

*Richard Baxter's*

# Penitent Confession

Quinta Press, Meadow View, Weston Rhyn, Oswestry, Shropshire, England,  
SY10 7RN

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*RICHARD BAXTER'S*  
**Penitent Confession,**  
 And His  
 Necessary VINDICATION,  
 In Answer to a BOOK, called,  
*The Second Part of the Mischiefs of Separation,*  
 Written by an Unnamed Author.

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With a PREFACE to Mr. *Cantianus D Minimis*, in Answer to his LETTER which extorted this Publication.

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- Psal. 32. 5. *I said, I will confess my transgressions to the Lord, and thou forgavest the iniquity of my sin.*  
 Psal. 19. 12, 13. *Who can understand his Errours? Cleanse thou me from secret faults. Keep back thy Servant also from presumptuous sins; Let them not have dominion over me: Then shall I be upright, and I shall be innocent from the great transgression.*  
 John 8. 44, 45. *Ye are of your Father the Devil, and the Lusts of your Father you will do: He was a Murderer from the beginning, and abode not in the Truth, because there is no truth in him: When he speaketh a Lie he speaketh of his own; for he is a Liar and the Father of it. And because I tell you the truth ye believe me not.*  
 Isa. 5. 20. *Woe to them that call Evil Good, and Good Evil: That put darkness for light, and light for darkness, that put bitter for sweet, and sweet for bitter.*  
 Prov. 24. 24. *He that saith to the wicked, Thou art Righteous, him shall the People Curse, Nations shall abhor him. (Sharp words.)*
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LONDON, Printed for *Tho. Parkhurst* at the Bible and Three Crowns in Cheapside near *Mercers Chapel*. 1691.



For the very Reverend Dr. *Edward Stillingfleet*,  
Lord Bishop of the Diocese of *Worcester*.

Reverend Sir,

**S**upposing the Book which I answer as injurious to you, as to me, I judge it meet to propose to you this Opportunity of your own Vindication: Or if I be herein mistaken, to crave your help for my own Conviction. Your former Accusation of such as I, of the heinous Sin of Schism, or Separation, I confess I answered in a manner that required your Patience: If it was too free, and provoking, I beg your pardon, and do not Justifie it. My Reasons were, 1. That I thought, that to take such as I for Schismaticks, or Separatists, was a great hardening and strengthening of the real Separatists, when my Character, and such others, should seem to be theirs; and if we were falsly accused, they should seem to be so too.

2. Because I knew how much your Authority, and just Reputation, would add, as a Whet-stone, to the keenness of their Zeal who thought us unmeet to live out of the common Goals.

3. Because I knew (whatever is said against it) how great a Loss it would be to Souls, to have all silenced Ministers give over preaching to any more than four; and what Sacrilege we should be guilty of, to give over our Ministry, which we were vowed to, and to be banished five Miles from all Corporations, or there to avoid all publick worshiping of God.

And your Pacificatory Accommodation, so earnestly restraining Parents (without excepting the Nobility) from chusing School-masters for their own Children, seemed to one to be an unsufferable Overthrow of that Family Government which is of Divine Institution, antecedent to Regal, and most literally required in the Fifth Commandment.

These Reasons carrying me to Earnestness, I perceive the Conceit or Suspicion is too common, that your Exasperation was the Spring both of Dr. Morrice's Defence of you, and of this Book, which is commonly famed to be written by Mr. Long of Exeter, a Member of the Representative Church of England, (of whom I will not say, as Bishop Morley of me, Ex uno omnes.) This Concest is increased by the Title of his Book, the same with yours, as The Second Part; and by your Collocutor's Title, [The Army-Chaplain;] and such other Circumstances.

For my part, I take it for my duty to believe, that you abhor such a Fardel of malicious, impudent Lyes: And that he that hath written so many excellent Books (of which, I thankfully acknowledge the Receipt of many, as your Gift) will by no Temptation be poysoned to the Approbation of so venomous a Label.

*But if I should be in any part mistaken, and while you own not the manner of his Writing, you should own the main Cause, or Accusation, I humbly and earnestly beg, that before I dye (if it may be) you will afford me that help of Conviction and Repentance which may be expected from a Man of Learning, Piety and Truth, and the now Bishop of that Diocess where the surviving part of my only Flock (that ever I had) remain; among whom you may learn more of the falshood of this Man's Accusations.*

*And as I cannot but think, that the present Necessity (brought about by God's Providence, without us) will engage a Man of your Knowledge and Temper to use your Interest and Parts to the uttermost, both in Parliament and Convocation, for the strengthening of this Nation and Church by Concord and necessary Amendment, and unlocking the [?????]doors of the Parish-Churches to the Lovers of Unity and Peace. So Acquaintance enableth me to be confident (that though such as I are past having our part in such a Blessing on Earth, yet) a great number of young Preachers will be ready, joyfully to accept of any lawful Terms for so good an End, who now serve God on Terms of Selfdenial, and are Men of greater Orthodoxness, Piety, Learning, and skilful, powerful Preaching, than you would have believed our Nonconformists Schools would have brought forth. And if that blessed Day may hasten, I doubt not but those of the suffering Ministers that have overlived their long Silencing, Imprisonments, and Distresses, will gladly do as Joseph, forgive the Envy and Injuries of their Brethren and Afflictors; observing how much of the Hand of God was in the Over-ruling of all, and making use of that Sin which he did neither cause nor justifie.*

*Sir, As the Importunity of Cantianus, with many others, drew me to publish this Writing, which I once cast by, as never to have been seen; so the opportune Occasion of my desiring your own Vindication, or your help for my Conviction, hath caused this Address to you, from*

*A willing Learner,*

*And Penitent,*

*Jun. 13. 1691.*

*Ri. Baxter.*

A LETTER to  
Mr. BAXTER.

*Reverend SIR,*

I am a stranger to your person, but not to your Excellent Writings, for which I praise God, and give you my hearty thanks; I have many, I have read many, I have given away, and recommended many to others to read, and I bless God have received much light and warmth from many of them, whereby I am engaged to pray for you, and to take all occasions to speak, write, and act, whatsoever may tend to your good here, and hereafter. And to that end, I cannot be at peace with my self until I have desir'd you to take into your serious dying thoughts how you have walk'd towards the Church of *England*, in your Practice and your Writings, that, before you appear at Gods Tribunal, you may foresee your Sentence what it will be, and whether your Writings, and Practice have done, or are likely after your death, to do more Good, or Evil to the Professors of the Christian Religion; for this is generally said by many of your Friends concerning your Writings, *Ubi benè nemo melius; ubi malè nemo pejus*. And for your Enemies, they are generally so prejudiced with your *Malè*, that they are not able to read, or think, or speak well of your *Benè*, but discourage many good Souls from reading, or minding your most profitable Discourses. Now my humble suit to you is to consider, whether, as St. *Augustine* that great Light, and voluminous Writer Crowned all his Works with his Retractions of what was amiss, Mr. *Baxter* might not do the same to Gods Glory, the establishing of good Christians in the Truth, bringing the misled out of their Errors; stopping the Mouths of your Enemies, and causing your Person and good Works to be had in Everlasting Remembrance, and the preventing the ill consequences of what has been acted and writ by you, which may attend the Church of God for many Ages after your death. Sir, I doubt not but you have heard, and read the dreadful things that you are charged withal, I have been amazed at them, and heartily sorry for them. I beseech you consult some Religious, Wise, Faithful Person whom you know to be a true Son of the Church of *England*, (as no doubt there are some among so many learned Bishops and Pastors) and desire them freely to deal with you in helping you to see the great Errata's of your Sarcastical Writings against the Bishops and Clergy of the Church of *England*; or

take but that one Book call'd, *The Unreasonableness of Separation, the Second Part, &c. with special Remarks on the Life and Actions of Mr. R. Baxter*, 1681. and let God and Men see that you cannot only write well of Humility, Repentance, and Self-denial, but you can act them also. Where a Cross in time of Plagues is upon the Door, every Man that passes by is ready to pray, *Lord have mercy on that Family*: Sir, if you with your own Hand would please to acknowledge which of your Works is Infectious and may hurt Souls, all Men that read it, would bless God for you, and heartily send up their Prayers to Heaven (if they be but Persons that ever frequent the Throne of Grace) with a *Domine Miserere R. B.* wherefore I beseech you think of the advice of a mean Brother of yours in the Work of the Ministry, who in real gratitude for the benefit he has received by your Works, and for your own Comfort, Honour, and Happiness, and Gods Glory above all, presumes, before he goes to his Grave, to express his Love and Duty to you before you go to yours, for he finds that you and we both entred into the Church of Christ, *March 12. 1614* and therefore cannot be long from appearing before Almighty God to receive a Sentence to an Eternal state.

*Liberavi animam meam. Deus Omnipotens dirigat Te in omnibus viis tuis.*

Many years past I met with an Expression in a Preface to another Mans Writing, with your Name to it, which much troubled me that it should fall from that Pen which had writ such Excellent Helps to follow Christ Jesus his Rules and Example. It was this; You was speaking of Hell, and the Government and Order among Devils, and clapt in that common Pulpit-prayer Expression concerning the Ministry of the Church of *England, viz. By what Names or Titles soever Dignified or Distinguished*, which I thought one of the bitterest unchristian Reflections I ever read; and I was heartily troubled to read it, because I thought it impossible for Hell to have crouded it in where there was so much of Heaven.

Sir, You have the best Prayers I can put up to God for you, and humbly beg your Prayers that I may follow *Paul's* advice to *Timothy*, in taking heed to my Self and Doctrine, and continue therein, that (thorough Gods Mercy and Christs Merits) my own Soul may be saved and theirs that hear me.

So, I hope we shall meet in Heaven, for we have an Advocate with the Father.

*Feb. 1689*

*Cantianus D Minimis.*



THE

# PREFACE

TO

Mr. *Cantianus D Minimis* Salutem.

SIR,  
 § 1. **I** unfeignedly thank you for your Invitation to Repentance. O pray for me that neither Ignorance, nor Prepossession and Prejudice, keep me in Impenitency, so near my Death[????] I daily wait for my last day on Earth, and it is dreadful to die in the guilt of Impenitence: But who knoweth all his secret faults? I hope God will accept my willingness to know them, and openly to confess them what Party or Person soever be displeas'd with it.

Upon your Letter I began to practise it, and finding the Book which you refer me to, begin with my Childhood and Youth in his Accusations, I thought my Answer must follow him, and begin there also. But shewing it to a Friend more prudent than my self, he disliked it, that I should tell the World of my Childish sins, when it is Schism and Rebellion that are my Charge by the Accuser. And I have oft heard, *bis pueri senes*, as if such passages were the effects of aged weakness, which better remembereth the passages of Youth, than of later years. I suspect that this is true: And yet a dying Man is afraid of such prudence as would stifle penitent Confession, when I am so loudly called to it by you and the Accuser: I will therefore satisfy Him, and You, and such other, and my Conscience, though I bear the derision of prudent dislikers: It wrongeth no Man; and to be accounted weak and simple I can easily bear.

§ 2. But I doubt it is confessing too little and not too much that you will blame me for: And I cannot remedy that neither. Your Liturgy denieth Christian Burial, to all that kill themselves; and it is no Virtue to belie our selves, I am sure it is sin to belie a Neighbour, whom I must love but as my self: Yea or not (seasonably) to vindicate his Reputation against malignant Slanderers. I have many years left the Book unanswered, to which you refer me for the Confession of my sins, though many told me, it was my Duty to answer it. It is you now that have call'd me to it. Would you have me

*confess all that he falsly accuseth me of? Then you would make your self guilty of all his Lies, by presuming that they are true, and judging before you ever heard the defence of the accused: You write too honestly to allow me to judge so hardly of you.*

*But truely I durst not put by your Call to my necessary defence. The chief reason is, that as you doubt whether my Books will do more good or hurt, and your Author thinks it would be good that They were all burnt, and the Papists are of the same mind; so I am fully perswaded is the Devil: And till he can get the Conquering Papists or Tories to do it, he will Endeavour to make them as useless as if they were burnt, by rendering them odious for their own faults and for mine. And you tell me that my Enemies will not read them. Now till my Opinion of them be the same with theirs, you cannot expect that I that have spent so great a part of above Seventy five years in writing above an hundred and twenty Books, should be content to lose my Labour and End, and that all Men lose the benefit of them, rather than I shall confute a most impudent Liar. If you say, I over-value them, why do you speak the over-valuing of many of them. That is good that doth Good: About Twelve of them are Translated into the German Tongue; and the Lutherans say They have done good. Some are Translated into French: One into the Language of the New-England Americans by Mr. Eliots. Multitudes say, they have been the means of their Conversion, and more of their Information, Confirmation and Consolation. And the Chief benefit that I expect by them to the World is when I am dead and gone. And can you expect that after so much labour for the Church and Souls, I should so far despise both it and them, as not to think all worthy of a just defence?*

§ 3. *But you think that the way of Confessing his Accusations will better do it, and will make Men write on the Doors, a Domine Miserere for my Soul. But have you known me better than I have known my self? Or did he know me better, who I suppose never spake with me, but hath lived two hundred (and lately and hundred) Miles from me? Or is there no way to win the love of your Party, but by my known confessing such a multitude of shameless Lies, as an Irish Tory or a Pagan would abhor? I think it enough that I have, to satisfy my Conscience and such as you, exposed my self to the Censure of imprudent weakness by my Confessions.*

§ 4. *But as to my Account of my Opinion about the Wars, I must intreat you to take it as it is given you: Not as a peremptory justification of all that I did, but as the reasons which yet I see not answered, desiring that where I erre God will better inform me; that I may neither, condemn the just, nor justify any sin.*

§ 5. *But besides your Authors Accusations, you have added two heinous ones of your own. 1. That before some Book of anothers, speaking of Order among Devils I clapt in that Expression, By what Names or Titles soever Dignified or Distinguished: And you did not think Hell could have done the like; because it is a common Pulpit Expression.]*

*I fear that you are over-tender of your Parties honour, to some degree of melancholy suspiciousness, that could find so much of Hell in those words. I think I have not heard those words in the Pulpit thrice (to my remembrance) in forty years.*

*Our Preachers that I have heard, mention only Archbishops, Bishops, and the Inferiour Clergy. I hope you pray for more than England: But what Obligation you have to pray for the Three Patriarchs of Antioch, the Two Patriarchs of Alexandria, or him of Constantinople, or the Catholick of Armenia, or the Abuna of Abassia, or him of Moscovy, or the Pope, or the Cardinals, Priests and Deacons, or the Archbishop of Rhemes quâ tales, as so Dignified and Distinguished, I know not. Is not a General Prayer for them enough?*

*Did Paul speak the Language of Hell, in calling Devils Principalities and Powers, and Spiritual Wickedness in High Places; no nor in calling Satan The God of this World? And is any Name more tenderly to be used than Gods? Is it a wrong to Princes that Beelzebub is called The Prince of the Devils, and the Prince that Ruleth in the Air? Doth Scripture use Hellish Language, in calling wicked Rulers GODS? But I gave you not the least cause to think that I meant that Devils were Bishops, or Bishops Devils: I I spake not of Bishops: And do you not know that Devils are dignified and distinguished in superiority by Names and Titles? Why did you not name the Book which I prefaced, that I might examine it? Do you think that I can remember all that I have written before mens Books? Seneca saith truly, that he that hath a Sore or Ulcer, thinks that you hurt him when you touch him not, if he do but think you touch him. However, Dignities, Dominions, and Titles, being words of Political common use, if when we talk of spiritual, heavenly or hellish Policy, we must not use the same terms as of Humane Policy, we must devise new Languages and Lexicons, and correct the Bible.*

*Your second Accusation of me being my writings against the Bishops and Church of England, I must suppose you mean truly, not Bishops as Bishops, nor the true Church of England as such, or as heretofore: But those Changers that since Laud have called themselves the Church. If you speak truth this is your meaning.*

§ 6. *And I cannot but think that as your honest and kind admonition obligeth me to be truly thankful to you, and to renew the tryal of my ways; so I am obliged by the same principle of Love and Fidelity, humbly to intreat you, to consider (if possible) without partiality, 1. How you can answer the owning of such a Volume of a Lying Slanderers Accusations, before you hear the defence of the Accused. 2. But much more, how you can so far countenance the heinous sins of those that you call the Church, as not at all to blame them, and to take it for so great a crime to name them, and call men to repentance for them? Can you find so much of Hell, in the mention of the Dignities and Distinctions of Devils, and yet see nothing but blamelessness, in the silencings of about Two thousand such Ministers, seizing on the goods, and books, and beds of so many*

as were so used; laying many so long in common Yails with Rogues; even divers to their death; ruining so many hundred godly Families; shutting the Church doors against so many Scholars that were educated and devoted to the Ministry; causing and continuing the woful divisions of the Land, to the great weakning of the Church, and hinderances of Piety and Love, and the great advantage of Poperie and Forrein Enemies? O how much more of such work have some to answer for?

Is Repentance for feeling and bewailing all this, so great a duty, as you suppose? and is committing it and preaching it up, a virtue not to be repented of? Doth God require us to mourn and cry for the common evils, if we will escape our selves? Ezek. 9. 4. and to mourn for the reproach of the solemn Assembly, as a burden? Zeph. 3. 17. and is it now a heinous crime? Hath Satan got so much right to his possession, that if he use but the name of the Church for it, they must repent as of hellish evil, that so much as blame it, and call men to Repentance? O how hard is it to be impartial?

§ 7. And when you look back on the Wars, why do you not call them to Repentance (if living) who drew the King from his Parliament to defend Delinquents by an Army from the due course of Legal Justice, and to be ruled by such men of guilt before and against his Supream Council?

§ 8. I received once a Letter almost like yours from Serenus Cressy; if you were of his Religion, I should less wonder at your partiality for the Church, and its crimes, than at the like in a Protestant. O how little would it have cost your Church-men in 1660 and 1661, to have prevented the calamitous and dangerous Divisions of this Land, and our common dangers thereby, and the hurt that many hundred thousand Souls have received by it? And how little would it cost them yet to prevent the Continuance of it?

§ 9. But I that here obey your Call to Repentance, am past doubt that by the true and just defence which you have forced or called me to, I shall seem to the Guilty, and to men of your tenderness and partiality, to add yet much more to my offence. For you have referred me to an Accuser of such a temper, stile and guilt, as can bear no true Answer adapted to the matter, but what will seem uncivil and too sharp. It was ill Counsel that was given to one that askt, How he should have the better of any Adversary that blamed him; viz. Speak and do things that are most odious, as Perjury, Lying, Persecution, &c. and cover them with sacred Pretences, and then all that accuse thee will be taken for uncharitable Railers.] If we will defend our selves against Slanderers and impudent Lyars, and Church-confounders, and oppressing Persecutors, we must find some other than the common names, for such mens sins, yea names that are not disgraceful, and provoke them not to Repentance, especially if they are listed in an Army of Crusado's, where those by the Honour and Power of their Company, take themselves as fortified, that would be afraid were they assaulted in their singular state. Every Delinquent thinks all his Crimes are secured and garrisoned by the Honour of the Army or Body that he is Listed in. They can bear it

*if we call a common Lay Drunkard, or Whoremonger by his Name; yea if one call a Godly Man an Hypocrite, or a Peace-maker a Schismatick. But he is a Railer that calleth a Clergy Liar, or Persecutor, or Schismatick, or a Betrayer of Souls by his proper Name. They know not how to Preach, without calling other Men to Repentance, but to motion themselves to Repent of Sins that destroy Souls, confound Churches, and endanger the Land, is to enrage them by dishonouring them, and deserveth the bitterest Reproaches, and Revenge.*

§ 10. *I think your Author hath greatly wronged Dr. Stillingfleet now Lord Bishop of Worcester, by pretending as his Second to be the Vindicator of his Cause; for he hath thereby occasioned a common conceit, that Dr. Stillingfleet in revenge for my Defence against his Accusations of Schism, did instigate (Mr. Morice and) this (supposed) Mr. Long to do that which he was loth to own himself; But I take my self bound to believe that this report is false, while there is no proof of it (no not in his Dialogue with the Army Chaplain,) and while his Irenicon, his Origines Sacrae, his Treatise of Satisfaction, &c. his Church History, and other Writings deserve so well, and his known parts and worth are an honour to the Church: Charity believeth not unproved evil. Far be it from me to think that he approveth of this Mans Lies, (no nor of Mr. Morice's mistakes, yet undefended since my Reply, though it was (by one) said that Book deserved a Bishoprick). He hath truly said in a late Sermon, May 1. Page 9. "The Government of "Passions is Tyrannical and Boisterous, uncertain and troublesom, never free from doing mischief to it self or others: The greatest pleasure of Passion is Revenge; and yet that is so unnatural, so full of "anxiety and fear of the Consequents of it; that he that can subdue this "unruly Passion hath more real pleasure and satisfaction in his mind, "than he who seeks to gratifie it most. And Page 5. If it be intended "for an affront though never so little, the brisker Mens Spirits are, "and the higher Opinion they have of themselves, so much deeper impression is presently made on the mind, and that inflameth the Heart, "and puts the Blood and Spirits in motion in order to the returning the "affront to him that gave it.*

§ 11. *To conclude, I desire those that have censured me for leaving such a Book as the Accusers so many years unanswered, to accept of such reasons as these of the Drs. for my excuse: And those that are glad that I have answered it at last, to thank Mr. Cantianus and not me; and those that are offended that I answer it now, and in words suitable to it, to fear lest they make his sin their own, and to consider that Truth of Words lyeth in their agreement to the Matter and the Speakers Mind, and that wilful disagreement to the Matter, is a degree of Falshood or Deceit. And them that blame me for confessing my youthful and private sins, I desire to allow me the excuse that they allow to a greater Man, St. Augustine, who gave me his Example of the like, and more: And to imitate whom you here invite me.*

*And I hereby according to your desire earnestly intreat the Reverend Clergy Men who judge of my faults as you do, that in Charity they will help to convince me of them (but not as Bishop Morley, and the Author of the Mischiefs have done by multiplied untruths in matter of fact.) But it must be speedily, or death will make it come too late.*

§ 12. *And as to Retractations, I have here and oft already search'd after and Retracted all that I can find amiss in my Writings as to the MATTER or Doctrine: But as for the MANNER I dare not wholly justify any one leaf that ever I wrote; nor undertake to correct all that is amiss: I never did any thing that might not have been better done: Sometime there is disorder: And sometime Omissions, and oft uncomely Repetitions, and always too much dulness and frigidity about high and holy things: And about lesser and personal matters, I am conscious that I am oft too sharp and provoking: But about the heinous sins of Church Corrupters, Confounders, Dividers, Silencers, Persecutors and Betrayers to a Forreign Jurisdiction, I fear lest I have said too little, though the guilty hate me for saying so much.*

*Of my Sins known and unknown I daily and earnestly beg pardon of God, by the Sacrifice, Merits and Intercession of my Saviour. God be merciful to me a Sinner.*

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# RICH. BAXTERS

## Confession and Vindication.

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### Chap. I. *The Reasons of the Necessity of REPEN- TANCE.*

§ I. **R**EPENTANCE is a subject so ordinarily preached or written of, that I will presuppose the Reader acquainted with the meaning of the word: Only here telling you, 1. That it is not meer sorrow for having sinned when the pleasure is past, that I mean. 2. Nor a bare wish that it had not been done. 3. Nor every slight Resolution to do so no more, which time or temptation will soon wear off. 4. Nor the actual forsaking of this or that particular sin. 5. And yet it is not so high a degree as a perfection in sorrowing, hating or forsaking sin.

“But it is such a self-humbling and self-loathing sense of the inward “badness of our Souls, original and further contracted, privative and “positive, and of the sinfulness of our Lives by Omissions and Acti- “ons, against God, our selves and others, as proceedeth from a root- “ed Belief of Gods Law, and Gospel, which Christ by his Holy Spi- “rit maketh effectual, to turn the Soul to the Predominant Love and “Choice of God as our God, and Christ as our Saviour, and the Holy “Ghost as our Sanctifier, and of Heavenly Perfection as our highest End “and Hope, and the revealed will of God as our Rule, holy Obedi- “ence as our Practice, and the Communion of Saints as our desired “Society; with so prevalent a hatred and enmity to sin, that it reign- “eth not in us, nor live we in any that is inconsistent with the sald pre- “dominant Love of God and Goodness.] This is the Repentance which I here treat of, though lower degrees that bring Men but to a common Humiliation, Confession and Amendment be better than none, and may tend to prevent some Judgments of God, and prepare Men for better.

§ 2. There is great Reason that without Repentance, we should not expect Deliverance and Salvation: For,

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1. Without Repentance we continue in the sin that we should repent of: We have the same sinning Mind, and Will, and Affections, which we had in the acting of the sin; and therefore are under the same criminal Guilt: What should else fit us for Deliverance and Salvation, more than any wicked Men! He that Repenteth not would do the same again and a ain, if he had the same Temptations. The Man is not changed: He may as wisely expect to be saved by the change of the Weather, or the restraint of a Prison, or a Watchman, or by his decay of Age, or by want of Money, or by pain and sickness, all which may restrain him from some sins, as by an impenitent unchanged heart. And God hateth all the workers of Iniquity.

§ 3. 2. Repentance is much of the Essential Cure of a depraved sinful Soul: And to be saved without Repentance, is to be Cured and not Cured: To be well without health: To be saved, and not saved.

§ 4. 3. To be saved without Repentance, is to Reconcile the most Holy God (not to the Sinner but) to the Sin: Light to Darkness; Christ and *Belial*: Contrary to the Divine perfection; and the Glory of his Holiness.

§ 5. 4. And it is a denying or reproach to the Wisdom and Justice of his Government: What worse can be said of the most unrighteous Kings and Judges, than that they equal not only the just and the unjust, the good and bad, but even the penitent and the obstinately impenitent? And what an odious state is such a governed Kingdom in?

§ 6. 5. It is clean contrary to the design of Mans Redemption, and the Office, Undertaking and Honour of our Redeemer: He came to destroy the works of the Devil, and to save his people from their sins: And how are they saved from them that are not Converted from them?

§ 7. 6. How reasonable a condition is this to make a miserable sinner free from all his guilt or danger of destructive punishment, without any purchase, price or compensation of his own, by the meer Merits, and Love, and Bounty of a Saviour, and a merciful God; and this after long and aggravated sinning, as soon as ever he is but converted by Faith and true Repentance. What would you think of such terms of pardon offered by Man, in his lesser injuries? If one abuse you, rob you, slander you, and you tell him, do but repent and give over, and I will forgive thee, because an Intercessor hath purchased thy forgiveness] would you think him fit for pardon that refused such an offer? Can you for shame say to God, I will not repent and amend, but yet forgive me. It is an absurd error of the Libertines that take Repentance in order to forgiveness to be a Legal burden, and the preaching of it to be no Gospel preaching? What Law is it but the Gospel or Law of Grace that giveth pardon on such gentle terms? The first Law of Innocency gave no forgiveness: The Law of *Moses* as Political gave



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temporal pardon, but only for some lesser sins, and on costly burdensome terms: The Law of Grace made to lapsed Man (*Adam, Noe, Abraham,* and fully by Christ incarnate) is it that calleth for Faith and Repentance as the condition of Everlasting Pardon and Life: Christ is a Prince and a Saviour, to give Repentance and Remission of Sins.

§ 8. 7. What would it do but equal Devils and Men, to save the Impenitent? And even feign God to allow his rational Creatures to live in a professed VVar against himself, his Son and Spirit, his Word and Promises, and Mercies, and against themselves and one another. He that professeth impenitency for belying or wronging me, bids me look to my self, for he will do it again if he have opportunity and provocation.

§ 9. 8. How contrary is it to Thankfulness and Ingenuity, to wish to be spared in Impenitency, after the purchase and tenders of so great Mercy? What! Dare you ask leave to sin again and again, when the pardon of every sin, is the pardon of the punishment in Hell Fire?

§ 10. How unmeet then are they for Pardon and Salvation that hate Conviction and Reproof, and Rail at him as a Railer at them, that doth but call them to Repentance? That think he heinously injureth them that sheweth them by the clearest light of Evidence, that they need Repentance? What is Repentance but the actual healing of a sinful Soul? The returning Prodigal when he repenteth cometh to himself, and then cometh home to his Father: He that was lost is then found; and he that was dead is made alive: And is he meet for a Physicians help, that would not be cured, but hateth health? Is this a reasonable and thankful requital for all the wonders of Love and Mercy manifested to lost and miserable Sinners, in the great work of Mans Redemption? Shall we put Christ to be our Accuser, and to say, I came from Heaven, and condescended to deepest Humiliation, to heal these Sinners, and they would not be healed? Without their consent I was Incarnate, Obeyed, Suffered, Died, and Conquered Death by my Resurrection: Before they desired it I gave them the Gospel, and the offers of Free Grace, and sent them Messengers to beseech them to be reconciled to God: But it was not meet that I should be *Theirs*, that would not be *Mine*, and *save them* that would not consent to be saved: To make them willing, which is a Moral change, I used most undeniable Reasons, and Means as Moral Causes: I set Heaven before them in my Promises, and Hell in Threatnings: I convinced them of the Evil of Sin, and of the Misery of unconverted Sinners, and of the Vanity of all that can be set against the Mercies and Hopes which I set before them, and of all other Remedies without my Grace: And yet unless I would by Omnipotency heal them, they would not be healed. However God use the way of irresistible Omnipotency on some, and will not be frustrate in his Design of the Saving of his Elect, nor leave

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the Event of his Grace to the uncertain Determination of the Will of Man, yet those will be found unexcuseable that wilfully go on and perish, after all the sapiential moral Methods, Reasons, Perswasions, Mercies and Patience, warning and Corrections, that were used as tending to their Cure.

