.

THESE, I say, supposing them to be men of equal learning and probity with the others, have most reason to be relied on; because it made against their own practice, and what they appeared desirous to support and maintain. Men are too apt to be partial to their own side, and to conceal or let pass any thing that would reflect upon their own practice in religion: He that appears so fair therefore, as to relate what makes against him as well as for him, is freest from suspicion.

AGAIN: Those who appear too angry with them, for making these concessions to the *Baptists*, have not yet been able to confute them, by producing any direction from *Christ* or his *Apostles* to baptize infants, nor one instance of baptizing any such for the first two hundred years. And if it be said, Those who talk thus are but few, in comparison of the great number that oppose them it is answered, That truth is not always on the side of the greatest number; and that their number is not inconsiderable, when we add to them all the learned among the *Baptist*, and a great number of learned men in the church of *Rome*, who assert the same thing. (*Vid. Stennet against Ruffen*, p. 173.)

5. This diversity of opinions among the learned about tradition, and the practice of the Fathers, tends to confirm the *Baptists* in their opinion; That the holy scriptures are to be the only rule of our faith and worship; and that we are to practise nothing, as an institution of Christ, which is not therein contained. Supposing it could be proved, by sufficient evidence, that the churches did immediately after the apostles practise infantbaptism, it would not necessarily follow from thence that it was instituted by Christ, and practised by the Apostles; because the most ancient churches were subject to err, and those

christians who lived in the very next age after the Apostles, made several additions, both in doctrine and worship. Their writings may therefore prove fact, but not right: And the grand question would still remain; Whether this practice was derived from *Christ*, and his *Apostles*, or begun by some others after his death?

THE writings of the *Fathers* therefore could only furnish them with probable arguments: And we must, after all, refer to scripture for certainty in this, and all other controversies about points of revealed religion.

But how defective are they, even in these probable arguments; and how miserably are they divided, in their opinions on this account? It is easy to discern from this collection, that they are much more successful in confuting each other, than in defending themselves: What one calls orthodox, another represents as heresy; and a practice highly applauded by one, is severely censured by another. And in ecclesiastical history there is a very great uncertainty, even as to facts.

But, in the midst of these confusions, *we have a sure word; whereunto we do well to take heed, as unto a light that shineth in a dark place. To the law therefore, and to: the testimony; if they speak not according to this word, it is because there is no light in them.* (~~60119~~ 2 Peter 1:19. ~~23820~~ Isaiah 8:20.)

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THE HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH BAPTISTS.

CHAPTER 1.

From the Time of Wickliff, to the End of the Reign of Elizabeth.

THOUGH the *English* have, above most nations, been always very zealous of their natural rights and privileges; yet the spirit of persecution has often prevailed in this land, and under the mask of religion, the properties of men have been invaded, liberty of conscience taken away, and the most cruel and barbarous actions committed. And whenever it has been thus, those who were branded with the name of *Anabaptists* have been sure to feel the sharpest part of these things.

Edw. III. An. Dom. 1371.

THE *Martyrology* of the foreign *Anabaptists* is a large book in *Folio*; and the account it gives of the number of their martyrs and confessors, as well as of the cruelties that were used towards them, very much exceeds any thing that has been done in *England*. However, according to their number in this land, and the degree to which persecution has at any time arisen, they have always had their full share of it. JOHN WICKLIFF was the first person of any note, who in *England* opposed the corruptions of the pope and his clergy, and who met with any considerable success in so doing. He began this work in the reign of king *Edward III.*

THERE were indeed before him several who shew'd their dislike of many things in the establish'd church, and frequently spoke against the superstitious clergy; but these were very few, and persons of no great character, such as did but little towards opening the eyes of the people. But this man having good natural abilities, the benefit of a liberal education, and several good friends at court to encourage and support him, and above all, being extraordinarily qualified and assisted by God, gave the first considerable check to the errors and superstition of those times. And though the Reformation was not established till about 187 years after, yet the first seeds of it were sown by him; for which reason the best historians of the Reformation in *England*, begin their account from the days of *Wickliff*.

THE famous Martyrologist Mr. *John Fox*, begins the second part of his history thus:

Although it be manifest and evident enough, that there were divers and sundry before *Wickliff's* time, which have wrestled and labour'd in the same cause and quarrel that our countryman Wickhath done, whom the Holy Ghost hath from time to time raised and stirred up in the church of God, to vanquish and overthrow the great errors which daily did grow and prevail in the world; yet notwithstanding, for so much as they are not many in number, neither yet very famous or notable, we will begin the narration of this our history with *Wickliff*, at whose time this furious fire of persecution seem'd to take its original and beginning.^{f8}

Bishop *Burnet* also begins his account of the Reformation with him, saying,

From *Wickliff* a graduate in *Merton college* the days of *Wickliff* there were many that disliked most of the received doctrines in several parts of the nation.^{f9}

Wickliff a graduate in Merton college.

WE find no mention of him in history till his being a graduate in *Merton college* in *Oxford*;^{f10} so that no account can be given of his parentage, place of birth, or manner of education. His great abilities soon advanced him to a professorship in the university, and a living, in which he had the cure of souls. When he was convinced, by the word of God, of the idolatry and superstition of the times, and resolved upon a reformation these two places gave him great advantages for the promoting his design: for by the one he was frequently engaged in disputations with the learned; and by the other, in preaching to the common people. He consider'd with himself, that old customs and principles, that had been long rooted in the minds of the people, could not presently, and all at once, be removed; and therefore resolved to proceed gradually in his design, finding fault first with lesser things, in order to come to the greater; beginning with some logical and metaphysical mistakes, and so proceeding till he came to the doctrine of transubstantiation, and other abuses of the church. He endeavoured to expose the vicious lives and insolent behaviour of the clergy;^{f11} and especially their assuming the civil power, encroaching upon the prince's prerogative, exacting great sums from the people. This procured him the favour of the court, and particularly the duke of *Lancaster* (the king's son) and the Lord *Piercy*, which proved a great protection to him afterwards, when persecuted by the bishops.

Translates the Bible.

HE translated the bible (says *Burnet* ^{f12}) out of Latin into English, with a long preface before it, in which he reflected severely on the corruptions of the

clergy, and condemned the worshipping of saints and images, and denied the corporal presence of Christ's body in the sacrament, and exhorted all people to study the scriptures. His bible, with this preface, was well received by a great many; and tended greatly to open the eyes of the people, and is the first *English* bible that ever was.

WHAT was done by this famous man, towards removing those corruptions in doctrine and worship which were then in the *English* church, exposed him to the persecution of the *Romish* clergy, who exercised all the rage and power they durst against him.

1376. Is deprived and silenced.

FIRST, he was deprived of his benefice at *Oxford*, and silenced by *Simon Sudbury*, archbishop of *Canterbury*. After this he was summoned to appear before a synod, which sat at *St. Paul's* church, to answer for his errors before his ordinary; but his two great friends and encouragers, the duke of *Lancaster* and Lord *Piercy*, appearing with him, nothing was done against him at this time.

Ordered by the pope to be prosecuted.

AN account of his errors and proceedings being sent to pope *Gregory*, there was quickly a bull sent to *Oxford*, enjoining the university and clergy to apprehend him; and a letter from the pope to the king, requiring his majesty to join with and assist the clergy in prosecuting of him.

THIS gave fresh encouragement to the clergy; who having exhibited certain conclusions against him, cited him to appear again before a convocation of bishops at *Lambeth*, with a full resolution to condemn both him and his errors; but a message came from the court, which put a stop to their proceedings.

SEVERAL other attempts were made against him; but they could not proceed till the duke of *Lancaster* was removed from the king, and then he was condemn'd at *Oxford*: yet he died peaceably in his bed in the year 1385. tho' forty one years after his body was taken up and burnt.

His books condemned and burnt. His opinions.

As to his opinions, it is very difficult now to have a certain account of them; because they who took so much care to burn his bones, did not neglect to destroy his books, which of the two were like to do them the most hurt. And to do this the more effectually, not only the prelates of *England* and *Bohemia*, but also a general council condemned all his books, and commanded them to be burnt; strictly forbidding any person to read or conceal any of them, under the penalty of being proceeded against as maintainers of heresy: so that in the year

1410, by diligent inquisition about two hundred of them were gathered together in *Oxford* and *Bohemia*, and committed to the flames. We are now therefore forced to take the account of his opinions from his enemies; and if any credit may be given to their account, he was for carrying the reformation much further than it was in the reign Q. *Elizabeth*, or since. For

Art. I.

1. HE not only denied the pope's supremacy, ^{f13} but was against any person's assuming the title and authority of being the *head of the church*; asserting,

Art. I.

That it is blasphemy to call any *head of the church*, save Christ alone.

2. HE condemned episcopacy as being a creature of princes setting up. For he asserted,

That in the time of the apostles there were only two orders, *viz. priests* and *deacons*; and that a *bishop* doth not differ from a *priest*.

3. HE was for having ministers maintained by the voluntary contributions of the people, and not by tythes settled on them by law; saying,

Art. 24.

That *tythes* are pure alms, and that *pastors* are not to exact them by ecclesiastical censures.

4. HE was not for giving the church a *power to decree rites and ceremonies, and to determine controversies of faith*. For it is said,

Art. 25, 26.

That he slighted the authority of general councils, and affirmed, that wise men leave that as impertinent which is not plainly expressed in scripture.

5. HE was also against prescribed forms of prayer, but especially against imposing of them. For he faith,

Art. 30.

To bind men to set and prescript forms of prayers, doth derogate from that liberty God hath given them.'

Is supposed to have been a Baptist.

I AM inclined to believe Mr. *Wickliff* was a *Baptist*, because some men of great note and learning in the church of *Rome*, have left it upon record, that he

denied infant-baptism. *Thomas Waldensis* ^{f14} chargeth him expresly with this opinion; and calls him one of the seven heads that came out of the bottomless pit, for it; saying,

That he doth positively assert, That children are not to be sacramentally baptized.

The same faith *Joseph Vicecomes*: ^{f15}

As to adult baptism, no one ever doubted thereof, witness the monuments or writings of all the holy fathers and oecumenial councils, as well as the scriptures themselves, especially the *Acts of the apostles*; but as for infants baptism, he tells us, that *Vincentius Victor, Hincmarus of Laudun, the Henrici & Apostolici, John Wickliff*; &c. did all of them witness against it in their times.

Jan Van Bright. Danvers.

BESIDES, they charge him with several of those which are called *Anabaptistical* errors; such as the refusing to take an oath, ^{f16} and also that opinion, That dominion is founded in grace. ^{f17} Upon these testimonies, some protestant writers have affirmed that *Wickliff* was a *Baptist*, and have put him in the number of those who have born witness against infant-baptism. And had he been a man of a scandalous character, that would have brought reproach upon those of that profession, a less proof would have been sufficient to have ranked him among that sect.

But accounted a slander of the Papists.

But in defence of so great and learned a reformer, it is said, that those are only lies and slanders, cast upon him by the *Papists*, his enraged enemies; and that *Vicecomes* has also reckoned *Luther, Calvin and Beza*, among the adversaries of infant-baptism; which is, say they, a most evident falshood: that if this had been his opinion, the *Council of Constance*, who condemned 45 of his supposed errors, would not have omitted objecting this against him, for in such cases, they commonly over did it: that there is a treatise still extant of *Wickliff's*, called *Dialogus*, in which he speaks of the baptizing of infants, as being according to Christ's rule; and the parents intention of doing it, as a good intention.

ALL this does indeed render it doubtful whether he was of that opinion. Yet it is to be considered, on the other hand, that the *Papists* were the best capable of giving an account of persons who lived in those times; that though they often case slanders upon those who opposed their superstitions, it follows not, that all must be false which they said of them. *Fox*, who has related his opinions, has left out one of those condemned in the convocation at *London*, and three of

the 45 condemned in the *Council of Constance*, as appears by his first edition; which must be concealed for some design, not known. And although when *Wickliff* wrote his *Dialogus*, he held the baptizing of infants; yet it does not hence follow, that he might not afterwards be of another mind, and write against it in some of those two hundred books of his that were burnt; of which, as Mr. *Fuller*^{f18} faith, not a tittle is left.

SEVERAL of the *Romish* errors are asserted in that book; as purgatory, adoration of angels, the authority of the church, &c. which it is plain he afterwards denied. Very few who let themselves to reform religion, see all the abuses in it at first; but most commonly add new opinions, consequent to those they at first maintained; and so an honest historian^{f19} supposes *Wickliff* to have done.

The heretical opinions charged upon *Wickliff* in the latter part of his life, and after his death, are much more numerous than those he was accused of at the beginning of his prosecution.

POPE *Gregory* charged him with 18 errors; *Thomas Arundel* archbishop of *Canterbury* with 24; the *Council of Constance* with 45; *Thomas Waldensis* computeth 80; *John Luke*, D. D. in *Oxford*, brings up the account to 266; and last of all, *John Cocleus* raises the number to 303.

Many of Wickliff's followers were Baptists.

But whether he denied infant-baptism, or not, it is certain he was the first reformer of any note, that spread those tenets among the *English* which tend to overthrow the practice of baptizing infants. And if he did not pursue the consequence of his own doctrines so far, yet many of his followers did, and were made *Baptists* by it.

HE taught, that no rule or ceremony ought to be received in the church, which is not plainly confirmed by the word of God: and therefore said,

That wise men leave that as impertinent, which is not plainly expressed in scripture.^{f20}

Now, the following of this rule in reformation, must needs tend to the casting out of infant-baptism; the *Paedobaptists* themselves granting, that there is no direction for such a practice in the word, nor one example of it, as will be hereafter shewn.

BISHOP *Burnet* observes,^{f21} it was the pursuing this principle, that gave rise to the *Anabaptists* in *Germany*; *Luther* having laid it down as a foundation, that the Scripture was to be the only rule of Christians; that many building upon

this, carried things further than he did, and denied divers things which he held, and amongst the rest the baptism of infants.

ANOTHER Tenet of *Wickliff's* was this: ^{f22}

That those are fools and presumptuous, which affirm such infants not to be saved, which die without baptism, and he denied, that all sins are abolished in baptism.

Now, it was the opinion that baptism waffled away original sin, and by a secret virtue regenerated the person, and that the infant dying without it, was in danger of damnation, that began and established this practice; therefore this foundation being removed, that practice falls of course.

NAY further, it is affirmed to be a doctrine of *Wickliff's*, ^{f23}

That baptism doth not confer, but only signify grace, which was given before.

AND in his *Dialogus*, although that was written while he retained divers popish errors, he asserts, ^{f24}

That children may be saved without Baptism; and that the baptism of water profiteth not, without the baptism of the Spirit.

Which shews, that even then he was inclinable to the opinion of the *Baptists*; and makes it very probable, that when he afterwards threw off many of the errors mentioned in that book, he did also reject the baptism of infants, as it is charged upon him by his adversaries.

AMONGST the followers of this great man, both in *Bohemia* and *England*, we find many *Baptists*. The Reformation, which began so early in *Bohemia*, and spread so quickly through most parts of *Germany*, was in a great measure owing to our *Wickliff*.

SOME have thought that he fled into those parts to escape the rage of the *English* clergy for some time, and then returned again, and so had propagated his principles secretly there. But the account Mr. *Fox* gives ^{f25} us seems the most probable; which is, that a certain young gentleman of *Bohemia* happening to be at *Oxford*, upon his returning back to the university of *Prague*, took with him several of *Wickliff's* books, and communicated them to Mr. *John Hus*, a publick preacher there; and *Hus*, who was a man of great learning, a fruitful wit, and of extraordinary piety, by reading these books imbibed the same sentiments of religion which *Wickliff* had, and openly defended both *Wickliff* and his doctrines; and so became the first reformer there, and founder of that lea which were called by some *Pyghards*, and by others *Hussites*.

Now concerning this people, and their sentiments of religion, we have a very particular account in a letter written to *Erasmus* out of *Bohemia*, by *Johannes*

Slecht Coslelecius, dated *October* 10, 1519. which makes the rise of that fed to be above 97 years before that insurrection at *Munster*; which some would make the first rise of the *Baptists*, and many years before *Luther* and *Calvin*.

Vide Preface.

IN the account he gives of them, he says, they mutually salute one another by the name of *Brother* and *Sister*; they own no other authority than the scriptures of the Old and New Testament they believe or own little or nothing of the sacraments of the church; such as come over to their sect, must every one be baptized anew in mere water, &c.

Now though the account in this letter agrees almost in every thing, with the opinions and practice of the *English Baptist* the advocates of infant-baptism would fain persuade us to the contrary, by suggesting that they did not re-baptize those that embraced their opinion, as judging baptism in infancy invalid; but judging all baptism received in the corrupt way of the church of *Rome* to be so. And in confirmation of this, Dr. *Wall* cites *Ottius*, ^{f26} who affirms this to be the Reason of it.

But when the *Paedobaptists* argue after this manner, they don't consider that they hereby cast the same odium upon the protestant religion in general, which they have so often endeavoured to fix upon the *Baptists* only; viz. That they can have no right administrator of baptism amongst them, and consequently no true baptism.

For as bishop *Burnet* observes, ^{f27} at the beginning of the Reformation, all had been baptized in the corrupt way of the church of *Rome*. If that baptism was nothing, then there was none truly baptized in being. Now it did not seem reasonable, that men who were not baptized themselves, should go and baptize others; and therefore the first heads of the Reformation, not being rightly baptized themselves, seemed not to ad with any authority, when they went to baptize others.

IF, on the other hand, they affirm, that the baptism received in the church of *Rome* is valid; then these people must be real *Anabaptists*, who baptized every one anew that came over to their fed.

Nor do we find any that believed infant-baptism to be lawful, who upon departing from the church of *Rome*, did look upon the baptism they had there received as invalid, and so received a new baptism upon their becoming Protestants. They all abhorred indeed the superstitious use of oil of chrisom; yet seeing there was in that baptism the element of water applied, the right words of institution used, and both these administered, as they thought, to a

proper subject, they judged it had the essentials of a true baptism, and accordingly contented themselves with it.

‘Tis therefore most reasonable to conclude, that those persons were *Baptists*, and upon that account baptized those that came over to their sect, who professed the true faith, and desired to be baptized into it.

As for *Ottius*, it is no wonder he asserts the contrary. For he writ with a great deal of warmth to expose the mad *Anabaptists*, who had made such confusion in *Germany*, and therefore would not allow any sober and religious *people* to be of their opinion in any thing. But *Waldensis*, who lived above an hundred years before *Ottius*, and writ against the *Wickliffites* and *Hussites*, affirms, that some of them maintained this Heresy, ^{f28}

That believers children were not to be baptized, and that baptism was to no purpose administred to them.

But to return to *England*: Let us see how the doctrines of *Wickliff* prevailed there, and what was taught and practised, in the point of baptism, by his *English* disciples.

Wickliff's followers called Lollards.

As in *Bohemia* the followers of *Wickliff* went under the name of *Waldenses*, *Pyghards*, and *Hussites*; so in *England* they were many years called *Lollards*.

UNDER this name were the several statues made against them; their supposed heresies were condemned under the name of *Lollardy*, and the prison in *London*, to which they were sent, was called the *Lollards Tower*. Some think they derived this name from *Walter Lollard*, one of the *Waldensian* preachers in *Germany*, who came into *England* about the year 1315. and propagated several opinions, agreeing with those afterwards maintained by *Wickliff*. Others suppose they were so called from the *Latin* word *lolium*, which signifies tares, or hurtful weeds among the corn, and so were termed *Lollards*, *quasi lolia, in ara Domini*.

THE first followers of *Wickliff* according to Dr. *Burnet*, ^{f29} were generally illiterate and ignorant men, who were led into his opinions, rather by the impressions which common sense and plain reason made upon them, than by any deep speculations or study.

There were, says he, some few *Clerks* joined to them, but they formed not themselves into any body or association, and were scattered over the kingdom, holding these opinions ^{f30} in private, without making any publick *profession* of them. Generally they were known by their disparaging the superstitious *Clergy*, whole corruptions were then so notorious, and their

cruelty so enraged, that no wonder the people were deeply prejudiced against them.

Rich. II. An. Dom. 1382. *A bill passed the Lords, and signed by the King, to suppress hereticks.*

IN the 5th year of *Richard II.* (at which time *Wickliff* himself was alive) a bill for the suppressing of hereticks paired in the house of Lords, and was assented to by the King, and published for an ad of Parliament, though the bill was never sent to the house of Commons. By this pretended law, says *Burnet*,^{f31}

it appears, that Wick's followers were then very numerous, that they had a certain *habit*, and did preach in many places, both in churches, church-yards, and markets, without license from the ordinary; and did preach several doctrines, both against the faith and the laws of the land, as had been proved before the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the other bishops, prelates, donors of divinity, and of the civil and canon law, and others of the clergy; that they would not submit to the admonitions, nor censures of the church, but by their subtile ingenious words, did draw the people to follow them and defend them by a strong hand, and in great routs. Therefore it was ordained, that upon the bishops certifying into the chancery the names of such preachers and their abettors, the chancellour should issue forth commissions to the sheriffs, and other the king's ministers, to hold them in arrest and strong prison, till they should justify them according to the law and reason of holy church.

Disowned and condemned by the commons.

THE *popish* party made use of this pious fraud; and though the next parliament disowned and condemned that pretended law, yet they found means to get this new act suppressed, and went on to prosecute the *Lollards* with all the fierceness and severity the former law would permit; and several of their most noted preachers were apprehended, imprisoned and harrassed, by vexatious suits in the ecclesiastical courts, for as yet there was no law that reached to life.

Henry IV. An. Dom. 1400. A law made for burning hereticks.

But when the crown was usurped by *Henry IV.* in gratitude to the *clergy*, who assisted him in coming to it, he granted them a law, to their hearts content, for the burning of *hereticks*; which passed both houses in the second year of his reign. And to the *eternal infamy of the romish clergy*, who procured this bloody law, upon the authority of which so much cruelty was afterwards acted, it was entred in the rolls, *Petitio Cleri contra haereticos*.^{f32}

Will. Sawtre burnt.

THE first who was put to this cruel death in *England*, merely for religion, was *William Sawtre*, who was burnt in *London An. Dom.* 1400. He had been sometime minister of the parish of *St. Margaret*, in the town of *Lynn*; but having entertained the opinions of the *Lollards*, was first convicted of heresy by the bishop of *Norwich*, and afterwards brought to make a publick recantation of the same, and so escaped for that time: but coming to *London*, and retaining still a zeal for the true religion, he petitioned the parliament that he might be heard in some matters relating to religion, which he believed would be for the benefit of the whole kingdom.

THE *clergy* suspecting his design, which must have been to get the established religion reformed, or a toleration for such as dissented, got the matter to be referred wholly to them in convocation; who soon condemned him as an obstinate heretick, and procured a decree from the king for his burning.

^{f33} THIS Proto-Martyr of the English nation is thought by some to have been a *Baptist*; because the *Lollards*, who lived in the diocese of *Norwich*, where this man first received and professed his notions, were generally of that opinion: ^{f34} and Mr. *Fox*, in relating the errors of which he was accused by the *Papists*, uses the same partiality that he had done before in *Wickliff's* case; for of the ten errors of which he was convicted by the bishop of *Norwich*, he conceals the two last, as may be seen in the scroll and recantation.

Fox was doubtless so honest an historian, as not to record any thing he knew to be false; yet it is plain, by these and several other instances, he endeavoured to conceal many things that would make against the religion established in his time, or that he thought would be a disparagement to his *martyrs*.

Wickliff's followers terrified.

THE cruel and ignominious death of this good man struck a great terror into the rest of *Wickliff's* followers, and made them more cautious how they divulged their opinions for the future; yet such was the craft and diligence of the *clergy*, that they found out means to discover many of them, and by virtue of the statute *ex officio*, which they had now obtained, persecuted them with great cruelty, so that the prisons were full of them, many were forced to abjure, and those that refused were used without mercy. ^{f35}

AND as this persecution began in the diocese of *Norwich*, so it was carried on with the greatest heat and violence.

MR. Fox gives an account of an hundred and twenty, who were hereupon accused, and committed to prison for *Lollardy* in about three years time; that

is, from the year 1428, to 1431, ^{f36} Of these, some through fear either denied or abjured their opinions; others suffered cruel penance, and others were burnt alive: as Father *Abraham*, *William White*, *John Wadden*, and others.

Three Lollards burnt

As to the opinions that were held by these *Lollards*, or disciples of *Wickliff*, in *England*, 'tis agreed by all, that they denied the pope's supremacy, the worshipping of images, praying for the dead, and the like popish doctrines. Whether they rejected the baptism of infants or not, has been doubted by some; but that they generally did so, is more than probable, from what is left upon record concerning them.

For the better discovering who were *Lollards*, there were certain articles drawn up, upon which the *Inquisitors* were to examine those who were suspected, and if they saw need, oblige them to abjure. Among these the 12th article was, ^{f37}

That the infant, though he die unbaptized, than be saved.

WALDENSIS, who wrote against the *Wickliffites* and *Hussites*, about the year 1410. affirms, That *Wickliff's* followers in *Scotland*, and some in the bishop of *Norwich's* diocese did hold, ^{f38} That the children of believers are not to be sacramentally baptized; and that they judged it unprofitable to give children ecclesiastical baptism, ^{f39} saying they were sufficiently clean and holy, because they were born of holy and christian parents.

THE *Dutch* martyrology gives an account of Sir *L. Clifford*, who had formerly been a *Lollard*, but had departed from their opinions, who informed the archbishop of *Canterbury*, that the *Lollards* would not baptize their new-born children. And our *English* martyrologist tells us, ^{f40} That the *Lollards* were accused of holding these errors concerning baptism, viz.

That the sacrament of baptism, used in the church by water, is but a light matter, and of small effect; that christian people be sufficiently baptized in the blood of Christ, and need no water; and that infants be sufficiently baptized, if their parents be baptized before them.

Fox indeed endeavours to excuse them in these things; and supposes they were only slanders cast upon them by their persecutors.

It is certain they did not deny water-baptism itself, as these, accusations suppose; but because they denied that baptism washed away sin, and conferred grace, they charge them with saying, that it was a light matter, and of small effect: Because they held, it was the blood of Christ that saved us, and not water, they accuse them of this error, that christian people be sufficiently baptized in the blood of Christ, and need no water; and because they rejected

the baptizing of infants, as a needless ceremony, they condemn them as such that affirmed, that infants be sufficiently baptized, if their parents were baptized before them.

Hen. VIII An. Dom. 1511

THE persecution of the *Lollards* rather encreasing their number than diminishing them, I shall not take notice of the particular sufferers in succession; but proceed to the reign of *Henry*. VIII. where I find their principles about baptism more fairly stated.

BISHOP BURNET says, ^{f41}

That in the reign of K. *Henry* VIII. on the 2d day of *May*, in the year 1511, six men and four women, most of them being of *Tenderden*, appeared before Archbishop *Warham*, in his manour of *Knoll*, and abjured the following errors:

1. THAT in the sacrament of the altar is not the body of Christ, but material bread:
2. That the sacraments of baptism and confirmation are not necessary, nor profitable for mens souls:
3. That confession of sins ought not to be made to a priest:
4. That there is no more power given by God to a priest than to a layman:
5. That the solemnization of matrimony is not profitable nor necessary, for the well of a man's soul:
6. That the sacrament of extreme unction is not profitable nor necessary for a man's soul:
7. That pilgrimages to holy and devout places be not profitable, neither meritorious for man's soul:
8. That images of saints be not to be worshipped,
9. That a man should pray to no saint, but only to God:
10. That holy water, and holy bread, be not the better after the benediction made by the priest, than before. And as they abjured these opinions, so they were made to swear, that they would discover all whom they knew to hold these errors, or who were suspected of them, or that did keep any private conventicles; or were fautors, or comforters of them that published such doctrines. Two other men of *Tenderden* did that day in the afternoon abjure most of these opinions. The court sat again the fifth of *May*, and the archbishop enjoined them penance, to wear the badge of a faggot in flames on their clothes during their lives, or till they were pensed with for it; and that in

the procession, both at the cathedral of *Canterbury*, and at their own parish-churches, they should carry a faggot on their shoulders, which was looked on as a publick confession that they deserved burning. The same day another of *Tenderden* abjured the same doctrines. On the 15th of *May* the court sat at *Lambeth*, where four men and one woman abjured. On the 19th, four men more abjured. On the 3d of *June*, a man and a woman abjured; another woman the 26th of *July*; another man the 29th of *July*; two women on the 2d of *August*; a man on the 3d, and a woman on the 8th of *August*; three men on the 16th of *August*; and three men and a woman on the 3d of *September*. In these abjurations, some were put to abjure more, some fewer of the former doctrines: and in some of their abjurations, two articles more were added. First, that the images of the crucifix of our lady and other saints, ought not to be worshipped, because they were made with mens hands, and were but flocks and stones. Second, that money and labours spent in pilgrimages were all in vain. All these persons (whether they were unjustly accused, or were overcome with fear, or had but crude conceptions of those opinions, and so easily frightened out of them) abjured, and performed the penance that was enjoined them. Others met with harder measure; for on the 29th of *April*, in the same year 1511. one *William Carder* of *Tenderden*, being indicted on the former articles, he denied them all but one: *That he had aid, it was enough to pray to Almighty God alone, and therefore we needed not to pray to saints for any mediation*; upon which witnesses were brought against him, who were all such as were then prisoners, but intended to abjure, and were now made use of to convict others. They swore, that he had taught them these opinions. When their depositions were published, he said he did repent, if he had said any thing against the faith, and the sacraments, but he did not remember that he had laid any such thing. Sentence was given upon him as an obstinate heretick, and he was delivered up to the secular power. On the same day a woman, *Agnes Grevil*, was indicted upon the same articles. She pleaded *not guilty*; but by a strange kind of proceeding, her husband and her two sons were brought in witnesses against her. Her husband deposed, that in the end of the reign of K. *Edw. IV.* one *John Ive* had persuaded her into these opinions, in which she had persisted ever since. Her sons also deposed, that she had been still infusing these doctrines into them. One *Robert Harrison* was also indicted, and pleading *not guilty*, witnesses did prove the articles against him; and on the 2d of *May*, sentence was given against these two, as obstinate hereticks; and the same day the archbishop signed the writs for certifying these sentences into the chancery, which conclude in these words: *Our holy mother the church, having nothing further that she can do in this matter, we leave the forementioned hereticks, and every one of them, to your royal highness, and to your secular council.*

AND on the 8th of *May*, *John Brown* and *Edward Walker*, being also indicted of heresy, on the former points, they both pleaded *not guilty*; but the witnesses deposing against them, they were judged obstinate hereticks, and the former a relapse, for he had abjured before cardinal *Morton*, and on the 19th of *May* sentence was given. When or how the sentences were executed, I cannot find:

sure I am, there are no pardons upon record for any of them; and it was the course of the law, either to fend a pardon, or issue out the writ for burning them. *Fox* mentions none of these proceedings; only he tells, that *John Brown* was taken for some words said in discourse with a priest, about the saying of masses for redeeming of souls out of purgatory; upon which he was committed for suspicion of heresy. But *Fox* seems to have been misinformed about the time of his burning, which he says *was An. Dom. 1517*; for they would not have kept a condemn'd heretick six years out of the fire. I never find them guilty of any such clemency.

Thus far *Bp. Burnet*.

IT may very well be supposed, that most of the aforementioned persons were opposers of infant-baptism; else why were they obliged to abjure the opinion of baptism, as being neither necessary nor profitable? But if it be said, that these ten articles were esteemed heretical opinions and errors by the church in that day, therefore if they found any person guilty of one, they obliged them to abjure the whole then I say, it is evident there were opposers of infant-baptism at that time, and that the rise of the *Baptists* is not of such late date as some would have it.

An. Dom. 1528. A parliament call'd

The king becoming sensible of his error, in being wholly ruled by the *Clergy*, call'd his high court of *Parliament* in the year 1528. ^{f42} The *Commons* complained sharply of their grievances against the *Clergy*; ^{f43} especially in six things, the third of which was, that spiritual men became *farmers* of great granges and farms, to the prejudice of *husbandmen* and *grangers*. ^{f44}

THE fourth was, because many *abbots*, *priors*, and other spiritual men, kept tanhouses, and sold wool, cloth, and other wares, as temporal merchants.

I mention this, to shew that the *clergy* of the church of *Rome* have been employed in mechanick exercises; and I shall have occasion hereafter to make it appear that this has been the *case* of those of the other denominations among protestants, as well as the *Baptists*; though they have all join'd in warm reflections on them on this account, as if they only were chargeable with this practice.

BUT to proceed, though we find not in history among the *martyrs*, many who are taken notice of as opposers of *infantbaptism*, the *historians* themselves being *Paedobaptists*; yet there is ground sufficient to believe, that many of them were *Baptists*.

An. Dom, 1532.

JAMES BAINHAM, *Knt.* ^{f45} who was burnt in *Smithfield*, Apr. 30, 1532. seems by what he said upon his examination before the bishop of *London*, Dec. 15, 1531. to have been an opposer of infant-baptism.

In the year 1533. Mr. *John Frith*, ^{f46} who was burnt in *Smithfield*, wrote a short tract, which he called a *Declaration of Baptism*, 'Tis published with his other works, *London*. 1573.

Ten Anabaptists put to death. An. Dom. 1535.

KING *Henry* having renounced the pope, and married *Anne* of *Bulloign*, she being a special favourer of the gospel, no great persecution nor abjuration was in the church of *England* during her time; saving, that ten *Anabaptists*, which the registers of *London* make mention of, were put to death in sundry places of the realm, *An. Dom.* 1535. Other ten saved themselves by recantation.

Note again, that two more, albeit the definite sentence was read, yet notwithstanding were pardoned by the king, which was contrary to the pope's law. ^{f47}

About this time was *Thomas Cranmer* archbishop of *Canterbury* very busy in projecting the most effectual means for promoting a reformation in doctrine. ^{f48} He moved in Convocation, that they should petition the king for leave to make a translation of the bible; but *Stephen Gardiner*, bishop of *Winchester*, and all his party opposed it, both in Convocation and in secret with the king.

Fourteen Hollanders burnt by pairs in several places.

It was said, that all the heresies and extravagant opinions which were in *Germany*, and from thence brought over into *England*, sprang from the free use of the Scriptures. And whereas in *May*, 1535. nineteen *Hollanders* were accused of some heretical opinions, denying Christ to be both God and Man, or that he took flesh and blood of the Virgin *Mary*, or that the sacraments had any effect upon those that received them. In which opinions fourteen of them remained obstinate and were burnt by pairs in several places. It was pretended, that all these drew their damnable errors from the indiscreet use of the Scriptures. These, or however some of them, are supposed to be *Anabaptists*, because *Fuller* mentions some under that name who suffered that year.

An. Dom. 1536.

THE proceedings of the convocation, and the articles of religion therein agreed upon, and published with the king's authority in 1536. shew, that the opinion of the *Baptists* was then increasing in *England*.

This convocation sat down in *June*, and after some affairs relating to the king's divorce were debated, the lower house sent to the upper house, a collection of many opinions that were then in the realm. There are sixty seven set down, and are the tenets of the old *Lollards*, new *Reformers*, and *Anabaptists*; and after much consultation and debating, certain articles were agreed upon, and published with the king's authority.

By these articles, which are expressed at large by *Fuller* and *Burnet*, it may be seen what sort of men the whole body of the clergy condemned as hereticks in those days.

But it will be sufficient here to insert only those concerning baptism.

As touching the holy sacrament of baptism, say they,

We will that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach our people committed by us unto their spiritual charge, that they ought and must of necessity believe certainly all those things which have been always by the whole consent of the church approved, received and used, in the sacrament of baptism. That is to say,

1. That the sacrament of baptism was instituted and ordained in the New Testament by our Saviour Jesus Christ, as a thing necessary for the attaining of everlasting life; according to the saying of Christ, *nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua & Spiritu Sancto, non potest intrare in regnum caelorum*.

Item, THAT it is offered unto all men, as well infants as such as have the use of reason, that by baptism they shall have the remission of sins, and the grace and favour of God; according to the saying of St. *John*, *Qui crediderit & baptizatus fuerit, salvus erit*.

Item, THAT the promise of grace and everlasting life, which promise is adjoined unto the sacrament of baptism, pertaineth not only unto such as have the use of reason, but also to infants, innocents and children; and that they ought therefore, and must needs be baptized: And that by the sacrament of baptism, they do also obtain remission of their sins, the grace and favour of God, and be made thereby the very sons and children of God; insomuch as infants and children, dying in their infancy, shall undoubtedly be saved thereby, or else not.

Item, THAT infants must needs be christened, because they be born in original sin, which sin must needs be remitted; which cannot be done but by the sacrament of baptism, whereby they receive the Holy Ghost, which exerciseth his grace and efficacy in them, and cleanseth and purgeth them from sin, by his most secret virtue and operation.

Item, THAT children or men once baptized, can, nor ought ever to be baptized again.

Item, THAT they ought to repute and take all the *Anabaptists*, and the *Pelagians* opinions, contrary to the premises, and every other man's opinions agreeable to the laid *Anabaptists*, or the *Pelagians* opinions in this behalf, for de testable heresies, and utterly to be condemned.

Item, THAT men or children having the use of reason, willing and desiring to be baptized, than by the virtue of that holy sacrament, obtain the grace of the remission of all their sins, if they shall come thereunto perfectly and truly repentant and contrite, of all their sins before committed, and also perfectly and constantly confessing and believing, all the articles of our faith, according as it was mentioned in the articles before; or else not. And finally, if they shall also have firm credence and trust in the promise of God, adjoined to the said sacrament; that is to say, that in and by this sacrament which they shall receive, God the Father giveth unto them, for his son Jesus Christ's sake, remission of all their sins, and the grace of the Holy Ghost, whereby they be newly regenerated, and made the very children of God, according to the saying of Christ and his apostle St. *Peter*, *Paenitentiam agite, & baptizetur unusquisque vestrum, in nomine Jesu Christi, in remissionem peccatorum, & accipietis donum Spiritus Sancti*; and according also to the saying of St. *Paul*, *ad Titem*. 3. *Non ex operibus justitiae quae fecimus nos, sed secundum suam misericordiam, salvos nos fecit, per lavacrum regene rationis & renovationis Spiritus Sancti, quem effudit in nos opulenter per Jesum Christum servatorem nostrum, ut justificati illius gratia heredes efficiamur, juxta spem vitae aeternae*.

Dr. WALL would insinuate, that there were no *Baptists* in *England* at this time; but that the King and Convocation, hearing of some in *Germany*, made and published these articles only by way of prevention, lest such opinions should be brought over hither. But is it probable they would have made so much stir about opinions that were not among them? Besides, the preface put to the articles in the King's name, does plainly contradict this insinuation; for therein it is said by the King:

We being of late, to our great regret, credibly advertised of such diversity in opinions, as have grown and sprongen in this our realm, as well concerning certain articles necessary to our salvation, as also touching certain other honest and commendable ceremonies, rites; and usages, now a long time used and accustomed in our churches, have caused our *Bishops*, and other the most discreet and best learned men of our *Clergy* of this our whole realm, to be assembled in our Convocation, for the full debatement and quiet determination of the same.

AFTER these articles of religion were published, Bp. *Burnet* tells us: ^{f49}

That those that desired reformation were glad to see so great a step once made, and did not doubt but this would make way for further changes. They rejoiced to see the Scriptures and the antient Creeds made the standards of the faith, without mentioning tradition, or the decrees of the church.

But what little cause the *Baptists* had to rejoice with them, will appear by what follows:

An. Dam. 1538.

For in October 1538.

There was a commission, says *Burnet*,^{f50} sent to *Cranmer, Stokesly, Sampson*, and some others, to enquire after *Anabaptists*, to proceed against them, to restore the penitent, to burn their books, and to deliver the obstinate to the secular arm; but I have not, says the bishop, seen what proceedings there were upon this.

A proclamation issued against Anabaptists.

On the 16th of *November*, the King put forth a proclamation, in which he condemns all the books of the *Anabaptists* and *Sacramentarians*, and appoints those to be punished who vented them; and in *December* following he sent a letter to all the *Justices in England*, in which, after many other things, they are earnestly pressed to take care, that all the injunctions, laws and proclamations, against *Sacramentarians* and *Anabaptists*, be duly executed. Which letter may be seen at large in *Burnet*.

An act of grace passed. Anabaptists are excepted.

^{f51} IN this year also there was an act of grace passed; in which, besides other particular exceptions, all *Anabaptists* and *Sacramentaries* were excepted, and all those that affirmed, there was a fate upon men, by which the day of their death was unalterably determined.

Two Anabaptists burnt in Smithfield,

MR. FULLER tells us,^{f52}

That in this year a match being made by the lord *Cromwell's* contrivance between King *Henry* and the lady *Anne of Cleve*, *Dutchmen* flocked faster than formerly into *England*, and soon after began to broach their strange opinions, being branded with the general name of *Anabaptists*. These *Anabaptists*, he adds, for the main are but *Donatists* new dipt; and this year their name first appears in our *English* chronicles. I read, says he,^{f53} that four *Anabaptists*, three men and one woman, all *Dutch*, bare faggots at *Paul's* cross; and three days after, a man and a woman of their *sect* were burnt in *Smithfield*.

Fuller's account confuted.

THIS, Mr. *Fuller* calls^{f54} the beginning of the *Anabaptists* in *England*; but he is very much mistaken in his account, both as to their beginning, and the first

appearance of their name in the *English* chronicle, as is plain from what has been said before; but however an epitome thereof may not be improper in this place.

^{f55} IN the articles of religion, set forth by the King and Convocation, *An. Dom.* 1536. the sect of the *Anabaptists* are mention'd and condemn'd; and their opinion, that infants are not to be baptized, is particularly opposed and censured as a detestable heresy.

^{f56} THE registers of *London* mention certain *Dutchmen* counted for *Anabaptists*, ten whereof were put to death *Anno Dom.* 1535. other ten repented and were saved.

^{f57} Bp. Burnet says, That in *May* 1535. nineteen *Hollanders* were accused of some heretical opinions; among which this, denying,

That the sacraments had any effect on those that received them: Fourteen of them remained obstinate, and were burnt by pairs in several places.'

Now both these were three years before *Fuller* begins his account of the foreign *Anabaptists* that came into *England*. But besides this, we have mentioned instances of much longer standing, as that of *Waldensis*, which saith, that the *Lollards*, who were *Wickliff's* followers in *Scotland*, and some in the bishop of *Norwich's* diocese, did hold, that the children of *Believers* are not to be sacramentally baptized, and that they judged it unprofitable to give children ecclesiastical baptism; saying, that they were sufficiently clean and holy, because they were born of holy and christian parents. Agreeable to this, is the account which Mr. *Fox* gives of some faithful christians, who were burnt at *Norwich* about the year 1428. For he says, though he endeavours to excuse them therein, that they say, that infants be sufficiently baptized, if their parents be baptized before them; that christian people be sufficiently baptized in the blood of Christ, and need no water; that the sacrament of baptism used in the church by water, is but a light matter, and of small effect.

THERE were about 120 of this opinion; three whereof were burnt alive. These were martyrs of the *Anabaptists* opinion in *England*, above an hundred years before Mr. *Fuller's* date of their beginning.

An. Dom. 1539.

But to return to the persecution the *Baptists*. We find in Mr. *Fox* certain injunctions, given out in the 30th year of the reign of King *Henry VIII.* on the 6th of *Nov. An. Dom.* 1539. the fourth whereof was this: ^{f58}

That those that be in any errors, as *Sacramentaries*, *Anabaptists*, or any other that sell books having such opinions in them, being once known, both the

books and such persons shall be detected, and disclosed immediately unto the king's majesty, or one of his privy council, to the intent to have it punished without favour, even with the extremity of the law.

By this injunction it appears, that there were some in those days, who were for *reforming* the Sacrament of the supper from the abuses of the church of *Rome*; that the former were then called *Sacramentarians*, the latter *Anabaptists*.

Thirty-one Anabaptists banished and put to death.

^{f59} IN this year sixteen men and fifteen women were banished, for opposing infantbaptism; who going to *Delf* in *Holland*, were there pursued and prosecuted before the magistrates for *Anabaptists*, and put to death for the same; the men beheaded, and the women drowned. Mr. *Barnes*, who was burnt in *Smithfield*, *Anno Dom.* 1540. in his speech to the people at the stake, clearing himself from being an *Anabaptist*, of which he was accused, says,

An. Dom. 1540.

^{f60} Which fed (meaning the *Anabaptists*) I detest and abhor; and in this place there hath been burned same of them, whom I never favoured, neither maintained.

GREATLY did the *clergy* oppose one another at this time, even to the disturbance of the peace of the king himself; as appears by his speech to the parliament, *Decemb.* 24, 1545. where recommending love and unity to his subjects he saith,

An. Dom. 1545.

^{f61} St. *Paul* saith, to the *Corinthians*, in the 13th chapter, *Charity is gentle, charity is not envious, charity is not proud*, and so forth, in the said chapter. Behold then what love and charity is amongst you, when the one calleth the other *Heretick* and *Anabaptist*, and he calleth him again *Papist*, *Hypocrite*, and *Pharisee*: Be then tokens of charity among you? I see, and hear daily, that you of the *clergy* preach one against another, teach one contrary to another, inveigh one against another, without charity, or discretion; some be too stiff in their old *Mumpsimus*, others be too busy and curious in their new *Sumpsimus*.

This part of the King's speech intimates to us, that when the reformation began under his reign, there were many of his subjects went under the name of *Anabaptists*.

An. Dom. 1547. A proclamation against the books of Wickliff, Frith, &c. Edw. VI.

YET after all, the *popish clergy* prevailed with the King, and obtained a proclamation for the suppressing and abolishing of such *English* books as might help to explain the Scripture; such as the books of *Wickliff, Frith, Tindal, Barnes, &c.* but within four months after this proclamation was issued out, the king died, and providence thereby disappointed them, by bringing his son *Edward VI.* to the throne; who restored the holy Scriptures in the mother tongue, abolished the masses, and received home such as were banished.

HE was but nine years of age; yet proved a most happy patron to the gospel.

Carolus's request denied by the King.

^{f62} CAROLUS, the Emperor made request to him and his council, to permit lady *Mary* to have *Mass* in her house, without prejudice of the law. Whereunto the King being required by the council to give his consent, would in no case yield to it, notwithstanding they laid before him what danger might ensue to him by breach of amity with the Emperor. And they being more urgent upon him, the king seeing their importunate suit, in the end his tender heart bursting out into bitter weeping and sobbing, desired them to be content: and so refused to yield unto the Emperor's request in that behalf.

IN the second year of his reign, the new Liturgy, first agreed upon by the Clergy, was confirmed by parliament; wherein. ^{f63} Bishop *Burnet* tells us, they give the following direction about baptism.

Baptism according to the new liturgy.

IN baptism, says he, there was, besides the forms which we still retain, a cross at first made on the child's forehead and breast with an adjuration of the devil to go out of him, and come at him no more. Then the priest was to take the child by the right hand, and to place him within the font. There he was to be dipt thrice; once on the right side, once on the left, and once on the breast, which was to be discreetly done. But if the child were weak, it was sufficient to sprinkle water on his face. Then was the priest to put a white vestment or chrisome on him, for a token of innocence, and to anoint him on the head, with a prayer for the unction of the holy Ghost.

^{f64} IN his reflections upon this part of the book, when he is pleading for the first reformers continuing the use of the cross in baptism, he tells us, they did not use it, as thinking there was that virtue followed the use of it which the *Papists* thought:

For in baptism, says he, as they [the *Papists*] used the sign of the cross, they add an adjuration to the *evil spirit not to violate it*, and in the making it, said, *Receive the sign of the cross, both in thy forehead and in thy heart, and take the faith of the heavenly precepts, &c.*

^{f65} Fox says,

during the whole time of the six years of this king, much tranquility, and as it were a breathing time, was granted to the whole church of *England*; so that the rage of persecution ceasing, and the sword taken out of the adversaries hand, there was now no danger to the godly, unless it were only by wealth and prosperity, which many times bringeth more damage, in corrupting mens minds, than any time of persecution or affliction.

BRIEFLY, during all this time, neither in *Smithfield*, nor any other quarter of this realm, any was heard to suffer for any matter of religion, either *Papist* or *Protestant*, either for one opinion or the other, except only two; one an *English* woman, called *Joan of Kent*; and the other a *Dutchman*, named *George*, who died for certain articles, strange and dissonant from the assertion of the church, which here I omit to speak of, for causes reasonable.

An. Dom. 1549.

THESE two having denied infant-baptism, and being the only persons who suffered for their sentiments in religion in this reign, I shall give that account of them and their sufferings which I find in Bishop *Burnet*.^{f66}

An. Dom. 1547.

AT this time, says the Bishop, there were many Anabaptists in several parts of *England*, they were generally *Germans*, whom the revolutions there had forced to change their seats. Upon *Luther's* first preaching in *Germany*, there arose many, who building on some of his principles, carried things much further than he did. The chief foundation he laid down was, that the Scripture was to be the only rule of christians. Upon this many argued, that the mysteries of the Trinity, and Christ's Incarnation and Sufferings, of the Fall of Man, and the aids of Grace, were indeed philosophical subtilities, and only pretended to be deduc'd from Scripture, as almost all opinions of religion were, and therefore they rejected them. Amongst these the baptism of infants was one. They held that to be no baptism, and so were re-baptized. But from this, which was most taken notice of, as being a visible thing, they carried all the general name of *Anabaptists*.

ON the 12th of *April* there was a complaint brought to the council, that with the strangers that were come into *England*, some of that persuasion had come over, and were disseminating their errors, and making *proselytes*: So a commission was ordered for the archbishop of *Canterbury*, the bishops of *Ely*, *Worcester*, *Westminster*, *Chichester*, *Lincoln*, and *Rochester*; Sir *William Petre*, Sir *Thomas Smith*, Dr. *Cox*, Dr. *May*, and some others, three of them

being a *quorum*; to examine, and search after all *Anabaptists*, *Hereticks*, or contemners of the Common-prayer. They were to endeavour to reclaim them, to enjoin them penance, and give them absolution; or, if they were obstinate, to excommunicate and imprison them, and to deliver them over to the secular power, to be further proceeded against. Some tradesmen in *London* were brought before these *commissioners* in *May*, and were persuaded to abjure their former opinions.

I shall only mention the last of them; which was, that the baptism of infants was not profitable.

Joan Bocher, called Joan of Kent.

ONE of those who thus abjured, was commanded to carry a faggot next *Sunday* at *St. Paul's*, where there should be a sermon, setting forth his heresy.

But there was another of these extreme obstinate, *Joan Bocher*, commonly called *Joan of Kent*. She denied that Christ was truly incarnate of the virgin, whose flesh being sinful, he could take none of it; but the Word, by the consent of the inward man in the virgin, took flesh of her; these were her words. They took much pains about her, and had many conferences with her; but she was so extravagantly conceited of her own notions, that she rejected all they said with scorn. Whereupon she was adjudged an obstinate heretick, and so left to the secular power. This being returned to the council, the good King was moved to sign a warrant for burning her, but could not be prevailed on to do it. He thought it a piece of cruelty, too like that which they had condemned in *Papists*, to burn any for their consciences; and in a long discourse he had with Sir *John Cheek*, he seemed much confirmed in that opinion.

CRANMER was employed to persuade him to sign the warrant. He argued from the law of *Moses*, by which *blasphemers* were to be stoned. He told the King, he made a great difference between errors in other points of divinity, and those which were directly against the apostles *Creed*; that these were impieties against God, which a prince, as being God's deputy, ought to punish, as the King's deputies were obliged to punish offences against the King's person.

THESE reasons did rather silence than satisfy the young King; who still thought it a hard thing, as in truth it was, to proceed so severely in such cases; so he set his hand to the warrant with tears in his eyes, saying to *Cranmer*, that if he did wrong since it was in submission to his authority, he should answer for it to God. This struck the archbishop with much horror, so that he was very unwilling to have the sentence executed; and both he and *Ridley* took the woman then in custody to their houses, to see if they could persuade her: But she continued by jeers and other insolencies to carry herself so contemptuously, that at last the sentence was executed on her the 2d of *May* next year; bishop *Scorey* preaching at her burning. She carried herself then as

she had done in the former parts of her process, very undecently, and in the end was burnt.

An. Dom, 1550.

^{f67} IN the year 1550. about the end of *December*, the same author assures us, that after many cavils in the state, an act passed for the king's general pardon; wherein the *Anabaptists* are excepted.

Last of all, says the Bishop, [that is, of the ads made by this parliament] came the king's general pardon; out of which those in the tower or other prisons, on the account of the state, as also all *Anabaptists*, were excepted.

THIS exception does plainly intimate, that there were at this time some of this opinion kept in the *prisons*, tho' they were not charged with any crimes against the state, but for the principles of religion; and that there was so much of the *popish* spirit of persecution remaining among those *Reformers*, as to exclude *Anabaptists* from the benefit of the king's pardon.

IN the same year a visitation was made of the diocese of *London*, by *Ridley*, their new bishop. Among the other articles which he put to the inferior *Clergy*, this was one;

^{f68} Whether any *Anabaptists*, or *others*, used private conventicles, with different opinions and forms from those established;

and with other questions about *baptism* and marriages. *Burnet* says these articles are in bishop *Sparrow's* collection.

The Common-prayer book reviewed.

^{f69} ABOUT the end of this year, or the beginning of the next, there was a review made of the Common-prayer book. Several things had been continued in it, either to draw in some of the *Bishops*, who by such yielding might be prevailed on to concur in it, or in compliance with the people, who were fond of their old superstitions. So now a review of it was set about.

Martin Bucer [whose opinion was highly esteemed both by the king, and *Cranmer* the archbishop, and who had a great hand in all the changes that were made in religion in those times in *England*]

was consulted in it, and *Alesse* the *Scotch* divine translated it into *Latin* for his use,

[and with it was sent over into *Germany*]

upon which *Bucer* writ his opinion, which he finished the fifth of *January* the year following.

Bucer's opinion thereon.

IN this he advised to a further reformation in many things.

He wished that there was a strict discipline to exclude scandalous livers from the sacrament.

HE wished that the old habits might be laid aside, since some used them superstitiously, and others contended much about them. He did not like the half office of communion, or second service to be said at the altar, when there was no sacrament. He was offended with the requiring the people to receive at least once a year, and would have them pressed to it much more frequently. He disliked that the priests generally read prayers with no devotion, and in such a voice that the people understood not what they said. He would have the sacrament delivered into the hands, and not put into the mouths of the people, &c.

As to *Baptism*,

He complained that *Baptism* was generally in houses, which being the receiving infants into the church, ought to be done more publicly. The hallowing of the water, the chrisme, and the white garment [then used in baptizing] he censured as being too scenical. He excepted to the exorcising the devil, and would have it turned to a prayer to God; that authoritative way of saying *I adjure*, not being so decent. He thought the godfathers answering in the child's name, not so well as to answer in their own, that they should take care in these things all they could.

SOME of these things which he excepted to, were corrected afterwards, but others were kept, and are to this day; though the same things are still objected against by most of the *Nonconformists*, and are one great occasion of their dissenting from the established church.

HAVING thus cast out many of those corruptions that were formerly in their worship, and got most of the sees filled with such *Bishops* as were for the Reformation, they set about the purging out those corruptions that were doctrinal; and most of the year following was spent in preparing articles which should contain the doctrines of the church of *England*. These were generally said to be framed by *Cranmer* and *Ridley*. They were agreed upon by the *bishops*, and other learned men, in the Convocation held at *London* in the year 1552. and consisted of forty two articles. As there were three articles more than there are at present, so they express several things different from what they are now. All that is proper to be taken notice of here is the eighth, which is concerning original sin. The *Anabaptists* are particularly meant, as affirming, that it consists in the following of *Adam*; for thus it begins.

ORIGINAL sin standeth not in the following of *Adam*, as the *Pelagians* do vainly talk, and at this day is affirmed by some *Anabaptists*; but it is the fault and corruption of every man, &c.

‘Tis probable some of those who opposed infants-baptism in those times, had embraced the opinions of the *Pelagians* about original sin. But the *Paedobaptists* did generally charge them with this opinion, because they held that *infants* dying without actual sin, were not damned; and that they need no baptism to wash away original sin, but were saved without it. However, ten years after, when the articles were again reviewed and corrected in many things, they thought it proper to leave this clause out, and only charged this heresy upon the *Pelagians*. The 28th article concerning Baptism was the same that now it is, except the last clause, which relates to infant-baptism, which they laid down in these words:

The custom of the Church for baptizing young children, is both to be commended, and by all means to be retained in the church.

IT seems by this, that the first *Reformers* did not found the practice of infants-baptism upon scripture; but took it only as a commendable custom, that had been used in the christian church, and therefore ought to be retained. This new alteration made in the Common-prayer and articles of faith, caused the *Papists* to say,

^{f70} That the Reformation was like to change as often as the fashion did, since they seemed never to be at a point in any thing, but new models were thus continually framing; to which it was answered, that it was no wonder that the corruptions which they had been introducing for above a thousand years were not all discovered or thrown out at once.’

THE length of time taken up in altering the Common-prayer and articles, obliges me to place the following story somewhat out of course.

Two years after the burning of *Joan of Kent*, says *Bishop Burnet*,

Geo. Van Pare burnt. An. Dom. 1551.

^{f71} One *George Van Pare*, a *Dutchman*, being accused for saying, that God the Father was only God, and that Christ was not very God; he was dealt with long to abjure, but would not. So on the 6th of April, 1551. he was condemned in the same manner that *Joan of Kent* was, and on the 25th of April was burnt in *Smithfield*. He suffered with great constancy of mind, and kissed the stake and faggots that were to burn him. Of this *Pare* I find a *popish* writer saying, that he was a man of most wonderful strict life, that he used not to eat above once in two days, and before he did eat would lie some time in his devotion prostrate on the ground. All this they made use of to lessen the credit of those who had suffered formerly; for it was said, they saw

now, that men of harmless lives might be put to death for *Heresy*, by the confession of the *Reformers* themselves: and in all the books published in *Q. Mary's* days, justifying her severity against the *Protestants*, these instances were always made use of. And no part of *Cranmer's* life exposed him more than this did: It was said, he had consented, both to *Lambert's* and *Ann Askew's* death in the former reign; who both suffered *for opinions* which he himself held now, and he had now procured the death of these two persons; and when he was brought to suffer himself, it was called a just retaliation on him. One thing was certain, that what he did in this matter flowed from no cruelty of temper in him, no man being farther from that black disposition of mind; but it was truly the effect of those principles by which he governed himself.

THEN *Burnet* goes on to give an account of the moderate *Anabaptists*, and says,

¹⁷² For the other sort of *Anabaptists*, who only denied infants baptism, I find no severities used to them, but several books were written against them, to which they wrote some answers. It was said, that Christ allowed little children to be brought to him, and said, *of such was the kingdom of heaven*; and blessed them. Now if they were capable of the kingdom of *heaven*, they must be regenerated; for Christ said, none but such as *are born of water and of the Spirit* could enter into it. St. *Paul* had also called the children of believing parents *holy*, which seemed to relate to such a consecration of them as was made in baptism; and *baptism* being the seal of *christians* in the room of *circumcision* among the *Jews*, it was thought the one was as applicable to the children, as the other. And one thing was observed, that the whole world in that age, having been baptized in their infancy, if that baptism was nothing, then there were none truly baptized in being; but all were in the state of mere nature. Now it did not seem reasonable, that men who were not baptized themselves, should go and baptize others, and therefore the first heads of that *sect* not being rightly baptized themselves, seemed not to act with any authority when they went to baptize others. The practice of the church so early begun, and continued without dispute so many ages, was at least a certain confirmation of a thing which had (to speak moderately) so good foundations in scripture for the lawfulness, tho' not any peremptory, but only probable proofs for the practice of it.

An. Dom. 1552.

THE same author informs us:

A motion to reform the Clergy.

¹⁷³ That in the year 1552. a proposal was made for the correcting the great disorders of *Clergymen*, which were occasioned by the extreme misery and poverty to which they were reduced. That some motions were made about it in parliament; but they took not effect: So one writ a book concerning it, which he dedicated to the lord *Chancellour*, then the bishop of *Ely*. He

shewed, that without rewards or encouragements, few would apply themselves to the pastoral function; and that those in it, if they could not subsist by it, must turn to other employments; so that at that time, says he, many *Clergymen* were *Carpenters* and *Tailors*, and some *kept Alehouses*.

I mention this, because it is often cast upon the *Dissenters*, and particularly those called *Anabaptists*, that they encourage *Tradesmen* and *Mechanicks*. Now it is plain from their articles, they are for maintaining of *Ministers*, that they may be entirely bent to their sacred office; but if, in case of necessity, they are obliged to follow trades, for the maintenance of themselves and families, it is no more than what the *Clergy*, both *Papists* and *Protestants*, have done, till they could get sufficient allowance by law to free them from it.

But to return; these sad instances of persecution practised by the *Protestants* in this king's reign against the *Anabaptists*, are in *Fox's Latin* book of martyrs, but left out in his *English*, out of a tender regard, as is supposed, to the reputation of the *martyrs* in *Queen Mary's Days*.

¹⁷⁴ THE same is translated by Mr. *Peirce*. It being short, I will oblige the reader therewith, and with Mr. *Peirce's* remarks upon it.

Peirce's account and remarks on the burning of Joan of Kent and Pare.

IN king *Edward's* reign Come were put to death for heresy. One *Joan Bocher*, or *Joan of Kent*. Mr. *Strype* tells us, her heresy was, That she believed the Word was made flesh in the Virgin's belly, but not that he took flesh of the Virgin. Now, says Mr. *Fox*, when the *Protestant Bishops* had resolved to put her to death, a friend of Mr. *John Rogers*, the divinity-reader in *St. Paul's* church, came to him, earnestly desiring him to use his interest with the archbishop, that the poor woman's life might be spared, and other means tired to prevent the spreading of her opinions, which might be done in time: urging too, that though while she lived, she infected few with her opinions, yet she might bring many to think well of it, by suffering death for it. He pleaded therefore that it was better she should be kept in some prison, without an opportunity of propagating her notion among weak people, and so she would do no harm to others, and might live to repent herself. *Rogers* on the other hand pleaded, she ought to be put to death. Well then, says his *Friend*, if you are resolved to put an end to her life together with her opinion, chuse some other kind of death, more agreeable to the gentleness and mercy prescribed in the gospel; there being no need, that such tormenting deaths should be taken up, in imitation of the *Papists*. *Rogers* answered, that *Burning Alive* was no cruel death, but easy enough. His *Friend* then hearing these words, which expressed so little regard to poor creatures sufferings, answered him with great vehemence, and striking *Rogers's* hand, which before he held fast, said to him, *Well, perhaps, it may so happen, that you yourselves shall have your*

hands full of this mild burning, And so it came to pass; and *Rogers* was the first man who was burnt in *Queen Mary's* time.

This *Rogers*, says *Mr. Pierce*, was a *Nonconformist*, and a very excellent man, (and died nobly in the cause of Christ; but this *barbarity* of his deserves to be exposed: and the rather, because God in his providence seems to have shewn his great displeasure against it. I am apt to think *Rogers's* friend was no other than *Fox* himself. As to the other instance, *Mr. Strype* tells us, that in the year 1552, *Sept. 27.* a letter was sent to the arch bishop, to examine a *sect* newly sprung up in *Kent*. He says, it appears not what this *sect* was; he supposes they might be the *Family of love, or David George's sect*; but these conjectures of his have no good foundation. I am persuaded this *sect* was no other than some good honest *Dissenters*, who having been grieved to see so much of *Popery* still retained, attempted a further Reformation themselves, which would be a very displeasing thing to our *bishops*, who expect all men should wait their leisure. Now this I ground upon a Story which *Mr. Fox* immediately subjoins to what I just now mentioned from him.

Much such another instance is reported concerning *Humphry Middleton* (who was afterwards burnt in *Queen Mary's* days.) That when he, with some others, had been kept prisoners in the last year of *King Edward*, by the archbishop, and had been dreadfully teased by him, and the rest in commission with him, were now jut upon being condemned in open court, he said unto him, *Well, reverend Sir, pass what sentence you think fit upon us: but that you may not say you was not fore-warned, I testify that your own turn will be next.* And accordingly it came to pass; for a little while after *King Edward* died, upon which they were set at liberty, and the *bishops* cast in prison. This *Middleton* was afterwards, in *Queen Mary's* days, burnt at *Canterbury*; so that the *commission* which *Mr. Strype* mentions, agrees in time and place with this story.

Thus far *Mr. Pierce*.

Mr. Hugh Latimer, in his Lent-Sermons *preach'd* before *King Edward VI.* says, ^{f75}

THE *Anabaptists*, that were burnt here in divers towns in *England*, as I heard of credible men, I saw them not myself, went to their death even intrepid, as ye will say, without any fear in the world, cheerfully.

IN the said sermon, he further saith,

The marginal note in the Edit. in 1607, says here he meaneth Anabaptists, this is one of their errors, fol. 51.

I SHOULD have told you here of a certain *sect* of *Hereticks* that speak against this order and doctrine; they will have no magistrates, no judges on earth; here I have to tell you, what I have heard of late, by the relation of a credible

person, and worshipful man, of a town of this realm of *England*, that hath above five [hundred] hereticks of this erroneous opinion in it, as he said.

Q. Mary An. Dom. 1553. An. Dom. 1555.

THAT the *Baptists* were very numerous at this time, is without controversy: and no doubt, many of the *Martyrs* in Queen *Mary's* days were such, though historians seem to be silent with respect to the opinion of the *Martyrs* about baptism; neither can it be imagined, that the *Papists* would in the least favour any of that *denomination* which they so much detested and abhorred: For in the examination of Mr. *Woodman*, before the bishop of *Winchester*, in the church of *St. Mary Overies, Southwark*, the bishop said,

^{f76} Hold him a book, if he refuse to swear, he is an *Anabaptist*, and shall be excommunicated.

AGAIN, in the examination of Mr. *Philpot* before the lords of Queen *Mary's* council, Nov. 6, 1555. *Rich* faith unto him,

^{f77} All *Hereticks* do boast of the spirit of God, and every one would have a church by himself as *Joan of Kent*, and the *Anabaptists*.

An. Dom. 1556. David George burnt three years after his death.

ANOTHER instance of their hatred and cruelty towards the *Anabaptists*, *Spanhemius* gives us an account of. *David George*, of *Delph* in *Holland*, being driven from his own country by persecution, fled to the city of *Bazil*, where he lived for some time in great reputation, and by his modest dress, liberal table, honest attendance, and prudent conversation, gained the favour both of high and low: He died in the year 1556, and was honourably buried in *St. Laurence* church. Some time after his death, it was discovered, that he was an *Anabaptist*; upon which his house, and those of his followers were searched, a certain number of *Divines* and *Lawyers* appointed to examine them, his opinions were condemned by an ordinance, his picture carried about and burnt, and his corps taken up three years after buried, and burnt, &c.

Supposed to be Grindal afterwards archbishop of Canterbury.

During the life of this bloody Queen, which was but short, two hundred and eighty four persons were put to most cruel kinds of death for religion: but he that wrote, the Preface to bishop *Ridley's* book *de Caena Domini*, says, That in the two first years of the Queen's persecution, there were above eight hundred persons put to death for religion: So that Mr. *Fox* has come very short in his account, as bishop *Burnet* observed.

Q. Elizabeth. An. Dom. 1558.

WE come now to the reign of Queen *Elizabeth*; who, upon her accession to the crown, ordered all that were imprisoned on the account of religion to be set at liberty. Upon which,

¹⁷⁸ one, says bishop *Burnet*, that used to talk pleasantly, told her the four *Evangelists* continued still prisoners, and that the people longed much to see them at liberty. She answered she would talk with *themselves*, and know their own mind.

SIR *Francis Walsingham* wrote a long letter to a *Frenchman*, given him an account of all the severities of the Queen's government, both against *Papists* and *Puritans*. The substance of which is, says bishop *Burnet*,

Sir Francis Walsingham's letter.

¹⁷⁹ That the Queen laid down two maxims of state: the one was, *not to force consciences*; the other was, *not to let factious practices go unpunished*, because they were covered with the pretences of conscience. At first she did not revive those severe laws past in her father's time, by which the refusal of the oath of *Supremacy* was made *treason*; but left her people to the freedom of their thoughts, and made it only penal to extol a foreign jurisdiction. She also laid aside the word *supreme head*; and the refusers of the oath were only disabled from holding benefices or charges during their refusal. Upon *Pius* the Vth's excommunicating her, though the rebellion in the north was chiefly occasioned by that, she only made a law against the bringing over, or publishing of *Bulls*, and the venting of *Agnus Dei's*, or such other love-tokens, which were sent from *Rome* on design to draw the hearts of her people from her, which were no essential parts of that religion; so that this could hurt none of their consciences. But after the 20th year of her reign, it appeared that the king of *Spain* designed to invade her dominions, and that the *Priests* that were sent over from the *Seminaries* beyond sea, were generally employed to corrupt her *Subjects* in their allegiance; by which treason was carried in the clouds, and infused secretly in confession. Then pecuniary punishments were inflicted on such as withdrew from the church; and in conclusion, she was forced to make laws of greater rigour, but did often mitigate the severity of them to all that would promise to adhere to her in case of a foreign invasion. As for the *Puritans*, as long as they only inveighed against some abuses, as pluralities, nonresidence or the like, it was not their zeal against those, but their violence, that was condemned. When they refused to comply with some *ceremonies*, and questioned the superiority of the *bishops*, and declared for a *democracy* in the church, they were connived at with great gentleness: but it was observed, that they affected popularity much, and the methods they took to compass their ends were judged dangerous, and they made such use of the aversion the nation had to *poper*y, that it was visible they were in a hazard of running from one extreme to another. They set up a new model of *church*-

discipline, which was like to prove no less dangerous to the liberties of private men, than to the sovereign power of the prince. Yet all this was born with, as long as they proceeded with those expressions of duty which became *subjects*. But afterwards, when they resolved to carry on their designs, without waiting for the consent of the *magistrate*, and entered into combinations; when they began to defame the government, by ridiculous *pasquils*, and boasted of their number and strength, and in some places break out into tumults; then it appeared that it was *faction*, and not *zeal*, that animated them. Upon that the Queen found it necessary to regain them more than she had done formerly. Yet she did it with all the *moderation* that could consist with the peace of the church and state. And thus from this letter, says *Burnet*, an idea of this whole reign may be justly formed.

