

THE
BLOODY TENENT
YET
More Bloody:

BY

Mr *Cottons* endeavour to wash it white in the
BLOOD of the *LAMBE*;

Of whose precious Blood, spilt in the
Blood of his Servants; and

Of the blood of Millions spilt in former and
later Wars for Conscience sake,

THAT

Most Bloody Tenent of Persecution for cause of
Conscience, upon a second Tryal, is found now more
apparently and more notoriously guilty.

In this Rejoynder to Mr *Cotton*, are principally

- | | | |
|--|---|------------|
| I. <i>The Nature of Persecution,</i> | } | Examined; |
| II. <i>The Power of the Civill Sword</i>
<i>in Spirituals</i> | | |
| III. <i>The Parliaments permission of</i>
<i>Dissenting Consciences</i> | } | Justified. |

Also (as a Testimony to M^r *Clarks* Narrative) is added
a Letter to Mr *Endicet* Governor of the *Massachusetts* in *N. E.*

By R. WILLIAMS of *Providence* in *New-England*.

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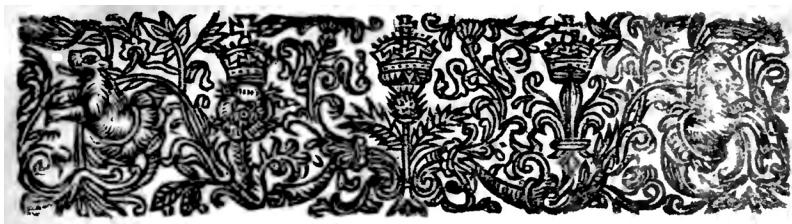
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Occasional typos in the original have not been corrected.

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TO THE
MOST HONORABLE
THE PARLIAMENT OF THE
Common-wealth of ENGLAND.

Most Noble Senators,



NE of the greatest *Spirits*, and as active as later times have yeelded, *Charles* the fifth, tired out with *Affairs* of *State*, resigns up all, and sits down to¹ end his dayes in quiet *Contem- plation*. I doubt not but many of your Honorable *Heads* have felt the thorny *Crown* (of these late *years* troubles) so *sharp*, so *weighty*, that your *tired* *Spirits* would joyfully embrace, if not (with *Charles* the fifth) a totall *Cessation*, yet like some faithfull tired *Judge*, (after so long and troublesome a *Term*) at least some breathing short *Va- cation*.

Although I dare not (as to *Englands* peace and safety) admit desires of your *Totall*. *Cessation*, or long *vacation*: yet common *Gratitude* for such incompa-

A 2 rable

nable labours, expences, hazards, &c. from whence the God of heaven hath vouchsafed such rare and incomparable preservations, deliverances, enjoyments, &c. I say common gratitude cannot onely wish you heartily & pray for earnestly your eternal *Rest*, and most joyfull *Harvest* in the Heavens, but also, all the possible breathing hours, and cool retired *shades* of Contemplation and self-enjoyment amidst the scorching *Travels* of so many vexing and tedious *Actions*. You cannot (ever renowned Patriots) but like some grave Commanders of *Fleets* and *Armies*, who have brought their *Ships* and *followers* through tempestuous *storms* and bloody *fightes*, to joyful *Rest* and *Harbours*! You cannot but look back with Admirings, with Praisings, with Resolvings to cast you Crowns, and Heads, and Hearts, and Hands, (for the remaining *Minutes* of the short Candle of your life) at his *Feet*, in whose most High and most gracious Hands have all your *Breaths* and *wayes* been.

In the review of the multitude of your *Actings* and *Sufferings*, your *Battells* and *Victories*, *Dangers* and *Deliverances*, you cannot, (no man can) but observe and see (a naked) Arm from¹ Heaven fighting for you, but most especially since the times and houres you gratified the most *High Eternall King of Kings* (now more then ever *Englands King*) with these two famous *Subsidies* (if I may in humble Reverence so call them.)

The first, of *Mercy* and *Moderation* to the²
poor

1. *Two Subsidies* | granted by the | Parliament to | the King of | Kings.

2. The first Sub- | sidy.

poor oppressed Consciences of the *English Nation*, amidst the throng of which he graciously will, yea he hath acknowledged, that *some* of his own dear *Children* (the *Sonnes* and *Daughters* of the God of Heaven) have been relieved and succoured by you.

The second your high and impartiall drawing¹ of the Sword of *Justice* upon the great and *highest* offenders: Since which two wonderfull Subsidies, the most wilfully blind must be forced to see the glorious *Goings* of the God of Heaven with your *Councels* and *Armies*, and the discharge of his holy promise in honouring you, who have so highly, (in so rare and unparalleld *Travels* and *Hazards*) honored him.

Concerning the first of these *Subsidies*, I was humbly bold some few yeares since, to present you with a Conference between *Peace* and *Truth*, touching a most bloody Murtherous *Malefactor*,² the bloody *Tenant* of *Persecution* for cause of *Conscience*: (a notorious and common Pyrate, that *takes* and *robbs*, that *fires* and *sinkes* the (*Spirituell Shipps* and *Vessels*) the *Consciences* of all men, of all sorts, of all *Religions* and *Perswasions* whatsoever.

It hath pleased Master *Cotton*, (a Man incomparably too worthy for such a service) to attempt the washing of this bloody *Tenant*, (as hee speakes) in the blood of the Lamb³ CHRIST JESUS (though one part of the
Conse-

1. The second Sub- | sidy.

2. The Bloody | Tenant a com- | mon Pyrat.

3. Mr. Cottons | Reply.

Conference, to wit, the *Examination* of a *N. English Modell of Church and Civill Power*, he leaveth to the washing of some other of the *N. English Ministers*, the *Authors* of that *Modell*, of whose *washings* as yet I have not heard of:) This present discourse presents your *Honours* with the second part of the *Conference* between *Peace* and *Truth*, and hath examined Mr. *Cottons Reply* and *washings*.

I summe up the multitude of my *Thoughts* touching your *Honours Consideration* of this point, in these three most humble *Petitions*.

First, I most humbly and earnestly beseech your¹ *Honours* to mind the *Difference* between *State Necessity* of *Freedome* to different *Consciences*, and the *Equity* and *Piety* of such a *Freedome*.

State Policie and *Necessity* of *Affairs* drew from² great *Constantine* (with his Colleague *Licinius*) that famous *Edict* of *Freedome* to all mens *Consciences*, whom yet afterward he persecuted: But a *Successor* of his (of late years) *Maximilian* the second, comes neerer the *Life* of the *Businesse*, when he conscientiously profest in a solemne *Speech* to the Bishop³ of *Olmuts* in *Bohemia*, *There is no sin ordinarily greater against God*, said he, *then to use violence against the Consciences of men*.

Your *Honours* will find (if the *Father* of *Spirits* please to spare you time and *Spirits*, to mind this *Cause* and *Controversie*, that all violence to *Conscience* turns upon these two *Hinges*.

First, of *Restraining* from that *worshipping* of a⁴ *God* or *Gods*, which the *Consciences* of men in their respective worships (all the world over) believes to be *true*.
Secondly,

1. The first *Petition*.

2. Difference between the *Piety* and *Mercy*, and *State-necessity* of granting freedom to mens *Consciences*.

3. *Constantines* and *Maximilians* acts compared,

4. Two wayes of oppressing conscience in Religion.

Secondly, of *Constraining* to the *practising* or *coun-tenancing* of that whereof their Consciences are not perswaded.

In the *practice* of both these, the *Histories* of our own *Nation* will tell us (besides the forraigne) how *sharp* and *zealous* the *strongest Swords* of *England* have ever us'd to be.

And yet of the practice of both, what a *Propheticall*¹ *passage* of our late troubles and *King*, did the fore-said *Maximilian* expresse to *Henry* the third of *France*, (in his passage from *Poland* to *France* to claim the *French Crown*) to this effect, Sir, remember that when men think to get Heaven by using violence to the *Consciences* of men, they oftentimes lose² that which they might peaceably have kept on *Earth*. Some have said that *worldly policie* perswaded, as well as *State-necessity* compelled the States of *Holland* to a prudent permission of different *Consciences*.³ And that the said *State-Policie* perswaded some *Dutch* to wish that *England* might not tolerate, least a permission of Conscience in *England* should break down the *Bridge* and *Passage* into their parts of *Freedome* in causes of Conscience.

Those prudent and prosperous *States* have gone⁴ far (though driven by *Spanish* persecution) to it) in taking off the yoke from the necks of *Dutch & English*, *French* yea, *Popish & Jewish* consciences. For all which (though but Mercy, though but Justice and humanity to fellow mankind) he that runs may read the truth of Gods never failing *Promises*, *Blessed* are the *Mercifull* for they shall obtain *Mercy*.

Their own *Chronicles* tell us of a wonderfull walk
of

1. The late King *Charles* his conscience to oppresse the consciences of others, no small occasion of the ruine of him and his.

2. The Bishops kild the King.

3. Hollands policy.

4. The permission of conscience in Holland.

of the God of Heaven between three of their most¹ eminent Towns or Cities, First *Stafore* was the wondrous Wealthy City, their *golden Citie*, til a proud wealthy, *Merchants widow*, caused a whole ships loading of wheat (which her ship brought home and she despised) to be thrown over into the Harbour, which (with other Accidents of water and weather, Gods most righteous providences) so choak'd up the *Haven*, that Vessels of Burthen durst never frequent that *Citie* (by this occasion) most wondrously impoverish'd) since.

From *Stafore* God carries all the *Shipping* and² *wealth* to *Enchuysin*, whose Zealous, over-zealous and furious *Clergie* provoke the *Civil Magistrates* to persecute *dissenting, non conforming consciences*: Amongst the rest 'tis rare (if ever) that the most glorious *Son of God* himself escapes.

From *Enchuysin* therefore (a Den of persecuting³ *Lyons*, and mountain of *Leopards*) the *persecuted* fled to *Amsterdam*, a poor fishing Town, yet harborous and favourable to the *flying*, though dissenting *consciencies*: This confluence of the persecuted, by Gods most gracious coming with them, drew *Boats*, drew *Trade*, drew *Shipping*, and that so mightily in so short a time, that *Shipping*, *Trading*, *wealth*, *Greatness*, *Honour* (almost to astonishment in the Eyes of all *Europe*, and the *world*) have appeared to fall as out of Heaven in a Crown or Garland upon the head of that poor Fisher-Town.

O ye the prime of English men and English *worthies*, whose *sences* have so oft perceived the everlasting Arms of the Invincible and Eternal King, when
your

1. Gods wonderful goings in *Holland* from *Stafore*, undone by Pride and Unthankfulness,

2. To *Enchuysin*, undone by the bloody Tenent of Persecution:

3. From *Enchuysin* to *Amsterdam*, raised to its present hight and glory, by mercy to the persecuted.

your Ships *Hold* hath been full with water, yea with *Blood*, when storms without, fires and mutinies within, whence he hath beaten upon some Rocky *Hearts*¹ and *passages*, as if she would have staved and split into a thousand pieces; yet this so neer stav'd, so neer fired, so neer split, foundred, sinking Nation, hath the *God of Heaven* (by your most valiant and carefull hands) brought safe to *Peace* her *Harbour*! Why now should any duty possible be impossible? yea, why not impossibilities possible? Why should your *English Seas* contend with a neighbour *Dutchman*² for the motion of a piece of *Silk*, &c. and not ten thousand fold much more your *English Spirits* with theirs for the Crown of that State-piety and Wisdome which may make your faces more to *shine*, not only with a common lustre after a *Dutch President*, but (if it be the holy will of God, and I humbly hope it may be) with a *glory* far transcending all your fairest neighbours Copies.

The States of *Holland* having smarted deeply, and paid so dearly for the purchase of their freedoms, reach to the neighbour Nations and the world, a *tast* of such their dainties. And yet (with due reverence to so wise a *State*, and with due thankfulnesse for mercy and relief to many poor oppressed Consciences)³ I say their Piety nor Policie could ever yet reach so far, nor could they in all their School of Warre (as their Countries have been call'd, learn that one poor *Lesson* of setting absolutely the consciences of all men free.

'Tis true, they vouchsafed to the Papists and Arminians the *liberty* (as I may so speak) of the prison,
B and

1. Englands ship got into Harbour.

2. Striking of Colours.

3. The States of Holland yet to seek in the matters of liberty of Conscience.

and sometimes to go abroad (as I may say) with a *Keeper, &c.* But why should not such a parliament as *England* never had, (and who knows whether ever¹ will the like) why should not the piety and policie of such *Statesmen* out shoot and teach their Neighbours, by framing a safe communication of freedom of *Conscience* in worship, even to them to whom with good security of *Civill peace*) it is as due as to any other Consciences or Worshippers in the World) the *Papists* and *Arminians* themselves. Of the Piety and Policie of such a freedom I have discoursed more largely in the answering of² some Objections of Mr. *Cotton* in Chapter 59. of this Book: and proved that such a freedom of the Conscience of each member of the Commonweal, and such a Commonweal as *Englands* now is, especially, cannot in all probability prove so dangerous and prejudiciall as many do imagine and discourse, but contrarily many wayes prove beneficiall, and marvellously advantageous.

Your Honors know what bloody bickerings and bloodsheds have been in later times in *Germany*, in the *Low-Countries*, in *France*, in *England*, in *Polonia*, in *Hungaria*, *Bohemia*, *Transilvania*, &c. about the Freedom of mens Consciences and Worship?

The God of Heaven may also please graciously to remember you, that it hath been the fatall error of all Reformers that *England* or other States have seen, to doe as the *Portugals* did in the³ *East-Indies*, who pull'd down the Images of the *Pagans* whom they conquered, and set up their own Images of *Portugall* in their stead and places.

It

1. Touching absolute freedome to every mans conscience impartially.

2. Freedom of Popish consciences. See Chap. 59 more particularly.

3. Old images puld down, and new set up.

It is agreed on all hands that subscribe to one GOD, that his worship is but one, and that all besides that one true GOD, are idols, and all worship¹ beside his own (but one) are Images: And you know the fiery jealousie of the *Eternall* will not ever endure an Image (though never so fair) his Rivall: Hence in the many former *Changes* of estates, and *State-worships* (by Gods just and jealous permission) the childrens work hath been to tumble down their fathers buildings. Nor can your most prudent *Heads*, and potent *Hands* possibly erect that *Fabrick*, which the next *Age* (it may be the next *Parliament*) may not tumble down. And yet so may the God of Heaven so please to guide you in the high matters that concern the *worship* of God, and the *Conscienc*es of men, that (what ever be the present or future consequences) your own Conscienc^{es} may reap the joyfull harvest of their present and eternall *Requiem*s.

The *Pope*, the *Turk*, the King of *Spain*, the *Emperour*, and the rest of Persecutors, build among the Eagles, and the Starres, yet while they practice violence to the Souls of *Men*, and make their *Swords* of Steele Corrivalls with the two-edged Spirituall *Sword* of the Sonne of GOD: the *Basis* of their *Highest Pillars*, the *Foundation* of their glorious *Palaces*, are but *Drosse* and *Rottenesse*. And however in our poore Arithmeticke, their Kingdomes *Number* seem great, yet in the² onely wise account of the Eternall, their *Ages* are but Minutes, and their short *Periods* are neer accomplished; for herein the *Maxime* is most

B 2

true,

1. All Images must down.

2. All violent courses must break.

true (in the matters of Religion and Consciences of men, especially:) the *violent* motion must break.

But *Light* from the *Father of Lights* hath shined on your eyes: Mercy from the Father of Mercies hath softned your breasts, to be tender of the tenderest part of Man, his Conscience: for indeed¹ there is no true Reason of *Policy or Piety* (as this Discourse discovereth) why that man that will subscribe (and give assurance for honest meaning) to that most prudent Act of Civill Engagement, (what ever his Conscience be) should be depriv'd and rob'd of the liberty of it, in *Spirituell* and *Religious* matters.

I have (I fear) been long in my first Petition, my second shall be brief, is this.

I most humbly and earnestly beseech your *Honours*² in all the straits and difficulties which yet you are to passe (concerning this great point of mens *Consciences*, or other high affairs) steere carefully off from one sunk *Rock*, on which so many gallant Vessels have miscarried. This *Rock* lies deeper then others, and seldom hath appeared but at some Deadlow water, when the most high *Judge* of the whole world reckons with Men or States; in low conditions and debasements.

I humbly beg from *God* the gracious continuance of his mighty *Angels guard* about your sitting, to preserve your Honours from the flames of *Wars* abroad, and from such flames at home: from *Risings*, from *Tumults*, from *Mutinies*, from *Pistols*, from *Stabs*,³ from *Powder-plots*, from *Poyson*, &c. but above all, from your own *Wisdome* and *Policies* in straits and difficulties.

The

1. The Act for Civill Engagement of great necessity.

2. The second Petition.

3. Worldly wisdome in straits a most dangerous rock.

The holy History tells, that on this *Rock* (in a State strait) strook the great Statist *Jeroboam*, to the ruine of himself and his posterity.

On this *Rock* split that famous and zealous Reformer *Jehu*.

This pluckt the Crown from *Sauls* high head, when his own wisdom in straits made him presumptuous about the worship of God.

This pluckt off the Crown, and pluck out the eyes of *Zedekiah*, when in a strait he trusted not in God, as *Solomon* speaks, but leaned to his own understanding for his safety.

To which purpose my third Petition is, that in the midst of so many great *Negotiations of Justice*, of *Mercy* to the Bodies and Estates, or Spirits & Consciences of so many thousands and ten thousand, you forget not to deal *justly*, & to shew *mercy* to your selves: Oh how lamentable and dreadful wil it prove, if after all your high *Employments* (as the *State-Agents* & ² *Factors* for the *Commonweal*!) if in the midst of all your cares and fears, and tossings about the *Souls* and *Consciences* and *salvations* of others, your own most dear and pretious selves make an *eternal shipwrack*?

Your *Honors* know, that although men have chosen and cull'd you out as *wise* and *noble*, yet *God* hath not chosen (if *Paul* say true) many *wise* and *noble* to eternall *life* and *blessednesse*.

Who can love and honor you, and not cry to the *God of Heaven* for you, and to your selves for your selves: Be not so busie about the *Earthly* estate, nor the *Heavenly* estate of others, as to forget to make sure your own *vocation* and *election*, & to work out your own *salvation* with *fear* and *trembling*.

Oh

1. The third Petition.

2. Soul shipwrack.

Oh let not this bold *cry* offend, and though offend,
yet let it throughly *awake* your noble *spirits* to know
your dangers & hindrances (more then other mens)¹
from a world of *distractions* from without, from *pride*
& *self-confidence* from within, from the flatteries of
such who (hoping for rewards & morsels from you)
proclaim abroad (that you may hear it) O blessed
Christian Magistrates, Christian Kings & Queens, Christi-
an States, Christian Parliaments, Christian Armies, so lul-
ling your pretious souls into an *eternall sleep*.

I need not remember your *Honours* of that most
wonderful *summa totalis* of all the castings up of *Solo-*
mons choice particulars (his *wisdom, works, riches, peace*
and *pleasures,*) *Vanity* and *vexation of spirit*. I need not²
remember you of that wonderfull *Confession* of *Phi-*
lip the 2nd of *Spain* (neer his last) to his successor and
“son *Philip* the 3rd, to this effect: I have had and ex-
“pended (about the time of these 30 years) 594. mil-
“lions of *Treasure*, and yet gained nothing for my self
“but *heart sorrow*, and *vexation of Spirit*. Your own
observant *eyes* and *ears* (in the late most wonderfull
changes and tossings of all affairs and things) cannot
but read a thousand *Lectures* to your most serious
midnight and morning *Thoughts* of the most *certain*
uncertainties of Friends, Treasures, Revenues, Ar-
mies, Forts, Magazines, Castles, Ships and Navies,
Crowns and Lives.

Why then should your renowned *wisdom & pru-*
dence excel the folly of others as much as *light* excel-
leth *darkness*, in searching of the root and causes of
matters, in fore-seeing Events and Consequences, in³
raising Monies and Armies, in choosing Agents, in
framing Laws, in managing great affairs at home &
abroad, in discovering *plots*, in preventing *dangers*, &
final

1. Dangers of Parliament men.

2. Wonderfull Confessions of two mighty Kings.

3. True Heavenly wisdom.

finall overthrowes by sure retreats, &c. If yet, alas, that wisdom make not out a saving discovery of the most holy and only wise, the *Alpha & Omega*, the first of *causes* and last of *Ends* (in whose hand is all your *breath* and *ways*;) in raising *spiritual supplies* against your spiritually devouring *adversaries*, in discovering their *methods*, *designes*, *deceits*, in preventing that (that) fatall overthrow, and eternall defeat (*remediless*, *hopeless*) where the *worm* never dies, and the *fire* never goes out?

O why should your renowned *valors* so glory in the¹ conquest of *Cities*, *Castles*, *Ships* & *Armies*, if your selves are led captive in the spiritual chains of *lusts* & *passions*, a more lamentable, and more to be deplored object, then the poorest *slaves* in the *Spanish* and *Turkish Gallies*.

What shall avail your admired *diligence* and *activity* in managing & quick dispatching so many and so high² *affairs*, by day and night, catching hold of all occasions, redeeming all oportunities, improving all advantages, if you lose the fair *Gales*, and oreslip and sleep away the pretious and inestimable seasons and calls, and knocks and offers of your own eternal *Mercies*?

What boots your exemplary and impartiall *justice* on so many and so high *Delinquents*, if your own bosomes³ are found traiterous to the State of *Heaven*, rebellious to the *King*, to the *God* of *spirits*, and if in that most high Court of *Justice* from Gods most dreadful *tribunal* you hear that thunder (which oh that you may never hear) *Go ye cursed, &c.*

'Tis true your *mercies* have been eminent to the poor, to the opressed, to the captive, to the maimed, to the⁴ wounded, to the fatherless, widows, &c. But will you now be cruel to your selves, incompassionate to your own bowels, insensible of your own wounds and miseries? O search and see, and be perswaded of
your

1. The onely valour or cowardize.

2. True and best diligence.

3. True Justice and Righteousness.

4. Heavenly mercy.

your infinite want of *Crummes* falling from your *Table of Mercy!* of the infinite *price* and *value* of the *wine & oyl* of the mercifull (though despised Samaritan) to ease and supple, to cleanse and heale your broken Hearts and wounded Spirits.

The flames of your *zeal* for the *God of Israel* (as that famous *Iehu* said) have been so bright, and mounted so high against two mighty Factions of the Kings and Queens (the *Prelats* & the *Popes*) that those *flames* have not only dazled and amazed all *British* eys (the *English*¹ & the *Scotch*) but or'e the *Seas*, and or'e the *Alps*, and or'e the *Pirenean mountains*, and *Romes* own 7 hils haue flown & fild all Protestant and Popish ears, and hearts, and tongues, with either admiration & exulting, or furious rage and indignation! Yet what avails these glorious *flames*, and furious whirling of your zealous Chariots, if yet they are but *Jehu's*? If *Sathan* the *God* of this world possesse the Throne of *Pride* and *Ostentation* in your bosoms (Come see my zeal which I have for the *God of Israel*) yea though you should go on where *Jehu* left, and shoot home where he fell short, yet what avails it that the *God of Israel* be in *Iehu's* mouth, when *God-selfe*, *God-honour*, &c. fill his breast & heart? What gains he by the slaughter of Princes, Priests and Gods, when *Israel* it self is but an Apostate state from the true worship² of the *God of Israel*, and *Iehu* himself (according to the purity of Gods *word* and *ordinances* at *Ierusalem*) reformed not so much as his *own privat heart & censure*?

Alas, what solid joy (most zealous *Worthies*) shall a *Crown of leaves* (a temporal reward, *Iehu's* wages) bring to your Noble *Heads & Breasts*, if you heare not at last that saving *Call* to all humble and selfe-denying *Followers of Jesus Come ye blessed* of my *Father*, inherit the *Kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world*.

Your

1. Late zealous Reformations.

2. *Jehu* his zeal and reward.

Your admired publick patience so wonderfully assaulted, so wonderfully loaden with such mightie *Trials* from *Mans*, from *Gods* hand, with such mighty *Losses*, mighty *Defeats*, mighty *Labours* & *Hazards*,¹ mighty *Reproaches*, &c. I say your unwearied Patience hath stood (like some mighty *Rock*, or *Anvill*) invincible: Yet who can stile this *Patince*, or State-policie! if your private *Howses* and *Breasts* swell and swarm with rebellious Passions, Impatiences, Re-venge! If in the furnaces of your own private afflictions, and in the powrings out and changes of the most *High* upon you, your *Drosse* and *Lees* of unmortified, unsanctified Spirits remain uncleansed! if you most humbly kisse not the *Rods* of the most *High* chastising you by *sicknesses*, by *lesses*, and other *trialls*, humbly thankfull, and longing to declare the Spirits of true Children, truly desiring more and more to partake of his Divine Nature and Holinesse?

Yea, what avails the *Crown* of your enduring Constancy, that have rid out so long a *storm*, held out² so long a *siege*, not fainted in such tedious *Travels*, *Labours*, *Oppositions*, *Treacheries*, *Discouragements*, but gloriously cast *Anchor* in the Port of *Patience*; if yet your personall Righteousness passe away as the morning dew melted with the warme beams of victorious and prosperous *Success*? If your own professions of *Christ Jesus* prove but a fading colour, and not died in the right Grain of the pretious *blood* of the *Son* of *God*?

Your Honours well remember, that the main point of *Luthers Reformation*, (and before him of the

C

Hussites

1. Of the Parliaments patience.

2. Of the Crown of true Constancy.

*Hussites in Germany and Bohemia, and before them of the Wicklevists in England, and before them of the Waldenses in France, consisted chiefly about Repentance and Faith in the blood of Christ: That the main Contentions of Calvin, and since him of the most Reformers, have turn'd upon the hinge of¹ the Form of the Church, and the Administrations thereof, the lamentable though pretious Fuell of those fires of strife among the wisest, holiest, and learnedst of the Followers of Christ Jesus in these times. You know the Lord Jesus prophesied, That² many false Christs should arise, and the Scriptures more then once give the title of Christ to the Church; whence it is evident, That every severall Modell, Platform, and profession of a Church, is the profession of a various and different Christ. Your Honours also know he spake most true (being Truth it Selfe) that said, That which is most highly esteemed amongst men, is abomination in the sight of God, Luke 16. Hence, such may the glorious profession of Christs or Churches be, as may ravish the eyes and hearts of men, and from which the jealous eys of t he true Lord Jesus turn away as from the false and counterfeit with indignation. Beside the Counterfeit in holy Scripture, how famous was the Pageant of that counterfeit King of England, which so³ haunted with long vexations one of the wisest of Englands Kings (Henry the seventh?) How wonderfully (even to astonishment) did the imposture of Richard Duke of York (proclaiming Henry an usurper and false.) I say, how wonderfully did that monstrous imposture take, that not
onely*

1. The Controversies of late years about Religion.

2. So many opposite Churches, so many opposite Christs to the onely true.

3. The Pageant of Perken Warbeck in K. H. 7. his dayes, a picture of false Christs, or Churches.

onely Foraigners where that *Counterfeit* most kept (the Arch-Duke, the King of *France*, the King of *Scots*, the King of *Romanes*, the *Irish Nation*, &c.) were deceived with that feigned King, but also so many gallant men of our own *Nation*, even to the *wisest* and *highest* (as that famous *Stanley Lord Chamberlain*, the *Preserver* and *Raiser* of King *Henry* himselfe) lamentably lost their *Heads* and *Lives* about that pretended King? Now counterfeit *Spirituell delusions* of false and counterfeit *Christs*, as they are *deeper* and *stronger*, so they find more easie *possession* of the *Ears* and *Souls* of men, so wofully prepared by naturall *self-deceivings*.

On six principall Pillars or ¹ Foundations (saith the holy Spirit, *Heb.* 6. 6.) is built the fabrick of of true Christianity: On *Repentance*, on *Faith*, on *Baptismes*, on *laying on of Hands*, on the *Resurrection*, and the *Eternall Judgement*.

Concerning the two middle ones of these there are and have been mighty and lamentable differences among the Scholars of *Jesus*, who yet agree in the other foure, of *Repentance* and *Faith*, the *Resurrection* and *Eternall Judgement*.

Whatsoever your Honours apprehensions are of² the foure last, I beseech you (as you love your lives to *Eternity*) make sure of the two first, and ply (with *Sails* and *Oars*) day and nights, and give not rest to your souls till you have anchored in some blessed *assurance*, that although you find not satisfaction in the many frames of *Churches* pretending; yet that you have saved (as once you know a wise and honorable personage said) the *Bird* in your *Bosome*: and

C 2

that

1. θεμέλιον The six fundamentals if Christian Religion. *Heb.* 6.

2. with or without the first two, salvation or no salvation.

that those your very eyes which have seen so much of Christ Jesus, and so many wonderfull changes, and have been rotten awhile in their holes (in *Death*) shall joyfully possesse, and fill their holes again, and be gloriously blessed with the sight of a *Redeemer*, when these *Heavens* and this *Earth* shal passe away. For which humbly and uncessantly prayes

*Your Honours most unworthy,
yet unfainedly devoted,*

Roger Williams.

Your Honours (wanting time to read much) may please to view in a few minutes the *Portraicture* and *Map* of the whole *Bloody Tenent* in the latter end of the last Chapt. Chap. 79.

To the several Respective General Courts,
especially that of the Massachusetts in
N. ENGLAND.

Honored and beloved Friends and Countreymen,



Hile You sit drie on your safe *American*¹ *Shoars* (by *Gods* most gracious *Providence*) and have beheld the dolefull *tossings* of so many of *Europs Nations*, yea of our dearest *Mother*, aged *England*, in a *Sea of Tears* and *Bloud*, I am humbly bold to present your *Eyes* and *Hearts* with this (not unseasonable) discourse of *Bloud*, of the *Bloudy Tenents* of *Persecution*, *Oppression*, and *Violence*, in the Cause and matters of *Conscience* and *Religion*.

It is a *Second Conference of Peace* and *Truth*, an Examination of the worthily honoured and beloved Mr. *Cottons*² *Reply* to a former *Conference* and *Treatise* of this Subject. And although it concern all Nations, which have persecuted and shed the *Bloud of Jesus*, the *Bloudie Roman Empire*, with all the *Savage Lyons* thereof, *Emperours* and *Popes*, the *bloudie Monarchies* of *Spain* and *France*, and the rest of *Europs Kingdoms* and *States* (which under their several *Vizards* and *Preteness* of Service to *God*, have in so many thousands of his *Servants*, *Murthered* so many thousand times over, his dear *Son*) yea although it concern that *Bloudie Turkish Monarchy*, and all the *Nations* of the *World* who practise *violence* to the *Conscience* of any *Christian*, or *Anti-christians*

1. N, England Priviledge.

2. Whole Nation of Lyons or Persecutors.

christians, Jews or Pagans; yet it concerns your selves (with all due respect otherwise be it spoken) in some more eminent¹ degrees: Partly, as so many of yours of chief note (beside Mr. Cotton) are engaged in it; partly as N. England (in respect of Spiritual and Civil State) professeth to draw nearer to Christ Jesus then other States and Churches, and partly as N. England is believed to hold and practise such a Bloudie Doctrine, notwithstanding Mr Cottons Vails and Pretences of not persecuting men for conscience, but punishing them only for sinning against conscience! and of but so and so, not persecuting, but punishing Hereticks, Blasphemers, Idolators, Seducers, &c.

It is Mr. Cottons great mistake and forgetfulnesse, to charge² me with a *publick examination* of his *privat Letter* to me; whereas in Truth, there never passed such *Letters* between himself and me about this Subject; as he alledgeth: But the *Prisoners Arguments* against *Persecution*, with Mr. Cottons *Answer* thereunto (which I examined) I say these were *unexpectedly*, and *solemnly* sent to me, as no *privat* thing, with earnest desire of my *consideration* or *Animadversions* on them.

These *Agitations* between Mr. Cotton and others, so sent unto me, as also the *Model* of *Church and Civil Power* by *Gods Providence* coming to hand, I say they seem'd to me to be of too too *Publick* a nature: And in which my soul not only heard the dolefull *cry* of the *souls* under the *Altar* to the *Lord for Vengeance*, but their earnest *sollicitations*, yea and the command of the *Lord Jesus* for *Vindication* of their *blouds* and *lives* spilt and destroyed, by this *Bloudie Tenent*, though under never so Fair and Glorious *Shewes* and *Colours*.

The most *holy* and *allseeing* knowes how bitterly I resent³ the least *difference* with Mr. Cotton, yea with the least of the *followers* of *Jesus*, of what *conscience* or *worship* soever: How mournfully I remember this *stroak* (as I believe) on Mr. Cottons eye, and the eyes of so many of *Gods* precious *children* and *servants*, in these and other parts; that those eyes so
piercing

1. The Bloudy Tenent more especially concerns N. E.

2. The occasion of the present controversie.

3. This Contestation is not with persons, but against their bloody Doctrins and Tenents.

peircing and heavenly (in other holy and precious *Truths* of God) should yet be so over-clouded and *bloudshotten* in this: I grieve I must *contest*, and maintain this *contestation* with (in other respects) so dearly *beloved* and so *worthy Adversaries*.

And yet why mention I or respect I man that is but *Grass*, and the children of men that must *die*, whose *Brains*, *Eyes* and *Tongues* (even the *holiest* and the *highest*) must *shortly sink* and *rot* in their *skuls* and *holes*.

Without remembring therefore who my *Adversarie* is, nor all the *Wormwood* and the *Gall* so frequently in Mr. *Cottons* Reply against me; I fully and only level with an upright and *single eye* (the *Lord Jesus* graciously assisting) against that fowl and monstrous bloudie *Tenent* and *Doctrin*, which hath so sliely (like the old *Serpent* the *Author* of it) crept under the shade and shelter of Mr. *Cottons* Patronage and Protection.

My end is to discover and proclaim the crying and horrible¹ guilt of the bloudie *Doctrin*, as one of the most *Seditious*, *Destructive*, *Blasphemous*, and *Bloudiest* in any or in all the *Nations* of the *World*, notwithstanding the many fine *Vails*, *Pretences* and *Colours* of not persecuting *Christ Jesus*, but *Hereticks*, not *Gods Truth* or *Servants*, but *Blasphemers*, *Seducers*: not *Persecuting* men for their *Conscience*, but for sinning against their *Conscience*, &c.

My end is to perswade *Gods Judah* (especially) to wash their hands from *Bloud*, to cleanse their hearts and wayes² from such *Unchristian practices*, toward all that is *man*, capable of a *Religion* and a *Conscience*, but most of all toward *Christ Jesus*, who cries out (as he did to *Saul*) in the sufferings of the least of his *Servants*: *Old England*, *Old England*, *New England*, *New England*, *King*, *King*, *Parliaments*, *Parliaments*, *General Courts*, *General Courts*, *Presbyterians*, *Presbyterians*, *Independents*, *Independents*, &c. Why persecute you me? It is hard for you to kick against the Pricks.

My end is to prepare the *Servants* and *Witnesses* of *Jesus* (what

1. The end of this Treatise.

2. The cry of the Lord Jesus.

(what *Truth* soever of his they testifie) for that *great* and *general* and most *dreadfull slaughter* of the *witnesses*, which I cannot but humbly *fear*, and almost *believe*, is near *approaching*, and will be *Ushered* in, *provoak'd* and *hastned* by the *preud security*, *worldly pomp*, *fleshly confidence*, and *bloody violences* of *Gods* own children, wofully exercised each against other, and so rendred wofully *ripe* for such an *Universal* and *dreadfull Storm* and *Tempest*!

My end and scope is to put a *Christian barr*, and *just* and *merciful*¹ *Spoaks* in the *wheels* of such zealous reforming *Jehues*, who (under the *Vizard* and *Name* of *Baals Priests*) may possibly be induced to account it good *service* unto *God*, to kill and burn his precious *Servants*.

My end is, that the greatest *Sons of Bloud* (the *Papists*) may know, when ever (as the *Saints* in *Queen Maries* days confessed) when ever it shall please the jealous *God* for the² sins of his *Saints* to turn the *Wheels* of his most deep and holy *Providences*, and to give the *Power* to the *Paw* of the *Beast*, against his *Saints* and *Truths*, for their last *dreadfull slaughter* (as *Daniel* and *John* do clearly seem to tell us) I say those *Sons of Bloud*, the *bloudie Papists*, may know, that their *bloody Doctrin* of *persecution*, was disclaimed by some, whom they call *Sectaries*: That *equall* and *impartiall* favour was pleaded to the *Catholicks*, as wel as to their own or other mens *Souls* and *Consciences*: And that if that great *Whore* shall yet proceed not only to drink the wine of their carnal *Jollitie*, in the *Bowles* of the holy *Ordinances* of *Christs Temple* and *Sanctuary*; but also to drink more drunk in the bloud of his *Saints* and *witnesses*! This *Testimony* may stand as a *Character* of *Bloud*, fixed by the hand of *Gods* eternal *Truth* and *Peace*, upon the *Gates* of their *bloudie Courts*, and upon the *forehead* of their *bloudie Judges*, who (under what pretence soever) hunt and persecute the *Souls* and *Consciences* of any *Child of God* or *Man*.

My truly honoured and beloved Countriment, vouchsafe me³ I beseech you that humane and Christian Libertie to say, that I fear your *Spirits* are lock'd up in a double prison from any
serious

1. A Bar against Persecution.

2. Or a Testimony against it, especially in the Papists.

3. A double prison, of prejudice and Conscience.

serious *Audience* to ought of mine presented to you. The first of *Prejudice* against *such* and *such* a person. The second of *Conscience*, against *such* and *such* a matter; and that while my *Conscience* or another mans saith, Let me be *Heretick*, *Blasphemer*, *Idolater*, *Seducer*, with *Christ Jesus*, with his *Apostles*, *Saints* and *Witnesses*: Let me (for his sake) bear *Frowns*, *Censures*, and *Persecutions*, from men so dear, so excellent, so holy! Your *Consciences* plead for equall *Libertie* of opposing in your way, all such erroneous or wandring *Consciences*.

For answer, It is but *Humanity*, it is but *Christianity* to exercise *meeknesse* and *moderation* to all men: It is humane and Christian *Wisdom* to listen to a serious *Alarm* against a *Common Enemy*: Prove the *Alarm* false, it may be but troublesome: Prove it true, it may be *Destruction* to have despised it.

As the *wounds* of a *Lover* are better then the *Kisses* of an *Enemy*: So saith the same *Spirit*, an open *Rebuke* is better then secret *Love*.

But yet your *Consciences* (as all mens) must be satisfied,¹ I have therefore in all these *Agitations* humbly presented (amongst others) two *Foundamental Hints* or *Considerations*.

First that the *People* (the *Original* of all free *Power* and *Government*) are not invested with *Power* from *Christ Jesus*, to rule his *Wife* or *Church*, to keep it *pure*, to punish *Opposites* by force of *Armes*, &c.

Secondly, that the *Pattern* of the *National Church* of *Israel*, was a *None-such*, unimitable by any *Civil State*, in all or any of the *Nations* of the *World* beside: In this latter hint I insisted more largely in my former *Considerations* upon *Church* and *Civil Power* in *N. E.* unto which Mr. *Cotton* replied not (and of any other *Replies* of any (to whom Mr. *Cotton* refers it) do I yet not know of.)

I Add, it is a glorious *Character* of every true *Disciple* or *Scholler* of *Christ Jesus*, to be never too *old* to *learn*.

It is the *Command* of *Christ Jesus* to his *Schollars*, to try
D all

1. Foundamentall Hints against Persecution.

all things: And *Libertie* of trying what a *Friend*, yea what an (esteemed) *Enemie* presents, hath ever (in point of *Christianity*) proved one especiall means of attaining to the *truth* of *Christ*.

For I dare confidently *appeal* to the *conscienc*es of *Gods* most *knowing servants*, if that *observation* be not true, to¹ wit, that it hath been the common way of the *Father* of *Lights*, to inclose the *Light* of his holy *Truths*, in dark and obscure, yea and ordinarily in *forbidden Books*, *persons* and *Meetings*, by *Sathan* stiled *Conventicles*.

New English Voyages, have taught most of our *Old English spirits*, how to put due prices upon the most *common* and ordinary *undervalued mercies*; how precious with some hath² been a little *water*? how dainty with others a piece of *bread*: How welcome to some the poorest *howsing*? Yea the very *Land* and *Earth*, after long and tedious passages?

There is one *commoditie* for the sake of which most of *Gods children* in *N. England* have run their mighty *hazards*; a *commoditie* marvellously *scarce* in former times (though in some late years by *Gods* most gracious and mighty hand more *plentifull*) in our *native Countrey*: It is a *Libertie* of searching after *Gods* most holy *mind* and *pleasure*.

Out of this most precious and invaluable *Jewel*, if you suffer *Sathan* (that grand *thief* and *cheater* to bereave you, and that it shall be a *crime*, humbly and peaceably to question even³ *Lawes* and *Statutes*, or what ever is even publickly taught and delivered, you will most certainly find your selves after all your long *Run* (like that little *Frenchman* who kill'd the *Duke* of *Guise*, and was taken next morning neare the place from whence he had fled upon a swift horse all night)⁴ I say you will most certainly find your selves, but where you were, *enslav'd* and *captivated* in the *Chains* of those *Popish Darknes*ses, [to wit, *Ignorance* is the *mother* of *Devotion*, and we must believe as the *Church* believes, &c.]

Remember therefore (O ye the *Cream* and *Flower* of *English Plantations* in *America*) what a black and direfull a *cole* it was with which it pleased the Spirit of *God* in *Habacuck*,

1. Libertie of trying forbidden Books, &c.

2. New Englands Lessons.

3. Liberty of searching our Truth, hardly got, and as hardly kept.

4. Jan le petit.

to brand the *Assirian Monarchie*, to wit [a *Bitter* and *hastie Nation*] but in the *spirit* of *meeknesse*, in the *meeknesse* of *wisdom*, be pleased to remember that possible it is for *Gods¹ visible*, only people in the *world* to have very foul and bloudie hands, full of *Bloud* (*Isa. 1.*)! To build up *Zion* and *Jerusalem* (that is, to erect the *Visible Church* and *Kingdom* of *God*) with *Bloud* (*Mic. 3.*) and with *Iniquitie*, That the *Heads* and *Judges* of *Gods People*, may judge for a *reward* (and the deceitfull heart of man graspeth at *rewards* more then of one sort) that the *Priests* and *Prophets* thereof may *teach* and *Prophesie* (and it may be frequently and excellently, but yet for) an *hire* and for *money*; And that yet their *consciencess* may lean upon *Jehovah*, and they may say with *confidence*, is not the *Lord* amongst us? None evil shall come unto us; &c. O remember that your *Gifts* are rare, your *Professions* of *Religion* (in such way) rare, your *Persecutions²* and hidings from the storms abroad, rare and wonderfull: So in proportion your *Transgressions*, estate and publick sins cannot but be of a rare and extraordinary *Guilt*: Nor will *New England's* sorrowes (when sins are *ripe* and *full*) be other then the *Dregs* of *Germanie's*, of *Ireland's*, of *England's*, and of *Scotland's* Tears and Calamities.

Amongst the crying sins of our own or other sinfull Nations: those two are ever amongst the lowest, to wit, *Invented Devotions* to the *God* of *Heaven*. Secondly, *Violence* and *Oppression* on the Sons of men (especially (if his sons) for³ dissenting, and against both these, and that the *impartial* and *dreadfull hand* of the most holy and *Jealous God* (a *consuming fire*) tear and burn not up at last the *Roots* of these *Plantations*, but graciously discovering the *Plants* which are not his, he may graciously fructifie and cause to flourish what his *Right hand* will own: I say this is the humble and unfeigned desire and cry (at the *Throne* of *Grace*) of your so long despised Out-cast:

ROGER WILLIAMS.

E 2

To

1. The wonderfull deceitfulness of the hearts of Gods only people.

2. Mic. 3. N. England must be singular, as in Mercies, so in Judgments.

3. of the loudest State. crying sins.

To the Merciful and Compassionate READER.



Hile the unmercifull *Priests* and *Levits* turn away their cruel *Eyes* and *Feet* from their¹ poor wounded *neighbours* (the oppressed for matters of *Religion* and *Worship*) it will be no ingratefull act to present thy tender *heart* and *Ear* (*Compassionate Samaritane*) with the dolefull cry of the *Souls* under the *Altar* [How long *Lord* before thou avenge our bloud on them that dwell upon the *Earth*] and to pray thy mournfull view of the *Akelde-mae's* and *fields* of *Blood*, where thousands and ten thousand times ten thousands of the pretious *Saints* (*Servants* and *Witnesses* of *Jesus*) lie slaughtered in their bloudie *Gore*, in all *Ages* and in all *Nations*, where the *Trumpet* of the *Son* of *God* hath sounded:

Here and there among these slaughtered heaps of *Saints* lie (thin and rare) the slaughtered *Carkasses* of some poor *Arrians* or *Papists*, or other poor *deluding* and *deluded souls*: This seeming colour of *Impartiall Justice* serves (woefully)² that *murtherous enemy* of all *Mankind* for a *Stale* or *Covert* under which his *bloudie Game* goes on, of persecuting (or hunting) the harmless *Deer*, the children of the living *God*.

For the sake then of the dear *Saints* and *Followers* of *Jesus*, for his holy sake and *Truth*, for the holy name and *Truth* of the most holy *Father* of *Lights*, the *God* of it, thy compassionate eye is here presented with a *Second Conference* and
view

1. Soul wounds, the deepest.

2. The Akeldamaes, or fields of Bloud, caused by the Bloudy Tenent of Persecution.

view of Mr. Cottons Reply, and artificial bloudie washing of the *Bloudie Tenent*.

The *Battel* about any *Truth of God in Christ*, is fought and managed by that most high and glorious *Michael* the *Arch-Angel* and *Son of God*, attended with all his *Holy Angels*, the *Messengers* and *Witnesses* of his *Truth* on the one side: On the other side by that great red *Dragon*, whose bloudie *Followers*,¹ Devils and men of all sorts and Nations, but especially the *Roman* bloudie *Emperor*, and *Roman Popes* (with *Lyon-like Furie*, and *Fox-like craft*) have suck'd the *Bloud* and broke the *Bones*, and devoured the *Flesh* of so many hundred thousand, thousands of the *King of Kings* his spiritual *Hinds* and *Roes* in this their bloudie hunting: So that aptly (I had almost said *Prophetically*) wrote one of their own *Roman Poets* of the lamentable condition of the *harmlesse Deer* above other Creatures: *Dente tuetur Aper, defendunt, Cornua Taurum, Imbelles Damae quid nisi Praeda sumus?*

'Tis a lamentable and cruel sight to see the sons of one poor man and woman, (all the *Globe* of the world over (like *Babels* builders) so vastly disagreeing about a *God* and his *Worship*.

'Tis lamentable to see these one *Mans* sons *Murthered* and *Massacred* (in mutual slaughters) as for other pretended *Causes*: So this especially of *Conscience* and *Religion*.

'Tis yet more *lamentable* and never enough to be lamented,² that while the *Sons of Men* do but their *kind!* the *Sons of God*, the *sons of the God of Place*, the *Lillies*, *Doves* and *Spouses of Jesus* should thus discord and jart about this *Christ* their *hope!* that (like the very *Turks* and *Persians* contending about their *Mahomet* his *Successors*) the *Children of God* should tear out each others *Throats* about the last *Will* and *Testament* of the *Son of God* their elder brother: That *Ephraim* should be against *Manasseh*, and *Manasseh* against *Ephraim*, and both against *Judah*; yet all sons of one, and professors of one *God of Israel*:

But oh the low and shallow comprehensions of the sons of men, who as a *Rotten thing* (saith *Job*) consumeth: Oh the
depths

1. Michael, the son of God, and Sathan the red Dragon, the two great Generals.

2. Lamentable discords about Religion, even among the servants of the true and living God.

3. The Israelites divided.

depths of the *Councils* and *workings* of the most *High*, most *Holy*, and only *wise*, outshooting all the *Generations* of men, who heat and know no more then *Jonathans* Lad, Is not the Arrow beyond thee? &c.

His holy *Wisdom* hath an heavenly *Reason* (to touch a little upon this *sorrowfull string*) of that bloudie *Device* and¹ *Sale* of innocent *Joseph* by his own *Brethren*, the sons of one *Israel* and *God*.

He knowes why so holy a *Leader* of such a *miraculous People* (as I may truly call them) why *Aaron* (I say) was so left to the horrible, ungratefull, and outrageous importunities² of this (then the only) *People of God*, as to frame a *Beastly worship*, and to turn the most glorious and dreadfull *Godhead* into the similitude of a *Beast* that eateth grasse.

He knowes why the *Israel of God*) *Rebels*, as *Moses* passionately called them) should so often grieve the holy *Spirit* of³ *God* with their *murmurings*, and be so near to dash out the brains of their most faithfull *Leaders*.

He knowes why two *Parts* or *Angles* of that Heavenly *Triangle* (*Moses*, *Aaron*, and *Miriam* so neer in *Earthly* and *Heavenly Relations*) I say why that rare Pair, *Aaron* and⁴ *Miriam* should yet envie and mutiny against their so dear a *Brother*, and so meek and heavenly a *Ruler*, *Moses*.

His heavenly wisdom hath a reason of that wonderfull Shrinking of an *Army* of 32 thousand *Israelits*, into one poor 300 left behind, and found only fit for *Gods battels* against⁵ the *Midianits*.

A reason why those two famous *Champions*, *Samson* and *David* should find so great discouragement to their fighting of *Gods Battels*, the men of *Judah* basely binding *Samson*,⁶ and the chief of *Davids* own *Brethren* flying in his face with open Railings.

A reason of that all most utter consumption of one whole *Tribe* of *Israels* 12. by the furious flames of the *Zeal* and *Indignation* of the eleven.

These things happened not by *chance*, but as the *Apostle* speaks in *Types* (in curious and wonderfull *figures*) so that his

1. Joseph sold by his brethren.

2. Israel force Aaron to make them Gods.

3. Israels murmurings.

4. Aaron and Miriam against Moses.

5. An Armie of 32000 Israelites shrunk into 300.

6. Samson and David discouraged by their own brethren. Benjamin almost destroyed by the 11 Tribes. Israels rejecting of Samuel & the Lord himself.

his holy wisdom knowes: why *Israel* must be so weary of *Samuel* and himself, and (like the *Nations* of the *World*) must have a *King* to be their *Champion* and fight their *Battels*:

Why *Saul* this desired *King*, the *King* of *Gods* own choice and *Israels*, why yet he must hunt an innocent *David*, as a¹ *Flea* in the bosom, or a *Partridg* on the mountains, until he hath slain himself to set the *Crown* on *Dauids* head.

A reason of that long continued *Faction* of so many *Tribes* against this *Dauids* *Crown*, and that *Israel* (so importunate, so impatient for a *King*) should now powre out each others² blood about a *Successor*, whether a *David*, or (the son of *Persecution*, *Saul*) *Ishbosheth*.

A reason (when *David* wears both *Crowns* in one, and hath all that a most gracious *God* could espie out fit for *David* to receive, that yet he wants a wife that had so many, and rather then a *Dauids* sinfull Desires and Whordomes shall³ want a *Covering*, the blood of *Uriah* (that is *fire* or *zeal* of *God*) shall die and make up one to cover them.

O the *Depths* of the *Councels* of the holy one of *Israel* why (there being but 12 *Tribes* in all) 10 *Tribes* of his own⁴ people should tear away from 2, and after many *Captivities* of the one and the other, both the one and the other now are scattered from each other upon the face of the *Earth*, and as yet no certain *Tidings* what's befalln to the 10 *Tribes* of the *Israel* of *God*.

He knowes why to leave an upright perfect *Asae's* heart to such *folly* and *wrath*, as to lay a Faithfull *Prophet* (admonishing him from *God*) by the heels.

Yea, why the *Followers* of the meek *Lamb* of *God*, should⁵ burn in such *Unchristian Flames*, as to call for fire from *Heaven* to consume the *contemners* and *despisers* of their *Lord*⁶ and *Master*, who quencheth the fire of their rash *zeal* with this mild *Check*, You know not of what *Spirit* you are of.

Why such *πικρία* (*Bitternesse* as the Word is) should rise between two *Turtle Doves*, *Paul* and *Barrabas*, and that about⁷ their most laborious and most dangerous *Ministeries*.

Why one cries *Paul*, another *Apollo*, another *Caphas*, another

1. Saul persecuting David.

2. Ishbosheth and Israel against David and Judah.

3. David stabbing Uriah with his Pen.

4. The divisions & dispersions of the Tribes.

5. Asa imprisoning the Prophet.

6. Christs Disciples destrous of fire from heaven, &c

7. Bitterness between Saul and Barrabas.

ther *Christ*, even in the first established *Churches*.

This holy *Plot*, this heavenly *designe* of the most holy and only wise *God*, thus to permit the *contentions* and *divisions*¹ of his own *Servants*, as it displaies *Himself only Perfect* and *Excellent*, and all (the best of) men in all *Ages*, but *farthing-candles*, yea *smoaking Firebrands*: As it brightly proves the admirable consent and *Angelical Harmony* of the holy *Scripture*, relating *Histories*, and in those *Histories* infolding *Prophesies*, fulfill'd before mens daily view thousands of years after: As it makes us see our spiritual *Povertie* and *Beggary*, and infinit need of *Mercy* and *Grace*, and *Peace* from *Heaven*, and drives us to continual *Prayers* and *cries*, for mercifull supplies from thence! As it disrelisheth this present sweetest life, yea the very life of *Spiritual Love*, in the Communion of the *Saints of God* themselves, if compared with the most pure and spiritual and absolute *Joyes* and *Life* approaching.

So doth this heavenly *Councel* of the most *High*, abundantly stop the mouths of all *malicious*, who (although they delight to scratch their *Athenian Itch* of hearing *Novelties*, *new things*, *Newes*, yet) stumble they at this stumbling-block of *Novelties*, *new Churches*, *new Ministers*, *new Discipline*, *new Baptism*, *new Light*: The ancient of days (say they) the *God of Peace* and *Love* cannot be in such *Divisions*: The old Bishops were better, the old Popes themselves more tolerable.

But this is but the barking of *malice* against *Gods* holyness which his true servants desire to partake of! Against *Gods Truth*, which his servants must contend for, (yea though it be one against another) against *Gods Councils* who hath so laid his holy *project*, that what he now sets out in a clear *Light* and fairer *Print*, is the very same (had we inlightned eyes to see it (with the old *edition* of former times, more dark and rude in *Ceremonies*, *Types*, and figures).

I cannot but foresee *variety* of divers *Passions* and *Affections*,² in a *Variety* of *Beholders* of this present *Controversie*: Some will please themselves and their *curiosities* in the *Noveltie*

1. Gods mercy draws one many sweet fruits from the bitter contentions of his servants.

2. Various affections of Readers expected.

of such discourses: some will rejoyce to see the light appear, and yet mourn in the lamentable differences of such who profess the same *God* and *Christ* about it: Some will be angry and cry out of *Blasphemy* against their *Gods*, their *Bellies*, and their *Titles*, &c. Some will fear disturbances of the *Civil*, and some of the *Spiritual peace* and *Christianity*: Yet some will truly desire, to search and know the will of *God*, humbly desirous to do it on earth, as the Angels doe it in heaven.

The *Courteous Reader* may please to see, that in the¹ first Conference of Peace and Truth, there was Discust, a Modell of *New English Church* and *Civill Power*, which Mr. *Cotton* in his Reply waved and referred to others of the *New English Elders* to Reply unto, which whether they have so done as yet I have not heard:

Together with Mr. *Cottons* Reply to the *Bloudy Tenent*,² there was also added a Reply of Mr. *Cotton* to an Answer of his Letter: The Examination of this Reply I desired, and intended should have been here presented; But the streights of time (being constantly drunk up by necessary Labours for bread for many depending on me, the discharge of Engagements, and wanting helps of transcribing) I say the streights of time were such, that the Examination of that Reply could not together with this, be fitted for Publick view, though with the Lords assistance will not delay to follow:

Touching Mr. *Cotton* I present two words: First for his Person, Secondly for his Work.

For his Person, although I rejoyce that since it pleased³ *God* to lay a *Command* on my *Conscience* to come in as his poor Witnesse in this great Cause: I say I rejoyce it hath pleased him to appoint so able, and excellent, and Conscionable an Instrument to bolt out the Truth to the bran: So I can humbly say it in his holy presence, it is my constant heaviness and souls grief as to differ from any fearing *God*; so much more ten thousand times from Mr. *Cotton*, whom I have ever desired and still desire highly to

E

esteem

1. The Model of N. English Church and Civil Power.

2. Of Mr. Cottons Reply to the Answer to his Letter.

3. Gods wisdom adored in the Discussing of the Bloudie Tenent.

esteem, and dearly to respect, for so great a portion of mercy and grace vouchsafed unto him, and so many Truths of *Christ Iesus* maintained by him. And therefore (notwithstanding that some (of no common Judgement and respect to him, have said, that he wrote his washing of the *Bloudie Tement* in *Bloud* against *Christ Iesus*, and Gall against me, yet) if upon so slippery and narrow a passage I have split (notwithstanding my constant resolution to the contrary) into any *Term* or *Expression* unbecoming his Person, or the Matter (the cause of the most high in hand considered) I humbly crave pardon of *God*, and Mr. *Cotton* also.

Secondly concerning his Work, I call to mind a speech of one of eminent Note in *N. England* (observing a disposition in men for one man to deifie another, and that some of no small note had said they could hardly believe that *God* would suffer Mr. *Cotton* to err) the Speech was this [I fear that *God* may leave Mr. *Cotton* to some great error, that men may see he is a man] &c.

But concerning his Work, the observant Reader will soon discover, that whatever Mr. *Cottons* Stand is, yet he most weakly provides himself of very strange Reserves, and Retreats: to point with the finger at 2 or 3 most frequent and remarkable.

First when he seems to be overwhelmed with the lamentable and doleful cries of the Souls under the *Altar*, crying² out for *Vengeance* on their *Persecutors* that dwell upon the Earth! He often retreats, and professeth to hold no such Doctrin of persecuting the *Saints*, no nor of any for cause of Conscience, nor that the Magistrate should draw forth his Sword in matters of *Religion*.

When it is urged that through this whole Book he Persecutes or Hunts (by name) the *Idolater*, the *Blasphemer*, the *Heretick*, the *Seducer*, and that to Death or Banishment:³ and amongst other Expressions useth this for one [If there be stones in the streets, the Magistrate need not run for a Sword to the Smiths shop, nor to the Ropier for an Halter to punish *Hereticks*, &c.] Mr. *Cotton* retreats into
land

1. A memorable Speech touching Mr. Cotton.

2. The strange retreats Mr. Cotton makes in this controversie.

3. The rearing of Lyon like persecution, pag.

the Land of *Israel*, and calls up *Moses* and his Laws against *Idolaters, Blasphemers, Seducers, &c*:

When he is Challenged (and that by his own frequent confession in his Book) for producing the Pattern of a *National Church* when he stands only for a Congregationall! for producing that national church of *Israel*, so miraculous, so typical, as a Copie or Samplar for the Nations and Peoples of the World (who have no such miraculous and Typicall respect upon them) Mr. *Cotton* retreats to *Moral Equity*, that the *Seducer* and he that kills a Soul should die.

When it is urged that *Christ Iesus* at his so long typed out coming, abolished those *National shadowes*, and erected¹ his *Spiritual Kingdom* of *Israel*, appointed *Spiritual Officers, Punishments, &c.* and that those Scriptures, *Tit. 3.* against the *Hereticks*; and *Rev. 2.* against *Baalam* and *Iezabel* prove only a spiritual death and cutting off from *Christ Iesus* his holy land of life and peace, his church & kingdom. Mr. *Cotton* retreats and confesseth Christs Kingdom is spiritual, not national, but congregational, and that those Scriptures hold forth a *Spiritual* cutting off, and he so produceth them to prove the *heretick* so to be cut off, alledging that the question was put in general tearms, that he knew not what Persecution should be intended, and that an unjust excommunication is as sore a persecution as an unjust banishment. When he is urged with the nature of the consciences (even of all men to God or Gods in their worships, he professeth that he is wronged, & that he doth not hold that any man should be persecuted for his conscience, but for sinning against his conscience. When al the consciences in the world cry out against him for setting up the *civil power & officers*, and *Courts of civil Iustice*, to judg of the *conviction* of mens *souls* and *consciences*! Mr. *Cotton* retreats to his last refuge, and saith that although this be the duty of all the Magistrates in the *world*, yet not any of them must meddle to punish in *Religion*, untill they be informed which is (upon the point) untill he is sure they will draw their swords for his Conscience, Church, &c. against all other as heretical, blasphemous.

1. The strange reluctancies of the Lamb. like spirit of Mr. Cotton forced to against the Persecuting Lyon.

The monstrous *Partiality* of such *suspending*, &c. of¹ *hanging up* all the Magistrates in the world, (except a few of his own *perswasion*) and that from so *principall* and *main* a part of their *Office*, and that so many *thousands* in the *Nations* of the *world* all the *world* over, and that *constantly* and *perpetually* all their *dayes*. If it please the most *jealous* and *righteous* God to hide it (I say the *monstrousnesse* of such a *Suspension*) from Mr. *Cottons* eyes, yet *thousand* and *ten thousands* will behold and wonder at it.

But (fearing to exceed in discourse at *dore*) let every mercifull and compassionate *Reader* freely enter in, and search the in most *Rooms* and *Closets*:

If thou truly love the *Truth* and *Peace*, thou art too neer of kin to the *Prince* of *Peace* and *Truth* it self, long to escape the *Hunters*. If the *fourty two moneths* of the² *Beasts* reign, and the *two hundred and threescore dayes* of the *prophesie* of the *Witnesses* of *Jesus* in *Sackcloth* be expired: yet I fear the three *dayes* and a halfe of the greatest *slaughter* of the *Witnesses* is not over: Yet fear not what must be suffered, although the *Devill* cast (not onely some, but) all *Christs Witnesses* into *Prison*: yea, although he murther and fling out the *Karkasses* of the *Saints* to *shame* and *injury*, yet the mighty *Spirit* of *God* will raise them on their feet again, and into heavenly *glory*, out of this shame shall they ascend in the sight of their bloody enemies.

How many and how various are the *Disputings*, &c. about what should be this *three dayes* and a *halfes calamity*? How many hope this storm is over? how many fear it is now a breeding? Yet why should we fear so short a draught (though) of a bitter *Cup*, when tempered by the gracious hand of an Heavenly Father, begun by so dear an *Elder Brother*, so sweet a *Saviour*? The *Revelations* of *John*, and the *Revelations* of *Gods* wonderfull *Providences*, seem to proclaim wonderfull and dreadfull *Discoveries* of the Son of God approaching. And it is as sure

as

1. Monstrous partiality, as touching the Magistracy.

2. The slaughter of the Witnesses, Revel. 2. 10.

as that there is a Lord *Jesus Christ*, that God will subdue all his enemies, that he will shortly break¹ (and make all his *followers* tread on) the proudest *Necks* born up this day in the world, even the grandest *Seigniories* of the *Turkish* and *Popish* Empires, the two so mighty opposers of the Son of God. And it is not improbable, both their *ruines* and *downfall* must be from some *top* and *pinacle* of glorious *prosperity* and furious outrage against their (Antichristian and Christian) enemies.

The chiefeſt *European enemies* of the All devouring *Turk* (though all that bear the name of *Christ*² are his enemies) are more eſpecially the *Pope*, the *Emperour*, the *King of Spain* and the *Venetians*, by whom *Christ Jesus* (probably) will dash that mighty *Empire* into pieces, as he ſeems to have propheſied of old by his ſervant *Daniel*: yet probably, as I ſaid before, this *downfall* muſt be from ſome more eminent height of *Turkish* bloody *pride* and *glory*, which that blaſphemous and bloody Monarchy ſhall immediatly before attain unto.

The ſoreſt enemies of the *Roman Popes*, are the³ *witnesses* of the *Truths* of *Jesus*, whom he hath not left himſelf without, during the 42 *moneths* of the *reign* of this mighty and dreadful *Beaſt*. Againſt theſe bleſſed *followers* of the *Lamb* muſt (probably) the rage of this bloody *Beaſt* riſe high in that his great *ſlaughter* of them and *triumph* three days and an half over them, (*Rev. 11.*) and this not long before his own *eternall downfall*.

Many have been the *Interpretations* of that propheſie, and ſome late *Applications* of the *witnesses* and Time to particular *persons* and *Times* of late.

But

1. *Christ Jesus* ſhortly ruining the two dreadful Empires of the bloody *Turk* and *Pope*.

2. The *Turks* ſoreſt enemies in Europe.

3. The *Popes* ſoreſt enemies.

But (with all due respect to the *Apprehensions* of any studious of the truth of *Jesus*) I conceive the matter is of a more *generall consideration*.

For in all that *world* over that wondred after the *Beast*, hath *Christ Jesus* raised up a *Generation* or kind of *Witnesses* bearing *testimony* against him. This *witnesse* (more or lesse) to the severall *Truths* of *Jesus*, he hath been pleased to maintain, before and since *Luthers* time, especially: The *finishing* of the *Testimony* must (probably) be *generall*, not only in *England*, but in the rest of the *Protestant Nations*; which *finishing* of the *witnesse* (probably) wil consist in the matters of the *purity* of his *worship*, and the *Government* of the *Lord Jesus* in his own holy *Appointments* and *Institutions*. The *slaughter* of these *witnesses* must also (probably) be *generall*, and in the three dayes and half *triumph* over them *generall*: upon which follows that most glorious and *generall* rising of the *witnesses* unto their *glory* promised, *Rev. II.*

I confess in this plea for *freedom* to all *Consciences*¹ in *matters* (meerly) of *worship*, I have impartially pleaded for the *freedom* of the *consciences* of the *Papists* themselves, the greatest *enemies* and *persecutors* (in *Europe*) of the *Saints* and *Truths* of *Jesus*: Yet I have pleaded for no more then is their *due* and *right*, and (what ever else shall be the *Consequent*) it shall stand for a *monument* and *testimony* against them, and be an *aggravation* of their former, present, or future *cruelties* against *Christ Jesus* the *Head*, and all that uprightly love him, his true *Disciples* and *Followers*.

It is true, I have not *satisfaction* in the clear discovery

1. Freedom of Conscience in worship due even to the Papists themselvs. See Chap.

of those holy *Prophecies & Periods* set down and prefixed by the holy *Spirit* in *Daniel, John, &c.* concerning the *Kingdom of Christ Jesus*: Yet two things I professe in the holy presence of *God, Angels and Men.*

First, my humble *Desires and Resolution* (the Lord assisting) to *contend* for the true and *visible worship* of the true and living *God*, according to the *Institution and Appointment* of the last will and *Testament of Christ Jesus.*

2. I beleeeve and profess, that such *persons*, such *Churches* are got neerest to *Christ Jesus*, on whose *forehead* are written these blessed characters of the true *Lord Jesus Christ*; First, *content* with a poor and low condition in worldly things. 2. An holy *cleansing* from the *filthines* of *false worships* and *worldly conversations*. 3. An humble and constant *endeavour* to attain (in their *simplicity & purity*) to the *Ordinances and appointments* of *Christ Iesus*. 4. Are so far from smiting, killing, and wounding the *Opposites* of their *profession* and *worship*, that they resolve themselves patiently to bear and carry the *Cross* and *Gallows* of their *Lord and Master*, and patiently to suffer with him. In the number of such his poor servants who as unfeignedly desire (notwithstanding my plea against *Persecutors* and *Persecution*) I say as unfeignedly desire to suffer as *cheerfully* with *Christ Iesus*, as *gloriously* to reign with him, desires to be,

*Thine unfeigned, though unworthiest
of all the Followers of JESUS.*

Roger Williams.

The Bloody Tenent yet more Bloody,
 By Master Cottons attempting to wash
 it with the Blood of the Lambe.

Examination of CHAP. I.

Truth.



Lest be the *God of truth and peace (sweet peace)* that once againe, we finde a *corner* and a few *hours* to entertaine our sweet *embraces* and *discourses* about that *Bloody Tenent of Persecution* for cause of conscience.

Peace.

It is indeed *Jehovah's* work, and it is marvellous in our eyes, that 'midst this worlds *combustions*, such a *corner* and such *hours* are found.

Truth. Dear *friends*, the longer absent, meet the *sweeter*; andⁱ have cause to spend each minute to his praise, who wonders works, and this not the least, that we *two* see each others face at all in these tempestuous dayes and *vale of tears*.

B

How

i. Truth & peace | rarely meet in | this vale of | tears.

How harshly were our last *conferrings* entertained by some? How were our selves suspected, and traduced for *counterfeits*; and our pious and peaceable *Meditations*, cruelly condemned to the devouring *flames*?

Truth. That ever was our *portion*, ever since the *earthen pots* arose against their glorious *Potter*; and no better *lot* we must expect, while the *time* doth last that is determined.

Peace. Mean while tis yet our *lamentation*, that so many of our *darlings*, whom we have tendred as our *eyes*, have both in *Print* and *Pulpit*, cried out against us; and amongst the rest, one of thy dearest eldest *children*, (too too worthy to be) the *defender* of the *Bloody Tenent* of Persecution.

Truth. Our *love* shall cover his shame and *nakedness*; and our *wisdoms* pity his heavy labour, Blackamore-washings, and so great expence of precious *time* and *spirit*, in labouring to wash this so deeply bloody, and Blackamore-*Tenent*, in the blood of the *Lamb* of God.

Peace. So *parents* and true friends love and pity theirs, though sick, though froward and distracted; and let our *Bowels* yearne over him, who teares out *ours*: who knows but once before he sleep his last, in the pit of rottenness, he may awake and give *glory* to the *God* of *peace* and *truth*, of *patience* and *long suffering*; whose *thoughts*, whose *wayes*, whose *love*, whose *pity* hath no *bounds*, nor *limits*, toward them whom he hath loved before the *worlds foundation*.

O let these blessed *buds*, of *hope* and sweet *desires* (dear *Truth*) put forth in pious fruits of renewed endeavors, and let me once againe prefer my suit for your impartial weighing of what *replies*, *objections*, *pleadings*, he hath brought against us.

Truth. For the *God* of *Peace*, for the *Prince* of *Peace* his sake, yea for his *servants* sake, for *Zions* sake, I will not be silent, and know (at last) I shall prevaile to scatter and dispell the *mists* and *fogs*, that for a while arise to cloud and choak us.

Peace. First, then, what cause should move this so able a *defendant*¹ to leap over all our first *addresses* both to the high Court of *Parliament*, and to every *Reader*? and what may be conjectured, why himself directs a word to neither in this *controversie*?

Truth. I desire my *Rejoynder* may be as full of *love* as *truth*;
yet

1. Many dear Saints of God plead for persecution: Oh how righteous is it with God to send them persecution!

2. Quære why Master Cotton leaps over the Epistles to the Parliament and Reader.

yet some say Master Cotton is wise, and knows in what *door* the wind blows of late; he is not ignorant what sad *complaints* in *letters, printings, conferences*, so many of Gods *people* (and of his¹ own *conscience* and *judgement* of *Independency*) have poured forth against *New Englands* persecuting, &c. He knows what *Bars New Englands* bloody *Tenent* and *practice* may put to his *brethrens* just *desires* and *suits* for *moderation* and *toleration*, to *non-conforming consciences*.

Tis true, his *conscience*, and the *credit* of his *way*, compels his *reply*, but the *times* advise him, with as little noise as may be, and it seems with no great willingness, that that high and *searching house* of *Englands Parliament* should search and scan his *Meditations*.

Peace. Well, if the name of *God* were truly called upon them and (as his *title* intimateth) the great *controversies* of these present *times* are herein handled; If all that is here presented, be truly *practised*; and he desire to buy and sell by one *measure* and to be no otherwaies *measured* unto, then he *measureth* unto others: why should not that renowned *Court* be more particularly and expressly attended with so high and needful examinations? But now enough of that, I long to see that weighed, which is presented, take up those holy *weights* of thine, which may faithfully discover how *light* or *ponderous* each parcel is in Gods most holy presence. Master Cotton first complaineth against the *publishing* of his *private letter*, with an *Answer* thereunto: he faulteth the *discusser* for *punishing* his *conscience*, against the *discussers* own *Tenent* of *liberty of conscience*, for breach of *rule*, in first *publishing* to the world before *private admonition*, and telling the *Church*.

Truth. How justly may I begin with the *defenders* own *conclusion* of this first *Chapter*! He that setteth forth of his *way* in the first *entrance* of his *journey*, no marvel if he *wander* all the day after. For,

First, the *discusser* never wrote any such *letter* to Master Cotton, as Master Cotton so often affirms, and mentioneth throughout his *Book*.

The like mistake he falls into, in some other *passages*, which shall be gently toucht at, and passed by, as the failing of *memory*.

Peace. It is often seen, that small *matters* in the first *steps* and

B 2 *entrance*

1. N. E. Persecution guilty of the persecution in old, especially (since this Rejoynder) by their Law for Banishing such as hold not childrens Baptisme, and their late fourscore and ten bloody lashes to the body of the Lord Jesus in the sufferings of his faithful witness, *Obadiah Holines* at *Boston*, meerly about that point of Baptisme.

entrance of a business, prove *ominous*; and although love bids us lay the *blame* on *memory*: yet since *Nil sine providentia & Deus est maximus in minimis*, and not a Sparow nor a Haire fals without him; methinks such a *stumble* in the *threshold* should have one sad *consideration* in Master Cottons brest, so long as he resides in the *chamber* of this *discourse*.

Truth. To my knowledge there was no such letter or *intercourse* passed between Master Cotton and the *discusser*; but what I have heard, is this: One Master Hall of Roxbury, presented the prisoners Arguments against persecution to Master Cotton, who¹ gave this present controverted *Answer*; with the which Master Hall not being satisfied, he sends them unto the *discusser*, who never saw the said Hall, nor those *Arguments* in writing; (though he well remember that he saw them in print some yeers since) and apprehending no other, but that Master Cottons *Answer* was as publicke, as Master Cottons *profession* and *practice* of the same *Tenent* was and is, what *breach* of rule can Master Cotton say it was, to answer that in the *streets* which Master Cotton proclaimeth on the *House top*?

Peace. But grant it had been a *private letter*, and the *discourse* and the *opinion* private: yet why doth he charge the *discusser* with breach of rule, in not using orderly wayes of *Admonition*, and telling the *Church*, when Master Cotton himself in this *Book*² blames the *discusser* for disclaiming *Communion* with their *Church*, and they also (after he was driven by *banishment* from civil habitation amongst them) had sent forth a bull of *excommunication* against him in his absence.

Such practise the Lord Jesus and his first *Apostles* or *Messengers* never taught, nor any that are truly their *successors* ever will. But to end this Chapter, in the last place, why doth Master Cotton complaine of the *loss* of the *liberty* of his *conscience*, and of the *punishing* of his *conscience*, by the publishing of his *letter*; aggravating it, because the *discusser* pleads for *liberty* of *conscience*?³ Is he indeed on the Lord Jesus mind for the sparing mens *bodies*, and present *life*, for their *souls* and eternal *lives* sake? Doth he indeed plead for *liberty* of *conscience*? Let the following *discourse*, and this present *passage* manifest how tender he is of his own *conscience*, and of the *liberty* of it; But how *consonant*

1. The occasion of publishing the bloody Tenent.

2. Master Cotton blames the *discusser* for not walking in contradictions.

3. Unchristian partiality.

and senseless of the *pangs* and *agonies* of other mens *conscience* and *spirits*, and *sorrows*? As if his alone were the *Apple* of his *eye*, but Theirs like the *brawny* hoofs of the roaring *Bulls* of *Bashan*.

Peace. Complaines Master Cotton of *persecution* for such¹ dealing against him? I never heard that *disputing*, *discoursing* and *examining* mens *Tenents* or *Doctrines* by the word of God, was (in proper *English* *acceptation* of the word) *persecution* for *conscience*: well had it been for *New England*, that no servant of God, nor *witness* of *Christ Jesus*, could justly take up no other *complaint* against *New England* for other kinds of *persecution*: surely the voice of *Christ Jesus* to *Paul*; *Saul, Saul*, why *persecutest thou me*? was for another kind of *persecution*.

Truth. Deare *Peace* if the *Bishops* of *Old England* or *new* had never stirred up the *Civil Magistrate* to any other suppressing of mens *consciences*, nor no other *persecuting*, then *discussing*, *disputing* &c. they should never have needed to have been charged so publicly in the face of the world, with the *bloody Tenent* of *persecution* for *cause of conscience*.

Examination of CHAP. II.

Peace.

IN this Chapter Master Cotton much complaines, that he is charged in the *Title* to maintaine *persecution* for *cause of conscience*, and professeth, That he would have none be punished for *conscience*, unless his errour be *fundamental*, or *seditiously*; or *turbulently* promoted, and that after due *conviction* of *conscience*, and that it may appear he is not punished for his *conscience*, but for sinning against his *conscience*.

Truth. *Persecution* for *conscience*, is in *plaine English*, *hunting* for *conscience*; and Master Cotton being a son of *wine* (as the *Jews* speak in their *Proverb*) is loth to be counted a son of *vinegar*, and therefore would avoid the word *persecuting* or *hunting* (as something too wilde and fierce an *expression*, more sutable to the bloody sons of *vinegar* and *gall* the *Roman Emperors*, *Popes* and *Bishops*) and he much desires to have the word *persecuting*

1. Master Cotton complaining of being persecuted by the discussor.

2. Persecution in plaine English is hunting.

cuting changed for the word *punishing*, a tearm more proper to¹ true *Justice*.

But is not this the *guise* and *profession* of all that ever *persecuted* or *hunted* men for their *Religion* and *conscience*? are not all *histories* and *experiences* full of the *pathetical* speeches of *persecutors* to this purpose? You will say you are persecuted for your *conscience*, you plead *conscience*; Thou art a *heretick* the *devil* hath deceived thee, thy *conscience* is deluded, &c. And

2. Whether such *punishing* as Master Cotton assigneth to that threefold degree of *heretical* wickedness, chap. 5. to wit. To hold a *fundamental error*, To *persist* therein after *conviction*, and lastly, To *seduc*e others thereunto, Or these five summed up (page 186 of his book) *subverters* of the *Christian Faith*, *persisters* therein after *conviction*, *blasphemers*, *idolaters*, *seducers*; I say, such a *punishing* which he affirmes to be *death* and *killing*, will not amount to make up a *persecution* for *cause* of *conscience* let the *Spanish Inquisitions* be an instance, who when they torture and rack, and kill and burn for such *crimes*, yet varnish they and guild all over with the painted *Title* of *Gods Glory*, holy *zeal*, just *punishment* of *hereticks*, *blasphemers*, &c.

Peace. But Master Cotton blameth, that he should be charged with the *Doctrine* of *persecution* by *consequence*.

Truth. Let his whole *book*, and the *prosecuting* of this *controversie* be *judge*, whether it be only drawn from *consequences*, and not express *Terms*. And for the washing of this *bloody Tenent* in the *blood* of the *Lambe*, *Time* hath and will discover that such a *Blackamore* cannot be washed in the *blood* of *Christ* himself, without *Repentance*; for they that washed their *robes* in the *blood* of the *Lamb* (*Revelations* the 7.) were true *penitents*: untill therefore that *persecutors* repent of this *bloody Doctrine* and *practice*, they must hear (as the men of *Judah* did) the prophet *Isaiahs* thunder, Isa. 1. *Your hands are defiled with blood; wash you, make you clean.* &c.

Examina-

1. Master Cottons tender conscience, can hardly digest to be a persecutor, but a punisher.

Examination of CHAP. III.

Peace.

BUT what *knot* in a *Bulrush* is that, which Master Cotton observes the *discusser* findes in his first *distinction* of *persecution* for *cause of conscience*?

Truth. For the matter upon the point, they both agree, as Master Cotton hath penned himself, that *persecution* for *cause of conscience*, is not onely when a man is punished for *professing* such *Doctrines* and *Worships*, as he believes to be of God, but also when he is punished for renouncing such *Doctrine*, and not practising such *Worships*, which he believes are not of God, &c.

All the *difference* is this that the *discusser* saith. This should have been expressed in the *distinction*; Master Cotton saith, it was implied, and therefore the observing of the not expressing of it, was but a *knot* in a *Bulrush*.

Peace. Tis wofully true, that the *peace* of the *Saints*, and the *peace* of the *world*, hath been lamentably, broake and distracted, in *punishing* or *persecuting* of men, but especially the *Saints*, upon both these grounds: but yet the *records* of *time* and *experience* will tell us, that since the *Apostasie* from the *truth* of *Jesus*, the¹ rising of *Antichrist*, and the setting up of many *State-Religions*, the forest and frequentest *punishing* or *hunting* of the children of God hath been (as in the case of *Nebuchadnezzars Image*) for not bowing down to the *State-Images*, for not coming to *Church*, for not obeying the *Laws*, for withstanding the *Kings*, or *Queens*, or *Parliaments proceedings*.

Truth. Your *observation* is most *serious* and *seasonable*, and your *complaint* as *true* as *lamentable*: for since all *States* and *Governments* of the world (which lies in wickedness) set up their *State* or *Commonweal-Religions*, *Nebuchadnezzars* golden *Images*, and *Jeroboams* golden *Calves* (the *types* of the *State-Worships* of after *Ages*) whereby others are made to sin and bow down to their seeming glorious *worships*; and since the *dissenters*, *refusers*, *non-conformers*, *non-covenanters* (the *witnesses* of God against such *abominations*) are but few; and what *positive worship* they hold

1. Gods children commonly persecuted for not yeelding to State-worships.

hold or practice (commonly) is most retired, and flying into *private corners* by reason of the *violence* of the *persecution*; they are hence, soonest in all *places* of their abode, and more *speedily* and *immediately* called for and sought out, in the several *Parish-towns* where they live to bow down to the *common-Image*, the *beastly* and *Calvish* inventions of the *Ieroboams* of this perishing world; and for refusing to *subscribe*, to *conforme*, to come to *Church*, to do as their *neighbours*, for being wiser then their *Teachers*, their *Fathers*, their *Magistrates*, the *Country*, the *Parliament*, the *Kingdome* (and sometimes the whole world, in their *Oecumenical*, or *worldly Councels*) they are thus punished and hunted for their *conscience*, for *Gods*, for *Jesus* sake; which is a point Master Cotton will say (if the *blood* of his dear *Redeemer* split in the *blood* of his servants, kindly affect him) of greater weight then *knots* in *bulrushes*.

Examination of CHAP. IV.

Peace.

IN the second *distinction* (to wit, of *fundamentals*, without right *belief* whereof, a man cannot be saved) Master Cotton upon the point confesseth it was a just reproof, and saith, that he meant only of the first sort of *foundations*, that concern *salvation*, and not of those that concerne the *foundation* of the *Church*, and *Christian Religion*.

Truth. It is strange that Master Cotton should so distinguish of *foundations*, when the holy *Scripture* attributes *salvation* to those *foundations* of the *Church*, and the *order* of it: The Lord¹ added to the *Church* such as should be *saved*, and the like *figure* whereunto *Baptisme* now *saveth* us; and concerning the *resurrection* that we are saved by *hope*, *Rom.* 8.

Besides, are not those first *foundations*, which he saith concerne *salvation*, *foundations* also of the *Christian Religion*? If not of the *Christian*, then I demand of what *Religion* are they *foundations*?

Peace. It cannot therefore be denied, but that his *distinction* of *fundamentals*, was most dangerous, tending directly to condemnne

1. Act. 2. 2 Pet. 3.

demne the *generation* of the *righteous*, who have been generally for many *generations* ignorant of the *Christian* way of *worship*. But what say you to this *reply*, touching how far the *New English* (implicite) *Parishes* compare and partake with those of *old*?

Truth. How far those *Churches* cannot be cleered from not *comming out* from the *Parish-worship*, from being themselves (implicately) *Parish-Churches* (notwithstanding their *Fig-leaves*, &c.) and from being *persecutors* of such as endeavour to cover their *nakedness* with better clothing, will appear, with Christs assistance, in the *examination* of his *reply* to the *Answer* of his *Letter*.

Examination of CHAP. V.

Peace.

THE discourse of this *chapter* is *larger* and more *controversial*, and therefore (*dear Truth*) requires your most *serious* and deeper *examination* of it. Master Cotton here distinguisheth *worship* into *true* and *false*, and infers, that if *true worship*, *fellowship* with *God* is held; but if *false*, *fellowship* with *God* is lost. And whereas he was thereupon minded by the *discusser* to have lived in a false *Ministry* in *England*, and to have practised the false *worship* of the *Common Prayer*, he labours to clear both, and in particular he saith, It is not truly said, that the *Spirit of God* maketh the *Ministry* one of the *foundations* of the *Christian religion*, (*Heb. 6.*) For it is (saith he) only a *foundation* of *Christian order*, not of *faith* or *religion*: and he adds, The *Apostle* puts an express *difference* between *faith* and *order*, *Col. 2. 5.* What can be said thereunto?

Truth. 1. Alas, what buildings can weak souls expect from such Master-builders, when Master Cotton is so confounded about the very *foundations*? In the former *Chapter*, he distinguisheth between *foundations* that concern *salvation*, and those that concern the the *Church* and *Christian religion*: here he distinguisheth between those of *Christian order*, and those of *Faith*, or *Christian religion*. In the former, he opposeth *faith* against *religion* and

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order;

order; here he opposeth *faith* and *religion* to *order*. Grant his *memory* (in so short a turn) failed him, yet doubtless his *mistakes* about the *foundation* of *Christian religion*, are most gross and inexcusable.

Truth. 2. I finde no such *distinction* in the *Testament* of *Christ Jesus*, between the *Christian order*, and the *Christian religion*; as if the *order* of the *Church of God* (I might say, the *Church* it self, and the *Ministry* of it) were no part of the *Christian religion*.

It is true, *Coloss.* 2. speaks of *faith* and *order*, but yet denies not the *Christian Church*, and the *order* of it, to be any part of the *Christian religion*. It is true, that sometimes *faith* implies the particular *grace* of *believing*, and yet sometimes it is put for the whole *Christian religion* (as *Jude* 1. contend for the *faith* once delivered) so that if Master Cotton confesseth the *Ministry* of the *Word* (*Heb.* 6.) to be a *foundation* of *Christian* or *Church-order*, he cannot deny it to be a *foundation* of the *Christian religion* or *worship* reduced to those two, of *Faith* and *Order*.

Peace. What answer you to his saying, It is not a *true* and a *safe speech*, to call the *fellowship* and *blessing* of *God* vouchsafed to corrupt *Churches* or *Ministers*, or *ministrations* unpromised, or beyond a word of *promise*, of *God*? Against which he alleadgeth (*Ier.* 13.) That *God* will be *merciful* to his peoples iniquities, and 2 *Chron.* 30. *Gods* mercy to every one that prepareth his *heart*, &c. although he be not cleansed after the *preparation*, &c.

Truth. The *promises* hold forth no *blessing* or *fellowship* of *God* to *false worships*; against which all the holy *Scripture* denounceth *cursings*, both in the old and new *Testament*; nor in particular doth that of *Ieremy* promise any *pardon* of sin, but to the *repentant*, though most true also is that *distinction* of *particular* repentance for known sins, and *general* for sins unknown. Such was the sin (it may be) of the *Israelites*, 2 *Chron.* 30. in their want of such their legal cleansing.

But I add, how can that one act of covering or conniving at *ceremoniall* uncleanness (about a true *worship*) be brought to prove a promise of *Gods* blessing and fellowship, to a constant course of a *false* and invented way of prayer by the *Latine* or *English Masse-book*, as some have rightly called it?

Peace. Con-

Peace. Concerning *Ordination*, Master Cotton saith, that it is no *essential* part of a *call* to the *Ministry*; no more then *Coronation* is *essential* to the Office of a *King*: And *Jehoshua* the *high priest* did not lose *fellowship* with *God*, though he was clothed with *filthy* garments, *Zech.* 3.

Truth. I answer, *Ordination* or laying on of hands, comprizeth the whole *Ministry*, *Heb.* 6. wherein if *Election* or *Ordination* be false, I see not how the *Ministry* is true, any more then a *marriage* can be true, where either *consent* or *solemnity* by a true power is wanting: or a *King* rightly instituted in his *Kingly* office, when either *election* or *coronation* is given or made by a false power.

2. But further, *Ordination* is not well represented by a *Kings*¹ *coronation* (to say nothing of the statcliness of the simile) for a *King* may administer by *successive election* and *consent* (in some States) before *coronation*, and *coronation* is but for publike state and ceremony; but a *Minister* cannot administer before *ordination* (no more then a *husband* enjoy his *spouse* before marriage) which is the putting of him into, and the investing of him with his Authority, as we see both in the *priests* of the *law*, and the *Ministers* of the *Gospel*.

Concerning *Jehoshua* his garments; This kind of *confession* is not after the *patterne* of *Ezra*, *Nehemiah*, *David*, *Daniel.* &c. but with mincing and excusing. Moreover, in this place of *Zechary*, *God* only comforts his people with the promise of *better times*, and more new and costly garments: for the *High priest* now returning from *captivity*, his garments were torne, foule and filthy.

Lastly, These were the *garments* of the *Lords* appointing, though in a poor and afflicted condition: what is this to a *fools cap* or *coate* (the *cap* or *surplice*) what is this to the office of *Ieroboams priests*, which never were of *God*, though happily some of them might studiously give themselves to attaine and teach the knowledge of *God*, and might (in a kind) separate from the false, 2 *Chron.* 13. and some good thing might be found in some, as in *Ieroboams* child, and happily many others as in these our times?

Peace. Concerning *common prayer*, he pleades the time of their² *ignorance*; as also that the *high places* were removed, 2 *Chron.*

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14. and

1. Ordination of Christs Ministry undfily compared to the coronation of Kings.

2. Master Cotton pleads for Common prayer.

14. and knows not of any such faithful *admonition* as was mentioned.

Truth. God winketh at some *ignorance*, but is not blind to pass by all: The *high places* were an high sin, and in Gods time discovered, repented of, and removed; but ever by God disclaimed, &c. And although the *discusser* acknowledgeth himself unworthy to speak for God to Master Cotton or any, yet possibly Master Cotton may call to minde, that the *discusser* (riding with himself and one other of precious memorie (Master Hooker) to and from Sempringham) presented his *Arguments* from *Scripture*, why he durst not joyn with them in their use of *Common prayer*; and all the *Answer* that yet can be remembred the *discusser* received from Master Cotton, was, that he selected the good and best prayers in his use of that *Book*, as the *Author* of the *Council of Trent* was used to do, in his using of the *Masse-book*.

Peace. Yea but further (saith Master Cotton) Numbers 20. Moses used an unwarrantable way of *prophesying*, and yet God¹ gave water; therefore set *formes* of *prayer* may bring a blessing down.

Truth. Moses his calling was true in a true Church; his failing was in point of *passion* and *unbeliefe*. What is this to the *Common prayer*, where all were *Idols*, both the *society* or *communion*; in which the *priest* himself, and the *worship* were but inventions? &c.

Peace. But, saith he, *Common prayer* is not such a *fundamentall* error.

Truth. The word and *prayer* are those two great *services* of God, which even the *Apostles* themselves gave themselves unto: And if Master Cotton intend not that his *Argument* shall stand good against Master Ball, to prove the falseness of such a maine *worship* of God, let him shew what that *worship* of God is, which he intendeth, when he so distinguisheth of some *false worship* wherein *fellowship* with God is lost.

Peace. To end this Chapter, Master Cotton, to clear himself from *partiality*, and that he never useth to *measure* that to any, which he would not have measured to himself, He proposeth a threefold *wickedness*, which he saith God never left him to fall into.

First,

1. Examination of Num. 6. 20.

2. Acts 6.

First, Any *fundamental errour*. Secondly, persisting therein after *admonition* and *conviction*. Thirdly, *seducing* of others. And lastly, he professeth; that if he should so fall, it were better for him to be cut off by *death* or *banishment*, then the *flocke* of *Christ* to be *seduced* by his *heretical* wickedness.

Truth. I here first observe (as also in other places) Master *Cottons* acknowledgement and *profession* of what a man may be punished¹ for: to wit, a *fundamental errour*, *persisting* in it, and *seducing* others; all which are *spiritual* matters, of *religion* and *worship*, for which he decrees from the *Magistrate*, *death* or *banishment*; and yet elsewhere in many other passages, he professeth against all *persecution* for *conscience*.

Secondly, If Master *Cotton* should so fall, and be so dealt withall by the *civil state*.

First, would not Master *Cotton* conscientiously be perswaded of the *Truth* of what he held, though accounted by others *fundamental error*, *obstinacy*, *heresie*? &c.

Secondly, Will Master *Cotton* think that *death* or *banishment* would be wholesome and *Christian* meanes and *remedies* to change and heal his *conscience*?

Thirdly, He (to prevent the *infection* of others) granting the *civil Magistrate* must punish him with *death* or *banishment*, doth he not make the *Magistrate*, yea the *Civil State* (what *State* soever he live in) the *Judge* of his *conscience* and *errors*?

Fourthly, Confessing it now, that to worship *God* with a *Common prayer*, was his sin, and yet it was his *conscience*, that he might so do: If the *Magistrate* had judged it to be a *fundamental error*, he grants he might then have put him to *death* or *banishment*, if persisting, &c. though yet he hath a *proviso*, and a *retreat* against this *assault*, professing, that if the *Magistrate* be not rightly informed, he must stay his *proceedings*: of which afterward.

Peace. What is this, but, in plaine *English*, to profess that all the *Magistrates* and *Civil powers*, throughout the whole world, although they have command and power from *Christ Jesus*, to judge in matters of *conscience*, *religion*, and *worship*, and live in daily sin, that they do not cut off the *heretick*, *blasphemer*, *seducer*, &c. yet except they be of Master *Cottons* minde and *conscience*, to
ac-

1. Three causes for which Master-Cotton maintaines persecution.

account and judge to be, they must *suspend* their *duty* and *office* in this case, until they be better informed, that is, untill they be of his mind?

Examination of CHAP. VI.

Peace.

BUt to proceed to the sixth Chapter, in which is handled that which more especially concerns my *self*. It is too lamentably known, how the furious *troopes* of *persecutors* in all *States*, *Cities*, *Towns* &c. have ever marched under my name, the white colours of *peace*, *civil peace*, *publike peace*.

Truth. Yet Master *Cotton* confesseth, that the *Cities* peace is an *humane* and *civil peace*, as was further explained in many *instances* from *Babylon*, *Ephesus*, *Smyrna*, &c. against which Master *Cotton* excepts not.

Peace. The difference or controversie in this Chapter lies in two things. First, In the *similitudes* used from *companies* and *societies*, voluntarily entering into *combinations*, which are distinct from the City.

2. In the nature of the *Church*, which he maintaines to be a *society*, whose *order* the City is bound to preserve, as well as any of their civil *orders* or *societies*.

Truth. To begin with the first, Master *Cotton* replies, "That although such *societies* be not of the *essence* of the *City*, yet they are of the *integral* and *conservant* causes of the *City*, and so the *disturbance* of any of those *orders* or *societies* in the *City*, disturbs the *City* it self.

But I answer, The *similitude* was used more especially from a¹ *colledge* of *Physitians*, or a *society* of *Merchants*, *Turkish*, *East-Endies*, &c. and consequently any other of that kinde, voluntarily combining together for the better inriching of themselves in the improvement of their *faculties* for publike good (at least so pretended.) It was never intended, that if such necessary *Trades*, *Callings* &c. as he mentioneth, be dissolved and ruined, that there would be no *disturbance* of the *peace* of the *City*: But that if such or such a way and *order* of men of those *faculties* I mentioned,
voluntarily

1. Christs Church may be gathered and dissolved without disturbance of civil Peace.

voluntarily *combine*, and voluntarily also *dissolve*; yet all this may may be, without any breach of *civil* and *publike peace*.

Peace. If so, much more the *church of Christ*, which is a *spiritual society* voluntarily uniting, may dissolve; I say, much more, without the breach of the *peace* of the *city*, which is of a *civil* and humane nature, as is confessed, and was urged in the instances of *Ephesus* &c.

Truth. 2. We are wont when we speak of keeping or breaking the *Peace*, to speake of *Words* or *Actions* of *Violence*, *Sedition*, *Uproare*, &c. for, *Actions* of the *Cases*, *Pleas*, and *Traverses* may be, and yet no peace broken, when men submit to the *Rule* of *State*, for the composing of such *differences*, &c. Therefore it is that I affirme, that if any of *Christs Church* have difference with any other man in *civill* and *humane* things, he ought to be judged by the *Law*: But if the *Church* have *spiritual controversies* among themselves or with any other, or if *God* take away the *Candlestick* as he threatned the *Church* in *Ephesus*, all this may be,¹ and yet no civil peace broken: Yea, amongst those that profess the same *God* and *Christ*, as the *Papists* and *Protestants*, or the same *Mahomet*, as the *Turks* and *Persians*, there would no civil *Peace* be broken, notwithstanding their *differences* in *Religion*, were it not for the bloody *Doctrine* of *Persecution*, which alone breaks the bounds of *civil* peace, and makes *Spiritual* causes the causes of their bloodie *dissentions*.

I observe therefore, a twofold *Fallacie* in Master *Cottons* reply. First, he fallaciously mingles *Peace* and *Prosperity* together: for though it be true, that under the terme *Peace* all good things are sometimes concluded, yet when we speak of *Hereticks* or *Schismatics*² breaking the *civil* peace, or strowing *Doctrines* tending to break the *civill* peace, we must understand some such words or acts of *violence*, wherein the *bounds* and *orders* of the *City*, *Laws*, and *Courts* are violated; taking it for granted (for this is the *Supposition*) that the *Lawes* of the *City* be meerly civil and humane. Hence then I affirme, that there is no *Doctrine*, no *Tenent* so directly tending to break the *Cities* peace, as this *Doctrine* of *persecuting* or *punishing* each other for the cause of *conscience* or *Religion*.