Chap. II. Sect. I. *The Author's Profession of his own Repentance.*

§ I. **H**E is unfit to profess himself to be called of God, to call others to Repentance, who is Impenitent himself. And what Man hath a louder Call to Repent from God and Man than I my Self? And should I not be truly willing to know my Sin that I may Repent of it, and to confess it, bewail it, and forsake it when I know it; Conscience would tell me that hereby I should aggravate it, beyond all just excuse. Alas, it hath not been so sweet, so profitable, or friendly to me, that I should take its part, or be loth to leave it. It hath been worse to me every day of my Life, than all the Enemies that ever I had in the World: And since God taught me effectually to know what Sin is, and what God, and Christ, and Grace, and the Hope of Heaven is, and to know my Self, all the Sufferings that ever I have had from Men, from Malice, from Envy, from Persecutors, from Slanderers, have been next to nothing to me, in comparison of what in Soul and Body, I suffer daily for and by my Self and Sin.

§ 2. Therefore I humbly and earnestly beg of that God that is the Hater of Sin and the Father of Lights, that he will not deny me that illuminating convincing Grace, which is needful to make me know the truth of my own Condition, nor that uprightness and tenderness of Heart, which is necessary to my true Humiliation, and that I may not forbear any true Confession, which is necessary to my exercise of Repentance, and to my Forgiveness.

It is no time for me to deny or extenuate my Sin, when I am waiting daily in pain and languishing for my final Doom, at my approaching Change, when I shall quit this transitory World, and all its Vanities for ever. If I knew nothing (of dangerous and doubtful Consequence) by my Self, yet am I not thereby justified: And how small a matter should it be to me, to be judged and acquit or praised by Men; when there is one that Judgeth me (by the final Sentence) even the Lord. The false applause and praise of Men (the miserable Hypocrites reward) addeth no Joy to those in Heaven, nor abateth the Misery of those in Hell. Whether they praise or dispraise me, they are all Dying as well as I, and in that day their thoughts perish: And who that seeth a Skull cast up, doth much care what that Man thought of him while he was alive.

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Verily, every Man at his best Estate is altogether Vanity: Cease therefore, O my Soul from Man.—

§ 3. But what! Must I, or may I therefore Repent of all that men of divers Minds call me to Repent of? How impossible is that? How foolish, and how wicked?

There are above Sixty Books written against me, in part or in the main scope: And I have written above a Hundred and twenty which must needs make work for many mens censure. And are all, or most Wise and Judicious that read and censure them?

I. The Sadduces censure me for asserting the Life to come, and the Resurrection.

II. The Somatists censure me for the asserting of the Difference of Spirits from Bodies.

III. The Antitrinitarians censure me for shewing what Evidence of Trinity in Unity God hath imprinted on the whole frame of Nature and Morality.

IV. The Church-distracting Hereticators censure me, for taking the old Controversies with the Nestorians, Eutychians and Monothelites, to be capable of easier reconciliation, and gentler handling, than it hath found by such fierce Dividers.

V. The Arrians and Socinians say I judge too hardly of them that deny the Godhead of Christ.

VI. The Arminians censure me for holding special Election and Differencing Grace.

VII. The hot Anti-Arminians censure me for holding any such free Will and Universal Redemption, as *Usher*, *Davenant*, *Preston*, and such other knowing men have defended.

VIII. The Anabaptists call me to Repentance for Writing so much for Infants Baptism.

IX. The Antinomians deeply censure me as being against Christ and free Grace, and ascribing too much to Man, to Faith, to Work and our own Righteousness, and for detecting their Errors.

X. The Separatists call me to Repentance for separating no further from the Conformists than they force us from them, and separate themselves from necessary Truth: And for perswading men to Communion with the Parish Assemblies.

XI. The Conforming Separatists call me to Repentance for not separating from all save themselves, and for knowing and owning those to be true Members of the Church of *England*, and faithful Servants of Christ, whom they eject.

XII. *Clement Writer* and the Seekers censure me, for asserting the certainty of Scripture Verity, as sealed by the Spirit by Miracles and Sanctification; and for maintaining that there is yet continued a true Ministry and true Churches.

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XIII. Mr. *Liford* and some others censure me for taking the Blasphemy of the Holy Ghost, to be fixed Infidels judging Christs Miracles to be by the Devil.

XIV. Mr. *Henry Dodwell* censurcth me for not taking the Office of Presbyters to be specified or measured and varied by the Will of the Bishop or Ordainer, and not determined by the Institution of Christ; and for not denying the Presbyters and Bishops of all the Reformed Churches to be really Ministers, and their Churches true Churches) who have not an uninterrupted Succession of Canonical Ordination by Diocesans as from the days of the Apostles, and that they commit not the Sin against the Holy Ghost by administring Sacraments as being but Lay-Men; while he holdeth such as the French to be true Ministers.

XV. The Erastians censure me for vindicating the Power of the Keys and the necessity of Ministerial Church Discipline.

XVI. The Independents blame me for being for a National Church; and some of them for being against their unnecessary Covenanting terms of Communion, and their giving too much Power to popular Votes.

XVII. The Scots Presbyterians blame me for blaming the Imposition of their Covenant; and for being so much for a superior sort of Bishops or Archbishops.

XVIII. The English Diocesan Enemies to Episcopacy, who are for setting up but one sole Bishop and Church, instead of a Thousand, or many Hundred or many Score, do fiercely accuse me, as if it were not they but I that am an Enemy to Episcopacy and the Church; for desiring that Thousands may not be ejected or kept out, and one only undertake in each Diocess an impossible task.

XIX. The factious Sectarian part of the Conformists, most fiercely and implacably accuse me, for telling them (after many years patient silence) what are the Reasons that I conform not to their imposed Oaths, Covenants, Subscriptions, Declanations and Practices: taking this for an Accusation of those that do, what I dare not do: And because I give not over Preaching. And some of their Writers expect that I falsly accuse my self of a multitude of heinous Crimes, of which they by palpable lying accuse me: As if Lying against my self were an act of Repentance, and a means of Pardon, and were not a Sin as well as to bely another.

XX. The Magistrates and Judges who have oft Imprisoned me, and seized on all my Goods and Books, and driven me out of the County (with the Bishop that forbad my Preaching) accuse me for not ceasing to Preach (when I have unanswerably proved that so to do would be persidious Sacriledge against my ordination Vow and Calling). And when I blamed the Herodians, Priests and Pharisees for seeking to destroy Christ, and forbidding his Apostles to Preach, they said, I meant the Bishops that Silenced such as I, and for this sent me to Prison, with

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a Fine of Five hundred Marks: But from the Justices of the Sessions I had the fairest dealing: For when they kept me under many Hundred Pounds Bonds to the good Behaviour (that I might be at their will to take me up as soon as they could find any pretence for an Accusation) they openly professed that they did it not as a Penalty, and had nothing against me, but took me to be Innocent; but the Times being dangerous, they were to do it for Prevention (that is, By the order of Judge *Jeffreys* and the King.)

Now if you can tell me what Confession and Repentance that must be, which must satisfie all these Accusers, or else which of all these Parties it is that I must satisfie, and how I shall know that I shall not be guilty of a multitude of gross Lyes, by the Confessions which they require and expect, you will perform a work which to me seemeth impossible.

Therefore all that I can do is, to search my Heart and Life with a sincere willingness to know the Truth, and to confess to God and Man, so much as I can find to be truly sinful, as far as Men are concerned to know it.

XXI. The Italian and Spanish sort of Papists yet deeplier accuse me than most aforesaid, for denying their pretended Vice-Christ, and confuting their Heretical and Schismatical Errors, and proving that by their Conciliar Religion, they profess open Hostility to Christian Kings and Magistrates. One of them 1661. wrote me a Challenge to make this good (having said somewhat of it in my Sermon to the Parliament) which I fully performed: But it hath ever since lain unprinted, for want of License from our Clergy, and Security from the Court.

XXII. The English Diocesan sort who are for an Universal or Foreign Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, under the Name of General Councils, and a *Collegium Pastorum* in the intervals governing *per Literas format as*, the Pope being *Principium Unitatis*, and Patriarch of the West, are deep Accusers of me for denying all such Universal and Foreign Jurisdiction, as that which is worse than the Italian sort Popery, and would perjure this Land which is oft Sworn against it: And for taking the Principles urged by *Grotius* (after his Revolt) to be the French sort of Popery, and for being against that Coalition with such on these terms; which said Foreign Jurisdiction is Pleaded for, by Archbishop *Laud*, Archbishop *Bromhall*, Bishop *Peter Guning*, Bishop *Sparrow*, Bishop *Sam. Parker*, Dr. *Heylin*, Mr. *Thorndike*, Dr. *Saywell*, Dr. *Beveridge*, and worse by some others: All which by their own express words, with a full Confutation of their opinion, I have written ready for the Press, (and disputed it at large three days with Bishop *Guning* in the presence of his chosen Witnesses Dr. *Saywell* and Dr. *Beveridge*. But Dr. *Isaac Barrow* against *Thorndike* hath irrefragably confuted all their Pretensions, notwithstanding Bishop *Parker's* vain Contradiction.

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XXIII. But the great load of the most Bloody Accusations, is heapt up against me, by the exasperated Clergy and Laity, for my calling them to Repentance for the Sins which I shall after mention; and they fetch most of their Charges from my Actions in the Wars, of which the multitude of Untruths in Matter of Fact which they virulently write and report, I had rather think come from the rash belief of one another in their exasperated Faction, than from the rupture of tumifying known-Lying Malice and Rage.

But though this vented by Dr. *Stillingfleett's* nameless Second, in the Book called, *The second Part of the Mischief of Separation*, be that which *Cantianus* maketh my Charge, I think it not seasonable here to deal with it, till I have first confest my real Faults.

## SECTION 2.

**T**Hough I have more than once Published the Confession of many of my youthful and later Sins, the renewed loud call of *Accusers* and of *Approaching Death*, provoketh me to do it again, before I call others to Repentance.

And I will mention the Sins of my Childhood for a warning to Children to avoid the like: And because the Seeds of following Sins are usually then sown.

I. Though from the first of my remembrance I liked Religious Goodness, and feared sinning since my Father had talkt to me of God and Sin and the World to come, yet it was many Years before I was humbled for my Original Sin, or felt much of the need of a Saviour, or understood the Doctrine of the Scripture, but only delighted in the Historical part: And though my Conscience troubled me for a Lie to scape Danger, it did not always keep me from it.

II. If the most pleasing Sin be the greatest, the *Delight in feigned Histories* called Romances, was my great, because my most *delightful* Sin.

III. Though my Appetite inclined only to the coursest and poorest Diet, yet therein I pleased it foolishly and sinfully to the utter ruine of my Health: which I the rather mention to bid Parents look to their Childrens Health in the quality and quantity of their Food, as they love their Life and Comforts. My delightful Diet was so much in Apples, and Pears, and Plumbs, and Cheese that possess my Stomach early with an incurable excessive Flatulency, and my Veins with remediless Obstructions, and bred so long and violent a Cough, as that brought me into present danger of a *Phthisis*: To Cure which (after three Years) taking excessively Garlick and *flos Sulphuris*, inclined me to such a great long continued Bleeding, as exhausted my Natural Heat and Strength.

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IV. Though we had great plenty of such Fruit at Home, sometime with a grudging Conscience, I ventured over the Hedge to a Neighbours Fruit. A Sin that *Austin* himself confesseth.

V. I was in a School where one or two Lads corrupted many, by obscene talk, and immodest actions: In which I did not sufficiently disown them or rebuke them[[?????]] but oft too much countenanced them in it: As also in fighting and abusing the weaker, though I was unable thereto my self.

VI. Though I was bred under many meer Readers, and Tipling or Drunken Schoolmasters and Curates, and scarcely heard a Sermon in a long time, till I was about Fourteen years of Age, or then and after none that I felt any profit by, I was not troubled at the loss, nor at my ignorance and unprofitableness.

VII When it pleased God by reading some good Books, and by my danger of Sickness, about Fifteen years of Age to waken my Conscience, I was not so obedient to that awakening Call as I should have been: But was oft tempted to my old sin of pleasing my Appetite, and had almost been drawn away to a covetous love of Gaming at Cards: But God quickly check'd it by an unusual Providence.

VIII. I was strongly possest (I think by Pride joyned with a Love of Learning) to have settled at the University till I had attained some Eminency of Learning and Titles; but God in great Mercy by Sickness and other hinderances saved me from that danger, and loss of time, and bred me up in a more humbling way, and gave me some little help of safe and pious Countrey Tutors.

IX. Weakness keeping me in expectation of Death, and God then having given me a greater sence of Mans Everlasting state, and of the differences between Faith and Hypocrisie, Holiness and a worldly state, I thirsted to win others to the same sence and state; and to that End offered my self to Ordination when I was too low for so high a Work, both in Learning, and in a methodical knowledge of Theology. And though I was naturally inclined to Logical and Metaphysical Accurateness and method, I was too ignorant in Languages and Mathematics, and divers parts of Knowledge; had I not been a continual Learner (by Books) while I was a Teacher, I had been a dishonour to the Sacred Office and Work, and do repent that I made such haste.

X. I too rashly in this Ignorance took the Judgment of the Countrey Ministers that had been my Helpers, and told me of the Lawfulness of Conformity, and believed the Books for Conformity which they perswaded me to read, for the English frame of Government and Subscriptions, before I had read impartially what was against it, or heard any speak on the other side, or had well studied the case: And so I subscribed sinfully because temerariouly: And though I was so rash that I cannot say, that I am sure that I took the Oath of Canonical Obe-

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dience (it is so long since) yet I think I did, because else I had not been Ordained. Of this I repent, and beg forgiveness for the Merits of Christ. (Though I had never been like to have been a Minister without it, but had turned to some other Calling.)

XI. Though I know not that ever I broke the Oath of Canonical Obedience[[?????]] or ever disobeyed my Ordinary, yet I changed my Judgment, of the Canons, of which I cannot repent: While I lived a year as a Schoolmaster my Ordinary commanded me nothing which I disobeyed: When I removed to a Priviledged place (*Bridgnorth*) I was only a Lecturer, and my Ordinary commanded me nothing which I did not: I did read most of the Liturgy, and kneel at the Sacrament: And my Ordinary himself Baptized without Crossing, and never commanded me to use it, or the Surplice. VVhen I came to *Kidderminster* Bishop *Thornbury* died, and Bishop *Prideaux* never gave me any Command or Prohibition, I being a meer Lecturer that never had Presentation, and the Vicar using the Liturgy and Ceremonies. But yet I repent [[?????]]at I did think worse of that sort of Diocesane Government, which puts not down the Parochial Pastors and Churches than I now do, and these Forty years have done: For I think that a *General Episcopacy* over many Churches and Bishops, is *Jure Divino* an Order succeeding Apostles and Evangelists in that part of their Office which as Ordinary must continue.

But I repent not that I renounced that sort of Diocesanes who put or keep down all the Parochial Pastors or Bishops, and Churches, making them but as Chappels, Parts of a Diocess as the lowest Church, and taking on them the sole Episcopacy of many score or hundred Churches. Nor do I repent of my unanswered Treatise of Episcopacy written against this sort.

XII. Though I ever disliked the Censorious and Separating Spirit, that run into Extreame against Conformity, yet I Repent that I did no more sharply reprove it: But because almost all the people where I came to preach that were not meer VVorldlings, but seemed to be seriously Religious, were either against Conformity, or wish'd it removed for the Divisions which it caused, I overmuch valued their Esteem and Love, because I loved their serious piety; and having sometimes (but very seldom) spoken against the Corruptions of the Church Government, specially the *Silencing of Ministers* [[?????]] I can scarce tell to this day, whether I did *well* or *ill*; *more good* by telling Men what to lament and pray against, or *more hurt* by heartening those that were apt overmuch to Censure Government and the Orders of the Church. But I beg God to forgive what was amiss.

XIII. Though I desired such a frame of Episcopal Government as Sir *Edward Deering* offered, or as since Archbishop *Usher* hath described as Primitive, yet out of the sense of the evil that *Silencers* and *Persecu-*



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tors had done, *I too much rejoiced* when the Tidings came that the *Pre-lacy was Voted down*, not knowing then what would be set up, nor well what to desire: For neither Presbytery nor Independency had been then debated, or were well understood.

XIV. VVhen I heard of the Scots Covenanting and Arming, and entering *England*, though I had not so much knowledge of their Cause, as should be a just satisfaction in so great a matter, yet I was in Heart glad of it, for the appearance that it shewed, of enabling the Lords and Commons of *England*, to appear more boldly to plead for their Liberties and Laws. But I now think that a Suspension of my thoughts, as wanting Evidence, had been better.

XV. VVhen I heard of the tumultuous manner of the Apprentices in *London*, petitioning against Bishops, I disliked it, and the means that encouraged them, and the publick reproach that was cast by the Rabble on those called *Straffordians* (such learned men as the Lord *Faulkland*, Lord *Digby*, &c.) yea, and the urging the King so much for his Execution: But I too much silenced my dislike.

XVI. VVhen I saw Mr. *Burton's Protestation Protested*, and the forwardness of many Religious unlearned Persons, to run toward Extreams against Liturgies and Forms, and their kindness to the Principles of Separation, I greatly disliked it and contradicted them, and concurred in judgment with Excellent *John Ball*, who foresaw the danger and betimes wrote against it. But I opposed it with far less Zeal than I had done, if I had then foreseen what followed.

XVII. VVhen the News came of the Irish Insurrection and Murdering 200000 we possess us with such a pannick fear of them and other Papists as scarce left our Judgments free to calm deliberate determination: But we could scarce sleep for fear of sudden assaults, when calm reason might have told us, that the danger could not be so sudden and near.

XVIII. VVhen there appeared a probability of a Civil VVar, I read the *Observer*\*, and some such others, that made the King to be *singulis Majorat Universis Minor*; and I did not for some weeks at least discern the Error of that Assertion, as I shortly after did; and when I found *Ri. Hooker lib. 1.* Going as far, and making Legislation

\* Said to be one *Parker* a lawyer.

t o b e t h e proper work of the whole Body, and Bishop *Bilson* telling us in how many cases the King might by Arms be resisted, and *Grotius de Jure Belli*, and *W. Barkley* enumerates many, and speaking yet higher, I was much the more quieted in receiving some such Principles. But consideration soon taught me to say that the people had the *Meliority*, but not the *Majority*; that is, They were to be preferred to the King *in genere Causæ finalis*, but not in point of Governing Authority: And so I forsook *Hooker's* Politicks, but not *Bilson's*, *Jewel's*, *Grotius's* &c. But I repent of that Error, though it was but short.

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XIX. No Town in *Worcester-shire* was so famous for Pageants, and pompous Shews and Revels, and Debauchery at such times as *Kidderminster*: And at the times of those Revels, the Drunkards raged in malignant fury against the Religious party: But by Gods great Mercy the Religious party there were of so loving, meek and harmless a Temper, inclined humbly to stoop to the meanest, and to do good to all, that there was no one *single person* that the Rabble had any thing against, but only in general, that they used to repeat Sermons, sing Psalms, and pray, and not be Drunk nor Swear. But the Parliament (before the King parted from them) sent an Order to be published by the Ministers for the defacing of all Images of any of the Trinity in Church Windows, or in Church-yards: And for publishing this Order the Drunken Rabble (animated by the probability of the approaching War) rose up against me, and sought in a Tumult with Clubs to kill the Church-Warden and me, (before the Order was Executed) whereupon (and upon an Accusation to the Sessions, the Articles of which I could never see or hear, or know,) I was forced for a Month to fly to *Glocester*; where I preached so much for Reformation, (in my sence of the common malignant rage of the Rabble) as I have oft since feared was too keen, and I since wish'd that I had rather at such a time of dangerous Division, preached more for peace, and to abate exasperations, than to provoke them, though by truth.

XX. I had not been long at home after my return, but the War began in that Countrey, by the Kings and Parliaments contending for the Militia; and quickly after the first Soldiers that ever I saw raised, was a Troop from *Herefordshire* raised by Sir *W. Crofts*, under his Brother *James*, Dr. *Herbert Crofts* the other Brother (now Bishop of *Hereford*) being Chaplain, and the Dr. desiring my Pulpit, I heard him Preach an Eloquent Sermon against the Parliament, as Enemies to the King and Peace: And Sir *William Crofts* and Sir *Francis Nethersoke* a little before meeting there for Consultation, Sir *Francis* spoke to me to avoid all War against the King, (seeming himself to be against the War on both sides,) telling me by his observations in the Palatinate Wars how little they that begin fore-know of the end: I had no thoughts of meddling with War, and so only gave him the hearing. but I have oft since repented that I had not drawn out more of his Reasons, to have help'd my Judgment to a Resolution; especially since I read (in Dr. *W. Bates's Vitae virorum illustrium*) his words in his *Laudatio fenebris* of Prince *Henry's* Death, when he was Orator of *Cambridge*; in which he seemeth to have been Prophetical, as *England* felt by sad Experience: I will transcribe part of his Prophecie, Page 412.

“*Nec illa modo vulnera jam olim obducta, bujus letho recruduerunt, sed alia etiam quae nec dum sentimus, & majora nobis inflictæ sunt. Ah, ne hoc FUNUS MILLE PRODUCAT FUNERA! Nec sit dies ille cum*

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“*intempestivum hujus Principis fatum, acerbiorē luctu quàm hodierno deflebi-*  
 “*mus, caecis; in malis deprensi Principem Henricum, magna voce Princi-*  
 “*pem Henricum nequicquam clamabimus! Inanis forte est his metus, Aca-*  
 “*demici, & si meaecum vestris quid valeant preces, inanis erit. Utinam eti-*  
 “*am & stultus esset. Vivit quidem Priamus, & diu vivat & diu precor.*  
 “*Firma siet ejus domus, nec unquam nutet: Post satum tamen Hectoris,*  
 “*ejusq; supremum diem cui decem annos spes nostræ innixæ sunt, Trojæ timere,*  
 “*cum nolim, reluctantē licet animo, invitus cogor.]* Read the rest; who  
 “would think but that he foresaw King *Charles* Reign, and our cala-  
 “mitous Wars in the Death of Prince *Henry*?

XXI. The Declarations, and Trumpets that proclaimed the Wars, so enraged the Rabble of Drunkards and Haters of Piety, that the most peaceable Religious Men that did but Pray and sing Psalms, and repeat the publick Sermons, were forced to fly and save their Lives and Goods from their own Neighbours, and the Kings Militia: If a Man had short Hair, and were suspected to be a Puritane (as such were called) the Rabble would cry, [*Down with the Roundheads,*] and he was in present danger. In this state of Affairs, I went to *Worcester* for safety when the Earl of *Essex*'s Army was there, and for curiosity, going to see those that lay at *Poike-bridge*, was a witness of the flight of the Parliaments Soldiers at *Wikefield*. But I repented quickly of that curiosity, and going out of my proper way.

XXII. When the first great fight was at *Edgehill*, I was at *Allcester*, and for curiosity went with Mr. *Sam. Clerke* the day after the fight, to see the place, and the Relicts of the unburied slain. But I had no call to so sad a sight.

XXIII. To return home I could not with safety of my life: To maintain my self one Week I had not Money enough with me, nor elsewhere. In this strait I went to *Coventree*, and obtruded my self on Mr. *King* one of the Ministers, and my old Acquaintance, not paying him a Groat for a Months Diet or more: And at the Months end, the Committee of *Coventree* invited me to take my Diet and Lodging at the Governours House (Col. *John Barker*) where I was offered to be Chaplain to the Garrison Regiment, which I refused, but undertook to preach once a Week to the Soldiers, but without pay. In which place God shewed me for about two years so great Mercy as I can never be sufficiently thankful for: In a quiet, and safe Habitation in the midst of a Kingdom, torn by War, and in pious converse with a great number of Excellent Learned Ministers, that retired thither for safety from the rage of Soldiers; and the Company of as pious understanding Gentlemen of the Committee as I knew living (Sir *Rich. Sheffington*, Mr. *George Abbot*, *Godfrey Bosseville*, and many more) But because it was here that I declared my self for the Parliament, I am here put to open the Case as it stood with me, in order to my re-

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quest to them that think I sinned, yet better to help me by their Counsel and Prayers, that God would convince me if I erred, and pardon my known and unknown Sin.

## SECTION 3.

I. **I** Did and do believe that the *Legislative Power* is the chief Flower of the *summa potestas*, or *true Sovereignty*: In this Bishop *Morley* himself fully confirmeth me.

2. I did believe that the *Legislative Power* was by the *Constitution* of this Kingdom, in the *King and Parliament*, and not in the *King alone*. This I believed because the words of the Laws say that they are made by the *Consent and Authority* of the *Parliament*; And the King granted it in his Answer to the 19 Propositions (in sence.) And not only *Hooker* and *Bilson*, but all the old Bishops and the old Parliaments, Judges and Lawyers commonly held it: And I was not wiser in Law than all they I know few but Bishop *Morley* that deny that the Parliament have *part* in the *power of Legislation*: And even he granteth that they are Authors of the *matter*, to which the King puts the *form*: And so he makes the Controversie like that of *Aristotle* and *Galen*, about Generation, whether the *form* be only *à semine ma[[?????]]is vel utriusq;*: As if the very *Matter cum dispositione receptiva* were not an Essential constitutive part.

But now *King and Parliament* have by a *Law* of the *Rights and Liberties of the Subjects*, determined the Case.

3. I did and do believe that it is commonly agreed that Parliaments have five Eminent Relations. 1. They are *part of the Legislative power* by the *Constitution* of the Kingdoms. 2. They are the *Kings Supream Council*. 3. They are the *Kings Supream Court of Judicature* (by the Lords.) 4. They *Represent the Nation as subject* to the King. 5. They are the *Nations Representatives so far as they are Free*: For had they not *Liberties and Properties* they were meer Slaves.

1. As *Subjects* they are to *obey*. 2. As *Supream Council* they are to be the *chief Advisers*. 3. As the *Supream Court*, the *King is finally* to exercise *Judicature by them*. 4. As they *represent the people as far as they are Freeman* and not Slaves, they are to *secure* their reserved and natural *Liberties and Properties* (in their Lives, Limbs, Wives, Children and Acquisitions,) which are not to be taken from them. but by *Consent* or *Forseiture*. 5. Their *Legislative power* they have not (as *Hooker* and many others think by *Nature*, but by that *Fundamental Contract* which made the form of Government: For though *Government* be of *God* in the *Genus*, and as empowered and obliged primarily to promote obedience to Gods own Laws; yet it is *of Man* by *Contract*, that the *Persons* or *Families*, or *Number and Order* of Rulers be constituted, and restraint put on the Invasion of Propriety.

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4. I did and do believe *Grotius*, *Lawson*, and other Writers of Politics, who agree, that the *bare Title of Supream* given to a King, is no proof that the whole Sovereignty (*summa potestas*) or *Legislation* in particular, is in *him alone*, and not at all in the Senate or Parliament; for it is for Unity sake, *Honourary*, not excluding, but implying the Parliaments part, and also that he is to exercise his Judicatures by the Legal way of his Courts, Judges and Magistrates.

5. I did and do believe that the King is *singulis & universis subditis major quoad Fus regendi*: and that the people *quâ talis* have no power of publick Government, but that he is not *Universis melior*: And that *mediority* maketh the *final Cause*: And that *salus populi*, or *bonum publicum* is the *Essentiating End* or *terminus* of Humane Government: And it is no Government (save equivocally) which is *destructive* of this *End*.

6. I believe that the same God that Instituted Political Government, did also make, 1. Self-Government. 2. Paternal Government. 3. Marital Government. 4. And Pastoral Church Government: And that no King hath any Right to null any of these, or alter them in Essentials or Integrals; but only to *over rule them*.

7. I believe that all Power is of God, and no King hath any but what God hath given him: And that God hath given none against himself, or any of his own Laws: And all Laws are nullities that are against them. And are not Acts of Authority but Usurpation, (as *Hooker* saith.)

8. But yet he that acteth in one thing without and against Authority, is to be obeyed in other things where he hath Authority, and not resisted by Arms in every Usurpation, yea the Honour of his Office and true Power is to be preserved, while we refuse obedience to his sinful Usurpation.

9. *Grotius* and common reason convinced me that where the *summa potestas* is in King and *Senate*, each part hath right to defend its own true Part therein: It can be no part in Sovereignty which is meerly at the Will and Mercy of the other part.

10. I did and do believe that the Constitution fixing the chief power in King and Parliament united as one Politick Person; it supposeth that they must not be divided: And that neither part hath power against the other as such: (The King hath power over them as *Subjects*, but not as *Legislators* or *exempted Proprietors*.) So that separating them by fixed opposition is dissolving the Constitution: As separating Soul and Body, Husband and Wife, dissolve Man and Matrimony.

11. Therefore I did and do believe that neither King nor Parliament had any right, to raise an *Offensive War* against each other! None but unavoidably defensive could be lawful. Therefore the first assailant was the culpable beginner.

12. I did believe that neither the King nor the Parliament as such are

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questionable by Law, having no superior Judicature to try them. And that the person of the King is inviolable, there being no Power or Law to punish him, and therefore the Law saith, The King can do no wrong, but it layeth all the blame on the Subjects, who are responsible for their actions.

13. I did and do believe that as every Man hath a power of private Self-defence against a Murderer or Thief, so every Kingdom hath a power or right of publick Self-defence, against Forreign or Home bred Enemies.

14. But I believe that this power belongeth not to a wronged or persecuted party, but only to the Body of the Kingdom: Because their good is not the *bonum publicum*, and a Civil War would do more hurt than their death or ruin. Nor may a Kingdom defend all its Rights, or revenge all its injuries by a Civil War, which will do more hurt than their wrongs: But where the destruction of the Kingdom is apparently endeavoured, or the change of their Constitution, or a hurt greater than a Civil War, a Self-defence is lawful and necessary.

15. I believe *Grotius* and all Politicks, that *Regere & perdere rempublicam* are inconsistent, and that whoever declareth his purpose to destroy the Kingdom, can be no King of it: For the *terminus* is essential to his relation. If it be Murder not to defend the Life of a Brother against the assault of a Murdering Robber, it is far worse not to do our Duty to save a Kingdom against publick Murderers, and Destroyers.