THE share the *Baptists* had in the severities of this reign, will appear by the following instances. Dr. *Wall* says,

^{f80} About the 16th year of Queen *Elizabeth*, a congregation of *Dutch Antipaedobaptists* was discovered without *Aldgate* in *London*, whereof twenty seven were taken and imprisoned. And the next month one *Dutchman* and ten women were condemned.

An. Dom. 1575.

Marius de Assigny tells us, ^{f81} That it was at *Easter*, *An. Dom. 1575*. which must have been the 17th of *Elizabeth*, that four of the former recanted at *St. Paul's* cross, the 25th of *May*; and that the rest were banished.

An abjuration of same Anabaptists.

Their abjuration was in these words:

WHEREAS, we being seduced by the devil, the spirit of error, and by false teachers, have fallen into these most damnable and detestable errors, that Christ took not flesh of the substance of the Virgin *Mary*; that the *infants* of the faithful ought not to be baptized; that a christian man may not be a *magistrate*, or bear the sword and office of authority; and that it is not lawful for a christian man to take an *oath*: Now, by the grace of God, and by the assistance of good and learned *ministers* of Christ's church, I understand the same to be most damnable and detestable heresies; and do ask God, before his church, mercy for my said former errors, and do forsake, recant, and renounce them; and I abjure them from the bottom of my heart, protecting I certainly believe the contrary. And further, I confess, that the whole doctrine, established and published in the church of *England*, and also that is received in the *Dutch* church in *London*, is found true and according to God's word: Whereunto in all things I submit myself, and will be most gladly a member of the said *Dutch* church; from henceforth utterly abandoning and forsaking all and every *anabaptistical* error.

This abjuration was taken from these *Walloon Anabaptists* by Dr. *De Laune*, who was then minister of the *Dutch* church in *Augustin Friars* in *London*. In the 18th year of Queen *Elizabeth*, *An. Dom.* 1575. Mr. *Fuller* saith,

^{f82} Now began the *Anabaptists* wonderfully to encrease in the *land*; and as we are sorry that *any countrymen* should be seduced with that opinion, so we are glad that the *English* as yet were free from that infection. For on *Easter-Day* was disclosed a *congregation* of *Dutch Anabaptists*, without *Aldgate* in *London*, whereof seven and twenty were taken and imprisoned, and four bearing faggots at *Paul's Cross*, solemnly recanted their dangerous opinions. Next month, one *Dutchman* and ten women were condemned; of whom one *woman* was converted, to renounce her errors; eight were banished the land; *two* more so obstinate, that command was issued out for their burning in *Smithfield*. But to reprieve them from so cruel a death, a *grave divine* sent the following letter to Queen *Elizabeth*.

The letter was wrote in *Latin*, I shall give only the *English* translation thereof.

Mr. Fox's letter to Queen Elizabeth.

Most serene and happy princess, most illustrious Queen, the honour of our country, and ornament of the age. As nothing hath been further from my thoughts and expectation, than ever to disturb your most excellent majesty by my troublesome interruption; so it grieves me very much, that I must break that silence which has hitherto been the result of my mind. But so it now happens, by I know not what infelicity, that the present time obliges me, contrary to my hope and opinion, to that which of all things in the world I least desired, and tho' hitherto I have been troublesome to no body, I am now contrary to my inclination, constrained to be importunate, even with my princess; not in any matter or cause of my own, but thro' the calamity brought upon others; and by how much the more f harp and lamentable that is, by so much the more I am spurred on to deprecate it. I understand there are some here in *England*, tho' not *English*, but come hither from *Holland*, I suppose both men and women, who having been tried according to law, publickly declared their repentance, are happily reclaimed. Many others are condemned to exile; a right sentence in my opinion. But I hear there is one or two of these, who are appointed to the most severe of punishments, viz. *burning*, except your clemency prevent. Now in this one affair I conceive there are two things to be considered; the one is the wickness of their errors, the other, the sharpenedness of their punishment. As to their errors indeed, no man of sense can deny that they are most absurd: And I wonder that such monstrous opinions could come into the mind of any *Christian*; but such is the state of human weakness, if we are left never so little a while destitute of the divine light, whither is it we do not fall; and we have great reason to give God thanks on this account, that I hear not of *any Englishman*, that is inclined to this madness. As to these fanatical *sects*

therefore, it is certain, they are by no means to be countenanced in a commonwealth, but in my opinion ought to be suppressed by proper correction. But to *roast alive* the bodies of poor wretches, that offend rather through blindness of judgment, than perverseness of will, in *fire* and *flames*, raging with *pitch* and *brimstone*, is a hardhearted thing, and more agreeable to the practice of the *Romans*, than the custom of the *Gospellers*; yea, is evidently of the same kind, as if it had flowed from the *Romish Priests*, from the first author of such cruelty, *Innocent* the third. Oh! that none had ever brought such a *Phalarian Bull* into the meek church of Christ! I do not speak these things, because I am pleased with their wickedness, or favour the errors of any men; but seeing I my self am a man, I must therefore favour the life of man; not that he should err, but that he might repent. Nay my pity extends not only to the life of man, but even to the beasts.

FOR so it is perhaps a folly in me; but I speak the truth, that I can hardly pass by a slaughter-house where cattle are killing, but my mind shrinks back, with a secret sense of their pains. And truly, I greatly admire the clemency of God in this, who had such respect to the mean brute creatures, formerly prepared for sacrifices, that they must not be committed to the *flames*, before their blood had been poured out at the foot of the altar. Whence we may gather, that in inflicting of punishments, tho' just, we must not be over rigorous, but temper the sharpness of rigour with clemency. Wherefore if I may be so bold with the majesty of so great a princess,

I humbly beg of your royal highness, for the sake of Christ, who was consecrated to suffer for the lives of many, this favour at my request, which even the divine clemency would engage you to, that if it may be, and what cannot your authority do in these cases, these miserable wretches may be spared; at least that a slop may be put to the horror, by changing their punishment into some other kind. There are excommunications, and close imprisonment; there are bonds; there is perpetual banishment, burning of the hand, and whipping, or even slavery itself. This one thing I most earnestly beg; that the piles and flames in *Smithfield*, so long ago extinguished by your, happy government, may not now be again revived: That if I may not obtain this, I pray with the greatest earnestness, that out of your great pity you would grant us a month or two, in which we may try whether the Lord will give them grace to turn from their dangerous errors; lest with the destruction of their bodies, their souls be in danger of eternal ruin.

Confirmed by Fuller.

AFTER this, *Fuller* goes on and saith,

This letter was written, by Mr. *John Fox*, from whose own hand I transcribed it; very loth that *Smithfield*, formerly consecrated with *martyrs ashes*, should now be profan'd with *hereticks*; and desirous that the *Papists* might enjoy their own *monopoly* of cruelty, in *burning condemn'd Persons*.

But tho' Queen *Elizabeth* constantly called him her *Father Fox*; yet herein she was no *dutiful daughter*, giving him a flat denial.^{f83} Indeed damnable were their impieties, and she necessitated to this severity, who having formerly punished some *traitors*, if now sparing these *blasphemers*, the world would condemn her as being more earnest in asserting her own safety, than God's honour. Hereupon the writ *De haeretico comburendo*, (which for seventeen years had hung only up *in terrorem*) was now taken down, and put in execution, and the two *Anabaptists* burnt in *Smithfield*, died in great honor, with crying and roaring.

GREAT Were the hardships and sufferings of the *Puritans* (of whom it may be reasonably supposed, that some of them were *Baptists*, tho' they had not as yet form'd themselves into distinct societies) by the cruelty of the *bishops*, instigated by the Queen's hatred of them.

She had high notions of the sovereign power of princes, and of her own absolute supremacy in church-affairs; and being of opinion that all methods of severity were lawful to bring her subjects to an outward uniformity, the countenanced all the engines of persecution, as *spiritual courts*, *high commission*,^{f84} and *star-chamber*, and stretch'd her prerogative to support them beyond the laws, and against the sense of the nation.

Supplication of the justices of Norfolk.

THAT the *Baptists* had no small share in the sufferings of these times, we may gather from the supplication of the justices of the peace of the county of *Norfolk*, who upon complaint made to them of the cruelty of the bishop of *Norwich*, with respect to the long and illegal imprisonment of some of the *Brownists*, their worships were pleased to move the bishop in their favour; with which his lordship was so dissatisfied, that he drew up twelve articles of impeachment against the *justices* themselves, and caused them to be summoned before the Queen and Council to answer for their *misdemeanours*. Notwithstanding his lordship's citation of them before the council, they writ again to their honours, praying to interpose in behalf of the injuries that were offer'd to divers godly ministers. And in their supplication they say,

We serve her Majesty and the country as *magistrates and justices* of peace, according to law; we reverence the law and law-maker; when the law speaks we keep not silence; when it commandeth we obey; by law we proceed against all offenders;^{f85} we touch none that the law spareth, and spare none that the law toucheth; we allow not of *Papists*, of the *Family of Love*, of *Anabaptists* or *Brownists*: No, we punish all these; and yet we are christned

with the odious name of *Puritans*, a term compounded of the *heresies* above-mention'd, which we disclaim.

Anno 1589.

IN the year 1589, Dr. *Some*, a man of great note in those times, writ a treatise against *Barrow*, *Greenwood*, *Penry*, and others of the puritan sect; wherein he endeavour'd to shew what agreement there was between the opinions of the *English Anabaptists* and these men.

Dr. Some's account of the Baptists.

His method is first to shew, what was the opinion of the *Anabaptistical Recusants*, as he terms them; then wherein these men did agree with, or differ from them; and then undertakes to confute their supposed errors.

THE opinions he charges the *Anabaptists* with, when they are stripp'd of his dress, are only to this purpose

THAT the *ministers* of the gospel ought to be maintained by the voluntary contributions of the people:

THAT the civil power has no right to make and impose ecclesiastical laws:

THAT people ought to have the right of chuffing their own ministers:

THAT the high-commission court was an antichristian usurpation:

THAT those who are qualify'd to preach, ought not to be hinder'd by the civil power:

THAT tho' the Lord's-prayer be a rule and foundation of prayer, yet not to be used as a form; and that no forms of prayer ought to be imposed on the church:

THAT the baptism administered in the church of *Rome* is invalid:

THAT a true constitution and discipline is essential to a true church; and that the worship of God in the church of *England* is in many things defective.

HE touches but briefly on their opinion of *baptizing believers* only; and brings up the rear with saying, they count it blasphemy for any man to arrogate to himself the title of *Doctor of Divinity*; that is, as he explains it, to be called *Rabbi*, or *lord* and *master* of other mens faith.

HE acknowledges, that there were several *anabaptistical conventicles* in *London*, and other places; that some of this sort, as well as the *Papists*, had been bred at our universities; and tells a story of one T. L. who at a conventicle in *London*, took upon him to expound the scriptures, conceive long prayers on

a sudden, and to excommunicate two persons, who were formerly of that brotherhood, but had now left them.

IF this be what their *adversaries* had chiefly to charge them with; what account might we have expected, had they been allowed to publish their own *faith*, and to transmit their own *history* down to posterity? And tho' this *gentleman* seems to deal more favourably with this *sect* than many *others*, yet he uses the unfair method which I suppose they thought lawful, in writing against *hereticks*; that is, to assert they hold such *opinions*, without producing any proof of it, or referring to any of their *works*, lest they should publish them, and people should have opportunity to enquire what they say for themselves.

HE likewise discovers too much of the spirit of *persecution*, that reigned in these times, and endeavours to excite the *civil* power to be more severe against the *sectaries*.

If, says he, every particular congregation in *England* might set up and put down at their pleasure, *popish* and *anabaptistical* fancies would overflow this land; the consequence would be dangerous, *viz.* the dishonour of God, the contempt of her majesty, the overthrow of the church and universities, and the utter confusion of this noble kingdom. Queen *Elizabeth*, and her honourable Councillours do see, and will prevent this mischief; it is more than time to look unto it.

WITH such false representations as these, the *clergy* have been used to frighten the *court* into the practice of persecution.

Q. Elizabeth banishes the Anabaptists.

But to close this reign, Queen *Elizabeth* having by her proclamation commanded all *Anabaptists* and other *Hereticks* to depart the land, whether they were *natives* or *foreigners*, under the penalties of *imprisonment* or loss of *goods*; all that were of this *opinion* were obliged either to conceal their principles, or fly into some other county, where they might enjoy the liberty of their religion.

UPON which many of the *dissenters* went over to *Holland*: Among whom there were not a few *Baptists*, as well *English* as *Dutch*; so that there was now no great number of *Dissenters* of any denomination, that dared openly to appear.

Queen Elizabeth's Character.

^{f86} Queen *Elizabeth* however, with all her blemishes, says Mr. *Neal*, stands upon record, as a wise and politick princess; for delivering the kingdom from the difficulties in which it was involved at her Accession; for preserving the protestant reformation against the potent attempts of the *Pope*, the *Emperor*, and king of *Spain* abroad, and the *Queen* of *Scots* and her *popish* subjects at

home; and for advancing the renown of the *English Nation* beyond any of her predecessors. Her majesty held the balance of *Europe*; and was in high esteem with all foreign princes, the greatest part of her reign And tho' her *protestant* subjects were divided about church affairs, they all discovered a high veneration for her royal person and government; on which account she was the glory of the age in which she lived, and will be the admiration of posterity.

CHAPTER 2.

From the end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, to the end of the reign of King James I.

King James I. An. Dom. 1602.

KING James the first next ascends the throne.

^{f87} He was born of *Roman Catholick* parents; but being taken from his mother in his infancy, had been educated in the protestant religion, and always professed it. On the other hand, the religion he had been brought up in, tho' protestant, differed a little from the religion established in *England*, if not in doctrine, at least in discipline, and some other points of external worship, which were considered by the two churches as very important. In a word, it was the *presbyterian* or *puritanical* religion. In fine, this prince had shewn on numberless occasions, that he was far from being an enemy to the *Romish* religion. All this formed a certain contrast, which bred an universal suspense. The *Catholicks* hoped to meet under his government with gentler treatment, and more indulgence, than under *Elizabeth*; nay, they carried their expectation much farther. The *Presbyterians* flattered themselves, that *James*, who had been educated in their religion, would promote the reforming of the church of *England* upon the plan of that of *Scotland*; and hoped shortly to see the downfall of the *ecclesiastical hierarchy*. Finally, the *Church-of-England-men* thought to have reason to expect that the new king would conform to their religion, since it was established by law. But after all, the hopes of the three *parties* could not but be mixed with fears, since the king had not yet declared.

HE must, says *Rapin*, at the time I am now speaking of, have conceived a larger notion than had been hitherto formed of the power of an *English* king; since when he came to *Newark*, he ordered a *cut-purse* to be hanged, by his sole warrant, and without trial.

IT cannot be expected I should be very particular with respect to the sufferings of the *Baptists* during this reign and the former part of the next, because they were involved in all the persecutions that befel the *Nonconformists*, under the general name of *Puritans*: For those who refused to conform to the church of *England*, were counted among the *Puritans*. Those who have read the correspondence that passed between our *bishops* and the foreign *Protestant* divines, may observe a great deal of good temper and good judgment in their desires to have had the church reformed from all remains and footsteps of *Popery*, and satisfaction given to scrupulous and tender consciences; but the stiffness of Queen *Elizabeth*, and that fondness for pomp and magnificence in worship among the generality, hindered the reformation from going any farther.

An. Dom. 1604.
The bishop against any alteration in the church.

CALDERWOOD tells us, that on the 12th of Jan. 1604.

^{f88} The *Bishops* were called upon by his Majesty, and were gravely desired to advise upon all corruptions in doctrine, ceremonies and discipline, as they will answer it to God in conscience, or to his majesty upon their obedience; that they should return the third day. On that day they returned, and answered, they found all well; and when his majesty with great fervency brought instances to the contrary, they with great earnestness, upon their knees, craved that nothing might be altered, left Romish recusants, punished by the statutes for their disobedience, and *Puritans*, punished by deprivation from callings and livings for *Nonconformity*, should say, they had cause to insult them, as men who had travailed to bind them to that, which by their own mouths was now confessed to be erroneous. Thus, by a most dishonourable resolution, they prefer their own same and reputation to the peace of the church; and because they have once oppressed them, will always do so, rather than seem to own themselves fallible men. ^{f89}

Now what could be expected from such men, who had drawn a weak king over to their interest, and who were resolved to continue in their errors rather than confess themselves fallible? And what *Christian*, or what *Englishman*, can, with out the utmost concern and resentment, read the *histories* of those times, and observe the cruel usage, great hardships and sufferings of not a few, but a great multitude; who for their firmness in the propagation of a rational religion, their constancy in piety, and all christian virtue, and their aversion to all methods of cruelty and uncharitableness, have been branded with the names of *Puritans*, *Presbyterians*, *Anabaptists*, &c. whereby the unthinking multitude have been spirited up to hatred against all persons under those denominations, and more particularly to those of the last denomination.

WHEN king *James* first came into *England*, he not only went over to the church of *England*, but even laboured to force the *Puritans* to conform, to be revenged on them for what the *Presbyterian* synods had made him suffer in *Scotland*.

The Puritans petition for a toleration.

The *Puritans* presented a petition to him, not only for a *toleration*, but also to pray him, that sundry articles of the church of *England*, with which they could not comply, might be reformed.

The bishops oppose it. A conference held at Hampton-Court.

THE *Bishops* strenuously opposed this petition, and entreated the king to leave religion as he found it at his accession to the crown, without any innovation.

The king, not to appear at first too partial, and to make believe he would not be determined without hearing the arguments on both sides, appointed a conference between the two *parties*, wherein he would be moderator himself; and published a proclamation, commanding both sides to be quiet, till matters were regulated as he should judge proper. This conference was held *at Hampton-Court*, in the year 1604, and lasted three days. The *Puritans* soon saw what they were to expect.

DR. *Wellwood* says, ^{f90}

This conference was but a blind to introduce episcopacy in *Scotland*; all the *Scotch* noblemen then at court being design'd to be present, and others, both *noblemen* and *ministers*, being called up from *Scotland* by the king's letter to assist at it.

Whitgift flatters the King.

THE King's conduct was so agreeable to the *bishops* and their friends, that besides other palpable flatteries, *Whitgift*, archbishop of *Canterbury*, unwilling to miss so fair an opportunity to flatter him, said, ^{f91}

He verily believed the king spoke by the Spirit of God.

IN conclusion, both *parties* being present, the king said, ^{f92}

The King yields to the bishops.

For the *bishops* I will answer, that it is not their purpose presently and out of hand to enforce obedience, but by fatherly admonitions and conferences to induce such as are disaffected: But if any be of an opposite and turbulent Spirit, I will have them enforced to a conformity — I will — that a time be limited by the *bishops* of every *diocese* to *such*, and they that will not yield, whatsoever they are, let them be removed; for we must not prefer the credit of a few private men to the general peace of the church.

Whitgift dies, and Bancroft succeeds him, a great enemy to the Puritans.

SOON after this, *Whitgift* died, and was succeeded by *Richard Bancroft*, a prelate who never ceased to incense the king against the *Puritans*, and do them all the mischief he could. Herein he was but too closely imitated by the rest of the *bishops*, who found a double advantage in destroying the *Puritans*. In the first *first* place, they made their court to the king, who hated them mortally. 2dly, They preserv'd their *hierarchy*, which the *Puritans* were desirous to overthrow.

A proclamation banishing all jesuits and priests, another, enjoining the Puritans to conform

THE persecution which the *Puritans* suffer'd whilst *Bancroft* was at the head of the *clergy*, induced many families to withdraw from the kingdom, to enjoy elsewhere liberty of conscience, deny'd them at home. A proclamation is now published by the king, commanding all *Jesuits* and other *Priests*, having orders from any foreign power, to depart the kingdom: which was soon followed by another, enjoining the *Puritans* to conform to the worship of the establish'd church.

Rapin's remarks thereupon.

THERE was not seen here, says *Rapin*,^{f93} the same care to justify the king's conduct, with respect to this sort of persecution. The king intimated in the first, that he would have regard to the tender consciences of such *Catholicks* as could not comply with the received doctrines of the church of *England*; but in this there was not the least indulgence for the tender consciences of the *Puritans*. These were all a set of obstinate people, who deserved to have no favour shewn them.

Bishop *Burnet* observes,^{f94}

that from the year 1606. to his dying-day, he continued always writing and talking against popery, but acting for it.'

The Puritans settle in Virginia.

THE persecution growing still more violent against the *Puritans*, great numbers of them resolved to go and settle in *Virginia*. Accordingly some departed for that country: But *Bancroft*, seeing many more ready to take the same voyage, obtained a proclamation, enjoining them not to go without the king's express license. The court was apprehensive this *sect* would in the end become too numerous and powerful in *America*; and was not so well affected to the *Puritans*, as to the *Papists*.

THE *Puritans* were consider'd as enemies to the king, and to monarchy; but the *Papists* as hearty withers, that the king might meet with no opposition to his will. This was sufficient to induce the court to countenance the *latter*, and cause the *former* to endure continual mortifications.

An. Dom. 1608.

Enoch Clapham writes against the several sects.

IN the year 1608, one *Enoch Clapham* writ a small piece^{f95} against the several *sects* of the *Protestants* in those times. In which he represents, by way of

dialogue, the opinions that each sect held, and somewhat of their state and condition at that time. He takes notice of their flying out of their own nation, to plant a church among the people of another language; and that they alledged in their defence, *Elias's* flying in time of persecution, and our Saviour's advice to his disciples, *if they were persecuted in one city, to fly into another*; and complain of those who remained in *England* for leaving the publick assemblies, and running into woods and meadows, and meeting in bye stables, barns, and haylofts, for service.

HE distinguishes the *Anabaptists* from *Puritans* and *Browns* on the one hand, and from the *Arians* and *Socinians* on the other; and makes all these zealous opposers of each other.

He gives a particular account of the Anabaptists.

THE *Anabaptists*, according to his account, held, that repentance and faith must precede baptism; that the baptism both of the church of *England* and of the *Puritans* was invalid, and that the true baptism was amongst them. He says further, that they complained against the term *Anabaptist*, as a name of reproach unjustly cast upon them. He also takes notice, that some of this opinion were *Dutchmen*, who, besides the denial of *Infant-baptism*, held, that it was unlawful to bear arms: That Christ did not receive his human nature of the virgin, but brought it down with him from heaven; and agreed with the *Roman Catholicks* in the doctrines of reprobation, free-will, and justification. That there were others who went under this denomination that were *Englishmen*, to whom he does not so directly charge the former opinions, only the denial of their first baptism, and separating both from the establish'd church, and other *Dissenters*; and says, that they came out from the *Browns*, and that there was a congregation of them in *Holland*.

WHEN the *Anabaptist* is asked what religion he is of, he is made to answer; *Of the true religion, commonly termed Anabaptism, from our baptizing.*

WHEN he is asked concerning the church or congregation he was joined to in *Holland*; he answers, *There be certain English people of us that came out from the Brownists.*

WHEN the *Arian* says, I am of the mind that there is no true baptism upon earth; the *Anabaptist* replies, *I pray thee, son, say not so; the congregation I am of can, and doth administer true baptism.*

WHEN an enquirer after Truth offers, upon his proving what he has said, to leave his old religion; the *Anabaptist* answers; *You may say, if God will give thee grace to leave it; for it is a peculiar grace to leave Sodom and Egypt, spiritually so called.*

WHEN the same person offers to join with them, and firmly betake himself to their faith; the *Anabaptist* replies: *The dew of heaven come upon you; tomorrow I will bring you into our sacred congregation, that to you may come to be informed in the faith, and after that to be purely baptized.*

Now this account being given by one that writ against them, may be the better depended upon. And he assures the reader, in his preface to these dialogues, that the charmers which he gives of each *sect*, were not without sundry years experience had of them all.

THE *Dissenters* that were driven into *Holland* by the severity of the persecutions in *England*, having their liberty there, set up several churches, which they formed as they thought moil agreeable to the word of God.

*A church of English Baptists in Holland.
Mr. John Smith, their pastor.*

THERE was one church of *English* exiles at *Leyden*, whereof Mr. *John Robinson* was pastor; another at *Amsterdam*, which had Mr. *Ainsworth* for their pastor; and soon after these were set up, Mr. *Johnson's* and Mr. *John Smith's* churches, the latter of which went under the name of *Anabaptists*: so that to do justice to the *history*, we must now follow them into those parts; but I shall confine myself to the *English* only.

IT was in the beginning of this reign, that the aforesaid Mr. *John Smith* left *England*. He had been for some time a minister of the established church; but disliking several things both in her discipline and ceremonies, he went over into *Holland*, and joined himself to the *English* church of *Brownists* at *Amsterdam*, of which Mr. *Ainsworth* was then the minister; and so greatly was he esteemed for his piety and learning, that he was accounted one of the grandees of the separation.¹⁹⁶

The English exiles there oppose him.

BUT when his search after truth, and resolution to reform religion according to the primitive constitution and prance, had led him to entertain some principles different from his brethren, particularly that of baptizing believers only, they set themselves violently to oppose him, they call him out of the church, representing him as one that had proclaimed open war against God's everlasting covenant, and that would murder the souls of babes and sucklings, by depriving them of the visible seal of salvation; they publish'd several books, wherein they endeavoured to expose both him and his principles to the world.

MR. Ainsworth wrote two books; the one called *A Defence of Scripture; the other, A Censure of a Dialogue of the Anabaptists*.

MR. Johnson, who stiles himself pastor of the antient *English* church sojourning at *Amsterdam*, writ a third, entitled *A Christian Plea*.

And charge him with baptizing himself.

MR. Robinson, minister of the *English* congregation at *Leyden*, published a fourth. But his most violent *adversaries* were Mr. Clifton and Mr. Jessop. The one writ an answer to one of his books, which was called, *The Christian Plea*; the other, who acknowledges he sometime walked with them, published a piece against him, entitled, *A Discovery of the errors of the English Anabaptists*; which he presented to king *James*; and 'tis easy to guess with what design that was done. In these they lay several accusations against him: As that he sought to deprive the church of the use of the holy Scriptures; that he look'd upon no translation of the Bible to be properly the word of God, the original only being so in his opinion; that upon renouncing his *Infant-Baptism*, he baptized himself, supposing there was no true administrator of baptism to be found. But they wrote against him with so much warmth, and appearance of prejudice, that it greatly discredits what they say.^{f97} They call him a man of a woolvish nature, one whom God had struck with blindness, a brute beast, and the like.

But in these things they expos'd *themselves* more than Mr. Smith, and brought the whole body of *Dissenters* under reproach.

I CANNOT forbear observing, what improvement a certain *author*, who wrote against the Separatists quickly after, made of such persecuting measures, tho' he was as great an adversary to the *Anabaptists* as they could be.^{f98}

Let us, I beseech you, says he, look among the separated congregations, and consider their manifold divisions, both in *judgment* and *practice*; and there we cannot but see even a babel of confusion, separating each from other, even for some small differences in judgment, excommunicating holier and better men than themselves, yea, even such as they cannot legally tax either with *fornication, covetousness, idolatry, railing, drunkenness, extortion*, or the like; and that only for not submitting in every thing to their judgments, contrary to the *Apostles* direction.^{f99}

He defends himself.

MR. Smith writ several defences of himself and his opinions; as his *Character of the Beast*, his *Reply to Mr. Clifton*, his *Dialogue of Baptism*, &c. none of which have I yet been able to obtain, but by the quotations that his opponents take out of them, which were certainly the worst part, he does not appear to

have been a man of such enthusiasm and odd opinions, as they would represent him.

*His adversaries divide among themselves.
Are charged with gross Immoralities.*

THE *Brownists* in those parts fell into divisions amongst themselves a little after; and writ with as much bitterness and sharp reflections against one another, as they had done against him. And whereas they could only charge him with *mistaken opinions*, they themselves were charged with gross *immoralities*; some of which were proved upon oath before the *magistrates* at *Amsterdam*: as may be seen in Mr. *White's* discovery of *Brownism* and *Pagit's* *Heresiography*.

Mr. Smith's opinions prevailed much.

HOWEVER it was, Mr. *Smith's* opinions prevailed greatly, especially that of denying *infant-baptism*; and he soon had *proselytes* enough to form a distinct church of that persuasion, even among the *English* exiles.

MR. *Johnson*, the pastor of the *English* church, at the same place and time, was one of the first that writ against him. His book was published in the year 1617. And he, having spoken largely in defence of infant-baptism, apologizes for his so doing in these words:

Of which point and of sundry objections thereabout, I have treated the more largely, considering how great the error is in the denial thereof, and how greatly it spreadeth both in these parts, and of late in our own country, that is *England*.

MR. *Pagit* says, ^{f100}

that Mr. *Smith* and his disciples do at once, as it were, swallow up all the separation besides.

A particular enquiry into the charge of baptizing himself.

But the business of his baptizing himself, and the reasons of it, if he did so, must be more particularly enquired into; because the *Paedobaptists* make great improvement of it, and would from hence render all the baptizings among the *English Baptists* to be invalid, supposing them to be his successors, and that he was the first administrator of it among them. Upon the revival of their opinion in these latter times, Mr. *Thomas Wall* calls ^{f101} him the beginner of baptism by dipping, and the captain of this and other errors: And saith, ^{f102}

that when the *Anabaptists* had framed so many devices to deny all infants baptism, they were confounded in themselves, what to do, to begin baptizing

in their way of baptizing adult persons only — but one *John Smith* — being more desperately wicked than others, baptized himself, and then he baptized others, and from this man the *English Anabaptists* have successively received their new administration of baptism on men and women only.

THE same author ^{f103} also asserts, that he heard when he lived in *London*, that one Mr. *Spilsbury* should go to *Holland*, to be baptized of this *Smith*; so he brought it into *England*. And, says he,

If you can find no better an administrator, your ministry will be found to come out of the bottomless pit, as *Rome's* ministry did.'

The controversy about a proper administrator.

'Tis certain, that when some of the *English Protestants* were for reviving the antient practice of immersion, they had several difficulties thrown in their way about a proper administrator, to begin that method of baptizing.

Those who rejected the *baptism of infants*, at the beginning of the reformation in *England*, had the same objection made against them; as *Bishop Burnet* observes. ^{f104}

One thing, says he, was observed, that the whole world in that age, having been baptized in their *infancy*, if that *baptism* was nothing, then there was none truly *baptized* in being, but all were in the state of mere nature. Now it did not seem reasonable, that men who were not baptized themselves, should go and baptize others; and therefore the first heads of that *sect*, not being rightly *baptized* themselves, seemed not to act with any authority, when they went to *baptize* others.

IN the like manner did they now argue against the reviving of the practice of *immersion*, which had for some time been disused: If *immersion* be the essential form of that ordinance, then there is none truly *baptized*: and can an *unbaptized* person be a proper *administrator*; or can a man be supposed to give that to another, which he has not first received himself?

Did not a little perplex the English Baptists.

THIS difficulty did not a little perplex them; and they were divided in their opinions how to at in this matter, so as not to be guilty of any disorder or self-contradiction. Some indeed were of opinion, that the first *administrator* should baptize himself, and then proceed to the baptizing of others. Others were for fending to those foreign *Protestants* that had used immersion for some time, that so they might receive it from them. And others again thought it necessary to *baptism*, that the *administrator* be himself baptized, at least in an extraordinary case; but that whoever saw such a reformation necessary, might from the authority of Scripture lawfully begin it.

I do not find any *Englishman* among the first *restorers* of *immersion* in this latter age accused of *baptizing himself* but only the said *John Smith*; and there is ground to question the truth of that also.

The charge of Mr. Smith's baptizing himself consider'd.

MR. *Ainsworth*, Mr. *Jessop*, and some others, do indeed charge him with it; but they writ, as has been already observed, with so much passion and resentment, that it is not unlikely such men might take up a report against him upon slender evidence, and after one had published it, the others might take it from him without any enquiry into the truth of it.

THE defences which he wrote for himself are not to be met with; and in the large quotations that his *adversaries* take out of them, I do not find one passage, wherein he acknowledges himself to have done any such thing, or attempts to justify such a practice; which surely, had there been any such, would not have escaped their notice.

THERE is one passage^{f105} indeed which Mr. *Clifton* quotes from a treatise of Mr. *Smith's*, which some would make a proof out of his own mouth that he baptized himself: but being examined, it rather confirms the contrary. He is justifying, to the *Brownists*, his authority to begin a new form of baptizing, from the same principles by which they justified their beginning of new churches. And his words, according to their quotations, are these:

There is as good warrant for a man churching himself; for two men singly are no church, jointly they are a church; so two men may put baptism on them selves. Again, saith Mr. *Smith*, a man cannot baptize others into a church, himself being out of the church, or being no member.

HERE are two *principles* laid down by Mr. *Smith*, which contradict the account they give of him: That upon the supposition of the true *baptism's* being lost for some time, through the difuse of it, 'tis necessary there should be two *persons* who must unite in the revival of it, in order to begin the administration thereof: And that the first *administrator* be a member of some church, who than call and impower him to administer it to the members thereof.

Now it is reasonable to conclude, that his practice was conformable to this. And I find mention made of one Mr. *Helwisse* and Mr. *Morton* that were of Mr. *Smith's John* opinion, and joined with him in this reformation of baptism; and according to the rules he lays down, their method must be this: That first they formed a church of their *opinion* in the point of *baptism* then the church appoints two of these *ministers* to begin the administration of it, by baptizing each other; after this one, or both these, baptize the rest of the congregation.

But enough of this. If he were guilty of what they charge him with, 'tis no blemish on the *English Baptists*; who neither approved of any such method, nor did they receive their *baptism* from him.

*The methods taken by the English Baptists
at the revival of immersion.*

THE two other methods that I mentioned, were indeed both taken by the *Baptists*, at their revival of *immersion* in *England*; as I find it acknowledged and *justify'd* in their writings.

THE former of these was, to send over to the foreign *Anabaptists*, who descended from the antient *Waldenses* in *France* or *Germany*, that so one or more receiving baptism from them, might become proper *administrators* of it to others. Some thought this the best way; and acted accordingly; as appears from Mr. *Hutchinson's* account, in the epistle of his treatise of the *Covenant* and *Baptism*, where he says,

Mr. Hutcheson's account thereof.

WHEN the professors of these nations had been a long time wearied with the yoke of superstitious ceremonies, traditions of men, and corrupt mixtures in the worship and service of God; it pleased the Lord to break these yokes, and by a very strong impulse of his Spirit upon the hearts of his people, to convince them of the necessity of reformation. Divers pious and very gracious people, having often sought the Lord by fasting and prayer, that he would shew them the pattern of his house, the goings-out and comings-in thereof, &c. resolved, by the grace of God, not to receive or practise any piece of positive worship, which had not *precept* or example from the word of God. *Infant-baptism* coming of course under consideration, after long search and many debates, it was found to have no footing in the Scriptures, the only rule and standard to try doctrines by; but on the contrary a mere innovation, yea, the profanation of an ordinance of God. And though it was purposed to be laid aside, yet what fears, tremblings, and temptations did attend them, lest they should be mistaken, considering how many learned and godly men were of an opposite persuasion? How gladly would they have had the rest of their brethren gone along with them? But when there was no hopes, they concluded, that a christian's faith must not *stand in the wisdom of men*; and *that every one must give an account of himself to God*; and so resolved to practise according to their light. The great objection was, the want of an *administrator*; which, as I have heard, says he, was remov'd, by sending certain messengers to *Holland*, whence they were supplied.

Mr. William Kiffin's account thereof.

This agrees with an account given of the matter in an antient manuscript, said to be written by Mr. *William Kiffin*, who lived in those times, and was a leader among those of that persuasion.

This relates, that several sober and pious persons belonging to the congregations of the *dissenters* about *London*, were convinced that *believers* were the only proper subjects of *baptism*, and that it ought to be administred by *immersion*, or *dipping* the whole body into the water, in resemblance of a *burial* and *resurrection*, according to 2 Colos. 2:12. and ~~f105~~ Romans 6:4. That they often met together to pray and confer about this matter, and consult what methods they should take to enjoy this ordinance in its primitive purity: That they could not be satisfyed about any *administrator* in *England* to begin this practice; because tho' some in this nation rejected the *baptism of infants*, yet they had not, as they knew of, revived the antient custom of *immersion*: But hearing that some in the *Netherlands* practis'd it, they agreed to fend over one Mr. *Richard Blount*, who understood the *Dutch* Language: That he went accordingly, carrying letters of recommendation with him, and was kindly received both by the church there, and Mr. *John Batte* their teacher: That upon his return, he baptized Mr. *Samuel Blacklock*, a minister, and these two baptized the rest of their company, whole names are in the manuscript, to the number of fifty three.

So that those who follow'd this *scheme* did not derive their *baptism* from the aforesaid Mr. *Smith*, or his congregation at *Amsterdam*, it being an ancient congregation of foreign *Baptists* in the *Low Countries* to whom they sent.

But the greatest number of the *English Baptists*, and the more judicious, looked upon all this as needless trouble, and what proceeded from the *old Popish Doctrine of right to administer sacraments by an uninterrupted succession*, which neither the church of *Rome*, nor the church of *England*, much less the modern *Dissenters*, could prove to be with them. They affirmed ~~f106~~ therefore, and practiced accordingly, that after a general corruption of *baptism*, an unbaptized person might warrantably baptize, and so begin a reformation.

Mr. Spilsbury's opinion about a proper administrator.

MR. *Spilsbury*, who was falsly reported to have gone over to *Holland* to receive baptism from *John Smith*, declares expresly against a man's baptizing himself, and judges it to be far from any rule in the gospel so to do; but observes, that where there is a beginning, some one must be first.

And because, says he, ^{f107} some make it such an error, and so, far from any rule or example, for a man to baptize others, who is himself unbaptized, and so think thereby to shut up the ordinance of *God* in such a strait, that none can come by it but thro' the authority of the *Popedom* of *Rome*; let the reader consider who baptiz'd *John the Baptist* before he baptized others and if no man did, then whether he did not baptize others, he himself being unbaptized. We are taught by this what to do upon the like occasions.

FURTHER, says he, I fear men put more than is of right due to it, that so prefer it above the church, and all other *ordinances* besides; for they can assume and erect a church, take in and cast out *members*, elect and *ordain officers*, and administer the *supper*, and all a-new, without any looking after *succession*, any further than the scriptures: But as for *baptism*, they must have that successively from the *Apostles*, tho' it comes thro' the hands of pope *Joan*. What is the cause of this, that men can do all from the word but only *baptism*?

Now is it probable that this man should go over sea to find an *administrator* of *baptism*, or receive it from the hands of one *who baptized himself*?

Mr. Tombes's defends it.

THE learned Mr. *Tombes* does very excellently defend this last method of restoring the true *baptism*.

If, says he, ^{f108} no continuance of adult baptism can be proved, and *baptism* by such persons is wanting, yet I conceive what many *protestant writers* do yield, when they are pressed by the *Papists* to shew the calling of the first *reformers*; that after an universal corruption, the necessity of the thing doth justify the persons that reform, tho' wanting an ordinary regular calling, will justify in such a case, both the lawfulness of the *minister's baptizing*, that hath not been rightly baptized himself, and the sufficiency of that *baptism* to the person so baptized. And this very thing, says he, that in a case where a *baptized minister* cannot be had, it is lawful for an unbaptized person to baptize, and his *baptism* is valid, is both the resolution of *Aquinas*, and of *Zanchius*, an eminent protestant. *Quaritur an is possit baptizare eos, quos ad Christum convertit, ut ipse ab alio ex illis a se conversis baptizetur. Ratio est, quia minister est verbi, a Christo extraordinem excitatus, eoque ut talis minister potest cum illius ecclesiolae consensu, symmistam constituere, & ab eo, ut baptizetur curare.* Whereby, says Mr. *Tombes*, you may perceive that this is no new truth; that an unbaptized person may in some case baptize another, and he baptize him, being baptized of him.

Esq; Laurence also defends the same.

I WILL only add farther what is said on this head by the honourable *Henry Laurence Esq*; another learned *Baptist*, who has excellently defended the true *baptism*, and the manner of reviving it in these later times.

It cannot reasonably be objected, says he that he, ^{f109} that baptizeth should necessarily be himself a baptized person: For tho' ordinarily it will be so, yet it is not necessary to the ordinance; for not the personal *baptism* of him that administers, but the due commission he hath for baptizing, is alone considerable to make him a true *minister of baptism*. And here that expression holds not, *One cannot give what he hath not*, as a man cannot teach me, that wants knowledge himself; because no man gives his own *baptism*, but conveys, as a publick person, that which is given us by Christ. *A poor man*, that hath nothing of his own, may give me *gold*, that is, the *money* of another man, by virtue of being sent for that purpose. So if a man can shew his *commission*, the writing and seal of him that sent it, it is enough here. Else what would become of the *great baptizer*, *John the Baptist*, who had a fair commission to baptize, but was not himself baptized that we read of Or if he should be, which cannot be affirmed; yet the first *baptizer*, whoever he was, must at the time of his first *administration* of that *ordinance* be *unbaptized*.

Tho' these things were published at different times, I have put them together, to end this matter at once. It was a point much disputed for some years. The *Baptists* were not a little uneasy about it at first; and the *Paedobaptists* thought to render all the baptizings among them invalid, for want of a *proper administrator* to begin their practice: But by the excellent reasonings of these and other learned men, we see their beginning was well defended, upon the same *principles* on which all other *protestants* built their *reformation*.

KING *James*, to shew his zeal against heresy, had now an opportunity to exercise it upon two of his own subjects; who, in the year 1611, were *burnt alive* in *Smithfield* for heretical opinions.

Bartholomew Legate burnt in Smithfield.

ONE was *Bartholomew Legate*, of the county of *Essex*, of whom Mr. *Fuller* gives this charmer. ^{f110} That he was a man of a bold spirit, and fluent *tongue*, excellently skill'd in the scriptures, and of an unblameable conversation: But shewing his dislike of the *Nicene* and *Athanasius's* creeds, and denying the plurality of persons in the Godhead, and the divinity of Christ, was for these errors frequently summoned before the *bishops* in their consistory, and kept prisoner some time in *Newgate*. He very boldly defended his opinions, and would not be brought to desist from it, tho' the king himself had him often brought before him, and endeavoured to recover him. At length, in an assembly of *bishops* he was condemn'd as a contumacious and incorrigible *heretick*. This was on the 3d of *March*, and on the 18th of the same month, about noon, he was brought to *Smithfield*, and there burnt to ashes before a vast number of spectators.

Edward Wightman burnt at Litchfield.

^{f111} THE other was one *Edward Wightman*, a *Baptist*, of the town of *Burton* upon *Trent*; who on the 14th day of *December* was convicted of divers heresies before the bishop of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*; and being deliver'd up to the secular power, was burnt at *Litchfield* the 11th of *April* following.

The heresies he is charg'd with by his persecutors.

MANY of the heresies they charge upon him are so foolish and inconsistent, that it very much discredits what they say. If he really held such *opinions*, he must either be an *ideot* or a *madman*, and ought rather to have had their prayers and assistance, than be put to such a cruel death. ^{f112}

THAT they may be sure to accuse him with enough, he is condemn'd for holding the wicked heresies of the *Ebionites*, *Cerinthians*, *Valentinians*, *Arians*, *Macedonians*, of *Simon Magus*, *Manes*, *Manichaeus*, *Photinus*, and of the *Anabaptists*: And left all these hard names should not comprehend every error held by him, 'tis added, *and of other heretical, execrable, and unheard of opinions*. From this general account of his *heresies*, they proceed to mention fifteen *particulars*. In one they make him say, That Christ is not the true natural Son of God in respect of his Godhead: In another, That he is only man, and a mere creature; and yet, in the next, He took not human flesh of the substance of his mother. One while he is represented as making himself to be Christ; at another time saying, That God had ordain'd and sent him to perform his part in the work of the salvation of the world, by his teaching; as Christ was ordained and sent to save the world, and by his death to deliver it from sin, and reconcile it to God.

THREE of the articles are such, that I cannot but wonder to find them amongst those *heresies* for which a man is *burnt alive* by *Protestants*, viz. That the baptizing of *infants* is an abominable custom: That the *Lord's-Supper* and *Baptism* are not to be celebrated as they are now practiced in the church of *England*: That *Christianity* is not wholly professed and preached in the church of *England*, but only in part.

THE first who was put to this cruel death in *England* was *William Sawtre*, supposed upon very probable grounds to have denied *infant-baptism*; and this man, the last who was honoured with this kind of martyrdom, was expressly condemn'd for that *opinion*: so that this *sect* had the honour both of leading the way, and bringing up the rear of all the *martyrs* who, were *burnt alive* in *England*, as well as that a great number of those who suffer'd this death for their religion in the two hundred years betwixt, were of this *denomination*.

This burning of *hereticks* did much startle the common people. Mr. Fox, in his excellent *Martyrology*, had so exposed the *Papists* for this kind of *cruelty*, that it was generally disliked and condemn'd, and thought unaccountable that *Protestants* should be guilty of the same practice. The barbarity of the punishment moved compassion towards the sufferers; and to see men with so much firmness and constancy seal their opinions with their blood, rather promoted their doctrines, than put a stop to them.

KING *James* chose therefore for the suture only to seize their estates, and waste away their lives privately in nasty prisons, rather than honour them with such a publick *martyrdom*, which would unavoidably go under the name of persecution.

An. Dom. 1614.

In the *Spring*, Anno 1614. some *Presbyterian* families resolved to go and settle in *New-England*, to enjoy there that peace they could not find at home.

Some Dissenters go to New-England, and settle there, among them some English Baptists.

The author, says *Rapin*,^{f113} I just mention'd concerning the Earl of *Northampton*, says, these people were notorious *Schismaticks* of several *sects*, known by the general name of *Puritans*. As it was not impossible, by the increase of *Presbyterian* families, the *English* plantations might become nurseries for *Nonconformists*, the court gave orders not to let them depart; but afterwards such as desired to remove beyond sea, being examined, some were allowed to pursue their voyage, and others were detained as sureties for those that went away.

THAT some of these were *Baptists*, appears from Mr. *Cotton Mather*,^{f114} where I find the first settlement of the *English* in this part of *America* was in the year 1620. They were certain pious *Nonconformists*, who had left their native country to avoid persecution, and dwelt for same time in *Holland*, being members of the *English* church at *Leyden*, of which Mr. *John Robinson* was pastor; but not liking that country, obtained leave of king *James* to enjoy the liberty of their consciences under his gracious protection in *America*, where they would endeavour the advancement of his majesty's dominions, and the interest of the gospel. They set sail from *Southampton* in *England*, August 5. 1620. and arrived at *Cape-Cod* about the 9th of *November* following. Among these some few were *Antipaedobaptists*. So that *Antipaedobaptism* is as antient in those parts as *Christianity* itself.

LEAVING then *England* at present, let us follow these *Baptists*, and see how it fared with them there.

MR. *Cotton Mather* says thus: ^{f115}

Having done with the Quakers, let it not be misinterpreted, if into the same chapter we put the inconveniences which the churches of *New-England* have also suffer'd from the *Anabaptists*; albeit they have infinitely more of *Christianity* among them than the *Quakers*, and have indeed been useful defenders of *Christianity* against the assaults of the *Quakers*. Yea, we are willing to acknowledge for our brethren as many of them as are willing to be so acknowledged. — All the world knows, says he, that the most, eminent *reformers*, writing against the *Anabaptists*, have not been able to forbear making their treatises like what *Jerom* says of *Tertullian's* polemical treatises, *Quot verba, tot Fulmina*. And the noble martyr *Philpot* express'd the mind of them all, when he said, The *Anabaptists* are an inordinate kind of men, firred up by the devil to the destruction of the gospel, having neither scripture, nor antiquity, nor any thing else for them, but lies and new imaginations, feigning the baptism of children to be the Pope's commandment. Nevertheless it is well known, that of later time there have been a great many *Antipaedobaptists* who have never deserved so hard a character among the churches of God. *Infant-baptism* hath been scrupled by multitudes in our days, who have been in other points most worthy *Christians*, and as holy, watchful, fruitful and heavenly people as perhaps any in the world. Some few of these people have been among the planters in *New-England* from the beginning, and have been welcome to the communion of our churches, which they have enjoy'd, reserving their particular opinion unto themselves.

But at length it came to pass, that while some of our churches used it may be a little too much of *cogency* towards the *brethren*, which would weakly turn their backs when *infants* were brought forth to be *baptized* in the congregation, there were some of these *brethren* who in a day of temptation broke forth into schismatical practices, that were justly offensive unto all the churches in this wilderness.

Our *Anabaptists*, when somewhat of exasperation was begun, formed a church at *Boston*, on May 28. 1665. besides one which they had before at *Swanzy*. Now they declared our *infant-baptism* to be a mere nullity; and they arrogate unto themselves the title of *Baptists*, as if none were baptized but themselves.

The English Baptists are persecuted there.

THE General Court, says Mr. *Mather*, were so afraid left matters might at last, from small beginnings, grow into a new *Munster* tragedy, that they enacted some laws for the restraint of *Anabaptistical* exorbitances: ^{f116} Which laws, tho' never executed unto the extremity of them, yet were soon laid by, as to any execution of them at all. There were in this unhappy *schism* several truly *godly men*, whom it was thought a very uncomfortable thing to prosecute with severe *imprisonments*, on these controversies. And there came also a letter from *London*, to the governour of the *Massachuset's* colony, subscribed by no

less persons than Dr. *Goodwin*, Dr. *Owen*, Mr. *Nye*, Mr. *Caryl*, and nine other very reverend ministers, wherein were these among other passages.

*A letter from the most eminent of
the London ministers thereupon.*

WE shall not here undertake in the leaf t to make any apology for the persons, opinions, and practices of those who are censured amongst you. — You know our judgment and practice to be contrary unto theirs, even as your's, wherein, God assisting, we shall continue to the end: neither shall we return any answer to the reason of the Rev. Elders for the justification of your proceedings, as not being willing to engage in the management of any the leaf difference with persons whom we so much love and honour in the Lord. — But the sum of all which at present we shall offer to you, is, That tho' the *court* might apprehend that they had grounds in general, warranting their procedure in such cases, in the way wherein they have proceeded; yet that they have any rule or command, rendering their so proceeding indispensably necessary under all circumstances of fines or places, we are altogether unsatisfy'd. And we need not represent unto you how the case stands with ourselves, and all *your brethren and companions*, in the services of these latter days in these nations We are sure you would be unwilling to put an advantage into the hands of some who leek pretences and occasions against our liberty, and to reinforce the former rigour. Now we cannot deny, but this hath already in some measure been done, in that it hath been ^{f117}vogued, that persons of our way, principles, and spirit, cannot bear with dissenters from them. And as this greatly reflects on us, so some of us have observed how already it has turned unto your own disadvantage.

WE leave it to your wisdom to determine, whether under all these circumstances, and sundry others of the like nature that might be added, it be not adviseable at present to put an end unto the sufferings and confinements of the persons censured, and to restore them to their former liberty. You have the advantage of truth and order; you have the gifts and learning of an able ministry to manage and defend them; you have the care and vigilancy of a very worthy *magistracy* to countenance and protect them, and to preserve the peace; and above all, you have a blessed Lord and mailer, *who hath the keys of David, who openeth and no man shutteth*, living for ever, to take care of his own concernments among his saints: and assuredly you need not be disquieted, tho' some *few persons*, through their own infirmity and weakness, or through their ignorance, darkness and prejudices, should to their disadvantage turn out of the way in some lesser matters, into by-paths of their own. We only make it our hearty request to you, that you would trust God with his truths and ways, so far as to suspend all rigorous proceedings, in corporal restraints or punishments, on persons that dissent from you, and practise the principles of their dissent without danger or disturbance to the civil peace of the place. *Dated* March 25. 1669.

I CANNOT say, says Mr. *Mather*, that this excellent letter had immediately all the effect which it should have had; however at length it has had its effect.

Roger Williams banished.

^{f118} ONE *Roger Williams*, a preacher, who arrived in *New-England* about the year 1630. was first an assistant in the church of *Salem*, and afterwards pastor. This man, a difference happening between the government and him, caused a great deal of trouble and vexation. At length the *magistrates* passed the sentence of *banishment* upon him; upon which he removed with a few of his own *sect*, and settled at a place called *Providence*.

Some account of him.

There they proceeded,
says Mr. *Mather*,

not only unto the *gathering* of a thing like a *church*, but unto the *renouncing* their *infant-baptism*.

After this, he says, ^{f119} he turned *Seeker* and *Familist*, and the church came to nothing; yet acknowledges, that after all this,

he was very instrumental in obtaining a charter for the government of *Rhode-island*, which lay near and with his town of *Providence*, and was by the people sometimes chosen governour, and in many things acquitted himself so laudably, that many judicious persons judged him to have had the root of the matter in him: That he used many commendable endeavours to christianise the *Indians* in his neighbourhood, and printed a relation of their language, tempers, and manners That he also with much vigour maintain'd the main principles of the *Protestant Religion* against the *Quakers*, of which he has published a large account in a book entitled, *George Fox digged out of his burrows*. Mr. *Mather* also acknowledges that there was a good correspondence always held between him and many worthy and pious people in the *colony* from whence he had been banished; and that some of the *English nobility* had writ letters in his commendation.

MR. *Baxter* calls this man *the Father of the Seekers* in London. ^{f120}

Some Indians converted,

SEVERAL of the *Indians* bordering upon the *English colonies* in *New-England*, were, by the endeavours of several pious ministers, brought to receive the Christian faith, and had the bible translated into their language, and several churches gather'd among them. Mr. *John Gardiner*, in his letter, giving an account of the *Christian Indians* of *Nantucket*, says,

There are three societies or churches, two *congregational*, and one of the *Baptists*; but their number is small.

MR. *Benjamin Keach* was used frequently to say,

That when the *Indians* had embraced *Christianity*, and got the New Testament translated into their language, they were surprized that they found no directions there to baptize children, nor any instance of such a practice, therefore enquired of the *English* the ground of that practice, whereupon they rejected it as an human invention.

*The controversy of infant-baptism revived.
An assembly of ministers called.*

The *controversy* about the *baptism* of *children*, and the care that was to be taken of them afterwards, grew to such an height, ^{f121} that an assembly of the principal and most able ministers of both *colonies* was called by the *magistrates* on *June* 4, 1657. to answer the questions that were in agitation about these matters; who accordingly presented their elaborate answer to twenty one questions relating to this affair, which was afterwards printed in *London*, under the title of, *A disputation concerning church-members, and their children*. But this did not put an end to the controversy; therefore a synod was convened at *Boston* in the year 1662. in which this was the first and chief question to be determined, *Who are the subjects of baptism?*

Cotton Mather's character of Hanserd Knollys and Mr. Miles.

THERE have at several times, says, Mr. *Mather*, ^{f122} arrived in this country more than a score of *ministers* from other parts of the world, who proved either so erroneous in their principles, or so scandalous in their practices, or so disagreeable to the church-order, for which the country was planted, that I cannot well crowd them into the company of our *worthies*. I confess there were some of those persons whose names deserve to live in our book for their piety, altho' their particular opinions were such, as to be disserviceable unto the declared and supposed interests of our churches. Of these there were some godly *Anabaptists*; as namely, Mr. *Hanserd Knollys*, of *Dover*, who afterwards removing back to *London*, lately died there, a good man in a good old age; and Mr. *Miles* of *Swanzey*, who afterwards came to *Boston*, and is now gone to his rest. Both of these have a respectful character in the churches of this wilderness.

HAVING mentioned the several congregational churches at *Boston*, he adds: ^{f123}

And besides these, there is another small congregation of *Antipaedobaptists*, wherein Mr. *Emlin* is the settled minister.

And of a Baptist church in New-Plymouth colony.

IN his account of *New-Plymouth Colony*, he says: ^{f124}

Moreover there has been among them one church that have question'd and omitted the use of infant-baptism nevertheless, there being many good men among those, that have been of this persuasion, I do not know that they have been *persecuted* with any harder means, than those of kind conferences to reclaim them:

Mr. Tombes's epistle, with his examen sent to New England.

THE learned Mr. *John Tombes*, being acquainted with a law made in *New-England* the proceedings against those that deny'd the *baptism of infants*, was prevailed upon to send a copy of his *examen* before it was printed, thither, designing thereby to put them upon the study of this matter more exactly, and to allay the vehemency of their spirits and proceedings against those that dissented from them; and therewith he sent this short epistle. ^{f125}

To all the elders of the churches of Christ in New-England, and to each in particular by name: To the pastor and teacher of the church of God at Boston, there, these present.

Reverend Brethren,

Understanding that there is some disquiet in your churches about *paedobaptism*, and being moved by some that honour you much in the Lord, and desire your comfortable account at the day of Christ, that I would yield that a copy of my *examen* of master *Marshall* his sermon of *infant-baptism* might be transcribed, to be sent to you; I have consented thereto, and do commend it to your examination, in like manner, as you may perceive by the reading of it, I did to master *Marshall*, Not doubting but that you will, as in God's presence, and accountable to Christ Jesus, weigh the thing remembering that of our Lord Christ, ~~<10724>~~ John 7:24. *Judge not according to the appearance, but judge righteous judgment.* To the blessing of him who is your God and our God, your judge and our judge, I leave you, and the flock of God over which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers, and rest,

Your brother and fellow-servant in the work of Christ,
From my study at the *Temple* in *London*, May 25th, 1645.
JOHN TOMBES.

An account of the Baptist churches in Pensilvania.

THAT the *Baptists* have very much increased in those parts since they have enjoyed tranquillity, I find by a letter from *Philadelphia* in the province of *Pensilvania*, wrote by Mr. *Abel Morgan*, pastor of a *Baptist church* there,

giving an account of the state and number of the *Baptized churches* in that province, Aug. 12, 1714. wherein he says,

We are now *nine* churches, having for the better assisting one the other, four general meetings. 1st At *Welsh Tract*, where all the Pensilvania churches resort to in *May*. The 2d is at Cohansy, for conveniency of those parts, where *Philadelphia* assists. The 3d is at *Middleton*, where also *Philadelphia* assists. The 4th is at *Philadelphia*, in the month of *September*, where all do resort, and where most of the publick matters are settled to be decided by messengers from every *particular* church.

IN these churches, says he, there are above five hundred members, but greatly scattered on this main land; our ministers are necessitated to labour with both hands. We hope, if it please God to supply us with more help, we shall be more churches in a little time. Most churches administer the sacrament once a month; the ministers are all sound in the faith, and we practise most things like the *British churches*.

Dr. Geo. Abbot, some account of him.

To return to *England*: Bancroft was succeeded by Dr. *George Abbot*, bishop of *London*;

a divine, says Mr. Neale,^{f126} of a quite different spirit from his *predecessor*: He was a found *Protestant*, a thorough *Calvinist*, an avowed enemy to *Popery*, and even suspected of *Puritanism*, because he relaxed the penal laws; whereby, says lord *Clarendon*, he unravelled all that his *predecessor* had been doing for many years.

IF *Abbot's* moderate measures, says Mr. *Neal*, had been pursued, the liberties of *England* had been secured. *Popery* discountenanced, and the church prevented from running into those excesses which afterwards proved its ruin.

An. Dom. 1615 The Baptists account of themselves.

Anno 1615. The more moderate or orthodox *Baptists* published a small treatise,^{f127} wherein they endeavour'd to justify their separation from the church of *England*, and to prove, that every man has a right to judge for himself in matters of religion; and that to persecute any on that account, is illegal and antichristian, contrary to the laws of God, as well as to several declarations of the king's majesty. They also assert their opinion concerning *Baptism*, and shew the invalidity of that *Baptism* which was administred either in the establish'd church, or among the other *Dissenters*, and clear themselves of several *errors* unjustly cast upon them. It appears to be written, or at least approved of, by the whole body of *Baptists* who then remain'd in *England*; because at the end of the preface they subscribe themselves Christ's unworthy

ministers, and his majesty's faithful subjects, commonly, but most falsly called *Anabaptists*. ^{f128}

FROM hence therefore we may know what was in general the *opinions* of that *denomination*, from themselves; which is certainly the fairest way of judging.

THEY acknowledge *magistracy* to be God's ordinance; and that kings, and such as are in authority, ought to be obeyed in all civil matters, *not only for fear, but also for conscience-sake*. ^{f129}

THEY allow the taking of an *oath* to be lawful; and declare, that all of their profession were willing, in faithfulness and truth, to subscribe the *oath* of *allegiance*. ^{f130}

THEY protest against the doctrine of the *Papists*, that princes excommunicated by the *pope* may be deposed or murdered by their *subjects*; *calling it* a damnable and accursed *doctrine*, which their souls abhor; and also against the error of the *Familists*, who to avoid persecution, can comply with any external form of religion.

THEY confess, that Christ took his flesh of the virgin *Mary*; and for their orthodoxy in these and other points, refer the reader to their *confession* of *faith*, publish'd four years before this, which must be in the year 1611.

THEY acknowledged, that many call'd *Anabaptists*, held several strange opinions contrary to them; but lament it, and clear themselves from deserving any censure upon that account, by shewing that it was so in the primitive church, and yet Christ did not condemn all for the errors of some.

BUT that which they chiefly inveigh against, is the pride, luxury, and oppression of the lord *bishops*, or pretended spiritual power, whereby they were exposed to great hardships and cruel persecutions. ^{f131}

IN their preface, having mentioned that text, *The kings of the earth shall give their power unto the beast*;

If it be granted, say they, that the kings of this nation formerly have given their power to the *Romish beast*, it shall evidently appear, that our lord the king, and all magistrates under him, do give their power unto the same beast, tho' the beast be in another shape. —

And presently after;

Our most humble desire of our lord the king is, that he would not give his power to force his faithful *subjects* to dissemble, to believe as he believes, in the least measure of persecution; tho' it is no small persecution to lie many years in filthy prisons, in hunger, cold, idleness, divided from wife, family,

calling, left in continual miseries and temptations, so as death would be to many less persecution.

AGAIN, shewing how near the prelatical power and usurpation came to the bloody spiritual power of the *Roman Catholicks*, they say:

How many, only for seeking reformation in religion, have been put to death by your power in the days of *Q. Elizabeth*? and how many, both then and since, have been consumed to death in prisons? Yea, since that spiritual power hath been set up, hath not hanging, burning, exile, imprisonments, and all manner of contempt been used, and all for religion, altho' some for grievous errors, and yet you see not this to be a bloody religion!

LET, say they in another place, Mr. *Fox*, or any others who have described the spiritual power of *Rome*, let but their description thereof be compared with the spiritual power, in all their laws, courts, tides, pomp, pride, and cruelty, and you shall see them very little differ, except in their *cruelties*, which, glory be to God, the King's Majesty, who thirsteth not after blood, hath somewhat retrained. Altho' it is most grievous cruelty to lie divers years in most noisome and filthy prisons, and continual temptations of want, their estates overthrown, and never coming out, many of them till death; let it be well-weighed, and it is little inferior to the cruel sudden death in times of the *Romish power* in this nation.

But after all this they conclude with an hearty prayer for their enemies,

That the Lord would give them repentance, that their sins may not be laid to their charge, even for Christ's sake.

NOTWITHSTANDING this, their sufferings were rather encreased than lessen'd: They were not only railed against in the pulpits under the names of *Hereticks*, *Schismatics*, and *Anabaptists*, and harrassed in the spiritual courts; but the temporal sword was used against them; their goods seized, their persons confined for many years in finking goals, where they were depriv'd of their wives, children, and friends, till the Divine Majesty was pleased to release several of them by death.

An. Dom. 1618. The first book in English published against infant-baptism.

IN the year 1618. there came forth a book, vindicating the principles of the *Baptists*.^{f132} This was translated from the *Dutch*, and is thought to be the first that was published in *English* against the baptizing of infants. The argument of this book is laid down in the following eight propositions:

1. THAT Christ commanded his *apostles*, and servants of the Holy Ghost, first of all to preach the *gospel*, and make *disciples*, and afterwards to *baptize* those

that were instructed in the faith, in calling upon and confessing the name of God.

2. THAT the *apostles* and *servants* of the Holy Ghost have, according to the commandment of the Lord Jesus Christ, first of all *taught*, and then afterwards those that were instructed in the mysteries of the kingdom of God were *baptized*; upon the confessing of their faith.

3. THAT after the *apostle's* time, by the antient *fathers* in the primitive church, who observed and followed the *ordinance* of Christ, and the example of the *apostles*, the people were commonly instructed in the mysteries of faith; and after that they were *taught*, they were *baptized* upon confession of the same.

4. THAT by the antient *fathers* in the primitive church, the children both of the faithful and others, were commonly *first instructed* in the faith, and afterwards, upon acknowledging and confessing of the same, they were *baptized*.

5. THAT according to the institution of the Lord Christ, and the *apostles* and antient *fathers* right use, the teachers required *faith* with *baptism*, and that he that was *baptized* must himself acknowledge and confess the same, and call upon the name of the Lord.

6. THAT Christ neither gave commandment for *baptizing* of *children*, nor instituted the same; and that the *apostles* never *baptized* any *infants*.

7. THAT the *baptism* of *infants* and *sucklings* is a *ceremony* and *ordinance*, of man, brought into the church by teachers after the a *apostle's* time, and instituted and commanded by *councils*, *popes*, and *emperors*.

8. THAT young *children* or *infants* ought not to be *baptized*; and that none ought to be brought, driven, or compell'd thereunto.

ALL which the *author* endeavours to prove, either from several passages of Scripture, or large quotations out of the fathers.

I DO not find that this book receiv'd any answer till about thirty years after. Then Mr. *Thomas Gobbet*, of *New-England*, published *A vindication of childrens churchmembership, and right to baptism*.

I DO suppose the book was concealed as much as possible, till the civil wars produced liberty of conscience; which occasioned it to go so long unanswered.

Those who dissented from the establish'd church at this time, were prosecuted by the laws made in this and the former reign against them; and those deemed *Anabaptists* had of all others the least favour shewn them, *finés* and *imprisonments* being usually their lot.

*An. Dom. 1620. The Baptists present their humble
supplication to King James.*

In the year 1620. they presented an humble supplication to K. *James*, the parliament then fitting; wherein they first acknowledge their obligation, by virtue of a divine command, *to pray for kings, and all that are in authority*; and appeal to God that it was their constant practice so to do. They set forth, that their miseries were not only the taking away of their *goods*, but also long and lingering *imprisonments* for many years, in divers *counties* in *England*, in which many have died, leaving their *widows* and several small children behind them, and all because they dared not join in such worship as they did not believe to be according to the will of God.

THEY challenge their *enemies* to accuse them of any disloyalty to his Majesty, or of doing any injury to their neighbours; and declare their readiness to be obedient to all the *laws* that were or should be made for the preservation of his Majesty's person, and security of his government in all civil or temporal things: but that further than this they could not go, because God was the Lord of mens consciences, and only lawgiver in matters of religion.

THAT if they were in *error*, these cruel proceedings did no ways become the charity and goodness of the Christian religion; but were the marks of *Antichrist*, for what they themselves condemned in the *Papists*.

THAT such methods might indeed tempt men to become *hypocrites*; but that it was not in their power to command belief, or compel the heart.

AND therefore they humbly beseech his Majesty, his nobles and parliament, to consider their case, and that according to the direction of God's word, they would *let the wheat and tares grow together in the world, until the harvest*.

To this they subjoin ten short chapters; wherein they endeavour to prove, that the sacred scriptures are the rule of our faith, and not *any church, council, or potentate* whatsoever:

That the most necessary doctrines therein contained are sufficiently plain, so that every one that searches with a sincere and obedient mind may understand them:

THAT the knowledge of God's will, and practise of true religion, has commonly been found among those that have been poor and despised in this world, while the great and learned have been in *error*, and the chief *persecutors* both of the truth and its professors:

THAT to persecute men for their conscience-sake, is contrary to the law of Christ, as well as to several declarations that had been made by the king's majesty, and other famous princes:

THAT both antient and modern writers, both *Protestants* and *Papists*, do condemn it as a great iniquity; and that to grant men liberty in matters of religion, can be no prejudice to any *commonwealth*, neither does it deprive *princes* of any power given them of God.

AND then they conclude the whole with prayer for the king's majesty, for his royal highness the prince, and the honourable assembly of *parliament*; calling God, the searcher of all hearts to witness, that they were loyal *subjects* to his majesty, *not for fear only, but for conscience-sake*; subscribing themselves, those who are *unjustly called Anabaptists*.

BUT notwithstanding the odium cast upon them, and the severities used against them, they kept up their separate meetings, and had many *disciples* who embraced their opinion, as is declared by those who writ against them.