Againe, it is a second *Fallacie* to urge your order of the *Church*,
and

1. The doctrine and practise of Persecution, breaks the peace wherever it comes.

2. The Civil peace of a place or people is one thing, and the welfare or prosperity in health wealth, &c. another.

and the *Excellency* thereof, and that therefore it is a Breach of the *civil peace*, when the *Order* of the *church* is not preserved: For although it is most true, that sooner or later the *God* of heaven punisheth¹ the *nations* of the world, for their *Idolatries*, *Superstitions*, &c. yet Master *Cotton* himself acknowledgeth (as was affirmed) that many glorious flourishing *cities* there are all the world over, wherein no *church* of *Christ* is extant: Yea, that the *Commonweale* of *Rome* flourished five hundred years together, before ever the name of *Christ* was heard in it; which so great a *Glory* of so great a *continuance*, mightily evinceth the distinction of the *civil peace* of a *State* from that which is *Christian Religion*.

It is true (as Master *Cotton* tells us) that the *Turks* have plagued the *Antichristian* world, for their *Idolatries*: Yet *History* tells us, that one of their *Emperours* (*Mahomet*) was the man that first broke up and desolated two most glorious ancient *cities*, *Constantinople* (which had flourished 1120 yeares (since its first building by *Constantine*) and *Athens*, which from *Solons* giving of it *Laws*, had flourished two thousand yeares, notwithstanding their *Idolatries*, &c.

Truth. It is apparent that then the *Christian Religion* gloriously flourished (contrary to Master *Cottons* observation) when the *Roman Emperours* too not power to themselves to reform the² *abuses* in the *Christian Church*, but persecuted it; and then the *church* was ruined and overwhelmed with *Apostacy* and *Anti-christianism*, when the *Emperours* took that power unto themselves: And then it was (as Master *Cotton* elsewhere confesseth) that *Christianitie* lost more, even in *Constantines* time, then under bloody *Nero*, *Domitian*, &c.

Peace. It cannot be denied (dear *Truth*) but that the *Peace* of a *civil State* (of all States, excepting that of typical *Israel*) was and is meerly and *essentially civil*. But Master *Cotton* saith further, Although the *Inward Peace* of a *church* is *Spiritual*, yet the *outward* *Peace* of it, *Magistrates* must keep in a way of *Godliness* and *Honestie*, 1 Tim. 2. 1.

Truth. The *Peace* of a *church* of *Christ* (the onely true *Christian State*, *Nation*, *Kingdom*, or *city*) is *Spiritual*, whether *internal* in the *Soul*, or *external* in the *administration* of it; as the *peace* of a *civil State* is *civil*, *internal* in the *mindes* of men, and
external

1. The Cities of the world enjoy peace and prosperity, where Christ is not heard of.

2. Christianity lost most under such Emperours as claimed Christs power to reform the Church, &c.

external in the administration and conversation of it; and for that place of *Timothy*, it hath been fully spoken to in this *discourse*, and the Discusser hath as yet seen no *exception* against what hath been spoken.

Peace. But further, saith Master *Cotton*, although the *peace* of a Country be *civil*, yet it is distracted by disturbing the peace of the *Church* for God cut short the Coasts of the *civil State* when *Jehu* shortned his *Reformation*, 2 King. 10. 31, 32.

Truth. Master *Cotton* denies not (but confessed in his discourse concerning *Baptism*) that *Canaan* was *Typical*, and to be cast out of that *Land*, was to be cast out of *Gods sight*: which proves thus much, That the church of *Christ*, the *Israel* now, neglecting to reform, *God* will cut this *Israel* short. But what is this to a meerly *civil State*, which may flourish many hundreds, yea some thousands of yeers together (as I before instanced) when the Name of the true Lord *Jesus Christ* is not so much as heard of within it?

Peace. Lastly, (saith he) the church is a *Society*, as well as the *Societies* of *Merchants*, *Drapers*, &c. and it is just to preserve the *Society* of the church, as well as any other *Society*.

Truth. When we speak of the *balances* of *Justice*, we must distinguish between the *Balances* of the *Sanctuary* and the *Balances* of the *World* or *civil States*. It is *spiritual justice* to preserve *spiritual right*; and for that end, the *spiritual King* thereof hath taken care. It is *civil Justice* to preserve the *civil rights*; and the *Rights* of a *civil society* ought justly to be preserved by a *civil State*: (and yet if a *company* of men combine themselves into a *civil society* by voluntary agreement, and voluntarily dissolve it, it is not *justice* to force them to continue together.)

Peace. The church can least of all be forced: for as it is a *spiritual¹ society*, and not subject to any *civil Judicature*; (though some say that a church in *New England* was cited to appear before a *civil Court*;) so is the combination of it *voluntary*, and the dissolution of it in part or whole is voluntary, and endures no Civil violence, but as a *virgin* (in point of marriage) *nec cogit, nec cogitur*, she forceth not, nor can be forced by any *civil power*.

Truth. But lastly, if it be *justice* to preserve the Society of the church, is it not partiality in a meer *civil State* to preserve one

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only

1. The Societies or Churches of the Saints are meerly voluntary in combining or, dissolving.

onely *society*, and not the persons of other Religious societies and *consciencs* also? But the Truth is, this mingling of the *church* and the *world* together, and their *orders* and *societies* together, doth plainly discover, that such *churches* were never called out¹ from the *world*, and that this is only a secret *policy* of *flesh* and *blood*, to get *protection* from the *world*, and so to keep (with some little stilling of *conscience*) from the *Cross* or *Gallowes* of *Jesus Christ*.

Truth. Yea, but hear (saith Master Cotton) those excellent *penmen* of the *Spirit* (both the *Father* and the *Son*) *David* and *Solomon*. First *David* (Psalm 122) They shall prosper that love the peace of *Jerusalem*: and *Solomon*, Where the *righteous* rejoyce, there is great *glory*, *Prov.* 28. Now (saith he) what is the *church* but a *congregation* of *righteous* men? If the *rejoycing* of the *Church* be the *glory* of a *Nation*, surely the *disturbing*, and *destroying*, and *dissolving* the *church* is the *shame* and *confusion* of a *Nation*.

Truth. The outward *prosperity* of a *Nation*, was a typical figurative *blessing*, of that *national* and figurative *church* of *Israel* in *Canaan*. It is now made good spiritually to them that love the *spiritual Jerusalem*: for though *godliness* hath a promise of things of this life convenient; yet *persecution* is the common and ordinary portion of the *Saints* under the *Gospel*, though that *cup* be² infinitely sweetned also to them that drink of it with *Christ Jesus*, by the measure and increase of a hundred fold for one, even with *persecution* in this life.

2. It is true, the *rejoycing* of a *Church* of *Christ*, is the *glory* of any *Nation*, and the contrary a shame: yet this proveth not that *God* vouchsafeth to no *state*, *civil peace*, and temporal *glory*, except it establish and keep up a *Church* of *Christ* by force of armes; for the contrary we have mentioned, and Master Cotton confesseth the flourishing of *States* ignorant of *Christ*, from *Age* to *Age*, yea, and as I have mentioned, even to two thousand yeers in *Athens*; six *generations* before it heard of *Christ*, and fourteen *generations* since, with the sprinkling (for some time) of the knowledge of *Christ Jesus* in it.

Peace. 2. But consider (saith Master Cotton) the *excellency* and *preheminance* of the *church*, that the *world* is for it, and would not subsist but for it, &c. *Truth*

1. Christs Church is called out of the world.

2. The flourishing of civil states.

Truth. Tis true, *glorious* things are spoken of the *City of God*, &c. yet for many *Ages* together Master *Cotton* confesseth the¹ *Nations* of the *world* may subsist & flourish without it; and though it be the *duty* of the *Nations* of the *world* to countenance and cherish the *church* of *Christ*; yet where is there any *commission*, either in the *New* or *Old Testament*, that the *Nations* of the *world* should be the *judges*, *governors*, and *defenders* of *Christ* *Jesus* his *spiritual kingdome*, and so bound to take up *Armes* and smite with the *civil sword* (among so many pretenders) for that which they believe to be the *church* of *Christ*?

Peace. 3. (saith he) It is matter of just displeasure to *God*, and sad grief of *heart* to the *church*, when *civil states* looke at the *state* of the *church*, as of little or no concernment to themselves, *Zech.* 1. 19. *Lam.* 1. 13.

Truth. Grant this, and that the most jealous *God* will awake in his season, for these *sins*, and for the *persecutions*, *idolatries*, and *blasphemies*; which the *Nations* live in: yet what is this for warrant to the *Nations* (as before) to judge and rule the *church* of *Christ*, yea, and under the colour of defending *Christs* faith, and preserving *Christs* church pure, to tear *Christ* out of *heaven*, by *persecuting* of his *Saints* on *earth*; and to fire the *world* with devouring *flames* of bloody wars, and this onely for the *sweet* sake of the *prince* of *peace*?

Peace. Dear *Truth*, we are now upon an high point, and that which neerly concerns my self, the *peace* of the *world*, and the *Nations* of it. Master *Cotton* saith further, *God* winketh at the *Nations* in the time of their *ignorance*, and suffers the *Nation* to flourish many hundred yeers together, as did the *Empire* of *Rome*; yet when the *church* of *Christ* comes to be planted amongst them, then, as he brought the *Turkes* upon the *Romans*, for their *persecuting* the *church*, and not preserving it in *purity*; so consequently will he do unto the *Nations* of the *world*.

Truth. I answer, the most righteous *Judge* of the whole world hath plauged the *Nations* of the *world*, both before *Christs* coming, and since, for their *pride* and *cruelty* against his people, for their *idolateries*, *blasphemies*, &c. Yet Master *Cotton* acknowledgeth that many *states* have flourished many hundred yeers together, when no true *church* of *Christ* hath been found in them:

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and

1. No Civil state can either by Christs Testimony, or true reason, be judge of the Ecclesiastical and spiritual.

and Master Cotton will never prove, that God ever commanded the Nations and governments of the world, to gather or constitute his churches, and to preserve them in purity: For God gave his ordinances, both before and since Christ, to his people onely, whom he chuseth and calleth out of the World, and the Nations of it: and he hath punished and dissolved them for their obstinate neglect thereof. And for the Roman Empire, and the Emperors thereof, the Christian Religion, and the purity thereof, never lost so much, as when the Emperors were perswaded of Master Cottons bloody Tenent, as Master Cotton and all men seen in History and Christianity must confess.

Peace. But further, although (saith Master Cotton) the peace of the church be a spiritual inward peace, yet there is an outward peace of the church due to them from Princes and Magistrates, in a way of godliness and honesty, 1 Tim. 2. But in a way of ungodliness and idolatry, it is an wholesome faithfulness to the church, if Princes trouble the outward peace of the church, that so the church finding themselves wounded, and pricked in the house of their friends, they may repent, and return to their first husband, Zech. 13. Hos. 2.

Truth. The peace of the Church is not only inward, between God and themselves; but as the Argument importeth, to which Master Cotton answereth, the peace of the Church external and¹ outward, is spiritual, essentially differing from the peace of the civil state, which is meerly civil and humane. When the peace of the churches, Antioch, Corinth, Galatia, was disturbed by spiritual oppositions, the Lord never sent his Saints for civil help to maintaine their spirituall peace, though the Lord did send Paul to the higher civil powers, to preserve his civil peace, when he was molested and oppressed by the Jews and Romans.

2. For that place of Timothy, though I have fully spoken to it in this discourse elsewhere, yet this now: It proves not, because the church must pray for civil Rulers, that so they may live a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty, that therefore civil rulers are supream rulers and judges Ecclesiastical, next unto Christ Jesus, of what is godliness, holiness, &c. since God hath chosen few wise or noble, to know godliness: And although it is true that Gods end of vouchsafing peace and quietness, is, that
his

1. Difference of spiritual and civil peace.

his *Churches* might walk in his fear, and in the wayes of *godliness*; yet it doth not hence follow, that *Magistrates* were the *causes* of the *Churches* walking in the fear of *God*, and being edified, but only of enjoying *Rest* from *Persecution*, *Act.* 9.

3. Although *Gods chastisement* call to *repentance*, and although the *false Prophet* in the *church* of *Israel* was to be wounded and slaine (as they are now to be cut off *spiritually* from the *church* of *spiritual Israel*) yet was it so in all the other *Nations* of the world? Or did *Christ Iesus* appoint it to be so in all the *Nations* of the world, since his coming, which is the great *question* in difference?

4. And indeed, what is this, but to add *coals* to *coals*, and *wood* to *fire*, to teach the *Nations* of the world, to be *briars* and *thorns*, *butchers* and *tormentors* to the *Lilies* and *Lambes* of the most holy and innocent *Lamb* of *God Christ Iesus*?

Peace. But *God* (saith *Master Cotton*) cut *Israel* short in their *civil state* or *Nation*, when they cut short their *reformation*, *1 King.* 10.

Truth. *Master Cotton* elsewhere denying a *National church*, which is bounded with natural and earthly limits, it is a wonder how he can apply that instance of *National Israel*, to the now *spiritual Nation* and *Israel* of *God*? May he not as well promise earthly *peace* and *prosperity* then most to abound to *Gods people*,¹ when they most prosper and flourish in *holiness*, *zeal*, &c. The contrary whereof, to wit, *persecution*, is most evident in all the *New Testament*, and all mens new and fresh *experience*.

Peace. To end this Chapter, *Master Cotton* affirmes, that *civil peace* (to speak properly) is not only a *peace* in *civil* things for the *object*, but the peace of all the *persons* in the *City* for the *subject*. The *church* is one *society* in the *City*, as well as the *society* of *Merchants*, *Drapers* &c. And if it be *civil justice* to protect one, then the other also.

Truth. *Civil peace* will never be proved to be the *peace* of all the subjects or *Citizens* of a *City* in *spiritual* Things: The *civil state* may bring into order, make orders, preserve in *civil order* all her members: But who ordained, that either the *spiritual estate* should bring in and force the *civil state* to keep *civil order*, or that the *civil state* should sit, judge, and

1. When *Gods people* flourish most in godliness then most persecuted.

and force any of her *subjects* to keep *spiritual order*?

The true and *living God*, is the *God of order, spiritual, civil and natural*: *Natural* is the same ever and perpetual: *civil* alters according to the *constitutions of peoples and nations*: *spiritual* he hath changed from the *national* in one figurative-land of *Canaan*, to *particular and congregational churches* all the world over; which *order spiritual, natural or civil*, to confound and abrogate, is to exalt mans *folly* against the most holy and incomprehensible *wisdom* of God, &c.

Examination of CHAP. VII.

Peace.

IN his description of *Arrogancy and impetuosity*, Master Cotton tels us, that he that refuseth to subject his *Spirit* to the *Spirit of the prophets*, that shall oppose such as dissent with *clubs swords and censorious reproaches*, or reject *communion* with the *church*, &c. his practise tends to the disturbing of *civil or church-peace*, or both.

Truth. It is a fallacious mingling of *clubs, swords, reproaches*, &c. with refusing to submit to the *Spirit of prophetic* in the *Prophets*, and rejecting of *communion*, &c. For a man may out of true and upright *conscience to God* (as Master Cotton will not deny)¹ refuse to submit to a whole true *church*, having the *Truth of God* on his side; and may withdraw from *communion* with a *church obstinate in sin*, and this without *breach of civil peace*; and therefore the mingling or confounding of these *spiritual resistances or disturbances with guns, swords, &c.* is a mingling and confounding of *heaven and earth* together.

2. In that he saith, these wayes tend to the disturbance of either *civil or church-peace*, or both; he speakes too like the doubtful *oracles of Apollo*, which will be true however the event fall out; but yet he toucheth not the *Truth of the question*, which concernes *civil peace* only; against the *disturbers* of which, I grant the *civil powers* to be armed with a *civil sword*, not in vaine, and concerning which divers cases were propounded of seeming *Arrogance and impetuosity* in *Gods servants*, and yet they fell not justly under any censure of *breach of civil peace*.

Peace.

1. A monstrous mingling of spiritual and civil resistance or disturbance.

Peace. Tis true (saith Master Cotton) because they were not wayes of *Arrogance* not *Impetuousness*.

Truth. But will Master Cotton give way that any *conscience* but his own may freely *preach* and *dispute* against the *state-religion*, freely reprove the *highest*, in sharpest language, for matter of *religion*, refuse *conformity* to the *common established religion*¹ and *worship*, disclaime subjection to the *civil powers*, in *spiritual cases*, preach against the *common policy* and seeming *wisdom* of the *State*, even to a seeming *hazarding* of all, and lastly occasion great *tumults* and *uproars* (which were the six cases alledged?) If Master Cotton granteth this *freedom* to other *consciences* beside his own, why preacheth he *persecution* against such a *liberty*, which other *consciences* beside his own, believe they justly challenge? If to no other *conscience* then his own, it is not his saying ten thousand times, that his *conscience* is true, and others false, nor any other *distinction* in the world, can clear him from most unrighteous and unchristian *partiality*.

Examination of CHAP. VIII.

Peace.

IN this Chapter (dear Truth) lies a charge concerning thy self. For whereas thou answerest an objection, that this distinction concerns not *Truth* or *error*, but the *manner* of holding or divulging, Master Cotton affirms the *distinction* to speak expressly of things *unlawfull* and *erroneous*, and therefore that it cannot be said with *Truth*, that the *distinction* concernes not *truth* and *error*.

Truth. The truth is this, the former *distinction* speakes of *matter*, and this *distinction* seems wholly to intend the *manner* of holding forth. The words were these: [Again, in points of *Doctrine* and *Worship* less principal, either they are held forth in a meek and *peaceable* way (though the things be *erroneous* and *unlawful*) or they are held forth with such *Arrogance* and *Impetuousness* as tendeth to the disturbance of *civil peace*.] In which although things *erroneous* and *unlawful* are mentioned; yet who
sees

1. Six instances of holy zeal in Scripture, far from arrogance or impetuousness. These were alledged from Scripture in the bloody Tenent and acknowledged by Master Cotton.

sees not but that those words are brought in by the way of *Parenthesis*, which may or may not be left out, and the *distinction* be whole and intire? And therefore Master Cotton doth not well to spend precious *time* and *life* upon seeming *advantages*.

Peace. Yea, but (saith he) why is this *distinction* blamed, when the discussor himself acknowledgeth, that there may be a way and manner of holding forth, which may tend to break the *civil peace*.

Truth. That which was excepted most against in the *distinction*, was the persecuting *language* of [*arrogance, impetuousness, boisterousness,*] without declaring what that was: to which Master Cotton answers, that the discussers request, was not that he should compile a *discourse*, but return an *answer* to the *letter* of his friend; as also that he charged none of *Gods children* with such things.

I reply (as formerly) Master Cotton's memory (though otherwise excellent) herein faileth; for, such a *request* the discussor never made unto him, by letter or otherwise. 2. Although he charged not *Gods people* with *arrogance* and *impetuousness*, yet mostly and commonly *Gods children* (though meek and peaceable) are accused to be *arrogant, impetuous* &c. and 'tis the common notorious *language* of persecutors against them.

Peace. Concerning those six *instances* wherein *Gods children* were occasion of great *opposition* and *spiritual hostility*, yea and of breach of *civil peace*, notwithstanding the *matter* delivered was holy, and the *manner* peaceable, Master Cotton answers, they nothing concern the *distinction* which speaks of holding forth things *erroneous* and *unlawful* for the matter, and for the *manner* in a way of *arrogance* and *impetuousness*, to the disturbance of *civil peace*.

Truth. I reply, first, it speaks not only of *erroneous* and *unlawful* things (though *erroneous* and *unlawful* things be admitted in way of *Parenthesis*, as before.) 2. He describes not what this *arrogance* and *impetuousness* is, but wraps up all in one general dark cloud, wherein the best and most zealous of *Gods Prophets* and servants are easily wrapt up as proud, arrogant, and impetuous.

CHAP.

Examination of CHAP. IX.

Peace.

IN this Chapter I remember you affirmed, that one cause of *civil dissention* and uproar, was the lying of a *State* under *false worship*, whence it endures not the preaching of *light* and *truth*, &c. Master Cotton answers, This is not to the purpose, because this is by *accident*.

Truth. It is as much to the purpose to declare (in the examination of the breach of *civil peace* about matters of *Religion*) I say, to declare the true cause of such *troubles* and *uproares*, as it is in the search after the *leaks* of a *ship*, to declare where the *leake* is indeed, when many are said to be where they are not.

2. Whereas he confesseth that *vigilant* and *faithful* ones are not so troubled at the false *Religion* of *Jew* or *Gentile*, as not to¹ tolerate them amongst them in a civil body, he alleadgeth for *instance*, that the *Indians* subjected to their *government*, are not compelled to the *confession* or *acknowledgement* of their *Religion*: I reply, first, who sees not herein unchristian *partiality*, that *Pagans*, *Barbarians* (who happily might more easily be brought from their *natural Religion* to a new forme, then any other) I say, that they should be tolerated in their hideous *worships* of *creatures* and *devils*, while *civil people* (his *countrymen* yea it may be the precious *sons* and *daughters* of the most *high God*) shall be *courted* *fined*, *whipt* *banished* &c. for the matters of their *conscience* and *worship* to the true and living *God*?

2. Is not this passage *contradictory* to all Master Cottons whole discourse in this book, which pleades for the *purity* of *Religion* to be maintained by all *Magistrates* and *civil governments* within their *jurisdictions*, and the suppressing of the contrary, under the penalty of the *destruction* of their *lands* and *countries*, and accordingly hath not the practice of *New England* answered such a *doctrine*? and yet, saith he, we tolerate the false *Religion* of *Jew* or *Gentile*.

Peace. Possibly (Dear Truth) the *distinction* between *Jew*, *Pagan*, and *Christian*, may satisfie (for the present) Master Cottons conscience so to write and practise: for thus he addeth, But

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if

1. The Indians proressing subjection to the English in New England permitted in their devillish worships, when English fearing God, persecuted.

if *Christians* shall *apostate*, or if *Jews* and *Pagans* be blasphemous and seducing, then &c.

Truth. Who knows not but that the very *Religion* of *Jew* or *Pagan* is a blaspheming of the true *Religion*? *Revel.* 2. I know the blasphemy of them that say they are *Jews*, and are not, but are the *Synagogue* or church of *Sathan*.

And whereas Master *Cotton* alleadgeth for proof of this, *Pauls* blaming of false *teachers*, for being *troublers* to the churches of *Galatia*, *Gal.* 5. and *Acts* 15 &c. Who, that puts this inference into *Christs* balance, but will see the lightness of it, thus? The¹ churches of *Christ* are to draw forth the sword and power of *Christ*, and are not to suffer such as with false doctrine trouble their peace, Ergo: Therefore the civil state must not permit such persons to live in the world, &c.

Peace. The second cause I remember, you alleadged of civil disturbances and hubbubs about Religion, was the præposterous way of healing of corruptions in Religion, as by whips, stocks, imprisonment, &c. unto this Master *Cotton* answers, Then the *Marriners*² casting *Jonah* over-boord, for his sin was the cause of the storme.

Truth. I answer, if that extraordinary and miraculous instance, be sufficient ground for *Magistrates* casting over-boord whomsoever they judge *Hereticks*, then all civil states and ships must so practise in stormes and troubles on sea or shore, to wit, throw over-boord, put to death, not only *Hereticks*, *Blasphemers*, *Seducers* &c. but the best of *Gods Prophets* or servants, for neglect of their duty, Ministry, &c. which was *Jonahs* case.

And if so, doth not this set up (and all the world over) by land or sea, all *Kings* and *Magistrates*, all *Masters* of ships and *captaines*, to be the spiritual and Ecclesiastical Judges of the religion and spiritual neglects of all their subjects or Passengers? Such doctrine I cannot imagine would have relished with Master *Cotton* in his passage to *New England*; and I humbly desire of God, that he may never tast the bitter fruit of this Tree, of which yet so many thousands of *Gods servants* have fed, and himself not a little (to the *Lords* praise and his own) in former times.

Peace.

1. Unchristian conclusions.

2. *Jonahs* casting over-boord, a ground of persecution, &c. examined.

Peace. Whereas you argued it to be *light* alone, that was able to dispell and scatter the *mists* and *fogs* of *darkness* in the souls and *consciences* of men, Master *Cotton* answers, The judgements of God are as *light* that goeth forth, *Hos.* 6. 3. *Isa.* 26. 9. and the false *Prophet* repenting will acknowledge this *Zech.* 13. 6. Thus was I wounded in the house of my friends.

Truth. But doth Master *Cotton* indeed believe that not only¹ *publike Magistrates*, but also each private *father* and *mother* (as that place of *Zechary*, literally, taken carries it) must now in the dayes of the *Gospel* wound and pierce; yea run through and kill their *Son* the false *Prophet*? would he justifie a parent so practising though it were in the neglect of the *publike Magistrate*, who happily may be of the same *Religion* with the false prophet? Will not this *doctrine* reach & extend to the pulling down *deposing* and *killing* of all such *governors* and *governments*, which God in his gracious *providence* hath set up amongst all peoples in all parts and *dominions* of the world, yea and harden the heart of *Pharoah*, the very *Pope* himself, in his *King-killing* and *State-killing doctrine*?

Peace. If ever Master *Cotton* wake in this point, he will tell all the *world*, that it is more *Gospel-like* that *Parents*, *Brethren*, *Fathers*, *Friends*, impartially fulfill this of *Zechary* 13. and *Deut.* 13. spiritually, in the friendly wounding, yea and zealous slaying by the two-edged *sword* of the *Spirit* of God, which is the *word* of God comming forth of the *mouth* of *Christ Jesus*, *Ephes.* 5. *Revel.* 1.

Truth. And it is most true (as Master *Cotton* saith) that the judgements of God, legally executed, or more terribly poured² forth in the vials of *sword*, *plague*, and *famine*, they are as heavenly *lights* shining out from the *Father* of *lights*, teaching the inhabitants of the world *righteousness*.

Yea the *creation* it self, or each *creature*, are as *candles* and *glasses* to light and shew us the *invisible* God and *creator*: but yet these are not the *ordinances* of *Christ Jesus* given to his *church*. These are not the *Preachings* of the *word*, and the opening of the *mysteries* of salvation, which give *light* and understanding to the simple, and convert the soul: These are nor that marvailous *light* unto which the *call* of *Christ Jesus*, in the

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preaching

1. The killing of the false Prophet. *Zech.* 13. 6. examined.

2. *Esa.* 26. & *Hos.* 6. 2. examined.

preaching of the word, had brought the *Saints* unto whom *Peter* writes: The weapons of *Pauls* fighting, whereby to batter down the high *thoughts* and *imaginations* of the sons of men against the *sons of God*, were of another nature, 3 *Cor.* 10. and his¹ *directions* to *Timothy* and *Titus*, how to deal with *Hereticks* and *Gainsayers* were never heard of to be such, till the *son of man*, and *son of perdition*, brought forth such bloody *weapons* and bloody *doctrines* in the affaires of *Christ Jesus*.

Examination of CHAP. X.

Peace.

IN this passage Master *Cotton* will subscribe to the whole matter, saying, This Chapter may stand for us without impeachment, and yet in this Chapter is reported the *persecution*, which both *rightly informed* and *erroneous consciences* suffer, and the blind estate of such blinde *guides* and blinded *consciences* who so *preach* and *practice*.

Truth. These first words [*We approve no persecution for conscience*] fight against his whole endeavour in this book, which is to set up the *civil throne* and *judgement-seat* over the *consciences* and *soules* of men, under the pretence of preserving the *church of Christ* pure, and punishing the evil of *heresie*, *blasphemy* &c.

2. They fight against their *fellows*, which follow, thus [unless the *conscience* be convinced of the *error* and *perniciousness* thereof] which is all one, as to say, We hold no man is to be *persecuted* for his *conscience*, unless it be for a *conscience* which we judge dangerous to our *Religion*. No man is to be persecuted for his *conscience*, unless we judge that we have *convinced* or conquered his *conscience*.

Tis true, all *errour* is pernicious many wayes to *Gods glory*, to a mans owne *soul*, to other mens *souls* and *consciences*: yet I understand Master *Cotton* to say, Except we judge the *error* to be² so and so mischievous. Tis true, there is a *self-conviction* which some *consciences* smite and wound themselves with? But to submit

1. *Cor.* 10.

2. conviction of conscience.

these *consciencies* to the *tribunal* of the *civil Magistrate*, and *Powers* of the *World*, how can Master Cotton do this, and yet say no man is to be persecuted for his *conscience*?

Peace. Alas, how many *thousands* and *millions* of *consciencies* have been persecuted in all *Ages* and *Times* in a *judicial way*, and how have their *Judges* pretended *victory* and *triumph*, crying out, We have *convinced* (or *conquered*) them, and yet are they *obstinate*.

Truth. Hence came that hellish *Proverb*, That nothing was more *obstinate* then a *Christian*: under which *cloud* of *reproach* hath been overwhelmed the most faithful, zealous, and constant *witnesses* of *Jesus Christ*.

Peace. But saith Master Cotton, Some blinded *consciencies* are so judicially punished by *God*, as his in *Ireland* that burnt his child in imitation of *Abraham*.

Truth. In such *cases* it may be truly said, the *Magistrate* beares not the *sword* in vaine, either for the *punishing* or *preventing*¹ of such *sins*, whether *uncleanness*, *theft*, *cruelty*, or *persecution*.

And therefore such *consciencies* as are so hardned by *Gods judgement*, as to smite their fellow-servants, under the pretence of *zeale* and *conscience* (as in the instance of *Saul* his *zeal* for the children of *Israel* against the *Gibeonites*) they ought to be *supprest* and *punished*, to be restrained and prevented.

And hence is seasonable the saying of *King Iames*, that he desired to be secured of the *Papists* concerning *civil obedience*, which *security*, by wholesome *Lawes*, and other wayes: according to the *wisdome* of each *state*, each *state* is to provide for it self even against the *delusions* of hardned *consciencies*, in any *attempt* which meerly concernes the *civil state* and *Common-weale*.

CHAP.

1. The violation of civil peace though out of conscience, to be punished.

Examination of CHAP. XI.

Peace.

IN this Chapter Master Cotton takes himself wronged, that he should be thought to lay this down, as a *conclusion*, viz. that it is not lawful to persecute *Iesus Christ*.

Truth. What difference is there in saying, It is not lawful to persecute a *conscience rightly* informed, and to say, It is not lawful to persecute *Christ Iesus*; was it not all one in effect for *Christ* to say, Take up thy *bed* and walk, as to say, Thy sins are *forgiven* thee?

Peace. He adds, It is no matter of wonder to lay down the *principles* of Religion for a *proof*, as Gamaliel did.

Truth. Who sees not a vast difference between Master Cottons and Gamaliels speech? Gamaliel speaks of that particular *controversie* concerning *Christs person* and *profession*, which the *Jews* so gainsayed and persecuted. Gamaliel fitly aggravateth¹ their *opposition* by the danger of their *course*, if possibly it might prove to be the *Truth*, which they persecuted. Master Cotton is to lay down not a *particular answer*, but *general conclusions*; and notwithstanding that in the *course* of his *Book* he maintaines such and such *persecution*, yet he layes this down as his first *conclusion*: "It is not lawful to persecute a *conscience* rightly informed, that is, *Christ Iesus* in his *Truths* and *Servants*; and that, I say never *persecutor* professed to do without a *Maske* or covering.

Peace. What of that saith Master Cotton, for although they do not *persecute Christ* as *Christ*, yet they do it, and it is no matter of *wonder* to tell them as *Christ* tells *Paul*, It is not lawful for them so to do.

Truth. Doubtless whatever *persecutors* profess, and what *Apologies* soever they make in all the particular cases for which *Gods servants* are persecuted; yet the *Saints* of *God* have dealt faithfully to tell *Persecuters* that they persecute *Christ* himself, and to breath out the *fire* of *Gods judgements* against them, even out of their own *mouth*.

But what is this to a *conclusion* laid down? for so *Christ* laid
not

1. An over-ruling finger of God, ordering Master Cotton to alleadge Gamaliel, sure he had forgotten Master John Goodwins excellent labour in his Θεομαχία or fighting against God.

not down his *expostulation* with *Paul* as a *conclusion*, as Master *Cotton* doth by way of *teaching*, but as a *conviction*, by way of *reproofe*.

Peace. Yet *persecutors* (saith he) have persecuted *Christ* as *Christ*; for the *Scribes* and *Pharises* said, This is the *heir*, come, let us kill him: and *Iulian* persecuted *Iesus* as *Iesus*: And if a *Christian* in *Turkie* shall seek to gaine a *Turke* to *Christianity*, they will persecute such a *Christian*, and in him *Iesus* as *Iesus*.

Truth. It is said *Acts* 3. that the *Iews* persecuted *Christ* out of *ignorance*; for though they had sufficient *knowledge* to convince¹ them, yet did they not persecute *Christ* out of a clearly *convinced conscience*, for then it could not be out of *ignorance*. And yet it was sufficient, that so great a power of *Gods Spirit* appeared in the *evidence* of *Christs works*, as to make their *sin* to be against the *Spirit* of *God*: yet had they their *mask* and *covering* (as is evident:) For, this is not the true *Christ* or *Messiah*, say they, but a *deceiver*, a *witch*, working by the power of the *devil*, a *blasphemer*, a *seducer*, a *Traitor*, &c.

Againe, although wretched *Iulian* persecuted the very name of *Christ* and *Iesus* (whom formerly he had acknowledged and professed) Yet was it still under a *mask* or *covering*, to wit, that he was not the true *Son* of *God*, nor his *worship* the *Truth*, but his *Roman gods* were true &c. And the same say the *Turkes* in persecuting *Christians*, and in them *Christ Iesus* as a *Prophet* inferiour to their onely great and true *Prophet Mahomet*.

And lastly, neither *Scribes*, nor *Pharisees*, nor *Iulian*, nor *Turkes* did or do persecute *Christ Iesus* otherwise then as they were and are bound so to do by Master *Cottons doctrine*, as shall further appear, notwithstanding his *plea*, that such *Magistrates* must forbear to punish untill they be better informed.

Peace. But let *tyrants* and *persecutors* profess what they will (saith Master *Cotton*,) yet this varieth not the *truth*, nor impeacheth the *wisdome* of the *conclusion*.

Truth. Sweet *peace*, how can I here chuse, but in the first² place observe that great *mystery* of the *waking sleep* of the most precious servants of the most *high God*, in the affaires of his *worship*; and the *Kingdome* of his dear *Son*? Awake; for what fiery
censurers

1. Christ Iesus never persecuted as Christ but as a deceiver, brashphemer, seduced.

2. *Cant.* 5. I sleep yet my heart waketh.

censures justly poureth forth this our excellent Adversarie against the oppressours of *conscience*, entituling them with the names of *tyrants* and *persecutors*, notwithstanding their vaine *professions*, *pretences*, *apologies* and *pleas* for their *tyranny* and *Bloodshed*? Againe, how fast asleep, in his so zealous pleading for the greatest *tyranny* in the *world* (throughout his whole book) though *painted* and *washed* over with faire *pretences* &c?

2. He granteth upon the point the *truth*, which was affirmed, and he denyed, to wit, that no *persecutor* of *Christ* ever persecuted him as the *Son of God*, as *Iesus*, but under some *mask* or covering as thousands of black and bloody *clouds* of *persecuting witnesses* in this case most lamentably make it evident and apparent.

Peace. Master Cottons next charge is very heavy against the *discusser*, for exalting himself above *God* in the discerning of Master Cottons fellowship with *persecutors*, notwithstanding his *profession* against such *persecution*.

Truth. The Lord *Jesus* saw in the *Iews* such a *contrariety* between their *professions* and *practises* (even in this case of *persecution*) Mat. 23.

2. Himself in effect, but even now, said the same of all *persecutors*: [What ever pretences they make, saith he] and they will pretend great things of *love* to *Christ*, and kiss him ten thousand¹ times, when *treasons* and *slaughters* are in their courses. And will Master Cotton say that *Christ Iesus* exalted himself above *God*, in spying out so great a *mystery*? It is no new thing, that Master Cotton should be apt to say with *David*. That man that hath done this thing shall die, not duely considering and pondering that our selves are *sons of blood*, and children of *death*, condemned by our own *mouth*, if the righteous *Iudge* of the whole world should deal severely with us.

Peace. But Master Cotton (for a close of this Chapter) complaines of his own suffering of bitter persecution, and the Lord *Iesus* in him, being unjustly slandered, except the *discusser* can prove, that any *doctrine* of his tendeth to persecute any of the *servants* of *Christ*.

Truth. Let a mans *doctrine* and *practise* be his *witnesses*, and let every soul judge in the fear of *God*, whether the *doctrine* of
this

1. A deep mystery in persecution.

this *Book* maintaining such and such a *persecution* to be an holy *truth wash'd white* in the *blood* of the *Lamb*, agree not lamentably with all their *imprisonings*, *banishings* &c. inflicted upon so many several sorts of their own *countrimen friends* and *brethren* in the *wilderness*, for matter of *Religion* and *conscience*; amongst which the *Lord Jesus* will be heard at last to have said, Why persecutest thou *me*? why banishest and whippest thou *me*, &c?

2. Will not all persecuting prelates, *Popes* &c. take heart from hence (according to their several *religions* and *consciences*) to persecute the *heretick*, *blasphemer*, *seducer* &c. although they all will say with Master *Cotton*, It is not lawful to persecute a *conscience* rightly informed, that is, *Christ Jesus* in his *truths* or *servants*?

Peace. But the discusser (saith Master *Cotton*) is a bitter *persecutor*, in slandering him, and *Christ Jesus* in him, for a *persecutor*.

Truth. I see not but Master *Cotton* (though of *Dauids spirit*) may be guilty of *Sauls* lamentable *complaint*, that *David* persecuted him, and that he could finde none to *pity* him? Who knows not that all and our own *Popish Bishops* in *Queen Maries*, yea¹ and of late times our *Protestant Bishops* against the *non-conformists* have been wont to cry out, what bitter *persecution* themselves have suffered from the *slandorous censures* and *reproaches* of the *servants* of *Christ Jesus* against them? Who yet have shot no other *arrowes* at them but the faithful *declarations* and *discoveries* of *Gods* holy truth, and the evil of the *opposing* and *persecuting* of it, and the *professors* of it? And how neer will Master *Cotton* be found to close with that late bloody *Woolfe* (so far as his *chaine* reached) *Bishop Laud*, who being an *instrument* of the bloody hunting and *worrying* of those three famous *witnesses* of *Christ*, Master *Prin*, Master *Bastwick*, and Master *Burton*; yet at their publike sentence in the *Star-chamber*, he lamentably *complained* that those poor *Lambs* did bark and bite him with unjust *reproaches*, *slanders*, &c,

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CHAP.

1. Wolves complaining that the sheep persecute them.

Examination of CHAP. XII.

Peace.

Master Cotton here first complaineth that his words are *misreported* concerning the *punishment* of the *heretick* after once or twice *admonition*, *Tit.* 3. 10.

Truth. I desire that others may judge in three *particulars*.

First, whether the *summ* and *pith* of the *words* are not rendered.

2. Whether this *Titus* 3. was brought by Master Cotton to prove (as is now pretended) that an *Heretick* might be persecuted with an *excommunication* after once or twice *admonition*: or whether the *question* be not of another kind of *persecution*.

3. Whether that *Tit.* 3. 11. do hold forth, That although a man be a *heretick*, *blasphemer*, *seducer*, he may be punished with a *Civil* or *corporeal punishment*, yea though he sin against his own *conscience*.

I add a fourth, whether indeed (as Master Cotton intimates) the *discusser* makes this *Tit.* 3, a *refuge* for *hereticks*. Great sound and noise makes this word *heretick*, *heretick*. I dare appeal to¹ Master Cottons *conscience* and *memory*, whether the reading of *histories*, and the *experience* of time will not evince and prove, that *hereticks* and *Christians*, *hereticks* and *Martyrs* (or witnesses of *Christ*) have not been the same *men* and *women*: I say againe, that such as have been *ordinarily* and *commonly* accounted and persecuted for *hereticks*, have been the servants of the most *high God*, and the *followers* and *witnesses* of the *Lord Jesus Christ*.

Peace. You know (*dear truth*) the *catalogues* of *heresies* and *hereticks* extant &c.

Truth. Grant it (*sweet peace*) that some in all times have suffered for *erroneous conscience*. Yet I dare challenge the father of² lies himself to disprove this assertion, That the most of such (beyond all comparison) that have ever suffered in this *world* for *hereticks*, have been the disciples and followers of *Christ Jesus*. And on that not only the *Lions*, *Leopards*, the *Bears*, *Woolves*, and *Tygers*

1. The blood of the souls under the Altar is a sealed mystery, *Rev.* 6.

2. A challenge to the devil himself.

(the bloody *Pharoahs*, *Sauls*, *Herods*, *Neroes*, *Popes*, *Prelates* &c.) should fetch from hence, their persecuting *arrows* and¹ *commissions*, but that even the *Dauids*, the men after *Gods* own heart, the *Asa's* (whose hearts are perfect with God) that such as are the *sheep* and *lambs* of *Christ*, should be so monstrously changed and transformed into *lyons*, *beares*, &c. yea and should flie to this holy Scripture of *Tit.* 3. for this their *unnatural* and monstrous change and *transformation*.

Examination of CHAP. XIII.

Peace.

IN this 13 Chapter, dear truth, you argue the great mistake of the *world* in their common clamour, an *heretick*, an *heretick*, a² person *obstinate* in *fundamentals*; and you prove that this word *heretick* intends no more then a person *obstinate* against the *admonitions* of the Lord, although in lesser matters: upon this Master Cotton concludes in this 13 Chapter, that the discussor gives a larger *allowance* for proceeding against *erroneous* persons then himself did.

Truth. I must deny that the discussor gives a larger *allowance* then Master Cotton, or any at all, that the *hereticks* or *obstinate person* should be dealt withall by the Civil *Magistrates* of *Crete*, but onely by the spiritual power of the Lord *Jesus*.

1. For first, What though I granted that an *obstinate person*, contending about *Genealogies*, ought not to be suffered, but after once or twice *admonition* ought to be *rejected*? And,

2. What though I grant that after such faithful *admonitions* once or twice, he cannot but be condemned of himself? yet according to his third answer, how will it appear that I grant, that an *heretick* is rightly defined to be one *obstinate* in *fundamentals*, when I maintaine, and Master Cotton seemeth to grant, that the *heretick* may be such an one as is *obstinate* in *lesser points* and *practises*?

3. Further, let the word ἑξέστραπται imply an overturning, yet will it not follow, that therefore an *heretick* is he, who is wil-

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fully

1. All Antichristian hunters or persecutors make *Tit.* 3. their den and Fortress.

2. *Tit.* 3. Discussed.

fully obstinate, in holding forth such *errors* as subvert the *foundation* of the *Christian religion*: For however that Master Cotton saith, That such *disputes* may tend to overthrow *Christianity*, yet that is but in remote *possibility*, as the prick of a *finger* may kill the *heart*, if it ranckle and fester, and so go on from *member* to *member* without means applyed: yet this cannot be said to be a mortal *wound* at first. So is it in the *body* of Christ.

Peace. The Apostle discoursing of meats and drinks, of eating and drinking with *offence*, calls an offensive eating a *destruction* of the *soul* for which *Christ died*: and yet I suppose he will not say that that *difference* was a *fundamental difference*.

Truth. It hath been a gross and barbarous mistake of the *monopolizers* of *learning*, both *divine* and *humane*, The Clergy both of *Popish* and *Protestant factions* and *worships*: And how¹ many are the thousands of millions of *abuses*, *prophanations* and *blasphemies* against the *God of heaven* in all (the *Antichristian*) *Christendome*, in all *preachings*, *writings*, *proceedings*, and *processes*, touching this name *heretick*, *heresie*, &c? By the impartial *censure* of the *Lord*, he is an *heretick*, who wilfully persists in any sinful *doctrine* against the due *admonitions* of the *Lord*; for every *bit* and *parcell* of *leaven* is to be purged out of the house of *God*, as well as the greater and *fundamentall* lumps.

Examination of CHAP. XIV.

Peace.

IT is a falshood (saith Master Cotton) that I call the slight *listnings* of *Gods* people to the *checks* of their *consciences*, their sinning against their *conscience*: for I speak not (saith he) of the sinning of *Gods* people against *conscience*, but of an *heretick* subverted, much less do I call their *slight listening* to *conscience* an *heretical* sinning against *conscience*, least of all do I say, that for *slight listening* to the *checks* of *conscience*, he may lawfully be persecuted as for sinning against his *conscience*. And he adds this *gall* to the former *vinegar*, Thus men that have time and *leasure* at will, set up *images* of *clouds*, and then shoot at them.

Truth.

1. The horrible abusing and profaning of that word Heretick. Great sins of Gods own children.

Truth. Master Cotton, elsewhere, granteth that *Gods children* may (through passion, &c.) be carried on to despise *admonition*, and may be *excommunicated*, and if so, how can they refusing of *Christs admonition* in the *church*, be excused from sinning against the self-condemning of themselves? For if a *child of God* may possibly be *excommunicated* for *obstinacy* in some *passion, temptations* &c. then may he be this *heretick* or *wilfull* man in this *Tit. 3.*

Tis true, that in an *houre* of great *temptations*, *Gods people* may sin against clear *light* of *conviction*, and *sentence* of *conscience*, as *David* and *Peter*, &c. But (as I conceive) the holy Spirit of God in this 3 of *Titns* intends not such a *clearness* of *self-condemning*, but either that the *admonitions* of the Lord are so evident and clear, that either if he in his own *conscience* before God improved them seriously and duely, they would clear up the *truth* of God unto him: or else the *checks* of *conscience* are such as are recorded to have been (*Cant. 5.*) in the *members* of *Christ*, in the *Church* of the *Jews*; and Master Cotton cannot render a sufficient reason, why they may not also be found in the *members* of the *churches* of the *Christians*.

Peace. I perceive indeed (dear truth) the wonderful effects of a *strange tongue*, in the *church* of *Christ*: The noise and sound of a *Greek word heretick*, in poor *English* eares, hath begot a *conclusion* that a person refusing once or twice *admonition* for some¹ point of *Doctrine*, is such an *heretick* or *monster*, that he cannot possibly be a *child of God*; whereas Master Cotton granting that a *child of God* may possibly refuse once and twice *admonition*, and so come to be *excommunicated*; What doth he then in plaine *English*, but say, that a *child of God* may be obstinate to *excommunication* or *rejection* (that is in *Greek*) be an *heretick*? And what is this but contrary to his former *Assertion*, that a *childe of God* cannot be heretically obstinate to *rejection*, &c.

Truth. Questionless no *child of God*, but in temptation, may sin *heretically*, that is, *obstinately* upon once or twice *admonition*, against the checks and whisperings of his own *conscience*, and against that evidence of *light*, which (afterward) he wondreth how he could despise: and this rejecting or casting forth of the visible *society* of *Christ Jesus* and his servants, is not for *destruction*

1. A child of God may possibly be an Heretick.

but *humiliation* and *salvation*, in the day of the *Lord Jesus*.

Peace. I judge, that no son of *peace*, in a sober and peaceable minde, can judge, as Master Cotton here doth, this to be an *image* of clouts.

Truth. Nor can I learn, that the discussers so abounded in time and *leasure*, as to make such *images* (as Master Cotton insinuates.) It is not unknown to many witnesses in *Plymmouth*, *Salem*, and *Providence*, that the discussers time hath not been spent (though as much as any others whosoever) altogether in spiritual labours, and publike *exercise* of the *word*, but day and night, at home and abroad, on the land and water, at the How, at the Oare, for bread; yea and I can tell, that when these *discussions* were prepared for publike in *London*, his time was eaten up in attendance upon the service of the *Parliament* and *City*, for the supply of the poor of the *City* with *wood* (during the stop of coale from *Newcastle*, and the mutinies of the poor for firing.) Tis true, he might have run the rode of *preferment*, as well in *Old* as *New England*, and have had the leasure and time of such who eat and drink with the *drunken*,¹ and smite with the fist of *wickedness* their fellow servants; But *God* is a most holy witness, that these *meditations* were fitted for publike view in change of *roomes* and *corners*, yea sometimes (upon occasion of travel in the *country*, concentering that business of *fuell*) in variety of strange *houses*, sometimes in the *fields*, in the midst of *travel*; where he hath been forced to gather and scatter his loose *thoughts* and *papers*.

Peace. Well (notwithstanding Master Cottons bitter censure) some persons of no contemptible *note* nor *intelligence*, have by letters from *England*, informed the *discusser*, that these *Images* of *clouts* it hath pleased *God* to make use of to stop no small *leakes* of *persecution*, that lately began to flow in upon dissenting *consciencs*, and (amongst others) to Master Cottons own, and to the *peace* and *quietness* of the *Independants*, which they have so long, and so wonderfully enjoyed.

Truth. I will end this Chapter, with that famous *distinction* of the *Lord Jesus*; ² *Digging*, *Begging*, *Stealing*, are the three wayes by the which all that pretend to be *Christs Stewards* are maintained. They that cannot *digg* can *begg* the glittering pre-fer-

1. For which service through the hurry of the times, and the necessity of his departure, he lost his recompence to this day. The straights of the discussers time in composing of the Bloody Tenent

2. * *I prejudice* | *not the free and* | *comfortable* | *supplies of tem-* | *porals, which* | *the Saints ought* | *to make for* | *their Teachers in* | *spiritual; only I affirme, that such as will not teach without money,* | *they must and do beg or steal.*

ferments of this present evil world, and the wages of *Balaam*. They that cannot *dig*, can *steal*, in the wayes of *fraud oppression*,¹ *extortion*, &c. But by the mercy of the most *high*, the *discusser* hath been inabled to get his bread by as hard *digging*, as most *diggers* in New or old *England* have been put to: and let all men judge, whether such as can *beg* or *steal* and cannot *dig*; or such as chuse neither to *beg* nor *steal*, but *dig*, have most time and leasure to make such *images* of clouts, &c.

Examination of CHAP. XV.

Peace.

IN this passage (Dear Truth) we hear a sound of *Agreement*; Master *Cotton* consenteth, that this third of *Titus* evinceth no *civil rejection*, but *excommunication* out of the *Church of Christ*; and he saith, That no sillable of his *conclusion* looks at more.

And whereas it might be objected, That *excommunication* cannot fitly be called *persecution*: he answers yes, and quotes *Luk. 21. 12. John 16. 2.*

Truth. Were it not for the fierce hands of angry *Esaus*, this shril sweet voice might pass for *Jacobs*. What ever Master *Cottons* ends and intentions were (of which I cannot but judge charitably) the eye of *God* alone discerneth, but for Master *Cottons words*, sillables and *arguings*, let all impartial *readers* and *consciences* judge of these four *considerations*.

First, Whether the word *persecution*, do not in all proper and ordinary speech signifie *penal* and *corporal* punishment and affliction.

2. Whether the point in question agitated between the *prisoner* and Master *Cotton* throughout the book, concern not only *penal*² and *corporal* affliction: and whether it can be imagined, that the *prisoner*, or the *discusser*, or any that plead for the *purity* of *Christs ordinances*, could ever plead against *excommunicating* an *heretick* or wilful offendor out of the *Church of Christ*: And although the Scriptures by Master *Cotton* quoted, do mention *ex-*
commu-

1. Christ Jesus his distinction of Diggers, Beggars, Stealers.

2. Persecution, not properly, nor usually taken for any spiritual punishment.

communication, as an unjust oppression; yet they speak also of *corporal afflictions*, *imprisonments*, bringing before *judgement-seats*, and killing also.

3. It could be told in what *countrey*, at a publike sentence of *banishment* of a certaine person, a text of Scripture, *Rom. 16. 17.* (parrallel with this of *Tit. 3.*) was alleadged by the chief judge in court for a ground (not of *spiritual excommunication*, but) of *civil*, out of the *Commonweal*.

4. Were it not more for the name of *God*, for the honour of his *truth*, and the comfort of Master *Cotton*, plainly and ingenuously to acknowledge his misapplying of this holy Scripture of *Tit. 3.* then to cover it by so thin and poor a plea, *viz.* that he intends by *persecution*, *excommunication* out of the *Church* of *Christ*?

Examination of CHAP. XVI.

Peace.

MASTER *Cotton* here grants a *toleration* to *Jews*, *Turkes*, *Pagans*, yea and *Antichristians*, with one exception, to wit, so that they continue not to seduce &c.

Truth. But it must be remembred, that before and after he maintaines *persecution* against *Apostates*, *blasphemers*, and *idolators*, and then who knows not how all these four sorts, *Jews*, *Turkes*, *Pagans*, and *Antichristians*, are full of *blasphemy* and *idolatry*? Now in case rhey seduce not, they are to be persecuted as *idolaters* and *blasphemers*, how then are they to be tolerated?

Peace. It could not be (had not this holy man been catcht with sipping at the bloody cup of the great *whore*) that Master *Cottons affirmations* and *doctrines* should thus quarrel among themselves.

But further, I see not the equality of his yoaking the *Oxe* and the *Asse* together, when he further coupleth *seducing* of people into *worship* of false *Gods*, *confidence* of a mans own *merit*, &c. (which are *spiritual matters*) with *seducing* into *seditious conspiracies* against the *lives* and *estates* of such Princes

as

as will not submit their *conscience* to the *Bishop of Rome*.

Truth. Your observation (*dear peace*) is seasonable; the former are meer *Religious* and *spiritual*, the latter are meerly *civil*, against which the *civil state* is bound to defend it self with *civil weapons*.

Peace. In the next place Master Cotton chargeth the *discusser* with want of *reason truth*, and *candor*, for observing how unfitly those Scriptures of *Phil. 3. Rom. 14.* are produced to prove a *tolleration* of lesser errors: And he affirms, that he never intended, that what the *Churches* might not tolerate, the *Cities* might not, &c.

Truth. The point is *tolerating* or *persecuting* by the *civil state*; whatever therefore be Master Cottons intentions, it is apparent, unless the *Cities* and *Churches* of *Rome* and *Philippi* be¹ confounded together (as commonly they are in *case of persecution*) I say it is then apparent that there is no Scripture brought for the *civil state* its *tolerating* of *points* of lesser moment, nor are these *Scriptures* brought to any purpose in hand, but prophaned.

Peace. But observe his *Argument*, The *civil state* tollerates petty *thieves* and *lyers*, to live in *Towns, Cities* &c.

Truth. No well ordered *State* or *City* can suffer petty *Theeves* and *lyers* without some *punishment*, and we know how severely in the *State of England*, even *thieves* have been punished even² with *death* it self; but Master Cotton is against such *cruelty*, for he pleades for tollerating of lesser errors, even in points of *Religion* and *worship*.

2. If *tollerating* of lesser *errours* be granted upon this ground, *viz.* till *God* may be pleased to manifest his *truth*; is not the same a ground for *tollerating* of greater, as the holy *spirit of God* argues 2 *Tim. 2.* trying if *God* may be pleased to give *repentance*?

Peace. Yea but (saith he) the greater will *infect*, and so is more dangerous, and the *tolleration* is the more unmerciful and cruel to the souls of many.

Truth. *Lyars* and *Theeves* infect also, even the *Civil state*, and a little *leaven* will leaven the whole lump, and therefore as the *Commonweal* ought not upon that ground to tollerate petty

G

Theeves

1. Examination of *Phil. 3.* and *Rom. 14.*

2. Very severe, but not Christian, more then Judaical punishment of *Theeves* in England.

theeves and lyars, so hath *Christ Jesus* provided in his holy *kingdom* and *City* against lesser evils, and upon this ground, that a little *leaven* will leaven the whole lump. But yet *Christ Jesus* hath not spoken (where he gives command for this thing to the *Corinthians* or *Galatians*, that such persons so leavened, should (together with their being put out of the *Church* for obstinacy in a little *leaven*) be put out of the *world* or *civil state*: (The one (the *Church* (being his *Garden*, the other, the *Commonweal*, being the high wayes, *Field*, &c. the proper place for men as men to abide in.)

Examination of CHAP. XVII.

Peace.

CONCERNING the holding forth of error with an arrogant and boisterous *spirit* to the disturbance of *civil* peace, Master *Cotton* moderates the matter, that he would not have such put to *death*, unless the *civil peace* be destroyed, to the *destruction* of the *lives* and *souls* of men.

Truth. I cannot but here first observe the confounding of *heaven*¹ and earth together, the *Church* and the *world*, *lives* and *souls*, &c. as if all were of *one nature*.

2. Neither blessed *Paul*, nor I, need to be accused of *cruelty* in that grant of *Paul*, if alleadged (*Acts* 25.) for there will not be found ought but a willingness to bear a righteous sentence of *death* in some crimes committed against the *civil state*.

3. Master *Cotton* may here observe, how justly (as he speaks of the *heretick*) he condemnes himself, for it is too bloody a *Tenent* (saith he) that every man that holdeth *error* in a boisterous and arrogant way, to the disturbance of *civil peace*, ought to be punished with *death*. Is not this the whole scope of his discourse from *Deut.* 13. and other abrogated repealed *laws*, to prove (what was just and righteous in the land of *Israel*) so bloody a *Tenent* and course to be enforced in all *Nations* all the world over?

Peace. Master *Cotton* excepteth against that speech [But if the
matter

1. The civil and spiritual life confounded.

suffered in all ages the true *messengers* of *Christ Jesus*. Thus cryed they out, *Acts* 17. These are they that have turned the *world upside down*, and are come hither also; and thus did they set the *City* all on an uproare. And *Acts* 19. not the *worshippers* of *Christ* fill'd the whole *City* with *confusion*, but the worshipers of *Diana*, who filled the *heavens* with that *Bedlam Outery* of two houres continuance, Great is *Diana* of the *Ephesians*.

Truth. With as little *reason* and *peaceableness* of *spirit* hath¹ our *English Nation* used to cry Great is the *Church* of *Rome*, Great is our holy *Father* the *Pope*, Great the *Mass*, Great the *Virgin Mary*, Great the *General Councils* &c. And in later times, Great the *Church* of *England*, Great the *Christian Magistrate*, Great the *Ministry* and *Bishops* of *England*, Great the *swearing* and *covenant* of the people, &c. and such as dissent from us in these *points* and *practices*, persecute them as *hereticks*, and *disturbers* of the *common civil peace*.

Peace. In the rest of this Chapter, Master Cotton makes three *grants* with his *exceptions* annexed.

Truth. Please you (*dear peace*) to mention them in one, and accordingly I shall weigh them in the *balance* together.

Peace. 1. Saith he, The many *causes* which the *discusser* before wrote of, are all of them allowed, but none of them concern holding forth of *errors*, which is the point in hand.

2. Saith he, It is easily granted that *they* do break the *Cities*² or *kingdoms peace*, who cry out for *prisons* and *swords* against such who cross their *judgement* or *practice* in *religion*, to wit, saith he, unless their *religion* be of *God*, and the crossing of it be such as destroyeth and *subverteth* the *Religion* of *God*.

3. It is also easily granted (saith he) that many complaine most who are most in fault themselves.

Truth. To these three I may answer thus in one. The *Mystery* of *preaching* or holding forth the witness of the *Truth* of *Jesus*, is interpreted by many to be the *Mystery* of the first seal, the *white horse*; and the being *persecuted* or slaughtered for the word of *God* and testimony of *Jesus*, to be the *Mystery* of the third seal, where the souls under the *Altar* cry to the *Lord* for *vengeance* against their *persecutors*. These *mysteries* are sealed up, and they are the *Lords letters*, not to be opened and read by every one

1. English Diana's.

2. Gross partiality to private interests.

one, but (as sealed *letters* be) by such to whom they are directed.

Peace. It follows therefore, that in the midst of all the cries of *Iews, Pagans, Turkes, and Antichristians* [Our *Religion* is the *Religion of God*: You are an *heretick*, you are a *persecutor*, We are true *Christians*, we are *persecuted*, &c.] that the hearts of *Gods* children must be comforted and staid up with the sight of this *Mystery*. And doubtless it is most commonly (though not alwayes) true, that the imprisoned, fined, whipt, banished, hanged, burned, &c. in point of *Religion* have been so inhumanely oppressed for the word of *God* and the *Testimony of Iesus*.

Our own *Chronicles, Records of England*, and blessed Master *Fox* will in part evidence to us, that scarce a *King* or *Queen* of¹ *England* hath past since *Richard* the second his time, but the blood of the witnesses of *Iesus* more or less hath been spilt in their *Raignes*, as the blood of *Hereticks, Schismatics* &c. and but few drops of the blood of any *Heretick* indeed have faln to the ground.

Truth. The *discusser* therefore humbly (to my knowledge) desireth according to Master *Cottons* wish to reflect upon his own² way, and humbly to beg of *God* two things for himself, and all in any measure *censured* and *persecuted* as *hereticks*.

First, *Iosephs* *innocency, purity, chastity*, in all those *points* and *questions* wherein they are *charged* and *condemned unclean*.

Secondly, *Iesephs* *patience* to bear the *accusations, censures, imprisonments* &c. from the *tongues* and *hands* of them who are notoriously *unclean* and *guilty* before the *zealous* and *revenging* eye and hand of *God*.

CHAP.

1. England in all Ages guilty of much persecution.

2. Two seasonable petitions of any perscouted.

Examination of CHAP. XVIII.

Peace.

MAny of the following leaves and Chapters (*dear truth*) are spent upon that great and heavenly *parable* of the *Tares*, a *knot* about which so many holy fingers, dead and living, have been so laboriously exercised, all professing to untie, yet some by seeming to untie, have tyed the *knot* the faster.

Truth. It is no wonder (*sweet peace*) to finde Master Cotton so intangled both in his *answers* and *replies* touching this Parable; for men of all sorts in former ages, have been so intangled before¹ him: To which purpose, with thy patience I shall relate a notable passage recorded by that excellent *witness* (or Martyr) of God, Master Fox in his book of *Acts* and *Monuments*: tis this. In the story of Master George Wisehart (that famous *Scotch witness* of Christ Iesus) in the dayes of King Henry the eighth, there preached at the arraignment of the said Wiseheart, one Iohn Winryme, *subprior* of the *Abbey* of Saint Andrews, he discoursed on the Parable of the *Tares*, he interpreted the *Tares* to be *hereticks*; and yet contrary to this very Scripture (as Master Fox himself observeth, though elsewhere himself also maintaining it the duty of the *civil Magistrate* to suppress *hereticks*) I say the said Winryme² concludeth that *hereticks* ought not to be let alone until the harvest, but to be *supprest* by the power of the *civil Magistrate*: So that memorable it is that both the *Popish Prior*, and that truly *Christian Fox*, were intangled in *contradictions* to their own *writings* about the interpreting of this Heavenly Scripture.

Peace. O what cause therefore have all that follow *Iesus* to beg of *Iesus* (as the *Disciples* did) the blessed *Key* of David to unloose this holy *mystery*? In the entrance therefore of this *discourse*, the *discusser* observing Master Cottons *exposition* to be fallacious, and the *Tares* to be interpreted, either *persons*, or *doctrines*, or *practices*, he blames that Master Cotton gives no argument for proof of such an interpretation: Master Cotton replies.

First, Neither did the *Author* of the letter give *reason* for his interpretation.

1. The Parable of the Tares.

2. The Parable of Tares grosly abused.

terpretation. 2. That they both gave *one interpretation*. For the *Author* of the *letter* said, that some expounded the *Wheat* and *Tares*, to signifie such as walk in *truth*, and such as walk in *lyes*: now are not (saith Master Cotton) *hypocrites* and some corrupt *doctrines* and *practices* coincident with such as walk in *lyes*, &c?

Truth. I answer, First it might be both their failing, not to strengthen their *interpretations* with some *light* and evidence from *Scripture* or *reason*, although the *Prisoners* failing the less, as being forced to write by *shifts* and *difficulties* in *prison*, and so the shorter, when Master Cotton had free *liberty* to enlarge and confirm without control, &c.

2. When the *prisoner* interprets the *Tares* to be such as walk in *lyes*, it will be found evident upon examination, that he meaneth such as manifestly, openly, visibly walk in the true *profession* of *Christianity*; and such as openly and visibly walk in the *lyes* of false and *Antichristian doctrine* and *worship*. That distinction of secret and open Hypocrisie is seasonable: *secret*, implies such a *dissimulation* as may lie hid under the true *outward profession* of *Christ Jesus*, as in *Judas*, *Simon Magus*, *Ananias* and *Sapphira* &c. Open *hypocrisie* implies the profession of the *man of sin*, sitting in the *Temple of God* (or over the *Temple of God*) pretending the *Name of Christ*, and yet apparantly and visibly, false and counterfeit, and but pretending, when such *pretences* and *shewes* are brought to the *Touchstone* of true *Christianity*.

Peace. Your *observation* is true, as also a second, That these hypocritical *doctrines* and *practices* are to be tollerated to the end of the world, this he sets down in *general*, not instancing in particular what *doctrine* and *practises* are to be tollerated: and on the other hand, the whole drift of his *Booke* maintaineth, that such *persons*, *doctrines* or *practices*, that are *idolatrous*, or *blasphemous*, or *infectious*, are not to be tollerated or permitted at all; which *passages* to my understanding have not *harmony* among themselves: For what is all the whole *Religion* of every *Antichrist*, but a *Mass* or *Chaos* of *Hypocrisie*, *Idolatry*, *Heresie*, *Blasphemy*, *Poysons*? &c.

Besides, Master Cotton had dealt more plainly with this holy *Scripture*, if he had explained what he meant by such *doctrines* and

1. Hypocrisie secret and open hypocrisie.

and *practises* [comming neer the *truth*] and set down the *bounds*, how neer as to make them *Tares*.

Truth. Dear Peace, Who knows not that the *weeds* of the *wilderness* come neer the *flowers* of the *Garden*, the *counterfeit* may come neer the *life*, and the false *mettal* the true *gold*? And though it be true that some *doctrines* and *practices* be not so *gross* as other, yet they differ but (as the *Scripture* speaks) as *whores* and *whoremongers*, amongst themselves; some are more *proper*, and *fine*, and *young*, and *painted*; some are *old*, *deformed* &c. And yet the *finest weeds*, *counterfeits* and *whores* are unsufferable in the *Garden*,¹ in the *Commonweale*, *house*, and *bed* of *Christ*: Though yet in the *civil Commonweale*, the vilest *spiritual strumpet* may challenge a civil Being, if in *civil* things unproveable.

Examination of CHAP. XIX.

Peace.

BUt in this Chapter, Master Cotton in the issue granteth, that the *Tares* signifie *persons*, by *Christs* own interpretation: For [them that do *iniquity*] may seem to be an explanation of πάντα τὰ σκάνδαλα, All *scandals*, that is, *persons* holding forth of *scandalous* and *corrupt doctrines* and *practices*, like unto true and sound.

Truth. Yet withall he chargeth the discusser with *lightness* and *inconstancy*, for endeavouring to prove that *corrupt doctrines* and *practices* are not to be tollerated, and yet, saith he, the *discusser* pleades that such *persons* ought to be tollerated. Whereas the discusser twice in this Chapter expresly distinguisheth between *tolleration* in the *Church*, and *tolleration* in the *world*, and affirmeth, that although the *Church of Christ Jesus* cannot tolerate either *persons* or *practices* which are false and *Antichristian*, yet the *civil state*, the *world*, ought to tolerate and permit both.

And therefore Master Cottons inconsiderate charge of *contradiction* will not stick, because of those divers *respects* or *States*, the *spiritual* and *civil*, as it was no *contradiction* in *Christ Iesus*, to affirme that *Iohn Baptist* was *Elias*, when *Iohn* himself affirmeth, that he was not *Elias*: For in several respects the

Negative

1. Spiritual whoredome in worship may and doth in all Nations subsist with Civil Beings, Relations, &c.

Negative of *John*, and the Affirmative of *Jesus* were both true.

Examination of CHAP. XX.

Peace.

IN this passage (to my understanding) Master *Cotton* after much seeming *contestation* and *disagreement*, yet in conclusion he shakes hands and agrees with the *discusser* in the maine point in question.

Truth. Your *observation* reacheth home; for let it be granted, that the *Greek* word Ζιζινία should not signifie All *weeds* sprung up with the *wheat*, but one kind of weed, and that in special which Master *Cotton* saith *Dioscorides* describeth: Let it be granted to be the same with *Lolium*, and that there is a great *similitude* between the *Tares* and the *Wheat*, while they are in the¹ blade (some of which particulars are *controversial*;) yet it no way opposeth that which the *discusser* maintaineth, to wit, the easiness of discerning these *tares* to be *tares*, when they are grown up to blade and fruit. And therefore Master *Cotton* at the last, confesseth that even these *tares* (*unknown hypocrites*) (according to his own *exposition*) ought to be suffered in the *church* of *Christ* to the *harvest* or end of the *world*.

Peace. I cannot but wonder how Master *Cotton* should once imagine, that it might possibly stand with the *order*, *piety*, and *safety* of the *profession* of *Christ Jesus*, that such a *generation* of known *hypocrites* should be perpetually suffered.

Truth. Doubtless the *Lord Jesus* was not of Master *Cottons* minde, who so vehemently warned his *followers* to take heed of the *leaven* of *hypocrisie*. Beside, if known *hypocrites* may be suffered and not cast out, Why may not known *hypocrites* be taken in? And what is then become of the true *matter* of the *church*, to wit, true *living stones* of a *spiritual life* and *nature*, so far as outwardly can be discerned?

Peace. This *assertion* hath so foule a *representation*, that Master *Cotton* is forced to draw this *vaile* over, and therefore he adds, untill the *fruits* of *hypocrites* grow *notoriously scandalous*.

H

Truth.

1. Of the Tares.

Truth. I cannot fathom how these two agree: First, known *hypocrites* may be tolerated untill the *worlds* end; 2. *Tolerated* no longer, then untill the *fruits* of the *hypocrisie* grow *notoriously scandalous*: For will not all *reason* and *experience* ask this *question*: How comes it that this *friend*, *subject*, and *Spouse* of *Christ* is now a known *dissembler*, *traitor*, *whore*, unless by some *scandalous fruits* so declaring and uncasing of them? If the shameful fruits of the unclean person, 1 *Cor.* 5. were sufficient to denominate him a *wicked person*, why were they not sufficient to warrant *Paul* to say, *Put away* therefore that *wicked person* from amongst you?

Peace. But let us mind the Scripture quoted: If (saith Master Cotton) foolish *Virgins* be cast out of the *church*, the *wise Virgins* may be found sometimes sleeping as well as they.

Truth. Neither *good wheate*, nor *wise Virgins* are to be cast out of the *church of Christ*, while they appear to be so: yet since¹ Master Cotton elsewhere grants, that a child of *God* (*good wheat*, and a *wise Virgin*) may so stand out against the *church of Christ* (in some passion) that he may be cast out. &c. How much more then ought the *tares* and *foolish Virgins* (while so appearing) be excluded?

2. If the *wise Virgins* be received into *heaven*, as the *foolish* shut out, will it not evidently follow (even the contrary to that for which Master Cotton alleadgeth this Scripture) to wit. That when *hypocrites* are discovered, they are to be *kept* out, and consequently to be *cast* out of the *church of Christ*? except Master Cotton will say, that the *kingdome of Christ* on *earth*, may receive and keep in her *bosome* such stinking *weed*es, declared so to be, which the *kingdome of Christ* in *heaven* abhors.

Who questions, but while the *hypocrisie* of these *foolish Virgins* lay hid in their empty *vessels*, that outwardly they appeared as *wise* as the *wise Virgins*? But when the *fruits* of their *hypocrisie* discovered them to be *fools*, how can Master Cotton (according to the truth as it is in *Jesus*) affirme, that *foolish Virgins* (*known hypocrites*) are to be kept in and not cast out of the *church of Christ* unto the end of the *world*?

Peace. O how contrary is this to the very *fundamentals*, *essence*, *nature* and *being* of a *church* or *Spouse of Christ Jesus*,
which

1. Of the wise and foolish Virgins.

which is (by the *confession* of *Papists* and *Protestants*) a *society* of *wise Virgins*, visibly *Saints* holy and faithful persons, a *society* of such persons as outwardly profess to love *Christ Jesus* uprightly (*Cant.* 1.) and to be espoused to him, 1 *Cor.* 11.

Truth. Yea, and how contrary is this to the nature of *Christ Iesus*, whose *heart* is all one *fire* towards the *daughters* of *Ierusalem* (*Cant.* 4.) and how contrary to the *charge*, that great and¹ solemn *charge* of the *Lord Iesus* to all his followers, to take heed of that *leaven* which is *hypocrisie*, which if suffered, will leaven the whole *lumpe*, and render the *garden* and *spouse* of *Christ* a filthy *dunghill* and *whore-house* of rotten and stinking *whores* and *hypocrites*.

Examination of CHAP. XXI.

Peace.

MASTER Cotton here endeavors to prove (as many have done before) that the *Field* which the *Lord Iesus* interprets the *world*, was meant by him to be the *Church*, as he is said to love the *world*, *Iohn* 3. to be propitiation for the sins of the *world*, 1 *Ioh.* 2.

Truth. In these and many other places of like nature, it pleaseth the *Spirit of God* to set forth his *love* to *mankinde*, distinct from all other *creatures*: As also the *impartiality* of his *love*, calling his chosen out of all sorts of *sinners*, *mankinde* all the *world* over: and yet it cannot be denyed, but that the *Scriptures* speak frequently² of the *world* and of the *church* in a far distinct and contrary *acceptation*. So, as when he nameth the *church*, it cannot signify the *world*; and when the *world*, he cannot be said to intend the *church*, the *reasons* therefore on either side must be expended and weighed in the fear of *God*, why the *Field* here called by *Christ* the *world*, cannot be intended to be the *church* of *Christ*.

Peace. Your *right distinguishing*, is a *right dividing* of the *word* of *Truth*; but (saith Master Cotton) it cannot be the *world* in proper signification; for which he aleadgeth three reasons.

H 2

First,

1. No true church of Christ consisting of visible hypocrites.

2. The field of the World.

First. Because there had been (saith he) no place for the servants wonder at the appearing of the *tares* verse 27. for what wonder that the *world* should be so full of *fornicators*, &c? Was it ever otherwise?

Truth. It is true, that the *world* lyeth in *wickedness*, and is full of *fornicators*, *idolaters* &c. and yet it was some thousands of yeers when the world was not full of *Christian*, that is, *anointed*, or *holy fornicators*, *holy idolaters* &c. That is indeed and truth *Antichristian*, and that alone is the point in question, about which this answer of Master *Cotton* hovers, but comes not neer it. This is indeed a most dreadful and *wonderful point* of the *wisdome*, *justice*, and *patience* of *God*, so to suffer so many *millions* of men and women, to arrogate to themselves the *name* and *profession* of the most *holy living God*, and his *holy Son Christ Iesus*, to be called *Christians*, *anointed* or *holy*, and yet upon the point to hate the *holiness*, *truth*, and *spirit* of *Christ Iesus*.

Truth. This is doubtless to me (what ere Master *Cotton* imagines) a wonderful *mystery* in all *Ages* since these *tares* were first sown, to see, I say, so many *millions* of *holy idolaters*, *holy murderers*, *holy whoremongers*, *holy thieves* &c.

The *blasphemy* of this is so wonderful and dreadful, that I cannot sufficiently *wonder* at him that *wonders*, not how this comes to pass.

Truth. The like I answer to his second *Reason*, that it is true that we read not that ever any of the *Ministers* or *Prophets* of *Christ* ever essayed to pluck up all such *vicious* notorious persons out of the *world*, as they demanded concerning the *tares*, for then indeed as the *Spirit* implies, 1 *Cor.* 5. the whole state of the *world* would be overthrown; but yet this hinders not, but there may be a *desire* in *Gods servants* to pluck up this or that sect or sort of people, *Jews*, *Turks*, or *Antichristians*.

Peace. Dear *Truth*, you make me call to minde the desire of *Christs disciples*, that fire might descend from *heaven*, not to consume all *fornicators*, *idolaters*, all *cruel* and *unclean persons* out of the *world*, yet that *particular*, *unmerciful*, *superstitions Town* of the *Samaritans*, they desired that *fire* might come from *heaven* and consume them.

Truth. Indeed this *desire* of the *disciples* is no strange *desire*,
for

1. The mystery of Antichristians or false Christians.

for what else do All they desire, which permit not in the *civil state*,¹ any *Religion, worship* or *conscience* but their own? Nay far beyond that, were the whole *worlds neck* under their imperial *yoake* (the many *millions* of *millions* of *blasphemers*, and *idolaters* of all sorts) if they will not be convinced at their *word*, must be cut off from all *natural* and *civil* being in the world, by *Fire* and *Sword*.

Peace. His third reason is, That the discusser reckoned up as paralel *goats* and *sheep*, *wheate* and *tares* (as generally, said he, others do) and he addeth, that in the purest *church* after the *ruine* of *Antichrist*, there shall be *goats* and *sheep*, *wise* and *foolish Virgins*, untill the coming of *Christ* to judgement, *Mat. 25*.

Truth. Although the discusser spake of that eternal *separation* between *wheat* and *tares*, *sheep* and *goats* approaching; yet he never said, that the *tares* and *goats* signified *hypocrites* in the Church, which is the point in *question*: Nor dare I subscribe to that opinion, that after the *destruction* of *Antichrist*, when purest times of the *church* shall come, that there shall be such a mixt estate in the *church* of *Christ*, untill the *coming* of *Christ* to judgement.

For first, Although *goats* were clean for *food* and *sacrifice*, yet it is apparant, that as they are for the *left hand*, So they are visibly known by every child, where *goats* and *sheep* are kept. And to image that visible *hypocrites*, such as *tares goats*, *unprofitable servants*, *foolish Virgins* &c. shall in a mixt way make up *Christs churoh*, and that in the purest times of the *church*, of which there are so many and wonderful *prophecies*, is to me not onely to frame a *church estate* point blank cross to the purity of those *churches*, but even to the first *Apostolical churches*, yea and against that *frame* of *church estate* in *New England*, where Master Cotton hath professed (though now it is said the door is wider) against receiving in such members as are visibly *foolish Virgins*, *goats* &c.

Peace. Master Cottons second answer is, that if the Field be the *world*, as the *tares Antichristians* and false *Christians*, yet they were first sown in the field of the *church*.

Truth. Not so: for although there might be many *infirmities* and *distempers*, yea some great *corruptions* in the first *Christian*

1. Master Cotton knows not his own desire.

stian body the church of Christ; notwithstanding that Antichrist is an Apostate, yet it will not follow, that the tares were first sown in¹ the true church, because Sathan might easily raise up some professors of the name of Christ, which the true church would never admit. And as Sathan might raise up persons, congregations, worships, which were not according to Christ; So might he easily raise up churches, congregations and societies of such tares with whom the churches of Christ might refuse society. So saith John, There are many Antichrists, whom yet we cannot well imagine that they were in the churches of the Lord Jesus.

There came false Apostles to the Church at Ephesus, but yet that church examined and found them lyars. And so long as the churches were watchful, those tares kept in the world. But when the churches began to be sleepy, the Tares might undiscerned creep into the church

This may be as well, as when Apostates fall off from the church, go out from it, because they were never of it: and also as well as that the church of Christ may drowsily neglect to purge out the old leaven of persons and things, which may soon overspread and over-run the whole lumpe and garden of the church of Christ, untill it be turned againe into one common field of the world together.

Peace. Master Cottons third answer is, That Antichristians must not be tolerated unto the end of the world, because God will put it into the heart of faithful princes to hate the whore; and after that, we read of a visible state of New Jerusalem before the end of the world, Rev. 20. 21, 22.

Truth. It is not said, that those princes that shall hate the whore shall be faithful princes: and since Master Cotton seems to hold that by way of ordinance (and so in obedience) the Kings of the earth shall with the sword destroy Antichrist, I desire his proof for any such prophecy. For,

1. It is not said, that God will put it into their hearts, to hate the whore. And we finde that they shall hate the lambe, as well as hate the whore. For they shall make war with the lambe, and the lamb shall overcome them, as comes to pass after the ruine of the whore, Rev. 19.

2. Judgement may be executed upon the whore by way of mutual

1. The first rise of Antichristians argued.

mutual *judgement* each upon others, when in the midst of their *spiritual whoredoms*, and *drunkenness* with the *Saints blood*,¹ they shall fall out with the *whore* (as useth to be in *whoredome*) and turn their *whorish loves* into *outragious fury*; and the very description of their fury looks this way, for it is not the property of *sober* and *faithful* men (though repenting of their whoredoms) to make a *woman* naked (though a *whore*) and to eat her *flesh*, as it is said, those shall do.

But grant (as we most hopefully do) the *whores consumption* by the ten hornes of the *Beast*, and the flourishing of new *Jerusalem* upon the earth (*Rev.* 20. 21, 22.) before the end of the world (all which are great disputes among the people of God) yet I judge it necessary that two or three *queries* be satisfied for the further clearing of the holy minde of the *Lord* in this particular.

1. Whether (as some have and do argue) the end of the *world* in this Parable and other Scriptures do expresly and undeniably signifie the end of the world and *judgement-day* literally, and not some other mystical *period of time*, since the word Αἰών (usually translated *world*) is of various *signification*, and sometimes signifies and *Age*.

2. Whether those ten *Kings* which shall destroy the *whore*, shall be absolutely *Christian*, true *Saints*, followers of *Jesus* they and their Armies, or else remaining *Antichristian* hornes of the *Beast*, shall yet execute the *judgement* of God upon the great *whore*: as *Jehu* remaining both hypocritical and idolatrous, yet dashe out the braines of that great whore *Iezabel*, and executed *judgement* upon *Baals Priests*: yea and even as *Henry* the eighth tumbled the *Pope* out of his *chaire* in *England*, and thousands of his Popelings with him, he supprest and threw the *whore Iezabel* the *church* of *Rome* out of *Englands* window, and yet continued to burn the *Saints* of *Iesus* upon his six Popish and bloody *Articles*.

3. Whether that mighty *Army* of *Gog* and *Magog*, which is mustered up after the thousand yeers raigne of *Christ*, be not in part made up of the ten hornes, even after the whore of *Romes consumption* (as before in *Henry* the eighth his case) which horns with their peoples *Christ* will have yet to be tolerated as *Tares* in

1. The judgement of the great whore.

in the field of the *world*, though not in the Church of *Christ*.

Peace. What think you of Master *Cottons* grant, that the first fruits of *Antichristians* may be *tares* sown in the field of the *church*, which afterwards grow to be *Briars* and *Thornes*?

Truth. I observe that to be *tares*, of *Antichristian* worshippers, and *briars* and *thornes* (*oppressors* and *persecutors*) are both of them of a false and *Antichristian* nature, which ought to be far from imitation of the *Rose of Sharon*, or the *Lily of the vallies*.

But 2. Are there no *tares*, that is, hypocrites, but in the *church*; and must all the *briars* and *thornes* (*oppressors* and *persecutors*, &c.) have no root from the wilde world, but from the garden of *Christs church*?

Peace. Now whereas it was urged, that it stood not with the *wisdom*e and *love* of *Christ*, interpreting this parable, and opening what the field was, to call the *field* the *world*, when he meant the *church*: Master *Cotton* answers, that *Paul* by the same *wisdom*e useth the same word, 2 *Cor.* 5. God was in *Christ* reconciling the *world* unto himself.

Truth. *Paul* in using that figure of the *world* for all sorts of men in the *world*, doth not undertake to interpret a *Parable*, which before he had proposed unto (and at the request of) the *Corinthians*, as the *Lord Iesus* doth at the request of his *disciples*.

And where Master *Cotton* saith, that it is no more an improper speech to call the *church* the *world*, then to speak of *Christ* as dying for the *world*, when he dyed for the *church*.

Truth. I finde it not to be said, that *Christ* died for the *world*, but grant that it hath pleased the *Lord* in his most infinite *wisdom*e, to cause the tearm of the *world* to be used in various significations; yet let any instance be given of any *Scripture*, wherein the *Lord* opposing the *church* to the *world*, the *wheat* to *tares*, doth not distinguish between the *church* redeemed out of the *world*, and the *world* it self, which is said to lye in *wickedness*, and to be such as for which *Christ Iesus* would not pray, *Iohn* 17.

CHAP.

Examination of CHAP. XXII.

Peace.

IN this Chapter was urged the *scope* of the *Lord Jesus*, to wit, *I*to foretell the *Antichristian state* opposing the true *Christian*¹ *church* and *worship* as also to comfort and strengthen the *hearts* of his *followers*, against the *grievances* arising therefrom; and where it was urged that the *church* consisteth onely of good ground, and that the three sorts of Bad ground visibly so declared, are properly in the *world*, and not in the *church*, Master Cotton answers,

First, Did not *Christ* preach to all these sorts of *hearers* in the *church* of the *Jews*?

Truth. That *national church* of the *Jews*, in its first *visible constitution*, consisted onely of good ground. Now that the other² three sorts of *hearers* were in the *church* of the *Jews*, it was an *accident* and *corruption*: when they grew incurable, and received not the *admonitions* of the *Lord*, by the *Lord Iesus* and his *servants*, preaching unto them, the *Lord* cast them out of his sight, destroyed that *nationall church*, and established the *Christian church*.

Now what is this to the permitting of known *hypocrites* in the *Christian church* to the worlds end? since that the proper seat of *known hypocrisie*, and of all other *wickedness*, is the *world*, which indeed properly consisteth of the three sorts of *Bad ground*, as the *church* and *Garden* of *Christ*, of the *honest* and *good ground*.

Peace. But further, If (saith Master Cotton) the children of the *church*-members be in the *church*, then they growing up to yeers, become some of them like the *high-way*, and some like the *stony*, and some like the *thorny ground*.

Truth. Admit the *Christian church* were constituted of the *natural seed* and *off-spring* (which yet Master Cotton knows will never be granted to him, and I believe will never be proved by him:) yet he knows, that upon the *discovery* of any such portion of *ground* in the *church*, the *church* is bound to admonish, and

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1. Christs Church by institution properly consisting of good ground.

2. The nature of Jewish Church.

upon *impenitency* (after *admonition*) to cast them into the *world*, the proper place of such kind of hearers and professors.

Peace. Master *Cotton* proceeds to a third answer, to wit, Though it be not the proper work of the *church* to bring up their own children to become the sincere people of *God*, And *Christ* hath given his Church and his *Gospel* preached to it, to lye like *leaven* in three pecks of meal, till all be leavened, *Mat.* 13. 31. And he hath given *Pastors* and *Teachers*, as well for the gathering of the *Saints*, as for the *edification* of the *Body* of *Christ*.

Truth. I answer, the proper work of the *Pastors* and *Teachers*, is to feed the *sheep* and *flock*, and not the *Heards*, the *wild Beasts* in the world. And although it is the duty of parents to bring up their children in the nurture and *fear* of the *Lord*; yet what if those children refuse to frequent the *Assemblies* of the Church, and what if those three sorts of *bad ground* or hearers will not come within the *bounds* of the *Pastors* and *Teachers* feeding; hath not the *Lord Iesus* appointed other Officers (in the same *Ephes.* 4.) for the gathering of the *Saints*, that is *sending* out of the Church of *Christ*, *Apostles*, or *Messengers*, to preach *Christ Iesus* to the three sorts of *bad ground*, to labour to turn them into *good ground*?

But alas, to salve up all this, the *civil sword* is commonly run for, to force all *sorts* of ground to come to *church*, instead of the *sending* forth (*Rom.* 10.) the *heavenly sowers*, according to the Ordinance of *Christ Iesus*.

Peace. But what say you to his fourth answer, *viz.* There is no such *Resemblance* between the *high-way-ground* and *good ground*, as between the *Tares* and the *wheate*, nor would the servants wonder at *Tares* in the *high-way*, nor ask about their plucking up.

Truth. I answer, Let the *high-way*, *stony*, and *thorny ground* be considered in their several *qualities* of *prophaneness*, *stouiness* and *worldliness*, and all the *sons of men* throughout the whole *world* naturally are such; and tis no wonder, nor would the *servants* of *Christ* be so troubled, as to desire their plucking up out of the *world*. But yet againe consider all these sorts of men as professing the *name* and *anointing* of *Christ Iesus* in a false and coun-

1. The nature of Christs true Apostles.

counterfeit *Antichristian* way, and then it may well be wondred, whence such monstrous kind of *Christians* or *anointed ones*¹ arose: And *Gods* people may easily be tempted rather to desire their rooting out of the *world*, then the rooting out of any such sorts of ground or men professing any other *Religion*, *Jewish*, *Mahometan* or *Pagan*, *Antichristian* and false *Christians* being more opposite to the *kingdome* of *Christ Jesus*, and more dangerous, by how much more a *counterfeit* and *Traytor* is worse then a professed *Fox*, an *Antichristian* (whether *Papist* or *Protestant*) worse then a *Jew*, a *Pagan*, Whether *Indian*, *Turke* or *Persian*.

Examination of CHAP. XXIII.

Peace.

Still of the Tares.

THESE *tares* (saith Master *Cotton*) are not such sinners as are opposite and contrary, for then none should be opposite or contrary but they.

Truth. I acknowledge (as Master *Cotton* here observeth) two sorts of persons *opposite* and contrary to *Christ Jesus* and his *Kingdome*.

First, All sorts of *sinners scandalous* in their *lives* and² *courses*.

2. More especially opposite in point of *Religion* and *worship*, as all idolaters, and especially *Antichristians*.

Now every man by nature, the best and wisest, is opposite and contrary to *Christ*, his *word* and *kingdome*; but an *idolater* and *Antichristian* is more especially opposite to his glorious *Name*, *Truth*, and *Ordinances*.

And therein properly lyes the *mystery* of *iniquity*, brought in by the *man* of *sin*, that *lawless person*, 2 *Thess.* 2. most opposite or contrary to *Christ Jesus* the *Son* of *God*, and *Son* of *Righteousness*.

Peace. But this is a begging of the *question* (saith Master *Cotton*) for the *question* is about *visible* worshippers, such as were discovered and declared to be what they were, as well by their *fruit*

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1. Antichristians monsters in rereigion.

2. Two sorts of sinners.

as by their *clads*, and therefore againe (saith Master Cotton) these *tares* were the *seed* and children of the *Devil*; for why should they be called the *seed* of the One, and the children of the Other?

Truth. I answer, the *Lord Jesus* distinguisheth, thus, He that soweth the *good seed*, is the *Son of man*; and the *good seed* are the children of the *Kingdome*: he that soweth the *tares* is the *devil*, and these *tares* are the children of the *evil* or *evil one*; Hence by way of *opposition*, these children of *evil* or *evil ones* being visibly such as are *opposite* to the children of the *kingdome*, they cannot be *hypocrites* in the *church*, untill they are discovered: These children therefore of the *evil one* opposite to the *visible kingdome*, and so to *visible Christ Jesus* in point of his *kingdome*, *church*, and *worship* (though they be the children of the *devil* in a sence, yet) can they be no other, but the children of the false *Christ* or *Antichrist*, in the way of a false *church* and *worship*.

Peace. Yea but lastly (saith Master Cotton) that word τοῦ πονηροῦ translated the children of the *wicked one* or *wickedness*, will agree to *hypocrites*.

Truth. It will indeed, if we respect their *inside*, which is only *visible* to the *invisible King*, as *Judas* in his profession: but it¹ cannot agree to such *hypocrites* as are undiscovered by their *fruits* in the *church*, but unto such *hypocrites* as are discovered in their *blades* and *fruit*, and so consequently are not fit to live with other sinners in the *world*: I doubt not but Master Cotton will say, That although a member of a Church prove a *theife*, *adulterer*, *murtherer*, in the eyes of a Brother, that sees and knows his secret *wickedness*, yet that brother is censurable as a slanderer, if he should report these *evils*, though to the Church, untill according to *visible order* he could produce good proof and *evidence*.

CHAP.

1. Two sorts of hypocrites.

Examination of CHAP. XXIV.

Peace.

Still of the Tares.

Master Cotton here seems to me (with the *Familists*) to confound *heaven and earth* together, the matters of *Worship*, and *Ordinances of Religion*, with the *affaires and businesses* of this *life*: for saith he, such as stand for the *kingdome* of *Satan* (as all *evil men* do) they stand in *opposition* to the *Kingdome* of *Christ*.

Truth. Master Cotton is not now to be taught the distinction between the *church* and *Commonweale*; nor that a *national church* is not of *Christ Jesus* his *institution*: yet as this discourse strongly inclines to erect a *national church*, so doth this present answer to the *confusion* both of *Church* and *Commonweale*.

It is true, a *covetuous Iew*, that blasphemeth *Christ Jesus*, stands for *Satan* against *Christ*. But by his *covetousness* in one kinde, as *covetousness* is opposite to *Righteousness* and *contentation*, &c. and for *Sathan* against *Christ* in another sence, thatⁱ is in a *Religious* and *Spiritual* sence, as he prefers *Moses* before *Christ Jesus*, and denies the true *Messiah* to be yet come in the *flesh*.

A cruel *Turk* stands for *Satan* against *Christ*, by his *cruelty* in one sence, to wit, in *opposition* to *Christs mercy*, *gentleness*, *patience*, &c. but by his *belief* in *Mahomet*, preferring him before *Christ*, he opposeth him in his *Kingdome* and *Worship*.

To come neerer, a *drunken English, Dutch or Frenchman*, stands for *Satan* against *Christ*, as their *drunkenness* is opposite to *Christs sobriety*, *temperance*, &c. but against *Christ* in another sence, as they profess the wayes of *Antichristian idolatry* and *superstition*: And not to observe this *distinction*, is (with some *Familists*) to run upon *quick-sands* of *confounding* the *spiritual kingdome* of *Christ Jesus*, his *worship* and *ordinances*, with the *kingdomes* of this *world*, and the *common affaires* thereof in *natural* and *civil* consideration.

Peace. But though *Christ* (saith Master Cotton) should command.

1. Two sorts of opposites to Christ Jesus.

mand other *offenders* to be let alone beside *Antichristians*, yet he should not contradict any *ordinances* for the punishment of *offenders* &c. because, saith he, No law of *God*, nor just law of *man* commands the the rooting out of *hypocrites*, though the *church* be bound to endeavour (as much as in them lies) to heale their *hypocrisie*.

Truth. *Hypocrisie* discovered in the fruit of it, is not to be let alone in the *church* or *State*: For neither *church* of *Christ* nor *civil state* can long continue safe, if *hypocrites* or *traitors* (under what pretence soever) be permitted to break forth in them, without due punishment and rooting out; this *hypocrisie* being especially that great sin against which *Christ Iesus* so frequently and so vehemently inveighed, and against which he denounced the sorest of *plagues* and *judgements*.

Truth. By whose *command*, and by what *meanes* and *ordinances*, by whose *power* and *authority*, but by the *command*, *meanes* and *power* of *Christ Iesus*?

And I further aske, If faithful *admonition* be not one good means of *healing*, and if that lye not in the *churches power*; and if the *hypocrite* after faithful *admonition* once or twice, submit not to the *voice* of *Christ Iesus*, I ask where the Lord *Iesus* commandeth to make a stop, and not to cast forth and reject whomsoever wilfully obstinate?

Peace. Doubtless (dear *Truth*) many will be apt to say Master *Cotton* intends *secret* and close *hypocrisie*.

Truth. And I doubt not but *himself* will say, That this is not our *question*, but of known and unmasked *hypocrisie*, as *himself* hath formerly declared, and such as here he expresseth come under *ordinances* of healing.

Peace. But further (saith Master *Cotton*) it is not true, that *Antichristians* are to be let alone untill the end of the *world*, Why? Because *Christ* commanded *excommunication*, &c.

Truth. I am astonisht, and wonder why Master *Cotton* here speaketh of *excommunication*, a *spiritual ordinance* of *Christ Iesus* in his *spiritual kingdome* or *city*, when the *dispute* onely concerns temporal *excommunication* or cutting off? Let them alone, that is, in *civil State*?

I wonder also how he should imagine the *discusser* in this Chapter

to affirme, that *Antichristians* are to be let alone in the church unto the end of the world, when it was the very scope of his argument in this Chapter, to prove, that the *speech* of *Christ Jesus*, [let them alone] must needs be understood of letting *idolaters* and *Antichristians* alone in the *civil state*, and in the world, because otherwise, if he had meant, [Let them alone in the church] he should contradict himself, who hath appointed meanes for the disturbing and purging out the corrupt *leaven* both of *persons* and *practices* out of his church and *kingdome*.

Peace. The same answer indeed will easily be returned to his last supposition of any *Popish spirit* conspiring against the *life* of *King* and *Parliament*. The whole scope of this book professeth, and in this Chapter the discusser professedly argueth, that *Christ Jesus* hath appointed that *civil offenders* against the *civil state*, ought not to be let alone.

But Master Cotton adds, If *Popish Priests* and *Jesuits* be “rightly expounded to be the *Rivers* and fountaines of water, “which drive the dead sea of Antichristian pollutions up and down “all Nations in Europe, and in some cases are to drink blood; “Then are they not to be let alone, but duely suppress and cut off “from conveying up and down idolatrous, heretical and seditious wickedness, *Rev.* 16. 4. 7.

Truth. The exposition of this *Scripture* will be further examined¹ in the *sequel*, and found no true exposition, That *Rivers* and *fountaines* of *water* drive the *sea* up and down: For *rivers* and *fountaines* however they come from the *salt-water*, yet lose they the *savour* of the *salt-sea*, and yeeld a *savour* of the earth through which they make their passages; and again they run into the *sea*, and are themselves driven up and down, and swallowed up in the *sea*: Nor will it be found a true exposition according to *Godliness* and *Christianity*, which commandeth *patience* and *waiting*, not *fire* and *sword* to *gaine sayers* and *opposites*: Nor lastly, will it be found a true exposition agreeing with Master Cottons own profession in some passage of this book, wherein he holds forth great *toleration* and *gentleness* to other *consciences*, both *English* and *Barbarians*.

CHAP.

1. The rivers and fountaines of blood, *Rev.* 16.

Examination of CHAP. XXV.

Peace.

IN this Chapter Master Cotton affirms, that *hypocrites* (even) they that are discerned to be such, yet they are not to be purged out, except they break forth into such notorious fruits of *hypocrisie* as tend to the *leavening* of the *whole lumpe*: for otherwise (saith he) we may roote out the best *wheate* in *Gods field*, &c.

Truth. I answer, since *hypocrites* and all *hypocrisie* is so odious in *Gods sight*, and so vehemently inveighed against by *Christ¹ Jesus*, what should be the cause why the *leaven* of the *Pharisees*, which is *hypocrisie*, should finde greater *favour* and *connivence* in the *church of Christ*, then the *leaven* of any other *sin*, since all ought to be purged out? 1 *Cor.* 5.