16. If a King profess himself a Papist according to the true definition, he taketh Approved General Councils for the Rule of his Religion: And the Laterane Council *sub Innoc.* 3. bindeth all Temporal Lords on pain of Excommunication, and Deposition to exterminate all that deny Transubstantiation and others called Hereticks from their Dominions, if they are able; and other Counsels and Popes have the like. And it must be supposed that he that professeth himself so bound in Conscience, is resolved as soon as he can to do it. And he that imposeth on them a false Religion, and faith, *Turn or Die*, professeth to destroy or damn them. Yet may he be endured if he disclaim such Councils, or promise Liberty, till Evidence of perilous attempts nullifie that promise: But if he put the Nation under the power of Soldiers Judges, Magistrates of the same profession, it must be supposed that he cannot save the Kingdom from them, or that all they will be neglecters of their own Religion: Or if he put himself into the power of an Army of that Religion, he puts the Nation into their power, though he were a Protestant himself: For he is utterly unable to resist their power when Religion engageth their deluded Consciences to destroy us: And though causless fears will not warrant defensive Arms, rational well-grounded fears will: For when Men are dead it is too late.

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17. But it followeth not that therefore a Papist may be resisted in *France, Spain, Portugal*, or any Papist Kingdom; nor yet a Heathen by persecuted Christians, as in the Roman Empire. Because their Religion bindeth none of these to exterminate or destroy their own Kingdoms, as being of the same Religion as themselves. And the Christians then, and Protestants there now are not the Kingdom, but a Party: Therefore King and Parliament have here newly enacted for the setting of this Crown, that no Papist may be here King or Regent Queen: For though (as in the Pond Judge *Hale* tells us) two Pikes devoured all the other great store of Fish, and survived only themselves) God never authorized one Man to damn or murder a whole Kingdom.

18. The Interest of the King (his Honour, Safety and Power) and the Interest of the People (their common safety and welfare) are distinct, but must not be opposite. The King is for the Kingdom *finaliter* under God's Glory, though the People are as Subjects to obey the King, it is to that end, the common good.

19. In application, I did believe that both King and Parliament sinfully began and managed this War. For if either or both were wronged, so much was by them to be endured, as was not worse than a Civil War. I believe that the Parliament did very ill, in being emboldened by the Scots Army to provoke the King beyond the degree of meer necessity. And that it was ill done of those that secretly or openly encouraged the Apprentices tumultuous way of Petitioning, to move any Parliament Men from following their Judgments; and in permitting the gross Scorns and Abuse of the Bishops and Liturgy. And I believe that after they did yet worse, in taking and imposing the Scots Covenant to procure their help.

20. I did and do believe that yet they did but their Duty, in seeking to redress the dangerous Abuses of Ministerial Governours, and bringing the Instruments by Legal tryal to Punishment: For what purpose else are they a Judicature? Subjects are all under the Law. And the common Judges are Sworn to do Justice, though the King's Seal should be sent to Prohibit them.

21. I did believe that the King did ill to forsake them, and on pretence of the Tumults to gather an Army in *Yorkshire, Nottingham and Shrewsbury*, and that whose Commissions soever were first dated, his Armed Collection of Men was first raised: But yet that the beginning was by such degrees of mutual Provocation, that to this day it is hard to say, who began.

22. I had read the King's Letter in *Spain* to the Pope, promising to venture Crown and Life for the Union of the Christian Churches, including the Roman: which is recorded in Mr. *Chesne* the King of *France* his Geographer, and in *Prin* and *Rushworth*. And whether it be true or not that the Scots say in a Book called *Truths Manifest*, that K. *Charles*

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then in *Scotland* had possession of their *Broad Seal*, and put that Seal to a Commission for the Irish Insurrection, I am past doubt that K. *Ch.* II. granted a Commission to *Monk, Manchester* and others, to try the Marquis of *Antrim's* Plea, by which it was proved and determined that he had the K. *Ch.* I's Commission. Though I believe that the King that caused them to rise, allowed them not to Murder all the Protestants: Put whom else were they to rise against but the Protestants? And must they rise against them and not kill them? And was not the Murderous temper and use of the Irish well known?

23. I know that the Irish a year before *Edgehill* Fight, on that day Oct. 23. 1641. were to have surprized *Dublin*: And by the full Account of Dr. *Henry Jones* since Bishop, and Sir *John Temple*, and the Earl of *Orery*, Murdered Two hundred Thousand, and boasted that they did it by the King's Commission: and that when they had done there, they would come hither. Though I believed them not, I knew that Two hundred Thousand men dead are past Pleading their own Cause or defending their Country: It is easie to Plead the justness of their Cause against dead Men that cannot contradict them. *Solitudinem faciunt, & Pacem vocant.* There is no resisting Murderers in the Grave: And I thought that if the King put in Arms and Power, the English Papists of the same Religion, bound to destroy us, his own good meaning could not preserve himself or us. And I knew that the King stopt the Carriage-Horses that were sent by the Parliament to relieve *Ireland*, and took them for his own Service, and many ways delayed their Relief. Though he offered to go over himself, the Parliament fearing he would go to Head the Irish.

24. The King had before assaulted the Parliament-House in Person, with Armed Men, to have surprized Five Members and the Lord *Kimbolton* whom he accused: And after frustration confest it a Breach of their Privileges.

25. The Money sent *Dolbier* to buy German Horses, and other actions, and the Confessions of Sir *Jacob Astley*, Sir *John Conniers*, Sir *Fulke Haukes* (my Mother-in-laws Brother) *Chidley*, and the other Commanders of the English Army that were to have been drawn up to *London*, together with the King's putting a Guarding Regiment on them, did put me past all doubt that they were devoted to violence, had they not defended themselves: And no vain Talk to the contrary can make me doubt of it to this day. So that though I think they had done more prudently to avoid War, had they spared *Strafford* and *Laud* to please the King, yet I am fully satisfied that afterward they were necessitated to save themselves from designed Force.

26. I am certain that two things filled the Parliaments Armies. And both of grand Importance. 1. That all over the Kingdom, save here and there a sober Gentleman, and a formal Clergyman, the Religious



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Party and all that loved them, were generally for the Parliament (alienated from the Persecutors and Silencers): And the Profane Party in all Countries (Debaucht Gentlemen, Malignant Haters of Piety, the Rabble of Drunkards, Blasphemers) were generally against the Parliament. And religious People were loth to herd with such: And could hardly believe that in so great a Cause God would reveal the Truth to all his Enemies, the sensual Rabble, and hide it from the generality of them that fear him: And especially that in most Countries the Malignants forced away the Religious, and either rose against them themselves, or set the King's Soldiers to Plunder and Destroy them. My own Father living 18 Miles from me was Plundered by the King's Soldiers, though he never scrupled Conformity, nor ever medled against the King, and was thrice laid in Prison, and had still lain there, had not Sir *Fulke Haukes* his Brother in Law been by Prince *Rupert* made Governour of *Shrewsbury*, and this for nothing. And after laid in again till the Town was taken. This last was only because when they made him Collector for the King, he refused to distrein of those that paid not (fearing lest he should be put to repay it).

And almost all the Religious People of *Kederminster* were forced to fly and leave their Houses and Trades to their undoing, to save their Lives, though they had never medled with Wars. And the men that had no maintenance of their own, were forced to become Garison-Soldiers in *Coventry*, to avoid Famine.

The second thing, and the main that drove men to the Parliament Garisons and Armies, was the Irish Murders, with the Papists Power with the King: They thought that it must be an unusual War, that should Kill Two hundred Thousand: As dreadful as it was, I do believe that all the Wars of *England* Kill'd not Fifty thousand, nor near it. And though Fear which is a Tyrant, overcame partly their Discretion, yet this joyned with the Experience of that which forced them from home, was too strong a tryal for most to overcome.

And it confirmed their Suspition when the Queen brought in a Posh Army under General *King*, and the Earl of *Newcastle's* Army had so great a number of Papists, and after the Earl of *Glamorgan* was authorized to have brought over an Army of Irish Papists, and the English Regiments that fought there against them, had been called hither to fight against the Parliament, and were routed at *Nantwich*.

No wonder if men thought that *England* would have been made too like to *Ireland* whether the King would or not, had such Armies Conquered.

27. The Parliament Protested to be for the King, and not against his Person, or Legal Power or Prerogative, but only *against his Illegal Will*, to defend themselves and the Kingdom, from an unlawful Army, and to bring Delinquents to Legal Tryal and Punishment: And they accor-

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dingly gave out all their Commissions; till the Cause was changed by *Fairfax's* Commission, that left out the King. And the Soldiers of the Garrison where I was, commonly believed this to be their Obligation, and the true Case of the War, *viz. Offensive against armed Delinquents* as the *Sheriff* may raise the *Posse Comitatus*), and *Defensive against the Kings illegal Will, and Way.*

28. I did believe that if the King by such an Army as he had, should Conquer the Parliament, the Legal and all Probable Security of the Nation, for Life Property, Liberty and Religion, was in all likelihood gone; If it should lye on the King's *Will* only, thereby it were gone: For what then were our Constitution, or Parliaments for; and what differ we from Slaves? And were he *willing* (and those with him that meant well) he would not be *able* to Master such an Army.

29. I did believe that if the Parliament were certainly more faulty than they were, the Kingdoms Security was not therefore to be forsaken by the Subjects; nor all Parliaments and Government to be left to the Will of the King, who had for so many years interrupted Parliaments, and dissolved them still in Displeasure, and had raised Taxes called Ship-money by himself without them, and on the same account might command all the rest: Therefore I owned not any of the discerned Miscarriages of the Parliament, but only thought I was bound to defend the common Good and Safety, as it was the End of Government. My judgment yet is, That if the King of *England* wrongfully begin a War against *France*, the Subjects ought by Arms to help him, not owning his wrong Cause, but to save the Kingdom, which would be lost and enslaved if he were Conquered. So the fault of the Parliament could not disoblige the People from labouring to secure the Constitution of the Kingdom, and therein their Posterities, Properties, Liberties and Safety. And the bare Promise of a King is no such Security.

30. I did believe that if there were a Controversie in these Cases, the Supream Council and Judicature of the Kingdom, had the most satisfying Power of Determination to particular Persons: As the Judgment of a General Council is preferable to any lower Judges, and the Judgment of the College of Physicians is more authoritative than of a single Dr. And the Judgment of the University is more than of the Vice-Chancellors or one Man. And tho yet it may fall out that the Dissenter may be in the right, the unlearned that cannot confidently judge, are more excuseable for not resisting the higher Judges.

31. Obj. *By this Rule, whatever wrong a Parliament shall do to the King, we must all take their part against him: And if they betray their Trust, we must bear them out in their Treachery.*

Ans. 1. Distinguish between a wrong to the King, and the betraying of the *Bonum Publicum*, the common Safety and the Constitution.

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2. And between a Case controvertible, and a Case clear and certain. And so I answer, 1. If a Parliament wrong the King, we must not joyn with them in wronging him; nor own their wrong; nor defend the Persons from legal Justice. He might have dissolved them and called another, had he not past a Law to the contrary. He may Impeach any Members at their own Bar: But at what Judicature shall he try the highest Judicature it self.

2. And if the Representative would treacherously destroy the Constitution, and yield to enslave them, or to give up the Kingdom to the Pope or any Foreign Power, the Case being past Controversie, the People have not thereby lost the natural Power of Self-defence: But may as lawfully choose more trusty Representatives, and fight for Self defence against such Traitors, as against a Tyrant.

3. But the *species* of the Constitution, (in King and Parliament) must still be maintained, and the *Salus Populi* without respect to which there is no Government. And no personal Faults can forfeit that.

32. Therefore I ever thought, as it was a dissolution of the Constitution for the King to put down Parliaments, and pretend (as Bishop *Morley* blindly pleadeth) to the sole Power of Legislation; so it is Treason for a Parliament to put down Monarchy, and to assume the sole Legislative Power; As the Rump did when they pretended to settle a Government without a King or House of Lords.

If either King or Parliament personal should forfeit their Power, the Kingdom doth not thereby forfeit their right in the constituted Form of Government, by a King and Parliament.

#### SECTION 4.

I Have interposed this account of the Principles on which I acted; I will next add an account of my Actions hereupon, and then return to the Confession of my own Sins as far as I know them.

1. Refusing a Chaplain's Commission, I continued about two Years or more in *Coventry*, as a Lecturer to the Garison and City, in quietness, save that we daily heard of all the dismal Wars abroad. Only twice I went out with them, 1. To take in *Tamworth* Castle that cost no Blood, 2. And to besiege *Banbury* Castle, whose Soldiers rob'd *Warwickshire*, and the Travellers and Carriers on *London* Road. But thence we were raised and driven home with some loss.

Also for two or three Months the care of my Native Country and of my Father drew me into *Shropshire*, with some that went to settle a Garison at *Wem*: There and at *Longford* House I staid till my Father was delivered from Imprisonment by Exchange, for a short time.

2. All that ever I conversed with, did all this while profess to own the King, and only to separate him from an Army of Delinquents, and

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to reunite him and his Parliament: And we thought all the Armies had intended no worse. But when *Naseby* Fight was past, having heard that the King was left out of the New Commissions, I went to see the Field where the Fight was, and the Army: And there accosted me some sober honest Captains, and told me that their Army was corrupted by the fault of the Ministers, that had all forsaken them, being weary of the Labour, and impatient of the Sectaries in the Army, and so they were all left to the Preaching of their own Officers and Souldiers, and a few Chaplains of their own Mind and Choice. And that the bold Leaders began already to say, that God hath committed the safety of the Nation to their trust; And what were the Lords and Knights in *William* the Conqueror's time, but his Colonels and Captains? In a word, I understood by them that they had a purpose to set up themselves, and to overturn the Government of Church and [?????]. This so surprized me, that whereas these Captains intreated [?????] among them, and got Col. *Whalley* (who then seemed of their [?????]) to invite me to his Regiment, I took but one days time to answer them. And I opened the sad Case that we were all like to be in, to an Assembly of Ministers in *Coventry*, whom I gathered to counsel me, and told them what I found, and that the Land was now like to fall into their hands: and that though I thought it was too late, I was inclined to venture my life among them in seeking to reclaim them. The Ministers (Dr. *Bryan*, Dr. *Grew*, Mr. *King*, Mr. *Brumskill*, Mr. *Morton*, and others seeing my inclination gave their consent: But the Committee (after consent) refusing, I was forced to tell them what I saw and heard in the Army, and what Danger the Kingdom was in, and so to go away against their will: But Col. *W. Puresoy* a Confident of *Cromwell's*, threatened me for such words, and I imagine sent *Cromwell* word that Night: For the next Morning I was met with scorn, and I suppose all known to *Cromwell* that I had said: and *Cromwell* would never after allow me any opportunity, beyond the Regiment that I joyned to: And there I spent near two years in Labours and Disputings against well-meaning perverted Sectaries, if it had been possible to have turned them from what they after did. But my capacity was narrow (though there I prevailed with most). And I got Mr. *Cook* (since of *Chester*, that suffered much for the King, and after by the King) a great Enemy to Sects and Seditious, to come and help me; but they wearied him away: And besides Mr. *Bowles*, I know none but perverse Sectaries, (part Arminians, but most Antinomians or worse) left to be their Teachers.

I told the Parliament Men what the Army would do, and warned them to prepare: But it was too late: *Cromwell* and his Confederates did all, and made a Stale of *Fairfax's* Name; and *Vane* and *Haslerigge* and their Friends in Parliament, disbanded all the sober Souldiers in Garisons and Bragades that would have resisted them; and so put the

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Power of King, Parliament and Kingdom into their hands, and some of them repented when it was too late.

In *Feb.* 1656/7. they began their Conspiracy against the Parliament in a Meeting at *Nottingham*, and that very day God separated me from them by Bleeding 120 Ounces at the Nose (at *Milborne* in *Derbyshire*) when else I had (in vain) hazarded my life against them at *Triploe Heath*, by drawing from them as many as I could. But Sir *Edward Hatley* and other Officers that did it, and drew off about Five thousand did but strengthen them. For *Cromwell* fill'd up their places with Sectaries and Soldiers that had served the King before, and was stronger than before, as having none to distrust.

To tell what they did after against the Eleven Members, and then against the Majority of the Parliament, and then against the King, and then against the Rump, and then against the Ministry, and how *Cromwell* contrived himself into the Supremacy, would be to write the History of that time, and to Epitomize *Whitlock*.

This much I thought necessary to premise to my own review of my actions, and for them that call me to Repentance, who while they falsly judge of the History, can be no true Judges of the Application. I proceed therefore to the exercise of Repentance as far as I can know.

## SECTION 5.

XXIV. **I** Greatly repent that I at *Coventry* took the Scots Covenant, for the many Reasons which I shall hereafter rehearse. And that once I gave it to one Man, a Papist Physition who pretended to be converted, and desired me to give it him: But suspecting his Hypocrisie, I never gave it more, but kept I think Thousands from taking it in *Worcestershire* and elsewhere. I thought at first that it was intended only as a Test to the Garisons and Armies, and knew not that it would after be made a dividing test for the Magistracy, and Ministry through the Land: which yet by the tenour of it, I might have understood. But I repent not that I neither sware nor subscribed that no man that ever took it, is obliged by it to that part which is good and necessary: Perjury is no jesting Matter.

XXV. I more repent that I once publicly defended it against a Writing of Sir *Francis Nethersole*, which he wrote against Mr. *Vines*, who had Preached for it. And that I did not more impartially consult with Sir *Francis*, and hear all that he had to say against it: For he was near us, and I Preacht to him once at *Kenelworth-Castle*, where as a Prisoner he was liker the Master of that Pleasant Seat (under Colonel *Needham*) for he seemed purposely to force the Committee to Imprison him, by constant provoking them, who would fain have let him alone: But by that means he saved House-keeping, and scaped both Plundering

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and Sequestering on both Sides, and secured his Estate, and his Person in a place of freedom and delight by Water and Land.

XXVI. And though I thought that a Parliament's Judgment was above all Lawyers, yet I repent that I had not more diligently consulted Lawyers on the other side: Though indeed I knew not well where to find them, the Lawyers of my Acquaintance being for the Parliament.

XXVII. And whereas I then thought that *Neutrality* was a *heinous Sin*, to stand by in the Danger of the Land; I now *repent of that Opinion*; considering that in a case of Blood, Men should very clearly be resolved before they venture on either side.

XXVIII. And I repent that I was by Ignorance, in too much fear of Religion by the danger of Arminianism; and thought too hardly of the *Laudian party on that account*: For though I am no Arminian, I have fully proved in my *Catholick Theology*, that the difference is more verbal and small, than the Zealots of either side do imagine: which Book is yet answered by none.

XXIX. Accordingly, I at *Coventry* engaged in a dispute against Mr. *Cradock*, and Mr. *Diamond*, to prove *Remission of Sin* (not only Conditional but Actual) to be an *Immediate effect* of Christ's Death, and pleaded for it, *Heb. 1. 3.* and *Rom. 8. 32.* (and against Universal Redemption) which I since perceive I misunderstood and abused.

XXX. I repent that I sooner enquired not into the danger that the Land was in by *Cromwell* and his Sectaries: And I repent that when his fundamental Troop at *Cambridge* (which after made Commanders headed his Army) wrote to me with Subscribed Names to be their Pastor, I refused and rejected the offer to their offence, telling them that I was neither for a Military Church nor an Independent popular Church; Had I gone to them then, what might I have prevented?

XXXI. Though I am not able to see, that I did not my Duty (my most Self-denying and costly Duty) in taking the defence of the Nation, Religion, King and Parliament (to be reduced to Unity) to be my necessary Employment (while I owned not their Miscarriages) yet knowing the frailty of my understanding, I daily beg of God, that if I was mistaken he will make me know it (for which I have long Prayed); and that he will pardon my Sins, which I would fain know, and fain repent of, and publicly confess if I could know them; but dare not take the greatest Duty of my life to be my Sin.

XXXII. I am in great doubt how far I did well or ill in my opposition to *Cromwell* and his Army at last. I am satisfied that it was my duty to disown, and as I did, to oppose their Rebellion and other Sin: But there were many honest Pious men among them: And when God chooseth the Executioners of his Justice as he pleaseth, I am oft in doubt whether I should not have been more Passive and Silent than I was; Though not as *Jeremy* to *Nebuchadnezzar*, to perswade men to submit:

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Yet to have forborn some sharp publick Preaching and Writing against them, too late, when they set themselves to promote Piety to ingratiate their Usurpation. To disturb Possessors needeth a clear Call, when for what end soever they do that good, which men of better title will destroy.

XXXIII. When they commanded days of Prayer and Thanksgiving for their Wars in *Scotland*, &c. And when they imposed the *ENGAGEMENT to be true to the Commonwealth as it was established without a King, and House of Lords*, I repent not that I refused it, and wrote and preach'd against it: But I doubt whether I did well in overdoing herein: And had not waited more silently on God's Providence, till he had cleared my way.

XXXIV. I repented oft that I wrote the Book called Aphorisms of Justification and the Covenant: Not but that I think it sound Doctrine and useful: But it being my first, is defective in Method and in some words which should have been more clearly and cautelously exprest: And in my personal opposition to Dr. *Owen's* Errours, I should have considered what a temptation it would prove to the Passions of such a man (who yet grew more humble and orthodox before he died).

XXXV. Though my Conscience telleth me that the very many Books which I after wrote, were for the propagating and defending of needful Truth, and that I never trusted to any thing but Truth and Evidence for Victory, yet I fear lest in many of them there be the faultiness of some imprudent provoking words, and that I did not always sufficiently consider what mistaking men cannot bear, as well as what is congruous to the Matter and Cause. I still found it difficult to avoid too much Keeness, and yet not to wrong the Cause by dull pretence of Lenity.

XXXVI. Two things concurred to cause me to write my Political Aphorisms or Holy Common-wealth, of which I afterward repented.

1. *James Harrington* wrote his *Oceana* for a loose Popular Government, and Sir *H. Vane* was contriving another for a Military and Phanatick Democracy; both which I saw were utterly inconsistent with the Obligations, Peace and Safety of the Land.

2. Sir *Francis Nethersole* sent purposely to me a Messenger to desire me to go to *London* to *Cromwell*, and perswade him to resign the Government to King *Ch. II.* I answered him that *Cromwell* had been tryed therein by many, but would not so easily resign what he had got. He once admitted me to his Discourse, and before the Lord *Broghil*, *Lambert* and *Thurloe*, I urged him to tell us, what the People of *England* had done to forfeit their right to the Enjoyment of their ancient constituted Government, which they professed to be for and still desired? And all the answer that I could have was, that God had changed it by his Providence, the passages of which he talkt over near two hours, till

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*Lambert* took on him to be asleep: for we must not interrupt him. Then Sir *Francis* sent me his Printed Books and some Papers, to have disputed over all the Case of the War: And not knowing how many such I might be put to answer, I thought best, in Print to tell him on what Grounds and Principles I had gone, not undertaking that I had not mistaken, but to desire him if I had erred to shew it by answering my Reasons there given. But before I could have his Answer, the distracted Armies had overturned all the present Government.

I repented Writing that Book, 1. Because it came out unseasonably too late.

2. Because in opposition to *Harrington*, I had pleaded for Monarchy, with some excess, and I wisht that I had not medled with Government, but left all to the Providence of God.

3. Because it did occasion more hurt than good: so that it became the common Theme of ambitious young Preachers, especially at Court, before K. *Ch.* II. as the way to Preferment, to talk against *The Holy Commonwealth*, falsely perswading men that by a *Commonwealth* I meant Democracy or Popular Government, which the Book was purposely written against. So that when the *Oxford* University burnt that Book (with Dr. *Whitby's* excellent *Reconciler*, and some others) though I expostulated with the Vice-Chancellor concerning its Principles, I told them I consented that the Book was burnt: though I told them not why, as now I do.

XXXVII. Though both Nature and Grace inclined me to hate Lying, and specially in Writers and Preachers, and I honoured *Jul. Caes. Scaliger* the more, because his Son *Joseph* tells us how vehemently he hated a Lie, so that he could not be reconciled to a Liar, yet I confess that my *impatience herein* was faulty. It was long before I well perceived that the Father of Lies, doth Govern his Kingdom (most of the World) by meer Lying: Call it *Errour*, or *Mistake*, or *Falshood*, or what you will, all signifieth the same thing: It is delivering *Falshood* for *Truth*. Christ had told us that the Devil is the Father of Lies, and when he speaketh a Lie, he speaketh his own. Deceit is by Lying, and by this he ruleth his World. As God's Image consisteth in Life, Light and Love, the Devil's Image is Hatred. Falshood and Hurtfulness or Murder, *Joh. 8* But alas to take this for some strange thing, and to be *over-impatient* with Liars, was my fault, when now I find it is but the very state of corrupt unrenewed Nature: And *Pride* the Father, and *Ignorance* the Mother, make Kingdoms, Cities and Persons like a rotting Carkass that swarms with Maggots. You that read Histories, read with Judgment and due Suspicion; for the common corrupt Nature is a lying Nature: And it is not about Religion only; but the Fool rageth and is confident in all his Errours. O what abundance of Lying Books



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are Shops and Libraries fill'd with, even in History and Theology! What abundance of false Counsels do Physicians give! what abundance of false accusations doth Envy and Malice vend? What abundance of false Doctrines and Censures doth ignorant Sectarian Zeal foment? How many Lies for one Truth is carried for News, or for Slander about the Streets? And how few scruple receiving and reporting them, & how fewer rebuke them? It's useful for the World to know how common this Malady is, but it was almost in despair that I lately wrote a Book against it, of *pretended Knowledge* and Love) I blame not my self for hating it, but being too *impatient* with it; especially in *Books* and *Preachers*, as if it had been a strange thing.

XXXVIII. When I wrote my five Disputations of Church Government, I too hastily mis translated some words of *Ignatius*, and though I then owned Apostolick Successors in the continued part of their Work, I did not so fully as now understand, how Christ by Institution then founded a National Church, nor what a National Church was; nor how that which was *ultimum in executione* (a Christian Sovereignty) was *primum in intentione*, to which bare Preaching was preparatory.

XXXIX. When I wrote my Treatise of Episcopacy, I Calculated it to the Laudian Faction then prevalent, that called it self, the *Church of England*; and though I distinguished them that put down all the Parochial Pastors and Churches, and turned them all into meer Curates and Chappels (or *partes Ecclesiarum infimarum*) and so put down hundreds of Bishops and Churches under pretence of magnifying One; from the old Reformed Church of *England* that put not down these, but onely sinfully fettered them, yet I did not so largely open the difference as I ought, which gave Mr. *Lobb* occasion to write confidently for Separation.

XL. When my Books against Conformity had irritated Dr. *Stillington* to make me an instance of mischievous Separation (who had constantly heard and communicated with my Parish Churches, and for my private or occasional Preaching had the Bishops Licence approved under the hands of two the greatest Lawyers of *England* (the Lord Chief Justice *Sanders*, and the now Lord Chief Justice *Polix*[[?????]]*en*) I doubt that I too provokingly took the advantage of his temerity, and confuted him in too provoking terms, not considering enough that a Man of great Learning, Labour, and Merit, and Name, hath a great interest of Reputation which he would not be insensible of: And if it were true as many without proof report, that his exasperation engaged first Mr. *Morrice*, and after the second Author of the Mischief of Separation (whose writing against me is the transcript of the Character given by Christ, *John* 8. 44.) yet I honour the Reading, Learning, Labour and great Worth of Dr. *Stillington*, now Bishop of *Worcester*, and what ever hand he had in it, I unfeignedly forgive him.

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XLI. And in defence of the Nonconformists against the false accusation of Shism laid on them by the Imposing Schismatics, I doubt, I was too keen in confuting Mr. *Sherlocke*; I found it hard to discern whether the defence of truth and slandered suffering Servants of Christ, or not exasperating false Accusers should command my style.

XLII. What other Errors there are or have been in my Life or Writings, I daily beg of God to discover to me and pardon: For I never did any thing which might not and ought not to have been done better. Particularly I beg pardon for too frequent hastiness and harshness of Speech, to my nearest Domesticks, from whom I never differed one moment in point of Interest or Love; but had too often sour over-hasty provoking words on trifling occasions.

XLIII. But all forementioned set together lye not half so heavy on my Soul, as my inward *Deficiency* and *Omission*; That having had so many Convictions of the truth of Scripture, and the certainty of the Life to come, and can scarce think of any thing but death and the future state, it is so sure and near, and have read, and heard, and written so much of the Love of God and of Heaven as I have done, it shameth, it grieveth me, it maketh me even abhor and loath my self, that I usually reach little higher than pacifick, quieting dull Affections, and that Faith, and Hope, and Love, do not keep me in more delightful thoughts of God and my Redeemer, and in a more joyful longing to be with Christ and all the Blessed; and that ever I should have a cold and common thought of God and things so high and holy, and that the prospect of my change, and the coming of Christ, is not a continual Feast to my Soul, and setteth me not more above the concerns of this vile and corruptible Flesh, and above all impatience of pain, and above the fears of Death and Corruption. O what a contradiction is there between that Head and Tongue that professeth to believe what I profess, of God, of Christ, of Endless Glory, and that Heart that no more rejoiceth in that Belief and Hope, but by languor and decay of Nature, (and doubtless great imperfection of Faith) is kept from that joy that such believing in reason should produce, and goeth towards Heaven with so many pawses of fear or dulness, and so little of that Heavenly delight, which I have long been seeking of God, and which my low and weak condition needeth.

Lord, all my sins are known to thee, let me never be unwilling to know them, nor let them be so unknown to me as to invalidate my Repentance, or frustrate my hope of pardon through Christ.

Chap. III. *The Reasons why I cannot without known gross Lying, profess such Repentance as Dr. Stillingfleet's Anonymus Second, and many such others call for, or expect.*

§ I. **A**S it is no less sin to Murder ones self, than to Murder another, so it is no less to belie ones self than to belie another. Yea it is the greater in that it is like to be more against knowledge, we being better acquainted with our own thoughts and deeds than with other Mens: And it would be the greater sin in me, because that the Father of Lies purposely designeth his calumnies, to cause hatred in many, and to frustrate all my Writings both to the Church and to particular Souls.