AMONG the many *proselytes* which they had at this time, there was one at *London*, who being severely reflected upon for his separating from the church, and divers false reasons for his so doing being reported, thought fit to write a letter to his *friends*, to acquaint them with the real occasion of it; and that he might recommend his present *principle* and *practice* to them with the more advantage, he got one of the elders of the *Baptists* to draw it up for him. But before this letter came to the persons designed; it fell into the hands of one in the communion of the church of *England*, who immediately published it, together with an answer thereto.

THIS letter, discovering something of the principles and spirit of the *Baptists* of those times, and the arguments by which they did then maintain their opinions; I shall here insert the copy thereof. ^{f133}

Beloved Friends,

1 Corinthians 15; ^{<8035>} John 3:5. ^{<8012>} John 1:12. ^{<8021>} 1 Peter 3:21. ^{<8065>} Galatians 6:15. ^{<8089>} Matthew 28:19. ^{<8165>} Mark 16:15, 16. ^{<8028>} Acts 2:38, 41. 8:12, 37. 9:18. 10:47. 16:31. 18:8. 19:3. ^{<8184>} Revelation 18:4. ^{<8064>} 2 Corinthians 6:14. ^{<8006>} 1 Peter 1:5. ^{<8022>} Ephesians 2:22. ^{<8020>} Galatians 2:10. ^{<8086>} Hebrews 3:6. ^{<8123>} 1 Corinthians 12:13. ^{<8022>} Ephesians 1:22, 23.

THE antient love that I have had towards you, provoketh me to testify that I have not forgotten you, but am desirous still to shew my unfeigned love to you in any thing I may. I make no question but you have heard divers false reports of me, altho' among the same some truths; and that you may be truly informed of my state, I thought good to write a few words unto you, hoping you will not speak evil of that you know not, nor condemn a man unheard.

The thing wherein I differ from the church of *England*, is, they say at their *washing* or *baptizing* their *infants*, they are members, children of God, and inheritors of the kingdom of heaven. This I dare not believe, for the Scriptures of God declare, that neither flesh, nor washing the flesh, can save. *Flesh and blood cannot enter into the kingdom of God; for that which is flesh is flesh; and we cannot enter into the kingdom of God, except we be born again.* They that have prerogative to be the sons of God, must be *born of God*, even believe in his name; and *the washing off the filth of the flesh is not the baptism that saveth; but a good conscience* maketh requests to God. *If any man be in Christ, he is a new creature.* The consequence of this is, that *infants* are not to be baptized, nor can be *Christians*; but such only as confess their faith, as these Scriptures teach. There is neither command, example, or just consequence for *infants baptism*, but for the baptizing of *believers*. There is besides, of the church of God, to be consider'd what it is; it will plainly appear, that *infants* cannot be of it; they that know the language from whence the word *church* is taken, can witness that it signifieth a *people called out*, and so the church of Christ is a company called out of their former estate, wherein they were by nature; out of *Babylon*, wherein they have been in spiritual bondage to the power of Antichrist, and from having fellowship in spiritual worship with unbelievers and ungodly men: From all, whosoever cometh out, they are fit timber for his spiritual building, which is a *habitation of God by the Spirit*, and *the household of faith*. Those thus come out of nature, *Egyptian* bondage, and the fellowship of the children of *Belial*, being *new creatures*, and so *holy brethren*, are made *God's house*, or *church*, through being knit together by the Spirit of God, and baptized into his body, which is the church. This being undeniable the church of Christ, infants cannot be of it, for they cannot be called out, as aforesaid. Known wicked men cannot be of it, because they are not called out, nor antithrifts spiritual bondage cannot be of it, because that is a *habitation of devils*, and all God's people must go out of that.

<8016>Galatians 3:26. 2 Corinthians 7. 17. <8065>Galatians 6:15. <8008>John 8:3. Genesis 17: Read <8002>Galatians 4:22. and, consider it in the fear of God. <8009>Hebrews 9:9, 10. <8008>Romans 4:8, 19. <8028>Hebrews 12:28.

WHAT can be objected against this? Are not all the *sons of God by faith*? If any be in Christ, or a Christian, must he not be a *new creature*? I pray you, do not take up that usual objection which the *Antichristians* have learned of the *Jews*, "What tellest thou us of being made *Christians* only by faith in the Son, and so being made free? we are the children of *Abraham*, and of believers; we are under the promise, I will be the God of thee and thy seed: Thus are we and our children made free, when as they neither do nor can believe in the Son." This is a *Jewish* antichristian fable. For *Abraham* had two sons, which were types of the two seeds, to the which two covenants are made: The one *born after the flesh*, typing out the fleshly *Israelites*, which were the inhabitants of material *Jerusalem*, where was the material temple, and the performance of those carnal rites which endured unto the time of reformation: The other by

faith, typing out the children of the faith of *Abraham*, which are the inhabitants of the spiritual *Jerusalem*, the New Testament, in which is the spiritual temple, the church of the living God, and the performance of all those spiritual ordinances which Christ Jesus, as prophet and king thereof, hath appointed, which re, mains, and cannot be shaken or alter'd.

<8813>Hebrews 8:13. 9:19, 24. 8:6. 10:19, 24. <1018>Philippians 3:3. <4018>Acts 9:18.

Now if the old covenant be abolished, and all the appertainings thereof; as it is, as being similitudes of heavenly things; even the covenant written in the book, the people, the tabernacle or temple, and all the ministring vessels; and a better covenant, establish'd upon better promises, and better temple and ministring vessels came instead thereof, procured and purchased by the blood of Jesus Christ, who is the new and living way: *let us draw near with a true heart, in assurance of faith, sprinkled in our hearts from an evil conscience, and baptized in our bodies with pure water: let us keep this profession of hope without wavering, and have no confidence in the flesh*, to reap justification or christianity thereby; but let us cast it away as dung and dross: for if ever any might plead privilege of being the child of the faithful, the Apostle *Paul* might, as he saith; — *read the place* — but it was nothing till he had the righteousness of God through faith, then was he *baptized* into Christ Jesus for the remission of his sins.

<8024>Romans 4:24. <4135>Acts 13:26, 32, 39. <8008>Romans 9:8. <8080>Galatians 4:30. <8044>Romans 4:14, 16. <8107>Galatians 3:7, 9, 29. 3:16, 29.

This covenant, that we as children of *Abraham* challenge, is the covenant of life and salvation by Jesus Christ, made to all the children of *Abraham*, as it is made to *Abraham* himself; *to them that believe in him that raised up Jesus our Lord from the dead*. As also, the children of the flesh are not they; they must be put out, and must not be heirs with the faithful: *If they that are of the law be heirs, faith is made void, and the promise is made of none effect. Therefore it is by faith, that it might come by grace, and the promise might be sure to all the seed that are of the faith of Abraham, who is the father of all the faithful*. They are his children; the promise of salvation is not made with both *Abraham's* seeds, but with *his own seed*, *they that are of the faith of Abraham*.

<8008>Ephesians 4:28. <8001>Hosea 8:18. <8121>1 Corinthians 3:21.

THESE things may be strange to those *that are strangers from the life of God, thro' the ignorance that is in them, because of the hardness of their hearts*. God hath written them as the great things of his law; but they are counted of many as a strange thing: *but wisdom is justified of all her children*, and they that set their hearts to seek wisdom as silver, and search for her as for treasure, they shall see the righteousness of those things as the light, and the evidence of them as the noon-day. They that be wise will try these things by the true touchstone of the holy scriptures, and leave off rejoicing in men, to hang their faith and profession on them; the, which I fear not to supplicate

God day and night on the behalf of you all. To whose gracious direction I commit you, with a remembrance of my hearty love to every one; during but this favour, that for requital I may receive your loving answer.

Lond. 10 May, 1622.

Your's to be commanded always in any Christian service,
H. H.

P. S. I have sent to my friends a testimony of my love; one book to Master *Stroud*, one to Goodman *Ball*, one to Mrs. *Fountaine*, one to *Roger Seely*, one to *Samuel Quash*, and one to yourself. I beseech you read, consider, and *the Lord give you understanding in all things.*

THE person who published this letter, with an answer thereto, observes, That they separated from the church, and writ many books in defence of their principles, and had multitudes of disciples: ^{f134} That it was their custom to produce a great number of scriptures to prove their doctrines: ^{f135} That they were in appearance more holy than those of the established church: ^{f136} That they dissuaded their *disciples* from reading the churchmens books, hearing in their *assemblies*, or conferring with their learned men: ^{f137} That besides the denial of *infantbaptism*, they denied also the doctrine of predestination, reprobation, final perseverance, and other truths; but of their opposing these he gives no express proof, but says, ^{f138}

Tho' their letter question them not, yet I suppose their seeds are sown among you, so well by their *apostles* as books.

THIS indeed has ordinarily been their treatment, to be accused only upon supposition, and have their whole *party* branded with the errors or miscarriages of a few.

THE said author further observes from this letter, ^{f139} that the *Baptists* do allow of just consequences from scripture as a sound way of arguing: And as for express command or example for *baptizing of infants*, he does not pretend to bring any; but rather attempts to justify that practice from *human* authority.

HE reckons that the age in which a person is to be baptized, the place of washing, whether in a river or an artificial font; the manner of washing, whether the whole body, or but a part; whether by sprinkling, or rubbing with the hand; and whether after waffling, to wipe the body with a cloth, &c. are things which Christ hath left to the disposing of the church. ^{f140}

HE says, moreover, in his *advertisement the reader*,

if there were not a warrant in holy scripture, in direct words, or plain consequence, for baptizing *infants*; yet insomuch, as it is an *ordinance of man*, which crosseth not any command of God, it is to be obeyed by

Christians, and that by command of God: for he that is not against Christ, is for Christ.

It must however be granted, that this *controversy* is set in a much clearer light, and managed after a more accurate manner on both sides, in the present age, than it was in those times.

An. Dom. 1624.

IN the year 1624. there came forth much greater *champions* in defence of *infant-baptism*.

THE famous *Dod* and *Cleaver* ^{f141} united their strength, and joined together in publishing a small treatise against the erroneous positions of the *Anabaptists*, as they term'd them.

IN the *preface* they apologize for their ingaging in this *controversy*, by alledging, that those of the contrary opinion were very industrious, and took great pains to propagate their doctrine: That divers persons of good note for piety had been prevailed upon by them: That several had entreated their help and assistance, and that they had been engaged already in private debates about this matter.

This *pamphlet* being scarce, very few have or can now obtain a sight of it; I than therefore observe two or three things in it that are uncommon.

IN the *preface* they represent the *Baptists* of those times as agreeing with the *Arminians* only in some opinions.

When they answer the objections of the *Baptists*, which they say ^{f142} are recited out of their own books *verbatim*, they politickly conceal both, the names of the *authors*, and the *titles* of the books, except one; which if it was done to prevent examining the truth of their quotations, keep the knowlege of such writings from the world, hinder persons from reading their arguments at length, and with their connection, or that they might the better charge the whole party with the opinion of some particular persons; all these must be owned very unfair in disputants.

THEY charge it upon the *Baptists* as a great error held by them, that no *infants* dying in infancy are damned with the wicked in hell, which salvation they have by the merits of Christ. ^{f143}

WHEN they also charge upon them, the denial of *original sin*, as the occasion of their error in *baptism*, they themselves run into as great an error, to avoid the force of the others arguments, *viz.* that the soul of man is by propagation; affirming, that *Adam* was the father of men, in respect of their souls as well as their bodies; that as other creatures beget the whole of their offspring, so do

men; and that when God is called *the father of spirits*, and men *the fathers of our flesh*, it does not denote any different original of soul and body. ^{f144} Besides these, I do not find any thing but what is common upon the controversy.

But to close this reign, Mr. *Neal* says, ^{f145}

That it is hard to make any judgment of *King James's* religion: For one while he was a *Puritan*, and then a zealous *Churchman*; at first a Calvinist and *Presbyterian*, afterwards a *Remonstrant* or *Arminian*; and at last a half, if not an entire doctrinal *Papist*.

Rapin says, ^{f146}

he was neither a found *Protestant*, nor a good *Catholick*; but had form'd a plan of uniting both churches, which must effectually have ruin'd the *protestant* interest; for which indeed he never expressed any real concern.

CHAPTER 3.

From the end of the reign of King James I. to the restoration of King Charles II.

Charles I. An. Dom. 1625.

KING *Charles I.* succeeded his father, and being tinctur'd from his infancy with the principles-concerning the regal authority and prerogative royal, so much improved by the deceased king during his life, ^{f147} kept the same *favourite*, the same *council*, the same *ministers*, and all the places at court, and in the kingdom, still continued in the hands of the duke of *Buckingham's* creatures; so that the sufferings and hardships of the *Puritans* were still continued: For, like the king his father, he was very fond of *arbitrary power* and had no *favourites* or *ministers* but what were of the same principles.

*The privy-council. Star-chamber. High-commission court.
Oppress the Puritans.*

His *privy-council* became by degrees an absolute court, which thought itself above the laws. The *star-chamber* was another court, the most rigorous that ever was; the severity whereof fell chiefly upon those who pretended to dispute the prerogative royal. The *high-commission-court* perfectly seconded the *council* and *star-chamber*; and under a colour of putting a stop to *schism*, oppressed as *Puritans* those that refused to submit to a despotick power. *Laud* had almost the sole direction of this *high-commission-court*, after the archbishop of *Canterbury* was excluded on account of *Sibthorp's* sermon. He so managed therefore, to prevent the growth of *Presbyterianism*, that the king sent certain *instructions* to the archbishops, with a command to impart them to the bishops of their *provinces*, in order to their being observed. The chief ends of these *instructions* were, to hinder any *Presbyterian* from creeping into the church of *England*, and to discover the careless observers of the rites prescribed by the canons. ^{f148}

WE do not find in the principles and doctrines of the church of *England*, any thing repugnant to charity, or tending to violence; but it was wholly owing to the character and designs of the *court-prelates*, of the king's *ministers* and *counsellors*, who meant to carry the royal authority to the highest degree. ^{f149} They thought nothing could more conduce to that end, than the humbling, or rather the utter ruin of the *Puritans*, and unfortunately considered *as* such, all that opposed their design.

THE *Presbyterian* party, tho' very numerous, as plainly appeared afterwards, laboured then under great oppressions. They had against them the *king*, the *ministers*, the *council*, the *star-chamber*, the *high-commission*, the principal heads of the church of *England*, the *Arminians*, the *Papists*, the *lord-lieutenants* of the *counties*, the *judges* of the realm, and all the *magistrates* in general; notwithstanding all which, they daily gained ground.

Yet they gain ground.

This would seem, says *Rappin*, ^{f150} incredible, if it was not considered, that the court themselves were the chief cause of their increase. The court looked upon as *Puritans* all who did not shew submission enough to the king, or would not allow sufficient extent to the prerogative royal; and by oppressing them as such, or by refusing them all kinds of employments, engaged them unavoidably to turn to the *Presbyterians*. As the king's pretensions, with regard to government, were not approved by the majority of the nation; it happen'd by degrees, that almost all *England* became *Presbyterian*, according to the sense given by the court to that term.

Sir Benj. Rudyard's speech.

SIR *Benjamin Rudyard*, a member of the house of *commons*, to intimate that there was a settled design to bring in *popery* and arbitrary power in *England*, expressed himself in the *house* after this manner. ^{f151}

They have so brought it to pass, that under the name of *Puritans* all our religion is branded: — whosoever squares his actions by any rule, either divine or human, he is a *Puritan*; — he that will not do whatsoever other men would have him do, he is a *Puritan*, &c.

IN short, the reign of K. *Charles I.* was more violent in persecuting the *Puritans*, than that of his father *James: Laud* being made bishop of *London*, and afterwards archbishop of *Canterbury*, and one of the prime ministers, used all his industry and credit to humble the *Puritan party*; that is, not only the *Presbyterian*, but also the *Calvinists*, and such as would not patiently bear the yoke of servitude.

Matthew Wren, bishop of *Norwich*, the bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*, and *Cosins*, prebendary of *Durham*, being all of the same principles, seconded him in his design.

An. Dom. 1633. The Baptists begin to form distinct societies.

IN the year 1633, the *Baptists*, who had hitherto been intermixed among other *Protestant Dissenters*, without distinction, and so consequently shared with the *Puritans* in all the *persecutions* of those times, began now to separate themselves, and form distinct *societies* of those of their own persuasion.

Concerning the first of which I find the following account collected from a manuscript of Mr. *William Kiffin*.

THERE was a congregation of Protestant *Dissenters* of the *independant* Persuasion in *London*, gather'd in the year 1616, whereof Mr. *Henry Jacob* was the first pastor; and after him succeeded Mr. *John Lathorp*, who was their minister at this time. In this society several persons, finding that the congregation kept not to their first principles of separation, and being also convinced that *baptism* was not to be administred to *infants*, but such only as professed faith in Christ, desired that they might be dismissed from that communion, and allowed to form a distinct congregation, in such order as was most agreeable to their own sentiments.

Records of that church.

THE church, considering that they were now grown very numerous, and so more than could in these times of persecution conveniently meet together, and believing also that those persons acted from a principle of conscience, and not obstinacy, agreed to allow them the liberty they desired, and that they should be constituted a distinct church; which was perform'd the 12th of *Sept.* 1633. And as they believed that *baptism* was not rightly administred to *infants*, so they look'd upon the *baptism* they had receiv'd in that age as invalid: whereupon most or all of them received a new *baptism*. Their minister was Mr. *John Spilsbury*. What number they were is uncertain, because in the mentioning of the names of about twenty men and women, it is added, *with divers others*.

An. Dom. 1638.

IN the year 1638, Mr. *William* Mr. *Thomas Wilson*, and others, being of the same judgment, were upon their request, dismissed to the said Mr. *Spilsbury's* congregation.

IN the year 1639, another congregation of *Baptists* was formed, whose place of meeting was in *Crutched-Fryars*; the chief promoters of which were Mr. *Green*, Mr. *Paul Hobson*, and Captain *Spencer*.

An. Dom. 1640. A parliament summoned, and dissolved.

IN the beginning of the year 1640, a war against the *Scots* was resolved on, and thought so reasonable and necessary to the King's honour, that it might be ventured with an *English* Parliament. Which being laid before the council, was cheerfully agreed to, and after twelve years interval, a parliament was summoned to meet *April* 13. and being met, instead of beginning with the supply, appointed *committees* for *religion* and *grievances* which disoblged the King so much, that after several fruitless attempts to persuade them to begin with the subsidy bill, he dissolved them in anger, without passing a single act, after they had sat about three weeks.

The convocation continues sitting, and pass seventeen canons.

THE convocation that sat with this parliament, was opened *April* 14. with more splendor and magnificence, ^{f152} says Mr. *Neal*, than the situation of affairs required.

Tho' the convocation, according to antient custom, should have broke up at the same time with the parliament, yet they continued sitting, and passed seventeen canons, approved by the privy council, and subscribed by as many of both houses of convocation as were present. That the canon *against* sectaries, may be better understood, it will be necessary to transcribe an abstract of that against *Popery*, viz.

Canon 3.

All ecclesiastical persons, within their several parishes or jurisdictions, *shall* confer privately with *popish recusants*; ^{f153} but if private conference prevail not, the church must and than come to her censures; and to make way for them, such persons than be presented at the next visitation, who come not to church, and refuse to receive the holy eucharist, or who either say or hear mass, and if they remain obstinate after citation, they shall be excommunicated. But if neither conference nor censures prevail, the church shall then complain of 1641. Edward Barber them to the civil power, and this sacred synod does earnestly entreat the reverend *justices* of assize to be careful in executing the laws as they will answer it to God.

Canon 5.

THE synod decrees, that the canon above mentioned against *Papists*, shall be in full force against all *Anabaptists*, *Brownists Separatists*, and other *Sectaries*, as far they are applicable.

WHEN the canons of this arbitrary (who call themselves sacred) synod were made publick, they were generally disliked; and had not the execution of them been suspended by the prevailing of the *Nobility* and *Gentry* with the king at *York*, *Laud* might have been more famous (or rather infamous) than even *Bonner* himself in the *Marian* days.

Anno Dom. 1641. Edward Barber.

IN the year 1641. one Mr. *Edward Barber* put forth a small piece in defence of immersion; intituled, *A treatise of baptism or dipping; wherein is clearly shewed, that our Lord Christ ordained dipping; and that sprinkling of children is not according to Christ's institution; and also the invalidity of those arguments that are commonly brought to justify that practice.*

IN the year following another treatise came forth, written by A. R. intituled, *the vanity of childrens baptism*. This *author* attempts to prove these two points

against the established church, viz. that *dipping* is necessary to the right administration of *baptism*, and that this sacrament is not to be given to *infants*.

Mr. Francis Cornwell proselyted to the Baptists.

ABOUT this time there was a considerable proselyte made to the opinion of the *Baptists*; namely, Mr. *Francis Cornwell*, M. A. and sometime student of *Emanuel College* in *Cambridge*. Whether he received his *conviction* from the treatises abovenamed, or whether he was only by them put upon examination of the controversy, and upon search of the scripture, and first *fathers* of the church, found the truth to be on their side, I cannot say; but this is evident, when he had found out the truth himself, he was willing to help others to do so likewise; and therefore published a small treatise, dedicated to the house of commons, intituled *the vindication of the royal commission of king Jesus*. Wherein he lays down several arguments to prove, that the prance of *christening children* opposes the commission granted by our Lord and Saviour; that it is a *Romish* or *Antichristian* custom, and was established by pope *Innocent III.* who made a decree, that the *baptism* of *infants* of believers should succeed *circumcision*.

A dispute between Dr. Featly and four Anabaptists in Southwark.

This year also, in the month of *October*, was that dispute between Dr. *Featly* (the favourite *author* of the reverend Mr. *Neal*) and four *Anabaptists* in *Southwark*; of which some have made so great a noise since, and Mr. *Neal* seems willing should not be buried in oblivion.

I do not find that any have published an account of this *disputation* but the Doctor himself, or that there was any *amanuensis* to take down perfectly what was spoken at that time; but only short notes taken by himself, or one of his friends, which the Doctor filled up according to his own memory. And he did not publish it neither, till about two years after, when besides his fixed prejudice against the *Dissenters*, he was put out of humour, by being deprived of two livings, which he enjoyed before the unhappy difference between the King and parliament. And he tells the *Reader* in his *dedication*, that he could hardly dip his pen in any thing but gall. How fair and impartial an account such a man was like to give, and what credit Mr. *Neal* has got to himself by becoming his *disciple*, let the reader judge. For after all, by the Doctor's own account of this *disputation*, his antagonists do not appear so very despicable; nor did he gain any great advantage of them. An indifferent reader will clearly see the force and simplicity of the argument on the one hand, and the art and shuffling that was used on the other.

ONE of the *Anabaptists*, whom he calls a *Scotchman*, began the discourse after this humble and modest manner.

MASTER doctor, we come to dispute with you at this time, not for contention sake, but to receive satisfaction: We hold that the *baptism* of *infants* cannot be proved lawful by the testimony of *scripture*, or by *apostolical* tradition. If you therefore can prove the same either way, we shall willingly submit unto you.

THE Doctor presently breaks forth into *exclamations*: Are you then *Anabaptists*? and insults over them as *Hereticks*, who were *mechanic* and *illiterate* men, by whose habit he could judge they were not fit to dispute; that they could not dispute on *authority*, because they understood not the *original*; nor by reason, because such must understand how to conclude *sylogistically* in mood and figure; with abundance of such *pedantick* stuff, that *savoured* of nothing but pride and a bad cause.

HE that will take the pains to read his own account of this *disputation*, will easily perceive how the *Doctor* endeavours through the whole to fly from the argument proposed, thereby to entangle the innocent men, and escape giving good proof for the points. One while he proposes difficulties to them about the *doctrine* of the *Trinity*; then again about the form of a true church: presently, he goes about to prove, that *magistrates* have power to impose religion; afterwards, that we ought to use forms of prayer; anon, that none ought to preach without episcopal ordination; with a many other impertinent digressions.

HE that would have an account of his *foolish pictures*, may see a book which came out presently after the Doctor's, intitled, *Brief considerations* on Dr. Featly's book, by *Samuel Richardson*.

ABOUT this time it was, that the pious

Mr. *Hanserd Knollys*, who had been forced to fly to *New-England* to escape the persecution of the high-commission-court, returned back again to *London*; where by his plain and faithful way of preaching, there was soon gathered a congregation of christians *baptized* upon the profession of their faith, over whom he was also ordained pastor, and of whom we shall have occasion to say more as we go on.

The Long parliament

THE King's affairs being now brought to the utmost extremity, and he finding it impossible to carry on the war against the *Scots*, appointed commissioners to treat with them at *Ripon*; who agreed for a cessation of arms for two months, and the treaty to be adjourned to *London*, where a free parliament was immediately to be called.

SAD and melancholly, says Mr. *Neal*,^{f154} was the condition of the *prime ministers*, when they saw themselves reduced to the necessity of submitting their conduct to the examination of an *English parliament*, supported by an army from *Scotland*, and the general discontents of the people. Several of the *courtiers* began to shift for themselves; some withdrew from the storm, and others having been concerned in one illegal project or other, deserted their masters, and made their peace, by discovering the King's counsels to the leading members of *parliament*; which disabled the junto from making any considerable efforts for their safety. All men had a veneration for the person of the King, tho' his majesty had lost ground in their affections by his ill usage of his *parliaments*, and by taking the faults of his *ministers* upon himself.

But the queen was in no manner of esteem with them, who had the *Protestant religion* and the liberties of their country at heart.

THE *bishops* had sunk their character by their high behaviour in the spiritual courts; so that they had nothing to expect but that their wings should be clipp'd. And the *judges* were despised and hated for abandoning the laws of their country, and giving a sanction to the illegal proceedings of the *council* and *star-chamber*. As his Majesty had but few friends of credit or interest among the people at home, so he had nothing to expect from abroad. *France* and *Spain* were pleased with his distress. The foreign *Protestants* wished well to the oppressed people of *England*. They published their resentments against the *bops* for their hard usage of the *Dutch* and *French* congregations; and gave it as their opinion, that a *Protestant* king that countenanc'd *Papists*, and at the same time drove his *Protestant* subjects out of the kingdom, was not worthy the assistance of the reformed churches, especially after he had renounced communion with them, and declared openly that the religion of the church of *England* was not the same with that of the foreign *Protestants*.

MR. *Whitelock* observes,^{f155} that tho' the court labour'd to bring in their friends, yet those who had most favour with them, had least in the country: And it was not a little strange to see what a spirit of opposition to the court-proceedings was in the hearts and actions of most of the people; so that very few of that *party* had the favour of being chosen *members* of this *parliament*.

Clarendon's account of them.

The earl of *Clarendon*, speaking of this *parliament*, admits that there were many great and worthy patriots in the house, and as eminent as any age had ever produced, men of gravity, of wisdom, of great and plentiful fortunes, who would have been satisfy'd with some few amendments in church and state. As to their religion, says this noble *historian*,^{f156}

They were all members of the establish'd *church*, and almost to a man for episcopal government; tho' they were undevoted enough to the *court*, they

had all imaginable duty for the king, and affection for the government establish'd by law or antient custom; and without doubt the majority of that body were persons of gravity and wisdom, who being possessed of great and plentiful fortunes, had no mind to break the peace of the kingdom, or to make any considerable alterations in the government of the church or state.

DR. *Welwood* affirms, ^{f157} that no age produced greater men than those that sat in this parliament.

Dr. Lewis Du Moulin.

DR. *Lewis du Moulin*, who lived thro' these times says:

That both lords and, commons were most, if not all, peaceable, orthodox church of *England* men; all conforming to the rites and ceremonies of *episcopacy*, but greatly averse to *Popery* and *Tyranny*, and to the corrupt part of the church, that inclined towards *Rome*.

THIS is further evident, says Mr. *Neal*, ^{f158} from their own order of *Nov.* 20, 1640. that none should sit in their house but such as would receive the communion according to the usage of the church of *England*.

Persecution abated.

THE difference between the king and this parliament put a stop to the hot persecution which had hitherto been carry'd on against the *Dissenters*; so that men might now judge freely in matters of religion, and every one pursued the sentiments of his own mind without danger.

Antipaedobaptism had not been without its *proselytes* in the worst of times, but now it beg very an very much to prevail; and those of that *persuasion* having separated themselves, and formed distinct societies, were become several churches of this opinion in *London*, besides those that continued in communion with *Paedobaptists*.

Baxter's first acquaintance with the Baptists.

IT seems to have been about this *time*, that Mr. *Baxter* became first acquainted with any of this opinion; of whom he gives an account in these words, ^{f159} viz.

WHILST I was at *Gloucester*, I saw the first contentions between the *Ministers* and *Anabaptists*, that ever I was acquainted with; for these were the first *Anabaptists* that ever I had seen in any country, and Heard but of few more in those parts of *England*. About a dozen young men, or more, of considerable parts, had received the opinion against *infant-baptism*, and were re-baptized, and laboured to draw others after them, not far from *Gloucester*, and the minister of the place, Mr. *Winnel*, being hot and impatient with them, harden'd them the more: He wrote a considerable book against them at that

time; but *England* having then no great experience of the tendency and consequence of *Anabaptistry*, the people that were not of their opinion did but pity them, and think it was a conceit that had no great harm in it, and blamed Mr. *Winnel* for his violence and asperity towards them.

Dr. Featley's account of them.

THE great increase of the *Baptists* about this time, is acknowledged and bewailed by their adversaries. Dr. *Featly* says, ^{f160}

This fire in the reigns of Queen *Elizabeth* and King *James*, and our gracious sovereign, till now was cover'd in *England* under the ashes; or if it brake out at any time, by the care of the ecclesiastical and civil *magistrates* it was soon put out. But of late, since the unhappy distractions which our sins have brought upon us, the temporal sword being other ways employed, and the spiritual lock'd up fast in the scabbard, this *sect*, among others, hath so far presumed upon the patience of the state, that it hath held weekly conventicles, re-baptized hundreds of men and women together in the twilight, in *rivulets* and some arms of the *Thames*, and elsewhere, dipping them over head and ears. It hath printed divers pamphlets in defence of their heresy; yea, and challenged some of our *preachers* to disputation.

Dr. Wall's account of them.

IT was, says Dr. *Wall*, ^{f161}

During the rebellion against King *Charles* I. and the usurpation of *Oliver Cromwel*, that this opinion began to have any great number of converts to it. In those times of stirs they boasted in their books, that that prophecy was fulfilled, *Many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased.* (Daniel 13:4.)

Jan. 18. 1640-1, says Mr. *Fuller*, ^{f162}

Fuller's account of them.

This day happen'd the first fruits of *Anabaptical* insolence; when eighty of that *sect* meeting at a house in St. *Saviours* in *Southwark*, preached, that the statute in the 35th of *Elizabeth*, for the administration of the *Common-prayer*, was no good law, because made by *bishops*; that the king cannot make a good law, because not perfectly *regenerate*; that he was only to be obeyed in civil matters. Being brought before the *lords*, they confessed the articles, but no penalty was inflicted upon them.

But this is a very imperfect and partial account of this matter, as appears by the church-book, or journal kept by this people.

IT was not an *Anabaptist* but an *Independent* congregation, tho' there might be some few among them holding that opinion.

They met in *Deadman's-place*, having at that time one Mr. *Stephen More* for their pastor; and being assembled on the Lord's-day, for religious worship as usual, tho' not with their former secrecy, they were discovered and taken, and by Sir *John Lenthall*, the marshal of the *King's-bench*, committed to the *Clink* prison.

THE next morning six or seven of the men were by an order from above, carried up to the house of Lords. It was alledged against them, as *Fuller* says, that they had preached against the King's supremacy in ecclesiastical matters, and against the Statute of the 35th of *Elizabeth*, that establishes the Common-prayer, and forbids all assembling for religious worship, where it is not used.

The lords examined them strictly concerning their principles; and they as freely acknowledged, that they owned no other head of the church but Jesus Christ; that no prince had power to make laws to bind the consciences of men; and that laws made contrary to the law of God were of no force.

As things now stood, the lords could by no means discountenance these principles; and therefore, instead of inflicting any penalty, they treated them with a great deal of respect and civility: and some of the house enquired, where the place of their meeting was, and intimated, that they would come and hear them. And accordingly three or four of the *Peers* did go to their meeting on the Lord's-day following, to the great surprize and wonder of many. The people went on in their usual method, having two sermons; in both which they treated of those principles for which they had been accused, grounding their discourses on the words of our Saviour, *All power is given unto me, in heaven and in earth*. After this they received the Lord's-supper, and then made a collection for the poor; to which the lords contributed liberally with them; and at their departure signify'd their satisfaction in what they had heard and seen, and their inclination to come again. But this made too much noise, and gave too great an alarm to the mob, for them to venture a second time. And perhaps this was the first dissenting meeting, that ever had so great an honour done it. (~~41818~~ Matthew 28:18.)

This church, as appears by their records, was constituted about the year 1621. The first pastor thereof was one Mr. *Hubbard*, or *Herbert*, a learned man, of episcopal ordination; who having left the church of *England*, took upon him the pastoral care of this church, and with them went into *Ireland*, and there died. They returned again into *England*, and settled about *London*; and chose Mr. *John Cann* (famous for filling up a bible, with marginal notes, much valued to this day) to be their pastor; who attended that service for some time, and at length, with some of the members, left the church, and went to *Amsterdam*, and there continued with the *English* church many years: and tho' he came into *England* afterwards, yet he returned to *Amsterdam*, and there

died. After his decease, the church here chose Mr. *Samuel How*, who was a *Baptist*, tho' his predecessors were not; for this church seems from the beginning, or at least very early, to have kept mix'd communion.

HE served in this ministration about seven years, and died very much lamented. In his time they were persecuted beyond measure by the clergy and bishops courts; and he dying under the sentence of excommunication, christian burial, as it was termed, was denied him; and a constable's guard secured the parish ground at *Shoreditch*, to prevent his being buried there. At length he was buried at *Agnes-la-cleer*; and several of his members, according to their desire, were afterwards interred there also. He wrote that little book so often printed, called *How's Sufficiency of the Spirit's teaching*, &c, and was very famous for his vindication of the doctrines of separation and both he and his people were much harassed for it by their enemies, and were forc'd to meet together in fields and woods to avoid them. It was some considerable time after his decease, that the church chose Mr. *Stephen Moore*; who was their pastor when the disturbance happened which is mentioned by *Fuller*. He seems to have been a *Paedobaptist*; had been a deacon of their church, as appears by their records; was well gifted for the work of the ministry, and a man of good reputation, and possessed of an estate.

Some famous writer speak favourably of the English Baptists.

It contributed not a little to the increase of *Antipaedobaptism* in these times, that some of the greatest writers for reformation spoke favourably of that opinion, and the reasonableness of granting liberty to those that held it.

The right honourable Robert lord Brook

THE right honourable. *Robert lord Brook*, wrote a treatise ^{f163} about this time, wherein he gives this favourable account of the *Anabaptists* and their opinion.

I MUST confess, says he, I begin to

think, there may be perhaps somewhat more of God in these which they call new *schisms*, than appears at first glimpse. I will not, I cannot; take on me to defend that which men usually call *Anabaptism*; yet I conceive, that *sect* is twofold: some of them hold free-will, community of all things, deny magistracy, and refuse to baptize their children; these truly are such *hereticks* or *atheists*, that I question whether any divine should honour them so much as to dispute with them: Much rather sure should *Alexander's sword* determine here, as of old at the gordian knot, where it required this motto, *Quae solvere non possum, dissecabo*; what I cannot untie, I will cut asunder.

THERE is another sort of them who only deny baptism to their children till they come to the years of discretion, and then they baptize them; but in other

things they agree with the church of *England*. Truly these men are much to be pitied, and I could heartily wish, that before they are stigmatized with the opprobrious brand of *schsmaticks*, the truth might be clear'd to them; for I conceive, to those that hold we may go no further than Scripture, for doctrine or discipline, it may be very easy to err in this point now in hand, since the Scripture *seems not to have* clearly determined in this matter.

THE analogy which baptism now hath with circumcision in the old law, says this *noble lord*, ^{f164} is a fine rational argument to illustrate a point well proved before; but I somewhat doubt whether it be proof enough for that which some would prove by it, since besides the vast difference in the ordinance, the persons to be circumcised, are fated by a positive law, so express, that it leaves no place for scruple; but it is far otherwise in baptism, where all the designation of persons fit to be partakers, for ought I know, is only such as believe, for this is the qualification which with exactest search I find the Scripture requires in persons to be baptized; and this it seems to require in all such persons. Now how infants can properly be said to believe, I am not yet fully resolved.

Mr. Daniel Rogers.

MR. *Daniel Rogers*, a divine of very great name in these times, made a publick confession to the world, in his book of the *Sacrament*, ^{f165} that he was yet unconvinced by any demonstration of Scripture, for *infant baptism*.

Bishop Taylor.

DR. *Jeremy Taylor*, Bishop of *Down and Connor*, was another who very much promoted the opinion of *Antipaedobaptism*, by this method. He wrote a treatise, when religion was in this unsettled state, called the *Liberty of prophesying*; wherein he shews the unreasonableness of prescribing to other mens faith, and the iniquity of persecuting differing opinions. For the church clergy were against *persecution*, when it came to be their turn to bear it.

AMONG many other excellent arguments to this purpose, he makes use of this, *viz.*

THAT many opinions, condemned as erroneous, had a great probability, of truth on their side; at least so much might be said for them, as to sway the conscience of many honest enquirers after truth, and abate the edge of their fury, who suppose they are deceived.

The Paedobaptists displeased therewith.

For this purpose, he particularly considers the opinion of *Antipaedobaptism*; and under a pretence of reciting what may be said for that error, as he calls it, draws up a very elaborate system of arguments against *infant-baptism*, and sets

it forth with such advantage of style, that he was thought to have said more for the *Baptists* than they were able to say for themselves.

DR. *Hammond* declared to the world

^{f166 f167} That it is the most diligent collection and the most exact scheme of the arguments against *infant-baptism*, that he had ever met with; and that he has therein in such manner represented the arguments for and against, that the latter have seemed to many to be successful and victorious.

^{f168} OTHERS suspect him of being a real favourer of that opinion, and designing to promote it, and therefore call upon him, in the words of *Joshua* to the man with his drawn sword: *Art thou for us, or for our adversaries?*

So much were the advocates of *Infant-Baptism* alarmed and enraged at this performance, that they compared him to an unfaithful *subject*, who for private ends and interest carries arms and ammunition to known and professed enemies; and they complained of it in the words of the prophet, *Thus was I wounded in the house of my friends*. Nay, a batchelor in divinity has the assurance to call so great and learned a man to repentance and recantation.

^{f169} WHAT this *author's* counsel was, thus to write, that which himself condemns, — I know not but do heartily with, that if he have not yet *repented* of digging this pit, whereinto divers have fallen, not without great and apparent hazard to their souls, he timely may. If he have come to some second better thoughts, he may do commendably to cover it with some seasonable endeavour that no more may fall by the stumblingblock which he hath laid before them.

SOME of the greatest divines of those times set themselves to answer him; but suspecting the insufficiency of all other answers, would not let the learned bishop rest, till he had answered himself also. Yet it is the opinion of some, he could never remove the difficulties which he had advanced.

An. Dom. 1643. The Baptists publish a Confession of faith.

THERE were several books wrote about this time by the *Baptists* themselves, in defence of their principles; and in the year 1643. they published a *confession of their faith*, because it was the constant practice of their opposers to represent them as a people that held most dangerous errors, besides their denial of *infant-baptism*; and they were frequently termed both from the pulpit and press, *Pelagians*, *Socinians*, *Arminians*, *Soul-sleepers*, and the like.

But in this they clear themselves fully of all these erroneous *tenets*, and shew their near agreement with all other christians and protestants, in the fundamental points of religion. It is the first that was ever published by the

English Baptists, and contains fifty two articles; the which you may find in the appendix No 2.

The *Baptists* never did any thing that more effectually cleared them from the charge of being dangerous *hereticks*, than this did. There were several *editions* published in 1644. and 1646. one of which was licensed by authority, dedicated to the high court of parliament, and put into the hands of several members. ^{f170}

Is acknowledged to be orthodox

THEIR greatest *adversaries* were forc'd to acknowledge it was in general an *orthodox confession*, and could object little against it, except the denial of *infant-baptism*, and making *immersion* necessary to the right administration of that ordinance.

By Dr. Featly,

DR. *Featly*, who writ with no *small* prejudice against the *Anabaptists*, says, ^{f171}

If we give credit to this *confession*, and the *preface* thereof, those who among us are branded with that title, are neither *Hereticks* nor *Schismatics*, but tender-hearted *Christians*, upon whom, thro' false suggestions, the hand of authority fell heavy whilst the *hierarchy* stood; for they neither teach free-will, nor falling-away from grace, with the *Arminians*; nor deny original sin, with the *Pelagians*; nor disclaim magistracy, with the *Jesuits*; nor maintain plurality of wives, with the *Polygamists*; nor community of goods, with the *Apostolici*; nor going naked, with the *Adamites*; much less aver the mortality of the soul, with *Epicures* and *Psychopannychists*.

Mr. Marshal.

MR. *John Marshall*, one of the assembly of divines, and a great opposer of the *Baptists* in those times, says of this confession, ^{f172}

I acknowledge it the most orthodox of any *Anabaptist* confession I ever read.

And we may very well believe him; for the *English Baptists* never had the liberty of publishing their faith before; and those in foreign parts are indeed represented as very *heterodox* by their enemies. He tells a story, in order to dissuade his *readers* from believing the *Baptists* in this confession of their faith, which I have not met with in any other *author*, and deserves our notice. The story is as follows:

Mr. Tombes.

^{f173} THAT the *Anabaptists* of *Munster*, in the beginning of their schism, set forth a confession of faith every way as *orthodox* as that which you mention

of the seven churches of the *Anabaptists* of *London*, as I am credibly inform'd by a reverend and learned divine, who hath many years ago both seen and read it in *Germany*;

and in the margin puts the name of Mr. *Dury*.

WELL then, when the *Anabaptists* in *Germany* had the liberty to publish their own faith, they appear'd a very *orthodox* people; but after they had been driven to great hardships, and at length conquer'd in war, their triumphant enemies describe them to be a wicked and erroneous sea.

But suppose they were guilty of all those errors or mad pranks that were charg'd upon them after this *orthodox confession*; must no others then be believed, when they make a solemn confession of their faith. The *English Baptists* have not only kept to this first confession of their faith, but have rather improved both in their faith and piety; so that now these insinuations are confuted by fact.

IT may be proper to observe here, that there have been two *parties* of the *English Baptists* in *England* ever since the beginning of the reformation; those that have followed the *Calvinistical* scheme of doctrines, and from the principal point therein, *personal election*, have been termed *Particular Baptists*: And those that have professed the *Arminian* or remonstrant tenets; and have also from the chief of those doctrines, *universal redemption*, been called *General Baptists*.

I SHALL not trouble myself to enquire into the reasons for their thus distinguishing themselves, so as to hold distinct communities thereupon; the same differing principles being common to all the denominations of Christians as well as them. But thus much I think fit to declare, that I am fully persuaded, and clearly of opinion, that this difference in opinion is not a sufficient or reasonable ground of renouncing christian communion with one another, and therefore have not in the course of this history, lean'd either to one side or the other, but have taken fads as they came to my hands, without regarding to which of the parties they were peculiar.

And I know that there are several churches, ministers, and many particular persons, among the *Engles Baptists*, who desire not to go under the name either of *Generals* or *Particulars*, nor indeed can justly *be ranked under either of these heads*; because they receive what they think to be truth, without regarding with what human schemes it agrees or disagrees.

THAT worthy judge and excellent divine Sir *Matthew Hale*, Knt. lord chief justice of the *King's-bench*, treating of the great work of our redemption, what it is, how effected, and for whom; concludes thus:

Now, says he, ^{f174} concerning those several places in holy scripture, that seem to infer the universality of an intended redemption, ~~<B17>~~ John 3:17. ~~<B17>~~ John 12:47. ~~<B17>~~ 1 John 2:2. ~~<B17>~~ 1 Timothy 2:6 ~~<B17>~~ 1 Timothy 2:4. ~~<B17>~~ 1 Corinthians 15:21. it may be considerable whether the intention of those places be? that the price was sufficient for all the world; so that whosoever shall reject the offered mercy, shall never have this excuse, that there was not a sufficiency left for him: Or whether it be meant, that Christ by his death did fully expiate for all that original guilt, which was contracted by the fall of *Adam* upon all mankind, but for the actual offences only of such as believed; that so, as the voluntary sin of Adam had, without the actual consent of his posterity, made them liable to guilt, so the satisfaction of Christ, without any application of him, should discharge all mankind from that originally contrasted guilt. These disquisitions, says he, tho' fit, yet are not necessary to be known; it is enough for me to know, that if *I believe on him, I shall not per, but have everlasting life*, ~~<B17>~~ John 3:16. and that all are invited, and none excluded, but such as first exclude themselves.

An. Dom, 1644. Persecution of the Baptists.

But to come to the persecution that was practised in these times upon those who were termed *Anabaptists*. It is a subject, I am sensible, will be ungrateful to the ears of many, and perhaps very ill improved by others. I could willingly have ended here, but, however, it is the duty of an historian to give a true account of things, and let the blame of them fall on whom it will; and this work would be very defective, if I should not take notice of the hardships and sufferings that the *Baptists* underwent in those times, even under those who both before and since have been their *brethren* in dissenting from the establish'd church, and suffering for it also. Nor can this be any just Reflection on the present *Presbyterians*, who do as much dislike, and detest such principles and practices as we can ourselves.

Presbyterians against liberty of conscience, and a toleration.

NOTHING is more evident than this, that the most noted divines of the *Presbyterian* persuasion, when they had the ascendant, did both preach and write zealously against *liberty of conscience*, or a *toleration* of different opinions in matters of religion; and that at the same time that they endeavoured to establish *Presbytery*, they were for using the *civil power* to suppress all who dissented from them.

SEVERAL passages to this purpose are collected by Sir Roger L'Estrange, in his treatise entitled, *The Dissenters Sayings*, and by a late pamphlet entitled, *Schism tried and condemn'd by the sentiments of the mg eminent writers among the Dissenters*.

Mr. Calamy declares against it.

THERE was hardly a divine of greater name in those days, than Mr. *Calamy* of *Aldermanbury*: And he in a sermon before the house of commons, *Oct. 22. 1644.* says to them thus, ^{f175}

If you do not labour according to your duty and power to suppress the *errors* and heresies that are spread in the kingdom, all These *errors* are your *errors*, and these *heresies* are your *heresies*; they are your sins, and God calls for a parliamentary repentance from you for them this day. You are the *Anabaptists*, you are the *Antinomians*, and 'tis you that hold that all religions are to be tolerated, &c.

Also Dr. Burgess. An. Dom. 1645.

DR. Burgess to the commons, Apr. 30. 1645. after he had admonished them to beware of compliances with, and indulgences to all sorts of sects and schisms then pleaded for, says: ^{f176}

AND is it persecution and antichristianism to engage all to unity and uniformity? Doth *Paul* bid the *Philippians* to *beware of the concision* doth he beseech the *Romans* to *mark those which cause division and offences, contrary to the doctrine which they had received, and avoid them, &c.* doth he, writing to the *Galatians*, with, *I would they were cut that trouble you*; and is it such an heinous offence now, for the faithful servants of Christ to advise you to the same course? *Oh heavens!* (^{<SURE>}*Philippians 3:2.* ^{<R512>}*Galatians 5:12.*)

And Mr. Baxter.

The famous Mr. Baxter, tho' more moderate than many, yet was not wholly free in this point.

In his first book against the *Anabaptists*, he says, ^{f177}

The divisions and havock of the church is our calamity; we intended not to dig down the banks, or to pull up the hedge, and lay all waste and common, when we desired the *prelates tyranny* might cease.

^{f178} AGAIN, my judgment in that much debated point of *liberty* of religion, I have always freely made known, *I abhor unlimited liberty, or toleration of all.*

AND in his cure of church-divisions, he says;

^{f179} We must either tolerate all men to do what they will, which they will make a matter of conscience or religion; and then some may offer their *children* in sacrifice to the *devil*, and some may think they do God service in killing his servants, &c. or else you must tolerate no *error* or *fault* in religion; and then you must advise what measure of *penalty* you will inflict.

Mr. Pryn.

MORE plain fit ill was Mr. Pryn, who in his answer to *John Goodwin* says:

^{f180} IF the parliament and synod shall by publick consent establish a *Presbyterial* church-government, as most consonant to God's word; *Independents* and all others are bound in *conscience* to submit unto under the pain of obstinacy, singularity, &c.

Mr. Edwards.

MR. *Edwards*, lecturer at *Christ-Church*, a most inveterate enemy to the *sectarians*, as he terms them, directs both *ministers* and *magistrates* how they should act to establish *Presbytery* without liberty of conscience to others: and as if he had the pen of an inspired writer, predicts the consequences of granting a *toleration*. All which is now confuted by fact, and he appears to have been a lying prophet; for the experience which these nations have had is argument sufficient, that *toleration* of different opinions is so far from disturbing the publick peace, or destroying the interests of princes and commonwealths, that it does advantage to the publick, and secures peace. This author in the epistle dedicatory to his book, entitled *Gangrena*, calls upon the higher powers to rain down all their vengeance on the *sectaries*: And to shew his malice against them, he says; ^{f181}

That *ministers* in our times may be a means to prevent and suppress *errors*, *heresies*, and *schisms*, they must not only often preach against them, but they should set themselves against all the ways by which *errors* are come in, and are further coming in upon us, and oppose them by preaching and writing; as laymens preaching, the gathering of churches, and above all a *toleration*; for that would be an open door at which all kinds of *heresies* would come in, and no man could keep them out And therefore if *ministers* will witness for truth, and against errors, they must set themselves in a special manner against a *toleration*, as the principal inlet to all *heresy* and *error*: And if a *toleration* be granted, all preaching will not keep them out. If a *toleration* be granted, the devil will be too hard for us, though we preach never so much against them. A *toleration* will undo all; first bring in scepticism in doctrine and looseness of life, and afterwards all atheism. The patrons of *error*, because they cannot at first plead for such and such doctrines, in *terminis*, and yet hold them, and would have them propagated, therefore they plead for a *toleration*; which once being granted, they will come in then of course: O let the *ministers* therefore oppose *toleration*, as being that by which the devil would at once lay a foundation for his kingdom to all generations! witness against it in all places; possess the *magistrates* of the evil of it; yea, and the people too; shewing them, how if a *toleration* were granted, they should never have peace in their families more, or ever after have command of wives, children, servants, but they and their posterities after them, are like to live in discontent and unquietness of mind all their days. 'Tis the saying of *Luther*, says he, that

ministers first care ought to be the name of God, and the next, of the salvation of others. When any thing is done, by which of necessity either of these must suffer, and fall to the ground; let the Pope perish, let wicked magistrates perish, let the patrons of wicked opinions perish, let the whole world perish, and let God's glory, his word, his church, his worship be saved, Amen. Now neither of These can be safe, says Mr. Edwards there should be a toleration; for a toleration is very destructive to the glory of God, and the salvation of souls; and therefore whosoever should be for a toleration, ministers ought to be against it if the parliament, city, yea, all the people were for a toleration of all the sects, Anabaptists, Antinomians, Seekers, Brownists, Independents (which I speak, not to cast the least aspersion upon them, as if they would be, for I believe the contrary) but supposing it; yet ministers ought to present their reasons against it, preach and cry out of the evil of it, never consent to it, but protest against and withstand it, by all lawful ways and means, within our callings and places, venturing the loss of liberties, estates, lives, and all, in that cause, and to inflame us with zeal against a TOLERATION, the great Diana of the sectaries.

Now, says he, ^{f182} the opposing the *sects* of these times, and that great desire of a *toleration* of all religions, pleaded for so much by many, are points will bear us out before God; and all who come after us (if ever a *toleration* should be granted) will say, when they see and feel the mischiefs of a *toleration*, These were good and wife men, that had their eyes in their heads, and look'd afar off. As often as new evils arise in the kingdom upon a *toleration*, this which they have done against a *toleration* will be spoken with honour of them throughout all generations, and in other christian kingdoms.

^{f183} *Ministers* must pray much to God, and call upon him night and day, that he would prevent and cast out of his church all the *errors, heresies, roots of bitterness, poisonous principles* got in among us, and to give a miscarrying womb to *the sectaries*, that they may never bring forth that mishappen bastard-monster of a TOLERATION.

HE directs *the magistrates*, and tells them,

^{f184} They should execute some exemplary punishment upon some of the most notorious *sectaries* and seducers, and upon the wilful abettors of These abominable errors; namely, the printers, dispersers, and licensers, and set themselves with all their hearts to find out ways to take some course to suppress, hinder, and no longer suffer These things; to put out some declaration against the errors and ways of the *sectaries*; as their sending emissaries in to all parts of the kingdom, to poison the countries; as their *dipping* of persons in the cold water in winter, whereby persons fall sick, die, &c. declaring, that they than be proceeded against as *vagrants* and *rogues*, that go from country to country; and if any fall sick upon their *dipping* and die, they shall be indicted upon the statute of killing the king's subjects, and proceeded against accordingly.

More particularly against the Baptists.

Thus he particularly inveighs against *the Baptists*, and in another place carries his resentment against them much higher. For says he, ^{†185}

I could wish all my heart, there were a publick disputation, even in the point of *paedobaptism* and of *dipping*, between some of the *Anabaptists*, and some of our *ministers*. But if upon disputation and debate, the *Anabaptists* should be found in an *error*, as I am confident they would, that then the parliament should forbid all *dipping*, and take some severe course with all *Dippers*, as the senate of *Zurick* did.

THE precedent he refers to plainly discovers the spirit of the man. And he might well call it some *severe course*. For an *edict* was published at *Zurick* in the year 1530. making it *death* for any to baptize by *immersion*; upon which law, some call'd *Anabaptists* were ty'd back to back, and thrown into the sea, others were *burnt alive*, and many starved to *death* in prison.

But enough of the spirit and principles of persecution as it then appeared in particular persons. We find that whole communities of men, both *layety* and *clergy*, declared against *liberty of conscience*, and petitioned for *persecution*.

The city of London petition against it.

ON the 26th of *May*, 1646. the lord mayor, court of aldermen, and common council, presented a petition to the parliament, usually called the *city remonstrance* in which they desired,

That some strict and speedy course might be taken for the suppressing all private and separate congregations; that all *Anabaptists*, *Brownists*, *Hereticks*, *Schismaticks*, *Blasphemers*, and all other *Sectaries*, who conform not to the publick discipline established, or to be established by parliament, may be fully declared against, and some effectual course settled for proceeding against such persons; and that no person disaffected to *Presbyterial* government, set forth or to be set forth by parliament, may be employed in any place of publick trust.

The assembly of divines against it, and appoint a committee of accommodation.

However, the *clergy* went before the *layety* in These *rigid* methods, and so led them the way. For when *presbytery* was about to be established, the assembly of divines at *Westminster* appointed a committee to hear and answer the petitions of those who could not conform to the government. This was called the *committee for accommodation*.

The Independents request to the committee, An. Dom. 1645.

To these the *Independants* presented their request, *Dec.* 4. 1645, which was only this:

^{f186} THAT they may not be forced to communicate as members in those parishes where they dwell; but may have liberty to have congregations of such persons who give good testimonies of their godliness, and yet out of a tenderness of conscience cannot communicate in their *parishes*, but do voluntarily offer themselves to join in such congregations.

To this the assembly gave a flat denial, *Dec.* 15. and annexed their reasons why such a desire was not to be granted. The *Independents* willing to be taken into the *establistment*, made a very strange *concession* to them, viz.

Their concession.

^{f187} That they would maintain occasional communion with their churches, not only in hearing and preaching, but occasionally in baptizing their children, in their churches, and receiving the Lord's-supper there.

But all this would not prevail upon their *brethren* of the *Presbyterian* persuasion to allow them separate congregations. They rather improved this compliance, to strengthen their arguments against granting such a liberty.

Argued against.

^{f188} IF, say they, they may occasionally exercise these acts of communion with us once, a second, or a third time, without sin; we know no reason why it may not be ordinary without sin, and then separation and church-gathering, would have been needless. To separate from those churches ordinarily and visibly, with whom occasionally you may join without sin, seemeth to be a most unjust separation.

THIS return upon their compliance seems to be very just. But that an assembly of such pious and grave divines, many of whom had also suffered, for conscience sake themselves, should deny this liberty to their differing brethren, was very strange. And it is yet more surprizing to find them use such arguments as These for it:

More against them.

^{f189} That this opened a gap for all *sects* to challenge such a liberty as their due: That this liberty was denied, by the churches of *New-England*, and that they have as just ground to deny it as they: ^{f190} That this desired forbearance is a perpetual division in the church, and a perpetual drawing away from the churches under the rule; for upon the same pretence, those who scruple *infant-baptism* may withdraw from their churches, and so separate into another

congregation; and so in that, some practice may be scrupled, and they separate again. Are these *divisions* and *subdivisions*, say they, as lawful as they may be infinite? or must we give that respect to the errors of mens consciences, as to satisfy their scruples by allowance of this liberty to them? ^{f191} That scruple of conscience is no cause of separation; nor doth it take off causeless separation from being schism, which may arise from errors of conscience, as well as carnal and corrupt reason; therefore we conceive the causes of separation must be shewn to be such *ex natura rei*, as will bear it out; and therefore we say, that the granting the liberty desired will give countenance to schism.

The whole body of London ministers against a toleration

ANOTHER instance of the spirit of *persecution* that prevailed in These times, appeared in the whole body of the *London* ministers; for they met together, Dec. 18. 1645. at *Sion-College*, to draw up a letter to the assembly of divines at *Westminster*, which was also presented Jan. 1. following.

IN this they pretend to shew the unreasonableness, the sin, and the mischievous consequences of granting *toleration*, or liberty of conscience; and cast several bitter reflections on the *Independents*, and others for desiring it; but their principles and spirit will be sufficiently discovered, by citing a passage or two in the conclusion.

^{f192} THESE, say they, are some of the many considerations which make a deep impression on our spirits against that great *Diana* of *Independents*, and all the *sectaries*, so much cried up by them, in These distracted times, viz. a *toleration*, a *toleration*. We cannot dissemble, how upon the fore mentioned grounds, we detest and abhor the much endeavoured *toleration*. Our bowels, our bowels are stirred within us, and we could even drown ourselves in tears, when we call to mind how long and sharp a travail this kingdom hath been in for many years together, to bring forth that blessed fruit of a pure and *perfect reformation*; and now at last, after all our pangs, and dolours, and expectations, this real and thorough *reformation* is in danger of being strangled in the birth by a lawless *toleration*, that strives to be brought forth before it.

AFTER this they pretend to pay the *assembly* a very great complement, which, if true, was a shame to them, rather than an encomium.

^{f193} Not, say they, that we can harbour the least jealousy of your zeal, fidelity, or industry, in the opposing and extirpating of such a root of gall and bitterness as *toleration* is, and will be, both in present and future ages.

ANOTHER instance of the same bitter spirit appears in a book entitled, *A vindication of the Presbyterianial government and ministry; with an exhortation to all ministers, elders and people, within the bounds of the province of London, &c. Published by the ministers and elders, met together in a*

provincial assembly, Nov. 2. 1649. and printed at London, according to order, 1650. The words are these;

^{f194} Whatsoever doctrine is *contrary to godliness*, and opens a door to libertinism and prophaneness, you must reject it as *soul poison*. — Such is the doctrine of an *universal toleration of all religion*.

This book in page 1751 concludes thus; *Subscribed in the name and by the appointment of the assembly*;

George Walker, *Moderator*
Arthur Jackson, Edmund Calamy, *Assessors*.
Roger Drake, Eliad Blackwell, *Scrib*.

AND as, face answers to face in a glass, so did the spirit of *persecution* in the country ministers answer to that which appeared in those at *London*.

The Lancashire ministers also against it.

THOSE in *Lancashire* published a paper in 1648. subscribed by eighty four of them; entitled, *The harmonious content of the Lancashire ministers with their brethren at London; in which are These expressions*:

^{f195} A toleration would be the putting a sword in a madman's hand; a *cup of poison* into the hand of a child; a letting loose of *madmen with firebrands* in their hands and appointing a city, of refuge in mens consciences, for the *Devil* to fly to; a laying of a stumbling-block before the blind; a proclaiming liberty to the wolves to come into Christ's fold, to prey upon the lambs: Neither would it be to provide for tender consciences, but to take away all conscience.

And also the Warwickshire ministers.

IN the same year another paper was published, subscribed by forty three ministers, entituled, *The Warwickshire ministers testimony to the truth of Jesus Christ, and to the solemn league and covenant; as also against the errors, heresies and blasphemies of these times, and the toleration of them; sent in a letter to the ministers within the province of London, subscribers of the former testimony*. In which they express themselves thus:

Reverend and beloved brethren,

WE, your fellow-labourers in the gospel of Jesus Chrift, within the city of *Coventry* and county of *Warwick*, have perused your late publick *Testimony to the truth of Jesus Christ and to our solemn league and covenant, as also against the errors, heresies, and blasphemies of these times, and the toleration of them*; and so greatly are we affected therewith, that with our souls we bless the Lord God of our fathers, and the father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath put such a thing as this into your hearts — and further, to

this your good confession we hereby set our seals; withal heartily professing all readiness and resolution to stick to this testimony with you, even unto death. Moreover, we do you to wit, that we look upon this your *testimony* as the voice of God, so to awaken all the Lord's watchmen thorough the land, that they shall not quietly suffer the enemy to sow his tares among the wheat remembring what the great reformer *Luther said, It is almost a sin against the Holy Ghost; to be mealmouthed, when such pernicious libertines poison the bread of the household of faith.* And for the people, we find them so heart-taken with this your seasonable zeal, that they long for a way to give their publick *amen* to the same. Yea, we do for your encouragement assure you, that although the door of *liberty* stands in a manner open for every man to do what he will with the things of *Christ*, yet through his grace (and to his glory we speak it) errors and schisms are not very catching among our flocks, but they rather take faster root in the faith by These religion-winds that shake some.

THE teaching of These rigid principles, and presenting such zealous petitions against liberty of conscience, prevailed so far as to procure several laws to be made for suppressing and persecuting the *sectaries*, that is, such as would not come into the *Presbyterian* establishment.

An ordinance of parliament

The first attempt of this nature was an *Ordinance of Parliament* for the silencing all such preachers as were not *ordained ministers*, either in the *English*, or in some of the foreign *Protestant* churches. It bore date the 26th of *April*, 1645; and run in this form.

^{f196} It is this Day ordained and declared by the Lords and Commons assembled in parliament, that no person be admitted to preach, who is not ordained a minister, either in this or some other reformed church, except such, as intending the ministry, shall be allowed for the trial of their gifts, by those who shall be appointed thereunto by both houses of parliament.

It is this day ordered by the Lords and commons assembled in parliament, that this *ordinance* be forthwith printed, and published, and sent to Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, with an earnest desire and recommendation from both houses, that he take care that this *ordinance* may be duly observed in the *army*; and that if any than transgress this *ordinance*, that he make speedy representation thereof to both houses, that the offenders may receive condign *punishment* for their contempt, &c.'

The Baptists prosecuted thereupon,

UPON the coming forth of this *ordinance*, several *mayors, justices* and other *officers*, who longed to be at *persecution*, apprehended several *ministers*; who were called *Separatists* and *Lay-preachers*, and returned their names to the

parliament, to answer for their contempt, among whom were several *Baptists*; and the parliament appointed a committee to hear and determine such cases. But they could make little of it by this law; for many of the *preachers* in separate congregations had been ordained in the church of *England*, either in times of *Episcopacy*, or since *Presbytery* had obtained the ascendant; and those that had not, alledged, that the congregations, who had called and appointed them to preach, were true churches, and as much reformed as any in the world nor did this *ordinance* affix the crime upon those that took upon them to preach without ordination, but such as should admit them so to do; neither did it empower *magistrates* to take the *offenders* into custody.

Another ordinance to explain the former. An. Dom. 1646.

THIS *ordinance* therefore falling short of their purpose, another was made Dec. 26. 1646. which explained the former, and provided for those things wherein that was defective. For in this it was expressly said:

The commons assembled in parliament do declare, that they do dislike and will proceed against all such persons as shall take upon them to preach, or expound the scriptures in any *church*, or *chapel*, or any other publick *place*, except they be ordained, either here or in some other reformed church, as it is already prohibited in an order of both houses of the 26th of *April*, 1645. and likewise against all such *ministers*, or others, as shall publish or maintain, by preaching, writing, printing, or any other way, anything against, or in derogation of church government which is now established by authority of both houses of parliament: and all justices of peace, sheriffs, mayors, bayliffs, and other head officers of corporations, and all officers of the *army*, are to take notice of this *declaration*, and by all lawful ways and means, to prevent offences of this kind, and to apprehend the *offenders*, and give notice thereof to this house, that thereupon course may be speedily taken, for a due punishment to be inflicted on them.

This was a more severe law against the *Dissenters* than the former, and would have exposed them to very great hardships, had the times permitted a strict execution of it.

It was not enough, that such *ministers* as had not been ordained in the national church, should be kept out of the *church* and *chapels*; but they must not be allowed to preach or expound the Scriptures in any publick *place*, nor would ordination itself be *sufficient*, but they must be tied from speaking or writing any thing against or contrary to the *directory* and discipline established; and this restraint to extend, not only to *ministers*, but all other *persons*; and 'tis put into the power of the officers of the *army*, as well as the civil *magistrate*, to apprehend those that should transgress against this *ordinance*,

THE *Baptists* were as much aimed at, and as many of them prosecuted, by These laws, as any others who were called *sectaries*; yet by some means or other they obtained a very great *indulgence* from the parliament about a year after.

An. Dom. 1647.

WHETHER it was the great number of this opinion, that were at this time, both in the *army*, and in most corporations in *England*; or that some of those great men who about this time entertained the opinion against *infant-baptism*, did intercede in their behalf, I cannot say. But on *Mar. 4. 1647.* a declaration of the lords and commons was published, in which were These words:

*A declaration of the lords and commons
in favour of the Baptists.*

THE name of *Anabaptism* hath indeed contracted much *odium*, by reason of the extravagant opinions and practices of some of that name in *Germany*, tending to the disturbance of the government and peace of all fates, which opinions and practices we abhor and detest: But for their opinion against the baptism of infants, it is only a difference about a circumstance of time in the administration of an *ordinance*, wherein in former ages, as well as this, learned men have differed both in opinion and practice. And though we could wish that all men would satisfy themselves, and join with us in our judgment and practice in this point; yet herein we held it fit that men should be convinced by the word of God, with great gentleness and reason, and not beaten out of it with force and violence.

This indeed discovered a true christian spirit, and is the method which the gospel directs to take with those who err. And had they kept to this, it would have been to their immortal honour.

An. Dom. 1648.

But it must be recorded, to the shame of this very parliament, or rather of those who had the chief influence in publick affairs, that about a year after this, a more severe law passed against *heresy* and *error*, than any that has been made in *England* since the *Reformation*. Nay, I may challenge any one to produce a more cruel and bloody law in the times of *popery*, except the act *de heretico comburendo*. It bore date *May the 2d, 1648.* and was entituled, *An ordinance of the lords and commons assembled in parliament, for the punishing of blasphemies and heresies.*

IN this there is first a catalogue of *heresies*, any of which whosoever did maintain and publish, with obstinacy therein, he was to suffer the pains of death, as in case of *felony*, without benefit of the *clergy*. Then an enumeration

of certain *errors*, any of which whosoever should publish or maintain, and be thereof convicted before two justices of the peace, without the privilege of a jury, or liberty of an appeal, he should be obliged to renounce his said errors in the publick congregation; and in case he refused, or neglected this, at the time and place appointed, the said *justices* are to commit him to *prison*, until he shall find two sufficient sureties, that he shall not publish or maintain the said error or errors any more.

AMONG the errors specified are These, *viz.*

That the baptizing of infants is unlawful, or that such baptism is void, and that such persons ought to be baptized again, and in pursuance thereof shall baptize any person formerly baptized: That the church government by presbytery is antichristian or unlawful.

THIS being the most shocking law I have met with, and plainly proving that the governing *Presbyterians* in those times would have made a terrible use of their power, if it had been supported by the sword of the civil *magistrate*; I shall therefore oblige the reader with a transcript of the whole. The words of the ordinance are as followeth:

AN ORDINANCE OF THE LORDS AND COMMONS ASSEMBLED IN PARLIAMENT,

For punishing Blasphemies and Heresies.

(London, printed for Edw. Husband, printer to the honourable House of Commons. 1648.)