2. Contrary to what Master Cotton saith, [to wit, That no man meerly for *hypocrisie* and want of life and power of Godliness ought to be proceeded against] the *Spirit of God* by *Paul* saith, That such kind of professors of the name of *Christ* should arise, that should pretend a form of *godliness*, but not shew forth the *power* thereof, from which he commandeth us to turn away, 1 *Tim.* 3.

Peace. But Master Cotton excepteth, Except (saith he) they break forth into some notorious scandalous fruits of *hypocrisie*.

Truth. How shall an *hypocrite* be discovered and known to be an *hypocrite* or *traitor* in *church* or *civil state*, but by some such notorious *scandalous* fruits as tend to the *leavening* of the *whole lumpe*? Come to particulars; was *Iudas*, *Ananias* and *Sapphira*, *Simon Magus*, *Demas*, or any other discovered to be *Hypocrites*, when they broke forth into *treachery*, *lying*, *covetousness*? and might the *church* proceed against such? If it be denied, I ask to what end the *Lord* hath given those holy rules of *admonition*? &c. will it prove ought but *prophaning* of the name of the *Lord*, to pretend our clear discerning of the *Scripture* and *ordinances*, and not to practise them? If it be yeilded against these fruits of *hypocrisie*, discovering men to be *hypocrites*, why do we plead for a *dispensation*, and (not for the *wheat* of the *Field*,
and

1. Of hypocrites in profession of Christianity.

and *flowers* of the garden, but) for the most stinking and loathsome *tares* and *weeds* to be continued in the holy garden of Christ Jesus?

Peace. But many *hypocrites* (saith Master Cotton) fall not within the censure of that *Scripture*, 2 *Thess.* 3. 6. Withdraw from every *brother* that walketh disorderly; for many *hypocrites* follow their *callings*, and are so far from being burthensome unto others, that they are after choaked with the *cares* and *businesses* of the *world*, and yet are not behind in *liberal contribution* to pious uses.

Truth. But is not this *halting* between God and Baal? yea is not this pleading for Baal, for *hypocrisie*, *hypocrites* and *dissemblers*, false and *Antichristian counterfeits*, to be permitted not onely in the *wilderness* of the *world* (which I contend for) but also even in the *Garden*, *House*, *Bed*, and *bosome* of God? What if men be *civil* and follow their *callings*? Men that know not God, so do. What though they be *liberal* to pious uses (millions of *Papists* are and have been so according to their *consciencs*) when as yet they are *choaked* with *cares* and *businesses* of this *world*?

How express is the *charge* of the Lord Jesus, to with-draw from such, notwithstanding their *forme* of *Godliness*, and *contribution* to *Godly* uses, when they declare not the *power* of *godliness*, 1 *Tim.* 3. 2. Not to *eate* with them, and therefore to se-
perate from such a *brother* as is *covetuous*, 1 *Cor.* 5. as well as from an *idolater*, *drunkard*, &c.

The Church of Christ is a *congregation* of *Saints*, a *flock* of *sheep*, humble, meek, patient, contented, with whom it is *monstrous* and impossible, to couple cruel and persecuting *lyons*, subtle and hypocritical *Foxes*, contentious biting *dogs* or greedy and rooting *swine*, so visibly declared and apparant.

Examination of CHAP. XXI.

Peace.

IN this Chapter four answers were given by the discusser to that great objection of the *mischief* that the *Tares* will do in the field of the *world*, if let alone and not pluckt up.

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The first was, That if the *tares* offend against *Civility* or *civil state*, *God* hath armed the *civil state* with a *civil sword*, &c.

Master *Cotton* replies, what if their *conscience* incite them to *civil offences*?

I answer, the *conscience* of the *civil Magistrate* must incite him to *civil punishment*, as a Lord Maior of *London* once answered, That he was born to be a Judge, to a Thief that pleaded he was born to be a thief. If the *conscience* of the *worshippers* of the *Beast* incite them to prejudice *prince* or *state*, Although these *consciences* be not as the *conscience* of a *thief* (commonly convinced of the *evil* of his *fact*, but) perswaded of the¹ *lawfulness* of their *actions*; yet so far as the *civil state* is endammaged or endangered, I say the *sword* of *God* in the hand of *civil Authority* is strong enough to defend it self, either by imprisoning or *disarming*, or other wholesome *meanes*, &c. while yet their *consciences* ought to be permitted in what is meerly point of *worship*, as *prayer*, and other *services* and *administrations*.

Hence the wisdome of *God*, in that 13 *Rom.* (reckoned by Master *Cotton* the *Magna Charta* for *civil Magistrates* dealing in matters of *Religion*) I say, there it pleaseth *God* expresly to reckon up the particulars of the *second table*, chalking out (as it were) by his own finger, the *civil sphear* or *circle*, in which the *civil Magistrate* ought to act and execute his *civil power* and *Authority*.

Peace. The second answer of the *discusser* was, that the *church* or *spiritual City* hath *laws* and *Armories* to defend it self.

Master *Cotton* excepteth, saying, That if their *members* be leavened with *Antichristian Idolatry* and *Superstition*, and yet must be tolerated in their *idolatry*, and superstitious *worship*, will not a litle *leaven* leaven the whole *lumpe*? and how then is the² *church* guarded?

Truth. The question is, whether *idolatrous* and *Antichristian worshippers* may be tolerated in *civil state*, in the *City*, in the *Kingdome*, &c. under any *civil power*: Master *Cotton* answers no, they will do mischief. The reply is, against any *civil mischief*

1. Corrupt consciences distinguished.

2. Tolleration of idolaters considered.

(though wrought *conscientiously*) the *civil state* is strongly guarded. Secondly, Against the *spiritual mischief*, the *church* or *City of Christ* is guarded with heavenly *Armories*, wherein there hang a thousand *Bucklers*, *Cant.* 4. and most mighty weapons, *2 Cor.* 10. In the *church of Christ* such *worshippers* ought not to be tolerated, but *cast out*, &c.

That is true, saith Master Cotton, but yet their *leaven* will spread.

I answer, What is this, but to make the most powerful appointments¹ of *Christ Jesus*, those mighty *weapons* of God, terrible *censures* and *soul-punishments* in his *kingdome*, but as so many *woodden daggers* and *leaden swords*, *childrens Bull-beggars*, and *scarcrows*, and upon the point so base and beggarly, that without the help of the *Cutlers shop* or *Smiths forge*, the *church* or *kingdome of Christ* cannot be purged from the *leaven* of *idolatry* and *superstition*?

Peace. Me thinks the Lord *Jesus* was of another mind, *Mat.* 18. when he accounted it sufficient to cut off the obstinate, Let him be as a *Gentile* or *publican*: and in the very similitude of *leaven* (here used by Master Cotton) *Paul* counted it sufficient to purge out the *leaven*, *1 Cor.* 5. if that evil person were put away from the midst of them, that is, from their holy and spiritual society. *Paul* never asks (as Master Cotton doth) since we have not to our *spiritual armes*, *armes* of *flesh*, and a *civil sword* to help our *spiritual*, how shall the *safety* of the *church* be guarded?

But let's proceed. The third Answer was, That the *elect* cannot be finally deceived: Master Cotton replies. It is true, but *God* provides meanes of *preservation*, &c. And *Jezabels* tolerating in *Thiatira* made the *church* guilty.

Truth. This Argument was not used in derogation of *Gods* meanes, *spiritual* in *spiritual* things, *civil* in *civil*, &c. but by way of *supposition* of the worst, as *Job* spake in another case, How helpst thou the *Arme* that hath no strength? Not but that in ordinary submission to *means*, man ought to help the *Lord* against the mighty. The sum is this, rather let the *Lord* alone to help himself without *meanes*, then to help the *Lord* to save his *elect* (who cannot by vertue of his *love* and *decree* finally be deceived) by any such *means* as are none of his own appointing.

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2. It

1. Civil weapons in spirituals, blur and flight the spiritual.

2. It is true, that the *church* at *Thyatira*, tolerating *Jezabel* to seduce, was guilty, yea and I add the *City* of *Thiatira* was guilty also if it tolerated *Iezabel* to seduce to fornication. But¹ what is this to the point of the *issue* [to wit, Whether the *City* of *Thiatira* should be guilty or not in tolerating *Iezabel* in that which the *City* judgeth to be *idolatry* and false worship? *Jezabels* corporal whoredoms (sinning against civility or state of the *City*) the *City* by her Officers ought to punish, lest *civil* order be broken, and *civility* be infected &c. but *Iezabels* spiritual whoredomes, the *civil* state ought not to deal with but (there being a *church* of *Christ* then in *Thiatira*, and the *spiritual* whoredomes there taught and practised) I say the *church* in *Thyatira*, which in the name and power of *Christ* was armed sufficiently to pass and inflict a dreadful *spiritual* censure, which *God* will confirme and ratifie most assuredly and undoubtedly in *heaven*.

Peace. Two reasons more were alleadged out of the Text. The first was, that by plucking up the *tares*, the good *wheate* it self by such *hurries* and *persecutions* about *Religion*, should be endangered to be plucked up; which Master *Cotton* salveth thus: to wit, If *Gods* people themselves, for their *idolatry* and *superstition*, should be cut off, it will be for warning unto others, &c.

Truth. Oh *ungodly*, *unchristian*, that is *bloody* and *Anti-christian* doctrin, by which (under pretence of punishing *hereticks*, *schismatics*, and *seditions* persons) the *Son* of *God*, the *Lord* of *Lords*, and *King* of *Kings*, hath so many millions of times, in his *servants* been *persecuted*, *slaine*, and *crucified*! As for the world, it lies in *wickedness*, is a *wilderness* of *sin* over-grown with *idolatry* and *superstition*. The *Antichristian* (falsly called *Christian* world) in most abundant and over-flowing measure hath wondred after and magnified the *Beast*, *Rev.* 13. The two *witnesses* *prophesie* in sackcloth against this *beast*, in all *parts* of his *dominion*, by whom also they are persecuted and slaine, and yet we read not that they *judge* or *censure*, or fight for themselves³ with any other *weapons* then by the *word* of their *prophesie*, the *blood* of the *Lamb*, their patient *sufferings*, the not loving of their lives unto the *death*.

Peace. The second reason out of the *parable* was, That the
Angels

1. The tolleration of *Jezabel* in *Thyatira*.

2. *Christ* *Jesus* under pretence persecuted.

3. The weapons of the *Saints*, *Rev.*

Angels of God have in charge to bundle up these *tares* for the burning. Master Cotton replies two things. First, so these *Angels* will gather into bundles for the burning *murtherers robbers*, &c. who are not yet to be tolerated.

Truth. I answer, If a man call Master Cotton *murtherer*, *witch*, &c. with respect to *civil matters*, I say the *civil state* must judge and punish the *offender*, else the *civil state* cannot stand, but must return to *barbarisme*. But if a man call Master Cotton *murtherer*, *witch* &c. in *spirittual matters*, as *deceiving*¹ and *bewitching* the peoples *souls*, if he can prove his *charge*, Master Cotton ought to give God the *glory*, and and repent of such *wickedness*. If he cannot prove his *charge*, but slander Master Cotton, yet is the slander of no *civil nature*, and so not proper to any *civil court*, but is to be cast out (as we see commonly *suits of law* are rejected, when brought into *Courts* which take no proper *cognizance* of such cases.)

Peace. What *relief* then hath Master Cotton or any so charged in this case?

Truth. The *court of heaven*, the *church of Christ*, calls such a *slanderer* to *repentance* (whether he be within the *church* or without, though orderly proceeding lies only against him that is within) If he be *obstinate*, how dreadful is the *sentence* against such a *slanderer*, both in *earth* and in *heaven*? how dreadful the delivering up to *hardness of heart* (a greater plague on *Pharaoh*, then all the devouring *plagues* of *Egypt*) how dreadful the² delivering up to *Satan*, the *paw* and *jaw* of the roaring *Lyon* (infinitely far more terrible, had we eyes to see it, then to be thrown with *Daniel* to the devouring *Lyon*:) There is no reason in the world therefore, for *theeves* and *murtherers* to be tolerated unto the last day without *sentence* and *punishment*, because *transgressors* against *spiritual state* may be tolerated to live in the *world*, yet punished for *spiritual transgression* with a greater *censure* and sorer punishment, then if all their bones and flesh were rackt and torn in pieces with burning pincers.

Peace. Master Cotton and others will say. The *idolaters* and *seducers* were censured *spiritually* under *Moses*, and yet were they also put to *death*.

Truth. I

1. The difference between civil and spiritual slander.

2. The dreadful nature of Christs spiritual punishments.

Truth. I desire Master Cotton to shew me under *Moses*, such *spiritual censures* and *punishments* beside the cutting off by the *civil sword*: which if he cannot do, and that since the *Christian Church* antitypes the *Israelitish*, and the *Christian laws* and *punishments*¹ the *laws* and *punishments* of *Israel* concerning religion, I may truly affirme, that that civil state which may not justly tolerate civil offenders, &c. yet may most justly tolerate *spiritual offenders*, of whose *Delinquency* it hath no proper cognizance.

Peace. Lastly, Master Cotton urgeth, that *παρουσία* (2 *Thess.* 2.) should rather be translated *presence* then *coming*.

Truth. Admit it (though many able translators in divers languages rather translate it *coming*) and that *Antichrist* shall not be consumed by the *breath* of the *mouth* of the *Lord Jesus* before his last coming to judgement; yet then Master Cotton must give another interpretation of this *end* of the *world*, and the *Angels*, and the *fire*, then is usually given: however the *tares* shall be bundled up for the *everlasting burnings*, and are at present under a dreadful sentence and punishment, and therefore (not offending in civil things) the *civil state* may the better tolerate them in matters of religion and conscience; and *Paul* himself (if opposed by them) might the better wait with patience, if God peradventure will give them *repentance* &c.

Examination of CHAP. XXVII.

Peace.

IN this Chapter, those three particulars by which the *Ministers* of *Christ* are commanded to let the *Tares* alone, Master Cotton evades by calling them so many *slippery evasions*, &c.

Truth. I believe neither the *interpretations* nor the *intentions* of the *Author* were evasive: for a faithful *witness* will not lye though a false *witness* will utter *deceit*; however the *fire* shall try. The truth is, the greater part, and especially the former of Master Cottons answer in this Chapter, comes not neer the point of the *issue*, for that is not whether the *Saints* may pray or prophecy against *idolaters* and false *worshippers*, but whether or no for their

1. Not such spiritual punishments in the national church of Israel.

their present temporal *destruction* and *extirpation*.

Perce. Unto this Master Cotton saith, Yes, for the present *destruction* of some or other *Antichristian idolaters* in every age: and he adds, it might as well be said, that a *Minister of Christ*¹ should not denounce present or speedy *destruction* to any *murderers, whoremongers, &c.* because though some of them may fall under grievous plagues, yet there will never want a company of such *evil doers*, untill the great *harvest* or end of the *world*.

Againe, saith he, Though a *Minister* denounce not present *destruction*, yet he cannot let them alone, no more then the *feller* of an *Oake*, that gives many a *stroake* before the last, &c.

2. It is not credible (saith he) that some of the *Angels* that poure out their *vials* upon the *Antichristian state*, shall not be *Ministers*: And when the ten *horns* shall burn the *City of Rome*, it is not credible, that they will do it without some excitement from the *Angels*.

Truth. The instance brought of *murderers, whoremongers &c.* is most improper, because we all agree that present *corporal* or *civil punishment* is due to *murderers, whoremongers, &c.* and other like *transgressors* against the *civil state* of all *Nations* and *peoples* all the *world* over, and this in all *Ages* and *Times*: but Master Cotton himself acknowledgeth, that many *prophecies* and *periods* are set for the *continuance* of the *Antichristian state*, and the *idolatry* and *desolations* thereof, and that those *periods* shall be accomplished before the *judgement day*: nor will it appear that those ten *Kings* that shall in the fulfilling of this *prophecy* burn the *whore*, shall do it by way of *ordinance* and *obedience* to Gods command, otherwise then he permitted *Nebuchadnezzar* and *Cyrus*, and other *Tyrants* of the *world* (as the *fishes* of the *sea* one to devoure and swallow up another.) And for that instance of the *wood-man* selling of the *Oake*, I grant that the *prayers* of the *Saints* hasten the *whores downfall*, and the opening of these *prophecies* make way for Gods time; but what is this to a *present downfall* before the time appointed?

Againe, That it is not credible but that some of the *Angels*² should be *messengers* of the *Gospel*, I answer, Master Cotton knows that the *English* word *messengers*, and the *Greek* word *Apostles*, are the same; but no such *messengers* Master Cotton allows

1. Prayer against present destruction of tares.

2. Pastors and Teachers not Apostles and messengers.

lows of: And that the word *messengers* in the *Apostles* sence should imply. *Pastors* and *Teachers* (which Master Cotton now only allows of) I finde not in the *Testament* of *Christ Jesus*. That those *Angels* should be the *witnesses*, and the *Prophets* in *sack-cloth*, seemes more credible.

And I may well affirme the contrary to Master Cottons *credible*, that it is *incredible* that any *servant* or *messenger* of the *King of Peace* should stir up the *civil Magistrate* to cut off those by the *civil sword*, whose *repentance* he is bound to wait for with *patience*, bearing in the interim their *oppositions* and *gainsayings*, 2 *Tim.* 2.

Peace. Tis most true, according to the *testimony* of *Christ Jesus* (and most contrary to the *tenents* and *practice* of the *Romish bloody Popes*, and their *followers*) that *Christs Ministers* are *wisdomes Maidens* (*Prov.* 9.) sent forth in heavenly *Beauty* and *chastity*, with meek and loving, yet vehement *perswasions*, to call in the foolish of the *world* to partake of *wisdomes dainties*: but (dear truth) deliver your minde concerning the last passage, to wit,¹ *Elijahs act* in stirring up *Ahab* to kill all the *Priests* and *prophets* of *Baal*: This *act* (saith Master Cotton) was not *figurative*, but *moral*; for (saith he) *Ahab* could not be a *figure* of *Christ*, nor *Israel* after their *Apostacie*, a *type* of the true *Church*: Beside, *blasphemers* ought to die by the *law*, and *Ahab* forfeited his own *life*, because he did not put *Benhadad* to death for his *blasphemy*, 1 *Kings* 20.

Truth. *Christ Jesus* is considered two wayes, *Christ* in his *person*, and *Christ mystical* in his *church*, represented by the *Governors* thereof. Some say, that *Israel* was not in *Ahabs* time *excommunicated*² and cut off from *Gods* sight, untill their final carrying out of the land of *Canaan*, 2 *Kings* 17. and that *Israel* remained (though none of *Gods* in respect of her *apostacy*, yet) *Gods* in respect of *covenant*, untill the *execution* of the *sentence* of *excommunication* or *divorce*: And therefore that *Ahab*, as *King* of *Israel*, *Gods people* (untill *Israel* ceased to be *Israel*) was a *figure* of *Christ*, that is, *Christ* in his *presence*, in his *governors*, in his *church*, though faln to *idolatry* under *admonition*, not yet cast off.

But (2.) grant the *church* false, and *Ahab King* of a false
church,

1. Elijah stirring up Ahab to slay the Baalites.

2. Concerning Israel in the Apostacy of Jeroboam.

church, how will it appear that *Elijahs Act* was a moral act, and so presidential to all *Kings and Nations*?

Peace. Because (saith Master Cotton) it is moral equity, that blasphemers, and apostate idolaters, seducing others to idolatry, should be put to death; *Levit. 24. 16. Deut. 13. 5.*

Truth. Those Scriptures concern a ceremonial land in a ceremonial time, before Christ; and in the same *Lev. 24.* the command is equally given for the lampe in the Tabernacle, and the shew-bread, as well as for the idolater.

Peace. But Benhadad (saith Master Cotton) was no Israelite, nor was his blasphemy belched out in the land of Israel.

Truth. It is most true, that blasphemers in Israel, and blasphemers against Israel and the God of it, were put to death. It is also true in the antitype and substance since the coming of Christ, that blasphemers in Israel, and blasphemers against Israel (the church of God) are spiritually to be put to death by the two-edged sword coming forth of the mouth of Christ, *Rev. 1.* and this Gospel-punishment is much more dreadful and terrible, then the punishment of the first blasphemers under Moses or the prophets.¹

Peace. Methinks also, if Ahab were now presidentially, and that which he should have done to Benhadad presidential, then is there now no spiritual or mystical Israel, no spiritual Canaan, but the letter, ceremony, and figure yet in force, and Christ Jesus the mystical and spiritual King of Israel is not yet come in the flesh.

Truth. Yea then not onely a few in a City or Kingdome (suppose hundreths or thousands) but millions of millions of blasphemers, idolaters, seducers, throughout the whole wide world, ought corporally to be put to death.

Peace. Against this methinks Master Cotton should be, and I am sure against this Christ Iesus was, who professed in answer to the rash zeal of his disciples (*Luk. 9.*) That he came not to destroy mens lives, but to save them: but how relish you Master Cottons interpretation, of Let them alone (which he sees pleaseth some so well) to wit, Let them alone is no precept, but permission?

L

Truth.

1. * Hence Baalls Priests, Monks, Friars, and Bishops have not been civilly actually slaine in England, &c. but spiritually by Gods word, the sword of his spirit cashiered and cut off eternally.

Truth. I answer, If let them alone were onely by *permission* in way of *providence*, Why is also a word of *prohibition* added, to wit, That such should not be medled with, for these and these *reasons*, whereas although *God* permitteth *evil doers* in *spiritual* and *civil state* in the *world*, yet there lies a word of *ordinance* to purge them out. Here is no *ordinance* for their plucking up, but for their letting alone, and that in a merciful respect of sparing the *good wheate*, who might be indangered to be pluckt up by the *roots* out of the *world*, by such rash and furious *zeale* of *plucking up the tares*.

Examination of CHAP. XXIX.

Peace.

MAster Cotton referring the 28 Chapter to former *agitations*, seems to invite us to pass on to Chapter 29.

Truth. Let the 28 Chapter recapitulating the former, and the whole *controversies*, be referred to the *consciences* of such to whom these passages by any *providence* of the most holy wise shall be presented, and let it graciously please the *Father of lights*, to help all his sons of *light*, to be truely studious of his *truth* in the *love* of it, to cast up all particulars aright in his fear, by the onely *Arithmetick* of his own most holy and unerring *spirit*.

Peace. In this Chapter first ariseth a *question* concerning the *Apostles privacy*.

Truth. Master Cotton acknowledgeth them to be called to a *publike Ministry*, let others judge then of their *privacy*.

Peace. But they were not sent (saith Master Cotton) ro the *Scribes* and *Pharisees*, and so consequently were to let them¹ alone.

Truth. I answer, Let it be considered, how he that grants *men* are sent to the *sheep*, can rightly say they have nothing to do with the *Wolves* and *Foxes*.

Peace. In this controversie, Master Cotton elsewhere, will not onely have *sheep* sed, but the *Wolves* driven from the *sold*, their *braines* beaten out, &c. and that not onely by the *Pastors* or *sheapherds* *spiritually*, but also by the *civil Magistrate*, and
to

1. Touching Christs Apostles or messengers.

to that end, he is to be stirred up by the Shepherds and *Ministers of Christ*.

Truth. Such exciting and stirring up of the *civil Magistrate* if it were *Christs* will, how can the *Apostles* be excused, or the *Lord Jesus* himself, for not stirring up the *Civil Magistrate* to his duty against these *Scribes* and *Pharisees*, the *Wolves* and *Foxes*, as Master Cotton here calls them?

Peace. Neither the *doctrine*, nor their offence at it (saith Master Cotton) was *fundamental*; nor had the *civil Magistrate* a *law* established about *doctrine* or *offences* of this *nature*. Besides,¹ *Christ* gave his *disciples* a charge to be wise as *Serpents*, and himself would not meddle with the *Pharisees*, untill the last year of his *Ministry*, lest their *exasperation* might have been some hindrance to his *Ministry* before his hour was come.

Truth. I should desire Master Cotton againe to ponder whether the notorious *hypocrisie* of the *Pharisees* (now brought into a *Proverb*) and also whether the notorious transgressing (and upon the point abolishing) of the fifth *commandment*, and so consequently of all *civil* obedience (with the *Papists*) under pretence of *Gods* service (although indeed but their own *superstition*) be not of a *fundamental* guilt, both against *spiritual* and *civil* state.

Peace. I remember Master Cotton argued against *tolleration* of the *Papists*, because their *conscience* excites them against the *civil* powers.

Truth. And whither tended these principles of the *Pharisees*, but to overthrow all *Family*, yea and (if they be followed home) all *Towne*, or *City*, and *Kingdome*-Government?

Peace. Yea, But the *Romane Magistrate* (saith he) had no established *law* about *doctrines* or *offences* of that *Nature*.

Truth. Master Cotton in all this *controversie*, pleades, that they ought to have: and though he saith, that *Magistrates* may suspend their duty, untill they be informed, yet he never saith, that the *Ministers of Christ* may suspend their *duty* of humble *information*, and stirring up them up to so high a part of their *Duty*; as concerns the souls of their *subjects* and the *worship* of *God*.

L 2

Peace.

1. Touching fundamentals.

Peace. I remember, that *Gardiner* and *Boner*, &c. could not make the fire burn to consume the people of *God*, and *witnesses* of *Jesus*, untill *Edwards* laws were repealed, and *Maries* bloody¹ laws were established; and so they were forced to suspend a while untill they had conjured up a *Parliament* to do both the one and the other, as their *slaves* and *drudges*, for them: And tis true, what the *Spirit* of *God* in *David* pronounceth (*Psal.* 82.) that under the *maske* or *colour* of a *law* (which carries with it the name and sound of *reason* and *righteousness*) the *wickedness* of the *world* is established: And hence the people and *servants*, and *Saints* of the most *high* *God*, feelee the weight of the *violence* of the *Nimrod* persecutors or *hunters*.

But this I wonder at, that Master *Cotton* subjoyneth, that *Christ* *Jesus* himself, and his *disciples* (under the notion of not exasperating the *Pharisees*) should not reprove the *Scribes* and *Pharisees*.

Truth. It cannot sink with me, That the *Spirit* of *God* in *Christ* *Jesus* himself, and his *messengers*, should so far differ from himself in all his former *messengers* and *prophets*, who spared not to reprove the *highest* *Priests*, *Princes*, *Kings* and *kingdoms*; nor doth the practice of the *Lord* *Jesus* in so many places of *Matthew* (before his *thunder bolts* shot forth against them, *Mat.* 23.) give any countenance to so loose an *opinion*.

Peace. Master *Cotton*, who argues so much against the permitting of *blasphemers* to live in the *world*, may here call to minde, that if ever *blasphemy* were uttered against the *Son* of *God*, it was uttered by the *Pharisees* in the 12 of *Matthew*, when they imputed the casting out of the *devils* to the power of the *devil* in *Christ* *Jesus*, and yet we finde not that *Christ* *Jesus* stirred up the *civil* *Magistrates* to any such duty of his to put the *blasphemers* to death, nor the hereticks the *Sadduces*, who denied that fundamental, the *resurrection*.

Truth. It is most true, that the cause needeth no such *weapons*, nor spared he the *Pharisees* for fear of their *exasperations*, but poured forth on their *faces* and *bosoms* the sorest *vials* of the heaviest doom and *censure* that can be suffered by the *children* of men, to wit, an *impossibility* of *repentance* and *forgiveness* of sins either in this or the world to come. And for the present, at e-
very

1. Laws for persecuting of Christ Jesus.

2. The Pharisees blaspheming of Christ Jesus.

very turn he concludes them *hypocrites, blind guides*, which could not escape the *judgement of Hell*.

So that all other *sences* of those words [*Let them alone*] that is, of not reproofing them cannot stand: nor if it were the *duty* of the *Ministers of Christ* to stir up the *civil Magistrate* against such hypocritical and blasphemous *Pharisees*, could *Christ Jesus himself* or his servants the *Apostles* be excused for not complaining to the *Romane State* against them; So leaving the blame upon the *conscience* of the *governors*, if the land were not purged of such *blasphemers* and fundamental opposers of the *Son of God*.

Let me me end (*sweet peace*) with the *bottom* of all such *persecutions*, Satan rageth against *God* and his *Christ*; that *devil* that cast the *Saints* into *prison*, *Rev. 2.* (¹ what instruments soever he useth) would cast *Christ* himself into *prison* againe, and to the *gallows* againe, if he came again in *person* into any (the most refined) persecuting *state* in the world.

Examination of CHAP. XXX.

Peace.

I Doubt not (*dear truth*) in the first place, but you cast an ob-servant eye on Master *Cottons* collections in this Chapter, from *Pauls* words *Acts 25. 11.* I will mention the two first.

1. That a man may be such an *offender* in matters of *Religion* against the *law of God* (against the *Church*) as well as in *civil matters* against *Cæsar*, as to be worthy of death.

2. That if a *servant of God* should commit any such *offence*, he would not refuse *judgement* to the death, *vers. 11.*

Truth. *Paul* onely saith in the general, *If I have committed ought worthy of death, I refuse not to die*: Now therefore as² *Paul* said, *No man* (that is, no man justly) may *deliver me to the Jews*; So say I, no man from these words of *Paul* (without wronging him and his *Master the God of Truth*) can draw such a *conclusion*, as if *Paul* had acknowledged it evil in him to have *preached* against the *laws of the Jews* or the *temple*, which the *Lord Jesus* and his *servants* after him, so abundantly did, al-though

1. * *Magistrates*, | *kings, high* | *priests: Herod*, | *bad kings, good* | *kings, &c.*

2. *Acts 25. 11.* considered.

though at this time (in point of fact) *Paul* might well say, he had not done ought against the *law* of the *Jews*. I mean the *ceremonial law* and the *Temple*, for he had now observed the ceremonies of the *Law*, and the holiness of the *Temple*: although for this some use to blame him, not discerning that *Paul* knew there was a time to honour those *ceremonies*, even after *Christs death*, and a time as much to debase, dishonour, and abolish them.

Peace. His third *collection* is, That it is lawfull even in *Ecclesiastical causes* to appeale to a *Pagan Magistrate*.

Truth. As I utterly renounce such a *conclusion* (any otherwise then in respect of civil *violence* offered for a mans *conscience*, which *violence Cæsar* ought to see revenged and punished) so neither will this instance of *Paul* prove it: for in appealing to an higher *Judge*, a man alwayes presupposeth (if not skill perfect, yet)¹ competent skill, and a true power committed from *God*, to judge in such cases, which *Paul* for many reasons, both in this Chapter, and elsewhere manifested, could not suppose in the *Romane Cæsars*, or any *civil Magistrate*.

Peace. Master *Cotton* urgeth, that these words (*verse 9.*) [These Things] imply matters of *Religion* as well as *civil things*.

Truth. Those words [These Things] were not the words of *Paul*, but the words of *Festus*.

2. Grant them *Pauls* words, yet if for those things the *Jews* seek his *life*, *Paul* well appeals to *Cæsar* against them, for *Cæsar* is bound to protect the *bodies*, *goods*, or good *names* of his *subjects*, either from false *accusations* in *civil things*, or *persecution* for matters of *conscience*, which is a *violence* against the *civil state*, of which *Cæsar* was the *supreme officer*.

Peace. His fourth *collection* is, that *civil Magistrates* may and ought to be acquainted with all matters of *Religion*, especially *capital*.

Truth. In *twenty five* parts of the world of *thirty*, *civil Magistrates* cannot possibly be thus acquainted; for the sound of *Christ Jesus* is not there to be heard, as the best *Historians* and *Cosmographers* yeeld.

Peace. It seemes strange, if *Christ Jesus* had intended any such *delegation* of *spiritual power* to *civil Magistrates*, that he should

1. No appeals to the civil powers in matters meerly spiritual.

should keep the very sound of his name from them.

Againe, in the other five parts of the world, where his *name*¹ is sounded, how rarely hath he acquainted any *civil Magistrate* with the saving *knowledge* of his *will*?

Truth. I add, that such rare ones, that savingly know *Christ Jesus* and his *will*, are no *judges* in such cases over the *consciences* of their *brethren*, or any, by way of *civil judicature*, this very instance of *Pauls* appealing to *Cæsar* hath and shall further declare and mainfest.

Peace. But what should be the reason why Master *Cotton* affirmeth, That the *civil Magistrate* ought to be able to judge of all *capital offences* against *Religion*, but not of all *questions*?

Truth. The truth is, if the *civil Magistrate* were a *Surgeon* appointed of *Christ Iesus* to judge in causes that concern cutting of *life* and *limbe*, &c. he would beyond all question be able to judge of *petty cuts*, *wounds*, &c. But *Satan* that old deceiver, that² knew (by *Gods* permission) how to *cozen Adam*, *David*, *Solomon*, *Peter* (the most perfect, wise, and holiest of *Gods servants*) is not now to learn how to cheat Master *Cotton* also: *Satan* well sees, if Master *Cotton* should grant it the *Magistrates* duty to judge in lesser *questions*, the hope of *Benefices* and *Living*s were gone, and the trade of *Synods* would down: And if he should not grant it to be the *Magistrates* duty to judge in *capitals*, the *Pope*, the *Bishops*, and all *persecuting priests*, would want the *secular* power, the *servile executioners* of their most wicked and most bloody *decrees* and *sentences*.

Peace. In the next place Master *Cotton* seemes to charge a *contradiction* upon the discussor, for saying, that *civil Magistrates* were never appointed by God *defenders* of the *faith* of *Iesus*, and yet every one is bound to put forth his utmost powers in Gods business.

Truth. Love hath charged the discussor to spare the team of *contradiction* in many *passages* of Master *Cottons* writing, where he hath (to his understanding) observed them, to prevent exasperations &c. contrarily Master *Cotton* against the discussor, strains the *text* and *Margin* to sound out *contradictions*, *contradictions*, to all passengers.

But

1. Few Magistrates in the world know Christ Jesus.

2. Mystical and cruel Surgery.

But let us examine. And first, Master Cotton will not deny, but¹ the *son of perdition*, the *Pope of Rome* (whose coming and practice is by the work of the *devil*) was the blasphemous *author* (he and his *Cardinals* in *Council* together) of that title *defender of the faith* sent with great *gratitude* and *solemnity* to *Henry* the eighth, as a *kingly popelike reward*, for penning (or bearing the name of) a blasphemous *writing* against *Christ Iesus* in his holy truth proclaimed by *Luther*.

Peace. With what *eyes* and *eares* such blasphemous and bloody titles are to be lookt upon and heard by the chaste *eyes* and *ears* of *Christs Doves*, *Christ Iesus* will one day, and shortly make appear.

Truth. But what *contradiction* will be in the later, to wit, [That every one must do his utmost in *Gods business*] when this former (to wit, to be a *defender of the Faith*) is constantly denied to² be any of the *businesses* of *civil officers*, and the *preservation* of the *civil state*, which charge and worke by the *civil state* can only lawfully (and therefore possibly) be committed to them? For otherwise to take these *words* in a literal *sence*, without respect to the *rules* and *limits* of *Gods order* and *righteousness*, what is it but to fire the *world* with *wild-fire* of blind *zeale*, and to tumble down all *Gods* beauteous *structures* and *buildings* into a *Chaos* and *confusion* of *Antichristian Babylon*? And this especially by the meanes of such who think and say, that they cannot serve *God* with all their might except they punish *blasphemers*, and fight against *blasphemous nations*, and subdue (not only the holy land from the *Turk*, but) even all the *world* from their *idolatries* and *blasphemies*, if it lie in their power; which *spirit* whether it be the *spirit* of the *Son of God*, and *Prince of peace*, or the *spirit* of the *world*, the *spirit* of the *son of perdition*, let every mans own *spirit* search and judge in the holy fear and presence of *God*.

Peace. But further (saith Master Cotton) it was unnecessary, yea folly and preposterous to have complained to *Herod*, *Pilate*, *Cæsar*, against the *Heresies* of the *Pharisees*: For if a poor *sheep* should complain to the *Wolves* of the *Wolves heresies*, would not the whole kennel of *Wolves* rise up against him, &c? Would it not have disturbed the *civil state*, by putting them into *jealousies* of a
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1. The title of defender of the faith.

2. To serve God withal our might, literally taken, horribly abused.

new kingdome, and it was necessary the *Gospel* should first be known and received, believed and professed, before any could be complained of for *Apostacie* from it into *heresie*.

Truth. Master Cotton cannot deny, but that most of the *Magistrates* of the world (by far) are such as *Herod*, *Pilate*, *Cæsar*¹ were, without *God*, and *enemies* to him, yea also in that little part of the world which is called *Protestant*. Now if they are but *kennels of Wolves* (compared with *Christs sheep*) as Master Cotton expresseth, I first demand how poorely hath *Christ Jesus* in all ages provided for and furnished his people with such main pillars of their *spiritual joyes*, *light* and *confidence*, as *godly* and *Christian Magistrates*?

Peace. It is as cleer as the Sun beams, that if ever *Christ Jesus* had intended such an *ordinance* in and over his *church*, he would never have been so mistaken, as to supply his *sheep* in all ages, and in all parts of the world, with *kennels of Wolves* in stead of *godly* and *Christian Shepherds*.

Truth. But secondly, Grant them to be *kennels of Wolves* in Master Cottons sence, yet what *bar* is this to any from *presenting*, and to them from receiving such *complaints* as are proper to their *cognizance*, to their *duty* and *calling* (were they truly called of *God* and *Christ* to such a *service*) to wit, to govern in *spiritual*, *Ecclesiastical* or *Church causes*? what though a *Magistrate* be a *drunkard*, *whoremonger*, *oppressour*, is it not the *duty* of the people to complain to him of *drunkards*, *thieves*, *whoremongers*, *oppressors*? whom if he punish not, but countenance, &c. yet have such *petitioners* discharged their *consciencs*, and left the *guilt* upon the right head, who should be an *head of civil righteousness*, but is an *head of wickedness* and *iniquity*.

Peace. By this *argument* of Master Cottons, the poor *widow*, that sued for right to the unjust *Judge*, that neither feared *God*, nor regarded man, took a foolish and a prestoperous course, though commended by the *Lord Jesus*, Luk. 18.

Truth. Indeed (as Master Cotton saith) If we look at the probability of any wholesome fruit from such *trees*, we cannot expect *grapes* from such *briars*, not *figs* from such *thistles*: But looking at the providence of *God*, who ruleth and over ruleth the hearts of *Kings* and all *Magistrates* (as in the case of the poor *widow* and

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1. Christ Jesus hath rarely furnished his people with godly Magistrates.

thousand others) as also at what is their *Duty* and *profession*, to wit, to invite cheerfully their *subjects* to bring their *complaints* to them; as also what is the *duty* of the wronged and *oppressed*, to wit, to deliver and discharge their own *souls* I see not but it is safe, sea sonable, and a duty, to cry even to the unjust *Judge* for *Justice*, as that poor woman did.

Peace. Yea, were *Cæsar*, *Herod*, *Pilate* (by virtue of their *places*, *offices*, and *duties*) *Ecclesiastical Judges*, and ought to have suppressed the *heresies* and *blasphemies* of the *Pharisees*? why should it be impossible, but they might have removed the *Pharisees* offence, as many *Kings* of *England* and *France* (though evil themselves) have stirred mightily upon complaints of their *subjects* against the *Popish Pharisees* of their times, yea the highest of them the *Pope* himself? And if Master *Cottons* doctrine be true, why must not the *Magistrate* be sought unto, that a true *Gospel* be received and believed? Why may not the *civil power* be a judge in the first receiving of the *Gospel*, as afterward for the *preserving* and *restoring* of it?

Truth. Such is the *brightness* of the *Gospel* of *Christ Iesus*, and the dread and the power of the two-edged *sword* coming out of his *mouth*, subduing and slaying the highest *opposites* and *adversaries*, that it will prove to be unnecessary, foolish and preposterous to run to any other *sword* or *censures*, then those alone of *Christs*, so mighty, and so powerful, were they rightly administered, as the *Popish* and *Protestant world* pretendeth.

Peace. Lastly, Master *Cotton* professeth he knows not how *Magistrates* can know the *Son*, and kiss him, and acknowledge his *kingdome*, and submit their *crowns* to it, love his *truth*, be *nursing Fathers* and *Mothers* to his *church*, and yet not be *defenders* of it.

Truth. If kings must submit their *crowns* to this *kingdome* of *Christ*, must it not undeniably follow, that the *kingdom* of *Christ Iesus* is far greater and *higher* then their *thrones* and *crowns*? (for none will submit to the *lesser*, *weaker*, &c.) And if so, what weakness is it yet to expect, that the inferiour *power* and *authority*, to¹ wit, *civil* and earthly, must defend the highest and most *glorious crown* and *throne* of *Christ Iesus*? Like as if a poor *Indian Canon* should submit it self to some *Royal Navy*, and yet must be
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1. Defendor of the faith.

this *Navies defender*; or a few naked *Americans* submit to some *Army* or *kingdome*, and yet these poor naked ones must bear (and that seriously without *Iesting*) the title of their *defenders*.

Truth. Master *Cotton* and those of his bloody judgement are not contented that the *civil powers* defend the *bodies* and *goods* of the *Saints* from *oppressors*, from *persecutors*, &c. that *love* and *affection* by all gracious means be exprest more to the *Saints* then to other people of their *dominions*, that all true Christian meanes be used for the spreading of the name and *truth* of the *Lord Iesus*; I say, this serves not the turn, and gives not content, except also the *Magistrate* defend by *civil sword*, the *purity* of the *doctrine*, and the *ordinances* of *Christ Iesus* in his *church*, in *punishing* and *suppressing* the contrary by arme of *flesh*, whether *within* or *without* the *church*.

Peace. In this last respect I must speak an high and bold word, to wit, That the poorest *youth* or *maid*, who hath more *knowledge*¹ and *grace* of *Christ* then a king or Emperour hath (as well sometimes it hath and may come to pass) may be a greater *contender* for the truth, and a great *defender* of the *faith* of *Iesus*, then the *king* or Emperour, and so consequently then all the *kings* of the whole world.

Truth. *Paul* was set for the *defence* of the *Gospel* and consequently every *believer* in *Iesus* (according to his measure of *grace* received) and therefore, your word is not more *bold* then *true*. For *spiritual defences* are most proper to a spiritual estate, and so accordingly most potent, prevalent, and mighty.

Examination of CHAP. XXXI.

Peace.

HERE first Master *Cotton* will not own it, that the title of *Judges* of *spiritual causes* be given to *Civil Magistrate*.

Truth. The *Parliament* of *England* established King *Henry* the eighth *supreame head* and *Governor* over the *church* of *England*, and what is this but *supreme Iudge* in all *Ecclesiastical causes*? What though the tearme *judge* be stumbled at by some,

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1. A bold, but a true word.

and the tearm *head* will not down with others? yet take but what Master *Cotton* grants: And (as the *devil* himself, lay hid under¹ *Samuels* mantle, so) under Master *Cottons* tearm of *fathers, mothers, shepherds* (that is, *spiritual fathers, mothers, shepherds*) must of necessity be concluded an *headship*, and *power*, and *office of judging*, when this *child* doth a miss, when these *sheep* go astray, who are *schismaticks*, who *hereticks*, who *sheep*, who *Wolves*, that the *sheep* may be corrected and reduced, and the *Wolves* braines knockt out.

Peace. They may judge (saith Master *Cotton*) but (not with a *church*) but *politick power*, and for want of which, and for giving their *kingdome* to the *Beast* (*Revel.* 17. 12, 13.) God (saith he) opened a way for the *Turkes* to break in and destroy the third part of *Christendome*, *Rev.* 9. 14. to 21.

Truth. Let it be under what *cloake*, or *colour*, or notion soever, let it be *politick* (indeed) and *subtle*, or *plaine* and simple, yet it seemes it is true, that he must *judge*, which will not be owned in *plaine tearms*, but as a *Protector*, a *Father* or a *Shepherd*.

Secondly, Those *Scriptures* quoted do not lay a *guilt* upon the ten *horns* or *kings* for suffering the *beast* in their *dominions*, but for giving their power and *authority* unto him.

Thirdly, the *civil peace* was not dissolved but preserved for many hundred yeers before the *Turkes* rose, to punish either the *Eastern* or *Western* part of *Antichristian Christendome*: So that a false *religion* doth not immediately and instantly *dissolve* the *civil peace*, but *kingdomes* and *states* professing false *religions*² may flourish. Tis true, God in his deep *councils* and *times* brings *judgements*, *eternal* and *temporal*, upon false worshipping *states*, especially where the *truth* of *Christ* is *presented* and *persecuted*; Yet divers *ages* of *temporal prosperity* to the *Antichristian kingdom*, prove that common *Assumption* and *maxime* false, to wit, that the *church* and *Commonweale* are like *Hipocrates twins*, weep and laugh, flourish and fade, live and die together.

Peace. I cannot reach the *bottome* of this next passage of Master *Cotton*, viz. that *Magistrates* may be subject to the *church*, and lick the dust of her *feet*, and yet be *supreme governors of the church*

1. The title of supream head, oath of supremacy, &c.

2. The plague of the *Turkes* upon the *Antichristian* world.

church also: In *spiritual matters* (saith he) and in a right *administration* of them, he is subject; but in *civil things*, and in the corrupt administration of *church-affaires* (so far corrupt as tendeth to the disturbance of *civil peace*) there the *Magistrates* (saith he) are *supream governors*, even over the *churches* in their own *dominions*.

Truth. Who sees not here, but by this Doctrine *Magistrates* must judge, when the *church* is rightly administred, and when it is corruptly administred: And that whatever the *Ministers* of the *church*, or the whole *church* judge, that is nothing, for the *Magistrate* if he be *supream governor*, he must *judge*? and what is this but even in the very same respect, I say in one and the same respect, to make them *high* and *low up* and down, *mountaines* and *vallies*? *supream governors*, and so above the *church*, anon agen to lick the dust of the *feet* of the *church*; which Master *Cotton* will as soon make good, as bring the *East* and the *West* together.

Besides (as elsewhere I observed) what if the people will have no *kings*, *governors* &c. nay no *Parliament*, nor *general courts*, but leave vast *interregnums* or *Ruptures* of government, yea conclude upon frequent *changes* (as all *nations* of the *world* have had great changes this way) shall the *churches* of *Christ Jesus* be without an *head*, a *governor*, *defender*, *protector*? What a slavery doth this *bloody doctrine* bring the faire *Spouse* of *Christ* into?

Peace. In the passage concerning *Saul*, Master *Cotton* observeth, that *Saul* was not taken away for exercising *civil power* against *spiritual wickedness* in the case of *witches*.

Truth. *Saul* was king of *Israel*, the *church* of *God*, and a typical king, the anointed or *Christ* of *God*; and Master *Cotton* himself will subcribe to the confession of *Nathaniel* to *Christ Iesus*,² Thou art the king of *Israel*, which he was and is in his own most holy person, as also in his *Ministers* and *governors* during his absence. It was now *Sauls* duty to put literal *witches* to death in his *Christian Israel*, his *church* and *Congregation*.

It is true, *Saul* forsaking the *God* of *Israel*, perished for other wickedness, and among other his sins, for persecuting or hunting righteous *David*, and therein *Saul* is a *type* and warning to all the

1. The Civil Magistrate no governor over the spiritual kingdome of Christ.

2. Whether *Saul* a type of Christ.

the *apostates* and *persecuting Sauls* of the earth, that *desperation* and desperate self-destruction attend them.

Peace. But whither tends this last passage concerning *David*? We read not (saith Master Cotton) that he did exercise any *spiritual power* as a *King*, but as a *prophet*. Will he commend *Sauls* kingly acting in *spiritual* things, as just; and shall not *David* (whose *name* and *throne* were most eminently figurative of *Christ Jesus*) be found a *king* in *Israel*, the house and *church* of *God*?

Truth. The patern of *David*, *Solomon*, and the good *kings* of *Israel* and *Judah*, is the common and great *argument* of all that plead for *Magistrates* power in *spiritual* cases: And indeed,¹ what *power* was that but *spiritual*, which he exercised in bringing up the *Arke*, expresly said to be done by *king David*? 2 *Sam.* 6. What power was that but *kingly*, put forth in ordering and disposing the *services* of the *Priests* and *Levites*, and *singers*, 1 *Chron.* 16?

Peace. Master Cotton not ignorant of this, it may be was not pleased with that *passage*, viz. [That *God* will take away such *staves*, upon whom *Gods* people rest in his wrath, that *king David*, that is, *Christ Jesus* the *Antitype*, in his own *spiritual power* in the hands of his *Saints*, may *spiritually*, and for ever be advanced.]

Truth. This *power* the *General Councils*, the *Popes*, the *Prelates*, the *kings* of the earth, the *civil courts* and *Magistrates*, lay claime unto, and most of them with *bloody hands*, yea and *Gods* servants have too long leaned unto, and longed after, such an *arme* of *flesh*, which proves (most commonly) but *Sauls arme*, an oppressing and *persecuting*, and a self-killing and destroying power at the last.

Examination of CHAP. XXXII.

Peace.

THIS Chapter containes, a twofold denial: First (saith Master Cotton) we hold it not lawful for a *Christian Magistrate*

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1. The kings of Israel and Judah types.

to compell by civil sword, either *Pharisee*, or *Pagan*, or *Jew*, to profess his *religion*.

Truth. He that is deceived himself with a *bad commodity*, puts it off as *good* to others: Master *Cotton* believes, and would make others believe, that it is no *compulsion*, to make *laws* with *penalties* for all to come to *church*, and to *publike worship*; which was ever in our *fathers dayes*, held a sufficient *trial* of their *religion*, and of *consenting* to or *dissenting* from the *religion* of the times. Hence by some is that of *Luk. 14.* alledged Compel them to come in, sufficiently fulfilled, if they be so far compelled, as to be conformable to come to *church*, though it be under the pretence and mask of comming only to hear the *word*, whereby they may be *converted*.

But it is needless to stand *guessing* and *guessing* at the *weight*, when the *scales* are at hand, the holy *word* of *God*, by which we all profess to have our *weight*, or to be found too light.

Peace. Master *Cotton* therefore (Secondly) denies that a blind *Pharisee* may be a good *subject*, and as peaceable and profitable to the *civil state* as any, since they destroyed the *civil state* by destroying *Christ*.

Truth. When we speak of *civil state*, and their *administrations*, it is most improper and fallacious to wind or weave in the consideration of their true or false *religions*.

It is true, *idolatry* brings *judgement* in *Gods* time (and so do other sins, for we read not of *idolatry* in *Sodoms punishment*, *Ezek. 16.*) notwithstanding there is a present *civil state* of men combined to live together there in a *commonweale*, which *Gods* people are commanded to pray for (*Jerm. 29.*) whatever be the *religion* there publikly professed. Beside, the *Pharisees* destroying *Christ*, were guilty of blood and persecution, which is more then *idolatry*, &c. and cries to heaven for vengeance.

Peace. It cannot therefore with any shew of *charity* be denied, but that divers *priests* of *Babel*, might be *civil* and peaceable, notwithstanding their *religion* and *conscience*.

Truth. Yea it is known by experience, that many thousands of *Mahumetan*, *Popish* and *Pagan Priests* are in their persons both of as *civil* and courteous and peaceable a nature, as any of the *subjects* in the state they live in.

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The truth is, that herein all the *priests* in the world, *Mahumetan*,¹ *Pepish*, *Pagan* and *Protestant*, are the greatest *peace-breakers* in the world as they (fearing their own cause) never rest stirring up *Princes* and people against any (whether *Gods* or the *devils instruments*) that shall oppose their own *religion* and *conscience*, that is in plaine *English*, their *profits*, *honours* and *bellies*.

Examination of CHAP. XXXIII.

Peace.

THE entrance of this Chapter (*dear truth*) looks in mine eye like one of the bloody *fathers* of the *inquisition*, and breaths (like *Paul* in his mad *zeal* and *frenzy*) *slaughters* against the Son of *God* himself, though under the name or brand of a *seducer*, as all *persecutors* have ever done: For (saith Master *Cotton*) he that corrupteth a soul with a corrupt *religion* layeth a *spreading leaven*² which corrupteth a state, as *Michals idolatry* corrupted *Laish*, *Judg.* 19. and that *Apostacy* was the *captivity* of the land; and the worshipping of *images* brought the plague of the *Turkes*, and therefore it is *lex talionis*, that calleth for not only *soul* for *soul*, but *life* for *life*.

Truth. Thy tender *braine* and *heart* cannot let flie an *arrow* sharpe enough to pierce the *bowels* of such a *Bloody Tenent*.

Peace. The flaming *jealousie* of that most holy and righteous *Judge*, who is a *consuming fire*, will not ever hear such *Tenents*, and behold such practices in silence.

Truth. Sweet peace, long and long may the *Almond-tree* flourish on Master *Cottons* head in the armes of true *Christianity* and true *Christian* honour; And let *New-Englands Colonies* flourish also (if *Christ* so please) untill he come againe the second time: But that he who is love it self, would please to tell Master *Cotton* and the *Colonies*, and the world, the untrueness, uncharitableness, numercifulness, and unpeaceableness of such *conclusions*: For is not this the plaine, *English* and the bottome, to wit, If the *spirit* of *Christ Jesus* in any of his *servants*, *sons* or *daughters*,
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1. The priests and Clergy in all Nations the greatest peacebreakers.

2. Touching the seducer.

witnessing against the *abominations* or stinks of *Antichrist*, shall perswade one *soul*, man or woman, to fear *God*, to come out of *Babell* &c. to refuse to bow down to, and to come out from communion with a *state-golden-image*, and not to touch what it is perswaded is an unclean thing.

That man or woman who was the *Lambs* and the *Spirits instruments* thus to enlighten and perswade one soul, he hath (saith¹ this tenent) laid a *leaven*, which corrupteth the *state*, that is, the *laud*, *town*, *city*, *kingdome*, or *Empire* of the *world*; that *leaven* shall bring the *captivity*, ruine and destruction of the *state*, and therefore *Lex Talionis*, not only *soul* for *soul* in the next, but *life* for *life* also in this present *world*.

Peace. All thy *witnesses* (*dear truth*) in all ages have borne the *brand* and black mark of *seducers*, and still shall, even *Christ Jesus* himself, to the last of his holy *army* and followers against his enemies.

Truth. How famous, or rather abominably infamous hath been the practice of all *persecutors* this way? I shall pick out one instance, a very stinking weed out of *Babels* desert (to let pass all the bloody, *bulls* and their roarings and *threatning* of *Councels*, *Popes* and *Emperors*, *Kings*, *Bishops*, *Commissaries* &c. against the *Waldensians*, *Wicklavian*s, the *Hussites*, *Hugonites*, *Lutherans*, *Calvinists* &c.) their infections and seducings. To let pass former and latter *persecutions* in our own *English Nation*, which hath been (as *France*, *Spaine*, *Italy*, *Low-countries*, &c. also) a *slaughter-house* of *Christs lambs*; one instance more pertinent then many, we have (in the raigne of that wise and mighty prince *Henry* the eighth) of bloody *Longland*, *Lincolnes Bishop*, acting to the life Master *Cottons Tenent* against *seducers* throughout his *Diocess*. What *oaths* did he exact? what *articles* did he invent,² to find out the *meetings* the *conventicles*, the *conferences*, of any poor servants of *God*, men and women, day or night; whether the *father* read to the *child*, or the *childe* to the *father*, the *husband* to the *wife*, or the *wife* to the *husband*? Yea, whether they spake any thing (though never so little) out of any line of holy *Scriptures*, or any of *Wickliffes* books, or any good *English writings*: By which abhorred *practices*, the *fathers* (caught in this bloody *Bishops oath*, vehemently forced upon all suspected)

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1. Of seducing.

2. Bishop Longlands subtle Oaths of inquisition.

the *fathers*, I say were forced to accuse and betray their *children*, the *children* their *fathers*, *husbands* their *wives*, *wives* their *husbands*, for fear of horrible death on the one side, or else of running upon the rocks of *Perjury* on the other side.

Peace. Hold (*dear truth*) and stop; my *spirit* is wounded with such *relations*.

Truth. O how were the *Saints*, and *Christ Jesus* in them, wounded with such *tenents* and *practices*!

Peace. Master *Cotton* will salve this up (with what he elsewhere saith) thus: *Longlands*, and the *Papists religion*, and the *religion of England*, was then false in that *kings* time.

Truth. What then? No pious and sober man can hold all men devoid of *conscience* to *God*, except himself. In all *religions*, *sects*, and *consciences*, the sons of men are more or less zealous and precise, though it be in falshood.

2. But let it be granted, that the *religion* persecuted is false, and that a false *religion* like *leaven*, will spread, as did this *idolatry* of *Michal*, *Jeroboam*, and others; and grant that this *idolatry* will bring *judgements* from heaven in the end, yet I desire Master *Cotton*, or any knowing man, to answer to these two *questions*.

1. Where finde we, since the comming of *Christ Jesus*, a *land* like *Canaan*, a *state-religion*, a *City*, or *Town-religion*, wherein the *Townes*, or *Cities*, or *kingdomes* *apostacie* may be feared (as Master *Cotton* here writes of *Laish*) and consequently the *Townes* or *Cities* *captivity* for that sin?

2. Where read we of the destruction of a *land* for *idolatry*, or *images*, without a ripeness in other sins, and especially of *violence* and oppression (of which *persecution* is the greatest?) And therefore to follow Master *Cottons* instance of the *Turks* beside *idolatry*¹ (which saith Master *Cotton* brought the plague of the *Turks*, Rev. 9.) read we not also in that *Scripture*, and in all *histories*, of their detestable and wonderful *whoredomes*, *witchcrafts*, *thefts*, *slaughters*, and *murthers*, amongst which this bloody Tenent of *persecution* was ever in most high esteem? &c.

Peace. Indeed *Babel* hath been filled with blood of all sorts *Revelations* the 18. but in especial manner hath the *whore*

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1. Canses of destruction to a Nation.

been drunk with the blood of the *Saints*, and *witnesses* of *Jesus*, Revel. 17.

Truth. Hence then not *idolatry* onely, but that bloody *doctrine* of *persecution* (the great *fire-brand* and *incendiary* of all *Nations* and *Commonweals*) brought in the bloody *Turkes* to revenge Gods *truth* and *witnesses* slaine by the idolatrous and bloody *Antichristians*.

Peace. I something question, that it can be proved, that the most righteous *Judge* of the whole world ever destroyed *state* or *nation* for *idolatry*; but where this bloody *doctrine* of *persecution* was joynd with it, that is, until he had graciously sent *witnesses* against such *idolatries*, and till such *witnesses* were despised and persecuted, and therefore here comes in seasonably the sad exprobration of the *Lord Jesus*, against *Jerusalem*, threatning the ruine and desolation of it, Oh *Ierusalem*, *Ierusalem*, which killest the *Prophets*; and stonest them which were sent unto thee &c!

Truth. I add lastly, Let it be granted that a soul is corrupted with a false *religion*, and that that false *Religion*, like a *leaven*, in time hath corrupted the *state*;

Yet first, that *state* or *land* is none else but a part of the *world*, and if so (since every part more or less in degree follows the nature¹ of the whole) it is but natural, and so lieth as the whole *world* doth in *wickedness*; and so, as a *state* or part of the world, cannot but alter from one false way or path to another (upon this supposition (as before) that no *whole state*, *kingdome*, *City*, or *Town* is *Christian* in the new *Testament*.

Secondly, Grant this *state* to be so corrupted or altered from one corrupt *religion* to another, yet that *state* may many *ages* enjoy civil *peace* and worldly prosperity, as all *histories* and *experience* testifies.

Thirdly, That *idolatry* may be rooted out, and another *idolatrous religion* of the *conquerer* (as in the *Romane* and other *conquests*)² brought: in or the *religion* may be changed something to the better, by the coming of new *Princes* to the *crown*, as we see in *Henry* the eighth, *King Edward*, and *Queen Elizabeth*, in our own *Nation*, and of late times.

Lastly, A *soul* or *souls* thus leavened, may be reduced

N 2

by

1. All nations Cities, Towns, &c. are part of the world.

2. Change of Religions.

by *repentance* (as often it pleaseth *God* so to work, why then should there (as Master *Cotton* intimates) such a peremptory bloody sentence be thundred out as *life* for *life*, &c.

Peace. But, saith Master *Cotton*, *false prophets*, in the old *Testament*, were to die, but for attempting; and the reason was not from any *typical holiness* of the *land*, but from the dangerous wickedness of the attempting to thrust away a soul from *God*, which is a greater injury, then to deprive a man of *bodily life*.

Truth. The reason to me appears plainly *typical*, with respect to that holy *nation*, and the *seducers* seeking to turn the soul away from the *Lord their God*, who had brought them forth from the *land of Egypt*, by such *signes, miracles, &c.* Let Master *Cotton*¹ now produce any such *nation* in the *whole world*, whom *God* in the *New Testament* hath literally and miraculously brought forth of *Egypt*, or from one *land* into another, to the truth and purity of his *worship, &c.* then far be it, but I should acknowledge that the *seducer* is fit to be put to death. But draw away the *curtaine* of the *shadow*, and let the *substance* appear, not a whole *Nation, City, &c.* but the *Christian church*, brought by spiritual *signes* and *wonders* from the *Egypt* of this *world* in all *nations* of the² *world*, where the *Gospel* comes. Justly therefore he that seduceth a soul from his *God* in *Christ*, and so endangereth to leaven that only true *Christian state* or *kingdome* the *church* of *Christ*, he ought to die (upon his obstinacy) without mercy, as well under *Christ*, as under *Moses*. Yea, he is worthy of a sorer *punishment* (as saith the *Spirit* of *God*) who trampleth under feet the blood of *Christ*: such a *deceiver* or *seducer* (except he repent) is to be cut from the presence of the *Lord*, and to lose an *eternal life*: He that is cut off from *material Israel*, might yet repent and live eternally, but he that is cut off from *mystical Israel* under the *Gospel*, that is, for obstinacy in sin (the proper *hereticke*) he is cut off to all eternity; which punishment as it is infinitely transcendent and more dreadful in the nature and kind of it, so answereth it fully and infinitely that clause of Master *Cotton*, to wit, To thrust a soul from *God* is a greater injury then to deprive a man of his *bodily life*.

Peace. Now whereas the discussor added, That dead men cannot

1. The state of Israel unparlleld.

2. The punishments of *Christ* sorer then the punishments of *Moses*.

die, nor be infected with false *doctrine*, and such is the *State* of all men, all *nations*, all the *world* over, until the *life* of *Christ Jesus* quicken them; Master *Cotton* replies,

First, Dead men may be made worse, and more the children of *hell* then before, *Mat.* 23. and therefore such as so corrupt them, are worthy in a way of due proceeding of a twofold death.

Secondly, Such as profess the truth of the *doctrine* and worship of *Christ*, they live a kind of *spiritual life*, though not such as accompany *salvation*, else how are false *teachers*, and such as are *led* by them, said to be twice dead, pluckt up by the *roots*, *Jud.* 12.

Truth. Dead men may be made worse, that is, more to rot and stink; yet this is no taking away of any *life*. And therefore there is no proportionable reason, why the *seducers* should suffer a *temporal death*, having neither taken away *spiritual* nor *natural life*;¹ only thus he may be justly liable to a *spiritual death*, for endeavouring to hinder a *spiritual life*, by furthering any in their natural state of *spiritual death*.

2. For that place of *Iude*, Master *Cotton* knows that *Beza*² propounds two senses.

First, Twice dead, that is a certaine number for an uncertaine.

Secondly, This sence urged by Master *Cotton*, which if it be to be admitted, yet is it but in appearance, as his *life* which in *hypocrisie* he professed, was but in shew and appearance, he being never raised up from the *spiritual death* to a *spiritual life*, and therefore really never suffered the loss of a *spiritual life*, which he never had: And yet as in *typical Israel*, it stood with *Gods justice* to take away the *life* of the *seducer*, which seduced an *Israelite* from the *God* of *Israel*, or but attempted to do it: so stands it with the holy *justice* of *God*, to cut him off eternally, who but attempteth to take away or hinders the *spiritual* and *eternal life* of any.

Peace. Master *Cotton* in the next place presumes on advantage that the discusser should say, that none are infected with *natural plagues* or *spiritual*, but such are thereto appointed, &c.

Truth.

1. Of Seducing.

2. What meant by twice dead.

Truth. It is plaine that the discusser alleadged not that, to diminish or lessen sin (let it have its due *aggravation*) but as was said before in case of the not final deceiving of the *elect*, so was it here spoken not to derogate from *Gods meanes* and *remedies* against *natural* or *spiritual infection*, but to abate the needless feares of men, who are apt to cry out, Except the *civil sword* be drawn (and so therewith the *world* set together by the *eares*) the *world* cannot be preserved from *infection*.

Peace. Whereas the discusser had affirmed, that *Christ Jesus* had not left his people destitute of *spiritual means* against *spiritual infections*; This is true (saith Master *Cotton*) but it falleth out sometimes, that when the *church* hath cast out an *heretick*, yet he may destroy the *faith* of many, as did *Hymeneus* and *Philetus* (2 *Tim.* 2. 17.) and if the *Magistrates sword* do here rust, &c. such *leaven* may leaven the whole *country* &c. as *Arrianisme* leavened the *world* by *Constantines* indulgence.

Againe, saith he, it may be the *heretick* was never a member of the *church*; how then shall the *church* do?

Truth. Who can marvel at this, that the *dunghill* of this *world*, worldly men under the power of *Satan*, unto whom the obstinate person the *heretick* is cast, I say, that they, many of them, receive *worldly doctrine*, which the *church* as filth casts out? &c.

2. As *Paul* saith concerning the *salvation* of *Gods children*: Let the world perish, yet the foundation of *God* remaineth sure, he knows who are his, and how to provide meanes to save them, though the world still act it self, wallowing and tumbling¹ (like *Swine*) in one puddle of *wickedness* after another.

3. Master *Cotton* should read a little further in the same *Scripture* quoted by him, where he finds not a tittle of *Pauls* directing *Timothy* to stir up the *secular power* (as the *Pope* speakes) to cut off *Hymeneus* and *Philetus*, to prevent *infection*; but tels him, that the servants of *God* must not strive, but must quiet themselves with *patience*, waiting if peradventure *God* will please to give *repentance*.

Peace. Methinks this Answer may also fully satisfie his second *supposition*, to wit, if that the *heretick* was never of the *church*.

Truth.

1. Of Infection.

Truth. Yea what hath the *church* to do (that is, judicially) with him that is without? and what hath the *civil state* to judge him for who in *civil matters* hath not transgrest? In vaine therefore doth Master Cotton suggest a persecuting or hunting after the *souls* or *lives* of such, as being cast out of the *church*, keep private *conventicles* &c.

Peace. How grievous is this *language* of Master Cotton, as if he had been nourished in the *chappels* and *cloisters* of *persecuting prelates*, and *priests*, the *Scribes* and *Pharisees*? As if he never had heard of *Jesus Christ* in truth and meekness: For surely (as the discussor observed) *Christ Jesus* never appointed the *civil sword* an *Antidote* or *remedy* in such a case, notwithstanding Master Cotton replies that the *civil sword* was appointed a *remedy* in this case, by *Moses*, not *Christ*, *Deut.* 13.

Truth. *Moses* in the *old Testament* was *Christs* servant, yet *Moses* being but a servant, dispensed his power by carnal *rites* and *ceremonies*, *laws*, *rewards* and *punishments* in that holy *nation*, and that one land of *Canaan*: But when the *Lord Jesus* the *Son* and *Lord* himself was come, to bring the *truth*, and *life*, and *substance* of all those *shadowes*, to break down the *partition-wall* between *Jew* and *Gentile*, and to establish the *Christian worship* and *kingdome* in all *Nations* of the *world*, Master Cotton will never prove from any of the *books* and *institutions* of the *New Testament*, that unto those *spiritual remedies* appointed by *Christ Jesus* against *spiritual maladies*, he added the help of the *carnal sword*.

Peace. But *Christ* (saith Master Cotton) never abrogated the *carnal sword* in the new, which he appointed in the *old Testament*, and the reason of the *law*, to wit, an offence of thrusting away from the *Lord*, is perpetual.

Truth. If it appear (as evidently it doth) that this king (*Jesus* the *King of Israel*, wears his *sword* (the *Antitype* of the *Kings of Israel* their *swords*) in his mouth, being a sharpe two-edged¹ sword, then the answer is as clear as the *Sun*, that scatters the clouds and darkeness of the night.

Besides, Master Cotton needs not flie to the *Popes* argument for *childrens baptisme*, to wit, to say that *Christ* never abrogated *Deut.* 13. therefore, &c. For Master Cotton knows the *profession*

1. The sword of typical Israel a type of Christs spiritual sword.

on of the Lord Jesus, Iohn 18. that his *kingdome* was not earthly, and therefore his sword cannot be earthly: Master Cotton knows that *Christ Iesus* commanded a sword to be put up when it was drawn in the cause of *Christ*, and addeth a dreadful *threatning*, that all that take the sword (that is the *carnal sword* for his cause) shall perish by it.

Peace. And for the perpetuity of the *reason* of the *law*, you formerly fully satisfied, that even in the dayes of *grace*, for him that shall thrust away an *Israelite* from his *God*, there is upon his *obstinacy* a greater punishment beyond all imagination (to wit, a spiritual cutting off from the *land* of *Canaan*) then under *Moses*, which was but from the *temporall*, the *type* and *shadow*.

But Master Cotton proceedeth, alleadging, that the *Minister* of *God* must have in a readiness to execute *vengeance* on him that doth *evil*; and *evil* it is (saith he) to *thrust* away *Gods* people from him.

Truth. Every *lawful Magistrate*, whether succeeding or elected, is not only the *Minister of God*, but the *Minister* or¹ servant of the people also (what *people* or *nation* soever they be all the world over) and that *Minister* or *Magistrate* goes beyond his *commission*, who intermeddles with that which cannot be given him in *commission* from the people, unless Master Cotton can prove that all the people and inhabitants of all *nations* in the *world* have *spiritual power*, *Christs power*, *naturally*, *fundamentally* and *originally* residing in them (as they are people and *inhabitants* of this world) to rule *Christs Spouse* the *church*, and to give *spiritual* power to their officers to exercise their *spiritual laws* and commands; otherwise it is but prophaning the holy name of the most *high*. It is but flattering of *Magistrates*, it is but the accursed trusting to an *arme* of *flesh*, to perswade the *rulers* of the *earth*, that they are *Kings* of the *Israel* or *church* of *God*, who were in their *institutions* and *government* immediately from *God*, the *rulers* and *gavernors* of his holy *church* and people.

Peace. Grant (saith Master Cotton) that the *evil* be *spiritual*, and concern the inner man, and not the *civil state*, yet that evill will be destructive to such a *City*, it shall not rise up the second time, *Nahum*. 1. 9.

Truth. Although that it pleaseth *God* sometimes to bring a
people

1. Magistrates cannot receive from the people a spiritual power.

people to utter *destruction* for their *idolatry* against himself, and *cruelty* against his people; yet we see the Lord doth not presently and instantly do this, but after a long course of many *ages* and *generations*, as was seen in *Nineve* her self, and since in *Athens*, *Constantinople*, and *Rome* both *Pagan* and *Antichristian*. And therefore the example here by Master Cotton produced, gives not the least colour of *warrant* for the *civil state* presently and immediately to execute vengeance for *idolatry* or *heresie* upon *persons* or *Cities* now all the world over, as he gave commandment to that *typical nation* of *Israel*, which is now also to be fulfilled spiritually upon the *spiritual Israelite*, or *Israelitish City*, a *particular church* or people falling away from the *living God* in *Christ Jesus*.

Peace. Whereas it was said by the discussor, that the *civil Magistrate* hath the charge of the *bodies* and *goods* of the subjects,¹ and the *spiritual officers* of the *church* or *kingdome* of *Christ*, the charge of their *souls* and *soul safety*, Master Cotton answers, First, If it were so that the *civil Magistrate* had the charge of the *bodies* and *goods* onely of the subject, yet that might justly excite to watchfulness against such *pollution* of *religion* as tends to *apostacy*, for *God* will visit *city* and *country* with publike *calamity*, if not with *captivity*, for the *churches* sake. The *idolatry* and *worship* of *Christians* (saith he) brought the *Turkish captivity* upon the *cities* and *countries* of *Asia*.

Truth. By *soul* and *soul safety*, I think Master Cotton understands the same with the *discusser*, to wit, the *matters* of *religion* and *spiritual worship*. If the *Magistrate* hath received any such *charge* or *commission* from *God* in *spiritual* things, doubtless (as before) the people have received it *originally* and *fundamentally* as they are a people: But now if neither the *nations* of the *world*, as *peoples* and *nations*, have received this *power* *originally*, and *fundamentally*; nor can they derive it *Ministerially*, to their *civil officers* (by what name or *title*, high or low, soever they be distinguished) Oh what *presumption*, what *prophaning* of *Gods* most holy name, what *usurpation* over the *souls* and *consciences* of men, though it come under the *vaile* or *vizard* of saving the *City* or *kingdome*, yea of *saving* of *souls*, and honoring of *God* himself?

O

Beside

1. The charge of the civil Magistrate.

Beside, *God* is not wont to visit any *country* or people in general for the sin of his people but for their own *idolatries* and *cruelty* toward his people, as all *histories* will prove. And for this instance of the *Turkes*, I say it was not the *idolatry* and *image-worship*¹ alone of the *Antichristians*, but joyned with their other sins, which brought *Gods* vengeance by the *Turks* upon them as was said above, from *Revel.* 9. and especially their *Antichristian* cruelty grounded upon this bloody *doctrine* of *persecution*.

Both these *Antichristian states*, and since also the *Turkish Monarchy*, have flourished many *generations* in external and outward prosperity and glory, notwithstanding their *religion* is false, and although it is true, that in the time and period appointed, all *nations* shall drink of the cup of *Gods* wrath, for their *nationall* sins, both against the first and second table, in matters concerning *God* and man.

Peace. How satisfie you Master Cottons second answer or question, to wit, Did ever *God* commit the charge of the *body* to any *Governor*, to whom he did not commit in his way the care of their *souls* also?

Truth. There is a twofold care and charge of *souls* manifested in holy Scripture.

First, That which in common belongs to all, to love our neighbor as our selves, to endeavor the present and eternal *welfare*² both of *superiors*, *inferiors*, *equals*, *friends* and *enemies*; and this by *prayers*, *exhortations*, *reproofs*, *examples* of *justice*, *loving kindness*, *sobriety*, *godliness* &c.

But what is this to the second *charge* by way of *office*, which in the *old Testament* was given not only to *Priests* and *Levites*, but to the *governors* and *rulers* of the *Jewish state*: of which *state* (being mixed of *spiritual* and *civil*) they were the *head* and *governors*, as it was *Israel*, a *nation* of *worshippers* of the true *God*: And therein were they the *types* and *forerunners* of *Christ Jesus*³ the true *King* of *Israel*, as he is called, *Joh.* 1. The cure and charge of *souls*, now (saith Master Cotton) in this Chapter, belongeth by vertue of *office* to the *spiritual officers* of *Christs kingdom*: I add, and during the *desolation* of *Zion*, and the time of the *apostacy* from *Christs visible kingdome*, belongeth to the two *Prophets* and *witnesses* of *truth*, *Rev.* 11. but not to the *kings*, *rulers*,
nations

1. The plague of the *Turkes*.

2. A twofold care and charge of *souls*.

3. Christ the true King of *Israel*.

nations, and civil states of the world, who can be no true *parallel* or *antitype* to the Israel or people of God.

Peace. Master Cotton objects *Jehosaphat* sent abroad *preachers* throughout all the *Cities* of *Judah*; and if that were a *type* of *Christ*, it were to act that now, which typed out *Christ*, and he fulfilled in his own person.

Truth. *Christ Jesus* sends out *preachers* three waies.¹

First, In his own person, as the twelve and the seventy.

Secondly, By his *visible, kingly power*, left in the hand of his true churches, and the officers and governors thereof: In which sence that church of *Antioch*, and the governors thereof, rightly invested with the *kingly power* of *Christ Jesus*, sent forth *Paul* and *Barnabas* with *prayer* and *fasting*, and saying on of hands: And *Paul* and others of *Christs messengers*, being furnished with this *kingly power*, not only *planted churches*, but also ordained *elders* visited these churches or visible cities of *Judah*; that knowledge and teaching, and the word of God might dwel plenteously among them.

Thirdly, *Christ Iesus* as king of his church, and head of his body, during the distractions of his house and kingdome under *Antichrists apostacy*, immediately by his own holy Spirit, stirs up and sends out those fiery witnesses (*Rev. 11.*) to testifie against *Antichrist* and his several abominations: For as for lawful calling to a true ordinary Ministry, neither *Wickliff* in *England*, nor *Waldus* in *France*, nor *Iohn Hus* and *Ierome* of *Prauge* in² *Bohemia*, nor *Luther* in *Germany*, nor multitudes more of famous preachers and prophets of *Christ*, both in these countries and also in *Spaine, Italy* &c. I say, no true ordinary Ministerial calling can they ever shew; but *Christ Jesus* by the secret motion of his own holy Spirit extraordinarily excited, in couraged and sent them abroad as an *Angel* or messenger (*Rev. 14.*) with the everlasting Gospel &c.

Peace. To apply these three wayes, or any of them, to the civil Magistrates and rulers of the world (of whom *Iehosaphat* in that his act should be a type) is but to prophane the holy name of God, to leane upon and idolize an arme of flesh, &c.

Truth. I grant, the civil Magistrate is bound to countenance the true Ministers of *Christ Iesus*, to incourage, protect,

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and

1. Christs threefold sending of preachers.

2. For other true office of the Ministry, since the apostacie, but that of prophecy and opening the Testament of Christ against the falshood of Antichrist.

and defend them from injuries, but to send them armed (as the *Popes Legats* and *Priests*) with a *sword of steel*, and to compel people to hear and obey them, this savours more of the spirit of the *Pope*, his courses and practises, Yea of *Mahomet* his *Mussel-men*, *Dirgies*, &c. then the *Lambe of God* and his followers.

Peace. What *Iehosophat*. *Asa*. *Hezekiah*, *Iosiah*, &c. did, they did not only by *perswasion*, *countenance*, *example* (by which all are bound to further the *preaching of Christ Iesus*) but also by force of *armes* and *corporal punishments*.

Truth. Yea even to the death it self: and this is not a bare sending out of *Ministers* (as Master *Cotton* gives the instance:) For by his argument, all *rulers*, *kings*, and *Emperors*, and other *states* of the world ought to embrue their hands in the blood of the many *thousands* and *millions* of *millions* of the poor people, if they forsake not their *idolatry* and embrace the *religion* which they say is *Christian* and the only true.

Peace. No, saith Master *Cotton*, this ought not to be, because only *godly* and truly *Christian Magistrates* may so put forth this power of *Christ*; others must stay until they be informed.

Truth. Can it enter into any *Christian* heart, to believe, that *Christ Iesus* should so loosely provide for his *affaires*, so slightly¹ for his *name* and *Fathers work* and so regardlessly for his dearest *Spouse*, as to leave so high a *care* and *charge* with such as (generally and constantly throughout the *whole world*) are ignorant of, yea and opposite to the very name of *Christ* and true *Christianity*?

Peace. Surely if this *payment* were offered to the *governour* (as *Malachy* saith) to the *world*, or *governments* of it, it would not pass.

Truth. I never knew a *king* or *captaine councellor* or *constable*, officers of high or low condition, rightly called according to *God*, who were not invested with *ability* more or less for the *maine* and *principal* points of their charge and duty.

Peace. It seemes indeed a marvelous, and yet it is Master *Cottons*) *conclusion*, that such *Magistrates*, yea all or most of the *Magistrates* that ever have been since *Christ*, and now extant
upon

1. A foule imputation put upon Christ Iesus.

upon the face of the earth, must sit down, stay and suspend, and that all their life long, from the executing of the maine and principal part of their *office*, to wit, in *matters* concerning the *conscience*, *religion*, and *worship*, of the people.

Truth. Yea (Secondly) in a due survey of the whole *universe* and *globe* of this world, will one of a thousand or ten thousand (according to Master *Cottons* disabling of them from the chief part of their *office*) be found, I will not say fit to be, but to be at all lawful *civil Magistrates* or *rulers* according to *Gods ordinance* of *Magistracy* but meer *shadows* or *images* set on high with empty *names* or *titles* only of *Magistrates*?

Peace. Master *Cotton* adds, Although the good of souls is the proper or adequate object of the *spiritual officers* of *Christ*, and the *bodies* and *goods* of the people, the proper or adequate object of the *civil Magistrate*; yet in order to the good of their souls, he ought to procure *spiritual helps*, and to prevent *spiritual evils*.

Truth. I reply, If he mean (as it is clear he doth) that the *civil Magistrate* ought to do this not only as a *Christian* by *spiritual*¹ *meanes*, but as a *civil Magistrate* by force of *armes*, It is not in order, but monstrous disorder, for then he (the *civil Magistrate*) must sit *Judge* (judicially and formally) in those *spiritual causes* and cases, which Master *Cotton* grants are proper and adequate objects of the *spiritual officers* which *Christ* hath appointed.

Peace. Yea, why may not (saith Master *Cotton*) the *Magistrate* use his power (spiritually) in order to the good of *bodies*, as the *officers of Christ* dehort from *idleness* and *intemperance* of meats and drinks &c. in order to the good of souls?

Truth. The *spiritual officers* in dehorting from these *evils* or any other of that kind, interfere not, nor take cognizance of that which belongs not to their *spiritual court*; for *holiness* in all manner of *conversation* is the circle wherein they ought to see all their *spiritual subjects* to walk. If the *spiritual officers* should cause by force of *armes* their people to walk justly, temperately, &c. as Master *Cotton* saith the *civil Magistrate* in order to the good of *bodies* ought to deal in *spiritual* and *soul-matters*, I say then the *eyes* of the *civil Magistrate* would begin to open
and

1. Pretended order, monstrous disorder.

and to see the horrible *disorder* and *Babylonish confusion* of that which is here masked under the abused name of *order*.

Peace. Master Cotton closeth up this *chapter* with very bitter censures against the discussor.

Truth. The discussor may well reply, that although since the *apostacy* he sees not the *visible thrones* and *tribunals* of *Christ Jesus* (according to his first *institution*) erected, and although the *civil Magistrate* hath not the power of *Christ* in *matters of religion*, yet they that slay the *Lords sheep* are not exempted from¹ all *judgement*: For, if the *offenders* slay them *corporally*, the *Lord* hath armed the *civil Magistrate* with the *sword of God* to take vengeance on them. In which respect *God* hath crowned the *supream court of Parliament* with everlasting honour, in breaking the jaws of the oppressing Bishops, &c. Oh that such glorious *Justice* may not be blemished, by erecting in their stead a more *refined*, but yet as cruel an *Episcopacy*.

2. If the offence be of a *spiritual nature*, is there no *spiritual way of judging*, except the *church of Christ* be granted *visible* during *Antichrists Apostacy*? Hath not *Christ Jesus* given power to his two prophets (even all the *Raigne of the Beast*) to speak *fire*, *Revelations* the 11. to shut up *heaven*, to turn the *waters* into *blood*, to smite the *earth* with all manner of *plagues*, and this untill the time of the finishing of their *prophecie* or *Testimony*, when their great *slaughters* shall prepare the way for the downfal of *Antichrist* and their own most glorious *raising* and *exaltation*?

There was no Chapter 34 (which probably was Master Cottons oversight, or the Printers) therefore I pass to Chapter 35.

CHAP.

1. The Parliaments high justice aggainst oppressors.

Examination of CHAP. XXXV.

Peace.

HERE, whereas it was said, if it were the *Magistrates* duty or office to punish *hereticks* &c. then he is both a *temporal* and *Ecclesiastical* officers: Master *Cotton* answers, It follows not: except the *Magistrate* were to punish with *Ecclesiastical* censures, his punishment is meerly *civil*, whether *imprisonment*, *banishment*, or *death*.

Truth. I reply, first, the *statutes* of the *English nation*, and the *oath* of *supremacy*, have proved the *Kings* and *Queens* of *England* heads and governors of the church of *England*: And ifⁱ to be an head or governor be not an office, let Master *Cotton* be againe requested to ponder the *instance* given, which he passeth by in silence; deny it ingenuously he cannot, and to justifie it I hope his light from heaven will not suffer him, although yet he would faine excuse it, by saying, they punish only with *civil punishment*, *imprisonment*, *banishment* or *death*. Therefore,

2. Here lies the *mystery* of *iniquity*, and the *Babel* and *confusion* of it, that either according to *Popish Tenents* the *kings* of the earth must give their power to the *beast*, and enslave themselves under the name and vizard of the *secular power* to be the *Popes executioners*, or according to *Protestant Tenents*, to wit, that *Kings* and *Governours* be heads of the church and yet be furnished with no *Church-power* nor *spirituall* censures.

Peace. It would be thought some *mystical* and *monstrous* thing, that *Kings* and *Governors* should be obliged to act in *civil Judicature*, and yet be furnished with no *civil power*, but ought to punish onely with *spirituall* or *Church-censures*.

Truth. The blinde and the lame mans robbing the Orchard is here verified. The Minister (though a blindeguide) he is the seer, but wanting legs and strength of civil power, he is carried upon the civil *Magistrates* shoulders, whose blindness the subtle Clergy abuseth, &c. but both together rob the Orchard of the most high and sure-avenging God.

Truth.

i. The title head of the Church.

Truth. I conceive it true, that the *Kings* and *Governors* of the *national church* of *Israel* had a *national power*; and had the¹ *Kord Jesus* been pleased to have continued *national churches* the *Lings* and *governors* of such *states* might well (as they of *Israel* were) have been both *Temporal* and *Ecclesiastical officers*.

Peace. But now the *Lord Jesus* abolishing that *national state*, and instituting and appointing his *worshippers* and *followers* to be the *Israel of God*, the holy *nation* and proper *Antitype* of the former *Israel*; it seems most *unchristian*, that either the *work* or the *title* should remaine, whether with open or a masked face or vizard.

Truth. Therefore as it pleased *God* in wonderful *wisdome* and inconceivable depths of councel for a while to continue a *national church national covenant* &c. and to take them away as insufficient, beggarly, and weak, either for the further advancement of his own *glory*, or *salvation* of men: so hath he taken away the *administration* thereof by *carnal weapons*, *armes* of *flesh* &c. In stead of *fire* and *sword*, and *stoning* the *opposit;es* in stead of *imprisonment*, *banishment* *death*, he hath appointed *exhortations*, *reprehensions*, *denunciations*, *excommunications*, and together with *preaching*, *patient waiting*, if *God* peradventure will give *repentance*.

Lastly, If the *civil Magistrate* must imprison and banish, and put to death in *spiritual cases*; and the *civil Magistrate*, is but a *Minister* or servant of the people (and so of *God*) and if the² people make the *laws*, and give the *Magistrate* his *commission* and power; doth it not follow by this *doctrine*, that the people of the *nations* of the *world* are *fundamentally* and *originally* both *Temporal* and *Ecclesiastical*? And then what is become of the *foundations* of the *Christian faith*? And also are not hereby the *people* and *nations* of the *world* (whatever care be had to the contrary to restraine) encouraged, according to their several *consci-ences*, I say encouraged and hardened in their bloody *wars*, *imprisonings*, *banishings*, and putting to death for cause of *conscience*?

Peace. Whereas it was said to be *Babel* or *confusion*, for the *church* to punish the offences of such as are not within its *jurisdiction* with *spiritual censures*, or the *civil state* *spiritual of-fences*

1. The civil Megistrate no spiritual officer, now as in Israel.

2. The peoples power.

with *corporal* or *temporal weapons*, Master Cotton answers, No *confusion*, for so *Paul* directs the *church* of *Corinth*.

Truth. That very *Parenthesis* which Master Cotton stumbl-eth at, takes away his answer. For as it would be confusion for the *church* to censure such *matters*, and of such persons as belong not to the *church*: So is it *confusion* for the *state* to punish *spiritual*¹ offenders, for they are not within the *spear* of a *civil jurisdiction*. The *body* or *Commonweal* is meerly *civil*, the *Magistrate* or *head* is a *civil head*, and each *member* is a *civil member*: and so far forth as any of this *civil body* are *spiritual*, or act *spiritually*, they and their actions fall under a *spiritual cognizance* and *judicature*.

Peace. The *reason* (saith Master Cotton) is the same, for there be offences which tend to provoke *wrath* against the *civil state*, *Ezra* 7. Why should there be *wrath* against the *king* or his *sons*?

Truth. This reason indeed Master Cotton often inculcates and beates upon it, that the *Pagan kings* of *Persia* were of his mind:² I believe Master Cotton out of a *zeal* to *God*, but the *Pagan kings* out of a slavish *terror*, which never prevailed so far (that I know of) as to bring them to a kindly *repentance* of their own *idolatries*, or a true *love* to the *God* of *Israel* or his *people*.

Peace. However your former answer is to me *sufficient*; to wit, that thousands of famous *Towns*, *Cities* and *Kingdomes* have flourished in *peace* and *tranquillity* for many ages and generations, where *God* hath had no house, and not only where it was by the *civil state* neglected, but also wholly persecuted.

Truth. In the time appointed and full *ripeness* of their *sins*, the *vengeance* of *God* (after *patience* many *generations* abused) hath surely and fearefully visited, yet in the *interim*, it is clear it is no ground of a necessity of present punishing of false *worshippers* and *idolaters*, least present *wrath* fall upon the *King* or his *Son*.

Peace. Now whereas it was said an intollerable *burthen* laid³ upon the *Magistrates* back, together with the care of the *Commonweal* to be charged also with the *spiritual*, &c. Master Cotton answers, 1. That the *Magistrate* ought to seek out meanes

P

of

1. All Commonweals that ever have been, are or shal be in the World (excepting that of typical Israel) meerly civil.

2. The Decrees of Pagan kings for Israel, and the God of it, considered.

3. The Ministers lay heavy loads upon the Magistrates back.

of *grace* for the people. 2. To remove *idolatry* and *idolatrous Teachers*. 3. It is commonly added, that he ought to preserve the *church* pure by *reformation*.

Truth. I reply, This *work* charged upon the *kings, governors, and Magistrates* in the *world*, makes the weight of their *care* and charge far greater, then ever was the charge of the *kings* of *Israel* and *Judah*, For their people were miraculously brought into *covenant* with *God*, to their hands, like a *bridge, or house, or ship* ready built; and needed only keeping up in *reparation*: yea an heavier *yoak*, then either their or our *fathers* were able to bear, considering all the several different *consciences, religions, and worships* of all mankind naturally, and the many different *opinions, factions, and sects*, which daily do arise, and that conscientiously and zealously unto death: All these must by Master *Cottons doctrine*) lie before the *bar*, beside all *civil cases, &c.*

Peace. Tis memorable that *Paul* himself, that had the care of all the *churches*, would not be intangled with *civil affaires*, further then his own *necessities* did call for; and sometimes the *necessities* of his *companions*: but this *yoak* put upon the necks of *Magistrates*, is as full of temporal as spiritual care: And as it is impossible for them to bear, So the *Lord* in his holy *season*, may please to teach them (as he hath taught some already through his *grace*) to lay that spiritual Burthen upon the *shoulders* of their only King of *Saints Christ Jesus*, to whom the *supream power* and care of *souls* and *churches* doth alone belong.

Whereas it was further said, that the *Magistrate* is to cherish, and to cleave unto the *Saints*, and to defend them from *civil violence*, but the *spiritual* care of them belongs to *spiritual officers* appointed by *Christ Jesus* to that end, Master *Cotton* replies, this is but a pretence, because the discussor acknowledgeth no *churches* extant, &c.

Truth. Although amongst so many pretending *churches*, the discussor be not able to satisfie himself in the rightly gathering of the *Churches*, according to the true *order* of *Christ Jesus*, yet this is far from a pretence, because the *institution* of any *state government, order, &c.* is one thing, and the *administra-
tion*

and *execution*, which may be interrupted and eclipsed, is another.

Peace. Indeed *Ieremy* could not rightly have been judged a pretender, when he mourned for, and lamented the *desolations* of the *temple*, *priests*, *elders*, *altar*, *sacrifice*, &c. and neither he nor *Daniel*, nor any of *Gods prophets* or *servants*, could (during the time of the *desolation* and *captivity*) acknowledge either *temple*, or *altar*, or *sacrifice* right, extant upon the face of the *earth*.

Truth. He that saith the *Sun* (*Christ Jesus*) is not to be seen in our *Horizon* or *Hemisphere*, in his absence, or when he suffers an *Eclipse*, cannot be said to deny that the *Lord Jesus* his holy ordinances ought to be *visible* in the *worship* and *service* of *God*: Although the discussor be not satisfied in the *period* of the *times*, and the manner of his glorious appearing, yet his *soul* uprightly desires to see and adore, and to be thankful to Master *Cotton*, yea to the least of the *disciples* of *Christ Jesus*, for any *coal* or *sparke* of true *light*, amongst so many false and pretended *candles* and *candlesticks*, pretending the glorious name of the *Lord Jesus Christ*.

Peace. Next, Master *Cotton* demands what *reason* can be given, why the *Magistrate* ought to break the teeth of *lyons* (ought to suppress such as offer *civil violence*) and not of the *Wolves*, that make havock of their *souls*, who are more mischievous then the *lyon*, as the *Pope* of *Rome*, then the *Pagan Emperors*? He wonders the discussor should favor the *Pope* more then the *Emperour*, except it be that he symbolizeth rather with *Antichrist* then with *Cæsar*.

Truth. It may here suffice to say two things (not to repeat other *passages*.)

First, The *civil state* and *Magistrate* are meerly and *essentially civil*; and therefore cannot reach (without the transgressing the bounds of *civility*) to judge in matters *spiritual*, which are of another *sphere* and *nature* then *civility* is: Now it is most just and proper, that if any member of a *civil body* be opprest, the *body* should relieve it: As also it is just and proper, that the *spirituall state* or *body* should relieve the soul of any in that *spiritual combination* oppressed.

P 2

There-

1. A time when no visible Church of God in the world for the right forme and order, &c.

Therefore (Secondly) for *spiritual* and *religious* oppressions, the *king of kings Christ Iesus* hath sufficient providedly in his *spiritual kingdome*: therefore (*Acts 20*) *Paul* gives the charge against those *spiritual Wolves* to the *elders* of the *church* at *Ephesus*,¹ and not to *civil Magistrates* of the *city*, which *Paul* should have done (notwithstanding they were *worshippers* of *Diana*) if it had been *their* duty to have broke the *teeth* of those *spirituall Wolves* &c.

Peace. It is (indeed) one thing to prohibite the *Pope*, the *prelates*, the *Presbyterians*, the *Independents*, or any from forcing² any in the matters of their respective *consciences*, and accordingly to take the *sword* from such mens hands, or (as their executioners) to refuse to use it for them: It is another thing to leave them freely to their own *consciences*, to defend themselves as well as they can, by the two-edged sword of the *spirit*, which is the *word* of *God*, which all the several sorts of *pretenders* say they have received from *Iesus Christ*.

Truth. The renowned *Parliament* of *England* hath justly deserved a *crown* of *honour* to all *posterity*, for breaking the *teeth* of the *oppressing Bishops* and their *courts*; but to wring the *sword*³ out of the hands of a few *prelates*, and to suffer it (willingly) to be wrung out of their own hands, by many thousand *Presbyterians*, or *Independants*, what is it but to change one *wolfe* or *lyon* for another, or in stead of *one*, to let loose the *Dens* of thousands?

Peace. But why should Master *Cotton* insinuate the *discusser* to glance a more obsequious eye upon the *Pope*, then upon the *Emperor*?

Truth. I fear Master *Cotton* would create some evil opinion in the *heart* of the *civil Magistrate*, that the *discusser* is (as the *bloody Iews* told *Pilate*) no friend to *Cæsar*: whereas upon a due⁴ search it will be sound clear as the light, that it is impossible that any that subscribe *ex animo* to the bloody Tenent of persecution, can (*ex animo*) be a *friend* to *Magistracy*. The reason is, all *persecutors*, whether *priests* or *people*, care onely for such *Magistrates* as suite the *end*, the great bloody *end* of *persecution*, of whom they either hope to borrow the *sword*, or whom they hope to make their *executioners*. Their very principles also (*Papist* and

1. The wolves at Ephesus, *Act. 20*.

2. The duty of civil power in matters of Religion.

3. The changing of persecutors is onething, the abolishing of persecution another.

4. The persecuting Cleargy no cordial friends to Magistracie.

and *Protestant*) lead them necessarily to dispose and kill their *heretical, Apostate, blaspheming Magistrates*.

Peace. But why should Master Cotton insinuate any affection in the discusser to that *Tyrant* of all earthly *Tyrants*, the *Pope*?

Truth. To my knowledge Master Cotton and others have thought the discusser too zealous against the bloody *beast*: yea, and who knows not this to be the ground of so much sorrowful *difference* between Master Cotton and the discusser, to wit that the discusser grounds his separation from their *churches* upon their not seperating from that man of sin? For Old England having¹ compelled all to *church*, compel'd the *Papists*, and the *Pope* himself in them: The daughter New England, separaring from her mother in Old England, yet maintaines and practises communion with the *Parishes* in Old. Who sees not then, but by the *links* of this *mystical chaine*, New England Churches are still fastned to the *Pope* himself?

Peace. Master Cottons third *reply* is this, that it is not like that such *Christians* will be faithful to their *prince*, who grow false and² disloyal to their *God*, and therefore consequently the *civil Magistrate* must see that the *church degenerate* and apostate not, at least so far as to provoke *Christ* to depart from them.

Truth. This is indeed the down right most bloody and *Popish Tenent* of *persecuting* the *degenerate, heretical* and *Apostate* people: of deposing, yea and killing *Apostatical* and *heretical princee* and *rulers*.

The truth is, the great *Gods* of this world are *God-belly God-peace, God-wealth, God-honour, God-pleasure &c.* These *Gods* must not be blasphemed, that is, evil spoke of, no not provoked, &c.³ The servants of the living *God* being true to their *Lord* and *Master*, have opposed his *glory, greatness, honour &c.* to these *Gods*, and to such *religions, worships, and services*, as commonly are made but as a *mask* or *vaile*, or covering of these *Gods*.