§ 2. Why I cannot Repent of my Writings against the Sadduers or Brutists, the Antitrinitarians, the Somatists, the Quakers, the Anabaptists, the Antinominians, the Papists, the Separating Dividers, and the rest before-mentioned, the Books that I have written against them express my Reasons. But no Men call me to it by such an agreeing number of voices as the late Protestant Conformists of that fiercer sort who appropriate to themselves the Name of the Episcopal Church of *England*, especially those that are for a Forreign or Universal Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction. And no Man hath done it with such virulent malice as the *Anonymus* Author of the Book called, *The Second part of the Unreasonableness of Separation* as seconding Dr. *Stillingfleet*. Whose Libel I shall now peruse, and return the Reasons why I cannot Repent of all that he reciteth by way of Accusation.

§ 3. I. In his Preface, *That my Opinions and Practices have been condemned by the generality of Christians from the most Primitive and Purest Times of the Church. Ans.* To which I appeal, and can get no answer.

§ 4. II. I must first tell the Reader that should I stay to confute all the falsification of my words which he pretendeth to recite, it would make an unsavoury, tedious, unprofitable Volume. A word put in, or left out, or altered, will serve our grand Accuser to do much of his Works with the Sons of Ignorance and Malice.

He seemeth to expect that I should Repent of saying that our Civil War between King and Parliament was begun in *England* between two Parties of Episcopal Protestants: And must I repent that I lived in *England*? And that I know what it was naturally impossible for me not to know? Why doth he not also make me a Liar for saying that I then dwelt in *England*; and both sides were English Men, and spake English? Had I been a Mushroom sprung up as lately as our fiery Tories,

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or had Malice enough to make me mad, I might have needed none of his imposed Repentance. I have in another writing named the Commanders of the Army, and the Parliaments Lords Lieutenants, and all the Major Generals, besides the Chaplains, and Challenged them to find among all these one Presbyterian or two Independants for ten, if not twenty Episcopal Protestants. A Wise and Credible Parliament Man yet living, hath oft told me that when the War begun he knew but One Presbyterian in all the House of Commons, (which was worthy Mr. *Tate of Northampton*) it being not then known among them. The Earl of *Warwick* who commanded at Sea I knew to be for Communion with the Patish and Episcopal Churches. In the Army let them enquire of the Communion and Religion of the General and all his Commanders, and I believe they will find among all the Colonels but two Independants (the Lord *Say* and the Lord *Brooke*) and one moderate Puritane yet living (the Lord *Wharton*) and that all the rest were moderate Episcopal Conformists (what the old Scots Souldiers *Browne* and *Urrey* that turn'd to the King were I know not, supposing their pay was their Religion.) We knew this to be true of the Earl of *Essex* General; the Earl of *Bedford* General of the Horse is yet living and well known: Sir *John Merrike* Major General, Colonel *Dolbiere*, the Earl of *Peterborough* General of the Ordnance, *Lionell Copley* Scout-Master, the Earl of *Stampford*, the Lord *Roberts* lately President of the Kings Privy Council; the Lord *Hollis*, the Lord *Kimbolton*, (after Earl of *Manchester* and Lord Chamberlain that chose the Kings Preachers, and constantly heard them, the Lord *Hastings* (Earl of *Huntington*) the Lord *Rochford* (after Earl of *Dover*) the Lord *Fielding* (after Earl of *Denbigh*) the Lord *St. John* Son to the Earl of *Bullingbrook* kill'd at *Edghill*) Col. *Goodwin*, Col. *Lssex*, Col. *Grantham*, Col. Sir *Henry Cholmley*, Col. *Bampfild*, Sir *William Constable*, (after turn'd Independant) yea Col. *Hampden* was no Separatist from the Parish Churches; but a sober Protestant. I have named the rest elsewhere. I heard enough of Col. *Sandyes* before he was mortally wounded to tell me that he was no Puritane.

And as for the Major Generals of the several Counties, the Lord *Ferdinando Fairfax*, the Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*, the Earl of *Stampford*, Sir *John Gell*, Sir *Tho. Middleton*, Col. *Mitton*, Col. *Morgan*, Col. *Massey*, Sir *William Waller*, the Earl of *Denbigh*, Col. *Langhorne*, and Col. *Poyer*, were all conformable to Episcopacy and Parochial Worship; and some of them so Zealous for the Liturgy and Diocesanes that they would not hear a Man as a Minister that had not Episcopal Ordination. The Archbishop of *York Williams* was one of them, and was not he for Episcopacy?

§ 5. "But the Accuser confuteth all this by telling us, that it began "in King *James* days between the *Regians* and the *Republicans*, between

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“Prerogative and Priviledge, by a Party that would have perswaded “the King, to War for the Palatinate, &c.

And why began he it not in Queen *Elizabeth’s* Reign, who more overtopt Parliaments than King *James* did? I perceive by this Man, that none must pass for Conformable and Episcopal, that are not of *Sibthorp* and *Mainwaring’s* Mind, and renounce not Parliamentary Priviledges, and give not up Property and Liberty to the meer will of the King called Prerogative. And so all our Parliaments till the Dividing and Tearing Long one, were not of the Church of *England*: And what then was that Church? Was it a *Christian Kingdom*, and yet was the Kingdom Representative no part of it? Are none but Leeches, *Sangutsugi’s*, Men of Blood, (that must have all lye and die in Goals among Rogues, that will not Swear, and Subscribe, and Declare and Covenant, and Practise, all that they impose) of the Church of *England*? What a Reproach is this to such a Church?

If I must Repent that I take not all the old Parliaments, and all the Bishops in Queen *Elizabeths* days to be no Church Protestants; if I must Repent for taking *Jewel*, Bishop *Bilson*, *Ri. Hooker*, and his Friend Sir *Edwin Sandyes* for Church Protestants, and Repent for believing all *Rushworth’s* Collections, all *Whitlock’s* Memoirs, all Sir *Simon Dewes*, and Dr. *Fuller’s* Church History, and the Volumes of *M. S.* Parliament Speeches, if I must take this King and Parliament, and all the Bishops and Clergy that Conform to them, to be no Protestants of the Church of *England*, because they have made a Law declaring it to be the Rights and Liberties of the people, to be governed by Law, and not by Arbitrary Prerogative, and have asserted what the old Parliaments claimed, I must then heinously dishonour the Church of *England*, and Repent that I am a Man.

§ 6. He falsly feigneth me to say that the Bishops began the War, because I said it began between the two Episcopal Parties, those that were of Archbishop *Abbot’s* and the old Reformers way, and those that were for *Land’s* Innovations and Persecutions: And I should justly be noted for vain and tedious if I would stand to answer all his talk about the Provocations: He that will read *Whitlock* may have full satisfaction; and particularly find that the Parliament voted a Diocesane in every County, when they began to reform: And were they not then for Episcopacy?

§ 7. *Page* 10. He saith, [From the year 1660 it hath been my chief work to pour out the like contempt, malice, and violence, as was begun 1640.]

*Ans.* Not a word proved or true; till I was silenced 1662, *Aug.* 24. I was never accused for any word then preached, writ and published. Which was not for want of Enemies or Power. Of many years after I neither preach’d nor printed. And what I printed since the world may be judge of.

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§ 8. Page 12. He saith that *the numerous fry of Sectaries agree to own me as their Champion.*]

*Ans.* When the Grand Accuser can hope to make such stuff as this believed, and that in a *Land, City and Time*; where the clean contrary is more commonly known than I am, what can be devised so impudently false which he may not by his stamp make current as truth. Are not above Sixty Books of Sectaries written (more or less) against me; an evidence to prove that they take me not for their Champion? Are not above Sixscore Books of my own writing, (many at large, and all in part) against Sectaries and Errors, a visible Evidence of this Mans falshood? Is not the common Cry of City and Countrey a sufficient witness that the Sectaries take me not for their Champion, but their Adversary. Indeed they have shewed it but by words; it being but the two Master Sects, Papists and Tory Prelatists, that shew it by Fining, Silencing, Prison, and taking all for their prey.

§ 9. The Accuser tells me, that it is no new thing for Hereticks to have many admirers, and to pretend to purity that they may deceive.

*Ans.* Which is very true, and I will add, that which is far worse: It is no new thing even for them that do not so much as seem to have either Purity, Conscience or common Honesty, no nor to scruple the grossest Lying and Perjury, to have more Followers than Christ himself had while he was on Earth, notwithstanding his Purity and all his Miracles: Such Men find corrupted nature, as disposed to believe and follow them, as a Dunghil to breed Weeds, or a Carcase Maggots: Even those that openly militate under Satan as deadly Enemies to serious Godliness, if they will but cloak their malignity with the Name of a Sacred Function, and call Piety and Conscience by their own Titles (Hypocrisie and Schism) shall convert more Souls to Diabolism in a little time, than all the Preachers that they silence could have converted to Piety, and serious Christianity: And the French Prelacy and Dragoon Discipline, will cleanse a Nation quickly, from Protestant Heresie and Schism. We hope not for the honour of having more Followers than such Men.

This Man and his Sect would comfort me if I were in fear of that threatening of Christ, *Mat. 5.* Woe to you when all Men speak well of you.

§ 10. *Ibid.* He saith, *That under a form of Godliness I would destroy the power of it.*]

*Ans. Hem!* What is the *Power of Godliness* with this Sect of Men! If it be the Power of Silencing the most Godly, and Practical, and Blameless Preachers, and of Beggering, and Murdering by long Imprisonment in common Goals both Preachers and Hearers that will not give over all publick Worship of God like Atheists, till they dare venture to Lie and be Perjured, and own all that such Men bid them say

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is faultless: If it be the *power* of Godliness to have an ignorant, worldly, scandalous Priest, who driveth Men from him by his naughtiness, to hate, threaten and ruine them if they will hear any but him, or use any trustier Pastor for their Souls, and that would turn Churches into Prisons, and Sacraments into forced Drenches, to be given by him that can get a Patent for the Trade (which some Patrons and Prelates chosen by a Papist King can easily help him to) then I am against the power of Godliness. Where Gain is Godliness I have long been against the power of it.

§ 11. Page 13. He saith, [*Our Nation would be less in danger of new Flames if all (my Books Practical and Polemical) were consumed to Ashes.*]

*Ans.* How came I to escape till now my self? Not at all by your Clemency: Your Patron Judge *Jeffreys* on the Bench said, *He was sorry that the Act of Indempnity disabled him from Hanging me:* And your Mouth *Roger Le Strange* foretold the Reason: *Never was so wicked a Book written as my Paraphrase on the New Testament.* Were I at his Ear I would whisper to him, *Do you not take the New Testament it self to be far worse?* But what is the deadly evil? Why I say with *Paul*, *That if an Angel from Heaven preach another Gospel let him be accursed?* But did I make those words? Or find them made: The Judge by the help of our Great Clergy-men and their Curates, found out eight Paraphrases that deserved this Death. The sum of which was that I accuse the Pharisees, and Herodians, and Priests, for malicious hating and murdering Christ, for doing good and working Miracles; and for urging Men to be Informers against him, and for forbidding the Apostles to Preach: And they said that by an *Innuendo* I meant all this of the Church of *England*. And when a Famous (but exasperated Dr.) gathered some passages as Seditious against Government to have hanged me, even our Judges and prosecutors searching the Books, and particularly on *Rom. 13.* cast by those accusations, and never mentioned them. And when they burnt my Political Aphorisms, and I wrote my Judgment thereof to the Vice-Chancellor, I had not a word of contradiction.

But there are deeper Reasons that cause both Papists and Cainites to wish that all that I have written were burnt to Ashes. And they tell me what to expect from them, if God restrain them not, for then I believe that it is more than my writings, and than the Nonconformists that they will burn. They that cannot now endure that any but they should be heard, will not endure that they be read.

§ 12. Page 13. He adds, [*That neither Men nor Books are properly good that are not so ex causis integris.*]

*Ans.* So none is Good but God only, and the perfect. I confess that I am not so good: If I say that I have no sin, or that I ever did any thing that is sinless and *omnimodo bonum* and might not have been done

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better, I am a Liar. And is this the Exposition of the Declaration for want of which we are (if we preach) used like Rogues in Goals, *viz.* *That we assent and consent to all things contained in and prescribed by, the Book of Common Prayer, Ordination and Articles, and that there is nothing in it contrary to the Word of God?* Is it Integrally perfect: Or must I wish it burnt else? I am not for so hard usage of it, though I cannot justify the prescribing two *Easter* days in it, and far worse matters. But what is the fault that deserveth burning?

§ 13. *Ibid.* [*His own Practice demonstrates that his Writings for Peace and Unity are but so many Pleas for Schism and Division. They need an Ignis Expurgatorius.*]

*Ans.* An easie Purgatory! Your Excommunication *ipso facto*, of all that affirm any thing in your Ceremonies. Ordinations, Liturgies or Church Government to be contrary to the Word of God, threateneth Hell which is worse than Purgatory.

But Reader, seeing all my Books must be burnt as a Sacrifice to the Accusers of my Conversation as for Schism and Division, I owe the World a particular account of such an accused practice.

1. When I first forbore practical Conformity it was but in a scrupled part: I read most of the Common Prayer, and I received the Sacrament Kneeling.

2. I never disobeyed my Ordinary's command, but got me to a place where the Ordinary thought as I did.

3. I ever dissuaded people from Separation, and reprehended those Nonconformists that inclined towards it.

4. It was I confess a Dividing practice that I took the Scots Covenant before I foresaw it would be used to Division. But I quickly repented, and kept my Flock and Thousands from taking it.

5. I had not the last or least hand in suppressing the promoters of Schism where I lived.

6. I purposely hazarded my Life, and spent Time and Labour a year and half in *Fairfax's* Army, in hope (too late) to have healed and prevented the foreseen Ecclesiastical and Civil Divisions.

7. I got the Ministers of *Worcestershire* and the Neighbour Counties, *Episcopal, Presbyterians* and *moderate Independants* to subscribe an Agreement in practice so far as they agreed in Principles: Which Dr. *Warmstree* and Dr. *Good* consented to till Dr. *Guning* drew them off again. And *Westmoreland, Cumberland, Dorsetshire, Wiltshire, Hampshire, Essex,* and *Dublin* all imitated us, so that we were ready to have had a common Concord.

8. By Letters I treated for Union with Dr. *Hammond*, Bishop *Brownrig*, Archbishop *Usher*, and such others, before King *Charles* the Second's Return.

9. I preach'd for peace to the Parliament and City in publick Sermons.



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10. I got divers Meetings before the King came in, with many peaceable Drs. (Dr. *Gauden*, Dr. *Bernard*, Dr. *Allen*, Dr. *Gulston*, &c.) with whom Dr. *Morley* would be one that he might frustrate all) who seemed to be all for Unity.

11. I was the first (with Mr. *Calamy*, Dr. *Reynolds*, and Mr. *Ash*) that sought to the King to help us to this desired Unity by his Commission; who seemed forward to it, and promised that he would draw them to meet us half way.

12. We never offered any form of Church Government, but Archbishop *Usher's* Primitive Episcopacy, and gave publick thanks for a seeming Grant of much less; never once speaking against the Bishops Parliament Powers, Baronies, Revenues or Pomp.

13. When Chancellor *Hide* as from the King offered me a Bishoprick I refused it on terms (in a Letter) that pleased him, *viz.* That if the King continued what he had granted in his Declaration, I should take it for my great Duty to do all that I could by writing and preaching to perswade all to Conformity and Unity; and therefore would not be a Bishop, lest I should frustrate that labour by making Men think that I did it for my self. But if no such liberty was intended to be continued (which I easily foresaw) why should I be a Bishop to be quickly cast out?

14. Had my Life lain on it I could have done no more to have prevented our Divisions and foreseen Confusions, that I did in the Treaties at *Worcester-House*, and at the *Savoy*, by reason, and by earnest and humble petition and true prediction. But all did but enrage, and instead of Abatements according to the Kings Commission, far more was after imposed than before.

15. I went voluntarily to Bishop *Sheldon* for his License, when I could have had it by the Kings Declaration without any Subscription, and I Subscribed what might shew that I was for peace, that I would not preach against the Liturgy or Ceremonies, but live peaceably.

16. When Bishop *Morley* forbad me preaching in his Diocess, I asked him leave but to preach to some small Village among the ignorant where there was no Maintenance for a Minister: And he old me, They were better have none than me. Mr. *Baldwin* yet living was present.

17. When Lying same accused me for almost every Sermon that I preached in *London* after, Bishop *Sheldon* told me plainly that he had some to hear me, and could they have got any thing against me I had soon heard from him.

18. When we were all silenced on *Aug.* 24. 1662. I forbore both preaching and privater Meetings, till after the great Plague 1665. to see whether our obedience would mollifie Mens exasperated Minds: All that while and after constantly I went to my Parish Church Morn-

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ing and Evening, and staid from the beginning of Common Prayer to the end, and after the Plague I only taught such Neighbours as came into my House between the publick Exercises, and led all the people into the Church to Common Prayer. In so much that my Excellent Neighbour Judge *Hale* countenanced me therein by his Carriage, and thought I did great Service to the Church of *England*. I remember not two of all that heard me that went not with me to the publick Church: And that One that would not, refused, because the Dr. (*Rieves*) would Swear in his common talk: But I told her that he did not Swear in the Pulpit.

19. When in his Sermon he told them that *It was because we could not be Bishops that we Conformed not*, the people look'd at me, as a confutation: But I forbore not ever the more to hear him.

20. When he was no longer able to bear the peoples coming to my House, (though he conversed with me placidly, and never spake to me against it) he went to the King and got his Order to the Bishop *Hinchman*, and by him to Justice *Rosse* and Auditor *Philips* for my Imprisonment. And when these Justices at *Brainford* Examined me, they shut the Doors against all Witnesses, and would let none in but their Clerk, though Alderman *Ashhurst*, Captain *Yarrington*, and many others at the Door claimed open audience as a Legal Priviledge: And after they raised false reports of my words to them, when I was allowed no one Witness.

21. I lay quietly in *New Prison*, though kept waking by the constant noise of rude Prisoners, and knocking under me at the Gate. And upon my *Habeas Corpus* all the four Judges of the Common *Pleas* were for my Deliverance.

22. When I was delivered the Parliament making a new Act against Conventicles added three new clauses which drove me to dwell in another County: Where also I went constantly Morning and Evening to the publick Church and Common Prayer, and gave *2 l. per Annum* to increase the Ministers Maintenance.

23. When Ministers had some time forborn publick Sacraments in the Parish Churches, I got many of the most Eminent in *London* together, and in writing gave them so many reasons for such Communion as they approved. But the *Oxford* Parliament having by an Act Banished us five Miles from all Corporations, forc'd them from the *London* Churches when in Conscience they durst not leave *London* Service; when 100000 had died of the Plague, and the Ministers fled and left the dying without their help, many Nonconformists ventured their lives among them, beg'd Money for them, and relieved them, and found the dying Persons so much inclined to hear, repent and pray, that this brake the Bonds of the Acts of Uniformity and Banishment, so that they resolved rather to die than to cease preaching while they were out

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of Prison and could speak. And the City being burnt the next year, confirmed their resolution, the Conformists ceasing to preach long for want of Churches. But all this time, had a Nonconformist Minister been seen in a Parish Church, he must for Six Months have lain in Goal with Rogues: So that the sum of their imposed Obedience was, [Either inhumanely desert the deserted City after Plagues and Flames left desolate; or go to the Parish Ministers when they return and Communicate with them, and go Six Months to Goal; or else be Excommunicate and lye in Goal for not Communicating with them.] Of these three they had their choice.

But in all this time I was driven far off and kept constantly to the publick Church (at *Toteridge*.)

24. I never became the Pastor of any Church since I was expelled from *Kidderminster*: I offered when I refused a Bishoprick to preach there for nothing under the ignorant Reader that was Vicar: But the Lord Chancellor *Hyde* wrote to Sir *Ralph Clare* that his Majesty thought himself not well dealt with that Mr. *Baxter* that had deserved so well of him had not the Vicaridge, and he promised to pay the Vicar the worth of it by his own Steward Mr. *Clutterbucke*, out of his own Rents: But durst not give a Prebend much less a Pastoral Charge to the Vicar, lest it disgrace the Ministry: I was not so ignorant as not to know what the King and Chancellor meant by all this (and by the Gracious Declaration.) But he gave me unsealed the Copy of his Letter to send: And the Vicar answered as he was taught that he would not quit his place for an uncertainty (nor would Bishop *Morley* let me preach for nothing under him.)

25. When the King sent out his Declaration that gave us leave to preach, I returned to *London*, and chose only *St. Martins* Parish to preach in, because there were said to be above Sixty Thousand Souls more than could hear in the Church; and hiring a room over the Market-house at *St. James's* (where we were all delivered by almost a Miracle from a crack in the Floor) I published to the Hearers (and left to them in writing) that I came not thither to gather or preach to any new Church, or as separating from the Parish Church, but (being Vowed to the Ministry) in necessary compassion *pro tempore* to help part of the many thousands that could not come into the Parish Church: For which some Separatists censured me: And we used the Scripture, part of the Liturgy and more.

26. Being driven from that Room by the breach of the Main-beam, I built a Room and Leased the Ground at too dear rates in *Oxenden-street* near. But had preached but one Sermon, but Secretary *Henry Coventree* with two Justices more came with a Warrant to apprehend me, and I being twenty Miles distant, they seized on Mr. *Sedden* a stranger that preached for me: And though he had by the Cromwel-

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lians suffered Imprisonment for seeking to bring in King *Charles* the Second, they sent him to the Goal, where it cost me twenty pound for his Charges, but my Wisest and most Over-valuing Friend Judge *Hale* proved the *Mittimus* void, and released him by the Sentence of all the Court.

27. When I could not be suffered there I hired a Room to preach in for nothing in *Swallow-street*, and ask'd the Bishops leave, who gave some hope of his favour: But after a few days many Constables, Church-wardens, and other Officers were set at the Door to take me had I come, and so continued about three Months, till another came.

28. I then (that the people might not be untaught) offered Dr. *William Loyd* now Bishop of *St. Asaph* my Chappel for the Parish use; And, I thank him he accepted it, and it is so used by Dr. *Tennison* to this day.

29. In the Country I Preach'd in *Rickaursworth*, *Chaferne*, *Amersham*, *Chesham*, *Langley*, *Surra*[[?????]] in the Parish Churches to shew that I was not for Separation, and went to the beginning of Common-Prayer.

30. I was in Law-sence no Nonconformist I think) but only in Conscience: For I had the Bishop of *London's* License and I was in no Benefice or Lecture after *May* 1. 1662. And hereupon Sir *Edmond Sanders* Lord Chief Justice, and Sir *Henry Polixfen*, now Lord Chief Justice, gave it me under their hands that my License was still valid, and gave me Authority to Preach occasional Sermons in *London* Diocess. Yet did I never use that Power in any Parish here, to avoid offence.

31. I sent my License with these Lawyers Judgment, to the present Bishop Dr. *Compton*, craving his consent to use it in the Country. Of which he being unwilling, I forbore, though the Law allowed it.

32. An Irish Informer (*Keting* a Gold-worker) thought to set up that Trade for Gain: But was cross'd, and long waited at my Door to ask me forgiveness; And I being loth to trust him, he wrote to me his Repentance, and shortly after being Imprisoned for Debt (saying that God never after prospered him) I got him some Money and help'd him out.

33. Three or Four more Informers setting up the Trade accused me to Sir *Tho Davis* Lord Mayor: I could not make him believe that he was Judge of my faults, but that the Informers were the Judges, and that he must execute what they sware against me: Nor could I prevail with him to let me see any one of them, nor hear their Accusations, nor examine or consute them: And when I was fined unheard, shortly after the chief of the Informers met me in the Street, confest his Fault, askt me Forgiveness, and left his Trade.

34. Dr. *Manton* and I were invited by the Lord Keeper *Bridgman* (with Dr. *Bates* after) to accept the Kings offer for a Comprehension for us, and a Toleration for others: Dr. *Wilkins* and Dr. *Hez. Burton* were appointed to treat with us of the terms: we came to an Agree-

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ment to a word: we gave it Judge *Hale* to draw up in form of an Act to be offered to the Parliament. And was that like to be so wicked an Agreement as to be worse than all our Divisions, which such Wise and Excellent Men as Judge *Hale* and Bishop *Wilkins*, and Dr. *Burton* approved: But we refused to meddle with the Toleration, leaving his own work to the King and the concerned: And so the Parliament was taught to reject all.

35. After this at another Session, many being set on our Concord, Dr. *Tillotson* and Dr. *Stillingfleet* were moved by *Morley* and some Lords to treat with us for Union: I got many excellent peaceable Ministers together, and we drew in one Sheet a form of Concord: The two Drs. seemed to consent, so be it the Bishops liked it: But *Morley* purposely seemed to be for the End, that he might frustrate the means, and so we never heard more of it.

36. All this while to this day, I never gathered a Church, nor was Pastor or Teacher of a Church, nor took any Salary, but preach'd without pay as an occasional helper to another, lest I should seem to be for Separation: I thank God that left me not to Necessities.

37. I perswaded the people to hear the Parish Ministers and Communicate with them, and not to come to us without the want of needful helps at home; and I gave the Sacrament to none of them, till lately to a few in my own House for a short time, which the Liturgy alloweth.

38. I was suddenly assaulted by violence on my Doors, by two or three Informers (*Hilton* and *Bucke*) and *Rutland* a Vintner Constable, and other Officers, by a Warrant from Sir *James Butler* sent him by Sir *James Smith*, to be Executed, who had judged me to be distrained on for 90 *l.* (or more) for five Sermons as preached by me against Law; and I never to this day was summon'd to answer, nor heard who were my Accusers or Witnesses, or what proof. But they seized on all my Goods, Bed, Cloaths, Library, and praised it, and sold it, (I got a Friend to buy it and paid him.) When had I been heard I had shewed them Sir *Edm. Sa*[[?????]]rs Hand that they ought not to Imprison me unsummoned and unheard; and I had shewed them my valid Licence, and proved that I did nothing contrary to Law. And that I was twenty Miles off at the pretended time of one of the Sermons. But I never sought remedy nor noised any Accusation against these Justices.

39. At the same time they brought a Warrant from Justice *Parry* and Lane *Philips* to have sent me Six Months to Goal for dwelling in *London*: But as I was going towards them, some stopt me till the King suspended it, and said, *Let him die in his Bed.*

40. Upon this to avoid this Imprisonment I was forced to abscond in poor strange Houses (in languor and constant pain) while I paid also great Rent for my own empty House: Which I bore without complaining noise.

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41. The Independants and Separatists said that I was justly used, and had drawn more to the publick Churches than all the Ministers in *London*: And some of them said I had done more harm by it than ever I did good.

42. I wrote many Books against Schism and Separation (against *Bagshaw*, *Danvers*, Mr. *Lob*, and many others) to prove the Lay Communion Lawful.

43. *Roger Le Strange* traduced me in his Observations most bitterly and causlesly (to foretel me what was purposed against me:) Even my Book of Patience, and my Paraphrase he virulently reviled.

44. When I was designed for the Goal (before King *Charles* died) the Duke of *York* foretold it: And to secure me till they could find matter of Accusation, they bound me to the good behaviour under deep Bonds of me and my Sureties. Openly declaring, That they took me for innocent, and had nothing against me, and did it not as a penalty, but for prevention; intimating that the Court required it (or *Jefferies*.)

45. When they were prepared *Jefferies* accused my Paraphrase as aforesaid; and sent me to Prison. Coming out by a *Habeas Corpus* I was fain to abscond in the Countrey (in constant pain) till the Term. Then my oft waitings at the Bar (when I could not stand) and there to be ragingly reviled by *Jefferies* and *Withins*, and called Rogue and Knave, and not suffered to speak one word of answer for my self, and my Council reviled that offered to speak for me, was far harder than my Imprisonment. And when (going from the Bar) I only said, *That his Predecessor thought otherwise of me.*] He said, *There was not an honest Man in England that took me not for a Knave;*] not excepting the King that had given me another testimony (in words.)

46. Thence I went quietly to a costly Prison, where I continued in pain and languor near two years: Enjoying more quietness in that Confinement than I had done of many years before: Because they had no further to hunt me. And God there healed my Bloody Urine that had continued two years.

47. Being Fined 500 Marks, and to give Bond for the Behaviour, when they saw that I did neither pay the Fine nor Petition, the King and Papists, who all this while did their work by Men called Protestants, resolved to have the thanks for my Release; and offered me deliverance by the Marquess of *Powis* his endeavour: But they would not abate my Bonds to the Behaviour.

48. When I was released the Protestant Justices at the Sessions that declared they had nothing against me, would not take up my former Bonds, but made me long wait with Counsel at *Hicks Hall*, and I know not that they have given up my Bonds to this day: But Patience is my remedy.

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49. Before while I lived in St. *Giles's* Parish I went Morning and Evening to the Parish Church to Common Prayer and Sermon: And I Communicated kneeling at the Rails. But I first told Dr *Sharp* now Dean of *Canterbury*, that I am *ipso facto* Excommunicate by Canon 7, 8, 9. and left it to his consideration: But after Consultation he admitted me, because the Canon bound him not before prosecution or declaration.

50. *In Prison and since my Release I have written divers Books for Communion with the publick Churches: And one of Government, and one against Schism, and others pacificatory that are not printed. And I have continued to preach only as a helper to another, not related to any gathered Church as their Teacher, though Licensed by Law to have gathered such a Church as well as others.*

51. The reason why I have not these four years gone to any Parish Church, is because Prisons and utter disability of Body hindered me, being scarce able to creep once a day to our Assembly but the fourth Door from my House.