FOR the preventing of the growth and spreading of heresy and blasphemy, be it ordained by the lords and commons in this present parliament assembled: That all such persons as shall from and after the date of this present ordinance, willingly, by preaching, teaching, printing, or writing, maintain and publish that there is no God, or that God is not present in all places, doth not know and foreknow all things, or that he is not almighty, that he is not perfectly holy, or that he is not eternal; or that the father is not God, the son is not God, or that the Holy Ghost is not God; or that they three are not one eternal God; or that shall in like manner maintain and publish that Christ is not God equal with the Father; or shall deny the manhood of Christ, or that the Godhead and manhood of Christ are several natures; or that the humanity of Christ is pure and unspotted of all sin; or that than maintain and publish as aforesaid, that Christ did not die, nor rise from the dead, nor is ascended into heaven bodily; or that shall deny his death is meritorious in the behalf of believers; or that shall maintain and publish as aforesaid, that Jesus Christ is not the son of God, or that the holy Scripture, viz. of the old testament, *Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, 1 Samuel, 2 Samuel, 1 Kings, 2 Kings, 1 Chronicles, 2 Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther, Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, The Song of Songs, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Lamentations, Ezekiel, Daniel, Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi* of the new Testament, the gospels according to *Matthew, Mark, Luke, John*, the Acts of the apostles, *Paul's epistles to the Romans, Corinthians the first, Corinthians the second, to Timothy the first, to Timothy the second, to Titus, to Philemon, the epistle to the Hebrews, the epistles James, the first and second epistles of Peter, the first, second and third epistles of John, the epistle of Jude, the Revelation of John*, is not the word of God; or that the bodies of men shall not rise again after they are dead; or that there is no day of judgment after death; all such maintaining and publishing of such error or errors, with obstinacy therein, shall by virtue hereof be adjudged felony; and all such persons, upon complaint and proof made of the same, in any of the cases aforesaid, before any two of the next justices of the peace for that place or county, by the oaths of two witnesses, (which said justices of peace in such cases shall hereby have power to administer) or confession of the party; the said party so accused shall be by the said justices of the peace committed to prison, without bail or

mainprize, until the next goal-delivery, to be holden for that place or county; and the witnesses likewise shall be bound over by the said justices unto the said goal-delivery, to give in their evidence; and at the said goal-delivery the party shall be indicted for felonious publishing and maintaining such error: And in case the indictment be found, and the party upon his trial shall not abjure his said error, and defence and maintenance of the same, he shall suffer the pains of death, as in case of felony, without benefit of clergy. But in case he shall recant, or renounce and abjure his said error or errors, and the maintenance or publishing of the same; he shall nevertheless remain in prison until he shall find two sureties, being subsidy men, that shall be bound with him before two or more justices of the peace or goal-delivery, that he shall not thenceforth publish or maintain, as aforesaid, the said error or errors any more; and the said justices than have power hereby to take bail in such cases.

AND be it further ordained, that in case any person formerly indicted for publishing and maintaining of such erroneous opinion or opinions, as aforesaid, and renouncing and abjuring the same, shall nevertheless again publish and maintain his said former error or errors, as aforesaid and the same proved as aforesaid; the said party so offending shall be committed to prison as formerly, and at the next goal-delivery shall be indicted, as aforesaid. And in case the indictment be then found upon the trial, and it shall appear that formerly the party was convicted of the same error, and publishing and maintaining thereof, and renounced and abjured the same, the offender shall suffer death, as in case of felony, without benefit of clergy. Be it further ordained by the authority aforesaid, that all and every person or persons, that shall publish or maintain as aforesaid, any of the several errors hereafter ensuing, *viz.* that all men shall be saved; or that man by nature hath free-will to turn to God; or that God may be worshipped in or by pictures or images; or that the soul of any man after death goeth neither to heaven or hell, but to purgatory; or that the soul of man dieth or sleepeth when the body is dead; or that revelations or the workings of the Spirit are a rule of faith or christian life, though diverse from, or contrary to the written word of God; or that man is bound to believe no more than by his reason he can comprehend; or that the moral law of God contained in the ten commandments, is no rule of christian life; or that a believer need not repent or pray for pardon of sins; or that the two sacraments of baptism and the Lord's-supper, are not ordinances commanded by the word of God; *or that the baptizing of infants is unlawful, or such baptism is void, and that such persons ought to be baptized again, and in pursuance thereof, shall baptize any person formerly baptized;* or that the observation of the Lord's-day, as it is enjoined by the ordinances and laws of this realm, is not according, or is contrary to the word of God; or that it is not lawful to join in publick prayer or family prayer, or to teach children tee pray; or that the churches of *England* are no true churches, nor their ministers and ordinances true ministers and ordinances; or that the church government by presbytery is antichristian or unlawful; or that magistracy, or the power of the *civil* magistrate by law established in *England*, is unlawful; or that all use of arms though for the publick defence (and be the cause never so just) is

unlawful: And in case the party accused of such publishing and maintaining of any of the said errors, shall be thereof convicted to have published and maintained the same, as aforesaid, by the testimony of two or more witnesses upon oath, or confession of the said party, before two of the next justices of the peace for the said place or county, whereof one to be of the *quorum* (who are hereby required and authorized to send for witnesses and examine upon oath in such cases in the presence of the party, the party so convicted shall be ordered by the said justices to renounce his said errors in the publick congregation of the same parish from whence the complaint doth come, or where the offence was committed; and in case he refuseth or neglecteth to perform the same, at, or upon the day, time and place appointed by the said justices, then he shall be committed to prison by the said justices, until he shall find two sufficient sureties, before two justices of peace for the said place or county (whereof one shall be of the *quorum*) that he shall not publish or maintain the said error or errors any more. Provided always, and be it ordained by the authority aforesaid, that no attainder by virtue hereof shall extend either to the forfeiture of the estate, real or personal, of such person attainted, or corruption of such person's blood.

JOHN BROWN, *Clerk Parliament*.

IT is easy to discern by this *ordinance*, that expresly all the *Anabaptists*, falsely so called, of whom there were not a few thousands in *England* at this time, all the *Independents* or *Separatists*, all *Episcoparians*, all the *Arminians*, yea, in a word, all *England*, save rigid *Presbyterians*, are expresly condemn'd. And doubtless, These rigid principles and severe laws would have been follow'd with a violent persecution, had not the confusions of the times, and the great number of the *Dissenters* prevented. And altho' the supreme power might design these *ordinances* only *in terrorem*; yet the mayors, justices, and other subordinate magistrates, were for practising these methods, as far as it was in their power, or whenever they had the least encouragement for so doing, as appears plainly enough by the following prosecutions.

^{f197} By this act *John Bidle* the *Socinian* was indicted and try'd in *Westminster-hall*. He was first sent to the *Compter*, and from thence to *Newgate*, July 3. 1655. and try'd for his life the next sessions. To the indictment he pray'd counsel might be allowed him to plead the illegality of it; which being deny'd him by the judges, and the sentence of a mute threatned, he at length gave into court his exceptions, engross'd in parchment; and with much struggling, had counsel allow'd him; but the trial was deferred to the next day.

The *protector*, well knowing it was not for the interest of his government, either to have him condemn'd or absolv'd, takes him out of the hands of the law, and sends him away to the isle of *Scilly*, Oct. 5. 1655

For, on the one hand, the *Presbyterians*, and all enemies to liberty of religion (of which there appear'd a great number at his trial) would be offended at his

release; and all that were for liberty (among whom many congregations of *Anabaptists* especially) had petition'd the *protector* for his discharge from prosecution upon that *ordinance*, by which all their liberties were threatned and condemn'd, and the capital articles of the protector's government infringed; which run thus: *That such as profess faith in God by, Jesus Christ (tho' differing in judgment from the doctrine, worship or discipline publickly held forth) all not be restrained from, but shall be protected in the profession of the faith and exercise of their religion, &c.* Art. 37. *That all laws, statutes, ordinances, &c. to the contrary of the aforesaid liberty, shall be esteemed as null and void;* Art. 38. In this exile he continued about three years, notwithstanding all the endeavours of his friends for his liberty, and his own letters, both to the *protector* and to Mr. *Calamy*, an eminent *Presbyterian* minister, to reason them into compassion. At length, through the importunity of friends, and other occurrences, the *protector* suffered a writ of *habeas corpus* to be granted out of the *Upperbench-court*, as it was then called, and to be obey'd by the governour of *Scilly*, whereby the prisoner was brought thence, and by that court set at liberty, as finding no legal cause of detaining him.

HE did not long enjoy this liberty, for about five months after *Oliver* died, and his son *Richard* succeeding, call'd a parliament, dangerous to *John Bidle*; which being foreseen, he was forced by the importunity of a noble friend, to retire into the country during their session. But that parliament being dissolv'd, he return'd to his wonted station, and continued undisturb'd till the first of *June*, 1662. When he was haled out of his lodgings, where he was convened with some few of his friends for divine worship, and carried before Sir *Richard Brown*, who forthwith committed them all to the publick prison; *John Bidle* to the *dungeon*, where he lay for five hours, and was denied the benefit of the law, which admitted offenders of that sort to bail for their appearance; there they lay till the *recorder*, mov'd with more reverence of the laws, took *security* for their answering to their charge next sessions; which they performed accordingly. But when the court could not find any statute whereon to form any criminal indictment against them, they were referred to the sessions following, and then were proceeded against, by pretext of an offence against common law (the rules of which lie mostly in the judges breasts) and thereupon fined, every one of the *hearers* in the penalty of twenty pounds, and *John Bidle* in one hundred, to lie in prison till paid. Now, though the sheriff would generously have been satisfied with ten pounds for him, and he would have paid it; yet the enmity of Sir *Richard Brown* was such, as he could not be induced to content thereto upon any terms, but threatned him with a seven years imprisonment, tho' he should pay the whole hundred pounds. This was the cause of his continuing in prison. But he had not been there full five

Weeks, till by reason of the noisomness of the place, and pent air; he contrasted a disease, which in a few days put a period to his life.

THE chief prosecutors ^{f198} of this man, I find, were certain *booksellers* of St. *Paul's church yard*, notoriously known for their preposterous zeal, and former opposition unto christian liberty, under the name of *Beaeon-firers*.

The *author* of the narrative of the proceedings against *John Bidle*, says: ^{f199}

If we enquire further into the conversation of These men, we than find them to have been chief *city remonstrants*, that thereby set the nation into an actual flame, made division between the *parliament* and *army*, and were the occasion of the war between them; it was the *Presbyterian* interest which These men espoused, that occasioned the uproar that *Massey*, and *Pointze*, and the *apprentices* made, whereof they are never to be forgotten, and ever to be thankfully acknowledged: If the providence of Almighty [God] had not interposed, this nation might by this time have become a desolate wilderness. These actings were so highly displeasing to the parliament, that they voted that no person that had a hand therein, should be capable of any place or office within the commonwealth.

The *author of the humble advice to the right honourable the lord-mayor, the recorder, and the rest of the justices of the honourable bench*, speaking of Mr. *Bidle*, says: ^{f200}

If you shall seriously and deliberately weigh all circumstances touching the man and his opinions, he is so free from being questioned for any the least blemish in his life and conversation, that the *informers* themselves have been heard to admire his strict exemplary life, full of modesty, sobriety, and forbearance, no ways contentious, touching the great things of the world, but altogether taken up with the things of God revealed in the holy scriptures; wherein his study, diligence and attainments have been so great, that his knowledge therein is of as ready life as a concordance, no part thereof being named, but he presently cites the book, chapter, and verse, especially throughout the books of the New Testament, where all the epistles he can say by heart out of the *Greek tongue*, and withal can read the *Greek* in *English*, and the *English* in *Greek* so readily as a man can do the mere *English*; so carefully hath he been rightly to understand them. As to the justice and integrity of his heart, his ways have manifested that he would not dissemble, play the hypocrite, or deal fraudulently with any man to save his life; such is he certainly, as is known to very many persons of worth and credit in *London*. So as he is far from being such a monster as many have believed him to be, through the uncomely and unchristian like clamours of his accusers.

THE *author of the true state of the case of liberty of conscience in England*, gives this testimony of Mr. *Bidle's* conversation, ^{f201}

We have, says he, had intimate knowledge thereof for some years; but we think he needs not us, but may appeal even to his enemies, for his vindication therein. Let those that knew him at *Oxford* for the space of seven or eight years, those that knew him at *Gloucester* about three years, those that knew him at *London* These eight or nine years, (most of which time he hath been a prisoner) speak what they know, of unrighteousness, uncleanness, unpeaceableness, malice, pride, profaneness, drunkenness, or any the like iniquity, which they can accuse him of; or hath he, (as the manner of hereticks is,) ~~and~~ 2 Peter 2:3. *Through covetousness, with feigned words made merchandise of any?* Hath he not herein walked upon such true grounds of christian self-denial, that none in the world can stand more clear and blameless here in also? He having shunned to make any of those advantages which are easily made in the world, by men of his parts and breeding, languages and learning, that (if any known to us) he may truly say as the apostle, *I have coveted no man's silver, or gold, or apparel; yea, ye yourselves know, that these bands have ministred to my necessities;* he ever accounting it *a more bled thing to give than receive.*

AND that he should, in holding or republishing any opinions in religion, wilfully sin, doing the same against his own conscience and judgment, and so should fall under that character of an *Heretick*, to be condemned of himself, ~~and~~ Titus 3:10, 11. we cannot imagine that his most zealous enemies do suppose, much less charge him with such gross wickedness; however for ourselves that know him, we crave leave upon knowledge to affirm, that he lives constantly in such a filial fear of God, with so much watchfulness over his ways, and says so great a weight upon wilful sin, that it is impossible he can be guilty of so abhorred an evil; being so far from *self-condemning*, that we are persuaded, he would not hold, or publish any opinion or doctrine which to his understanding he did not judge to have clear grounds in holy Scripture, though thereby he might gain the whole world: Such confidence have those that know him, of his clearness in those particulars, of *wilful-sinning*, or *self-condemning*.

AND indeed, since he hath found cause to differ in his judgment from the multitude, he hath not only diligently examined the Scriptures himself, but also hath desired and sought the knowledge and discourse of any learned and good man he could hear of, for his further information. But though he hath discoursed with many, yet never received he an admonition *from any, to* change his judgment or opinion.

So that These things well-weighed in the true ballance of Scripture-truth, and true christian charity, we hope it will appear, though he may err in some part of his judgment, yet can he not, by any means, be esteemed less than a believer in God through Jesus Christ, and one that *exerciseth himself to have always a good conscience, void of offence toward God and men* having hope of the resurrection both of the just and unjust; and so not an *Heretick*, the characters of such an one not all appearing in him; and much less a *blasphemer*, having never been known to be either a curser, or swearer, or

railer against acknowledged truths. Insomuch that were he in a true unerring church of Christ, they could not so much as excommunicate him out of their fellowship as an *Heretick*, much less persecute him to imprisonment, or other punishment; it clearly appearing that if he be mistaken in any thing (as who in some measure is not?) it is necessarily from the entanglement of his understanding, and not in the least of wilfulness. Nor could we ever perceive, but that even in those things wherein he most differed from the stream of interpreters, in those high points of *Trinity in Unity, and Unity in Trinity*, that he contended therein out of curiosity, or vain glory, but conscientiously, and to the clearing of the truth to him so appearing, and vindication of the honour of God therein, which we believe to be the supreme end of all his endeavours. And though he should somewhat mistake the way, yet doubtless, God, who often accepteth the will for the deed, will look upon it as an error of his zeal and love, and receive him to his mercy.

AND as we have undertaken (as being moved in conscience thereto) to vindicate Mr. *Bidle* from any *heresy* in faith, or licentiousness in practice, that might render him justly incapable of liberty of conscience promised in the government; so in particular we can boldly defend him against the charge of abusing his liberty to the civil injury of others, or any manner of way endeavouring the disturbance of the publick peace or civil government upon any pretence. Doth he not in the 17th chapter of his *Catechism* deliver his judgment for subjection to government, and *paying tribute even for conscience-sake*? What needs more, seeing all that know him, know his practice to be conformable thereunto?

Mr. William Kiffin prosecuted by the same ordinance.

ANOTHER, who was prosecuted by the *force of this ordinance*, was the Rev. Mr. William Kiffin, pastor of a *Baptized congregation* in the city of London. He was convened before the Lord-mayor at *Guildhall*, on *Thursday* the 12th of *July* 1655. and there charged with the breach of this *ordinance*, for preaching, That *the baptism of infants is unlawful*: But the Lord-mayor being busy, the execution of the penalty in the act upon him was referr'd till the *Monday* following.

The author of *The Spirit of Persecution again broke loose*, makes the following observations on the justices partiality with respect to their management of the prosecutions against Mr. *Bidle* and Mr. *Kiffin*.

MR. *Bidle*, says he, must be sent for by a warrant, Mr. *Kiffin* by summons of a messenger; Mr. *Bidle* must be committed by one justice without a *mittimus*, and by one justice with a *mittimus*, but Mr. *Kiffin* must not be proceeded against upon the same ordinance without two justices; he must have three or four days space given him; the other must be sent to prison in such haste, that a *mittimus* could not be writ to be sent with him, but it must be sent after him.

And in the passages, says he, at Mr. *Kiffin's* prosecution, you may note further, that my Lordmayor asked the prosecutors why they did not prosecute Mr. *Kiffin* sooner, seeing they knew of this ordinance, and Mr. *Kiffin's* practice long ago. To which they made answer, that they thought the ordinance had been made null and void, till the other day they perceived one was committed to prison upon it. What made you think, said my Lord, that it was void? there is no time set when it should expire. True, said the prosecutors, but there is the instrument of government that saith, *That whosoever professeth faith in God by Jesus Christ, though differing in judgment from the doctrine, worship, and discipline publickly held forth, shall not be restrained from, but protested in the profession of the faith and exercise of the religion, &c. and all acts and ordinances to the contrary are to be esteemed null and void.* Would any man think that the Lord-mayor of *London* should be ignorant of the fundamentals in the government? Surely those that Bight one part of the government, then chiefest, would make void all, if they could or durst.'

Sufferings of the English Baptists.

The fury of These times seemed to be more especially turn'd against the opposers of *infant-baptism*, as will appear by the following account of their sufferings, both before and after the making of These laws.

I SHALL mention, in the first place, Mr. *Vavator Powell*, that faithful minister and confessor of *Jesus Christ*. Hard was the measure he met with from wicked and debauched persons, by often lying in wait for his life, and by many buffetings and stripes which he received from them, whilst attending and pleading Christ's cause and gospel; insomuch that it may be truly said of him, as the apostle spake of himself; ^{f202} *That in all things he approved himself a minister of God, in much patience, in afflictions, in neccessities, in distresses, in stripes, in imprisonments, in tumults, in labours, in watchings, in fastings; by honour and dishonour, by evil report and good report, as a deceiver yet true. He was in journeyings often, in perils of waters, in perils of robbers, in perils by his own countrymen, in perils in the city, in perils among false brethren, in weariness and painfulness, in watchings often, in hunger, and thirst, &c.* (~~4700~~ 2 Corinthians 6:4, &c. ~~47126~~ 2 Corinthians 11:26. ~~4008~~ Matthew 10:28.)

HE was taken about the year 1640, when preaching in a house in *Brecknockshire*, about ten o'clock at night, and seized with *fifty* or *sixty* of his hearers, by many lewd fellows, under pretence of a warrant they had from justice *Williams*, and secured in a church, where at midnight he performed divine service, and preached from those words, *Fear not them which kill the body*. And it was observed, that one of the chiefest and vilest of his troublers did weep sorely.

THE next morning he was brought to the justice's house; who being not at home, whilst waiting, he preached there, at which the justice, when he came in, was much enraged, to find him at such work in his house; but two of the justice's daughters, who seemed to relish the word, begged him not to do any thing against him and his companions, but he presently committed them to the constable's hands; and the next day, having with him two or three more justices, and six or seven *priests*, sent for them again to examine them further; where, after much conference, and many threatnings, he discharged them all at that time.

AFTER this, preaching at *Launger* in *Radnorshire*, in the field, because the publick place was not big enough to contain his auditory, Mr. *Hugh Lloyd* the high sheriff with a band of men, seized him, and after examination committed him, and charged sixteen or seventeen constables present, to execute his *mittimus*. They all but one refused it; who taking him into his custody, the prison being at a great distance, and Mr. *Powell's* house being in the way, he permitted him to lodge there that night, and was so affected with his family duty, that he would proceed no farther, and left Mr. *Powell* at home, but for fear of the cruelty of the justice, absconded.

MR. *Powell*, to prevent damage to the man, bound himself with two sufficient sureties to appear at the next assizes at *Radnorshire*; and accordingly appeared there, and three bills of indictment were preferred against him, from which, upon the traverse, he was acquitted, and the judges invited him to dinner with them, desiring him to give thanks, one of them said, *it was the best grace he ever heard in his life*.

THIS proved much to the furtherance of the gospel in those parts, to the great offence of the high sheriff, who afterwards upon the coming on of the war, persecuted him out of the country.

Mr. Edward Barber imprison'd,

Mr. *Edward Barber*, minister to a small congregation of *Baptists* at *London*, was in the year 1641. kept eleven months in prison, for *denying* the *baptism* of *infants*, and that to pay *tithes* to the clergy is God's ordinance under the gospel; but These seem to have been before the *episcopal* power was laid aside. ^{f203}

Mr. Beni. Cox imprisoned.

Mr. *Benj. Cox*, a bishop's son, and *some time* minister of *Bedford*, was committed to *Coventry* goal, for preaching and disputing against *infant-baptism* in the year 1643.

The occasion of it.

THE occasion of it was this. Several pious and godly people at *Coventry*, having embraced the opinion of *Antipadobaptism*, resolved to form themselves into a distinct society or church, and for their direction and assistance in this settlement, they sent for this Mr. *Cox*, being an antient *minister*, and of good reputation both for piety and learning, as his adversaries acknowledge.

THERE were also at the same time in this city, several *Presbyterian* ministers, who had fled thither for *refuge*; among whom the Rev. Mr. *Baxter* was one. These were not a little alarmed and displeased at this increase of the *Baptists*, and especially at so great a man's coming to encourage and vindicate them.

BESIDES the pulpits ringing against the error of *Anabaptism*, Mr. *Baxter* sends a challenge to Mr. *Cox*, to dispute with him, about the points in difference; which was accepted, and carded on *viva voce*, and then by writing. Tho' no account of this is preserv'd, but by Mr. *Baxter* himself, yet it is easy to judge which side gained the advantage. For there comes out an order from the *committee*, requiring Mr. *Cox* to depart the *city*, and promise to come there no more; and upon his refusing to do this, he is immediately committed to *prison*.

This was complain'd of as very hard and illegal usage; and Mr. *Baxter* was reflected upon as having procur'd his imprisonment; for he had a great interest in the *committee*, dwelt at the *governour's* house, and was his intimate *friend*.

MR. *Baxter* indeed, denies; ^{f204} that he ever spoke a word for the putting him into prison. But if he had dislik'd such proceedings, 'tis plain he might have prevented it; for when he had been some time in *prison*, upon Mr. *Pinson's* applying himself to Mr. *Baxter* for his release, it was soon procured.

Mr. Henry Denne sent to prison.

Mr. *Henry Denne*, who had been educated at *Cambridge*, ordain'd a *minister* by the bishop of St. *David's*, and enjoyed the living of *Pyrton* in *Hertfordshire* about ten years, upon changing his opinion about *baptism*, was in the year 1644. apprehended in *Cambridgeshire*, by the committee of that county, and sent to *goal*, for preaching against *infant-baptism*, and presuming to baptize those again who had received no other.

AFTER he had been confined some time, through the intercession of his friends, his case was referred to a committee of parliament; and he was sent up to *London*, and kept a *prisoner* in the lord *Peter's* house in *Aldersgate-street*, till the committee had heard his case, and released him.

HE was a second time taken up, and committed at *Spalding* in *Lincolnshire*, in *June* 1646. for preaching and baptizing by *immersion*. His chief prosecutors

here were two justices of peace. They sent the constable to apprehend him on the Lord's day morning, and keep him in custody, that so he might not preach; for the people resorted to him very much, which was no small occasion of their taking offence.

Upon the hearing his case, there was but one *witness* of his pretended crime, *viz. dipping*; for he himself refused to be his own accuser.

It will give the *reader* a better view of the proceedings in those times, to see the two examinations that were taken on this occasion.

The examination of Anne Jarrat, of Spalding, spinster, June 22. 1646. before master Thomas Irbie, and master John Harrington, commoners of the peace.

^{f205} THIS examine saith, on *Wednesday* last in the night about eleven or twelve of the clock, *Anne Stennet* and *Anne Smith*, the servants of *John Mackernesse*, did call out this examine to go with them to the little croft, with whom this examine did go; and coming thither, master *Denne*, and *John Mackernesse*, and a *stranger* or *two* followed after And being come to the *river* side, master *Denne* went into the water, and there did baptize *Anne Stennet*, *Anne Smith*, *Godfrey Roote*, and *John Sowter* in this examine's presence.

ANNE JARRAT (W) *her mark*.

June 21. 1646. Lincolne Holland, Henry Denne of Caxton in the county of Cambridge, examined before John Harrington and Thomas Irby, Esqrs; two of his Majesty's justices of the peace.

THIS examine faith, that he liveth at *Caxton* aforesaid, but doth exercise at *Elsly* within a mile of, his own house; and faith that he took orders about sixteen years since from the bishop of *St. Davids*, and that on *Monday* last he came to *Spalding*, being invited thither by *John Mackernesse* to come to his house. And that he hath exercised his gifts about four times in several places in *Spalding*, *viz.* at the house of *John Mackernesse* and *Mr. Enston's*. As for baptizing of any, he doth not confess.

JOHN HARRINGTON.

IF it be thought a crime to perform such a ceremony in the *night*, the severity of the times must bear the blame of it, which obliged him to take such a season. The Primitive Christians held their assemblies and perform'd most of their social worship in the *night*, when under persecution; and for his not confessing the baptizing of any, the rule of common law will excuse him, *Nemo tenetur seipsum accusare*.

Mr. Coppe imprisoned.

ABOUT this time also Mr. *Coppe*, a minister in *Warwickshire*, and some time preacher to the garison of *Compton-house* in the said county, was committed to *Coventry* goal for rebaptizing.

Mr. Baxter's account of him.

MR. *Baxter* says of this man, ^{f206}

That he was a zealous *Anabaptist*, and continued so for many years, and rebaptized more than any one man he ever heard of in the country. Witness, says he, *Warwickshire*, *Oxfordshire*, part of *Worcestershire*, &c. That when himself was preacher to the garison at *Coventry*, which was near him, he heard of no opinions that he vented or held, but the necessity of rebaptizing, and independency: But afterwards he fell into the errors and vile practices of the *Ranters*, for which he was put again into *Coventry* goal.

But Mr. *Baxter* acknowledges, that his former imprisonment was for his rebaptizing; and that those who committed him were represented as *persecutors* for so doing.

UPON the publishing of the *ordinance of parliament* in 1645. against unordained preachers, before recited, the Lord-mayor of *London* sent his officers to the *Baptist-meeting* in *Coleman-street*, being inform'd that certain *laymen* preach'd there. When they came, they found two ministers there, Mr. *Lamb*, the elder of the church; and a young man, who was a *teacher* among them.

Mr. Lamb and another taken into custody.

THE congregation were greatly provoked that they should be thus disturbed in their worship, for it was on the Lord's day, and some used very rough language to the officers; but Mr. *Lamb* treated them very civilly, and desired they would permit them to finish their exercise, and gave his word that they would both appear before the Lord-mayor at six o'clock, to answer for what they did.

THE officers accepted this, and went their way; and Mr. *Lamb* with his assistant met them at his lordship's house, at the time appointed.

WHEN they were brought before the mayor, he demanded by what authority they took upon them to preach; and told them, they had transgressed an *ordinance of parliament*. Mr. *Lamb* replied, No, for they were called and appointed to that office by as reformed a church as any in the world, alluding to the words of the *ordinance*; and they acknowledg'd to him, that they were such as rejected the *baptism of infants* as invalid.

Bound over by the Lord-mayor, and committed to prison.

AFTER examination, his lordship bound them over to answer it before a committee of parliament; who, after hearing of them, committed them both to *goal*, where they lay for some time. At length, by the intercession of their friends, they were set at liberty.

Mr. Hobson taken into custody.

THE same year, and by virtue of the same *ordinance*, Mr. *Paul Hobson*, a *Baptist minister*, was taken into custody by the governour of *Newport-Pagnel*, for preaching against *infant-baptism*, and reflecting upon the order against *laymens* preaching.

Sent A Prisoner To London.

AFTER some short time of confinement there, the governour, Sir *Samuel Luke*, sent him prisoner to *London*. His case was soon brought before the committee of examination; and having several great friends, he was immediately, after his being heard, discharged; and preached publickly at a meeting-house in *More fields*, to the great mortification of his persecutors.

Mr. Hanserd Knollys taken into custody. Was imprisoned.

AMONG the sufferers for *Antipaedobaptism* in these times, the pious and learned Mr. *Hanserd Knollys* must be number'd, tho' he had been ordained a minister by the bishop of *Peterborough*, and now was a zealous opposer both of episcopacy and common prayer, yet all this could not exempt him from the rage of the *Presbyters*; [nor will Mr. *Neal's* invidious representation do any harm to his character] because he was a *Sectary* and an *Anabaptist*. Once he was taken up for preaching again it *infant-baptism* at *Bow church* in *Cheapside*. The occasion was this: The churchwardens of that parish wanting a minister to preach on the Lord's-day ensuing, apply'd themselves to Mr. *Knollys*. They renewed their request three days, one after another, and were denied. At length, their earnestness and great want of a supply prevailed with him. When he was preaching, his subject led him to say something against the practice of baptizing *infants*. This gave so great an offence to some of his *auditory*, that they complained of him to the parliament, and a warrant from the committee for plunder'd ministers, was sent to the keeper of *Ely-house* to apprehend him, and bring him in safe custody before them. Hereupon he was presently seized, and kept several days in *prison*, his crime being too great to admit of bail when it was offered. At length his case was brought to a hearing before the committee: There were about thirty of the assembly of divines present; and Mr. *White* the chairman of the committee examined him about his

authority to preach, the occasion of his preaching in *Bow* church, and the doctrine he had there delivered.

Answers for himself before the committee, and is acquitted.

To all these he gave such full answers, that they seemed *ashamed* of what they had done; and ordering him to withdraw, called in the *goaler*, reproved him sharply for refusing bail, and threatned to turn him out of his place: so he was dismiss'd without any blame, or paying of fees, which was a small reward for false imprisonment. Not long after this, he went into *Suffolk*, where he preached in several places, as he had opportunity and was desired by his friends; but he being counted an *Antinomian*, and an *Anabaptist*, this was looked upon to be *sedition* and *faction*, and the rabble being encouraged by the high-constable, set themselves zealously to oppose him. At one time when he was preaching, they stoned him out of the pulpit. At another time, when he was to have preached, they got into the church first, and shut the doors, both against him and the people, upon which he preach'd in the church-yard; but this was deemed a very great and an unsufferable crime.

Is taken into custody again, and sent prisoner to London.

Answers for himself before the committee of examination.

At length he was taken into custody; and first he was prosecuted at a petty *sessions* in the country, then sent up a *prisoner* to *London*, with articles of complaint against him to the parliament. But when his case came to be heard before the committee of examination, he made it appear by witnesses of good reputation, that he had neither sowed *sedition*, nor raised *tumults*, and that all the disorders which had happen'd, were owing to the rage and malignity of his opposers, who had acted contrary both to law and common civility: He produc'd the copies of his sermons which he had preach'd in those parts, and afterwards printed them.

Is discharged, and a vote of the house passed in his favour.

His answers were so full and satisfactory, that when the committee made their report to the house, he was not only discharged, but a vote passed, that he might have liberty to preach in any part of *Suffolk*, when the minister of the place did not preach there himself. But this business put him to a great deal of trouble and expence. He has left it under his own hand, that it cost him threescore pounds.

He sets up a meeting in Great St. Helens. Is summoned before a committee of divines. Is forbid to preach.

WHEN Mr. *Knollys* found that his preaching in the churches, tho' but occasionally, gave so much offence, and brought so much trouble on himself, he set up a separate meeting in *Great St. Helens, London*, where the people flock'd to hear him, and he had commonly a *thousand* auditors. But this was rather a greater offence to his *Presbyterian* brethren, than his former method. Now they complain'd that he was too near the church, and that he kept his meetings at the same times that they had their publick worship. And first they prevail'd upon his landlord, to warn him out of that place; next he was summon'd to appear before a committee of divines, which used to sit at *Westminster*, in the room called the *Queen's court*, to answer for his conduct in this matter. Upon his examination, Mr. *Leigh* being chairman, he asked him why he presumed to preach without holy orders. To which he replied, that he was in holy orders. Hereupon one of the committee said to the chairman, that he had renounc'd his *ordination* by the bishop before the committee for plunder'd ministers. Mr. *Knollys* confessed that he did so; but said, he was now ordain'd, in a church of God, according to the order of the gospel, and then declar'd to them the manner of *ordination* used among the *Baptists*. At last, the chairman in the name of the committee, commanded him to preach no more; but he told them he would preach the Gospel, both publickly and from house to house; saying it was more equal to obey Christ who commanded him, than those who forbid him, and so went his way.

A reason of the Presbyterians hatred.

ONE thing that made the *Presbyterians* more violent again ft this good man, seems to have been a letter that he writ from *London*, to one Mr. *John Dutton* in *Norwith*, in which there were some sharp reflections upon their attempts to suppress all religions but their own. This coming into the hands of some of the committee of *Suffolk*, was seized, sent up to *London*, and presently after publish'd by one of the chief promoters of persecution in those times. It being but short, I shall here insert it for the *reader's* satisfaction.

Beloved brother,

I Salute you in the Lord. Your letter I received the last day of the week; and upon the first day I did salute the brethren in your name, who re-salute you and pray for you. ¹²⁰⁷ The city *Presbyterians* have sent a letter to the synod, dated from *Sion-College*, against any *toleration*; and they are fasting and praying at *Sion-College* this day, about further contrivings against God's poor innocent ones; but God will doubtless answer them according to the *idol* of their own hearts. Tomorrow there is a fast kept by both houses, and the synod at *Westminster*. They say it is to seek God about the establishing of worship

according to their covenant They have *first vowed, now they make enquiry.* God will certainly *take the crafty in their own snare, and make the wisdom of the wise, foolishness; for he chooseth the foolish things of this world to confound the wise, and weak things to confound the mighty.* My wife and family remember their love to you. Salute the brethren that are with you. Farewel.

London, the 13th day of the 11th Month, called January, 1645.

Your brother in the faith and fellowship of the gospel,
HANSERD KNOLLYS.

I FIND it was a common practice in those times, for such as were in *authority*, to seize the letters which the *Sectaries*, as they term them, sent one to another, and divulge them, either to expose their weakness, or to take advantage of any thing in them relating to publick affairs, in order to turn the government against them.

John Sims seized. His letters taken from him, and published.

WE have a notable instance of this in the case of *John Sims*, a *Baptist minister* at *Hampton*. This man, in a journey to *Taunton* in *Somersetshire*, was prevailed upon to preach in the parish-church of *Middlesey*; which gave such offence to the *Presbyterians*, that he was presently seized by virtue of the a against unordain'd ministers; and five letters, which he was carrying from some of his religious acquaintance to others, were taken from him. These, with his examination, were sent up to *London*, by way of complaint against him; and the *government* not taking that notice which was expected of them, the next thing was to publish them, in a book written by a *Presbyterian* minister against the sectaries.

His crimes are specify'd in the examination, which were these great ones; viz. *preaching* and denying *infant-baptism*. And to aggravate these, they added, That he took a text, and preach'd before two *Presbyterian ministers*: For this is the form of it.

^{f208} SUNDAY, the last of *May*, he preached in the parish-church of *Middlesey*, took his text out of the ^{<scribes>} *Colossians* 3:1. one master *Mercer*, and master *Esquier*, ministers, with a hundred more persons; and being desired to know how he durst presume to teach so publickly, being not called, and an ordinance of parliament to the contrary, answered, *If Peter was called, so was he.*

2. BEING desired to know, why he taught contrary to the law of God, and the laws of the land, answered, why are they suffered to teach in *London*, so near the parliament-house? and that he would allow of the parliament, as far forth as they go with his doctrine.

3. BEING desired to know whether he allowed of our *baptism*, answered, No: that for his part he was baptized a year since, by one mailer *Sickmoore*; and his manner of baptizing was, that the aforesaid *Sickmoore* went first into the water, and he after him, so that he for his part would not allow of our *baptism*.

As to the letters, there appears neither *heresy* nor *rebellion* in them, unless baptizing by *immersion*, and rejoicing that the *Presbyterians* did not obtain that unlimited power they petition'd for, might be deemed such.

IN one of these letters, written by *William Hayward*, are these words: ^{f209}

I NEED not tell you of the oppositions here in *Taunton*. Our brother will tell you the particular passages; our governour does labour to beat us down, and doth *say*, that any meeting in private, is merely to cross the publick meetings, and that it is not out of tenderness of conscience, but *damnable pride* that we do; but this doth not any way cause us to draw back, or sadden our spirits, for our spirits are carried above the fear of men.

IN another Mr. *Collier* says, ^{f210}

THE unlimited power of the *Presbyterians* is denied them, of which you shall hear more shortly.

AND the chief design, of the last, is to comfort and strengthen the saints against persecution, and to assure them, that by the same power by which they were brought into the way of holiness, they should be assisted, and carried on to the end.

Andrew Wyke *taken into custody*.

THIS year also, *Andrew Wyke* was taken up in the county of Suffolk, for preaching and *dipping*. When he was brought before the committee of the county, to be examined about his authority to preach, and the doctrines that he held, he refused to give them any account of either; alledging, that a freeman of *England* was not bound to answer any *interrogatories*, either to accuse himself or others; but if they had ought against him, they should lay their charge, and produce their proofs. This was look'd upon as great obstinacy, and an high contempt of authority; and therefore he was presently sent to *goal*.

Is sent to prison.

How long he continued there. I cannot find; but during his imprisonment, a pamphlet was written, either by himself; or some of his friends, giving a particular account of the proceedings against him, and exclaiming against the committee for their persecuting principles and illegal practices. ^{f211} It was entitled,

The innocent in prison complaining; or, a true relation of the proceedings of the committee of Ipswich, the committee at Bury St. Edmonds in the county of Suffolk, against one Andrew Wyke, a witness of Jesus in the same county, who was committed to prison June 3. 1646.

I SUPPOSE the reader's patience almost tired with accounts of this nature. I will only add one more; and I take it to be one of the chief and basest attempts against the practice of *immersion in baptism*, of any in those times.

Mr. Sam. Oates.

MR. *Sam. Oates*, a very popular preacher, and great disputant, taking a journey into *Essex* in the year 1646. preach'd in several parts of that county, and baptized by *immersion* great numbers of people, especially about *Bockin*, *Braintree*, and *Tarling*. This made the *Presbyterians* in those parts very uneasy; especially the *ministers*, who complained bitterly that such things should be permitted; and endeavouring to spur on the *magistrates* all they could to suppress him, one writes after this manner: ^{f212}

No magistrate in the country dare meddle with him; for they say they have hunted these out of the country into their dens in *London*, and imprison'd some, and they are released and sent like *decoy-ducks* into the country to fetch in more; so that they go on in divers parts of *Essex* with the greatest confidence and insolency that can be imagined.

HOWEVER, at length they got something against him, which they thought would effectually answer their end, and therefore endeavoured to pursue it to the uttermost.

IT happen'd that among the hundreds which he had baptized in this county, one died within a few weeks after; and this they would have to be occasioned by her being dipp'd in cold water.

Is sent to prison, and put in irons.

ACCORDINGLY they prevailed upon the *magistrates* to send him to *prison*, and put him in *irons* as a *murderer*, in order to his trial at the next *assizes*.

The books written against the *Baptists* frequently represented the practice of *immersion* to be extremely dangerous; and some termed them a cruel and murdering sect for using it. Now if they could but have carry'd this point, it would have confirm'd their censures, fix'd an eternal *odium* on the practice, and frightened many timorous persons from complying with their duty.

GREAT endeavours were therefore used that he might be brought in *guilty*: Nay, so fond were some of this story, that they published it for a truth before it had been legally examined, and added these circumstances to it, *viz.*

^{f213} That he held her so long in the water, that she fell presently sick: That her belly swell'd with the abundance of water she took in, and with in a fortnight or three weeks died; and upon her death-bed expressed her *dipping* to be the cause of her death.

All which was afterwards made appear to be notorious lies.

Tried for his life. And honourably acquitted

THEY did indeed carry it so far, as to have him arraigned for his *life* at *Chelmsford* assizes. But upon his trial several credible witnesses were produced, among which the *mother* of the maid was one who all testified upon *oath*, that the said *Anne Martin* (*that* being her name) was in better *health* for several days after her *baptism* than she had been for some years before and that she was seen to walk abroad afterwards very comfortably. So that notwithstanding all the design and malignity that appear'd in this trial, he was in the end, brought in *not guilty*, to the great mortification of his enemies.

How many children have died, either at *their baptism*, or immediately after it? And yet none ever ascrib'd it to their *fright at the time*, or the coldness of the water thrown upon them; and it must, of the two, be more dangerous, to dip tender and new-born infants, than those who are grown to maturity. And yet that was the practice of the church of *England* for several hundred years, even till the reign of *King James I.* when the fashion altered; and of the thousands of weakly persons, who have been baptized by *immersion* since the revival of that practice in *England*, among the *Baptists*, it does not appear that any one received any prejudice by it. Could but one instance of that nature have been produced, you may very easily judge by this story, how much it would have been published and improved against them by their enemies.

Sir John Floyer proves dipping both safe and useful.

SIR *John Floyer*, an eminent physician, publish'd an essay to prove cold bathing both safe and useful; wherein he gives an account of many great cures done by it, and presents the world with an alphabetical catalogue of diseases against which it has been successful: And on this account, in the *epistle dedicatory*, and in his second letter, he laments the disuse of the *baptismal immersion in England*, which he says, continued till the year 1600. Indeed, he says, he will not concern himself in any theological disputes, whither *immersion* be essential to baptism, &c.

^{f214} For all that I shall aim at, says he, is to shew, that *immersion* was generally practised by the *antients*; and that in this church it continued in use till the beginning of the last age; and that there is not that danger in it, as parents apprehend; but instead of prejudicing the health of their children, *immersion* would prevent many hereditary diseases if it were still practised.

²¹⁵ HE closes his letter with observing, that the church of *England* continued the use of *immersion* longer than any other christian church in the *western parts* of the world. For the *eastern* church, faith he, yet use it; and our church still recommends, the *dipping of infants* in her *rubrick*, to which, I believe, the *English* will at last return, when physick has given them a clear proof by divers experiments, that cold baths are both safe and useful. And, he says, they did great injury to their own children, and all posterity, who first introduc'd the alteration of this truly antient ceremony of *immersion*, and were the occasion of a degenerate, sickly, tender race ever since.'

Some Baptists abused by the rabble.

But to return. When the *Presbyterians* found they could do nothing to Mr. *Oates* by due course of law, they endeavoured to raise the *mob* against him; and in this they were more successful. For a little after, some who were known to be *Baptists*, going occasionally to *Wethersfield* in that county, there was presently an alarm given, that *Oates* and his companions were come to that town; upon which the *rabble* were railed, and seized those innocent people. And for no other crime, but because they were *Anabaptists*, they were dragged to a *pump*, and treated like the worst of *villains*; neither was *Oates*, the person against whom they were chiefly enraged, amongst them.

Mr. Oates thrown into a river.

Not long after this, *Oates* himself went to *Dunmow* in *Essex*. When some of the zealots for *infant-baptism* in that town heard where he was, without any other provocation but that of his daring to come there, they dragged him out of the house, and threw him into a *river*, boasting they had thoroughly *dipt* him.

ABOUT this time Mr. *Edward Hutchinson*, a learned and ingenious defender of the practice of baptizing *believers* only, in his *epistle dedicatory* to those of the *baptized congregations*, put at the beginning of his treatise, *concerning the covenant and baptism*, gives the following account of the beginning and increase of that people in these latter times.

Mr. Hutchinson's account of the English Baptists,

Your *beginning*, says he, in these nations of late years was but small; yet when it pleased the Lord to dispel those clouds that over-shadowed us, and scatter some beams of the *gospel* amongst us, he gave you so great an increase, that *Sion* may say with admiration, *Who hath begotten me these*, &c.

Nor is it less observable, that whereas other *reformations* have been carried on by the *secular arm*, and the countenance and allowance of the *magistrate*; as in *Luther's* time, by several *German* princes; the protestant reformation in *England*, by King *Edward*, Queen *Elizabeth*, &c. the *Presbyterian* reformation, by a parliament, committee of estates, assembly of divines,

besides the favour and assistance of great personages; you have had none of these to take you by the hand; but your progress was against the impetuous current of human opposition, attended with such external discouragements, as bespeak your embracing this despised truth an *effect* of heart sincerity, void of all mercenary considerations. Yea, how active has the *accuser of the brethren* been, to represent you in such frightful figures, exposing you by that mischievous artifice to popular *odium*, and the lath of *magistracy*, insomuch that the name of an *Anabaptist* was crime enough, which doubtless was a heavy obstacle in the way of many pious souls? And what our dissenting brethren have to answer upon that account, who, instead of taking up, have laid stumbling blocks in the way of *Reformation*, will appear another day. Yet, notwithstanding the strenuous oppositions of those great and learned ones, the mighty God of *Jacob* hath taken you by the hand, and said, *Be strong*.

But to return, whilst the *Presbyterians* had the ascendant, the *persecution against* the sectaries continued; the members of the house of Commons, which now compos'd the parliament, had possess'd themselves of the supreme authority; the violence they had tird to their colleagues, the king's tragical death, the change of the monarchy into a commonwealth, and the taxes impos'd on the people for an unnecessary war, had render'd them *odious* to the whole kingdom.

PETITIONS are made to them, in which their dissolution is demanded: They vote against a dissolution, and prepare a bill; by which all persons are forbid to present such petitions, under pain of being declared guilty of *high treason*.

An. Dom. 1653.

IT could not be doubted, that the members who had set more than twelve years and had but too much abused their power, would always retain the *supreme authority* in their hands, under colour of being the representatives of a republick, which properly consisted only of themselves.

Cromwel dissolves the Long parliament.

Cromwel being therefore very certain this parliament was odious to the people, went to the house, *April* 20. 1653, attended with some *officers* and *soldiers*; and without any ceremony told them, he was come to put an end to their power, of which they had made an ill use, and therefore they were to be immediately dissolved. A little after, he publishes a *declaration*, to justify the dissolution of the parliament; makes choice of an hundred and forty four persons; to take care of the government; and requires them to assemble at *Whitehall*, *July* 4. ensuing. These persons, when assembled, made no scruple to call themselves *a parliament*; and chose one *Rouse* for their speaker. They did nothing considerable in a session of more than five months. At last, on the 12th

of *December*, the speaker, with a good number of the members, dissolv'd themselves, and return'd the *sovereign power* into the hands of *Cromwel* and the council of officers, beseeching them to take care of the government.

Is made a protector.

Two days after, the council of *officers*, by virtue of the *authority* lately given them by the parliament, declared that for the future the government of the republick should reside in a single person, viz. *Oliver Cromwel*, captain-general of the forces of *England, Scotland* and *Ireland*, who should have the title of protector of the three kingdoms, and be assisted by a council of twenty one persons.

An. Dom. 1657.

THUS an end was put to the *Presbyterian* establishment, and *Cromwel* was confirmed in his *protectorship*, by a parliament, in the year 1657. with more power than was annexed to it by the council of *officers*. This was done by a solemn *instrument*, called *the humble petition and advice*; the parliament thereby shewing, it was not a law to be imposed on him, but an advice, which was submitted to his judgment and discretion, with freedom to accept or refuse it, as he should think proper. I shall only transcribe from thence what concerned religion.

That his *highness* would encourage a godly *ministry* in these nations; and that such as do revile, and disturb them in the worship of God, may be punish'd according to law, and where laws are defective, new ones to be made: ^{f216}

That the protestant christian religion, as it is contain'd in the old and new testament, be asserted and held forth for the publick profession of these nations, and no other: And that a confession of faith be agreed upon, and recommended to the people of these nations; and none to be permitted by words or writing, to revile or reproach the said confession of faith.

Welwood's character of him.

Welwood as quoted by *Rapin*, ^{f217} tells us, That as to the morals and conduct of the *protector*, as a private person, they may be said to have been very regular. He was guilty of none of the vices, to which men are commonly addicted; *gluttony, drunkenness, gaming, luxury, avarice*, were vices with which he was never reproached; on the contrary, it is certain, he promoted virtuous men; as on the other hand, he was inflexible in his punishments of vice and ill actions. It is true, his own preservation oblig'd him sometimes to employ men of ill principles; but this is not uncommon to those who are at the head of a government.

THO' as to his religion he was an *Independent*, his principle was to leave every man at liberty in the religion he had chosen, and never persecuted any

person on that account. He even connived at the private meetings of those who remained attached to the church of *England*, tho' he was well informed of them. If they were not favour'd with the free and publick exercise of their religion, it was because they consider'd by him as *Royalists*, always ready to form plots in the king's favour, and from whom consequently he had great reason to secure self. Tho' he was in the sentiments of the *Independents*, and therefore averse to all union with the national church, he however consider'd all protestant churches as part of the protestant church in general and without aiming to establish *Independency* by force and violence, he expressed on all occasions an extreme zeal for the protestant religion.

Bishop Burnet says: ^{f218}

A great design *Cromwel* had intended to begin his *kingship* with, if he had assumed it; he resolv'd to set up a council in opposition to the congregation *de propaganda side* at *Rome*. He intended it should consist of seven counsellors, and four *secretaries* for different *provinces*. The *secretaries* were to have 500*l.* salary a piece, and to keep a correspondence every where, to know the state of religion all over the world; that so all good designs might be by their means protected and assisted. *Stoupe* was to have the first *province*. They were to have a fund of 10,000*l.* a year at their disposal for ordinary emergencies; but to be farther supplied, as occasions should require it.

AND he further adds, that *Cromwel* said once in council, ^{f219}

That he hoped he should make the name of an *Englishman* as great as ever that of a *Roman* had been.

Well might the bishop then say, with respect to his government, as he does, ^{f220}

If it be compar'd with those of the two last kings, there will appear a very great disparity with regard to the glory and reputation of the *English nation*. *James I.* and *Charles I.* seemed to have studied to disgrace the *English* name; whereas *Cromwel* in the space of four or five years carried the glory of his nation as far as possible, and in that respect was not inferiour to *Elizabeth*.

HE is by his enemies charg'd with cruelty, for having, whip *protector*, put some men to death, for conspiring against his person and government:

That is, according to this reproach, says *Rapin*, ^{f221} he should have patiently suffered the plots against him, and when one failed, liberty should have been given for a second and a third, till some one had succeeded. This deserves no confutation. But to thew that *Cromwel* was not for an unnecessary effusion of blood, we need only recite what is owned by the earl of *Clarendon*, who assures us, ^{f222}

THAT when it was proposed in a council of *officers*, that there might be a general *massacre* of the *Royalists*, *Cromwel* would never content to it.

To form a just and rational idea of *Cromwel's* character, says *Rapin*,^{f223} his conduct and actions in themselves must be examined, and joined to the juncture of the time, independently of the opinions of his enemies. I shall only observe, says he, that the confusion which prevail'd in *England*, soon after the death of *Cromwel*, clearly shews the necessity of this usurpation. In general it can't be denied, that *Cromwel* was one of the greatest men in his age, if it is consider'd, that without the advantages of *birth* or *fortune*, he rose so near a throne, that it was in his power to mount it. *History* furnishes very few instances of this kind. *Cromwel's* death was followed with so much alterations in the government, that the interval between that and the restauration may be justly called a time of true *anarchy*. *Cromwel* should have had a successor like himself, to finish what he had so ably begun. But two so great men are not commonly found so near one another, nor often in the same age.

An. Dona. 1658. A conspiracy against him.

A LITTLE before his death, a discovery was made of a conspiracy of the *Royalists*, forming in *England*, in favour of the king; upon which *Cromwel* erected a high court of *justice*, for trial of the criminals, and especially of the three principal ones, viz. *John Mordaunt*, brother of the earl of *Peterborough*; Sir *Henry Slingsby*, a rich and popular man in the county of *York*; and Dr. *Hewit*, a minister of the church of *England*.^{f224}

Some executed for it.

MR. *Mordaunt* escaped death by the means of his wife, who bribed some of the judges, and prevailed with colonel *Mallory*, one of the two witnesses against her husband, to make his escape. Sir *Henry Sizingby* and Dr. *Hewit* were condemned and executed, *June* 8. 1658. Before the same court were tried, condemned, hanged, and quartered for the same crime, *Ashton*, *Stacey*, and *Battely*. Some others were condemned and pardon'd by *Cromwel*, Not to multiply any more the number of his enemies, it is certain he had a great many, and that those who had been most attached to him while he was believ'd to be in their view, hated him mortally when they found themselves deceived. The earl of *Clarendon* relates^{f225} on this occasion a long address to the king, from several *Independents*, *Quakers*, and *Anabaptists*, brought him by a young gentleman, of an honourable extraction and great parts; by whom they made many extravagant propositions, and seemed to depend very much upon the death of *Cromwel*, and thereupon to compute their own power to serve the king; who gave such an answer only to them, as might dispose them to hope for his favour, if he received service from them, and so believe, that he did not intend to persecute or trouble any men for their opinions, if their actions were peaceable; which they pretended to effect.

SINCE the spirit, humour, and language, says the noble historian, of that people, and in truth of that time, cannot be better described and represented by that petition and address which was never published, and of which there remains no copy in any hand that I know of, but only the original which was presented to the king (it being so dangerous a thing for any man who remained in *England* to have any such transcript in his custody) it will not be amiss, says he, in this place to insert the petition and the address in the very words in which it was presented to his majesty, with the letter that accompanied it, from the gentleman mentioned before, who was an *Anabaptist* of special trust among them, and who came not with the petition, but expected the king's pleasure upon the receipt of it; it being sent by an officer who had served the king in an eminent command, and was now gracious among those *sectaries*, without swerving in the least degree from his former principles and integrity; for that people always pretended a just esteem and value of all men, who had faithfully adhered to the king, and lived soberly and virtuously.

THE noble historian further says,

That the gentleman who brought this address, &c. brought likewise with him a particular letter to the king, from the gentleman that is before described, upon whose temper, ingenuity, and interest, the messenger principally depended, having had much acquaintance and conversation with him; who tho' he was an *Anabaptist*, made himself merry with the extravagancy and madness of his companions; and told this gentleman that though the first address could not be prepared but with those demands, which might satisfy the whole party, and comprehend all that was desired by any of them, yet if the king gave them such an encouragement as might dispose them to send some of the wisest of them to attend his majesty, he would be able, upon conference with them, to make them his instruments to reduce the rest to more moderate desires, when they should discern that they might have more protection and security from the king, than from any other power that would assume the government.

THE king, adds he, believed that these distempers might in some conjuncture be of use to him; and therefore returned the general answer that is mentioned before; and that he would be willing to confer with some persons of that party, trusted by the rest, if they would come over to him; his majesty being then at *Bruges*. Upon which that young gentleman came over thither to him, and remained some days there concealed. He was a person of very extraordinary parts, sharpness of wit, readiness and volubility of tongue, but an *Anabaptist*. He had been bred in the university of *Cambridge*, and afterwards in the inns of court, but being too young to have known the religion, or the government of the precedent time, and his father having been engaged from the beginning against the king, he had sucked in the opinions that were most prevalent, and had been a soldier in *Cromwel's* lifeguard of horse, when he was thought to be most resolved to establish a republic; but when that mask was pulled off, he detested him with that rage, that he was of

the combination with those who resolved to destroy him by what way soever, and was very intimate with *Syndercome*. He had a great confidence of the strength and power of that party, and confessed that their demands were extravagant, and such as the king could not grant; which, after they were once engaged in blood, he doubted not they would recede from, by the credit the wiser men had amongst t them. He returned into *England* very well satisfy'd with the king, and did afterwards correspond very faithfully with his professions, but left the king without any hope of other benefit from that party, than by their increasing the faction and animosity against *Cromwel*; for it was manifest, they expected a good sum of present money from the king, which could not be in his power to supply.

THE *address, propositions, and letter* I have put into the *appendix*, N^o V.

I MUST now return a little back, being unwilling for the sake of the exact order of time, to break in upon so remarkable a part of our civil *history*, with matters of so different a kind, which could have no connection therewith; and observe, that in the year 1654. the Rev. Mr. *William Britten*, who had embraced the principles of the *Baptists*, published a treatise, intituled, *The Moderate Baptist; briefly shewing scripture-way for that initiatory sacrament of baptism; together with divers queries, considerations, errors and mistakes, in and about the work of religion: Wherein may appear, that the Baptists of our times hold not those strange opinions as many hereto fore have done; but as the scriptures are now more clearly understood, so they desire to come nearer to walk by the same light*. He in the *Epistle Dedicatory* apologizes for its publication, and assigns the causes which chiefly induced him thereto; and then gives a short account of *himself* to his countrymen, the well-affected people of *Northamptonshire*; the which you will find annexed to the *Epistle Dedicatory* of the said book; to which I refer you.

In the year 1656. the *Baptist* churches in the county of *Somerset* published a confession of their faith, the which I have put in the *appendix*, N^o III.

*We mean the narrative published
by the seven churches in London.*

IN the *Epistle Dedicatory* they apologize for their so doing; by saying,

It may with some seem altogether needless and useless to bring to publick view a narrative of faith in such a day as this is; especially their having been the like brought forth by several *baptized* congregations formerly. Unto which we reply, that our publishing this *narrative* of our faith and practice, is not from any dislike we found with the former confession of our beloved brethren, whom we own, and with whom we are one both in faith and practice; neither is there any thing in ours contradictory to our brethren, that we know of, that have gone before us.

WE can say, when the Lord set us first upon this work, we did not think of bringing it to publick view; but did it rather for a trial of our unity in the faith, for our more clear fellowship one with another, from our harmony in faith and practice.

YET having finished it according to our apprehensions (and we believe a measure of the teachings of the Lord) now judge there is a more than ordinary necessity for us thus to publish our faith.

1. In regard of the general charge laid upon our profession, as if none in the *countries*, that professed *baptism*, were of our brethrens judgment that published that confession of faith in *London*, but hold free-will, falling away from grace, &c. all which, through the grace of God we disclaim; and not only we, but to our knowledge, many other churches in the adjacent counties; who stand fast in the profession of the unchangeable love of God in Jesus Christ to his people.

2. BEING very sensible of the great distractions and divisions that are amongst professing people in this nation, the many ways and wiles of *Satan* to seduce and deceive souls, the great departing from the faith, and that under glorious notions of spiritualness and holiness, *Satan* transforming himself into an angel of light, and his ministers into ministers of righteousness; we could not but judge it our bounden duty in this our day, to come forth in a renewed *declaration* of our faith; as a publick testimony before all men, that through grace we do with one soul desire to cleave to the Lord, contending earnestly for the faith that was once given to the saints: for this being the great design of *Satan*, to destroy the faith and practice of the gospel churches, we judge nothing more suitable and proper to us as churches of our Lord, wherein we might bear our witness for him (in this day of temptation) in print as well as in practice, than this our testimony to the faith and truth as it is in Jesus.

Richard Cromwel proclaimed protector.

Richard Cromwel was in the year 1658. without any opposition, proclaimed *protector* of the commonwealth of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*; and addresses were presented to him from all parts, signed by many thousands, to congratulate him upon his accession to this dignity, and to assure him they would willingly hazard their lives and fortunes to support him. But such *addresses* are not always to be depended upon; experience having often shewn, they are far from being sincere, tho' carefully express'd in the strongest terms.

THUS *Richard* was install'd *successor* to his father *Oliver*, and took the same oath; but his *protectorship*, which was but short, was one entire series of anarchy and confusion, and pav'd the way for the restoration of King *Charles II.*

BISHOP *Burnet* observes ^{f226} upon the new parliament (or convention as it was afterwards called)

*The convention parliament. Bishop Burnet's
observation thereon.*

That such unanimity appeared in their proceedings, that there was not the least dispute among them, but upon one single point. Yet that was a very important one. *Hale*, afterwards the famous chief-justice, moved, that a committee might be appointed to look into the propositions that had been made, and the concessions that had been offered by the late king during the war, particularly at the treaty of *Newport*, that from thence they might digest such propositions as they should think fit to be sent over to the king. This was seconded, but, says the bishop, I do not remember by whom. It was foreseen that such a motion might be set on foot; so *Monk* was instructed how to answer it, whensoever it should be proposed. He told the house, that there was yet, beyond all mens hope, an universal quiet all over the nation; but there were many incendiaries still on the watch, trying where they could first raise the flame. He said, he had such copious informations sent him of these things, that it was not fit they should be generally known. He could not answer for the peace, either of the nation or of the *army*, if any delay was put to the fending for the king. What need was their of sending propositions to him? might they not as well prepare them, and offer them to him when he should come over? He was to bring neither *army* nor *treasure* with him, either to fright them or to corrupt them. So he moved, that they would immediately fend commissioners to bring over the king, and said, that he must lay the blame of all the blood or mischief that might follow, on the heads of those who should still insist on any motion that might delay the present settlement of the nation. This was eccho'd with such a shout over the house, that the motion was no more insisted on. This, says the bishop, was indeed the great service that *Monk* did — To the king's coming in without conditions may be well imputed all the errors of his reign:

And it may be added, many mischiefs that followed afterwards.

CHAPTER 4.

Containing an Account of some of the most eminent and leading men among the ENGLISH BAPTISTS.

IT is well known, that nothing has been more common than for the *writers* in general against the *Baptists*, to represent them to the world as *ignorant* and *literate* men. Thus Mr. *Russen* triumphs over them, at the close of his first argument, in the fifth chapter of his treatise, entitled, *Fundamentals without a Foundation*.

IF any of their leading teachers, says he, ^{f227} cannot read this last paragraph without an interpreter, I do not think them fit men to dispute about such principles: let them lay aside learning, which their ignorance betrays, and follow their trades, wherein they are better skilled.

AND towards the close of his *preface*, he insults them for their supposed ignorance of *grammar*,

If here, says he, ^{f228} they cavil at my *moods*, *participles*, *tenses*, and *distinctions*; if they carp at some sentences of *Latin* scattered here and there, let them blame their own *ignorance*! 'Tis for want of such *human advantages*, that they so strangely wrest the Scriptures, and know not rightly to divide the word of truth.

The vanity of this *author* is sufficiently exposed by his *answerer*, the reverend and learned Mr. *Stennet*; and I may venture to say, that the opinion of the *Baptists* in general in this affair is well expressed by the reverend Mr. *Keach* and Mr. *Delaune*, who say, ^{f229}

'Tis certain, that no sort of men have more need of *learning*, than the *ministers* of the gospel, because their employment is of the highest concern, *viz. rightly to divide the word of truth*; and therefore that sacred office is not to be intruded into, but by persons duly qualified and called. And most certain it is, that human literature, without grace, is a dangerous enemy to the true christian religion; and barely considered in itself, gives no right to the exercise of that sacred function, any more than the meanest of mechanick arts. For, as Dr. *Carlton*, formerly bishop of *Chichester*, well says, a *layman*, that hath the Spirit of God, is better able to judge of the church and its members, than a man in *ecclesiastical* function, that hath not the Spirit of God. And *Justin Martyr* excellently, *Infelix sapientia extra verbum Dei sapere*: so that it is not the formality of *academical* degrees, nor any *philosophical* dexterity, which is to be exercised in the things that may be known by the light of natural reason, nor variety of *languages*, that qualifies a *preacher*: for if things will travel beyond their road, and must needs be defining things beyond their sphere or reach, they become extravagant and saucy.

Concerning *unlearned* mens wresting the *holy Scriptures*, it may be proper to consider in what sense they are *unlearned*; for men may be learned or unlearned in divers respects. A man may be learned in *arithmetic*, that is unlearned in *logic*; or he may be learned in *grammar*, and unlearned in *geometry*; and learned in *philosophy*, though unlearned in *divinity*. For if a man should attain to some perfection in the seven liberal arts and sciences, ^{f230} and besides these should gain the knowledge of several languages, and be a proficient in moral and natural philosophy, these would be rare accomplishments, make him a lovely man, useful, and set him in a station above his fellows; but yet he might be ignorant in the things of God, and consequently an *unlearned man in the account* of St. *Peter*. For all that wisdom is no more than St. *Paul* speaks of even the *wisdom of this world*. Therefore a great *scholar* in secular or human *learning* may possibly be *unlearned* in *divinity*, yea, tho' he can read *Greek* and *Hebrew*.

THE reverend bishop *Taylor* observed, that *Hebrew* and *Greek* scholars are not blessed with an assured knowledge of divine truth, above such as can only read the *Scriptures* in *Latin* and *English*.

For says he, ^{f231} I know no man that says, that the *Scriptures* in *Hebrew* and *Greek* are easy and certain to be understood, and that they are hard in *Latin* and *English*. The difficulty is in the thing, however it be expressed; the least is in the *language*. If the *original* languages were our mother-tongue, *Scripture* is not much the easier to us; and a natural *Greek* or a *Jew*, can with no more reason or authority obtrude his interpretations upon other mens *consciences*, than a man of another nation.

It is to be feared, too many, by their plausible deportments, and the favour of their friends, get into *orders*, and profess to be ministers of *Christ*, before they believe in him, or love him, or have any goodwill to his interest; who must be acknowledged *scholars*, but yet *unlearned*, that is, better acquainted with the writings of *Aristotle* than the epistles of St. *Paul*; learned in *philology*, but unlearned in *divinity*; learned in *languages*, *arts* and *sciences*, but unlearned in the *Scriptures* of truth. And such as these are like enough to *wrest the Holy Scriptures*, to their own and other mens *hurt*. *Tertullian* observed long ago, that *philosophers* have been the chief fathers of *hereticks*. And a learned bishop of the church of England, ^{f232} who wrote upon the knowledge of the tongues, says,

There hath not been a greater *plague* to the christian religion, than *school* divinity; where men take upon them the liberty to propose new questions, make nice distinctions, and rash conclusions of divine matters, tolling them up and down with their tongues like *tennis* balls. And from hence proceeded all the dangerous *heresies*, and cruel bickerings about them, falling from words to blows. The first *divinity* school we read of, was set up at *Alexandria*, by

Pantaenus, and from thence soon after sprang up that damnable *heresy* of the *Arians*, which overrun all christendom, and was the cause of the destruction of so many millions of christians, both of body and soul, which before this were so gross and sensual, that none took them up but dissolute or frantick people, and soon vanished. But after this school, subtle way of arguing was brought into christianity, *heresy* grew more refined, and so subtle, that the plain and pious *fathers* of the church knew not how to lay hold of it, the school distinctions and evasions baffled them, and so those *sophisters*, proud of their conquest, triumphed, and carried away a specious appearance of truth as well as *learning*, or rather *cunning*, insomuch, that many godly persons were deluded, and fell into them; and many of their *heresies* continue unto this day.

Let men therefore take heed how they cry up man's wisdom. The knowledge of the tongues none will or can deny to be useful; but it is that stress which is by some laid upon it, rendring it essential to a *minister*, that gives the offence. So then, we acknowledge this kind of *literature* is good, as a hand-maid, *Hagar* like but if it must needs be *mistress*, and usurp *authority* in the family, if, like scoffing *Ishmael*, it will mock at the spirit and the simplicity of the gospel, let it be cast out.

John Smith.

I SHALL now give a brief account of some of the *Baptist* ministers who lived in the times to which the preceding history refers, whereby it will appear, that men of the greatest *learning* and *piety*, have neither been ashamed nor afraid in the worst of times to stand up in vindication of a principle truly *apostolical*, though ever so much despised and hated. Mr. *John Smith*, of whom mention is made in the foregoing history, was a divine of the church of *England*, and did in the former part of the reign of *King James I.* embrace the opinion of the *Baptists*. I can find no account of him but from his enemies;^{f233} and yet they acknowledge he was a man of right eminent parts. He began first with a dislike of the ceremonies of the church, and the use of prescribed forms of prayer; and on this occasion had a dispute with Mr. *Hildersham* and others; but his satisfaction still remaining, and having published something against these things, he was forced to fly out of the land, to escape the severity of the *persecution* then in *England*. And so well was he beloved and respected by *those that* were inclined to nonconformity, that a great company followed him out of their native country to *Leyden* in *Holland*.

HERE he at first joined himself with the *English* congregation, who were called *Browns*, and his *piety* and *learning* soon procured him the reputation of being one of the *grandees* of the separation.^{f234}

But being now more zealously set to search out the truth, and in a country where he might safely divulge his *opinions*, he quickly after declared against several of the *principles* and *practices* of the *Browns*, and among the rest that of their *baptizing infants*. This exposed him to the hatred and censures of his brethren of the separation. And though they were in exile themselves, for the liberty of their consciences, yet they could not, with that charity and moderation as they ought, bear that others should differ from them: they call him out of the church for his errors, with all that adhered to him. They represented him to be one that had proclaimed war against God's everlasting covenant, and a murderer of the souls of babes and sucklings, by depriving them of the visible seal of salvation. They published several books against him; wherein they endeavoured to expose both him and his opinions to the world. Two were written against him by Mr. *Ainsworth*, elder of the church which call him out; one was published against him by Mr. *Johnson*, pallor of the antient *English* church at *Amsterdam*; and another by Mr. *Robinson*, minister of the *English* congregation at *Leyden*; with some others.

IN these they lay several gross things to his charge. As that he was against reading the Scriptures in publick worship; that he would not allow any translation to be the word of God, but the original only; that he *baptized himself*, supposing there was then no right *administrator* in being. They call him a man of a wolfish nature one whom God had truck with blindness; a brute beat, and the like, as hath been before observed.

But it is to be observed, that at the same time that they accuse him after this manner, they are forced to acknowledge that he was more refined than the common sorts of the *Anabaptists*, and that he did not go with that heretical sect. Nay more, that he had such a dislike and aversion to their gross errors, that his conscience would not permit him to be re-baptized by any of them. And if, according to their accusation, which, as I have shewn, is very unlikely, he *baptized himself*, it was this that led him to it. The *English* refugees were such, as in his opinion had no true *baptism* themselves, having only been sprinkled in their *infancy*; and the foreign *Anabaptists* were such as denied Christ's having taken flesh of the virgin *Mary*, the lawfulness of *magistracy*, and the like, which he and his followers looked upon as very great *errors*. So that neither the *one* nor the *other* could be thought by him to be proper *administrators* of *baptism*.