Peace. I have long been satisfied, that hence proceeds the *mad cry* of every *Demetrius* and *crafts-Master* of false *worship* in the *world*, Great is our *Diana* &c. These men blaspheme our *goddes*, disturbe our *City*, They are false to our *Gods*, how will they be true to us?

Hence

1. Neither Old nor New England statechurches separate from the Pope.

2. Master Cotton and Bellarmine all one, for the deposing heretical princes, &c.

3. The gods of this World.

Hence that bloody Act of *Parliament* in *Henry* the fifth his dayes made purposely against that true *servant* and *witness* of *God* (in those points of *Christianity* which he knew) and other servants of *God* with him, the Lord *Cobham*, concluding *Lollardy* not only to be *heresie*, (that is, indeed true *Christianity*) but also *treason* against the *Kings person*: whence it followed, that these² poor *Lollards* (the *servants* of the most high *God*) were not only to be burnt as *hereticks*, but hanged as *traitors*.

Truth. Accordingly it pleased *God* to honour that noble Lord *Cobham*, both with hanging and burning, as an *heretick* against the *church*, as a *traiter* against the *king*: And hence those diabolish accusations and bloody huntings of the poor servants of *God* in the reign of *Francis* the second in *Paris*, because it was said that their meetings were to consult and act against the *life* of the *king*.

Peace. If this be the *touchstone* of all *obedience*, will it not be the *cut-throat* of all *civil relations*, *unions* and *covenants* between *Princes* and *people*, and between the *people* and *people*?³ For may not Master *Cotton* also say, he will not be a faithful *servant*, nor she a faithful *wife*, nor he a faithful *husband*, who grow false and disloyal to their *God*? And indeed what doth this, yea, what hath this truly-ranting doctrine (that plucks up all relations) wrought but confusion and combustion all the world over?

Truth. Concerning *faithfulness*, it is most true, that *godliness* is profitable for all things, all *estates*, all *relations*: yet there is a *civil faithfulness*, *obedience*, *honesty*, *chastity*, &c. even amongst such as own not *God* nor *Christ*: else *Abraham* and *Isaac*⁴ dealt foolishly to make *leagues* with ungodly *Princes*. Besides, the whole *Scripture* commands a continuance in all *Relations* of *government*, *marriage*, *service*, notwithstanding that the *grace* of *Christ* had appeared to some, and the rest (it may be an *husband*, a *wife*, a *Magistrate*, a *Master*, a *servant*) were false and disloyal in their several kinds and wayes unto *God*, or wholly ignorant of him.

4. Grant *people* and *Princes* to be like *Iulian*, *Apostate* from the true service of *God*, and consequently to grow less faithful in their places and respective services, yet what ground is there, from the *Testament* of *Christ Jesus*, upon this ground of their *Apostacie*,

1. The Lord Cobham his troubles in Henry the 5. dayes.

2. The best of our late Bishops, as Bishop Hall have not spared to render hereticks and Traitors all one.

3. Civil society pluckt up by the rootes.

4. Civil honesty may stand with dishonesty against God and Christ in matters of Religion.

to prosecute them, as Master Cotton saith, The *civil Magistrate* must keep the *church* from *Apostatizing* so, as to cause *Christ* to depart from them.

5. Can the *sword of steel* or *arme of flesh* make men faithful or loyal to *God*? Or careth *God* for the outward *Loyalty* or *Faithfullness*, when the *inward-man* is *false* and *treacherous*?

Or is there not more danger (in all *matters of trust* in this¹ *world*) from an *hyppocrite*, a *dissembler*, a *turncoat* in his *religion* (from the *fear* or *favour* of men) then from a resolved *Jew*, *Turke* or *Papist*, who holds firme unto his *principles*? &c.

Or lastly, if one *Magistrate*, *King* or *Parliament* call this or that *heresie*, *apostacie*, &c. and make men say so will not a stronger *Magistrate*, *King*, *Parliament*, *Army* (that is, a stronger *arm*, or longer and more prosperous *sword*) call that *heresie* and *Apostacie*² *Truth* and *Christianity*, and make men call it so? and do not all *experiences*, and our own most lamentable, in the changes of our *English Religions*, confirme this?

6. Lastly, As carnal policy ever fals into the pit, it digs and trips up its own heels, so I shall end this *passage* with two *paradoxes*, and yet (dear *peace*) thou and I have found them most lamentably true in all ages.

Peace. *God* delights to befool the *wise* and *high* in their own conceit with *paradoxes*, even such as the wisdome of this world thinks *madness*: but I attend to hear them.

Truth. First then, The straining of mens *consciencs* by *civil*³ *power*, is so far from making men faithful to *God* or man, that it is the ready way to render a man false to both: my ground is this: *civil* and *corporal punishment* do usually cause men to play the *hypocrite*, and dissemble in their *Religion*, to turn and return with the tide, as all *experience* in the *nations* of the *world* doth testifie now.

This *binding* and *rebinding* of *conscience*, contrary or without its own *perswasion*, so weakens and defiles it, that it (as all other *faculties*) loseth its strength, and the very nature of a common honest⁴ *conscience*: Hence it is, that even our own histories testifie, that where the *civil sword*, and carnal power, hath made a change upon the *consciencs* of men, those *consciencs* have been given up,
not

1. A turn-coat in Religion more faithless then a resolved Jew, Turk or Papist.

2. Heresie and apostacie often change their names to truth, and Christianity, &c.

3. Who knows not that the many turnings of Do. Pearne in Cambridge, brought it into a proverb, to wit, to pèrnifie.

4. Consciencs yeelding to be forced or ravished, loosen all conscience.

not only to spiritual, but even to *corporal filthiness*, and bloody, and mad oppressing each other, as in the *Marian* bloody times &c.

Peace. Indeed no people so inforced as the *Papists* and the *Mahumetans*: and no people more filthy in soul and body, and no people in the *world* more *bloody* and *persecuting*: but I listen for your second *paradox*.

Truth. Secondly, This *Tenent* of the *Magistrates* keeping the *church* from *Apostatizing*, by practising *civil force* upon the *consciences* of men, is so far from preserving *Religion* pure, that it¹ is a mighty *Bulwark* or *Barricado* to keep out all true *Religion*, yea and all *godly Magistrates* for ever coming into the *World*.

Peace. Doubtless this will seem a hard *riddle*, yet I presume not too hard for the fingers of *time* and *truth* to unty, and render easie.

Truth. Thus I unty it: If the *civil Magistrate* must keep the *church* pure, then all the *people* of the *Cities*, *Nations*, and *kingdomes* of the *world* must do the same much more, for primarily and fundamentally they are the *civil Magistrate*: Now the world (saith *John*) lyeth or is situated in *wickedness*, and consequently according to its disposition endures not the *light* of *Christ*, nor his golden *candlestick* the true Church, nor easily chooseth a true *Christian* to be her *officer* or *Megistrate*, for she accounts such false to her *Gods* and *Religion*, and suspects their faithfulness &c.

Peace. Hence indeed is it (as I now conceive) that so rarely this *world* admitteth or not long continueth a true servant of *God* in any place of *trust* and *credit*, except some extraordinary hand of *God* over-power, or else his servants by some base *staires* of *Flattery* or worldly *compliance*, ascend the chaire of *Civil-power*.

But (to proceed) saith Master *Cotton*, "It was the duty of *Jehosaphat*, *Hezekiah* &c. to reduce the people of *Israel* from "their backslidings because they were an holy people, and is it not "the duty of godly Princes to reduce their backsliding Churches to "their primitive purity? It is true (saith he) *David* and *Solomon* "were types of *Christ*, but so were not the other Kings of *Israel* "and

1. Paradoxes.

“and *Judah*, who were the one (the kings of *Israel*) all Apo-
“states, and the other (the kings of *Judah*) many of them Apo-
“state from Christ: And Secondly, If they were (saith he) all
“types of Christ, yet Christ being the Antitype, Christ hath aboli-
“shed them all, and so it were sacriledge or Antichristian usur-
“pation for any king to be set over Christians: Or if they were
“types of Christ in respect of their kingly office over the Church
“alone was it typical in *Solomon* to put *Joab* a murtherer to death,
“or *Adonijah* a traitor? and so consequently unlawful for Chri-
“stian Princes to put murtherers and traitors to death? Further,
“saith he, What those kings might do in type, Christ Jesus might
“much more do in his own person, as the Antitype: but he put no
“man to death in his own person, and therefore they were not types
“but servants of Christ, and paterns and examples to Christian Ma-
“gistrates, yea, *Ahab*, who should have put *Benhadad* to death
“for his blasphemy.

Truth. I understand those *kings* of *Israel* and *Judah*, untill¹
their *cutting off* or *excommunicating* out of the land of *Canaan*,
to be yet *visible members* of the *church* of *Israel* and *Judah*,
and as *kings* of *Israel* and *Judah* *types* of *Christ Jesus*, partly in his own *person*, who did that (being the true *spiritual king* of *Israel*) which they did or should have done, in that
typical *national church* or land of *Israel*, and (2) partly in the
officers of his *kingly power* and *government* of his *church*, which
officers and *church* falling away, untill an absolute cutting off,
are the *Antitypes* (in respect of visible government) of those former
kings of *Israel* and *Judah*.

Peace. Can it be imagined that those wicked *Kings*, *Jeroboam*, *Baasha*, *Ahab* &c. were figures of *Christ Jesus*?

Truth. Master *Cotton* himself grants *David* and *Solomon* *types*
of *Christ Jesus*, and yet, how abominable and monstrous some of
their practices? we must therefore distinguish between their *persons*,
and *sins*, and *frailties*.

As kings of *Israel* (*Gods Church* and *people*) doubtless they were
the *figures* of (the *K. of Israel*) *Christ Jesus*: yea it is probable that
the land of *Canaan*, with the *officers* and *governors* thereof, before
Christ time, was but a figure of the *spiritual land* or *Christian*
church, with the *officers* *governors* & *administrations* therof good

Q

and

1. How the kings of Israel and Judah were types and figures of Christ to come.

and evil: Although the applying of the *times* and *persons* each to other¹ requires a more then ordinary *guidance* of the finger or holy Spirit of God.

Peace. I remember that some of eminent note for *knowledge* and *godliness* have not stuck to affirme, that the *Gentile Prince*² *Cyrus* as he was called *Gods servant*, *anointed*, or *Christ* (*Isa.* 44) I say, that he in a respect, as a *restorer* of *Gods people* was a *figure of Christ Iesus*.

Truth. It is not improbable, but that the most holy and only wise (whose works are known unto *himself* from the beginning of the *world*) did by such famous *instruments* of *mercy* to the literal *Iew*, type out *Christ Iesus* and his heavenly *instruments*, mercy and goodness to the *mystical* and *spiritual*, *Christian Iews* &c.

Examination of CHAP. XXXVI, and XXXVII.

Peace.

IN these passages Master *Cotton* first questions (having not his copy by him) the truth of some *expressions* printed as his.

Truth. It is at hand for Master *Cotton* or any to see that *copy* which he gave forth and corrected in some places with his own hand, and every word *verbatim* here published.

2. To the *answer* it self, or reproof of the *Lord Iesus* given to his *disciples* for their *bloody* and rash *zeal* desiring fire to come down from heaven, &c. we both agree that *Christs* rebuking of his *disciples* did not hinder the *Ministers* of the *Gospel* from proceeding in a *Church-way* &c. 2. That false *persecution* in a *church-way* is as odious and dreadful a *persecution*, as any *prosecution* in *court* of *civil justice*, as also that this is not the point intended, though it be reckoned up with the rest.

Peace. I marvel at that which follows, where Master *Cotton* saith, that it never fell from his pen in any writing of his, *viz.* that it is lawful for a *evil Magistrate* to inflict *corporal punishment* upon such as are contrary indeed in *matters of Religion*: and therefore he passeth by the *discussers reasons* as which might well have been spared, being brought but against a *shadow* of his own *fancy*.

Truth.

1. The types of the old Testament many and deep.

2. Cyrus called Christ, a figure of Christ.

Truth. I am not able to imagine what Master Cotton means by such as are *contrary minded*, against whom he will not (in this Chapter) maintaine any *corporal punishment* to be inflicted, when in so many of his *writings*, and throughout his whole *book* he main-
taines *corporal punishment*, and that to death it self in many cases, against the *idolatrous*, the *blasphemous*, the *heretical*, the seducing, yea the *degenerate* and *Apostate*.

Peace. Love bids us take this passage as a pang of *reluctancy*¹ (in his other wise-holy and peaceable breast) against such unholy bloody *Tenents*.

But what say you to the passage about the *second beast*, bringing *fire* from *heaven*? (*Rev.* 13.) This was no wonder (saith Master Cotton) for *Constantine* had done the like before to *hereticks*, the *Arrian Bishops* against the *Orthodox Saints*. Also, it is related as a different matter from the former (*vers.* 15.) that he had power to cause, that as many as would not worship the *image* of the *beast* should be killed. And this fire comes not down upon the *Saints*, but the *earth*.

Truth. Master Cotton I think knows that the discussor is not alone in this *interpretation*: If he propose any other more suitable to *Christ Iesus*, I hope the discussor desires thankfully to embrace it. But this *fire* being not *literal*, but *mystical*, in *imitation* of the true prophet *Elijah*, and also as the true *witnesses* cause *fiery judgements* descend from *heaven* upon the *enemies* of the *truth*: so the false *witnesses* cause *fire* to descend against the *faithful*: and sure it is (as the discussor related) that the *Popish Bishops* in *France*, and *England* and other places have ever constantly cryed out, that the *just judgements* of *God* are brought down by them upon the *hereticks*, which is no smal wonder that the *hearts* of the *sons* of *men* should be so hardened against the *light* of *truth* in *truths witnesses*, notwithstanding the acts of *Constantine* and the *Arrian Bishops* long before.

Peace. But this *fire* (saith Master Cotton) comes down from *heaven* upon the *earth*.

Truth. True, but it may well imply no more, then in the open view and *face* of all men in this world.

Peace. And lastly (saith he) it is said, that he causeth that as as many as

Q 2

many

1. The fire from heaven, *Rev.* 13

would not worship the *Image* of the *Beast* should be killed, which is a different effect.

Truth. Because it comes from a different *cause*, with respect, not to the first *Beast* himself, but only to his *picture* or *image*, and implies, that *fiery judgements* descend not onely upon such as refuse to worship the *first* or second *beast*, but the very picture of the *beast* likewise.

Examination of CHAP. XXXVIII.

Peace.

MASTER *Cotton* here first observing the discussers agreement with him, that this instruction (2 *Tim.* 2.) to be meek and patient to all men, is properly directive to the *Ministers* of the *Gospel*, he concludes that therefore hitherto his answer was not perplexed and ravelled.

Truth. Many plaine threads may be drawn forth of a perplexed and ravelled string, as it seemes to me the many *particulars* of *different natures* here wrapt up together were.

Peace. Yea, but he seems to disown those words [*unconverted Christians in Crete*] and more then once in the Chapter toucheth the discussers credit, &c.

Truth. I know the discussor desires unfainedly (with the *Lords assistance*) rather to die a thousand deaths, then willingly to impeach the least of *holy* or *civil truths*; and therefore affirmeth in this case, that at his pleasure the copy (not which he received from¹ Master *Cotton* for there never passed such writings between them as Master *Cotton* often affirmeth, but) which he received from another, with the correction of Master *Cottons* own hand to it, shall be ready for himself or any to view.

Peace. However, Master *Cotton* maintaining the tearms of *unconverted converts* from *Ier.* 3. 10. (*Iudah* turned unto me, but not with all her heart, but fainedly:) so *Iudas*, *Ananias*, and *Sapphira*, *Balaam*, the *Nicolaitans*, *Iezabel* in *Thyatira*, as also the children of believing *parents* born in the *Church*, who though holy, yet cannot be conceived to be truly holy.

Truth. Were the *question* about *hypocrites*, *counterfeits* and
tray-

1. All *Truth*, heavenly, moral, civil, &c. precious.

trayters in the church and kingdome of Christ, these words might here rightly be alleadged; but Master Cottons words being¹ these [*unconverted Christians* in Crete whom Titus as an *Evangelist* was to seek and to convert] I conceive that Master Cotton will not affirm that the office of an *Evangelist* was to seek to convert the church (though possibly an *hypocrite* may be turned from his *hypocrisie* by an *Evangelist* or private man in the church.)

2. He makes in the very words a *distinction* between these, *unconverted Christians*, and those *Iews* and *Gentiles* in the Church, who (saith he) though *carnal*, yet were not convinced of the *error* of their way.

And to conclude this Chapter, the discusser readily with thanks acknowledgeth Master Cottons words, that it is not probable that *Timothy* was now at *Ephesus*, and that the *subscription* added to the second Epistle of *Timothy* in the *English translation*, is justly to be suspected.

Examination of CHAP. XXXIX.

Peace.

Master Cotton here argues, That if the *Magistrate* be a *Prophet*,² and opposed in his *doctrine*, he ought (from this Scripture, 2 *Tim.* 2.) meekly to bear the *opposition*, waiting if *God* peradventure will give *repentance*; yet withal by the way he observeth, that if the *Magistrate* be a *prophet*, he may do some things as a *Magistrate*, which he may not do as a *Prophet*.

Truth. Of this no *question*? but what is this to a coercive *Magisterial power* in *spiritual things*, which is the *question*?

2. Since that Master Cotton acknowledgeth that *Magistrates* may be *prophets*, and that divers *Magistrates* of *New English churches* have spoken as *prophets* (eminently able in their³ churches) what should be the reason (I ask by the way) that their *Churches* hear no more of such their *prophetically* gifts, but that their *talent's* wrapt up? &c.

Peace.

1. Unconverted Christians visibly a paradox.

2. Many excellent Magistrates of the Parliament, of the Councel, of the Army, of the City, of the Country, are also excellent prophets or interpreters of Scripture, & yet may not use a civil but a spiritual sword in spirituals.

3. Magistrates may be prophets in Christs Church.

Peace. Of this let their *conscienc*es give account to *Jesus Christ*, whom they call the *King* of their *churches*, and the *fountaine* of such heavenly *abilities*: But to proceed, Master *Cotton* grants that *Magistrates* ought to bear in the *church oppositions* against their *prophecying*s, but not *continued* opposings nor, seducings &c.

Truth. What is then the waiting here commanded, until *God* peradventure will give *repentance*?

Peace. It is true (saith Master *Cotton*) it is not in the power of *man* to give *repentance* but *God* alone: Neither is it in mans power (saith he) to give *repentance* to *scandalous* persons against the *civil state*; and yet the discussor acknowledgeth that the *civil Magistrate* ought to punish these.

Truth. It is not the *Magistrates* work and office in the *civil state*, to convert the *heart* in true *repentance* unto *God* and *Christ*:¹ The *civil state* respecteth conformity and obedience to *civil laws*, though indeed the works and *office* of the *Ministers* of *Christ Jesus* are commonly laid upon the *Magistrates* shoulders, and they pretending themselves the *Ministers* of *Christ Jesus*, armed with the two-edged sword of the *Spirit* of *God* (the *Word* of *God*) do commonly flye unto and put more confidence in the *sword* of *steel* in the hand of their *civil Ministers*, the *Magistrates*.

Peace. The *sword* of *steel* hath done *wonderful* things throughout the whole *world* in *matters* of *Religion*, and woful and *wonderful* (as was formerly observed) hath *Religious changes*² been in the *English nation*, and that by the power of the *civil sword*, backward and forward, and that in the space of a few yeers, in the *reigne* of four or five *Princes*: But this (saith Master *Cotton*) is no more then befell the *church* of *Iudah* in the dayes of *Ahaz*, *Hezekiah*, *Manasseh*, and *Io-siah*.

Truth. *Englands* changes will be found upon examination incomparably *greater*, and wrought in the eighth part of the time that the *changes* of the *church* of *Iudah* were. And yet this *instance* will not infringe that the *civil sword* of the *Magistrate*, in a *national way*, is ordinarily able to turn about a *Nation* to and againe, to and from a *truth* of *God*, in *national hypocrisie*, and therefore

1. More confidence commonly put in the civil sword then the spiritual.

2. Engl. changes in Religion excused by those of Judah, but not justly.

therefore most wisely hath the most holy and only wise, by the most glorious brightness of his *person* and *wisdom* of the *Father* (*Christ Jesus*) abolished his own *national* and *state-church*, whether *explicit* or *implicit*, that the two-edged sword of the *word* of the *Lord* in the mouths of his true *messengers*, might alone be brandished and magnified.

Peace. Master Cotton concludeth this Chapter with the observation, that the *revolt* of *England* againe to *Poperie* wanteth *Scripture-light*.

Truth. He that loves *Christ Iesus* in sincerity, cannot but long,¹ that *Christ Iesus* would speedily be pleased with the breath of his mouth to consume that man of sin: But yet that worthy servant of *God* (according to his *conscience*) Master *Archer*, doth not barely propose his *opinion*, but also his *Scripture-grounds*, which I believe, compared with all former *experiences*, will seem to be of great and weighty *consideration*, and call all that wait for *Christ Iesus* to beg his *Spirit* deeply to weigh and ponder them.

Examination of CHAP. XL.

Peace.

TO the several *allegations* concerning the woful *slavery* of all *opposites* of *Christ Iesus*, and the mighty power of *free grace*, only able to release them; Master Cotton replies, So is it with *scandalous* offenders against the *Civil state*, and yet this doth not restraints *Magistrates* from executing just *judgements* upon them &c. And he adds, that better a *dead soul* in a *dead body*, and that *seducers* die without *faith*, then *murther* and *seduce* many *precious souls* from the *faith*.

Truth. The *Lord Iesus* commanding to give *God* the *things* that be *Gods*, and to *Cæsar* the things that be *Cæsars*, gives all his *followers* a clear and glorious *torch* of light to distinguish² between *offenders* against *God* in a *spiritual* way, and *offenders* against *Cæsar*, his *Lawes*, *state* and *government* in a *civil* way.

This true, *slatterers* and *time-servers* use to make *Religion* and
justice

1. Whether England may not receive the Pope againe.

2. Things of God and Cæsar.

justice, the two *pillars* of a *State*, and so indeed do all such *states* in the world as maintaine a *state-Religion*, invented and¹ maintained in *civil policy* to maintaine a *civil state*. But all men that have tasted of *history* or *travel*, are witnesses sufficient of these two particulars.

First concerning *justice*, that if the *sword* and *balances* of *justice* (in a sort or measure) be not drawn and held forth, against² *scandalous* offenders against *civil state*, that *civil state* must dissolve by little and little from *civility* to *barbarisme*, which is a *wilderness* of *life* and *manners*.

Peace. Yea the very *barbarians* and *Pagans* of the *world* themselves are forced for their *holding* and hanging together in *barbarous compaines*, to use the *ties* and *knots*, and *bands* of a kind of *civil justice* against scandalous offenders against their *Commonweale* and *profit*.

Truth. But too many thousands of *Cities* and *states* in the *world* have and do flourish for many *generations* and *ages* of men, wherein (whatever *Cæsar* gets) *God* cannot get one penny of his due in any bare *permission* or *toleration* of his *religion* and *worship*.

Peace. Dear *Truth*, these two points being so constantly proved, I can but wonder that Master *Cotton* or any servant of *Christ Iesus*, should cry out to the *Cæsars* of this *world* to help the eternal *God* to get his due, because *Christ Iesus* grants them a *civil sword* in *civil cases*, to preserve their *civil states* from *barbarisme* and *confusion*.

Truth. That worthy *Emperor*, *Antoninus Pius*, in his letters for the *Christians*, plainly tels the *governors* of his *provinces*, that the *gods* were able to punish those that sinned against their *worship*;³ evidently declaring, by that light of *conscience* and *knowledge* which *God* had lighted up in his soul, the vast *difference* between *offenders* in the *civil state*, and *offenders* against the true and only *religion* and *worship*, about which the whole world disagreeeth, and is hist together (by this bloody tenent) I say hist together by the *ears* and *throat*, in *blood* and *fire*, as the tide of *times*, *major vote armies* and *armes of flesh* prevaile.

Peace. Ah (Dear *truth*) is there is no *Balme* in *Gilead*, no *balances*, no sword of *spiritual justice* in the *City*, and *kingdome* of *Christ Iesus*, but that the *officers* thereof must run to borrow
Cæsars

1. Religions of the world, politick inventions to maintaine a civil state.

2. The absolute necessity of some order of government all the world over.

3. Antoninus Pius his distinction.

Cæsar? Are the *Armories* of the true king *Solomon Christ Jesus* disarmed? Are there no *spiritual swords* girt upon the thighs¹ of those valiant ones, that should guard his heavenly bed, except the *sword of steel* be run for from the *cutlers shop*? Is the *Religion* of *Christ Jesus* so poor and so weak and feeble grown, so cowardly and base (since *Paul* spake so gloriously of it, and the weapons of it (2 Cor. 10.) that neither the *souldiers* nor *Commanders* in *Christs Army* have any *courage* or *skill* to withstand sufficiently in all points a false *teacher*, a false *prophet*, a *spiritual cheater* or *deceiver*?

Truth. This must all that follow *Jesus* bitterly lament, that not a *spiritual sword* or *spear* is to be found in the *spiritual Israel* of *God*, but that his poor *Israelites* are forced down to the *Philistins* of this *worlds Smiths &c.* And that the *princes* of *Zion* are become feeble like *harts* without pasture, as *Jeremy* complaineth in his *Lamentations*.

Peace. Now whereas it was added, that a *civil sword* hardens the *followers* of false *teachers* in the suffering of their *leaders*, and begets an impression of the *falsehood* of that *religion*, which cannot uphold it self all the *world over*, but with such *instruments* of *violence*, &c. Master *Cotton* replies, that the *Magistrate* ought not to draw out his *sword* against *seducers*, untill he hath used all good means for *conviction*, &c. and then (saith he) he should be cruel to *Christs Lambs* in sparing the *Foxes*, &c.

Truth. Who knows not this to be the plea and practise of all *Popish persecutors* in all *ages*, to compass *sea* and *land* to reduce the *heretick* to the *union* and *bosome* of the *church*, not only with² *promises*, *threatnings*, &c, but oftimes with solemn *disputations*, and sometimes *writings* and *waitings*, before they come to the *definitive sentence* and deliver him to the *secular power*, and so to the use of those desperate *remedies* of *hanging*, *burning*, &c. How do the bloody *Popes* and the bloody *Bonnors* in their *hypocritical letters* and *bloody sentences*, profess their lamentable grief at *errors* and *heresies*; their *clemency* and *mercy*, and *great pains* taken to reduce that *wandering*, to return the *lost childe*, to heal the scabbed *sheep*? yea and when they are forced (as they say) for the saving of the *flock* from *infection* to deliver such *sheep* to the *secular power*, as their *butchers* and *executioners*; yet beseech they

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that

1. The degeneracy of Christianity now professed.
2. The loathsome hypocrisy of persecutors.

that power, and that (most hypocritically without shame) in the bowels of *Christ Jesus*, to Minister *justice* with such *moderation*,¹ that if it be possible the *hereticks* soul may be saved, but however the *flock* may be preserved from such damnable *Doctrine*.

Peace. Master Cotton will here blame the alleading of this: for the *Popish Religion* is false, but their true &c.

Truth. Tis true, the *Papists Religion* is false, yet Master Cotton cannot pass without suspition to be too neer of kin to the bloody *Papist*, to whom they are so neer in *practice*: The *Lord Jesus* gave an everlasting rule to his poor servants, to discern all false *prophets* by, to wit, their *fruits* and bloody *practices*. But,

Secondly, The holy *Spirit of God* in this 2 to *Tim.* now insisted on, not only commands *Timothy* to exhort the *opposite*, but patiently to wait and attend *Gods* will, if peradventure *God* will give *repentance*, and that they may recover themselves &c.

Peace. Master Cotton will not deny, together with meek exhortation, *patient waiting*, &c.

Truth. Why then doth he limit the holy one of *Israel* to *dayes* or *moneths*? Three months was by the *law* (in *Massachusetts* in *New England*) the time of *patience* to the *excommunicate*, before the *secular power* was to deal with him: But we finde no time² limited, nor no *direction* given to *Timothy* or his *successors* to prosecute the *opposite* before *Cæsar* bar, in case *God* vouchsafed not *repentance* upon their means and waiting.

3. *Christ Jesus* hath not been without *bowels of compassion* in all his gracious *care* and *provision* he hath made for his *sheep* and *lambs*, against the spiritual *Wolves* and *Foxes*; although we read not a word of the *arme of flesh* and *sword of steel* appointed by himself for their *defence* in his most blessed last Will and Testament.

4. Lastly, to that instance of the *Donatists* and *Papists* suppressed³ by the *civil sword*, no question but (as before) a *civil sword* is able, among *civil* people, to make a whole *nation*, or *world* of *hypocrites*: and yet experience also testifies (however Master Cotton makes it but *accidental*) that it is the common and ordinary *effect* of the *civil sword* drawn forth (as they speak) against

1. In their bloody sentence, and proceedings with the persecuted.

2. Too short a time set for repentance in New England.

3. False teachers commonly hardned by persecution.

against *hereticks seducers* &c. to harden the *seducers* and *seduced* by their *sufferings*, and to beget no other *opinion* in their hearts, then of the *cruelty* and *weakness* of the *heart* and *cause* of their *persecutors*.

Peace. There hath been no small noise of Master Gortons and¹ his friends being *disciplined* (or as the *Papists* call it, *discipled* in the Schoole of the *New English churches*: It is worth the inquiry to ask what *conviction* and *conversion* hath all their *hostilities*, *captivatings*, *courtings*, *imprisonings*, *chainings*, *banishings*, &c. wrought upon them?

Truth. Shall I speak my thoughts without *partiality*? I am no more of Master Gortons *Religion* then of Master Cottons: and yet if Master Cotton complaine of their *obstinacy* in their way, I cannot but impute it to this *bloody tenent* and *practice*, which ordinarily doth give strength and *vigour*, *spirit* and *resolution* to the most erroneous, when such *unrighteous* and most *unchristian* proceedings are exercised against them.

Peace. Touching the *Edict* of *Antoninus Pius* concerning² *persecution* of *Christians*, and the opinion it begat in their hearts of the cruelty of their *persecutors*, Master Cotton answers, first the *Pagan Religion* is not of *God* but the *Religion* of *Christians* came down from *Heaven* in the *Gospel-truth*.

Truth. This is most true, to him that believeth that there is but one *God*, one *Lord*, one *Spirit*, one *baptism*, one *body*, &c. according to *Christ Jesus* his *institution*; and that from that blessed *estate* the *Apostacy* hath been made; and that all other *Gods*, *Lords*, *Spirits Faiths*, *Baptisms* or *churches*, are false: But what is this to many millions of men and women, in so many *kingdoms* and *nations*, *Cities* and parts of the *world*, who believe as confidently their lies of many *Gods* and *Christs*, all which they believe (as the *Ephesians* of their *Diana*, and of the *image* of *Jupiter*, and (as Master Cotton of the way of his *Religion*) that they come down from *heaven*?

Peace. Doubtless, according to their belief, all the *peoples* of those *nations*, *kingdoms* and *countries*, wherein the name of *Christ* is sounded, whether of the *greek church* or the *latine*, whether of *Popish* or *Protestant* profession, will say as Master Cotton, my *religion* came down from *heaven* in the *Gospel* of *Truth*, &c.

R 2

Truth.

1. The great sufferings of Master Gorton and his friends in New England.

2. Antoninus Pius his Edict against persecution.

Truth. Now then either the *sword of steel* must decide this *controversie* (according to the bloody *tenent* of *persecution*) in the suppressing of *hereticks*, *blasphemers*, *idolaters* and *seducers*, by the strength of an arme of *flesh*: or else the two-edged-sword of the Spirit of *God*, the *word of God* coming out of the mouth of *Christ Jesus* in the *mouths* of his *servants*, which will either *humble* and *subdue* the *Rebels*, or cut most deep, and kill with an *eternal vengeance*.

Peace. But (saith Master Cotton) it will beget an *opinion* of *cruelty* to murder *innocents*, but not to put to death *murtherers*¹ of souls.

Truth. I answer, beside that great and common *difference* of *civil murther*, and *spiritual*, there is a second, to wit, that in the *murder* of an *innocent*, the conscience of a *murtherer* is opened, and commonly the mouth confesseth I am a *murtherer*, I have killed an *innocent*: but run through all the *coasts* and *quarters* of the whole *world*, and the very *consciences* of so many thousands of *soul-murtherers* are rootedly satisfied and perswaded, that they are so far from being *murtherers* as that they are so many *saviours* of the *souls* of *men*, and *Priests* and *Ministers* of the most high *God* or *Gods*, &c.

Peace. For instance, if a man say Master Cotton is a *subject* of the state of *England*, and a *Minister* of that *worship*, which he believeth to be true, confirmed by *argument* and *light* sufficient to his *understanding soul* and conscience: How many thousand are there fellow-*subjects* with Master Cotton to the *English state*, yet of a contrary mind to Master Cotton in matter of *Gods worship*? yea how many are there (it may be thousands) professing a *Ministry* contrary to Master Cottons? and the like may be found in other *nations* and *parts* of the *world*.

Truth. What true *reason* of *justice*, *peace*, or *common safety* of the whole, can be rendred to the *world* why Master Cottons² conscience and *Ministry* must be maintained by the *sword*, more then the *consciences* and *Ministeries* of his other fellow-*subjects*? Why should he be accounted (I mean at the bar of *civil justice*) I say accounted a *soul Saviour*, and all other *Ministers* of other *Religions* and *consciences*, *soul-murtherers*, and so be executed as *murtherers*, or forced to temporize or turn from their *Religion*,

1. The difference between spiritual and corporal murther.

2. Civil justice ought impartially to permit one conscience as well as another.

on, which is but *hypocrisie* in Religion against their *conscience*, which is ten thousand times worse, and renders men, when they sin against their *conscience*, not only *hypocrites*, but *Atheists*, and so fit for the practise of any *evil*, *murthers*, *adulteries*, *treasons*, &c?

Peace. Master Cottons second Answer is that the persecuting *Emperors* and *governors* of *Provinces* under them, attended not¹ to the conviction of *christians*, nor did they endeavour to make it appear that the *Christians* sinned against the light of their *consciencies*, and therefore no marvel if it bred in the people a just opinion of the *cruelty* of *persecutors*, and of the *innocency* of *christians*.

Truth. Let it be granted that the *Roman Emperors* did not attend to, nor endeavour this, yet the *Roman Popes*, and all the *Antichrist* governors of their mystical *Provinces*, *Bishops* and *Preists*, have professedly compassed *Sea* and *Land* to make a *Proselyte*.

Peace. Tis true, the *history* of the death of the *Saints*, slaughtered by such persecutors abundantly testifie this, and yet their *persecution* will be found no other then *cruelty* and *murther*, and the opinion of it will never be razed out of the heart of *Gods* people, whatever the whole *world* (which wonders after and *worships the beast*) think to the contrary.

Truth. And I add, that herein Master Cottons former position, to wit [that *hereticks* must be punished by the *civil sword*, for sinning against the light of their own *conscience*] accords fully with the Popish clamors, [the *hereticks* mouths are stopped, they are *convinced*, they have not a word to say, and yet they are *obstinate*; away with them, hang them, burn them.]

Peace. Master Cotton saith, It is an untrue intimation of the *discusser*, that *Antoninus* forbod the persecuting of *christians* upon any such ground.

Truth. That it may not rest upon the *discussers credit* or *discredit*, I think it not unseasonable if I present to *English* eyes the *English* testimony of the diligent and praise worthy-Chronicler *John Speede*, who also ingageth *Eusebius* his credit, and thus relateth the effect of *Antoninus* his mind in these words.

The

1. The difference of the persecution of the Roman Emperors and the Roman Popes.

*The Emperor Cæsar, Marcus, Aurelius, Antoninus, &c.**Unto the Commons of Asia,*

Sendeth Greeting.

I Doubt not, but the Gods themselves have a rare that wicked persons shall be brought to light; for it doth much more appertaine to them, then it doth to you, to punish such as refuse to yeeld them worship: but this course which you take, doth confirme them whom you persecute in this their opinion¹ of you, That you are impious men, and meer Atheists; whereby it commeth to pass, that they desire in the quarrel of their GOD, rather to die then to yeeld to the will of such as you are, and to embrace your form of Religion: Yet it not seem unseasonable to call to your remembrance the Earthquakes which lately have happsued, and which are yet, to your great terrour and grief; because I understand, that in such like Accidents, you cast the Envy of such common misfortune, upon their Shoulders; whereby their confidence, and trust in their GOD is much the more increased: Whereas, you being ignorant of the true causes of such things, do both neglect the worship of the other Gods, and also banish and persecute the servants of the immortal GOD, whom the Christians do worship; and you persecute to the death all the embracers of that profession. In the behalf of these men, many of the Provinces President have written before to my Father of famous memory, to whom he answered, That they should not be molested, unless they were proved to have practised Treason against the Imperial State; and concerning the same matter, some have given notice to me, to whom I answered with like moderation as my Father did before me: And by our Edict, do ordaine, That if any hereafter be found thus busie in molesting these kind of men, without any their offence, We command that he that is accused upon this point, be absolved; albeit he be proved to be such an one as he is charged to be, that is, a Christian; and he that is his accuser, shall suffer the same Punishment which he sought to procure unto the other.

In

1. Antoninus Pius his famous Edict for liberty to the Christians related by that praise-worthy Master John Speede out of Eusebius.

In this passage the *wise* and *experienced* Emperor observeth many *reasons* for the toleration of *Christians*, and insinuates that the persecuting of the *Christians*, confirmed them in their opinion, that their *persecutors* were not only *cruel* (for that is the least that can be implied in *persecution*) but also as the words run, *impious* men and meer *Atheists*.

Peace. Dear Truth, your *observation* forceth from my peaceable¹ mind, this *Testimony*, which oft to my grief and horror, mine eares have heard many *persons* (I hope in their *persons* chosen of the *Lord*) having as they conceived, suffered *persecution* from the hands, and by the means of many worthy men both of *Magistracy* and *Ministry* of *New England*: I say, they have been by such *persecution* so far from being wrought on &c. that they have been moulded into a strong *apprehension*, that it was impossible that such their *persecutors* should be men of any *fear* of *God*, but meer *dissemblers*, *time-servers*, *Jehues reformers*, for their own ends of *honor ease*, and *liberty* from the *cross* of *Christ*: which apprehension although the *discusser* (to my knowledge) hath often labored to root out of many, yet could he hardly prevaile to stir it, so grossly, *odious*, *unchristian*, or *antichristian*, appears the ugly face of *persecution* &c.

Examination of CHAP. XLI.

Peace.

IN the discussing of the prophecy of *Isaiah* and *Micah*, concerning the breaking of *swords* into *plowshares*, and *speares* into *pruning-hooks*, truly interpreted to foretell the meek temper of *Christians* in bringing others to *Christ Jesus*, Master *Cotton* excepts against the discussers observation upon Master *Cottons* similitude from *Wolves* which he would have driven out from the *sheepfold*: The observation was this, or to this effect, [That if *civil power* might force the *wolves* out, it might force the *sheep* in.]

Truth. The *discusser* denied not the use of *Christs spiritual power* for the life of his *sheep*, and *destruction* of the *Wolves*: but *heaven* and *earth* shall fall before this truth, to wit, [That *power* that driveth *Wolves* out, may drive *sheep* in.] If *spiritual power*

1. The persecuted ever nourish an hard conceit of cruelty and Tyranny in their persecutors, whereas Malefactors confess frequently the justice of their condemners.

power drive out the *wolfe spiritual*, also drives in the *sheep*, but if *civil power* (to wit, by *swords whips, prisons, burnings &c.*) drives out the *spiritual or mystical Wolfe*, the same undeniably must drive in the *sheep*.

Peace. Yea, but Master Cotton (too too weakly) would please himself upon the word [*same:*] a *father*, saith he, with a *staffe* or *sword* may drive away *dogs* that might by the way worry or bite his *children* going to *School*, may he therefore with a *staffe* or *sword* drive his *children* to *School*? and are *wolves* to be driven away, and *sheep* brought into the *fold* by the same *instruments*? The *dog* that teares a *wolfe*, if he tear the *sheep* also, will finde an *halter*, &c.

Truth. Master Cotton hath had a name for a man of *Moses spirit*, of a meek and gentle temper; he cannot but know he hath lost that name with thousands fearing *God*, by not putting that difference, between the *Wolves* and the *sheep*, the *Egyptians* and the *Israelites*, as *Moses* did: *Moses* killed the *Egyptian*, he reproves the² *Israelite*: All that contradict Master Cottons church way (though before dear *brethren*, familiar and intimate) he not only drives them out, as *wolves blasphemers seducers &c.* by his pretended *spiritual weapons* of *Christ Jesus*, but also by *civil sword*, imprisoning banishing, whipping &c.

But more particularly, The discussor indeed useth this word the *same power*, but not as Master Cotton seemeth to understand it, for the *same weapon*. He hath in this very place printed the discussors words, that a *staff* is for the *wolfe*, and a *rod* or *hook* for the *sheep*. The *dog* that teares the *wolf*, is but to affright the *sheep* and consequently the *father* that hath a stick or *rod* for the *child*; But yet these *swords, staves-sticks, and rods*, are all of the same *nature* in general, that is of a *material, temporal and civil nature*, which may be used about natural *wolves, sheep, children &c.* And if they may be used also about spiritual or mystical *wolves*, to force them out; it is as cleare as the *Sun-Beames*, that they may be used, that is such *civil weapons* as are fit for *mystical wolves*, to force them into the *sheepfold*: And thus have all *Popish* persecutors practised in our own and other countries, to wit, by *civil power* (as well as by their own pretended *spiritual*) in forcing their supposed *sheep* to *church*, and to *conformity*, as well as by *whips, and Prisons, Ropes and Fires*, driving out the supposed *wolves* or *hereticks*. *Peace.*

1. If Civil power may force cut of the church, it may also force in.

2. Every true Moses will make a difference between Israelites and Egyptians.

Peace. In the close of this, Master Cotton adds, that (Rev. 6. 6.) the *Antichristian wolves* shall drink *blood*, for they are worthy.

Truth. I have in former passages declared the misconceit of Master Cotton and others, as touching that *Scripture*, and that, although they shall drink *blood* filled out of the *cups* of Gods righteous *vengeance*, yet not by judicial prosecution in *civil courts* for *spiritual offences*, although yet it is most righteous for the *kings* and *powers* of the earth, meerly with respect to these *wolves* their *oppressions* and *bloodsheddings*, to repay them again with the like smart and paine, and kinds of *punishment*.

Peace. Yea and tis for ever memorable, that while the *kings* of the *earth* have given their power to the *beast*, against the *bodies* of the *Saints*, what *cups* of *blood* hath the righteous hand of the¹ most *high* filled to *Antichristian kings* and *kingdomes*, by the bloody *Turkes*, and by their own more bloody *wars*, sometimes for the empty *puffs* of their *titles* and *honors*, but as frequently for *God* (as they pretend) and for his *Religion*.

Examination of CHAP. XLII.

Peace.

IN this Chapter Master Cotton chargeth the discusser for making² work, to wit, for examining more particularly the similitude of *wolves* brought in by Master Cotton himself: yet he consenteth with him in the first *quaery*, that those *Wolves* of which *Paul* warns the *elders* at *Ephesus*, were *mystical* and *spiritual wolves*; yet he adds that such cannot be good *subjects*, loving *neighbors*, faire *dealers*, because they spiritually are not such; and he argues, that then it will be no advantage to *civil states*, when the *kingdomes* of the earth shall become the *kingdomes* of the *Lord*: and that then they may do as good *service* to the *civil state*, who bring the wrath of *God* upon them by their *apostacy*, as they that bring dow *blessings* from heaven by *profession* and *practise* of the true *religion* in *purity*.

Truth. I desire that this *reply* be well pondred, for it will be found dangerously destructive to the very *roots* of all civil *relations*,

1. Cups of Blood given into the hand of persecuting nations.

2. Whether a commonweal prosper in divers religions permitted.

ons, converse and dealing; yea, and any *civil being* of the *world it self*.

For, if none be peaceable *subjects*, loving *neighbors*, faire *dealers*, but such of Master Cottons *conscience* and *religion* (which¹ he conceives to be the only true *religion*) what will become of all other *states*, *governments*, *cities*, *towns*, *peoples families neighbors*, upon the *face* of the earth? I say, what will become of them (especially if power were in Master Cottons hand to deal with them as *Wolves*?)

Peace. Alas, too too frequent *experience* tells us in all parts of the *world*, that many thousands are far more peaceable *subjects*, more loving and helpful *neighbors*, and more true and fair *dealers* in *civil conversation*, then many who account themselves to be the only *religious* people in the *world*.

Truth. But againe, What the state of things shall be, and what the manner of the *administration* of Christs *kingdome*, when the *kingdomes* of the earth shall become the *kingdomes* of the Lord Master Cotton doth not express: and for wrath brought upon *civil states* for their *apostacy*, I' desire Master Cotton to shew, where ever God destroyed any Nation in the world (one only excepted) for *Apostacy* from his *truth* and *worship*? Yea and where was ever *Israel* (the only true *national church* that Master Cotton will acknowledge) meerly for *apostasie* destroyed, without general ripeness in other sins also, and especially for their persecuting of such, as declared their *apostasie*, *superstition*, and will-worship from God unto them.

Peace. In the next place Master Cotton granting that the charge given to watch against these *Wolves*, was not given to the *Magistrates* of the City of *Ephesus*, but to the *elders* of the *church* of Christ in *Ephesus*, he yet chargeth the discusser with a palpa- ble and notorious slander, for saying, that many of those *charges* and *exhortations* given by the Lord Jesus to the *shepherds* and *Ministers* of the *churches*, are commonly attributed by the answerer in this discourse to the civil *Magistrate*.

Truth. This heavy charge of Master Cottons against the discusser, will be found to be a fruit of *Anger* and passion, and not of *reason* and *moderation*; as also his denial that one of those charges given to *Ministers*, were directed by him to *Magistrates*.

For

1. Men may be very faire and peaceable, though not of the only one religion.

For if Master Cotton, or any please to view over Master Cottons *allegations* from the New Testament in this discourse, he shall finde¹ that (*Tit. 3.*) *reject the heretick* a charge given by the Lord Jesus to Titus and the church at Crete is brought for the proof of the *Magistrates* punishing, imprisoning banishing, killing the *heretick idolater &c.*

The like charges of *Christ Jesus* sent to the *Ministers* and churches of Asia, for tolerating amongst them *Balaam* and *Jezabel*, are produced to prove prosecutions against false *Prophets* and professors in the *City* and *Commonweal*.

Yea although Master Cotton name not *Act. 20.* yet in that Master Cotton affirmeth that *Magistrates* with the *civil sword* must drive away *Wolves* from the sheepfold of *Christ the church*, meaning spiritual *wolves*, false *teachers*, he may be truly said to quote all such *Scriptures* as give charge against such *Wolves*.

Peace. Indeed Master Cotton more then once pleaseth himself with this similitude of *Wolves*, to prove the *Magistrates* piety and pity to the *sheep*, in slaying and driving away the *wolves*, false *teachers*, &c.

Truth. Hence was it (for commonly where *state-Religions* are² set up, the *Magistrate* is but the *Ministers Cane* through whom the *Clergy* speaks) I say probably hence from such misapplied *Scriptures* in their churches, that in their solemn *civil* general court, at the banishment of one poor man amongst them, hunted out as a *wolf* or *heretick*, the *governor* who then was, standing up alleadged for a ground of their duty to drive away such by *banishment*, that famous charge of *Christ Jesus* to his *Ministers* and *Church* at *Rome* (*Rom. 16*) Marke them that cause *divisions* contrary to the doctrine which you have received, and avoid,³ that is, by *banishment*: By all which and more it may be found, how *Sathan* hath abused their godly minds and apprehensions in causing them so to abuse the holy writings of truth and Testament of *Christ Jesus*, and that how ever they deny it in express tearms, yet by most impregnable consequence and implication they make up a kind of *national church*, and (as the phrase is) a *Christian state* and government of church and *Commonweale*, that is, of *Christ* and the world together.

Peace. To proceed, it being further inquired into, whether in

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all

1. Scriptures perverted from the church to the civil state.

2. The Magistrate usually the Cleargies Cane, &c.

3. *Rom. 16. 17.* grosly abused by a governor in New England.

all the *New Testament* of *Christ Jesus* there be any such word of *Christ*, either by way of *command*, *Promise*, or example, countenancing the *civil state* to meddle with these *mystical Wolves*, if in *civil things* peaceable and obedient. Master *Cotton* replieth, that this *condition* of *peaceable* and *obedient*, implies a *contradiction* to the *nature* and practise of *wolves*. How can, saith he, *wolves* be peaceable and obedient, unless *restrained*? Can there be peace, *Jehu*, so long as the *whoredomes* of *Jezabel* and her *witchcrafts* are so many? And when it might be objected that *spiritual whoredomes* and *witchcrafts* might stand with *civil peace*, He answers, No verily, for the *whoredomes* and *witchcrafts* of the *Jezabel* of *Rome* took away *civil peace* from the *earth*, and brought the *Turks* to oppress both the peace of *Christian churches* and *Commonweals*, Rev. 9. 15, 21.

Truth. I wonder since Master *Cotton* in this very passage mentioneth the *spiritual wolves*, *whores*, and *witches*, as well as *natural* and *moral*, How he can imagine that a *spiritual wolf* or *witch* (to wit so or so in matters of *spiritual worship* and *religion*) might not possibly be peaceable and *obedient* in *civil things*.

Peace. Yea but he alleadgeth the *whoredomes* of the *Jezabel* of *Rome*.

Truth. Why, was not the *State* of *England*, the *Kings* and *Queens*, and *Parliaments* thereof, lawful as *kings* and *states*, though overwhelmed and overspread universally with the *Romish abominations*? If such *wolves*, *whores*, and *witches* could yeeld no *civil obedience*, could they then exercise (by the same argument) any *civil authority*? And shall we then conclude all the¹ former *Popish kings* and *Parliaments* (and consequently *lawes*) unlawful, because in *spiritual things* they were as *Wolves*, &c. tearing and burning the poor sheep of *Christ*? will it not then be unlawful for any man, that is perswaded the whole *nation* where he lives is *idolatrous*, *spiritually whorish*, &c. I say unlawful for him to live in such a *state*, although he might with freedome to his own *conscience*? whither will such kind of arguing drive at last, but to pluck up up the *roots* of all *states* and peoples in the *world*, as not capable to yeeld *civil obedience*, or exercise *civil authority*, except such people, *Magistrates*, &c. as are of Master *Cottons church* and *religion*. *Peace.*

1. The bloody Tenent plucks up the nations and all civil being, &c.

Peace. Methinks *experience* (were there no *Scripture* nor *reason*) might tell us how peaceable and just neighbors and dealers many thousands and millions of *Jews*, *Turks*, *Antichristians*, and *Pagans* are to be found, notwithstanding their spiritual *whoredoms* *witchcrafts*, &c.

Truth. Yea, and why doth Master *Cotton* alleadge the *Jezebel* of *Rome*, and the comming in of the *Turks*? It is true, *God*¹ brought in the *Armies* of the *Turkes* upon the *Eastern Empire*, which yet flourished many ages (even in their *apostacies*) before their *destruction* by the *Turkes*. And how many *ages* and *generations* hath *Iezabel* of *Rome* sitten as a *Queen* in triumphant² *peace* and *glory*, even since the rising of the *Turks* (and so shall sit probably in greater and greater, untill the time of her appointed judgement and downfal? If *Christ Jesus* were a true Prophet (*Iohn* 16.) outward peace, prosperity, riches, honor, is the portion of this *world*, notwithstanding their *idolatries*, *apostacies*, *blasphemies*: But the portion of *Christs* followers (like his own, and both like a woman in travel) paine and sorrow, yea poverty and persecution, untill the great day of refreshing, neer approaching.

Peace. Master *Cotton* againe sends us to *Revelations* the 16. 4, 5, 6, 7.

Truth. And I must also send Master *Cotton* and the Reader to our disproving of that proof abovesaid.

Further, whereas he calls *Rom.* 13. the great *Charter* for all *Magistrates* to deal in *spiritual matters*, I have and shall manifest in the *examinations* upon that place, how weak a *warrant* it is for the civil state, and the *officers* thereof, to conceive themselves *spiritual Physitians*, by vertue of their office, appointed by God, in *spiritual* and *soul-evils*.

Peace. Whereas it was urged, that *Magistrates* beside their skil in *civil laws* and *government*, must be able (if Master *Cottons*³ *bloody tenent* be true) as *judges* and *heads* to determine *spiritual causes* and *controversies*, and that by the sight of his own eyes, and not other mens; Master *Cotton* replies, that *Magistrates* ought to be skilled in the *fundamentals* of *religion*, and that their *ignorance* excuseth not.

Truth. In this passage Master *Cotton* waveth that *inference*
[That

1. The plague of the *Turkes*.2. *Romes* glory and downfal.3. The civil state and officers thereof cannot be *spiritual judges*.

[That then *Magistrates* must be *heads* and *judges* in *spiritual causes*:] That *inference* cannot possibly be avoided if we grant it their *duty* (as Master *Cotton* seemes to do) to pass sentence in the *fundamentals* of *religion*, and in those points which have been and are so greatly controverted among all sorts of men that name the *name* of *Christ*.

2. If *Magistrates* must thus judge, reforme &c. where hath been the care of *Christ Iesus* to appoint in all parts of the world, such *Magistrates* as might take care of his *religion* and *worship*?¹ why hath he not furnished them with some *capacity* and *ability* to the work?

Peace. It is lamentable to think that most of the *Magistrates* in the world (beyond compare) know not so much as whether there be a *Christ* or no.

Truth. If *Christ Iesus* had forgotten himself for three hundred yeers together, furnishing his *church* with no other *heads*, but of *Wolves*, *Bear*, *Lyons*, and *Tygers*, the *Romane Emperors* yet (after a little refreshing by *Constantine*, *Theodosius* &c.) why should he still forget himself (even a thousand yeers together, providing no other *heads*, but bloody and *Popish kings* and *Emperors*?

Peace. What think you (*dear truth*) of Master *Cottons* grant² of *Gallios* not being bound to judge in matters of *religion*, because he had no Law from *Cæsar* whose *deputy* he was?

Truth. I answer what if he had not a law from *Cæsar*, if yet he had a law from *Christ Iesus*, as Master *Cotton* implies? Or will Master *Cotton* suspend the *execution* of *Christs will*, upon the *kings states*, or *peoples minds* that choose such *Magistrates* to be their *deputies* in the *Commonweale*? But the truth is, concerning *Gallio*, whatever he was in his person, and however he did evil in suffering the peace to be broken; yet will Master *Cotton* never prove, that he had calling from either *God* or *man*, to go beyond his *civil Magistracy* and *office* to intermeddle with *matters* of a *spiritual nature* and that *Gallio* knew well enough, and other *Magistrates* of the *world* shall know in the *Lords* most gracious appointed season.

Peace. The discusser ending this Chapter with the infallible safety of *Gods* chosen, notwithstanding all ravenous *wolves*, &c.
Master

1. Foul neglects cast upon Christ Jesus.

2. The case of Gallio.

Master Cotton replies from *Deut.* 13. that *God* was able to keep his sheep in *Israel*, yet they that seduced them were to be put to death.

Truth. That argument was not alleadged with the derogation to any of *Gods* holy ordinances, which concern the calling or preserving of such whom *God* hath chosen to salvation, but only to discover the over-busie fear of *Gods* loosing any of his chosen to salvation, by the jaws of spiritual wolves, &c. For *Deut.* 13. Let Master Cotton produce such a miraculous nation or people (as I may call it) so brought out of the land of *Egypt* into covenant with *God* &c. and I shall readily grant that seducers of such a people from such a *God*, are worthy to die a thousand deaths: But if Master Cotton will now tell me that the *Christian congregational church* is the *Israel* of *God*, and the coming forth of *Egypt* is now mystical and spiritual, why will he not content himself with a mystical and spiritual death to be inflicted upon him that shall seduce an *Israelite* from the *Lord* his *God*?

Examination of CHAP. XLIII.

Peace.

UPON the fifth query to wit, whether the elders of the church at *Ephesus* were not sufficiently furnished by the *Lord Jesus* to¹ drive away these spiritual and mystical wolves, Master Cotton replies, by granting, that they were furnished with sufficient power to cast them out of the church; but being cast out, they had not sufficient power to drive them away from conferring and corrupting the members of the church, or other godly ones out of the church; and he adds, that it is no dishonour to *Christ*, nor impeachment to the sufficiency of his ordinances left by *Christ*, that in such a case the minister of justice in the civil state, should assist the Ministers of the Gospel in the church state.

Truth. This grant and this addition do as ill agree, as light and darkness, *Christ* and *Belial* together. For, is the church or kingdome of *Christ Jesus* sufficiently furnished (that is, in it self

1. Shameful weakness cast upon the spiritual Artillery of *Christ Jesus*.

self without the help of the *civil Magistrate*) to *excommunicate*, to cast these *wolves* out of the Fold: Oh let M. Cotton then, and¹ all that love *Christ Jesus* in truth, observe what evidently follows, then is this *church of Christ* sufficiently furnished to receive such persons in againe upon *repentance*, then sufficiently furnished at first to be congregated together by *Christs means* to *ordaine* their *officers*, to judge of *doctrines* and *persons*, and all this (necessarily upon Master Cottons grant) without the help of the *civil Magistrates*.

Peace. Yea, and it seemes to me incredible, and unreasonable, that *Christ Jesus* should have left *power* and *authority* sufficient to take and bind a *rebel* against his *kingdome*, to *arraigne* him and pass *sentence* upon him, yea and *execute* him in the *cutting* off such an *offendor* from the *land of the living*, delivering him over into the power of that roaring *Lyon the devil*; And yet that² *Christ Iesus* should not have left *power sufficient* (in such *publick*, high and solmne *actions* of his *kingdome*) to declare sufficient cause of such *proceedings*, by which all men may see, the goings of the *Son of God* in his *church* and *kingdome*, or if willfully blind, may justly be further hardned.

Truth. The place from *Titus* alleadged (unto which many other *Scriptures* testifie) I say that place doth evidently shew, that the power of *Christ Iesus* left in the hand of his *churches* and *elders*, was not only sufficient to cast out such *wolves*, but even to stop or *muzzle* their *mouthes* (whatever their *gainsaying* be, whether by *conferring*, *preaching*, *printing* &c.) which takes off the plea of the great need of the *civil sword*, to correct the *conference*³ of such persons &c. when by the words of *Paul* it is here plaine, that they can perform such conferences, no otherwise, but with a stopt or *muzzled mouth*.

Let it be produced where *Christ Iesus* in such cases writes to the *Magistrates* (either of *Crete*, or *Ephesus*, or any other *civil jurisdiction*⁴ where the *churches* were resident) to help the *Ministers* and *churches* with their *civil powers*, after they had cast forth any person obstinate: Doubtless *Christ Iesus* in *Paul* and other of his servants would have written to some or *such Magistrates* in some place or others having occasion to write to so many *churches* about such cases.

Peace.

1. The spiritual liberties of Christs people in spiritual causes.

2. The mighty power of spiritual weapons.

3. A vaine fear of false teachers.

4. Christ Iesus nor Paul adrest themselves to the civil state.

Peace. It will (possibly) be said, it had been in vaine, for they were idolaters and persecutors.

Truth. The Lord is pleased throughout the whole Scripture in the mouths of his *servants* and *prophets* to call for duties at the hands of all *men*, notwithstanding their natural *hardness* and *inability*, that so he might drive them to see their *duty* and *misery*, and *remedy* alone in *God* by *Christ Jesus*.

Peace. I see now, that this hindring of *conference* &c. by the *civil sword* is nothing else but a *conformity* with the *Pope* in defending his *Canons*, and with the *Turk* in guarding his *Alcoran* by *fire* and *sword*; with whom, and their ways *Christ Jesus* hath no *conformity* nor *communion*, nor with their *carnal sword*, his two-edged *sword* that proceedeth out of his *mouth* Rev. 1. Beside, *Christ Jesus* hath not onely furnished his *church* with *power* sufficient to *excommunicate*, but every one of his *followers* with² a *compleat armour* from *head* to *foot* (*helmet*, *breast-plate* *sword* and *Target*, and and *spiritual shoes* (*Ephes.* 6.) in which respect the least of *Christs servants* are inabled to stop the mouth of *Papists*, *Pope*, *Turks* and *devils*.

Peace. Yea all *experience* shews how *Christ Jesus* (little *David*) in the least of his *servants*, hath been able with those plaine³ *smooth stones* out of the brook of holy *Scripture*, to lay groveling in their *spiritual gore*, the *stoutest Champions* (*Popes*, *Cardinals*, *Bishops*, *Doctors*) of the *Antichristian Philistins*.

Truth. I add, if the *elders*, and *churches*, and *ordinances* of *Christ* have such need of the *civil sword* for their *maintenance* and *protection* (I mean in *spiritual things*) sure the *Lord Jesus Christ* cannot be excused for not being careful either to express this great *ordinance* in his *will* and *Testament*, or else to have furnished the *civil state* and *officers* thereof with *ability* and *hearts* for this their great *duty* and *employment*, to which he hath called them; the contrary whereof in all *Ages*, in all *nations*, and in all *experience*, hath ever been most lamentably true.

Peace. I am not clear (*dear truth*) in the *distinction*, Master *Cotton* makes of *Christs Ministers* in the *Gospel*, and *Christs Ministers* in the *civil state*.

Truth. There is a mistake in it, for although *Christ* hath all power delivered to him in *heave* and *earth*, yet as touching his

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spiri-

1. Turk and Pope and all Prostants against free conference.

2. The ammunition of Christs souldiers.

3. David and Goliah types.

spiritual church or *kingdome* he disclaims it to be of the *world*, or *worldly*. Hence cannot the *civil state* or *officers* thereof be called *Christs*, as if they were of *Christs institution* and *appointment*, himself being their *spiritual head*. And therefore it is that¹ the *Spirit of God* calls him the *head* of the *body*, which is the *church*, and the *Ministers* and *officers* of this his *kingdome* and *body Christs Ministers* or *servants*. Beside, Master Cotton will not say that the *kingdomes* of the *world* are yet become the *Lord Christs*: In what manner also those *kingdomes* shall become his, we have need of the holy Spirit to evidence and demonstrate to us.

Peace. To the fifth *query*, whether (as *men* deal with *wolves*) these *wolves* at *Ephesus* were intended by *Paul* to be killed, their *braines* dasht out with *stones*, *staves*, *halberts*, *guns*, &c. in the hands of the *elders* of *Ephesus*: Master Cotton replies, *Elders* must keep within the *bounds* of their *calling*: But such courses were commanded the people of *God* by order from the *Judges*, *Deut.* 13. And where it was added, that comparing Things *spiritual* with *spiritual*, *spiritual* and *mystical wolves* should be *spiritually* and *mystically* slaine. Master Cotton replies True, but in destroying *religion* they also disturbe the *civil state*, and accordingly are to be dealt withal by *civil Justice*, as *Achan* was for troubling *Israel*, *Iosh.* 7. 25.

Truth. This acknowledgement of Master Cotton, that these *wolves* must *spiritually* be killed, their *braines* dasht out by the *elders* and *Saints* might (if the *Lord* should graciously so please)² easily satisfie himself and all men, that the type of *Israel stoning* and *killing corporally*, is here fulfilled in all dreadful abundance *spiritually*.

Peace. Yea, but saith Master Cotton, they disturbe the *civil state* as *Achan* did.

Truth. I answer, *Achan* troubling of *Israel*, the people of the *Lord*, must figure out any such like troubling *Gods Israel*, the³ *church* of *Christ*, for which he is accordingly to be *spiritually* stoned or executed: For, as touching the *civil state* of the *nations* of the *world*, who can prove (and Master Cotton will not affirme) that they are as the *national church* of the *Iews* was? but being meerly *civil*, are armed with *civil power* and *weapons* for their *civil defence* against all disturbers,

1. Difference between spiritual and civil Ministers.

2. Israels corporal killing types of spiritual.

3. Achans troubling of Israel a figure of troubling the Israel or Church of Christ now.

of their *civil state*, as also Master Cotton confesseth the *spiritual state* is furnished with *spiritual power* against all the disturbers of its *spiritual peace* and safety.

Peace. Now whereas it was further added, that under pretence¹ of driving away the wolves, and preserving the sheep that streams of the blood of Saints have been spilt &c. Master Cotton replies, belike it is a milky, and peaceable, and Gospel-like Doctrine, that the wolves (*hereticks*) are to be tolerated, not an haire strook from their heads; but for the poor sheep, for whom Christ died, let them perish, unless Christ mean to preserve them alone with his immediate hand and no care of them belongs to the civil *Magistrate*.

Truth. I have here in this *discourse* shewed with what honorable and tender *respect* every *civil Magistrate* is bound to honor and tender *Christ Iesus* in his *christianity* for the civil *Magistrate* or *civil state*, to imagine that all a whole *nation* was or ever will be called to the *union* of *Gods Spirit* in *communion* with *God* in *Christ*: Also, that it is against *civil justice* for the *civil state* or *officers* thereof to deal so partially in matters of *God*, as to permit to some the freedom of their *consciences* and *worships*, but to curbe and suppress the *consciences* and *souls* of all others of their *free-born* people &c.

Peace. To end this Chapter: whereas it was said, is not this to take *Christ* and to make him a *temporal king* by force? Is not this to make his *kingdom* of this *world*, and to set up a *civil* and *temporal Israel*? To bound out a new *holy land* of *Canaan*? yea and to set up a *Spanish inquisition* in all parts of the *world*, to the speedy destruction of *millions* of *souls*, and to the frustrating of the sweet end of the coming of the *Lord Iesus*, which was to save mens souls (and to that end not to destroy mens bodies) by his own blood.

To this Master Cotton replies, when the *kingdomes* of the *earth* shall become the *kingdomes* of the *Lord* (*Rev. 11.*) it is not by making *Christ* a *temporal king*, but by making *temporal kings* nursing fathers to the Church.²

Truth. If the *Scripture* [At the sound of the seventh trumpet] which is the last of the great *woes*, when the time of *Gods wrath* shall be come, be to be understood of the *removing* of the *kingdomes* of the *world* unto *Christ*, Master Cotton cannot excuse

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Christ

1. The day of the civil state in matters of worship.

2. Concerning the kingdomes of the world becoming the kingdoms of Christ *Rev. 11.*

Christ Iesus from being a *temporal king*, and the kings of the earth to be but as inferior and *subordinate officers*: For if they administer *Christs kingdome* temporally, as *deputies officers* or *Ministers temporally*, he is much more then himself a *temporal king* and *Monarch*.

Peace. Methinks also; if that committing of all judgement to the *Son (Iohn 5.)* be meant of *Temporal judgement* in *spiritual things*, then can he not be said, not to be a *temporal king*, then can he not be said (when those words were spoken and ever since) not to have exercised a *temporal government*. The contrary whereof is most true, both at his first coming, and ever since, in all *generations*, it having been his *portion*, and the *portion* of his *followers* to be judged by this *world*, although *himself* and his judge the *world spiritually*, and will shortly pass an *eternal sentence* upon all the children of men.

Peace. Master Cotton addeth, this will not set up a *civil* or *temporal Israel*, unless all the *members* of the *Commonwealth* be compelled to be *members* of the *church*.

Truth. If that will do it then *Christ* must be a *temporal king*, I say then, when the *kingdomes* of the earth shall become the *kingdoms* of the *Lord*, for shall not the *kings* of the *earth* compel all *Christs sheep* to submit unto *Christ Iesus* their heavenly *shepherd*?

Peace. Yea secondly, will it not prove that all those *commonweals*, where *men* are compelled *explicitly* or *implicitly* to be *members* of the *church*, are holy lands of *Canaan*, and if so, Oh that Master Cotton and other worthy servants of *God*, may timely consider, whether an explicit forcing of all men to come to² *church*, because men cannot be denied to be *members* (at least by implication) with such *members* and *congregations*, with whom they do ordinarily assemble and congregate, although they be injuriously (indeed but injuriously) kept off from *communion* and *participation* of all *ordinances*, which is indeed their *right* and *due* if they be (though but implicitly) constrained and forced to partake of any.

Again (saith Master Cotton) it is no *Spanish inquisition* to preserve the *sheep* of *Christ* from the ravening of the *wolves*, but this rather (which is the practice of the discussor) to promote the principal end of the *Spanish inquisition*, to advance the *Romish tyranny*,
idola-

1. Christ no temporal King.

2. Touching forcing men to church.

idolatry and *apostacie*, by proclaiming *impunity* to their who-rish and wolvis *emissaries*.

Truth. If the Nations of the world must judge (as they must by Master Cottons doctrine) who are *Christs sheep*, and who are *wolves*, which is a *whore* (spiritually) and which the true *Spouse of Christ*, and accordingly persecute the *whores* and *wolves*, this then they must do according to their *conscience*, or else (as Master Cotton elsewhere) they must suspend. What is this¹ but either to set up a *Spanish inquisition* in all *territories*, or else to hang up all matters of *religion* (by this *suspension* he speaks of) untill the *civil states* of the *world* become *christian*, and godly, and able to judge, &c. and what is this in effect, but to practise the very thing which he chargeth on the discusser, to wit, a proclaiming an *impunity*, all the world over, except only in some very few and rare places, where some few *godly Magistrates* may be found rightly informed, that is according to his own *conscience* and *religion*.

Peace. Yea further (which I cannot without great horror observe) what is this but to give a woful occasion at least to all *Magistrates*² in the world (who will not suspend their bloody hands from *persecuting*, until Master Cotton shall absolve them from their *suspension*, and declare them *godly*, and informed, and fit to draw their swords in matters of *religion*) I say occasion (at least) to all the *civil powers* in the *world*, to persecute (as most commonly they have ever done and do) *Christ* himself, the *Son of God* in his poor *Saints* and *servants*.

Truth. Yea, if Master Cotton and his *friends* of his *conscience* should be cast by *Gods providence* (whose *wheels* turn about³ continually in the depth of his *councils* wonderfully) I say should they be cast under the reach of opposite *swords*, will they not produce Master Cottons own bloody *tenent* and *doctrine* to warrant them (according to their *consciences*) to deal with him as a *wolfe*, an *idolater*, an *heretick*, and as dangerous an *emissary* and *seducer* as any whom Master Cotton so accounteth?

But lastly, Master Cotton hath no reason to charge the discusser with an *indulgence* or *partiality* toward *Romish* and wolvis *emissaries*, his judgement and practise is known so far different, that for departing too far from them (as is pretended) he suffers the

1. A Spanish Inquisition all the world.

2. A twofold fire kindled.

3. That may consume the kindlers.

the *brands* and bears the marks of one of *Christs* poor persecuted *hereticks* to this day: All that he pleaded for, is an impartial *liberty* to their *consciences* in *worshiping God* as well as to the *consciences* and *worships* of other their fellow-subjects.

Peace. When *Mathias* the second king of *Hungary Bohe-mia* &c. (afterward *Emperor*) granted to his Protestant *subjects* the *liberty* of their *consciences*, doubtless it had been neither *prudence*¹ nor justice, to have denyed equal *liberty* to all of them impartially. But to finish this Chapter, Master *Cotton* lastly affirmeth, that it is not frustrating of the sweet end of *Christs coming* which was to save *souls*, but rather a direct advancing of it, to destroy (if need be) the *bodies* of those *wolves*, who seek to destroy the *souls* of those for whom *Christ* died, and whom he bought with his own blood.

Truth. The place referred to, was *Luk. 9.* where the *Lord Jesus* professeth unto the rash zeal of his *Disciples* (desiring that *fire* might come down from heaven upon the *refusers* of *Christ*)² that he came not to destroy mens lives but to save them: from whence it appears that *Christ Jesus* had no such intent (as Master *Cotton* seems to make him to have had) to wit, to save *souls* by destroying of *bodies*: but to save *soul* and *body*, and that for *soul* sake, for *religion* sake, for his sake, the *bodies* of none should be destroyed, but permitted to enjoy a temporal being, which also might prove a means of their *eternal life* and *salvation*, as it may be was the very case of some of those *Samaritans*.

Examination of CHAP. XLIV.

Peace.

THE next Scripture produced by the prisoner against *persecution*³ for cause of *conscience* was 2 *Cor. 10.* The weapons of our *warfare* are not *carnal*, but mighty through *God*, &c. unto which Master *Cotton* answers, that he speaks not there of *civil Magistrates*.

It was replied, True, for in spiritual things the *civil weapons* were improper, though in *civil* things most proper and suitable.

Master *Cotton* now replying grants, that it is indeed improper
for

1. Mathias the second Emperor granting liberty of conscience.

2. Christ came not to destroy mens bodies, though to save their souls.

3. Christian weapons considered.

for a *Magistrate* to draw his *sword* in matters *spiritual*, yet saith he, about matters *spiritual* they may, as to *protect* in peace, and to *stave* of *disturbers* and *destroyers* of them: And he adds, if it were unfitting for *carpenters* to bring *axes* and *hammers* to build up the *spiritual kingdome* of the *church* of *Christ*, yet their tooles are fit to build *Scaffolds* for *hearing*.

Truth. It is strange, and in my understanding suits not with the rest of Master *Cottons* discourse, to wit, that which Master *Cotton* here acknowledgeth, that a *Magistrate* is not to draw his sword in *spiritual* things, but only about them: when throughout the *discourse* he maintaines, that the *Magistrate* must suppress the *heretick*, *blasphemer*, *idolater*, *seducer*, that he must reforme the *church*, punish the *apostate*, and keep the *church* in her *purity*; which whether they be *spiritual matters* or no, let such as be *spiritual* judge.

Peace. He is (saith Master *Cotton*) to draw his *sword* about *spiritual* matters, to protect in peace, as a *carpenter* may build *Scaffolds*, &c.

Truth. If Master *Cotton* mean *civil* peace, he knows we¹ agree, for all the *officers* of peace and justice ought to attend that *work*: But if he mean *spiritual*, to wit, that by his *sword* he is to provide, that no man dispute against his *religion*, that no man *preach* nor *write* against it, let it be well weighed, whether the *sword* be not now used in *spiritual* matters: As also whether in such cases and others before mentioned; the *civil Magistrate* be not bound by Master *Cottons* doctrine to interpose as *Judge* in these *controversies*, to pass *sentence* and to punish whom he judgeth *delinquent*, notwithstanding that both *parties* and both *religions* are *right*, and *righteous* and holy in their own *perswasions* and *consciences*.

Peace. Beside, I know you deny not *civil conveniences* in *Gods worship*, and (therefore when there is need upon occasion) the help of a *carpenter* to build *Scaffolds*.

Truth. True, but since Master *Cotton* compares the work of² the *Magistrate* to the building of a *carpenters Scaffold*, let us in the fear of *God* consider, if this *similitude* (like some *Scaffolds*) be not all too weak, whereon to hazard so mighty a *weight* and *burthen*: For what should we think of such a *carpenter*, that after

1. A fallacious distinction of using the civil sword, not in, but about spiritual matters.

2. Strange Carpenters.

after he hath built his *Scaffold* for people more conveniently to hear the word of *God* suffers no man to *preach* in the whole *coun-try* (where his *Scaffolds* are set up) but whom he pleaseth, nor no *doctrine* to be taught but what he liketh; no *church* to be gathered, no persons to make up this *church*, no persons to receive the *Sacrament* but what he approves of: yea and further with broad *axes* and *hammers* and other tooles of *violence*, should compel all persons (directly or indirectly) to come to *church*, to make use of his *Scaffold* &c. Whether this be not the true *state* of the *bu-siness*, the *Carpenters Son Christ Jesus* will shortly more and more discover, and break, and tumble down those painted *Scaffolds* and fairest *houses*, which are not built and framed according to the first most blessed *line* and *rule* of his holy *institution* and *appointments*.

Examination of CHAP. XLV.

Peace.

UPON the unfitness (alleadged) of *spiritual weapons* to batter a *natural* or *artificial* hold, and consequently the unfitness of *natural* and *carnal* weapons to batter the *spiritual* strong holds in the heart, Master *Cotton* replies, that he allows not the *civil state* to make use of their civil weapons to batter down *idolatry* and *heresie* in the souls of men: But if (saith he) the *idolater* or *heretick* grow obstinate, worseand worse, deceiving himself, &c. Now, he maketh not use of *stocks* and *whips* (which will but exasperate the *malady*) but of *death* and *banishment*, that may cut him off from the opportunity of spreading his *leaven*, &c.

Truth. Methinks in this passage, Master *Cotton* resembleth an armed man, who being almost convinced, or overcome by the *Spirit* of *God* in the former part of this passage (granting how unproper and unfit *carnal weapons* be in *spiritual* matters) yet being¹ loath to yeeld, and holding up the goodness of his cause, he recovers again, and grows more fierce and violent: for bearing more gentle stroaks of *stocks* and *whips*, he cuts deeper with no less then quick and dreadful gashings of *death* or *Banishment*, that the world (were he one of the *worlds Monarchs*) may be rid of such *idolaters*, *hereticks* &c.

Peace.

1. The bloody tenent in plaine English.

Peace. Oh, How can Master Cotton wash this *Tenent* from blood!

Truth. Yea whether this *tenent* be not invented (as once that learned *chancellor* of *England* said of all *violence* against *conscience*)¹ for an *end* or *interest*: or as (that incarnate *devil*) the *Pope* said more plainly of the *fable* of *Christ*, for *honor* and *profit*, shall further be examined.

Peace. But who can read the *bloody colour* in this *book*, and yet believe what Master Cotton elsewhere saith, that he holds not *persecution* for *cause* of *conscience*?

Truth. Lastly, I aske, whether is it not the same skill and *power* of *Physick* and *Surgery*, that preserves the *body* and each member in *health* and *welfare*, with that which cuts off (as Master Cotton speaks) the *Gangrene* &c? and (since also tis in vaine to go about when the next way is as good or better) what means then Master Cotton to bring in the *Magistrate* using *spiritual* means in all lenity and *wisdome* against *heresie* and *idolatry* in the souls of men, since *death* or *banishment* will effect the *cure* so quickly?

Peace. To proceed, whereas it was urged, that although *civil weapons* were proper in *spiritual* matters, yet they were not *necessary* &c. Master Cotton replies, this is but a meer *pretence*, because the discussor (saith he) denies all Church officers and Church *weapons*.

Truth. This formerly was cleered from all appearance of *pretence*, because during all the *reign* of the *beast* the discussor granteth the impregnable *power* of the *spiritual weapons* of *Christs*² witnesses, *Rev.* 11. although he see not extant the true form and order of the *kingdome* of *Christ Jesus* which at first he was pleased to establish.

Peace. Master Cotton adds, Although *spiritual weapons* are mighty to purge out *leaven*, and to mortifie the *flesh* of offenders, yet that is not a *supersedeas* to *civil Magistrates* to neglect to punish those sins, which the *church* hath censured, if the person censured do proceed to subvert the *truth* of the *Gospel*, or the *peace* of the *church*, or the *souls* of the *people*.

Truth. Why must the *Magistrate* stay until the party censured do proceed so and so? Why could not he have spared the draw-

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1. All civil violence in spirituals, is for interest.

2. Christs spiritual weapons never wanting.

ing forth of any spiritual *weapons*; since they are so effectual to do that which was not in the power and reach of the *spiritual*? Why¹ was not the first *obstinacy* (which merited the spiritual *stroaks* and *cersures*) worthy of the *exercise* of the *civil Magistrates* power and zeale?

Peace. Me thinks this is an evident *demonstration* that men repose more *confidence* (however they deceive themselves to the contrary) in the *sword of steel* that hangs by the side of the *civil officer*, then in the two-edged sword proceeding out of the mouth of *Christ Jesus*, Rev. 1.

Truth. The truth is, such doctrine makes *Christs spiritual sword* but *serviceable* and *subordinate* unto the *temporal* or worldly *powers*: and presents the *church* but making *essayes* and *trials* of that *cure* which *death* and *banishment* (gilded over with pretence of Gods glory, &c.) they think will not faile to effect, &c.

Peace. More plainly therefore writes another *Author* (of Master *Cottons* mind) thus: It is known by *experience* that one *re-proof* or *threatning* from the *Magistrate*, hath been known to do more then an hundred *admonitions* from the *Minister*.

Truth. Yea no question, to force a *nation* or a *world* of men to play the *idolaters*, *hypocrites*, &c. but Gods true *servants* (of whom these three famous *Jews* are type, *Dan.* 3.) know that *God* whom they serve is able to deliver them from such fiery *threatnings* and executions. But if he please to try them (as his *gold*) in such *fiery tryals*, they will not bow down to invented *gods* or *worships*.

Peace. Methinks (dear truth) such *Ministers* deal upon the point and in effect with the *civil Magistrate*, just as that *ambitious Pope* with the *Emperors* to wit, make them hold the *stir-rop* while they mount, &c. But I grieve &c. What think you therefore of Master *Cottons* censure of the rest of the discourse in this Chapter, to wit, that it is but (as *Jude* speaks) *clouds* without *waters*, *words* without *matter*, &c.

Truth. I will say no more, but this, Happily (through Gods mercy) Master *Cottons* censure may occasion some to view what he despiseth, yea and happily to finde some heavenly *drops* out of those contemned empty *clouds*.

CHAP.

1. The civil sword esteemed more powerful then the spiritual.

Examination of CHAP. XLVI.

Peace.

THE 13 to the *Rom.* which the *answerer* quotes, is a *fort* of such importance in so many *controversies* depending between the *Papist* and the *Protestant*, and between many *Protestants*¹ among themselves, that all seek to gaine and win it: In this present controversive I finde a wonderful *wresting* of this holy Scripture even by many holy and peaceable (though herein violent and sinful) hands: and let the charge be examined in the fear of *God*, whether slanderous (as Master *Cotton* intimates) or true and righteous.

Master *Cotton* freely grants, that this 13 to the *Rom.* exhorteth unto *subjection* to *Magistrates*, and *love* to all men, which² are *duties* of the second *table*: But yet withal he answers, that it will not follow, that *Magistrates* have nothing to do with the *violation* of the *first table*; and further saith, that it is a plaine case that amongst the *duties* of the *second table*, people may be exhorted to honor their *Magistrates*, and *children* may be exhorted to honour their *Parents*; but will it (saith he) thence follow, that *Magistrates* have nothing to do with matters of *religion* in the *church*, or parents in the *family*?

Truth. I answer, the *scope* of the *discourse* was to prove, that it pleaseth the *Spirit* of *God* in *Paul* here only to treat of the *duties* of the *second table*, unto which *limitation* or *restriction* Master *Cotton* speaks not at all, but only granteth in general, that it speaketh of the *duties* of the *second table*: And I still urge and argue, that the *spirit* of *God* discoursing so largely in this *Scripture* of the *duties* of *Magistrates* and people, and treating only of *civil* things, in that *civil relation* between *Magistrates* and people, points as with a finger of *God* at their *error*, that wrest this *Scripture* to maintaine the power of *Magistrates* and *civil states* in the *spiritual* and *church estate* of the *kingdome* of *Christ*.

Peace. But what may be said to Master *Cottons* argument?

Truth. I answer, If people are bound to yeeld *obedience* in *civil* things to *civil officers* of the *state*, *Christians* are much more bound to yeeld *obedience* (according to *God*, to the *spiritual* of-

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ficers

1. *Rom.* 13. Considered.

2. The great fort of The civil Magistrate not charged with the keeping of the seed tables.

ficers of Christs kingdome: But how weak is this argument to prove that therefore the civil officers of the state are constituted rulers or governors, preservers and reformers of the Christian and spiritual state, which differs as much from the civil, as the heavens are out of the reach of this earthly Globe and Element?

Examination of CHAP. XLVII.

Peace.

AGainst the Judgement of those blessed *worthies* alleadged, (Calvin and Beza) confining this passage of *Rom. 13.* to the¹ *second table*, Master Cotton here opposeth their judgement for the *Magistrates* power in matters of *religion* in other writings of theirs, yea and from this very *Scripture*.

Truth. This their judgement for the *Magistrates* power was granted and premised before; yet let the *expressions* of those *worthy* men (produced by the *discusser* on this Chapter) be faithfully weighed, and it will cleerly appear, that (as *James* speaks) those excellent men endeavoured to bring from the same *fountaines sweet* water and *bitter*, which is monstrous and contradictory.

Peace. The pith of what Master Cotton further saith in this Chapter, I conceive is couched in these demands: Are not (saith he) all *duties* of *righteousness* to man commanded in the *second table*, as well as all *duties* of *holiness* to God are commanded in the *first table*? Is it not a *duty* of *righteousness* belonging to the people of God, to enjoy the free passage of *religion*? &c. Is it not an injurious dealing to the people of God, to disturbe the truth of *religion* with *heresie*, the *holiness* of *worship* with *idolatry*, the *purity* of *government* with *tyranny*? and he concludes, If so, then these wayes of *unrighteousness* are justly punishable by the *second table*.

Truth. I answer, It hath pleased the *Father* of *lights* to open the eyes of thousands of his servants in these later times to discern² a fine spun fallacy in the team of *unrighteousness* and injury which being twofold *spiritual* against *religion* or *spiritual state*,
and

1. Calvin and Beza's judgement on *Rom. 13.*

2. Unrighteousness civil and spiritual.

civil against the *worldly* or *civil state*: It is no *civil injury* (which he grants is the business of this 13 to the *Romanes* in matters of the *second table*) for any man to disturbe or oppose a *doctrine worship* or *government spiritual*: *Christ Jesus* and his¹ *messengers* and servants did. and do profess a *spiritual war* against the *doctrine, worship* and *government* of the *Jewish* the *Turkish* and other *Pagan* and *Antichristian religions* of all sorts and *sects, churches* and *societies*: These all againe oppose and fight against his *doctrine, worship, government*: And yet this war may be so managed (were men but humane *civil* and peaceable) that no *civil injury* may be commieted on either side.

Peace. We may then well take up (as Master Cotton doth) *Beza's* own words on *Rom. 13. 4.* The *civil sword* must take vengeance on them that do *evil*: It must therefore follow that *hereticks* are not *evil doers* (which is gross &c.) Or else that *Pauls* speech is to be restrained to a certaine sort of evil deeds, to wit, such as they call *corporal sins*, of which he saith, he disputeth largely elsewhere.

Truth. And so (through the help of the most *high*) shall I, in proving, that the second sort, to wit, *external, corporal, civil evils* between *man* and *man, city* and *city, kingdomes* and *Nations* (in this faln estate of mankind, wherein all *civility*, and *humanity* it self are violated) are alone, and only intended in this *Scripture* by the holy Spirit of *God* and *Paul* his penman.

Examination of CHAP. XLVIII.

Peace.

TO the second argument, to wit, the *incompetency* of those *higher powers* to which *Paul* requires *subjection*, which in his time were the ignorant and *Pagan persecuting Emperors*, and their subordinate *governors* under them, Master Cotton replies.

First, It is one thing to yeeld subjection to the *righteous decrees* of *ignorant* and *Pagan Magistrates*: And another thing to obey their *ordinances* in matters of *faith* and worship, and *government* of the *church*: The former of these, *Christians* did
yeeld

1. Spiritual wars without civil disturbance.

yeeld unto the *Romane Magistrates*, even *subjection* unto the *death*; the other they did not, nor ought to yeeld, as knowing God was rather to be obeyed then *man*.

Truth. *Subjection* may be either to lawful *governors*, or but *pretenders* and *usurpers*: Again *subjection* to lawful rulers may be in cases pertaining to their *cognizance*, or in cases which belong not to their but another *court* or *tribunal*; which undue proceeding is not tolerable in all well-ordered *states*.

We use also to say, that *subjection* is either *active* or *passive*: Now although we finde the *Lord* requiring and his *servants* yeelding,¹ all *active* or *passive obedience* to the *Romane Emperors*, and their *deputies*, yet finde we not a tittle of the *Lords* requiring, or his people yeelding any kind of *subjection* to those *Romane Emperors* or their *deputies* in the *matters of Christian religion*, except it be of so many hundred thousand of their *bodies*, as the *bodies of Lambs* to the devouring jaws of those *bloody lyons* and *devillish Monsters*, of more then barbarous cruelty.

Peace. But (Secondly, saith Master Cotton) although the *Roman Emperors* were incompetent *Judges*, yet the *Word of Christ*² which commandeth a duty, commandeth also the necessary means which tend to that duty, and therefore giving them a power and charge to execute vengeance on evil doers, and that in matters of spiritual unrighteousness against the Church, as in matters of civil unrighteousness against the Commonweal, it behooved them to try and listen after the true Religion, to heare and try all.

Truth. Master Cotton may here be intreated to take notice of his own *distinction* of *unrighteousness* (which a little before he seemed to me to forget) for here he rightly distinguisheth between *spiritual matters* of *unrighteousness* against the *church*, and *civil unrighteousness* against the *Commonweal*: I therefore urge (as before) that the *civil Magistrate*, although he punish (according to his *civil place* and calling) *civil unrighteousness* against the *state*, yet he hath no *warrant* from Master Cottons argument, nor any from the *Lord Jesus Christ*, to punish *spiritual unrighteousness* against the *church*; and why then should that tearm of *unrighteousness* so generally and fallaciously go undistinguished, and Master Cotton thus promiscuously proclaime *idolatry* is *unrighteousness*, *heresie* is *unrighteousness*, and therefore the *civil Magistrate* is bound to punish, &c?

2. But

1. The nature of twice subjection to civil powers.

2. Of the Roman Emperors power in spirituals.

2. But oh that this *maxime* alleadged by Master Cotton might receive its due *weight* and *consideration*! hath *Christ* commanded all means, as well as the *duty*? what then is the *reason* that since (as Master Cotton argues) that *Christ* hath commanded all the *civil powers* of the *world* such a *spiritual duty*, and yet (I say)¹ that all or most of the *civil states* of the *world* (beyond comparison) are not furnished by *Christ* with those chief *means*, of *grace* and *light*, whereby to *try* and *search*, as Master Cotton exhorteth? Or (in some few places, where means of *light* are vouchsafed) with *hearts* and *spirits* unto such a duty? May we not here say, that men make *Christ Jesus* (in appointing such officers, such a duty, without furnishing them accordingly) to forget that maxime of his Type *Solomon* (*Prov.* 26.) He that sendeth a *message* by the hand of a *fool* cutteth off the *leg*, and drinketh *dammage*? Did not *Christ* know (as well as *John*) that all the *world* lay in *wickedness*, that all the *world* (in a respect) was then *Roman Paganish*, and that all the *world* in after-ages would wonder after the *beast*, and become *Roman Popish*? Or can we imagine² that *Christ Jesus* did not foresee the cutting off of *legs*, and the cup of *dammage* and loss which he must drink, in sending his minde and will into the world by such foolish *instruments*?

Peace. Surely Master Cotton would never advise the *civil state* ty send a weighty *cause* and the *lives* of *souldiers* with such *captaines*: Nor will he set an unruly *childe* under the *rod* of such *teachers* or *reformers*: He will not set forth his *Farme* or be-trust his *cattel* no not his very *hogs* to such keepers.

Truth. On the other hand, let the *government* of *Christs*³ *kingdome* be laid upon the right *shoulders*, and we shall finde the admirable *wisdome* and *care* of *Christ*, in the *affaires* of his *kingdom*, in appointing such *messengers* or *Apostles* to gather and found his *churches*, as also ordinary *Pastors* *Shepherds* or *teachers*, for their feeding and building up &c.

The qualification of these the *Spirit* of *God* hath expresly and exactly recorded wherein (according to the *principle* mentioned by Master Cotton) *Christ Jesus* his highest *care* and *wisdome* shines most gloriously in appointing the *means* as well as the *duty* it self.

Peace. But Master Cotton addeth, that the *causes* of *religion*,
wherein

1. Foule imputations against Christ Jesus.

2. Christ permiteth Tyrants over his churches Saints, but appointeth none but his true spiritual Ministers.

3. Christ Jesus his careful and most wise provision for his kingdome.

wherein we allow the *civil Magistrate* to be *Judges*, are so *fundamental* and palpable, that no Magistrate studious of Religion in the fear of God, cannot but judge: such as cannot, they ought to forbear, &c. the exercise of their power, either in protecting or punishing matters of Religion till they learn so much knowledge of the truth, as may inable them to discern of things that differ. This forbearance of theirs (saith he) is not for want of authority in their callings, nor for want of duty in their consciences but want of evidence to them in the cause: In which case Magistrates are wont to forbear their exercise of power and judgement even in civil cases.

Truth. O the miserable allowance which Master Cotton hath brought the *kings* and *governors* of the world unto! *We allow them* (saith he) *to judge in such fundamentals and palpable¹ causes*, &c. Oh with what *proud* and domineering feet do all *Popes* tread upon the *necks* even of the highest *kings* and *Emperors*! The *Magistrate* must wait at their *gates* for their poor allowance: They shall *judge*, and they shall not *judge*: They shall judge that which is *gross* and *palpable*, and enough to hold the people in *slavery*, and to force them to sacrifice to the *Priests belly*; but the more sublime and nicer *mysteries* they must not *judge* or touch, but attend upon the tables of the *Priests infallibility*.

Peace. Concerning *fundamentals* (*dear truth*) you have well observed, that since the *apostacy*, and the *worlds* wondring after² the *beast*, even *Gods* servants themselves (untill *yesterday*) have not so much as heard of such a kind of *church* (and so consequently of such a *Christ* the *head* of it) as Master Cotton now professeth: For no other *matter* and *forme* of a *church* (about which Master Cotton justly contends) was known I say among *Gods* people themselves, (till yesterday) then the *matter* and form of the stone or *woodden Parish-church*.

Truth. Yea an happy man were Mr. Cotton could he rectifie and settle those *foundations* which are yet so controverted amongst *Gods* servants, to wit, the *Doctrine* of *Baptismes*, and laying on of *hands*.

Peace. You may also mention other *foundations*, which want not their great disputes among the *servants* of *Christ*.

Truth. But further, that *Christ Jesus* the *wisdome* of the *Father*,

1. The Cleargies evil dealing with the civil Magistrate.

2. The nature of a church, but lately discovered since the apostasie.

Father, should commit his *wife*, his *church* to be governed in his absence by such who generally know not the *church* and *Saints* but cruelly and blasphemously *persecute* them with *fire* and *sword*, and this with *charge* to suspend most *Magistrates* of the *world*, and¹ that all their dayes from *generation* to *generation*, as appeareth in all parts of the *world* which is such a *monstrous* and *blasphemous Paradox*, that *common reason* cannot digest, nor suffer.

Peace. If *Merchants* and *owners* of *ships* should commit their *vessels* to such men as wanted *ability* to *steer* their *courses*, nay could not tell what a *ship* was yea were never like to know all their dayes surely it were not only matter of *admiration*, but even of *laughter* and *derision*, among all the sons of men.

Truth. But further, How weak is that *distinction* which Master *Cotton* makes between *authority* of *calling*, and *duty* and *evidence* in the *cause*, when in all *judicatures* in the whole world, even amongst the *Pagans*, there is necessarily supposed beside these three,² a fourth to wit, *ability* or skill of *discerning* or judging in such *cases*: Now *cognizance* of the *cause* or *evidence* of the *cause* may be wanting in most able *judges*, where matters are not *proper* or not *ripe* for *hearing* and *trials*; whereas our dispute is of the very *ability* or *skil* of judging, which Master *Cotton* himself confesseth is wanting, except in such *Magistrates* as *fear God*, which will be found to be but a little *flock*, especially compared with the many thousands and ten thousands of those who neither know *God* nor *Christ*, nor care to know them, and this in all the *states*, *regions* and *civil governments* of the *world*.

X

CHAP.

1. Monstrous Suspensions.

2. Spiritual courts and Judges.

Eamination of CHAP. XLIX.

Peace.

Concerning *Pauls* appeale to *Cæsar*, it was argued that *Paul* appealed to *Cæsar* even in *spiritual* things; which that *Paul* did not nor could not do without the committing of five great *evils*, was pleaded in this Chapter, Master *Cotton* replies no more but this, The *reasons* are but *Bulrushes*.

Truth. Whether they are so or no, or rather the *Bulrushes* and weak things of *God*, which the gates of hell shall never be able to shake, let the *Saints* judge in the fear of *God*.

Peace. Master *Cotton* adds further in this Chapter, that *Paul* pleadeth he was not guilty in any of those things whereof the *Jews* accused him: those things (saith he) concerned the *Law* of the *Jews* and the *Temple*, which were matters of *religion*; and for trial thereof he appealed to *Cæsar*.

Truth. *Lysias* the chief captaine in his letter to *Felix* the Governor (Chap. 24.) distinguisheth (vers. 29.) into *questions* of the *Jews*, *Law*, and (secondly) matters worthy of *death* or *bonds*:¹ Now tis true the *Jews* charged *Paul* with offences against *religion* their *Law* and the *Temple*: Secondly, against the *civil state*, and with *sedition*. For the first although it is apparent that all the scope of *Pauls* preaching, was to exalt *Christ Jesus*, and to preach down *Moses Law*; yet at this present time of his apprehension, he had seen cause to honour *Moses* his *institutions* at *Jerusalem* (which was the wisdom of *God* in him for a season, for the *Jews* sake, and his own *glory*-sake:) And he had not at this present so much as disputed with any in the *temple* (which was not so hainous a matter in *Pauls* eye, as it is well known by his constant practice.) Secondly, for *matters of civil crime*, he pleadeth that he stirred up no man. not in the *Synagogue* nor *City*, and pre-fesseth (Chap. 25.) that if he had committed ought worthy of *death*, he would not *wave* death: Tis true that *Paul* was charged by the *Iews* with both these kinds of offences, *religious* and *civil* (according to *Lysius* his *distinction*) but that *Paul* appealed to *Cæsar* for *tryal*, that is, for *trial* of his *person* and *cause* in any *religious* respect, as it cannot be collected from the *Scripture* or
Pauls

1. Touching *Paul* appealing to *Cæsar*.

Paul own words: so those five reasons against it, will evidently disprove it, if they be well and thoroughly weighed in the *balance* of the *Sanctuary* in the sight and fear of *God*.