52. To conclude, Whoever after reading my many great and small Writings for Concord and Peace, and for the Church, especially my Cure of Church Divisions, my Treatise of the way of Unity, my Catholick Theology, my Christian Directory, my *Methodus Theologiae*, and the numerous Volumes of Controversie, written all to end Controversies, and shall know that it hath been my chief study and labour these forty four years to promote Unity, Peace, and Concord, and what I have suffered for it, and yet will accuse my Heart and Life, as quite contrary to all this, must bring to any sober impartial Man, very clear evidence to prove me so mad and deadly an Enemy to so long and painful Labours.

§ 14. I am next therefore further to enquire what this Evidence is.

But his words do seem to forbid an answer, for they are capable of none but what will sound harshly, even to name them as they are *Most Impudent Lies, meer forgeries*, or the most unquestionable Duties made most odious sins; and most of the pretence fetcht from some words of my Writings and Confessions depraved and impudently falsified.

The General Accusation is page 14. [*I dare challenge any Historian that hath observed or read the Tragedies of the late times, to shew a parallel in any one person (I say not only among the Apostate Clergy, but the Laity, and the worst of them) that may equal Mr. B.*

Accus. I. Particularly: *Who is there among the Living that entertained more early Prejudices against the Bishops?*] *Ans.* Mendac. I. I thought them to be of Divine Institution, till after I was Ordained. And since then I have proved it of the Primitive Episcopacy: And opposed none but that sort of Diocesans who put down all the Bishops and Churches

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that should be under them, and will be the sole Bishops of many hundred or score Parishes, making true Episcopal Discipline impossible, and substituting a delusion.

§ 15. Accus. II. [*That left his Calling as a Minister of Peace, and entred with the first into a War against the King.*]

Mendac. II. I never left my Calling, nor ever took Command or Office, or so much as a Chaplains relation to any Souldiers, nor pay for it: Save that when *Naseby* Fight almost ended the War, I went a Chaplain to have tried to save the Land from Rebellion.

I always was for King and Parliament, and never against the Kings Person, Power or Prerogative, but only for his return to his Parliament, and against his *Will* and *Instruments*: When *Hen. VI.* was carried about by his Enemies, his Friends fought for him that fought against the Army where his Person was.

I was so far from going into a War with the first, that I only fled to *Coventry* for a private Refuge, when I was forced from Home (of which enough before.)

§ 16. Accus. III. [*And for four years space, which was the heat of the Wars, was an Agent as well as an Eye-witness of most of the terrible Battles that were fought in England.*]

Mendac. IV. I never so much as saw one of those terrible Battles. The first that ever I saw was that at *Langport*, when the Field War ended: And there I saw not the killing of one Man. Because I said that I saw some Fields and Dead, he forgeth me to have seen the Fights. I never saw the Fight at *Edgehill*, but being at *Alcester*, I went to see the Ground and some unburied Bodies the following day. I never saw either of the two *Newberry* Fights, nor the Country; I never saw the Fight at *Horncastle*, at *Allford*, or any in the East, South, West, or North. I never saw the greatest Fight at *York*, nor ever was in or near the County: I saw not that at *Mongomery*, nor that at *Nampwich*, nor any Fight in *England*, save that aforesaid at *Langport*, and the flight of our *Coventry* Men from *Banbury*: And I went to see the Ground at *Naseby* when the Armies were gone a day or two before: And I once saw at a distance about thirty Men of a side Fight between *Linsell* and *Longford*, where one was kill'd. Some Sieges I was not far off, while I was with the Armies on the Accounts at large before recited.

§ 17. Accus. IV. [*Who ever boasted of drawing thousands to that War?*]

*Ans.* He falsly calleth a *Confession*, a *Boasting*. To convince *Cromwell's* Souldiers that pull'd down the *Government*, I that had drawn thousands into the Parliaments defensive War, could not have denied the heinousness of my Crime, if I had done as they did, or been against King and Parliament united, or for the changing of the Government. I said by aggravation that I had drawn in thousands, because at *Coventry* and *Wem* I had publickly preach'd against the accusations of the Cause that I then thought just.



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§ 18. Accus. V. *Who hath said more to justifie, not the War only, but the Death of the Royal Martyr?*]

*Ans.* Mendac. V. What can a Reader say of such Men, that shall find, 1. That I never wrote a word to justifie his Death; but only once told the Papists that they were unmeet Accusers, as being guilty of more? 2. I preach'd against it. 3. I wrote against it, over and over. 4. It cost me the dear Labour and Sufferings of almost two years in the Army, to have kept them in Loyal Obedience. 4. I called them oft and long to Repentance. Whence then did this Man find matter or occasion for such a shameless forgery? As for the Notion of *Martyrdom*, I leave Canonizing to the Righteous Judge.

§ 19. Accus. VI. *Who more opposed the Return of our present Sovereign?*]

*Ans.* Mendac. VI. 1. Ask for his proof of this. 2. The King testified the contrary. 3. See my Sermon before the Parliament the day before he was Voted Home. 4. And my Sermon to the City on their Thanksgiving called, *Right Rejoicing*. 5. Would the King have made such an Enemy his *Chaplain* and a *Bishop*?

The Truth is this, There were two Seasons that called to me for my Endeavours for the King. The first was at *Worcester Fight*, and at *Sir George Booth's Fight*: At that time I openly declared the Army to be in a state of Rebellion, in which none should own them: But I durst not meddle on either side: Not for the Cromwellians, their Cause being sinful: Not to restore the King, because I foresaw all the Divisions, Silencings, Persecutions and Calamity to the Kingdom which his Bishops and other revengeful Instruments would bring in: Nor was I deceived in expecting most that hath befallen us of twenty nine years since, save that I thought that Popery and Cruelty would have made a speedier progress than they did: Not knowing by what methods God would stop them. And I durst not hasten Gods Judgments on the Land, till I knew that he required it.

2. But afterward when I saw that the Army cast all into utter confusion, and that Gods Providence had resolved the doubt, how much I did towards a due subjection to the King, is not a thing that wanteth evidence. I cannot Repent that I was not one that brought into *England* that Tribe of Revengeful destructive Prelates and their Agents, that *corrupted* and *divided* the Church of *England*.

§ 20. Accus. VII. [*Or hath been as active in making the Government uneasy.*]

*Ans.* 1. Uneasie? To whom? To the King? I have his Testimony to the contrary: He sent *D. Lauderdale* to me purposely to invite me to receive the Testification of his Favour and Acceptance? Read his Character of us in his Gracious Declaration. Read *Mr. Gaches* Letter to me for the King, translated and published by the means of Duke

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*Lauderdale*. I know nothing that I did to make his Government uneasie, unless all my labour to have united his Subjects made it uneasie: Or unless his Confessor *Huddleston* was in the right, that he was before for the Roman Religion, and it was uneasie to him to be stopt in promoting it: Of which confess I was oft guilty.

But if he mean the Prelates Government, I believe I did much to make it uneasie to them. I laboured by such reasons to have prevented their ejecting 2000 Godly Ministers at once, and all the Cruelties and Miseries that have followed, that it must needs be uneasie to their Consciences and Credit, while they could make no answer to the proof of their iniquity. I gave such reasons against their Lay Excommunicators, and their Cursing Canons, and their causless and obstinate dividing of the National Church by their frivolous, tearing Impositions, as must make Cruelty the more uneasie. But (if I be not blind and mad) the Government of Church and State had been more easie, if they would have heard our pacificatory Requests.

§ 21. Accus. VIII. [*Or who hath or can do more than Mr. B. to renew all our troubles and confusions?*]

*Ans.* By what? By studying, praying, preaching, writing, and speaking, and exemplary living for Unity and Peace; which God knoweth hath been my chief or second study and labour these Forty four years; valuing the supernal Wisdom, which is first Pure and then Peaceable. But methinks I hear the Legion that are his Army who was a Liar and Murderer from the beginning, say, *What have we to do with thee? Art thou come to torment us before the time?* But they have had leave to enter into the Swine: And O that their suffocation in the Sea of confusion, occasion not Christ to be driven out of our Coasts, by them that love their Swine better than Christ.

§ 22. Accus. IX. [*So that I could not devise to give a better Epitome of the late Rebellion and Schism, than this account of Mr. B's Actions and Writings, which is an Abstract of the rise and progress of both in whom they yet both live, and with whom I wish they may both die.*]

*Ans.* To the same purpose saith *Morley* of me, *Ex uno disce omnes*. And though I unfeignedly think my self worse than the most Nonconforming Ministers that I know, yet I intreat all Forreigners and Natives of future Ages to think no worse of the Parliament and Nonconformists, than this Accusation alloweth them to do. They were at least no worse than I; which I say because the Accusers seem to allow you this much: And all the rest have not wrote above Sixscore Books to make themselves known, as I have done; and so by me you may know the worst of them *ex uno omnes*.

The Sum of my wickedness is the Wars. But, 1. What's this to all the rest of the Ejected Silenced Ministers, of whom I think there is not living one of fifty or a hundred that ever medled with the Wars?

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(though one Archbishop did, and many that Conform.) And why would they never grant my earnest request that they would Silence only me, and all others that had any hand in the War (except the Conformists) and no more?

2. I thought I had been a Rebel, if I had been against the Parliament, the Representative Kingdom, and the *salus populi*, or *bonum publicum*; and I thought the Legislative power was the Supream, and that this power was in King and Parliament conjunct, and that neither of them had power against the other, but that their Union was the constituted *summa potestas*, which I was bound to endeavour, and their division was the dissolution of the Government: And I thought that all Subjects were under the Law, and that the King might not protect them from his Courts of Judicature.

3. I knew that Points of Humane Policy and Laws, are not in our Creed, nor such Controversies so clearly decided in Scripture, as that Salvation should lye on them. Though *Rich. Hooker's* Opinion was for more popular power than mine, I find not that our Clergy place him in Hell for it or call him the most Bloody Instrument of Rebellion.

4. I have elsewhere shewed, that the chief stream of the Writers of Policy, Laws, History, Heathens, and Christians, Papists and Protestants, Lawyers and Divines, doth give so much more power to the people than I do that I have been put oft to confute them. Yet how is *Hooker* extolled by them? while I that have confuted his popular Principles am a Rebel: King *Charles II.* verbally by a Declaration diso[[?????]]ned his Fathers Wars; he honoured many Generals, and Colonels of the Parliaments Army with the highest Offices; One of them General *Monk* by a Parliament Presbyterian Army restored him; yet I that never was a Commander or Soldier, nor ever stroke or hurt Man, or drew a drop of Blood in War, am the great instance of the Rebellion: Who did what I did to avoid the guilt of Rebellion; and to save *England* from being made like *Ireland*; where I thought it was Rebellion that Murdered two hundred thousand: And we were then so ignorant of War, that we commonly thought that one Battel would have ended all, and settled peace.

As for the Charge of Schism, I verily think that the Irish may as modestly transfer on the Protestants the charge of Rebellion, as King *Charles II.* his Prelates can lay on such as I the charge of Schism, which they have so powerfully caused, and continued: He that will read my *Search for the Schismatick*, needeth no further proof: And he that will not, may keep his beloved Errour.

§ 23. Accus. X. Answered: I said that I was bred up under eight Reading School masters, of whom divers were beggar'd by drinking.

Must I repent of that? Or of disliking such Churchmen? O *I should have said nothing ill of the dead!* No nor of their living Successors; for

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hence is the rage: O how intolerable to these Men is reproof and repentance in comparison of Sin!

I must repent for telling, that one of my Reading Masters, (that only officiated in the Church) never preach'd but once, and that with the notorious signs of being Drunk in Eyes and Tongue, on that terrible Text, *Mat. 25. Go ye cursed, &c.* What enmity to the Church is it to complain of such Men? But we were so often whipt when he came in Drunk, that made us as weary of him as the Fined and Imprisoned Ministers are of the Persecuting Bishops.

§ 24 Page 17. Accus. XI. [*At Nineteen years of Age he had a distaste against Bishops as Persecutors.*]

*Ans.* But not as Bishops; I cannot repent of distasting Persecutors: It was Born in me, and New born: May not one be a Christian that loveth not Persecution?

§ 25. Accus XII [*Whether Mr. B. made his Father a Rebel, or his Father him, he tells us his Father was twice a Prisoner.*]

*Ans.* By this proof all the Imprisoned Nonconformists are Rebels: How easily can such Prelates and their Agents make thousands of Rebels: My Father lived in the Kings Quarters, and never was Nonconformist, nor medled with Wars: But being plundered, was made Collector of the Kings Taxes, and brought in all that was paid, but would not distrain, and for that was Imprisoned. And at last fled for safety to *Worcester*, a Garrison of the Kings. Who can escape the charge of Rebellion from such Accusers?

§ 26. Accus. XIII. [*His first adventure was to Seize the Person of a Neighbour in exchange for his Father; but Quo Warranto I find not.*]

*Ans.* By the Law of God in Nature and the Fifth Commandment, and *lege Talionis*, the Party being obnoxious and suffering no hurt nor loss by it.

Yet from these false Conjectures about my Father he saith, [*You see how early Mr. B's Spirit was fermented with Principles of Faction and Sedition.*]

*Ans.* Readers, you see what *Faction* and *Sedition* signifie in this Mans Mouth.

§ 27. Accus. XIV. Here accusing me for telling how Bishop *Morton* Confirmed me and many more, (*saying a short Collect without a word of Examination or Instruction*) he heapeth up divers falshoods. 1. *That my Master was a Minister* (I think) is false. 2. He querieth, *Did not your Master Examine you?* *Ans.* He was the best of all my Masters, and heard us say the Catechism, but never told us any thing of the sence, nor ever examined whether we understood any of it. 3. He asketh, *How know you but your Master certified of you?* *Ans.* If he certified that I understood what Baptismal Covenantings or Confirmation was, or much of the rest, or what Consent I gave to that Covenant, I doubt he cer-

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tified too much: And I being the Head Scholar, all the rest were liker to be ignorant than I: (Except *Richard Allestree*, who though two or three years younger, had been diligently Catechized by a Nonconforming Minister.)

He saith, [*This was Mr. B's fault, not the Bishops.*] *Ans.* I confess I was faulty in not understanding as much at Fourteen years, as I understood many years after. I cannot say that a Child of Seven years old is sinless in not understanding all the Articles of Faith. But though it be the fault of the *Ordained*, if they seek it unqualified in gross Ignorance or Wickedness, the *Ordainers* will not long believe such Deceivers, that it is not their fault to Ordain such. He that believeth Dr. *Hammond* and Mr. *Eldersfield* (two the Learnedst Conformists of this Age) of the grand importance of the solemn understanding and serious owning of the Baptismal Covenant in Confirmation, when young Men pass into the rank of Communicants, should shed streams of Tears, to think how contrary common practice is hereto, and how this Ordinance is not only frustrate, but turned to a deluding Ceremony.

§ 28. Accus. XV. [*He was a Controuler of Bishops at Fourteen.*]

*Ans.* A meer Forgery: I liked the sport: It was too long after that I disliked it.

§ 29. Accus. XVI. Page 19. I am reproached that the Grave Neighbour Conforming Ministers, that kept me from Nonconformity, were such as had rather have had the Church rid of such dividing Things] whence he slanderously concludeth that [*they waited an opportunity to be active in Ruining the Church.* Because when Conformity was forbidden by the Parliament, they forsook not their Flock: What can escape Satanical reproach when a great part of the County had scarce any able and pious Ministers but four or five such as these, and they shall be falsly branded by such as never knew them.

§ 30. Accus. XVII. (His charge of my *ignorant Subscribing at my Ordination, I confess and lament; and beg of God to forgive.*)

But the report of *raining Manna at Bridgnorth, at my coming thither*, is the Forgery of his Trade: A Grain like dryed *Rie* rained there almost a year before my coming thither, (which I kept some of long, and the like at *Shrewsbury* about two years ago.) And he forgeth that there were *six Parishes at Bridgnorth*, because I said there were *six under the Ordinaries Power.*

§ 31. Accus. XVIII. He accuseth me for being *against the Et caetera Oath, and Canons*, and yet saith not a word to prove it lawful, but through me condemneth not only the Parliament that condemned it before the Division, but even the long Parliament that made all their cruel Laws, that never would own that Oath, or authorize those Canons; nor any Parliament to this day.

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§ 32. Accus. XIX. [*He was acquainted Forty years ago with many Aged Nonconforming Ministers, (and probably Confederate with them, &c.)*]

*Ans.* Yes; in the Baptismal Covenant, renouncing the World, the Flesh, and the Devil: I repent not of that: Nor take it for a sin to have known them.

§ 33. Accus. XX. *Prejudices against Conformity possess him from his Youth.*]

*Ans.* Not unless Cainism be Conformity, or twenty four years old be my Youth, such as your Writings, and Doings, are an ill cure of prejudice.

§ 34. Accus. XXI. *Is, that I broke my Oaths to the King and Ecclesiastical Superiors whom I was bound to obey*]

*Ans.* I thought verily that I broke neither, I Swore not to obey the Convocation, much less against the Parliament, in unlawful Canons and imposed Oaths, never yet Authorized: I took the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, and thought that defending the Land against Armed Delinquents, and Irish, and Papists Insurrections, had been no breach of it. If I was mistaken the Lord convince me and forgive me: But your way is unapt to it.

Let the Reader peruse but Sir *Edward Deering's* Speeches in Parliament, proving that this *Et caetera* Oath was sinfully imposed without Authority, by them that were neither a Convocation, a Synod or Commissioners; the same Man that spake so much for Liturgy and Episcopacy, against Presbytery and Independency: And I doubt not but that was flat Perjury that by it we were required to Swear, *viz.* [That the described *Et caetera* Government of the Church ought so to stand.]

And was I perjured for refusing Perjury?

As a summary Confutation of a multitude of his Lies, I at once tell the Reader, that I neither was nor am for the way called Presbytery, Independency, or the English Diocesane way: But for the mixture described excellently by *Grotius de Imper. Sum. Pot.* and Bishop *Usher*, and Sir *Edward Deering*, whose Counsel I wish'd that the Parliament had followed. And that I was and am far from defending the irregular Actions of the Parliament, or any Members of it: Tho' they thought that the Delinquents had put a necessity on them to overgo their own Judgments to please the *Scots*, and the Indiscreet and Schismatical part of the Nonconformists, I doubt not but they did ill herein, and should have trusted God in the use of none but lawful means: I believe that a few Men by Craft and unwearied Industry over-reach'd many that knew not what they did: Sir *Edward Deering* nameth some of them, especially Sir *H. V.* Sir *A. H.* and *O. C.* that over-reach'd his own upholders and all the rest: I believe they did ill to excite and encourage disorder and tumults on pretence of Petitioning, and of scurrilous defamations

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of such Men as the Lord *Falkland*, the Lord *Digby*, Sir *Edward Dering*, and some other worthy Men, and so many good Bishops as they abused. And yet that I durst not for these miscarriages, consent to give up the Kingdoms Parliamentary Security for its present and future Safety and Liberties, I still think is consonant to the most common Principles of Lawyers, Politick Writers, Historians, Divines, Protestants, Papists and Heathens.

Even the late great Lord Chancellor *Hide* sat Chairman of the Committee of Parliament that received the Petitions against Episcopacy, Root and Branch, and made such Speeches against the Delinquents as I dare not justify. But he forsook them when they quite over-went him.

If the King of *England* had a War with the *French*, and I knew that his Cause were bad, I would not defend his bad Cause, but I would in his Army defend the Kingdom, against those that would Captivate it by Conquest: For the Kingdom doth not forfeit its safety by the Kings misdoing: And if any say, [*Then the King shall be defended in all his injuries how bad soever,*] I would answer, [That is by accident, it is the Kingdom that I defend, and *Him* as a means to defend the Kingdom, and not to justify his sin: I leave that to God: What a case is a Kingdom in if it must Fight against it self, and its representing security, as oft as its Representatives miscarry by any sinister means? And that all that are to be judged by the chief Judicature, shall Fight to Conquer them, if the King do but bid them? If the safety of this Kingdom be once put into the Trust of the King alone, the Constitution is changed, and all Enslaved.

§ 35. Accus. XXII. He saith that [*in 1640. I entred into a War against the King.*]

*Ans.* Whereas the War in *England* began not till 1642. And I never medled in War but as aforementioned long after.

§ 36. Accus. XXIII. He saith by [*the Treatise of Diocesane Episcopacy meditated 1640. I broached Faction in the Church, my Pen disdainig to be less active than my Sword.*]

*Ans.* 1. I never struck with a Sword in War or Peace. 2. Did Meditating *broach* a Book that was not published nor written till thirty years after? 3. Is it Faction to give reasons why I Swore not to Faction, even that Antiepiscopal sort of Diocesanes that put down many hundred Churches and Bishops to set up the Name and Image of one? 4. Why is not that Book answered to this day, when so many Nonconformists have Challenged, Called and Beg'd for an Answer to it? Will a Lying Scorn satisfie any Conscionable Nonconformist? 5. That Book owneth so much of Bishops, and Diocesanes, and Archbishops, (which Sir *Edward Dering* condemned) that these Men now shew that it is not such as I only, but such as *Grotius*, *Spalatensis*, *Usher*,

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Hall, yea most of the great Writers for Episcopacy (of whose Judgment I have there given a particular account) whom he condemneth for Faction and Enmity to the Church. I have written against the Pope too: And is not that as bad? I am sure many Papists write more against Episcopacy than I.

§ 37. Accus. XXIV. [*It's probable his Church History had its conception at the same time.*]

*Ans* About Forty years after 1640. Forty years breaks no square with this sort of Men: I would this lort of History were not too common with them.

§ 38. Accus. XXV. Page 23 [*He feigneth me in my Church History to commend all the Hereticks, and omit what is good of the Fathers and Martyrs, and write only their faults.*]

*Ans*. It seems he thought that without reading the Book that disproveth him, his Faction would take his word that he saith true.

§ 39 Accus. XXVI The like he saith of my *reproaching Councils*, because I shew the miscarriages of many, and our Bishops that plead for a Forreign Jurisdiction, dare yet own but six or eight General Councils.

§ 40. Accus. XXVII Page 25. He reciteth my mention of the former courses, of undoing Men for hearing a Sermon (of a Godly Conformist) at the next Parish when they had none at home, (and for Fasting and Praying, &c.) And he taketh it for my crime, to call these ungodly Persecutions crimes: So that he that is not for them, while they are tearing the Church, and extirpating serious Piety, is against them. So do the Papists accuse them that blame their Murders and Inquisitions.

§ 41. Accus. XXVIII. Because I said, The War was begun in our Streets by the ungodly drunken Rabble, seeking our Lives, he saith, [*In plain English Mr. B. with other Reformers put themselves into Arms, seizing on the Kings Forts, and making them Garrisons against the King, (and this before King or Parliament had any Armies.)*]

*Ans*. In plain English this Lie is shameless. Unless a poor hired Chamber was the Kings Fort, I seized on none. The first time the drunken Rabble rose up against me, was for preaching Original Sin: They said that I slandered their Children. The next was for Reading the Parliaments Order to deface the Pictures of the Trinity: The third was by bringing in Souldiers, that drove me away. And it was long after this ere I had a private Lodging in *Coventry*.

§ 42. Accus. XXIX. Page 26. He maketh the repetition of his Forgery a proof that I was guilty of Perjury. 1. Because I was prejudiced against the Bishops at Nineteen, and yet at Ordination took the Oath (to obey my Ordinary *in Licitis & Honestis.*) *Ans*. 1. I did not Swear an approbation of Persecution. I was not then prejudiced against



<sup>51</sup>Episcopacy, but against the sin of Bishops. May not a Man disown such shameless Liars as some Ministers are, without disowning the Ministry? 2. (*I was prejudiced against Bishop Morton at Fourteen.*) *Ans.* Utterly false: I honoured him to his death. But when I came to better understanding I disliked turning Confirmation to a meer Ceremony. (For the right use of which I have written a Treatise agreeing to Dr. *Hammond.*)

3. He nameth [*my omitting the Cross and Surplice.*] *Ans.* I never Sware nor Promised to use them; being in no station that obliged me to it: And was under an Ordinary that required it not. And I have confest my sin in rath subscribing to their lawfulness.

§ 43. Accus. XXX. Page 27. He tragically reciteth the reasons I alledged why I was for the Parliament: But his confutation is only by an Exclamation how bad I was, as worse than *Cook* and *Bradshaw*, as if I had been for the death of the King. When he knoweth that the Parliament was broken up by *Cromwell* for being for the Kings Restoration and their Union: And that a Faction called the Rump did this as *Cromwell's* Confederates. I believe I did more against that Faction than many such as he.

§ 44. Accus. XXXI. Page 27, 28. [*With what Heart could he be an Eye-witness of the Inhumane Butcheries that had been made in almost every Fight from the beginning of the Wars?*]

*Ans.* A Lie so gross that it feigneth me to see far off where I never was. I have answered it before: I was an Eye-witness of many of Gods provident disposals, and an Ear-witness of more. I saw the Field where they fought near *Worcester*, and *Edgehill*, and *Nantwich*, and I saw many Garrisons (*Wem, Leicester, Shrewsbury, Exeter, Sherburne, Bristol, Winchester,*) that had been taken: But I saw not the Fights at any one of these: But that at *Langport* that ended the Field War I saw afar off, but saw none kill'd, for they fled I think before a Man was kill'd.

§ 45. Accus. XXXII. I repent not of saying that I was rescued from many dangers: Nor that I had many tedious Nights and Days, (in that Army which after *Naseby* Fight I hazarded my Life and spent my Labour to have undeceived) [*and had many doleful sights and tidings.*] I saw the Graves and some of the Corps in Ditches near *Edgehill*, of the Parliaments Souldiers there kill'd, and many that lay unburied: When after I lived in peace at *Coventry*, how oft were Souldiers of that Garrison brought home Mortally wounded, and many slain: Few Weeks past in which we heard not of Fights in Fields or Garrisons: Which I thought it lawful to call doleful tidings.

§ 46. Accus. XXXIII. Because I named the doleful Fights at *Worcester, Edgehill, Newberry, Nantwich, Montgomery, Horncastle, Naseby, (York,) Langport, &c.* he addeth, [*It seems he was present in these Fights.*]

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*Ans.* Not at any one of them, save *Langport*. I said, [*My Eyes shalt no more see the Earth covered with the Carcasses of the slain.*] Which was at *Edgehill* the next day after, where I had no more to do than any other that would see the place.

§ 47. Accus. XXXIV. [*He had travelled over the most of England (to pursue the War.)*] *Ans.* It was [*much*] and not [*most*] and it was to have prevented the Change of Government, and not to *pursue the War* that I went

§ 48. Accus XXXV. Page 29. He feigneth me accordingly to see many *Noble Lords and Gentry perish in their integrity, some perhaps by his own Hand.*]

*Ans.* All meer Forgery: I never saw any such hurt, nor ever hurt any: But at *Coventrey* I did encourage the Garrison, and at *Wem*.

§ 49. Accus. XXXVI. His next is a common Accusation of me by his Party, that I speak of *Brook, Prin, Hambden and White as of Men in Heaven.*]

*Ans.* I think so still: *Prin* and *White* were never Souldiers: Our Creed containeth not any Article that decideth Controversies about the various forms of Government: Christ never told us how much of the Supremacy was in *Caesar*, and how much in the Senate and People, and which of them had the Legislative Power: Nor whether *England* be an Absolute or a Limited Monarchy; nor whether the Parliament have part of the Legislative and Self-defending Power. And those that best knew these Men (especially *Hambden* and *White*) took them for Men in all other respects of Great Wisdom, Piety and Honesty: If among the old Romans all the Civil Wars between the Senate and the Emperors, and one Emperor and another, (when of Forty scarce Ten died a Natural Death, but were Murdered) had inferred the Destruction and Damnation of all that were against the Censuring side, how few would have escaped? When setting up Emperors and killing them was so common, that Souldiers set the Crown to Sale. I never heard that *Brutus*, or *Cato*, or *Cicero*, or *Seneca*, or *Lucan* and such others might not have their Virtues praised, and that above their Enemies, though they died as esteemed Rebels. I am sure these Men that reproach me for this Charity, have a Law to turn me and all Nonconformists out of the Ministry, if we were to bury such a Man and would not profess our Hope of his Salvation: For they bind us to do it of every individual person buried in the Land, except the *Unbaptized, Excommunicate* and *Self-Murderers*. And *exceptio firmat regulam in non exceptis*.

And because the Sum of his Accusations is the *War*, the *War*, I will once more give him a Summary Answer.

If he mean the *War* before the new modelled Army, and new Commission which left out [*for the King*] after *Naseby* Fight, I did more

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against that new Cause and War than he, and perhaps many such as he: If he mean the first War stated by the Parliament Commissions [*for the King and Parliament*] I was in it and for it: Because,

1. He that is for the Highest Power in a Civil War, is of the righter side (*caeteris paribus*) than he that is against it; but they that were for King and Parliament were for the Highest Power in our Civil War.

Proved: They that were for them that have the Legislative Power, were for them that had the Highest Power (as *Morley* confesseth and almost all others.) But they that were for King and Parliament were for them that had the *Legislative* Power. *Ergo, &c.*

Obj. *What Hypocrisie is it to shoot at the King and say you fight for him?*

Ans. 1. The King protested to be for the Parliament (as his *Shrewsbury* Half Crowns shew) while he fought against their Armies and Persons: *Ergo* the Parliament might more clearly be for the King while they fought against his Army and not his Person, though in the Field.

2. They knew that the King had discretion enough to keep his Person out of the reach of Danger: And so he did: At *Edgehill* he stood on the Hill (as I heard) and look'd down on the Fight in the Field. At *Naseby* where he was nearest he was safe (but that was after the first Cause and War.) I never heard else that he came near.

3. Else any Traytor, that could possess the Kings Person, and carry him about (as they did *Henry VI.*) should be for the King and all against him that would rescue him.

Obj. *He was willingly with his Army.] Ans.* He may fight for the King that doth it against his Will, while he doth it not to hurt his Person, Prerogative or Rights. We Sware not to be for all the *Will* of the King. If in a Passion he would kill Himself, his Son, his Lords, his Parliament, yea, or would but Ravish a Woman, he may be held and resisted.