Mr. Tho. Helwisse, Mr. John Moreton.

HOWEVER it was, Mr. *Smith's* opinions prevailed much, especially, that of baptizing *believers* only; and he soon had *proselytes* enough to form a distinct church of that *persuasion*, even among the *English* exiles. He baptized two *ministers*, who after his decease came into *England*, brought several of his

congregation with them, and very much promoted this opinion at *London* both by their preaching and writings.

HE writ several treatises, which are not now to be met with; as *The Character of the Beast; A Dialogue of Baptism; his Differences with the Brethren of the Antient Separation*; and his *Reply to Mr. Clifford's Christian Plea*.

THE time of his death does not appear: but by a book written by Mr. *Robinson* in the year 1614. it appears he was then dead, and that a great part of his congregation were returned into *England*, with the aforesaid persons.

IN which book mention is made of a *confession of faith*, which I have put in the *appendix*, N^o IV. published by the remainder of Mr. *Smith's* church after his death. This was published in the year 1611. so that its probable he died in *exile* about the year 1610.

Mr. Thomas Helwisse.

THE order of time leads me to give some account of Mr. *Tho. Helwisse*. He had not, as the former, the advantage of a learned education, but appears by his writings to have been a man of good natural parts, and not without some acquired.

The first thing we meet with concerning him is, that he was a member of the antient church of *Separatists*, which had been founded at the establishment of the Reformation in the beginning of Queen *Elizabeth's* reign; and was very serviceable to that people when they transported themselves out of *England* into *Holland*, to escape persecution. ^{f235}

WHILE he continued among them, which was some time, he was esteemed a man of eminent faith, charity and spiritual gifts. But when Mr. *Smith* had occasioned the controversy about *infants baptism* to be revived among them, he was one of those who was convinced of the invalidity and unlawfulness of such *baptisms*, and was accordingly excommunicated with the rest of that persuasion. ^{f236}

Baptized by Mr. Smith.

HE received his baptism from Mr. *Smith*, and was one of the first in the constitution of his church, and after his death had the care of that people committed to him. He did not go on with the same comfort and success as Mr. *Smith* had done; yet they who upbraided him on this account, did at the same time acknowledge, ^{f237} that his preaching and writings had made some *proselytes* to his opinions, and occasioned them to reject their *infant* baptism.

Is opposed by the Brownists.

The chief opposers of Mr. *Helwisse* and his church were the *Brownists*; from whom they had separated. These people writ against them with great warmth, and called them *Hereticks*, *Anabaptists*, *Freewillers*, &c. and yet, in the same writings, they made several concessions in their favour, which cleared them from those extravagant opinions which some held who went under those names.

FOR they acknowledge, that Mr. *Hellwisse* and his people disclaimed free-will, or power in a man's self to work out his own salvation: That though they excluded *infants* from *baptism*, and from being members of the visible church, yet they were so charitable, as to believe that all infants, dying before they had committed actual sin, were saved: That they held an election of certain persons to eternal life, upon the foresight of faith and holiness; and agreed with the *Browns* in the main truths of the gospel. And as to their furniture and morals, they say, they were such as had come to some degree of knowledge and godliness: that they had *a zeal for God*, tho' in their opinion, *not according to knowledge*; and that when they found a person in their communion guilty of sin, they proceeded to censure him for it. ^{f238}

ONE would think that a *people* of whom all this could be said, should have met with better treatment and more kind usage than they did, tho' they might differ from their *brethren* in some lesser points of religion.

Publishes a confession of faith.

A LITTLE after Mr. *Smith's* death, Mr. *Helwisse* and his people published a confession of their faith. This, if it could be met with, would give us a true account of their opinions. It was supposed to have been chiefly drawn up by Mr. *Smith* himself, before his decease; but it was called, *The Confession of Faith, published in certain conclusions, by the remainder of Mr. Smith's company*, and came out in the year 1611. At the end of it there was *an appendix*, giving some account of Mr. *Smith's* last sickness and death.

MR. *Robinson*, the pastor of an *English* congregation of *Browns* at *Leyden*, published three years after, his *Remarks* upon it; and has therein collected those passages which were thought the most obscure or erroneous in it.

Leaves Holland, and with some others comes to London.

ABOUT the same time also Mr. *Helwisse* began to relied upon his own conduct, and that of the other *English* dissenters, in leaving their own country and friends, and flying into a strange land to escape persecution: whether this did not proceed from fear and cowardice; and whether they ought not rather to

return, that they might bear a testimony for the truth, in their own land, where it was in danger of being wholly extinguished; and that they might also encourage and comfort their brethren who were there suffering *persecution* for Christ's sake. The conclusion of this was, that he and his church quickly left *Amsterdam*, and removed to *London*; where they continued their church state, and assemblies for worship, as publickly as the evil of the times would permit. And to justify this conduct, he wrote a treatise, entitled, *A Short Declaration, &c*, wherein he endeavours to shew in what cases it was unlawful to fly in times of *persecution*.

But this greatly provok'd his *brethren* the *Nonconformists* in exile. They ascribed it to his natural confidence under the appearance of spiritual courage. They censured it as vain glory, so to challenge the king and state to their faces, and call it avowing wilful persecution; and Mr. *Robinson* writ an answer to him, from whence this account is collected.

*Publishes a treatise, entitled,
Persecution judged and condemned.*

IN the year 1615. Mr. *Helwisse* and his church at *London*, published a treatise, entitled, *Persecution for Religion judged and condemned*. 'Tis true, there is no author's name to it. But at the end of the *Epistle Dedicatory* instead of names, it is subscribed thus, By *Christ's unworthy witnesses, his Majesty's faithful subjects, commonly, but most falsly, called Anabaptists*. But it appears to be theirs, because towards the end of the book, to clear themselves from those gross errors held by some *Anabaptists*, and to prove their *orthodoxy* in the point of Christ's incarnation, the lawfulness of magistracy, &c. they refer the reader to the *confession of faith* beforementioned, printed four years before this, and call it *their confession*.

IN this, besides their exposing, by several excellent arguments, the great sin of *persecution*, they take the opportunity of clearing themselves of several false charges cast upon them, and of making known some of their chief opinions. They reject the *baptism of infants*, as being a practice that has no foundation in Scripture; and all *baptism* received either in the church of *Rome* or *England*, they looked upon to be invalid, because received in a false church, and from *antichristian ministers*.

THEY assert, that every man has a right to judge for himself in matters of religion; and that to persecute any on that account, is illegal and antichristian.

THEY acknowledge *magistracy* to be God's *ordinance*, and that kings, and such as are in authority, ought to be obeyed in all civil matters, not only for fear, but also for conscience sake.

THEY allow the taking of an *oath* to be lawful: and declare, that all of their profession were willing in faithfulness and truth to subscribe the oath of allegiance.

THEY protest against that doctrine of the *Papists*, that princes excommunicated by the *pope* may be deposed or murdered by their subjects; calling it a *damnable* and *cursed* doctrine, which their souls abhor; and also against the error of the *Familists*, who, to avoid *persecution*, can comply with any external form of religion.

THEY own, that some called *Anabaptists* held several strange opinions contrary to them; and endeavour to clear themselves from deserving any censure on that account, by shewing, that it was so in some of the primitive churches: as some in the church of *Corinth* denied the resurrection of the dead; some in the church at *Pergamos* held the doctrine of the *Nicolaitans*; and yet Christ and his apostles did not condemn all for the errors of some. But that which they chiefly inveigh against, is the pride, luxury, and oppression of the *lordly* bishops, and the pretended spiritual power, by which, they say, many were exposed to confiscation of goods, long and lingering imprisonments, hanging, burning, and banishment.

How long Mr. *Helwisse* lived, and continued the elder of this church of *Baptists* at *London*, I cannot find. The books wrote against them about this time shew, that they went on with great courage and resolution; and notwithstanding the severities used against them by the civil power, increased very much in their numbers.

ONE *author*, to prove their doctrines plain and easy to be understood, particularly that of Baptism, says, ^{f239}

witness the multitude of their disciples.

And when the famous *Dod* and *Cleaver* united their forces, to confute their supposed *error*, they apologized for their attempt, alledging, that the people of this persuasion took great pains to propagate their doctrine and that divers persons of good note for piety had been prevailed upon by them, as has been before observed.

Among their other *proselytes* about this time, there was one at *London*, who being severely reflected upon for his leaving the church of *England*, and joining with such an heretical people, as they were then esteemed, wrote a letter to inform his relations of his real opinion, and what he had to offer in defence of it. This letter falling into the hands of a zealous son of the church, before it came to the persons intended, he immediately published it, with an answer to it. He says it was indited by a principal elder of that separation; and

if so, in all probability Mr. *Helwisse* was the *author* of it. It bears date at *London* the 10th of *May* 1622. and contains in a little compass, the state of this controversy. The spirit and management of the *Baptists* in those times, is very well represented by it, as you may see by turn back to *page* 133. of this *history*, where the same is recited.

Mr. John Morton.

Mr. *John Morton* was another of Mr. *Smith*'s disciples, and contemporary with Mr. *Helwisse*. I can find but very little concerning him.

In the *preface* to the two publick disputations, about *infant-baptism*, between Dr. *Gunning* and Mr. *Dew*, I find, after Mr. *Denn* had mentioned several *authors* who had written in defence of *infant-baptism*, he adds

Have we not had also many who have laboured not a little on the opposite party, and both by, their pens and sufferings testified against the *baptism* of *infants*? As *Morton*, with some others contemporary, the ministers of *Transylvania*, and since of later years *Blackwell*, *Tombes*, *Cornwall*, *Fisher*, *Lamb senior*, *Lamb junior*, *Writer*, *Haggar*, with many others.'

So that this *Morton*, who lived before the civil wars, did both write and suffer for the cause of the *Baptists*; though a particular account of these things cannot now be obtained.

ALTHOUGH this man might after his return from *Holland*, stay some time at *London* with Mr. *Helwisse* and his church; yet there appears a probability of his settling afterwards in the country, and preaching to some people there: for at the beginning of the civil wars, when they were demolishing an old *wall* near *Colchester*, there was found hid in it the copy of a book, written by J. *Morton*, supposed to be the same person.

THE *General Baptists* were very fond of it, soon got it printed, and it has since received several impressions.

THE *author* of this book appears to have been a man of considerable learning and parts, one that understood the *oriental* languages, and was acquainted with the writings of the *fathers*, but a very zealous *Remonstrant* or *Arminian*. It is entitled, *Truth's Champion*; and contains thirteen chapters on the following heads:

1. THAT Christ died for all men.
2. OF his dying for all, to save all
3. OF his power given out to all.
4. OF predestination.
5. OF election.
6. OF free-will.

7. OF falling away.
8. OF original sin.
9. OF baptizing, or baptism.
10. OF the ministry.
11. OF love.
12. OF those that hold that God hath appointed or destined unavoidably all the actions of men, and the sad effects that follow.
13. OF the man *Adam*, and of the man *Christ*; with answer to divers objections on the same.

IT is written in a very good stile, and the arguments are managed with a great deal of art and skill; so that those who follow the *Remonstrants* scheme of doctrines, do not value it without a cause.

But leaving this *Gentleman*, let us come to those times that are nearer us, in which we may have a more particular account of the chief persons of this persuasion; and we than find, that as *knowledge* and *liberty* has increased, so there have been still men of greater learning and reputation, who have embraced the *opinion* of the *Baptists*.

Mr. John Tombes.

MR. *John Tombes*, B. D. did about the beginning of the civil wars embrace this *opinion*; and by his learned writings promoted it more than any one man of *those* times.

HE was born at *Bewdly* in *Worcestershire*, in the year of our Lord 1603, and his parents designing him for the sacred function of the ministry, took care to have him timely instructed at the grammarschool; where he proved so good a proficient, that at fifteen years of age he was found fit for the *University*, and accordingly was then sent to *Oxford*, and educated in *Magdalen-hall*, under the famous Mr. *William Pemble*, author of *Vindiciae Gratiae*, and several other learned treatises.

Is chosen catechetical lecturer at Magdalen-hall, Oxford.

HERE, by his good genius, his diligent studies, and the advantage of such an accomplished tutor, his improvements were uncommon, and he quickly gained the reputation of a person of incomparable parts and learning; and therefore, upon the decease of his tutor, which happened in 1624. he was chosen to succeed him in the catechetical lecture in this hall, when he was yet but twenty one years of age, and of six years standing in the university. But notwithstanding this, he approved himself an excellent disputant, and good divine, upon the of the principles Anti-remonstrants.

*Leaves Oxford. Obtains the living at Lemster.
Is plundered there.*

HE held this lecture about seven years, and then left *Oxford*, and went to *Worcester*, and after that to *Lemster* in *Herefordshire*; at both which places he made himself very popular by his preaching. I do not find that he had any settlement in the former of these places; only was very famous in that city, about the year 1630. for his having a more powerful way of preaching than ordinary. But he was possessed of the living at *Lemster*, and enjoyed it several years. This, though a large parish, yet was but a poor cure, such as would hardly afford him a maintenance, and what some thought much below his merit. But the

Lord *Viscount Scudamore*, who had a great respect for him, was pleased to make some addition to it, of which Mr. *Tombes* made a thankful acknowledgment in the first book that he published. ^{f240} He was among the first of the clergy of those times, who endeavoured a reformation in the church, and the purging out of all human inventions in the worship of God; and while he continued in this parish, preached an excellent sermon on that subject, which was afterward printed by an order of the House of Commons. But this exposed him to the rage of the church party; and therefore at the very beginning of the civil wars, form of the king's forces coming into that country, he was in 1641. drove from his habitation, and plundered of almost all he had in the world. ^{f241}

Goes to Bristol.

UPON this he fled to *Bristol*, which was in the parliament's possession; and general *Fiennes*, who then had the command of that city, gave him the living of *All-Saints* there, in consideration of his great losses.

HE had not been there above a year, before the city was besieged by prince *Rupert* and his army, and a plot formed by their friends within, to deliver up the city, to burn the houses, and massacre the inhabitants. But this was very seasonably discovered and prevented. Mr. *Tombes* on the day of *publick* thanksgiving observed by the city on this occasion, preached two very suitable sermons, and drew a short account of this bloody plot, and the happy means of its being prevented; which with the sermons was sent up to *London*, and printed by an order of parliament.

Is plundered again, escapes to London.

But this had like to have cost him dear. For the next year following, the city was taken by the king's party, his wife and children again plundered, and a special warrant out for the apprehending of him; so that it was with great

difficulty, and by a special providence of God, that he escaped, and got safe to *London* with his wife and children, on *Sept. 22. 1643.* ^{f242}

Divulges his scruples about infant-baptism.

When he had been a little time at *London*, and acquainted himself with several ministers, who were now come from all parts, to form the assembly of divines at *Westminster*, he took opportunity to divulge to them his scruples concerning *infant-baptism*. It appears, he had entertained some, doubts about this practice very early; for in the year 1627. when he was lecturer at *Magdalen-hall* in *Oxford*, being led by the course of these lectures to examine this point, he then discovered the insufficiency of all the common arguments usually brought to justify that practice; and rested wholly upon those words of the *apostle*, *Else were your children unclean, but now are they holy*. And when he held the living at *Lemster*, which obliged him to practise the *baptizing of infants*, he declares this was the only scripture that he built upon; and frequently told his *auditors*, that that text was the only warrant for it. (~~¶~~1 Corinthians 7:14)

^{f243} But when he was at *Bristol*, he met with an ingenious *Baptist*, who, in a dispute with him, did so fully answer his argument from that only *text*, as put him to a stand. He would not rashly and all at once, cast off an opinion and practice so universally received; and yet, as a man that durst not oppose the truth, whoever brought it, he resolved to consider the matter more fully, and that if ever he came to *London*, where he should have a greater advantage both of men and books, he would more strictly examine the history of *Paedobaptism*, and consult his brethren of the assembly about this matter.

BEING therefore now come to *London*, he put his resolution into practice, by reading *Vossius's Theses de Paedobaptismo*; and examining the antient testimonies therein, he found, that in point of *antiquity*, the matter was not so clear as he had taken it to be; that *infant-baptism* began first to be practised in cases of *supposed necessity* only, conceiving that it conferred grace, and saved all that received it, and that afterwards it grew to be the ordinary practice. And as to the holiness of *believers* children, that only *text* he had so long hung upon, he thought that no *protestants* of learning had expounded it of *legitimation*; but meeting with *Camerarius's* notes, then newly printed at *Cambridge*, and afterwards with *Musculus, Melancthon*, and *Beza*, who were all of that *opinion*, and prove, by good arguments, that this must be the *apostle's* meaning, and that no other sense is suitable to the case he was there resolving he thereupon became fully satisfied, that *infant-baptism* was without any real foundation, either from *scripture* or *antiquity*.

Consults some divines thereupon.

^{f244} However, he still resolved to consult the most learned of his *brethren*, and hear the utmost that could be said on the other side; and accordingly there was a meeting of the *London* ministers in *January* 1643. The great Dr. *Holmes*, Mr. *Marshal*, Mr. *Blake*, and Mr. *Hen. Scudder*, are particularly mentioned as present at it.

The question proposed was, what *scripture* there was for *infant-baptism*? Mr. *Tombes* told them plainly, he doubted there was none. The place they chiefly insisted upon was ^{<01914>}Matthew 19:14. *For of such is the kingdom of heaven*. But this he shewed them was on many accounts insufficient for that purpose.

Is misrepresented by them.

THE whole issued without any satisfaction to Mr. *Tombes*: and he complained that several of them did afterwards misrepresent him, as to what then passed.

THE *assembly* of divines were now sitting at *Westminster*, and had declared, that their deign was to reform religion, in *England* and *Scotland*, according to the word of God, and the example of the best reformed churches. And Mr. *Tombes* was also informed, by one of that *assembly*, that they had appointed a *committee* to consider the point of *infant-baptism*.

Delivers his reasons to the committee.

WHEREUPON he drew up in *Latin*, the chief reasons of his doubting the lawfulness of that practice, and sent them to Mr. *Whittaker* the chairman of that *committee*; hoping that an *assembly* of such grave and learned *divines* would either answer the scruples of a *brother* in the ministry; or, if they appeared to be justly founded, that they would according to their professions and covenant, endeavour to reform this abuse of the *ordinance* of *baptism*.

But receives no answer.

HE waited many months, but could get no answer, or hear that the *point* was so much as admitted to a debate in the *assembly*. Instead of that, he found that some of the *assembly*, both by *sermons* and *pamphlets*, endeavoured to render odious to the people those that should deny *baptism* to *infants*; that they passed a vote, tending to explode, if not censure, any that should but dispute against it; and that instead of considering his arguments impartially, his papers were tossed up and down from one to another, in order to expose him. ^{f245}

*His maintenance withheld from him.
He is chosen by the templers.*

BUT that which was worse, being now *minister* of *Fenchurch* in *London*, care was taken to prejudice his parishioners against him, under the notion of his being an *Anabaptist*. Though he meddled not with any thing of this matter in the *pulpit*, they refilled to come and hear him, and resolved at the expiration of the year, to withhold his maintenance from him. It happened, just after his *stipend* was taken away at *Fenchurch*, for not practising the *baptism* of *infants*, that the honourable societies of the *Temple* wanted a preacher; whereupon some who knew Mr. *Tombes* to be a man of great learning, and an excellent preacher, solicited for the bringing of him thither. This was at length obtained for him; but not without great difficulty, and a promise that he would not meddle with the controversy about *infant-baptism* in the *pulpit*. Which promise he made; but upon these two conditions That no one did preach for the *baptizing* of *infants* in his *pulpit*; and that no laws were likely to be enacted, to make the denial of *infant-baptism* penal.

And dismissed from them.

^{f246} HE continued in this place about four years; and then was dismissed, for publishing his first *Treatise* against *infant-baptism*; which contained his objections against that practice, before sent to the *assembly* of divines, and his *examen* of Mr. *Marshal's* sermon on *infant-baptism*.

FOR this he was censured as a man of a restless spirit, and one that had a mind to encrease the divisions and confusions of the times; and others represented it as a breach of his promise of silence in this matter. But in his *apology* he clears himself very handsomely from all these charges; and shews, that he had such provocations, as made his publishing of this both just and *necessary*. He had waited nine months for the *assembly's* answer to his doubts; but instead of receiving any, his papers were handed about, and by some publicly exposed in their pulpits.

WHEN he had long solicited Mr. *Marshal's* answer to the remarks he had made upon his sermon, the best return he could get was, that since he had *a place* for his ministry, without *baptizing* of *infants*, he expected him to be quiet.

WHEN he wanted the *assembly's* approbation of him as a *minister*, he was told by the *examiner*, that there were many of the *assembly* that did scruple in conscience the giving approbation to him, because of his *opinion*. He was also informed, that in *New England* there was a law made, and some proceedings thereupon, against those that denied the *baptism* of *infants*: That here in

England, the *directory*, which enjoins the *baptizing of infants*, was published with an *ordinance* of parliament, to make the not using of it *penal*; and that many godly, learned, and prudent persons, both of those that differed from him, as well as of those that agreed with him in this *point*, earnestly requested the publishing of his papers. And from these considerations he says, ^{f247} he thought himself obliged to it, both in *faithfulness* to God, and in *charity* to men.

BUT all this could not save him from being turned out of the *Temple*. See his *apology*, printed in the year 1646. of which Mr. *John Bachiler* says:

Having perused this mild *apology*, I conceive that the ingenuity, learning, and piety, therein contained, deserve the press.

He is chosen minister of Bewdly.

AFTER this, the people of Bewdly in *Worcestershire*, the town of his nativity, chose him for their minister. And now he began to preach and dispute publicly against *infant-baptism*, and to put his opinion into practice, being baptized by *immersion*, on a personal profession of faith. And seeing no prospect of any reformation in the established church in this *point*, he there gathered a *separate* church of those of his own *persuasion*, continuing at the same time minister of the parish. ^{f248}

And gathers a church of Baptists there.

His society of *Baptists* was not very large, but consisted of such who were of good esteem for their piety and solid judgment; and three eminent ministers of that persuasion were trained up in it, *viz.* Mr. *Richard Adams*, Mr. *John Eccles*, and one Capt. *Boylston*; and it continued till about the time of the king's restoration.

BESIDES his living at *Bewdly*, which was made small by the state's selling the lands belonging to the dean and chapter of *Worcester*, from whence great part of his income arose, he had the parsonage of *Rosse* given him. There was a vicar endowed there; but the rectory and parsonage-house being leased out, they bestowed the rent upon him, expecting him only to preach there now and then as he could.

The mastership of the hospital at Ledbury given to him. Is restored to his living at Lemster.

SOMETIME after, the mastership of the hospital in *Ledbury* was bestowed upon him, upon which he gave up his interest at *Rosse*; and when the affections of the people at *Bewdley* were Alienated from him, because of his different opinion concerning baptism, he was restored to his first living at *Lemster*. This variety

of places occasioned some of his opponents, through mistake; to accuse him of holding *pluralities*; a thing that he abhorred, and, from which he, publicly cleared himself. ^{£249} The two latter, which are both in *Herefordshire*, he held indeed till the restoration; but then the mastership of the hospital did not oblige him to the cure of souls.

Is made one of the Tryers.

IN the year 1653. as there was same alteration made in the form of the *civil* government, so there was likewise in the *ecclesiastical*. A certain number of men were authorized to examine and approve all such as should be allowed the publick exercise of the ministry, and were therefore called *Tryers*. Mr. *Tombes* being known to be a person as well qualified for such a post, as most men then in *England*, was, notwithstanding his different opinion, appointed to be one of them. And among other good effects that followed hereupon, this was one, viz. the commissioners agreed to own the *Baptists* as their *brethren*, and that if any such applied to them for probation, and appeared in other respects to be duly qualified, they should not be rejected for holding this *opinion*. ^{£250} And hence it came to pass, that at the *restoration* several parishes were found to have *Baptist* ministers fixed in them.

THE reputation that Mr. *Tombes* had of being a great scholar, and a perfect master in controversy, occasioned his being frequently drawn into publick disputations, and of writing upon most controversies that prevailed in his time; but his chief subject was about *infant-baptism*, against which practice he has writ more books than any one man in *England*.

Has several publick disputes with the Paedobaptists.

HE also held several publick disputes against it: One with Mr. *Baxter* at *Bewdly*; another with Mr. *Tirer* and Mr. *Smith* at *Rosse*; a third with Mr. *Cragg* and Mr. *Vaughn* at *Abergavenny*; and a fourth at *Hereford*. And many who were far enough from approving his opinion, acknowledged he had the advantage of his opponents, both as to learning and argument. ^{£251}

He quits his places, and laid down his ministry.

UPON the restoration of King *Charles II.* he readily fell in with *monarchical* government, and writ a treatise the same year to justify and encourage the taking the *oath of supremacy*. But a little after, when he found the spirit of *persecution* again revived, and the former government and ceremonies of the church imposed; he not only quitted his places, but laid down the *ministry* also, and having not long before married a rich widow at *Salisbury*, by whom he enjoyed a good estate, he was resolved to live at rest and peace in his old age.

HE conformed to the church afterwards, its *true*, as a *lay communicant*, and writ a *treatise* to prove the lawfulness of so doing; nevertheless he continued in his judgment as much a *Baptist* as ever, and publicly defended that *opinion* afterward. Nor could he be prevailed upon to accept any benefice or dignity in the church, though it was offered to him, and by such as were able to have preferred him very high, for he was well beloved by several great men both in church and state.

Was very much esteemed.

THE earl of *Clarendon* took an opportunity soon after the restoration to speak to his majesty in his favour, and gave a great character of him from his own knowledge: by which means he was protected from having any trouble given him for any thing he had written or acted during the *rebellion*. And when he published his book of *oaths*, which was dedicated to the king, the same noble peer being then Lord Chancellor, introduced him to present it into his majesty's own hand. ^{f252}

THE learned and judicious bishop *Sanderson* had a great esteem for him; as had also one of his successors, bishop *Barlow*; and living chiefly at *Salisbury* the latter part of his life, he was observed to make frequent visits to Dr. *Ward*, bishop of that place, who respected him very much for his great learning. And at this town it was that he died, *May 25. 1676.* being seventy three years of age.

Some Paedobaptists testimonies of his character.

THE character that is given of this great man, by those who have zealously opposed his particular *opinion*, and so cannot be suspected of any partiality, is sufficient to convince the world that he was a person of extraordinary abilities.

MR. *Baxter*, who was personally engaged to dispute and write against him, calls him the chief of the *Anabaptists*; and says, he was the greatest and most learned writer against *infant-baptism*. ^{f253} And though in the warmth of disputation, he published some unhandsome things against him, when he grew cooler, he professed himself heartily sorry, and publicly asked pardon both of God and Mr. *Tombes*. ^{f254}

MR. Wood, the *Oxford* biographer, says, ^{f255}

That there were few better disputants in his age than he was.

MR. *Nelson*, that zealous churchman, says, ^{f256}

It cannot be denied, but that he was esteemed a person of incomparable parts.

And a little further:

Tombes was the head of the *Anabaptists*, and *Baxter* of the *Presbyterians*. The victory, as it is usual, was claimed by both sides, but some of the learned who were affected to neither of them, yielded the advantage both of learning and argument to the former, while yet they were as far from approving his cause, as even Mr. *Baxter* himself could be.

DR. *Calamy*, in the life of Mr. *Baxter*, speaking of Mr. *Tombes*, says,

whom all the world must own to have been a very considerable man, and an excellent scholar, how disinclined soever they may be to his particular opinions. ^{f257}

MR. *Wall*, in his elaborate history of *infant-baptism*, says, ^{f258}

Of the professed *Antipadobaptists*, Mr. *Tombes* was a man of the best parts in our nation, and perhaps in any.

But that which will perpetuate his memory yet more than all this, is, that character of him which the House of Lords have been pleased to publish. For in their conference with the Commons upon the bill to prevent *occasional conformity* in 1702. to prove that receiving the sacrament in the church does not necessarily import an *entire conformity*, they fix upon him as an instance, and thus express themselves: ^{f259}

There was a very learned and famous man, that lived at *Salisbury*, Mr. *Tombes*, who was a very zealous *conformist* in all points but in one, *infant-baptism*.

AND now, to finish our account of him; That he justly deserved all these great encomiums, will appear to any unprejudiced person, that shall consult the learned and ingenious books which he has written. And though they are many, and some of them now very difficult to be met with; yet, I think, the following is a compleat *catalogue* of them, and set down in the order in which they were published

His Works.

1. *Christ's Commination against scandalizers; a treatise wherein the necessity, nature, sorts and evils of scandalizing are cleared and fully handled.* 8vo 1641
2. *Fermentum Pharisaeorum; or, The Leaven of Pharisaical Will-Worship, declared in a sermon on* ^{<0159>} Matthew 15:9. published by order of parliament. 4to 1643
3. *Jehovah Jireh; or, God's Providence in delivering the godly; in two thanksgiving sermons published by order of parliament.* 4to 1643

- 4.** *Anthropolatria; or, The Sin of glorying in Men, especially in eminent Ministers of the Gospel.* 4to 1645
- 5.** *An Exercitation about Infant-Baptism; presented to a chairman of a committee of the assembly of divines.* 4to 1646
- 6.** *An Examen of the sermon of Mr. Stephen Marshal about infant-baptism.* 4to 1646
- 7.** *An Apology or Plea for the aforegoing treatises concerning Infant-Baptism.* 4to 1646
- 8.** *An Antidote against the Venom of a Passage in the Epistle Dedicatory of Mr. Baxter's book, entitled, The Saints Everlasting Rest; which contains a satyrical invective against Anabaptists.* 4to 1650
- 9.** *An Addition to the Apology, for the two treatises concerning Infant-Baptism; in answer to Mr. Robert Bailie.* 4to 1652
- 10.** *Praecursor; or, A Forerunner to a large Review of the Dispute concerning Infant-Baptism.* 4to 1652
- 11.** *Antipaedobaptism; or, No plain nor obscure Scripture-Proof of Infant-Baptism; being the first part of the full Review.* 4to 1652
- 12.** *Refutatio Positionis, ejusque Confirmationis, Paedobaptismum esse licitum, affirmantis, ab Henrico Savage, SS. T. D.* 4to 1653
- 13.** *A Plea for Antipaedobaptists; in answer to a book, entitled, The Anabaptists anatomised and silenced, in a publick dispute at Abergavenny.* 4to 1654
- 14.** *Antipaedobaptism; or, the second part of the full Review of the dispute concerning infant-baptism.*
- 15.** *Antipaedobaptism; or, the third part of the full Review.* 4to 1657
- 16.** *Animadversiones quaedam in Aphorismos Richardi Baxter, de Justificatione.* 1658
- 17.** *A short Catechism about Baptism* 4to 1658
- 18.** *Felo de se; or, Mr. Baxter's Self-Destroying, manifested in twenty arguments against infant-baptism out of his own writings.* 4to 1659
- 19.** *True Old-Light exalted above pretended New-Light; a treatise of Jesus Christ, as he is the Light that enlightens every one that comes into the World,*

against the *Quakers* and *Arminians*; and recommended by Mr. *Baxter*. 4to 1660

20. *Romanism discussed*; an answer to the nine first articles of H. T's Manual of Controversies, recommended by *R. Baxter*. 4to 1660

21. *A serious Consideration of the oath of the King's Supremacy*. 4to. 1660

22. *A Supplement to the serious Consideration, &c.* 4to 1660

23. *Sephersheba, or, The Oath-Book*; a treatise concerning swearing, containing twenty catechetical lectures on the third commandment. 4to 1662

24. *Saints no Smiters*; a treatise against the fifth monarchy men. 4to 1664

25. *Theodulia*; or, A Just Defence of hearing the Scrumps, and other Teachings of the present Ministers of *England*. 8vo 1667

26. *Emanuel, or God-man*; wherein the doctrine of the first *Nicene* and *Chalcedon* councils is asserted against the *Socinians*. 8vo 1669

27. *A Just Reply to the books of Mr, Wills, and Mr. Blinman, for Infant-Baptism*; in a Letter to *Henry Danvers*, Esq; 8vo 1675

28. *Animadversiones in Librum Georgii Bulli, cui titulum fecit, Harmonia Apostolica*. 8vo 1676

Mr. Henry Denne.

ANOTHER *champion* in the cause of the *Baptists*, contemporary with the former, was Mr. *Henry Denne*, who signalized himself by his preaching and writing, disputing and suffering for this opinion.

HE was from his childhood designed for the ministry; and to qualify him the better for that great employment, was educated at the university of *Cambridge*, and when he came from thence, received orders from the bishop of *St. David's*, about the year of our Lord 1630.

THE first living he obtained was that of *Pyrton* in *Hertfordshire*, which cure he held for about ten years; and being a more frequent and lively preacher than the generality of the *clergy* of those times, was greatly beloved and respected by his parishioners.

Preaches the visitation sermon at Baldock.

IN 1641. there was a visitation held at *Baldock* in this county; and Mr. *Denne* was the person fixed upon to preach the sermon to the *clergy* and *gentry* that assembled on this occasion. This proved a great means of making him so

publick and famous as he became afterwards. For he entertained them with an uncommon discourse, and such a one, as procured him both a great many *friends* and *enemies*.

HE had always been suspected as a person puritanically inclined; and the difference that was now between the king and parliament gave such persons an opportunity of declaring their minds more freely, and pushing on for such a reformation of religion as be ore they desired and wished for. Mr. *Denne* took this to be such an opportunity for him, and resolved now to expose the sin of *persecution*, the vices of the clergy, and the corruptions in doctrine and worship, which he apprehended to be in the established church.

His introduction to his text on this occasion was so singular in its kind, and will give the reader such a taste of the ingenuity and spirit of the man, that I conclude it will not be an offensive digression, to give the whole of it in his own words.

AFTER he had concluded his prayer, he thus addressed himself to his learned and numerous *auditory*.

The introduction to it.

Holy brethren and *fathers*, I am at this present time surprized with three passions; with joy, with fear, and with grief. My sorrow sympathizeth with yours. I am sorry, in the first place, that you have not a wiser man to speak unto you this day, especially so many sitting by; and for this I presume you are as sorrowful as I. I am right sorry, in the second place, that I than this day trouble you with so large a discourse, as neither the quantity nor quality of the day will well permit. As a remedy for this, let me intreat your christian patience to tire me. This is my grief. My fear is, besides that ordinary fear which doth usually follow me at such exercises, especially at extraordinary times, and in unaccustomed places, I have yet another fear, that I shall this day be mistaken; not that I fear the mistaking of my words, for that were to call your judgments into question; but I fear lest you should mistake the intentions of my heart, and that I than be thought to aim at some particular persons. To clear this, I call the Searcher of all hearts to record, before whom I protest this day, that I aim not at any man's person; but. I desire to be free from envy and malice, and to be in perfect charity with all men. And I do here again protest, that what I shall speak this day, is against the errors and vices, not against the persons of men. This is my fear. My joy is founded upon your fervent charity, joined with your sound judgment. In respect of your charity, I count it a part of my happiness, seeing it is as it is, to speak before you, who will be ready to cover my infirmities, and to pardon my failings, and gently to admonish me, if any thing be amiss. In respect of your judgment, I do count it a further happiness, that I have this day an opportunity to make confession of my faith, and to communicate my doctrine unto so learned, judicious, and

indifferent *auditors*, which that I may do, I betake myself with speed to a portion of scripture, selected for this present occasion, written ~~RES~~ John 5:35. *He was a burning and a shining light, and ye were willing for a season to rejoice in his light.*

WHOEVER will be at the pains to read the sermon itself, will find the same briskness of stile, and chain of thought, running through the whole; and that there was great occasion for some such apology as this, to a discourse, wherein the chief evils of the time are so freely censured, and the vices of the *clergy* so plainly laid open particularly, their *pride*, their *covetousness*, their *pluralities*, and *non-residence*, which about this time were risen to a great height. And his applications are sometimes very particular and biting. Of which let me give this one instance. The court for receiving presentments against such as break the *ecclesiastical laws*, being held at these visitations, after he had enumerated some of the most flagrant crimes of the clergy, he takes the freedom to say,

I must call upon those in *authority*, that they would make diligent search after these *foxes*. If the courts had been so vigilant to find out *these*, as *nonconformable ministers*, surely by this time the church would have been as free from them, as the land from *wolves*. But they have preferred the traditions of men before the commandments of Almighty God. *I tell you, that conformity* hath ever sped the worse for their fakes, who breaking the commandments of God, think to make amends with *conformity* to the traditions of men.'

THE clergy had much ado to fit the hearing of these things; and a great noise was afterwards made about it, and many false *reports* given out both against him and his sermon; so that he was obliged to print it in his own defence. And from this time he began to be taken notice of, not only as a man of extraordinary parts, but also a proper person to help forward the designed *reformation*. Mr. *Disborough*, a man that had a great hand at that time in publick affairs, saith of him;

He is the ablest man in the kingdom, for prayer, expounding, and preaching.

MR. *Edwards*, who is never to be suspected of partiality to any that were called *Sectarians*, acknowledges, ^{r260} That he had a very affectionate way of preaching, and took much with the people.

Is thereupon imprisoned. He professes himself to be a Baptist.

The revolutions which happened about this time in the state, necessarily brought on some alterations in religion and the government having declared their design to reform religion in these kingdoms according to the word of God, and the example of the best reformed churches; this put Mr. *Denne*, as well as many other learned men, upon making a diligent and impartial search

after truth, and bringing same points of religion into strict examination, which before they had only taken for granted, and received from the influence of custom. Among the rest, he found that the practice of *baptizing children* was without any foundation from *scripture*, or the writings of the christians for the two first *ages* after Christ. And accordingly, about the year 1643. he publicly profess'd himself to be a *Baptist*, and was baptized by *immersion* at *London*, and joined himself to the congregation of that persuasion there, of which Mr. *Lamb* was the pastor. This of course exposed him to the resentment of those who now sat at the *helm* of *ecclesiastical affairs*. And the next news we hear of him is, that he was taken up in *Cambridgeshire*, and committed to *prison* by the *committee* of that county, for preaching against *infant-baptism*, and presuming to *rebaptize* some in those parts. Mr. *Denne* appealed to the parliament; upon which he was, by an order from the house, brought up to *London*, and, till his case could be heard, was kept *prisoner* in the *lord Peter's* house in *Bishopsgate-street*.

It happened, that there was in this *prison*, at the same time, the great Dr. *Featly*, famous for his opposing the *Anabaptists*, and who had but just before published his book, called *the Dippers Dipt; or, the Anabaptists duck'd, and plunged over head and ears, at a disputation in Southwark*.

This book, as soon as Mr. *Denne* came into the *prison*, was laid before him in his apartment.

Challenges Dr. Featly to dispute.

HAVING read it, he looked upon himself obliged to defend the principle and prance for which he now suffered; and therefore sent to the *doctor*, offering to dispute with him upon the arguments he had laid down in his book. The doctor at first accepts the *challenge*; but when they had only discoursed on the first of his ten *arguments*, he found he had now another kind of *opponent* to deal with, than those he triumph'd over at *Southwark*; ^{f261} and therefore declined going any further, on pretence it was not safe so to do without *licence* from the *government*; but however, bid him write, and said he would defend his own *arguments*.

Jan. 10. 1644. Feb. 22. 1644.

UPON this Mr. *Denne* set himself to writing, and drew up a very learned and ingenious answer, dating his book from this prison, as the doctor had done his, and tho' the doctor's was published before he came thither, so quick was he with his answer, that there is but a little above a month's difference in the date of them. But I do not find that ever the doctor, according to his promise, made any reply to it.

He obtains the parish of Elsly.

AFTER Mr. *Denne* was set at liberty, notwithstanding his opposing the common opinion in this particular, he obtained by some means or other the parish of *Elsly* in *Cambridgeshire*,^{f262} where he preached publickly in the church, and enjoyed the means belonging to it for some time, and was very much followed for his popular preaching.

Quits his living, and went into the army.

But this gave great offence to some of the *Presbyterian* party, who now began to think none ought to be admitted into publick *livings* but *themselves*. And more especially the neighbouring *ministers* were greatly prejudiced against him. Being once to preach on a lecture day at *St. Ives*, an order was obtained from the committee of the county against it; whereupon he went into a churchyard a little distance, and preached under a tree, and to the mortification of his opposers, a great number of the people followed him thither. He was also in the year 1646. taken up by two justices of the peace at *Spalding* in *Lincolnshire*, and committed to prison, for having *baptized* some persons in a river there, as has been before observed. By such proceedings as these, Mr. *Denne* was obliged to quit his living; and finding such laws enacted, as would hinder his being, useful, or enjoying any benefice in the church, he went into the *army*; and being a man of great courage and zeal for the liberties of his country, took upon him the profession of the *soldier* as well as the *divine*, and behaved himself so well, as to gain a reputation, not inferior to many, in both these characters.

As to his opinion in other points, he seems to have taken that which is called the middle way; being properly neither *Calvinist* nor *Arminian*. For tho' he held the doctrine of *personal election*, and the special efficacy of grace to some, yet he as zealously opposed the doctrine of *absolute reprobation*; asserting, that by the death of Christ, all men were put into the possibility of salvation, and were to have the offers of it: so that the destruction^{f263} and ruin of those that perish, is only of *themselves*.

THE same scheme was vindicated by bishop *Usher*, Dr. *Davenant*, and of late by the famous Dr. *Tillotson*. But for this Mr. *Denne* was accused by some who wrote against him, of being a great *Antinomian*, and a desperate *Arminian*.^{f264}

ONE of the most remarkable passages of this man's life, that wherein he most served the *Baptists*, and gave the greatest proofs of his being a good *scholar*, and a compleat *disputant*, was that publick dispute which he held for two days with Dr. *Gunning* in *St. Clement's* church, without *Temple-Bar*, concerning *infant-baptism*, in the year 1658. which was afterwards printed. He died a little

after the restoration, and upon his grave was put, by a *clergyman* of his acquaintance, this epitaph.

*To tell his wisdom, learning, goodness unto men,
I need to say no more, but here lies Henry Denne.*

THOSE that desire to see a confirmation of this character, will find it by reading his works: which are,

His Works.

1. *The doctrine and conversation of John the Baptist*; a visitation sermon. 8vo 1642
2. *The foundation of childrens baptism discovered and raised*; an answer to Dr. Featley and Mr. Marshal. 4to 1645
3. *The man of sin discovered, whom the Lord will destroy with the brightness of his coming*. 4to 1645
4. *The drag-net of the kingdom of heaven*; or, Christ's drawing all men. 8vo 1646
5. *The levellers design discovered*, a sheet, 1649.
6. *A contention for truth*, in two publick disputations at St. *Clement's* church, between Dr. *Gunning* and *Henry Denne*, concerning infant-baptism. 4to 1658

Mr. Henry Jessey.

ANOTHER famous man of this denomination, was the learned, humble, and very pious Mr. *Henry Jessey*, M. A.

Is first a chaplain to a private family.

HE was born on the 3d of *September*, 1601. at *West-Routon* in the North Riding of *Yorkshire*, his father being minister of that place. When he was seven teen years of age, he was sent to the university, and educated in St. *John's* college at *Cambridge*, where he continued about six years, and commenced, first batchelor, and then master of arts. But that which is most remarkable, is, that while he was under the teachings of men, and eagerly pursuing after human learning in this place, God himself was pleased to teach him, and enrich his soul with divine learning, working effectually in him, by his Holy Spirit, the knowledge of sin, and faith in Christ; so that he dates his conversion to God, while he was yet at the *university*, and but of twenty one years of age; a very rare and uncommon instance! However, this put no stop to the progress of his education; for he followed his studies as closely as ever,

only he now steered the course of them more direly to qualify him for the *ministry* of the gospel; having determined from this time to devote himself to that sacred employment. When he removed from the university, old Mr. *Bramton Gurdon*, of *Assington* in *Suffolk*, famous for his having three sons parliament-men, took him to be chaplain in his family. And in this worthy family he continued nine years, where he had the opportunity of perfecting his studies, and qualifying himself yet better for more publick service.

Obtains the living of Aughton. Is removed from thence.

IT was in the year 1627. that he received *episcopal ordination*. And tho' after this he was frequently solicited to accept of some promotion in the church, yet could not be prevail'd upon until the year 1633. and then the living of *Aughton* in *Yorkshire* was given to him. Here he found that his predecessor Mr. *Alder*, had been remov'd for *nonconformity*, and he knew that his principles would not permit him to conform so far as the other had done, and therefore expected no long continuance in this place. And it proved according to his expectation: for the very next year he himself was remov'd for not using all those *ceremonies* enjoin'd by the *rubrick* and *canons*, and for presuming to remove a *crucifix* set up there.

AFTER this, Sir *Matthew Bointon*, in the same county, took him into his family; by whom he also was introduc'd to preach frequently both at *Barneston* and *Rowsby* two parishes near adjoining in *Yorkshire* and began every day to be more and more taken notice of for his piety, humility, and excellent preaching.

He comes to London. Accepts an independent congregation.

IN the year 1635. he came up to *London* with his patron; and he had not been long here, before he was earnestly solicited to take the pastoral care of a congregation of *protestant dissenters* in this city, which had been form'd ever since the year 1616. by one Mr. *Henry Jacob*. They had often heard him preach to their great satisfaction; and it was now well known, that he would accept no preferment in the establish'd church, but look'd upon the imposition of *ceremonies*, and *oaths of episcopal and canonical obedience* to be unwarrantable and sinful. His great modesty caus'd him to decline it for some time; but at length, after many prayers to God, and consultations with his brethren, he accepted of this charge in the year 1637. and in this vineyard did he continue a faithful and laborious servant of Jesus Christ, unto the day of his death.

*Several of his congregation
embrace the opinion of the Baptists.*

IT happen'd that every now and then several of this congregation were embracing the opinion of the *Baptists*, and going off from them on that occasion. In 1638. the year after his coming among them, six persons of note espous'd it; in 1641. a much greater number; and in 1643. it was reviv'd again, and prevail'd more than ever.

MANY of these were such as Mr. *Jessey* very much respected for their piety and solid judgment, and the alteration of their opinions *occasion'd* frequent debates in the congregation about it; so that he was by these things necessarily put upon the study *of this controversy*: and when, upon a diligent and impartial examination of the *holy scriptures* and *antiquity*, he found occasion to alter his *opinion*; yet he did not do it without great deliberation, many prayers, and divers conferences with pious and learned men of a different persuasion.

His first *conviction* was about the *mode of baptizing*: for he quickly discern'd that *sprinkling* was a modern corruption, brought in without any just ground either from *scripture* or *antiquity*; and therefore in the year 1642. the church being assembled, he freely declared to them, that *immersion*, or *dipping* the whole body into the water, appeared to him to be the right manner of administring *baptism*, this being the import of the original word βαπτίζω, this agreeing with those examples of *baptism* recorded in the holy scriptures, and this bet representing those *spiritual mysteries* signified by it, *viz.* the *death* and *resurrection* of Christ, and our *dying* to sin, and rising again to newness of life. And therefore he proposed, that those who were *baptized* for the future, should receive it after this manner. And tho' he continued for two or three years after this, to *baptize children*, his manner was to *dip* them into the water.

*Is further convinced that it be-longs not to infants. And is
baptized by Hanserd Knollys.*

But about the year 1644. the *controversy* about the *subjects* of *baptism* was again reviv'd, and several debates held in the *congregation* about it; by which not only several private christians were convinced that *infant-baptism* was an unscriptural practice, but Mr. *Jessey* himself also came over to this opinion. However, before he would absolutely determine in the point, and practise accordingly, he resolved to consult with divers learned and judicious *ministers* of those times; and therefore had a meeting with Dr. *Goodwin*, Mr. *Philip Nye*, Mr. *Jeremiah Burroughs*, Mr. *Walter Craddock*, and several others. But these giving him no satisfaction, he was in *June* 1645. baptized by Mr. *Hanserd Knollys*; and it proved no small honour and advantage to the *Baptists*, to have a man of such extraordinary piety, and substantial learning among them.

Yet held mixed communion.

BUT notwithstanding his differing from his *brethren* in this, or any other point, he maintained the same christian love and charity to all saints as before, not only as to a friendly conversation, but also in respect of *church-communion*. He had always some of the Paedobaptist *persuasion*, and blamed those that made their particular opinion about *baptism* the boundary of church communion. He published the reasons of his opinion in this case and when he travelled thro' the *north* and *we* parts of *England* to *visit* the churches, he made it his principal business to excite them to love and union among themselves, notwithstanding their differing from one another in some opinions; and was also the principal person that set up, and preserved for some time, a meeting at *London* of some eminent men of each denomination, in order to maintain peace and union among those christians that differed not fundamentally; and this catholic spirit procured him the love and esteem of the good men of all *parties*.

His stated labours.

HE divided his labours in the *ministry*, according to the extensiveness of his principles. Every lord's-day in the afternoon he was among his own people; in the morning he usually preach'd at St. *George's* church in *Southwark*, being one of the fixed *ministers* in that parish; and once in the week days he preached at *Ely-House*, and in the *Savoy* to the maimed soldiers.

BESIDES his constant labours, thus, in the work of the ministry, there was another profitable work, wherein his soul was engaged, and in which he took great pains for divers years; and this was no less than the making a new and more correct translation of the Holy Bible.

He attempts a more correct translation of the Bible.

HE was very industrious, in the first place, to understand fully those languages in which it was written: the *Hebrew* and *Greek* testaments he constantly carried about him, frequently calling one *his sword and dagger*, and the other his *shield and buckler*. And besides the *Hebrew* and *Greek*, he *studied* the *Syriack* and *Chaldee* dialects, which the unlearned *Jews* spoke in their captivity. But notwithstanding his qualifications in this, and many other respects, he had not the vanity to think this a work fit for any single man to encounter with; and therefore sent letters to many learned men of this and other nations, desiring their assistance and joint labours with him in this great design. And by his persuasions many persons of great note for their learning, faithfulness, and piety, did engage in it particularly Mr. *John Row*, the *Hebrew*. professor at *Aberdeen*, took great pains with him herein. The writer of Mr.

Jessey's life says, that he made it the master study of his life, and would often cry out,

Oh, that I might see this done before I die!

IN that book there is a specimen given of the *errors* he took notice of in the present *translation*, the rules he observed in correcting them, and the progress that was made in this work.

IT appears, that it was almost compleated, and wanted little more than the appointing commissioners to examine it, and authorize its publication, which was what he always attended, and of which he had from the first some assurances given him. But the great turn that was given to publick affairs both in church and state, by the *restoration*, caused this great and noble design to prove *abortive*.

IT was not however lost labour to himself, if the world should never be favoured with it; for by this thorough study of the *Scriptures*, he was made an excellent *textuary*, was well skilled in the *history* and *chronology* thereof, and became so familiar with its *language* and *phraseology*, that it was to him like *his mother-tongue*, both in preaching and conversation. This way of speaking he thought most savoury, and best becoming those that profess'd christianity; therefore, as he used it to great advantage himself, so he exhorted all christians to use themselves to the like practice. And for their assistance herein; he began in the year 1645. to set forth a *scripture-calendar*, as a guide to speak and write in scripture-stile; and continued it yearly to 1664.

His work

IN this, besides the, day of the month, age of the moon, progress of the sun, quarter-days, and the like, common to vulgar almanacks; there was, peculiar to his design, the scripture-account of hours, days, night-watches, months and quarters also the weights and measures therein mentioned; with a brief chronology and church history; and still every year entertained the publick with something new on these subjects, comprising the whole in two sheets. These are some of those methods by which this great and good man endeavoured, according to the nature of his office to serve the souls of men, and improve their minds in knowledge and holiness. Something also in justice ought to be said of his labours of love towards their bodies, and care to promote their temporal interests.

And labour of love

HE chose a *single life*; that so not being incumbered with *wife* or *family*, he might be the more entirely devoted to his sacred work, and the better enabled

to do good, and communicate to the relief of others. And besides his own *alms*, he was a constant solicitor and agent for the poor, with others whom he knew able to supply their wants; for this purpose he carried about him a list of the names of the most eminent objects of charity known to him, adding to each name their ages, infirmities, afflictions, charges and graces; and by this method he raised considerable sums for their relief. There were above *thirty families*, who had all their subsistence from him, and were after his death exposed to great difficulties.

Nor did he limit his charity within the narrow compass of his own congregation or opinion; but, according to the rule, *did good to all*, as well as *more especially to the household of faith*, so that many hundreds of poor, besides his own people, were refreshed by him. And where it was not charity *to give*, but might be so on some special occasions *to lend*, he would do it freely, without taking *interest* or *security* from the party.

His charity to the distressed Jews at Jerusalem.

ONE of the most famous instances of his charity, and what is perhaps without precedent, was that which he shewed to the poor and distressed *Jews* at *Jerusalem*. The love that the *Jews* had for the *holy* land, and particularly the place where the famous city of *Jerusalem* had stood, drew a great number of that religion to inhabit in those parts, though they were obliged to *pay* considerable sums to the *Turks* for liberty so to do. These being generally poor, and dwelling in a place where there was now no trade or merchandize, they were chiefly supported by their rich and trading brethren in other countries. *The Jews* in *Hungary*, *Poland*, *Lithuania* and *Prusia*, were wont to send them fifteen millions of rixdollars yearly, for the maintenance and training up of *learned rabbi's*, and for the relief of decriped men and antient widows: but a war which happened between the *Swedes* and *Poles*, cut off this means of their subsistence; so that about the year 1657. they were reduced to great extremity, four hundred of their poor widows were *starved to death*, others suffered much by hunger and nakedness; and their *elders* and *rabbi's* were committed to *prison*, and used very cruelly by scourging and otherwise, because they owed between four and five thousand pounds for their liberty of dwelling there, and other occasions.

And they were assured by the *rulers* in those parts, that they should all be sold for *slaves*, if payment was not speedily made.

IN this deplorable case, all the prospect of relief they had left, was to send to some of their brethren at *Venice* and *Amsterdam*; but these could help them to little more than what would pay the interest of their debts. However, the *christians* in *Holland* hearing their case, had compassion on them, and sent

them five hundred rixdollars; and some there knowing Mr. *Jessey* to be a man of a publick spirit, and one that delighted in charitable actions, and also that he had formerly been very helpful in procuring liberty for the *Jews* to trade and inhabit in *England*, on such limitations as might render it safe both for the government and merchants, they therefore send a representation of this case to him, earnestly desiring him to set forward a collection for them in *England*.

WHEN Mr. *Jessey* had received full satisfaction concerning the truth of this relation, and that there was a safe way of conveying what might be collected to them, he immediately communicated the matter to his brethren the *London-ministers*, and in a short time three hundred pound was gathered and sent to them, and a bill of receipt with thanks returned.

To this act of hospitality he was influenced not only by that common compassion which we ought to shew to all human nature, but from the consideration of their having antiently been God's *peculiar* and *beloved people*, and that there are *several predictions* of their being called in the latter days, and bringing great glory to the gospel-church.

In the year 1650. when the *Jews* were permitted to return and trade in *England* as formerly, Mr. *Jessey* wrote an excellent *treatise* on purpose to remove their prejudices, and convince them that Jesus was the true Messiah, which was recommended very highly by the hands of several of the *assembly of divines*, and afterwards turned into *Hebrew*, to be dispersed among the *Jews* of all nations.

AND to promote the same good design of their conversion to christianity, there were letters sent with this charity; *one* signed by all the *ministers* that had been concerned in railing this money for them, *others* written particularly by Mr. *Jessey*; the copies of both which may be seen in his life.

It is easy to suppose, that a man of such great piety, learning, and extensive charity, must be very much crouded with visitors; and tho' Mr. *Jessey* was no courtier, yet, according to the modern phrase, he had a very *great levee*; some to converse with him as a *friend*, some to consult him as a *casuist*, and others to get relief from him as a common *benefactor* to the distressed.

HE was however resolved to have to himself sufficient time for his private devotions and necessary studies. And as he hated idle talk and fruitless visits, so he took all possible methods to avoid them. Among the rest, that his friends might know his desire and resolution in this case, he put over his study door, the place where he usually received his visitors, this writing. ^{f265}

*Amice, quisquis, huc ades;
Aut agito paucis; aut abi;
Aut me laborantem adjuva.*

*Whatever friend comes hither,
Dispatch in brief, or go,
Or help me busied too.
By HENRY JESSEY.*

DURING the time that *episcopacy* was laid aside in *England*, Mr. *Jessey* was a man always had in esteem, and free from all degrees of *persecution*; a favour that very few *Baptists* enjoyed besides himself. But in the little time he lived both before and after this, he had his share of those *persecutions*, which fell upon the *Nonconformists*.

He was ejected from his living, and died in prison.

UPON the *restoration* he was ejected from his living at St. *George's*, *Southwark*, silenced from his *ministry*, and being committed to *prison* for his religion, he died there, full of peace and joy, on the 4th of *Sept.* 1663. having that day compleated the sixty third year of his age. He was buried three days afterwards from *Woodmongers* hall; and there appeared an uncommon number of mourners at his funeral, several thousands of pious persons' of all denominations attending his obsequies, each bewailing their loss in that particular wherein he had been useful to them, and one of his learned acquaintance writ this epitaph on his death.

In mortem domini Henrici Jessey.

*Post varios casus, & per dispendia vitae
Plurima, devictis hostibus, ille jacet.
Sub tumulo, invictus victor, sub pace triumphans,
Praemia virtutis possidet ille suae.
Cymba fides, remique preces, suspiria venti
Cum quibus Elysii per Styga fertur agris.*

THOSE that desire to know more of this great and good man, may read his life, published in 1671. But perhaps one testimony of his great learning and piety from a *Paedobaptist*, may go further with some men, than all that can be said by those of his own persuasion. ^{f266}

Mr. Wills character of him.

I will therefore add the *character* that is given of him by *Obediah Wills*, M. A. who has writ with as much zeal and warmth against Mr. *Jessey's* particular opinion, as any man; yet when he is commending love and union among Christians of different sentiments, he says, ^{f267}

AND such a frame of spirit was there in that man of God, Mr. *Jessey*, — He, to my knowledge, was an *Anti-paedobaptist* of long standing, as holy I conceive, as any of that judgment; of good learning and of a very tender

conscience; and of so healing and uniting a spirit, that he esteemed it his duty, and pressed others to it, to keep up christian communion with those that feared God, tho' they differ'd about *baptism*. We have his arguments for the same published in print, and grounded: on ^{f240}Romans 14:1. which are so clear, and have in them such strength of evidence, that I never yet could hear them answered, nor do ever expect it. I wish there were more *such Anti-paedobaptists as he*.

THE books written by him are as follows.

His Works.

1. *A store-house of provision to further resolution in several cases of conscience, and questions now in dispute.* 8vo 1650
 2. *A scripture calendar*, published yearly, from 1645, to 1660.
 3. *The glory and salvation of Jehudah and Israel*; a treatise to reconcile Jews and Christians in the faith of the Messiah. 1650
 4. *An easy catechism for children*; in which the answers are wholly in the words of scripture.
 5. *The exceeding riches of grace, advanced by the Spirit of grace, in Mrs. Sarah Wright.* 8vo 1658
 6. *The Lord's loud call to England; being an account of some late various and wonderful judgments*, 4to. 1660
 7. *Miscellania Sacra*, or divers necessary truths. 8vo 1665
- A looking-glass for children*; being a narrative of God's gracious dealings with same little children. 8vo 1672

Mr. William Dell.

William Dell, M. A. was another professed *Baptist*, famous in the time of the late civil wars. ^{f268} He was trained up at the university of *Cambridge*, accepted a living in the established church, and before the civil wars, seemed well enough pleased with episcopacy and the ceremonies: But when the change in the state brought on a reformation in religion, he appeared among the forwardest for the promoting of it, and would have had it carried on much farther than many others designed, or would allow of. Tho' this created him many enemies, and exposed him to the censure of the prevailing party, yet he exclaimed against making a whole kingdom a church, and called it *the mystery of iniquity*. He thought, that no power belonged to the church and clergy, but what is spiritual; and took pains to shew, ^{f269} that the blending the civil and ecclesiastical powers together has constantly been the method of setting up a

spiritual tyranny, and of supporting the anti-christian church and prelacy. He zealously opposed all compulsion in matters of religion; and held, that every particular person, and societies of christians, ought to have the liberty of worshipping God according to the, best of their knowledge, and in that manner which they thought most agreeable to his word.

Opposes the Presbyterians.

THESE principles led him necessarily to oppose the *Presbyterians* in their attempts to get the civil power over entirely to themselves, and to establish their articles of faith, and directory for worship and discipline, suppressing all others. And there was no man stood more in their way than he did, so that he obtained the name of a *rigid Anti-presbyterian*, and a *famous sectary*. ^{f270}

HE writ a book against *uniformity*, wherein he calls the imposing of it antichristian, about the same time as they were getting their directory confirmed by parliament, which greatly enraged them; but he was protected against their resentment, by the favour of some great men.

Goes into the army.

HE had the living at *Yeldon*, in the county of *Bedford*, a place worth about two hundred pound a year. But some other officiated for him; for about the year 1645. he became *chaplain* to the *army*, constantly attending on Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, and preaching at the head quarters.

This post they envied him more than the other; not for the profit of it, but because it gave him an opportunity of spreading his *principles* among some of the leading men in the state, and enabled him to make the greater stand against their desired establishment of *Presbytery*. Mr. *Baxter* himself went into the *army* for some time, to counterwork Mr. *Dell*. and others whom he esteemed as *sectarians*; and endeavoured to persuade other ministers to follow his example, but met with little success, as he himself acknowledges. ^{f271}

When his method failed, ^{f272} they endeavoured to blacken his *character*, by representing him to be an ^{f273} *Antinomian*, a *Socinian*, a *Sectarian*, and one that opposed reason, ^{f274} sound doctrine, order and concord; ^{f275} but chiefly sought occasion to catch something from his discourses, that might expose him to the government, and render him odious to the common people. Several instances of this might be collected out of the *histories* of those times. I will only take notice of the two most remarkable.

ONE was, from a discourse which he preach'd at *Marston*, then the head quarters of the *army* before *Oxford*.

Some who were supposed to come from *London* to be spies upon the army to expose them, being present, were greatly provoked, and intraged by what he delivered: whereupon they drew up their charge against him, and in several heads, signed it with their names, and returning to *London*, copies of it were put into the hands of several members of both houses of parliament, and divers eminent citizens of *London*; in order to carry on their design against him.

It shews the spirit of those times, and the unhappy struggles that were among the contending parties; and being short, I shall here insert it.

MR. *Dell* expounding the seven last verses of the 54th of *Isaiah*, in *Marston* church near *Oxford*, before the general and other commanders and soldiers, *June the 7th* 1646. being sabbath day in the forenoon, used these or the like words, in effect.

Their charge against him.

1. ^{f276} There are no more of the church of God in a kingdom than there be of such as have the Spirit of God in that kingdom.
2. NEITHER Old nor New Testament do hold a whole nation to be a church.
3. WHATSOEVER a state, an assembly, or council shall say, ought not to bind the saints, further than the judgments of those saints shall lead them.
4. THE saints are those that are now stiled *Anabaptists*, *Familists*, *Antinomians*, *Independants*, *Sectaries*, &c.
5. THE power is in you the people; keep it, part not with it.
6. THE first party that rose against you, namely, the profane ones of the land; are already fallen under you, and now there is another party, *Formalists* and *Carnal-Gospellers* rising up against you and I am confident they than fall under you.
7. THEY are willing to become subjects to make the saints slaves; nay, they are willing to become slaves themselves, that they may tread upon the necks of the saints.
8. His sermon, or exposition, for the greatest part of it, tended meerly to division and sedition.
9. BEING spoken with after his sermon, by some of his hearers, touching these things, and such like passages, he laid to this effect; his intentions were not according to his expressions, and he thought he had preached only to soldiers.

*Peter Mills, Henry Potter John Haine, Nicholas Widmergole,
Theophilus Smith.*

This proceeding obliged Mr. *Dell* to print his sermon in his own vindication. He declares in the preface, that it contained the whole of what was then delivered, exactly set down, and nothing abated; and appeals to several hundreds of persons, some of which were of great worth and piety, who were ready to confute the falshood and untruths of their charge.

HE does indeed therein shew his dislike of making every man in a kingdom a member, of the church, and taking those into Christ's flock that are none of his sheep; and endeavours to expose the evil of *persecution*, and the folly of building our faith on the opinions of any learned man, or an whole *assembly of divines*; and exclaims against the practice of abusing good men with the odious names of *Sectaries*, *Schismaticks*, *Hereticks*, &c. but says nothing that will bear so ill a sense as those words they accuse him with. And as to the two last articles of their charge, which contains their opinion of his discourse, and what passed afterwards, he so fully confuted both, that in their rejoinder they dropt them.

THERE was another instance of this nature, which exposed Mr. *Dell* very much to the envy of those who were for establishing an *uniformity*, and again *toleration*.

Nov. 25. 1646. being appointed for a publick fall, Mr. *Dell* and Mr. *Love* were chosen to preach before the house of commons.

Preaches before the house of Commons.

IT was a very critical juncture with respect to the state of religion. The ministers of *London*, and after their example, those of other parts, had petitioned against *toleration*, desiring that all *sectaries* and *lay preachers* might be suppress'd, and *presbytery* only established and allowed of; and the city of *London* had but just before presented their *remonstrance* to the same effect: so that this great affair lay now before the parliament, and was the chief subject of debate throughout the kingdom.

MR. *Dell* was known to be one of the heads of the opposite party; and having this opportunity, he thought himself obliged to vindicate his opinion, and defend the rights and liberties of his brethren. Accordingly preaching in the morning, from ~~<8010>~~ *Hebrews 9:10. Until the time of reformation*, he took the liberty of handling this point very freely before the parliament; shewing, what true gospel reformation is, into whose hand the work is committed, and by what means it is to be brought about: and under this last head does, by several

excellent arguments, expose the unreasonableness and evil of *persecution*, or using external force and compulsion in matters purely religious.

When Mr. *Love*. came to preach in the afternoon, instead of delivering the sermon he had prepared, he set himself with great warmth, and many unhandsome reflections, to confute what had been delivered in the morning; endeavouring to justify the punishing of *Hereticks* and *Schismaticks*, and to vindicate the authority of the civil *magistrate*, in imposing articles of faith, and a form of worship. The same of this contest quickly spread itself thro' the nation, and warmed the *spirit* of both the parties. The *parliament* thought it most prudent for them not to give their publick approbation to either discourse and it would have been ridiculous to have done it to both; therefore they dropt the usual ceremony in that case.

MR. *Dell* printed his sermon, and having a copy of Mr. *Love's*, put at the end of his own a reply to Mr. *Love's* contradictions; upon both which, Mr. *Love* quickly after wrote some *animadversions*. And thus they were trade the *heads* and *champions* of the two contending parties of the nation; the *one for liberty*, the *other for persecution*.

Mr. *Dell's* discourse met with great approbation from the publick, and caused his doctrine very much to obtain. And tho' the *rigid Presbyterians* were very much ^{f277} provok'd and offended with him, the government shew'd no resentment, nor did he lose any present or following preferment by what he had done.

^{f278} In the year 1649. when several were turned out of the universities for refusing to take the oaths to the government, he was made mater of *Caius* college at *Cambridge*; and this, with his living at *Yeldon* he held, *till he was* ejected by the act of *uniformity*, made quickly after the restoration.

Dr. Calamy's charge against him.

DR. *Calamy*, in his account of the ejected ministers, calls him *a very unsettled man*; and says, he was challenged with three contradictions in his life.

1. For being professedly against *Paedobaptism*, and yet he had his own *children* baptized:
2. For preaching against *universities*, when yet he held the *headship* of a college:
3. For being against *tithes*, and yet taking 200*l. per annum* at his living at *Yeldon*.

Confuted

DR. *Calamy* takes no notice of this in his first edition: but however it is now fixed upon as a brand of infamy on the character of this learned defender of the peoples religious liberties. And as these things are laid down, they do indeed thew a *contradiction* between *principles* and *practice*; and the doctor's *impartiality* and ingenuity towards the *Baptists* may be easily seen, where he is necessitated to mention them. But if some circumstances are considered, the *contradictions* will in a great measure disappear, and the crime of them be wholly taken away.

HE that believes *infant-baptism* to be no institution of Christ, yet for the satisfaction of a *pious wife*, or some other near relations who esteem it so, may permit them to get his *children* baptized; or if he don't esteem it a religious rite, may admit it as a title to some *civil privilege*; as *Paul* circumcised *Timothy*.

As to the second, I do not find that he was *against universities* as *seminaries of learning*, and proper places for the education of youth but making such an education *essential* to a gospel minister, and preferable to the gifts of the Spirit.

Nor, 3dly, can I see any evil or *contradiction* in it, for a person who asserts that there is no divine right for *tithes* under the gospel, but that ministers should be maintained by the voluntary contributions of the people, to accept of a living raised by *tithes*, till such a reformation can be obtained; and other methods fixed for their support. It rather bespeaks a man's virtue to oppose a practice and desire the reformation of it, tho' it was so beneficial to himself. And had he not made conscience of practising nothing in religion but what was consistent with the sentiments of his own mind, he would never have lost two such great *livings* for his *nonconformity* as he did; and yet the door himself asserts, that this was the only reason of his ejection. It must be granted, that he was somewhat tinctured with the *enthusiasm* that prevailed in those times; but was however a man of substantial learning, of real piety, and a noble defender of the rights and liberties of conscience.