Peace. I cannot in my understanding clear *Master Cottons* own¹ words from destroying one another. Tis true (saith he) those five sins might have been charged upon *Paul* with some colour, if he had appealed to *Cæsar* whether his *religion* or *Ministry*, or *Ministration* were of *God* or no? But yet (saith he) he might appeal whether his *religion*, *Ministry* or *Ministration* were guilty of any *capital crime* against the *Law* of the *Iews*, or the *temple*, or against *Cæsar*.

Truth. Indeed what difference is there between the judging whether this *Ministry* deserve death (supposing a false *Ministry* is worthy of death) or judging whether it be of *God*, or false and idolatrous? must not he that sits judge of the *desert* and *punishment*, judge also of the *crime* and fact, whether so or not?

Peace. When *Master Cotton* shall affirme (and truly) that the *Magistrates* of *Israel* were to judge a false *prophet* to death, will he not also grant that they were to judge whether such persons so charged were false *prophets* or no?

Truth. Yea, and when *Master Cotton* shall affirme (as unjustly) that *civil Magistrates* in all *nations* of the *world* ought to kill or banish *hereticks*, *blasphemers*, *seducers*, out of their *dominions* and *jurisdictions*, doth he intend that they shall try and examine, whether they be such and such or no? But blessed be the *Father* of *lights*, who hath now opened the eyes of so many thousands of his people to discern the *difference* between the *Forts* and *Bulwarks* of *God*, here called *Bulrushes*, and those *strong holds* and high *imaginations* of men (erected against the *crown* and *kingdome* of the *Lord Iesus*) which in *Gods* holy season shall more and more be found to be but *straws* and *Bulrushes*.

X 2

CHAP.

1. Pauls appeal to Cæsar.

Examination of CHAP. L.

Peace.

TO the arguing against the *Magistrates civil* power in *Spiritual* causes taken from the *nature* of the *Magistrates* weapons (a *material* earthly and worldly *sword*, distinguished from the two-edged sword of *Christs spiritual* power in the mouth of *Christ*) Master *Cotton* replies.

First, the *Magistrate* must governe his people in *Righteousness*, and it is *Righteous* to defend his people in their *Spiritual Rights*, as well as in their *civil Rights*.

This *distinction* of *spiritual* and *civil Righteousness* doth¹ truly anatomize the cause; It is righteous for the *Magistrates* to defend their *subjects* in their *civil Rights*, for it is within the compass of his *calling*, being essentially *civil*: And unless we also grant him a *spiritual calling* and *office* (which is the Point denied) 'tis beyond his *calling* and compass to judge of what is *spiritual Right* and *wrong*, and accordingly to pass a *spiritual* sentence, and and execute and inflict *spiritual* punishment.

Peace. Methinks I may add, if the *Magistrate* be bound to defend his *Subjects* in their *spiritual* rights, then as he is bound impartially to defend all his *subjects* in their several and respective *civil Rights*, so is he bound as impartially to defend all his *subjects*² in their several and respective *spiritual Rights*; and so accordingly to defend the *Iews*, the *Papists*, and all several sores of *Protestants* in their severall and respective *consciencs*; or else, he must sit down in *Christs* stead, and produce a *Royal* charter from the *New Testament* of *Christ Iesus* to judge difinitively which is the onely right, to pass *sentence*, and execute *spiritual* punishment on all offenders &c.

Peace. But Master *Cotton* adds a second, the sword was *Material* and *civil* in the *Old Testament*.

I answer, If Master *Cotton* granted a *national church* under the Gospel, his Argument were good; but when he grants that *national church* under the *Jews* (as afterward in this chapter he doth) did type out the *Christian church* or *churches* in the Gospel, why must he not grant that material Sword of the *Church of Israel*

1. Spiritual rights and civil.

2. The civil Magistrate not bound to defend spiritual rights.

rael types out the *spiritual sword* of *Christ Iesus*, proceeding out of his mouth, and cutting off offenders *spiritually* with *spiritual*¹ and soul-punishments? And I add, As the sword was *material*, so also was the *Tabernacle* and *Temple* worldly and *material*; which he denies not to be typical of the *spiritual Temple* of *Christ* and his *Church* in the New Testament.

Peace. Master *Cotton* adds (Thirdly) that the *Magistrates Sword* may well be call'd the *Sword of God*, as the *Sword of War*, *Iudg.* 7.

Truth. As it was call'd *Iehovahs Sword* in that typical Land;² So must it needs be typical as well as the Land it self, which is also called by the Prophets *Ichovah's Land Emanuels land*; which *names* and *titles* I think Master *Cotton* will not say are competent and applicable to any other *Lands* or *Countries* under the *Gospel* but onely to the *Spiritual Canaan* or *Israel*, the *Church* and people of *God*, the true and onely *Christendome*.

Peace. But (Fourthly) saith he, they are called *Gods*, and shall they not attend *Gods work*?

Truth. In the state of *Israel* they were *Gods* deputies to attend the causes of *Israel*, the then onely *Church of God*: But Master *Cotton* can produce no parallel to that, but the *Christian Churches* and people of *God*, not *national* but *Congregational*, &c.

2. Grant the *Magistrates* to be as *Gods*, or strong ones in a *Resemblance* to *God* in all *Nations* of the world, yet that is still within the compass of their calling, which being confessed to be *essentially civil* the *civil work* of these servants of the *Commonweal* is *Gods work*, as well as *Paul* calls (in a sence) the work of the servants of the *Family*, *Gods work*, for which he pays the wages, *Eph.* 5.

Lastly, for *spiritual* causes we know the *Lord Iesus* is call'd *God*, *Psal.* 45. *Heb.* 1. whose *Scepter* and *Kingdome* being essentially *spiritual*, the *administrations* which he hath appointed are also *spiritual*, and of an heavenly and soul *Nature*.

Peace. Master *Cotton* (Fifthly) adds, *Revel.* 17. The *Kingdoms* of the *World* are become the *Kingdoms* of the *Lord*, and of his *Christ*.

Truth. How the *Kingdoms* of the *World* shall become the *Kingdoms* of *Christ*, is no smal *mystery* and *controversie*; but
grant

1. Israel a type of the Chrristian Church.

2. The true and onely Christendome.

grant it to be true, that either *Christ Iesus* personally, or by his *Deputies* the Saints, shall rule all the *Nations* of the world in hearing and determining all *civil Controversies*: Yet why doth Master *Cotton* draw an Argument from this *Prophecie*, of what shall be in one *Age* or *Time* of the World, and to come, to prove an *Universal power* and *Exercise* of such power in all *Ages* and *times* since *Christ Iesus* his first comming to this day?

Peace. Me thinks Master *Cotton* may as well argue, that because it was prophesied that a *Virgin* should conceive, and bring forth a child in *Gods* appointed season, that therefore all *Virgins* must so conceive and so being in forth all *ages* of the world.

But, (Lastly) saith Master *Cotton*, although the *nations* have not that typical *holiness* which the nation of *Israel* had; Yet all the Churches of the Saints have as much truth and realty of *holiness* as *Israel* had: And therefore, what holy care of *Religion* lay upon the *Kings* of *Israel* in the *Old Testament*, the same lyeth now upon *Christian Kings* in the *New Testament*, to protect the same in their Churches.

Truth. Oh how neer the precious *Iewels*, and *Bargains* of¹ *Truth*, come sometimes *Gods* Saints, and yet miss of the finding and going through with it! The *churches* of the *New Testament*, Master *Cotton* grants succeed the *Church* of *Israel*; The *Kings* and *Governours* therefore of the *churches* of *Christ* must succeed those *Kings* What King and *Governours* of *Israel* are now to be found in the *Gospel*, but *Christ Iesus* and his Servants, deputed in his absence, which are all of a *spiritual* consideration? What is this to the *Nations*, *Kings*, and *Governours* of the world; where few *Kings*, few *Nobles*, few *Wise*, are cald to profess *Christ*? Is not *Christ Iesus* the onely King of *Israel*; and are not all his holy ones made *Kings* and *Priests* unto *God*? And unto his *Saints*, and his *spiritual* officers *Administration* in the midst of them, is his *Kingdomes* power committed in his absence. This *spiritual* power, however the *Pope* and *prelates*, *Kings* and *Princes*. *Parliaments* and *General Courts*, and their respective *Officers* of *Justice* (to be honoured and obeyed in *civil things*,) I say however they have challenged and assumed this *Kingly Power*² of the Son of *God*, yet the *King* of *Kings*, *Christ Iesus* hath begun to discover, and will never leave until he hath made it clear as
the

1. Christ Jesus in himself and his spiritual officers the onely Key of Israel.

2. Christ Jesus robd of his crown.

the Sun Beames that he is robd of his *crown*, and will shake, and break, all the *nations* and *Powers* of the world until his Heavenly *crown* be again restored.

Examination of CHAP. LI.

Peace. TO the fourth *Argument* (Rom. 13.) from the *civil rewards* due to *Magistrates*; to wit, *custom*, *Tribute* &c. Master Cotton replies, That even the *contributions* of the *Saints*, are called *carnal* things; shall therefore their work be called *carnal*?¹ It is true (saith he) the *contributions* of the *Saints* are called *holy*, because they are given to God for his service about holy things; So the *reward* given to *Magistrates*, is for their service about *Righteous* things: And it is righteous (saith he) to preserve the purity of *Doctrine* *Worship* and *Government*, which if *Magistrates* do not, they do not deserve all their *wages*.

Truth. It is true that *money* or *monies-worth* is the same for value in the *contribution* of the *Saints*, and in that of *custome*, *tribute* &c; and yet Master Cotton grants a *Holiness* of the *Saints* *contribution*, which he doth not affirme of *custome*, *tribute*, &c.

There is also a two fold way disputed, of preserving of the purity² of *Doctrine*, *worship*, &c.

First, That which I plead for, by *spiritual weapons* appointed by *Christ Iesus*.

Secondly, that of *Civil weapons*, *Force of Armes* &c. which Master Cotton affirms, and I deny to be ever appointed by *Christ Iesus*, or able to accomplish a *spiritual* end, but the *Contrary*.

Peace. Me thinks Master Cottons *addition* not a little concerns my self in the peace of all *Citties* and *Kingdomes*: for if (as Master Cotton saith) *Magistrates* shall not deserve all their *wages* except they preserve the *purity* of *Doctrine*, *worship* &c. (which upon the point is that *Doctrine* *Worship* and *Government* Master Cotton approves of) what is this (in effect) but to deny *tribute*, *custome* *subsides*, &c. to *Cæsar*, the *Kings* and *Governours* of the Earth, if they prove *Hereticks*, *Idolaters*? &c. I cannot see, but this

1. Of custome tribute, &c.

2. Spiritual defence for spiritual right, &c.

this in plaine *English* tendeth to little less then the *Popish* bloody *Doctrine* of deposing *heretical Kings &c.*

But Master *Cotton* further adds, that *spiritual wages* are to be paid to *Magistrates*. 1 *Tim.* 2. to wit, *Prayers, Intercessions &c.*¹ If therefore (saith he) the *Magistrates* suffer their Subjects to live a quiet life in *ungodliness* and *Dishonesty*, the *Magistrate* falls short of returning *spiritual* recompence for the *spiritual Duties* and *services* performed for them.

Truth. Those prayers are not the proper *wages* paid to *Magistrates* for their work; for then should they not be paid (as the *Spirit of God* there exhorteth) to all men, whether *Magistrates* or not.

Peace. And I may add, nor paid to those *Magistrates* that are *Idolatrous, Blasphemous, Persecutors*: But those prayers were to be poured forth for such *Magistrates* (such as most of the *Magistrates* in the *world* then were and are.) Those prayers then were a general *Duty* to be paid to all men, and especially to the *chiefe* and *principal, Kings* and all that are in *Authority*.

Truth. Now further, wherein it is said, that such *Magistrates* as suffer the people to live in *ungodliness*, fall short in returning *spiritual* *Recompence*: I answer, By this *Doctrine*, most of the free *Inhabitants*² of the *world* who live in ignorance of *God* and in abominable *Religions* without him must yet be supposed to choose and set up such *Ministers* or *Servants of civil Justice* amongst them, who during their *termes* of *administration* or *service*, should not suffer their *Choosers* and *Makers* to enjoy their owne *Conscience*, but force them to that, which their *Officers* shall judge to be *Godliness*; but the *neck* of no free people can bow to such a *Yoaik* and *Tyrany*.

Peace. But (lastly) to that *Argument* of *Rom.* 13. from the *title* which *God* gives to *Magistrates* to wit, *Gods Ministers*, and to the *Distinction* of *Spiritual Ministers* for *spiritual*, and *civil Ministers* for *civil* matters; Master *Cotton* replies. If *Magistrates* be *Gods Ministers* or *Servants* then must they do his³ work, and be for *God* in matters of *Religion*: And further saith he, *Magistracy* is of *God*, for *light* of *Nature*, and not onely for *civil* things, but also in matters of *Religion*: and he produceth divers instantces of *Pagans zeal* for their *Religion*, and worship.

Truth. Because *Magistrates* are *Gods Servants*, or *Ministers*
civil,

1. Touching prayer for all authority 1 *Tim.* 2..

2. Cross Slavery.

3. Civil Ministers and Spiritual.

civil, and receive *civil* wages for their *civil* service; will it therefore follow that they must attend, and that chiefly, and principally¹ a *spiritual* work? That *noble-man* or *Lord*, that sets one to keep his *children*, and another to keep his *sheep*, expects not of him appointed to keep his *sheep* (though a *Minister* or *Servant*) to attend upon the keeping of his *children*, nor expects he of the *waiter* on his *children*, to attend the keeping of his *sheep*.

Tis true, that *Magistrasie* is of God, but yet no otherwise then *Mariage* is being an *estate* meerly *civil* and humane, and lawfull to all *Nations* of the World, that know not God.

Tis true that *Magistrates* be of God from the *light* of nature; but yet, as the *Religions* of the World, and the *worlds* zealous contending for them, with persecuting of others, are from² the *Father* of lies and murther from the beginning; so seldome is it seen, that the *nations* of the world have persecuted or *punished* any for error, but for the *truth*, condemned for error.

Peace. Alas, who sees not that all *nations* and people bow down to *Idels* and *Images* (as all the world did to *Nebuchaduezzars* Image.) If any amongst them differ from them, it is commonly in in some *truths*, which God hath sent amongst them, for witnessing of which they are persecuted.

Truth. Your observation (deare *peace*) is evident from the *cases* of those *Philosophers*, by Master *Cotton* alledged; how weak and poor therefore is that *Argument* from the zeal of *Pagans*, &c. It is evident that such *Builders*, frame by no other then that of *nature* depraved and rotten, and not by the *Goulden* reed of the glorious gospel of *Christ Jesus*.

Y

CHAP.

1. The God of heaven hath several sorts of Ministers.

2. Ordinarily the Truth is persecuted.

Examination of CHAP. LI.

Peace. **I**N the discourse concerning that terme, *Evil*, Master *Cotton* produceth *Pareus*, who makes that *Evil* punishable by the *Magistrate*, fourfold, *natural*, *civil*, *moral*, and *spiritual*.

Truth. That excellent and holy *witness* of Christ *Jesus* (in many of his precious *truths*) *Pareus* being here produced without Scripture or *Argument*, for the *Magistrates* punishing of the fourth sort of *evil*; to wit *spiritual*: nor answering my *Arguments* brought against such an *Interpretation*, gives me occasion of no further answer to Master *Cotton* or him in this place.

Peace. Whereas it was alleadged, that the *Elders* of the *New English Churches*, in the model prohibite (*expresly*) the *Magistrates* from the punishing or taking notice of some *Evils*, and that¹ therefore as they ascribe to the *Civil Magistrates*, more then God gives, so they take away and disrobe him of that *Authority*, which God hath cloathed him with: Master *Cotton* replies, when we say that the *Magistrate* is an avenger of *evil*, we mean of all sorts or kindes of *evil*, and not every particular of each kind; and further he saith, that *domestick evils* may be healed in a domestick way.

Truth. I readily concur with him, that the *Magistrate* may not punish *evils* that he knowes not of in a due and orderly way sufficiently proved before him; as also, that many *domestick evils* are best healed in a *domestick* way; but yet that *Limitation* added, to wit, without acquainting the *Church* first) seems to bind the *Magistrates* hand, where no true *Church* of Christ is, to acquaint² with such things) yea and further where it is why should the *Magistrate* be denied, to exercise his power in cases meerly *civil* (the old practice of the *Popish Church*?) And to whom should the *Servant* or *Child* or *Wife*, petition and complaine against *oppression*, unless to the publike *Father*, *Master*, and *Husband* of the *Commonweal*? And therefore from their own *Interpretation*, they may well spare that strict and literal *acception* of the word *evil* and cease to cry *Heresie* is *evil*, *Idolatrie evil*, *Blasphemie evil*, &c.

CHAP.

1. Touching the tearms *Evil*, Rom. 13.

2. The civil *Magistrate* robbed of his civil power.

Examination of CHAP. LIII,

Answering to

Chap. LIII, LIV, LV.

Peace. **I**N these three Chapters, the last Reason which the Author of the *Arguments* against *persecution* produced was discussed; to wit, that the *disciples* of *Christ* should be so far from persecuting, that contrariwise they ought to bless such as curse them, &c. and that because of the freeness of *Gods* grace, and the deepness of his *counsels*, calling home them that be enemies, *persecutors*, no people, yea some at the last hour. In answer to which, Master *Cotton* complaineth that two of his *Answers* were omitted; and suspecteth that as *children* skip over hard places, so they were skipt over, &c.

Truth. It is true, those two *answers* were omitted, not because the chapter was too hard &c. but because the Discusser saw (nor sees) not any *controversie* or *difference* between Master *Cotton* and himself in those passages; and also studying *brevity* and *contraction*, as Master *Cotton* himself hath done omitting far more, and contracting three Chapters in one in this very passage.

Upon the same ground, I see no need of mentioning his Reply in these three Chapters, wherein Master *Cotton* concurs in the point of the *necessity* of tolerating even notorious offenders in the *State* in some cases.

Peace. The result of all *agitations* in this passage is this: Master *Cotton* denies not but that in some cases a notorious *malefactor* may be tolerated, and consequently (as I understand him) an *heretick*,¹ *seducer*, &c. But that ordinarily it is not lawful to tolerate a *seducing teacher*, and that from the clearness of *Gods* command *Deut.* 13. and from the reason of it, vers. 10, *Because he hath sought to turn thee away from the Lord thy God.* Withal he concludes, that all *Moses* capital *Politicks* are *eternal*.

Truth. Thus far is gained, that it was no vain exception against Master *Cotton's* general *proposition*, to wit, that it is evil to tolerate

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1. Of tolleration which Master Cotton in cases makes large enough.

notorious *evil doers, seducing teachers, scandalous livers*, because he sees cause of toleration in some cases.

Peace. Yea but, saith he, In ordinary cases it is not lawful to tolerate, from *Deut.* 13.

Truth. I am of Master Cotton's minde: It is not lawful for *Israel*¹ that is, the Church of God, to tolerate: and the *reason* it pleaseth the *Lord* to alleadge, is *eternal*. But what is this to the *nations* of the *world*, the *states*, *cities*, and *kingdoms* thereof? Let Master Cotton finde out any such *land* or *state* that is the *Church* and *Israel* of God: Yea Master Cotton confesseth in a fore-going passage, that the Church is the *Israel* of God: Then must he with me acknowledge that this *Deut.* 13. only concerns the *Israel* or *Church* of God, whom *Christ Jesus* furnished with spiritual weapons against such spiritual offenders.

Peace. But I wonder that Master Cotton should say that *Moses capitals* are *eternal*.

Truth. I wonder not, because I have seen in print sixteen or seventeen *capital* evils (a great part of them of a *spiritual* nature) censured with death in *New England*.

And yet again, me thinks it is wonderful, since Master Cotton knows how many of *Moses capitals* were of a *ceremonial* nature. The breach of the *sabbath*, the not coming to keep the *passe-over*, (for neglect whereof the *Israelites* were to be put to death) how can Master Cotton make these *eternal* in all nations?

Peace. How many *millions* of *millions* of Heads (and not a few of the highest) in our own and other *Nations*, would soon feel the *capital calamity* of such a *capital bloody* Tenent, if Master Cotton swayed the *Scepter* of some of the worlds former or present *Cæsars*?

Truth. And yet I readily affirm, that *spiritually* and *mystically* in the *Church* and *Kingdom* of *Christ*, such evils are to be spiritually (and so eternally) punished.

CHAP.

1. The land of Israel a type.

CHAP. LIV, *Replying to Chap. LVI. Examined.*

Peace. IN this 56 Chap. were observed two *evils* in Mr. Cottons conjoyning of *seducing teachers*, and *scandalous livers*, as the proper and adequate object of the *Magistrates* care and work to suppress and punish: Unto which Master Cotton replies, First, That he no where makes it the proper and adequate object of the *Magistrates* care and work to suppress *seducing teachers*, and *scandalous livers* saying, that it ought to be the care of the *church* to suppress and punish *seducing teachers*, and *scandalous livers* in a *church-way*, as well as the *Magistrates* in a *civil way*.

Truth. By this Doctrine, Master Cotton will seem to deny it,¹ to be the *Magistrates* proper and adequate object to punish *scandalous livers*, because the *church* also (saith he) is to make it her work also.

It is true, if a scandalous liver be of the *church*, and fall into any scandal, she by the *ruls* and *power* of *Christ* ought to recover him in the *spirit* of *meekness*: but yet the punishing of him with temporal punishment, who will deny it to be the proper work of the *civil state*?

But (Secondly) what if the *seducing teacher*, or *scandalous liver*, be neither of them members of the Church (and the *church* hath nought to do to judge them without) will not Master Cotton then affirm the *seducing Teacher*, or *scandalous liver* to be the proper and adequate object of the *Magistrates* care and work?

Peace. When it was excepted against that things of such a different *nature* and kind, as *seducing Teachers*, and *scandalous livers*, should be coupled together at the *civil Bar*? Master Cotton replies, that both these agree in one common kind, to wit, they are *evil* and destructive to the common good of *Gods* people, which ought to be preserved both in *church* and *Commonweal*: If a man shall say (saith he) that the *work of creation* on the sixth day, was either of *man* or of *Beast*, is here any such commixture?²

Truth. Were Master Cotton the *worlds* Monarch, what bloody

1. Touching false and seducing Teachers.

2. Monstrous Mixture.

bloody *reformations* or destructions rather, would he fill the world withal, if he walk by such rules and principles? for, what *religi-ions* or almost men (all the world over) would he finde not opposite and destructive to *Gods* people.

2. But (Secondly) an historical narration of *Gods* works on man or *Beast*, *Birds*, *Fishes*, and all creatures *Coelestial* and *Terrestrial*¹ is one thing: But to mix them together in *doings* or *sufferings inconsistent* with, and improper to their kinds is another thing, far different and insufferable: As for a man to affirme that a man and a beast sin'd against their *Maker*, and therefore were justly punished with spiritual *blindness* and *hardness* of heart, loss of *Gods Image* &c. The same difference and no less is between transgressors against the *heavenly state* and *kingdome* of *Christ*, and the *earthly state* or *Commonweal* of *Cities*, *kingdomes*, &c.

Peace. Master Cotton adds, that it is more tolerable for seducing Teachers to *seduce* those who are in the same gall of *bitterness*, as for *Pagans* to seduce *Pagans* &c.

Truth. That is but in the degree, and so (according to his supposition) must be punished gradually; but what is this to prove *seducing* Teachers as well as *scandalous* livers, the joynt object of the *civil sword*?

Peace. Why doth Master say it is more tolerable for *Pagans* to seduce *Pagans* Antichristians Antichristians? What Scripture doth he produce for this toleration this *indulgence*, this *partiality*? All that is here said, is this, We look at it as more tolerable?

Truth. One thing is shroudly to be suspect in this matter, and² that is a most *unchristian partiality*, in directing the sword of the *Magistrate* to fall heaviest on such seducers only, as trouble *his* conscience, his Doctrine, Worship, and Government: suppose in some of the *Cities* of *Holland*, *Poland*, or *Turkie* (where some freedome is) that *Jews*, *Pagans*, *Antichristians* and *Christians* (that is Christians of Master Cottons conscience) together with *Turkes* were commingled in civil cohabitation and commerce together: Why now shall that *Turke* that hath seduced one of Master Cottons conscience to *Mahumetanisme* be more punished for that crime then for turning a *Jew*, *Pagan* or Papist to his *Relief* and worship? What warrant shall the *Magistrate* of such a *city* or place

1. The great difference of evil and sin, as against the civil or spiritual estate.

2. Gross partiality the bloody doctrine of persebution.

place finde to their *souls*, either for striking at all with the *civil sword* in such a case? or else in dealing such partial blows among the people?

Peace. I fear that *Gods* own people (of this opinion) see not the deceitfulness of their own heart, crying up the *Christian Magistrate*, the *Christian Magistrate*, Nursing fathers, Nursing mothers, &c. when all is but to escape the bitter sweeting of *Christs*¹ cross, so dashing in pieces the most wise *councels* of the *father*, concerning his blessed Son and his followers, to whom he hath (ordinarily) allotted in this *world*, the *portion* of sorrow and suffering, and of *rainging* and *triumphing*, after the *battel* fought and *victory* obtained in the world approaching.

Peace. But Master *Cotton* will say, that in such fore-mentioned cases, such *Magistrates* must suspend punishments for religion, &c.

Truth. I say, consequently all or most of the *Magistrates* in the world must suspend and none but some few of his *conscience* (by his *doctrine*) shall be found fit, to use the *civil sword*, in matter of *Religion*, and that is (in plaine *English*) to fight only for his *conscience*.

Peace. But to proceed it will be hard (saith Master *Cotton*) for the discusser to finde *Antichristian seducers* clear from *disobedience* to the *civil laws* of the *state*, in case that *Antichrist* (to whom they are sworn) shall excommunicate the *civil magistrate*, and prescribe the *civil state* to the invasion of his *followers*.

Truth. Most properly *seducing teachers* sin against the *church* and *spiritual kingdome* of *Christ Jesus*, which if erected and governed according to *Christ Jesus*, she is a Castel or Fort sufficiently² provided with all sorts of heavenly *ammunition* against all sorts of her *spiritual* adversaries: yea and in the desolation of the *churches* (during the *Apostacy*) *Christ Jesus* (as I have elsewhere observed) hath not left his *witnesses* destitute of terrible *defence* against all gainesayers: But grant (what Master *Cotton* supposeth) such seducers from *obedience* to the *civil state* &c. Such as the Seminaries and bringers over of Pope *Pius* the 5 his Bul against Queen *Elizabeth* &c. The answer is short and plain, civil officers bear not the sword in vain, when the *civil state* is assaulted as the *spiritual officers* and *governors* of the church bear not in

CHAP.

1. Great shifting to escape Christs cross.

2. Christian weapons.

vain the *spiritual* and *two-edged sword* coming out of the *mouth* of Christ.

Peace. Whereas now (secondly) there was observed by the Discusser in such coupling of [*seducing teachers & scandalous livers*] a silent and implicate *justification* of the Jews and Gentiles their coupling *Christ Jesus* and his *followers*, as *seducing teachers* with *scandalous livers*, *Christ* between *two thieves*, &c. The sum of what Master Cotton replies, is, that the *Lord Jesus* and his *followers* suffering under those names, weakens not the hand of *Authority* to punish such who are *seducing teachers & scandalous livers*.¹

Truth. It hath ever been the portion of the *Lord Jesus* and his followers (for the most part theirs onely) to be accounted *seducing teachers*, *deceivers* and *cheaters* of the people, *blasphemous* against God, *seditious* against the State; and accordingly to be numbred (as *Christ Jesus* between *two thieves*) both in *esteem* and *punishment* with scandalous and notorious *malefactors*; and this for no other cause, but cause of *conscience* in spiritual matters, and most commonly for differing from and witnessing against the several *State* and *City-Religions* and *Worships* wherein they lived.

Peace. If the *Jews* (notwithstanding their fair *colours* to the contrary) walking in the doctrine of *Persecution* for *conscience*, justified their *fathers* for murdering the *Prophets*, &c. I cannot (*dear Truth*) but subscribe to your sorrowful observation that Master Cotton and others (otherwise excellent servants of God) in coupling *seducing teachers* and *scandalous livers*, as the proper object for the *civil sword* to strike at, they do no other but act the *Jews* true *Antitype*, coupling *Christ Jesus* the *seducing teacher* with *Barabbas* the *scandalous liver* and *murderer*.

Truth. Yea, and who sees not how often *Barabbas* the *scandalous liver* is cried out of the *Magistrates* hands by the scandalous people, while *Christ Jesus* in his servants is cried to the *Cross*, to the *Gallows*, to the *Stake*, to *Banishment*, &c. Their Persecutors also are applauded, for (not persecuting men for their *Consciences*, but) *righteously*, *legally* (and with great sorrow) punishing them² for sinning against their own *conscience*, for disturbing of the *civil State* and *peace*, for contemning of *Magistrates*, *Kings* *Queens*, and *Parliaments*, for blaspheming *God*, and for seducing and destroying the souls of the people.

CHAP.

1. Christ Jesus between two Thieves.

2. The horrible Hypocrisie of all persecutors

CHAP. 55. *Replying to CHAP. 66. Exam:*

Peace. The Discusser admired in this Chap: how M^r. Cotton¹ should alledge (*Revel. 2.*) *Christs* charge against the Church of *Pergamus* for tollerating them that hould the *Doctrine* of *Balaam*, and against the Church of *Thiatira* for tollerating *Jezabell* to teach and seduce: M^r Cotton here replies, that he meant not in alledging those Scriptures to prove it unlawfull for *Magistrates* to tolerate seducing *Teachers*, but unlawfull for *Churches*: adding that the Letter of the *Prisoner* was so stated, in *generall tearmes* that he knew not (upon the point) what *Tolleration* or *Persecution* should be meant or intended, otherwise then *generall* against all *Persecution* for *Conscience*, withall affirming that an unjust *Excommunication* is as true *Persecution* as unjust *Banishment*.

Truth. It is true what M^r Cotton saith, An unjust *Excommunication*² is as true *Persecution* as an unjust *Banishment*, and therefore some may justly complaine against M^r Cotton and others, for practicing such *persecution* in both kindes, being not onely *banished* from their *civill State*, but unjustly (and after the Popes way) *Excommunicated* also, from their *Churches*, but of that more elsewhere.

2. We doe not in ordinarie *English* read, but that the word³ *Persecution* is taken for *civill corporall violence* and punishment inflicted on the *body* for some spirituall and religious matter; according to the Lord *Christ* his words to *Paul*, Acts 9. *Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?*

3. The passages in the *Letter* shew that the whole *scope* of the *Letter* was to contend against outward *violence* and *corporall affliction* in matters of *Conscience*.

Peace. It may not be a lost Labour (*Deare Truth*) to draw a taste of some passages in the *Letter*.

Truth. For further satisfaction, my *paines* shall be a *pleasure*; and first

From the *Arguments* from holy *Scripture*, observe *Luc. 9.* the Lord *Christ* reproving his two *zealous Disciples*, You know not of what *Spirit* you are of: The Son of Man is not come to destroy mens *lives*, but to save them.

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Againe,

1. *Christs charge to Pergamus and Thiatira against. Tolleration examined.*

2. False Excommunication one kinde of persecution.

3. *The word Persecution how ordinarily it is taken.*

Againe, That of the *Prophets, Isaiah and Micah*, They shall¹ breake their *Swords* into *Mattocks*, and their *Speares* into *Sithes*.

Againe, *Christs* charge unto his *Disciples*, that they should be so farre from *persecuting* those that would not be of their *Religion*, that when they were *persecuted*, they should *pray* and *blesse*, &c.

Peace. These holy *Passages* (Me thinks) are not unlike the *Stones* in *Davids* sling, smooth and plaine enough, yet powerfull and dreadfull, both against this *Goliah Tenent* of *persecution*, and also prove a corporall *persecution* intended.

Truth. Now a taste of the speeches of severall *Kings* produced by the *prisoner*.

1. That of King *James*; *God* never loves to plant his *Church* by *Violence* and *Bloudshed*.

2. That of *Stephen* King of *Poland*; I am King of *Men*, not² of *Consciences*, of *Bodies*, not of *Soules*.

3. Of the King of *Bohemia*; When ever *Men* have attempted any thing in this *violent course*, the issue hath been ever pernicious, and the cause of great and wonderfull *Innovations*.

4. Another of King *James*; That he was resolved not to *persecute* or *molest*, or suffer to be *persecuted* or *molested* any *Person* whatsoever, for matter of *Religion*.

In the third place, a taste of the *Speeches* of the ancient *Writers* produced by the *Prisoner*.

1. That of *Hilarius*: That *Church* which formerly by enduring *misery* and *imprisonment*, was knowne to be the true *Church*, doth now terrifie others by *imprisonment*, *banishment*, and *miserie*.

2. Of *Jerome*; *Heresie* must be cut off with the *Sword* of the *Spirit*, Let us strike through with the *Arrowes* of the *Spirit*; implying, not with other weapons.

3. Of *Luther* in his Booke of the *Civill Magistrate*; The *Lawes* of the *Civill Magistrate* extend no further, then over the *Bodies* and *Goods*. And againe upon *Luk. 22*. It is not the true *Catholike church* which is defended by the *Secular Arme* or humane *Power*.

Lastly, The *Papists* in their Booke for *Tolleration*; When *Christ* bids his *Disciples* to say, *peace* to this house, he doth not send *Pursevants* to ransack or spoyle the house.

Lastly

1. Persecution ordinarily implies corporall violence.

2. Speeches of Princes against Persecution.

Lastly, The *Prisoner* in answering some *Objections*, concludeth; It is no *prejudice* to the *Common-wealth*, if *Libertie of Conscience* were granted to such as feare *God* indeed: He also alledged that many *Sects* lived under the *Government* of *Cæsar*, being nothing hurtfull unto the *Common-weale*.

Peace. From these severall Tasts (*Deare Truth*) I cannot imagine how the *Prisoner* can be understood to cast the least glance unto spirituall *persecution* or *prosecution*, as M^r *Cotton* in this Chap: calls it: But to end this Chapter: When as the *Power* of *Christ Jesus* in his *Church* was argued sufficient for spirituall ends, M^r *Cotton* grants both for the *healing* of sinners, and for keeping of the *Church* from *Guilt*, but not for the preventing of the *spreading* of *false Doctrine*, among those out of the *Church*, and in private among *Church-Members*: nor sufficient to clear the *Magistrates* of a *Christian State* from the *Guilt* of *Apostasie* in suffering such *Apostates* amongst them, &c.

Truth. I have in other Passages of this Discourse proved;

1. That *Christ Jesus* (whiles his *Churches* and *Ordinances* flourished, and since the *Apostasie* of *Antichrist* in the hands of his *Witnesses*) hath gloriously and sufficiently furnished his Servants for all spirituall cases of all sorts, *defending*, *offending*, &c.

2. That there is no other *Christian State* acknowledged in¹ the *New Testament*, but that of the *Christian Church* or *Kingdome*, and that not *Nationall* but *Congregationall*.

3. That the *Apostles* or *Messengers* of *Christ Jesus* never addressed² themselves by Word or Writing to any of the *Civill States* wherein they lived and taught, and were mightily opposed and blasphemed. I say they never ran to borrow the *Civill Sword*, to helpe the two edged *Sword* of *Christ Jesus*, against *Opposers*, *Schismatics*, *Hereticks*. The *Lord Jesus* was a wiser *King* then *Solomon*, even *Wisdome it selfe*, and cannot without great *Dishonour* and *Derogation* to his *Wisdome* and *Love*, be imagined to leave open such *Gaps*, such *Leakes*, such *Breaches* in the *Ship* and *Garden* of his *Church* and *Kingdome*.

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1. No Civill Christian State.

2. Christs Sword.

The Exam: of Chap. 56. replying to 58. & 59.

Peace. **T**O the first observation, that M^r Cotton urgeth that *Princes* are nurcing *Fathers* to *feede* and *correct* (and consequently must judge of *feeding* and *correction*, and all men are bound to submit to such their *feeding* and *correction*;) M^r Cotton sayth, This is false and fraudulent so to collect, and these are *devised Calumnies*.

Truth. It will evidently appeare, how greatly M^r Cotton forgets the *Matter* and *Himselfe*, when he so deeply chargeth, for all this he granteth in this his *Reply*, onely with this *Limitation*, that *Subjects* are bound to submit to them herein when they judge according to the *Word*. This *Limitation* takes not away the *observation*, for it is alway implied in *subjection* to all *Civill Rulers, Fathers, Husbands, Masters*, that it be according to the *Word*.

Peace. Yea but sayth he, it is a Notorious *Calumnie* so to represent M^r Cottons dealing with *Princes*, as if he made his owne *Judgement* and *practice* the *Rule* of the proceeding of *Princes*.

Truth. Let it be laid in the *Ballance*, and seene where the *Calumnie* or *slander* lies: *Princes* or *Civill Rulers*, saith M^r Cotton, “are *Fathers* to *feed* and *correct*, and their *Judgement* ought¹ “therein to be obeyed according to the *Word*. Now some *Princes* and *Rulers* declare themselves against M^r Cottons *Tenent* of *persecution* for *conscience*. M^r Cotton will answer; The *profession* and *practice* of *Princes* is no rule to *Conscience*. I reply, and ask, who shall judge of *Princes* *profession* and *practice*, when they thus *feed* and *judge* in *spirituall* matters? whether their *profession* and *practice* be according to the *Word* or no? M^r Cotton (when *Princes* are alleadged against his *judgement* and *conscience*) pleads, that *Princes* *profession* and *practice* is no rule: Let all men judge whether his *judgement* and *conscience* be not made the *Rule* to the *consciences* and *practices* of *Princes*, whom yet he makes the nurcing *Fathers*.

Peace. When it was further demanded, whether M^r Cotton and others of his minde could submit in *spirituall* cases to any *Magistrates* in the *world*, but onely to those just of his owne *Conscience*?

1. Nurcing Fathers—dealt withall as children.

science? He answers, they will submit to any in *Active* or *Passive* obedience.

Truth. But how can M^r Cotton suppose *Active* obedience in¹ spirituall things to such *Magistrates*, who are *Pagans*, *Turkish*, *Antichristian*, and unable to judge, and bound (by his *Doctrine*) to suspend their Dealings upon matter of *Religion*, untill they be better informed? What *Active* obedience can I be supposed to give to him that hath no *Activitie* nor *Abilitie* to command and rule me? And must it not evidently follow, that *Active* obedience in these cases (according to his *Judgement*) must onely be yeilded to such *Magistrates* as are able to judge the true *Religion* and way of *Worship*; That is, the *Religion* and *Worship* which he takes to be of *God*.

Peace. Whereas it was said, will it not follow that all other *Consciences* in the *world*, besides their owne must be persecuted by such their *Magistrates* (were power in their hand)? M^r Cotton replies, no; except all *Mens consciences* in the *world* did erre fundamentally against the *Principles* of *Christian Religion*, or fundamentally against *Church-Order*, and *Civill Order*, and that in a *tumultuous* and *factions* manner; for in these cases onely (sayth he) we allow *Magistrates* to punish in matters of *Religion*.

Truth. I have and must observe the *Evill* of that *Distinction* between *Christian Religion* and *Christian Order*, as not finding any such in the *Testament* of the *Sonne of God*, but finding *Church-Order* a principall part of the *Christian Religion*, as well as *Repentance* and *Faith*, Heb. 6.

But (2.) grant once M^r Cottons *Religion* and way of *Worship*² to be the onely true *Religion* and way of *Gods Worship*, and all other *Religions* and wayes of *Worship* false, how can that *Errour* be otherwise then *fundamentall*? And if other mens *Consciences* attend not to M^r Cottons *convictions*, but obstinately maintaine their blasphemous *Religions*, how can the *Magistrates* of his *conscience* be dispenced with and absolved from persecuting such *obstinate Consciences* throughout the whole *World* beside?

Peace. When it was further demanded, if this were not to make *Magistrates Staires* and *Stirrops* for themselves (the *Clergie*) to mount up in the seats and saddles of their great and settled *Maintenance*? M^r Cotton replies, this is rather to make
them

1. Active obedience cannot be given but to a competent Judge.

2. Persecutors, if it were in their power, would, and are bound to persecute all *Consciences* and *Religions* in the *World*.

them *Swords* and *Staves* to punish them (if need be) for *Hericall Delinquencie*: 2. Their *Magistrates* themselves fall short of great and setled *Maintenance*: And lastly, Himselfe liveth upon no great and setled *Maintenance*.

Truth. It is true M^r Cotton allows the same *Power* to *Magistrates* to punish all *Hereticks*, *Blasphemers*, *Seducers*, one as well as another: But what if it should fall out that his *Magistrates* should declare themselves for the *Pope*, or for the *Prelates*, or for the *Presbyters*, yea, or for some other way then is professed: and left it free for each mans *conscience* to *worship* as he believed, and to pay or not pay toward this or that *Worship* or¹ *Ministrie*, according to his owne *perswasion* more or lesse, any thing or nothing, will not M^r Cotton then plead that such *Magistrates* themselves (Apostatizing from the *Truth* of God, and turning *Enemies* (as the *Pope* clamours) to the holy Church) I say, that such ought not onely to be accursed with the lesser and greater Censures of *Suspention* and *Excommunication*, but also punished with *Imprisonment*, *Banishment*, and *Death*: Or if they finde the mercy of *Life* and *Favour* of an *Office* (by some over-ruling *Providence*) will not M^r Cotton then pleade that such *Magistrates* ought to suspend their *Power* to hould their hands, and not to medle untill they be better informed, &c. Into such poore withered *Strawes* and *Reedes* will the *Allowance* of *Swords* and *Staves*, M^r Cotton here speakes of come to? Concerning the seats and sadles of great and setled *maintenance* of *Magistrates*, the *Discusser* spake not, but heartily wisheth their *Maintenance* as great and setled, as he knowes their *Labours* and *Travells* and *Dangers* be: He spake onely of *Ministers* great and setled *maintenance*.

Peace. O *Truth*, this is the *Apple* of the *Eye*, the true cause of so much *combustion* all the *World* over, especially *Popish* and *Protestants*.

Truth. Indeed this was the cause (as *Erasmus* told the *Duke* of *Saxonie*, that *Luther* was so stormed at) because he medled² with the *Popes Crowne* and the *Monkes Bellies*. To obtaine these warme and soft and rich *seats* and *sadles* (who ever stand or goe on foote, or creepe, or beg, or Starve) the *Prelates* practises all *Ages* know. Yea and other *practices* of some of late, who (with the *Evill Steward* providing wisely) first made sure of
an

1. All persecutors hould the *Popes* trayterous Doctrine of deposing haereticall Princes.

2. The *Popish* and *Protestant* Clergie set the *Popish* and *Protestant* *World* on fire for their *Maintenance*.

an Ordinance of *Parliament* for *Tithes* and *Maintenance*, before any *Ordinance* for *God* Himselfe.

Peace. This is that indeed which the *Politick State* of *Holland*¹ well foresaw, when they were lamentably whipt by the King of *Spaines* (and *Gods*) Scourge, *Duke D'alva*, into a Toleration of other mens *Consciences*: The *Politick States-men*, I say, saw a necessitie of stopping their *Dominies* Mouths with sure and settled *Maintenance* out of the *States* purse. Hence it is the *Dutch Ministers zeale* is not so hot against the *Toleration* of *Here-ticks* in the *Civill State*, as the *English* hath been.

Truth. To this purpose (sweet *Peace*) how fitly did that² learned *Prideaux* once tell his Sons the *Oxford Doctors*, at one of their Superstitious *Creations*, that since they could not dig, and were ashamed to beg, they had great need (therefore) of settled *Maintenance*, This was but the Evil *Stewards* device, and (I adde) little better then stealing.

Peace. Yea but sayth M^r *Cotton*, I live not so, &c.

Truth. One *Swallow* makes not a *Summer*: what others have done and doe, and what *practices* have been and are for a forced settled maintenance (as firme and settled as ever was the *Parish maintenance* of *Old England*) hath been, to the shame of *Christianitie*, too apparant: For M^r *Cotton* himselfe, as I envie not the *faines* of his *morsells*, nor the *sweetnes* of his *Cups*, but wish him as large a *purse*, as I beleieve he hath an *Heart*, and a desire to doe good with it: Yet it hath been said, that his case is no *Praesident*, because what he looseth in the *Shire*, he gets in the *Hundreth*, and sits in as soft and rich a *saddle* as any throughout the whole *Countrey*, through the *greatnes* and *Richnes* of the *Marchandize* of the *Towne* of *Boston*, above other parts of the Land. The truth is, there is no Tryall of the good or Evill Servant in this case, untill it comes to *Digging* or *Begging*, or the third way, viz: of *couzening* of the great Lord & Master *Christ Jesus*; by running to *carnall meanes* and *carnall weapons*, to force mens *purses* for a rich and settled *Maintenance*.

Chap. 57. (replying to Chap. 60.) Examined.

Peace. Concerning *Princes* M^r *Cotton* addeth, that *Princes* out of *State policie*, doe sometimes tollerate what
suits

1. The Dutch device to winne their Clergie to Tolleration of other Religions.

2. All that professe to be Christs Ministers, must Dig, or Beg, or Steale.

suits not with *Christianitie* (as *David* did *Joab*) against their wills.

Unto this it was answered, that this agrees not with his former generall *Proposition*, to wit, that it was evill to Tollerate *seducing Teachers*, and *scandalous livers*; M^r *Cotton* replyes; Yes, for *Moses* laid downe in generall, Who so sheddeth mans blood, by man shall his blood be shed; yet *Joab* was tollerated to live, &c.

Truth. If *Moses* had said; It is not lawfull to tollerate a *Murtherer*; and yet afterward had tollerated a *Murtherer*, his later *practice* would not have seemed harmonious to his former speech, but *Moses* did not so, and therefore I conceive is not rightly alledged.

Peace. Whereas it was further alledged, that that *State policie*, and *State necessitie*, which permitted the *consciencs of Men*, will be found to agree most punctually with the *Rules* of the best *politician* that ever the world saw (the *Lord Jesus* himselfe) who commanded the permitting of the *Tares*.

M^r *Cotton* replyes, that he is not against the permitting of some *Antichristians*, or false *Christians*, unlesse they maintaine *fundamentall* Heresie against the *Foundation of Religion*, and that *obstinately* after *conviction*, and withall *seduce* others: But for such *Hereticks* and *seducing Teachers*, they are none of those *Tares*, of which *Christ* sayth, Let them alone.

Besides, sayth he, If by *Tares* are meant grosse offenders: then the *speech* of *Christ*, *Let them alone*, is not a word of command, but a word of *permission* and *praediction*; like that *Luc. 22. 36.* He that hath no *Sword*, let him sell his *Garment* and buy a *Sword*.

Truth. I answer, that there should be *Antichristians*, or false¹ *Christians*, which maintaine not *fundamentall* Heresie against *Foundation of Religion*, I thinke is new to the *New Testament* of *Christ Jesus*, and to the *Tryalls* the holy *Spirit* proposeth by *John* in his *Epistles*, discovering such to be the *Hereticks* and *Apostates*, as deny the *Lord Jesus* (as all *Antichristians* or false *Christians* doe more or lesse) to be come in the *Flesh* the true *Messiah*, and anointed *King*, *Priest*, and *Teacher* to his *Church*.

Peace. If M^r *Cotton* will make good his word, to wit, that he will permit some *Antichristians* or false *Christians*, methinks,
the

1. All Antichristians are fundamentally opposite to Christ Jesus.

the whole *Tryall* of this *matter* might well turne upon this *Hinge*, so that the *true* or *false Christian* be tryed by the *Rules* of the *New Testament*.

Truth. If so, he must undeniably subscribe to this great and *Christian policie* of *permission* or *Tolleration*: As for the *Exceptions* following [Unlesse they maintaine *Fundamentall Heresie*, and unlesse they sin actually] These pull backe againe with the Left hand what merciful *Freedome* he had given before with the Right.

3. But lastly, by this *Interpretation* of, Let them alone, by¹ way of *permission* and *praediction*, it appeares that M^r Cottons Thoughts are not without *checks* and *doubtings* what these *Tares* might be: For (sayth he) [if by *Tares* are meant grosse *offendours*] whereas before he spent much precious time to prove the *Tares* to be a kinde of *closer Hypocrite*.

Moreover, all permission is of *Evill*, for some *Good*, so he, the permission of *Tares* for the *Wheate* sake: In which respect (as I conceive) the good *Wheate* is not so tendred, nor the *Word* of *Christ* so attended to by such, as presume (in pretence for the good wheate sake) to pluck up those *Tares*, unto whom *Christ Jesus* for the good *Wheate* sake, hath for a Time granted a *permission*.

Exam: of Chap. 58. replying to Chap. 61.

Peace. **V**V Hereas the Discusser professedly waved any *Argument* from the *number* of *Princes* witnessing in *profession* or *practice* against *persecution* for cause of *Conscience*, M^r Cotton replies, that this is a yeelding of the *Invaliditie* of the *Argument*: But 2. that he urgeth not the *number*, but the greater *pietie* and *presence* of *God* with those *Princes* who have proessed and practiced against *Tolleration*.

Truth. As I would not use an *Argument* from the number of *Princes* about an heavenly matter (as knowing that the *Kings* and *Rulers* of the Earth commonly minde their owne² *Crownes*, *Honours*, and *Dominions*, more then *Gods*; and such *Princes* as are called *Christian*, use *Gods Name*, *Crowne*, and *Ordinances*,

A a

1. Touching the Tares.

2. Policie store, but Pietie rare in Princes.

nances, as Jeroboam used Gods Name, and Jezabell used Fasting and prayer, for the advancement of their owne Crownes, and persecuting of the Innocent and Righteous) So neither would I rest in the Qualitie, Greatnes or Goodnes of any. That which I attend in this Argument is the Ground and Reasons of their Speeches; which may also have this Consideration to boote, that they are the Speeches of such who sit at the helme of great States, and were not ignorant of the Affaires of States, and what might conduce to the peace or disturbance, to the wealth or woe of a Common-weale. To their Ground and Reasons therefore I attend in the next Chapter.

Exam: of Chap. 59. replying to Chap. 62.

Peace. **I**N this Chap. the Consideration of the Speeches themselves, M^r Cotton sayth, he passed by, because, either the Reasons wanted waight, or did not impugne the cause in hand, as

First, That Speech of King James; *God never loved to plant his¹ Church by Bloud*: It is farre from us (sayth M^r Cotton) to compell men to yeeld to the Fellowship of the Church by bloudie Lawes or Penalties: Neverthelesse, this hindreth not but that his Blood may justly fall upon his owne head that shall goe about to supplant and destroy the Church of Christ.

Truth. How light or how impertinent soever these Speeches may seeme to M^r Cotton, yet to others (fearing God also) they are most sollid and waighty.

This Speech of King James seemes impertinent in this cause, because (sayth M^r Cotton) we compell no man by bloody Lawes and Penalties to yeeld themselves to the Fellowship of the Church.

I answer, as Saul by persecuting of David in the Land of Canaan, and thrusting him forth of Gods Heritage, did as it were bid him goe serve other Gods in other Countries: So he that² shall by bloudie Lawes and Penalties force any man from his owne Conscience and Worship, doth upon the point, say unto him, in a language of bloud, Come be of my Religion, &c.

2. Peace.

1. A Speech of King James considered.

2. No Man to be forced from his owne worship, &c.

2. *Peace*. Why should not *Men* as well be forced to the *Truth*, as forced from their *Errours* and *Erroneous practices*? Since (to keepe to the Similitude) it is the same *Power* that sets a *plant*, and plucks up *weedes*, which is true (mystically) in the *spirituall worke* of *Christ Jesus*, in his heavenly planting by his *Word* and *Spirit*.

3. *Truth*. I adde, if men be compelled to come to *Church*¹ under such a *penaltie*, for *Absence* (as hath been practiced in *Old* and *New England*) How can M^r *Cotton* say, there is no forcing to the *Fellowship* of the *Church*; when (howsoever with the *Papists*) he makes so great difference, which *Christ* never made, between the *Lords Supper*, and the *Word* and *Prayer*, and say, that men may be forced to the hearing of the *Word*, but not to the *Supper*. Yet the *consciencs* of *thousands* will testifie, that it is as truly grievous to them to be forced to the one as to the other, and that they had as lief be forced to the *meat* as to the *Broth*, to the more inward and retired *chambers* and *closets*, as into the *Hall* or *Parlor*, being but parts of the same house, &c.

Peace. And I may adde (Deare *Truth*) that the bloudie *Imprisonments*, *Whippings* and *Banishments*, that have cryed, and will cry in *New England*, will not be stild untill the cry of *Repentance*, and the *bloud* of the *Lambe Christ Jesus*, put that cry to *silence*. But to the second Speech of King *James*, No marvell² (sayth M^r *Cotton*) that I past by that Speech, to wit, [that *Civill obedience* may be performed by the *Papists*,] for I found it not in the *Letter*; and beside, how can *Civill obedience* be performed by *Papists*, when the *Bishop* of *Rome* shall *Excommunicate* a *Protestant Prince*, dissolve the *Subjects Oath*, &c.

Truth. I answer; King *James* professing concerning the³ *Oath of Allegiance* (which he tendred to the *Papists*, and which so many *Papists* tooke,) that he desired onely to be secured for *Civill Obedience*, to my understanding did as much as say, that he beleevd that a *Papist* might yeeld *Civill obedience*, as they did in taking this *Oath*, as quiet and peaceable *Subjects*, some of them being employed in places of *Trust*, both in his and in Queene *Elizabeths* dayes.

What though it be a *Popish Tenent*, that the *Pope* may so doe, and what though *Bellarmino*, and others, have maintained such

A a 2

bloudie

1. Touching compelling to come to Church and to heare.

2. A second Speech of King James.

3. Papists may yeeld Civill obedience.

bloudie *Tenents*, yet it is no *Generall Tenent* of all *Papists*, and¹ it is well knowne that a famous *Popish Kingdome*, the whole *Kingdome of France* assembled in *Parliament* in the yeare (so calld) 1610. condemned to the *Fire* the booke of *Johannes Marianus* for mainteining that very *Tenent*. And two moneths after *Bellarmines* booke it selfe was condemned to the *Fire* also, by the same *Parliament* for the same detestable *Doctrine*, as the *Parliament* calld it, as tending to destroy the *higher Powers*, which *God* hath ordained, stirring up the *Subjects* against their *Princes*, absolving them from their *Obedience*, stirring them up to attempt against their *Persons*, and to disturbe the common *peace* and *quiet*: Therefore all *Persons* who ever under Paine of High Treason, were forbidden to *print*, *sell*, or *keepe* that booke, &c.

Peace. This *passage* being so late, and so famous in so neere a *Popish Countrie*, I wonder how M^r *Cotton* could chaine up all *Papists* in an *Impossibilitie* of yeelding *Civill obedience*, when a whole *Popish Kingdome* breakes and abhorres the *chaines* of such bloody and unpeaceable *Doctrines* and *Practices*.

2. *Experience* hath proved it possible for Men to hould other² *maine* and *fundamentall Doctrines* of that *Religion*, and yet renounce the *Authoritie* of the *Pope*, as all *England* did under King *Henry 8.* when the six bloudie *Articles* were maintained and practiced, and in them the *Substance* of that *Idolatrous Religion*, although the Power of the *Pope* of *Rome* was generally acknowledged no other, then of a forreigne *Bishop* in his owne *Diocesse*.

3. But grant the *English Catholicks* maintaine the *Supream Authoritie* of the *Pope*, even in *England*, it must be considered and declared how farre: If so farre, as to owne his Power of absolving from *obedience* (against which the aforesaid *Parliament*³ of *Paris* declared) the *wisdome* of the *State* knowes how to secure it selfe against such *Persons*. But if onely as *Head* of the *Church* in spirituall matters, & they give *Assurance* for *Civill obedience*, why should their *Consciences* more then others be oppressed?

Peace. M^r *Cotton*, (as all men and too justly in this *Controversie*) alledgeth the *Papists practices*, what ever *professions* otherwise have been: So long as they hould the *Pope*, they are
sure

1. *The Parliament at Paris, although Popish, yet condemned Bookes and Tenents against Civill obedience.*

2. *All England Papists, and yet the Pope renounced.*

3. *A twofold holding the Pope as Head.*

sure of a *Dispensation* to take any *Oath*, subscribe to any *Engagement*, and of *Absolution* for the *Acting* of any *Crime of Treason* or *Murther* against the chiefest *States-men*, and the *State* it selfe.

Truth. What is it that hath rendred the *Papists* so intraged and desperate in *England*, *Ireland*, &c? What is it that hath so *imbittered* and *exasperated* their minds, but the *Lawes* against their *Consciences* and *Worships*?

Peace. The two *Sisters Lawes* compared, *Maries* and *Elizabeths*,¹ concerning mens *Consciences*, while *Maries* were certainly written with *bloud* against the *Protestants*, *Elizabeths* may seeme to be written with *milke* against the *Papists*.

Truth. Deare *Peace*, *Chaines* of *Gold* and *Diamonds* are chaines, and may pinch and gall as sore and deepe, as those of *Brasse* and *Iron*, &c. all *Lawes* to force even the grossest *Conscience* (of the most besotted *Idolaters* in the world, *Jew* or *Turke*, *Papist* or *Pagan*) I say, all such *Lawes*, *restraining* from or *constraining* to *Worship*, and in matters meerly *Spirituall*, and of no *Civill* nature, such *Lawes*, such *Acts*, are *chaines*, are *yoakes*, not possibly to be fitted to the *Soules* neck, without *oppression*, and *exasperation*.

Peace. It is no wonder indeed that the *Brains* of those of the *Popish Faith* are so distempered and enraged by *yoakes* clapt on the neck of their *Consciences*, when *Solomon* the wisest observes it common: that *Civill oppression* (how much more *Soule-oppression*, the most *grievous* and *intollerable*) doth use to render the *Braines* of men (otherwayes most *sober* and *judicious*) *madde* and *desperate*.

2. *Truth.* I answer (secondly) grant the *Practices* of the² *Papists* against the *Civill State*, fowle, dangerous, &c. yet why should there not be hope (according to the rules of *pietie* in *Scripture*, and *policie* in *Experience*) that the *coales* of *mercy* and *moderation* may melt the *Head* of an *Enemie*, as hard as any *stone* or *mettall*, and render *imbittered Enemies*, *loving Friends*, combined and resolved for their common *safetie* and *Liberties*.

Thirdly, Against the feare of *Evill practices* the *Wisdome* of³ the *State* may securely provide, by just *cautions* and *provisoos*, as of *Subscribing* the *Civill Engagement*; of *yeelding* up their *Armes*, the *Instruments* of *mischiefe* and *disturbance*; of being
noted

1. The two Sisters Lawes concerning Conscience.

2. *Coales* of moderation and kindnesse, may melt an *Enemie*, as David melted Saul, &c.

3. *Cautions* for preventing of disturbance by *Papists*, &c.

noted (as the *Jewes* are in some parts) by some *distinction* of or on their *Garments*, or otherwise, according to the *Wisdome* of the *State*. And without such or the like sufficient *cautions* given, it is not *Civill Justice* to permit justly suspected *persons*, dangerous to the *civill peace*, to abide out of places of *Securitie* and safe *Restraint*.

Peace. If such a *course* were steered with the *Consciences* of that *Religion*, yet are there some *Objections* waightly concerning the *Body* of the *People*.

First, There will be alwayes danger of *tumults* and *uproares* between the *Papists* and the *Protestants*.

1. *Truth*. Sweet *Peace*, thou mayst justly be tender of the quiet *repose* and secure *Tranquilitie* of all men, and with *All men* (if it be possible, as the *Scripture* speakes) as thou art an¹ heavenly daughter of the *God* of *peace* and *love*. But yet thou knowest the *Wisdome* of the *English State* needs not be taught from abroad (where *Libertie* abroad is granted to the *Popish* or *Protestant Consciences*) of making safe and sufficient provision against all *Tumults*, and feare of *uproares*.

2. But secondly, it is too too fully and lamentably true, that the *Congregations* or *Churches* of the severall sorts of such as in whole or in part seperate from the *Parish worship* and *worshippers*, are farre more odious to, and doe more exasperate a thousand times, the *Parish Assemblies*, then the *Papists* or *Catholiques* themselues are or doe: So that if the *People* were let loose to take their choice of exercising *violence* and *furie*, either upon a *Popish* or a *Protestant Seperate Assembly*, it is cleare from the greater *corrivation* and *competition* (made by the *Protestants that seperate*,) to the true *Church*, true *Government*, true *Worship*, true *Ministrie*, true *Seales*, &c. the rage of the *People* would mount up incomparably fiercer against the one then the other. Hence it was the *Papists* ever found more favour with the last² two *Kings* and their *Bishops*, then the *Puritants* (so called) did, and the seperate *Assemblies* were not so maligned by them as the *Nonconformists*, nor they so much as the very conforming *Puritants*. And therefore suitably it was belcht out from a fowle-mouth *Rabshekeh*, a *Chaplain* to one of the late *Bishops*; A *plague* (said he) on all Conforming *Puritants*, they doe us most mischief. Notwithstanding all this, and the bitter In-
digna-

1. Sufficient Provisions are made in other Nations, against Distractions and Tumults from opposite Consciences and Worships.

2. Neerer Competitions & homebred oppositions most of all exasperate, &c.

of *People* against these *Sectaries* (so called) and their *Assemblies*, yet the most holy *wisdome* of the *Father of Lights*¹ hath taught the *Parliament of England* that wonderfull skill (in the midst of so many *Spirituall oppositions*) to preserve the *Civill peace* from the *dangers* and *occasions* of *civill Tumults* and *Distractions*.

Peace. Admit the *civill peace* be kept inviolate, yet how satisfie we the *feares* and *jealousies* of many who cry out of danger of *Infection*, and that *Jezabels Doctrine* will leaven and seduce the Land, &c.

Truth. I will not here repeate what in other parts of this booke I have presented touching that Point of *Infection*. At present, I answer;

First, It is to me most improbable, that (except the *Body*² of the *Nation* face about from *Protestanisme* to *Poperie*) (as in *Queene Maries* dayes) that the number of *Protestants* turning *Papists*, will be great in a *Protestant Nation*, especially if such *securitie* be taken, as was above-mentioned, and otherwise, as the *State* shall order, &c. together with such publick *notes* and *markes* (before mentioned) on the *People* of that *Way*, because of their former *practices*.

Secondly, Yea, why should not rather the glorious *Beames* of the *Sunne* of *Righteousnesse* in the free *Conferrings*, *Disputings* and *Preachings* of the *Gospel of Truth*, be more hopefully like to expell those *Mists* and *Fogs* out of the *minds* of *Men*, and that *Papists*, *Jewes*, *Turkes*, *Pagans*, be brought home, not onely into the *common roade* and *way* of *Protestanisme*, but to the grace of true *Repentance* and *Life* in *Christ*. I say, why not this more likely, by farre, then that the *mists* and *fogs* of *Poperie* should over cloud and conquer that most glorious *Light*.

Peace. 'Tis true, the holy *Historie* tells us of one *Sampson* laying heapes upon heapes of the proudest *Philistims*; of one *David*, and of his *Worthies*, encountring with and slaying their stoutest *Gyants* and *Champions*, yet it is feared such is the depraved *nature* of all *mankinde* (and not of the *English* onely) that like a *corrupted* full *Body*, it sooner sucks in a *poysoned breath* of *Infection*, then the *purest Ayre* of *Truth*, &c.

Truth. Grant this, I answer therefore (thirdly) If any of many conscientiously turne *Papists*. I alledge the *Experience* of

1. The admired Prudence of the Parliament in preserving Civill Peace.

2. Increase of Papists unlikely in England.

of a holy, wise, and learned man, experienced in our owne¹ and other *States affaires*, who affirms that he knew but few *Papists* increase, where much *Libertie* to *Papists* was granted, yea fewer then where they were restrained: Yet further, that in his *Conscience* and *Judgement* he believed and observed that such Persons as *conscientiously* turned *Papists*, (as believing *Pope-rie* the truer way to *Heaven* and *Salvation*) I say, such Persons were ordinarily more conscionable, loving, and peaceable in their dealings, and neerer to *Heaven* then thousands that follow a bare common *trade* and *roade* and *name* of *Protestant Religion*, and yet live without all *Life* of *Conscience* and *Devotion* to *God*, and consequently with as little *love* and *faithfulness* unto *Men*.

Peace. But now to proceed; a third Speech of King *James*² was, [*Persecution* is the note of a *false Church*, the wicked are *Besiegers*, the *Faithfull* are besieged, upon *Revel. 20.*] M^r *Cotton* here grants, that it is indeed a Note of a false *Church*, but not a certaine One; for, sayth he, which of all the *Prophets* did not the *Church* of the *Old Testament* persecute?

Truth. M^r *Cotton* granting *persecution* to be a degree of *Falsehood*³ and *Apostacie*, as he doth in his following words, he must also grant, that where such a *Doctrine* and *practice* prevails, and the *Church* growes obstinate after all the *Lords* means used to reclaime, such a *Church* will proceede to further degrees, untill the whole be leavened with *Falshood* and *Apostacie*, and the *Lord* divorceth her, and casts her out of his *Heart* and *Sight*; as he dealt with *Israel* and *Judah*: And it will be found no false, but a dutifull part of a faithfull childe to abhorre the *whoredomes* of such an one, though his own *Mother*, who for her *obstinacie* in *whoredomes* is justly put away by his heavenly *Father*, but of that (the *Lord* assisting) more in its place.

Peace. Further, Whereas it was said, that M^r *Cotton* had passed by King *Stephen* of *Poland* his *Speech*, to wit, the true *Difference* between the *Civill* and *Spirituall Government*, M^r *Cotton* answers, that it is true, that the *Magistrate* cannot command⁴ their *Soules*, nor binde their *Consciences*, nor punish their *Spirits*: All that he can doe is to punish the *Bodies* of *Men* for destroying or disturbing *Religion*.

Truth.

1. Mr John Robinson (deceased) his Testimonie in a Manus: from *Holland*.

2. A third Speech of King *James* considered.

3. Persecution ordinarily the marke of a False Church.

4. *Stephen* King of *Poland* his Speech

Truth. It is true, the *Lord* alone reacheth the *Soules* or *Spirits* of Men, but he doth it two wayes.

First, Immediately stirring up the *Spirits* of the *Prophets*, by *Visions*, *Dreames*, &c.

Secondly, By instituted *Meanes* and *Ordinances*: of which¹ is the Question: Now *Stephen King* of *Poland* professed that he was *King* of *bodies*, and not of *Consciencs*: It being most true, that the *Lord Jesus* hath appointed *spirituall Rulers* and *Governours*, to binde and loose *Soules* and *Consciencs*, to wound and kill, Comfort and save alive the *Spirits* and *Consciencs* of Men. This power *Christ Jesus* committed to his true *Messengers*; but oh, how many are there that pretend to this *Apostleship* or *Ministrie*, who yet have sold away this *spirituall Power* to the *Earthly* or *worldly powers*, upon an (implied secret) *Condition* or *Proviso*, to receive a broken *Reed* an *Arme* of *Flesh*, (in stead of the *Everlasting Armes* of *Mercy*;) to protect them.

Peace. With your leave (*Deare Truth*) let me adde a second: If the *Magistrate* (as *M^r Cotton* sayth) punish the *body* for a *spirituall* offence, why doth he not punish by a *spirituall* power as a *spirituall Officer*, with a *spirituall Censure* and *punishment*?

Truth. *M^r Cotton* will tell us that the *bodies* of the *Israelites* were punished for *spirituall offences*: And we may againe truly affirme, that the very cutting off by the *materiall Sword* out of the *typicall Land* of *Canaan*, was in the type, a *spirituall punishment*.

Peace. *M^r Cotton* is not ignorant of this, and hath often taught of these *Types* from *Passages* on *Genesis* and other bookes of *Moses*, &c.

Truth. The *Father* of *Lights* graciously be pleased to set home the *light* he hath vouchsafed him, & fix and imprint the beames thereof in his *heart* and *affections* also.

Peace. This Argument (of punishing the *body* for the *soules*² good) I remember was feelingly resented by an honourable *Gentleman* in the *parliament* against the *Bishops*, urging how contrary unto *Christ Jesus* those *Prelates* were; for *Christ Jesus* did make way for his working upon Mens *soules*, by shewing kindness to their *bodies*, &c. but *Prelates* contrarily, &c.

Truth. All the *Angells*' of *God* will one day witnesse, that *Christ Jesus* was never *Captain* to *Pope*, nor *Prelate*, *Presbyter*, no

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nor

1. The *Spirituall Power* of *Christ Jesus* bestrusted not with *Civill* but *spirituall Ministers*.

2. An Argument used in *Parliament* against the *Persecuting Bishops*.

nor *Independent*, *Emperour* nor *King*, *Parliament*, nor *Generall Court*, who punish and afflict, persecute and torture the *bodies* of *Men* under pretence of a *spirituall* and *religious* medicine.

Peace. Yea, but sayth M^r *Cotton*, *Religion* is disturbed and destroyed, what shall be done?

Truth. *Religion* is disturbed and destroyed two wayes.¹

First, When the *Professors* or *Assemblies* thereof are persecuted, that is hunted and driven up and downe out of the *world*: Against such *Destroyers* or *Disturbers* (being *Tyrants* and *Oppressours*.) the *Civill Sword* ought to be drawn.

Peace. The drawing of the *Sword of Justice* against such *Tyrants*,² I believe hath prevailed in *Heaven*, for the *Parliaments successes* and *prosperitie*: The turning from the *violence* that was in the hands of those *Men of Bloud* the *Bishops*, (as in the *Men of Ninivies* case) hath laid the long and violent storme of *Fire* and *Bloud*, &c.

Truth. Yea let the most renowned *Parliament* of *England*, and all *England* know, that when they cease to listen to *Daniells counsell* to *Belshazzar*, to wit, to shew *Mercy* to the *poore*, (even³ the poorest and most afflicted in the *World*) the *Consciences* of *Men*, then is their *Parliamentarie Glory* and *Tranquillitie* eclipsed: Till then I confidently believe, their *Government* (which hath now so many yeares with so many *Wonders* continued) shall not be numbred, nor another fatall change surprize them.

But now (2) the *Disturbance* or *Destruction* of *Religion* is *spirituall*, by false *Teachers*, false *Prophets*, by *spirituall Rebels* and *Traytors* against the *Worship* and *Kingdome* of *Christ Jesus*: Against which *Disturbers* or *Destroyers*, if *Christ Jesus* have not provided sufficient *spirituall Defence*, let *Moses* (his ancient *Type*.) be said to exceede him in *Faithfulnesse*, *David* in holy *zeale* and *affection* to the house of *God*, and *Solomon* in *wisdome* and heavenly *prudence*, in ordering the *Affaires* of the holy *Worship* of *God*.

Peace. But further, whereas it was said, that to confound these (to wit, a *Civill* and *Spirituall Government*) was *Babell* and *Jewish*: M^r *Cotton* replyes, That is *Babell* to tollerate and advance *Idolatrie*. 2. (Sayth he) though *Christ* hath abolished a *Nationall Church-State*, which *Moses* set up in the Land of *Canaan*,

1. Of disturbance of Religion.

2. The Bishops as Tyrants justly suppressed, and the Parliament therein prospered from Heaven.

3. Daniells Counsel to Bel-shazzar preserveth Parliaments & Kingdomes.

yet *Christ* never abolished a *Nationall Civill State*, nor the *Judiciall Lawes* of *Moses*, which were of *Morall Equitie*, and therefore (sayth he) If the true *Christs* blood goe for the planting of the *Church*, let the false *Christs* goe for supplanting it.

Truth. I answer; *Babell* was infamous for *Pride*, for *Confusion* or *Disorder*, for *Idolatrie*, for *Tyrannie*: Now let all persecuting *Cities* and *Kingdomes* be examined and see if they have been¹ cleare from any of these: and especially from *Babells confusion* and *disorder*, from monstrous mingling of *Spirituall* and *Civill*, the *Devills Worship* with *Gods vessells*: It was no *Confusion* in the *Nationall Church* of *Israel* for the Power of that *Nation*, in the hands of *Kings* and *Civill Rulers*, to purge that *Nationall Church* by *Nationall* force of *weapons* and *Death*: But since M^r *Cotton* acknowledged that *Christ* hath abolished that *Nationall Church*, and established *Congregationall Churches*, (in some of which possibly may be no *Civill Magistrate* fearing *God*, for few *wise* or *noble* are called, and consequently few *godly* or *Christian Magistrates* professing *Christ Jesus*) What is this but *Babell* or a *Babylonish* mixture of the *Old* and *New Testament*, *Nationall* and *Congregationall Churches* power and practices together?

Peace. 2. What if *Christ Jesus* have not abolished a *Nationall Church State*, it is sufficient that he hath abolished a *Nationall Church*. And if so, then in *Church matters* those *Nationall Judicials*, and the use of those *Nationall Weapons* and *Punishments*, in² attending upon such a *Nationall Church*: Yea what colour of *Morall Equitie* is there that all the *Nations* of the *World* (most of which never heard of *Christ*) should be ruled by such *Lawes* and *Punishments* as were *peculiarly* and *miraculously* given and appointed to one selected and culd out *Nation*, conceived, borne, and brought up (as I may so speake) from first to last, by *extra-ordinarie*, and *miraculous dispensation*?

Peace. There may be (sayth M^r *Cotton*) difference between the *Nations* professing *Christianitie*, and other *Nations*.

Truth. There is indeed great *Difference*: There are two³ sorts of *Nations* or *Peoples* of the *World*, which shall be *Fewell* for the devouring flames of the *Lord Jesus*, 2 *Thess.* 1. First, such as know not *Christ Jesus*, of which sort the greatest part of the *Nations* of the *World* (beyond all colour of comparison) consist. 2. Such as have heard a sound, and make some profes-

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sion

1. Touching the *Nationall Church* of *Israell*.

2. *Israell* a *miraculous Nation*.

3. Two sorts of the *Nations* of the *World*.

sion of the Name of *Christ Jesus*, and yet obey him not as *Lord and King*, &c.

Now it is true at the *Tribunall* of this dreadfull *Judge*, *Tyre* and *Sidon*, *Sodome* and *Gomorrah*, shall finde an easier doome, then shall *Bethsaida*, *Chorazin*, *Capernaum*, *Jerusalem*, &c. And M^r *Cotton* need not feare the escaping of a false *Christ*, when all *Nations* professing *Christianitie* (*Papist* or *Protestant*) (if yet found disobedient to the true *Christ*) shall passe under a more fierie Sentence then all *Mahumetane* and *Pagan* Countries.

Peace. M^r *Cotton* will not stick to subscribe to this; But, the false *Christs* blood (sayth he) ought *now*, to be spilt.

Truth. Since there are so many false *Christs* (as the true *Christ*¹ Prophetied) M^r *Cotton* must unavoydably name and detect and convict those false *Christs*, *Popish* and *Protestant*, &c. upon whom he passeth such a present Sentence. He must also direct the way how the true *Christ* may shed the blood of the false *Christs*. When M^r *Cotton* hath done this faithfully and impartially (according to his *Conscience* and present *Judgement*) what Reader will not at first view see rising up from such Premises these foure *Conclusions*?

First, Amongst so many *Christs* extant (that is visible *Christs* *Head* and *Body*) in the *Christian Antichristian* World, there can but One *Christ* be found to be true.

Secondly, That *Christ* which M^r *Cotton* professeth (according to his *Conscience*) will be *He*.

Thirdly, All such *Christs* as are extant, beside M^r *Cottons*, *Head* and *Body*, ought impartially to be put to *Death*, as *false*, *counterfeit*, *blasphemous*, &c.

Fourthly, Such as embrace his *Christ*, that is, be of his *Church* and *Conscience*, are bound (if they once get *power* in their hands) to pursue with *fire* and *sword*, and to shed the blood of all the false *Christs*, that is, the severall sorts of *false* or *Antichristian* *Worshippers*.

Peace. Oh how *wise* and *Righteous* is the *Lord*, in letting loose the *Wolfe* and *Lyon* (*persecutors* and *Hunters*) upon his *Sheepe* and *People*, that by their owne painfull sence of such bloudie *violence* and *crueltie*, he may graciously purge out the *Malignant venomous Humours* of such fowle *Antichristian* and bloudie *Doctrines*? But to the next, the King of *Bohemia* his say
ing.

1. Touching the true and false Christs.

ing. Whereas it was said that in this *Kings Speech* M^r Cotton¹ had passed by that *Foundation in Grace and Nature*, to wit, that *Conscience* ought not to be violated or forced, and that such forcing is no other then a *Spirituall Rape*.

M^r Cotton replies, It was not passed by, but prevented in “stating the *Question*, where it was said, It is not lawfull to “Censure any, no not for *Errour in Fundamentall Points of “Doctrine or Worship*, till the *Conscience* of the *offendour* be first “convinced (out of the *Word of God*) of the dangerous Er- “rour of his way, and then if he will persist, it is not out of “*Conscience*, but against his *Conscience*, as the Apostle sayth, “(*Tit. 3. 11.*) and so he is not persecuted for cause of Con- “science, but for sinning against his *Conscience*.

1. *Truth*. I answer, the forcing of a *Woman*, that is, the violent² Acting of *uneleanness* upon her *bodie* against her will, we count a *Rape*: By Proportion that is a *Spirituall* or *Soule-rape*, which is a forcing of the *Conscience* of any Person, to Acts of *Worship*, which the Scripture entitles by the name of the Marriage bed, *Cant. 1.*

This forcing of *Conscience* was in an high measure the branded sinne of that great typicall *Machiavel Jeroboam*, who made *Israel* to *Worship* before the *Golden Calves*: And this is the abominable *practice* of the Second Beast, who compells all to take the Marke of the first *Beast*, and this is the sinne of (the mysticall *Ammon*) the Princes of *Europe*, and of the *Antichristian* World, those mysticall effeminate *Ahabs*, who give their power to the *Beast*, themselves (together with that Man of *Sinne* and *Filthinesse* (the *Pope*) Practicing most odious spirituall *uncleanness* upon the *Consciences* of the *Nations* of the *Earth*.

2. *Peace*. Deare *Truth*, who knowes not whose voyce and³ Song this is, but that, of all the bloudie *Bonnors*, *Gardiners*, and most devouring *persecutours* that ever have or shall legally in way and pretence of *Justice*, *persecute*. [You pretend *Conscience* that you dare not come to *Church* because of *Conscience*, that so to *sweare*, *submit*, *subscribe*, or *conforme*, is against your *Conscience*, that you are persecuted for your *Conscience*, and forced against your *Conscience*.

Truth. Indeed, what is this before the flaming eyes of *Christ*; but as (*Amnon*-like in the type) some lustfull *Ravisher* deals with

1. *King of Bohemia his Speech*.

2. *Spirituall Rapes*.

3. All persecutours contumeliously object against *Conscience*.

with a beautifull *Woman*, first using all subtle *Arguments* and¹ gentle *perswasions*, to allure unto their spirituall *Lust* and *Filthinesse*, and where the *Conscience* freely cannot yeeld to such *Lust* and *Folly* (as *Tamar* said to *Amnon*) then a forcing it by *Penalties*, *Penall Lawes* and *Statutes*? Yea, what is this but more filthy and abominable then is commonly practiced against *ravished Women*, to wit, a perswading a *Conscience* that it is *obstinate*, obstinate against its knowledge, that a man might lawfully have yeelded, that he is convinced of the *lawfulnessse* of the *Act*, and therefore may justly be punished for repelling such *Arguments*, and resisting such *perswasions* against the *Conviction* of his owne *Conscience*.

3. *Peace*. It is a common *Question*, made by most, who shall be Judge of this *Convicted Conscience*; shall the lustfull *Ravisher* (the *Persecutor*) be Judge? Will the burning Rage of his *Spirituell*² *Filthinesse* and *Antichristian Beastialtie* cause no shaking of the scales of *Justice*? And will M^r *Cotton* indeed (except he suspend them) have all the *Civill Magistrates*, or *Civill States*, or *Generall Assemblies*, or *Courts of People* in the *World* (according to their severall *Constitutions*) sit *Judges* o're *Conscience*, to wit, when the poore *ravished Consciences* of Men are *convinced*.

Truth. What is this, but (in truth) to submit the *Soules* and *Consciences* of the *Saints* (yea the *Conscience* of the Lord *Jesus* in them,) unto the *World* that lyes in wickednesse (and to the *Devill* in it) out of which *God* hath chosen; but few, that are *wise*, or that are *Great*, *Rich*, or *Noble*.

4. And to end this *Passage*, what is this, but to destroy that distinction of a true and false *Conscience*, which the holy *Spirit* expressly maketh, relling (2 *Thessal*: 2.) of *Antichristians* that make *Conscience* of *Lyes*, believing them *conscientiously* for *Truths*. What is it now to force a *Papist* to *Church*, but a *Rape*, a *Soule-Rape*? he comes to *Church*, that is, comes to that *Worship*, which³ his *Conscience* tells him is false, and this to save his *Estate*, *Credit*, &c. What is this in a *Papist*, but a yeelding unwillingly to be *forced* and *ravished*? Take an instance of holy *Cranmer*, and many other faithfull *Witnesses* of the *truth* of *Jesus*, who being *forced* or *ravished* by *terror* of *Death*, *subscribed*, *abjured*, went to *Masse*, but yet against their *Wills* and *Consciences*. In both these *Instances* of *Papist* and *Protestant*, M^r *Cotton* must confesse-

1. *Amnon his ravishing of Tamar, a Type.*

2. A Query, who shall judge, whether *Conscience* be convict.

3. Church *Papists* and *Protestants* also *ravished*.

fesse a *Soule-Ravishment*; for, the *Conscience* of a *Papist* is not convinced that it is his *Dutie* to worship *God* by the *English common Prayer-Booke*, or *Directorie*, &c. And the *Consciences* of many are not convinced but that it is their sinne to come at either the *Papists* or common *Protestants Worship*. So both *Papist* and *Protestant* are forced and ravished by force of *Armes*, (as a *Woman* by a *Lustfull Ravisher*) against their *Soules* and *Consciences*.

Peace. Again, in that *King of Bohemia's Speech* M^r *Cotton* passed by that most true and lamentable experience of all *Ages*, to wit, that *persecution*, for cause of *Conscience*, hath ever proved pernicious, and hath been the cause of great *Alterations* and *changes* in *States* and *Kingdomes*. To this M^r *Cotton* replies, No experience in any *Age* did ever prove it pernicious to punish *Seducing Apostates*, after due *Conviction* of the *Errour* of their way: And he asks, wherein did the burning of *Servetus* prove pernicious to *Geneva*, or the just Execution of many *Popish Priests* to *Queene Elizabeth*, or the *English State*?

Truth. I answer, though no *Historie* did expresse what horrible and pernicious *mischiefs* the persecuting of the *Arians* and others caused in the *World*: yet is it lamentably sufficient¹ to the Point, that all *Ages* testifie (and I had almost said all *Nations*) how pernicious this *Doctrine* hath been in raising the devouring flames of *Fire* and *Sword*, about *Hereticks*, *Apostates*, *Idolaters*, *Blasphemers*, &c.

Peace. Later Times have rendred the observation of that *King* most lamentably true, in the many great *Desolations*, in *Germany*, *Poland*, *Hungaria*, *Transilvania*, *Bohemia*, *France*, *England*, *Scotland*, *Ireland*, *Low Countries* (not to speake of the mighty warres between those dreafull *Monarchies* of the *Turkes* and *Persians*, and other *Nations*) to the *Flames* where of although other causes have intermingled, the *Matters* of *Heresie*, *Blasphemie*, *Idolatrie*, &c. have been the chiefest sparkes and *Bellowses*.

Truth. It is true (as M^r *Cotton* sayth,) it hath pleased the *God of Heaven* to spare some particular places, and to preserve wonderfully for his Name and Mercy sake, *Geneva*, *England*, &c. &c. When they have been besieged and invaded: Yet M^r *Cotton* confesseth, that *Queene Elizabeth* by that course had like to have fired the *Christian World* in *Combustion*, which though it
pleased

1. Wars for Religion.

pleased God to prevent, yet later times have shewen how pernicious¹ this *Doctrine* hath proved unto *England, Scotland, Ireland, &c.* in the slaughter of so many hundredth thousand *Papists* and *Protestants*, upon the very point (principally) of *Heresie, Idolatrie, &c.*

Peace. To end this Chapter: To that observation that *Persecution* for cause of *Conscience* was practiced most in *England*, and such places where *Poperie* reignes, implying that such practices proceed from the great *Whore*, and her *Daughters*: M^r *Cotton* replies, it is no marvaile he passed by this *observation* in the *Kings* speech, for it was not the Speech of the *King*, but of the *Prisoner*, and it was not the persecuting of *Antichristians*, but of *Nicknamed Puritans*, and of them too without *Conviction* of the *Error* of their way: He addeth that he could never see “Warrant to call that *Church* an *Whore*, that worshipped the “true *God* onely in the name of *Jesus*, and depended on him “alone for *Righteousnesse* and *Salvation*, and that it is (at least) “a base part of a *childe* to call his Mother *whore*, who bred him “and bred him to know no other *Father*, but her lawfull *Husband* the Lord *Jesus Christ*

Truth. Whether the *Observation* was the *Kings*, or the *Prisoners*, yet it was passed by: And if those *Puritans* or *Protestants* persecuted, were not *convinced*, Himselfe (as he here sayth) never saw Warrant, that is, was *convinced*, for to call such a² *Church* as he here describeth, an *Whore*, yet not a few of his *opposites* will say, and that aloud, that *He* and *they* were or might have been convinced, what ever *He* or *they* themselves thought. The truth is, the *carnall Sword* is commonly the *Judge* of the *conviction* or *obstinacie* of all *supposed Hereticks*. Hence the faithful *Witnesses* of *Christ*, *Cranmer*, *Ridley*, *Latimer*, had not a word to say in the *Disputations* at *Oxford*: Hence the *Non-conformists* were cryed out as obstinate Men, abundantly convinced by the Writings of *Whitgift* and others: And so in the Conference before King *James* at *Hampton Court, &c.*

But concerning the *Church of England*, whether a *daughter* or no of the *Great Whore* of *Rome*, It is not here seasonable to³ repeate what the *Witnesses* of *Christ* to *Bonds, Banishments, and Death* (whom M^r *Cotton* here calls the rigid *Seperation*) have alledged in this case. I thinke it here sufficient to say two things.

1. *The bloudie Tenent Guiltie of all the bloud of Papists and Protestants lately spilt.*

2. The strongest Arme & sword the ordinarie Judge of the Conviction of Conscience.

3. *Touching the Nationall Church of England.*

things. First, M^r Cotton himselfe is thought to believe that it is not a *profession of words* containing many *fundamentall Doctrines* that makes a people a true *Church*, who professing to¹ know *God*, yet in *workes* deny him; notwithstanding that amongst them by *Gods* gracious *Dispensation* much good may be wrought by many.

2. M^r Cotton himselfe will not say that ever *Christ Jesus* was married to a *Nationall Church*, which all men know the *Church of England* ever was, and M^r Cotton elsewhere acknowledgeth (as *Nationall*) to be none of *Christs*, but onely *Churches Congregationall*.

Exam: of Chap. 60. Concerning the Romane Emperours, which did or did not persecute.

Peace. **V**Hereas it was answered, that *Godly Persons* (as some *Godly Emperours*) might doe evill, to wit, in *persecuting*: And *ungodly Emperours* in not persecuting, might doe well, &c. M^r Cotton replyes, This begs the *Question*, to say that *Kings* alledged by the *Prisoner* did that which was good, but *Kings* alledged by M^r Cotton (though better persons) did that which was *Evill*.

Truth. I think M^r Cotton mistakes the *poore Prisoner* if he conceives him to have argued from the *Number*, or (by way of *comparison*) the *Qualitie* or *Goodnesse* of the *Kings*. I am sure he mistaketh the *Discusser*, who argues neither from their *Persons*, nor *Number*, nor *Practices*, but from the *waight* of their *Speeches*, *qualified* onely with the *consideration* of their *State*: Their *Speeches* M^r Cotton passed by, but now hath waighed, though not so fully as it may please *God* to cause *Himselfe*, or *others* to doe hereafter.

Peace. I conceive it to be a further mistake, to thinke the *Discusser* accounted the *Persons* alledged by M^r Cotton better *Persons* then those alledged by the *Prisoner*.

Truth. The *Discusser* compared them not, but desired that their *Speeches* and *Arguments* might have their just and due *waight*, and then I believe it will be found, not a *begging*, but a *winning* of the *Question*, even from the *Testimonie* of some *Kings* themselves.

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Chap.

1. Reall denying, the greatest denying of Christ Jesus.

Chap. 61. *replying to Chap. 64. Examined.*

Peace. IN this Chapter God is pleased to leave M^r Cotton to fall into two *Evills*, then which (ordinarily) *greater* cannot be among the *sonnes* of *Men*: I speake not of the *Aggravations* of *malice* and *obstinacie*, which I hope the most gracious Lord will keepe him from, but of the *sinnes* themselves in *themselves*: The One is monstrous *Blasphemie* and abominable profanation of the most holy Name of his most *High* and holy *Maker*, &c. The second extreamest *Crueltie* and *Tyrannie* against *Men* his fellow *Creatures*.

For the first, after a new *refined* fashion and dress, he projects¹ how to turne this whole *Dunghill* of the corrupt and rotten *World*, into a most sweet and fragrant *Garden* of the *Church*, or *Dove* of *Christ*.

For the second, he contents not Himselfe with the *Severitie* and *Crueltie* of former times exercised by the *Emperours* professing the Name of *Christ*, against such, whom they reputed *Hereticks*, but blames them for applying too favourable and gentle *Medicines* of *Exile* and *Banishment*, and in *plaine* tearmes he sayth, It had been better they had put them to death.

Truth. Your observation (sweet *Peace*) is full of *pietie* and *Mercy*: It is most true, that a private *opinion*, or an *Act* of *Anti-christianisme* and *Idolatrie*, like a dead flie, may cause a sweet pot of *Christian Oyntment*, to yeeld a *stincking savour*, but such a *Doctrine*, of such a *generall Nature* and extent, as reaches to *all men*, to all the *World* (in my apprehension) should cause Men to feare and tremble at such *Rocks*, against which such *Gallant vessells* may *strike*, and *split*, if the most *holy* and *jealous God*, be pleased a little to withdraw his holy hand from the *steering* of them.

Peace. Let me (Deare *Truth*) summe up the *Heads*, to which I shall request your *Consideration*.

It is true (sayth M^r Cotton:) when God advanced *Constantine*² and other *Christian Emperours* to sit on the *Throne*, the *Church* soone became a *Wildernesse*, and he also seemeth to consent “that the *unknowing zeale* of *Constantine* and other good *Empe-*

“bloudie

1. *Two high Transgressions objected against Mr Cotton.*

2. Touching the Romane Emperours practices in Religious. Affaires.

“bloudie Neroes: But withall he addeth that their *unknowing zeale* did not lye in punishing notorious *Hereticks, Seducers, &c.* And he sayth, that the *Church* never had hurt by such *punishments*. He affirmeth that it is no *Sollecisme in Religion* “for the whole *World* to become *Christian*: that the *World* became *Antichristian* by the *tolleration* of *Princes*, and their advancing of *Church affaires*, together with the *unwatchfullnesse* “of such being advanced: that if the *World* had renounced *Paganisme*, and professed *Christ* to be the *Sonne of God*, but yet “had been kept from the *Fellowship* of the *Church* till they had “approved their *profession* by a sincere *conversation*, it had been “no *Sollecisme, &c.*

Further, He sayth, the *Christian Emperours* did permit *Hereticks* ;to live in the field of the *World*, that they seldome or “never put them to Death for *hereticall pravitie* (though it had “been better (sayth he) they had so done with *some* of them, “but onely *expelled* them from *populous Cities* and *Countries*, “where the *Gangrene* might spread, &c.

Truth. You have well summd up (*Sweet Peace*) I shall¹ briefly touch these *Heads*, with *Gods* assistance; and first concerning the *zeale* of the *Romane Emperours*. It is confest by M^r *Cotton*, that upon the good *Emperours* coming to the *Throne*, the *Church* soone became a *Wildernesse*, and that was a greater hurt and mischief then ever befell the *Saints* and *Churches* under the fierie *persecution* of the most *bloudie Neroes*; surely such *zeale* that brought forth such *fruit* to *Christianitie* might seeme justly to be suspected not to be kindled from *Heaven*, but from *Men*.

2. It seemes not *reasonable* to the weakest understanding, nor² suitable to the *wisdome* and constant *care* and *love* of *Christ Jesus* to his *Wife* and *Spouse* in his *absence*, that the *Romane Emperours* should be such *Godly Persons*, and that also neither by *Christ Jesus* nor his *Apostles* or *Messengers* the least *word* should be directed to them, when, as yet, they were *extant*, in *Christs* and his *Messengers* times; and (by the *bloudie Tenent*) must be supposed *invested* with so high a *calling* too, so high a *worke* and *dutie*, as higher is not to be performed in the whole *World* (and that *Ex Officio*) to wit, the *Establishing, Governing, Reforming, &c.* the *Church*, the *Spouse*, and *Kingdome* of *Christ Jesus*.

C c 2

Peace. 2.

1. Christs Garden gains by violent Stormes, and looseth by sweete Sunshines.

2. The Romane Emperours.

Peace. 2. The *Church and Servants of Christ* had great hurt (notwithstanding M^r Cottons contrary belief) by the *Emperours*¹ persecuting, of whom they judged *hereticall*, partly in that the *Arrians* were hardned by their *sufferings*, and *Arrianisme* increased by the *sufferings* of the *professours* of it; as also that the *Christians* were more severely persecuted (as hath often also come to passe (in the *Interchanges* between the *Papist* and the *Protestant*) when the *Arrians* came to weare the *Sword*, and the *Orthodox Christians* were under *Hatches*.

Truth. 3. But that the *whole World* that wonders after and worshipping the *Beast*, should yet possibly be of the small *Number*, that follow the *Lambe*, and stand opposite to the *Beast*, on Mount *Zion*: That the *World* upon whom the *vialls of plagues and vengeance* are to be powred according to the infallible *Prophecies* (not to speak of the *World* from other *Scriptures*) that² this whole *World* (I say) should be brought into such an *Onenes* with *Christ Jesus*, seemes so crosse to the *fundamentall Enmities* between *Christs Seede* and the *Serpents*, to the *priviledges* of the *Saints*, to the *puritie* of *Christ*, to the *streame* of *Scripture*, and in particular to the sweete last *Will and Testament* of the *Lord Jesus*, and the *nature* of his particular *Flocks*, &c. That I cannot wonder sufficiently, how any man professing but a small *Knowledge* of the *Mysteries* and *Kingdome* of *Christ Jesus*, should be so vailed, so obscured, so to write of the state of *Christs Church* and the *World*, as M^r Cotton doth?

Peace. *Christ Jesus* (Blessed *Truth*) gave not thanks to his most holy, most wise *Father* in vaine, for hiding from *Wise and Prudent*, and opening to *Babes and Sucklings*.

Truth. 4. But further, Such a *Conversion of People* from³ *Idolatrie* to *Christianitie*, as fits them to be *professours* of the *Sonne* of *God*, but yet not fits them for the *Fellowship* of *Christians* in *Church State*, I finde not in the *Testament* of *Christ Jesus*. Surely the *Conversion* of the *Thessalonians* was not such, 2 *Thess.* 1. Who turned not onely from *Idolls*; but to serve the living and true *God*, which service of *God* in *Christ* no Soule uprightly in love with *Christ Jesus*, but (in its measure) longs after, as vehemently and cordially as ever *chast Spouse* after her dearest earthly *Husbands* presence and Enjoyment, *Cant.* 1. & 3. & 5.

Peace. *Gods Spirit* (in *John*) describes one *Difference*, &c.
between

1. *The Arrians persecuted and persecuting.*

2. The great *Difference* between this *World* and *Christ*.

3. A *Christianitie* strange from *Christ*.

between the true *Spirit* and *Professours*, and the *false*, to wit, that such as acknowledge (that is truely as I conceive) *Christ Jesus* to become in the flesh, are borne of *God*.

Truth. Yea therefore consequently such a *Spirit* cannot be¹ of *Jesus*, that makes such a profession of *Christ Jesus* as the *Devills* themselves may make, and (even for want of *Regeneration* and *Personall Grace*,) the *professours* are not fit for the *Fellowship* of the true *Christian Worship*, and *Worshippers*.

5. But lastly, if M^r *Cotton*, or any of his bloudie *Judgement* woare the *Imperiall Crowne* of the *Worlds Majestie*, what *slaughters* shall we imagine the *World* should heare and feelee? Whether would such *fierie zeale* transport Men? Yea what an *Earthly Dunghill Religion* and *Worship* should the most *High God* be served with, fit onely for the *Dunghill Gods* and *Goddesses*, whom all *Asia* (as the *Towne-clarke* speakes) and the *World* worship-peth.

Peace. If the Report of M^r *Cottons* interpreting that *Scripture* of *Serving God* with all our *Might*, &c. be true, to wit, of² employing our *Civill Armes* and *Forces* to the utmost, and that against other *Peoples* professing *Idolatrie* and *Antichristianisme*: His *Conscience* (as I conceive) must needs force on and presse after, an *universall Conquest* of all *Consciences*, and under that (like those bloudie *Spaniards*, *Turkes* and *Popes*) lay under that *faire cloake*, the *Rule* and *Dominion* over all the *Nations* of the *Earth*.

Truth. But may not M^r *Cotton* better listen to the voyce of³ the *Lord Jesus*, saying to him and such of his *bloudie Tenent*, You know not of what *Spirit* you are of: Were the *Emperours* too favourable (as M^r *Cotton* sayth) in but *Banishing*? How keene a *Sword* would M^r *Cotton* draw against so many *Millions* of *Gangrene Soules* throughout the *Turkish* and the *Popish World*?

Peace. Oh, how farre different would M^r *Cottons* *Sword* be from the *Sword* of the *Spirit* of *God*, proceeding from the *Mouth* of *Christ Jesus*, yet sharpe enough with *two edges*, piercing between *Soule* and *Spirit*, &c.