Arg. 2. They that were to bring King and Parliament again to Union, fought for the King and Kingdom, and the Highest Power; (for it is the Constitution. But the first Wars Commissions were to bring the King and Parliament to Unity. *Ergo, &c.*

Arg. 3. They that were really for the Common Safety, and *Salus Populi* and the very Constituted Form of Government in a case of notorious danger, and only against an Army of Subjects that fled from the Justice of the Supreme Judicature, were righter than those that were against their Wars. But, *&c. Ergo, &c.*

Arg. 4. They that were for a Defensive War according to Law and Constitution, were righter than they that raised War against them contrary to Law and Constitution—But, *&c. Ergo, &c.*

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The Parliament to the last were against all violence to the Person of the King, and were cast out by *Cromwell* for Voting to receive him.

As it was easie for *Bradshaw* and [?????]ook to Charge all the Bloodshed on the King, so is it fo[?????] Accuser to Charge it according to his Judgment. But all of us must be willing of Conviction, and deep Repentance, so far as we shall be proved guilty.

*Arg. 5.* The present King and Parliament have by Practice and by Law declared the right of more than Arming and Resisting a King in several Cases.

*Arg. 6.* In a doubtful Case under God there is no Judge that hath a deciding power above the Supream Judicature.

§ 50. Accus. XXXVII. *He next accuseth me as falsly Charging the peaceable Reign of King Charles the First with Persecution, wherein there was no such thing, but Peace, save against the Seditious: And he appealeth to the Canons.*

*Ans. 1.* See the Preface to my Book called *Cain and Abel* for an answer to this. 2. We appeal to the Canons too, and to the Bishops Visitation Articles, and to the experience of all *England*, that delight not in the Destruction of the true Servants of Christ. 3. But alas how far are Leeches from feeling the smart of the Persons whose Blood they feast upon? The Papists say *none* were punished in Queen *Mary's* days but the Hereticks and Seditious. So saith the King of *France*. And so said the Irish when they Murdered 200000.

4. Q. 1. Was there nothing but Amiable Peace, when *Laud* and others wrote for a Forreign Jurisdiction, under the Name of our *obeying the Pretorian Power of Forreign Councils*?

Q. 2. Was it Sedition not to Read the Book for *Sunday Sports and Dancing*, which exempted Children and Servants from the Government of their Parents, and Masters? For which many Ministers suffered.

Q. 3. Was it Sedition for Religious people to go hear a Conformable Preacher at the next Parish, when they had no Preaching at Home?

Q. 4. Was it Sedition for Religious people to pray with their Sick Friends, and Fast and Humble themselves to God, without Travelling to the Bishop for a License?

Q. 5. Was it Sedition for a Man Vowed to the Ministry by Episcopal Ordination, to Preach or Expound any matter in the Church or elsewhere, without a new License from the Bishop?

Q. 6. Was it Sedition for any Man, Noble or Ignoble to affirm that any thing was repugnant to the Word of God, in the Ceremonies, Liturgy, Ordinations, or the *Et caetera* Government of the Church?

Q. 7. Was it Sedition to refuse the false *Et caetera* Oath of 1640?

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Q. 8. Was it Sedition to say that other Societies in *England* were true Churches besides the Episcopal Churches? At least the French and Dutch?

Q. 9 Was it for Sedition that Men were punished for not Receiving the Sacrament, when the Conscience of their ignorance and unfitness deterred them?

Q. 10. Were the many thousand Families that were put to fly the Land to *Holland* and *America* punished for nothing but Sedition? Were *New England* and *Barmudas* planted without any Persecution? Or was it no punishment to be driven from House, Land, Goods, Kindred and Native Countrey into an unplanted Wilderness among Woods and wild Men and Beasts?

Q. 11. Was it no Persecution to be Excommunicate *ipso facto* by Canons 6, 7, 8, &c. without being admonished or heard?

Q. 12. Was it nothing but Amiable Peace, that laid all the Ten sorts of the Excommunicate named in the Statute, in the common Goal during Life, depriving them there of their Estates, unless they Lied by a feigned Repentance?

Q. 13. Yea, was it only harmless that made Seriousness in Religion such a common Scorn, as the word *Puritane* then signified, if Mr. *Robert Bolton*, Bishop *Abbot*, Bishop *Downname*, and other Conformists may be believed?

But say these Accusers, *All this was but justice, and was well done.* But the casting out of two hundred accused on Oath for gross scandal, and utter insufficiency, by the Parliament, was Persecution and was not well done.

§ 51. Accus. XXXVIII. Next I am accused because *other Men exploded the Lords Prayer.*

*Ans.* 1. And what is that to me, that constantly used it? 2. And who may not see that the use of it was prescribed in the Directory? 3. And the Presbyterian (and Episcopal Nonconformists that now are) commonly used it. But he hath found out one Independent Dr. *John Owen*, who when he was Vice-Chancellor at *Oxford* was against the common use of it as necessary.

§ 52. Accus. XXXIX. He feigneth also that the *Creed and Ten Commandments were also cast out, and scarce a Chapter read in many Churches.*

*Ans.* 1. Was he that hated them, more oft in their Churches than I? I knew *not one such* Presbyterian Congregation in *England.* 2. Read the Directory whether it were for them or against them, and judge of this Mans words.

§ 53. Accus. XL. His Exclamation against the *Scots Covenant* and *Cromwell's doings*, I before shewed to be just: And I think I opposed both more than he did.

§ 54. Accus. XLI. Page 39. Whereas I before said how *I went in-*

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to the Army after Naseby Fight by the Consent of an Assembly of Loyal Ministers in Coventry, to try whether there was any hope to save the Church and State from the Corrupted Army: He feigneth that this was the Westminster Assembly, or some Rebellious Branch of them: All falsly as the rest.

§ 55. Accus. XLII. *That I went to Col. Whalley.*] *Ans.* Who then profest himself a Lamenter of the Armies Corruption, and a Desirer of their Reformation, and so continued while I was with him: But was after overcome by his Kinsman *Cromwell* and worldly Interest, to hold on with them for his preferment.

§ 56. Accus. XLIII. His Page 41. is made of meer forged Lies. As, 1. *That I promised my self great things*, (much what as I did from King *Charles* the Second, when instead of a Bishoprick I craved leave (in vain) to have been for nothing the Curate of an ignorant Reading Vicar.) 2. *That I was disappointed of my hopes.* (By whom? And how? And for what?) 3. *That I thought my self capable of advancement, but They did not:* As if I sought that which I refused. 4. *That I was well promised for my pains.*] *Who never ask'd them any thing, nor was promised any thing.* 5. That I was content with the *pleasing work of drawing Blood gratis.*] Because I that never drew a drop of any Mans Blood, did labour to prevent the Papists, and malignant other Leeches from bursting with the Blood of King, Parliament and Kingdom. 6. *That I hoped they would have advanced me to some Military Preferment.*] Who never was so much as a Souldier, and could have had Military Preferment long before Thus the Mans Brain (from what cause let others judge) breeds Lies as a Carkass breedeth Maggots: They swarm by heaps. Is this the Credit of our Church History?

§ 57. Accus. XLIV. Page 42. [*Against his Will he is forced to leave the Army.*]

*Ans.* Yes; just the day that they consulted at *Nottingham* to Rebel, and I had else at *Triploe-Heath* ventured my Life against them: But it had been in vain, as it was to those that drew off about 5000 from them; whose places they fill'd up with King *Charles* the First's Souldiers that had come to them, and with Fanaticks that would be true to their Interest.

§ 58. Accus. XLV. [*That ever since it hath been my business to destroy the best Established Church in the World.* *Ans.* By desiring them not to set up a Forreign Jurisdiction which the Kingdom is Sworn against. And by humble Petitioning them not to silence all the Ministers of *England* conditionally, and two thousand of the most Faithful actually in one day: By striving for Concord as for Life, upon terms once granted by the King in his Gracious Declaration, and after on lower terms consented to by Bishop *Wilkins*, Dr. *Burton*, Judge *Hale*, and I think by Dr. *Tillotson*, and Dr. *Stillingfleet*: I never motioned

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the alienation of one Farthing of the Revenues of the Bishops or Deans; nor spake against their Baronies, Parliament Place and Power, [[?????]] nor against their vast Diocesses, so they would not put down the Inferiour Pastoral Office and Churches, and make Lay Civilians Usurpers of the Keys: Thus I sought to destroy the best Church in the World. Locusts are famished if they may not destroy our Trees and Fruit, and Pikes if they may not devour all the lesser Fish: All *Human's* Wealth and Honour is nothing to him if *Mordecai* be not hanged. This Envy consumeth them, if we lye not still with Rogues in Goals.

§ 59. Accus. XLVI. [*He will not affirm that I was given to plunder: But it is a suspicious sign when I would take up a Man to exchange for my Father.*] Ans. This hath a little modesty; though even natural Affection be a Crime with Tories, even when exercised without hurting any. Here also he repeateth his Forgery of raining *Manna*.

§ 60. Accus. XLVII. Page 43 [*That I sate down on the Sequestred Living of Mr. Dance at Kiderminster.*] Ans. This is cautelously said: Not that I had a hand in Sequestering him, not that I took his living: But that *I sate down on it*: And Bishop *Morley* saith, [*That he was a Man of an unblameable life.*] But, 1. He shall not hereby draw me to recite the Articles Sworn against him by as credible Men as any of his Neighbours. 2. I think that it is not a blameless life to undertake the Pastoral Care of Souls, and neither preach to them, nor be able to Expound the Creed; and to keep one as ignorant but much more vicious (*Turner at Mitton*) under him.

3. I yet believe that such a Mans Possession, doth not oblige the people to venture their Souls upon his Pastoral Care; and own him for their Teacher, and seek no other: Nor make it a sin for any other to Teach them? No more than the King's Ships or Armies must wilfully cast away Ships and Lives, for want of Conduct, because a Man that hath no tolerable skill is in Possession. How cheap are Souls, or how contemptible is Ministerial Knowledge and Preaching with these Men. You see here what is the *best Church in the World in their account*, and what it is to *destroy* it.

4. Almost two years before the Wars, the Vicar conscious of his obnoxiousness, entred into Bond with the chief Magistrates and others of the Town and Parish, to pay 60 *l. per Annum* to a Lecturer of their choice, he keeping his Vicaridge and officiating as Reader: And so he put out Mr. *Jo. Dide* his Preaching Curate, in whose place I came, being before in another County: Which Mr. *Dide* though more offensive before than the Vicar to the Religious people, being after on my Testimony for him, received into a Benefice of his own, was so reconciled to the people of *Kiderminster* that he Bequeathed much of his Estate to them.

5. In my absence some years Mr. *Dance* by Bond owed me about

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120 *l.* of which I never desired or ask'd for a Penny: And if Mr. *Dance* when forced out had right to his Benefice I that was forced away had right to my Salary: Which yet I think was no good Title in him or me. But he was sequestred when I was in another Countrey not like to live: And the Sequestration put into the hands of divers of the Inhabitants to maintain one to Officiate. They offered it me, and I refused it: And told them that I would take neither Sequestration nor Pastoral Cure, but my former *Lecture*; but if they would get a competent Pastor, let them take care to pay him: For I would have out of the Vicaridge but the 60 *l.* that the Vicar was bound to pay: And because I refused a Living of 400 *l.* or 500 *l.* to be with them I would try other ways to make my Stipend 100 *l.* by getting for *Mitton* Chapel, which had but ten pound a year, an Augmentation of forty pound from the Parliament *aliunde*; and in sum while I was there, the maintenance of the Vicaridge was thus paid; *viz.* forty pound a year to Mr. *Dance*, about twenty pound to the Crown and Poor, and Taxes; ten pound to the old Curate of *Mitton*, which was all he had before: sixty pound to me, and the rest to a truly faithful Minister that preached once a day at *Kiderminster* and once at *Mitton*, and did the rest of the Offices. And the Augmentation added from the Parliament made up my sixty pound to be eighty pound, and the Rent of a few Rooms in the top of another Mans old House. And I had no more: Nor did ever set my foot in the Vicaridge House, much less offer to put out Mr. *Dance*; nor had we any disagreement. And when he was restored, he freely gave me a full discharge for all between him and me.

But the Sequestrators had notice that another was like to be put in against their will if I were not: And thereupon without me they got the Committee to pass an Order as to me; and they kept this Order for their own indempnity, till King *Charles* the Second's Army came to *Worcester*, and then they brought it me, and desired me if I were put to it, not to disclaim it.

And to make all sure when I came to them after my return from the Army, I got all the Magistrates and chief of the Town, to Subscribe their Names, that they received me only as their Lecturer, that refused the Pastoral Charge and Sequestration.

§ 61. Accus. XLVIII. To aggravate the Rebellion of *Cromwell's* Army, I wrote that [*they had pull'd down the best Governours that they could name in the World, and therefore to pretend their faults for their Rebellion, was to profess that they would be subject to none.*]

Here he saith I meant the Parliament.

I answer, *It was both King and Parliament that they put down:* And he hath nothing but my own words to accuse me of. 2. Why did he not venture to Name better than they put down? I know not what Nation



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then had better; notwithstanding all that both *Cromwell* and this Accuser hath said against them.

§ 62. Accus. XLIX He next accuseth me for praising *Richard Cromwell's Government*.] *Ans.* I spake nothing but Truth. He was never in any War: The Royalists reported that he would restore the King. He was not for Sectaries, but for uniting pious Counsels: He presently gave up his Government, because it should cost no Mans Blood. And this was enough to aggravate their sin that had set him up when he sought it not, and then cast him out (to their own destruction.)

§ 63. Accus. L. He saith, *That I never so much complained of Arbitrary Government and Persecution as since the King and Church were restored.*

*Ans.* Notoriously false: My *Political Aphorisms* witness my complaints then, and let him tell if he can, where or when I complained of *Arbitrary Government* since King *Charles* the Second came in. I knew he did what was done against us by Parliaments. I knew the Bishops got Laws for their purpose. But if I complain more of *Persecution*, it is because I think it no sin to feel, nor a Duty to love the Silencing of Faithful Ministers, and laying them in Goals for nothing but preaching the Gospel, nor was I of the mind that undoing thousands of sincere godly Christians was no *Persecution*, I dare not rail at Christ's Judgment, *Matth.* 25. that reckoneth that as done for or against him that is done for or against the least of those whom he calleth Brethren while Pharisees call them Accursed. Till *Cruel Persecution* be *Sanctity*, it will be no sin to hate it.

§ 64. Accus. LI. But that which followeth is a most notorious out-facing the most publick notice of the Land, Page 47. *Did not the Secluded Members upon their readmission reinforce the Engagement to be true and faithful to the Common-wealth without a King or House or Lords.*]

*Ans.* So far were they from this, that they were cast out immediately for Voting the satisfactoriness of the Kings Commissions, and his return to *London*: And upon their readmission they voted their own dissolution that a free Parliament might be called, and were never for the *Engagement*, but abhorred it, though the Royalists at their Compositions ordinarily took it (when I wrote against it.)

But he asketh, [*Did not some of them provide an Oath of Abjuration, &c.*] *Ans.* We can better tell what *Parliaments* do, than what [*some of them do.*] How know I what odd or secret Act of any particular Persons this Man might know of? But I suspect this [*some*] was some one or more of the excluded Rump. But had he no pretence for this notorious Lie against the Secluded Members? None visible but that which hath filled his Book with falshood; wrath and blind prejudice, and inconsiderate haste: That which was done by the restored Rump he falsly

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saith was done by the Secluded Members, when it was done before their restoring. But they justified their first War against the Delinquent Army You may find him punctually confuted in *Whitlock's Memorials*. When things so notoriously false are thus confidently vented, which the publick notice of the Kingdom confuteth, what credit doth his Accusation deserve of me and my unknown actions, and my thoughts, whom I suppose he never saw, if the Author be *Long of Exeter*, as fame reporteth.

Indeed when *Cromwell's* proud rebellious Army came and mastered Parliament and City, and about 150 of their Members forbore coming to the House, they past divers slavish Votes, among which was that of [*No more Addresses to the King,*] when he refused their four Acts: But they recalled that Vote, and were cast out for recalling it, and Voting Consent to the Kings Concession. And when after *Richard's* Government the Army had confounded themselves, they were forced to call the Excluded Members of the Long Parliament again: But what Members were they? Only the Rump or Party that cut off the King, and put down the House of Lords, expressly confining it to them that staid in till *April 20. 1653.* the day that *Cromwell* cast out the last. So that the first Excluded Members were never restored till *Monk* and his Presbyterian Army restored them. They abhorr'd the Commonwealth Engagement: And so did all the Ministers of my Acquaintance save Independants

§ 65. Accus. LII. Page 47. [Having told what a few Rumpers said to *Monk* he saith, [*And because they did this, and might justifie it by Mr. B's Theses in his Holy Commonwealth, they are the Supream Power the best Governours in all the World.*]

*Ans.* How pregnant is malice of falshood? 1. It is false that the Parliament in question did what he saith; which was done by their Adversaries: Such as *Scot, Robinson* and *Haseldrigge* that flattered *Monk* till he had them in his Net. 2. It is false that my *Th[?????]*ses justifie them, which are written against them. 3 It is false that it was for this that I call them the *Supream Power* or the *best Governours*: It's King and Parliament that I call *Supream*: It was King, Parliament, the Rump and *Richard* that the Men whom I wrote against pull'd down: And I only tell them that if the Errours of all these Rulers will justifie an Army for Deposing them, there is no Power on Earth that might not be so Deposited, there being none better than all these Deposited by them.

§ 66. Once more, I tell this Accuser and the World, that I am so far from justifying King or Parliament, from the beginning, progress, or ending of this War, that I think both sides deeply guilty of very heinous sin: And I cannot tell whether I know a Man living that hateth War more than I hate it: While I medled in it, it was far a more sad

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and hateful Life to me, than my abode in Prison was when the Church Defenders laid me there with an unsolvable Fine. The truth is, both sides began they knew not what: I knew not a Man but Sir *Francis Nethersole* that knew what War was, or foresaw what was like to come of it. Both sides thought it would be prevented by the Countreys forsaking the other side, or that one Fight would end it. And no Man can tell just *where*, and *when*, and by *whom* it was begun: No more than just when a Chronical Disease begins in Man. Only I am sure that *Virtually* and *Dispositively* it began in that *division of Minds, Hearts and Lives*, which is common in the World between them that Love a Life of Serious Godliness, and cannot Love Wickedness, and them that Hate a Godly Life because it's against their Lust and Carnal Interest. Not that every Adversary to the Parliament was a *Cainite*, but that through the Land an Enmity between the *Seriously Godly*, and the *Prophane encouraged* by Pharisical Ceremonious Formalists, was a War in our Bowels, ready to break forth upon the first advantages. And the Religious Party (as in all former Ages) had many young ignorant Novices, that by Pride ran into Extreames, being self-conceited, and unruly, and ready by Schism or petulant Censoriousness to vilifie all that be not of their Sects, and to pretend Fanatick Inspirations for their Errours. As the contrary Party was prone to be so Jealous of their beloved Dominion, Wealth, and Ease, and Honour, as to take such for intolerable Enemies that flattered them not in their Worldly Pomp.

Long did heart-burnings continue between these discordant Parties, one side *blaming*, and the other side *ruining* those that were against them: Till *Laud's* attempts for Innovation, stirred up such *opposition* in *Scotland*, and *distaste* in *England*, as I cannot justifie. The Parliament encouraged by the Scots went higher in provoking the King than they ought: And the King too much occasioned their Jealousie that he intended to have Invaded Property and Liberty, and to subdue them by force if they restrained or punished the Executioners of his Illegal Will. But this brake out by such degrees, that no Man can name the beginning. As a small breach in a Pond of Water groweth wider till it let out the whole: And as Personal Duels begin in a word, or a suspicion, and proceed to wrath, and then to reproach, and thence to revenge. When Division was the Death of the Constituted Form of Government, both sides should have *hated* and *feared* it more than either did. But the Parliament thought the King would soon return as deserted: And the Devil among us all was as if he had cast among Boys red hot pieces of Brass or Iron, and they scrambled for it, thinking by the Colour that it was Gold, till it stuck to their Fingers and burnt them to the Bone. And the dread of 20000 Murdered in *Ireland* put such a pannick fear in the Antipapists in *England*, as darkened their Wits.

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And yet if the Captain and Mariners fall out by folly, the Ship may be preserved by the innocent. If the Citizens could not agree about quenching the Fire in 1666. the Inhabitants may endeavour it, and pull down Houses to that end without the guilt of injury to the Owners. I think that King and Parliament grievously sinned (but not equally) in doing so much to cause and no more to prevent a Civil War: I would they had hearkened to *Whitlock's* Speech, and other Mens healing motions 1641. But who in the beginning fore-knows the end? And when once the breach is made, usually there is no hope left of any better end than one of the two Parties ruin. True is the old saying, *He that draweth his Sword against his King must throw away the Scabbard*. When all mutual Trust is gone, all hope of Reconciliation is gone.

The present state of *England* is a lively Exposition of the beginning of that miserable War. We were thus in fear of Popery and Slavery here of late. The Murder of 200000 in *Ireland*, and the Papists coming into the King in *England* was as loud an Alarm, as King *James* his Liberty of Conscience here. The Archbishop and Bishops, and the Lay Church Lords and Patrons here had Sworn or Promised *against taking Arms against the King on any pretence whatsoever*. They did not *all own King William's* Title to the Crown: Yet they thought it lawful to save the Kingdom from a misgoverning King, and the Kings own Kindred, Lords, Army and Clergy forsook him, and joined with him that came in against him: They meant it not as owning then the Invaders Right to the Crown, nor as *disowning King James*, but to *save the Kingdom*; and it proved contrary to their expectation that without Blood the turn of the Nation turned the Government.

Just so the first beginners of the resistance of King *Charles* the First his Army intended no change of the Government, and they thought that the War would have been as soon almost ended as begun, as King *William's* was here; but when it was once begun reconciliation became impossible: And one or others must be ruined: Yet we that owned not the miscarriages of either side, but thought King and Parliament greatly sinful, thought it an absolute Duty to do our best to save the Kingdom, from the most threatening danger. And we thought that the Massacre of *Ireland*, the Papists in *England*, the malignity of most of the Kings Adherents, and the prospect of such an Army of Delinquents Conquering a Parliament, and putting all the Land into the Sole power of the King, who was himself in the power of Papists and Delinquents, did clearly tell us where the present danger of the Kingdom lay. But future Changes we could not foresee.

[[?????]] part, I was a young Novice, and knew not what War was; [[?????]] considerable interest in any, to have prevented it: But [[?????]] that I more repent of than that I feared it so little, and

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that I did not speak more earnestly for the preventing of it by mutual pacificatory means, and that I said any thing towards unpeaceable irritations. Who could have forethought that all those doleful Events would follow, which make up *Whitlock's* impartial *Memorials*?

§ 67. Yet I must truly say (though it displease the guilty) that the effects were quite different on the Land, from what the Malignants commonly report: They would falsly perswade the World, that all ancient Piety was despised, the Creed, Lords Prayer and Decalogue, and all sober Ministers cast out, and Tub preachers set up to vent their Nonsense. The truth is, among 10000 of the Clergy about 300 or more were turn'd out as Ignorant and Scandalous, and with them unjustly some for being for the King against the Parliament: The number I know not, but conjecture that there might be an hundred such at least. In the places of these the most seriously Religious young Men that the Universities would afford, with some few old Nonconformists, and but few) such as the Parishioners chose were set up: Most of these young Men were such as had no hand in the Wars, but were Lads or young Students while the War continued. It pleased God, that very many of them, became such fervent, able Preachers, that a great change followed among their Hearers, and multitudes of the Ignorant, Debauch'd and Worldlings became Serious, Godly, Christians. And the younger sort grew up accordingly.

For instance, in the County of *Worcester* where I lived, where before there was one Family that minded Piety, or the Life to come, or Prayed, or Read the Scripture, there were many after that did it. In the Town where I lived, where there was before one or two Houses in a Street that worshipped God by Prayer in their Families, and avoided Profaneness, and minded the Concerns of their Souls, at last there was scarce more than two Houses on a Street-side, that did not learn the Catechism read the Scripture, pray and live soberly, and this in great love and peace, and humility towards others; commonly disowning the Cromwellians, and Sectarians Disloyalties, Rebellions and Schisins.

But indeed when the Sectaries got dominion, many Anabaptists and Self conceited Novices set up themselves for Preachers where they could get Hearers; but the sober godly people kept so much Concord and Integrity, that these others were but here and there, and that as a disgraced broken Sect, as the Quakers be among us now. But *Harrison* took the advantage of the ignorance and badness of the Parish Ministers in *Wales*, to set up Itinerant Anabaptists and Separatists in many places.

This is the truth of the Consequents about Religion: And it fell out that the Cromwellians and Anabaptists professing more Zeal for Godliness than ordinary, did much of their work by suppressing sin and pro-

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faneness, and countenancing Godliness: Which hath taught us to wish that of two Evils, rather *Hypocrisie* than *Malignity* may be in power. It's better Godliness be promoted for evil Ends, than hated and persecuted.

68. Whereas therefore the Diocesane Church of *England* exclusive of all Nonconformists, and such as these Men accuse, is so oft called, *The best Church in the World*: It must mean that it is best in *Constitution* and *Laws*, or in the *Men* that are Ministers and Members. If the first be their meaning, 1. The best Laws without the best Men never make the best Church. 2. Is one sole Bishop over a Thousand or many Hundred Parishes without any Bishop or Pastoral Church under him a better Form of Government, than the contrary that was continued for many hundred years?\*

\*See Mr. *Clarksons* proofs. Archbishop *Usher* and others. 2. Is a Church Governed by Lay Civilians decretive use of the Keys so much better than that which is Governed by the Keys in the hands of the Clergy only? 3. Is a Church Governed by Canons that *ipso facto Excommunicate all* that affirm any of their Offices, Ceremonies or Forms, to have anything sinful, better than those that unite in things necessary, and bear with such as these? 4. Are Bishops and Deans chosen by Kings (perhaps Papists) and Incumbents chosen by any that can buy a Presentation, better than those that are chosen by the Clergy and People, and Invested by the Prince and Patron. 5. Is a Church where the ignorant, sinful and unwilling are forced to Communicate, unless they will lye Beggar'd in Goals, better than those that receive none to Communion but the Desirers?

2. But if it be the best Church in the *World* for *Men*, they should let others praise them rather than their own Mouths. Are they so much better Men than the Nonconformists? Do their Lives shew it? Doth credible fame speak it? Though Mr. *White* was blamed for publishing the Names of such as by credible Oaths were ejected for Drunkenness, or other Scandal, this was no proof that they were the best Men in the *World*? Nor yet that of 10000 that Conformed 8000 of them had Conformed before to the Directory, and Declared their Assent and Consent to the altered Common Prayer Book before ever they saw it (as I have proved)

Whereas I remember not that ever I heard of one Nonconformist these twenty eight years that was accused and punished for any such crime, unless preaching Christs Gospel be a crime, even when Power and Malice watcht for advantages against them, and crouded them into Goals for preaching and praying. Nor do I remember more than two single instances of Immorality by credible accusations of fame, (which was of Fornication lamented) in all these years. But alas how different is the common fame of too many of the publick Clergy! And are these the best Men in all the *World*?

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§ 69. You may partly judge by their Works, their Writings and their Lives. Compare the Writings and Ministerial Labours of the Conformists and Nonconformists, these thirty years, or since the New Impositions. Some pious Conformists have done extraordinarily well: Especially Dr. *Barrow*. Dr. *Tillotson*, Dr. *Patrick*, Dr. *Stillingfleet*, Dr. *Tennison*, &c. And is there not the same Spirit of Wisdom, Piety and Peace in the Writings of *Anthony Burgesse*, Mr. *Charnock*, Dr. *Manton*, Dr. *Bates*, Mr *H[[?????]]w*, *Richard Alleine*, *Joseph Alleine*, *Tho. Gouge*, Mr. *Swinnock*, Dr *G[[?????]]lpin*, many Volumes of the Morning Lectures, Mr. *Flavel's*, Mr. *Steel's*, Mr. *Ambrose's*, and many more such.

This Man singleth out me for one of the worst Men living, and Bishop *Morley* bid Men judge of all the rest by me; [*ab uno disce omnes.*] And he was accounted one of the most Eminent of the Clergy for Parts and Orthodoxness: One Book against me called his Letter, is most shameless for untruths in publick matters of Fact: His last and greatest is to prove against me that the Parliament hath no part in Legislative Power, nor the whole Kingdoms any right of self defence against any Commissioned by the King on any pretence whatsoever. This Accuser is an Eminent Member of the best Church in the World: Is this bundle of his gross untruths a proof that he is one of the best Men in the World. He saith that the *Good that I wrote was for mischievous Ends*. And what should move a Man in pain and expectation of speedy death to write above Sixscore Books great and small, that are contrary to the bent of his own Heart? And for that which he mischievously would overthrow? To spend his Life against his own Affections?

§ 70. Accus. LIII. *His next charge is that [I was employed in assisting the Commissioners for Sequestration.]*

*Ans.* A downright Lie: I never had any thing to do for them or with them. Another sort called Commissioners for *Approbation* that were to judge of Men for Institution upon Presentations, would have had me to assist them, and I utterly refused it: But at last they got a trick, that when a Man was presented that they would not approve, and yet would not incur the blame of rejecting him, they named three Country Ministers near him, and said, If those approved him they would accept him: Three or four times they named me, and I refused to meddle in it: Till three Ministers that were Episcopal and Royalists, against the Parliament told me, They should lose their Livings if I refused them; and only for them did I deny my self to do this Office. And now this Man makes it my crime to help his Party to Benefices: I never put out or rejected one of his Party. He dealeth with me just as Dr. *Pearce* did: When I desired to reconcile the Religious sort to the Ignorant multitude whom the Conformists had made their Church, I was still met with the objection, (that they had nothing but the name

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and accidents of Christians; that they scarce ever spake of God, or Christ, or the Life to come, unless in jest, or at the saying of their Service; that they never prayed in their Families; that multitudes of them were common Swearers, Lyars, Drunkards, &c. To keep them from censuring the Conformists and their Churches over-much, and separating groundlesly. I told them how some foul Sins that have got advantage by Custom may stand with some degrees of Grace. And what doth this Doctor but turn this to my own reproach, as if I was for vicious Looseness, and had described not *theirs*, but my *own* Communicants; whenas, without this charitable Lenitive, I doubt it is above half the Conformable Laity that we must have turned from the Sacrament, and so have maimed the Church of *England*.