The tracts which he published, were,

His Works.

1. *Power from on high; or the power of the Holy Ghost dispersed thro' the whole body of Christ, and communicated to each member.* Two Serms. 4to 1645

2. *Right reformation.* A sermon before the house of Commons, Nov. 25. 4to 1646

3. *The building and glory of the truly christian and spiritual church; represented in an exposition on Isaiah 45.* 4to 1647.

4. *The doctrine of baptism reduced from its antient and modern corruptions.* 4to 1648.

5. *A treatise against uniformity.* I am not certain but this may be the same with the first.

THE next I shall mention, is one whose memory is still very precious to many godly persons, both of this and other denominations; viz.

Mr. Hanserd Knollys.

THE pious and learned Mr. *Hanserd Knollys*. He was born at *Chalkwell Lincolnshire*, and descended from religious parents, who took care to have him trained up in good literature, and instructed betimes in the principles of religion. For this end they kept a tutor in their house for him and his brother, till he was fit for the *university*; and then he was sent to *Cambridge*, where he continued some time and became a *graduate*, ^{f279} tho' he is so modest, as to take no notice of it in the account he has left of his life under his own hand. His mind was tinctured with piety, before he came hither: but by some sermons which he heard here, he was effectually convinced of sin, and brought more to mind the salvation of his soul, than formerly.

His behaviour at the university.

THE manner of his behaviour, and the spending of his time here, is worthy of notice, as a rare instance and good example for all *academicks*. He prayed every day, and heard all the godly ministers he could. His chief study was the holy scriptures, tho' he read other useful books. He affected to get acquaintance with the most sober and gracious christians, tho' called *Puritans*. He frequently kept days of fasting and prayer alone, to humble his soul for his sins, and to seek pardon and grace of God, thro' Jesus Christ; was strict in performing the duties of religion, and examined himself every night to call to mind the sins of the day, that he might confess them, mourn for them, and seek pardon, and maintained an indignation against all actual sins, whether committed by himself or others. From such an hopeful beginning much good, might be expected and happy would it be for this nation, if *our universities* and private *academies* were filled with such *students*.

WHEN he came from the university, he was chose *master* of the free-school at *Gainsborough*, which he held but a little time.

*Is ordained by a bishop, and a living given him.
Resigns his living.*

IN June 1629. he was ordained by the bishop of *Peterborough*, first a *deacon*, than a *presbyter* of the church of *England*. Soon after which, the bishop of *Lincoln* gave him the living at *Humberstone*. When he had held this cure two or three years, he began to scruple the lawfulness of several *ceremonies* and *usages* of the *national church*; as the *surplice*, the *cross* in *baptism*, the admitting *wicked* persons to the *Lord's-supper*, &c. whereupon he resolved to resign his living to the bishop who had bestowed it upon him; for he told the bishop plainly, that he could not in conscience *conform* any longer; however said, he was willing to continue preaching, tho' he could not hold any *cure*, of read their service. And accordingly after this, for two or three years, he frequently preached in divers parishes, and was connived at by his *diocesan* in so doing. But about the year 1636. he left the church entirely, and join'd himself to the *Dissenters*, and was exposed to many difficulties and hardships for his *non-conformity*, both before and after the civil wars, besides the ill treatment he met with, even during that time, for his being a *Baptist*; of which an account has been already given.

WHEN the episcopal *hierarchy* was laid aside, and universal liberty granted, Mr. *Knollys* came to *London*, and for some time preached to the publick churches with great approbation. But when some other persons got into the saddle, this could not be born with, because he was against a *national church*, an *established uniformity*, and *infant-baptism*. Whereupon he set up a *meeting-house* in great *St. Helens*, and was very much crowded after, having seldom less than a thousand hearers.

*And set up a meeting-house. Gathers a church of Baptists,
and was ordained their pastor.*

HE publickly owned his *opinion*, and frequently preached and disputed against *infant-baptism*, and many were convinced by him of the unwarrantableness of that practice; among whom, were some learned *ministers* as well as others; particularly the learned Mr. *Jessey* was his disciple in this point, and was baptized by him; and he soon gathered a sufficient number to a distinct church of this *denomination* at *London*; of which he was ordained the *pastor* in the year 1645. And with this people he continued in the faithful discharge of that *office*, until the day of his death, except when he was forced from them by violent *persecution*, or absent upon just occasions.

HE was very diligent and laborious in the work of the *ministry*, both before and after his separation from the established church. While he was a *Conformist*, he often preached three times an sometimes four on the Lord's-day; at *Holton* at

sever in the morning, at *Humberstone* at nine, at *Scartho* at eleven, and at *Humberstone* again at three in the afternoon; besides his preaching every *holiday*, and at every burial, as well of the *poor* as of the *rich*.

Nor was he less diligent *in* his work after he became a *Nonconformist*. For above *forty* years successively he preached three or four times every week, whilst he had health and liberty: and when he was in *prison*, it was his usual practice to preach every day. One thing is very remarkable, while he continued to preach in the *established church*, which was about five or six years, he says, ^{†280} he was not, as he knew of, instrumental to the conversion of one *soul* to God, which occasioned him not only to question, but reject the call and commission he had received to preach the gospel. But when he set out upon another *foundation*, and experienced more of God's teachings and assistance in the work, he quickly found to his comfort, that many *sinner*s were, converted, and many *believers* established by his *labours*, and that from henceforward he continued to receive many *seals* of his *ministry*.

HE was as excellent and successful in the gift of prayer as of preaching; for God was pleased to honour him with several remarkable answers to his prayers: especially during the time of the plague at *London*, divers sick persons being suddenly restored, even while he was praying with them.

ONE very remarkable instance of this kind he thought fit to leave to posterity, which is published in his life, to which I refer you, it being too long to be inserted here.

He was often compelled to change his place of abode.

The frequent revolutions that happened within the compass of this good man's long life, occasioned a great variation in his circumstances and place of abode. Sometimes he was worth some hundreds of pounds, at other times he had neither house to dwell in, food to eat, nor one penny to buy any; and frequently was he hurried about from place to place, by the *evil* of the *times*, and the *envy* of his *persecutors*.

FIRST he and his family were forced from *Lincolnshire* to *London*, then from *London* to *New-England*, and thence back again. Another time they were obliged to remove from *England* into *Wales*, and after this twice from *London* to *Lincolnshire*. Another circuit was from *London* to *Holland*, from thence into *Germany*, and thence to *Rotterdam*, and then to *London* again. These frequent *removings*, and different *circumstances* of life, tended very much to the exercise of his graces, the increase of his experiences, both in temporal and spiritual things; and furnished him with frequent instances of the great love and goodness of God, in the course of his providence.

WHEN he was with his people, he always received a contribution from them according to their ability; believing it to be his *right* and their *duty*: but the chief means of his *subsistence*, was by teaching *school*. He was well acquainted with the learned languages, and had an extraordinary way of instructing youth: so that when the times would permit him to follow this employment, he never wanted sufficient encouragement; and many eminent persons, both for piety and learning, were trained up by him.

And died at London in the 93d year of his age.

HE lived to a good old age, and went home as a shock of wheat that is gathered in its season. And though he was of so great an age, yet he did not lie sick long, nor keep his bed many days. All the time of his illness, he behaved himself with extraordinary patience and resignation to the divine will, longing to be dissolved and to be with Christ, not so much to be freed from pain and trouble, as from all sin: and according to his desire, he departed this life in a great transport of joy, on the 19th day of *September* 1691. and *aetatis suae* 93.

MR. *Keach* writ an *elegy* on his death, and besides the funeral sermon that was preached for him to his own congregation, Mr. *Tho. Harrison* preached a sermon on this occasion at *Pinners-hall*, where Mr. *Knollys* kept up a morning-lecture every Lord's-day. This was published, and contains an excellent charmer of this old disciple and eminent minister of the gospel. I shall give it in his own words.

Mr. Harrison's character of him.

1. *His accurate and circumspect walking.* I do not say, that he was wholly free from sin; sinless perfection is unattainable in a mortal state: but yet he was one who carefully endeavoured to avoid it. He, with the apostle *Paul*, did herein exercise himself to have always a conscience void of offence, towards God and towards men. He walked with that caution, that his greatest enemies had nothing against him save only in the matters of his God. That holy life which he lived, did command reverence even from those who were enemies to the holy doctrine which he preached. He was a preacher out of the pulpit as well as in it: not like those who press the form of godliness on a Lord's-day, and openly deny the power of it the remainder of the week; who pluck down that in their conversations, which they build up in their pulpits.

2. *His universal love to Christians.* He had a great respect to Christ's new commandment, which he gave to his disciples, *to love one another*. He loved the image of God wheresoever he saw it. He was not a man of a narrow and private, but of a large and publick spirit the difference of his fellow-christians opinions from his, did not alienate his affections from them. He loved all his fellow-travellers, though they did not walk in the same particular path with himself. He embraced those in the arms of his love upon earth, with whom he

thought he should join in singing the song of the Lamb in heaven. It would be well, if not only private christians, but also ministers, did imitate him therein: there would not then be that sourness of spirit, which is too often, with grief be it spoken, found among them.

3. *His meekness and humility.* He was not of a proud and lofty temper, but like that master whom he professed to serve, *meek and lowly*. He was willing to bear with, and forbear others; to stoop and condescend to others, and to pass by those injuries which he received from them.

4. *His labouriousness in that work which he was engaged in.* He was not a loiterer, but a labourer: he was willing to *spend and to be spent* in the service of his Lord, and for the good of poor souls. It is true, old age and youth did as it were meet in him: God had blessed him with an extraordinary measure of bodily strength; and he was not an unfaithful steward of this talent wherewith God had entrusted him. Yea, *when his flesh and his heart seemed to fail*; when his flesh was so weak, that he could hardly bear to stand in a pulpit, and his voice so low, that he could scarcely be heard; his affections were so much engaged in his work, that he was very unwilling to leave it.

5. *His couragious and cheerful suffering for his master's and the gospel's sake.* He cheerfully went about suffering as well as preaching work. He was not unwilling to *take up his cross*, and follow his Lord and Master in the thorny road of tribulation. In these things, let us imitate and follow the example of this holy man, who I question not, says Mr. *Harrison*, is gone to the assembly of the firstborn, to that glorious company of prophets, who having finished their work on earth, are wearing their crowns in heaven.

COMPARE this charmer, supported by the forementioned facts, with what Mr. *Neal* says of this worthy *Gentleman*, and let the world judge which has done most *justice* to his *memory*.

His works are these, viz.

His Works.

- 1.** *Christ exalted; a lost sinner sought and saved by Christ; God's people an holy people*; being the sum of divers sermons preached in *Suffolk*. 4to 1646
- 2.** *The shining of a flaming fire in Zion*; an answer to Mr. *Saltmarsh*, his thirteen exceptions against the grounds of new baptism, in his book, entitled, *The smoke of the temple*. 4to 1646
- 3.** *The world that now is, and that which is to come*. 8vo
- 4.** *Grammatiae Latinae, Graecae & Hebraicae, compendium; rhetorica act umbratio; item radices Graecae & Hebraicae, omnes quae in Sacra Scriptura veteris & novi Testamenti occurrunt*. 8vo 1665

5. *The parable of the kingdom of heaven expounded*, being an exposition of the first three verses of the 25th chapter of *Matthew*. 8vo 1664
6. *An essay of sacred rhetoric*, used by the Holy Spirit in scripture of truth. 8vo 1675 675
7. *An exposition of the whole book of the revelations*. 4to 1668
8. *A small piece in defence of singing the praises of God*. 8vo
9. *A preface to Mr. Collier's book, entitled, The exaltation of Christ*. 8vo 1647
10. *A preface to Mr. Keach's Instructions for children*. 12mo
11. *His last legacy to the church; written a little before his death*.
12. *Some account of his life, written with his own hand, to the year 1672*

THE two last mentioned, were published after his death.

Mr. Francis Cornwell.

THE next I shall mention, though so particular an account cannot be given of him as some others, is Francis Cornwell. M. A.

HE was trained up at *Cambridge*, and was some time student of *Emanuel* college, and commenced *master of arts* in that *university*. When he left the *university*, he was prefer'd to a living in the established church, and at the beginning of the civil wars, was *minister* at *Orpington in Kent*. ^{f281}

Professes himself a Baptist.

I CANNOT find the certain time or means of his embracing the opinion of the *Baptists*. But in the year 1643. he publicly profess'd that *principle*, and wrote in defence it. His book was intitled,

The vindication of the royal commission of King Jesus. In this he attempts to prove by several arguments, that the practice of christning children was a *popish* tradition, and an *antichristian* custom, contrary to the commission given by our blessed Saviour, &c. It was dedicated to the parliament, and given away at the door of the house of Commons to divers of the members, ^{f282} which caused it to make a great noise, and be much handed about, to the great offence of those of a different *opinion*.

DR. *Featley* ^{f283} makes several remarks upon it, and pretends to answer the main arguments in it, There was also about the same time another piece published in answer to it, called a *Declaration against the Anabaptists*. ^{f284} But neither of these convinced Mr. *Cornwell*, or stopp'd the spreading of his

opinion, which prevailed much at this time among the learned, as well as the common people. ^{f285}

The door calls him, ^{f286} *a new Anabaptistical proselyte*. Whence it should seem, that he had but lately entertained this *opinion*. However, having found the *truth* himself, he was willing to help others to do so likewise; at least, to see whether his *brethren* in the *ministry* could answer his *arguments*, and resolve the *doubts* he had concerning the lawfulness of that *practice*. And according to this, we find after he has examined the *scriptures* and *antiquity* concerning this *point*, he makes this appeal in his book:

Appeals to the English ministry for information.

Oh, that the learned *English ministry* would inform me, left my blood, like *Abel's*, cry aloud from heaven for vengeance, for not satisfying a troubled conscience! How shall I admit the *infant* of a *believer* to be made a visible member of a particular church, and be *baptized*, before it be able to make confession of its *faith* and *repentance*?

AFTER the publishing of his book, and finding no satisfactory answer returned to his arguments, he went on to preach and propagate his opinion, notwithstanding the dangerous consequence that it might be of to himself.

*In a sermon before divers ministers,
he declares his sentiments.*

IN the year 1644. being to preach a sermon at *Cranbrook* in *Kent*, before divers *ministers* in those parts, he took the liberty of declaring his sentiments freely in this point; and told them, *paedobaptism* was an *antichristian innovation*, a human tradition, and a practice for which there was neither *precept*, *example*, or true *deduction* from the word of God. At this several of the *ministers* were not only very much startled, but greatly offended: and when they had debated the matter together afterwards, they agreed to re-examine this *point*, and to bring their collections together, at the next meeting, which was to be within a fortnight.

Mr. *Christopher Blackwood*, who was one of them, took a great deal of pains, and studied the question closely, and began to suspect that it was indeed, as had been said, no more than an *human tradition*, and that it was attended with more evil consequences than he had ever before considered. When they met again, according to agreement, he brought in his arguments, which determined against *paedobaptism*: but there was none had brought any thing in defence thereof. One said, that they sought for truth and not victory; and therefore proposed, that they might have his papers to examine the arguments. The other approving of this motion, the papers were accordingly left with them; and after

he had waited a long time, and could get no answer, he sent for them again, and after some correction and enlargement, sent them to the press. ^{f287}

Mr. Blackwood becomes his proselyte.

Thus, by Mr. *Cornwell's* means, the *controversy* was revived in that county, the truth gained ground, and he had the honour of making a very ingenious and learned proselyte to his opinion.

HE did not continue long after this in the *national church*, though it was now much reformed to what it had been. For besides his denial of *infant-baptism*, he disliked both *national* and *parochial churches*; and taught, that the true church was to consist only of such as professed *repentance* from dead works, and *faith* in the Lord Jesus Christ, and were *baptized* according to his commands; this being after the pattern of the first churches in *Judaea*. ^{f288} And such a church or society of christians was quickly gathered by him in *Kent*.

HE was also a very zealous opposer of *persecution*, and an imposed uniformity. And when the *ordinance of parliament* was made, to silence all *lay preachers*, that is, as they explained it, all that had not *episcopal* or *presbyterian ordination*, or that should preach any thing contrary to the articles of *faith*, and *directory* for publick worship, published by the *assembly*, he publicly opposed it, and wrote a small *piece* to discover the evil and unchristian spirit of such proceedings, and entitled it, *Two Queries worthy of consideration*; because the whole goes upon these two questions, which he proposes therein to the ministers both of church and state. (~~44236~~ Acts 2:36.)

Q. 1. WHETHER that ministry that preacheth freely the gospel-faith, that the Lord Jesus is the Christ, as the apostle *Peter* did, be not truly *orthodox*?

Q. 2. WHETHER it be agreeable to the word of God, contained in the sacred scriptures, to silence or inhibit any *ministers* of Jesus Christ, for preaching this gospel-faith freely?

As a loyal covenanter for a pure reformation in *England*, (these are his words) he affirms the *former*, and endeavours to maintain it by several arguments. The *latter* he denies, and intimates, that who soever shall be guilty of any such practice, would act as the *Jews* of old did, who cast the blind man out of their synagogue, for confessing that Jesus was the Christ.

There were, if Mr. *Edwards* may be depended upon, divers pamphlets put forth by this learned man: but all I can meet with, are the two already mentioned. He continued a faithful shepherd of that flock, which had been gathered by his ministry in *Kent*, unto the day of his death; and was succeeded in that place

and office, by a son who was of his own name and principles. His writings are reckoned these which follow:

1. *A Vindication of the Royal Commission of King Jesus.*
2. *Two Queries worthy of consideration, &c.*
3. *A Conference between Mr. John Cotton, and the Elders of New-England.* 8vo 1646
4. *A Description of the Spiritual Temple; or, The Difference between the Christian and Antichristian Church.* 8vo 1646

More of this gentleman's character may be seen in the prefaces to the two last mentioned books.

Mr. Christ. Blackwood.

IT will be very natural in the next place, to give some account of Mr. *Christopher Blackwood*, who was the disciple of the former in the point of baptism. The first thing that I can meet with concerning him is, that he was a *minister* somewhere in *Kent*, and was possessed of a *parochial* charge in that county at the beginning of the *civil wars*. From whence, as well as from his writings, it may be concluded, that he had a learned education, and was probably trained up at one of our *universities*. The time and means of his receiving this *opinion* is already related from the account which he himself gave of it. And he did not, after the change of his judgment, continue long in the *established church*; for he was as zealous against *national churches*, as against *infant-baptism*. ^{f289}

CAPTAIN *Dean*, who lived in those times, reckons him among those of his acquaintance, who voluntarily left their *parochial* charges and *benefices*, as not approving the *baptizing of infants*, and concerning whom he further says, they were *worthy guides, well qualified in all respects for the ministry*.

The *Presbyterians* of those times wrote against him with some warmth, ^{f290} because he was an advocate for *liberty of conscience*, and opposed their attempted *establishment*, as well as their *infant-baptism*. ^{f291} In the first book he writ, he joined these two together, *infants baptism* and *compulsion of conscience*; and called them, *the two last and strongest garrisons of antichrist*.

WHEN his *principles* occasioned him to leave the *national church*, I do not find that he collected a distinct congregation of such as agreed with him in this doctrine of *baptism*, as many others did. It rather appears from the *dedications* of some of his *books*, that he went into the *army*, and that in the year 1653 he went into *Ireland* with the *army*, under the command of general *Fleetwood* and

lieutenant *Ludlow*. He lived till after the *restoration*, was then at *London*, and put his hand to the apology published by the *Baptists* in 1660 declaring against *Venner's* insurrection.

HE has published several tracts; as,

His Works.

1. *The storming of Antichrist in his two last and strongest garrisons; compulsion of conscience and infants baptism.* 4to 1664.
2. *Apostolical baptism; or a sober rejoinder to a treatise of Mr. Blake's, in answer to his former treatise.*
3. *Four treatises:* The first setting forth *the excellency of Christ*; the second containing *a preparation for death*; the third, concerning *our love to Christ*; the fourth, concerning *our love to our neighbours*: 4to 1653
3. *A treatise concerning repentance*; wherein also the doctrine of *restitution* is largely handled: with a solution of many cases of conscience concerning it. 4to 1653
4. *A soul-searching catechism*; wherein is opened and explained, not only the six fundamental points, ^{<800>}Hebrews 6:1. but also many other questions of highest concernment in the christian religion: 2d edition. 4to 1653
6. *A brief catechism concerning baptism*; first publish'd at the end of his *Storming of Antichrist*, afterwards reprinted for the satisfaction and information of the people of God in *Lancashire*. 1652
7. *An exposition of the ten first chapters of Matthew*, delivered in several sermons: 4to 1659

Mr. Benjamin Cox.

ANOTHER who deserves to be rank'd amongst the worthies of this denomination, is Mr. *Benj. Cox*, who in his time made no mean figure amongst them. He was a bishop's son, a man of great learning, and a graduate in one of our universities. ^{f292} He was for some time a *minster* in the *establish'd church*, had a parochial charge somewhere in the county of *Devon*, and was very zealous for the superstitious *ceremonies* that prevailed in bishop *Laud's* time; of which the *Presbyterians* afterwards upbraided him when he opposed their *establishment*. ^{f293} But notwithstanding this, when the affairs of state gave men occasion to think and speak more freely in matters of religion, Mr. *Cox* was amongst the earnest of them in promoting reformation, and was in a fair way of being a very great and famous man in this kingdom, had he not, when he came to take the model of his religion from the scriptures only, rejected the *baptism*

of *infants*, as not being therein contained. For this hindred him from preferment in the established church, and prejudiced those divines against him who were at the head of *ecclesiastical* affairs. ^{f294} However, as it was, he preserv'd even among them the character of a man of great *learning* and competent parts.

Disputes with Mr. Baxter,

IN 1644. he had a dispute with Mr. *Baxter* concerning *infant-baptism*; first by word of mouth, then by writing; and was *afterward imprisoned* in the city of *Coventry* for his opinion in this point, as has been before observed.

And with others at Aldermanbury church.

THE year following he came to *London*, and was one of the principal managers, on the part of the *Baptists*, in the *publick dispute* concerning *infant-baptism* at *Aldermanbury* church; to which a stop was afterwards put by the government.

HE was some time *minister* at *Bedford*, after *episcopacy* and the *common prayer* were laid aside. ^{f295} But in the year 1646. when the *seven churches* in *London*, called *Anabaptists*, published a confession of their faith, and presented it to the parliament, I find his name subscribed to it in behalf of one of those congregations.

I CANNOT learn certainly either his age, or the time of his death. Mr. *Baxter*, at the beginning of the civil Wars, called him an *antient minister*. ^{f296} He must therefore be very old when he died; for he lived till after the restoration. And tho' when the act of *uniformity* in 1662. took place, he at first conform'd; yet soon after his conscience smote him for what he had done, and he threw up his *living*, and died a *Nonconformist* and *Baptist*.

THERE were but two pieces, as I can find, published by him.

His Works.

1. A DECLARATION concerning the publick dispute which should have been in the publick meeting-house of *Aldermanbury*, Dec. 3. 1645. concerning *infant-baptism*.

2. God's ordinance the saints privilege; proved in two treatises. The first, *The Saints Interest by Christ in all the Privileges of Grace cleared, and the Objections against the same answer'd*. The second, *The peculiar Interest of the Elect in Christ, and his saving Graces* wherein is proved, that Christ hath not satisfy'd for the sins of all men, but only for the sins of those that do or shall believe in him; and the objections against the same answer'd.

Mr. Daniel Dyke.

AMONG the worthies of this denomination, I must not omit the mention of that grave divine and solid preacher, Mr. *Daniel Dyke*. He was born at *Epping* in *Essex*, about the year 1617. (his father, Mr. *Jeremiah Dyke*, being minister of that parish) and had the name of *Daniel* given him in respect to his *uncle*, the famous Mr. *Daniel Dyke*, B. D. so well known by his excellent treatise, *of the deceitfulness of the heart*, published after his death by the father of Mr. *Dyke* who is the subject of this article.

AFTER he had been sufficiently instructed at private schools in the country, he was sent to the *university* at *Cambridge*, and there trained up for the ministry. And when he came to be publicly employ'd in that sacred work, he was soon took notice of for his great learning and useful preaching, and had suitable preferment bestow'd upon him.

Was made chaplain in ordinary to the protector, and one of the Tryers.

HE was made one of the *chaplains* in ordinary to *Oliver Cromwel*, when he came to be lord protector of *England*. He had also the parochial charge of *Great Hadham* in *Herfordshire*, a place worth at least 300*l. per annum*. And when the government in the year 1653. appointed a certain number of men to examine and approve all such as should be admitted into livings in the established church, Mr. *Dyke* was fix'd upon to be one of them.

INDEED his great learning, his seriousness, and piety, together with his solid judgment, render'd him worthy, as well as fit, for so great a trust; and he, with Mr. *John Tombes*, were all the *Baptists* that I can find to have been in this *commission*.

He quits his living upon the Restoration.

UPON the Restoration, Mr. *Dyke* discover'd himself to be a man of great integrity, and faithfulness to his conscience, and quitted his profitable living, rather than sin against his light, by conforming to episcopal government, and using the ceremonies of the church of *England*. Nor did he stay till he was forced out by the act of *Uniformity* in 1662. but voluntarily resigned presently after the king came in; for he foresaw the form that was coming, and the snares that must attend a man of his principles, while he continued in such a port.

WHEN his intimate friend and acquaintance Mr. *Case*, who was one of those ministers deputed to wait on the king at the *Hague*, and one of the *commissioners* at the *Savoy* to treat about the settlement of religion,

endeavoured to persuade him to continue, and told him what a hopeful prospect they had, from the king's behaviour, &c. Mr. *Dyke* told him plainly,

That they did but deceive and flatter themselves: That if the king was sincere in his shew of piety, and great respect to them and their religion; yet when he came to be settled, the party that had formerly adhered to him, and the creatures that would come over with him, would have the management of publick affairs, and would circumvent all their designs, and in all probability not only turn them out, but take away their liberty too.

And they afterwards found the truth of his words by woful experience.

Dr. *Calamy* has put his name in the lift of the *ejected* or *silenced ministers*, but gives him no other *character*, than that he was an *Anabaptist*; which is another instance of the Doctor's *impartiality* and *candour* for the people of this *denomination*.

His resigning his living in the church, and the troubles and persecutions that followed afterwards, did not cause him to lay down the ministry of the word; but he preached afterwards as often as he had opportunity, and was generally preserved by some good providence from the rage and malice of his persecutors. And though he lived in two or three great *storms*, and had several *writs* out against him, yet was never in *prison* except one *night*.

*Is ordain'd co-pastor with Mr. William Kiffin
to a Baptist church.*

SOMETIME after his leaving his parochial charge, he was chosen and ordain'd co-pastor with Mr. *William Kiffin* to the congregation of *Baptists* at *Devonshiresquare, London*, and continued a faithful labourer in this vineyard until his death, which was in the year 1688. a little before the *happy Revolution*, when he was about seventy years of age.

His funeral-sermon was preached by Mr. *Waner*, at the aforesaid meeting-house, and his corps interr'd at the *Dissenters* burying-ground in *Bunhill-fields*.

HE left behind him two daughters, who may be still living; from the eldest of which this account was received in the year 1716.

HE was a man of so great modesty, and had so mean an opinion of his own abilities, that he could never be prevail'd upon to publish any thing. Only I find his name, in company with some of his brethren, to two or three printed papers, in composing which it is supposed he had the principal share. As,

His Works.

1. *THE Baptists Answer to Mr. Wills's Appeal.* 8vo 1675
2. *AN epistle recommendatory to Mr. Cox's Confutation of the errors of Thomas Collier.* 4to
3. *The Quakers Appeal answer'd; or, a full relation of the occasion, progress, and issue of a meeting at Barbican between the Baptists and the Quakers.* 8vo 1674

Mr. Samuel Fisher.

THERE was another, who though he did not persevere in this profession to the end, yet did so zealously defend it, both by disputation and writing for some time, that should I pass him without notice, some may be ill-natured enough to say it was with, design: I mean Mr. *Samuel Fisher*, acknowledged by all parties to have been a man of eminent piety and virtue. ^{f297} His parents designed him from his childhood, for a *minister* of the *church of England*, and in order thereunto, took care to have him, while a boy, well instructed at private schools. And when he had attained a competent measure of grammar-learning, he was sent to one of our *universities*, where his diligence and progress was so great; that he surmounted most of his fellows. His mind led him mostly to the study of eloquence. Rhetoric and poetry, were the sciences he then put the greatest value upon. So that he became a man singularly learned, and wonderfully eloquent, and had an accurate knowledge of the *Greek* and *Latin* antiquities; which so stuck to him, that even after he had changed his religion; and opinion of these *human ornaments*, yet his writings savoured much of them, though contrary to his intention.

Ordained a minister of the church of England.

WHEN he had perfected his *academick* course, and taken his degrees, he was ordained, first a *deacon*, then a *presbyter* of the *church of England*; ^{f298} the former he received from a bishop before the *civil wars*; the latter from certain *Presbyterian* ministers after *episcopacy* was laid aside. ^{f299}

Becomes chaplain to Sir Arthur Haselrigg. Is advanced to the living of Lidd, in Rumsey Marsh.

His first preferment was to be a chaplain in the family of that noble and pious gentleman Sir *Arthur Haselrigg*. He demeaned himself in this station so well, that the report of his same invited those who knew him, to judge of his ability and skill for greater things, to advance him to a more high and dignified place: and accordingly he obtained a parochial living in *Kent* of 500*l.* a year. But

notwithstanding his great learning and high preferment, he still preserved an humble mind, and affable carriage; and would converse freely, not only with such who were very much below himself, but also with serious christians, who were of different, and contrary sentiments from him.

AMONG the rest there was a *Baptist* minister in those parts, with whom he kept an intimate correspondence. This man was frequently calling upon him to justify from *scripture* the lawfulness of *baptizing children*; and to shew by what authority they changed the antient custom of *immersion*, and used *sprinkling* in that sacrament.

Quits his living, and joins himself to a Baptist congregation.

This *person* was vastly inferior to Mr. *Fisher* both in learning and natural parts; yet in this point he was a means of instructing him in the way of the Lord more *fully*; and Mr. *Fisher* was a man of so much integrity and love for the truth, that he would not reject it by what hand soever it was brought to him. Therefore when he had diligently examined this matter, and found that the *Baptists* were in the right, he freely quitted his living, and returned his *diploma* back to the bishop; was baptized according to Christ's institution, and joined himself to a *baptized* congregation at *Ashford* in *Kent*. This must be acknowledged, even by those *who* reject his *opinion*, to have been an extraordinary instance of sincerity and self-denial.

Is frequently engaged in publick disputes.

HAVING left so good a *living*, he now contented himself with a little he had of his own, and farmed a piece of ground in the neighbourhood, by both which he had enough to live upon. He continued however, still in the exercise of the *ministry*, and in a little time after took the pastoral charge of a congregation of *Baptists*; and the noise of so pious and learned a man turning *Baptist*, spread far and near, and contributed not a little towards the promoting of that doctrine.

^{f300} Some hundreds were baptized by him; and he was frequently engaged in publick disputes with the most learned and zealous advocates for *infant-baptism*, as at *Ashford* in *Kent*, *July 27. 1649.* where he defended his principles against several noted *ministers*, in the presence of two thousand auditors.

HE had another dispute with Dr. *Channel* at *Petworth* in 1651. and at least eight other publick disputes was he drawn into within the space of three years, always coming off with good success and honour to his cause. While he continued with the *Baptists*, he was an ornament to the whole sect, and looked upon as one of the chief defenders of their doctrine.

Goes off to the Quakers.

ABOUT the year 1655. he was strongly attacked by two leading men of the people called *Quakers*, *Caton* and *Stubbs*; and being but an unstable man, he was carried away with their *opinions*, and afterwards writ several books in defence of that religion, which are had in great esteem among them.

WHILE he was among the *Baptists*, he wrote that elaborate treatise, entitled, *Baby Baptism mere Babism*. In this, he not only confutes the false account that had been published of his dispute with several ministers at *Ashford*, which was the occasion of his writing on this *controversy*; but also answers particularly, with great learning and many witty turns, what had been written upon this subject, by Dr. *Featley*, Dr. *Holmes*, Mr. *Marshal*, Mr. *Blake*, Mr. *Cotton*, Mr. *Baxter*, and others; so that it contains the whole of the *controversy* as then managed, and is the only *folio* writ upon it in the *English* tongue.

Mr. Francis Bampfeild. Is ordain'd a minister in the established church. Preferred to a living in Dorsetshire.

THE reverend and very pious *Francis Bampfeild*, M.A. was also a divine of, great note among this *denomination* of *Protestants*. He descended from a very antient and honourable family in *Devonshire*, and was by his parents designed for the *ministry* from his birth, and educated accordingly. When he was but a child, he discovered a great delight in books and learning, and from his own inclination concurred with the design of his pious parents. After he had been instructed by some of the ablest masters in *grammar-learning*, he was about the sixteenth year of his age sent to the *university*, and educated at *Wadham* college in *Oxon*; where he continued between seven and eight years, made great improvements, and commenced *master* of arts. When he left the *university*, he was ordained first a *deacon*, then a *presbyter* of the church of *England*; the former by bishop *Hall*, the latter by bishop *Skinner*; and was icon after preferred to a living of about 100*l.* a year in *Dorsetshire*; where he took great pains to instruct the people, and promote true religion amongst them. And having an annuity of 80*l.* a year for life settled on him by his friends, he spent all the income of his place in acts of *charity* among his *parishioners*; as in *giving* them *bibles* and other good *books*, setting the *poor* to work, and relieving the *necessities* of those that could not, and suffered not knowingly one *beggar* to be in his parish.

WHILE he was here, he began to see, that the church of *England* needed *reformation* in many things, not only in *doctrine* and *worship*, but more especially in *discipline*; and therefore, as became a sincere christian, and faithful *minister*, he heartily set about it, making the laws of Christ his only rule in this case. But he met with great *opposition* and trouble for so doing.

ABOUT the same time, the people at *Sherbourn*, one of the most populous towns in *Dorsetshire*, wanting a *minister*, did earnestly solicit him to come thither. Here was more work and less wages; however there being a prospect of doing more good, and finding many, thousands of the *people*, as well as the neighbouring *ministers*, very desirous of his removing, after about two years waiting, he accepted their call. And in this *parish* he continued, till the at of *uniformity* took place, to labour with great success, and was universally beloved by his *parishioners*.

Is very zealous in the royal cause;

ONE thing was very remarkable, if not singular in him; that though he joined heartily in the reformation of the church in those times, yet he was zealous against the *parliament's war*, and *Oliver's usurpation*; constantly asserting the *royal cause* under all those changes, and suffering for it.

Yet more persecuted than other Dissenters.

But after the *Restoration*, being utterly unsatisfied in his conscience with the conditions of *conformity*, he took his leave of his sorrowful and weeping congregation, the Lord's-day before St. *Bartholomew* ^{f301} in 1662. and was quickly after *imprisoned* for worshipping God in his own family.

Yet more persecuted than other Dissenters.

So soon was his unshaken loyalty to the King forgotten; nay, so far was he from having any favour shewn to him on this account, that he was more frequently *imprisoned*, and exposed to greater hardships for his *nonconformity*, than most other *Dissenters*, as will appear in its place.

Charles I. and II.

In all the changes of the times till now, every *party* was for having a man of such *piety*, seriousness and learning kept in the ministry. Besides his being approved and ordained by the bishops before-mentioned, when that *hierarchy* was uppermost; he had the approbation of the officiated *ministers*, both of the *presbyterian* and *congregational* persuasion. When *Oliver* took the supreme power upon him, he voluntarily gave him license and authority under his hand and seat. When the *Tryers* were set up, to examine and approve publick preachers, they without his seeking for it, gave him their approbation and testimony also. ^{f302} And besides all this, he had an *authority* and *licence* for preaching under the hands and seals of two Kings, not of his own seeking, but procured for him by his friends.

But as he did not put any value upon human *authorities*, so now they were of no service to him.

HE was resolved however to be faithful to the commission he had received from Jesus Christ, and esteemed it *more reasonable to obey God than man*; so that all the opposition and sufferings that he met with, neither discouraged him in his work, nor caused him in the least to decline it.

He gathers a church in prison, and died in Newgate.

WHEN he was in *prison*, he preached sometimes every day, and gathered a church even under his confinement. And when he was at liberty, he ceased not to preach in the name of *Jesus*. And he had the courage of being one of the first that set up separate meetings in two or three counties in *England*. In the latter part of his life he came to *London*, where he soon gathered a congregation, which met at *Pinner's-hall*, to whom he was *pallor*, and constantly preached, when the evil of the times would permit. But he met with the same ill-treatment here, as he had done in the countries, and was often carried from his meeting to *prison*, and at last died in *Newgate*, Feb. 16. 1683.

ALL that knew him will acknowledge, that he was a man of great piety. And he would in all probability have preserved the same character, with respect to his learning and judgment, had it not been for his opinion in two points, viz. That *infants* ought not to be baptized, and that the *Jewish sabbath* ought still to be kept.

HE hath published several tracts. As,

His Works.

1. *A Letter*, containing his judgment for the *observation of the Jewish*, or, *Seventh-day Sabbath*. 8vo 1672
2. *All in one*: All useful sciences and profitable arts in one book of *Jehovah*, &c. folio 1677
3. *The open Confessor*, and *The Free-Prisoner*; a sheet, written when he was a prisoner in *Salisbury*, 1675
4. *A Name, a new one*; or, an histostorical declaration of his life, especially as to some eminent passages relating to his call to the ministry. 1681
5. *The House of Wisdom*, &c. for the further promoting of scripture-knowledge. 1681
6. *The Free-Prisoner*; a letter written from *Newgate*. 1683

7. *A Just Appeal from lower Courts on Earth, to the highest Court in Heaven.* 1683

8. *A Continuation of the former Just Appeal.* 1683

9. *A Gramatical Opening of some Hebrew Words and Phrases in the Beginning of the Bible.* 1684

Mr. Edward Stennett.

MR. *Edward Stennett* was another *Baptist* minister of note and learning in those times. His wife was Mrs. *Mary Quelch*, whose parents were of good repute in the city of *Oxford*. They were both very pious and worthy persons, and justly deserved the charmer given them in the epitaph inscribed on their tomb at *Wallingford*, which was composed by their son Mr. *Joseph Stennett*; ^{f303} and is as followeth:

*Applies himself to the study of physick.
Here lies an holy, and an happy pair;
As once in grace, they now in glory share:
They dar'd to suffer, but they fear'd to sin;
And meekly bore the cross, the crown to win
So liv'd, as not to be afraid to die;
So dy'd, as heirs of immortality.*

*Reader, attend: tho' dead, they speak to thee;
Tread the same path, the same thine end shall be.*

Applies himself to the study of physick.

THE part Mr. *Edward Stennett* took in the *civil wars*, being on the side of the *parliament*, exposed him to the neglect of his relations, and afterwards to many difficulties. He was a faithful and laborious *minister*; but his dissent from the *established church*, depriving him of the means whereby to maintain his family, which was large, he applied himself to the study of *physick*; by the practice of which he was enabled to bring up his children, and to, give them a liberal education, notwithstanding he bore a considerable share of the *persecution* which the *dissenters* underwent at that time. While I speak of his *sufferings*, it may not be amiss to recite an account of one very extraordinary deliverance he met with, and which was often related by his son, the reverend Mr. *Joseph Stennett*, whose memory is dear to many living, viz.

A malicious design against him. Circumvented by providence.

^{f304} HE dwelt in the castle of *Wallingford*, a place where no warrant could make forcible entrance, but that of a lord chief justice; and the house was so situated, that assemblies could meet, and every part of religious worship be

exercised in it, without any danger of a legal conviction, unless *informers* were admitted, which care was taken to prevent; so that for a long time he kept a constant and undisturbed meeting in his *hall*. A *gentleman* who was in the commission of the peace, and his very near neighbour, being highly incensed at the continuance of an *assembly* of this kind so near him; after having made several fruitless attempts to get his *emissaries* admitted into the house in order to a conviction, in the rage of a disappointment resolved, together with a neighbouring *clergyman*, upon doing it by a *subornation* of *witnesses*. They accordingly hired some persons fit for their purpose, to swear they had been at those *assemblies*, and *heard prayer* and *preaching* there, though they had never been in the house on those occasions. The *clergyman's* conduct in this affair was the more censured, because he had professed a great friendship for Mr. *Stennett*, and was under considerable obligations to him; having often had his *assistance* in the way of his *profession* as a *physician*, for his family, without any reward. Mr. *Stennett* finding an *indictment* was laid against him on the *conventicle* act, founded upon the oaths of several witnesses, and being well assured that nothing but *perjury* could support it, was resolved to traverse it, and accordingly did so. The *assizes* were held at *Newbury*, and when the time drew near, there was great triumph in the success these gentlemen proposed to themselves, when on a sudden the scene was changed; news came to the justice, that his son, whom he had lately placed at *Oxford*, was gone off with a player; the concern whereof, and the riding in search of him, prevented his attendance in the court. The *clergyman*, a few days before the *assizes*, boasted much of the service which would be done to the church and the neighbourhood by this prosecution, and of his own determination to be at *Newbury* to help carry it On; but to the surprize of many, his design was frustrated by *sudden death*. One of the *witnesses*, who lived at *Cromish*, was also prevented by being seized With a violent and sad disease, of which he died. And other of them fell down and broke his leg, and was so hindred. In short, of seven or eight persons engaged in this wicked design, there was but one left who was capable of appearing; he was a *gardiner*, who had been frequently employed by Mr. *Stennett* at day-labour, but never lodged in his house, nor was admitted to the religious assemblies held there. They thought to make him, as he was a servant to the family, a very material evidence; and kept him in liquor for several days to that purpose. But coming to his reason just as the *assizes* drew on, he went about the town, exclaiming against himself for his *ingratitude* and *perjury*, as well as against those who had employed him; and absolutely refused to go. So that when Mr. *Stennett* came to *Newbury*, neither *prosecutor* nor *witness* appearing against him, he was discharged of course,

His family.

MR. *Edward Stennett* had several sons, and one daughter, besides those who died young. His eldest son, *Jehudah*, afterwards an eminent *physician* at *Henly* upon *Thames*, wrote an *Hebrew* grammar at nineteen years of age; which was printed, and well received by the publick. Another of his sons,

Benjamin, proved a valuable and useful *minister*; but died young. His daughter, chiefly by the instructions of her brother *Joseph* (of whom I shall have occasion to treat hereafter) acquired such skill in the *Greek* and *Hebrew* languages, as to consult the *scriptures* in their *originals* with ease and pleasure. She was an excellent woman, and married to a worthy gentleman, Mr. *William Morton* of *Knaphill* in the county of *Bucks*.

Mr. Vavasor Powell was first made curate at Clun. He leaves the established church, and joins the Non-conformists.

To these must be added the famous Mr. *Vavasor Powell*, a man of great piety and usefulness, and while he lived, no small honour to this *denomination* of *Protestants*. He was born in the year 1617. and those that have men in esteem for their pedigree, may know, that he descended from a very antient and honourable stock; his father Mr. *Richard Powell* being of a noble family, that had lived for some hundreds of years at *Knocklas*, in *Radnorshire*; and his mother of the *Vavasors*, a family of great antiquity, that came out of *Yorkshire* into *Wales*. So that by both, he became allied to the chief and best families in *North-Wales*, and was saluted by the principal gentry in those parts as their kinsman. He was trained up a scholar, and made a good proficiency in the learned languages; but proved a very wild and unlucky youth, and was therefore termed by his school-fellows and companions *Dux omnium malorum*, which he himself acknowledges to have been just. His first preferment was in the *established church*; his uncle Mr. *Erasmus Powell*, taking-him to be curate at *Clun*, where he also kept a school to augment his income; but was still a stranger to true and unfeigned religion. And though, according to his own expression, he was *a reader of common prayers, and in the habit of a foolish shepherd*; yet was he one that slighted the *scriptures*, a stranger to secret and spiritual prayer, and a great prophaner of the *sabbath*. But by conversing with some serious and godly christians, who in contempt were called *Puritans*, and by reading their books, and hearing their sermons, God was pleased to convince him of his miserable and sinful estate, and to work a great and very remarkable conversion in him. Soon after which, he left the *episcopal church*, and joined with the *Nonconformists*; became a very lively and powerful preacher, and was of the mans of converting many from the error of their ways. But the more good he did, and the more popular he became, the more *enemies* he had, and with the greater rage did they persecute him. So that in the year 1642. he left his native country, and came to *London*, where there being universal liberty, he preached in several pub, sick places with great approbation, and was some time after invited to settle at *Dartford* in *Kent*; where he went and was blessed with great success in his labours, being instrumental in bringing many souls to Christ, and gathering a congregation in that town. When he had been there about two years and a half; and the nation a

little better settled, especially *Wales*, he was earnestly solicited to return to his own country, there being very few able *ministers* in those parts. And besides his having the language spoken there, he was in great esteem and veneration among that people; and therefore was likely to do more good there, than where he now was.

Settles at Dartford in Kent. Returns to Wales.

By these considerations he was prevailed upon to return thither. And for his further encouragement and reputation, the *nod* of *ministers*, who were appointed by authority to examine and approve of all publick preachers, gave him their *certificate* and *testimonial*.

THEY being, as I conceive, all *Paedobaptists*, whose *testimonies* in our *favour* I have a great value for; shall therefore insert the copy thereof in this place. ^{f305}

THESE are to certify those whom it may concern, that the bearer hereof, *Mr. Vavasor Powell*, is a man of a religious and blameless conversation, and of able gifts for the work of the *ministry*, and hath approved himself faithful therein; which we whole names are under written, do testify, some of our own knowledge, others from credible and sufficient information. And therefore he being now called, and desired to exercise his gifts in his own country of *Wales*, he also having the language thereof, we conceive him fit for that work, and worthy of encouragement therein. In witness whereof, we have here subscribed our names, *Sept. 11. 1646.*

Charles Herte, prolocutor.

Henry Scudder

William Greenhill

Franc. Woodcock

William Strong

Joseph Caryl

William Carter

Thomas Wilson

Jeremiah Borroughs

Philip Nye

Stephen Marshal

Jeremiah Whitaker

Arthur Salwey

Peter Sterrey

Henry Prince

Christopher Love

Tho. Froyssell

Robert Bettes.

Is very laborious in the work of the ministry.

WHEN he came down again into his native country, he applied himself to his Lord's work with great zeal and diligence; travelling from place to place, and taking all opportunities to preach the gospel, and win souls to Christ. He frequently preached in two or three places in a day, and was seldom two days in a week throughout the year, out of the pulpit, nay, he would sometimes ride an hundred miles in a week, and preach in every place, where he might have admittance, either night or day; so that there was hardly a *church, chapel* or *town-hall* in all *Wales*, where he had not preached; besides his frequent preaching in *fairs* and *markets*, upon *mountains* and in small *villages*. For if he passed at any time through any place where there was a concourse of people, he would take the opportunity of preaching Christ, and recommending to them the care of their souls, and another world.

Plants many churches.

THE pains that he took, and the fatigues that he endured, were very great and uncommon, and such as filled all that knew him with admiration. And God was pleased to bless his labours with proportionable success. The people flocked with great zeal and desire to attend his ministry, and many were by his means turned unto the Lord. And whereas, when he left *Wales* in 1642. there was not above one or two gathered churches in those parts, now they began to encrease apace; and before the restoration, there was above twenty distinct societies formed; of which some had two, some three, and some four or five hundred members.

THESE were chiefly gathered and planted by the care and industry of *Mr. Powell*, and they differed very little from one another in their faith and order.

MR. *Powell* drew up a short *confession of faith* in thirty articles, ^{f306} which, as may be gathered from what he says in his *epistle* to the churches in *Wales*, not only contained his own opinion, but the faith and discipline of those churches. It is published at large in the account of his life, and shews, that he, and those churches that were planted by him, followed the *Calvinistical* scheme of doctrines, in the points of *election, justification, effectual Calling, free-will and perseverance*. And though they esteemed none the *proper subjects* of *baptism*, but such as personally made a profession of *repentance* and *faith*, and judged that the right form of administering that *ordinance*, was by *immersion* only, yet did not they make this a boundary of their communion; but asserted, that difference in persuasion and practice in this and many other cases, might very well consist with brotherly-love and Christian communion. They were also for ordination of elders, singing of psalms and hymns in publick worship, laying

on of hands on the newly-baptized, and anointing the sick with oil, according to the apostolical direction. (~~3084~~ *James* 5:14, 15.)

IN *Feb.* 1649. an act of parliament passed for the propagating of the gospel in *Wales*, the design of which was, that the many parishes in those parts that were without *ministers* might be supplied, and that such in livings as were *ignorant* or *scandalous*, might be removed, and others duly qualified put in their room.

Is appointed one of the commissioners for propagating the gospel in Wales.

SEVERAL gentlemen of the best reputation for piety and integrity in those parts, as well *ministers* as others, were appointed *commissioners* for the execution, of this act and among the rest, Mr. *Vavasor Powell* was one. By having this honour and power conferred upon him, he was put into a capacity of doing a great deal more good than other wise he could have, done. Yet it created him a great deal of trouble, and raised him up Many *enemies*, who did not spare to load him with *reproaches*, and accuse him with the worst of crimes.

Is very much reproached by his enemies.

THOUGH this act continued in force but for three years, yet they represented, that the *commissioners* got great estates by it; that the profits arising by *tythes*, of which by this at they were to have the disposal, was put into their own pockets; that godly and learned *ministers* were turned out, and worse or none put in their room; insomuch, that the generality of the people were either turned *Atheists* or *Papists*. An all this was chiefly laid at the door of Mr. *Powell*, and not only whispered about privately, but published in *pamphlets*, without either author or printers name.

But honourably cleared.

A VIRULENT one I have now by me, entitled, *Strena Vavasoriens*; or, *A New-Year's-Gift for the Welch Itinerants*, &c. A more malicious piece could not be written, full of the most abominable *lyes* and *slanders* that malice could invent. But Mr. *Powell* was fully cleared, not only by the account which he himself gave of their whole proceedings in this affair, but also by the *testimony* of many *magistrates*, *ministers*, and other credible persons of different opinions in religion, who had the inspection of this matter, and published a vindication of him in the year 1654. entitled, *Examen & Purgamen Vavasoris*.

His last sickness and death in prison.

HE was greatly harrassed by his *persecutors*, and kept a *prisoner* about ten years. And during the time of his last illness, though his *physician* ordered he

should be kept from speaking much, yet so zealously was he affected for the glory of God, and with the love of Christ, that neither his pains, bodily weakness, or the tender advice of friends, could possibly restrain him; but he would, notwithstanding all, break forth into high and heavenly praises, sometimes by *prayer*, and sometimes by *singing*.

His patience under all his pains was very great. He would under the greatest pain bless God, and *say*, he would not entertain one bad thought of God for all the world. The sight of the pardon of sin and reconciliation with God, was so clear, and without interruption, even to the last, that it was as a fire in his bosom till he spake of it; and very hardly would he be restrained at any time: and when he had spent his strength in speaking, then would he compose himself to get a little more strength, that he might go on to speak further of the grace of God towards him, and to give seasonable advice to all about him; and so continued till God took away his strength and speech from him. He kept his bed about thirty days, and finished his course, service and sufferings, on the 27th of October 1670. at *Karoone-house*, the then fleet-prison in *Lambeth*, in the eleventh year of his imprisonment, and in the 53d of his age. Says the writer of his life,

*In vain oppressors do themselves perplex,
To find out acts, how they the saints may vex;
Death spoils their plots, and sets th' oppressed free,
Thus Vavasor obtained true liberty;
Christ him releas'd, and now he's join'd among
The martyr'd-souls, with whom he cries, how long?*

THE several books that he published, were,

His Works.

1. *Christ and Moses's excellency; or Zion and Sina's glory.* 8vo 1650
2. *A Dialogue between Christ and a Publican; Christ and a doubting Christian.*
3. *Christ exalted by the Father; God the Father glorified; and Mans Redemption finished.*
4. *The Bird in the Cage, chirping.* 8vo 1661
5. *Common Prayer no Divine Service.* 4to 1660
6. *The Sufferer's Catechism.*
7. *A Scriptural Catechism.*
8. *Sinful and sinless Swearing.*

9. *A Scripture Concordance.*

FINIS.

APPENDIX. — NUMBER 1.

ANNO DOM. 1611. AN. REG. JAC. 9.

The Common and Warrant for the condemnation and execution of Edward Wightman, at Litchfeild; with an account of his heretical opinions.

JAMES, by the grace of God, King of *England, Scotland, France, and Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, &c. to our right trusty, and right well-beloved counsellour, *Thomas Lord Ellesmere*, our chancellor of *England*, greeting. Whereas the reverend father in God, *Richard*, bishop of *Coventry and Litchfeild*, having judicially proceeded in the examination, hearing, and determining of a cause of heresie against *Edward Wightman*, of the parish of *Burton upon Trent*, in the diocese of *Coventry and Litchfeild*, concerning the wicked heresies of the *Ebionites, Cerinthians, Valentinians, Arrians, Macedonians*, of *Simon Magus*, of *Manes, Manichees*, of *Photinus*, and *Anabaptists*, and of other heretical, execrable, and unheard of opinions, by the instinct of Satan, by him excogitated and holden, viz.

1. THAT there is not the Trinity of Persons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, in the unity of the Deity.
2. That Jesus Christ is not the true natural Son of God, perfect God and of the same substance, eternity, and majesty with the Father, in respect of his Godhead.
3. That Jesus Christ is only man, and a mere creature, and not both God and man in one person.
4. That Christ our Saviour took not human flesh, of the substance of the virgin *Mary* his mother; and that that promise, *The seed of the woman shall break the serpent head*, was not fulfilled in Christ.
5. That the person of the Holy Ghost is not God coequal, co-eternal, and co-essential with the Father and the Son.
6. That the three Creeds, viz. The Apostles Creed, the *Nicene* Creed, the *Athanasian* Creed, are the heresies of the *Nicolaitans*.
7. That he the said *Edward Wightman* is that prophet spoken of in the eighteenth of Deuteronomy in these words, *I will raise them up a prophet*, &c and that place of *Isaiah*, *I alone have troden the winepress* and that that place, *Whose fan is in his hand* are proper and personal to him the said *Edward Wightman*.

8. And that he the said *Wightman* is that person of the *Holy Ghost* spoken of in the Scriptures; and the *Comforter* spoken of in the sixteenth of St. *John* gospel.

9. And that those words of our Saviour Christ, *of the sin of blaspheming against the Holy Ghost*, are meant of his person.

10. And that that place, the fourth of *Malachi* of *Elias to come*, is likewise meant of his person.

11. That the soul doth sleep in the sleep of the first death, as well as the body; and is mortal as touching the sleep of the first death, as the body is: And that the soul of our Saviour Jesus Christ did sleep in that sleep of death as well as his body.

12. That the souls of the elect saints departed are not members possessed of the triumphant church in heaven.

13. That the baptizing of infants is an abominable custom.

14. That there ought not in the church the use of the Lord's Supper to be celebrated in the elements of bread and wine; and the use of baptism to be celebrated in the element of water, as they are now practised in the church of *England*: But that the use of baptism is to be administer'd in water, only to converts of sufficient age and understanding, converted from infidelity to the faith.

15. That God hath ordained and sent him, the said *Edward Wightman*, to perform his part in the work of the salvation of the world, to deliver it by his teaching or admonition, from the heresie of the *Nicolaitans*, as Christ was ordained and sent to save the world, and by his death to deliver it from sin, and to reconcile it to God.

16. And that Christianity is not wholly professed and preached in the church of *England*, but only in part. Wherein he the said *Edward Wightman* hath before the said reverend father, as also before our commissioners, for causes ecclesiastical, within our realm of *England*, maintained his said most perilous and dangerous opinions; as appeareth by many of his confessions; as also by a book written and, subscribed by him, and given to us; for the which his damnable and heretical opinions, he is by divine sentence, declared by the said reverend father, the *bishop* of *Coventry* and *Litchfeild*, with the advice and consent of learned divines, and others learned in the law, assisting him in judgment, justly adjudged, pronounced, and declared to be an obstinate and incorrigible heretick, and is left by them under the sentence of the great excommunication, and therefore as a corrupt member to be cut off from the rest of the flock of Christ, 'lest he should infect others professing the true Christian faith; and is to be by our secular power and authority; as an heretick,

punished; as by the *significavit* of the said reverend father in God, the bishop of *Coventry* and *Litchfeild*, bearing date at *Litchfeild*, the fourteenth day of *Dec.* in the ninth Year of our reign, and remaining in our court of *Chancery*, more at large appeareth. And although the said *Edward Wightman* hath since the said sentence pronounced against him, been often very charitably moved and exhorted, as well by the said Bishop, as by many other godly, grave and learned divines, to dissuade, revoke and remove him from the laid blasphemous, heretical, and ana-baptistical opinions; yet he arrogantly and wilfully resisteth and continueth in the same. We therefore, according to our regal function and office, minding the execution of justice in this behalf, and to give example to others, lest they should attempt the like hereafter, have determined, by the assent of our council, to will and require, and do hereby authorize and require you our said chancellour, immediately upon the receipt hereof, to award, and make out, under our great seal of *England*, our writ of execution, according to the tenour in these presents ensuing and these presents than be your sufficient warrant and discharge for the same.

THEN was a warrant granted by the King to the lord chancellour of *England*, to award a writ under the great seal to the sheriff of *Litchfield*, for burning of *Edward Wightman*, delivered over to the secular power by the bishop of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*.

The Warrant.

THE King to the sheriff of our city of *Litchfeild*, greeting. Whereas the reverend father in Christ, *Richard*, by divine providence, of *Coventry* and *Litchfeild* bishop, hath signified unto us, That he judicially proceeding, according to the exigence of the ecclesiastical canons, and of the laws and customs of this our kingdom of *England*, against one *Edward Wightman*, of the parish of *Burton* upon *Trent*, in the diocese of *Coventry* and *Litchfeild*, of, and upon the wicked heresies of *Ebion*, *Cerinthus*, *Valentinian*, *Arrius*, *Macedonius*, *Simon Magus*, of *Manes*, *Manichees*, *Photinus*, and of the *Anabaptists*, and other arch-hereticks; and moreover, of other cursed opinions, belched, by the instinct of Satan excogitated, and heretofore unheard of; the aforesaid *Edward Wightman* appearing before the aforesaid reverend father, and other divines and learned in the law, assisting him in judgment, the aforesaid wicked crimes, heresies, and other detestable blasphemies and errors, stubbornly and pertinaciously, knowingly, maliciously, and with an hardened heart, published, defended and dispersed; by definitive sentence of the said reverend father, with the consent of divines, learned in the law aforesaid, justly, lawfully, and canonically, against the said *Edward Wightman* in that part brought, stands adjudged, and pronounced an heretick; and therefore; as a diseased sheep out of the flock of the Lord, lest our subjects he do infect by his

contagion, he hath decreed to be cast out and cut off. Whereas therefore the holy mother church hath not further in this part what it ought more to do and prosecute, the same reverend father, the same *Edward Wightman* as a blasphemous and condemned heretick, hath left to our secular power to be punished with condign punishment; as by the letters patents of the aforesaid reverend father the bishop of *Coventry* and *Litchfeild* in this behalf thereupon made, is certified unto us in our *Chancery*. We therefore, as a zealot of justice, and a defender of the catholick faith, and willing that the holy church, and the rights and liberties of the same, and the catholick faith to maintain and defend, and such like Heresies and Errors every where, so much as in us lies, to root out and extirpate, and hereticks so convict to punish with condign punishment, holding that such an heretick in the aforesaid form convict and condemned, according to the laws and customs of this our kingdom of *England* in this part accustomed, ought to be burned with fire. We command thee, that thou cause the said *Edward Wightman*, being in thy custody, to be committed to the fire in some publick and open place below the city aforesaid, for the cause aforesaid, before the people; and the same *Edward Wightman*, in the same fire, cause really to be burned, in the detestation of the said crime, and for manifest example of other Christians, that they may not fall into the same crime. And this no ways omit, under the peril that shall follow thereon. Witness, &c.

APPENDIX. — NUMBER 2.

A CONFESSION of FAITH of *Seven Congregations, or Churches of Christ in London, which are commonly, but unjustly called Anabaptists; published for the vindication of the truth, and information of the ignorant; likewise for the taking of those aspersions, which are frequently, both in pulpit and print, unjustly cast upon them. Printed at London, Anno 1646.*

I.

~~<6806>~~ 1 Corinthians 8:6. ~~<23406>~~ Isaiah 44:6. 46:9. ~~<10814>~~ Exodus 3:14. ~~<54066>~~ 1 Timothy 6:16. ~~<23615>~~ Isaiah 43:15. ~~<19676>~~ Psalm 147:5. ~~<05308>~~ Deuteronomy 32:3. ~~<18306>~~ Job 36:5. ~~<34002>~~ Jeremiah 10:12. ~~<02306>~~ Exodus 34:6, 7. ~~<44728>~~ Acts 17:28. ~~<61136>~~ Romans 11:36.

The Lord our God is but one God whose subsistence is in himself whose essence cannot be comprehended by any but himself, who only hath immortality, dwelling in the light, which no man can approach unto; who is in himself most holy, every way infinite, in greatness, wisdom, power, love; merciful and gracious, long-suffering, and abundant in goodness and truth; who giveth being, moving, and preservation to all creatures.

II.

~~<60008>~~ 1 Corinthians 1:3. ~~<60001>~~ John 1:1. 15:26. ~~<10814>~~ Exodus 3:14. ~~<6806>~~ 1 Corinthians 8:6.

IN this divine and infinite Being there is the Father, the Word, and the Holy Spirit; each having the whole divine Essence, yet the Essence undivided; all infinite without any beginning, therefore but one God; who is not to be divided in nature, and being, but distinguished by several peculiar relative properties.

III.

~~<23460>~~ Isaiah 46:10. ~~<60011>~~ Ephesians 1:11. ~~<61133>~~ Romans 11:33. ~~<19883>~~ Psalm 115:3. 95:6. 33:15. ~~<09009>~~ 1 Samuel 10:9, 26. ~~<12006>~~ Proverbs 21:6. ~~<02213>~~ Exodus 21:13. ~~<10633>~~ Proverbs 16:33. Psalm 144. ~~<23607>~~ Isaiah 45:7. ~~<24422>~~ Jeremiah 14:22. ~~<10638>~~ Matthew 6:28, 20. ~~<50016>~~ Colossians 1:16, 17. ~~<02319>~~ Numbers 23:19, 20. ~~<68004>~~ Romans 3:4. ~~<24000>~~ Jeremiah 10:10. ~~<60004>~~ Ephesians 1:4, 5. ~~<60006>~~ Jude 1:4, 6. ~~<10604>~~ Proverbs 16:4.

God hath decreed in himself, before the world was, concerning all things, whether necessary, accidental or voluntary, with all the circumstances of them, to work, dispose, and bring about all things according to the counsel of his own will, to his glory: (Yet without being the author of sin, or having fellowship with any therein) in which appears his wisdom in disposing all things, unchangeableness, power, and faithfulness in accomplishing his decree:

And God hath before the foundation of the world, fore-ordained some men to eternal life, through Jesus Christ, to the praise and glory of his grace; leaving the rest in their sin to their just condemnation, to the praise of his justice.

IV.

~~<10101>~~Genesis 1:1. ~~<51016>~~Colossians 1:16. ~~<24512>~~Isaiah 45:12. ~~<61545>~~1 Corinthians 15:45, 46. ~~<21072>~~Ecclesiastes 7:29. ~~<10101>~~Genesis 3:1, 4, 5. ~~<71103>~~2 Corinthians 11:3. ~~<4214>~~1 Timothy 2:14. ~~<8132>~~Galatians 3:22. Romans v. 12. 18:19. 6:22. ~~<81018>~~Ephesians 2:3.

IN the beginning God made all things very good; created man after his own Image, filled with all meet perfection of nature, and free from all sin; but long he abode not in this honour; Satan using the subtlety of the serpent to seduce first Eve, then by her seducing *Adam*; who without any compulsion, in eating the forbidden fruit, transgressed the command of God, and fell, whereby death came upon all his posterity; who now are conceived in sin, and by nature the children of wrath, the servants of sin, the subjects of death, and other miseries in this world, and for ever, unless the Lord Jesus Christ set them free.

V.

~~<18811>~~Job 38:11. ~~<24610>~~Isaiah 46:10, 11. ~~<21034>~~Ecclesiastes 3:14. ~~<11019>~~Mark 10:29, 30. ~~<12113>~~Exodus 21:13. ~~<11633>~~Proverbs 16:33. ~~<81038>~~Romans 8:28.

God in his infinite power and wisdom, doth dispose all things to the end for which they were created; that neither good nor evil befalls any by chance, or without his providence; and that whatsoever befalls the elect, is by his appointment, for his glory, and their good.

VI.

~~<61012>~~Jeremiah 31:2. ~~<81018>~~Ephesians 1:3, 7. 2:8, 9. ~~<31101>~~1 Thessalonians 5:9. ~~<41138>~~Acts 13:38. ~~<71021>~~2 Corinthians 5:21. ~~<21023>~~Jeremiah 9:23, 24. ~~<61030>~~1 Corinthians 1:30, 31. ~~<24216>~~Jeremiah 23:6.

ALL the elect being loved of God with an everlasting love, are redeemed, quickened, and saved, not by themselves, nor their own works, lest any man should boast, but, only and wholly by God, of his free grace and mercy, through Jesus Christ, who is made unto us by God, wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption, and all in all, that he that rejoiceth, might rejoice in the Lord.

VII.

~~<81718>~~John 17:3. ~~<81101>~~Hebrews 5:9. ~~<31018>~~1 Thessalonians 1:8. ~~<81066>~~John 6:36.

AND this is life eternal, that we might know him the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom he hath sent. And on the contrary, the Lord will render vengeance, in flaming fire, to them that know not God, and obey not the gospel of Jesus Christ.

VIII.

^{<0023>}Colossians 2:23. ^{<0050>}Matthew 15:9, 6. ^{<0059>}John 5:39. ^{<0085>}2 Timothy 3:15, 16, 17. ^{<0080>}Isaiah 8:20. ^{<0008>}Galatians 1:8, 9. ^{<0082>}Acts 3:22, 23.

THE rule of this knowledge, faith, and obedience, concerning the worship of God, in which is contained the whole duty of man, is (not mens laws, or unwritten traditions, but) only the word of God contained in the holy Scriptures; in which is plainly recorded whatsoever is needful for us to know, believe, and practise; which are the only rule of holiness and obedience for all saints, at all times, in all places to be observed.

IX.

^{<0015>}Genesis 3:15. 22:18. 49:10. ^{<0073>}Daniel 7:13. 9:24, &c. ^{<0083>}Proverbs 8:23. ^{<0001>}John 1:1, 2, 3. ^{<0008>}Hebrews 1:8. ^{<0004>}Galatians 4:4. ^{<0074>}Hebrews 7:14. Rev. v. 5. ^{<0009>}Genesis 49:9, 10. ^{<0003>}Romans 1:3. & 9:10. ^{<0016>}Matthew 1:16. ^{<0023>}Luke 3:23, 26. ^{<0016>}Hebrews 2:16. ^{<0033>}Isaiah 53:3, 4, 5. ^{<0015>}Hebrews 4:15.

THE Lord Jesus Christ, of whom Moses and the Prophets wrote, the Apostles preached, he is the Son of God, the brightness of his glory, &c. by whom he made the world; who upholdeth and governeth all things that he hath made; who also when the fulness of time was come, was made of a woman, of the tribe of *Judah*, of the seed of *Abraham* and *David*; to wit, of the virgin *Mary*, the Holy Spirit coming down upon her, the power of the most High overshadowing her; and he was also tempted as we are, yet without sin.

X.

^{<0016>}1 Timothy 2:5. ^{<0015>}Hebrews 9:15. ^{<0006>}John 14:6. ^{<0006>}Isaiah 9:6, 7.

JESUS Christ is made the mediator of the new and everlasting covenant of grace between God and man, ever to be perfectly and fully the prophet, priest, and king of the church of God for evermore.

XI.

^{<0083>}Proverbs 8:23. ^{<0016>}Isaiah 42:6. 49:15. 11:2, 3, 4, 5. 59:1, 2. ^{<0017>}Luke 4:17, 22. ^{<0014>}John 1:14, 26. 3:34.

UNTO this office he was appointed by God from everlasting; and in respect of his manhood, from the womb called, separated, and anointed most fully and

abundantly with all gifts necessary, God having without measure poured out his Spirit upon him.

XII.

~~<8084>~~ Hebrews 5:4, 5, 6. ~~<2530>~~ Isaiah 53:10, 11. ~~<47616>~~ John 3:16. ~~<4782>~~ Romans 8:32.

CONCERNING his mediatorship, the Scripture holds forth Christ's call to his office; for none takes this honour upon him, but he that is called of God as was *Aaron*, it being an action of God, whereby a special promise being made, he ordains his Son to this office; which promise is, that Christ should be made a sacrifice for sin; that he should see his seed, and prolong his days, and the pleasure of the Lord than prosper in his hand; all of meer free and absolute grace towards God's elect, and without' any condition foreseen in them to procure it.

XIII.

~~<4026>~~ 1 Timothy 2:5. ~~<8072>~~ Hebrews 7:24. ~~<20714>~~ Daniel 7:14. ~~<40412>~~ Acts 4:12.
~~<6013>~~ Luke 1:33. ~~<61406>~~ John 14:6.