Truth. Yea how farre different from the *Meeke Spirit* of the *Lambe* of *God*, who came not to destroy *Mens lives*, but to save them, yea how different from the former *make* and noted gen-
tle

1. Antichristian Christianitie.

2. The bloudie Tenent tends to an universall Conquest of the whole World.

3. The bloudie Tenent in its colours.

tle *Temper* of M^r Cottons own *Spirit*, now over-heat and enflamed by his *unmercifull* and *bloudie Tenent*?

Exam: of Chap. 62. replying to Chap. 65.

Peace. VVHen M^r Cotton was justly observed to use the *Language* of Lyon-like *persecution* in these words, “[More and greater Princes then these you mention have not “tollerated *Hereticks* and *Schismatics*, notwithstanding their “pretence of *Conscience*, and their arrogating the Crowne of “Martyrdome to their suffrings] He defendeth such *Language* by the *Scripture Freedome* in such *Tearmes* against *Sinners*, which sayth he, the *Discusser* acknowledgeth.

Truth. In holy *Scripture* are many *Expressions* full of *Holiness*,¹ *Gravitie*, *Love*, *Meeknesse*, &c. which yet are wrested by us poore Men to *unholy* and *unchristian Ends* and *purposes*. How many wofully pervert many grave and heavenly *Passages* and *Expressions* of holy *Scripture* to base and filthy *Jeasting*? How many from some sharp *Expressions* of *Christ Jesus* and *Paul* (in *cases*) take licence to raile and call Men all to naught, in *Wrath*, *Revenge*, and *Passion*? And how many out of *pride* and *false zeale* trampling upon the *Heads* and *Consciences* of all Men, are ready (not in an holy Meeke and *Christian way* but) in a *Pharisaicall*, *Bishop-like*² and *Pope-like way*, to roare and thunder out against *Gods meekest Servants* the odious *tearmes* of *Hereticks*, *Schismatics*, *Blasphemers*, *Seducers*, &c. Which *tearmes* though used in holy *Scripture*, yet never in such a way, as commonly and constantly the *bloudie* and *persecuting* expresse themselves in.

Peace. But what or whom meanes M^r Cotton in this *passage*, what *Language* have they learned, who in point of *worship* have left *Zion*, but not the *Gates* and *Suburbes* of *Babylon*, for they set up *Bull-warkes* of *Impunitie* to secure them.

Truth. Surely M^r Cotton knowes that none that plead against the *Civill Power* and *Weapons* in *Spirituall Matters*, but they also maintaine, that, there ought to be in vigorous use the *Spirituall* and *two edged Sword* that comes forth of *Christs Mouth* (not for the *Impunitie* but) for the *Ruine* and *Destruction* of all *Babells Brats* and *Abominations*.

peace.

1. No Booke or Writing ever so abused as the holy Writing & Scripture of God is.

2. The Language of persecutours.

Peace. M^r Cotton spends many lines, and quotes *Austin* to prove, that *Julians* End of tollerating *Heresie* to grow, was to choake *Christianitie*.

Truth. What ever were *Julians* End, yet I deny that *Tolleration*¹ of the weedes of *Heresie* and blasphemous *Religion* (*Paganish, Turkish, Jewish, Popish*) in the field of the *Civill State* and *World*, hath power to choake the vitalls of *Christianitie* in the *Garden* or *Bodie* the *Church* of *Christ Jesus*.

And concerning *Infection*, It is to be observed that when² the holy Scripture speakes by the *Similitudes* of *Leaven*, *Gangrene*, or *Poysonfull weedes*, of *Wolves*, or *scabbed sheepe*, &c. it is commonly with respect to such Evills got in among the *Saints* and *Churches*, the *Flocks* and *Gardens* of *Christ*, where such *Leaven*, *weedes*, &c. tollerated may spread and infect: But what is this to the *Lyons*, *Beares*, or *Wolves*, not to be suffered in the *Wildernesse*, or *Swine*, or *Dogs*, in the common *high wayes*; or *weedes* in the *Common* or *Forest*, which all may be, and yet the *Garden*, *Body*, and *Flock* of *Christ* be pure and safe from such *Infection*.

Peace. One passage more is very Considerable. In former *Discourse* about the *Tares* M^r Cotton was large in proving the permission of *weedes*, even in the *Church* of *Christ*, and that untill *Christs* *Comming*, and that after they be discovered to be *Hypocrites*.

Truth. O what a *Distance* is between that *Doctrine* and this³ here? There the *Tares* must not be touched in the *Garden* of the *Church*, here they must not be suffred abroad in the field of the *World*, for feare of *choaking* the good plants in the *Garden* of *Christ*. Who can finde out how these *Doctrines* suit with *Godlinesse*, with *Reason*, or *Themselves*?

Peace. But now you speake of *suiting*: It is (sayth M^r Cotton) (for a close) a plaine *Contradiction* of the Discussers former Speech to say, that *persecuting* of others was a meanes of *choaking Christianitie*, whereas he had said, that *Constantines* *unknowing zeale* did more hurt to *Christs Kingdome*, then the raging furie of the most bloudie *Neroes*.

Truth. Let the words be well weighed, and no such *Affirmation* will be found: The words are, [It was not when *Christians* lodged in cold *Prisons*, but in *Downe Beds* of *Ease*, and
perse-

1. Julian his *Tolleration*.

2. Touching *Infection* of false *Doctrine*, &c.

3. *Hypocrites* tollerated in the *Church*, but not in the *World*.

“persecuted others.] The Discusser made not *persecution* to be a meanes of choaking *Christianitie*, but attributes the *Losse* of *Christians Life* and *Love*, to those *Beds* of their abused *Sweete prosperitie*.

2. If he had made *persecution* a meanes to choake *Christianitie*, it had been the *persecution* of *Christians* among *Themselves*, and not the *persecution* of bloudie *Neroes*: Which yet if it had been so, it might yet be no *Contradiction*, for *Neroes persecution* might doe hurt, although *Constantines* unknowing zeale might doe much more.

Exam: of Chap. 63. replying to Chap. 66.

Peace. M^Aster Cotton here being understood to smile on Q:

Elizabeth for persecuting the *Papists*, and to frowne on K: *James* for persecuting the (so named) *Puritans*, he denies neither, but insists onely upon the *Number*, that as many and as great *Princes* are against *Tolleration* as for it, and in particular Q: *Elizabeth* and K: *James*.

Truth. I say (as before) I should never use an *Argument*¹ from the *Number* of *Princes* (no more then from the *Number* of any other men) for any truth of *Christ Jesus*: Who as he was not pleased himselfe to be borne of the *sons* of *Nobles*, so hath he not chosen many *Nobles* and *Wise men* of this *World* to be borne of him: Yet 2. If that be his *Argument*, he hath not satisfied, in naming these two, for more were named by the *Prisoner*, and besides one of those *Witnesses*, K: *James* abundantly declared himselfe, not onely against *persecuting* of *Papists*, but against all *persecution* in generall, what ever otherwise or afterwards his practices were against some Persons, as M^r Cotton too truely alledgeth.

Truth. In the next *Passage* the Discusser having objected that both Q: *Elizabeth* and K: *James* did persecute according to their *Consciences*, and arguing why should the one (namely) K: *James* be more blamed for *persecuting* according to his *Conscience*, then Q: *Elizabeth* for *persecuting* according to hers: M^r Cotton distinguisheth of *Consciences*: The *Queenes* sayth he, was rightly informed, but the *Kings* was not. When it was replied,

1. *Touching the Persecution of K: James and Q: Elizabeth.*

ed, that either K: *James*, and such *Princes* whose *Consciencs* (according to M^r *Cottons* *Conscience*) are ill informed, must act according to their *Consciencs*, or else they want the *Qualification* and *Fitnes* for such *places*: M^r *Cotton* answers two Things.

First, that such *Qualifications* are not *Essentiall*, but *Integrall*.

Secondly, That such *Princes* must forbear all *Civill Censures* in matters of *Religion* untill they be better informed.

Truth. It is most true as M^r *Cotton* sayth, if we speake of the right of *Succession*, a *childe* may be a *Lawfull King* (as K. *James* himselfe was being but a yeare old) But if we speake of the *Qualifications* of the *minde*, by which a *King* is enabled to rule his *State* (as is supposed *Ecclesiasticall* and *Civill*, and to judge under *Christ Jesus* in all *Causes Ecclesiasticall* as well as *Civill*: Surely, he that knowes not which is the true *Church*, true *Ministrie*, true *Ordinances*; yea and *persecutes* the true *Church*, *Ministrie*, and *Worship*, what ever his *Qualifications* be for the *Government* of the¹ *Civill State*, yet can it never be made good that he is furnished with any *Essentiall Qualification* for the *Spirituell Administration*, any more then He that undertakes to be a *Guide*, and yet is *blinde*, and never set foote in the *way*, and knowes not the *true* from the *false*: Or to be a *Captaine Generall*, yea or but a *Shepherd*, &c. 2. Beside, *Christ Jesus* never calld any person to any *Employment* of his, to any *Worke*, whom he inables not in a *Measure* proportionably, &c.

Peace. In such cases (sayth M^r *Cotton*) *Princes* are called to *suspend* and *forbear* all *Execution* of *Civill Censures* in the matters of *Religion*, till they be better informed, least they doe *persecute* the *Son of God* in stead of the *Son of Perdition*.

Truth. I answer: First, Then M^r *Cotton* hath cut off K: *James* from acting, though so long esteemed and sworne *Supream* in all *Causes Ecclesiasticall*.

Secondly, I aske, how *many* shall forbear, and *how long*,² for evident then it is that most (beyond all comparison) of all the *Princes* and *Magistrates* in the *World*, must not meddle with this *pretended chiefe* part of their *Dutie* and *Office*, and that (if they convert not) for the whole *Course* and *Race* of their *Life*: In particular, that no *Pagan Magistrate* (of all the ten thou-

D d

sands

1. Touching the Qualification of Princes.

2. Touching Magistrates suspending from acting in matters of Religion.

sands in the *World*, no *Persian*, *Turkish*, *Popish*, nor *Protestant* (if *Prelaticall* or *Presbyterian*,) ought to exercise any of this *High* and *Glorious Power*, but onely such *Princes* and *Magistrates* as are of *M^r Cottons Conscience*; for otherwise what Prince in the world more learned King in his time then King *James*, yet was not he of *M^r Cottons Conscience*.

Peace. Deare Truth: The fall of this partialitie is so apparant,¹ and withall so fowle, that I thinke it impossible, but ere long it must needs be condemned by *Men* on Earth, as doubtless it is abhord by the most *holy* and *impartiall God*, and his holy *Angells* in *Heaven*: Upon this occasion I call to minde that famous *Act* of the so greatly renowned *Constantine*, who in his first wearing of the *Diademe*, put forth (his *Colleauge Licinius* concurring also)² a famous and most solemne *Charter* and *Edict*, that no man throughout the whole *Empire* should be constrained in his *Religion*.

Truth. M^r Cotton (according to his *proviso* of *suspension*) must doubtles applaud *Constantine* for this his *Forbearance* untill he were better informed, whereas afterward his *Edicts* against *Arrius* and *Arrianisme*, testifie his practice to the contrary. But he that shall reade seriously in *Gods presence* that first *Edict* of *Constantine* and *Licinius*, will there finde *Constantine* to use such *Arguments*, as might for ever have caused him to have forbore *persecution*, to have still suspended, to have gratified the *Subjects* of all his *Empire* with *Libertie* and *Freedome* in the Point of *Worship* and *Religion*.

But I will End this Passage with this *Querie*; If *Christ Jesus* have left such Power with the *Civill Rulers* of the *World*, *Kingdomes*,³ and *Countries*, of or for the *Establishing*, *Governing*, and *Reforming* his *Church*, what is become of his *Care* and *Love*, *Wisdom*e and *Faithfulnessse*, since in all *Ages* (since he left the *Earth*) for the *generall*, beyond all *exception*, he hath left her destitute of such *qualified Princes* and *Governours*, and in the Course of his *Providence* furnished her with such, whom he knew would be, and all men finde as fit, as *Wolves* to protect and feede his *Sheepe* and *People*.

Exam:

1. Monstrous partialitie.

2. Constantines *Edict*.

3. Foule imputations cast on Christ Jesus.

Exam: of Chap. 64. replying to Chap. 67.

Peace. **W**Hen it was questioned, what good to the *Soules* or *Bodies* of their *Subjects* did those *Princes* bring in persecuting! M^r Cotton produceth a good fivefold that is brought to *Princes* and *Subjects* by the due *punishment* of *Apostates*, *Seducers*, *Idolaters*, and *Blasphemers*.

Truth. Let all that feare God and M^r Cotton himselfe be perswaded to observe, whether under this *faire cloake* of punishing these and these *spirituall sinners*, he maintaine not strongly (what elsewhere he denies) to wit, *Persecution* for cause of *Conscience*. But we know the *Evasion*. It is not for *Apostatizing*, *seducing* out of *Conscience*, but after *Conviction*, against their *Conscience*, &c.

Peace. You have before satisfied me (besides other *Passages*)¹ with this one, that to this End of discerning the poore *Hereticks* sinning against his *Conscience*, the *Civill State*, the *Earth*, the *World* must necessarily Erect its *Tribunall*, to judge not onely *Civill Things*, but even the *Heart* and *Conscience* also; but now to M^r Cottons five-fold good.

First (sayth he) it puts away *Evill* from the *People*, by cutting off a *Gangrene* which would spread to further *ungodlinesse*, *Deut. 13. 5. 2 Tim. 2. 1. 6. 7. 13.*

Truth. I answer, these *Scriptures* (though pure and holy in² their places, yet) are here coupled together as *Linsey Wollsey*, contrary to the Law. *Deut. 13.* which concerns the typicall *Nationall Church*, using *Nationall & temporall Weapons*: The *2 Tim. 2.* concernes the *Particular Congregations* or *Churches* of *Christians*, using onely the *Sword* of Gods *Spirit*, the *Word* of God, &c.

Beside, *Deut. 13.* concerned such a *People* whom the Lord brought forth of *Aegypt* with *Miracles*, into *Canaan*, &c. Let any such *People* be now produced, excepting the *Christian* (particular) *Churches*. Why doth M^r Cotton then alledge this *Scripture* so frequently, and in these five *Reasons* brings two from hence; This the *first*; and the *Third*, to wit, that all the *People* may *heare* and *feare*, &c. which is alone made good in the *Antitype* or *Christian Church*; according to that *1 Tim. 5. 20.* *Rebuke* them that sinne openly, that others may learne to *feare*. D d 2

2. *Peace.*

1. Unchristian Tribunalls.

2. Dent. 13. 5. & 2 Tim. 2. 16. Unchristianly conjoyed.

2. *Peace.* M^r Cotton mentioneth a second good, which is driving away *Wolves* from worrying and scattering the *Sheepe* of Christ.

Truth. This was largely answered in discoursing the nature of *mysticall* or *spirituall Wolves*, upon that very place which he quotes, *Acts* 20. From whence it may evidently appeare that from the *literall* urging of such *mysticall Scriptures*, all *Peoples* and *Nations* are enforced (and that *Conscientiously*) like *Wolves* and *Lyons* to teare and devoure each other.

3. *Peace.* M^r Cotton addes, that *Punishments* are *wholesome Medicines* to such as are curable of such *Evills*, *Zach.* 13. 4, 5, 6.

Truth. I answer; All the holy *Appointments* of God are most *powerfull* (in their severall respective *seasons*, and *manner* of *Dispensations*, to his owne most holy *Ends* and *purposes*, &c. The *Materiall Nationall Sword* in the *Nationall Church* of Israel before Christ: and the *Spirituall Sword*, in the *spirituall* and *Christian Church* since his comming to abolish those *shadows*.

As it was therefore in vaine to have cut off or *Excommunicated*¹ *spiritually* in that *Nationall State*: So is it in vaine to use the *materiall* or *carnall Sword* in the *spirituall*. Wherefore (according to this place of *Zach.*) a true penitent will blesse God for the *Wounds* of *Friends* and *Lovers* (faithfull and sharpe dealing) and for *Deliverance* from the *Kisse* of deceitfull flatterie: But what is this to prove (that which is so much denied) to wit, *Corporall Death* or *Wounds* now to be inflicted upon *false Teachers* in these times of the *Gospel*, and that in all *parts* and *Nations* of the *World*.

4. *Peace.* The *punishment*, sayth M^r Cotton, executed upon *false Prophets* and *seducing Teachers*, doe bring downe *Showres* of Gods blessing upon the *Civill State*, 1 *King.* 18. 40, 41.

Truth. If that *Nationall State* of *Israell*, and that *Nationall* or² *Corporeall* killing of so many hundreth *false Prophets*, and that *literall drouth* and *literall showres* of *Raine* and *plentie* were figures of no other *Prophets* and *slaughters*, *drouth* and *showers*, but *literall*, *materiall*, and *corporeall*, (now since the *Body* and *Substance* Christ Jesus is come): What should hinder but that those *Priests* of Israel, and *Sacrifices*, and *Temple*, and *Nationall Church* should all be in force, for our *Imitation*, *literally*, the one as well as the other?

Peace.

1. *Touching Excommunication in Israel.*

2. *Ans:*

Peace. I cannot possibly conceive but that (all being of the same *Nature*,) the one is *Typicall* as well as the other, and that they must flourish and be glorious (as *Gods Ordinances*,) or *vanish* and *disappeare* (giving place to brighter *dispensations*) at the arising of *Christ Jesus* the *Son of Righteousnesse*.

Truth.

Hence *false Apostles*, *false Teachers*, *false Prophets*, are¹ *Spiritually cut off*, Revel. 2. 2 Pet. 2. Gal. 4. And *spirituall showres* of *Blessings* descend upon the *Israel of God*; for although *corporeall Blessings* of *Food* and *Raiment* and *plentie*, are *Gods blessings*, yet *principally* under the *Gospel* *God* blesseth his *Israel*, the *Antitype* with *spirituall Blessings*, Eph. 1. *Houses*, *Lands*, *Fathers*, *Mothers*, *Children*, &c. with *persecution*, Mark. 10.

Peace.

Me thinks (*Deare Truth*) If *Christ Jesus* had appointed² such *punishments*, such *executions*, literall, in the *Christian Church*, he would also have appointed *Offices* and *Officers* suitable and proper for such *Ends* and *purposes*, such *punishments*, such *executions*.

Truth. It cannot otherwise with *Reason* and *common prudence*³ be supposed, but that, if *Christ Jesus* had appointed (which we finde not in his holy *Testament*) *holy* and *Christian Magistrates* for those great *decrees* and *sentences*, wee should also have read of his holy *Constables*, holy *Sergeants*, holy *Prisons*, holy *Stocks*, holy *Whipping Posts*, holy *Gibbets*, and holy *Tyburnes*; together also with holy *Hangmen*, the *spirituall Instruments* and *Officers* of *Christ Jesus*, for the *Executions* of his holy *punishments* upon *Apostates*, *Hereticks*, *Blasphemers*, *Idolaters*, *Seducers*, &c.

5. *Peace.* *Gods Justice* (sayth M^r *Cotton*) is honoured in the *Execution* of such *Judgements*, Revel. 16. 5, 6.

1. *Truth.* I have (to my understanding) formerly shewed M^r *Cottons* mistake in his expounding of this third *Violl*, and have presented an *Exposition* more agreeable with the *scope* of this *Prophecie*.

Peace. 2. *God* was honoured in all his *Judgements* which the *Tyrants* of the *World* have executed, (the *Babylonian*, *Persian*, *Grecian*, *Romane*) yet not by way of *Law* and *Ordinance*, but in the way of his holy *providence* and just *permission*.

3. *Truth.* Yea the *Witnesses* of *Jesus*, by the *two-edged Sword* of *God* in their *Mouths*, execute *Gods Judgements*, to the *vindicating*

1. *Spirituall Blessings* and *Curses* the *Antitypes* of *Corporall* before *Christ*.

2. *Great oversight* imputed to *Christ Jesus*.

3. If *civill punishments* for *spirituall offences*: they must be inflicted by *holy* and *Christian Instruments* and *Officers*.

cating of *Gods Glory*, and their *Innocencie*, (Revel. 11.) although they used no *carnall Weapon*.

4. The holy Name of *God* is much *dishonoured* and *prophaned*, when the *Inventions* of *Men* are set up, against his holy *Appointments*,¹ and when the *Sword* of *Steele* (in *spirituall cases*) is drawn in stead of the *spirituall Sword*, proceeding out of the Mouth of *Christ Jesus* in his *servants Testimonie*. All such worship, is but vaine or idle worship (*Mark*. 7.) and such is the *carnall Sword* and *Executions* of it.

Peace. Whereas it was observed, that M^r *Cotton* acknowledged that *Queene Elizabeth* had well neere fired all *Europe*, by such *Executions*, M^r *Cotton* answers, *God* bore witnesse to his *Truth* in *Deliverances*: And when it was replied, that *Successe* doth not prove *causes* true, M^r *Cotton* answers, yes; *Psal*. 1. 3, 4. *Jer*. 22. 15, 16, 17.

Truth. I reply, *Temporall prosperitie*, *successe*, &c. were proper in that *Temporall* and *Civill State*, of that *Nationall Church*, and *spirituall Blessing* and *prosperitie* proper in the *Gospel* now, *Ephes*. 1.

Peace. 2. It was answered that *God* had given *victorie* to the *Papists*, especially against the *Waldenses* (and the *Beast* makes warre against the *Witnesses*, *Revel*. 11. and *overcomes* them, &c.) M^r *Cotton* herein first observeth a *Contradiction*, in the words, to wit, that the *Papists* ever had the *victorie*, and yet their *successe* hath been *various*.

Truth. I reply; the words are not that the *Papists* had *ever* the *Victory*, but that they ever had both *Victory* and *Dominion*; which words may be true, although that the *Event* were sometimes *various*.

2. *Peace*. Again (sayth M^r *Cotton*) *Queene Elizabeth* ever had the *Victorie* against the *Papists*.

Truth. I answer; Many gracious *Deliverances* *God* vouchsafed² to Q: *Elizabeth*, yet sometimes her *Armies* prospered not against the *Papists*, as in that famous *Expedition* of *Essex*, *Drake* and *Norris* (though in a most righteous cause,) against the *Papists* of *Spaine* and *Portugall*, as also against the *Papists* in *Ireland* and the *Low Countries*, at sometimes.

2. Grant not onely *Deliverances*, but *Victories* and *Successe*, Her *cause* (how ever intermingled) was civill *Defence* of her
Kingdome,

1. A true Christ, a true Sword; a false Christ, a false Sword.

2. Q: *Elizabeth her wars against the Papists*.

Kingdome, against *Invasion* and *Ambition*, *Dominion* and *Conquest*, by *practices* of *Tyrannie* and *oppression*, both against the *English* and the *Hollanders* (especially) as appeared by the horrible *Exactions*, *Outrages*, *Murthers* and *Slaughters* committed upon them by *D'alva* the King of *Spaines* Generall.

Peace. But although the *Papists* (sayth M^r *Cotton*) fought with *various* successe, yet it is *Gods* manner to nurture his *People* with some *crosses*, to teach them not to fight in their owne *strength*, &c.

Truth Yea and it might also teach them not to fight but with *Christs* Weapons in *Christs* Cause; who hath said, That all that take the *Sword*, that is, (as I conceive) in *Christs* cause, shall perish by it, *Matth.* 26. 52.

3. *Peace*. Concerning the *Walldenses* M^r *Cotton* sayth, They¹ never lost *Victorie*, but when they complied with the *Papists*, and trusted more to their *false praetences*, then to the Lord. And he adds, that it is not true, that the *finall successe* of *Victorie* fell to the *Papists*, to the *utter extirpation* of those *Walldenses*; for sayth he, those *Witnesses* were not *extirpated* but *dispersed*.

Truth. For their *Complying* with *Papists*, alas, what can *Gods* little flock, his two *Witnesses* doe with *carnall weapons*, unlesse assisted by *carnall Men*, to whom this *carnall course* causeth them to *bow downe*, *dissemble*, *lye*, &c. as holy *David* with *Achish* and his *Philistims*.

2. For the *Successe* it is evident that the *Waldenses* and their *Adherents*, were so defeated by the *Popes* Armies, that in respect of any *power* to resist, the *Armies* of the *Waldenses* were wholly *extirpated*, although it is true (through *Gods* o're-powring hand) the *Truths* of *Christ* (which the holy *Waldensian* *Witnesses* testified) were more and more propagated by their *Dispersions*,² *Christ Jesus* gaines more by *preaching* his *Truth* in a *flying persecuted dispersion*, then by *fighting* on *Horsbacke* with *carnall weapons* in *carnall companies*, &c.

4. *Peace*. But, whereas it was observed from *Daniell* and *John* their *Prophecies*, that *Antichrist* was foretold to obtaine great successe against *Christ Jesus*, for a time determined: M^r *Cotton* sayth, Not against *Christ Jesus*, but his *Servants*, and that either in *Suffring* for his *Truth*, or when they ill handled his *Cause*.

Truth.

1. *The Warres of the Waldenses*.

2. *Acts* 8. & 11.

Truth. Be it so, yet the *Prophesies* were true, and truely were fullfilled, and it is *Gods Counsell* that for the time appointed, *Christ Jesus* in his *Truths* and *Servants* is *despised*, Psal. 89. &c. How can then *temporall victorie* and *prosperitie* be expected by *Christs followers* for *Christs Cause*, or the *temporall Sword* be an *Ordinance* for *Christs spirituall Kingdome* and *Worship*?

5. *Peace.* Now lastly, when the *weapons* of the *Saints Victories*¹ were mentioned three; (*Revel.* 12.) 1. *Christs Bloud*. 2. The *Word* of their *Testimonie*. 3. Their *owne Bloud*: M^r *Cotton* answers; this is true in *private Christians*: But (sayth he) the *Sword* of *Gideon*, the *publike Magistrate* is the *Lords Sword*, &c. when drawn out for *Gods cause* and *Worship*, according to *God*, is *Victorious*, *Revel.* 17. with *Revel.* 19. 14. 19, 20.

Truth. I answer; *Gideons Sword* (if well examined) will be found a *Figure* of that *sharpe Sword* of that great *Captaine* and *Generall Christ Jesus*. This *Sword* comes forth of his *Mouth* in the² *Preachings* and *Writings* of his *Servants*; other sword we never finde he used in all his *Battells* against all his *Adversaries*: yea even against the *Devill* himselfe and his *Instruments*.

Peace. Yea, those very *Victories* of the *Saints*, *Revel.* 19. are³ expressly won with that *Sword* which comes forth of his *Mouth*: And his *owne white Horse*, and the *Horses* of his *Followers*, and the *white Linnen* with which they are clothed, cannot with any shew of *Christian Reason* hould forth the *carnall praeparation* of *white Horses*, (literally) *Guns*, *Swords*, &c. But of the *Word* of *Meeknesse*, *Innocencie* and *Righteousnesse* (which is interpreted the *Fine Linnen*, vers. 8.)

Truth. To shut up this Chapter, *Gideons Armie* and *Artillerie* and *Victorie*, cannot be *type* of such *Materiall Armies*, *Artillerie*,⁴ and *Victories*, but of a *Spirituall Armie*, fighting with the *Light* and *Testimonie* of *Gods Truth* openly *proclaimed*, and the chearefull breaking of the *earthen Vessells* of their *Bodies* for *Christs Cause*, when in *conclusion*, the *Antichristian Midianites* (by their *Divisions* and *Combustions*) run their *Swords* in each others *Bowells*, with *mutuall slaughters* and *Destructions*; as woefull experiences hath declared.

Exam:

1. Christian weapons.

2. Christs Sword.

3. *Christs Warres and Victories*, *Revel.* 17.

4. *Gideons Army* typicall.

Exam: of Chap. 65. replying to Chap. 68.

Peace. FROM the *Argument* of the *Testimonie* of *Kings* and *Princes* concerning *persecution* for *matters* of *Religion* in their *Kingdomes* and *Dominions*, the *Prisoner* descended to the *Argument* from *ancient Writers*: unto some of which sayth the *Discussor*, the *Answerer* pleaseth to make *Answer*: Unto this *M^r Cotton* replies; As if any of them were *omitted*, or as if all of them were not *answered*: Compare the *Prisoners Letter* and mine together, and see if I have balked any one of them.

Truth. M^r Cotton would here insinuate a *false Charge*: I have compared the *Prisoners Letter*, and the *Answer*, and although M^r Cotton hath said *some-thing* to *some-thing*, which every one of them spake: Yet he that impartially will view the *Passages* shall finde, that although in strictnesse of *Gammar Rules*, he may not be said to omit to say something to each of them, yet in respect of *Matter* and *Argument*, he hath toucht but some, and that but lightly, as the *Candle of Examination* will make it appeare.

Peace. Hilarius words in the Letter are these: “*The Christian Church doth not persecute, but is persecuted: and lamentable it is to see the great folly of these Times, and to fight at the foolish opinion of this World, in that Men thinke by humane ayde to helpe God, and with worldly pompe and power to undertake to defend the Christian Church: I aske you Bishops, what helpe used the Apostles in the publishing of the Gospel? With the ayde of what power did they Preach Christ, and convert the Heathen from their Idolatrie to God? When they were in prisons, and lay in chaines, did they praise or give thanks to God for any Dignities or Graces and Favours received from the Court? Or doe you thinke that Paul went about with Regall Mandates or Kingly Authoritie, to gather and establish the Church of Christ? Sought he protection from Nero, Vespasian, &c? The Apostles wrought with their own hands for their Maintenance, travelled by Land, and wandred from Towne to Cittie to preach Christ: Yea the more they were forbidden, the more they taught and preached Christ: But now alas Humane helpe must assist and protect the Faith, and give countenance to it,*

E e

and

I. The Christian Church doth not persecute, but is persecuted.

“and by vaine and *worldly Honours* doe men seeke to defend
 “the *Church of Christ*, as if he by his *power* were unable to per-
 “forme it.

Truth. How many goulden heavenly *Sentences* (like so many precious *Jewells*) are treasured up, in the *Cabinet* of this holy *Testimonie* of *Hilarius*? And yet, but some of them, nay onely one of them doth M^r *Cotton* choose to answer, to wit, this, The *Christian Church* doth not *persecute*, but is *persecuted*.

Truth. Deare *Peace*, Each *inch* and *shread* of heavenly *Gold* is *precious*, forget not therefore the *Addition* in the *Letter*, *Hilarie* “against the *Arrians* thus: The *Church* which formerly by en-
 “during *miserie* and *Imprisonment*, was knowne to be the true¹
 “*Church*, doth now *terrifie* others by *Imprisonment*, *Banishment*,
 “and *Miserie*, and boasteth that shee is *highly esteemed* of the
 “*World*, whereas the *true Church* cannot but be *hated* of the
 “same. In which and other *Passages* of *Hilarius* M^r *Cotton* might see as in a *Glasse*, the foule *spots* of his owne and *New Englands* face, in a most lively *Testimonie* against both *bloudie Tenents* and *practices*.

Peace. To close upon the *Point*: M^r *Cotton* sayth, He cannot make it a *marke* of a *Christian Church* to be *persecuted*, for (*Acts* 9 31.) the *Churches* had rest, &c. Nor a *marke* of a *false Church* to *persecute*; for, *Asa* persecuted the *Prophet* (2 *Chron.* 16. 10.) *Acts* 7. 51. the *true Church* persecuted the *Prophets*.

Truth. When the *Scripture* or *common Reason* speakes of a *common marke* or *Character*, proper to one they deny not; but in an *Act*, or unusuall cases that *Marke* or *Character* may be² worne by the *Contraries*. *Noah* was drunk; *Abraham* lyes; *David* commits *Adulterie*: yet *lying*, *drunkennesse* and *whoredome* were not their ordinarie *Characters*, but the *Markes* of the *common Lyars*, *Drunkards* and *Adulterers* of this *World*: *David* stobd *Uriah* with his *Pen*, and *Asa* imprisoned the *Prophet*; yet these *Acts* were not their ordinarie *Badges*, but rather *Spots* or *Blemishes*, *Warts*, or *Scabs*, which grew on and were cast off (like *Pauls Viper*) without the note of a *constant marke* or *character*.

It is the *propertie* of *Fire* to ascend, and *Water* to descend, yet the *Scripture* relates of the *descending* of *Fire*, and the *ascending* of *Water*, which takes not away the *ordinarie Nature* of the
 marke

1. Worldly glory and persecution characters of the false Church.

2. The sins of Gods children.

marke and character of Fires ascending, and Waters descending the Hills and Mountaines.

An arrant *Whore* is not alwayes in actuall *Whoredome* and *Bloud*, though both are her *Markes* and *Dispositions*: A chaste wife or *Virgin* abhorres both, and yet by force or great *Temptation*, may be *vanquished* (as *Bathsheba*) which afterwards the *Teares* of godly *Sorrow* and *Repentance* wash away.

Peace. Yea but, the *Question* is (sayth M^r *Cotton*) whether *Magistrates* may not punish arrogant *Hereticks* and *Seducers*?

Truth. In all ages *God* hath permitted, *Goulden Images* (like¹ *Nebuchadnezzars*) to be set up, I say *State Worshipps* and *Religions*! And he hath also provided his *Witnesses* to testifie his *Truth* against such *Abominations*: Such *Witnesses* dissenting, *Non-conforming*, and refusing to come to the *Common Assemblies* of such *Worshippers* (to come to *Church* in plaine *English*) to yeeld *Conformitie*, to *Subscribe*, to *Sweare*, &c. are commonly cryed downe for *Hereticks*, *Schismaticks*, &c. And if they open their *Lips* in defence of their owne *Conscience*, and profession of *Gods Truth*! *Seducers*, *Seducers*, *Blasphemers*, *Blasphemers*.

2. *Peace.* But 2. sayth M^r *Cotton*) it is another begging of the *Question*, to take it for granted, that it is a *marke* of no true *Church* to procure the *Civill punishment* of incorrigible, obstinate *Hereticks* and *Seducers*.

Truth. I intend by a *marke* of *character*, an inbred constant *disposition*, put forth in a *constant* and *ordinarie practice*: And then² I dare challenge M^r *Cotton* to produce any true *Church of Christ*, eyther in *Scripture* or *Historie*, that did *ordinarily* and *constantly* *professe* and *practice* to stirre up the *Civill Magistrate* against such whom they judged incorrigible *obstinate Hereticks* and *Seducers*.

Peace. That which follows is full of *Wonder* and *Astonishment*, for M^r *Cotton* confessing the *Christian Church* doth not *persecute*, that is (sayth he) *persecute* in *Excommunicating* the³ *Heretick*) it was replied; this is but an *Evasion*, for who denies *Power* to *Christs Church* to *Excommunicate*? or who understands by *Excommunication*, *persecution* for *Conscience*? M^r *Cotton* answers; the *Prisoner* did nōt expresse himselfe, what *persecution* he meant, and also since *false Excommunication* is a great *persecution*, and so *Christ Jesus* himselfe esteemes of it, *Luk. 21. 22.*

E e 2

Truth.

1. Christs Witnesses.

2. A true Wife of Christ no persecutour.

3. Touching persecution what it is.

Truth. I have formerly and must againe appeale to the *nature* of the *word*, commonly used and taken, and aske, if *persecution* properly so taken be not a *corporeall violence*, or *hunting* for *Religion* and *Conscience* sake! And then halfe an eye will see through this poore and thin *excuse* and *covering*, notwithstanding that false *excommunication* be a *spirituall persecution*, and the abuse of the *spirituall Sword* be also *deeper* and *fouler* then the *abuse* of the *civill* and *materiall*.

Peace. To this (upon the Point) M^r *Cotton* consented, to wit, that *Hilarius* complaint, speaketh not to *Excommunication*, but *civill censures*, and therefore answers, first by *proportion* that *excommunication* of an *Heretick* is no *persecution*, and therefore by *proportion* neither is the *civill punishment* of an *Heretick*, *persecution*. By *concession* of *Hilaries* words, that the *Apostles* did not, and we may not propagate *Religion* by the *Sword*.

Truth. The Question with *Hilarie* was not whether a true Church did *persecute* an *Heretick Idolater*, *Blasphemer*, &c. but whether a true Church persecuted at all by *civill censures*: Now¹ there being two *States*, the *Civill* or *Corporeall*, and the *Ecclesiasticall* or *spirituall*: There are consequently two sorts of *Lawes*, two sorts of *Transgressions*, two sorts of *punishments*, to wit, *Civill* and *Spirituall*, and there must of necessitie be two sorts of *false* or *corrupt punishments*, which are not *just punishments*, but *oppressions*, *persecutions* or *huntings*, to wit, the *Civill persecution* and the *spirituall*: Now M^r *Cotton* (confounding *Heaven* and *Earth* together) deceives himselfe and others by a notion of *spirituall persecution*, to wit, by *Excommunication*, contrary to *Hilaries* scope, and the scope of this whole *Dispute* and *Controversie*.

I may illustrate it thus: Some *Tutours* of *Kings Children*, not being authorized to correct the *Bodies* of such young *Princes*, are said sometimes (not without some desert) to correct the *Bodies* of *Inferiours* (the young *Princes Favourites*,) by which the minds of such young *Princes* smarted sufficiently, if not *exceedingly*.² I parallell not the *similitude* in all respects, but to illustrate the *difference* and *distinction*, between a *spirituall punishment* of the *minde*, and *spirit*, *soule* and *affections*, with which *Christ Jesus* hath furnished his *Churches*: and that *Civill* or *corporall punishment*, which he never gave them power to inflict (unlesse in *miraculous dispensation*) over the *Bodies* of any, *directly* or *indirectly* by *Themselves* or *others*. *Peace.*

1. Difference between a civill and spirituall State.

2. The nature of spirituall punishment.

Peace. It is an everlasting Truth; *Rightly distinguish, rightly Teach:* but let us view M^r Cottons Second Answer, He grants that the *Christian Religion* was not, nor is not to be *propagated* by the *Sword*.

Truth. Then let *Heaven* and *Earth* judge, if M^r Cotton may not (in this case) out of his owne mouth be judged, since in this whole *Discourse* he sets the visible *Headship* of *Christ Jesus* (that golden *Head*, Cant. 5.) over the *Church* and all her *Officers*,¹ *Doctrines* and *Practices*, (in the power of *Correcting*, *Reforming*, &c.) on the *shoulders* of the *Civill State*, the *Ministers* and *Officers* thereof: provided that they execute not this *Headship* or *Government*, except they be able to judge, that is, (in *English*) provided they be of his *Conscience* and *Judgement*, and so consequently will judge and execute, according to the *Clergies* (though implicate) *decree* and *sentence*.

Peace. It is not much unlike that M^r Cotton affirmeth in the² words following: for although he confesseth it is not proper for *Christian Churches* to inflict *Civill punishments* by *Themselves*, yet makes he (as all *Popes* and *Popish persecutours* have done) the *Magistrates* and *Civill powers*, their *servants* and *slaves* for execution, &c.

Truth. This M^r Cotton covers over with this *Similitude*, saying that although it is not proper for *Lambes* to teare *Wolves*, yet if they were reasonable they would run to their *Shepheards* to send out their *Dogs* after them.

Now under this fine *Paint* and *vizard* of *Lambe like dispositions* of *Shepheards*, the *Bishops*, *Presbyterians*, and *Independents*, may render the *Civill Magistrate* not as *Shepheards*, but no other upon the point and in *plaine English*, then their *servants* and *Executioners*, to punish such on whom the *Clergie* first have past their *Sentence*. The bloudie *Papists* have commonly used to persecute *Christ Jesus* *formally* and *judicially*, delivering over *Christ Jesus* (in his *Servants*,) orderly to *Pontius Pilate*, the *Secular Power*. The *Protestant persecutors* use a *finer vaile* (every ugly *vizard* will not so deceive) for though they practice not so *above boord*, in respect of a formall and *judiciall* delivering of *Christ* (the *Heretick*) unto their *Shepherd Pontius Pilate* the *Secular power*, yet they doe it, and doe it as substantially and fully by *preaching* and *chalking* out to then *servants* the *Magistrates*

1. The nature of Christs spirituall Government.

2. The Civill Powers and Officers the Clergies Executioners.

strates, their task, I say, as fully as ever the bloudie Popes, the Bishops; or their Chancellours did.

Peace. But why (sayth M^r Cotton) should a *Christian Church* spare an *Idolater* tempting of her now, any more then the eye of an holy *Israelite* was to spare the like *Tempters* in the dayes of old, *Deut.* 13. 3?

Truth. M^r Cotton cannot get over this *block*, though it be but a *shadow*, yea the *shadow* of a *shadow*, abolished by *Christ Jesus*:¹ M^r Cotton a little before grants that the *power* of *spirituall chaines* far exceeds the power of *materiall*, and if so how cleere is it, that the *spirituall impartialtie* and *severitie* of a *Virgin Israelite* now, is incomparablie *sharper* and more *dreadfull*, by putting *spiritually* to Death such as *Tempt* them from the Lord their God, who hath brought them forth of *Aegypt* into *spirituall Canaan*, then the *impartialtie* and *severitie* of any *literall Israelite*, against such as tempted them from the Lord, who in a Type had brought them forth of *materiall Aegypt* into *materiall Canaan*?

I adde (sweete *Peace*) to end this Chapter, If the *Father of Lights* graciously please to open a *crevis* of *Light* to that (otherwise) *excellent* and *piercing* eye of M^r Cotton in this *Controversie*, he will confesse concerning this cutting off in *Israel* these two things.

First, that the cutting off in *materiall Israel*, was by *Swords*,² *Stones*, &c. a cutting off from the *holy Land*, and a casting out of *Gods sight*, which *cutting off* God executed either by legall *Judgement* and *Sentence* among Themselves, or by furious hand of *persecutours* and *oppressours*, *slaughtering* or *captivating* that People.

Secondly, That there is no other cutting off in the *Gospel*, but by the *spirituall Sword* of the *Word & Ordinances* of *Christ*, or the violent hand of *Oppressours*, *Antichristians*, &c. carrying Gods *Israel* captive into *mysticall Babylon*, or *Aegypt* of false *Worship*, or *worldly corruption*, which is ten thousand-fold more terrible and *dreadfull*, then the *literall* and *materiall Captivitie* of *Israel*.

Exam:

1. Spirituall Judgements more terrible since Christ, then corporall before his coming.

2. The cutting off or Excommunicating from the holy Land of Israel figurative and typically.

Exam: of Chap. 66. replying to Chap. 69.

Peace. HERE M^r Cotton complaines of wrong, in that the Discusser chargeth him to plead for *persecution*, and yet confesseth that he agrees with *Hilarie*.

Truth. M^r Cotton indeed agrees with *Hilarie* in generall profession, that the Gospel is not to be propagated by *Sword*, but in particulars he affirms, the *Blasphemer*, the *Idolater*, the *Heretick*, the *Seducer* is to be *persecuted*. In the generall he saith, the *Magistrate* may not *constraine* any to *believe & professe* the *Truth*, yet in particulars; thus far saith he, a man may be *constrained* by the¹ *Magistrates* withdrawing *Countenance* and *Favour*, *Incouragement* and *Employment* from him, which affirming, what doth he else but affirme that he may be *constrained*, *deposed*, *punished*, that is, *persecuted*.

Peace. Indeed such kinde of *punishment*, as to displace men, to keepe them out from all *offices*, or *places* of *Trust* and *Credit* (because of *difference* of *Conscience*) may prove in the particular a *greater affliction* and *punishment*, then a *Censure*, a *Fine*, *Imprisonment*, yea sometimes more bitter to some *Spirits* then *Death* it selfe.

Truth. Yea and M^r Cottons ground is both *unsafe* and *darke*, and needs a *candle* of *Light* to discover the *bottom* and *compasse* of it: Such, saith he, as walke not according to their *Light*, are neither true *servants* to *God* nor *Man*, but

First, what meanes here M^r Cotton by *Light*? *Light* in this² sence is commonly taken two wayes.

First, For that is *Light* indeed, to wit, the precious *Light* of *Gods* revealed will.

Secondly, That which so appeares to be, to a mans minde and *Conscience*, but may be a *falsehood*, a *lye*, a *mistake*, and *darknesse*. M^r Cotton had done well to have distinguished, for (before) he blamed King *James* for walking according to his *Light*: and although (upon the point) he makes the *Civill Magistrates* in all parts of the *World*, the *Heads*, *Protectours*, and *Governours* of *Christs Church*, yet if the eyes of these *Heads* see not by his *Light*, he cuts off these *Heads*, forbidding them to act as *Heads*, and to walke according to their *Light*, they must (as
often

1. A twofold way of constraint.

2. What it is to walke according to a mans *Light*.

often he tells us) suspend, untill they have *Light*, &c.

2. *Peace*. Beside, it comes oft to passe, that the *Light* which¹ shines by *preaching* or *practice* of others, although it be a meane sufficient to *convince*, if *God* please to blesse it, yet untill the *Consciences* of men be *convinced* of the *Light* of it, I Judge it cannot properly be said to be the *Light* of their *Consciences*, nor they to sin against the *Light* of their *Consciences*.

3. *Truth*. Yea, and there is a *morall vertue*, a *morall fidelitie*, *abilitie* and *honestie*, which other men (beside *Church members*) are, by good *nature* and *education*, by good *Lawes* and good *examples* nourished and trained up in, that *Civill places* of *Trust* and *Credit* need not to be *Monopolized* into the hands of *Church-Members* (who sometimes are not fitted for them) and all others deprived and despoiled of their *naturall & Civill Rights* and *Liberties*.

Peace. But what say you (Deare *Truth*) to M^r *Cottons Apologie* for *New England* (for as for *constraint* in *old* he is silent) he sayth he knowes not of any *constraint* upon any to come to *Church*, to pay *Church Duties*, and sayth it is not so in his *Towne*.

Truth. If M^r *Cotton* be *forgetfull*, sure he can hardly be *ignorant* of the *Lawes* and *Penalties* extant in *New England* that are (or if *repeald* have been) against such as absent Themselves from *Church Morning* and *Evening*, and for *Non-payment* of *Church-Duties*, although no *Members*.

For a *Freedome* of *Not paying* in his *Towne*, it is to their *commendation*² and *Gods praise*, who hath shewed him and others more of his holy *Truth*: Yet who can be ignorant of the *Sessments* upon all in other *Townes*, of the many *Suits* and *Sentences* in *Courts* (for *Non-payment* of *Church-Duties*) even against such as are no *Church Members*? Of the *Motions* and *pleadings* of some (not the meanest of their *Ministers*) for *Tithes*? And how ever for my part I beleieve M^r *Cotton* ingeniously willing, that none be forced expresly to pay to his *Maintenance*, yet I question whether he would work if he were not well payd: And I could relate also what is commonly reported abroad, to wit, that the rich *Merchants* and *people* of *Boston* would never give so *freely*, if they were *forced*, yet now they are forced to give for shame (I take it) in the *Publike Congregation*.
The

1. Conviction twofold: Sufficient in it selfe: or to the partie efficacious.

2. Touching the Maintenance of the new English Ministers.

The *Indians* of this *Countrie* have a Way calld *Nanówwē*, or *Giving* their *Commodities freely*, by which they get better *bargaines*, then if they stood stiffly on their *Tearmes* of *Anaqushento*, or *Trading*: And when not *satisfied* to the *utmost*, they *grudge*, *revile*, &c. It cannot be, but that to such *Deceitfulness* of *Heart* M^r *Cotton* is subject as well as others, though *Love* bids me, and others, to hope the best.

Peace. The close of this Chapter seemes *strange* and *wonderfull*,¹ for M^r *Cotton* acknowledged that *Propagation* of *Religion* ought not to be by the *Sword*, and yet instantly againe maintaines he the use of the *Sword* when persons (which then “must be judged by the *Civill State*) blaspheme the true *God* “and the true *Religion*, and also seduce others to damnable “*Heresie* and *Idolatrie*: But this (sayth he) is not the *Propagation* of *Religion*, but the preserving of it, and if it doe “conduce to *Propagation*, it is onely *Removendo prohibens*.

Truth. What is this *Removendo prohibens*, but as the *weeding* of a *Field* or *Garden*? And every *Husbandman* will say, that the end of such his *work*, is the *propagation* and *increase* of his *graine* and *fruit*, as well as the making of his *fence*, and *planting* and *sowing* of his *Field* or *Garden*: What therefore is this *Confession*, (though with this *Distinction*) but in truth an acknowledgement of what in *Words* and *Tearmes*, he yet denies (with *Hilarie*) to wit, a propagating of *Christian Religion* and *Truth* by the *Civill Sword*?

2. Besides it is the same *hand* and *power* that plucks up the *weedes*, and *plants* the *Corne*, and consequently, that same *hand* and *Sword* that *destroyes* the *Heretick*, may make the *Christian*, &c.

Exam: of Chap. 67. replying to Chap. 70.

Peace. CONCERNING *Tertullians* speech, and especially that *Branch*, to win, that [By the Law of *naturall equitie*, Men are not to be compelled to any *Religion*, but permitted to *believe* or not *believe* at all] M^r. *Cotton* answers, that they doe permit the *Indians*, but it will not therefore be safe to tolerate the *publicke Worship* of *Devills* or *Idolls*. The Discusser replied,

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that

1. Of propagating Religion by the Sword.

that they doe permit the *Indians* in their *Paganish Worship*, and¹ therefore were partiall to their *Countrymen* and *others*: M^r Cotton answers; that it is not true, that they doe so permit the *Indians*, what ever they may doe privately: That the *Indians* submit to the ten *Commandements*, and that some of their *Ministers* have preached to them in *English*, which hath been *interpreted*: That one now preacheth in their owne *Language*: Further, That they permit *strangers* in their *Worship*. And for their *Countrymen*, for the most part that they worship *God* with them: They which are distant have *Libertie* of *publike prayer* and *preaching*, by such as themselves choose without *disturbance*.

Truth. Concerning the *Indians*, it is most true, that the *Monahigganéucks*, *Mishawomêucks*, *Pawtuckséucks*, and *Cawsumséucks* (who professe to submit to the *English*) continue in their publike *Paganish Worship* of *Devills*, I say *openly* and *constantly*.

Peace. Yea but (saith M^r Cotton) they have submitted to the ten *Commandements*.

Truth. I answer; the ten *Commandements* containe a *Renunciation* of all salse *Gods* and *Worships*, and a *Worshipping* of the true *God*, according to his owne *Institutions* and *Appointments*, which their practice is as farre from, as *Mid-night* is from *Mid-day*.

2. To put men upon *observations* of *Gods Worship*, as *Prayer*,² &c. before the *Foundations* of *Repentance* from *dead workes* (their *worshipping* of *Idolls*, &c.) is as farre from the *Order* of *Christ Jesus*, and his *Christian principles* (whereof *Repentance* from *dead workes* is the first) as the building of an *House* or *Palace*, without the first *Groundsell* or *Foundation* laid.

Peace. M^r Cotton therefore saith, they *preach* unto them.

Truth. I from my soule wish that all the *Lords* people in *New England* were *Prophets*, yea true *Apostolicall Ministers* or *Preachers*, truly furnished with *Christs Abilities*, and *Christs Commission*, to goe forth to convert and baptize the *Nations*, even these *Wildest* of the *Nations* of *Adams Children*: But *Conversion* of *Nations* M^r Cotton sayth (upon *Revel.* 15.) untill the *seaven plagues* of the *seaven Angells* be fullfilled, will not be great.

This

1. Touching the *Indians* of *New-England*

2. Worshipping of God and Christ before the foundation of Repentance, is nothing but Antichristian disorder.

This *Interpretation* I acknowledge to be very *probable*, so far as concerns any great *Conversion* of the *Nations* before the downfall of *Antichrist*, and in the meane season I commend the pious *Endeavours* of any (professing *Ministry* or not) to doe good to the *Soules* of all Men as We have *opportunitie*. But that any of the *Ministers* spoken of are furnished with true *Apostolicall Commission* (Matth. 28.) I see not for these Reasons.

First, The *Minister* or *Ministers*, whom M^r *Cotton* I conceive¹ intends, professe an ordinarie *Office* in the *Church* of *Christ*, which is cleerely distinct, yea and another thing from the office of an *Apostle*, or one sent forth to *preach* and *baptize*, Ephes. 4. & 1 *Cor.* 12.

Secondly, Such *Churches* as are invested with the power of *Christ*, and so authoriz'd to send forth, are separte from the *World*, which many thousands of *Gods* people (dead and living) have seene just Reasons to deny those *Churches* so to be.

Thirdly, Were the *Church* true, and the *Messenger* or *Apostle* rightly sent forth with *prayer* and *fasting*, according to *Act.* 13. yet I believe that none of the *Ministers* of *New England*, nor any person in the whole *Countrey* is able to open the *Mysteries* of *Christ Jesus* in any proprietic of their *speech* or *Language*, without which *proprietie* it cannot be imagined that *Christ Jesus* sent forth his first *Apostles* or *Messengers*, and without which no people in the *World* are long willing to heare of *difficult* and heavenly matters. That none is so fitted;

First, The *Natives* themselves affirme, as I could instance in many particulars.

Secondly, The *Experience* of the *Discusser* and of many others testifie how hard it is for any man to attaine a little *proprietie* of their *Language* in common things (so as to escape *Derision* amongst them) in many yeares, without abundance of *conversing* with them, in *Eating*, *travelling* and *lodging* with them, &c. which none of their *Ministers* (other affaires not permitting) ever could doe.

Peace. There being no helpe of *Art* and *learning* amongst them, I see not how without constant *use* or a *Miracle*, any man is able to attaine to any *proprietie* of *speech* amongst them, even in common things. And without *proprietie* (as before) who knowes not how hardly all men (especially *Barbarians*)

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are

1. Touching preaching to the *Indians* in *New-England*.

are brought to heare *matters of Heaven* (so *strange* and contrary¹ to *Nature*) yea, even *matters of the Earth*, except profit and other *worldly ends* compell them to spell out Mens *minds* and *meaning*?

Truth. 3. I may truely adde a third, an *Instance* in the booke of their *Conversion*, written by M^r *Tho: Shepheard*, there M^r *Eliot* (the ablest amongst them in the *Indian Speech*) promising an old *Indian* a suit of Cloths, the man (sayth the relation) not well understanding M^r *Eliots* speech, asked another *Indian* what M^r *Eliot* said.

Peace. Me thinks, the *Native* not understanding such a *common* and *wellcome* promise of cloths upon *Gift*, would farre more hardly understand M^r *Eliots* preaching of the *garment of Righteousnesse Christ Jesus*, unto which Men mutually turne the deafe Eare, &c.

Truth. Neither you (sweet *Peace*) nor I Expresse thus much to dampe M^r *Eliot* or any from doing all the good they can, whiles opportunitie lasts in any truely *Christian* way, but to shew how great that mistake is, that pretends such a true preaching of *Christ Jesus* to them in their owne *Language*.

Peace. But to proceed, in the next *Passage* M^r *Cotton* affirms their *Impartialitie* in permitting others as well as the *Indians*.

Truth. I answer; it is one thing to connive at a *strange Papist* in private *devotions* on shoare, or in their *vessells* at Anchor, &c. Another thing to permit *Papists, Jewes, Turkes, &c.* the free and constant *Exercise* of their *Religion* and *Worship*, in their respective Orders and Assemblies, were such Inhabitants amongst them.

Peace. Doubtlesse the *bloudie Tenent* cannot permit this *Libertie*, neither to the *Papists, Jewes, Turkes, &c.* nor to the *Indians*, nor doth their *practice* toward their *Countrymen* hould forth a shew of such a *freedome* or *permission*.

Truth. I wonder why M^r *Cotton* writes, that the most part of the *English* worship *God* with them, and the rest absent have *Libertie* to choose their *Preachers*! Since M^r *Cotton* knowes the *Petition* and *Petitions* that have been presented for *Libertie* of *Conscience* in *New England*, and he cannot but also know the *Imprisoning* and *Fining* of some of the *Petitioners, &c.*

Peace.

1. Propriety of Language necessary to the true preaching of Christ Jesus to any people.

Peace. It may be M^r Cotton will use the *common objection*, that some part of their *Petition* tended to *Disturbance* in Civill Things.

Truth. Some of their *Petitions* were purely for *Libertie* of *Conscience*, which some in *Office*, both in *Church* and *State* favoured, as is reported, if not promoted. If others or some part of them might be judged *offensive* against *Lawes* made, yet why then hath not the *Libertie* of their *Conscience* (in point of *Worship*) been granted to them? When they have complained (amongst other *Passages*) that they have been forced to stay the *baptizing* of other Mens *children*, while their owne might not be admitted, and therefore earnestly sued for *Ministers* and *Congregations* after their owne free *choice* and *Consciences*, which have ever been denied to them.

Peace. It is said, that their *Ministers* being consulted with, utterly denied to yeeld to any such *Libertie*.

Truth. They might justly feare, that if such a *window* were opened (as once Bishop *Gardiner* spake in another case) that the *New English Congregations* and *Churches* would be as thin; as the *Presbyterians* complained theirs to have been, when the people once began to taste the *Freedome* and *Libertie* of their *Consciences*, from the slaves whip, &c.

Peace. In the next *Passage*, the *Discusser* having excepted against M^r *Cottons* distinguishing betweene Members of the *Church*, and such as have given their names to *Christ*; M^r *Cotton* replies; they are not all one, and quotes, *Esa.* 65. 5, 6.

Truth. Let the place be viewed, and that place will be found² to speake of no such *Difference*: It speaks of the *Lords* promise to *Eunuches* and *Strangers*, laying hould on the *Lords Covenant*, and joyning themselves to the *Lord*, which I conceive M^r *Cotton* will not deny to be in a *Church way*; in which *condition* the *Lord* gives the *Eunuches* a name better then of *Sonnes* and *Daughters*.

Peace. In the next *Passage* M^r *Cotton* upon *Tertullians* speech, affirmes, that a false *Religion* will hurt, because the *Red Horse* follows the *White*, &c.

Truth. I answer; *Gods Judgements* (by *Warre*, *Famine*, *Pestilence*) plaguing false *Religions* in his time (though after many hundreth yeares *patience*, as hath formely been opened) is
one

1. Conscience to God in Worship a close Prisoner in *New-England*, and no Petitioner could obtaine its *Libertie*.

2. Publike marriage, or giving ones selfe to Christ.

one thing: and the present *hurting* or *profiting* of *others*, is another.

Peace. In the next place M^r Cotton takes *offence* that the Discusser should insinuate M^r Cotton to have a hand in the *Modell of Church Government*.

Truth. I answer; M^r Cottons words in the End of his *Answer* to the *Prisoner*, (where he speakes of this *Treatise* or *Modell*, sent to some of the *Brethren* of *Salem*) seemed to hould out the *probabilitie* of it. How ever M^r Cotton subscribeth to the rest of the *Elders*, (as he here sayth) their *words* being rightly understood.

Peace. Further, M^r Cotton here affirmes, that the want of a *Law* for *Religion* in any *State* provokes the *Wrath* of *God*, as the want of a *King* in *Israel*, Judg. 21. 25.¹

Truth. This *Scripture* proves no more, but that the want of a *King*, *Magistrate*, *Governour*, or *Civill Officer* of *Justice*, provokes the *Wrath* of *God*, and endangereth the people, against which the Discusser never affirmed, but against their *Kingly* or *Civill Authoritie* in *spirituall* cases, since *Christ Jesus* abolished that *Nationall Church*.

Peace. But sayth M^r Cotton, the *best Good* of a *Citie* is *Religion*, and therefore there should be a *Law* for it.

Truth. To this I have spoken largely in discussing of that *Modell*, unto which I know not of any *Reply* yet made by *Himselfe*, or any of those worthy men whom he makes the *Authours* of it.

Peace. But further, whereas the Discusser had said that the² *weedes* of the *Wildernesse* will not hurt the *Garden*, nor *poyson* the *Body*, if not suffred to grow in the *Garden*, nor taken into the *Body*, M^r Cotton grants that *Christ* hath ordained *Gardiners* for his *Garden*, and *Physick* and *Physicians* for his *Body*: Yet withall he makes the *Civill Officers*, to be as *Supervisors*, *Superintendents*, and consequently, *Bishops*, *Governours*, and *Heads* of the *Church* or *Churches*, and over the *spirituall Officers* of *Christ Jesus*.

Truth. What is this but to establish *Henry* the 8. a *Spirituall Civill Magistrate*, and *Head* of the *Church*, in the roome of the *Pope*? Contrary to which I have discoursed in the discussing of the *Modell* in the bloudie *Tenent*.

Peace.

1. Judges 21. 25 Considered.

2. Supream Authoritie in Spiritualls.

Peace. But what thinke you of M^r Cottons interpretation of *Tertullians* minde, to wit, that *Tertullian* should meane, that the *Christian Religion* would not hurt nor disturbe the *Romane Civill State*?

Truth. I conceive it cannot stand, for although it be true¹ that the *Christian Religion* hurts no *Civill State* (but infinitely the contrary) yet M^r Cotton will not deny that the *Christian Religion* (not of it selfe, but through the corruption of the *Civill State*) may provoke a *Civill State* many wayes, and therefore *Tertullian* must meane otherwayes, to wit, every Man must stand or fall in his owne *Religion*, and the *Religion* of one man will neither hurt nor save another: Therefore (to end this *Passage*) *Tertullians* words may not unfitly be thus applied: The *Religion* of the *Protestants*, if permitted by the *Papists*, will neither hurt nor profit the *Papists*: The *Religion* of the *Independents* will nether hurt nor profit the *Presbyterians*, if they permitted it: And the *Religion* and *Worship* of other *Consciences* in old or *New England*, will neither hurt nor profit the *Independents*, where the power of tollerating or not tollerating lies in the hands and power of the *Independents*.

Exam: of Chap. 68. replying to Chap. 71.

Peace. Here M^r Cotton urgeth two mistakes: First in the quoting of *Jerome*: secondly, in naming *Tertullian* for *Jerome*.

Truth. Possible it is, they are neither the mistakes of the *Prisoner*, nor *Discusser*, but either the *Scribe* or *Printers* may share with them; or if they were their owne mistakes (although the *Prisoner* wrote in close prison in *Newgate*, and the *Discusser* in multitude of *Distractions*, yet) they are justly to be blamed for their least *sleepines* in the handling of the matters of the most *High*.

Peace. But, *Jeromes* words (saith M^r Cotton) imply more then a *spirituall* cutting off; for *Jerome* immediatly subjoyneth these words! *Arius* was but a *sparke*, but because he was not speedily suppress, his *Flame* depopulated all the World, which cannot

1. *Tertullians Speech of one Religion, not hurting or profiting another Considered.*

[*] Mr Cottons and Mr Edwards *Gangrenes* have little differd

cannot be meant (sayth he) of cutting off by *Excommunication*, which proceeded against him once and twice.

Truth. I cannot be easily induced to believe that *Jerome* intended to complaine of *Constantine*, who was not sparing at the first to put forth his temporall *Arme* and *power* against *Arrius*: But this is certaine, his words are these, [*Heresie* must be cut off with the *Sword* of the *Spirit*: and the *Scriptures* quoted by him (1 *Cor.* 5. *Gal.* 5.) as M^r *Cotton* yeeldeth] prove onely a *spirituall* cutting off: So that it seemes not *rationall* for *Jerome* to run from the *Spirituall* *Sword*, about which he is now conversant, to the *carnall* and *temporall* *Sword*, of which those *Scriptures* (as M^r *Cotton* acknowledgeth) discourse not.

Peace. But let no man say (sayth M^r *Cotton*) that this “grant of his [That *Heresie* must be cut off by the *Sword* of “the *Spirit*] doth imply an absolute *sufficiencie* in the *Sword* “of the *Spirit*, to cut it downe according to 2 *Cor.* 10. 4, 5. “For though *spirituall* *Weapons* be *absolutely* *sufficient* to the *End* “for which *God* hath appointed them, as hath been opened “above, to wit, for the *conviction*, and (if he belong to *God*) “for the *conversion* of the *offendour*, for the *mortifying* of his “*flesh*, and for the *saving* of his *Soule*, and for the *cleansing* of “the *Church* from the *Fellowship* of that *Guilt*: Yet if an *Heretick* will still continue obstinate, and persist in *seducing*, creepe into *Houses*, leade captive sillie *Soules*, and *destroy* the *Faith* of some, it may be of many, such¹ *Gangrenes* would be cut off by another *Sword*, which in the hand of the *Magistrate* is not borne in vaine.

Truth. This answer of M^r *Cotton* lookes too too like that *Distinction* of the bloudie *Bishop* against the poore *Martyr* or *Witnes* of *Jesus* (which M^r *Fox* mentioneth) The *Scripture* is² sufficient for *Salvation*, but not for *Instruction*: There is need of *Tradition*, &c. The *Sword* of the *Spirit* (sayth M^r *Cotton*) is absolutely sufficient, for these foure, to wit, the *Conviction*, *Conversion*, *Mortification*, and *Salvation* of the *offendour*, the *Heretick*, yea, and for a fifth, for *Expiation*, and *cleansing* of the *Church* from the *Fellowship* of that *Guilt*, but there is a sixth, to wit, *Infection*, and there the *Sword* of the *Spirit* is too weake, and the *Sword* of the *Magistrate* must helpe.

Peace. What sound and modest Reason can be (almost) pretended

1. * M^r Cottons | and M^r Ed- | wards Gan- | grenes have | little differed.

2. Blasphemie against the holy Scripture.

pretended, why the holy *Ordinances, Appointments and provisions* of the *Lord Jesus* (who is the *Wisdom* of the *Father*, whose is all *power* in *Heaven* and in *Earth*, and whose *Heart* is all on *Fire* with *Love* to his people) should be so weake in suppressing the *Enemies* of his *Kingdome*, that, all the *Counsell, Order, and Power* he hath left in his *Absence*, are not able to resist the *Infection* of false *Doctrine*, without the helpe of the *Powers* of the *World* his professed *Enemie*, unto whom who so is a *Friend* (sayth *John*) he cannot but be an *Enemie* unto *God*. Oh what should be the *mysterie* that the two-edged *Sword* of *Gods* mighty *Spirit*, is sufficient for *Conviction*, for *Conversion*, *Mortification*, *Expiation*, *Salvation*, but yet not powerfull enough against *Infection*?

Truth. There is written evidently, on the *Forehead* of this¹ *plea*, as on the forehead of the great *Whore* (*Revel. 17.*) *Mysterie*. The *Aegyptian Onions* (as I may so speake) are full of *Spirituell Infoldings*, or *Mysteries*: One or two I shall briefly unfold or peelee.

First, the *Clergie* (*sacrilegiously* so called) in all *Ages* since the *Apostasie*, have (like some *proud* and *daintie Servants*) disdain'd² to serve a *poore* despised *Christ*, a *Carpenter*, one that came at last to the *Gallowes*, &c. And therefore have they ever framed to Themselves *rich* and *Lordly, pompous* and *Princely, temporall* and *Worldly Christs*, in stead of the true *Lord Jesus Christ*, the *spirituall King* of his *Saints* and *people*. And however it suits well the common End to retaine the Name of *Christ* (as the *Lord Jesus* prophesied many false *Christs*, should arise, and many should come in his Name, &c.) yet most sure it will be found, that a temporall *Crowne* and *Dignitie, Sword* and *Authoritie, Wealth* and *Prosperitie*, is the *White* that most of those called *Scholars, Ministers, Bishops*, aime and leuell at: How many thousand of them will readily subscribe to the pleas of the *French Bishops* against the *Lord Peter*, disputing before *Philip* the *French King* for temporall *Jurisdiction*, and *Peters* two *Swords* in the hands of *Christs Ministers*?

Peace. M^r *Cotton* is not far off, for howsoever He and some will say with him, one *Sword* is enough for a *Presbyter* or *Elder*,³ enough for *Conviction, Conversion, Mortification, Expiation*, and *Salvation*, yet one *Sword* is not enough against *Infection*, and therefore it is needfull (though we are not of the opinion

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1. Mysteries of false Christs.

2. The true Christ despised for his povertie.

3. A base esteeme of the Spirituall Sword.

of those French *Prelates* and others, that challenged to themselves the *Sword of temporall jurisdiction* into their owne hands, yet) it is needfull that it be at our *call* in the hands of our *Executioners* the *Civill Magistrates*.

Truth. It is impossible that *temporal* and *worldly Christs* should walke with the legs of a *spirituall supportment*, but as (in respect¹ of outward *Government*) they spring from the *Earth* and the *World*, it is impossible I say but their *Feeding* and *Aliment*, *Defence* and *Protection* should be of the nature of the *Root* and *Element* from whence they arise.

Peace. It is objected, was the *Church* of the *Jewes* *temporall* that was assisted and protected with a *temporall Sword*?

Truth. The *Spirit of God* tels us (*Heb. 8 & 10.*) of a *worldly Sanctuary*, of a *weake* and *old vanishing*: *Covenant*, to wit, a *Nationall Covenant*, and *Ordinances* of a *Jewish Church*.

Peace. It is againe said how can the *Discusser* extoll the *Sword* of the *Spirit* only, and acknowledge no *Churches*.

Truth. Although the *Discusser* cannot to his *Souls satisfaction* conclude any of the various and severall sorts of *Churches* extant to be those pure *golden Candlesticks* framed after the first patterne, *Rev. 1.* Yet doth he acknowledge *golden Candlesticks* of² *Christ Jesus* extant; those *golden Olive trees* and *candlesticks*, his *Martyrs* or *Witnesses*, standing before the *Lord*, and testifying his holy *Truth* during all the *Reign* of the *Beast*, *Rev. 11.* Hence, although we have not *satisfaction* that *Luther* or *Calvin*, or other precious *Witnesses* of *Christ Jesus*, erected *Churches* or *Ministeries*, after the first patterne (as they conceived they did) yet doth he affirm them to have been *Prophets* and *witnesses* against the *Beast*, and furnished sufficiently with *spirituall Fire* in their *mouthes*, mightily able to consume or humble their *Enemies*, as *Elijah* did with the *Captains* sent out against him.

Peace. I will object no more, please you (*Dear Truth*) to passe on to the 2nd. *viz.* the *Ministry* of the *Spirits* pretended *insufficiency* against *Infection*: why should not the spiritual power of the *Lord Jesus* be powerful enough against *creepers* into *Houses*, against such as lead *captive* silly souls, against such as *destroy* the *faith* of some, &c. as well as in the first *Churches* and *Assemblies*, professing his holy *name* and *worship*?

Truth. Search his *Will* and *Testament*, and we find no other
but

1. Earthly Christs need earthly supports.

2. The state of Christianity during the reigne of Antichrist.

but *spiritual* means prescribed and bequeathed by the *Lord Jesus*, to *Paul* to *Peter*, or any of the holy *Apostles* or *Messengers*.

Peace. I must needs acknowledge that the poor servants of *Christ*, for some hundereth of years after the departure of the¹ *Lord* enjoyed no other power, no other *Sword* nor *Shield* but *spirituall*, until it pleased the *Lord* to try his *children* with *Liberty* and *ease* under *Constantine* (a soarer *Tryall* then befell them in 300 years persecution) under which *temporall protection*, *munificence* and *bounty* of *Constantine*, together with his *temporall Sword*, drawne out against her *spirituall enemies*, the *Church of Christ* soon surfeited of the too much *honey* of worldly ease, *authority*, *profit*, *pleasure*, &c.

Truth. Deare *Peace*, the second *mystery* is this. In all ages, the world hath been o'respread with the *delusions* and *abominations* of *false worship*, invented by *Sathan* and his *Instruments* in² opposition to the pure *worship* of the *God of Heaven*: Against these the *Lord Jesus* hath not been wanting to stir up his *witnesses*, *servants* and *souldiers*, fighting for their *Lord* and *Master* *spirituall*, &c.

These *witnesses*, when *Sathan* hath not been able to vanquish and overcome them by *disputing*, *writing*, &c. (but hath ever lost that way) he hath been forced to run to the fleshly *Armories* of *temporall weapons* and *punishments*, and to fetch in the powers of the world; So hoping to dash out the *Candle of Truth* and break the *andlesticks* thereof the *witnesses* of *Christ Jesus*: This *Sathan* hath ever practised one of these two wayes, sometimes by (pretended) legall tryals and *executions* of *Justice*, sometimes by most horrid and dreadfull *murthers* and *massacres*

Peace. Thus hath *Christ Jesus* indeed been vanquished, and driven out of this world by the powers of *Cæsars*, *Kings* and other earthly *Governours* and *Rulers*.

Truth. 'Tis a fresh and bleeding *History* of that famous *disputation* between the *Cardinal* and *Prelates* of *France* and *Beza*³ with his *protestant assistants* under *Charles* the 9th. And not long after of that most barbarous and horrible *murther* and *massacre* of about 30000 *Innocents*, to finish and compleat that *victory* which the pretended *Disputation* and *spirituall arme* could never effect.

G g 2

Peace.

1. *Constantines* peace a greater tryal and danger to Christians, then 300 years persecution.

2. *Sathans* two wayes of quenching the *Candle* of Christianity.

3. The French *Massacre* must doe what their pretended *disputation* could not effect.

Peace. Yea in the bloody *Marian* dayes, there must be *Convocations* cald at *London*, and downe must these famous *witnesses*¹ of *Jesus*, *Cranmer*, *Ridley*, *Latimer* to dispute at *Oxford* but faithfull *Philpot* for his free disputing in the *Convocation* at *London*, and *Cranmer*, *Latimer* and *Ridley* for not yeelding away the truth at *Oxford*, they must all feel the rage of the *fiery furnace*, who bow not downe to the *golden Image*.

And (without offence of *civill Authority*, or disrespect against any mans person be it spoken) in the late great *disputes* between the *Presbyterians* and *Independents* at *VWestminster*; what a *Tempest* raised, what *Earthquakes* and *Thunders* cal'd for, from *Earth* and *Heaven*, ihat the second *sword* of the *magistrate* (herein the² *Presbyterians* *Servant* and *Executioner*) might effect that which all the power of the *pretended sword* of *Gods Spirit* was never able to reach to.

Pea. To proceed, *M Cot.* is greatly offended at this *word*: to wit [the *Eye* of the *Answerer* could never be so obscured, as to run to the *Smiths-shop* for a *sword* of *Iron*, and *steel* to help the *Sword*, of the *Spirit*; if the *Sun* of *Ryghteousnes* had pleased to shew him that a *Nationall Church*, &c.] And his anger breaths forth,³ first against all *Hereticks* thus: If there be *stones* of the *streets*, the *Magistrate* need not run for a *Sword* from the *Smiths shop*, nor an *Halter* from the *Ropiers* to punish an *Heretick*.

Truth. It is true, the *warehouse* of *persecution* is so abundantly filled with all sorts of bloody *Instruments*, besides *Swords* and *Ropes*, that the *Primitive* and *Latter* times have told us how many severall sorts of *sorrows*, *pains* and *torments* the servants of the living *God*, have felt by severall *Instruments* of *Blood* and *Death*, besides *Ropes* and *Swords*, &c. and all to punish (as *Master Cotton* sayth) the *Heretick*, the *Heretick*, *Blasphemer*, *Seducer* &c.

Peace. What is this *Anger* but *Fury*, *Ira furor brevis est*? And what weapons can be wanting to *Fury*, not the *stones* in the *streets* (saith *Master Cotton*) *Furor arma ministrat*, for the *magistrate* needs not (saith he) stay so long as to run to a *Smiths-shop* for a *sword*, or to the *Ropiers* for a *halter*, &c.

Peace. O the *mysteries* of *iniquitie* and *cozenage* of *sin*, that a *Lambe* of *Christ* should thus roar out like a *Lyon*, and (at the speech may be construed by some) so far as in him lies to pro-
voke

1. Pretended disputes in *Q. Maries* days, ending in fiery flames.

2. The late Synodically disputes.

3. A bloody and most unchristian speech.

the *civill powers*, yea the people in the streets to furious outrage, and not so much as to attend proceedings in pretended¹ legal Trials and executions, but in the madnesse of *Barbarous murthers* and *massacres*, and that even upon himselfe and the Independants in their meetings, &c.

Peace. But 2dly. he finds fault with the Discussers wit, for bringing such light *conceits* into grave *discourses* and *disputes* about the holy things of God.

Truth. If there be any thing savouring of wit in the Discussors speech, let all men judge whether there be not a *double*, yea a *treble* portion in this of Master Cottons; I acknowledge, *Non est major confusio quam serij & Joci*. The Discussor dares not willingly to prophane the holy name of the *most high* with *lightnes*, no not with those fine turnings of wit which the *word* forbids,² (ἐντραπέλία, *Ephes. 5.*) which becomes not *Christs schollars*, but rather the *giving of thanks*: And yet there is an holy wit and pleasantnes in *Samsons Riddle*, in *Jothams* and *Jesus his Parables*, yea, and in *Elijah his sharpe and cutting language*, which cut as deep to their deluding consciences, as the *Knives* and *Lances* of their *Idolatrous backs* and *bodies*: Yet none of these were (as Mast. Cotton insinuates against the Discussor) for naming of *Smiths-shop*) playings with *feathers*, &c.

Peace. But what think you of his confidence, touching his *New-England Diana*, to wit, that the Discussor will never be able to make it good: that the Church in *New-England* is implicitly, a *Nationall* and *State Church*?

Truth. His own words seem to prove it, for if it be a *Church*³ and not *Churches* of *N. England*, as elsewhere he speaks (and as the Scripture ordinarily speaks, the Churches of *Judea*, *Galatia*, &c.) it cannot be no other but a *Nationall*, as the *English-Church*, *Scotch-Church*, *French-Church*, &c. But possibly it being a mistake, I answer, A *Nation* in the common and large extent, I dare not call *New-England*, but thus, the severall *Plantations* or *Colonies* of one *Religion*, or way of *worship* make up one *Colo-nie* or *Province* of *English-men* in this part or tract of *America*. I cannot therefore call the *Church* of *New-England* (properly) a *Nationall Church*, but a *Provinciall Church*, a *State-Church*; cast into the mould of a *Nationall Church*, distinct into so many *Parishes*, I say not expresly and explicitly, but implicitly and secretly,

1. The rash fury and madnesse of persecutors even against themselves.

2. Pleasantnesse of wit sanctified, glorifies the giver.

3. The pretended particular Churches of *N. E.* indeed but a *Nationall Church*.

cretly, which the *son of righteousness* will at last reveal, as clearly and brightly in the eyes of all men, as the *sun* that shines at *Noon-day*.

At present, I affirm (what ever are the *pretences, pleas* and *coverings* to the contrary) that that *Church estate*, that *religion* and *worship* w^{ch} is *commanded* or *permitted* to be but one in a *country*, *nation* or *province* (as was the *Jews religion* in that typical land of *Canan*) that *Church* is not in the *nature* of the particular *Churches* of *Christ*, but in the *nature* of a *Nationall* or *state Church*: the nature of a particular *Church* of *Christ*, is to be one, 2 or 3 (more¹ or lesse) in *Townes* or *Cities* (as in all the instances of the *New-Testament*, but the nature of the *State Church* is when the whole *State* is turn'd into a *State Church* in so many *Parishes* or *Divisions* of *worshippers*: and it is made odious & intolerable for any part of this *City, state, &c.* not to attend the *common worship* of the *City*, sanctifie the holy *times*, and contribute to the holy *Officers*, and to walke in another way, which is the generall state and practise of *New-England*.

2 That is a *nationall* and *state Church* where the *Civill power* is constituted the *Head* thereof, to see to the *conforming* or *reforming* of the *Church*, the *truth* or *falshood* of the *Churches*, *Ministries* or *ministrations*, *ordinances*, *Doctrine, &c.*

In the particular *Churches* of *Christ Jesus*, wee finde not a tittle of the power of the *civill magistrate* or *civill sword* in *spirituall cases*. It is impossible but a *Nationall* and *Civil head* must be head of a *Nationall* or *State Church*, which (upon the point is but a *civill* or *temporall* 238*Church* (like the head thereof) and not a heavenly and *spirituall*: I say, a *Civil* or *temporall Church*, subject to the *changes* of a *changeable Court* or *Countrey*, and the *interpretings* and *expoundings* of *Scripture*, to what the *Court* or *Countrey* is subject to approve or disprove of.

3 It is a *Nationall* or *State Church*, where the opposite or *gain-sayer*, the pretended *Heretick*, *Blasphemer*, *Seducer, &c.* is some way or other punished, put forth of the *State* or *Countrey* it selfe by *death* or *banishment*: whereas *particular Churches* put forth no further then from their *particular societies*, and the *Heretick, &c.* may still live in the *Countrey* or *Countreys* unmolested by them.

4 That *Church* cannot be otherwise then a *Nationall* or
State

1. No permission of any Religion or worship but one in *N. E.* therefore are the Churches, but a *Nationall Church* in the mould them, &c. Where the *Supream Authority* in a Church is *Civill*, the Body cannot but be like the head, and all make up but one *Civil* or *Nationall* mixt Church, like the Jewish *Nationall Church*. The purging a *Countrey* of *Hereticks* declares that *Countrey* is explicitly or implicitly a *National Church*.

State Church, where the maintenance of the *Worship, Priests* and¹ *Officers*, is a *State maintenance*, provided by the care and power of the *State*, who (upon the point) payes their *Ministers* or *Servants* their *wages*; whereas the *maintenance* of the *Worship* and *Officers* of a *particular Church*, we finde by *Christs Testament* to be cared for sufficiently by *Christs power*, and meanes in his *Church*.

5 That *Church* is a *Nationall* or *State Church*, whose whole² *Assemblies*, in *Synods, Councells, Provinciaall, Nationall, &c.* If M^r *Cotton* can disprove the truth and substance of these and other *particulars* alledged, so farre as concerne the *generall* and *Body* of the *Country* combined (whatsoever little *variation* some particular *Townes* may make) the *Discusser* must acknowledge his *Error*, but if M^r *Cotton* cannot doe it, as I believe he cannot (what ever flourish a wit may pretend) the *God* of *mercy* pardon what by M^r *Cotton* is done in *Ignorance*, and awaken *him* and *others*, who cause his people to goe astray; according to that of the *Prophet*; Their *Shepheards* cause this people to goe astray.

Peace. O that all *Gods sheepe* in *New England*, and such as judge themselves their *Shepheards*, may truly judge themselves at the *tribunall* of their owne *Consciences* in the *presence* of the *Lord*, in the *upright Examination* of these *particulars*: But to leave *New England*, and to returne to the *Land of Israel*: I “should thinke (sayth M^r *Cotton*) not onely mine eye obscured, but the sight of it utterly put out, if I should conceive “(as the *Discusser* doth) that the *Nationall Church State* of the “*Jewes* did necessarily call for such *weapons* to punish *Here-tiques* more then the *Congregationall State* of *particular Churches* doth call for the same now in the *dayes* of the *New Testament*.

Truth. It is a *strange Speech* to proceede from so *knowing* a *Man*, but let us ponder his *Reasons* in the feare of *God*.

Peace. Was not (sayth M^r *Cotton*) the *Nationall Church* of the *Jewes* compleatly furnished with *Spirituall Armour* to defend it selfe, and oppose *Men* and *Devills*, as well as *particular Churches* of the *New Testament*? Had they not power to convince false *Prophets*, as *Elijah* did the *Prophets* of *Baal*? had they not power to seperate *Evill Doers* from the *Fellowship* of

their

1. A State Maintenance proveth a State Church.

2. Synods assembled by Civill Power, prove the Churches of the same Nature with the Head that acts and calls them.

their *Congregations*? And he addeth, an *uncleane Person*, although he might not Enter into the *Temple*, with the rest of the *Israelites* to *worship* the *Lord*, yet he was permitted to live in the *Common-weale* of *Israel*, Men *uncircumcised* both in *Heart* and *Flesh*.

He addeth further, that the *Nationall Church* of *Israel* was¹ powerfully able by the *Sword* of the *Spirit* to defend it selfe, and to offend *Men* and *Devills*, for which he quoteth, *Zach.* 4. 6. And he asketh, doth not the *Discusser* himselfe observe that time was, in the *Nationall Church* of the *Land* of *Canaan*, when there was neither *Carnall Sword* nor *Speare* to be found, 1 *Sam.* 13? And was not then the *Nationall Church* powerfully able by the *Spirit* of *God* to defend it selfe, and to offend *Men* and *Devills* as well as particular *Churches* now?

Truth. I answer: First, As much as the *shadow* of a *Man* falls short of a *Man* himselfe, so did all their *Ordinances* (which were but *shadowes* of *spirituall things* to come) fall short of that bright enjoyment of *Christ Jesus*, and *spirituall* and *heavenly things* in him, now brought to *Light* by *Christ Jesus* in the *Gospel* or *New Testament*.

2. M^r *Cotton* will never demonstrate that the putting forth, or *Excommunicating* of a person from the *Church* of *God* amongst them, was other then *cutting* off from the *Land* by *Death*, and the *Civill Sword*, the same being *spiritually* executed now in the *Israel* of *God*, 1 *Cor.* 5. *Gal.* 5. 12.

Thirdly, Although the *Stranger* uncircumcised might live² amongst them, yet none of the *Native Israelites* might so live, nor yet might the *Stranger* prophane the holinesse of the *Lord* by *labour* on the *Sabbath*, which M^r *Cotton* will never prove ought³ now to be kept by all *Countries* of the *world*, and that under such *Penalties*, as was in the *Land* of *Canaan*, the *holy Land*: Nor that they had *spirituall power* sufficient to punish the willfull breach of any *Morall* or *Ceremoniall* dutie, without the helpe of the *Carnall Sword*, the contrary to which is plaine in the *New Testament*, 1 *Cor.* 5. 2 *Cor.* 10.

Fourthly, For the *Scripture*, *Zach.* 4. 6. Not by *might* nor *Power*, &c. The *Prophet* doth not here oppose the *Spirit* to *might* or *power*, so as to deny the use of *Carnall weapons*, *might* or *power*, which *God* had vouchsafed to them against all *Enemies*

1. Touching the difference between the *Church* of the *Jewes* and the *Christian Churches*.

2. The *holy Land* of *Canaan* a *Nonesuch*.

3. A *Figure* of the *Christian*.

mies within and without, but sheweth it to be the work of Gods own finger or Spirit in the use of carnall meanes which they used for the raising of the Materiall Temple and Civill defence of Themselves against all Opposers, Hinderers, &c. Whereas 2 Cor. 10. the Apostle flatly opposeth Spirituall Weapons against Carnall, and M^r Cotton will never prove that the Corinthians or any of the Saints of Christ, did enjoy other Weapons, in that first or the Ages next after, but onely the Spirituall Weapons and Artillery which the Apostle mentioneth.

Lastly, To that of 1 Sam. 13. I answer, That when there was no Speare nor Sword in Israell, the Israelites were not² powerfully able to defend Themselves against their Enemies, except that God was pleased extraordinarily to stirre up meanes of their preservation, as wee see in the case of Jonathan and his Armour-bearer against the Philistims. In like manner I believe that where the ordinary power of Gods hand in his holy Ordinances is withdrawn, it is his extraordinarie and immediate power that preserveth and supporteth his people against Men and Devills; as in particular, during the reigne of Antichrist in stirring up and supporting the two Witnesses.

Exam: of Chap. 69. replying to Chap. 72.

Touching the Testimony of Brentius.

Peace. IT is untrue, sayth M^r Cotton, that we restraine Men from Worship according to Conscience, or constraîne them to Worship against Conscience, or that such is my Tenent or practice.

Truth. Notwithstanding M^r Cottons cloake, to wit, that they will not meddle with the Heretick before he hath sinned against his owne Conscience, and so persecute him onely for sinning against his owne Conscience, yet I earnestly beseech every Reader seriously to ponder the whole streame and series of M^r Cottons Discourse, Propositions, Affirmations, &c. through the whole booke, and he shall then be able to judge whether it be untrue that his Doctrine tends not to constraîne, nor restraine Conscience.

H h

2. For

1. The weapons of the Jewes and Christians compared.

2. No Speare nor Sword in Israel.

2. For the matter of fact, how can he with any *Humilitie* before the *staming eyes* of the most *High*, cry out, no such *practice*, when

First, Their *Lawes* cry out a *Command* under *Penaltie* for all¹ to come to *Church*, though not to be *Members*, which in truth (as hath been opened) is but a *colour* and *visard*, deceiving him-selfe and others: And a *cruell Law* is yet extant against *Christ Jesus*, muffled up under the *hood* or *vaile* of a *Law* against *Ana-baptistrie*, &c.

Secondly, Their *practice* cryes, their *Imprisonments*, *Finings*, *Whippings*, *Banishments* cry in the Eares of the Lord of Hosts, and the louder because of such *unchristian figleave*, *cloakes*, &c.

Peace. Let it be granted (sayth M^r Cotton) that we did both, yet this did not make *Lawes* to binde *Conscience*, but the *outward* man onely! Nor would we (sayth he) think it fit to binde the *outward* man against *Conscience*.

Truth. I cannot discerne the *Coherence* of these three Affirmations: 1. We *restraine* no man from *Worship* according to *Conscience*. 2. We make *Lawes* but to binde the *outward* man onely. And yet againe (3) we thinke not meete to binde the *outward* man against *Conscience*. M^r Cotton lived once under a *Popish Law*, to weare a *fooles Coat* or *Surplice* on his back, and to² make a *Conjuring Crosse* with his Fingers, why should he say, that this *Law* went beyond his *back* and his *fingers*, and came even to his *Conscience*? If these *pettie bonds* did binde his *Conscience*, as well as his *back* and his *fingers*; Oh let not M^r Cotton so farre put off the *Bowells* of *Compassion* toward *Christ Jesus* and his *Followers*, yea toward all men, as to binde their *backs*, and their *Necks*, their *Knees* and *Hands backward* and *forward*, to or from *Worship*, and yet say he binds but the *outward man*,³ &c.

Yea and oh let not such *uprightnes*, *candor*, and *Integritie*, as M^r Cotton hath been noted for, be blemished with such an *Evasion* as this, to wit, when it comes to selfe, that *Conscience* his owne or his *Friends* be offred to be bound, &c. then he shall flie to his third *Evasion*, saying, We think it not meete to binde the *outward* man against *Conscience*, that is, against our *Consciences*, &c. What ever becomes (sinck or swim) of other Mens.

Peace.

1. *New-England* loath to be accounted persecutours.

2. *Lawes* concerning Gods *Worship*.

3. Dangerous distinctions.

Peace. In the next Passage, *God* needs not (sayth *M^r Cotton*) the helpe of the *Magistrate* more in the *Second*, then in the first *Table*.

Truth. *God* needeth not *absolutely* for the matters of the *Second¹ Table*, though *respectively*, because he hath appointed *Ordinances*, unto which he hath graciously referd himselfe. But for the *first Table*, he hath no neede at all, of *carnall weapons*, no not *respectively*, because he hath appointed *Ordinances* to thousand-fold more *potent*, *suitable* and *sufficient*.

Peace. Whereas it was urged, that if *Magistrates* must use their *materiall Sword* in keeping of both *Tables*, they must be able to judge of both: *M^r Cotton* replies, that it is enough,² that they be able to judge in *Principles* and *Foundations*, and of the *Arrogancie* of a *tumultuous Spirit*; for such want not *Judgement* to censure *Apostasie* or *Heresie*, *Idolatrie*, &c.

Truth. It is not like that a *Carpenter* who hath skill sufficient to judge the *Principles* and *Foundations* of a house or *Building*, should be unable to judge about the *Beames*, *Posts*, &c.

2. With what great darknes, have the best of *Gods children* themselves been covered these many hundreth yeares, touching the very *Fundamentalls* of *Gods Worship*!

Peace. Whereas it was said further, that either they are not³ fitly qualified *Magistrates* and *Common-weales*, that want this *abilitie* to judge, &c. Or else they must judge according to their *Conscience*! *M^r Cotton* replies; *Many Qualifications* are required in *Husbands*, *Wives*, *Children*, *Servants*, *Ministers*, *Churches*, the want whereof may make them *sinfull*, but not *unlawfull*.

Truth. I answer; some *Relations* are *Passive*, as that of children, who may be true and lawfull *children*, although they know not that they are *children*. But, such *Relations* as are *active* in their *choice* and *consent*, as of *Husband*, *Wife*, *Magistrate*, &c. these cannot be *lawfull*, unles they be fitted and *qualified* to performe the *maine* and *essentiall* duties of *Husbands*, *Wives*, *Servants*, *Magistrates*. That *Husband*, *Wife*, *Servant* cannot be lawfull, that are engaged to other *Husbands*, *Wives*, *Masters*: Nor can that *Magistrate* be *lawfull*, who is a *mad-man* or *Ideot*, not able to discerne between *Right* and *Wrong*: and truely (were *Magistrates* bound, as to the *chiefe part* of their *Dutie* and *Office*) to establish the true *Religion*, &c. he were no more then

H h 2

a

1. Touching keeping of both Tables.

2. Of Magistrates Judgement in Spirituals, &c.

3. Of Qualifications of Magistrates.

a mad-man (as to the first Table) that were not spirituallly indued with ability of discerning the true *Church, Ministry, Worship, &c.*

Peace. Now whereas it was further urged that then the *Common-weale*, the Civil, Naturall state, hath more Light concerning¹ the *Church of Christ* then the *Church* it self, &c Master Cotton replies, it followes not, because that is a weak *Church* that knowes no more light then that of the Principles; and beside; what light the *Common-wealth* hath it may have received from the *Church*.

Truth. I answer, If *Kings* and *Queens, &c.* be nurcing *Fathers* and *Mothers* (in a spirituall respect) over the *Church*, as is usually alleadged; can it be expected but that the *Nurse, Father* or *Physician* should know more of the *Childs state* then the *Child* or *Patient* himselfe, who oftentimes knows not his sicknesse, nor that he is sick, (as oft may be the case of a *Church of Christ*) It is impossible, but they must have more light then the *Child*, yea and much more impossible that they should receive their Light and direction from the *Child, &c.*

Peace. We see, saith Master Cotton, that *Magistrates* sometimes have more *Light* in matters of *Religion* then the *Church* it self, as *David* and *Hezekiah*.

Truth. This (1) confirms what I said, that these *Kings* being appointed by *God, Formers* and *Reformers* of the *Church of Judah*, they must needs have more *light* in the matter of *Reformation*² then the *Church* it selfe to be reformed.

2 I must deny that *David* and *Hezekiah* were other then types of *Christ Jesus*, both in his owne person and in such, who in his absence are by him deputed to manage the *spirituall* power and sword of his holy and spirituall Kingdome.

Peace. Yea, but alas, saith Master Cotton, there is no colour, that because *Magistrates* are bound to discerne and serve *Christ* with their power, that therefore they may punish *Christ* and *Christians*.

Truth. True, therefore, Master Cotton elsewhere saith, they must suspend to deal in *Church matters* untill they can judge, &c.

And this, First implies their *light* and *judgement* (absolutely necessary) in all such matters of the *Church*, about which they are to Judge and act as often I affirme. 2 I

1. Of Magistrates Abilities.

2. *David* and *Hezekiah* figurative *Kings, &c.*

2 I aske what kind of *spirituall Physicians* will Master Cotton have, who shall be bound to suspend their *power*, all their lives long, unlesse they have skill to judge of *Diseases*? will not the¹ similitude hold against such spirituall *Fathers, Nurces, Physicians*, who all their life long (yea the greatest number beyond compare of all their spirituall *Fathers* upon the face of the Earth) must wholly suspend from acting in spirituall diseases or cases, to wit, in reforming, establishing, &c.

3 Although it excuseth not ('tis true) such *Magistrates, Princes Common-wealths*, for making this *Doctrine* their ground of persecuting *Christ* and *Christians*, yet doubtlesse it makes their sin the greater who feed them with such bloody *Doctrines*, and so consequently occasion them upon the rocks of such fals and dangerous and *bloody practices*.

Exam: of Chap. 70. replying to Chap. 73.

Peace. IN this Chap. (*Dear Truth*) lye many *stones of offence*, at which the feet of the unwary most easily many stumble; I hope your carefull and steady hand may be a blessed *Instrument* of their *Removall*: As First, although Master Cotton subscribe unto *Luther* that the *Government* of the *Civill Magistrate* doth extend no further, then over the *Bodies* and *Goods* of the subject, yet (saith he) he may and ought to improve that power over their *Bodies* and *Goods* to the good of their *Souls*.

Truth. Sweet *Peace* my hand (the hand of *Christ* assisting) shall not be wanting: but what offence can be taken at the propositions?

Pea. The proposition like an apple of *Sodom*, is fair and specious untill you crush it by examination: For, by maintaining the *Magistrates* power over the *Bodies* and *Goods* of the subject, for the good of his *Soul*, it is clear in this Chapter and others foregoing and following, that Master Cottons words drive at no lesse then a seising upon, and *plundering* of the goods, the *Imprisoning, whipping, Banishing* and *killing* the *Bodies*, of the² poor people, and this under the Cloak and colour of saving their *Souls* in the day of the *Lord Jesus*.

Truth. The *Civil State*, and *Common-weal* may be compared to
a piece

1. Magistrates suspending in matters of Religion.

2. Wofull *Soulsaving*.

a peice of Tapistry, or rich Arras, made up of the severall parts and parcels of the Families thereof. Now by the *Law of God, Nature and Nations*. a Father hath a power over his Child, the Husband over the Wife, the Master over, &c. and doubtlesse they are to improve that power and *Authority* for the good of the *souls* of their Children, Yoak-fellows, &c. But shall we¹ therefore say that the Father and the Husband hath power under *Christ* over the *conscienies* and *religion* of the Child or Wife, as a Father or Husband had under *Moses* Numb. 30. Parents are commanded in the *Gospel* to bring up their *Children* in the instruction and fear of the *Lord*; the *Husband* is commanded to² labour to win and save his *Wife* (with no other power then the Wife also her Husband) whether *Turke* or *Jew*, *Antichristian* or *Pagan*: but such a *power* and *sword* to be improved (as M^r. *Cotton* here pretends) for *soul-good*, Master *Cotton* will never finde in the Testament of *Christ Jesus*.