Just so doth this Man accuse me for keeping in three Prelatists.

§ 71. Accus. LIV. He maketh a long Accusation again, of my taking the Sequestration; full of gross Falshoods: Principally, That the *Augmentation came out of the Tythes of the Vicaridge*. A Lye merely forged by him, without the least appearance of Proof. It was granted *aliunde*, I know not whence, by the Parliament, and paid by them.

2. That the *Vicar then had little*, and he talks of *desolate Wives and Children*: Whereas the Vicar had *no Child*, and had 40 *l.* a Year for doing nothing. His debauch'd, sottish Curate at *Mitton* had all his old Pay, without any Abatement; and was connived at by us to read Common Prayer once a day, and the other half of the day they had a worthy Preacher.

3. And as for the 60 *l.* before and after paid me as Lecturer, the Vicar's Bond for it was procured by his own Friends importunity before the Wars. Oh What a rate do these Accusers set on Souls, that would leave so many to two such Men, whom many Plow-men and Weavers in that Congregation farther excelled in Knowledge, and the Exercise of it, than I will now express.

§ 72. Accus. LV. He saith that *I think my self wronged that I had not the fifth part still paid me, and expected to have it offered as my due.*]

*Ans.* A mere Lye: 'Tis capable of no better Name and Answer.

§ 73. Accus. LVI. Because I said that the *Papists Doctrine of deposing and destroying Kings was worse, or had less excuse, than their act that here had fought against him,*] while I published my abhorrence of both sorts of Regicides, he feigneth me to *plead for them*, and that *more than others*.

§ 74. Accus. LVII. Pag. 57. He saith *It is Men of my persuasion that say, that the Representatives of the People in Parliament have the supream Power; and whatever is enacted and declared for Law by the Commons in Parliament, hath the form of a Law.*]

*Ans.* Impudently false: Whereas in my Christian Directory I have fully confuted this, and such like, in *Ri. Hooker*, the Man of their persuasion that they boast of. Had he said that I hold that they have part of the Supream Legislative Power, he had said true.



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§ 75. Accus. LVIII. After a deal of impertinent talk of the Army's ill usage of the King (which 'tis like I did more against, than many such as he,) he saith, [*That I plead for the Obligation of the Solemn Covenant contumaciously, against the Authority of the whole Nation.*]

*Ans.* If the Reader will find truth in this Man's Writings, he must first separate it from all the Chaff of Untruths that covereth it. I distinguish between 1. The Imposing of that Covenant. 2. And the Taking of it. 3. And the Keeping of the unlawful parts of it. 4. And the Keeping of the lawful and necessary parts. The three first I speak against; the fourth is all the matter of our dispute. That Covenant is also a Vow to God: Therein Men vowed to be against Popery, Profaneness, Heresie and Schism, and all that is against sound Doctrine and Godliness; and to repent of Sin, and amend; and to defend the Person and Rights of the King. King *Charles* the Second took this Covenant, and so did his Lords and Knights, and others, at their Composition; and many that imposed and took it were then, and some are yet alive. The Question is Whether I. and all *England*, can and must be certain that this Vow bindeth neither King, Parliament-men, or any one living, to renounce Popery, Schism and Profaneness, and to repent of Sin, and to defend the King. All the Corporations of *England* are constituted by a new Oath, that there is NO OBLIGATION from this Covenant, on ME OR ANY OTHER PERSON.] I gave the Reasons why I durst not swear this, leaving other Men's Consciences to their Judge.

Now either there is some such Obligation, or there is not. If there is, and I should venture, by an Oath, or a Subscription, to justifie King, Parliament, and all the Corporations in *England*, in publick, national Perjury, What greater Wickedness could I commit? Would this be a Character of the best Church in the World, to have such Ministers?

But if there be no Obligation from that Vow, to the things aforesaid, 1. Dr. *Sanderson*, and most sober Casuists are mistaken: who say, That though a Vow be unlawfully imposed, and unlawfully taken, and part of the Matter be unlawful to be kept, it bindeth us nevertheless to keep the necessary part. And what am I, that I should swear or say that I am wiser than all these Doctors, and sure that they are mistaken?

2 And then I must swear or say, that neither King, nor Lords, nor any one took it in a lawful sense; which else would oblige them. And must I become a Voucher for Thousands whom I never knew?

3 And then I must swear or say, that the King was brought in by Error and Deceit. *Monk's* Presbyterian Army, and the Presbyterian Gentry and Ministry of *England* brought in the King, as bound to it by this Covenant, (as they declared:) And must I say, it did not bind them to it?

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But our Accusers are no Self-accusers; but God will difference between him that sweareth, and him that feareth an Oath, and dare not take God's Name in vain.

§ 76 Accus. LIX. *He dipped his Pen, not in Gall and Vinegar, but in the very poyson of Asps, to keep open the wounds of the expiring Church: To which end, he endeavours to draw his Neighbour-Ministers into an Association, and procures the Worcestershire-Agreement; the design of which you may see in his Gildas Salvianus]*

*Ans.* I have here some help to understand Christ, [*They that kill you, shall think they do God service.*] What Duty so great, that some will not say is a Crime that deserveth death? The Agreement accused is printed in a Book called *Christian Concord*: The terms of it were, that Episcopal, and Presbyterians and Independents, should agree in the practice of so much of the Ministry and Church-Discipline as they were agreed about in their Judgments or Principles, and be left in the rest to their several Liberties. Was this a Crime? Is an Attempt of voluntary Concord and Peace the poyson of Asps? Or is not the poyson of Asps under their lips, that are haters of it, and have not known the way of peace? I have had thanks from *Helvetia*, and other parts of *Germany*, for that *Gildas Salvianus*, and that pacificatory Attempt; which is to these Men the *poyson of Asps*.

§ 77. Accus. LX. [*But there was then a Petition, that scandalous and insufficient Ministers might not administer Sacraments; on which, the Loyal Party were restrained.*]

*Ans.* And is it a Crime to be against a scandalous, insufficient Ministry, and a Duty to be for them, that we may be the best Church in the World? Reader, the truth is this; There was a Petition by some, that those, of what side soever, for King or Parliament, whose Insufficiency and Scandal was so great, as to render them utterly incapable of Ministry, might not be allowed it: And I petitioned withal, that no Man might be cast out, or restrained, for being for the King, against the Parliament, and their Cause. Is this so poysonous?

Doth not this Man more disgrace his Church than me, that taketh it for the poyson of Asps to cast out only the incapable, and keep in the rest?

§ 78. Accus. LXI. He accuseth me for telling the World truly how the English Prelates had encouraged the Enemies of serious Godliness in the Land, and at how much cheaper a rate a Man might be a Swearer, a Drunkard, a Whoremonger, an open Scornor of Godliness, than to fast and pray, or to hear a Conformist in the next Parish, when there was no Sermon at home.

*Ans.* What doth the Man mean by rendering this odious? If he mean that all this was well done; and that, as in Armies, he hath most Honour that killeth most; so in their Church, he is the best Man that

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doth most against serious Piety; this is to profess themselves the Devil's Militia. But if he mean that I mis-report the matter of fact, and this was not so, he may as well persuade us that we lived not then in *England*, or that we knew not our Neighbours, or that Men spake not English. Can we chuse but know that which every Corner in all the Land did speak? Doth he say a word to confute all this? And it was a meritorious work to silence and imprison with Rogues all that obeyed not their ungodly Canons; but it must go for a heinous Crime to feel their Malice, or blame their Cruelty.

§ 79. Accus. LXII. Pag 66, &c. He accuseth me, as accusing King *Charles* the First of too much favouring the *Grotian* design of Union with the Papists. But, 1. Doth he say a word so much as to deny his Letter to the Pope, to venture Crown and all for Union? 2. Or to deny his sworn Articles for Toleration, mentioned in *Rushworth's* Collections, and others? 3. Or to deny the Papists Murders in *Ireland*, and their power in the King's Armies in *England*? 4. Or that he set up such Bishops as *Laud*, *Bromhall*, and others? But if accusing these Men be my Crime, (when I would have saved *England* from them.) Reader, peruse but a full Treatise, which I have long ago written, and hope to get speedily printed, with the very words of *Laud*, *Bromhall*, *Gunning*, *Saywell*, *Thorndike*, *Heylin*, *Pierce*, *Parker*, *Sparrow*, *Beveridge*, &c. for our Subjection to a Foreign Jurisdiction, (which the Kingdom is sworn against,) and then judge whether I accuse them wrongfully. Must we be brought under Aristocratical Popery, or French Church-Government, merely by saying *It is not Popery*? And must the Land so tamely be perjured and enslaved?

§ 80 Accus. LXIII. Pag. 67. [*He hath been made use of as one of the most keen and Catholick Tools, that ever the Papacy did employ.*]

*Ans.* 1. 'Tis an unrighteous Honour to *Popery* to call it *Catholick*, while they are a Sect contrary to Catholicism. But why then do not these Men love and cherish me, while they are striving for a Foreign Jurisdiction, if I be so much for them?

§ 81. Accus. LXIV. Pag. 68. [*That I am for a mixture of Episcopal, Presbyterian and Independent Government.*]

*Ans.* And what harm is that? I am for that which is good in all, and for the Faults of none: But these Men must needs be faultless, and curse all others, that they may bless themselves. But am I Episcopal, and yet the greatest Enemy to Episcopacy? Are they for Episcopacy that put down hundreds, to set up one in their stead?

§ 82. Accus. LXV. The next Accusation is, That my *five Disputations of Church-Government* came out to keep out *Episcopacy*, and justify our *Ordination*.]

*Ans.* 1. It was to bring in a threefold Episcopacy, which our Diocesans kept out, *viz.* *Episcopos Gregis*, *Episcopos Praesides*, and Archbishops over these.

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2. Chancellor *Hide* and *Morley* produced that Book before the King, Lords and Bishops, at the great Meeting at *Worcester-house*; and *Morley* said, No Man hath written better than Mr. *B.* of these things. And now it is all intolerable.

3. That Disputation of Ordination was never yet answered, (that I could hear of,) and yet Men were forced to be re-ordained. I never had a hand in ordaining any one.

§ 83. Accus. LXVI. His Accusations of my holy Commonwealth are so slippery and trifling, that they call not for an Answer, unless it be that he taketh it for criminal, 1. That I told *Cromwell's* Army, that it was Treason to take Arms against the highest Power, as they did; and that if the highest Legislative Power was in the King alone, and not in King and Parliament conjunct, I must confess that I was guilty of death.

2. Or that I said, *I honoured all the Providences of God that made our Changes, though I abhorred the Deeds of Men that were guilty.* And is it a Crime to honour God, and his Works? 3. Or that I desired *Richard Cromwell* to govern well, and called my self his *Subject*, though I never owned his Right to the Government; thinking that Christ directed me

so far to submit to the Possessor, when he paid\*

\* See Dr. *Sherlock's* Defence.

\* Hath not Bishop *Stillington* himself taken King *William's* Oath.

Tribute to *Caesar*, and sent Lepers, and others, to the High Priests, that were Usurpers. And \* this very Man, and his best Church in the World (except seven or eight Bishops) do now practise that which he so condemned me for; yea, and

much more, while they swear Obedience to the present King *William*, publishing that it is as to a King *de facto* only.

§ 84. Accus. LXVII. is, That I say, *I had been a Traytor had I taken Arms against the Parliament.*]

*Ans.* Yes, or the King either, if the Legislative Power be in them conjunct. The King protested that he took not Arms against the Parliament, and the Parliament protested that they took not Arms against the King. This Man makes Mr. *Udal* guilty of Sedition against the Queen, because it was against the Bishops, her Ministers: And is it not as criminal to be against the Parliament? Are they so much lower than the Bishops?

Here he wonders that any Christian can still take me for a Saint, and the Guide of the Party; and recites some applauding words of Mr. *John Humphreys*, (no Sectary.) But I take my self for a very great Sinner, and know no Party that take me for their Guide; and am so conscious of my Ignorance, that I know it to be far greater than my Knowledge, and yet my Affections come short of what I know.

The rest of his Invectives, to the end of his first Chapter, are nothing but a rabble of intimated, congested Lyes, upon the occasion of the Wars, and perverted Words, unworthy of a Confutation. They are

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all built on the supposition that all that they did against the Parliament and Kingdom was not only just, but necessary; and all the Ignorance, Drunkenness, Ungodliness and Cainism of the vicious part of their Clergy were not to be blamed; but the reproof of them, and endeavours to reform them was heinous wickedness.

What a Charm is the name of the *Diocesan* Clergy, that can turn the most scandalous Treachery into Sanctity, and make the best Church in the World of the Haters of ferious Godliness, and make a desire of their Reformation to be the badge of intolerable Rebels?

§ 85. Accus. LXVIII. He begins his second Chapter with a recital of my Profession, that 'tis Treason to fight against the King; and with this oft repeated Lye, that [*I had the confidence to meet the Old King and his Armies in the Field.*] This is his Diocesan History. I never met the King in the Field, nor ever saw an Army where he was, nor ever saw one of his Armies, till that of *Goring's* at *Langport-Fight*, where the Field War ended. Indeed, I came into the Quarters where they had gone before me, and I was so guilty of opposing them, as to be ashamed of the fame they left behind them. At *South-[[?????]]ederton* the Gentleman where I quartered told me, that in his House they prick'd their Fingers, and made the Blood run into the Cup, and drunk a Health to the Devil. At the *Catherine-Wheel* in *Salisbury*, the Neighbours reported, that some of them drinking a Health to the Devil, one of them was carried away, and never seen more: I went into the Room, and saw a new Standard and Glass where the Window was broken; but the Woman said, she was not in the Room, and knew not how it was done, whatever the Neighbours said of it, from the Soldiers that were frightened. But 'tis none of my purpose to intimate that they were all such, or most.

§ 86. Accus. LXIX. His next Accusation is, [*Our offering our Consent to Archbishop Usher's Reduction of the Primitive Episcopacy, as a means of Concord.*]

Against this he saith, *The Bishops knew whence it came; not from the Archbishop, but from the Presbyterian Forge.*

*Ans.* Still this is English Church-History: The Archbishop *Usher* owned it to his death, as his Chaplains. *Dr. Bernard* and *Dr. Parre* testifie: He owned it to me himself, and told me, King *Charles* the First refused it at first, but after would have accepted it.

But he exclaimeth against it, as that which would have pulled down the Bishops, or cut their Throats. So that if one Bishop may not be said to govern many hundred Churches, when a Lay-Chancellor doth it, without any subordinate Bishop or Presbyters, their Throats are cut. And even the two Agents of our Misery, *Sheldon* and *Morley*; (who were intrusted by the King to word this Declaration,) are by this Man

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made their own Cut-throats, by granting some part of Pastoral Power to the Rural Deans and Synods. This is the Church that must not be amended.

He saith, that by this Model [*They would have robbed the Bishops of all their power, and taken it to themselves.*] And was Archbishop *Usher* such a Robber of himself, and all the Bishops? Did he motion any thing but the Primitive Episcopacy, with the edditions of their large Diocess, Wealth and Honour? What was the power that they would have taken to themselves? Was it to be Diocesans, to rule a Diocess as the smallest Church that had none under it? Would each Man have had this Diocesan Power, or only all, as one Political Body? If each Man, sure *England* had not Diocesses enough for so many Thousands: If all, as an Aristocracy, could they desire more than Convocations have? Or did they desire so much to all the Ministers of a Diocess, in Conjunction with the Bishop, as his Councils, as every single Lay-Chancellor hath without the Bishop? This is just like the Papists Accusation of Parish-Pastors, that *every Man would be a Pope in his own Parish*: And their saying of Masters that are for governing their Families, that *every one would be a Pope to his own House*: And against Self-governing [of our Words and Actions.] that *every one would be a Pope to himself*: And Idiots perceive not the Contradiction. To be a Pope is to be one that claimeth the Government of all the World, (or Church.) And is governing a Family, or my self, governing all the World? And is governing a Parish-Church under an Archbishop, the governing of many hundred Parishes that are no Churches, but parts of a Diocesan Church?

I mentioned Mr. *Stanley Gower's* words to me of Archbishop *Usher*, that he told him, that a Bishop and Presbyter differed not *Ordine*, but *Gradu*; and that he took his Primacy and Lordship, not as his Church-Office, but as a Collateral Dignity given by the King:] (and one would think no Man that believes the Scripture should think otherwise.)

But this Accuser saith, that *he will not believe Mr. Stanley* (as he calls him) *or me*: (But must we therefore both disbelieve our own Ears?) For *he thinks the Bishop should then act against his Judgment and Conscience.* (What Act may that be?) And he citeth Dr. *Bernard's* Testimony, as against my Report; whereas the very cited words of Dr. *Bernard* say the same, that a *Bishop hath Superiority in Degree above a Presbyter.*] And the Accuser putteth these words that are against himself in Capital Letters, it seemeth, not knowing what he did, or what *Ordo* and *Gradus* signifie.

§ 87. Accus. LXX. He saith, *I injuriously mention King Charles the First his Answer to the Nineteen Propositions, because he there gave away his Right for Peace.*]

*Ans.* I mention only his own description of the Constitution by King, Lords and Commons, and their several Powers: And would he per-

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suade Men that the King falsly described it, or that his Historical Description was his Guilt.

And he falsly saith, that *I am a Dissenter from Bishop Usher's Judgment about the King's Tribute in Ireland*. His Untruths come so thick, that I am weary of naming them.

As, pag. 88. 1. That *I was for the Extirpation of Episcopacy, Root and Branch*.

2. And yet, that *the Archbishop's Model* (which we desired) *preserveth that Species of Diocesan Bishops, which Mr. B. would destroy*. Would we destroy that which we desired?

3. And [*That under which Mr. B. maketh Christ's true Discipline unpracticable.*] *Ans.* Palpably false: For, therefore we desired it, because it maketh that Discipline practicable by the help of Parish-Pastors, which without them is impossible.

4. *That no Government will please me, as long as the Liturgy is established*: When he should have said, that *professing Assent and Consent to all in it will not please me, till I can do it without lying*.

5. He saith, [*Conformity is to me impossible, as long as any of those which I account heinous Sins, are retained.*] *Ans.* Yes, if *Lying be Conformity, to me one Lye is unlawful*.

6. *That I was always opposing the Party that was uppermost.* *Ans.* If that were true, it seemeth I sought not for Preferment.

7. *That I would have the new Liturgy, or nothing.* *Ans.* And yet we offered to *use the Old, if amended*, so we might not profess it less liable to Exception, than our Translation of the Scripture it self; and left it to the Bishops to joyn so much of the Additional Forms as they saw good; but the Book was never debated by them.

§ 88. Accus. LXXI. [*I have heard it credibly reported by some Reverend Persons there present that that Treaty might have had the desired effect of Concord had not Mr. B. so obstinately resisted.*] *Ans.* That is, either those Reverend Persons would have amended their Impositions, if I had not Petitioned them to do it, and told them the necessity of it; or else that all the rest of the Commissioned Nonconformists would have Conformed to all the old faults which they protested that they judged sinful, and to all the worse that should after be added, if I had not been against it. These Reverend Persons were as Credible and Reverend as you are; as our present state in *England* tells us.

Then he tells us what the Bishop of *Chester* told Mr. *Walton* (*Morley's Steward*) what Bishop *Sanderson* said against me,] which is half false: Bishop *Sanderson* taking the Chair. I being by a multitude of Arguments from the words of the Text, proving against Dr. *Gunning* that *Paul in Rom.* 14, and 15. requireth us to receive to Communion such as differed in as great matters as those do that scruple kneeling at the Sacrament (which I told them I scruple not.) I once told Dr. *Gun-*

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ning that he did *petere principium* in a case wherein Dr. *Sanderson* said that word was not in the common Logical sence applicable to his words: And the old Learned peevish Man added that I was perverse for saying it: And this was the heavy Charge.

And he addeth what Bishop *Morley* said of *my eagerness to dispute, when my Prethren were unwilling.*] *Ans.* Bishop *Morley's* words of me were much what as credible as yours or *Roger Le Strange's*. Why then did they *consent* if they were *unwilling*? And if neither Reasoning nor Petitioning them might be used, what were we Commissioned for? The truth is, many of our Brethren, when the Bishops told them *they would say nothing to us, till we brought in writing to them all the faults that we found with the Liturgy, and also all the Forms in terminis, which we desired as amendments or additions,* did say, [It was not this, but an amicable consulation that the King Commissioned us for; and seeing that this was a meer fraudulent pretence for our frustration, they motioned our departing, as being denied all that we were called to:] But I told them, that the Bishops would report behind our Backs where we could not be heard, that we had nothing to say against their Impositions, nor any other terms to offer, (thinking we would never have agreed on any other.) Therefore I satisfied divers of them that though we were prejudged, it were better let the World see our Cause stated in Writing, than leave them to accuse us so, when we should never have leave to declare the truth, and deny their misreports.

§ 89. Accus. LXXII. Page 91. He saith [*His Petition for Peace then was like his Pleas now, meer Threatening and Reviling: Take heed (saith he) how you drive Men by penalties on that which they judge would tend to their Damnation: The denial of these Desires would renew all our Troubles.*

*Ans.* And indeed is both *Damnation* and the *renewing of our Troubles and Divisions* a matter of *jest?* or so indifferent, as that it is threatening and reviling humbly to petition Drs to take heed of them? They rejected this *Reviling* Petition: And hath *England* or Hell gained more by their rejection? Doth it not tend to Mens *Damnation* to Swear, Subscribe, Profess or Practise all those words and things as good and lawful, which they think sinful, and the Imposers only call Indifferent. Have not the Divisions been these thirty years a trouble to this Land, which these Men might have prevented and cost them nothing?

He addeth, [*They tell the Bishops of unmerciful Impositions.*] *Ans.* And is it Mercy to drive Men to Sin and Hell, or a crime to beg for so cheap Mercy for the Souls of Men, even of Bishops? He that doubteth is condemned if he eat, saith *Paul.* *England* yet feeleth such Mens Mercy. There is, I think, but one of their Commissioners now surviving (nor on our side but few,) even Dr. *Tho. Pierce* Dean of *Salisbury:* And he moved for leave by Disputation there to prove, that *it is*



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a work of mercy to all that think it unlawful to receive the Sacrament kneeling, to deny it them, and the Communion of the Church, (though the prohibition of all kneeling in Adoration on any Lords Day, was one of the Ancient Ceremonies of the Church, settled also at the great Council of Nice, and continued near a Thousand years, saith Dr. *Heylin*.) But *Morley* had the wit to take him off that dispute.

§ 90. Accus. LXXIII. Page 96. After other Harangues he alledgeth *false Causes of my refusing a Bishoprick*: I satisfied the Lord Chancellor *Hide* by a Letter, with truer Reasons, too long here to repeat.

§ 91. Accus. LXXIV. He next accuseth my *Moral Prognostication*.  
*Ans.* Let it answer for it self to the Impartial Reader.

§ 92. Accus. LXXV. He threateneth me for *blaming the Laws*.

*Ans.* And do not many Bishops now blame the Laws? If Laws be made engines of Schism and Persecution, let them justifie them that can, and that love them. *David* saith, *Shall the Throne of Iniquity have Fellowship with thee that frameth mischief by a Law?* How many German Divines blamed the *Interim* imposed by the Emperor as for Peace?

§ 93. Accus. LXXVI. He next reciteth Bishop *Morley's* Accusations in his printed Letter. *Ans.* Which I have proved to abound with falshood, in a full Answer, which for want of printing hath lain by me these six and twenty years. Mr. *Baldwin* is yet living who was present when he forbad me to preach. And Dr. *William Bates* is yet living who joyned with me in the *Savoy* Disputation which he misreported.

§ 94. Accus. LXXVII. He accuseth my Book called, *The Cure of Church Divisions*, and yet saith, *It is the only Book that Mr. B. hath written that hath any thing of moderation.*

*Ans.* Must the World have a confutation of so gross a Liar, after the visibility of above Sixscore Books that are an evidence against him; and after the testimony that the Lord Chancellor *Hide* and *Morley* gave of me (producing one of these Books) before the King, Lords and Drs. at *Worcester-House*: If I understand them, above a hundred Books have been written by me, with a special design for Moderation, Unity and Concord.

§ 95. Accus. LXXVIII. Page 101. [*He is not ashamed to be a procurer of the Indulgence for Popery.* 1. Because I said, [*I would have Papists used like Men.* 2. I would have no Man put to death for being a Priest. 3. I would have no writ *de Excommunicato capiendo*, or any Law to compel them to our Communion and Sacraments.]

*Ans.* This Man is for Moderation: Do you think he or I is more for Popery, or hath written more against it? Would he not have them used like Men? nor suffered to live? And must they be cast out of a Church that they were never in: It seems he would receive them all to his Sacramental Communion, if they will but chuse his Church before the Goal.

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§ 96. Accus. LXXIX. Page 102. Because I hold that *If a Bishop or their Church Party would lay us in Goal, for our Duty to God, it is lawful to accept deliverance from a Papist that is in Authority.*] He feigneth that, *If they will not come to us, I would go to them.*

And if a Protestant did Hang this Man himself, would he take it for Popery or Sin, to consent that a Papist cut the Rope? You see what kind of crimes we Nonconformists are guilty of: A willingness to live out of Goals, against the Churchmens will? Nay it is yet more, our Crime is that we *will not damn our selves, by Subscribing or Swearing falsely, and breaking our Ordination Vow, by giving over our Ministry.*

The proof that these Men are against Popery is, that they would have the Nonconformists die in Goals, and have no Papist seek to deliver them.

§ 97. Accus. LXXX. Accusing my Book against *Sacrilegious Desertion of the Ministry*, he asketh me, *Why I Baptize not, nor Administer the Lords Supper, and so seem to desert Christianity?*

*Ans.* Because I was called to preach, and not to Baptize, and Administer the Lords Supper; by the Necessities of the people where I lived: There were in *Martins* Parish about 60000 more than could come into the Church to hear: But they had Curates enough to Baptize, and they were compelled to the Lords Supper, or might have come, and neither Minister nor People desired my help. And if these Men believe it not, I do, That we may and must preach to many that yet are not capable of Sacraments: And to many whose Pastors and Judges herein we are not. Shall every Minister that preacheth occasionally for him, presume to Congregate his Flock, and give them the Sacrament? Or is he displeased that I gathered not a *separated Church?*

§ 98. Accus. LXXXI. As to his Accusation of the Book, I leave it to the Readers Judgment that will impartially peruse it: But I am not yet convinced by him that it is a Crime to name the heinous sins that have torn this poor Nation, and no Crime to commit them. Most of his Accusations are that I tell them of their sin, and perswade them to repent.

§ 99. Accus. LXXXII. He accuseth my *Plea for Peace*, and my Book called, *The true and only way of the Churches Concord*, as being utterly against Peace. *Ans.* Read them and Judge.

§ 100. Accus. LXXXIII. He accuseth my *History of turbulent Bishops and Councils and their Anathematizing*, as if it were *false*, and *almost all was done by Presbyters*, *Ans.* Let him that hath read it, and the proof I cite, freely judge who is the falsifier.

As to his talk about *Nestorius*, had he read *David Derodon* and what I have said in my Reply to the Defender of Dr. *Stillingfleet* (Mr. *Morrice*) it might have acquainted him with more than he seemeth

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to know, about the *Nestorians*, *Eutychians* and *Monothelites*.

As to his talk against the *Arrians*, I am as much against them as he, but not so much against Peace; Dr. *Henry More* a Learned Conformist, saith that *those after the Council of Nice, were to be numbered with the Catholicks, and not with the Antichristians*. Though a Presbyter began their Sect, it was Bishops and Persecuting Emperors that upheld it. As to my words of many Writers mistakes therein before the Council of *Nice*, he may find them with abundance more in *Petavius de Trinitate*.

As to his words of the Controversies and Councils *de tribus Capitulis*, he that excuses the said Councils and Bishops as faultless as to all the doleful Divisions that followed, hath not a due love to peace and prudence.

The same I say of the *Monothelites*.

§ 101. Accus. LXXXIV. His great Accusation, Page 126. is that [If I had any *fear of God*, or *reverence of Man*, I would not reproach the Government and defame their Laws, as if they were a *strange Parliament that made so many Laws, that a Man fearing God cannot obey*.]

*Ans.* 1. And must we go on such suppositions that our Law-makers must not be said to make sinful Laws? Where and in what Ages doth this Principle hold? Not in *Jeroboam's* days, nor in *Ahab's*, nor in any Age after Christ, till *Constantine*, and *Athanasius* had exceptions then. Not in the days of *Constantius* or of *Valens*, no nor of *Theodosius* the Second, *Zeno*, *Basiliscus*, *Anastasius*, *Philippicus*, or of few Christian Emperors. Nor now in *Rome*, *Spain*, *France*, *Poland*, *Portugal*, *Germany*, &c. The Lutherans under Calvinists believe it not, nor the Calvinists under Lutherans; nor the Prelatists under Presbyterians: Nor those English Bishops and Clergy that now here refuse the Oath to King *William* imposed by the Parliament.

If this Man think that we have not fully shamed that worse than brutish conceit that we *must not plead Conscience against Mens Laws* (though as good men as any Rulers we know) he should have said more to confute us, than that [*we fear not God*] because we fear him more than man.