This office to be mediator, that is to be prophet, priest, and king of the church of God, is so proper to, Christ, that neither in whole, or any part thereof, it cannot be transferred from him to any other.

XIV.

~~<48815>~~ Deuteronomy 8:15. ~~<41822>~~ Acts 3:22, 23. ~~<80301>~~ Hebrews 3:1. 4:14, 15.
~~<49016>~~ Psalm 2:6. ~~<47630>~~ 2 Corinthians 5:20. ~~<42618>~~ Acts 26:18. ~~<51021>~~ Colossians 1:21.
~~<61618>~~ John 16:8. ~~<98018>~~ Psalm 110:3. ~~<20018>~~ Song of Solomon 1:3. ~~<46444>~~ John 6:44.
~~<10443>~~ Philippians 4:13. ~~<50418>~~ 2 Timothy 4:18.

This office to which Christ is called, is threefold; a prophet, priest, and king. This number and order of offices is necessary, for in respect of our ignorance, we stand in need of his prophetic office; and in respect of our great alienation from God, we need his priestly office to reconcile us; and in respect of our averseness and utter inability to return to God, we need his kingly office, to convince, subdue, draw, uphold and preserve us to his heavenly kingdom.

XV.

~~<40118>~~ John 1:18. 12:49, 50. 17:8. ~~<61815>~~ Deuteronomy 18:15. ~~<42310>~~ Matthew 23:10.
~~<80118>~~ Hebrews 3:1. ~~<80301>~~ Malachi 3:1; ~~<40124>~~ 1 Corinthians 1:24. Colossians 2. 3.

CONCERNING the prophecy of Christ, it is that whereby he hath revealed the will of God, whatsoever is needful for his servants to know and obey; and therefore he is called not only a prophet and doctor, and the apostle of our profession, and the angel of the covenant, but also the very wisdom of God, in

whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge, who for ever continueth revealing the same truth of the gospel to his people.

XVI.

^{<6018>}John 1:18. ^{<4022>}Acts 3:22. ^{<51815>}Deuteronomy 18:15. ^{<8010>}Hebrews 1:1. *That Jesus Christ is God is wonderful clearly expressed in the Scriptures He is called the might God,* ^{<2006>}Isaiah 9:6. *That word was God,* ^{<6010>}John 1:1. *Christ who is God over all,* ^{<6006>}Romans 9:5. *God manifested in the Flesh,* ^{<5016>}1 Timothy 3:16. *The same is very God,* ^{<6150>}John 5:20. *He is the first,* ^{<6008>}Revelation 1:8. *He gives being to all things, and without him was nothing made,* ^{<6002>}John 1:2. *He forgiveth sins,* ^{<4006>}Matthew 9:6. *He is before Abraham,* ^{<6058>}John 8:58. *He was and is, and ever will be the same,* ^{<8008>}Hebrews 13:8. *He is always with his to the end of the world,* ^{<4020>}Matthew 28:20. *Which could not be said of Jesus Christ, if he were not God. And to the Son he saith, Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever,* ^{<8008>}Hebrews 1:8. ^{<6018>}John 1:18.

Also, Christ is not only perfectly God, but perfect man, made of a woman, ^{<6004>}Galatians 4:4. *Made of the seed of David,* ^{<6003>}Romans 1:3. *Coming out of the loins of David,* ^{<4023>}Acts 2:30. *Of Jesse and Judah,* ^{<4023>}Acts 13:23. *In that the children were partakers of flesh and blood he himself likewise took part with them,* ^{<8014>}Hebrews 2:14. *He took not on him the nature of angels, but the seed of Abraham,* ver. 16. *So that we are bone of his bone, and flesh of his flesh,* ^{<4030>}Ephesians 5:30. *So that he that sanctifieth, and they that are sanctified are all of one,* ^{<8011>}Hebrews 2:11. *See Acts 22.* ^{<51815>}Deuteronomy 18:15. ^{<8001>}Hebrews 1:1.

THAT he might be a prophet every way compleat, it was necessary he should be God, and also that he should be man: For unless he had been God, he could never have perfectly understood the will of God; and unless he had been man, he could not suitably have unfolded it in his own person to men.

XVII.

^{<6019>}John 17:19. ^{<8007>}Hebrews 5:7, 8, 9, 10, 12. ^{<6159>}Romans 5:19. ^{<6012>}Ephesians 5:2. ^{<5021>}Colossians 1:20. ^{<4024>}Ephesians 2:14 &c. ^{<6034>}Romans 8:34. ^{<8024>}Hebrews 9:24. 8:1. ^{<4015>}1 Peter 2:5. ^{<6023>}John 4:23, 24.

CONCERNING his priesthood, Christ having sanctified himself, hath appeared once to put away sin by that one offering of himself a sacrifice for sin, by which he hath fully finished and suffered all things God required for the salvation of his elect, and removed all rites and shadows, &c. and is now enter'd within the vail into the holy of holies, which is the presence of God. Also, he makes his people a spiritual house, an holy priesthood, to offer up

spiritual sacrifice acceptable to God through him. Neither doth the Father accept, or Christ offer to the Father, any other worship or worshippers.

XVIII.

<8716> Hebrews 7:16, &c. <8816> Hebrews 5:6. 10:10. <6018> 1 Peter 1:18, 19.
<5013> Colossians 1:20, 22. <8913> Hebrews 9:13. <4018> Acts 20:28. <8914> Hebrews 9:14.
13:10, 12, 15. <4237> Matthew 23:17. <8719> John 17:19.

This priesthood was not legal or temporary, bit according to the order of *Melchisedec*, and is stable and perfect, not for a time, but for ever, which is suitable to Jesus Christ, as to him that ever liveth. Christ was the priest, sacrifice, and altar: He was a priest according to both natures; he was a sacrifice according to his human nature; whence in scripture it is attributed to his body, to his blood: Yet the effectualness of this sacrifice did depend upon his divine nature; therefore it is called the blood of God. He was the altar according to his divine nature, it belonging to the altar to sanctify that which is offered upon it, and so it ought to be of greater dignity than the sacrifice it self.

XIX.

<6154> 1 Corinthians 15:4. <4021> 1 Peter 3:21, 22. <4018> Matthew 28:18, 19. <4251> Luke 24:51. <4001> Acts 1:1. 5:30, 31. <8196> John 19:36. <5149> Romans 14:9. <9735> John 5:26, 27. <8816> Romans 5:6, 7, 8. 14:17. <8162> Galatians 5:22, 23. <4017> Mark 1:27.
<8014> Hebrews 1:14. <8165> John 16:15. <8118> Job 2:8. <6012> Romans 1:21. 17:18.
<4047> Ephesians 4:17, 18. 2 Peter 2.

CONCERNING his kingly office, Christ being risen from the dead, and ascended into heaven, and having all power in heaven and earth, he doth spiritually govern his church, and doth exercise his power over all, angels and men, good and bad, to the preservation and salvation of the elect, and to the overruling and destruction of his enemies. By this kingly power he applieth the benefits, virtue, and fruits of his prophesy and priesthood to his elect, subduing their sins, preserving and strengthening them in all their conflicts against Satan, the world, and the flesh, keeping their hearts in faith and filial fear by his spirit. By this his mighty power he ruleth the vessels of wrath, using, limiting and restraining them, as it seems good to his infinite wisdom.

XX.

<6154> 1 Corinthians 15:24, 28. <8028> Hebrews 9:28. <5009> 2 Thessalonians 1:9, 10.
<5045> 1 Thessalonians 4:15, 16, 17. <8171> John 17:21, 26.

This his kingly power shall be more fully manifested when he shall come in glory to reign among his saints, when he shall put down all rule and authority under his feet, that the glory of the Father may be perfectly manifested in his Son, and the glory of the Father and the Son in all his members.

XXI.

^{<0014>}Ephesians 1:14. ^{<0009>}Hebrews 5:9. ^{<0021>}Matthew 1:21. ^{<0170>}John 17:6.
^{<0075>}Hebrews 7:25. ^{<0112>}1 Corinthians 2:12. ^{<0009>}Romans 8:29, 30. ^{<0151>}1 John
5:12. ^{<0151>}John 15:13. 3:16.

Jesus Christ by his death did purchase salvation for the elect that God gave unto him: these only have interest in him, and fellowship with him, for whom he makes intercession to his Father in their behalf, and to them alone doth God by his Spirit apply this redemption; as also the free gift of eternal life is given to them, and none else.

XXII.

^{<0008>}Ephesians 2:8. ^{<0009>}John 6:29. 4:10. ^{<0019>}Philippians 1:29. ^{<0002>}Galatians
5:22. ^{<0171>}John 17:17. ^{<0041>}Hebrews 4:11, 12. ^{<0063>}John 6:63.

Faith is the gift of God, wrought in the hearts of the elect by the spirit of God; by which faith they come to know and believe the truth of the scriptures, and the excellency of them above all other writings, and all things in the world, as they hold forth the glory of God in his attributes, the excellency of Christ in his nature and offices, and of the power and fulness of the Spirit in its workings and operations; and so are enabled to cast their souls upon this truth thus believed.

XXIII.

^{<0024>}Matthew 7:24, 25. ^{<0130>}John 13:10. 10:28, 29. ^{<0004>}1 Peter 1:4, 5, 6.
^{<0003>}Isaiah 49:13, 14, 15, 16.

ALL those that have this precious faith wrought in them by the Spirit, can never finally nor totally fall away; seeing the gifts of God are without repentance; so that he still begets and nourisheth in them faith, repentance, love, joy, hope, and all the graces of the Spirit unto immortality; and though many forms and floods arise, and beat against them, yet they shall never be able to take them off that foundation and rock, which by faith they are fasten'd upon notwithstanding, through unbelief, and the temptations of Satan, the sensible sight of this light and love, be clouded and overwhelmed for a time; yet God is still the same, and they shall be sure to be kept by the power of God unto salvation, where they shall enjoy their purchased possession, they being engraven upon the palms of his hands, and their names having been written. in the book of life from all eternity.

XXIV.

^{<0007>}Romans 10:17. ^{<0028>}1 Corinthians 1:28. ^{<0016>}Romans 9:16. ^{<0166>}Ezekiel
16:16. ^{<0012>}Romans 3:12. 1:16. ^{<0019>}Ephesians 1:19. ^{<0012>}Colossians 2:12.

FAITH is ordinarily begotten by the preaching of the gospel, or word of Christ, without respect to any power or agency in the creature; but it being wholly passive, and dead in trespasses and sins, doth believe and is converted by no less power than that which raised Christ from the dead.

XXV.

^{<6014>}John 3:14, 15. 1:12. ^{<2880>}Isaiah 55:1. ^{<6077>}John 7:37. ^{<5015>}1 Timothy 1:15.
^{<6016>}Romans 4:5. 5:8. ^{<4180>}Acts 5:30, 31. 2:36. ^{<6012>}1 Corinthians 1:22, 24.

THE preaching of the gospel to the conversion of sinners, is absolutely free; no way requiring as absolutely, necessary, any qualifications, preparations, or terrors of the law, or preceeding ministry of the law, but only and alone the naked soul, a sinner and ungodly, to receive Christ crucified, dead and buried, and risen again; who is made a prince and a saviour for such sinners as through the gospel shall be brought to believe on him.

XXVI.

^{<6016>}1 Peter 1:5. ^{<4719>}2 Corinthians 12:9. ^{<6150>}1 Corinthians 15:10.
^{<6012>}Philippians 2:12, 13. ^{<6156>}John 15:5. ^{<6019>}Galatians 2:19, 20.

THE same power that converts to faith in Christ, carrieth on the soul through all duties, temptations, conflicts, sufferings; and whatsoever a believer is, he is by grace, and is carried on in all obedience and temptation! by the same.

XXVII.

^{<6001>}1 Thessalonians 1:1. ^{<6172>}John 17:21. 20:17. ^{<8021>}Hebrews 2:11. ^{<6046>}1 John 4:16. ^{<6119>}Galatians 2:19, 20.

ALL believers are by Christ united to God; by which union, God is one with them, and they are one with him; and that all believers are the sons of God, and joint heirs with Christ, to whom belong all the promises of this life, and that which is to come.

XXVIII.

^{<6007>}1 John 1:7. ^{<8104>}Hebrews 10:14. 9:26. ^{<4759>}2 Corinthians 5:19. ^{<6123>}Romans 3:23. ^{<4138>}Acts 13:38, 39. ^{<6181>}Romans 5:1. 3:25, 30.

THOSE that have union with Christ, are justified from all their sins by the blood of Christ, which justification is a gracious and full acquittance of a guilty sinner from all sin, by God, through the satisfaction that Christ hath made by his death for all their sins, and this applied (in the manifestation of it) through faith.

XXIX.

1 Corinthians 12:1. 1 Peter 2:9. Ephesians 1:4. 1 John 4:16.
Matthew 28:20.

ALL believers are a holy and sanctified people, and that sanctification is a spiritual grace of the new covenant, and an effect of the love of God manifested in the soul, whereby the believer presseth after a heavenly and evangelical obedience to all the commands, which Christ as head and king in his new covenant hath prescribed to them.

XXX.

2 Corinthians 5:19. Romans 5:9, 10. Isaiah 54:10; 20
Ephesians 2:13, 14. 4:7. Romans 5:10, 11.

ALL believers through the knowledge of that justification of life given by the Father, and brought forth by the blood of Christ, have as their great privilege of that new covenant, peace with God, and reconciliation, whereby they that, were afar off are made nigh by that blood, and have peace palling all understanding; yea, joy in God through our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom we have received the atonement.

XXXI.

Romans 7:23, 24. Ephesians 6:10, 11, &c. Hebrews 2:9, 10. 2 Timothy 3:12. Revelation 8:29. 1 Thessalonians 3:3. Galatians 2:19, 20. 2 Corinthians 5:7. Deuteronomy 2:5.

ALL believers in the time of this life, are in a continual warfare and combat against sin, self, the world, and the devil; and are liable to all manner of afflictions, tribulations and persecutions, being predestinated and appointed thereunto, and whatsoever the saints possess or enjoy of God spiritually, is by faith; and outward and temporal things are lawfully enjoyed by a civil right by them who have no faith.

XXXII.

John 16:33. 15:5. Philippians 4:11. Hebrews 2:9, 10. 2 Timothy 4:18.

The only strength by which the saints are enabled to encounter with all oppositions and trials, is only by Jesus Christ, who is the captain of their salvation, being made perfect through sufferings; who hath engaged his faithfulness and strength to assist them in all their afflictions, and to uphold them in all their temptations, and to preserve them by his power to his everlasting kingdom.

XXXIII.

^{<0111>}Matthew 11:11. ^{<3001>}2 Thessalonians 1:1. ^{<4010>}1 Corinthians 1:2.
^{<6001>}Ephesians 1:1. ^{<6007>}Romans 1:7. ^{<4108>}Acts 11:8, 9. 26:18. ^{<4767>}2 Corinthians
6:17. ^{<6180>}Revelation 18:4. ^{<4027>}Acts 2:37. 10:37. ^{<5100>}Romans 10:10.
^{<0189>}Matthew 18:19, 20. ^{<4122>}Acts 2:42. ^{<4926>}Acts 9:26. ^{<0185>}1 Peter 2:5.

Jesus Christ hath here on earth a spiritual kingdom, which is his church, whom he hath purchased and redeemed to himself as a peculiar inheritance; which church is a company of visible saints, called and separated from the world by the word and spirit of God, to the visible profession of the faith of the gospel, being baptized into that faith, and joined to the Lord, and each to other, by mutual agreement in the practical enjoyment of the ordinances commanded by Christ their head and king.

XXXIV.

^{<0218>}Matthew 28:18, &c. ^{<4124>}1 Corinthians 11:24. 3:21. ^{<4768>}2 Corinthians
6:18. ^{<6104>}Romans 9:4, 5. ^{<4943>}Psalms 93:3. ^{<6107>}Romans 3:7, 10. ^{<6472>}Ezekiel
47:2.

To this church he hath made his promises, and giveth the signs of his covenant, presence, acceptance, love, blessing, and protection. Here are the fountains and springs of his heavenly graces flowing forth to refresh and strengthen them.

XXXV.

^{<4041>}Acts 2:41, 47. ^{<2043>}Isaiah 4:3. ^{<4126>}1 Corinthians 12:6, 7. &c. ^{<6340>}Ezekiel
20:40, 37. ^{<2042>}Song of Solomon 4:12. ^{<4029>}Ephesians 2:19. ^{<5104>}Romans 12:4,
5, 6. ^{<5112>}Colossians 1:12. 2:5, 6, 19. ^{<4032>}Acts 20:32. 5:4. 2:44, 45. 4:34. 35.
^{<0146>}Luke 14:26. ^{<5400>}1 Timothy 6:1. ^{<4046>}Ephesians 4:16.

AND all his servants of all estates (are to acknowledge him to be their prophet, priest, and king;) and called thither to be enrolled among his household servants, to present their bodies and souls, and to bring their gifts God hath given them, to be under his heavenly conduct and government, to lead their lives in this walled sheepfold, and watered garden, to have communion here with his saints, that they may be assured that they are made meet to be partakers of their inheritance in the kingdom of God; and to supply each others wants, inward and outward; (and although each person hath a propriety in his own estate, yet they are to supply each others wants, according as their necessities shall require, that the name of Jesus Christ may not be blasphemed through the necessity of any in the church) and also being come, they are here by himself to be bestowed in their several order, due place, peculiar use, being

fitly compact and knit together according to the effectual working of every part, to the edifying of it self in love.

XXXVI.

~~<402>~~ Acts 1:23, 26. 6:3. 15:22, 25. ~~<512>~~ Romans 12:7, 8. ~~<502>~~ 1 Timothy 3:2, 6, 7. ~~<612>~~ 1 Corinthians 12:8, 28. ~~<812>~~ Hebrews 13:7, 17. ~~<102>~~ 1 Peter 5:1, 2, 3.

BEING thus joined, every church hath power given them from Christ, for their well-being, to choose among themselves meet persons for elders and deacons, being qualified according to the word, as those which Christ hath appointed in his testament, for the feeding, governing, serving, and building up of his church; and that none have any power to impose on them either these or any others.

XXXVII.

~~<804>~~ Hebrews 5:4. ~~<608>~~ John 10:3, 4. ~~<402>~~ Acts 20:28, 29. ~~<512>~~ Romans 12:7, 8. ~~<812>~~ Hebrews 13:7, 17. ~~<102>~~ 1 Peter 5:1, 2, 3.

THAT the ministers lawfully called, as aforesaid, ought to continue in their calling and place, according to God's ordinance, and carefully to feed the flock of God committed to them, not for filthy lucre, but of a ready mind.

XXXVIII.

~~<602>~~ 1 Corinthians 9:7, 14. ~~<808>~~ Galatians 6:8. ~~<5045>~~ Philippians 4:15, 16. ~~<7104>~~ 2 Corinthians 10:4. ~~<5002>~~ 1 Timothy 1:2. ~~<9808>~~ Psalm 110:3.

THE ministers of Christ *ought to have* whatsoever they shall need, supplied freely by the church, that according to Christ's ordinance they that preach the Gospel should live of the gospel by the law of Christ.

XXXIX.

~~<1288>~~ Matthew 28:18, 19. ~~<3001>~~ John 4:1. ~~<1165>~~ Mark 16:15, 16. ~~<4027>~~ Acts 2:37, 38. ~~<4036>~~ Acts 8:36, 37, &c.

BAPTISM is an ordinance of the new testament, given by Christ, to be dispensed upon persons professing faith, or that are made disciples; who upon profession of faith, ought to be baptized, and after to partake of Lord's Supper.

XL.

~~<1026>~~ Matthew 3:6, 16. ~~<1159>~~ Mark 15:9, reads [into Jordan] in Greek. ~~<822>~~ John 3:23. ~~<4033>~~ Acts 8:38. ~~<6006>~~ Revelation 1:5. 7:14. ~~<6102>~~ Revelation 10:22. ~~<608>~~ Romans 6:3, 4. 5, 6. ~~<6152>~~ 1 Corinthians 15:28, 29.

The word baptizo signifies to dip or plunge (yet so as convenient garments be both upon the administrator and subject with all modesty.)

THAT the way and manner of the dispensing this ordinance, is dipping or plunging the body under water; it being a sign, must answer the things signified, which is, that interest the saints have in the death, burial, and resurrection of Christ: And that as certainly as the body is buried under water, and risen again; so certainly shall the bodies of the saints be raised by the power of Christ, in the day of the resurrection, to reign with Christ.

XXI.

^{<3816>}Isaiah 8:16. ^{<4017>}Ephesians 2:7. ^{<12819>}Matthew 28:19. ^{<3042>}John 4:2. ^{<4317>}Acts 20:7. 11:10. ^{<6102>}1 Corinthians 11:2. 10:16, 17. ^{<5162>}Romans 16:2. ^{<1817>}Matthew 18:17.

THE person designed by Christ to dispense baptism, the scripture holds forth to be a disciple; it being, no where tied to a particular church officer, or person extraordinarily sent, the commission injoining the administration, being given to them as considered disciples, being men able to preach the gospel.

XLII.

^{<5162>}Romans 16:2. ^{<1817>}Matthew 18:17. ^{<4304>}1 Corinthians 5:4, 11, 13. 12:6. 2:3. ^{<7016>}2 Corinthians 2:6, 7.

CHRIST hath likewise given power to his church to receive in, and cast out, any member that deserves it; and this power is given to every congregation, and not to one particular person, either member or officer, but in relation to the whole body, in reference to their faith and fellowship.

XLIII.

^{<1816>}Matthew 18:16. 17:18. ^{<4110>}Acts 11:2, 3. ^{<5059>}1 Timothy 5:19, &c. ^{<1047>}Colossians 4:17. ^{<4150>}Acts 15:1, 2, 3.

AND every particular member of each church, how excellent, great, or learned soever, is subject to this censure and judgment; and that the church ought not without great care and tenderness, and due advice, but by the rule of faith, to proceed against her members.

XLIV.

^{<417>}Acts 20:27, 28. ^{<3137>}Hebrews 13:17, 24. ^{<1245>}Matthew 24:45. ^{<3172>}1 Thessalonians 5:2, 14. ^{<3013>}Jude 1:3, 20. ^{<3103>}Hebrews 10:34, 35. 12:15.

CHRIST for the keeping of this church in holy and orderly communion, placeth some special men over the church; who by their office, are to govern, oversee,

visit, watch so likewise for the better keeping thereof, in all places by the members, he hath given authority, and laid duty upon all to watch over one another.

XLV.

<614B>1 Corinthians 14:3, &c. <6126>Romans 12:6. <6040>1 Peter 4:10, 11. <6127>1 Corinthians 12:7. <6169>1 Thessalonians 5:19, &c.

Also such to whom God hath given gifts in the church, may and ought to prophesy, according to the proportion of faith, and so to teach publickly the word of God, for the edification, exhortation, and comfort of the church.

XLVI.

Revelation 2, & 3. Chap. <4152>Acts 15:12. <6010>1 Corinthians 1:10. <8105>Hebrews 10:25. <6019>Jude 1:19. <6121>Revelation 2:20, 21, 27. <4150>Acts 15:1, 2. <6140>Romans 14:1. 15:1, 2, 3.

Thus being rightly gathered, and continuing in the obedience of the gospel of Christ, none are to separate for faults and corruptions (for as long as the church consists of men subject to failings, there will be difference in the true constituted church) until they have in due order, and tenderness, sought redress thereof.

XLVII.

<6047>1 Corinthians 4:17. 14:33, 36. 16:1. <1938>Psalm 122:3. <4022>Ephesians 2:12, 19. Revelation 21: <5485>1 Timothy 3:15. 6:13, 14. <6047>1 Corinthians 4:17. <4152>Acts 15:2, 3. <2188>Song of Solomon 8:8, 9. <6001>2 Corinthians 8:1, 4. & 13:14.

AND although the particular congregations be distinct, and several bodies, every one as a compact and knit city within it self; yet are they all to walk by one rule of truth; so also they (by all means convenient) are to have the counsel and help one of another, if necessity require it, as members of one body, in the common faith, under Christ their head.

XLVIII.

<6130>Romans 13:1, 2, &c. <4023>1 Peter 2:13, 14. <5401>1 Timothy 2:1, 2, 3.

The supreme magistracy of this kingdom we acknowledge to be the king and parliament (now established) freely chosen by the kingdom, and that we are to maintain and defend all civil laws and civil officers made by them, which are for the good of the commonwealth. And we acknowledge with thankfulness, that God hath made this present king and parliament honourable in throwing down the prelatical hierarchy, because of their tyranny and oppression over

us, under which this kingdom long groaned, for which we are ever ingaged to bless God, and honour them for the same. And concerning the worship of God; there is but one lawgiver, which is able to save and defray, ^{<5042>}James 4:12. which is Jesus Christ, who hath given laws and rules sufficient in his word for his worship; and for any to make more, were to charge Christ with want of wisdom, or faithfulness, or both, in not making laws enough, or not good enough far his house: Surely it is our wisdom, duty, and privilege, to observe Christ's laws only, ^{<1916>}Psalm 2:6, 9, 10, 12. So it is the magistrates duty to tender the liberty of mens consciences, ^{<2108>}Ecclesiastes 8:8. (which is the tenderly) thing unto all conscientious men, and most dear unto them, and without which all other liberties will not be worth the naming, much less injoying) end to protect all under them from all wrong, injury, oppression and molestation; so it is our duty not to be wanting in nothing which is for their honour and comfort, and whatsoever is for the well-being of the commonwealth wherein we live; it is our duty to do, and we believe it to be our express duty, especially in matters of religion, to be fully perswaded in our minds of the lawfulness of what we do, as knowing whatsoever is not of faith is sin. And as we cannot do any thing contrary to our understandings and consciences, so neither can we forbear the doing of that which our understandings and consciences bind us to do. And if the magistrate should require us to do otherwise, we are to yield our Persons in a passive way to their tower, as the saints of old have done, ^{<5184>}James 5:4. And thrice happy shall he be, that shall lose his life for witnessing (though but for the least title) of the truth of the Lord Jesus Christ, 1 Peter 5. Galatians 5.

A Civil magistracy is an ordinance of God, set up by him for the punishment of evil-doers, and for the praise of them that do well; and that in all lawful things, commanded by them, subjection ought to be given by us in the Lord, not only for wrath, but for conscience-sake; and that we are to make supplications and prayers for kings, and all that are in authority, that under them we may live a quiet and peaceable life, in all godliness and honesty.

XLIX.

^{<4124>}Acts 2:40, 41. 4:19. 5:28, 29. 20:23. ^{<5184>}1 Thessalonians 3:3.
^{<1012>}Philippians 1:28, 29. ^{<2186>}Daniel 3:16, 17. 6:7, 10, 22, 23. ^{<5063>}1 Timothy 6:13, 14. ^{<6121>}Romans 12:1, 8. ^{<6147>}1 Corinthians 14:37. ^{<6121>}Revelation 2:20.
^{<5046>}2 Timothy 4:6, 7, 8. ^{<6140>}Romans 14:10, 12. ^{<6150>}2 Corinthians 5:10.
^{<1917>}Psalm 49:7. 50:22.

But in case we find not the magistrate to favour us herein; yet we dare not suspend our practice, because we believe we ought to go in obedience to Christ, in professing the faith which was once delivered to the saints, which faith is declared in the holy scriptures, and this our confession of faith a part of

them, and that we are to witness to the truth of the old and new testament unto the death, if necessity require, in the midst of all trials and afflictions, as his saints of old have done; not accounting our goods, lands, wives, children, fathers, mothers, brethren, sisters; yea, and our own lives dear unto us, so we may finish our course with joy; remembering always, that we ought to obey God rather than men, who will when we have finished our course, and kept the faith, give us the crown of righteousness; to whom we must give an account of all our actions, and no man being able to discharge us of the same.

L.

~~<488>~~ Acts 8:38. 10:1, 2, 35. ~~<5123>~~ Romans 16:23. ~~<8613>~~ Deuteronomy 6:13.
~~<800>~~ Romans 1:9. ~~<7101>~~ 2 Corinthians 10:11. ~~<3002>~~ Jeremiah 4:2. ~~<8066>~~ Hebrews
6:16.

It is lawful for a Christian to be a magistrate or civil officer; and also it is lawful to take an oath, so it be in truth, and in judgement, and in righteousness, for confirmation of truth, and ending of all strife; and that by rash and vain oaths the Lord is provoked, and this land mourns.

LI.

~~<3006>~~ 1 Thessalonians 4:6. ~~<5135>~~ Romans 13:5, 6, 7. ~~<4221>~~ Matthew 22:21. Titus
3: ~~<6025>~~ 1 Peter 2:15, 17. ~~<6085>~~ 1 Peter 5:5. ~~<4021>~~ Ephesians 5:21, 23. & 6:1, 9.
~~<6101>~~ Titus 3:1, 2, 3.

We are to give unto all men whatsoever is their due, as their place, age, estate, requires; and that we defraud no man of any thing, but to do unto all men, as we would they should do unto us.

LII.

~~<4245>~~ Acts 24:15. ~~<6180>~~ 1 Corinthians 5:10. ~~<5142>~~ Romans 14:12.

THERE than be a resurrection of the dead, both of the just and unjust, and every one than give an account of himself to God, that every one may receive the things done in his body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or bad.

The Conclusion.

THUS we desire to give unto Christ that which is his; and unto all lawful authority that which is their due; and to owe nothing to any man but love; to live quietly and peaceably, as it becometh saints, endeavouring in all things to keep a good conscience, and to do unto every man (of what judgment soever) as we would they should do unto us, that as our practice is, so it may prove us to be a conscionable, quiet, and harm less people (no ways dangerous or

troublesome to human society) and to labour and work with our hands that we may not be chargeable to any, but to give to him that needeth both friends and enemies, accounting it more excellent to give than to receive. Also we confess, that we know but in part, and that we are ignorant of many things which we desire and seek to know; and if any shall do us that friendly part to few us from the word of God that we see not, we shall have cause to be thankful to God and them; but if any man shall impose upon us any thing that we see not to be commanded by our Lord Jesus Christ, we should in his strength rather embrace all reproaches and tortures of men, to be stripp'd of all outward comforts, and if it were possible, to die a thousand deaths, rather than to do any thing against the least tittle of the truth of God, or against the light of our own consciences. And if any shall call what we have said heresy, then do we with the Apostle acknowledge, that after the way they call heresy, worship we the God of our fathers, disclaiming all heresies (rightly so called) because they are again Christ, and to be stedfast and immoveable, always abounding in obedience to Christ, as knowing our labour shall not be in vain in the Lord.
(~~1974~~ Psalm 74:21, 22.)

ARISE, O God, plead thine own cause; remember how the foolish man blasphemeth thee daily. O let not the oppressed return ashamed, but let the poor and needy praise thy name.

Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly.

APPENDIX. — NUMBER 3.

A Confession of the FAITH of several Congregations of Christ in the county of Somerset, and some churches in the counties near adjacent. Printed at London, Anno 1656.

I.

We believe that there is but one God. ^{<4086>}1 Corinthians 8:6. *But to us there is but one God*, who is immortal, eternal, invisible, only wife: ^{<5017>}1 Timothy 1:17. *Now unto the king, eternal, immortal, invisible, only wise, &c. Holy,* ^{<8144>}Leviticus 11:44. *And ye shall be holy, for I am holy.* Almighty, ^{<0170>}Genesis 17:1; *I am the almighty God.* Infinite, ^{<1087>}1 Kings 8:27. *Behold the heaven, and heaven of heavens, are not able to contain thee.* ^{<2310>}Isaiah 11:28. *There is no searching of his understanding.* ^{<8276>}Psalms 147:5. *Great is our Lord, and of great power, his understanding is infinite.* A Spirit, ^{<4024>}John 4:24. *God is a spirit.* Glorious in holiness, ^{<1251>}Exodus 15:11. *Who is like thee glorious in holiness. Just, merciful, gracious, long-suffering, abundant in mercy and truth,* ^{<1230>}Exodus 34:6, 7. *The Lord, the Lord God merciful and gracious, long-suffering, and abundant in goodness and truth.* Faithful in all things; ^{<8709>}Deuteronomy 7:9. *The Lord thy God, he is God, the faithful God,*

II.

THAT this God, who is so in himself, did according to his own will in time, create all things, by, and for Jesus Christ, ^{<8002>}Hebrews 1:2. *By whom also he made the worlds.* ^{<5116>}Colossians 1:16. *For by him were all things created that are in heaven, and that are in earth, &c. All things were created by him and for him,* ^{<8003>}John 2:3. *Who is the word of God,* ^{<8001>}John 1:1. *In the beginning was the word, and the word was with God, and the word was God, and upholds all things by the word of his power,* ^{<8003>}Hebrews 1:3.

III.

THAT God made man after his own image; ^{<0102>}Genesis 1:27. *So God created man in his own image, in the image of God created he him. In an estate of uprightness and human perfection;* ^{<2107>}Ecclesiastes 7:29. *Lo this only have I found, that God hath made man upright.*

IV.

That God gave Adam a just law, requiring obedience under the penalty of death; ^{<0102>}Genesis 2:17. *But of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, thou shalt not eat of it, for in the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die.*

Which law he brake, and brought himself and his posterity under the guilt and judgment denounced, ^{<00816>}Genesis 3:6. And when the woman saw that the tree was good for food, &c. she took of the fruit thereof and did eat, who gave also unto her husband with her, and he did eat. ^{<81612>}Romans 5:12. Wherefore as by one man sin enter'd into the world, and death by sin, and so death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned. ^{<81617>}Romans 5:17, 18, 19. For if by one man's offence death reigned by one — Therefore as by the offence of one judgment came upon ail men to condemnation — For as by one man's disobedience many were made sinners.

V.

MAN being in this undone estate, God did in the riches of his mercy hold forth Christ in a promise; ^{<00815>}Genesis 3:15. *And I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed, it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel.*

VI.

THAT in process of time God gave forth his laws by the hand of *Moses*, Exodus 20. ^{<80117>}John 1:17. to fallen man, ^{<81619>}Galatians 3:19. *The law it was added because of transgressions, not for justification to eternal life,* ^{<81617>}Galatians 3:17. ^{<81619>}Romans 3:20. *Therefore by the deeds of the law there shall no flesh be justified in his sight, but that all might appear guilty before the Lord by it,* ^{<81619>}Romans 3:19. *Now we know that what things soever the law faith, it faith to them that are under the law, that every mouth may be stopped, and all the world may become guilty be-fore God.* ^{<81620>}Romans 5:20. *Moreover, the law enter'd that the offence might abound.*

VII.

THAT out of this condition none of the sons of *Adam* were able to deliver themselves, ^{<81618>}Romans 8:3. *For what the law could not do, in that was weak through the flesh.* ^{<80111>}Ephesians 2:1, 5. *And you hath be quickned, who were dead in trespasses and sins, even when we were dead in sins hath quickned us together with Christ, by grace ye are saved.* Romans v. 6. *For when we were yet without strength, Christ died for the ungodly.*

VIII.

THAT God continued and renewed the manifestation of his grace and mercy in Christ sister the first promise made *Genesis* 3: in other promises, ^{<01218>}Genesis 22:18. with ^{<01218>}Genesis 12:3. ^{<81616>}Galatians 3:16. *And in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed.* And in types, as the pass over, ^{<01218>}Exodus 12:8. *And they shall eat the flesh in that night roast with fire, and unleavened bread.*

And ver. 13. with ^{<46157>}1 Corinthians 15:7. For even Christ our passover is sacrificed for us. And the brazen serpent, ^{<46210>}Numbers 21:9. And Moses made a serpent of brass, and put it upon a pole, and it came to pass that if a serpent had bitten any man, when he beheld the serpent of brass he lived. Compared with ^{<4614>}John 3:14. And as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the son of man be lifted up. With the ministry and ministration of Moyses and Aaron, the sacrifices, &c. being all figures of Christ, ^{<46108>}Hebrews 7:8. and Chapter 9. And in prophesies, as ^{<46206>}Isaiah 9:6. For unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given, and the government shall be upon his shoulder, and his name shall be called wonderful, counsellor, the mighty God, the everlasting Father, the prince of Peace. And, ^{<46101>}Isaiah 11:1, 2. And there shall come forth a rod out of the stem of Jesse, and a branch shall grow out of his roots, and the spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of knowledge and of the fear of the Lord. ^{<46236>}Isaiah 53:6. All we like sheep have gone astray, we have turned every one to his own way, and the Lord hath laid on him the iniquity of us all. Compar'd with ^{<46124>}1 Peter 2:24. Who his own self bare our sins in his own body on the tree. With ^{<46153>}1 Corinthians 15:3. Christ died for our sins according to the scriptures.

IX.

THAT God in his son did freely, without respect to any work done, or to be done by them as a moving cause, elect and choose some to himself before the foundation of the world. ^{<46008>}Ephesians 1:3, 4. According as he hath chosen us in him, before the foundation of the world. ^{<46009>}2 Timothy 1:9. Who hath saved us, and called us with an holy calling, not according to our works, but according to his own purpose and grace which was given us in Christ Jesus before the world began. Whom he in time hath, doth, and will call, justify, sanctify and glorify. ^{<46029>}Romans 8:29, 30. For whom he did foreknow he also did predestinate to be conformable to the image of his son, that he might be the first born among many brethren. Moreover, whom he did predestinate, them he also called, and whom he called, them he also justified, and whom he justified, them he also glorified.

X.

THAT those that were thus elected and chosen in Christ, were by nature [before conversion] children of wrath even as others. ^{<46003>}Ephesians 2:3. Among whom also we all had our conversation in times past in the lusts of our flesh, fulfilling the desires of the flesh and of the mind, and were by nature the children of wrath, even as others. ^{<46009>}Romans 3:9. What then? Are we better than they, no, in no wise, for we have before proved both Jews and Gentiles, that they are all under sin.

XI.

THAT those that are chosen of God, called and justified, shall never finally fall from him, but being born from above are kept by the power of God through faith unto salvation. <B69>John 6:39. *And this is the Father's will which hath sent me, that of all which be hath given me I should lose nothing, but should raise it up again at the last day.* <B108>John 10:28. *And I give unto them eternal life, and they shall never perish, neither shall any man pluck them out of my hand.* <B126>John 11:26. *And whosoever liveth and believeth in me shall never die.* <B1005>2 Peter 1:5. *Who are kept by the power of God through faith unto salvation.* <B880>Psalm 89:30, 31, 32, 33, 34. *If his children forsake my laws, and walk not in my judgments. If they break my statutes, and keep not my commandments, then will I visit their transgressions with the rod, and their iniquity with stripes. Nevertheless my loving-kindness will I not utterly take from him, nor suffer my faithfulness to fail; my covenant will I not break, nor alter the thing that is gone out of my lips.* <B109>1 John 3:9. *Whosoever is born of God doth not commit sin, for his seed remaineth in him, and he cannot sin, because he is born of God.* <B149>John 14:19. *Because I live ye shall live also.* <B122>Hebrews 12:2. *Looking unto Jesus the author and finer of our faith.* <B108>Jeremiah 31:3. *I have loved thee with an everlasting love, therefore with loving kindness have I drawn thee.* <B109>John 10:29. *My Father which gave them me is greater than all, and no man is able to pluck them out of my Father's hand.* <B878>Psalm 37:28. *For the Lord loveth judgment, and forsaketh not his saints: They are preserved for ever.* <B130>Jeremiah 32:40. *And I will make an everlasting covenant.* <B839>Romans 8:39. *Nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord.* <B1008>1 Corinthians 1:8, 9. *Who shall also confirm you unto the end — God is faithful.* <B830>Romans 8:30. *Whom he justified, them he also glorified. Being confident of this very thing, that he which hath begun a good work in you, will perform it until the day of Jesus Christ.* <B814>Psalm 48:14. *For this God is our God for ever and ever, he will be our guide even to death.*

XII.

THAT when the fulness of time was come, God sent forth his Son, made of a woman, <B004>Galatians 4:4, according to the promises and prophesies of the scriptures; who was conceived in the womb of *Mary* the virgin by the power of the Holy Spirit of God, <B005>Luke 1:35. <B010>Matthew 1:20. And by her born in *Bethlehem*, <B021>Matthew 2:11. <B006>Luke 2:6, 7.

XIII.

WE believe that Jesus Christ is truly God. <B006>Isaiah 9:6. *His name shall be called the mighty God.* <B008>Hebrews 1:8. *But unto the Son he faith, thy throne,*

O God, is for ever and ever. ^{<4005>}Romans 9:5. *Who is over all God blessed for ever. And truly man, of the seed of David.* ^{<5005>}1 Timothy 2:5. *There is one mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus.* ^{<4132>}Acts 13:23. *Of this man's seed hath God, according to his promise, raised unto Israel a Saviour Jesus.* ^{<6003>}Romans 1:3. *Made of the seed of David according to the flesh.*

XIV.

THAT after he came to be about thirty years of age, being baptized, he manifested himself to be the Son of God, ^{<4002>}Luke 3:21, 23. with ^{<4107>}John 2:7, 11. The promised Messiah, by doing such works both in his life and in his death which were proper unto, and could be done by none but the Son of God, the true Messiah. ^{<4044>}John 1:49. *Thou art the Son of God, thou art the king of Israel.* ^{<4009>}John 6:9, &c.

XV.

THAT this man Christ Jesus suffered death under *Pilate*, at the request of the Jews, ^{<4234>}Luke 23:24. Bearing the sins of his people on his own body on the cross. ^{<4024>}1 Peter 2:24. *Who his own self bare our sins on his own body on the tree*, according to the will of God. ^{<2536>}Isaiah 53:6. *The Lord hath laid on him the iniquity of us all.* Being made sin for us; ^{<4051>}2 Corinthians 5:11. *For he hath made him to be sin for us.* And so was also made a curie for us, *Galatians* i3:13, 14. *Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the law, being made a curse for us.* ^{<4038>}1 Peter 3:18. *For Christ also hath once suffered for sin*, that we might be made the righteousness of God in him. ^{<4051>}2 Corinthians 5:11. And by his death upon the cross, he hath obtained eternal redemption and deliverance for his church. ^{<5014>}Colossians 1:14. *In whom we have redemption through his blood, even the forgiveness of sin.* ^{<4007>}Ephesians 1:7. *In whom we have redemption through his blood, the forgiveness of sins, according to the riches of his grace.* ^{<4008>}Acts 20:28. *Feed the church of God, which he hath purchased with his own blood.* ^{<8092>}Hebrews 9:12. *By his own blood be entered in once into the holy place, having obtained eternal redemption for us.* ^{<4018>}1 Peter 1:18, 19. *For as much as ye know ye were not redeemed with corruptible things, &c. but with the precious blood of Christ, as of a lamb without blemish and without spot.*

XVI.

THAT this same Jesus having thus suffered death for our sins, was buried. ^{<4075>}Matthew 27:59, 60. *And when Joseph had taken the body, he wrapped it in a clean linen cloth, and laid it in his own new tomb, which he had hewn out of the rock, and he rolled a great stone to the door of the sepulchre and departed.* And was also raised by the power of God. ^{<4019>}Ephesians 1:19. *And what is the*

exceeding greatness of his power to us-ward who believe, according to the working of his mighty power which he wrought in Christ when he raised him from the dead, the third day according to the scriptures. <615B>1 Corinthians 15:3, 4. For I delivered unto you first of all that which I also received, how that Christ died for our sins according to the scriptures, and that he was buried, and that he rose again the third day according to the scriptures. For our justification. <612S>Romans 4:25. Who was delivered for our offences, and was raised again for our justification,

XVII.

THAT after he had been seen forty days upon the earth, manifesting himself to his disciples. <400B>Acts 1:3. To whom also he shewed himself alive after his passion by many infallible proofs, being seen of them forty days. He ascended into the heavens. <400D>Acts 1:9, 10, 11. And when he had spoken these things, while they beheld, he was taken up, and a cloud received him out of their sight: And while they looked stedfastly towards heaven, as he went up, &c. <8014>Hebrews 4:14. Seeing then that we have a great highpriest that is passed into the heavens, Jesus the Son of God. And is set on the right hand of the throne of God. <8001>Hebrews 8:1. We have such an high-priest, who is set on the right hand of the throne of the majesty in the heavens. <800B>Hebrews 1:3. When he had by himself purged our sin, sat down at the right band of the Majesty on high. Whom the heavens must receive until the time of the Restitution of all things. <4021>Acts 3:21. Whom the heavens must receive, until the times of the restitution of all things, which God hath spoken by the mouth of all his holy prophets since the world began.

XVIII.

THAT the Father having thus exalted him, and given him a name above every name. <510B>Philippians 2:9. Wherefore God also hath highly exalted him, and given him a name above every name. And hath made him who is mediator, <4016>1 Timothy 2:5. Priest. <8002>Hebrews 10:21. And having an high-priest over the house of God. <8001>Hebrews 8:1. We have such an high-priest. Prophet. <4022>Acts 3:22. A prophet shall the Lord your God raise up unto you of your brethren, &c. And king to his people. <1016>Psalm 2:6. Yet have I set my king upon my holy hill of Zion. <615B>Revelation 15:3. Thou king of saints. As he is our priest, so is he our peace and reconciliation. <4024>Ephesians 2:14, 15. For he is our peace, <610D>Romans 5:9, 10. For if when we were enemies, we were reconciled to God, by the death of his son, much more being reconciled, we shall be saved by his life, &c. And being enter'd into the holy place, even heaven it fell, there to appear in the pretence of God, <8024>Hebrews 9:24. Making continual intercession for us. <8024>Hebrews 7:24, 25. But this man because he continueth ever, hath an unchangeable priesthood; wherefore he is

able also to save them to the uttermost, that come unto God by him, seeing he ever liveth to make intercession for them. He is become our advocate. <B101> John 2:1. We have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous. By whom we have boldness and access unto the throne of grace with acceptance. <B109> Hebrews 10:19. Having therefore, brethren, boldness to enter into the holiest by the blood of Jesus. <B182> Ephesians 3:12. In whom we have boldness and access with confidence, by the faith of him. <B146> Hebrews 4:16. Let us therefore come boldly to the throne of grace, &c. As he is our prophet, so he hath given us the scriptures, the Old and New Testament, as a rule and direction unto us both for faith and practice. John v. 39. Search the scriptures, for in them ye think ye have eternal life, and they are they which testify of me. <B110> 1 Peter 1:10, 11, 12. <B186> 2 Timothy 3:16. All scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness, &c. 1 Peter 10:20, 21. We have also a more sure word of prophesy, whereunto ye do well that ye take heed, as unto a light that shineth in a dark place — Knowing this first, that no prophesy of the scriptures is of any private interpretation. For the prophesy came not in old time by the will of man, but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Spirit. <B120> Ephesians 2:20. And are built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner stone. <B147> 1 Corinthians 14:37. If any man thinketh himself to be a prophet, or spiritual, let him acknowledge that the things that I write unto you are the commandments of the Lord. <B102> Titus 1:2, 3. In hope of eternal life, which God that cannot be promised before the world began, but hath in due time manifested his word through preaching, which is committed unto me, according to the commandment of God our Saviour. And that he hath sent, doth and will (according to his promise) send his Holy Spirit the Comforter, by whom he leadeth us into all truth. <B145> John 14:26. But the Comforter, which is the Holy Spirit, whom the Father will send in my name, he shall teach you all things, &c. <B163> John 16:13. Howbeit, when the Spirit of truth is come, he will guide you into all truth. And by his continual presence with us, and in us. <B146> John 14:16, 17. And I will pray the Father, and he shall give you another Comforter, that he may abide with you for ever, even the Spirit of truth, &c. He dwelleth with you and shall be in you, teaching, opening and revealing the mysteries of the kingdom, and will of God unto us. <B120> 1 Corinthians 2:10, 11, 12, 13. But God hath revealed them unto us by his Spirit, for the Spirit searcheth all things, yea the deep things of God; for what man knoweth the things of a man save the spirit of man which is in him. Even so the things of God knoweth no man, but the Spirit of God; now we have received not the spirit of the world, but the Spirit which is of God, that we might know the things that are freely given us of God, which things also we speak, not in the words which man's wisdom teacheth, but which the Holy Spirit teacheth.

¶ Revelation 2:29. *He that hath an ear let him hear what the Spirit saith to the churches.* ¶ Revelation 5:5. *And one of the elders said unto me, weep not, behold the lion of the tribe of Judah, the root of David, hath prevailed, to open the book, and to loose the seven seals thereof.* Giving gifts in his church for the work of the ministry, and edifying the body of Christ. ¶ Ephesians 4:8, 12. *Wherefore he saith, when he ascended up on high he led captivity captive, and gave gifts unto men — For the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ.* ¶ 1 Corinthians 7:4, 5, 6. *Now there are diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit, and there are differences of administrations, but the same Lord, and there are diversities of operations, but it is the same God which worketh all in all; that through the powerful teachings of the Lord, by his Spirit in his church, they might grow up in him.* ¶ Ephesians 4:15. *be conformed to his will.* ¶ Ezekiel 36:27. *And I will put my Spirit within you, and cause you to walk in my statutes, and ye shall keep my judgments and do them.* ¶ 1 Peter 1:2. *Elect according to the foreknowledge of God the Father, through sanctification of the Spirit unto obedience.* And sing praises unto his name. ¶ Hebrews 2:12. *I will declare thy name unto my brethren, in the midst of the church will I sing praise unto thee.* ¶ 1 Corinthians 14:15. *What is it then? I will pray with the Spirit, and I will pray with the understanding also; I will sing with the Spirit, and will sing with the understanding also.* And as he is our prophet, and king, lord, and law-giver. ¶ Isaiah 33:22. *For the Lord is our judge, the Lord is our lawgiver, the Lord is our king.* ¶ Isaiah 55:4. *Behold I have given him for a witness to the people, a leader and commander to the people.* Prince of life. ¶ Acts 3:15. *And killed the prince of life, whom God hath raised from the dead.* Prince of peace, ¶ Isaiah 9:6. *Master of his people.* ¶ Matthew 23:8. *One is your master even Christ.* Head of his church. ¶ Colossians 1:18. *And he is the head of the body the church.* The Almighty, ¶ Revelation 1:8. *So he hath given rules unto us, by the which he ruleth over us.* ¶ Luke 6:46. *And why call ye me Lord, and do not the things which I say.* ¶ John 10:16. *And other sheep I have, which are not of this fold, them also I must bring, and they shall hear my voice.* ¶ 1 John 2:4. *He that saith I know him, and keepeth not my commandments, is a liar, and the truth is not in him.* ¶ John 14:15. *If ye love me keep my commandments.* Matthew 28. 20. *Teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you.* And ruleth over all things for his church. ¶ Ephesians 1:22. *And hath put all things under his feet, and gave him to be head over all things to the church.* ¶ Revelation 19:16. *And by the power of love ruleth by his Spirit in us.* ¶ 2 Corinthians 5:14. *For the love of Christ constraineth us.* ¶ 1 John 2:5. *But whoso keepeth his word, in him verily is the love of God perfected.* Making us (in a measure) both able and willing to honour him. ¶ Philippians 4:13. *I can do all things through Christ that strengtheneth me.* ¶ Hebrews 13:21. *Make you perfect in every good*

work to do his will, working in you that which is well pleasing in his sight, through Jesus Christ. ^{<4060>}Ephesians 6:10. Finally, my brethren, be strong in the Lord, and in the power of his might. ^{<1883>}Philippians 2:13. For it is God which worketh in you both to will, and to do of his good pleasure. And bow before him, ^{<1986>}Psalms 95:6. O come, let us worship and bow down. ^{<1918>}Psalms 110:3. Thy people shall be a willing people in the day of thy power. ^{<6140>}Revelation 4:10, 11. The four and twenty elders fall down before him that sat on the throne, and worship him that liveth for ever and ever, and call their crowns before the throne, saying; thou art worthy, O Lord, to receive glory, and honour, and power. Submitting our selves to him alone in all his commands with joy. ^{<6154>}John 15:14. Ye are my friends, if ye do whatsoever I command you. ^{<6140>}Revelation 14:4. These are they which follow the lamb whithersoever he goeth. ^{<6175>}Revelation 7:15. Therefore are they before the throne of God, and serve him day and night in his temple. ^{<1982>}Psalms 119:2, 47. Blessed are they that keep his testimonies, and that seek him with the whole heart — And I will delight my self in thy commandments which I have loved. ^{<6158>}Revelation 15:3, 4. And they sung the song of Moses the servant of God, and the song of the lamb, who shall not fear thee, O Lord, and glorify thy name, for thou only art worthy.

XIX.

THAT the Spirit is administered by or through the word of faith preached. ^{<8102>}Galatians 3:2. This only would I learn of you? Received ye the Spirit by the works of the law, or by the hearing of faith. Which word was first declared by the Lord himself, and was confirm'd by them that heard him. ^{<1808>}Hebrews 2:3. How shall we escape if we neglect so great salvation, which at the first began to be spoken by the Lord, and was confirmed unto us by them that heard him. Which word is called the gospel of God's grace, ^{<4024>}Acts 20:24. The word of reconciliation, ^{<7059>}2 Corinthians 5:19. The sword of the Spirit, ^{<4067>}Ephesians 6:17. The weapon of a Christian, ^{<7104>}2 Corinthians 10:4. A faithful, ^{<6216>}Revelation 22:6. Quick, powerful, ^{<1842>}Hebrews 4:12. Plain, ^{<1089>}Proverbs 8:9. Comfortable, ^{<6150>}Romans 15:4. Pure, ^{<1916>}Psalms 12:6. Right, true, ^{<1934>}Psalms 33:4. Sound, ^{<6118>}Titus 2:8. And wholesome word, ^{<1088>}1 Timothy 6:3.

XX.

THAT this spirit of Christ, being administer'd by the word of faith, worketh in us faith in Christ, ^{<8105>}John 3:5. ^{<1022>}1 Peter 1:22. Seeing ye have purified your souls in obeying the truth through the Spirit. ^{<4164>}Acts 16:14. ^{<4062>}Galatians 5:22. The fruit of the Spirit is faith, &c. whose heart the Lord opened, that she attended unto the things which were spoken of Paul. By virtue of which we come to receive our sonship. ^{<8112>}John 1:12. But as many as received him, to them gave he power to become the sons of God, even to them that believe on

his name. ^{<803>}Galatians 3:26. For ye are all the children of God by faith in Christ Jesus. And is further administer'd unto us through faith in the promises of God. ^{<801>}Ephesians 1:13, also after that ye believed, ye were sealed with that Holy Spirit of promise. ^{<412>}Acts 2:38, 39. Then Peter said unto them repent, and be baptized every one of you, in the name of Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Spirit. ^{<400>}Acts 1:4. And being assembled together with them, commanded them that they should not depart from Jerusalem, but wait for the promise of the Father, which, saith he, ye have heard of me. Waiting on him in those ways and means that he hath appointed in his word. ^{<344>}John 14:15, 16, 17. If ye love me keep my commandments, and I will pray the Father, and he shall give you another Comforter, that he may abide with you for ever, even the Spirit of truth. ^{<210>}Luke 11:9, 13. And I say unto you ask and it shall be given unto you, seek and ye shall find, knock and it shall be opened unto you — If ye being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children, how much more shall your heavenly Father give the Holy Spirit to them that ask him. This faith being the ground of things hoped for, and the evidence of things not seen, ^{<810>}Hebrews 11:1.

XXI.

THAT justification is God's accounting and declaring that man justified from the guilt and condemnation of all his sin, who hath received Jesus Christ and doth believe in him (in truth and power) according to the record given of him by God in scripture. ^{<804>}Romans 4:5. But to him that worketh not, but believeth on him that justifieth the ungodly, his faith is counted for righteousness. ^{<350>}1 John 5:10, 11. He that believeth on the Son of God, hath the witness in himself: He that believeth not God, hath made him a liar, because he believeth not the record that God gave of his Son. But this is the record, that God hath given to us eternal life, and this life is in his Son, Joh. 3:36.

XXII.

That justification from the guilt and condemnation of sin is only obtained through faith in that man Jesus Christ, crucified at Jerusalem, and by God raised from the dead. ^{<500>}Romans 5:1, 9. Therefore being justified by faith, we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ. Much more being now justified by his blood we shall be saved from wrath through him. ^{<413>}Acts 13:38, 39. ^{<505>}Romans 4:25. Who was delivered for our offences, and was railed again for our justification. And, ^{<500>}Romans 10:9. That if thou shalt confess with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, and shalt believe in thine heart, that God hath raised him from the dead thou shalt be saved. And that those who bring in any other way of justification, do therein make void, and acquit themselves of having any interest in the gospel and grace of Christ.

◀8121▶Galatians 2:21. and 5:4. Whosoever of you is justified by the law, is fallen from grace.

XXIII.

THAT this faith being wrought in truth and power, it doth not only interest us in our justification sonship, and glory, but it produceth as effects and fruits, a conformity, in a measure, to the Lord Jesus, in his will, graces and virtues.

◀81818▶Romans 5:3, 4. *And not only so, but we glory in tribulations also, knowing that tribulation worketh patience, and patience experience, and experience hope.* ◀1023▶1 John 3:23, 24. *And this is his commandment, that we should believe on the name of his Son Jesus Christ, and love one another, as he gave us commandment, and he that keepeth his commandments dwelleth in him, and he in, him, and hereby we know that he abideth in us by the spirit which he hath given us.* ◀10106▶2 Peter 1:5, 6, 7. *And besides this giving all diligence, add to your faith virtue, and to virtue knowledge, and to knowledge temperance, and to temperance patience, and to patience godliness, and to godliness brotherly kindness, and to brotherly kindness charity.* ◀81816▶Galatians 5:6. ◀40618▶Acts 26:18. ◀50108▶1 Thessalonians 1:3.

XXIV.

THAT it is the duty of every man and woman, that have repented from dead works, and have faith towards God, to be baptized. ◀41238▶Acts 2:38. *Then Peter said unto them, repent and be baptized every one of you, in the name of Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins.* ◀44812▶Acts 8:12, 37, 38. *But when they believed Philip preaching the things concerning the kingdom of God, and the name of Jesus Christ, they were baptized both men and women — And Philip said, if thou believest with all thine heart, thou mayest, and he commanded the chariot to stand still, and they went down both into the water, both Philip and the Eunuch, and he baptized him: That is, dipped or buried under the water.*

◀60108▶Romans 6:3, 4. *Know ye not, that so many of us as were baptized into Jesus Christ, were baptized into his death, therefore we are buried with him by baptism into death.* ◀51022▶Colossians 2:12. *Buried with him in baptism. In the name of our Lord Jesus,* ◀40816▶Acts 8:16. *Only they were baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus. Or in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.*

◀10819▶Matthew 28:19. *Go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit; therein to signify and represent a washing away of sin.* ◀4216▶Acts 22:16. *Arise and be baptized and wash away thy sins.* And their death, burial, and resurrection with Christ. ◀81815▶Romans 6:5. *For if we have been planted together in the likeness of his death, we shall be also in the likeness of his resurrection.* ◀51022▶Colossians 2:12. *Buried with him in baptism, wherein also you are risen with him through the faith of the operation of God, who hath raised him from the dead. And*

being thus planted in the visible church or body of Christ, <4128>1 Corinthians 12:3. who are a company of men and women separated out of the world by the preaching of the gospel. <4144>Acts 2:41. *Then they that gladly received his word were baptized, and the same day there were added unto them about three thousand souls.* <4067>2 Corinthians 6:17. *Wherefore come out from among them, and be ye separate, saith the Lord.* Do walk together in communion in all the commandments of Jesus. <4142>Acts 2:42. *And they continued stedfastly in the apostles doctrine and fellowship, and in breaking of bread, and in prayers.* Wherein God is glorified, and their souls comforted. <5011>2 Thessalonians 1:11, 12. *Wherefore we also pray always for you, that our God would count you worthy of this calling, and fulfil the good pleasure of his goodness, and the work of faith with power, that the name of our Lord Jesus Christ may be glorified in you.* <4060>2 Corinthians 1:4. *Who comforteth us in all our tribulation, that we may be able to comfort them which are in any trouble by the comfort wherewith we our selves are comforted.*

XXV.

THAT we believe some of those commandments further to be as followeth.

1. CONSTANCY in prayer, <5123>Colossians 2:23,24.
2. BREAKING of bread, <4123>1 Corinthians 11:23, 24.
3. GIVING of thanks, <4051>Ephesians 5:20.
4. WATCHING over one another, <8125>Hebrews 12:15.
5. CARING one for another, <4125>1 Corinthians 12:25. by visiting one another, especially in sickness and temptations, <4056>Matthew 25:36.
6. EXHORTING one another, <8183>Hebrews 3:13.
7. DISCOVERING to each other, and bearing one another's burdens, <8082>Galatians 6:2.
8. LOVING one another, <8120>Hebrews 12:1
9. REPROVING when need is one another, <4085>Matthew 18:15.
10. SUBMITTING one to another in the Lord, <4085>1 Peter 5:5.
11. ADMINISTERING one to another according to the gift received, whether it be in spirituals, or temporals, <4140>1 Peter 4:10
12. THE offender to seek reconciliation, as well as the offended, <4083>Matthew 5:23, 24.

13. LOVE our enemies and persecutors, and pray for them, <1054> *Matthew* 5:44.

14. EVERY one to work if he be able, and none to be idle, <3380> *2 Thessalonians* 3:10, 11, 12.

15. THE women in the church to learn in silence, and in all subjection, <5421> *1 Timothy* 2:11. <61437> *1 Corinthians* 14:37.

16. PRIVATE admonition to a brother offending another; and if not prevailing, to take one or two more; if he hear not them, then to tell it to the church; and if he hear not them, to be accounted as an heathen and publican, <4085> *Matthew* 18:15.

17. PUBLICK rebuke to publick offenders, <5453> *1 Timothy* 5:20.

18. THE brethren in ministring forth their gifts, ought to do it decently and in order, one by one, that all may learn, and all may be comforted, <61431> *1 Corinthians* 14:31, 40.

19. A SPECIAL care to assemble together, that their duty to God, and the church, may not be neglected, <8003> *Hebrews* 10:24, 25.

20. AND all things in the church, done in the name and power of the head, the Lord *Christ Jesus*, <51017> *Colossians* 3:17.

21. THAT in admitting of members into the church of Christ, it is the duty of the church, *and ministers* whom it concerns, in faithfulness to God, that they be careful they receive none but such as do make forth evident demonstration of the new birth, and the work of faith with power. <888> *John* 3:3. *Jesus answered and said unto him, verily, verily, I say unto thee, except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God.* <4088> *Matthew* 3:8, 9. *Bring forth therefore fruits worthy amendment of life.* <4487> *Acts* 8:37. *And Philip said, if thou believest with all thy heart, thou mayest.* <54406> *Ezekiel* 44:6, 7. *Let it suffice you of all your abominations, in that ye have brought into my sanctuary, strangers uncircumcised in heart, and uncircumcised in flesh, to be in my sanctuary, to pollute it.* <4478> *Acts* 2:38. *Then Peter said unto them, repent and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ.* <40914> *2 Corinthians* 9:14. *Be ye not unequally yoked together with the unbelievers, for what fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness; and what communion hath light with darkness.* *Psal.* 26:4, 5. *I have not sat with vain persons, neither will I go in with dissemblers: I have hated the congregation of evil-doers, and will not fit with the wicked.* <19107> *Psalms* 101:7. *He that worketh deceit, shall not dwell within mine house.*

XXVI.

THAT those that truly repent, and believe, and are baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus, are in a fit capacity to exercise faith, in full assurance to receive a greater measure of the gifts and graces of the Holy Spirit. ^{<4128>}Acts 2:38, 39. *then Peter said unto them, repent and be baptized every one of you, in the name of Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the gifts of the Holy Spirit; for the promise is unto you and to your children, and to all that are afar off, even as many as the Lord our God shall call.* ^{<40113>}Ephesians 1:13. *In whom ye also trusted, after that ye heard the word of truth, the gospel of your salvation, in whom also after ye believed ye were sealed with that Holy Spirit of promise.*

XXVIII.

Sic Origin

THAT it is the duty of the members of Christ in the order of the gospel, tho' in several congregations and assemblies (being one in the head) if occasion be, to communicate each to other, in things spiritual, and things temporal.

^{<45153>}Romans 15:26. *For it hath pleased them of Macedonia, and Achaia, to make a certain contribution for the poor saints which are at Jerusalem.*

^{<44129>}Acts 11:29. *Then the disciples every man according to his ability determined to send relief unto the brethren which dwelt in Judea.* ^{<44152>}Acts 15:22. *Then pleased it the apostles and elders, with the whole church, to send chosen men of their own company to Antioch, with Paul and Barnabas, namely Judas surnamed Barsabas, and Silas chief among the brethren.* ^{<44122>}Acts 11:22. *Then tidings of these things came to the ears of the church which was in Jerusalem, and they sent forth Barnabas, that he should go as far as Antioch.*

XXIX.

THAT the Lord Christ Jesus being the foundation and corner stone of the gospel church whereon his apostles built. ^{<40120>}Ephesians 2:20. *And are built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner stone.* ^{<80118>}Hebrews 2:3. He gave them power and abilities to propagate, to plant, to rule and order. ^{<41819>}Matthew 28:19, 20. *All power is given me in heaven and in earth, go ye therefore, and teach all nations in his name.*

^{<21016>}Luke 10:16. *He that heareth you heareth me, and he that despiseth you despiseth me.* For the benefit of that his body, by which ministry he did shew forth the exceeding riches of his grace, by his kindness towards it in the ages to come, ^{<40117>}Ephesians 2:7. which is according to his promise ^{<41820>}Matthew 28:20. *And, lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world.*

XXX.

THAT this foundation and ministration aforefaid, is a sure guide, rule and direction, in the darkest time of the anti-christian apostacy, or *spiritual Babylonish* captivity, to direct, inform, and restore us in our just freedom and liberty, to the right worship and order belonging to the church of Jesus Christ.

⌞4814⌟ 1 Timothy 3:14, 15. *These things write I unto thee, hoping to come unto thee shortly; but if I tarry long, that thou mayest know how thou oughtest to behave thy self in the house of God.* ⌞4815⌟ 2 Timothy 3:15, 16, 17. *All scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness, that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works.* ⌞4817⌟ John 17:20. *Neither pray I for theft alone, but for them also which shall believe on me through their word.*

⌞4821⌟ Isaiah 59:21. *As for me, this is my covenant with them, faith the Lord, my Spirit that is upon thee, and my words which I have put in thy mouth, shall not depart out of thy mouth, nor out of the mouth of thy seed, nor out of the mouth of thy seeds seed, faith the Lord, from henceforth and for ever.*

⌞4824⌟ Revelation 2:24. *But that which ye have already, hold fast till I come.*

⌞4821⌟ Isaiah 40:21. *Have ye not known? Have ye not heard? Hath it not been told you from the beginning? Have ye not understood?* ⌞4815⌟ Revelation 2:5.

Remember therefore from whence thou art fallen, and repent, and do the first works. ⌞4845⌟ 1 Corinthians 14:37. *If any man think himself to be a prophet, or spiritual let him acknowledge that the things that I write unto you are the command menu of the Lord.* ⌞4808⌟ Revelation 1:3. *Blessed is he that readeth, and they that bear the words of this prophesy.* ⌞4814⌟ 2 Thessalonians 3:14. *And if any man obey not our word by this epistle, note that man, and have no company with him, that he may be ashamed.* ⌞4821⌟ Revelation 2:11. *He that hath an ear let him hear what the Spirit saith to the churches.* ⌞4825⌟ 1 Peter 1:25. *But the word of the Lord endureth for ever, and this is the word which by the gospel is preached unto you.*

⌞4816⌟ 1 John 4:6. *We are of God, he that knoweth God heareth us: Hereby know we the spirit of truth, and the spirit of error,* ⌞4815⌟ 2

Peter 1:15, 16. *Moreover I will endeavour that you may be able after my decease, to have these things always in remembrance, for we have not followed cunningly devised fables, when we made known unto you the power and coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, but were eye-witnesses of his Majesty.*

⌞4881⌟ Isaiah 58:11, 12. *And they that shall be of thee, shall build the old waste places, thou shalt raise up the foundations of many generations: And thou shalt be called the repairer of the breach, the restorer of paths to dwell in.* ⌞4812⌟ 2

Peter 3:2. *That ye may be mindful of the words which were spoken by the holy prophets, and of the commandments of us, the apostles of the Lord and Saviour.* ⌞4813⌟ Isaiah 8:20.

XXXI.

THAT the church of Jesus Christ with its ministry may from among themselves, make choice of such members, as are fitly gifted and qualified by Christ, and approve and ordain such by fasting, prayer, and laying on of hands. ^{<413>}Acts 13:3. *And when they had fasted and prayed, and laid their hands on them.* ^{<412>}Acts 14:23. *And when they had ordained them elders in every church, and had prayed with fasting, they commended them to the Lord, on whom they believed.* For the performance of the several duties, whereunto they are called, ^{<418>}Acts 20:28. ^{<516>}Romans 12:6, 7, 8. ^{<504>}2 Timothy 4:2. ^{<418>}Acts 6:3. *Wherefore brethren, look ye out among you seven men of honest report, full of the Holy Spirit and wisdom, whom we may appoint over this business.*

XXXII.