The *Plain English* is (what ever be the Cloak or cover which the *States, Kings* and *Rulers* of this world use in this case) this terme [for *souls good*] is no more then the old Popish *Jesabels*³ painting, *pro salute animae, pro redemptione animae*, or as that noble St. *John* observed in a speech at *Guild-hall*, that the *Kings* party made use of the name of *Peace*, as the *Papists* used the name of *God, In nomine Domini, &c.*

Peace. It is most lamentable to see how the *Kings* of the Earth are grosly flattered by their *Clergy*, into as grosse a belief that they are most *Catholick Kings* as in *Spain*, most *Christian Kings* as in *France*, *Defendors* of the *Faith* in *England*. Hence those two bloody *Persecutors* of *Luther*, *Charles* the Fifth, and *Henry* the Eighth, were celebrated even upon the posts of the doors in *Guild-Hall: Carolus, Henricus vivant, defensor uturque, Henricus Fidei, Carolus Ecclesiæ.*

Peace. And yet to what other end have or doe (ordinarily) the *Kings* of the Earth use their *power* and *authority* over the *Bodies* and *Goods* of their Subjects, but for the filling of their *paunches* like *Wolves* or *Lions*, never pacified unlesse the peoples *bodies, goods* and *Souls* be sacrificed to their *God-belly*, and their owne *Gods* of *profit, honour, pleasure &c.*

Peace. But in the second place Master *Cotton* affirmes, that by procuring the good of their *souls*, they may much advance
the

1. The power of Parents, Husbands, Magistrates in spirituals.

2. Cor. 7.

3. The tearme [*Souls-good*] commonly but a paint, &c.

the good of their *bodies* and outward man also.

Truth. This *Proposition* is as fair as the former, but in the *searching* and *crushing* is as *rotten*, for however it is most true (as he quoteth 1 Tim. 4.) that *Godlinesse* hath the promise of¹ this *Life*, and of a *better*, and also that such as seek first the *Kingdome* of *God*, may expect outward mercies to be cast upon them, yet these promises can never by any rule of *Christ*, be stretched to proue outward prosperity and flourishing to the followers of *Christ Jesus* in this present evill world.

Peace. He that is in a pleasant *Bed* and *Dreame*, though he talke Idly and insensibly, yet is loath to be awaked.

Truth. Those sweet promises supply *Gods servants* with what outward blessings his holy *Wisdom*e seeth they have need of for his service: But when wil Master *Cotton* indeed witnesse against a *Nationall Church*, and cease to mingle *Heaven* and *Earth*, the *Church* and *worldly state* together? when will he cease to propose the rich and peaceable, victorious and flourishing *Nationall State* of the *Jewes* as the *Type* of the *Carnall* peace and worldly wealth and honour of the spirituall *Nation* and *Kingdome* of *Christ Jesus*? when will he more plainly and simply conforme the members to the head *Christ Jesus* in the *Holinesse*, *Glory* of his spirituall *poverty*, *shame* and *sufferings*?

Peace. I have in the experience of many Ages observed the flourishing prosperity of many *Cities*, *Common wealths* and *Nations*, where no sound of *Christ* hath come, and that for hundreds, yea, some thousands of years together, as hath formerly in this discourse been instanced.

Truth. You have found that when the *Red* and *Black* and *Pale* horse of *War*, *Famine* and *Death* have thundered upon the *Nations*, it hath not been upon the decay of a *State Religion*, but most commonly upon the *rejecting* and *persecuting* of the *Preachers* and *Witnesses* against it.

Peace. Yea Master *Cotton* himselfe observeth that such of *Gods servants* as grow fattest in *Godlinesse*, grow not outwardly in *wealth*, but *God* keepeth them low in *outward estate*.²

Truth. I conclude this passage with an observation of constant *experience*, ever since the *Son* of *God* ascended the *Heauens*. The neerer *Christs* followers have approached to worldly wealth, ease, liberty, honour, pleasure, &c. the neerer they have

1. The promises of temporall mercies considered.

2. Worldly prosperity ever dangerous to Gods children.

have approached to *Impatience, Pride, Anger and Violence* against such as are opposite to their *Doctrine and Profession of Religion*: And (2) The further and further have they departed from God, from his *Truth*, from the *Simplicitie, Power and Puritie* of *Christ Jesus* and true *Christianitie*.

Peace. In the next Passage M^r Cotton (though with another heart, yet) in the *Language and Tongue* of the *Pharisees*, seemes to take part with the *Prophets* against the persecuting *Fathers*, and amongst many things he prohibites *Magistrates* this one, to wit, that he must not make *Lawes* to binde *Conscience*.

Truth. What is a *Law*, but a *binding Word*, a *Commandement*?¹ What is a *Law* to binde *Conscience*, but a *Commandement* that calls for *Obedience*? And must wee raise up such *Tumults*, such *Tragedies*, and fill the *face* of the *World* with *streames* of *bloud*, about the *Christian Magistrates* reforming *Religion*, establishing *Religion*, killing the *Heretick*, *Blasphemer*, *Idolater*, *Seducer*, and yet all this without a *Law*, that may in the name of *Christ* exact obedience?

Peace. I wonder what we shall thinke of those *Lawes* and *Statutes* of *Parliament*, in *old* or *New England* that have bound the peoples *Consciences*, at least so farre, as to come to the *Parish Church*, improving (as M^r Cotton sayth) the *power* and *Authoritie* over their *Bodies*, for their *Soules good*? What shall wee call all those *Lawes*, *Commandements*, *Statutes*, *Injunctions*, *Directions*, and *Orders*, that concerne *Religion* and *Conscience*?

Truth. The plaine truth is, M^r Cottons former reforming zeale, cannot be so utterly extinguished, as to forget the *name* and *Notion* of *Christian Libertie*, although in this bloudie *Discourse*, he hath well nigh, (if not wholly) *sold away* the Thing! The *Conscience* (sayth he) must not be bound to a *Ceremonie* (to a pretended *indifferent Ceremonie*): And yet loe, throughout this *Discourse*, he pleades for the binding of it from these and these *Doctrines*, from these and these *Worships*, and binding to this or that *Worship*, I meane, to come to the publike *Towne* or *Countrey Worship*! Just for all the world, as if a Woman should not be bound to make a *Curtisie*, or *Salutation* to such a Man, but yet shee should be bound (will she nill she) to come to his *bed* at his pleasure. *Worship* is a true of false *Bed*, *Cant.* 1. 16.

Peace. It is observable in the next place, what M^r Cotton observeth,

1. Of *Lawes* binding *Conscience*.

observeth, concerning the *Principles of saving Truth*, to wit, that no good *Christian*, much lesse good *Magistrate* can be ignorant of them.

Truth. In the Consideration of the *Modell*, this *Goodnesse* or *Badnes* of the *Magistrate* is Examined, and easily it is proved (to my understanding) that this Assertion confounding the nature of *Civill* and *Morall goodnesse* with *Religious*, is as farre from *Goodnes* as *Darknes* is from *Light*.

Peace. To this Issue tends M^r *Cottons* Conclusion of this passage [verily the *Lord* will build up and establish the *House* and *Kingdome* of such *Princes*, as doe thus build up his.]

Truth. The promise of *God* to *David* concerning his *House* and *Kingdome* in the *Letter*, is most true in the *Mystery* and *Anti-type*, as to the *Spirituell House* and *Kingdome* of King *David*, King *Jesus*, in such *Princes* or *Propheticall Kingly Spirits*, who *Spiritually*, in the Word of *Prophesie* (the *Sword of Gods Spirit*) contend, for the *Spirituell Kingdome* of *Christ Jesus*: *God* will establish them in *Spirituell Dignitie* and *Authoritie*: But take this¹ literally (as M^r *Cotton* carries it) and as he never will finde any such *Dutie* lying upon *Princes* in the *Gospell*, nor any such promise of *temporall prosperitie*, but holy *praedictions & foretellings* of the *crosse* and *persecution* ordinarily to all that will live *Godly* in *Christ Jesus*, and the greater *persecution* to the most zealous and faithfull *Servants of Christ Jesus*: So neither can he give any true Instance (truely proper and parallell) to this purpose.

Peace. Me thinks although *successe* be no constant rule to walke by, yet *Gods providence* in *successe* of *Journies*, *Victories*, &c. are with great *care* and *feare* to be attended to and pondered, and the *Hand* and *Eye* of *God* to be observed in them, of what sort or Nature so ever they be.²

Truth. Two instances of greatest *successe* and *temporall prosperitie* we have presented to us on the *publike stage* of this world, before our owne *Dores*, crowning the *Heads* of such *States* and *States-men*, as have attended to *mercy* and *fredome* toward oppressed *Consciences*.

The first is that of the *State of Holland*: The second of our owne Native *England*, whose renowned *Parliament* and *victorious Armie* never so prospered, as since their *Declaration* and *practice*

1. Persecution the ordinarie Portion of Christs Followers.

2. Two States wonderfully favoured by God, upon mercy shewed to oppressed Consciences, formerly *Holland* and now the State of *England*.

ctice of pitie and mercy to *Conscienc*es oppressed by M^r Cottons bloudie *Tenent*.

Peace. In the next Passage, it being a *Grievance* that M^r Cotton should grant with *Luther* the *Magistrates* power to extend¹ no further then the *Bodies* and *Goods* of the Subject, and yet withall maintaineth, that they must punish *Christians* for sinning against the Light of *Faith* and *Conscience*: M^r Cotton answers;

First; He supposeth the *chiefe good* to be that of *Christian Faith* and *Good Conscience*.

Secondly; Suppose (sayth he) by *Goods* were meant outward *Goods*, yet the *Magistrate* may punish such in their *Bodies* and *Goods*, as seduce, &c. for (sayth he) in seeking *Gods Kingdome* and the *Righteousnesse* thereof, Men prosper in their outward *Estates*, Matth. 6. 23. Otherwise they decay.

Lastly, He remembers not the proposition to be his, [The *Magistrates power* extendeth no further, then the *Bodies* and *Goods* of the Subject] He answereth it is true in respect of the *Object*, though not in respect of the *End*, which (sayth he) is *ἐνπολιτεύειν*, *Bene administrare Rempubicam*. And he asketh if it be well with a *Common-weale*, enjoying bodily *health* and worldly *wealth*, without a *Church*, without *Christ*! And he concludes with the Instance of the *Romane Empire*, which had it not cast away *Idolatrie* (sayth he) had been ruined.

Truth. For answer; First, the *distinction* is famous among all Men of the *Bona* or *Goods* of *Animi*, *Corporis*, *Fortunae*: and againe, that of the *Minde*, *Soule*, and *Conscience* within, and that of the *Body* and *Goods* without, that it can be no lesse then a *Civill* as well as a *Spirituall Babell* to confound them.

Secondly, To his *Supposition*, suppose (sayth he) by *Goods*² were meant outward *Goods*, yet the *Magistrate* may punish such in their *Bodies* and *Goods*, as doe *Seduce*, &c. I see not how these Cohere any better then the grant of some *Papists*, that the *Churches* power extends no further then the matters of *Faith* and *Conscience*: But yet (say they) they may punish such in their *Bodies* and *Goods* as *seduce*, &c. M^r Cottons *Suppositions* and the *Papists* come both out of the same *Babylonian Quiver*.

But thirdly, let us minde his *Reason* from Matth. 6. In seeking *Gods Kingdome* men prosper in outward *estate*, otherwise not:

I answer

1. Bodies and Goods the Magistrates object.

2. Oppression in Bodies Goods and Minde.

I answer, this *Proposition* would better befit the pen of a *Jew* then a *Christian*, a follower of *Moses*, then of *Jesus Christ*, who although he will not fayle to take care for his in *Earthly Providences*, that make it their chiefe *worke* to seeke his *Kingdome*, yet he maketh (as I may say) *Christs Crosse* the first *Figure* in his *Alphabet*, taking up his *Crosse* and *Gallowes* (in most ordinarie persecution,) which with selfe-deniall, are the assured *Tearmes* his *Servants* must resolve to looke for.

'Tis true, he promiseth and makes good, an *hundreth Fathers*,¹ *Mothers*, *Brothers*, *Sisters*, *Wives*, *Children*, *Houses* and *Lands*: But M^r *Cotton* well knowes, it is [with *persecution*]. And how this outward *prosperitie*, agrees with *Imprisonments*, *Banishments*, *hanging*, *burning*, for *Christs sake*: the *Martyrs* or *Witnes* of *Jesus* in all *Ages*, and the *cry* of the *Soules* under the *Altar*, may bring againe to his *Remembrance*, if *New Englands peace*, *profit*, *pleasure* and *Honour*, have lulld him into a *Forgetfulness* of the *principles* of the true Lord *Jesus Christ*.

Peace. But M^r *Cotton* remembreth not the *Proposition* to be his, to wit, that the *Magistrates* power extendeth no further then the *Bodies* and *Goods* of the *Subject*.

Truth. M^r *Cotton* hinted not his least dissent from *Luther* (as he otherwayes useth to doe if he disowne,) &c.

Secondly, He grants it true in the *object*, to wit, that the object of the *Magistrates* power is the *Body* and *Goods* of the *Subject*, though not in the *End* which he saith is *ἐνπολιτεύειν*, well to administer the *Common-weale*: Now I aske what is this *Common-weale*?

Peace. The *Spirit* of *God* distinguisheth in the *New Testament*² between the *Common weales* of the *Nations* of the *World*, and the *Common-weale* of *Israel*. The *Common-weale* of *Israel*, M^r *Cotton* will not affirme now to be a *Church* *Provinciall*, *Nationall*, *Oecumenicall*, but *Particular* and *Congregationall*.

Truth. If so, then the *finall cause* of both these *Common weales* or *States* cannot be the same. But although the *End* of the *Civill Magistrate* be excellent, to wit, well to administer the *Common-weale*, yet the end of the *Spirituell Common-weale* of *Israel* and the *Officers* thereof, is as *different* and *transcendent* as the *Heaven* is from the *Earth*.

Peace. But how (sayth M^r *Cotton*) can it be well with the

I i 2

Com-

1. Wealth, Honour, and Prosperitie seldome attending Christs true Followers.

2. What is the Cōmon weale of *Israel*.

Common-wealth that injoyes bodily health, and worldly wealth, if there be no *Christ*, no *Church* there? and how was it with the *Romane Empire* which the *Red-horse of War*, and *Black horse of Famine*, and *Pale horse of Pestilence* would have ruined, if she had not cast away her *Idols*.

Truth. Concerning this instance of *Rome* Master *Cotton* here acknowledgeth it abounded in *worldly blessings*, till the *Lord Jesus* came riding forth upon the *White Horse* of the *Gospel*. And Master *Cotton* may remember that from the *Foundation* of her¹ rising and *Glory*, laid by *Romulus* untill *Christs* time, it flourished about 750 years in a long chaine of *generations* succeeding each other in *worldly prosperity*, and yet no *Church* nor *Christ* to uphold it, so far is Master *Cottons* *Romish instance* from countenancing M^r. *Cottons* *Roman Doctrine*.

Peace. But when *Christ* came (saith Master *Cotton*) and was neglected, then the *Red* and *Black* and *Pale* horse had almost destroyed her, if she had not cast away her *Idols*.

Truth. I answer, *Rome* the head of the *Empire* cannot be said to neglect *Christ* (untill the bloody *Tenent* of persecution arose amongst them) I say, not to neglect *Christ* more, nor so² much as other *States*, for there were so many of the *Romanes*, and so glorious professors of *Christ Jesus*, that all the world over the *Faith* and *Christian* obedience of the *Romanes* was renowned.

2 The *Roman Empire* cannot be said to cast away her *Idols*, but to change (as the *Portugals* did in the *East-Indies*) her *Idols* her more grosse and *Pagan Idols*, for more refined & beautified *Idols*, painted over with the name of *Christ*, the true *God*, *holines*, &c. and this in the glorious dayes of *Constantine*, or not long after. The *Church of Christ Jesus* which under persecution remained³ a *wise* and *spouse* of *Christ Jesus*, now degenerates and apostates into an *Whore*, in the times of her ease, security and prosperity. (Whole *Cities*, *Nations*, and the whole world forced and ravished into a *whore* or *Antichristian Christian*.)

3 As far as the *East* is from the *West*, so far is the world and nations and *Empire* of it from the holinesse of *Christ Jesus*, holy *Spirit*, *Truth* and *Saints*: With what appearance then of *Christs holinesse*, *glory*, &c. can Master *Cotton* advance the world (the *Roman Empire*) to be (as he here speaks) the *Advancer* of the *scepter of Christ Jesus*? *Peace.*

1. The *Roman Empire* flourisheth in worldly glory without *Christ*

2. The *Citie of Rome* famous for prosscending *Christ Jesus*.

3. *Christs Spouse* most chaste under persecution.

Peace. If this Roman Empire be that dreadfull *Beast*, (in *Daniels* prophecy) more strange and terrible then the rest, yea, and¹ more terrible to *Christ Jesus* and his servants, then was the former *Babylonian Lion*, or *Persian Beare*, or *Grecian Leopard*, what truth of *Jesus* is this, that advanceth this dreadfull bloody *Beast* to be the *Advancer* of the *Scepter*, that is, the *Church* and *Government*, the *Truth* and *Saints* of *Christ Jesus*.

Peace. Glorious things (Dear *Truth*) are recorded of *Constantine* and other glorious *Emperors*.

Truth. The *Beast* was (sweet *Peace*) the *Beast* still, although² it pleased *God* to give some refreshing and reviving to his persecuted servants, by *Constantine* and other blessed instruments yet *Constantines* favour was a bitter sweetening, his superstitious zeal laying the *Foundation* for after *Usurpations* and *Abominations*.

4 But further, for neer 1000 years together, both before and after *Christs time*, *Rome* grew and flourished (with little alterations³ of her *glory* in comparison) untill this very time that *Master Cotton* cals the casting away of her *Idols*: For not before, but after *Constantines* advancing of *Christians* to wealth and honour, &c. I say neer about 300 years together (interchangably) after his time, untill *Pipinus*, and *Charles the Great*, the City and state of *Rome* was almost ruined and destroyed, by the often dreadfull incursions of the *Goths* and *Vandals*, *Huns*, *Longobards*, and other furious Nations: So contrary to the truth of *Jesus* is this fleshly doctrine of worldly wealth and prosperity, and also this very instance of *Rome* and her *glory* here discussed.

Peace. *Master Cotton* ends with *prayer* and *blessing* to *God* (as *James* speakes) and bitter and cutting *cursings* and *censures* to man, the poor *Discusser*, who (saith *Master Cotton*) seduceth himselfe and others and delights to doe it, and against the light of *grace* and *conscience*, against *reason* and *experience*.

Truth. The *Discusser* is as humbly confident of *Grace* and *Conscience*, *Reason* and *Experience*, yea, the *God* of all *Grace*, *Christ Jesus*, his holy *Spirit*, *Angels*, *Truth* and *Saints* to be on his side, as *Master Cotton* otherwise can be: but the day shall try, the *Fire* and *Time* shall try which is the *Gold* of *Truth* and
faith-

1. The Roman Monarchy bloody to the Saints.

2. Constantine a friend and enemy to Christs Spouse.

3. The state of the Romane Empire before and after Christ.

Faithfulness, and which the *Drosse* and *Stubble* of *Lyes* and *Error*.

In the meane time I dare pronounce from the *Testimony* of *Christ Jesus*, that in all Controversies of *Religion*: That *Soul* that most possesseth it selfe in patient suffering, and dependeth not on the *arme* of *flesh*, but upon the *arme* of *God*, *Christ Jesus*, for his comfort and protection, that *Soul* is most likely (in my observation) to see and stand for the *Truth* of *Christ Jesus*.

Peace. In the next place Master *Cotton* denyes to compell to the *Truth* by *penalties*, but onely by withdrawing such favours as are comely and safe for such persons.

Truth. I have formerly answered, and doe, that a great Load may be made up by *Parcels* and *particulars*, as well as by one *masse* or *bulke*; and that the backs of some men, especially *Merchants* may be broke, by a withdrawing from them some *Civill* priviledges and rights (which are their due) as well as by afflicting them in their *Purses*, or *Flesh* upon their backs.

2 *Christ Jesus* was of another opinion (who distinguisheth between *Gods* due and *Cæsars* due: and therefore (with respect to¹ *God* his cause and *Religion*) it is not lawfull to deprive *Cæsar* the *Civil* Magistrate, nor any that belong to him of their *Civil* and *Earthly* rights. I say in this respect, although that a man is not *Godly*, a *Christian*, sincere, a *Church member*, yet to deprive him of any *Civill right* or *Priviledge*, due to him as a *Man*, a *Subject*, a *Citizen*, is to take from *Cæsar*, that which is *Cæsars*, which *God* indures not though it be given to himselfe.

Peace. *Experience* oft-times tell us, that however the stream of just *Priviledges* and *Rights* hath (out of *Carnal Policy*) been stopt by *Gods people*, when they have got the *Staffe* into their hands (in divers *Lands* and *Countreys*) yet hath that *streame* ever returned, to the greater *calamity* and *tryal* of *Gods people*.

Truth. But (thirdly) it hath been noted that even in *New-England*, penalties by *Law* have been set to force all to come to *Church*, which will appear upon a due search to be nothing else but an outward profession of *force* and *violence*, for that *Doctrine* which they suppose is the *Truth*.

Peace.

1. God will not wrong, nor have *Cæsar* wronged.

Peace. Concerning coming to *Church*: wee tolerate (saith Master Cotton) *Indians, Presbyterians, Antinomians, and Anabaptists*: and compell none to come to *Church* against their *conscience*, and none are restrained from hearing even in *England*.

Truth. Compelling to come to *Church* is apparant whether¹ with or against their *Conscience*, let every man look to it. The toleration of *Indians* is against professed *principles*, and against the *stream* of all his present dispute as before I proved.

Touching the *Magistrates* duty of suppressing *Idolatry, Witchcraft, Blasphemy, &c.* such *Indians* as are (pofessedly subject to *English*) in *N. England*, notoriously continue and abound in the same which if they should not permit, it as apparant, their *subjection* is hazarded.

Tis true, this *Toleration* is a *Duty* from *God*, but a sin in them because they professe it their *Duty* to suppress *Idolatry, Blasphemy*; (adde, Master Cotton may say, we not onely tolerate the *Indians* in their abominable and barbarous *worships*, but (which may seem most incredible) we tolerate the *Indians* also in that which by our *civil principles* we ought to tolerate no subject in, that is, in abominable *lying, whoring, cursing, thieving*, without any active course of restraint, &c.

Tis true, Those *Indians* submitting to their *Government* (as it may be Master Cotton will say to the ten *Commandements*) yet living in all kind of *Barbarisme*, live some miles more remote: how ever they are (they say) their subjects) were every miles distance an hundreth.

Peace. But is there any such and professed tolleration of *Antinomians, Presbyterians, Anabaptists*, as is here insinuated?

Truth. I know of no toleration of *Presbyterian, Antinomians,*² *Anabaptists*, worshipping *God* in any meetings, separate from the *common Assemblies*. If any such persons be amongst them (like *Church-Papists*) it is their sin, that they separate not from such opposite *Assemblies* and *Worships*, and it is the sin of such *assemblies* to tolerate such persons after due admonitions, in the name of *Christ*, rejected.

But further, Master Cotton grants a *Communion* in hearing in a *Church-Estate* by *Church members*, but not in any as are no *Church-members*, but come in as the *Pagan, Infidell, 1 Cor. 14.*

Truth. *Communion* is twofold, First; open and professed
among

1. Concerning toleration in *New England*.

2. Witnesse the bloody whipping of *Obadiah Homes* for the point of *Baptisme* lately at *Boston*.

among *Church-Members*: Secondly, *Secret* and *implicite* in all¹ such as give their *presence* to such *Worships* without *witnessing* against them. For otherwise, how can a *Church-Papist* satisfie the *Law*, compelling him to come to *Church*, or a *Protestant* satisfie a *Popish Law* in *Popish Countries*, but by this *Cloake* or *Covering*, hiding and saving of themselves by bodily *presence* at *Worship*, though their *Heart* be farre from it.

Peace. Whereas it was said, that *Conscionable Papists*, and all² *Protestants* have suffered upon this ground, especially of refusing to come to each others *Church* or *meeting*. M^r *Cotton* replies; They have suffred upon other *points*, and such as have refused to come to *Church*, have not refused because such hearing implanted them into *Church-Estate*, but out of *feare* to be leavened.

Truth. 'Tis true, many have suffred upon other *points*, but upon due *Examination* it will appeare that the great and most *universall Tryall* hath been, amongst both *Papists* and *Protestants* about coming to *Church*, and that not out of *feare* of being *leavened* (for what *Religion* is ordinarily so distrustfull of its owne strength?) as of Countenancing what they believe *false*, by their *presence* and *appearance*.

Exam: of Chap. 71. replying to Chap. 74.

Peace. CONCERNING the *Papists testimonie* against *persecution*; M^r *Cotton* replies: First, why may not their *Testimonie* be *wicked*, as well as their *Booke*, confest so to be? Secondly, He grants, that *Conversion* of *Soules* ought not to be but by *Spirituell* meanes.

Truth. It is true, the Authour of the *Letter* calls their booke *wicked*, and themselves the *Authours* of *persecution*, yet their *Testimonie* is in part acknowledged by M^r *Cotton* to be true, and will further appeare so to be upon *Examination*: But whether M^r *Cotton* allow of no other *Armes*, then *Spirituell* to be used about *Spirituell conversion*, it hath and will be further examined.

Peace. Whereas the *Papists* alledge (*Matth. 10.*) that *Christ Jesus*

1. Communion Spirituell, two-fold.

2. The great Triall among *Papists & Protestants* concerning comming to Church.

Jesus sent his Ministers as sheepe among Wolves, not as Wolves among sheepe, to kill, imprison, &c. M^r Cotton grants this true, yet adds that this hindreth not *Excommunication*, Tit. 3. nor *miraculous Vengeance* against *Spirituall Wolves* (Acts 13.) where there is a *gift*: nor their *Prayers* against such, 2 *Tim.* 4. 4. nor their *stirring up* of the *Civill power* against them, as *Elijah* did *Ahab* and the people against the *Prophets of Baal*, 1 *Kings* 18. 40.

Truth. Concerning the two first we agree, for the third, the *Prayers of Gods people* against *Gods Enemies*, we finde two-fold: First, *Generall* against all; secondly, *Particular* against some; and that two-fold; First, for *Gods Vengeance* in *Gods time*, leaving it to his holy *Wisdome*; as *Paul* prayd against *Alexander*. Secondly, For *present Vengeance*; as the *Disciples* desired in the case of *Christ*, *Luke* 9. And against such *Prayers* the *Discusser* did and doth contend.

For the fourth, in *Stirring up* of the *Civill State* against false² *Prophets*, I must answer as before, Let M^r Cotton produce any such *Civill State* in the *World*, as that *Extraordinarie* and *miraculous State* of *Israel* was, and I yeeld it: otherwise, if the *passage* be *extraordinarie* and *typing*, why doth M^r Cotton adde fuell to *Nebuchadnezzars fierie furnace*, which hath been so dreadfully hot already, and hath devoured so many *millions of Gods people*?

Peace. Further out of *Matth.* 10. Whereas the *Papists* booke says, *Christs Ministers* should be delivered, but should not deliver up, those whom they are sent unto to *convert*, unto *Councells* or *Prisons*, or to make their *Religion Felonie* or *Treason*; M^r Cotton answers; What is this to *Apostates*, who seeke to *subvert* the *Faith* they have profest? What is this to them that seeke to *subvert States*, and kill *Kings*; which *Doctrine*, in downe-right tearmes, he at last chargeth upon the *Authour* of the *Letter*, and the *Discusser*.

Truth. But how falls an *Antichristian* or *Apostate* more directly under the stroake of the *Civill Sword*, then a *Jew* or *Turke* or *Pagan*? By what rule of *God* or *Christ* hath a *Magistrate* of this *World*, *Authoritie*, so to punish the one above the other? And where hath M^r Cotton found one Title, either in the *Letter* or in the *Discusser*, which forbids the *Magistrate* to punish *Felonie*

K k

or

1. Touching prayers for Vengeance upon Gods Enemies.

2. Stirring up of the Civill State to persecute.

or *Treason*, whether it be in *practice*, or in *Doctrine*, leading to it? Doth not every *Leafe* and *Line* breath the contrary to what M^r Cotton here insinuateth? The *Truth* is, as *Potiphars* wife accusing¹ *Joseph* was not cleare her *selfe*, so let this charge be well examined, and this will be the *Result* of it; The *Papists* and the *Discusser* agree together in asserting one *Truth* in this Chapter, to wit, that *Gods Messengers* ought not to deliver any to *Prisons* or *Councells*. But in the *Doctrine* of killing hereticall *Kings* or *Magistrates*, who sees not but such *Papists* as hould that *Doctrine*, and M^r Cotton meete in the end? For if the *Magistrate* prove an *Apostate*, *Blasphemer*, *Idolater*, *Heretick*, *Seducer* (according to M^r Cottons *Doctrine*, as well as the *Papists*) such *Kings* and *Magistrates* ought (as well as thousands of his *Subjects* in like case) be put to Death.

Peace. Againe, where the *Papists* booke argued from *Matth.* 10 that *Christ* bids his *Ministers* to salute an house with *peace*, he sends no *Pursevant* to ransack and spoile it: M^r Cotton answers: True, but if *Seducers* be there, or *Rebells* or *Conspiratours* be there, *God* hath armed the *Magistrate*, *Rom.* 13.

Truth. M^r Cotton (too too like the bloudie persecutours of *Christ Jesus* in all Ages) still couples the *Seducer* and the *Rebells* together, as the *Jewes* coupled *Christ* and *Barrabbas*, though *Barrabbas* finds more favor then the *Son of God*, for *Christ* as a *seducer*, a *Deceiver*, &c. is commonly executed, & *Barrabas* released.

'Tis true the *Magistrates Commission* is from *God*, even in the time of the *Gospel*, but *Christ Jesus* never gave *Commission* to *Magistrates* to send *Pursevants* to ransack an house, to search for *Seducers* and *Idolaters*, who transgresse onely against the *Spirituell Kingdome* of *Christ Jesus*, but not against *Civilitie* and the *Civill State*.

Peace. This *Distinction* of *Evills* I remember it pleased *God* to open some of the *Romane Emperours* eyes to see, upon the occasion of his poore servants *Apologies* presented unto them.

Truth. You seasonably remember this (Deare *Peace*) for although² we finde not *Antoninus Pius* or *Aurelius Antoninus* to have been Believers in *Christ Jesus*, yet they gave forth their *Edicts*, that no *Christian* should be punished meerely for that he was a *Christian*, except some other crime against the *Civill State* were proved against him: And the later of these gave in Expresse
ressed

1. The bloudie Tenent of persecution is alone the King killing and Stare-killing Doctrine.

2. Amoninus Pius his Edict for the Christians.

presse charge, that such as were their *Accusers* should be burnt alive.

Peace. If such an *Edict* or any farre more moderate should come forth in our Time, against the great troublers of all *Civill*¹ *States*, to wit, *Informers*, *Accusers* and *Maintainers* of the bloudie *Doctrine* of *persecution*: Doubtles thousands and ten thousands of Men, yea not a few of the most *zealous Hunters* or *persecutors* would easily submit to the Truth of the *Distinction* between the *crime* of a *Religion* contrary to a *State Religion*, and a *crime* against the *Civill State* thereof.

But to the *Papists* againe, they (lastly) alledged, *John* 10. that the true *Shepherd* comes not to kill the *sheepe*, &c. Upon this Master *Cotton* queries. But what if the *Wolfe*, the *Thiefe* come, shall the *Shepherd* use *Spirituell Censures*, when they are not capeable of such *stroakes*, or shall he not seeke helpe from the *Magistrate*, who is to see *Gods* people live a quiet and peaceable *Life* in all *Godlines* and *Honestie*, 1 Tim. 2.?

Truth. I answer, and cry out, how long, how long *Lord*,² before thou avenge the blood of thy *holy ones*, against them that dwell on the *Earth*, both bloudie *Papists* and bloudie *Protestants*? Out of their owne Mouthes shall *Papists* and *Protestants* be condemned, for slaughtering *Christ Jesus* (the *Shepherd*) in his poore *Sheepe* and *Servants*, and especially the bloudie *Papist*, for alledging that *Scripture*, for the *Popes* bloudie *Butcherie*, [*Arise Peter*, kill and Eate:] yet all pretending to save the *sheepe*, and onely to resist *Wolves*, *Thieves*, &c.

But more punctually Master *Cotton* well knowes, that in the³ *Mysterie* of *Antichristianisme*, many thousand *Antichristian Wolves* pretend strongly to be the harmeles *sheepe* of *Christ Jesus*, yea his tender and carefull *Shepherds*, yet are but *Antichristian Thieves* and *Robbers*, who cannot *dig* and to *beg* are ashamed, and therefore finde it best to *steale* and *rob*, whole *Parishes* and *Provinces*, whole *Nations*, &c. for *Livinges*, for *Benefices*, for *Bishopricks*, *Cardinalships*, *Popedomes*, &c.

Peace. What kinde of *Sheepe* and *Shepherds* (*Christ Jesus*⁴ will finde out shortly) are all those *Hirelings*, *Papists* or *Protestant*, who no longer *peny*, no longer *paternoster*, no longer *pay*, no longer *pray*, nor *preach*, nor *fast*, nor *convert*, &c.

Truth. These *Babylonian Rivers* shall at last be stopt: *God* and

K k 2

Man

1. Transgression against the Spirituall or Civill peace.

2. Persecutours of Christs *Sheepe* pretend to save them and kill none but *Wolves*.

3. Antichristian Ministers great *Thieves*.

4. Hireling Ministers.

Man shall agree to stop them: The truth of that holy *Mysterie* of that great *Exchange* shall be opened, *Revel.* 10. And *Peoples* eyes shall be opened to see, how these *mysticall Marchants* of the *Earth* (pretending to be the great *Sellers* of *Truth*) have been the greatest *Deceivers*, and *Cheators*, the greatest *Thieves* and *Robbers* in the *World*.

Peace. But M^r *Cotton* will say, *Gods people* would live at *peace* in *Godlinesse* and *Honestie*, 1 *Tim.* 2. 1. as *Paul* professeth, *Acts* 25. 8.

Truth. I remember when old *Chaucer* puts this *Querie* to¹ the foure chiefe sorts of *Fryers* in his Time [which of the foure sorts is the best] he finds every sort applauding it selfe, and concluding the other three sorts of *Fryers* to be *Liars*: whence in Conclusion he finds them all guilty of *Lying* (in a round) before *God*, for all profest themselves to be the only godly men.

I may now ask, who among all the sorts of *Churches* and *Ministers* applaud not themselves (like the *Fryars* in *Chaucers* dayes) to be *Christs* onely *Churches*, *Christs Ministers*, &c. And who among the severall sorts of such as are *Gods people* indeed, believe not their own *Godlines* (or worshipping of *God*) to be onely right and *Christian*?

Peace. What now if each sort should enjoy *Magistrates* of their owne *profession* and *Way*?

Truth. The *bloudie Tenent* will unavoydably set them altogether by the Eares, to try out by the *longest Sword*, and *strongest Arme*, which *Godlines* must live in *peace* and *quietnes*: But as for that *Scripture*, 1 *Tim.* 2. I have (as I believe) fully debated it, in the *Examination* of the *Modell*, and made it evident how farre from all *Godlines* and *Honestie* that holy *Scripture* is perverted.

Peace. M^r *Cotton* in the next passage being charged with partiall dealing, and a double *waight* and *measure*, one for himselfe and another for others; M^r *Cotton* in effect answereth, that it is a true and just Complaint against *persecution* and *persecutours*, but not against them, for they are *Righteous* and not *Apostates*, *Seducers*, *Hereticks*, *Idolaters*, *Blasphemers*, &c.

Peace. What doth Master *Cotton* answer, but what all *religions*, *sects*, and severall sorts of *worshippers* in the world: all religious *Priests* and *Church-men* plead, We are *Righteous*? &c.

Peace.

1. Fryars in *Chancers* time and the *Cleargie* in our time considered.

Peace. Yea, the very *Turkes* and *Mahumetans* challenge to¹ themselves true *Faith* in God, yea, whether *Jews*, *Antichristians* or *Christians*, they all call themselves *Muselmani* that is the *right beleevers*.

Truth. It is not so great wonder then if the *popish* and *protestant* sects, and *ministers of worship* cry out (as men use to doe in *suits of Law* and pretences to the *Crowne*) We are *righteous*, my title is good, and the *best*. We are *holy*, we are *Orthodox* and *godly*: You must spare *us*, beleeve *us*, honour *us*, feed *us*, protect and defend *us* in peace and quietnesse. Others are *Hereticks*, *Apostates*, *Seducers*, *Idolators*, *Blasphemers*, starve *them*, imprison *them*, banish *them*, yea hang *them*, burne *them* with fire and sword pursue *them*.

Peace. When it was urged (by way of prevention) that persons truly professing *Christ Jesus* be his sheep, and they cannot persecute;

First, Because it is against the nature of *Sheep* to hunt, no not the *Wolves* that have hunted themselves, &c. Master *Cotton* answers, First if the similitude be so stretched, then if a *Magistrate* be a *sheep*, he ought not to punish, *robbers*, *adulterers*, *murderers*, &c.

2 "*Paul* was a *sheep*, and yet he strook *Elimas* with blindness, *Acts* 13.

3 "(Saith he) when the *Wolfe* runs upon the *sheep*, it is not against the nature of the true *sheep* to run to the true *shepherd*, "and is it against the nature of the true *Shepherd* to send forth "his *Dogs*, to worrie such a *VVolfe*, without incurring the reproach of a *persecutour*.

Truth. To the first, the finger of true *Distinction* will easily untie these seeming knots.²

Sheep therefore are two-fold, *naturall* and *misticall*.

Againe, *misticall* are two-fold, First, *Civill*, and so all *Magistrates* have rightly been called *Shepherds* and the people *sheep*.

2 *Spirituell*, and so *Christ Jesus* gave *pastors*, that is *Sheepheards* and *Teachers*, and all *Believers* and *followers of Jesus* are *sheep*.

On the contrary there are *naturall* and *misticall wolves*: of *misticall* some oppose the *spirituall*, and some the *Civill State*, and some both, who must be resisted by the proper *sheepheads*, and
proper

1. The *Turkes* themselves will be *Muselmani*, or right beleevers. The horrible partialite of persecutors.

2. *Misticall* sheep.

proper *weapons* in each kind, and to confound these is to *deceive* and to be *deceived*.

Peace. Upon the ground of this *Distinction* we may easily perceive, that a *Shepherd* in *Civil state*, of what Religion soever he be, as a *Shepherd* of the people he ought to defend them by force of *Civill arms*, from all oppressions of *body, goods, chastity, name, &c.* This doth the *Magistrate* as a *Shepherd* of the *Civil state* and people, considered in a *Civil* respect and capacity, and this ought all the *Magistrates* in the world to doe, whether they be *sheep* or no themselves in another respect, that is in a spirituall and *Christian*.

Truth. Yea, and if a *Magistrate* be a *sheep* or a true *Christian*, who seeth not that he punisheth not the *robber, adulterer, murderer* as a spirituall *shepherd* with spirituall weapons, but as a *Civil Shepherd* with a *Civill stasse, sword, &c?*

Tis true, *Paul* was a *sheep*, that is, a spirituall *sheep*; he also¹ was a *spirituall Shepherd*, and *Elimas* was a *wolfe* opposing spiritually, and *Paul* in his opposition strook him blind. *Striking* is two-fold, *spirituall* and *corporall*: And all the *sheep* of *Christ* as *spirituall*, are also *Lyons* and armed *men*, and so doe strike *spiritually*.

Peace. It will be said that *Paul* strook both *spiritually* and *corporally*.

Truth. *Corporal stroaks* may be considered either ordinary or mediate, by force of *armes, fire* and *sword, &c.* or extraordinary and immediate, such as it pleased *God* to use himselfe, and his holy *Prophets* and *Apostles* by his power: Now 'tis true, in this second way, (even in spirituall cases) *Gods sheep* which have been inducd with power above nature, that is of miracles, have plagued *Egypt*, have burnt up *Captaines* and their *Fifties*, yea pluckt up *Nations* and *Kingdomes* as *Jeremie*: *Peter* kild *Ananias* and his wife, *Paul* strook *Elimas* blind, and the two witnesses consume their *Enemies* with fire out of their mouths.²

If either of these should doe this ordinarily, that is, by ordinary means (for instance, if *Peter* had killed *Ananias* with a *Sword*, or *Paul* beat out *Elimas* his eyes with a *Fist* or stone) they ought to have been punished by the *Civil state*, as oppressors of the people, and transgressors against *Civill peace, &c.* But performing
forming

1. *Paul* his striking *Elimas* blind considered.

2. Of the power of miracles.

forming these executions, by a spirituall, divine and miraculous power, above humane reach: all that heard were to acknowledge, and feare and tremble at the holy *Spirits* might: of this gift of miracles, I say as the Lord *Jesus* spake touching the gift of *Continency*, he that can receive it, let him receive it.

Peace. By what hath been said, I see Master *Cottons* last answer will be more easily satisfied: when the *WVolve* runneth ravenously (saith he) upon the *sheep*, is it against the nature of the true *sheep* to run to their *Shepheards*? and it is not against the nature of the true *Shepherd* to send forth his *Doggs* to worrie such a *WVolve*, &c?

Truth. Master *Cotton* (doubtlesse) here intends *misticall sheep*, and *Shepheards*, and *WVolves* and *Doggs*, and presseth the similitude from the naturall sheep in Civill respect, he cannot here mean (for that is not the *Question*) whether *Wolvish-men* oppressing the *Civill state* are to be resisted and suppressed by *civill weapons*, &c.

Concerning *Spiritual sheep* then: the first *question* is: If the *wolfe* runs ravenously upon the *Sheep*, is it against the nature of the true *Sheep* to run to their *Shepherd*? I answer, a spiritual *Wolfe* (a false *Teacher*, &c.) may be said to run ravenously upon a *spirituall sheep*, by *spiritual assault* of Argument, Dispute, Reproach, &c. The same man as a *civil wolfe* (for so we must speake to speake properly) may also run upon a *sheep of Christ* by *Civill Armes*, that is in a *Civil respect*, upon *Body* and *Goods*, &c,

If now the *Wolfe* ravin the first way, the *sheep of Christ* may and ought to run, to the Lord *Jesus* (the great M^r. *Shepherd*) and to such under and in inferiour *Shepheards* as he hath appointed (if he can attain to them.)

If the second way, the *sheep* (beside running to *Christ Jesus* by prayer, and to his *Ordinances* and *Officers* for advice and comfort) may run to the *Civil Magistrate* (appealing to *Cæsar*, &c.) against such uncivill violence and oppression.

Peace. Mine heart joyfully acknowledgeth the *Light* mine eye seeth, in that true and necessary *distinction*: Now to the Second *Question*, is it against the nature of the true *Shepherd* (saith M^r. *Cotton*) to send forth his *Doggs* to worrie such a *wolfe*, &c.

Truth.

1. Spirituall sheep and wolves considered.

Truth. M^r Cotton here discoursing of *Christs sheepe*, and *Christs Shepheards*, *Reason* would perswade, that the *Shepheards* or *Pastours* here intended should be the *Shepheards* or *Pastours* appointed by *Christ Jesus*, Ephes. 4.

Peace. If so he should intend, it well suits with the *spirit* of some *proud* and *scornfull* (pretended) *Shepheards* of *Christ Jesus* in the *World*, who have used to call their *Clarkes*, *Sumners*, *Proctors*, and *Pursevants*, their *hunting Dogs*, &c.

Truth. But such *Dogs*, (as yet) the *Independent Pastours* or *Shepheards*, keepe not.

Peace. Yea but the *Pope* (to speake in M^r Cottons phrase,¹ yet with all humble respect to *Civill Authoritie*, the blessed *Ordinance of God and Man*) I say the *Pope* keeps such *Dogs* good store, yea *Dogs* of all sorts, not onely of those lesser kindes, but whom he useth as his *Dogs*, the *Emperours*, *Kings*, and *Magistrates* of the *World*, whom he teacheth and forceth to *crouch*, to *lie downe*, to *creepe*, and *kisse his foote*, and from thence at his beck to *flie upon* such *greedie Wolves*, as the *Waldenses*, *Wicklevis*, *Hussites*, *Hugonites*, *Lutherans*, *Calvinists*, *Protestants*, *Puritans*, *Sectaries*, &c. to *imprison*, to *whip*, to *banish*, to *hang*, to *head*, to *burne*, to *blow up* such vile *Hereticks*, *Apostates*, *Seducers*, *Blasphemers*, &c.

But I forget, it will be said, the *Protestants Grounds* and *practices* differ from the *Popes* as far as *Light* from *Darknes*, and how ever the *Pope* useth the *secular power* and *Magistrates* thereof, but as *Dogs* and *Hangmen*, yet the *Reformed Churches* teach and practice better.

Truth. 'Tis true (sweet *Peace*) the *Protestants* professe greater² *honour* and *subjection* to the *Civill Magistrate*: But let *plaine English* be spoken and it will be found that the *Protestant cleargie* (as they will be calld) ride the *backs* and *necks* of *Civill Magistrates*, as *fully* and as *heavily* (though not so *pompously*) as ever the great *Whore* sat the *backs* of *Popish Princes*.

Peace. The *Protestant Cleargie* hath yeelded up the *temporall sword* into the hand of the *temporall State*, *Kings*, *Governours*, &c. They proclaime the *Magistrates*, *Head* of the *Church*, *Defenders* of their *Faith*, the *Supream Judges* in all *causes* as well *Ecclesiasticall* as *Civill*.

Truth. 'Tis true, they make the *Magistrate* *Head* of the
Church

1. The Pope and, all proud Popish Priests and Cleargie use the Civill Powers but as Dogs.

2. The Protestant Cleargie their dealing with Magistrates.

Church, but yet of what Church they please to make and fashion.

They make him *Defendour* of the *Faith*, but of what *Faith*, what *Doctrine*, what *Discipline*, what *Members* they please to admit and account of: And this under the *penaltie* of being accounted either *hereticall* (and so *Magistrates* worthy themselves to be put to Death) or *ignorant*, and so not fit to *act* (as M^r Cotton sayth) but must suspend their *power*, untill they submit to the *Cleargies* pretended *Light*, and so be learn'd to see and read with the *Cleargies Spectacles*.

Peace. To this purpose (indeed) agrees the next *passage*, wherein M^r Cotton affirmeth, that although all the *Magistrates*¹ in the *World*, ought to punish *Blasphemers*, *Idolaters*, *Seducers*, yet this must they not doe while their *Consciences* are *blinde* and *ignorant* of the *Truth*, and yet they cease not to be *Magistrates* (sayth he) although they cannot performe all the *Duties* of *Magistrates*.

Truth. Concerning this *stated Dutie* of all *Magistrates*, and yet *suspending* of all *ignorant Magistrates* from *acting*, according to this their *Dutie* I have spoken to before and often, I now add, according to M^r Cottons *similitude*, if the *Errours* of others be as *motes* in comparison of the *beames* of this *ignorance* and *blindnesse* in *Magistrates*, which he calleth *Beames*, it will be found that he renders thousands of the *Magistrates* of the *World* as incapable to be true *Magistrates*, as an heape of *Timber* to be an *House*, which wants the *beames* and *principalls*.

Peace. The *summe* of the *Difference* in the last *passage* is not great, nor any in *words*, for sayth M^r Cottons *Conclusion*, If the *Difference* be onely in the *way* and *manner* of the *Administration* of *Christ*, and the *Difference* be held forth in a *peaceable* and *Christian* way, *God* forbid a *Staffe* should be shaken against such, or a *Sword* unsheathed.

Truth. Alas, where hath lien the great *Difference* between the *Prelates* and *Presbyterians*, the *Presbyterians* and *Independants*, but about the *way* and *Administration* of *Christs Kingdome* (for as for matter of *Doctrine* according to the 39 *Articles*² of the *Church of England*, they have little differd)? Yea wherein for matter of *Doctrine*, of *Faith*, *Repentance* and *Holinesse*) have the *Churches* which make whole *seperation*, or such

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as

1. A suspending or hanging up of Magistrates

2. The great spirituall differences of these late Times.

as goe further to a new *Baptisme*, wherein have they differd from the former? and yet we know what *Lawes* have been and are extant in *Old* and *New England* against them, and what *practices* have been felt, and may justly be expected both from the *Mother* and the *Daughter*, if a jealous *God* and heavenly *Father* (for our *unthankfullnesse*) should once be pleased to finish this late and *wonderfull calme* and *moderation*: Which yet may¹ justly be feard to prove, (as *Sea-men* use to observe) but a *Winters calme*, and they ray, a *Winters calme* (for then *stormes* are breeding) is as bad as a *Summers storme*.

Exam: of Chap. 72. replying to Chap. 75.

Concerning the *Testimonie of Austin*.

Peace. M^r *Cotton* finds two *faults* in the first entrance.

M First, that *Antichrist* should be said to be too hard for *Christ* at voting: 2. That *Austins Testimonie* should be put off as a *Rhetoricall Evasion*.

Truth. To the first, it will shortly appeare as the *Light* at *Noone day*, what packing of *Votes*, and *listing*, and *mustring* up of *Numbers* have been in all *Ages*, in all *Councells*, in all *Synods*, in all *Parliaments*, and in all (falsely so called) *Christian Countries*, against the *Lord*, his *Christ* and *Servants*.

Peace. But M^r *Cotton* marvailes that when the *case* concernes *tolleration* of *Hereticks* and *Antichristians*, that *Antichrist* should procure more *Votes* against *Antichristians*, and that *Christ* should procure any *Vote*, though fewer, for them.

Truth. To expound this riddle; It was never affirmed, that *Christ* hath any *Votes* for the tollerating of *Hereticks* or *Antichristians* in the *Religious State* or *Church of Christ*, but in the *Civil State* or *Common-weale*, that is, in the common field of the world together.

Secondly, Not onely *Antichrist* may oppose some *Antichristians*,² but the *Israel of God* may oppose *Israel*: *Ephraim* may be against *Manasseh*, and *Manasseh* against *Ephraim*, and both against *Judah* in severall respects. Have not the *Presbyterians* been against the *Independents*, and the *Independents* against the *Presbyterians*, and both against such as *seperate* from the *uncleannesses* of them both?

No

1. Of rest from persecution.

2. Gods children may possibly fight each against the other.

No wonder then when one *Antichristian Faction* prevails to crush another, (and therein wraps up *Christ Jesus* himselfe as¹ an *Antichristian*,) that *Christ Jesus* should finde some *Friends* and *Votes* against the *Oppressing Faction*, though the *number* of the *oppressours* doe farre exceede, and cast the cause (most commonly) against *Christ Jesus*, as a *Male factor*, a *Drunkard*, a *Glutton*, a *Deceiver*, a *mad-man* possest with a *Devill*, a *Seducer*, a *Blasphemer*, &c.

Peace. But to the second, let us Examine the *Reasons* against *Austins Argument* with M^r *Cottons* defence of them.

The first answer was, that *soule-killing* was of a large extent² in *Scripture*, which may reach to many *sins* that are not *capital*; M^r *Cotton* replies; the Answer reacheth not the point; for as every *killing* of the *Body* is not a *capital crime*, so neither is every *killing* of the *soule*, but such as is more *voluntary* and *presumptuous*, and joyned with some *grosse* and *murtherous* intent.

Truth. *Austin* and M^r *Cotton* spake in generall, without distinction of *soule-murther* and *killing*: the *Title* and *sound* of *soule-murther* and *soule-killing*, should not be cast abroad like *Thunder* and *Lightning*, with a late excuse that we intend not every *soule-murther* and *killing*.

Peace. Your second *Argument* was from the *Dissimilitude* of *bodily* and *spirituall Death*: *Body-killing* is but once and for ever, but a *soule* killed may recover, &c. M^r *Cotton* replies, that the very attempt of *soule-killing* is *capital*, Deut. 13. 10.

Truth. First, then the *Dissimilitude* or *Difference* remains good, between the *murthering* of the *body*, and the *killing* of the *soule* or *inner man*; contrary to his Answer foregoing.

Secondly, Concerning this *attempting* I have spoken elsewhere,³ and proved that *spiritually* it may be made good, against a *Christian Israelite*, falling away from *Christ*, and *seducing* others; but literally, against such *attempting* against any mans present *Religion* or *Worship*, (in any *Civill State* all the *World* over) it cannot be taken, because the *whole world*, the *Nations* and *peoples* of it cannot parallell this *State* of *Israel*, whence this plea is taken.

Peace. I presume (*Deare Truth*) you would not *excuse* and *extenuate* the *punishment* of a *Soule-Traitour* and *seducer*, now under the *Gospel*. L 1 2

Truth.

1. Antichristians against Antichristians, but principally against Christ.

2. Touching spirituall murther.

3. Touching Seducers.

Truth. No; I aggravate the least attempt of *soule-murther*,¹ and the least *prejudice* or *hindrance* to *Eternall Life*, infinitely above what is *temporall* and *corporall murther*, when either *Husband* or *Wife*, *Brother* or *Sister*, *King* or *Queene*, *Synod* or *Parliament* shall lay a *stumbling block* in the *heavenly way*, or *grieve* or *offend* the least of the *littles ones* of *Christ Jesus*, and such *dreadfull punishment* shall all even the *highest* and *greatest* finde, who now seeme to forget the *Millstone*.

Peace. The third argument was from the different punishment² which *Christ Jesus* hath appointed for *Soul-killing*, to wit, by the two edged *sword*, which comes out of *Christs* mouth, which is able to cut downe *Heresie*, and to slay the soul of *Hereticks* everlastingly.

Master Cotton replies, *this answer hath been removed above: Church censures are sufficient to heal the Heretick, if he belong to God, and to remove the guilt of his wickednesse from the Church, but not to prevent spreading, &c. nor to clense the Common-wealth from such rebellion as hath been taught by him against the Lord.*

Truth. Above hath also been shewen the soveraigne excellency³ and power of *Christs* spirituall meanes against spirituall infection: Above hath also been shewen the two-fold *Common-wealth*; First, the *Civil* and *natural*; Secondly, the *spiritual*, *religious* and *Christian*.

Rebellion also against the Lord hath been proved, two-fold, First, *spirituall*, against himselfe in point of his more immediate *worship* and *service*, for which he hath provided not onely the *vengeance* of *eternall fire* approaching (according to the degrees and hainousnesse of such *rebellion*) but also present *spirituall punishment*, far exceeding all *corporall punishment* and torment in the *world*.

2 *Rebellion* against God is *temporall* and more *mediate*, as it is a *resistance*, *opposition* or *violation* of any *Civil state* or order appointed by *God* or *Men*. Now to confound these together, (and to hover in generall tearms of *Rebellion* against the *Lord*) is to blow out the *Candle* or *Light*, and to make a noise in the dark, with a sound and cry of a *guilty Land*; a *guilty State*, *soul-murthers*, *soul-killers*, *hereticks*, *blasphemers*, *seducers*, *rebels* against the *Lord*, kill them, kill them, &c.

Suppose these *soul-murthering Hereticks*, *Seducers*, &c. be as full

1. The hainousnes of spirituall stumbling blocks.

2. Punishing of Seducers.

3. Commonweale twofold, and Rebellion twofold.

full of vexation and mischief as the *Musketoos* or *Wolves* in *New¹ England* or other Countries; It were to be wished, (but never can be hoped in this world) that every *Civil state*, *City* and *Towne* in the world, were free from such *mysticall* and *soul-vermin*: The poor *Planter* and *Farmer* is glad, if his house and chamber, if his yard and field, his family and cattel, may be tolerably clear from such annoyances, however the *Woods* and *Wildernes* abound with them: They that are of such *fierie pragmaticall* restles *spirits*, that they content not themselves to keep the *Farme* and *House* of the *Church* of *Christ* free from such *Infection & annoyance*, but rage that such *vermin* are suffered in the worlds *Wood*, &c. It is pity but they had their full *employment* and *taske*, to *catch* and *kill* even all the *swarmes* and *Heards* of all the *Muskeetoos* and *Wolves*, which either the *Wildernes* of *America*, or the *whole World* can afford them.

4. *Peace*. Accordingly the Fourth Argument was from *Christs* tolerating of *soule-killers* to live in the *field* of the *World*, though not in the *Garden* of the *Church*: M^r *Cotton* replies, this hath been largely and fully refeld above.

Truth. It is true, the Discusser alledged, and M^r *Cotton* refuted the *Exposition* of this *Parable*, but whether of them according to the minde of *Christ Jesus*, let every reader uprightly judge with feare and trembling at the word of the *Lord*.

Peace. The Fifth Argument was from the *Impossibilitie* of *killling* and *soule* by a *Heretick*: M^r *Cotton* answers, this is against *Paul* himselfe, 1 *Cor.* 8. 11.

Truth. As I spake unto the *Argument* of the *Impossibilitie* of the perishing of any of *Gods Elect*, so here, the using of such an² *Argument* is far from *undervaluing* or *neglecting* of any of the *meanes* or *Ordinances*, *naturall* or *spirituall*, which *God* hath graciously appointed, but to condemne the *over-wise* and *over-busie Heads* and *Hands* of *Men*, adding their *Inventions* to *Gods Appointments*, as if *weake* and *insufficient*: whereas *Gods* number of *living* and *dead* are certaine, and though the *meanes* which he hath appointed for *life* should faile, and notwithstanding all other *meanes* in the *World* used by men as *helps* and *hindrances*, yet his holy *End* shall not be disappointed, but fulfilled.

Beside the Difference between *soule-killling* and *body-killling*, is but (as M^r *Cotton* here useth the word) *so much as in us lieth*,
that

1. Mysticall Wolves and Muskeetoos.

2. Of Soule-killling.

that is, by *attempt* or *endeavour*, which may be many wayes frustrated, and disappointed by the holy hand of God, and the soule yet saved and live in the day of the Lord Jesus.

Peace. Whereas you said, that the *imprisoning* of Men in a¹ *Nationall* or *State Religion* is *guiltie* of their *Destruction*, together with the *monstrous sword* of *Civill Warres*, which cuts off Men from all meanes of *Repentance*.

M^r Cotton answers; If the *Religion* be good, it is no *Imprisonment*: If it be naught, then there should be no *Imprisonment*.

To the second (sayth he) this *Feare* is *causeles*, for if Men belong to God, he will give *Repentance*, and how ever (sayth he) Gods revealed *Will* is fulfilled in their just *Executions*.

Truth. I could here ask M^r Cotton where (amongst all the *Religions* and *Worships* of the *sonnes* of men) he ever met in the *whole World*, with above *one Nation*, which *Nationally* profest a true *Religion*; and where ever, since *Christ Jesus*, ending of the² *shadowes*, any *State, Religion*, or *Nationall Worship* can be found true; notwithstanding M^r Cotton knowes I grant Gods people, in *Kingdomes, Nations, Cities, Townes*, &c. to be Gods *Kingdome, Nation, Citie*, &c.

Peace. And since M^r Cotton speakes thus of *Imprisonment*, me-thinkes that every *peaceable man* and *woman* may bring in here against him, at the *Tribunall* of *Christ Jesus*, an *Action* of³ false *Imprisonment* (indeed false every way) not onely of the sensible and *outward* man, but of the most noble and *inner part*, the *minde*, the *spirit*, and *Conscience*; for who knowes not that *Jerusalem* it selfe may be a prison to false-hearted *Shimei*? Who hath not found a *pallace* a *prison*, when forc't to keepe within it? yea *confine* a man to his own *house* and *home*, though deare and familiar, and most intimate to him, his owne *house* during that *force* and *restraint*, is a *prison* to him.

Truth. Yea it is most woefully found evident, that the best *Religion* (like the fairest *Whores*, and the most *golden* and *costlie Images*) yea the most holy and pure and onely true *Religion*⁴ and *Worship*, appointed by God himselfe, is a *Torment* to that *Soule* and *Conscience*, that is forc't against its owne *free love*, and *choice*, to embrace and observe it: And therefore whether the *Religion* be good or naught (as M^r Cotton here distingui-sheth) there ought to be no forcing, but the *soule* and *minde* and
on-

1. Touching State Religions.

2. Gods children Gods Citie, Nation and Kingdome.

3. A State Religion a prison.

4. A forc't Religion.

conscience of man, that is indeed the man, ought to be left free, as in his *Earthly marriage-choice*, so here ten thousand times rather in his *heavenly and spirituall*.

Peace. But what say you to his unmercifull conclusion, in the bloudshed and destruction of so many thousands and millions, formerly¹ and lately slaine and murdered by this bloudie Tenent of persecution? Yea the late and lamentable streames of English blood, and the blood of our neighbours, friends, Brethren, Parents, powdered forth by these late *Episcopall* or *Bishops Warres*? M^r Cottons conclusion is, The revealed will of God (sayth he) is fullfilled in their just Execution, whether they belong to God or no.

Truth. I wish M^r Cotton more mercy from God, and a more mercifull minde toward the afflicted, and I say as the Lord Jesus² said in the case of offence: Great offences, Nationall offences will come for Religions sake, for Nationall Religion sake, but woe unto those that beare the guilt of so many thousand slaughters, murthers, ravishings, plunderings, &c. The Pope, the Bishops, the Presbyterians, the Independants, so farre as they have been Authours or Actors in these horrible Calamities, out of the perswasion of the bloudie Tenent of persecution for Religion and Conscience; the voyce of so many Rivers of blood cry to Heaven for vengeance against them.

Peace. But may not (blessed Truth) the sword of Civill power³ which is from God (*Rom. 13.*) be drawne and drunke with blood for Christ his sake. What say you (among the many Examples of Religions Warres) to the most famous Battles of Constantine against the bloudie persecutour Maxentius? Was not Constantine Christs Champion, as once that valiant Scanderbeg cald himselfe against the bloudie Turks?

Truth. Sweet Peace, the sword of Civill power was Gods sword⁴ committed by Gods most wise Providence into the hands of that famous Constantine: Doubtles his warre was righteous and pious, so farre as he broke the Jawes of the oppressing persecuting Lyons that devoured Christs tender Lambes and sheepe: And famous was his Christian Edict (wherein Licinius joyned with him) when he put forth that imperiall Christian Decree, that⁵ no mane Conscience should be forced, and for his Religion (whether to the Romane Gods, or the Christian) no man should be persecuted or hunted: When Constantine broke the bounds
of

1. Of the late Warres.

2. The bloudie Tenent guilty of the Rivers of Blood, &c.

3. Warres for Religion.

4. Constantines warres for the Christians.

5. Constantines Edict against forcing in Religion.

of this his owne and *Gods Edict*, and drawes the *sword* of *Civill power* in the suppressing of other *Consciences* for the establishing of the *Christian*, then began the great *Mysterie* of the *Churches* sleepe, the *Gardens* of *Christs Churches* turned into the *Wildernesse* of *Nationall Religion*, and the *World* (under *Constantines* Dominion) to the most *unchristian Christendome*.

Peace. I am unquestionably satisfied, that there was never¹ any *Nationall Religion* good in this *world* but one, and since the *Desolation* of that *Nation*, there was never, there shall be never any *Nationall Religion* good againe: and this will be most evident to such as hould the *Truth* of the *continuance* of *Christs visible Church* in the way of *particular Congregations*.

6. But now to the *Sixt Argument*, which M^r *Cotton* thus repeats from the *possibilitie* of a false *Teacher*, & a *spirituall Wolves* recoverie from the *estate* of a *soule-killer* to become a *soule-Saviour*, as it was in the case of *Paul*: And thus he answers; If men² be such *Blasphemers*, and such *Wolves*, as *Paul* was before his *Conversion*, neither the *Law* of *God* nor *man* would put such a *Man* to death, who sinned of *Ignorance*, and walked (as himselfe professed) in all good *Conscience*, even in his former evill times, *Acts* 23. But as for such as *apostate* from the knowne truth of *Religion*, and seeke to *subvert* the *foundation* of it, and to draw away others from it, to plead for their *Tolleration* in hope of their *Conversion*, is as much as to proclaime a *generall pardon* to all *malefactours* (save onely such as sin against the *Holy Spirit*) for he that is a *willfull murtherer* and *adulterer* now, may come to be converted, and die a *martyr* hereafter.

Truth. I see not why M^r *Cotton* should passe a more charitable censure on *Pauls Conscience*, then on other *Mens* professing *Conscience* also and the feare of *God*: nor an harder *censure* upon other *Men* (to wit, that they are *convinced*, and sinne against their owne *Conscience*) more then upon *Paul* himselfe: Heard he not that famous powerfull *Sermon* of *Stephen*? Saw he not his glorious and most heavenly *Death*? and having so much to doe with the *Saints*, could he otherwise choose, but heare and see many heavenly *passages* tending to his soules *conviction*?

Peace. Yea why should M^r *Cotton* pinch upon *Apostates* from the truth of *Religion* and *Seducers*? he cannot choose but know³
how

1. Never any true *Nationall Religion* in the *World* but one.

2. Touching *Pauls* blasphemy before his *Conversion*.

3. Of *Apostates*.

how many thousands and millions of men and women in the world, are *Hereticall, Blasphemers, Seducers*, that never yet made profession of that which he accounteth *True Religion*?

True. Yea and (to plead thy case Deare *Peace*) why should¹ M^r Cotton couple *Murtherers* and *Adulterers* with *Apostates* and *Seducers*? Doth not even the naturall *Conscience* and *Reason* of all men put a *Difference*? Doe not even the most bloudie *Popes* and *Cardinalls*, *Gardiners* and *Bonnors*, put a difference between the *crimes* of *Murther*, *Treason*, *Adulterie* (for which although the offendour repent, &c. yet he suffers *punishment*) and the *crimes* of *Heresie*, *Blasphemie*, &c. which upon *Recantation* and *Confession*, are frequently remitted?

Peace. I remember it was high *Treason* in *H.* 8. his dayes to deny the *Kings spirituall Supremacie*, as well as to kill his person, and yet upon *Confession* and *Recantation* we finde, that the very *Conscience* of those bloudy men could distinguish between these *Treasons*.

Truth. 'Tis true this bloudie *Tenent* of *persecution* was lamentably² *drunke* with *bloud* in the dayes of that *Henry*, as well as afterwards in the dayes of his bloudie daughter *Marie*, and yet in *Henry* his dayes we finde *John Haywood* recanting his (so cald) *Treason* against the *Kings Supreamacie* in *spirituall* things, and is cleared. When famous and faithfull *Cromwell*, for words pretended to be spoken by him against the *Kings person*, must pay his noble *Head*. But to End this Chapter, most true it is, that³ *multitudes* of people in all parts of bloudie *Christendome*, and not a few in *England* in *Henry* the 7. and *Henry* the 8. his dayes; have escaped with a *Recantation* and *Abjuration*, for *spirituall Treasons*, when *principles* of *Reason* and *Civill Government* have taught men, for their common safetie, to thinke of other *punishments* for *Murtherers*, *Adulterers*, *Traytours*.

Exam: of Chap. 73. replying to Chap. 76.

Discussing the *Testimonie* of *Optatus*.

Peace. M^{aster} Cotton having alledged *Optatus*, justifying *Macarius* his putting *Hereticks* to Death, from the Example of *Moses*, *Phinehas*, and *Elijah*; it was answered, that
m m these

1. Fallacious mixture and confusion.
2. Spirituall Treason recanted, forgiven: but not so (by way ofcourse) the Civill.
3. An Instance from Jo: Haywood and the Lord Cromwell in King Henry the 8. his dayes.

these shafts were drawn not out of *Christs*, but *Moses Quiver*: M^r *Cotton* replies; did ever any *Apostle* or *Evangelist* make the *Judiciall Lawes* of *Moses* concerning *Life* and *Death* ceremoniall and typicall?

Truth. What ever the *Apostles* of *Christ* did in this matter,¹ yet sure it is Evident, that M^r *Cotton* himselfe makes some of *Moses Lawes*, which he calls *Judiciall*, to be but ceremoniall and typicall.

Peace. Me thinks M^r *Cotton* should never grant that, who layes so much waight upon *Moses practices*, and the *morall* and *perpetuall* ground of them.

Truth. Well take for an Instance this very case of putting to *Death*, *Idolaters* and false *Prophets*, he grants this in this very “Chapter to be typicall in the State of the *Jewes*; for *Israell* “(sayth he) being the *Church* of *God*, and in *Convenant* with “*God*, their *Example* will onely extend to the like *Execution* “of all the false *Prophets* in the *Church* of *God*.

Peace. Such a *Candle* lighted up in the *Conscience* and *Judgement* and *Confession* of M^r *Cotton*, may (if the *Father* of *Lights* so please,) light up many *Candles* more, to M^r *Cottons* owne and the eyes of others.

Truth. Yea if the *Father* of *Lights* so please, M^r *Cotton* will looke back and see, that if the *Example* of *Israel* extend no further then to the *Church* of *God*, then those *Lawes* of *Moses* concerning *Religion*, cannot but be typicall and ceremoniall; for, what is *morall* and *perpetuall*, none can deny to concerne all *Men* in all *Nations*, where no *Church* or *House* of *God* was ever erected.

2. *Peace.* If M^r *Cotton* say it extends but to the *Church* of *God*, what *Church* of *God* can M^r *Cotton* meane, but a *particular* *Congregation* (for he professeth against *Nationall*, *Provinciall*, &c.) And yet how can he meane a *particular* *Church*, since he grants the *Church* of *Christ* armed with no other *weapons* then *spirituall*, like unto the *Head* and *King* thereof *Christ Jesus*?

3. *Truth.* If M^r *Cotton* will grant the *Church* of *Christ* to have² been extant upon *Earth* during the first *three hundred yeares* of her *fiery tryalls*, he must grant that then the *Church* of *Christ* was furnished by *Christ Jesus* with no other *weapons* but *spirituall*, for all the *Civill powers* of the *World* seemed to be against them.

All

1. Of *Moses* *Judicialls*.

2. The first three hundred years after *Christ*.

All which time by M^r Cottons Doctrine, the Church of Christ his¹ heavenly Garden must needs be over-growne with Hereticks, Idolaters, false Prophets, for want of a Civill Sword, &c. Or if they were not (as sure it is, the Spouse and Garden of Christ was never fairer since): As M^r Cotton grants the Example typicall, and extending onely to the Church of God, so must he then also grant these false Prophets and Idolaters to be put to Death by the Churches power, which is onely spirituall, and Israels materiall Sword will then appeare to be a type of the two-edged sword of Christ Jesus in the Gospel.

Peace. It is true (sayth Master Cotton,) what the Discussers² sayth, that Christ Jesus gave no Ordinance, Precept or President in the Gospel for killing men for Religion, and no more (sayth he) for the breach of Civill Justice: Civill Magistrates therefore must either walke without Rule, or fetch their Rules of Righteousnesse from Moses and the Prophets, who have expounded him in the Old Testament.

Truth. If M^r Cotton please more awfully to observe & weigh the minde of Christ Jesus his New Testament in this point, he will not onely heare himselfe subscribing to Cæsars Right in Civill matters, but also by his servant Peter establishing all other formes of Civill Government, which the peoples or Nations of the World shall invent or create for their civill being, Common-weale or welfare. Yea he may remember that Christ Jesus by his Servant Paul commandeth the Magistrate, to punish Murther, Theft, Adulterie, &c. for he expresly nameth these Civill Transgressions together with the civill Sword the Avenger of them, Rom. 13.

Peace. I cannot well conceive what M^r Cotton meanes by saying, that Moses and the Prophets expounded Christ Jesus in the Old Testament.

Truth. Nor I: They did speake or prophecie of Christ, they did type or figure him to come, with his sufferings and Glory, but (as John sayth) Grace and Truth came by Jesus Christ, that is, the fullfilling, opening, and expounding came by Jesus Christ.

Peace. Hence indeed I remember that Christ Jesus (Luc. 24.) expounded to his Disciples, out of Moses and the Prophets, the things written of him. But more particularly touching Mo-

M m 2

ses:

1. The Primitive Church the purest, and yet without a Civill Sword.

2. Christ no Author of Civill violence for Religion.

ses: *Macarius* did well (sayth *M^r Cotton*) in putting *Hereticks* to Death, from the *Example* of *Moses* putting *Idolaters* to Death, *Exod* 32. and the *Idolater* to Death, *Levit.* 24.

Truth. These *Instances* (by *M^r Cottons* Confession) extend¹ no further then the *Church of God*, and then I desire my above-said *Answer* may be uprightly weighed. And I adde the former *Instance* of putting Death the three thousand *Israelites* about the *Goulden Calfe* by the hand of the *Levites*, may most lively seeme to typifie, the zealous *Execution* of spirituall Justice in (the *Israel* of *God*) the *Church of Christ*, by the true *Ministers of Christ Jesus*, the true *Antitype* of that zealous Tribe of *Levi*.

Peace. Concerning *Phineas*, whereas it was said that the² flaying of the *Israelitish Prince* and Daughter of *Midian*, was not for spirituall but for corporall fulthnesse, *Master Cotton* answereth and urgeth the *Israelites* eating of their *Sacrifices*, and joyning to *Baal-peor*: Also that single *Fornication* was no capitall crime.

Truth. It is most true, the people committed both spirituall and corporall Filthines (as very often they goe together) but the Justice of *God* reckoned with these two sinners, for and in the midst of their corporall Filthines, which although it were not capitall in *Israell*, yet the committing of it with so high an hand of presumption (and small sinnes committed presumptuously in *Israell* were Death) was enough to make it worthy of so sharpe and sudden a *Destruction*.

Peace. Concerning *Phineas* his act *M^r Cotton* acknowledgeth that it is no president for *Ministers* of the *Gospel* so to act, but withall sayth it is praesidentiall for *Magistrates*.

Truth. *Phineas* his Act (whether of ordinarie or extraordinary Justice) how can it be praesidentiall to the *Civill Magistrate* in a particular Church, where the weapons are onely spirituall? And *M^r Cotton* grants these *Examples* extend no further then the Church: Such as maintaine a *Nationall Church* (which *M^r Cotton* doth not) have some colour to urge this *Example*³ for a president: for in a civill State, civill Officers, civill Lawes, civill Weapons, civill punishments and rewards are proper, as are also (and onely) Spirituall Officers, spirituall Lawes, spirituall punishments and Rewards in a spirituall State.

Peace.

1. The *Levites* killing 3000. *Exod* 32. typicall.

2. *Phineas* his Act.

3. The spirituall & Civill State vastly different in their frame, Lawes, Officers, &c.

Peace. Concerning *Eliah*, M^r *Cotton* excepteth against the number eight hundred and fiftie, as too many by halfe.

Truth. It is true, the number of *Baals Prophets* were foure¹ hundred and fiftie (*false Prophets* enough to one poore true) but yet *Eliah* numbers *Jezabells* foure hundred trencher *Chap-lins* with them; for, sayth he, Now therefore send and gather unto me all *Israel* unto Mount *Carmel*, and the *Prophets* of *Baal* foure hundred and fiftie, and the *Prophets* of the Grove foure hundred, which eate at *Jezabells* Table.

Peace. But how ever (sayth M^r *Cotton*) here was no type nor Figure for Actions of morall Justice, (though sometimes extraordinary) yet they are never figurative, but with such as turne all the Scripture into an Allegorie.

Truth. To make the shadowes of the old Testament and the Substance² or Body of the New, all one, is but to confound and mingle Heaven and Earth together, for the state of the Law was ceremoniall and figurative, having a worldly Tabernacle with vanishing and beggarly Rudiments: And I believe it might not one-ly be said, that *Abrahams* lying with his handmaid *Hagar*, was an Allegorie, but that the whole Church of *Israell*, Roote and Branch, from first to last included figurative and Allegoricall Kernells, were the Husks and Shells disclosed with more humbly diligent and spirituall teeth and fingers.

Peace. I cannot but assent unto you, that to render the old Testament Allegoricall in an humble sobriety, your Instance with many more give sufficient warrant.

Truth. Yet I adde (in answer to M^r *Cottons* charge of turning all Scripture into an Allegorie) that to deny the Historie of either Old or New Testament, or to render the New Testament (which expounds and fullfills the ancient figures) Allegoricalls are both absurd and impious.

Peace. But how (sayth M^r *Cotton*) can an Act of morall righteousness be figurative?

Truth. There is a Fallacie in this tearme [morall Righteousnesse]³ for M^r *Cotton* himselfe hath acknowledged a Righteousnesse two-fold, A Spirituall Righteousnesse of the Church, and a civill of the Common-weale: M^r *Cotton* also acknowledgeth *Israel*⁴ to be a Typicall people, their land a typicall Land, their Ministry and Worship typicall! How can M^r *Cotton* then deny, but that

1. *Elijah* and the *Baalites*.

2. The types and figures of the old Testament

3. Righteousnes two fold.

4. The state of *Israel* typicall.

that the *weapons* of this people, their *punishments* and *rewards*, &c. (so far as concerned this their mixed *figurative* and *typicall* state) were *figurative* and *ceremoniall* also? And so not parts of *morall civill Righteousnesse*, or common to all other Nations and peoples in the World.

Peace. I cannot readily assent to M^r Cotton, that *morall Actions* of *Civill Righteousnesse* could not be *figurative* with this *ceremoniall*, *typicall* and *figurative* people: for their *warre* it selfe (which if lawfull, is an *Act* of *civill morall Righteousnesse*) Paul seemes to make *figurative* of the *spirituall Warres* of the *Christian Israel* and *Church of God*.

Truth. Yea and it is easie to observe that not onely their¹ *spirituall Worship*, &c. not onely *Acts* of *morall* and *civill Righteousnesse* in *peace* and *warre*, &c. but even their very *naturall Actions* and *Excrements* (in *warres* against their *Enemies*) were *figurative* and *typicall*, full of *heavenly* and *spirituall Instruction*, which the *unbelieving Jewes* then saw not, but the *believing* saw, as they saw *Christ Jesus* in the *Sacrifices*, and all their *observations* leading to the blessed *Son of God*, the *Messiah*, the *Anointed*, or *Christ* to come, and his *Eternall Kingdome*.

Peace. M^r Cotton in the next place takes offence that the *Fact* of *Elijah* should be called *miraculous*, and askes if it be a *miracle* for *Elijah* with the aide of so many thousand *Israelites* to put to *Death foure hundred and fiftie men*?

Truth. M^r Cotton mistakes the word, for the word is not² *fact* but *passage*, which compriseth not onely the *slaughter* of these their *Priests*, but the whole *matter* and *busines*, as the putting of the *Worship* of the true *God*, to the *Tryall* of *Fire* from *Heaven*, the descending of *Fire* from *Heaven*, the *devouring* of the *Sacrifice*, and *licking up* of so much *water*, and upon this so great a number of their *Priests* (the *Fathers*, *Shepherds*, and *Gods* of the people) so thunder-smitten as from *Heaven*, with so sudden and dreadfull a *slaughter*, what can these be but an *extraordinary Inspiration* in the *Prophet*, a *supernaturall descent* and *operation* of *Fire*, yea and an *extraordinary* and wonderfull *change* in the heart of the *People*? And I doubt not but M^r Cotton doth sometimes give an *heavenly* and *spirituall signification*, to all these *figurative* and *miraculous Mysteries*.

Peace. But I wonder at the next words; Though *Christ* (sayeth

1. Not only morall but naturall Actions of the *Israelites* typicall.

2. Whether *Eliahs* procuring the slaughter of the *Baalites* was Typicall or Morall.

(sayth he) gave no such *Commission* to *Ministers* of the *Gospel* to put *false Prophets* to Death, as *Elijah* did, yet the *Act of Dutie* was an *ordinary* dutie of *morall Righteousnesse*, belonging to such as beare the *Sword*. Anon againe he writes; This *Example* will not extend to the *Idolaters* of the *World*.

“First, Because many thousand thousand of them are exempt from the *civill Magistracie* of *Christians*.

“Secondly, They were never in *Covenant* with *God*, to whom “onely the *Law of Moses* concerning the *punishment* of *Idolaters* “extended.

“Thirdly, Though the *Israelites* were *Idolaters*, yet *Elijah* “spared them, because of their *simplicitie* and *Ignorance*.

Truth. I answer, first, if *Christ Jesus* gave no such *Commission*¹ (as is confessed) then woe to all those *Popish* and *Protestant Priests*, who have (by *theft*, or *flatterie*, or other evill meanes) got *Commissions* from the *Civill powers* of the *World*, whereby (to maintaine their own *honours*, and *profits* of *Bishopricks* and *Benefices*, &c.) they smite with the *fist* and *sword*, of *wickednes*: or under a *pretence* of *holy Orders* in themselves, put over the *drudgery* of *Execution* to their enslaved *Seculars*!

Secondly, If these need no *Commission*, because to put to Death the *false Prophets* and *Idolaters*, is an *Act of morall Righteousnesse*, how agrees that *Position* and these three together.

First, onely *Christian Magistrates* (said M^r *Cotton*) must act in these cases.

Secondly, They must act against such onely as are *Church-members*.

Thirdly, They must not act against such *Church-members* as commit *Idolatrie* out of *simplicitie* or *Ignorance*.

Peace. Deare *Truth*, if it passe your *capacitie* to reconcile these in point of *Truth*, it must needs passe mine to see how such *Doctrines* can stand with any *civill peace* or *order* in the world.

Truth. To affirme such *Actions* to be *ordinarie* duties of *moral*² *Righteousnesse*, belonging to such as beare the *Sword*, and yet not to be practiced but by such *Magistrates* as are most rarely found in the *World*, and on such a *people* in such an *Order* as is most rare in the *Nations* of the *World*, is to me all one, as to call all *Fathers* and *Masters* in the *World* to such *ordinary Duties* as belong to every *Father* and *Master* of a *Familie*: Or to call
Masters

1. No Commission from *Christ* for corporall punishment in religious matters.

2. Strange and monstrous duties of *Morall Righteousnesse*.

Masters and Commanders of Ships to such ordinary duties as belong to all *Masters of Ships* in the *World*: Or *Captaines and Commanders in Warre* to such *ordinarie Duties* as belong to all *Captaines and Commanders in the World*, and then at last to tell them: It is true, the *Duties* are *ordinary and common*, to all *Fathers, Masters, Commanders, Captaines*, but these *Duties* are to be performed onely by such *Fathers, Masters, Captaines and Commanders*, and in such *Families, Ships, and Armies* as are not *ordinarie* to be found in the *World*.

Peace. I see not but the *Similitude* doth fully reach, for indeed although such a people so and so in *Covenant with God*, according to M^r *Cotton*, were true *visible Churches* according to *Christs Institution*, and so consequently their *Magistrates* truly *Christian*, yet compare such *Magistrates* with the rest of the *Magistrates* of the *World*, who as lawfully beare the *Sword* as¹ *Themselves*, and compare such a people so and so in *Church-Covenant*, with the rest of the people and *Nations* of the *World*, and we shall not finde them *ordinary and common*, but rather as six fingers, *wonders and monsters* to all other parts of the *World*, yea even to the very *Popish* and *Protestant* parts of the *World* also.

But to end this Chapter; The other fact of *Elijah* in slaying the *Captaines* with their fifties, M^r *Cotton* acknowledgeth not to be alledged by any other *Authour* in this *Controversie*, but onely by the *Discusser*, to make himselfe work in such *Cobweb-Evasions*.

Truth. M^r *Cotton* forgetteth, for *Elijah* his *Act* (from *Luc. 9.*)² hath been mentioned by others, and answered too by Master *Cotton* in this present Booke and *Controversie*. And for the *Cob-webs*, let the poore *Witnesses* of *Christ* be esteemed as *Spiders*, and their *Testimonie* and *Witnes* but as *Cob-webs*, yet let them not be discouraged, but lay hould (like *Solomons Spider*) with the hand of *spirituall Diligence*, and let all such their *heavenly*³ *Cob-webs* be in *Kings Pallaces*. And let them know their *Cob-webs* be of such a *strength*, that how ever the *cruell Beezome* of *persceution* may sweepe them downe, out of this *World*, yet in point of *Truth* and true *Christian power and worth*, neither *Pope* nor *Prelate*, neither *Presbyterian*, nor *Independent persecutour*, nor *Baalzebub* himselfe (the *God of Flies*) shall ever be able to sweepe them downe, or breake through them. *Exam.*

1. Gods children are wonders and monsters accounted.

2. *Elijah* his slaying the *Captaines* and their fifties.

3. Wonderfull *Spiders* and *Cobwebs*. *Prov. 30.*

Exam: of Chap. 74. and 75. replying to

Chap. 77. and 78.

Peace. IN Chap. 74. One passage cannot be past by, to wit, [God hath laid this charge upon *Magistrates* in the *Old*¹ *Testament* to punish *Seducers*, and the *Lord Jesus* never tooke off this *Charge* in the *New Testament*: *Who is this Discusser*, that he should account *Paul* himselfe, or an *Angel* from *Heaven* accursed, that should leave this *Charge* upon *Magistrates*, which *God* laid on, and *Christ* never tooke off?]

Truth. This is but a *Repetition* of what hath formerly been examined: unto which therefore I briefly say, It will never be found true, that *God* hath laid this charge upon all *Magistrates* in the *World*, as he did upon the *Magistrates* in *Israel*, to punish *Seducers*.

Secondly, *God* laying this charge upon the *Governours* and *Magistrates* in *Israel*, the *Church of God* (in the *type*) lays it still upon *Christ Jesus* and his *Governours* spirituall under him in his spirituall *Israel*, which *Kingdome* he administreth, with *Lawes*, *Punishments* and *Weapons* Spirituall. All this M^r *Cotton* in this *Controversie* hath acknowledged.

Thirdly, When he saith, *Christ Jesus* never tooke off this *Charge*.

First, I answer, let that *Parable* which he mentioneth be the *Tryall* of it in the feare of *God*.

Secondly, *God* having now in these last times declared his² will by his *Sonne*: Where hath his *blessed Sonne* spoken to us, to build no more *Temples*, to erect no more *Altars*, to offer no more *Sacrifices*? And yet these and the whole *frame* of that *typicall State* we justly *abrogate*, both from the words of *Christ* and his first *Messengers*, which are plaine and easie enough to such whose eyes it pleaseth *God* to open, although (in expresse *Termes*) *Christ Jesus* hath not given an expresse *Catalogue* of all such *particulars* to be abolished.

Peace. In the next passage M^r *Cotton* deeply chargeth the poore *Discusser* with *partialitie* & *falshood*; upon which *Grounds* he turnes off all the *Consequences*, which the *Discusser* observed to follow upon M^r *Cottons* *Conclusions*.

Truth. It is true, the *Authour* of the *Letter* expresseth *Libertie*
N n tie

1. Touching *Seducers*, and their punishments.

2. *Christ Jesus* abolished former figures, though he name not each of them in particular.

tie of *Conscience* to such as feare *God* indeed: M^r *Cotton* subscribes, but presently razeth out his *Subscription* in these words following, which he hath againe now reprinted, to wit, “But the Question is whether an *Heretick* after once or twice “*Admonition* (and so after *Conviction*) and any other scandalous “and hainous offendour, may be tollerated, either in the “*Church* without *Excommunication*, or in the *Common-weale* “without such punishment, as may preserve others from dangerous and damnable *Infection*.

Peace. Who sees not but this bloudie *Tenent* (I meane these¹ words now recited) doth not onely restraîne *Libertie* of *Conscience* to such as feare *God* indeed, and speakes fire and fagot to all the world beside: But also (under the name of *Heretick* and *Seducer*) throws into the *Furnace* (most commonly and ordinarily) all such as feare *God* (*Christ Jesus* and his *Messengers* and *Ministers* not excepted) who have alwayes been and are accounted, the chiefest *Hereticks*, *Blasphemers*, *Deceivers* and *Seducers* in this World?

Truth. I adde the *Consequences* therefore remaine good, that² either All the *Inhabitants* of the World must come into the estate of men fearing *God*: Or else dissemble *Religion*, and fearing *God*, in *hypocrisie*: Or else, be driven out of the World. Then also the *Civill State* must judge of the *Spirituell*, and of *Magistrates* fearing or not fearing *God*: The *People* must judge (I say) who feare *God* indeed, and are by them to be permitted, and who are the *Hereticks*, and to be punished, which who may not see to be the driving of the world out of it selfe, and the bloudie routing up of all Societies of Men?

Peace. This charge of *partialitie* and *falshood*, you have (*Deare Truth*) to my understanding shielded the poore Discusser from, Can you now helpe his *Forehead*, and his *Heart*, which M^r *Cotton* in the next passage chargeth with another notorious and impudent *falshood*, in relating out of a printed booke an *Answer* of the *New English Ministers* to *Questions* sent unto them from their *Brethren* in *old*, which answer M^r *Cotton* sayth he cannot³ finde.

Truth. So much *Gall* and *Vinegar* hath M^r *Cotton* powred forth in this whole passage from the first to the last of it, that no sober minded man fearing *God*, and knowing M^r *Cottons*

former

1. The Myserie of the Bloody Tenent.

2. The bloudie consequences of the bloody Tenent.

3. The sad Effects of the bloudie Tenent on Mr Cottons owne Spirit.

former temper of *Spirit*, but will confesse two things:

First, that this *bloudie Tenent* of *persecution* hath infected and¹ inflamed his very *naturall Temper* and former sweet peaceable disposition.

Secondly, his *Eye* (being thus *bloudshot*) is so weakened in its former (and otherwise excellent sight) that it now questions no *Difference* between the *Mountaines* and the *Molehills*, for at the *worst*, in *common probabilitie of Reason*, there can be but a mistake in the *Discusser* concerning this passage.

Peace. If the *Discusser* have no sparke of the *feare* of *God*, yet if but *common civilitie* and *honestie*, or least respect of *common credit* among men, it were impossible for him to forge so grossely in *matters lately printed*, publike and obvious to every eye.

Truth. The truth is, whether there be different *Editions* or different *Copies* printed, let M^r *Cotton* and whom it concerns take care of it, for the *Discusser* is confidently resolved that if this passage (for the *substance* of it) be not *printed* and to be read in *print* of all men, in their *names*, he will then willingly beare and lye under the charge of a false *forehead* and *heart*, which M^r *Cotton* in such heate and anger imputes unto him.

Exam: of Chap. 76. replying to Chap. 79.

Peace. **I**N this short Chapter the *Discusser* is charged with *Ignorance* and *uncharitablenes*, for thinking amisse of the *Penmen* of the *Answer* to the *Questions*, to wit, that he should conceive that the *passage* to *New England* should change the *Judgement* or *Consciences* of *Men*.

Truth. The *Discusser* professeth (and I know in truth) to bewaile his *Ignorance* and *uncharitablenes*, yet upon a second review of the words, it will be found there was not an *Imputation* of such a *conceit*, to those worthy *Authors*, or any man, but an *Item* unto all men, occasioned by the *Confidence* expressed, that they doubted not, but those godly brethren of *old England* should agree with them here in *New*, if they were in *New England* together. This *Item* or *Caveat* will appeare to be

N n 2

given,

1. A lamentable Character of the change of Mr *Cottons* Spirit.

given, not by way of positive *Charge*, nor in the least derogating from the holy and blessed use of free and humble *Conference*, but to take off the *Edge* of such *Confidence* of agreeing in *New England*, when the *Differences* of *Gods* people have been and¹ are yet so great in *Old* and *New*, and so many *Conferences* and *Disputations* of *Truth* and *Peace* have not yet raised that blessed *Agreement* of which the *Answer* to the *Questions* would make no doubt.

Peace. Me-thinkes there should be little hope of their coming to *New-England* when the *New-English Ministers* had got the *Advantage* of the higher ground, and *Carnall Sword* for their *Religion* to *Friend*, and had exprest their *Judgement* of their conceiving it not safe, that, (if they should not agree,) their severall wayes of *Worshipping God*, should be permitted in one *Common-weale*.

Truth. Yea and I believe still the *Consequence* was truly gathered by the *Discusser* (how ever M^r *Cotton* hath so charged his *Forehead* and *Heart* for it) to wit, That the *New English Ministers* could not (as their *Conscience* stood) advise the *Magistrates* of *New-England* to permit that which their *Consciences* and *Judgements* taught them was not safe, &c.

Peace. These passages occasion me to remember a serious² *Question* which many fearing *God* have made, to wit, Whether the promise of *Gods Spirit*, blessing *Conferences*, be so comfortably to be Expected in *New-England*, because of those many *publike sinnes* which most of *Gods people* in *New-England* lye under, and one especially, to wit, the framing a *Gospel* or *Christ* to themselves without a *crosse*, not *professing* nor *practicing* that in *Old* (except of late in times of *Libertie*) which they professedly come over to enjoy with *Peace* and *Libertie* from any *crosse* of *Christ* in *New*.

Truth. I know those thoughts have deeply possessed, not a few, considering also the *sinne* of the *Pattents*, wherein *Christian Kings* (so calld) are invested with *Right* by virtue of their³ *Christianitie*, to take and give away the *Lands* and *Countries* of other men; As also considering, the *unchristian Oaths* swallowed downe, at their coming forth from *old England*, especially in superstitious *Land* his time and domineering.

And I know these thoughts so deeply afflicted the Soule and Con-

1. Differences of Gods own children in *Old* and *New England*.

2. Profession of Christ Jesus in *New-England*, not so like to be true as that (which was persecuted) in *Old*.

3. The great sin of *New-Englands* former *Pattents*.

Conscience of the Discusser in the time of his Walking in the Way of *New Englands Worship*, that at last he came to a perswasion, that such sinnes could not be *Expiated*, without returning againe into *England*: or a publike acknowledgement and Confession¹ of the Evill of so and so departing: To this purpose before his *Troubles* and *Banishment*, he drew up a Letter (not without the *Approbation* of some of the *Chiefe* of *New-England*, then tender also upon this point before *God*) directed unto the *King* himselfe, humbly acknowledging the *Evill* of that part of the *Pattent* which respects the *Donation* of *Land*, &c.

This *Letter* and other *Endeavours* (tending to wash off *publike sinnes*, to give warning to others, and above all, to *pacifie* and to give *Glory* unto *God*) it may be that *Councell* from *Flesh* and *Bloud* suppress, and *Worldly policie* at last prevailed: for this very cause (amongst others afterward re-examined) to banish the Discusser from such their *Coasts* and *Territories*.

Peace. But from *Violence* to the Discusser, or any other, M^r *Cotton* (in the next passage) protests his *Innocencie*, and insinuates the Discusser to be no other then (a *Devill*) an *Accuser* of the *Brethren*, for imputing to them any such Evill, &c.

Truth. He that reads how hard the *Heart* of holy *David*² grew, in the sinne of *Whoredome* and *Murther*, untill the *Lord* awakened him, will lesse wonder, that *Spirituell Whoredome* and *murtherous violence*, may possesse the *Heart* of *Gods Davids* and holiest *Servants* now, and that without blush, or shame, or least appearance of *Relenting*: Doth not all this whole *Traverse* of M^r *Cotton* maintaine a *persecution* even unto *Death*, of such whom the *Civill State* shall judge *Hereticks*, *Blasphemers*, *Idolaters*, *Seducers*, &c.

Doth not this very Chapter expressly justifie *persecution* upon the *Subverters* of the *Christian Faith*, obstinate after *Conviction*? upon *Blasphemers*, *Idolaters*, *Seducers*? And is M^r *Cotton* not³ informed, what successe his *Doctrine* hath had, that (if a *mercifull God* had not prevented) not *Courting*, nor *Fining*, nor *Imprisoning*, nor *Whipping* nor *Banishing* had been *punishment* sufficient, to men and women, for cause of *Conscience* in *New-England*, but even *Death* it selfe, (according to the *Principles* of *persecution*) had been inflicted.

Peace. M^r *Cotton* will urge that *Gods* people will not be such *Hereticks*, &c. *Truth*.

1. The Authours tryalls about the *Pattents* of *New-England*.

2. Gods children may be guilty of bloody persecution for the hiding of their spirituall uncleannessee.

3. Gods mercy in stopping *New-Englands* persecution, by the mercy of *old England*, the mother to dissenting Consciences.

Truth. I might urge M^r Cottons owne grant of such sinnes in Gods owne people, for which they may be justly *Excommunicated*; but I will rather produce an *Instance* in our Nation of *England*. None fearing God will easily deny the Eminent Godlines¹ of *Cranmer* & *Cromwell* in King *Henry* the eight his dayes; At that very time when King *Henry* himselfe disputed in so famous an *Assembly* against the blessed *witnesse* of *Christ Jesus*, *John Lambert*! Finde we not also holy *Cranmer* disputing before the *King* and that *Stately Assembly*, against this poore *Servant* of *God*, for that horrible and monstrous *Idoll* of *Transubstantiation*?

Peace. Finde we not then also holy and zealous *Cromwell* (at the *Kings command*) reading that bloudie *Sentence* of *Death* against that blessed *Lambe* of *Christ Jesus*, who was thus worried to *Death*, not onely by the bloudie *Wolves* the *Bishops*, but even by those holy *Lambes* of *Christ*, *Cranmer* and *Cromwell* also!

Truth. This was that blessed *Lambert*, a true *Follower* of the² *Lambe* of *God Christ Jesus*, who cryed out in the midst of the *Flames*, *None but Christ*, *None but Christ*: and well might he so cry: Not *Cranmer*, not *Cromwell*, who after so much *Light* in *Disputations*, yet persisted in their *Heresie* and *Idolatry*, and partaking with *violence* against this holy man, that he might well cry out, *None but Christ*, *None but Christ*.

Exam: of Chap. 77. replying to Chap. 80.

Peace. AS it is (Deare *Truth*) oftentimes in *Journies*, the *worst way* and *saddest weather* attends the *Journies End*: So here M^r *Cotton* (neere our close) chargeth upon the *Discussers* a threefold *wresting* of his words, and accordingly so much *false-dealing*.

Truth. It is sad on the *Discussers* part, if this be done by him, either by a *willfull* or a *negligent* hand.

Peace. Yea and it is sad on M^r *Cottons* part, if the *Charge* be not *reall* and *substantiall*.

Truth. M^r *Cotton* acknowledgeth his words to be these
The *Godly* will not persist in *Heresie* or turbulent *Schisme*,
when

1. Holy *Cranmer* and *Cromwell* joyning with persecutours of *Christ Jesus* out of great weaknes in H. 8. his dayes.

2. The most famous passages of *Cromwell* & *Lambert* in H. the 8. his dayes.

when they are *convinced* in *Conscience* of the *sinfullnesse* of their way] The first charge therefore against the Discusser is that he confoundeth *Admonition* with *Conviction*, for (saith M^r Cotton) *Admonition* ought not to be dispenced, untill the *offendour* be *convinced* in his own *Conscience* of the *sinfullnesse* of his Way.