This easie Disputant confuteth my many Volumes of *Reasons* against obeying their Impositions of Oaths, Subscriptions, Professions and Practices, by telling men that [*I may be ashamed to call them Reasons*.] A short and cheap Confutation: Cannot the *French* say as much for Draagooning the Protestants: And that [*the Laws were made upon deliberation, and for our peace*.] That is, for the peaceable success of Silencers, and Persecutors of Gods Faithful Servants: And were not the Six Articles in *Henry* the Eighth's days made on *deliberation*? And the *French* Edicts against the Protestants?

He referreth us to a Book of Church Unity written in Defence of

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Dr. *Stillingfleet*: And I refer him to my Answer to that Book, which was never answered, and confuteth much of this Mans charge.

As to his talk, [*That Men of Blood may be no Bishops.*] I answer, 1. I never drew a drop of Blood. 2. I refused their Bishoprick. 3. I preach'd for the defence of Kings and the Nation against Men of Blood, Irish, Papists and Delinquents. 4. Were not the Military Clergy *Men of Blood* who complain of the Parliament for ejecting them, for promoting the War against them? Was not Dr. *Mew* now Bishop of *Winchester*, Dr. *Crofts* now Bishop of *Hereford*, Dr. *Compton* now Bishop of *London*, Men of War when they went as Chaplains or Officers in the Kings Army? and yet are Bishops.

§ 102. Page 127. He nameth [*The Act for Uniformity.*] As if naming it were a Defence of it for Silencing 2000 Ministers for not Lying and Sinning.

He nameth [*Renouncing the Covenant.*] And is that a Justification against Perjury, to them that own not the Imposing or Taking it, nor obligation to keep any but the Moral Necessary parts?

He nameth the [*Declaration that it is not lawful on any pretence whatsoever, (to take Arms against any Commissioned by the King.)*] And is that a Confutation of *Bilson*, and other Bishops; and doth he not make his own Church and Party now perjured, who have taken Arms against King *James*, or those that were Commissioned by him; and have set up another King? If King *James* Commission a *French* and *Irish* Army to Invade *England*, are all bound not to resist them?

§ 103. Accus. LXXXV. He chargeth me with a *Scandalum Magnatum*, for saying, [*The Parliament was drawn by the Clergy to make those Acts.*]

*Ans.* And did any Man doubt of it, that then lived with his Reason awake? If it were not good, why did they do it, and why do you justify it? If it were good, why is it a *Scandalum magnatum* to say you did it? Is your Merit and Praise a Scandal?

§ 104. Accus. LXXXVI. Because I tell how Hypocrites tempted Christ about paying Tribute to *Caesar*,] he feigneth that *I make Christ [do what he never intended, or really approved, and complied with Hypocrites;]* and saith, *It is near to Blasphemy.*

*Ans.* I find too little in this Accuser that is *near to Truth*. How easily, by such Fictions, may he turn much of the Gospel into Blasphemies?

§ 105. Accus. LXXXVII. He addeth, [*And who can wonder, if he that speaks thus of the Master, should not stick to revile his Disciples; making the Conformists so many deliberately perjured Persons?*]

*Ans.* 1. Must we not *refuse Perjury*, for fear of your supposition that we *accuse you*? We professed *not to accuse you*, but to prove that it would be Perjury in us.

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2. But if you are guilty, is not that more to be feared by you, than our saying why we dare not imitate you?

§ 106. Accus. LXXXVIII. He addeth, [*And which is—Mendacium magnum, that about Six Thousand Persons that had gone the other way, did declare their Assent and Consent to a Book which they never saw.*]

*Ans.* Oh, what a mortal Wound do this sort of Men give to the Credit of all History of the proud, factious, worldly part of the Clergy! when this Man dare call this a Lye, in the same Land and Age in which, 1. It is known that there are near Ten Thousand Parish-Churches, besides Hundreds of Chapels and Curacies, and Chaplains. 2. The Land knoweth that these were in possession, 1662. 3. The Land knoweth that the Generality of them that were in 1659. conformed to the Directory; or else the Prelatists belye the Usurpers, that, they say, turned out all that did not. 4. The Land knoweth (or at least it is here commonly known) that the new altered Liturgy came not out of the Press, till about *Bartholomew-Even*. 5. The Land knoweth that all were, by the Law, to be turned out, that *declared not Assent and Consent to all things contained in, and prescribed by that Book, by Bartholomew-Day*. 6. The World knoweth, that all over *England*, the Books could not be sent down and seen in a Day. 7. The Conformists confess the Matter of fact, save to a few in *London*, that could go to the Press. 8. The Land knoweth, that it was but about Two Thousand that conformed not: Must there not be then far more than Six Thousand that declared Assent, &c. to the Book that they saw not?

Some of them now say, that in Universities, and the Chaplains and all set together, there are about Thirty Thousand Ordained Ministers in *England*: And what are Two Thousand to such a Clergy?

§ 107. Accus. LXXXIX. He noteth, that I say, *that before I was turned out, I could keep no Man-Servant, nor any but one old Woman, in a hired Room; and yet, in St. Martin's, I could build a Tabernacle for Worship*. From whence he gathereth, 1. That *I hoped to gain the Centurion's Reputation among the Factious*. 2. That *I had got well by Nonconformity, that could lay out so much.*]

*Ans.* Is there any thing pious or charitable, that these Men cannot turn into odious Crimes, by malignant Calumny? 1. Was it Faction to offer to teach freely in a Parish, where were Fifty Thousand that could not come within the Church? 2. Did he know my Heart, that I did it for Reputation? And may he not say the like by any Man that doth good? 3. Did *I gain by Nonconformity*, that from the Day that I was silenced, had never taken a Groat for Preaching, nor ever had a Church to maintain me, and had commonly refused even Friends Gratuities (save 10*l* from one Man, that I could not refuse) for many Years after this, and save from few to this day? Who by refusing a

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Bishoprick, and other Emoluments, have lost, I think, above Twenty Thousand Pounds by Nonconformity? What Answer do these Men deserve? And I preached but one Sermon in that Chapel, When I had built it to have preached freely. And when they persecuted me away, I resigned it to the Parish-Minister, for their publick Worship, which is used there to this Day, (near Sixteen Years.)

But must I tell this Man, *how I got the Money that did it?* How much others gave towards it, and how much I borrowed, or else be so guilty as this Spirit maketh me. If it were a Crime to be rich, Fame reporteth him extraordinarily guilty: But if it be Building Chapels that is the Crime, I never heard of his Guilt.

§ 108. Accus. XC. He saith, *I am guilty of Pride, Malice and Uncharitableness, for telling Men that the Wheel is turning, and bidding them remember which side will be down at last; whether I mean of a Change by Providence, or of the Day of Judgment.*

*Ans.* Alas, poor Men! How soon will you know, that such Counsel once signified better than Pride, Malice and Uncharitableness, (unless all Preaching be such)

§ 109. Accus. XCI. He accuseth me for saying, in *Mr. Corbet's Funeral-Sermon, How sad a Prognostick the Death of such Men was.*

*Ans.* Had this Man known the great Wisdom, sincere Piety, eminent Charity and Peaceableness of that excellent Man, as well as I did, or as *Glocester, Chichester and London* did, and his Writings testifie, he would not have turned my Lamentation into a Reproach, nor seemed to intimate his contrary Disposition.

§ 110. Accus. XCII. Because some other Men say, that *the Time of the Episcopal Persecution will be but short,*] he gathers, that *[we are engaged in some Plot against the Government.]*

*Ans.* Who he meaneth, I know not; but if the time of Life, and this World be short, certainly Persecution will be short. Every one that saith, *Your Life is short,* is not in a Plot to murder you. All, save one Man, that were commissioned as against us in 1661. have found already by Death, that their time of Revenge and Wrath was short.

His talk of *Dr. Owen,* and his *surmizing that some would have had a Toleration for Popery,* is like the rest; when our main fears have been lest this sort of Men were studying, from the time of *Laud,* a Coalition with the French Papists, and so many of them have written for a Foreign Jurisdiction: But if we would not be ruined, silenced, and dye in Goals by them, they will say we are for Popery.

§ 111. Accus. XCIII. He accuseth me as *most unchristian, in my Answer to Mr. Cheyny,* for what I say of his Books, and accounting him melancholy.

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Mr. *Cheyny* is a Man better known to me, than to him; and I think, much better loved by me. He calls himself a *Nonconforming Conformist*, and a *Conforming Nonconformist*. I have motioned him to Friends, for publick Employment, for his serious Piety: But these Men that seem now to be for him, have depressed him, and driven him up and down, and disown his Books, I think, more than I do: But any one that will allow them to use his Name for them, shall be so far praised, while they cannot well endure him.

But he glorieth of Mr. *Cheyny's* Success in pleading the *Direction*, in some *dubious Cases to go to the Bishop for Resolution*, (in the *Preface to the Liturgy*.) And I wonder not at their valuing of that Clause, for it is worth to many some Hundreds a Year; and 'tis hard to imagine what else could quiet many Men's Consciences. But if I should say, *This is a frivolous* [?????] *alliate*, though I prove it, he will say I am criminal, or confuted, by so denominating it. But, 1. The Words limit the Decision of the Bishop only to that *which is not contrary to any thing in the Book*; and I am very tractable in such a Case: But it is none of the Cases that I am concerned in. 2. If it were in the Bishop's power to put what Sense he please on all the Words, he were the Law maker; for the Sense is the Law. 3. I have gone to divers Bishops, and asked their Sense, and found it as unsatisfactory as the Book it self. For instance, I asked the Bishops at the *Savoy-Debate*, [*If I have two in my Parish that declare they believe not in Christ, but are Deists; and yet will send their Child to be baptized, with Godfathers and Godmothers of their own Fraternity, who declare that, whatever they say, they never mean to own or educate the Child,*] what Right that Child hath both to Baptism, and certain Salvation? And Dr. *Sanderson* (in the Chair) answered That as long as he brought such Godfathers as the Church of *England* requireth, I must not doubt of his Right. I long after asked Bishop *Cunning*, *What proof he had from God's Word, of the certain, undoubted Salvation of all such baptized Infants, if the Parents were Heathens or Jews, or Atheists, and resolved to educate their own Children?* And he answered, that *As any one had Right to take up an exposed Child in the Street, and take him in Charity into his House, so any one had power, as an Act of Charity, to take up any Heathen's or Infidel's Child, and being him to Baptism; and then it was certain (by the Word of God) that he was in a present State of Salvation.* These Bishops Judgments are not that undoubted Word of God which they boast of, but will not shew us. And other Bishops think otherwise. And so under several Bishops, we must be of several Religions.

§ 112. Accus. XCIV. He accuseth me for speaking of the Tediousness of Mr. *R. Hooker's* Argumentation, (when their Bishop *Sam. Parker* speaketh much more) and the Case is undeniable.) And that I say, [*If Hooker, Bilson and Usher were alive, they would be Nonconformises.*]

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*Ans.* Have I not fully proved it? They were honest Men, and would not subscribe and practise contrary to their own Writings; but their Writings are downright against much of Conformity. How large is *Hooker* for the *Popular Legislative Power*; and that *the King useth not Power, but Usurpation, when he useth more than the Law giveth him?* How large is bishop *Bilson* for *Resisting the King in divers Cases?* Doth not Conformity renounce and forswear this? Mark the renowned *Bilson* in this: Honest Men would not go against their Judgments.

§ 113. Accus. XCV. Pag. 134, 135. He maketh it my shameful heinous Sin, to beg of the Bishops not to be guilty of one of the most heinous Sins in the World, *even the Silencing faithful Ministers causlesly, and famishing many Thousand Souls, and laying them in Goals that have Charity to relieve them.* Saith he, [*Doth not the Reader blush for Mr. B. to read such arrogant Censures of a dying Man, concerning his Betters?*]

*Ans.* Were I not a dying Man, the World might more powerfully have tempted me to be like you; and to call Evil Good, and Good Evil; and to regard as little the Interest of Souls, and of serious Godliness. And are my *Betters* better than he that bid us pray the Lord of the Harvest to send forth more Labourers; and that said of such as offend one of his Little Ones, it had been better for them that a Millstone had been hanged about their Necks, and they cast into the Sea? Were they better than he that told *James* and *John*, that they knew not what manner of Spirit they were of, when they shewed their natural Inclination to that Prelacy which is now your Glory? 1. By desiring to be greatest, and to sit at his Right Hand and Left. 2. By silencing a Man that used Christ's Name against Devils, because he followed not *with them*. 3. By desiring a fiery Punishment upon those that received not Christ and them.

Are my *Betters* better than *Peter* and the Apostles, that were for obeying God before Men? Or than *Paul*, that charged *Timothy* so dreadfully, as before God and Christ, to preach the Word, and be instant, in Season, and out of Season? &c. Are my *Betters* so good at Alchimy, that they can transform the most heinous Crimes into sacred Vertues, and the greatest Duties into odious Sins?

Reader; Oh, Who governeth that part of the World, where the greater the Sin is, the more heinous is his Crime that blameth it? And where *Repentance*, and Persuading Men to repent, goeth for the most intolerable Evil? Were it not that fleshly and worldly Interest were against it, I should fear that at last Murderers, Thieves, Traytors, Adulterers, Perjured, and all such, should accuse all those that either accuse them, or dissent from them; and demand against them the same Punishment for calling them faulty, that their own Crimes deserve? But though those that have died in Goals for Preaching (no-



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thingbut the Gospel) are out of the reach of these that would kill them again, if they did but say, *You killed us*; yet One that is better than these persecuting *Betters*, will say, *In as much as you did it to one of these, you did it to me*. And to accuse us as the Priests and Sadduces did the Apostles, [*You would bring this Man's Blood in us,*] will not transferr the Guilt or Punishment, from the Blood-guilty, to the Re-prover.

§ 114. Accus. XCVI. Because I say that ancient Christians disobeyed lawful Magistrates, in Preaching and Worship, he saith, [*As if Christian Magistrates were to be reputed as Heathen Persecuters.*]

*Ans.* 1. And indeed, Were (not only *Constantius* and *Valens*, but also) *Theodosius II.* *Arcadius*, *Zeno*, *Basiliscus*, *Anastasius*, and many such, Heathen Persecutors? And did not the Bishops of *Alexandria*, *Antioch*, *Jerusalem*, *Rome*, *Constantinople*, and many hundred other Bishops, disobey them, and many by Arms resist them? And is it not as bad to resist Christian Emperors, as Heathens? I think it was not well done.

What Historical Proof can convince this sort of Men?

2. But see what their Obedience amounteth to. *Who is to be Judge* whether their Rulers be so bad, as that the Bishops and People may disobey them? Must the Rulers themselves be Judges, or every Subject for himself? They dare not answer it without Fraud and Confusion.

But he saith, [*If one read the Preamble to the late Acts, you may see that the Cause of making them, was not only the late dreadful Experience that the Nation had of the Confusions caused by the preaching of such Men, but their present Endeavours to reduce us to the like again*]

*Ans.* 1. He doth not tell you how fully I have answered this, in the Apology which he accuseth. And every Boy and Woman cannot disprove him.

2. Who is to be Judge who the Preachers were that caused our Confusions? The old Parliament said, it was such as *Laud*, *Sibthorp*, *Mainwaring*, and those that drew the King from his Parliament. If I knew this Man to be wiser or greater than the Parliament, I might prefer his Judgment, and prefer the Hundreds cast out for Scandal, before those that are imprisoned for preaching.

3. Why would they never grant our frequent Petitions, to silence only those that never medled with War, or had no Accusation against them for any such Confusions, and spare not those that had been guilty? Were all the Thousands guilty of the Wars, that were Children or School-boys?

4. Why were not the Eight Thousand that after conformed, guilty of those Confusions as much as the rest? Yea, many of them had been in Arms against the King's Army.

5. Was *Declaring Assent and Consent to all things contained and prescribed* in your Books a Means to prevent Wars or Confusions, when such

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Impositions caused them? Is silencing, ruining, and keeping in Goals all that own not so much of your Infallibility, the Means to avoid Confusions?

6. What were *the present Endeavours to reduce you to the like?* Was it the Presbyterians bringing home the King, who they doubted not would set up the revengeful Clergy? Why were they not accused for false or seditious Doctrine, if they were guilty, or forbidden only to preach such, but forbidden to preach at all, and accused meerly for preaching?

His long Invective, to *pag.* 148. is partly a false Report of my Words, and partly a Justification of all their Persecutions, and an Outcry against a Persuasive to Repentance. Let the Reader but peruse the Books accused, and I desire him but to judge as he seeth cause.

§ 115. Accus. XCVII. If the Reader will himself read my Treatise of Episcopacy, which he accuseth, I will make no other Defence of it than what it maketh for it self. But his Words convince me not, that Reproving Persecutors is worse than Persecuting.

§ 116. Accus. XCVIII. He maketh it *my Pride to print Mr. Glanville's Letter to me*, though I disowned harshly his excessive Praise,) while Dr. *Stillingfleet* had called me to it, by printing Foreigners Letters against us. And I must be yet more proud, for telling Bishop *Morley* and *Gunning*, that I offered them *a Way if Christian Concord, more sure and harmless than that which they had tried, because it was more divine, being only to unite in what Christ hath instituted.*]

*Ans.* 1. It is no pride to say, that Christ is greater and wiser than those Bishops; and that to unite in his own instituted Terms of Union, is surer than the Terms of their Canons, or Act of Uniformity. Is it pride in all the Protestants, that to the Papists prefer Scripture-sufficiency to their Canons.

§ 117. Accus. XCIX. He falsly alledgeth *the reason of my unsatisfiedness with Dr. Stillingfleet's Concessions.* One of the chief was, that he would have Parents disabled to chuse Schools and Tutors for their own Children. But whether such Men as this were not far more against Dr. *Stillingfleet's* Concessions than I was, let my old Friend, Mr. *Samuel Thomas*, now of *Chard*, his *Invective against Dr. Whitby and Dr. Stillingfleet*, be Judge; and Dr. *Stillingfleet* himself, who seemed once to yield to Terms of Concord, which many of us offered to him and others. And judge of the peaceableness of that Tribe of Clergy-men, by the University of *Oxford's* burning Dr. *Whitby*, a Conformist's excellent Book, called *The Reconciler*, and his being forced to seem to retract it.

§ 118. Accus. C. His Intimations, *pag.* 156. of my desiring to be a *Parish Bishop*, and also motioned with Dr. *Owen* to be an *Archbishop*, are meerly impudent: When I never was either *Parish-Bishop*, or sought it at least, since cast out of the Ministry, 1662. nor so much as the

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Pastor of any Church, and have refused a Diocesan Bishoprick many Years before any one now in *England* was a Bishop. How can a Man be innocent before such impudent Accusers and Judges?

§ 119. Accus. CI. As to his Accusation of *my Self-Contradictions, and L'Estrange's Proof*, I think no distinguishing Reader will need a Confutation of so false a Charge, which confused Heads do feign, that understand not things that differ.

And for his Charge against my *Third Plea for Peace, about the Principles of Government*, I only refer the Reader to the Book.

§ 120. I have not thought his mere general Clamours worthy of a particular Answer, lest I tire the Reader, as I have tired my self with so unsavoury an Employment. But I will here tell the Reader, how I that these eight Years have never thought this Accuser worthy of an Answer, have been brought to change my Judgment and to be at this displeasing Labour, when other Thoughts are more suitable to my Condition.

I. A Letter from some ancient Conformist, that calls himself *Cantianus De Minimis*, (of my Age, Seventy five,) so earnestly calleth me to Repentance and Retraction before I dye, referring me to this Book for the notice of my Sins, that I thought not meet to resist his Importunity.

II. I read so much of the horrid Reports of many Papists, of the Crimes and Deaths of *Luther, Zuinglius, Oecolampadius, Calvin, Bucer, Phagius, Beza*, and many such, and how confidently they are commonly believed in the *Roman Church*, and how greatly it hardeneth many against the Reformation, that I was loth to contribute to their Deceit.

And I find that the same Sect accuseth the Generality of Dissenters, that do but affirm that *there is AND THING* in their Books of Liturgy or Articles, or in their Ceremonies or Ordination, or in their Government by Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, Archdeacons, *AND THE REST that bear Office therein*, unlawful or repugnant to the Word of God,) who are my Accusers, and cry, as *Morley, Ex uno disce omnes*; and when they have render'd me as one of the worst on Earth, they make the rest as bad; when I take them to be (for the most) the best Ministry that I ever knew. And no wonder that their Writers and Preachers thus report them, when their Canons *ipso facto* excommunicate them (unheard,) not excepting Lords, Knights, Ministers, or any. And Lying is now grown so common a Sin in *England*, (confessed by all,) that few know what Reports to believe, or to reject: So that to betray my own Cause to these Accusers and Canoneers, is to betray the Innocency of many Thousands.

III. I have long thought it my duty to call this sinful, divided, self-tearing, bleeding Nation to Repentance, in a Treatise called, *REPENT O ENGLAND, (Bradford's dying Words,*) though Experience telleth me, that such Men as this will take the Motion for a greater Crime, than all the Sins that I call them to repent of; so odious a thing is Re-

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penitance and Confession to the Proud and Impenitent. And before I call others to Repentance, (several sorts,) I take it for my first Duty to exercise my own: To which end, I unfeignedly resolved to confess what I could by any means find to be my Sin; and being referred to this *Accuser* for my Conviction, I found the Falshoods and Calumnies so many, and so gross, that I took it for my Duty not to seem by Silence to give Credit to them; but having confessed what Sins I found, to do my part to save others from the Temptations to Hatred, and Lying, and Persecution, which such Men lay before them.

IV. And having laboured most of Forty two Years, by Writing to profit Posterity, as well as the present Age; and written above a hundred and twenty Books to that End, and God having prospered them far beyond my expectation, (in *Germany*, and other Foreign Lands, as well as in *Britain*,) I thought it Treachery to suffer the Devil and his Agents to blast them all, (with those that know me not,) without any Contradiction and Confutation of the Slanderers. Sure if they were worth so many Years Labour, 'tis worth a little to take them out of the Fire or Water where Diabolism casteth them: Which I am the more moved to, because while I have the Thanks of Thousands that have read them, common Fame, and Mr. *Cantianus*, that called me to this Work, and others, do tell me, that the Generality now known by the Name of *Tories* (or malignant Haters of serious Piety) in *England*, especially among the Universities and Clergy, do so much hate my Name, that they will read no Book which they see my Name prefixed to, (unless as the Adversary against whom it is written.) And as I have small hope of curing that malignant Prejudice, (which is more the hurt of the Envious than of me,) so I must not by Sloth or Silence contribute to its Incese, and Men's Guilt.

§ 121. I will conclude with these three farther Notices to all Readers, for the true understanding of all these Controversies with the Men who so implacably hate and accuse me.

I. That they grosly cheat their sequacious Believers with this great Lye, that *I am against Bishops*; whereas I am for a Divine Right of three sorts of Bishops, (two by direct Institution, and the other by Consequence,) viz. I. General Bishops, (call them Archbishops, or Diocesans, or Apostolicks, or Evangelists,) that in every Nation are over many Churches.

II. *Episcopi Gregis*, or Ruling Pastors of single Churches, which are all true Presbyters.

III. *Episcopi Praesides*, or *Pro-estotes*, which are the Presidents of the Presbyters in particular Churches. And that I am of the Judgment of *Grotius*, *De Imperio summarum potestatum circa sacra*, and highly value Bishop *Overall's* Convocation-Book in the main, but abhor all *Foreign Jurisdiction*, yet desiring the most extensive *Foreign Communion*.

§ 122. II. That they grosly cheat their Believers, in telling them that I am against *Forms and Liturgies*, when they know that we offered to use

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theirs, upon the Amendment of some Faults, and severe cruel Impositions; and by their Demand were put to draw up Additional Forms, which we did in the very Words of Scripture: And though some called it *The Reformed Liturgy*, because it seemeth an entire Frame, yet it is falsely said, that *we would have that or none*;] for we only offered it to the *Bishop's Examination*, which they would never do: And even this Accuser hath nothing that I find against it, but that I confess *it was hastily drawn up in eight Days, and therefore must needs be imperfect, and deserve a Review*. And so it is our Crime, that we take not their three Books to be all such Effects of Infallibility, as to have no one Fault contrary to God's Word; and yet to confess our own (though in the Words of Scripture) to be the Work of defectible, imperfect Men, and therefore needing a perfecting Review. *Humility*, and not *Subscribing* to an *Arrogant Claim* of their Indefectibility, is our great Crime.

§ 123. III. They yet more dangerously deceive their Believers, persuading them, "That we appropriate *Godliness* and *serious Religion* to "our *Extemporate Praying*, and to the Opposition to Bishops, Liturgy, "and Conformity; and that we falsely dishonour their Church, by representing their Candidates and Clergy to be more unable Preachers, "or more ungodly Livers, than the Nonconforming Ministers and Candidates; and their Parish-Flocks to be more *unqualified* for Church-Communion, and a more irregular Church, than such as we have "desired in our Motions for Reforming-Concord: *Whereas* (say they) "*we have the best Clergy and Church in all the World*."

To which I say, 1. That we have largely enough, in *Folio*, oft told the World what it is we account and call *Godliness*, even the *making* and *keeping* the *Baptismal Covenant*; *Believing*, *willing* and *living* according to the *Creed*, *Lord's Prayer*, and *Law of Christ*. We offered them a Liturgy; we owned all that was good in theirs: We know that Prayers from a Book, as from a Habit, are accepted, if they come from a penitent, believing and obedient Soul; and that the Prayers of ungodly Hypocrites are unacceptable to God, whether with a Book, or without.

2. And we love and honour Conformable Ministers and People that are Christians indeed, and shew it by serious practice of Christianity: And we are very thankful to God, that *England* hath had so many such, that were conformable long ago; and we doubt not, hath many such yet, even under the new (and much worse) Conformity. We know not that Nation that hath more excellent Men than many of the Bishops were in Queen *Elizabeth's* Time, and than many Divines since have been; such as *Robert Bolton*, Dr. *Presion*, Dr. *Sibs*, Mr. *Scudder*, Mr. *Wheatley*, Mr. *Dyke*, Dr. *Taylor*, Mr. *Downham*, Dr. *Stoughton*, Dr. *Gouge*, Mr. *Gataker*, Dr. *Willet*, Dr. *Whitaker*, Dr. *Field*, Archbishop *Usher*, Bishop *Downam*, Bishop *Beadle*, &c. Oh, how many of such excellent Men hath this Land been blessed with! (And the pious Nonconformists

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were of the same Spirit, though not in all things of the same Opinions.

I have lately told you in a small Book, called *CAN and ABEL*, what are the things that make the difference, which hath my chief Regard. But such Conformists as I have named have, since *Laud's* Days, with many gone under the name of *Conformable Puritans*, and by this Accuser are reproached by the Name of [*Passive Conformists,*] because they had rather the Ceremonies and needless Subscriptions were forborn, than able, faithful Preachers silenced.

The Prejudice that he saith I had from my Youth against the Bishops and Clergy, was only against *Ungodliness* and *Malignity*. Is it like that I was against the *pious Conformists*, when I was tutored by them, heard them, and was of their Judgment?

But can we not, even among *Conformists*, distinguish the *Malicious, Ungodly, Worldly*, from *holy Men of Love and Peace*?

§ 124. If Posterity and Strangers must be deluded by such false Historians as this, that tell them the serious Godly Ministers and People were Schismatics and Rogues, and the Haters of serious Religion were the most Religious, who can help it? They talk so now to those that live among both Parties. And the debauched, sensual Youth, and the covetous and ambitious Worldlings, seem (partly) to believe them: But so do not the sober Sort, that daily see the Confutation of their Malice.

§ 125. For my own part, I will conclude, That if *I had not known* “that sort of *serious Godly Men*, whom the *present Malignants* now render odious by their Calumnies, I fear I should not have sincerely believed in Jesus Christ, and that his Gospel is true.

For the rest, both Ministers and Laity, whom I ever knew, shewed no serious [[B]]elief of that Christian Faith which they professed. Here and there there was a civil Person by Temper and Education; but commonly, not a serious Word could I hear from their Mouths about God, or our Redeemer, and the Spirit's sanctifying Works; or of Death and Judgment, and the Life to come, (save in the Pulpit;) nor did they love to hear any such from others, but their Talk and whole Conversation was about the World, or common worldly Things, and (as Mr. *Bolton* largely describeth them) any Godly serious Discourse did but disgust them, and marr their Mirth, and make them revile the Speakers as Puritans, Hypocrites, or some such Names. Few did I know of them that excelled *Cicero, Seneca*; or equalled *Ant[?????]nine, Epictetus, Plutarch*. And if Christ made Christians no better than the Philosophers, how could I think better of him, than of them? Or trust that Physician that cureth none? I thank God that I have found more of the Effects of his Saving Grace than the ordinary sort, and Members of the described Church-Party, which these Men extol, did ever shew me.

*Note*, The Words in the Epistle, and pag. 84. about *School. Masters*, are these, and no otherwise to be understood; [*That no indulged Per-*

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*sons, under severe Penalties, to breed up Scholars, or to teach Gentlemen's Sons University-Learning; because this may be justly looked on as a Design to propagate Schism to Posterity, and to lay a Foundation for the Disturbance of future Generations.] Dr. Stillingfleet's Unreasonableness of Separation, Preface, pag. 88.*

How many excellent Preachers hath God raised by this Way, which he would have hinder'd by severe Penalties? And how many Souls converted and confirmed by them?

*A Catalogue of Mr. Richard Baxter's Books, sold by Tho. Parkhurst, at the Bible and Three Crowns, near Mercers Chapel, at the Lower End of Cheap-side.*

FOLIO.

1. *Mr. Baxter's* CHRISTIAN DIRECTORY: Or, Cases of Conscience.
- 2.—Catholick Theology.
- 3.—*Methodus Theologiae*.

QUARTO.

- 4.—Saints Everlasting Rest.
- 5.—Church-History.
- 6.—History of Councils, Second Part.
- 7.—His Treatise of Episcopacy.
- 8.—Annotations on the New Testament.
- 9.—Life of Faith.
- 10.—Naked Popery.
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