THAT such a ministry labouring in the word and doctrine, have a power to receive a livelihood of their brethren, whose duty it is to provide a comfortable subsistence for them, if they be able, to whom for Christ's sake they are servants. ^{<419>}1 Corinthians 9:4, 7. ^{<505>}1 Timothy 5:17, 18. *Let the elders that rule well, be counted worthy of double honour, especially they which labour in the word and doctrine; for the scripture faith, thou shalt not muzzle the mouth of the ox that treadeth out the corn: And the labourer is worthy of his hire.* Yet it is commendable in cases of necessity, for them, for example sake, and that they may be able to support the weak, to labour and work with their hands. ^{<412>}Acts 20:24, 25. *Ye your selves know that these hands have ministered unto my necessities, and to them that were with me, I have shewed you all things, how that so labouring ye ought to support the weak, and to remember the words of the Lord Jesus, how he said, it is more blessed to give than to receive.*

XXXIII.

THAT the authority of Christ in an orderly ministry in his church, is to be submitted unto. ^{<813>}Hebrews 13:17. *Obey them that have rule over you, and submit your selves, for they watch for your souls.* 2 Thessalonians 14. *And if any man obey not our word by this epistle, note that man, and have no company with him, that he may be ashamed.*

XXXIV.

THAT as it is an ordinance of Christ, so it is the duty of his church in his authority, to fend forth such brethren as are fitly gifted and qualified through the Spirit of Christ to preach the gospel to the world. ^{<413>}Acts 13:1, 2, 3. *The Holy Spirit said, separate me Barnabas and Saul, for the work whereunto I have called them, and when they had fasted and prayed, they sent them away.* ^{<412>}Acts 11:22. and 8:14.

XXXV.

THAT it is the duty of us believing *Gentiles*, not to be ignorant of that blindness that yet lieth on *Israel*, that none of us may boast. ^{<6125>}*Romans 11:25. For I would not, brethren, that you should be ignorant of this mystery, lest you should be wise in your own conceit, that blindness in part is happened to Israel, until the fulness of the Gentiles be come in.* But to have bowels of love and compassion to them, praying for them. ^{<6101>}*Romans 10:1. Brethren, my hearts desire and prayer to God for Israel is, that they might be saved.* Expecting their calling, and so much the rather, be cause their conversion will be to us life from the dead. ^{<6115>}*Romans 11:15. For if the casting away of them be the reconciling of the world, what shall the receiving of them be, but life from the dead.*

XXXVI.

THAT it is the will of the Lord, and it is given to the saints not only to believe in him, but to suffer for his name. ^{<6163>}*John 16:13. In the world ye shall have tribulation.* ^{<6126>}*Philippians 1:26. For unto you it is given in behalf of not only to believe on him, but also to suffer for his sake.* And so to pass through many tribulations into the kingdom of God. ^{<4442>}*Acts 14:22. Confirming the souls of the disciples, and exhorting to continue in the faith, and that we must through much tribulation enter into the kingdom of God.* ^{<6182>}*2 Timothy 3:12. Yea, and all that will live godly in Christ Jesus shall suffer persecution.* ^{<6122>}*2 Timothy 2:12. If we suffer we shall also reign with him; if we deny him, he will also deny us.*

XXXVII.

THAT the angels of the Lord are ministring spirits, sent forth for the good of those that shall be the heirs of salvation, ^{<6014>}*Hebrews 1:14. Are they not all ministring spirits, sent forth to minister for them who shall be heirs of salvation.* ^{<6911>}*Psalms 91:11, 12. For he shall give his angels charge over thee, to keep thee in all thy ways, they shall bear thee up in their hands, lest thou dash thy foot against a stone.* ^{<4273>}*Acts 27:23. For there stood by me this night, the angel of God, whose I am, and whom I serve, saying, fear not Paul.* ^{<0243>}*Luke 22:43. And there appeared unto him an angel from heaven strengthening him.*

XXXVIII.

THAT the wicked angels. ^{<1984>}*Psalms 78:49. He cast upon them the fierceness of his anger, wrath and indignation, and trouble, by sending evil angels among them.* Kept not their first estate in which they were created. ^{<6006>}*Jude 1:6. And the angels which kept not their first estate, but left their own habitation, he*

hath reserved in everlasting chains. The prince of whom is called the devil. ^{<1038>}Matthew 8:28. *And when he was come to the other side into the country of the Gergesenes there met him two possessed with devils. And the great dragon, and the old serpent, and satan.* ^{<6127>}Revelation 12:2. *And the great dragon was raft out, that old serpent called the devil, and satan. And the accuser of our brethren,* ^{<6120>}Revelation 12:10. *And I heard a loud voice in heaven, saying, now is come salvation, for the accuser of our brethren is call down. And the prince of this world.* ^{<6143>}John 14:30. *Hereafter I will not talk much with you, for the prince of this world cometh. And a prince that ruleth in the air. A spirit working in the children of disobedience.* ^{<4010>}Ephesians 2:2. *Wherein in times past ye walked according to the course of this world, according to the prince of the power of the air, the spirit that now worketh in the children of disobedience. And our adversary.* ^{<1038>}1 Peter 5:8. *Be sober, be vigilant, because your adversary the devil as a roaring lion walketh about seeking whom he may devour. Whose children the wicked are.* ^{<1039>}Matthew 13:39. ^{<1034>}John 8:44. *The tares are the children of the wicked one, the enemy that sowed them is the devil. To him we ought not to give place,* ^{<6027>}Ephesians 4:27. *Whose power Christ hath overcome for us.* ^{<8124>}Hebrews 2:14. *For as much then as the children are partakers of flesh and blood, he also himself likewise took part of the same, that through death he might destroy him that had the power of death, that is the devil. And for him and his angels everlasting fire is prepared.* ^{<1054>}Matthew 25:41. *Then shall he say unto them on the left hand, depart from me ye cursed into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels.*

XXXIX.

THAT it is our assured expectation, grounded upon promises, that the Lord Jesus Christ shall the second time appear without sin unto salvation, unto his people, to raise and change the vile bodies of all his saints, to fashion them like unto his glorious body, and so to reign with him, and judge over all nations on the earth in power and glory. ^{<1031>}Philippians 3:20, 21. *For our conversation is in heaven, from whence also we look for the Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ, who shall change our vile body, that it may be fashioned like unto his glorious body, according to the working whereby he is able even to subdue all things unto himself.* ^{<1028>}Hebrews 9:28. *And unto them that look for him shall he appear the second time without sin unto salvation,* ^{<4189>}Acts 3:19, 20, 21. *That your sins may be blotted out, when the time of refreshing shall come from the presence of the Lord. And he shall send Jesus Christ, which before was preached unto you, whom the heaven must receive until the times of restitution of all things, which God hath spoken by the mouth of all his holy prophets since the world began.* ^{<1028>}Matthew 19:28. *And Jesus said unto them, verily I say unto you, that ye that have followed me in the regeneration, when the Son*

of man shall sit on the throne of his glory, ye shall also sit on twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel. ^{<6126>}Revelation 2:26, 27. And be that overcometh, and keepeth my works unto the end, to him will I give power over the nations, and he shall rule them with a rod of iron, as the vessels of a potter shall they be broken to shivers, even as I received of my Father. ^{<618>}1 Corinthians 6:2. Do ye not know that the saints shall judge the world. ^{<19718>}Psalms 72:8, 11. He shall have dominion also from sea to sea, and from the river unto the ends of the earth; yea, all kings shall fall down before him, all nations shall serve him. ^{<2127>}Daniel 7:27. And the kingdom and dominion, and the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven, shall be given to the people of the saints of the most high whose kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and all dominions shall serve and obey him, ^{<3149>}Zechariah 14:9. And the Lord shall be king over all the earth. In that day shall there be one Lord, and his name one. ^{<19118>}Psalms 2:8, 9. Ask of me and I will give thee the Heathen for thine inheritance, and the uttermost part of the earth for thy possession; thou shalt break them with a rod of iron; thou shalt dash them in pieces like a potter's vessel. ^{<2135>}Jeremiah 23:5, 6. Behold the day is come, saith the Lord, that I will raise unto David a righteous branch, and a king shall reign and prosper, and shall execute judgment and justice in the earth. In his days Judah shall be saved, and Israel shall dwell safely: And this is his name whereby he shall be called, the Lord our righteousness. ^{<3135>}Ezekiel 21:26, 27. Thus saith the Lord God, remove the diadem and take off the crown, this shall not be the same; exalt him that is low, and abase him that is high; I will overturn, overturn, overturn it, and it shall be no more until he come whose right it is, and I will give it him. ^{<2311>}Isaiah 32:1. Behold a king shall reign in righteousness, and princes shall rule in judgment. ^{<6115>}Revelation 11:15. And the seventh angel sounded, and there were great voices in heaven saying, the kingdoms of the world are become the kingdoms of our Lord, and of his Christ, and he shall reign for ever and ever. ^{<19118>}Psalms 82:8. Arise, O God, judge the earth, for thou shalt inherit all nations. ^{<618>}Revelation 5:9, 10. And they sung a new song, saying, thou art worthy to take the book, and to open the seals thereof, for thou wast slain, and hast redeemed us to God by thy blood, out of every kindred and tongue, and people, and nation, and hath made us unto our God kings and priests, and we shall reign on the earth. ^{<6115>}Revelation 20:6. Blessed and holy is he that hath part in the first resurrection, on such the second death hath no power, but they shall be priests of God, and of Christ, and shall reign with him a thousand years.

XL.

THAT there is a day appointed, when the Lord shall raise the unjust as well as the righteous, and judge them all in righteousness. ^{<6118>}John 5:28, 29. Marvel not at this, for the hour is coming, in the which all that are in the graves shall

bear his voice, and shall come forth, they that have done good, unto the resurrection of life, and they that have done evil to the resurrection of damnation. ^{<40415>} Acts 24:15. And have hope towards God, which they themselves also allow, that there shall be a resurrection of the dead, both of the just and unjust. (But every man in his own order.) ^{<461523>} 1 Corinthians 15:23. ^{<50406>} 1 Thessalonians 4:6. Taking vengeance on them that know not God, and obey not the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, whole punishment will be everlasting destruction from the presence of the Lord. ^{<530107>} 2 Thessalonians 1:7, 8, 9, 10. ^{<60114>} Jude 1:14, 15. *And Enoch also, the seventh from Adam, prophesied of these, saying, Behold the Lord cometh with ten thousand of his saints, to execute judgment upon all, and to convince all that are ungodly among them, of all their ungodly deeds, which they have ungodly committed, and of all their hard speeches which ungodly sinners have spoken against him.* ^{<60111>} Revelation 20:11, 12, 13, 14. *And I saw a great white throne, and him that sat on it, from whose face the earth and the heavens fled away, and there was found no place for them.*

And I saw the dead small and great stand before God, and the books were opened, and another book was opened which is the book of life, and the dead were judged of those things which were written in the books, according to their works. And the sea gave up the dead which were in it; and death and hell delivered up the dead which were in them, and they were judged every man according to their works, and death and hell were cast into the lake of fire; this is the second death, and whosoever was not found written in the book of life was cast into the lake of fire.

XLII.

THAT there is a place into which the Lord will gather all his elect, to enjoy him for ever, dually in scripture called heaven. ^{<60100>} 2 Corinthians 5:1. *For we know, that if our earthly house of this tabernacle were, dissolved we have a building of God, an house not made with hands, eternal, in the heavens.* ^{<61042>} John 14:2, 3. *In my father's house are many mansions; if it were not so I would have told you; I go to prepare a place for you, and if I go and prepare a place for you, I will come again, and receive you unto my self, that where I am there ye may be also.*

XLIII.

THAT there is a place into which the Lord will cast the devil, his angels and wicked men, to be tormented for ever, from his presence and the glory of his power, usually in scripture called hell. ^{<61043>} Mark 9:43, 44, 45. *And if thy hand offend thee cut it of, it is better for thee to enter into life maimed, than having two hands, to go to hell, into the fire that never shall be quenched, where their*

worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched. And if thy foot offend thee cut it off; it is better for thee to enter halt into life, than having two feet to be cast into hell, into the fire that shall never be quenched. <1917> Psalm 9:17. The wicked shall be turned into hell, and all the nations that forget God. <1541> Matthew 25:41. Then shall he say also to them on the left hand, depart from me ye cursed into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels. <1018> Matthew 10:28. And fear not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul; but rather fear him, which is able to destroy both soul and body in hell, <1233> Matthew 23:33. Ye serpents; ye generation of vipers; how can ye escape the damnation of hell. <2105> Luke 10:15. And thou Capernaum, which art exalted to heaven, shalt be thrust down to hell. <2163> Luke 16:23. And in hell he lift up his eyes being in torment.

XLIII.

THAT it is both the duty and privilege of the church of Christ (till his coming again) in their fellowship together in the ordinances of Christ, to enjoy, prize, and press after, fellowship through and in the Spirit with the Lord, and each with other. Acts 2:42. And they continued stedfastly in the apostles doctrine and fellowship, and in breaking of bread, and in prayers. <4125> 1 Corinthians 11:26. For as often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do shew the Lord's death till he come. <4121> Ephesians 2:21, 22. In whom all the building fitly framed, groweth unto an holy temple, in whom also ye are builded together for an habitation of God through the Spirit. <4018> Ephesians 4:3, 4, 5, 6. Endeavouring to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace. There is one body, and one spirit, even as ye are called in one hope of your calling, one Lord, one faith, and one baptism, one God and father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in you all. <4623> 1 Corinthians 12:13. For by one spirit are we all baptized into one body, whether we be Jews or Gentiles, whether we be bond or free; and have been all made to drink into one spirit. Now ye are the body of Christ and members in particular. <4019> Ephesians 3:9. And to make all men see, what is the fellowship of the mystery, which from the beginning of the world hath been hid in God, who created all things by Jesus Christ. <5102> Colossians 2:2. That their hearts might be comforted, being knit together in love, and unto the riches of the full assurance of understanding, to the acknowledgment of the fiery of God, and of the Father, and of Christ. Which we believe to be attained through the exercise of faith, in the death, resurrection, and life of Christ, <4014> 2 Corinthians 5:14, 15, 16. For the love of Christ constraineth us, because we thus judge, that if one died for all, then were all dead, that they which live should not henceforth live unto themselves, but unto him which died for them, and raft again, wherefore henceforth know we no man after the flesh, yea though we have known Christ after the flesh, yet now henceforth know we him no more. <5102> Colossians 2:12. Buried with him in

baptism, wherein ye also are risen with him through the faith of the operation of God, who hath raised him from the dead. ^{<1819>}Philippians 3:9, 10, 11. And be found in him, not having mine own righteousness, which is of the law, but that which is through the faith of Christ, the righteousness which is of God by faith, that I may know him and the power of his resurrection, and the fellowship of his sufferings, being made conformable unto his death; if by any means I might attain unto the resurrection of the dead. ^{<1815>}1 Peter 2:5. Ye also as lively stones, are built up a spiritual house, an holy priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifice, acceptable to God by Jesus Christ.

XLIV.

THAT the ministry of civil justice (being for the praise of them that do well, and punishment of evil-doers) is an ordinance of God, and that it is the duty of the saints to be subject thereunto not only for fear, but for conscience sake. ^{<5901>}Romans 8:1, 2, 3, 4, 5. *Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers, for there it no power but of God; the powers that be are ordained of God, whosoever therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God, and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation, for rulers are not a terror to good works, but to the evil. Wilt thou then not be afraid of the power, do that which is good, and thou shalt have praise of the same; for he is the minister of God to thee for good; but if thou do that which is evil, be afraid, for he beareth not the sword in vain, for he is the minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doth evil; wherefore ye must needs be subject, not only for wrath, but also for conscience sake.* ^{<1013>}1 Peter 2:13, 14. *Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake, whether it be to the king as supreme, or unto governors, as unto them that are sent by him, for the punishment of evil doers, and for the praise of them that do well. And that for such, prayers and supplications are to be made by the saints.* ^{<5001>}1 Timothy 2:1, 2. *I exhort therefore, that first of all, supplications, prayers, intercessions, and giving of thanks, be made for all men; for kings, and for all that are in authority, that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life, in all godliness and honesty.*

XLV.

That nothing doth come to pass by fortune or chance, but all things are disposed by the hand of God, and all for good to his people. ^{<0455>}Genesis 45:5. *Now therefore be not grieved nor angry with yourselves, that ye fold me hither, for God did send me before you to preserve Life,* ^{<0102>}Genesis 1:20. *But as for you, ye thought evil against me; but God meant it unto good, to bring to pass as it is this day, to save much people alive,* ^{<5188>}Romans 8:28. *And we know that all things work together for good to them that love Gods to them that are the called, according to his purpose,* ^{<5011>}Ephesians 1:11. *In whom also we*

have obtained an inheritance, being predestinated according to the purpose of him, who worketh all things after the counsel of his own will, <181405>Job 14:5. Are not his days determined, the number of his months are with thee, thou hast appointed his bounds which he cannot pass, <20405>Isaiah 4:5, 7. I form the light, and create darkness; I make peace and create evil; I the Lord doth all these things.

XLVI.

AND that a church so believing, and so walking, though despised, and of low esteem, is no less in the account of her Lord and King, than though

BLACK, yet comely, <22106>*Song of Solomon 1:5.*

FAIREST, without spot, <22107>*Song of Solomon 4:7.*

PRECIOUS, <23404>*Isaiah 43:4.*

BEAUTIFUL, <22701>*Song of Solomon 7:1.*

HOLY, without blemish, *Ephesians v. 27.*

PLEASANT, <22015>*Song of Solomon 1:15.*

WHOSE soul loveth Christ, <22107>*Song of Solomon 1:7.*

RUNNER s after Christ, <22104>*Song of Solomon 1:4.*

HONOURABLE, <23404>*Isaiah 43:4.*

THE desire of Christ, <22711>*Song of Solomon 7:11.*

COMPLEAT in Christ, <510210>*Colossians 2:10.*

LOVERS of the Father, <41627>*John 16:27.*

THE blessed of the Father, <12534>*Matthew 25:34.*

KEPT by the Lord, <10105>*1 Peter 1:5. Isaiah 3.*

GRAVEN on the palms of his hands, <23416>*Isaiah 49:16.*

TENDER to the Lord as the apple of his eye, *Zach. 2:8.*

TAUGHT of the Lord, <25413>*Isaiah 54:13.*

ONE that hath obtained mercy, <11210>*1 Peter 2:10.*

ONE that hath a redemption, <40107>*Ephesians 1:7.*

THE gates of hell shall not prevail against it, <11618>*Matthew 16:18.*

IN that church be glory unto God by Jesus Christ, throughout all ages, world without end. Amen. Ephesians 3:21.

APPENDIX. — NUMBER 4.

Some parts of a CONFESSION of FAITH, published by certain persons, termed Anabaptists, about the Year 1611.

THOUGH the Confession of Faith published by seven congregations in *London*, in the year 1644, appears to have been the first that has been put forth by the Calvinistical Baptists; yet there were some who, for their rejecting infant-baptism, were called Anabaptists, that, long before this, published, in certain conclusions, the articles of their Faith. They appear to be such as rejected the grosser errors charged on the Anabaptists, but retained some of the *Arminian* Doctrines.

IT came out in the reign of King *James* I. about the year 1611; and in 1614 Mr. *Robinson*, pastor of the *English* church at *Leyden*, printed some remarks upon it, and says it was published by the remainder of Mr. *Smith's* company. We have none of its articles but from him: and he has picked out all those passages, which to him appeared either dark or erroneous; and says of the rest, he found it agreeable to the scriptures, so that what we have is only the worst parts of it. (~~4018~~ 2 Corinthians 3:18. ~~4058~~ Matthew 5:48. ~~61004~~ 2 Peter 1:4.)

Conclusion 7. THAT to understand and conceive of God in the mind, is not the saving knowledge of God; but to be like to God in his effects and properties, to be made conformable to his divine and heavenly attributes, this is the true laying knowledge of God, whereunto we ought to give all diligence. (~~4158~~ Acts 15:8.)

9. THAT God, before the foundation of the world, did foresee and determine the issue and event of all his works.

10. THAT God is not the author or worker of sin; though he did foresee and determine what evil the free will of men and angels would do; yet he gives no influence, instinct, motion or inclination to the least sin. (~~000217~~ Genesis 2:17. ~~6063~~ Romans 6:13.)

16. THAT *Adam* died the same day that he sinned; for that the reward of sin is death: and that his death was loss of innocency, peace of conscience; and comfortable presence. (~~000023~~ Genesis 3:23, 24.)

17. THAT *Adam* being fallen, did, not lose any natural power or faculty, which God created in his soul; because the work of the Devil, which is sin, cannot abolish God's works and creatures; and therefore being fallen, he still retained freedom of will. (~~26180~~ Ezekiel 18:20. ~~000217~~ Genesis 2:17. ~~81119~~ Hebrews 12:9.)

18. THAT original sin is an idle term; and that there is no such thing as men intend by the word, because God threatened death only to *Adam*, not to his posterity, and because God createth the soul. (~~<6138>~~ Revelation 13:8.)

19. THAT if original sin might have paired from *Adam* to his posterity, yet is the issue thereof stayed by Christ's death, which was effectual, and he the lamb of God slain from the beginning of the world. (~~<0102>~~ Genesis 5:2, & 1:27. ~~<6150>~~ 1 Corinthians 15:49. ~~<8045>~~ Romans 4:15. 5:13. ~~<0103>~~ Matthew 13:9. ~~<6008>~~ Nehemiah 8:3. ~~<6150>~~ 1 Corinthians 15:49).

20. THAT infants are conceived and born in innocency, without sin, and therefore they are all undoubtedly saved: where there is no law there is no transgression: now the law was not given to infants, but to them that could understand.

21. THAT all actual sinners bear the image of the first *Adam* in his innocency, fall, and restitution, in the offer of grace, and so pass under this threefold estate. (~~<0108>~~ Genesis 3:8, 15. ~~<8016>~~ John 3:16.)

22. THAT *Adam* being fallen, God did not hate him, but love still, and sought his good; neither doth he hate any man, that falleth with *Adam*; but that he loveth mankind, and from his love sent his only begotten Son to lave that which was lost. (~~<2104>~~ Isaiah 5:4. ~~<6183>~~ Ezekiel 18:23, 32. and 33:11. ~~<2136>~~ Luke 13:6, 9.)

23. THAT God never forsaketh the creature till there be no remedy; neither doth he cast away his innocent creature from all eternity; but casteth away men irrecoverable in sin. (~~<6311>~~ Ezekiel 33:11. ~~<0102>~~ Genesis 1:21, 15, 49. and 5:3.)

24. THAT as there is in all creatures an inclination to their young, to do them good, so in the Lord towards man infinitely; who therefore doth not create, or predestinate any to destruction, no more than a father begets his child to the gallows. (~~<8004>~~ Ephesians 1:4, 5. ~~<8009>~~ 2 Timothy 1:9. ~~<8004>~~ Jude 1:4).

26. THAT God hath determined before the world, that the way of salvation should be by Christ, and foreseen who would follow it; and also who would follow the way of infidelity and impenitency. (~~<8003>~~ John 1:3, 16. ~~<8019>~~ 2 Corinthians 5:19. ~~<8016>~~ 1 Timothy 2:6. ~~<2108>~~ Ezekiel 3:3. John 16.)

27. THAT as God created all men according to his image, so hath he redeemed all that fall by actual sin, to the same end; and that God, in his redemption, hath not swerved from his mercy, which he manifested in his creation. (~~<8008>~~ Romans 5:8. ~~<6102>~~ 2 Peter 2:2.)

28. GOD, in love to his enemies, gave Christ to die, and so bought them that deny him.

30. THAT Christ is become the mediator of the new covenant, and priest of the church, and hath establish'd this new covenant in his blood. (~~<47519>~~2 Corinthians 5:19. ~~<4814>~~Ephesians 2:14, 16. ~~<48130>~~Romans 1:30.)

31. THAT the sacrifice of Christ's body and blood, offer'd unto God his Father upon the cross though a sacrifice of sweet favour, and that God be well pleased in him, doth not reconcile God unto us, who did never hate us, nor was our enemy, but reconcileth us unto God, and slayeth the enmity and hatred which is in us against God.

35. THAT the efficacy of Christ's death is only derived to them, which mortify their sins, believe, &c. (~~<42136>~~Luke 13:6. ~~<42337>~~Matthew 23:37. ~~<44751>~~Acts 7:51. and 6:10.)

56, 57, and 58. are concerning faith, repentance, and regeneration, and are said to contain these erroneous assertions. That the new creature followeth repentance: That repentance goeth before faith: That man hath power to reject or receive the motions of God's Spirit. That the new creature is part of our Justification before God. ~~f307~~ (~~<59015>~~James 1:15. ~~<60123>~~1 Peter 1:23).

59. THAT God doth not, in our regeneration, use the help of any creature; nor doth it by the doctrine of faith and repentance, but immediately in the soul. (~~<46130>~~1 Corinthians 13:10. ~~<6127>~~1 John 2:27. ~~<60119>~~2 Peter 1:19. ~~<46126>~~1 Corinthians 11:26. ~~<48412>~~Ephesians 4:12, 13.)

60, 61, 62, 63. THAT the new creature, which is begotten of God, needeth not the outward scriptures, creatures, or ordinances of the church to support him, but is above them; seeing he hath in himself three witnesses, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost; which are better than all scriptures or, creatures: though such as have not attained the new creature need them for instruction, comfort, and to stir them up.

64. THAT the outward and visible church consists of penitent persons, and believing only; and that such only are to be baptized. (~~<60110>~~Revelation 1:10, & 21:2, 13, 27.)

65. The visible church is a figure of the invisible; and the invisible consists only of the spirits of just and perfect men.

67. THAT there is a root of sin yet abiding in us, which we cannot pluck up out of our hearts. (~~<42122>~~Proverbs 2:12.)

74. THAT the sacraments have the same use that the word hath, and teach to the eye of them that understand, as the word teaches the ears of them that have ears to hear; and that therefore they pertain no more to infants than the word doth. (~~<510216>~~Colossians 2:16, 17.)

82. THAT there is no succession in that outward church, but that all the succession is from heaven, and that the new creature only hath the thing signified, and substance; whereof the outward church and ordinances are shadows.

83. THE office of the magistrate is a permissive ordinance of God, &c.

85. THAT Christ's disciples must love their enemies, and not kill them pray for them, and not punish them, &c. And Christ's disciples must, with him, be persecuted, afflicted, murder'd, &c. and that by the authority of the magistrate. (~~30412~~ James 4:12.)

THAT the magistrate is not to meddle with religion or matters of conscience, nor to compel men to this or that form of religion because Christ is the King and Lawgiver of the church and conscience. (~~40811~~ 1 Corinthians 6:1, 7. ~~00634~~ Matthew 5:34, 27. ~~30612~~ James 5:12.)

Lastly, THAT Christians must judge all their causes of difference among themselves; and may not go to law before magistrates, nor use an oath.

APPENDIX. — NUMBER 5.

The Address of the Anabaptists to King Charles II. before his Restauration, with their Propositions annexed, and the Letter sent along with it to his Majesty, then at Bruges, in the year 1657-8. (Lord Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, Folio Edit. 1719. Vol. III. p. 359.)

To his most Excellent Majesty, Charles the Second, King of Great-Britain, France and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto longing.

The humble Address of the Subscribers, in the behalf of themselves, and many thousands more, your Majesty's most humble and faithful subjects.

May it please your Majesty,

WHEN we sit down and recount the wonderful and unheard of dispensations of God amongst us; when we call to our remembrances the tragical actions and transactions of these late times; when we seriously consider the dark and mysterious effects of providence, the unexpected disappointment of counsels, the strange and strong convulsions of state, the various and violent motions and commotions of the people, the many changes, turnings and overturnings of governors and governments, which, in the revolution of a few years, have been produced in this land of miracles, we cannot but be even swallowed up in astonishment, and are constrained to command an unwilling silence upon our sometimes mutinous, and over enquiring hearts, resolving all into the good will and pleasure of that all disposing one, whose wisdom is unsearchable, and whose ways are past finding out.

But although it is, and we hope ever will be, far from us, either peevishly, or presumptuously, to kick against the irresistible decrees of heaven, or vainly to attempt, by any faint and infirm designs of ours, to give an interruption to that over-ruling divine hand, which steers and guides, governs and determines the affairs of the whole world; yet we cannot but judge it a duty highly incumbent upon us, to endeavour, as much as in us lies, to repair the breaches of our dear country; and since it is our lot (we may say our unhappiness) to be embarked in a shipwreck'd common-wealth (which, like a poor weather beaten pinnace, has for so long a time, been toiled upon the waves and billows of faction, split upon the rocks of violence, and is now almost quite devoured in the quicksands of ambition) what can we do more worthy of *English-men*, as we are by nation, or of *Christians*, as we are by profession, than every one of us to put our hand to an oar, and to try if it be the will of our God, that such weak instruments as we, may be in any measure helpful to bring it at last into the safe and quiet harbour of justice and righteousness.

To this undertaking, though too great for us, we are apt to think our selves so much the more strongly engaged, by how much the more we are sensible, that as our sins have been the greatest causes, so our many follies and imprudences have not been the least means of giving both birth and growth to those many miseries and calamities, which we, together with three once most flourishing kingdoms, do at this day sadly groan under.

IT is not, the Lord knows, it is not pleasing unto us; nor can we believe it will be grateful to your Majesty, that we should recur to the beginning, rise, and root of the late unhappy differences betwixt your royal father and the parliament. In such a course as this, we may seem, perhaps, rather to go about to make the wounds bleed afresh, than to endeavour the curing of them; yet, forasmuch as we do profess that we come not with corrosives, but with balsoms, and that our desire is not to hurt but heal, not to pour vinegar, but oil into the wounds, we hope your Majesty will give us leave to open them gently, that we may apply remedies the more aptly, and discover our own past errors the more clearly.

IN what posture the affairs of these nations stood, before the noise of drums and trumpets disturbed the sweet harmony that was amongst us, is not unknown to your Majesty: That we were blest with a long peace, and together with it, with riches, wealth, plenty, and abundance of all things, the lovely companions and beautiful products of peace, must ever be acknowledged with thankfulness to God, the author of it, and with a grateful veneration of the memory of those princes, your father and grandfather, by the propitious influence of whole care and wisdom we thus flourished. But as it is observed in natural bodies, idleness, and fulness of diet, do, for the most part, lay the foundation of those maladies, and secretly nourish those diseases which can hardly be expelled by the assistance of the most skilful physician, and seldom without the use of the most loathsome medicines nay, sometimes not without the hazardous trial of the most dangerous experiments; so did we find it by sad experience, to be in this great body politick. It cannot be denied but the whole common-wealth was faint, the whole nation sick, the whole body out of order, every member thereof feeble, and every part thereof languishing. And in this so general and universal a distemper, that there should be no weakness nor infirmity, no unfoundness in the head, cannot well be imagin'd. We are unwilling to enumerate particulars, the mention whereof would but renew old griefs but, in general, we may say, and we think it will gain the easy assent of all men, that there were many errors, many defects, many excesses, many irregularities, many illegal and excentrical proceedings (some of which were in matters of the highest and greater concernments) manifestly appearing as blots and stains upon the otherwise good government of the late King. That these proceeded from the pravity of his own disposition, or from principles of

tyranny, radicated and implanted in his own nature, we do not see how, it can be asserted without apparent injury to the truth; it being confessed, even by his most peevish enemies that he was a gentleman, as of the most strong and perfect intellectuals, so of the best and purest morals of any prince that ever swayed the *English* scepter. This the then parliament being sensible of, and desirous, out of a zeal they had to the honour of their sovereign, to dispense and dispel those black clouds that were contracted about him, that he might shine the more glorious in the beauty of his own lustre, thought themselves engaged in duty to endeavour to redeem, and rescue him from the violent and strong impulses of his evil counsellors; who did captivate him at their pleasures to their own corrupt lusts; and did every day thrust him into actions prejudicial to himself, and destructive to the common good and safety of the people: Upon this account, and to this, and no other end, were we at first invited to take up arms; and though we have too great cause to conclude from what we have since seen acted, that under those plausible and gilded pretences of liberty and reformation, there were secretly managed the hellish designs of wicked, vile and ambitious persons (whom though then, and for a long time after, concealed, providence, and the series of things, have since discover'd to us) yet we bless God, that we went out in the simplicity of our souls, aiming at nothing more but what was publicly owned in the face of the sun and that we were so far from entertaining any thoughts of carting off our allegiance to his Majesty, or extirpating his family, that we had not the least intentions of so much as abridging him of any of his just prerogatives, but only of restraining those excesses of government, for the future, which were no thing but the excrescencies of a wanton power, and were more truly to be accounted the burdens than ornaments of his royal diadem.

These things, Sir, we are bold to make recital of to your Majesty not that we suppose your Majesty to be ignorant of them, or that we take delight to derive the pedigree of our own, and the nation's misfortunes; but like poor wilder'd travellers, perceiving That we have lost our way, we are necessitated, though with tired and irksome steps, thus to walk the same ground over again, that we may discover where it was that we first turned aside, and may institute a more prosperous course in the progress of our journey. Thus far we can say, we have gone right, keeping the road of honesty and sincerity; and having yet done nothing, but what we think we are able to justify; not by those weak and beggerly arguments, drawn either from success, which is the same to the jut and to the unjust, or from the silence and satisfaction of a becalmed conscience, which is more often the effect of blindness than virtue, but from the sure, safe, sound, and unerring maxims of law, justice, reason and righteousness.

IN all the rest of our motions ever since, to this very day, we must confess, we have been wandering, deviating, and roving up and down, this way and that way, through all the dangerous, uncouth, and untrodden paths of Fanatick and Enthusiastick notions till now, at last, but too late, we find our selves intricated and involved in so many windings, laberinths, and meanders of knavery, that nothing but a divine clew of thread, handed to us from heaven, can be sufficient to extricate us, and restore us. We know not, we know not, whether we have justor matter of shame or sorrow administer'd to us, when we take a reflex view of our past actions, and consider, into the commission of what crimes, impieties, wickednesses, and unheard of villanies, we have been led, cheated, cousen'd, and betrayed by that grand impostor, that loathsome hypocrite, that detestable traitor, that prodigy of nature, that opprobrium of mankind, that landskip of iniquity, that sink of sin, and that compendium of baseness, who now calls himself our protector. What have we done, nay, what have we not done, which either hellish policy was able to contrive, or brutish power to execute? We have trampled under foot all authorities; we have laid violent hands upon our own sovereign; we have ravished our parliaments; we have deflower'd the virgin liberty of our nation; we have put a yoke, an heavy yoke of iron; upon the necks of our own countrymen; we have thrown down the walls and bulwarks of the people's safety; we have broken often repeated oaths, vows, engagements, covenants, protestations; we have betrayed our trusts; we have violated our faiths.; we have lifted up our hands to heaven deceitfully; and that these our sins might want no aggravation to make them exceeding sinful, we have added hypocrisy to them all; and shave not only, like the audacious limp, wiped our mouths, and boasted *that we have done no evil*: But in the midst of all our abominations (such as are too bad to be named amongst the worst of Heathens) we have not wanted impudence enough to say, Let the Lord be glorified: let Jesus Christ be exalted: let his kingdom be advanced: lot the gospel be propagated: let the saints be dignified: let righteousness be established *Pudet hoc opprobia nobis aut dici potuisse, aut non pottuisse refelli.*

Will not the holy one of *Israel* visit? will not the righteous one punish? will not he, who is the true and faithful one, be avenged for such things as these? will he not, nay, has he not already come forth as a swift witness against us? has he not whet his sword has he not bent his bow? has he not prepared his quiver? has he not already begun to shoot his arrows at us? who is so blind as not to see, that the hand of the Almighty is upon us? and that, his anger waxes hotter and hotter against us? how have our hopes been blasted? how have our expectations been disappointed? how have our ends been frustrated? All those pleasant goards, under which we were sometimes solacing and caressing our selves, how are they perished in a moment? how are they withered in a night; how are they van jibed and come to nothing? Righteous is the Lord, and

righteous are all his judgments, We have sown the wind, and we have reaped a whirlwind; we have sown faction, and have reaped confusion we have sown folly, and we have reaped deceit; when we looked for liberty, behold slavery when we expected righteousness, behold oppression; when we fought for justice, behold a cry, a great and a lamentable cry, throughout the whole nation.

Ever man's hand is upon his loins, every one complaining, sighing, mourning, lamenting and laying, I am pained, I am pained! pain, and anguish, and sorrow, and perplexity of spirit has taken hold upon me, like the pains of a woman in travail; surely we may take up the lamentation of the prophet, concerning this the land of our nativity. How does *England* sit solitary? how is she become as a widow? the that was great amongst the nations, and princess among the provinces, how is she now become tributary? the weepeth sore in the night, her tears are on her cheeks; amongst all her lovers, she hath none to comfort her; all her friends have dealt treacherously with her, they are become her enemies: the lifted up her voice in the streets; she crieth aloud in the gates of the city, in the places of chief concourse; she sitteth, and thus we hear her wailing and bemoaning her condition is it nothing to you all ye that pass by? Behold and see, if there be any sorrow like unto my sorrow, which is due unto me, wherewith the Lord hath afflicted me in the day of his fierce anger. The yoke of my transgressions is bound by his hands; they are wreathed and come up upon my neck: he hath made my strength to fall; the Lord hath delivered me into their hands, from whom I am not able to rise up. The Lord hath trodden under foot all my mighty men, in the midst of me: he hath called an assembly to crush my young men: he hath trodden me as in a wine press: all that pass clap their hands at me; they hiss and was their heads at me, saying, Is this the nation that men call the perfection of beauty, the joy of the whole earth? All mine enemies have opened their mouths against me; they hiss and gnash their teeth; they say, we have swallowed her up. Certainly this is the day that we looked for, we have found, we have seen it.

How are our bowels troubled? How are our hearts saddened? How are our souls afflicted, whilst we hear the groans, whilst we see the desolation of our dear country? It pitieth us, it pitieth us, that Sion should lie any longer in the dust. But alas! what shall we do for her in this day of her great calamity? We were sometimes wise to pull down, but we now want art to build; we were ingenious to pluck up, but we have no skill to plant; we were strong to destroy, but we are weak to restore. Whether shall we go for help? Or to whom shall we address our selves for relief? If we say, we will have recourse to parliament, and they shall save us; behold, they are broken reeds, reeds shaken with the wind, they cannot save themselves. If we turn to the army, and say, they are bone of our bone, and flesh of our flesh, it may be, they will at last have pity

upon us, and deliver us; behold, they are become as a rod of iron to bruise us, rather than a staff of strength to support us. If we go to him, who hath treacherously usurped, and does tyrannically exercise an unjust power over us, and say to him, free us from this yoke, for it oppresseth us, and from these burthens, for they are heavier than either we are, or our fathers were ever able to bear; behold, in the pride and haughtiness of his spirit, he answers us, you are factious, you are factions: If your burthens are heavy, I will make them yet heavier: If I have hitherto chastised you with whips, I will henceforward chastise you with scorpions.

Thus do we fly like partridges hunted from hill to hill, and from mountain to mountain, but can find no rest; we look this way and that way, but there is none to save, none to deliver. At last we begun to whisper, and but to whisper only, among ourselves; saying one to another, why should we not return to our first husband? Surely it will be better with us then, than it is now. At the first starting of this question amongst us, many doubts, many fears, many jealousies, many suspicions did arise within us. We were conscious to our selves, that we had dealt unkindly with him; that we had treacherously forsaken him; that we had defiled our selves with other lovers; and that our filthiness was still upon our skirts. Therefore were we apt to conclude, if we do return unto him, how can he receive us? Or if he does receive us, how can he love us? How can he pardon the injuries we have done unto him? How can he forget the unkindness we have shewn unto him in the day of his distress.

WE must confess (for we come not to deceive your Majesty, but to speak the truth in simplicity) that these cowardly apprehensions did for a while make some strong impressions upon us, and had almost frightened us out of our newly conceived thoughts of duty and loyalty. But it was not long before they vanished, and gave place to the more noble and heroic considerations of common good, publick safety, the honour, peace, welfare, and prosperity of these nations; all which we are perswaded, and do find, though by too late experience, are as inseparably, and as naturally bound up in your Majesty, as heat in fire, or light in the sun. Contemning therefore, and disdaining the mean and low: thoughts of our own private safety (which we have no cause to despair of, having to deal with so good and so gracious a prince) we durst not allow of any longer debate about matters of personal concernments; but did think our selves engaged in duty, honour and conscience, to make this our humble address unto your Majesty, and to leave our selves at the feet of your mercy: Yet, lest we should seem to be altogether negligent of that first good, though since dishonoured cause, which God has so eminently owned us in, and to be unmindful of the security of those, who, together with our selves, being carried away with the delusive and hypocritical pretence of wicked and ungodly men, have ignorantly, not maliciously, been drawn into a concurrence

with those actions which may render them justly obnoxious to your Majesty's indignation. We have presumed, in all humility, to offer unto your Majesty these few propositions hereunto annexed; to which, if your Majesty shall be pleased graciously to condescend, we do solemnly protest in the presence of Almighty God, before whole tribunal we know we must one day appear, that we will hazard our lives, and all that is dear unto us, for the restoring, and re-establishing your Majesty in the throne of your Father; and that we will never be wanting, in a ready and willing compliance to your Majesty's commands, to approve our selves

Your Majesty's most humble, most faithful, and most devoted subjects and Servants,

*W. Howard,
Ralph Jennings,
Edw. Penkaruan,
John Hedworth,
John Sturgion,
John Wildman,
John Aumigeu,
Randolph Hedworth,
Thoma — s
Richard Reynolds.*

THE earnest desires of the subscribers, in all humility presented to your Majesty, in these following proposals, in order to an happy, speedy, and well grounded peace in these your Majesty's dominions:

1. FORASMUCH as the parliament, called and convened by the authority of his late Majesty, your royal Father, in the year 1640. was never legally dissolved, but did continue their fitting until the year 1648. at which time, the army violently and treasonably breaking in upon them, did, and has ever since given a continued interruption to their session, by taking away the whole house of lords, and secluding the greatest part of the house of commons; it is therefore humbly desired, that (to the end we may be established upon the ancient bails and foundation of law) your Majesty would be pleased, by publick proclamations, as soon as it shall be judged seasonable, to invite all those persons, as well lords as commons, who were then fitting, to return to their places; and that your Majesty would own them (so convened and met together) to be the true and lawful parliament of *England*.

2. THAT your Majesty would concur with the parliament in the ratification and confirmation of all those things granted, and agreed unto by the late king your father, at the last and fatal treaty in the Isle of *Wight*; as also in the making and repealing of all such laws, as and statutes, as by the parliament shall be judged

expedient and necessary to be made and repealed, for the better securing of the just and natural rights and liberties of the people, and for the obviating and preventing all dangerous and destructive excesses of government for the future.

3. FORASMUCH as it cannot be denied, but that our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, by his death and resurrection, has purchased the liberties of his own people; and is thereby become their sole Lord and King; to whom, and to whom only, they owe obedience in things spiritual: We do therefore humbly beseech your Majesty, that you would engage your royal word never to erect, nor suffer to be erected, any such tyrannical, popish, and anti-christian hierarchy (episcopal, presbyterian, or by what name soever it be called) as shall assume a power over, or impose a yoke upon the consciences of others; but that every one of your Majesty's subjects may hereafter be at liberty to worship God in such a way, form and manner, as shall appear to them to be agreeable to the mind and will of Christ revealed in his word, according to that proportion, or measure of faith and knowledge, which they have received.

4. FORASMUCH as the exaction of tithes is a burthen, under which the whole nation groans in general, and the people of God in particular. We would therefore crave leave humbly to offer it to your Majesty's consideration, That, if it be possible, some other way may be found out for the maintenance of that which is called the national ministry; and that those of the separated and congregated churches may not (as hitherto they have been, and still are) be compelled to contribute thereunto.

5. FORASMUCH as in these times of licence, confusion and disorder, many honest, godly, and religious persons, by the crafty devices, and cunning pretences of wicked men, have been ignorantly and blindly led, either into the commission of, or compliance with many vile, illegal, and abominable actions, whereof they are now ashamed: We do therefore most humbly implore your Majesty, That an act of amnesty and oblivion may be granted for the pardoning, acquitting, and discharging all your Majesty's long deceived and deluded subjects, from the guilt and imputation of all crimes, treasons, and offences whatsoever, committed or done by them, or any of them, either against your Majesty's father, or your self, since the beginning of these unhappy wars; excepting only such who do adhere to that ugly tyrant who calls himself protector; or who, in justification of his, or any other interest, shall, after the publication of this act of grace, continue and persevere in their disloyalty to your Majesty. The Letter was as followeth;

May it please your Majesty,

TIME, the great discoverer of all things, has at last unmasked the disguised designs of this mysterious age, and made that obvious to the dull sense of fools, which was before visible enough to the quick-sighted prudence of wise men, viz. That liberty, religion, and reformation, the wonted engines of politicians, are but deceitful baits, by which the easily deluded multitude are tempted to a greedy pursuit of their own ruin. In the unhappy number of these fools, I must confess my self to have been one; who have nothing more now to boast of, but only that, as I was not the first was cheated, so I was not the last. I was undeceived; having long since, by peeping a little (now and then, as I had opportunity) under the vizard of the impostor, got such glimpses, though but imperfect ones, of his ugly face, concealed under the painted pretences of sanctity, as made me conclude, That the series of affairs, and the revolution of a few years, would convince this blinded generation of their errors; and make them affrightedly to start from him, as a prodigious piece of deformity, whom they adored and revered as the beautiful image of a deity.

Nor did this my expectation fail me: God, who glories in no attribute more than to be acknowledged the searcher of the inward parts, could no longer endure the bold affronts of this audacious hypocrite; but, to the astonishment and confusion of all his idolatrous worshippers, has, by the unsearchable wisdom of his deep-laid counsels, lighted such a candle into the dark dungeon of his soul, that there is none so blind, who does not plainly read treachery, tyranny, perfidiousness, dissimulation, atheism, hypocrisy, and all manner of villany, written in large characters on his heart; nor is there any one remaining, who dares open his mouth in justification of him, for fear of incurring the deserved charmer of being a professed advocate for all wickedness, and a sworn enemy to all virtue.

THIS was no sooner brought forth, but presently I conceived hopes of being able, in a short time, to put in practice those thoughts of loyalty to your Majesty, which had long had entertainment in my brew; but till now were forced to seek concealment under a seeming conformity to the iniquity of the times. A fit opportunity of giving birth to these designs, was happily administered by the following occasion:

GREAT was the rage, and just the indignation of the people, when they first found the authority of their parliament swallowed up in the new name of a protector; greater was their fury, and upon better grounds, when they observed, that under the silent, modest, and flattering title of this protector, was secretly assumed a power more absolute, more arbitrary, more unlimited, than ever was pretended to by any king. The pulpits straightway found with declarations; ^{f308} the streets are filled with pasquils and libels; every one expresses a detestation

of this innovation by publick invectives; and all the nation, with one accord, seems at once to be inspired with one and the same resolution of endeavouring valiantly to redeem that liberty, by arms and force, which was treacherously stolen from them by deceit and fraud.

WHEN they had for a while exercised themselves in tumultuary discourses (the first effects of popular discontents) at length they began to contrive by what means to free themselves from the yoke that is upon them. In order hereunto, several of the chieftest of the male-contents enter into consultations amongst themselves, to which they were pleased to invite and admit me. Being taken into their counsels, and made privy to their debates, I thought it my work to acquaint my self fully with the tempers, inclinations, dispositions, and principles of them; which (though all meeting and concentrating in an irreconcilable hatred and animosity against the usurper) I found so various in their ends, and so contrary in the means conducing to those ends, that they do naturally fall under the distinction of different parties. Some, drunk with enthusiasms, and besotted with fanatic notions, do allow of none to have a share in government besides the saints; and these are called *Christian Royalists*, or *Fifth Monarchy-men*. Others, violently opposing this, as destructive to the liberty of the free-born people, strongly contend to have the nation governed by a continual succession of parliaments, consisting of equal representatives; and these stile themselves *Common Wealth's-men*. A third party there is, who, finding by the observation of there times, that parliaments are better physick than food, seem to encline most to *Monarchy*, if laid under such restrictions as might free the people from the fear of *tyranny*; and these are contented to suffer under the opprobrious name of *Levellers*: To these did I particularly apply my self; and after some few days conference with them in private by themselves apart, I was so happy in my endeavours as to prevail with some of them to lay aide these vain and idle prejudices, grounded rather upon passion than judgment, and return, as their duty engaged them, to their obedience to your Majesty. Having proceeded thus far, and gained as many of the chief of them, whom I knew to be leaders of the rest, as could safely be intrusted with a business of this nature (the success whereof does principally depend upon the secret management of it) I thought I had nothing more now to do, but only to confirm and establish them, as well as I could, in their infant allegiance, by engaging them so far in an humble address unto your Majesty, that they might not know how to make either a safe, or an honourable retreat.

I MUST leave it to the ingenuity of this worthy Gentleman, by whose hands it is conveyed, to make answer to any such objections as may perhaps be made by your Majesty, either as to the matter or manner of it. This only I would put your Majesty in mind of, That they are but young proselytes, and are not to be

driven *lento pede*, lest, being urged at first too violently, they should resist the more refractorily.

As to the quality of the persons, I cannot say, they are either of great families, or great estates. But this I am confident of, that, whether it be by their own virtue, or by the misfortune of the times, I will not determine; they are such who may be more serviceable to your Majesty in this conjuncture, than those whose names swell much bigger than theirs, with the addition of great tides. I durst not undertake to persuade your Majesty to any thing, being ignorant by what maxims your counsels are governed but this I shall crave leave to say, that I have often observed, that a desperate game at chess has been recovered after the loss of the nobility, only by playing the pawns well; and that the subscribers may not be of the same use to your Majesty, if well managed I cannot despair; especially at such a time as this, when there is scarce any thing but pawns left upon the board; and those few others that are left, may justly be complained of in the words of *Tacitus, Praesentia & tuta, pan; vetera & periculosa malunt omnes*.

I have many things more to offer unto your Majesty, but, fearing I have already given too bold a trouble, I shall defer the mention of them at present; intending, as soon as I hear how your Majesty resents this overture, to wait upon your Majesty in person; and then to communicate that *viva voce*, which I cannot bring within the narrow compass of an address of this nature. In the mean time, if our services shall be judged useful to your Majesty, I shall humbly desire some speedy course may be taken for the advance of two thousand pounds; as well for the answering the expectation of those whom I have already engaged, as for the defraying of several other necessary expences, which do, and will every day inevitably come upon us in the prosecution of our design. What more is expedient to be done by your Majesty, in order to the encouragement and satisfaction of those gentlemen, who already are, or hereafter may be brought over to the assistance of your Majesty's cause and interest, I shall commit to the care of this honourable person; who, being no stranger to the complexion, and constitution of those with whom I have to deal, is able sufficiently to inform your Majesty by what ways and means they may be laid under the strongest obligations to your Majesty's service.

For my own part, as I do now aim at nothing more, than only to give your Majesty a full essay of my zeal for, and absolute devotion to your Majesty; so I have nothing more to beg of your Majesty, but that you would be pleased to account me,

May it please your Majesty, &c.

FINIS.

FOOTNOTES

- ^{ft1} *Such as they believe to be erroneous, I would suppose he means.*
- ^{ft2} *The Pilgrimage of Saints by Church cast out; in Christ found seeking truth.*
- ^{ft3} *Among the Protestants I suppose he meant.*
- ^{ft4} Tom. III. Sect. VIII.
- ^{ft5} *Answ. to Lamb.* p. 137.
- ^{ft6} *Animad.* on Tom. p. 93.
- ^{ft7} Vol. III. p. 245
- ^{ft8} *Book of Martyrs*, first edit. p. 85.
- ^{ft9} *History of Reformat.* vol. I. p. 23.
- ^{ft10} *Fuller's Church Hist.* lib. 4; p. 130.
- ^{ft11} *Fox*, vol. I. p. 556.
- ^{ft12} *Hist. Reformat.* vol. I. p. 2
- ^{ft13} *Fuller a Wald.* p. 131.
- ^{ft14} *De Bapt. Sac. Titus* 5. chap. liii.
- ^{ft15} *De Rit. Bapt.* lib. 2; chap. 1.
- ^{ft16} *Art. 41. condemned by the Council of Constance.*
- ^{ft17} *Fuller*, Art. 51.
- ^{ft18} *Church-History*, p. 135.
- ^{ft19} *Fuller*, p.131.
- ^{ft20} *Fuller*, p. 132.
- ^{ft21} *Ref.* vol. II, p. 110.
- ^{ft22} *Fuller*, p. 13
- ^{ft23} *Fuller a Wald.* Art. 35.
- ^{ft24} *Trialogus*, lib, 4; chap. 11. *a Baxter.*
- ^{ft25} *Martyrol.* vol. 1; p. 606.
- ^{ft26} *Hist Anabapt. anno* 1521.
- ^{ft27} Vol. II. p. 113.
- ^{ft28} *Walden. Tom*, III. *Titus* v. c. 53. *Marshall*, p. 65.
- ^{ft29} *Hist. Res.* vol. I. p. 23.
- ^{ft30} *Against worshipping saints and images, and the corporal presence.*

- ^{ft31} *Hist. Reform.* Vol. I. p. 25.
- ^{ft32} *Fox*, vol. I. p, 773.
- ^{ft33} *Hook's Apology, Preface.*
- ^{ft34} *Martyrol.* vol. I. p. 673.
- ^{ft35} Fuller, p. 164.
- ^{ft36} *Fuller*, vol. I. p. 867, &c.
- ^{ft37} *Fox*, vol. I. p. 687.
- ^{ft38} *Marshal def. Inf. Bap.* p. 65
- ^{ft39} Baptists Answer to Wills, p. 7.
- ^{ft40} Fox, vol. I. p. 868.
- ^{ft41} *Hist. Reform.* vol. I. p. 27.
- ^{ft42} *Baker's Chron.* p. 296.
- ^{ft43} *Mart. Hist. kings of England*, p. 382.
- ^{ft44} *Hist. Engl. in. Q. Eliz.* p. 1186.
- ^{ft45} *Fox*, vol. II. p. 298.
- ^{ft46} *Wall. Hist. Bap.* Vol. p. 207.
- ^{ft47} *Fox*, vol. II. p. 325.
- ^{ft48} *Burnet's Hist. Ref.* vol. I. lib. 3. p. 195.
- ^{ft49} *Hist. Ref.* vol. I. lib. 3; p. 218.
- ^{ft50} *Ib.* vol. III, lib. p. 159.
- ^{ft51} *History of Reformat.* vol. III. lib. 3; col. N°. 63.
- ^{ft52} *Church lib.* 4; p. 229.
- ^{ft53} *Stow's chron.* p. 576.
- ^{ft54} *Index, letter A.*
- ^{ft55} *Fuller*, p. 217.
- ^{ft56} *Fox*, vol. II. p. 325.
- ^{ft57} *Hist. Ref.* vol. I. lib. 3; p. 195.
- ^{ft58} *Fox*, vol. II. p. 440.
- ^{ft59} *Dutch martyr.* lib. 2; p. 123.
- ^{ft59} *Fox*, p.610.
- ^{ft61} *Fox*, vol. II. p. 571.
- ^{ft62} *Fox*, vol. II. p. 653.
- ^{ft63} *Hist. Reform.* vol. II. lib. 1; p. 77.

- ^{ft64} *Hist. Reform.* vol. II. lib. 1; p 80.
- ^{ft65} *Acts and Mon.* p. 685. first Edit.
- ^{ft66} *Reform.* vol. II. part 2; p. 110, &c.
- ^{ft67} *Hist. Reform.* vol. II. lib. 1; p. 143.
- ^{ft68} *Hist. Ref.* 158.
- ^{ft69} *Ib.* p. 155
- ^{ft70} *Burnet's Hist. Ref* vol. II. lib. 1; p. 190.
- ^{ft71} *Reform.* vol. II. lib. 1; p. 112.
- ^{ft72} *Hist. Reform.* vol. II. p. 112.
- ^{ft73} *Hist. Ref.* part II. lib. 1; p. 202.
- ^{ft74} *Answ. to Nichols*, p. 33.
- ^{ft75} *Pag.* 56.
- ^{ft76} *Fox*, p. 1578. *first Edit.*
- ^{ft77} *Ibid.* p. 1407.
- ^{ft78} *Abridgment*, lib. 4; p. 340.
- ^{ft79} *Ibid*, p. 382.
- ^{ft80} *Hist. Bap.* lib. 2; p. 212.
- ^{ft81} *Mystery of Anabaptism*, p. 368.
- ^{ft82} *Ch. Hist.* cent. 16; p. 104.
- ^{ft83} *As to the saving of their lives, if after a month's reprieve and conference with divines, they would not recant their errors, A Stow*, ut prius.
- ^{ft84} *Neal's Hist. Puritans*, p. 602. vol. I.
- ^{ft85} *Neal's Hist. Purit.* p. 388. v. I.
- ^{ft86} *Hist. Puritans*, p. 602. vol I.
- ^{ft87} *Rapin*, book 18; p. 159.
- ^{ft88} *Hist. of the Reform. Scot.* p. 474.
- ^{ft89} *Hist. account of further attempts for reformation*, p. 34.
- ^{ft90} *Notes on Wilson*, p. 665. *Comp. Notes on Rapin*, p. 162.
- ^{ft91} *Rapin*, vol. II. p. 162.
- ^{ft92} *Ibidem*, p. 162.
- ^{ft93} *Hist. of England*, vol. II. p. 163.
- ^{ft94} *History of his own time*, vol. I. p. 12.
- ^{ft95} *Errors on the right-hand.*

- ^{ft96} *Pagit's Heresiography*, p. 62.
- ^{ft97} *Wall's baptism anatomized*, p. 109. 111.
- ^{ft98} *Preface, Anabaptists mystery of iniquity unmasked*, 1623. By I. P.
- ^{ft99} ~~4151~~ 1 Corinthians 5:11.
- ^{ft100} *Heresiography*, p. 64.
- ^{ft101} *Plain discovery*, p. 44. and preface:
- ^{ft102} *Baptism anatomized*, p, 107.
- ^{ft103} *Plain discovery*, p. 45.
- ^{ft104} *Hist. Ref.* vol. II, part 2; p. 113.
- ^{ft105} *Wall's Baptism anatomized*, p. 111, 112.
- ^{ft106} *Persecution for religion judg'd and condemn'd*, p, 41.
- ^{ft107} *Treatise of baptism*, p. 63, 65, 66.
- ^{ft108} *Add. to Apo.* p. 101.
- ^{ft109} *Traetise of Baptism*, p. 407.
- ^{ft110} *Book 10*; p. 63.
- ^{ft111} Fuller, *book 10*; p. 64.
- ^{ft112} Vid. *Commission and Warrant for his burning, in the Appendix*, N° I.
- ^{ft113} *Hist. Engl.* vol. II. p. 185.
- ^{ft114} *Eccl. Hist.* New Engl. *lib. 1*:c. 2.
- ^{ft115} *Eccl. Hist.* New-Engl. *lib. 7*; p. 26.
- ^{ft116} *Eccles.* New-Engl. *lib. 7*; p. 27.
- ^{ft117} *Sic origine.*
- ^{ft118} *Eccl. Hist.* New-Engl. p. 7.
- ^{ft119} *Ibid.* p. 9.
- ^{ft120} *Plain script.* p. 146.
- ^{ft121} Mather's *Eccl. Hist.* New-Engl. *lib.* v. p. 63.
- ^{ft122} *Ibid. lib. 3*; p.7.
- ^{ft123} *Lib. 1*; p. 27.
- ^{ft124} *Ib.* p. 14.
- ^{ft125} *Apology*, p.13.
- ^{ft126} *Hist. Purit*, vol. II p. 93.
- ^{ft127} *Persecution judged, and condemned.*
- ^{ft128} *Hist. Purit.* vol. II. p. 49.

- ft129 *Persecut. judg'd and condemn'd*, p. 5.
- ft130 *Ibid.* p. 23.
- ft131 *Persecution judged, &c*, p. 27.
- ft132 *A plain and well-grounded treatise concerning baptism.*
- ft133 *Anabap. Mystery of Iniquity unmasked*, by J. P. An. 1623.
- ft134 *Anabapt. Mystery of iniquity unveil'd*, p. 61.
- ft135 *Advertisement to the reader.*
- ft136 *Unmasking the man of sin*, p. 113.
- ft137 *Advert. to the reader.*
- ft138 *Anabapt. Myst.* p. 42, 65.
- ft139 *Ibid.* p. 38.
- ft140 *Ibid.* p. 136.
- ft141 *The patrimony of Christian children.*
- ft142 Page 22.
- ft143 Page 49.
- ft144 Page 73, 74.
- ft145 *Hist. Purit.* vol. II. p. 151.
- ft146 *Hist. Eng.* vol. II. p. 236.
- ft147 *Rapin*, vol. II. p. 237.
- ft148 *Rapin*, vol. II. p. 285.
- ft149 *Ibid*, p. 287.
- ft150 *Hist. England*, vol. II. p. 292.
- ft151 *Rapin Hist. England*, vol. II. p. 353.
- ft152 *Hist. Purit.* vol. II. p. 342.
- ft153 *Ibid.* p. 347.
- ft154 *Hist. Purit.* vol. II. p. 357.
- ft155 *Pag.* 37.
- ft156 *Vol. I.* p. 184.
- ft157 *Welwood's Memoirs*, p. 42.
- ft158 *Hist. Purit.* vol. II. p. 362.
- ft159 *Life and Time*, p. 41. Part I.
- ft160 *Dippers dipp'd, preface*,
- ft161 *Hist. Bap.* vol. II. p. 214.

- ^{ft162} *Church Hist. Book XI. p. 172*
- ^{ft163} *Episcopacy, p. 96.*
- ^{ft164} *Danvers, p. 176.*
- ^{ft165} *Part I. p. 79.*
- ^{ft166} *Six cases Infant-baptism, sect. 49. 139.*
- ^{ft167} *Wall's Inf. Bap. vol. II. p. 16,*
- ^{ft168} *Readings antidotes prof.*
- ^{ft169} *Ibid. id.*
- ^{ft170} *Edwards's Gangraena, part I. p. 184.*
- ^{ft171} *Dippers dipp'd, p. 177.*
- ^{ft172} *Defence infant-baptism, p. 76.*
- ^{ft173} *Ibid. p. 74.*
- ^{ft174} *Knowledge of God, &c. p. 230.*
- ^{ft175} *Schism try'd and condemn'd, p. 9.*
- ^{ft176} *Ibidem, p. 12, 13.*
- ^{ft177} *Plain Scrip. Proof, p. 151.*
- ^{ft178} *Page 246.*
- ^{ft179} *Dissenters Sayings, Part II. p. 2.*
- ^{ft180} *Ibidem, p. 5.*
- ^{ft181} *Gangraena, Part I. p. 85.*
- ^{ft182} *Ibid. p. 92.*
- ^{ft183} *Page 93.*
- ^{ft184} *Page 98.*
- ^{ft185} *Gangraena, Part III. p. 177.*
- ^{ft186} *Schism tried and condemned, 25.*
- ^{ft187} *Ibidem, p. 27.*
- ^{ft188} *Ibidem, p. 28.*
- ^{ft189} *Ibidem, 29.*
- ^{ft190} *Page 31.*
- ^{ft191} *Ibidem, p. 32.*
- ^{ft192} *Ibidem, p. 44.*
- ^{ft193} *Ibidem, p. 45,*
- ^{ft194} *Page 121.*

- ft195 L's strange Diss. Sayings, part II. p. 1.
- ft196 Hall's *pulpit guarded*, p. 31.
- ft197 Vide *his Life*.
- ft198 Tho. Underhill, Luke Fawn, Nath. Webb.
- ft199 *Page 7*.
- ft200 *Page 7*.
- ft201 *Page 5*.
- ft202 *Page 86*.
- ft203 *Preface to his treatise of Baptism*.
- ft204 *Introduct. plain proofs*.
- ft205 Edward's *Gangraena*, p. 3. p. 86.
- ft206 *Scrip. Proofs*, p. 148.
- ft207 Edwards's *Gangraena*, Part III. p. 48.
- ft208 Edwards's *Gangraena*, Part III. p. 50.
- ft209 *Ibid.* p. 53.
- ft210 *Ibid.* p. 51.
- ft211 *Edwards's Gangraena*, Part III. p. 170.
- ft212 *Ibidem*, Part II. p. 3.
- ft213 Edwards's *Gangraena*, Part II. p. 121.
- ft214 *Stennet against Russen*, p. 134.
- ft215 *Ibid.* p. 134.
- ft216 *Rapin*, vol. II. p. 597.
- ft217 *Ibid.* p. 600.
- ft218 *Hist. of his own time*, p 77.
- ft219 *Page 81*.
- ft220 *Vid.* Rapin, vol. II. p. 600.
- ft221 *Vol. II.* p. 602.
- ft222 *Hist. Rebel.* vol. III. p. 509.
- ft223 *Rapin*, vol. II. P. 602.
- ft224 *Ibid.* p. 599.
- ft225 *Hist. Rebel*, vol. III, p. 489.
- ft226 *Hist. of his own time*, p. 88, 89.
- ft227 *Stennet against Russen*, p. 121.

- ft228 *Stennet against Russen*, p. 18.
- ft229 *Keach and Delaune to the reader*, Sacred Philology, Book II.
- ft230 *Grammar, Logic, Rhetoric, Music, Arithmetic, Geometry, Astronomy*.
- ft231 *Polemic, Disc.* p. 974. *Hook's Apol.* p. 59.
- ft232 *Naked truth*, p. 5, 6. *Keach's Parables, Preface*.
- ft233 *Baylie's Dissuasive*, p. 15.
- ft234 *Pagit's Heresiography*, p. 62.
- ft235 *Robinson of Com.* p. 41.
- ft236 *Johnson's Enquiry*, p. 63.
- ft237 *Robinson of Com.* p.48.
- ft238 *Robinson of communion*, p. 73, &c.
- ft239 *Anabaptism unmasked*, by J. P. p. 61.
- ft240 *Christ. Com. against scandalizers*, 1641.
- ft241 *Praecursor*, p. 25
- ft242 *Apology*, p. 7
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- ft244 *Apology*, p. 8.
- ft245 *Apology*, p. 9, 10.
- ft246 *Praecursor*, p. 25.
- ft247 *Apology*, p. 15.
- ft248 *Fisher. Baby. Bap.* p. 417.
- ft249 *Praecursor*, p. 26.
- ft250 *Woodward's corruption corrected*, p. 4.
- ft251 *Nelson's life of bishop Bull*, p. 251.
- ft252 *Saints no Smiters*.
- ft253 *Life, Append.* p. 72. 80.
- ft254 *Confirmation*, p. 256.
- ft255 *Life, Append.* p. 58. *Ath. Oxon.*
- ft256 *Life of bishop Bull*, p. 249, 251.
- ft257 *Life of Baxter*, p. 345.
- ft258 Vol. II. c. 2. § 15. p. 29.
- ft259 *Account of the proceedings*, p. 21.
- ft260 *Gangraena, part I. page.* 23.

- ft261 Denn's *Antichrist unmask'd*, pref.
- ft262 *Gangraena*, part I. page 23.
- ft263 *Drag-net*, p. 106.
- ft264 *Gangraena*, part I. p. 22.
- ft265 *Jessey's life*, p. 103.
- ft266 *Jessey's life*, p. 97.
- ft267 *Inf. Bapt.* preface.
- ft268 *Love's animad.* p. 49.
- ft269 *Right reform.* preface.
- ft270 *Love's animad.* p. 4. *Gangraena* part 3. p. 213.
- ft271 *Life*, p, 53, 56.
- ft272 *Love's animad.* p. 18.
- ft273 *Ibid.* p. 6.
- ft274 *Gangraena*, part 3. p. 213.
- ft275 *Baxter's life*, p. 64.
- ft276 *Edwards's Gangraena*, part 3. p. 63.
- ft277 *I use the term rigid to distinguish them from the other Presbyterians who dislike such proceedings.*
- ft278 *Baxter's life*, p. 64.
- ft279 *Tomb's answ. to Bailie* p. 21.
- ft280 *Life*, p. 9.
- ft281 *Vide his two queries.*
- ft282 *Edward's Gangraena*, part 3. p. 98.
- ft283 *Dipper Dipp'd.*
- ft284 *Ibid.* p. 48.
- ft285 *Ibid.* Preface.
- ft286 *Ibid.* p. 45.
- ft287 *Blackwood's storm, antich*, p. 1.
- ft288 *Two queries*, p. 5.
- ft289 *Letter*, p. 8, 9.
- ft290 *Edwards's Gangraena*, part 3. p. 98.
- ft291 *Blake's Infant-Bapt.*
- ft292 *Tombes's Answ. to Bailie*, p. 21.

ft293 *Gangraena, part I.* p. 38.

ft294 *Baxter's Script. Proof, Introd.*

ft295 *Dean's Letter, p.* 8.

ft296 *Script. Proofs, Introd.*

ft297 *History of the Quakers by Gerrard Croese.*

ft298 *Baby Bapt.* p. 6.

ft299 *Ibid.* p. 12.

ft300 *Baby Bapt.* p. 411.

ft301 *Conformists 4th Plea, p.* 44.

ft302 *Historical declaration of his life, p.* 6.

ft303 *Stennett's works, vol. IV.* p. 274.

ft304 *Mr. Joseph Stennett's life, p.* 4, &c.

ft305 *The life of Vavasor Powell, p.* 16.

ft306 *Treatise, entitled, The Bird in the Cage.*

ft307 *This last sentence is not all in Italic, as those are which are their own words.*

ft308 *I suppose it should be declamations.*