Truth. For answer hereunto the Discusser to my knowledge humbly appealeth to the *Searcher* of all *Hearts*, that he hath not *willingly* nor *wittingly* falsified M^r Cottons words in a *tearme* or *syllable*. And indeed whether he hath wronged him at all, or be not rather unjustly trampled under the feete of weake and *passionate charges*, the Discusser appealeth to M^r Cottons owne *Conscience*, awaked (if *God* so please) out of this bloudie Dreame.

Peace. Yea but (sayth M^r Cotton) *Admonition* is one thing,¹ and *Conviction* in their owne *Conscience* is another; for though sayth he, *Admonition* ought not to be dispenced till after *Conviction*, yet it may fall out that the *Church* (through mistake) *proceedeth* to *Admonition* before the *offendour* be *convinced* in his own *Conscience* of the *sinfullnesse* of his Way.

Truth. Passing gently by the want of *Equitie* in M^r Cotton to the Discusser, in condemning him of *falshood*, for taking *Admonition* for *Conviction*, when he makes it but a *mistake* in the *Church* to practice the one for, or before the other:

I answer, I know not that sutable *Distinction* between *Admonition* and *Conviction*, as M^r Cotton carrieth it, saying, that how ever the *Church* may through mistake practice *Admonition* before *Conviction*, yet *Admonition* ought not to proceede, untill after *Conviction* in a mans owne *Conscience*, for finde we not the words of *Reprooving*, *Rebuking*, *Admonishing*, *Exhorting* a brother, indifferently used both in the *Old* and *New Testament*? And doth not that very word ἔλεγον (*Matth.* 18. Reprove him) imply *Conviction* as well as *Reproofe* or *Admonition*, for doth it not signifie *Convincingly* reprove him?

Peace. I have heard indeed, that *Conviction* is twofold:²

First, *Externall* and *legall* before men in *Civill* or *Spirituell* *Judicature*.

Secondly, *Effectuall* and inward in the *Court* of a mans own *Conscience* before *God*, which internall, alwayes followes not the *Externall*.

Truth.

1. Of Admonition and Conviction.

2. Conviction two-fold.

Truth. No, such *Externall Conviction* may be *legall* before men, but not in the fight of *God*, and a mans owne *Conscience*, as we see in the case of *Naboth*, who was legally convict of *Blasphemy*, when acquitted by *God* and his owne *Conscience*: As also in those *Consciences* (of which *Paul* speakes) seared with hot irons, which *Consciences* (notwithstanding the abundance of *Light* from heaven *convincing*, yet) are not brought from believing *Lyes*.

Peace. Yea, but it seemes by M^r *Cottons words*, that the *Church*,¹ that is, (according to his way) the *Major* part of the *Church* must judge that the *Heretick* is convinced in his own *Conscience* of the *sinfullnesse* of his way before she proceedeth to *Admonition*.

Truth. For my part I cannot *reconcile* these three *Propositions*, comprized by M^r *Cotton* in these few lines.

First, the *Godly* will not persist in *Heresie*, or turbulent *Schisme*, when they are convinced in *Conscience* of the *sinfullnesse* thereof.

Secondly, The *Church* is to judge of the *Conviction* of such a *Godly mans Conscience*.

Thirdly, Although such a *Godly* man be convinced of the *sinfullnesse* of his way, yea although he will not persist in *Heresie* or turbulent *Schisme*, when he is thus *convinced* in *Conscience* of the *sinfullnesse* thereof, yet then is the *Church* to proceede to *Admonition*. For thus he sayth, *Admonition* ought not to be dispenced till after *Conviction*.

Peace. If M^r *Cotton* spake of the first *Conviction*, to wit, the *Externall*, I could subscribe, but now speaking of that *internall*² in a mans owne *Conscience*, I see it pleaseth *God*, most holy and onely wise to permit the best and wisest of his Servants, to intrap, intangle, and bewilder themselves, that they may learne to confesse him onely and infinitely wise, and be more humble in themselves, as *fooles* and *lyars*, and lesse bitter in their Judgements and Censures on the poore *Underlings* and *Outcasts*.

Truth. O that M^r *Cotton*, who grants the *Godly* may fall into such fowle sinnes of *Heresie* and *Schisme*, may also be godly jealous over himselfe and others fearing *God* in *old* or *New England*, that also possibly they may fall, into the very sinne of *persecuting* the Sonne of *God* himselfe, especially since it is the

Lot

1. Of Conviction of Hereticks.

2. Conviction sufficient, externall by the word, and efficient internall by Gods Spirit.

Lot of Christ Jesus (beyond all compare) both in *Himselfe*¹ and his *Followers*, to be accounted the greatest *Heretick*, *Blasphemer*, *Seducer* and *Deceiver*.

Peace. To the second and third Charge M^r Cotton complains of false dealing, in that the Discusser should render his *words*, as if he charged such to be *obstinate persons*, that yeelded not to once or twice *Admonition*, and that for every *Errour*, when he speakes onely of persisting in *Heresie*, or turbulent *Schisme*.

Truth. For answer, let M^r Cottons *Conclusions* in the beginning of this Booke be remembred. Wherein he maintaines that a *Man* of an *Erroneous* and blind *Conscience* in *Fundamentall* and *weighty points*, and persisting in the *Errour* of his way, is not persecuted for cause of *Conscience*, but for sinning against his *Conscience*. Whence it followes that the *Civill Courts* of the *World* must judge: whether the *matter* be *fundamentall* and *weighty*: whether the partie have been rightly once and twice *admonished*: and whether he persist in the *Errour* of his *Way*: that is, whether he be *obstinate* after such *Admonition*, and must then be *persecuted*, though (as the *Conclusion* wofully concludeth) not for cause of *Conscience*, but for sinning against his *Conscience*.

Peace. Yea but the Discusser (sayth M^r Cotton) dealeth falsly, in carrying my words, as if I had said, that *Godly persons* in whatsoever *Errour* they hould, if they yeeld not to once or twice *Admonition*, they must needs be *obstinate*: whereas (he saith) he speakes not of every *Errour*, but of persisting in *Heresie* and turbulent *Schisme*.

Truth. The Discusser did not so say, or so carry it as M^r Cotton insinuates, but this he saith, that even in the place of *Righteousnesse* and *Judgement* (as *Salomon* saith) *Iniquitie*, and such *Iniquitie* (in all *civill Courts* of the *World*, and in all *Ages*² of the *World*) usually hath been found, that as in multiplying glasses a *Flea* is made an *Elephant*, &c. So the *poore witnesses* of *Christ* have been *proclaimed* and *persecuted* for *Hereticks*, *Blasphemers*, *Seducers*, &c. not onely for not houlding the *Popes Transubstantiation*, *Auricular Confession*, *Purgatorie*, and those waigh-tier points of the *Beasts worship*: but *reading* a piece of a *Leafe of Scripture* or any *good booke* is *Heresie*. Eating a piece of *Flesh* in *Lent*, yea the slight breaches of the smallest *Traditions* of the

O o

Elders

1. Christ Jesus (accounted) the greatest Heretick, Blasphemer, Seducer, and Deceiver that ever was in this world.

2. Small matters accounted Heresies.

Elders and State Worships, accounted Heresie, Blasphemie, &c.

Peace. Hence was it I think, that the *Naturalist* could tell us in the *Fable* of the *Fox* and the *Lyon*, that the *Fox* ran not away in vaine upon the *Proclamation* of the departure of all *horned Beasts*, as knowing that if the *bloudie persecutours* of the *World* shall say, the *plainest Ears* are *hornes* (that is, the *smallest Errours*, yea the *plainest Truths* are *Heresies*) it is in vaine for any *Innocent* to plead they are but *Eares*, &c.

Truth. Yea hence it was that in that famous, or rather most¹ infamous *Councell* of *Constance*, the blessed *Servant* and *witnes* of *Christ Jesus*, *John Hus*, was as it were stobd to *Death* (before his burning) with tearmes of *Heresie*, *Heretick*, *Heresiarck*, yea though he held as the *Pope* and the *Councell* held, even in those points for which they condemned him, because (beside their hatred of his *Holines*, witnessing against their *Filthines*) themselves would say from his *writings*, that he did hould so and so against their *Popish Tenents*, which he himselfe profest he never did.

Peace. In the next place (*Deare Truth*) are two *Passages* related by the *Discusser* from *New England*. To which *M^r Cotton* gives no credit.

2. He sayth, If such words were spoken, they might be spoken upon such *waights* as might hould *waight*, &c.

Truth. For the *Stories* and the *Discussers* mistakes (willing *mistakes*, as *M^r Cotton* seemes to insinuate) I know the *Discusser* humbly desires like a true *Traveller* to his heavenly *Countrey*, to heare of, and see and acknowledge, and forsake every *false path* and *step* (by the helpe of *Christ*) that the poorest *childe*, though but a *naked Pagan* shall hint him of: But why should the *Stories* seeme incredible that suite so wofully fit with the *Common Tenents*?

Peace. It may be *M^r Cotton* will not believe it, nor approve it: But there are not two, but ten witnesses, to testifie such *Stories*, were it seasonable to relate and inlarge such *particulars*.

Truth. Let *M^r Cotton* then please to understand (to passe by particular names of the former *Stories*, which are ready to be declared to any *charitable* and *loving Enquirie*) that his *bloudie Tenent* is a bitter *Roote* of many *bitter branches*, not onely bitter
to

1. The barbarous usage of *John Hus* in the *Councell* at *Constance*.

to *spirituall tastes*, but even to the tast of *Civilitie* and *Humanitie* it selfe. But since the names of persons are so desired, I shall relate (not out of any personall disrespect to M^r *Streete* and the people of *Cohannet*, aliàs *Taunton*, my loving friends) what many testifie, that the said (reputed) Minister M^r *Streete*, publickely and earnestly perswaded his *Church-members* to give Land to none but such, as might be fit for *Church-members*: yea not to receive such *English* into the *Towne*, or if in the *Towne*, yet not to Land, that if they lived in the *Towne* or place, yet they might be knowne to be but as *Gibeonites*, *hewers* of wood, and *drawers* of water for the service of them that were of the *Church*.

Peace. I know what *troublesome Effects* followed in the same place, and what *Breaches* of *Civill* and *humane Societie*? What *Departures* of divers, and *Barres* to the *comming* of others, to the *spoile* and *hindrance* of a most likely and growing *Plantation*.

But to proceede (Deare *Truth*) you cannot more faithfully and carefully labour to discharge the Discusser of *falshoods*, then M^r *Cotton* endeavours to lay them on: For to the former three, behold in the next passage foure more.

“For, first the Discusser is charged to report M^r *Cotton* as expressing Confidence in this cause, which M^r *Cotton* sayth he “expressed not.

“Secondly, He reports M^r *Cotton* to say, that he (to wit, “M^r *Cotton*) had removed the *grounds* of this *Errour*, whereas M^r “*Cotton* (saith he) said not so, but that he had spoken so much “for that *End*.

“Thirdly, He foisteth in the name of *great Errour*, which “though it be so, yet M^r *Cotton* did not so *stile* it.

“Fourthly, That M^r *Cotton* should conclude, that to be a “*great Errour*, that *persons* are not to be *persecuted* for *cause* of “*Conscience*, when he states the *Question* so, that none ought to “be *persecuted* at all for *cause* of *Conscience*, but for sinning against their *Conscience*.

Truth. Sweet *Peace*, he that hath a minde to beate a *Dog*, will soone finde a cudgell, &c. If M^r *Cotton* had not esteemed the Discusser as a *Dog*, and had not had as great a minde as a *Dog* to use him, he would never have so catcht at every *line* and *word*, to finde out (such) the Discussers *Lyes* and *Falshoods*. O o 2

For

For, first, it is apparant that the Discusser here undertooke not to repeate M^r Cottons words, but upon such and such words of M^r Cottons (compared with all former *Agitations*) to collect according to his *understanding* such a *Conclusion*.

Peace. But whether he hath rightly and without breach of *Truth* or *Love* so and so collected, let it be (briefly) in the feare of God *examined*.

Truth. First then, hath not M^r Cotton through all this discourse, exprest a *Confidence* (some have called it *imperious* and *insulting*) against the poore *Hereticks*, *Blasphemers*, *Seducers*? And doo not these words [for avoyding the grounds of your *Errour*] import so much?

Secondly, Doth not M^r Cottons words imply that in his *opinion* such a *Tenent* is an *Errour*, and that by speaking so much against it, he hath removed it, what ever his *opponent* thinks to the contrary?

Thirdly, Why may not the Discusser, or any man say, that M^r Cotton counts that a great *Errour*, which M^r Cotton endeavours so to represent to all men?

Peace. But the fourth (sayth M^r Cotton) is an evident *falsehood* in the Discusser to say, that M^r Cotton should conclude this to be the great *Errour*, that *persons* are not to be *persecuted* for *cause* of *Conscience*.

Truth. The Father of Lights hath of late been graciously pleased to open the *eyes* of not a few of his *servants* to see that M^r Cottons *Distinction* [of not *persecuting* a man for his *Conscience*, but for *sinning* against his *Conscience*] is but a *Figleafe* to hide the *nakednes* of that *bloudie Tenent*, for, the *Civill Court* must then judge when a man sinnes against his *Conscience*, or els he must take it from the *Cleargie* upon trust, that the poore reputed *Heretick* doth so sinne.

Peace. M^r Cotton adds that it is an *Aggravation* of sinne to hould or practice *Evill* out of *Conscience*.²

Truth. True, but I also aske, Doth not that *persecutour* that hunts or *persecuteth* a *Turke*, a *Jew*, a *Pagan*, an *Antichristian* (under pretence that this *Pagan*, this *Turke*, this *Jew*, this *Antichristian* sins against his owne *Conscience*,) doth not this *persecutour*, I say, hould a greater *Errour* then any of the foure, because he hardens such *Consciences* in their *Errours* by such his
perse-

1. All Men are confident in their owne opinions.

2. The persecutour of *Turks*, *Pagans*, *Jewes*, or *Antichristiane*, is in a greater error then any of them.

persecution, and that also to the overthrowing of the *civill* and *humane Societie* of the *Nations* of the *World*, in point of *civill peace*?

Peace. Well you may (deare *Truth*) enjoy your owne holy and *peaceable Thoughts*, but M^r Cotton ends this Chapter with hope that the reputed *bloudie Tenent*, appears now *whiled* in the *bloud* of the *Lambe*, and tends to save *Christs sheepe* from *devouring*, to defend *Christs truth*, and to maintaine and preserve *peace* in *Church* and *Common-weale*.

Truth. Sweet *Peace*, that which hath in all Ages powred out¹ the *precious bloud* of the *Sonne* of *God*, in the *bloud* of his poore *sheepe*, shall never be found *whited* (as M^r Cotton insinuates) in the *bloud* of this most heavenly *Shepherd*: That which hath maintained the *workes* of *Darknes* 1600 yeares under the *bloudie Romane Emperours*, and more *bloudie Romane Popes*, hath never tended to destroy, but build and fortifie such *hellish workes*. That which all Experience (since *Christs* time) hath shewen to be the great *Fire-brand* or *Incendiarie* of the *Nations*, hath powred out so many *Rivers* of *bloud* about *Religion*, and that amongst the (so called) *Christian Nations*. That *Tenent*, I say, will never be found a *preserver*, but a *bloudie destroyer* both of *Spirituell* and *civill peace*.

Exam: of Chap. 78. replying to Chap. 81.

Peace. **W**E are now (Deare *Truth*) through the *mercie* of the *Father* of *mercies*, arrived, at the last Chapter of this *Sorrowfull Agitation*: M^r Cotton finds nothing² in this worth the while to speake to: yet thinks he it good to finde time to blame the Discusser for selfe. *Applauses*, vaine-glorious *Triumph*, and *confident perswasion*, which before he had noted M^r Cotton for.

Truth. That which was noted in M^r Cotton was not meerly a *perswasion* or *confidence*, but indeed an *imperious* and *insulting confidence*, over the *poore* and *oppressed*, and an adding of *Vinegar* to the *Gall* of the *Sonne* of *God*, *persecuted* in his poore *Saints* and *Members*.

Peace.

1. The bloudie Fruits of the *bloudie Tenent*.

2. Touching confidence in opinions.

Peace. But may there not seeme to be too in the Discusser, too great a *confidence* of the *converting* and turning of the *bloudie Storme* of *Warres* about *Conscience*, into mercifull *calmes* of *peace*, and of the returne of *Christs* dove, with *Olive branches* of *civill peace*?

Truth. Then let thousands and ten thousands, *French, Polonians, Hungarians, Transilvanians, Bohemians, Netherlanders*,¹ and others, and now at last (through Gods gracious smiling upon this holy *Truth* of his) I say, many thousand *English* men set to their *seale* and *witnes*, to wit, that *Freedome* to the *Consciences* of men, (from all other but *spirituall opposition*) hath stuck many *Millions* of *Browes* and *Houses* with *Olive branches*, that were before beblubbered and overwhelmed with teares and bloud.

Peace. I cannot but confidently see and say, that doubtles, had not the *prudent* and *zealous care* of *Englands Parliament* and *Armie* subscribed to this blessed meanes of *peace*, restored to *Lands* and *Countries* embroyled in *bloudie civill Warres* about *Religion*,² doubtles, the *streame* of *Warre* which hath run so long with *bloud* between the *Prelates* and the *Puritans* (so calld) had run as fresh and furious in all devouring *flames* between the *Presbyterians* and the *Independents*.

Truth. Oh blessed be the *God* of *peace*, who hath more pitie upon the *unpeaceable Sonnes* of *Men*, then they have on Themselves.

Peace. M^r *Cotton* in the next place addeth, that one passage he may not let passe, because the name of *Christ* is interested in it, and dishonoured by it, to wit, [*Christ* delighteth not in the *bloud* of men, but shed his own *bloud* for his *bloudiest enemies*:] M^r *Cotton* answers; It is true that *Christ* delighteth not in the³ *bloud* of men, while they gainsay and *bloudily persecute* him and his, out of *Ignorance*: but he delights in the *bloud* of such, who after the *acknowledgement* of his *Truth*, doe tread the *bloud* of his *Covenant* under-foote, and *wittingly* and *willingly* reject him from rainging over them: The contrary whereof he sayth Proclaimes the *Gospel* to the *seede* of the *Serpent*: Sows *pillowes* under all *ellbowes*, makes the *Heart* of the *Righteous* sad, strengthens the hand of the *wicked*, and proclaimes *peace* to *Jezabell*, and her *whoredomes* and *witchcrafts*, and concludes with *prayer* against

1. Freedom of Conscience hath ever been a Peacemaker in all Natiōs where it hath appeared.

2. And especially at this houre in *England*.

3. How *Christ* delights in *bloud*.

against such a bewitching of the *Whores Cup*, where, by open *profession* she is rejected, but let in by the *back-dooer* of *Tolleration*.

Truth. I perceive (*Sweet Peace*) that in the winding up of this *Discourse* M^r *Cotton* winds up, resolveth and reduceth his former pleaded for *persecuting* of *Hereticks*, *Blasphemers*, *Idolaters*,¹ *Seducers*, into the persecuting onely of *Apostates*, who after the acknowledging of the *Truth*, doe tread the *bloud* of *Christs Covenant* underfoote, &c. To which I answer: If so then the discerning & judging between such as gainsay *Christ*, and *blaspheame* him out of *Ignorance*, (such as M^r *Cotton* makes the *Jewes*, who put him to Death) and such as *willingly* and *wittingly* reject him: I say, the judging of this must then rest at the *Barre* of the *Civill Courts* and *Judicatures* of the *World*, which necessarily implies a supposition of *power* of *Judging* in all the *Nations* of the *World*, and so consequently in *Naturall* men contrary to the *Scriptures*, which conclude all *Mankinde* (while in their *naturall estate*,) uncapable of the things of Gods Spirit.

Peace. Yea and also (to my understanding) it implies, a *submitting* and *subjecting* of the *Crowne* and *Scepter* and *affaires* of *Christ Jesus*, to the *Civill* and *humane* *Crownes* and *Scepters* and *Tribunalls* of the *Nations* of this *World*, and that in *spirituall* and *heavenly* things, the proper *affaires* of his owne *Spirituall Kingdome*, in the which, the wisest of this world are ignorant, and extremely opposite.

Truth. For this, you know M^r *Cotton* hath a broken *Refuge*, to wit, [the *Nations* of the *World*, & *Naturall* men must not judge untill they be better informed] In which, what a wonderfull and *monstrous suspension* doth he put upon the *affaires* of *Christ² Jesus* all the world over, and leaves the *matters* of *Christ Jesus* in worse case, and more poorely provided for by *Christ Jesus*, then the *matters* and *affaires* of any *King* or *Kingdome* in the *World*, beyond compare and *Imagination*.

Peace. Yet, me-thinks those *Scriptures* quoted by M^r *Cotton* *Luc. 17.* Those mine *Enemies*, &c. and *Revel. 16.* *Bloudie vengeance* upon *Antichristian Emissaries*, are very considerable.

Truth. Doubtles all *Scripture* seriously alledged by the most³ ignorant and unworthy (how much more from so *learned* and *conscientious*) ought seriously and awfully to be pondered in

the

1. Of persecuting Apostates.

2. A monstrous suspension or hanging up of Magistrates.

3. Allegations of Scriptures ought seriously to be mad and answered.

the holy *presence of God*: The *Warrants and Authorities of civill powers* (though but pretended) are not without due respect to be examined, although rejected (in the end) as insufficient, &c. But consider in the *Examination* of those *Scriptures*: Is it credible that all that resist *Christ Jesus*, his *Kingdome* and *Government*, are *Apostate* and *Antichristian Emissaries*, against whom¹ he powres out that *Violl*? Have they first acknowledged the *Covenant of Jesus*, and then trod the *precious bloud* of that *High Covenant* under feete?

Peace. The *East* is not so farre from the *West*, as those *Scriptures* from such a *Conclusion*.

Truth. Yea how many hundreth thousands of *Jewes* and *Turkes* and *Antichristians* perish *temporally* and *eternally*, and that for refusing *Christ Jesus* to be *King*, and for shedding his *bloud* in his *servants*, who can never be brought under this guilt of *Apostacie*, after they have once acknowledged the truth of *Christs Government* and *Kingdome*.

Peace. Me-thinks to understand the *Scriptures* in M^r *Cottons* sence, were a wonderfull penning up and straightning the holy *Scripture*.

Truth. Sweet *Peace*, as soone may we immure the glorious *Sun* in a darke *dungeon*, as confine those bright *Scriptures* in the dark *Cels* of *Apostacie*: but I further observe, that *Christ Jesus* not only praid and dyed for his *Enemies*, who bloudily persecuted him and his out of *Ignorance*, but gave this reason against bodily Death to be inflicted on any for his cause and sake, *Luc. 9.* The *Son of Man* is not come to *destroy Mens lives*: and I might returne the *Question* to M^r *Cotton*, not unfitly, Are not these the words of *Him* that delighteth not in the *bloud* of his bloudiest enemies and *Gainsayers*?

Peace. It will be said, What *slaughters*, what drinking of *Bloud* is that which *Christ Jesus* in these *Scriptures* intendeth?

Truth. I answer, although the *Sword of Christs Kingdome*, that sharpe *Sword* with two edges is a *Spirituell Sword*, and is carried in his *Mouth*, yet all power in *Heaven* and *Earth* being given into his hands by his *Father*, he ruleth and over-ruleth in a way of *power* and *providence*, all the *powers* of the *World*.²

There is therefore a great *Sword* given to him that rideth upon the *white Horse*, (*Revel. 6.*) by which, for the resisting
of

1. Millions of *Turks*, *Jewes*, and *Antichristians* are far from the due charge of *Apostasie*.

2. The myserie of the red Horse of War.

of him that rideth upon the *white Horse*, (in the *gainsaying* and *persecuting* of *Christ* in his *Members*) *Christ Jesus* takes *peace* from the *Earth*, and suffers the *Turkes* to plague the *Anti-christian World*, (*Papists* and carnall *Protestants*) to plague each other, and to fill *Cups* of *Bloud* each to other, while they contend and fight, first against *God*, and then one against another, for their severall false *Prophets* and *Religions*.

Peace. Me-thinks then M^r *Cotton* might have spared to charge the *Discusser* with proclaiming of *peace* to *Jezabell*, &c.

Truth. There is a *Spirituell peace* in the matters of *Christs*¹ *Kingdome* and *Worship*, and in the particular *Conscienc*es and *Soules* of his *Servants*. There is a *Civill peace* in the quiet enjoyment of each mans *proprietie*, in the *Combination* of *Townes*, *Cities*, *Kingdomes*, &c. But neither of these three will M^r *Cotton* prove the *Discusser* proclaimeth to such *Antichristians* or *enemies* of *Christ Jesus*, who *persecute* and *opresse* *Jew* or *Gentile* upon any *civill* or *spirituell* pretence.

'Tis true, the *Conscienc*es and *Worships* of all men *peaceable* in their way, he affirms ought not to be molested, and though not *approved* yet *permitted*, and (although no *spirituall*, yet) a *civill peace* proclaimed to their *outward man* while *peaceable* in *civill commerce*.

To *persecutours*, he not onely proclaimes *Gods Judgements spirituall* and *eternall*, but *temporall* also, and affirmeth that all *persecutours* of all *sorts* (and especially the bloudie *Whore* of *Rome* (who hath so long been *drunk* with the *bloud* of the *Saints*,) ought by the *Civill Sword* to be *restrained* and *punished* (as the *Destroyers* of *Mankinde* and all *civill* and *peaceable* being in the *World*,) according to the hight of their *cruell* and *murtherous Oppressions*.

Peace. But *Tolleration* of her (sayth M^r *Cotton* brings) her in at the back dore, and so we may come to drink deeply of the *Cup* of the *Lords wrath*, and be filled with the *Cup* of her *plagues*.

Truth. There are two opinions which have bewitched the² *Nations* professing the name of *Christ*.

First, That a *Nationall Church* or *State*, is of *Christs appointing*. P p

Secondly,

1. A spirituell and Civill peace.

2. Two wofull opinions bewitching the Nations.

Secondly, That such a *Nationall Church* or *State* must be maintained pure by the *power* of the *Sword*. While M^r *Cotton* prays against the *bewitching* of the *Whores cup*, O that the *Father of Lights* might graciously please to shew him the depth of her *witchcrafts*, and his owne most *wofull Delusions* in both these.

In vaine doth M^r *Cotton* feare *partaking* of her *sinnes* and *plagues* by a *tollerating* (meerly) of her *Worship* in a *civill State*, while he forgets the *three great causes* of her *downfall* and *desolation*,¹ and partakes of any of them (*Revel.* 18.) to wit, Her *worldly pompe* and *pleasure*: Her *spirituall Whoredomes* and *invented Worships*, and her *crueltie* and *bloudshed*, more especially against the *Consciences* of the *Saints* or *holy ones* of *Jesus*.

*Exam: of Chap. 79. Touching the Modell of Church
and Civill power, Examined in the first part of the
bloudie Tenent, but not defended by M^r Cot-
ton, or any, that the Discusser knowes of.*

Peace. I Had hoped (*Deare Truth*) that we had gained a² *peaceable* and *quiet harbour*, after all our tempestuous *Tossings* in the boisterous *Seas* of this *bloudie Tenent*, yet now behold a *sharpe* and *cutting winde* of M^r *Cottons* continuall *Censures*; For I was not (sayth M^r *Cotton*) of those that composed the *Modell*; and secondly, the *Ministers* say it was not sent by them to *Salem*, and therefore the *Discusser* is left of *God* to a double *falshood*.

Truth. *Sweete Peace*, till *sweete Death*, in and (often) for *Christ*, close up the *Eyes* of his *servants*, they must not expect to rest fully from their *Labours*, and expect their *workes* to follow them.

Once againe therefore let us heare the *Discussers plea* for himselfe against this blustering charge of double *falshood*. Master *Cottons* owne words in the End of his *Answer* to the *Prisoners Letter*, are these; I forbear *adding Reasons* to justify the "*Truth*", because you may finde that done to your hand in a "*Treatise* sent to some of the *Brethren*, late of *Salem*, who "*doubted as*³ you doe.

Truth.

1. The 3 great Causes of the downfall of the Church of *Rome*.

2. Touching a *New English Modell* of Church and civill power.

3. * Writing to one Mr. *Hall*.

Truth. To my knowledge it was reported (according to this hint of M^r Cottons) that from the *Ministers* of the *Churches* (pretended) such a *Modell* composed by them was sent to *Salem*: Hereupon it was that the *Discusser* wrote on purpose to his worthy friend M^r *Sharpe* (*Elder* of the *Church* of *Salem*, (so called) for the sight of it, who accordingly sent it to him.

Peace. If this *Modell*, of such consequence, were so composed and so sent to *Salem*, if M^r *Cotton* directs others thither to *re-paire* to make use of it, if he thus approve and promote it, I see not why it might not probably be collected, that M^r *Cotton* (not the last in such great and publike matters) was amongst, if not chiefe amongst the composers of it, and that he and they were not ignorant of the conveyance of it to *Salem*.

Truth. But grant M^r *Cotton* should have been imagined to¹ have been left out in this so great and publike a service, and that all the former probabilities faile: yet doubtles M^r *Cotton* will be cast at the barre of *Christian Love* and *Moderation*, for so bitter a charge upon the poore *Discusser* for so easie and harmles *Mistakes*.

Peace. Such fierce flashes might well issue from the bloudie *French Cardinalls* against the poore *Hugenots*, from the *English bloudie Bishops* against the poore *Lollards*, from the bloudie *Popes* against the *Hereticks* and *Lutherans*: but a gentler *Breath* and *stile* might well beseeeme a *Protestant* to a *Protestant*, engaged in common principles and Testimonies and sufferings of *Jesus* against those bloudie *Tyrants*.

But to the *Modell*, M^r *Cotton* seemes highly offended, that the *Discusser* should say, that the *Modell* awaketh *Moses* from his unknowne *Grave*, and denies *Jesus* yet to have seene the *Earth*. For, *Moses* his *Lawes* were of force (sayth he) to the *Israelites* in the Land of *Canaan*, when *Moses* was dead: and againe, *Christ* came not to destroy the *Law* of *Moses*, not the *Morall Law*, nor the *Judicialls*, such as are of common *Equitie*: Or els (sayth he) the *Conscience* of the *Civill Magistrate* could never doe any act of *civill Justice* out of *Faith*, because he should have no word of *God* to be the *Ground* of his *Act*, if the *Lawes* of *Judgement* were abrogated, and none extant in the *New*.

Truth. I answer; that speech of the *Discusser* was neither

P p 2

unrea-

1. Deepe Censures for none or innocent mistakes.

unreasonable, nor untrue, as M^r Cotton alledgeth: for grant¹ *Christ* came not to destroy the *Morall Law* of the ten *Commands* (for the *Substance* of it, for all *materiall circumstances* therein M^r Cotton will not urge nor practice). Nor secondly, the *Judicialls* of *Morall Equitie*, that is, such as in deed concerne *Life* and *Manners*, according to the *Nature* and *Constitution* of the severall *Nations* and *Peoples* of the *World*.

Peace. Pardon me (*Deare Truth*) before you proceede, a word of *Explication*: your *Addition* [according to the *Nature* and *Constitution* of the *Peoples* and *Nations* of the *World*] will not be allowed of.

Truth. Without this I cannot allow of *Moses* his *Judicialls* to binde all *Nations* of the *World*, then before, or since *Christ Jesus*: my reason is: That people of *Israel* (to which those² *Judiciall Lawes* and *punishments* were prescribed) was as I may say, a *miraculous people* or *Nation*, miraculously brought from one *Nation*, (the Land of *Aegypt*) into another (the Land of *Canaan*) both types, a people furnished with *miraculous food* and *cloathing* during their fortie yeares Travell through the *Wildernes*: The seaven *Nations* of *Canaan* wondrously and miraculously destroyed before them; Their *Lawes* and *Institutions* miraculously delivered to them, &c.

Beside (not to wade deeper into this *Controversie*, as in the *Examination* of the *Modell* I have done) their Land was typically *holy*, and that people the *Church of God*, the onely *Church of God* in the *World*. And therefore being a people of such *miraculous considerations*, *Meanes* and *Obligations*, the breach even of *Morall Lawes* concerning *Life* and *Manners* and *civill Estate*, might be more transcendently *hainous* and *odious* in them, then in the other severall *Nations* and *peoples* of the *World*, many *thousands* and *millions* whereof never so much as heard of the Name of the *God of Israel*.

Peace. If men see cause to ordaine a *Court of Chancerie*, and erect a *Mercy-seate* to moderate the *rigour* of *Lawes*, which cannot be justly executed, without the moderate and equall consideration of *persons* and other *circumstances*! Me-thinks, the *Father of Mercies* (though he be *Justice* it selfe, yet) cannot be justly imagined to carrie all *Judiciall* or *Civill Lawes* or *Sentences*, by one *universall strictnes* through all the *Nations* of the *Earth*.

Truth.

1. Touching *Moses* his *Judicialls*.

2. *Israel* in a kinde a miraculous people.

Truth. The Lord Jesus tells us of a more tollerable Sentence, (even for the *Sodomites* in the day of *Judgement*, then for the *Jewes*, who were the *people* and *Church* of *God*: and *Paul* his servant layes heavier load (*Rom. 2.*) upon such *Adulterers*, *Thieves*, as professe to be *Teachers* unto others, &c. of the contrary *Graces* and *Vertues*.

Peace. Deare *Truth*, the *Scriptures* are full, and many Arguments might be drawne out this way, but please you to pitch upon an *Instance*, whereby we may the sooner finish this *Digression*.

Truth. Take that great case of the punishment of *Adulterie*,¹ and I confidently affirme, that the *Conscience* of the *Magistrate*, may out of *Faith*, execute other punishments beside (stoning to) *Death*, which was the punishment of that sinne in *Israell*. For although (as M^r *Cotton* sayth) That was the *Law* of *Judgement* in the *Old Testament*, and there is no other particularly exprest in the *New*, yet the *Conscience* of the *Magistrate* may know,

First, That the carriage of the Lord Jesus about this case, when the *Question* was precisely put to him, was extraordinary and strange: For (although unto other *Questions*, even of the *Pharisees*, *Herodians*, *Sadduces*, the *High Priest*, and *Pilate*, he gave more or lesse, first or last, punctuall *Resolutions*, yet) here, he condemnes the sinne, yet he neither confirms, nor disannulls this punishment, but leaves the *Question* (in all probability) and leaves the severall Nations of the *World*, to their owne severall *Lawes* and *Agreements* (as is most probable) according to their severall *Natures*, *Dispositions* and *Constitutions*, and their common peace and welfare.

Secondly, The Lord Jesus (1 *Pet. 2.*) approveth of the severall² humane *Ordinances* (or *Creations*) which the severall peoples and Nations of the *World* shall agree upon for their common peace and subsistence. Hence are the severall sorts of Governments in the Nations of the *World*, which are not framed after *Israels* Patterne. And hence consequently, the *Lawes*, *Rewards* and *Punishments* of severall Nations vastly differ from those of *Israell*, which doubtles were unlawfull for Gods people to submit unto, except *Christ Jesus* had (at least in generall) approved such humane *Ordinances* and *Creations* of Men for their common peace and welfare. *Peace.*

1. Touching punishment of *Adulterie*.

2. All Civill Government Gods Ordinance.

Peace. Me-thinks M^r Cotton, and such as literally stick to the *punishment* of *Adultery*, *Witchcraft*, &c. by *Death*, must either deny the severall *Governments* of the *World* to be lawfull (according to that of *Peter*) and that the *Nature* and *Constitutions* of *peoples* and *Nations*, are not to be respected, but all promiscuously forced to one *common Law*, or els they must see cause to moderate this their *Tenent*, which else proves as bloudie a *Tenent* in *civill affaires*, as *persecution* in *affaires religious*.

Truth. Yea, of what wofull consequence must this prove to¹ the state of *Holland* and *Low-Countries*, to the *State* of *Venice*, to the *Cantons* of *Switzerland*, to our owne deare *State* of *England*, and others who have no *King*, as *Israells* last established *Government* had, especially no *King* immediately designed, as *Israells* (in the *Roote*) was? Yea what becomes of all *Christianitie*, and of *Christs Church* and *Kingdome* in the *World* for ever, if it want the *Government* of a *King*: for sayth *Bishop*² *Hall* (in his *Contemplation* on *Michaels Idolatrie*) in plaine and expresse words: No *King*, therefore no *Church*.

Peace. To end this passage, upon the former grounds, me-thinks the *Conscience* of a *New English Magistrate* (being calld to be a *Magistrate* in *Old England*) may in *Faith* execute any other punishment (according to *Law* established) beside *Death*, upon *Adulterers*. And the *New English Colonies* may be exhorted to rectifie their wayes, and to moderate such their *Lawes*, which cannot possibly put on the face of *morall Equitie* from *Moses*, &c.

Truth. Your *Satisfaction* (Deare *Peace*) now præsupposed³ I proceed and grant (with that *Limitation* forementioned) that *Christ Jesus* neither abrogated *Moses Moralls*, nor *Judicialls*, yet who will deny that *Moses* established, (beside the two former) a third, to wit, *Lawes* meerly *figurative*, *typicall* and *ceremoniall*, proper and peculiar to that Land and people of *Israel*? Those *Lawes* necessarily wrapt up that *Nation* and people in a *mixt constitution*, of *Spirituell* and *Temporall*, *Religious* and *Civill*, so that their *Governours* of *Civill State* were *Governours* of the *Church*, and the very *Land* and *People* were by such *Governours* to be compelled to observe a *ceremoniall puritie* and *Holines*: But *Christ Jesus* erected another *Common-weale*, the *Common-weale*

1. True Republics & Common-weales without Kings.

2. A wonderfull saying of *Bishop Hall*.

3. The State of *Israel*.

weale of Israel, the *Christian Common-weale* or *Church*, to wit, not whole *Nations*, but in every *Nation* (where he pleaseth) his *Christian Congregation*, &c.

Peace. Deare *Truth*, I cannot count him a *peaceable* childe of mine, that rests not herewith satisfied: M^r *Cottons* next *Exception* is against your excepting against a *Magistrates* Membership in a *Church-estate*, joyned with an *Head-ship* over it, to establish, reforme, &c. (as being impossible that a *Magistrate* should sit Head and Supream on the *spirituall Bench*,¹ & yet stand as a delinquent at the *spirituall Barre* of *Christ Jesus*) M^r *Cotton* answers, that in severall respects, a *Magistrate* may be a nursing *Father* and *Judge* in causes *Ecclesiastiall*, and yet be subject to *Christs* censure in the offensive *Government* of himselfe against the *Rules* of the *Gospel*. And where it might be said, that the *Church* is subject to the *Magistrate* in *civill causes*, and the *Magistrate* is subject to the *Church* in *spirituall cases*, M^r *Cotton*² answers, this easeth not the *Difficultie*, for suppose, sayth he, the *Magistrate* fall into *Murther*, *Adulterie*, &c. which are *civill Abuses*, shall the *Church* tollerate him herein? And he concludes, Let the like *Power* be granted to the *civill Magistrate* to deale faithfully with the *Church* in the notorious *Transgression* of the first Table, as is granted to the *Church* to deale with the *Magistrate* in the notorious *Transgression* of the second Table, and the *Controversie* is ended.

Truth. This Answer and instance of M^r *Cotton* carries a seeming *Beautie* with it, but bring it to the *Triall* of the *Testament* of *Christ Jesus*, and it will appeare to be, but a vanishing *Colour*. For, there is a vast *Difference*: The sins of each *Church-member*,³ whether against the first or second Table, are proper to the *Cognizance* and *Judgement* of the *Church*, as the *sinne* of the *Incestuous* person was punished by *Christs Ordinances* (in the *Church* at *Corinth*) as well as the Abuse of the *Lords Supper*. But it is not so with the *civill Magistrate*, whose *Office* is essentially *civill*, one and the same, all the world over, among all *Nations* and *people*: For, having no *spirituall power* (as the *Authours* of the *Modell* afterwards acknowledge) he cannot possibly act as a *Civill Magistrate* in *spirituall matters*, though as a *Church-member*, he may in *Church-estate*, as also may the rest of the Members of that *spirituall Body*.

Peace.

1. Of *Magistrates* being nursing *Fathers*, &c.

2. Of *Magistrates* Power in *Spirituals*.

3. Of the sins of *Magistrates*.

Peace. Me-thinks it it cleare as the Light, that if that incestuous person in the *Church of Corinth* had beene a *Magistrate* of the *Citie of Corinth*, the *Church* might justly have proceeded against him, because all sinne is directly opposite to the¹ holy *Kingdome of Christ*. But in that abuse of the *Lords Supper* (which was meerly unchristian) neither that *Magistrate*, nor all the *Magistrates* of *Corinth*, or the *World* to helpe him, could justly punish the *Church*, because that *Supper* (in the *Institution*, and *Spirituell* use of it) was not onely of the *Nature* of the *Suppers*, of the meates and drinks of the *Citie of Corinth*, but also of a *divine* and *spirituall Institution*, of a heavenly and *mysticall Nature* and *Observation*. But to Conclude this piece and the whole, M^r *Cotton* corrects himselfe for putting in his *Sickle* into the *Harvest* of his *Brethren*, unto whom he refers the defence of their *Modell*, and for himselfe ends with desires that *Christ Jesus* would blast that peace which he sayth the *Examiner* proclaimeth to all the wayes of false *Religion*, to *Heresie* in *Doctrine*, &c.

Truth. If *Christ Jesus* shall please (for the further *manifestation* of his holy *Truth* and *Glory*) to permit those *able* and *worthy men*, to proceed to fortifie and defend their *Modell*: I hope he will also please to assist the *Discusser*, or some other of his poore servants, to batter downe (with the *Spirituell Artillerie* of his *Word* and *Testament*) such weake and loose and *unchristian Fortifications*.

Peace. But with what a *deepe* and *unrighteous charge* doth M^r *Cotton* end against the poore *Discusser*, as a *Proclaimer* of *peace* to all the wayes of false *Religion*, to *Heresie* in *Doctrine*, &c.

Truth. Grant M^r *Cotton* (in many excellent *Truths* of *Jesus*) a sweet sounding *Silver Trumpet*: Grant the *Discusser* as base a *Rams-horne* harsh and contemptible: Grant that (for the *peace* of the *Civill State*, the being of the *Nations*, and the *World*, the *safetie* of the good *Wheate* the *Righteous*, and the calling home of the *Elect* to *God*, *Jewes* and *Gentiles*!) the *Discusser* proclaimes a *civill being*, and *civill peace* to *Erroneous Consciences*, not sinning against humane and *civill Principles*: Yet what *Peace* hath this *Rams-horne* proclaimed (as M^r *Cotton* insinuates) when throughout this whole Booke, from
first

1. A case touching the Magistrates punishing the Sin of Church members.

first to last, the *Proclamation* soundeth out *open warre* against all false *Worshippers*.

Peace. I am a joyfull *witnes* of warre proclaimed from the *God of Truth*, from the *Sun of Righteousnesse*, from the *Spirit of Holines*, from the flames of *Fire*, those mighty *Angells*, from all the *Saints* and *Witnesses* of *Jesus*, from all his holy *Truths* and *Ordinances*. Warre to their *Consciences*, *Preachings*, *Writings*, *Disputations*, a warre present, a warre perpetuall, and (without *Repentance*) a warre eternall and everlasting.

Truth. Deare *Peace*, our goulden sand is out, we now must part with an holy *Kisse* of heavenly *Peace* and *Love*: M^r *Cotton* speakes and writes his *Conscience*: Yet the *Father of Lights* may please to shew him that what he highly esteemes as a *Tenent* washt white in the *Lambes bloud*, is yet more *black* and *abominable*, in the most pure and jealous eye of *God*.

Peace. The *Blackmores Darknes* differs not in the *darke* from the *sayrest white*.

Truth. *Christ Jesus* the *Sun of Righteousnesse* hath broke forth,² and dayly, will, to a *brighter* and *brighter Discoverie* of this deformed *Ethiopian*: And for my selfe I must proclaime, before the most holy *God*, *Angells* and *Men*, that (what ever other *white* and heavenly *Tenents* M^r *Cotton* houlds) yet this is a *fowle*, a *black*, and a *bloudie Tenent*.

A *Tenent* of high *Blasphemie* against the *God of Peace*, the *God of Order*, who hath of one *Bloud*, made all *Mankinde*, to dwell upon the face of the *Earth*, now, all *confounded* and *destroyed* in their *Civill Beings* and *Subsistences*, by mutuall flames of warre from their severall respective *Religions* and *Consciences*.

A *Tenent* warring against the *Prince of Peace*, *Christ Jesus*, denying his *Appearance* and *Comming* in the *Flesh*, to put an end to, and *abolish* the *shadowes* of that *ceremoniall* and *typicall Land* of *Canaan*.

A *Tenent* fighting against the sweete *end* of his *comming*, which was not to destroy mens *Lives*, for their *Religions*, out³ to save them, by the meeke and peaceable *Invitations* and *perswasions*⁴ of his peaceable *Wisdomes Maidean*.

Q q

A

1. The direfull state of false Worshippers.

2. The Portraiture of the *Bloudie Tenent*.

3. Euc. 9.

4. Prov. 9.

A *Tenent* fowly charging his *Wisedome*, *Faithfullnes* and¹ *Love*, in so poorly providing such *Magistrates* and *Civill Powers* all the *World* over, as might effect so great a *charge* pretended to be committed to them.

A *Tenent* lamentably guilty of his most precious *bloud*, shed in the *bloud* of so many hundreth thousand of his poore *servants* by the *civill powers* of the *World*, pretending to sup-
presse *Blasphemies*, *Heresies*, *Idolatries*, *Superstition*, &c.

A *Tenent* fighting with the *Spirit* of *Love*, *Holines*, and *Meeknes*, by kindling fiery *Spirits* of *false zeale* and *Furie*, when yet such *Spirits* know not of what *Spirit* they are.

A *Tenent* fighting with those mighty *Angels* who stand up for the peace of the *Saints*, against *Persia*, *Grecia*, &c. and so consequently, all other *Nations*, who fighting for their severall *Religions*, and against the *Truth*, leave no *Roome* for such as feare and love the *Lord* on the *Earth*.

A *Tenent*, against which the blessed *Soules* under the *Altar*² cry loud for *vengeance*, this *Tenent* having cut their *Throats*, torne out their *Hearts*, and powred forth their *Bloud* in all *Ages*, as the onely *Heretickes* and *Blasphemers* in the *World*.

A *Tenent* which no *Uncleannes*, no *Adulterie*, *Incest*, *Sodomie*, or *Beastialitie* can equall, this *ravishing* and forcing (*explicitly* or *implicitly*) the very *Soules* and *Consciences* of all the *Nations* and *Inhabitants* of the *World*.

A *Tenent* that puts out the very *eye* of all true *Faith*, which cannot but be as free and voluntarie as any *Virgin* in the *World*, in *refusing* or *embracing* any *spirituall offer* or *object*.

A *Tenent* loathsome and ugly (in the eyes of the *God* of *Heaven*, and serious *sonnes* of men) I say, loathsome with the palpable *filihs* of *grosse dissimulation* and *bypocrisie*: *Thousands* of *Peoples* and whole *Nations*, compelled by this *Tenent* to put on the fowle *vizard* of *Religious bypocrisie*, for feare of
Lawes,

1. The Portraiture of the *bloudie Tenent*.

2. The Portraiture of the *bloudie Tenent*.

Lawes, losses and punishments, and for the keeping and hoping for of favour, libertie, worldly commoditie, &c.

A *Tenent* wofully guiltie of hardning all false and *deluded*¹ *Consciencs* (of whatsoever *Sect, Faction, Heresie, or Idolatrie*, though never so *horrid and blasphemous*) by *cruelties and violences* practiced against them: all false *Teachers* and their *Followers* (ordinarily) contracting a *Brawnne* and *steelie hardnesse* from their *sufferings* for their *Consciencs*.

A *Tenent* that shuts and bars out the gracious *prophesies* and *promises* and *discoveries* of the most glorious *Sun of Righteousnes*, *Christ Jesus*, that burnes up the holy *Scriptures*, and forbids them (upon the point) to be read in *English*, or that any *tryall* or *search*, or (truly) free *disquisition* be made by them: when the most able, diligent and conscionable *Readers* must pluck forth their owne *eyes*, and be forced to reade by the (which soever *praedominant*) *Cleargies Spectacles*.

A *Tenent* that *seales up* the spirituall *graves* of all men, *Jewes* and *Gentiles*, (and consequently stands guiltie of the *damnation* of all men) since no *Preachers*, nor *Trumpets* of *Christ* himselfe may call them out, but such as the severall and respective *Nations* of the *World* themselves allow of.

A *Tenent* that fights against the *common principles* of all *Civillitie*,² and the very *civill being* and *combinations* of men in *Nations, Cities, &c.* by commixing (*explicitly* or *implicitly*) a *spirituall* and *civill State* together, and so confounding and overthrowing the *puritie* and *strength* of both.

A *Tenent* that kindles the devouring *flames* of *combustions* and *warres* in most *Nations* of the *World*, and (if *God* were not infinitely gracious) had almost ruind the *English, French, the Scotch* and *Irish*, and many other *Nations, Germane, Polonian, Hungarian, Bohemian, &c.*

A *Tenent* that bowes downe the *backs* and *necks* of all *civill States* and *Magistrates, Kings* and *Emperours*, under the proud feete of that *man* and *monster* of *sinne* and *pride* the *Pope*, and all

Q q 2

Popish

1. The Portraiture of the *bloudie Tenent*.

2. The Portraiture of the *bloudie Tenent*.

Popish and proud *Cleargie-men*, rendring such *Laicks* and *Seculars* (as they call them) but slavish *Executioners* (upon the point) of their most imperious *Synodicall Decrees* and *Sentences*.

A *Tenent* that renders the highest *civill Magistrates* and *Ministers*¹ of *Justice* (the *Fathers* and *Gods* of their *Countries*) either odious or lamentably grievous unto the very best *Subjects* by either elapping or keeping on, the *iron yoakes* of cruellest *oppression*. No *yoake* or *bondage* comparably so grievous, as that upon the *Soules* necke of mens *Religion* and *Consciences*.

A *Tenent*, all besprinckled with the *bloudie* *murthers*, *stobs*, *poysonings*, *pistollings*, *powder-plots*, &c. against many famous *Kings*, *Princes*, and *States*, either actually performed or attempted, in *France*, *England*, *Scotland*, *Low-Countries*, and other *Nations*.

A *Tenent* all *red* and *bloudie* with those most *barbarous* and *Tyger* like *Massacres*, of so many thousand and ten thousands formerly in *France*, and other parts, and so lately and so horribly in *Ireland*: of which, what ever causes be assigned, this chiefly will be found the true, and while this continues (to wit, *violence* against *Conscience*) this *bloudie Issue*, sooner or later, must *breake forth* againe (except *God* wonderfully stop it) in *Ireland* and other places too.

A *Tenent* that *stunts* the *growth* and *flourishing* of the most² likely and hopefulest *Common weales* and *Countries*, while *Consciences*, the *best*, and the *best* deserving *Subjects* are forct to flie (by enforced or voluntary *Banishment*) from their native *Countries*; The lamentable prooffe whereof *England* hath felt in the flight of so many worthy *English*, into the *Low Countries* and *New-England*, and from *New-England* into old againe and other forraigne parts.

A *Tenent* whose grosse partialitie denies the *Principles* of *common Justice*, while *Men* waigh out to the *Consciences* of all others, that which they judge not fit not right to be waighed out to their owne: Since the *persecutours Rule* is, to take and persecute all *Consciences*, onely, *himselfe* must not be touched.

A

1. The Portraiture of the *bloudie Tenent*.

2. The Portraiture of the *bloudie Tenent*.

A *Tenent* that is but *Machevilisme*, and makes a *Religion*, but a *cloak* or *stalking horse* to *policie* and *private Ends* of *Jerobams Crowne*, and the *Priests Benefice*, &c.

A *Tenent* that *corrupts* and *spoiles* the very *Civill Honestie* and *Naturall Conscience* of a *Nation*. Since *Conscience* to *God* violated, proves (without *Repentance*) ever after, a very *Jade*, a *Drug*, loose and *unconscionable* in all converse with men.

Lastly, a *Tenent* in *England* most unseasonable, as powring *Oyle* upon those *Flames* which the high *Wisedome* of the *Parliament*, (by easing the *yoakes* on *Mens Consciences*) had begun to quench.

In the sad Consideration of all which (*Deare Peace*) let¹ *Heaven* and *Earth* judge of the *washing* and *colour* of this *Tenent*. For thee (*sweete heavenly Guest*) goe lodge thee in the *breasts* of the *peaceable* and humble *Witnesses* of *Jesus*, that love the *Truth* in *peace*! Hide thee from the *Worlds Tumults* and *Com-bustions*, in the *breasts* of thy truly *noble children*, who professe and *endeavour* to breake the *irony* and insupportable *yoakes* upon the *Soules* and *Consciences* of any of the *sonnes* of *Men*.

Peace. Me-thinks (*Deare Truth*) if any of the least of these deepe charges be found against this *Tenent*, you doe not wrong it when you stile it *bloudie*: But since, in the wofull prooffe of all *Ages* past, since *Nimrod* (the *Hunter* or *persecutour* before the *Lord*) these and more are lamentably evident and undeniable: it gives me wonder that so many and so excellent *eyes* of *Gods* servants should not espie so fowle a *monster*, especially considering the *universall opposition* this *Tenent* makes against *Gods Glory*, and the *Good* of all *mankinde*.

Truth. There have been many fowle *opinions*, with which the *old Serpent* hath infected and bewitched the *sonnes* of men (touching *God*, *Christ* the *Spirit*, the *Church*, against *Holines*, against *Peace*, against *civill Obedience*, against *chastitie*) in so² much, that even *Sodomie* it selfe hath been a *Tenent* maintained in print by some of the very *pillars* of the *Church* of *Rome*: But this *Tenent* is so universally opposite to *God* and *man*, so pernicious and destructive to both (as hath been declared) that
like

1. Peace her Repose and Tabernacle.2. The *Bloudie Tenent* of persecution compared.

like the *Powder-plot*, it threatens to blow up all *Religion*, all *civilitie*, all *humanitie*, yea the very *Being* of the *World*, and the *Nations* thereof at once.

Peace. He that is the *Father* of *Lies*, and a *murtherer* from the beginning, he knowes this well, and that this ugly *Blackmore* needs a *maske* or *vizard*.

Truth. Yea the *bloudines* and *inhumanitie* of it is such, that not onely M^r *Cottons* more tender and holy *Breast*, but even the most *bloudie Bonners* and *Gardiners* have been forced to arme¹ themselves with the faire *shewes* and glorious *pretences*, of the *Glory* of *God*, and *zeale* for that *Glory*, the *Love* of his *Truth*, the *Gospel* of *Christ Jesus*, *love* and *pitie* to mens *soules*, the *peace* of the *Church*, *uniformitie*, *Order*, the *peace* of the *Common-weale*, the *Wisedome* of the *State*, the *Kings*, *Queenes*, and *Parliaments* proceedings, the *odiousnesse* of *Sects*, *Heresies*, *Blasphemies*, *Novelties*, *Seducers*, and their *Infections*: the *obstinacie* of *Heretick*, after all *Meanes*, *Disputations*, *Examinations*, *Synods*, yea and after *Conviction* in the poore *Hereticks* owne *Conscience*: Add to these the flattrring sound of those glosing *Titles*, the *Godly Magistrate*, the *Christian Magistrate*, the *Nurcing Fathers* and *Mothers* of the *Church*, *Christian Kings* and *Queenes*. But all other *Kings* and *Magistrates* (even all the *Nations* of the *World* over, as M^r *Cotton* pleads) must suspend and hould their hands, and not meddle in *matters* of *Religion*, untill they be informed, &c.

Peace. The dreadfull righteous hand of *God*, the *Eternall* and avenging *God*, is pulling off these *maskes* and *vizards*, that thousands, and the *World* may see this *bloudie Tenents Beautie*.

Truth. But see (my heavenly *Sister*, and true stranger in this² *Sea-like restles*, raging *World*) see here what *Fires* and *Swords* are come to part us! Well; Our *meetings* in the *Heavens* shall not thus be interrupted, our *Kisses* thus *distracted*, and our *eyes* and *cheekes* thus *wee*, *unwiped*: For me, though *censured*, *threatened*, *persecuted*, I must professe, while *Heaven* and *Earth* lasts, that no one *Tenent* that either *London*, *England*, or the *World* doth harbour, is so *hereticall*, *blasphemous*, *seditious*, and *dangerous* to the *corporall*, to the *spirituall*, to the *present*, to the *Eternall Good* of all *Men*, as is the *bloudie Tenent* (how ever wash't and whited) I say, as is the *bloudie Tenent* of *persecution* for cause of *Conscience*.

The

1. The masks and vizards of the *bloudie Tenent*.

2. *Truth & Peace*, their meetings seldome and short in this world.

The Copie of a Letter of R. Willi-

*ams of Providence in New England, to Major
Endicot, Governour of the Massachusetts, upon
occasion of the late persecution against M^r Clarke
and Obadiah Holmes, and others at Boston
the chiefe Tōwne of the Massachusetts
in New England.*

SIR,



Having done with our transitorie Earthly¹ Affaires (as touching the *English* and the *Indians*) which in Comparison of heavenly and *Eternall* you will say are but as dung and drosse, &c. Let me now be humbly bold to remember that *Humanitie* and *pietie*, which I and others have formerly observed in you, and in that hopefull Remembrance to crave your gentle *audience* with *patience* and *mildnes*, with *ingenuitie*, *equanimitie* and *candour*, to him that ever truly and deeply loved you and yours, and as in the awfull presence of his holy *Eye*, whose dreadfull *hand* hath formed us to the praise of his *mercy* or *Justice* to all *Eternitie*.

Sir, I have often feared and said within my Soule, Have I so² deeply loved and respected? Was I also so well *beloved*? Or was all *counterfeit*, and but gilded or'e with earthly *Respects*, *Worldly ends*, &c. Why am I silent? my Letters are not *Banished*! may be wellcome, may be seene and heard, and if neither, yet will back againe (together with my *prayers* and cries) into my *Bosome*.

Thus while I have sometimes mused and resolved! *Objections*, *Obstructions*, and a thousand hindrances (I feare from *Sathan* as *Paul* said) have prest in, held my hand, &c.

Sir, It hath pleased the Father of *Spirits* at this present to smite my heart in the very breaking up of your Letter: This³ *Deaths Head* tells that loving *Hand* that seald it, and mine that opens your *Letter*, that our *Eyes*, our *Hands*, our *Tongues*,
our

1. Matters | touching the | peace of the | *English* and *In-* | *dians*, about | which the said | Governour did | write to R.W.

2. Great love formerly between the said Governour *Endicot*, and R. W. before his Banishment.

3. The seale | wherewith the | Governours | Leter to R. | W. was sealed.

our *Braines* are flying hence to the hole or pit of *Rottennes*: Why should not therefore such our *Letters*, such our *Speeches*, such our *Actings* be, as may become our last *minutes*, our *Death-beds*? &c.

If so, how *meeke* and *humble*, how *plaine* and *serious*, how *faithfull* and *zealous*, and yet how tender and *loving* should the *Spirits* and *Speeches* be of dying and departing Men?

Sir, While something of this Nature I muse over your *Deaths head*, I meete (in the Entrance of your Letter) with this “passage [*Were I as free in my spirit as formerly I have been to write unto you, you should have received another manner of Salutation then now with a good Conscience I can Expresse; However God knoweth who are his, and what he is pleased to hide from sinfull man in this life, shall in that great Day be manifested to All.*]

Sir, At the reading of this Line, (I cannot but hope I have your leave to tell you) The speech of that wise Woman of *Tekoah* unto *David* came fresh unto my Thoughts: Speakes not the *King* this Thing as one that is *Guiltie*? For will my honoured and beloved friend not know me for feare of being disowned by his *Conscience*? Shall the *Goodnes* and *Integritie* of his *Conscience* to *God* cause him to forget me? Doth he quiet his minde with this; [*God knoweth who are his? God hides from sinfull man, God will reveale before All?*] Oh how comes it¹ then that I have heard so often, and heard so lately, and heard so much, that he that speakes so tenderly for his owne, hath yet so little respect, mercie or pitie to the like *consciencious* perswasions of other Men? Are all the Thousands of *millions* of *millions* of *Consciences*, at home and abroad, fuell onely for a *prison*, for a *whip*, for a *stake*, for a *Gallowes*? Are no *Consciences* to breath the *Aire*, but such as suit and sample his? May not the *most High* be pleased to hide from his as well as from the eyes of his fellow-*Servants*, fellow-*mankinde*, fellow-*English*? And if *God* hide from his, from any, who can discover? Who can shut when he will open? and who can open, when he that hath the key of *David* will shut? All this and more (honoured Sir) your words will warrant me to say, without any just offence or straining.

Object. But what makes this to *Heretickes*, *Blasphemers*, *Seducers*, to them that sin against their *Conscience* (as M^r Cotton sayth)

1. Persecutours conclude no *Conscience* in the whole World but their owne.

sayth) after *Conviction*? What makes this to stobbers of *Kings* and *Princes*, to blowers up of *Parliaments* out of *Conscience*?

First, I answer, He was a *Tyrant* that put an *Innocent Man* into a *Beares-skin*, and so caused him as a wild *Beast* to be baited to Deat.

Secondly, I say, this is the common cry of *Hunters* or *persecutours*¹ [*Hereticks*, *Hereticks*, *Blasphemers*, &c.] and why, but for crossing the persecutours *Consciences*, (it may be but their superstitions, &c.) whether *Turkish*, *Popish*, *Protestant*, &c.

This is the Outcry of the *Pope* and *Prelates*, and of the *Scotch Presbyterians*, who would fire all the world, to be avenged on the *Sectarian Heretickes*, the blasphemous *Heretickes*, the seducing *Heretickes*, &c. had it not pleased the God of Heaven who bounds the insolent Rage of the furious *Ocean*, to raise up a second *Cromwell* (like a mighty and mercifull *Wall* or² *Bullwark*) to stay the Furie of the *Oppressour*, whether *English*, *Scottish*, *Popish*, *Presbyterian*, *Independent*, &c.

Lastly, I have said much and lately, and given particular Answers to all such pleas, in my Second Reply or Answer to³ M^r *Cottons* washing of the *Bloudie Tenent* in the *Lambes* bloud, which it may be is not yet come to your sight and Hand.

'Tis true, I have to say elsewhere about the *Causes* of my *Banishment*: As to the calling of *Naturall Men* to the exercise of those holy *Ordinances* of *Prayers*, *Oathes*, &c. As to the frequenting of *Parish Churches*, under the pretence of hearing some *Ministers*: As to the matter of the *Patent*, and King *James* his *Christianitie* and *Title* to these parts, and bestowing it on his Subjects by vertue of his being a *Christian King*, &c.

At present, let it not be offensive in your eyes, that I single out another, a fourth point, a cause of my *Banishment* also, wherein I greatly feare one or two sad evils, which have befallen your *Soule* and *Conscience*.

The point is that of the *Civill Magistrates* dealing in matters of *Conscience* and *Religion*, as also of persecuting and hunting any for any matter meerly *Spirituell* and *Religious*.

The two Evills intimated are these; First, I feare you cannot after so much *Light*, and so much profession to the contrary (not onely to my selfe, and so often in private, but) before so many Witnesses; I say, I feare you cannot say and

R r

act

1. All persecutours render the most innocent most odious.

2. *Cromwell* the second, a Refuge of the oppressed.

3. This Rejoynder was sent to *England* long since, and hoped to have been published.

act so much, against so many severall *Consciences*, former and later, but with great *Checks*, great *Threatnings*, great *Blowes* and *Throwes* of inward *Conscience*.

Secondly, If you shall thanke *God*, that it is not so with¹ you, but that you doe what *Conscience* bids you in *Gods* presence, upon *Gods* warrant, I must then be humbly faithfull to tell you, that I feare your underprizing of holy *Light*, hath put out the *Candle*, and the *Eye* of *Conscience* in these particulars, and that *Delusions*, strong *Delusions*, and that from *God* (by *Sathans* subtletie) hath seased upon your very *Soules* belief, because you priz'd not lov'd not the indangered persecuted Son of *God* in his despised *Truths* and *Servants*.

Sir, With Man (as the *Lord Jesus* said of the *Rich man*) I know it is impossible for the (otherwise piercing) *eye* of your understanding to see into these things, for it is *discoloured*, as in some *Diseases* and *Glasses*; It is impossible for your *Will* to be willing to see, for that's in a thousand chaines resolved (as once you spake *heroically* and *heavenly* in a better way) to spend your dearest *Heart bloud* in your way, &c. Yet with *God* all things are possible, and they that laughed the *Lord Jesus* to scorne when he said, the *Damsell* is not *dead* but *sleepeth*, were afterwards confounded, when they saw her raised by his heavenly voice.

His holy pleasure I know not, nor doe I know which way the *Glory* of his great Name will more appeare, either in finally suffering so great a *fall* and *ruine* of so strong a *pillar*, that *Flesh* may not *Glory*, but that his *strength* and *Glory* onely may be seene in *Weaknesse*. Or else in your holy *Rising* and *Reviving* from the *Bed* of so much spirituall filthines, and from so *bloudie* a *minde*, and *lip*, and *hand*, against all *withstanders* or *Disturbers* in it. That so the short *Remainder* of your *Candle* may hold out to the World, the *Riches* of his *Mercy*, at whose words the holiest of his *Servants* ought to tremble, and to work out their Salvation with feare and trembling: I say (I desire to say it; tremblingly and mournfully) I know not which way he will please to raise his *Glory*) onely I know my *Dutie*, my *Conscience*, my *Love*, all which inforce me to knock, to call to cry at the Gate of *Heaven*, and at *Yours*, and to present you with this loving, though lowd and faithfull noyse and sound of a
few

1. Abuse of light most dangerous.

few Grounds of deeper Examination of both our *Soules* and *Consciencs* uprightly and impartially at the holy and dreadfull *Tribunall* of Him that is appointed the *Judge* of all the *Living* and the *Dead*.

Be pleased then (honoured Sir) to remember that that thing which we call *Conscience* is of such a Nature (especially in *English-men*) as once a *Pope* of *Rome* at the suffering of an *English-man* in *Rome*, himselfe observed) that although it be groundles, false, and deluded, yet is it not by any *Arguments* or *Torments* easily removed.

I speake not of the streame of the multitude of all *Nations*,¹ which have their *ebbings* and *flowings* in *Religion*, (as the longest *Sword*, and strongest *Arme* of *Flesh* carries it) But I speake of *Conscience*, a *perswasion* fixed in the minde and heart of a man, which inforceth him to judge (as *Paul* said of himselfe a *persecutour*) and to doe so and so, with respect to *God*, his worship, &c.

This *Conscience* is found in all mankinde, more or lesse, in *Jewes*, *Turkes*, *Papists*, *Protestants*, *Pagans*, &c. And to this purpose let me freely without offence remember you (as I did M^r *Clarke* newly come up from his sufferings amongst you) I say, remember you of the same *Story* I did him, twas that of *William Hartly* in *Queene Elizabeth* her dayes, who receiving the Sentence of *hanging*, *drawing*, &c. spake confidently (as afterward he suffered) what tell you me of *hanging*, &c. If I had ten thousand millions of *lives*, I would spend them all for the *Faith* of *Rome*, &c.

Sir, I am far from glancing the least Countenance on the *Consciencs* of *Papists*, yea or on some *Scotch* and *English Protestants* too, who turne up all *Rootes*, and lay all *levell* and in bloud, for exaltation of their owne *way* and *Conscience*. All that I observe is, that *Boldnes* and *Confidence*, *Zeale* and *Resolution*, as it is commendable in a kinde when it seriously respects a *Dietie*, so also, the greatest *Confidence* hath sometimes need of the greatest *Search* and *Examination*.

I confesse, that for *Confidence* no *Romish Priest* hath ever exceeded² the holy *Martyrs* or *Witnesses* of *Jesus*: Witnes (amongst so many) that holy *English Woman*, who cryed out, that if every *haire* of her head were a *life* or man, they should burne

R r 2

for

1. The power of Conscience though Erroneous.

2. True & false Witnesses both Confident.

for the Name of the *Lord Jesus*: But Sir, your *Principles* and *Conscience* binde you, not to respect *Romish* or *English*, *Saints* or *Sinners*: *William Heartly*, and that *Woman*, with all their *lives*, you are bound by your *Conscience* to punish (and it may be) to hang or burne, if they transgresse against your *Conscience*, and that because (according to M^r *Cottons* monstrous *Distinction* (as some of his chiefe *Brethren* to my knowledge have called it) not because they sinne in matters of *Conscience*, (which he denies the *Magistrate* to deale in) but because they sinne against their *Conscience*.

Secondly, It is so notoriously knowne, that the *Consciences* of the most holy men, zealous for *God* & his *Christ* to *Death* and *Admiration*, yea even in our owne Countrey, and in *Queen Mariés* dayes especially, have been so grossly mislead by mistaken *Consciences* in matters concerning the *worship* of *God*, the comming out of the *Antichristian Babell*, and the *Rebuilding* of the spirituall *Jerusalem*, that I need but hint who were they¹ that pend the *Common prayer* (in its Time, as glorious an *Idoll*, and as much adored by *Godly persons*, as any *Invention* now extant) I say, who they were that lived and dyed (five in the flames) zealous for their *Bishopricks*, yea and some too too zealous for their *Popish Ceremonies*, against the doubting *Consciences* of their *Brethren*: At which and more, we that now have risen in our *Fathers* stead, wonder and admire how such piercing eyes could be deceived, such *Watchmen* blinded and deluded. But

Thirdly, We shall not so much wonder when we lift up our trembling eyes to *Heaven*, and remember our selves (poore² dust) that our *Thoughts* are not as the *Thoughts* of our *Maker*, that, that which in the eyes of man (as the *Lord Jesus* tells us, *Luc. 16.*) is of high and sweet esteeme, it stincks and is abomination with *God*: Hence such *Worships*, such *Churches*, such glorious *professions* & *practices* may be, as may ravish themselves and the behoulders, when with the piercing eyes of the most *High*, they may looke counterfeit and ugly, and be found but (spiritually) *Whores*, and *Abominations*.

Fourthly, Wise men use to inquire, what *Motives*, what *Occasions*, what *Snares*, what *Temptations* were there, which mooved, which drew, which allured, &c. This is the *Apologie* which

1. The Common Prayers & the Composers of it.

2. What's sweet with man, stinks (often) in Gods nostrills.

which the five *Apologists* (M^r Goodwin, M^r Nye, &c.) made to the *Parliament*, to wit, That they were not tempted with the moulding of New *Common-wealths*, after which they might be mooved to frame their *Religion*, &c.

Surely Sir, the *Baits*, the *Temptations*, the *Snares* laid to catch¹ you, were not few, nor *common*, nor laid to every foote. *Saul* pretended *zeale* to the Name of *God*, and love to *Israel* in persecuting the poore *Gibeonites* to death, but Honour me before the people, was the maine *Engine* that turned the *Wheeles* of all his *Actions* and *Devotions*. What set *Jeroboams* braines to consult and plot the *Invention* of a new *Religion*, *Worship*, *Priests*, &c. but *Honour*, & the feare of the losse of his gained *honour*? What moved *Jehu* to be false and halting with *God* after so much glorious *zeale* in *Reformation*? Yea I had almost said, what mooved *David* to stob *Uriah* (the fire of *God*) with his pen, but the feare of dishonour in the Discovery of his sin, though doubtles there was some mixtures of the feare of his *Gods* displeasure and dishonour also?

Sir, it is no small offer, the *choice* and *applause* and *Rule* over so many *Townes*, so many *holy*, so many *wise*, in such a *holy way* as you believe you are in: To say nothing of *strong drinkes* and *wines*, the *fat* and *sweet* of *this* and other *Lands*: These and others are snares which without abundant strength from *God* will catch and hould the strongest feete: Sir, I have knowne you strong, in repelling strong *Temptations*, but I cannot but feare and lament, that some of these and others have been too strong and potent with you.

Fifthly, We not onely use to say proverbially, but the Spirit of *God* expressly tells us, that there is a *minde-bewitching*, a² *betwitching* of the very *Consciences* and *spirits* of men. That as in *Witchcraft*, a *stronger* and supernaturall *power* layes hould upon the powers of *Nature*, with a suppressing or elevating of those powers beneath or above themselves: So is it with the very *Spirits* and *Consciences* of the most *Intelligent* and *Conscientious*, when the *Father* of *Spirits* is pleased in his righteous displeasure and jealousy, so to suffer it to be with ours.

Sir, I from my Soule *honour* and *love* the persons of such, whom I, you, and themselves may see have been *Instrumentall* in your *bewitchin* ; Why should it be thought inconsistent with
the

1. Sathans policie in proposing Motives and Baits to wise and excellent Saints.
2. Spirituall Witchcraft.

the holy wisdom of God to permit *wise* and *holy* and *learned* persons to *wander* themselves and *mislead* others; when the holy *Scripture* and *Experience* tells us of the dangerous *Councells* and *wayes* of as *wise* and *learned* and *holy* as now breath in either *Old* or *New English* aire?

Sir, I had thought to have named one or two, who may justly be suspected (though otherwise worthily beloved) but I have chose rather to present an hint, for thats enough to so *intelligent* a Breast, if but willing to make an *Impartiall Review* and *Examination* of Passages between the most *High* and your in most *Soule* in secret.

Therefore sixthly, for a sixth ground of suspecting your *Soule* and *Spirit* and *Conscience* in this particular of *persecution*, which I now instance in, may you please, Sir, without offence to remember, that as it is in such as have exceeded in *Wine*, their¹ *speech* will bewray them: So it is in *Spirituall Cups* and *Intoxications*.

The *Maker* and *Searcher* of our hearts knowes with what *Bitternes* I write, as with *Bitternes* of *Soule* I have heard such *Language* as this to proceed from your selfe and others, who² formerly have fled from (with crying out against) persecutours! [you will say, this is your *Conscience*: You will say, you are *persecuted*, and you are *persecuted* for your *Conscience*: No, you are *Conventiclors*, *Hereticks*, *Blasphemers*, *Seducers*: You deserve to be *hanged*, rather then one shall be wanting to *hang* him I will hang him my selfe: I am resolved not to leave an *Heretick* in the *Countrey*; I had rather so many *Whores* and *VVhoremongers* and *Thieves* came amongst us:] Oh Sir, you cannot forget what *Language* and *Dialect* this is, whether not the same unsavourie, and ungodly, blasphemous and *bloudie*, which the *Gardiners* and *Bonnors* both former and later used to all that bowed not to the *State* goulden *Image* of what *Conscience* soever they were. And indetd, Sir, if the most *High* be pleased to awaken you to render unto his holy *Majestie* his due praises, in your truly broken-hearted *Confessions* and *Supplications*, you will then proclaime to all the *VVorld*, that what profession soever you made of the *Lambe*, yet these *Expressions* could not proceed but from the *Dragons* mouth.

Oh remember, and the most holy *Lord* bring it to your *Remembrance*,
mem-

1. Mystically Drunkenness and the drunken Language of it.

2. The language of persecutours.

that you have now a great price in your hand, to¹ bring great *Glory* to his holy Name, great *Rejoycing* to so gracious a *Redeemer* (in whom you professe is all your *Healing* and *Salvation*) great *Rejoycing* to the holy *Spirit* of all true *Consolation*, whom yet so long you have grieved and sadded, great *Rejoycing* to those blessed *Spirits* (attending upon the *Lambe*, and all his, and terrible to his *persecutours*) great *Rejoycing* and *Instruction* to all that love, the true *Lord Jesus* (notwithstanding their wandrings among so many false *Christs*) mourning and lamenting after him in all parts of the World where his Name is sounded: Your *Tallents* are great, your *Fall* hath been so: Your *Eminencie* is great, the *Glory* of the most *High* in *Mercy* or *Justice* toward you will be great also.

Oh remember it is a dangerous Combat for the *Potsheards* of the Earth to fight with their dreadfull *Potter*: It is a dismall *Battle* for poore naked *feete* to kick against the *Pricks*; It is a dreadfull *voyce* from the *King of Kings*, and *Lord of Lords*, *Endicot*, *Endicot*, why *huntest* thou *me*? why *imprisonest* thou *me*? why *finest*, why so bloudily *whippest*, why wouldest thou (did not I hould thy *bloudie* hands) *hang* and *burne* *me*? Yea Sir, I beseech you remember that it is a dangerous thing to put this to the *may be*, to the *venture* or *hazzard*, to the *possibilitie*: Is it possible (may you well say) that since I *hunt*, I *hunt* not the *life* of my *Saviour*, and the bloud of the *Lambe of God*: I have fought against many severall sorts of *Consciences*, is it beyond all *possibilitie* and *hazard*, that I have not fought against *God*, that I have not persecuted *Jesus* in some of them?

Sir, I must be humbly bold to say, that 'tis impossible for any Man or Men to maintaine their *Christ* by the *Sword*, and to worship a true *Christ*! to fight against all *Consciences* opposite to theirs, and not to fight against *God* in some of them, and to hunt after the precious life of the true *Lord Jesus Christ*. Oh remember whether your *Principles* and *Consciences* must in³ time and opportunitie force you. 'Tis but worldly *policie* and *Compliance* with Men and Times (*Gods* mercy over-ruling) that houlds your hands from *murthering* of thousands and ten thousands were your *Power* and *Command* as great as once the bloudie *Roman Emperours* was.

The truth is (and your selfe and others have said it) by your
Prin-

1. A price and a Heart blessed Companions.

2. The horrible & dangerous path which all persecutours or Hunters walke in.

3. The least sparke of persecution tends to bloud, and will proceed, except God mightly stop it.

Principles such whom you count *Hereticks*, *Blasphemers*, *Seducers*, ought to be put to *Death*; You cannot be faithfull to your *Principles* and *Consciences*, if you satisfie them with but *imprisoning*, *fining*, *whipping* and *banishing* the *Hereticks*, and by saying that *banishing* is a kinde of *Death*, as some chiefe with you (in my case formerly) have said it.

Sir, 'Tis like you knew or have heard of the man that said he would never *Conforme* publicly, although he did *subscribe* in private for his *Libertie* sake of *Preaching*: That, although he did *conforme* in *some* things, yet in *all* he never would: That, although he did *himselfe* yeeld, yet he would not molest and *inforce* others: That although he yeelded, that *others* did molest them, yet *himselfe* would never *persecute*, and yet did all.

But oh poore dust and Ashes, like *stones* once roling downe the *Alpes*, like the *Indian Canoes* or *English Boats* loose and adrift, where stop we untill infinite mercy stop us, especially when a false fire of *zeale* and *Conscience* drives us, (though against the most holy and eternall himselfe?)

Oh remember the black *Catalogues* it hath pleased the most¹ jealous and righteous *God* to make of his fierie *Judgements* and most dreadfull stoakes on Eminent and remarkeable *persecutours* even in this life. It hath been his way and course in all Countries, in *Germanie*, *France* and *England*, (especially) what ever their pretences have been against *Hereticks*, *Rebells*, *Schismaticks*, *Blasphemers*, *Seducers*, &c. How hath he left them to be their owne *Accusers*, *Judges*, *Executioners*, some by *hanging*, some by *stobbing*, some by *drowning* and *poysoning* themselves, some by running *mad*, and some by *drinking* in the very same *Cup* which they had filld to others?

Some may say, Such *persecutours* hunted *God* and *Christ*, but I, but we, &c. I answer, the *Lord Jesus Christ* foretold how wonderfully the wisest of the World, should be mistaken in the things of *Christ*, and a true visible *Christ Jesus*! When did we see thee *naked*, *hungry*, *thirstie*, *sicke*, *inprison*, &c. How easie, how common, how dreadfull these *mistakes*?

Oh remember once againe (as I began) and I humbly desire to remember with you, that every gray haire now on both our² heads, is a *Boanerges*, a sonne of *Thunder*, and a warning piece
to

1. Gods most dreadfull Judgements against persecutours.

2. Death is a *Boanerges*.

to prepare us, for the waighing of our last *Anchors*, and to be gone from hence, as if we had never been.

'Twas mercy infinite, that stopt provoked *Justice* from blowing¹ out our *Candles* in our *youths*, but now the *feeding Substance* of the *Candle's* gone, and 'tis impossible (without repentance,) to recall our *Actions!* nay, with *repentance*, to recall our *minutes* past us.

Sir, I know I have much presumed upon your many waigh-ty *affaires* and *thoughts*, I end with an humble cry to the *Father* of *mercies*, that you may take *Davids Counsell*, and silently commune with your owne heart upon your *Bed*, reflect upon your owne *spirit*, and believe Him that said it to his over-zealous *Disciples*, You know not what *spirit* you are of: That, no sleepe may seize upon your *eyes*, nor slumber upon your *eye-lids*, untill your serious thoughts have *seriously*, *calmely*, and *unchangeably* (through helpe from *Christ Jesus*) fixed.

First, On a *Moderation* toward the *Spirits* and *Consciences* of all mankind, meerly differing from or opposing yours with onely Religious and Spirituall *opposition*.

Secondly, A deepe and cordiall *Resolution* (in these wonderfull searching, disputing, and dissenting times) to search, to listen, to pray, to fast, and more fearefully, more tremblingly to enquire what the holy *pleasure*, and the holy *mysteries* of the most *Holy* are; In whom I humbly desire to be

*Your poore fellow-Servant, unfainedly,
respective and faithfull,*

R. VWilliams.

1. Gray hayres are Gods Alarums.

An APPENDIX:
To the *Cleargie* of the foure great
Parties (professing the Name of *Christ Jesus*)
in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, viz. The *Popish*,
Prelaticall, *Presbyterian*, and *Independent*.

WORTHY SIRs;



Have pleaded the Cause of your severall and respective *Consciences* (against the bloudie Doctrine of *Persecution*) in my former Labours, and in this my present *Rejoynder* to M^r Cotton:

And yet I must pray leave without offence to say, I have impartially oppos'd and charg'd your *Consciences* also, so farre as *Guiltie* of that bloudie Doctrine of persecuting each other for your *Consciences*.

You foure have torne the seameles Coate of the Son of God¹ into foure pieces, and (to say nothing of former *Times* and *Tearings*) you foure have torne the three *Nations* into thousands of *pieces* and *Distractions*.

The two former of you, the *Popish* and (*Protestant*) *Prelaticall*, are *Brethren*: So are the latter, the *Presbyterian* and *Independent*: But, oh, how *Rara est*, &c? What *Concord*, what *Love*, what *pitie* hath ever yet appear'd amongst you, when the *providence* of the most *High* and onely *wise* hath granted you your *Pattents* of mutuall and successive *Dominion* and *precedencie*?

Just like two men, whom I have knowne breake out to *Blowes* and *Wrastling*, so have the *Protestant Bishops* fought and² wrastled with the *Popish*, and the *Popish* with the *Protestant*! The *Presbyterian* with the *Independent*, and the *Independent* with the *Presby-*

1. The seameles Coat of Christ Jesus torne into foure pieces, and the three Nations torne into Thousands.

2. The Battells of the *Cleargie*.

Presbyterian! And our *Chronicles* and *Experiences* have told this *Nation*, and the *World*, how he whose *Turne* it is to be brought under, hath ever felt an heavie wrathfull hand of an *unbrotherly* and *unchristian persecutour*:

Meane while, what *outcries* for a *Sword*, a *Sword* at any *price*,¹ on any *Tearmes*, wherewith to take finall *Revenge*s, on such their *Blasphemous* and *Hereticall* Adversaries and *Corrivalls*?

Hence is it, that the *Magistrate* hath been so courted, his person *adored* and *Deified*, and his *Religion* magnified and *Exalted*.

Amongst the *People*, some have thought and said, How hath the shining of the *Magistrates Money* and *Sword*, out-shin'd the *Nobilitie* of his person, or the *Christianitie* of his *Conscience*? For when the person changes and *Religion* too, how grossely notorious have been the *Cleargies* Changes also? For Instance, how² have they *Pernified*, tack't and turn'd about (as the wind hath blowne) from *Poperie* to *Protestanisme*, from *Protestanisme* to *Poperie*, and from *Poperie* to *Protestanisme* againe, and this within the *Compass* of about a dozen yeares; as the *Purse* and *Sword-Bearers* were changed, what ever the persons of those *Princes* (male or female, *Men* or *Children*, or their *Consciences*, *Popish* or *Protestant*) were.

Yea, how justly in the late *Kings* book (if his) are the *Cleargie*³ of *England* charged with horrible breach of *Vows* and *Oaths* of *canonicall* obedience to their *Fathers* the *Bishops*, against whom (in the *Turne* of the *Times* and the *Sword-Bearers*) they turned to the *Scotch Presbyters*, their fathers dreadful *Enemies* and *persecutours*?

Now as to the *persecuting* each of other, I confesse the *Wolfe* (the *persecutour*,) devoures the *Goate*, the *Swine*, yea the very⁴ *Fox*, and other *Creatures*, as well as the inoffensive *Sheepe* and *Lambe*? Yet (as the *Lord Jesus* made use of that excellent *Fable* or *Similitude* of a *Wolfe* getting on a *Sheepes-skin*, so) may I not unseasonably make use of that of the *Wolfe* and the poore *Lambe* coming downe to drinke, upon the same *Brooke* and *Streame* together: The *Wolfe* *cruell* and *strong* drinks *above* and aloft: The *Lambe* *innocent* and *weake*, drinks upon the *Streame* *below*: The *Wolfe* questions and quarrells the *Lambe* for corrupting and defiling the *Waters*: The *Lambe*

S s 2

(not

1. All Court the Magistrate for his Sword, & his Money.

2. For which, any person and Religion hath serv'd the Turne.

3. The late K. charging his *Cleargie*, &c.

4. The *Wolfe* in plea with the *Lambe*, will be alwaies Judge.

(not daring to plead how easily the *Wolfe* drinking higher might transfer *Defilement* downeward, but) pleads *Improbability* and *Impossibility*, that the waters descending could convey defilement upwards: This is the *Controversie*, This the *plea*: But who shall *judge*? Be the *Lambe* never so innocent, his plea never so just, his Adversary the *Wolfe* will be his *Judge*, and being so cruell and so strong soone teares the *Lambe* in pieces.

Thus the cruell *Beast* arm'd with the power of the *Kings* (*Revel.* 17.) sits Judge in his owne Quarrels against the *Lambe*, about the drinking at the *Waters*. And thus (sayth M^r *Cotton*) the Judgement ought to passe upon the *Heretick*, not for matter of *Conscience*, but for sinning against his *Conscience*.

Object. Me-thinks thinks I heare, the great charge against the *Independent* partie to be the great pleaders for *Libertie* of *Conscience*, &c.

Answ. Oh the horrible *Deceit* of the hearts of the sons of Men! And, what Excellent *Physick* can we prescribe to others, till our Soule (as *Job* said) come to be in their soules cases? What need have we to be more vile (with *Job*) before God, to walke in holy sence of selfe Insufficiencie, to cry for the blessed *Leadings* of the holy *Spirit* of *God*, to guide and leade our *Heads* and *Hearts* uprightly?

For (to draw the *Curtaine*, and let in the *Light* alittle) doe¹ not all *persecutours* themselves zealously plead for *Freedome*, for *Libertie*, for *Mercie* to Mens *Consciences*, when themselves are in the *Grates*, and *Pits*, and under *Hatches*?

Doth not *Gesner* tell us of a Gentleman in *Germanie*, who fitting his *Pitfall* for *Wilde Beasts*, found in the morning a *Woman*, a *Wolfe*, and a *Fox* in three severall Corners, as full of² Feare, and as quiet, and as desirous of *Libertie* one as well as another?

Thus bloudie *Gardiner* and *Bonner* (prisoners, during King *Edwards* dayes) yea and that bloudie Queene *Mary* her selfe, all plead the *Freedome* of their *Consciences*. What most humble Supplications, and indeed unanswerable Arguments for *Libertie*³ of *Conscience* have the *Papists* (when in Restraint) presented, (and especially) in King *James* his time? Yea what excellent *Subscriptions* to this Soule-Freedome, are interwoven in many passages of the late *Kings* Booke (if his)? Yea and one of his
Chaplaines

1. The wonderfull Mysterie of *Libertie* of *Conscience*.

2. Which all *persecutours* themselves (in their turnes) plead for.

3. K. *Charles* and his Chaplains forced to subscribe to *Libertie* of *Conscience*.

Chaplaines (so cald) Doctor *Jer. Taylour*, what an Everlasting Monumentall *Testimony* did he publish to this *Truth*, in that his excellent Discourse, of the *Libertie of Prophesying*? Yea the (formerly) Non-conforming *Presbyterian* and *Independent, Scotch and English, Old and New*, what most humble and pious Addresses have they made before the whole World, to *Princes* and *Parliaments*, for just mercy (in true Petitions of Right) to their *Consciences*? But, let this present Discourse, and M^r *Cottons*¹ Fig-leave *Evasions* and *Distinctions*: Let the *practices* (of the *Massachusetts*) in *New England*, in twenty yeares *persecution*: and this last of M^r *Clarke, Obadiah Holmes*, and others be Examined: Yea let the *Independent Ministers* late *Proposalls* be waighed, with the double waight of *Gods Sanctuary*, and it will appeare what *Mercy* the poore Soules of *all Men*, and *Jesus Christ* in any of them, may expect from the very *Independents Cleargie* themselves.

Object. But doth not their *Proposalls* provide a *Libertie* to such as feare *God*, viz. that they may freely preach without an *Ordination*! and that such as are not free to the publike *Assemblies* may have *Libertie* to meete in private.

Answ. It may so please the *Father of Lights* to shew them that their *Lines* and *Modells*, and *New-Englands* Copie also (after² which they write and pensill,) are but more and more refined *Images*, whereby to worship the *Invisible God*: and that still (as before) the *Wolfe* (the *persecutour*) must judge of the *Lambes* drinking!

For instance; *New Englands Lawes* (lately published in M^r *Clarks Narrative*) tell us *how free* it shall be for people to gather themselves into *Church-estate*? *how free* to choose their owne *Ministers*? *how free* to enjoy all the *Ordinances* of *Christ Jesus*, &c? But yet, provided, so- and so (upon the point) that the *Civill State* must judge of the *Spirituall*, to wit, *Whether* persons be fit for *Church-estate*, *Whether* the *Gathering* be right, *Whether* the peoples *choice* be right, *Doctrines* right, and what is this in truth, but to swear that blasphemous *Oath* of *Supremacie* againe, to the *Kings* and *Queenes* and *Magistrates* of this and other Nations in stead of the *Pope*, &c?

Into these *Prisons*, and *Cages*, doe those (otherwise worthy and excellent Men, the) *Independents*, put all the Children of
God,

1. About Twenty years persecution in *New England*.

2. The persecution of the *New and Old English Independent Cleargie*.

God, and all the Children of Men in the whole World, and then bid them *flie* and *walke* at *Libertie* (to wit, within the Conjured Circle) so far as they please.

To particularize briefly: When they have in their six severall *Circuits* ejected (according to their Proposals) it may be¹ hundreths, it may be thousands (if impartiall) of *Episcopall* and *Presbyterian Ministers*, and that without & against their *Peoples consent*, to the present Distressing of thousands, and inraging (through such *Soul-oppressions*) the whole *Nation!* Then, say they, it shalbe free for all that be able, &c. to be *Preachers*, though not ordained, &c. But, provided, that two *Ministers* hands (at least,² which upon the point, is instead of an *Ordination*) be to their *Approbation*, &c. Upon this *lock* any shall be free to preach *Christ Jesus*, upon this *point* of the *Compass* (as I may in humble reverence, and with sorrow speake it) the *Spirit of God* shall be free to *breath* and *operate* in the Soules of Men! By this *Plummet* and *Line*, *Rule* and *Square*, and (seeming) *Goulden Reede* and *Meete-wand*, the *Sanctuary* must be built and measured, &c.

But further, if any shall be of tender *Consciences*, and that the common size will not serve their *foote*, if they shall thinke the *Independents Foundations* too *weak*, or it may be too *strong* for their weake *Beliefe*, if they cannot bow downe to their *Goulden Image*, though of the finest and latest *Edition* and *Fashion*: Why *God* forbid they should be forc'd to *Church*³ as others, they shall enjoy their *Libertie*, and meeteapart in private: But, provided, they acquaint the *Civill Magistrate*, that is, as it may fall out (who knows how soon?) and too too often hath faln out, the poore *Sheepe* and *Deere* of *Christ* must take *Licence* of and *betray* themselves unto the *pawes* and *jawes* of their *Lyon-like persecutors*.

Heare Oh *Heavens*, give Eare O *Earth!* What is this but like⁴ the Treacherous *Dutchmen*, who Capitulate of *Leagues of Peace* and *Amitie*, with their *Neighbour English*, and in the midst of *State Complements* (some say, out of malicious *wrath*, others say twas out of drunken *Intoxications* at the best) thunder out *Broad-sides* of *Fire* and *Smoake* of *persecution?*

Object. Some possibly may say, Your just suffring from the *Independents* in *New England* makes you speake *Revenge*s against them in *Old*.

Answ.

1. A briefe touch upon the 15 Proposals of the (so calld) *Independent Ministers*.

2. The *Independents* implicitly and silently challenge the power of *Ordination*.

3. The Danger of pawning spirituall *Liberties* to *Civill* powers.

4. The *Dutch Attempts*, and the *Independents*, on their *Friends*, compared.

Ans. What I have suffered in my *Estate, Body, Name, Spirit*, I hope through helpe from *Christ*, and for his sake I have desired to beare with a *Spirit* of *patience* and of *respect* and *love*, even to my *persecutours*. As to particulars, I have, and must (if God so will) further debate them with my truly honoured and beloved *Adversarie* M^r *Cotton*.

But as to you, worthy Sirs, (men of *Learning*, and men of personall *Holines* many of you) I truly desire to be far from envying your *Honours, pleasures, and Revenues*, from whence the two former *Popish & Prelaticall* are ejected, unto which the two later *Presbyterian* and *Independent* are advanced: Nor would I¹ move a *Tongue* or *pen* that any of you now possessed, should be removed or disturbed, untill your *Consciences* by the holy Spirit of *God*, or the *Consciences* of the *people*, to whom you serve or minister, shall be otherwayes (then as you are yet) perswaded.

Much rather would I make another humble *plea* (and that I believe with all the *Reason* and *Justice* in the *World*) that such² who are ejected, undone, impoverished, might some way from the *State* or *you* receive *reliefe* and *succour*: Considering, that the very *Nations* Constitution hath occasioned *parents* to traine up, & *persons* to give themselves to *studies* (though in truth, but in a way of *Trade & Bargaining*, before *God*) yet, 'tis according to the *Custom* of the *Nation*, who ought therefore to share also, in the fault of such *Priests* and *Ministers* who in all changes are *ejected*.

I end with humble begging to the *Father* of *Spirits*, to perswade³ and possesse yours with a true sence of three *particulars*.

First, of the *yoakes* of *Soule-oppression*, which lye upon the necks of most of the *Inhabitants* of the 3 *Nations*, & of the whole world: as if *Chams* Curse from *Noah* were upon them, *Servants* of *Servants* are they, and that in the matters of the *Soules* Affection unto *God*, which call for the purest *Libertie*: I confesse the *World* lyes in *wickednesse*, and loveth darknesse more then⁴ *light*: but why should you helpe on those *yoaks*, and force them to receive a *Doctrine*, to pray, to give thanks, &c. without an *Heart*? yea and (in the many changes and cases incident) against their *Heart* and *Soules* Consent?

Secondly, of the *bloudines* of that most bloudie *Doctrine* of *persecution* for cause of *Conscience*, with all the *Winding Staires* and *back dores* of it, &c. Some *professors* true and false, *Sheepe* and

1. The Authours desire as to the Ministrie of the Land now possessed.

2. And as to that Ejected.

3. The Authour begs three things of *God* for the *Cleargie* of *England*.

4. Soule Bondage the greatest.

and Goats, are daily found to differ in their *Apprehensions*, *perswasions*, *professions*, and that to Bonds and Death.

What now, shall these be wrackt, their *Soules*, their *Bodies*, their *purses*, &c? Yea if they refuse, deny, oppose the *Doctrine* of *Christ Jesus*, whether *Jewes* or *Gentiles*, why should you call for *Fire* from *Heaven*, which suits not with *Christ Jesus* his *Spirit*¹ or *Ends*? Why should you compell them to come in, with any other *Sword*, but that of the *Spirit* of *God*, who alone perswaded *Japhet* to come into the *Tents* of *Shem*, and can in his holy season prevaile with *Shem* to come into the *Tents* of *Japhet*?

Thirdly, Of that *Biass* of selfe-love which hales and swayes our minds to hould so fast this bloudie *Tenent*: You know it is the *Spirit* of *Love* from *Christ Jesus*, that turns our feete from the *Tradition* of *Fathers*, &c. That sets the *Heart* and *Tongue* and *Pen* and *Hands* too (as *Pauls*) day and night to work, rather² then the *progresse* and *puritie* and *simplicitie* of the *Crowne* of *Christ Jesus* should be debased or hindred.

This *Spirit* will cause you leave (with joy) *Benefices*, and *Bishopricks*, *Worlds* and *Lives* for his sake: the *Heights* and *Depths*, *Lengths* and *Breadths*, of whose *Love* you know doth infinitely passe your most knowing *Comprehensions* and *Imaginations*. There is but little of this *Spirit* extant, I feare will not be, untill we see *Christ Jesus* slaine in the slaughter of the *Witnesses*: Then *Joseph* will goe boldly unto *Pilate* for the slaughtered bodie of most precious *Saviour*: and *Nicodemus*, will goe by day, to buy and bestow his sweetest *spices*, on his infinitely sweeter *Soules beloved*. The full breathings of that heavenly *Spirit*, unfeinedly and heartily wisheth you,

Your most unworthy Countriman,

R. Williams.

FINIS.

1. The Bloudinesse of the *Bloudie Tenent*.

2. Little of the *Spirit* of *Love* from *Christ Jesus* yet extant, and our selfe-love biasseteth us to *Inventions*, *Traditions*, and *Doctrines* of persecutions.

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<i>They silently challenge the power of ordination in all England, &c.</i>	ibid.
<i>They sell the Spiritual Libertie of Christ</i>	ibid

FINIS.