

The Bloudy Tenant

Roger Williams

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by

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THE
BLOVDY TENENT,
of PERSECUTION, for cause of
CONSCIENCE, discussed, in
A Conference *betweene*
TRVTH and PEACE.

VVHO,

In all tender Affection, present to the High
Court of *Parliament*, (as the *Result* of
their *Discourse*) these, (amongst other
Passages) of *highest consideration*.

Printed in the Year 1644.

First, That the blood of so many hundred thousand souls of *Protestants* and *Papists*, spilt in the *Wars* of *present* and *former Ages*, for their respective *Consciences*, is not *required* nor *accepted* by *Jesus Christ* the *Prince of Peace*.

Secondly, *Pregnant Scriptures* and *Arguments* are throughout the *Worke* proposed against the *Doctrine of Persecution* for *cause of Conscience*.

Thirdly, *Satisfactorie Answers* are given to *Scriptures*, and *objections* produced by *Mr. Calvin*, *Beza*, *Mr. Cotton*, and the *Ministers* of the *New English Churches*, and others *former* and *later*, tending to prove the *Doctrine of Persecution* for *cause of Conscience*.

Fourthly, The *Doctrine of Persecution* for *cause of Conscience*, is proved guilty of all the *blood* of the *Soules* crying for *vengeance* under the *Altar*.

Fifthly, All *Civill States*, with their *Officers of justice* in their respective *constitutions* and *administrations* are proved *essentially Civill*, and therefore not *Iudges*, *Governours* or *Defendours* of the *Spirituell* or *Christian state* and *Worship*.

Sixtly, It is the will and command of God, that since the comming of his Sonne the *Lord Jesus*) a *permission* of the most *Paganish*, *Jewish*, *Turkish* or *Antichristian consciences* and *worships*, bee granted to *all men* in all *Nations* and *Countries*: and they are onely to bee *fought* against with that *Sword* which is only (in *Soule matters*) *able to conquer*, to wit, the *Sword of Gods Spirit*, the *Word of God*.

Seventhly, The *state* of the Land of *Israel*, the *Kings* and *people* thereof in *Peace* & *War*, is proved *figurative* and *ceremoniall*, and no *patterne* nor *president* for any *Kingdom* or *civill state* in the *world* to follow.

Eightly, God requireth not an *uniformity*

of *Religion* to be *inacted* and *inforced* in any *civill state*; which *inforced uniformity* (sooner or later) is the greatest occasion of *civill Warre*, *ravishing of conscience*, *persecution of Christ Jesus* in his servants, and of the *hypocrisie* and *destruction of millions of souls*.

Ninthly, In holding an *inforced uniformity of Religion* in a *civill state*, we must necessarily *disclaime* our desires and hopes of the *Jewes conversion to Christ*.

Tenthly, An *inforced uniformity of Religion* throughout a *Nation* or *civill state*, confounds the *Civill* and *Religious*, denies the principles of Christianity and civility, and that *Jesus Christ* is come in the *Flesh*.

Eleventhly, The permission of other *consciences* and *worships* then a state professeth, only can (according to God) procure a firme and lasting *peace*, (good *assurance* being taken according to the *wisdome* of the *civill state* for *uniformity of civill obedience* from all sorts.)

Twelfthly, lastly, true *civility* and *Christianity* may both flourish in a *State* or *Kingdome*, notwithstanding the *permission* of divers and contrary *consciencs*, either of *Jew* or *Gentile*.

TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE,
both Houses of the High Court of
PARLIAMENT.

Right Honourable and Renowned Patriots:

NEXT to the saving of your own *soules* (in the lamentable *shipwrack* of *Mankind*) your taske (as *Christians*) is to save the *Soules*, but as *Magistrates*, the *Bodies* and *Goods* of others.

Many excellent *Discourses* have been presented to your *Fathers* hands and Yours in former and present *Parliaments*: I shall be humbly bold to say, that (in what concernes your duties as *Magistrates*, towards others) a more necessary and seasonable *debate* was never yet presented.

Two things your *Honours* here may please to view (in this Controversie of *Persecution* for cause of *Conscience*) beyond what's extant.

First the whole *Body* of this *Controversie* form'd & pitch'd in true *Battalia*.

Secondly (although in respect of my selfe it be *impar congressus*, yet in the power of that *God* who is *Maximus in Minimis*, Your Honours shall see the Controversie is discussed with men as able as most, eminent for *abilitie* and *pietie*, Mr. *Cotton*, and the *New English Ministers*.

When the *Prophets* in Scripture have given their *Coats of Armes* and *Escutchions* to *Great Men*, Your Honours know the *Babylonian Monarch* hath the *Lyon*, the *Persian* the *Beare*, the *Grecian* the *Leopard*, the *Romane* a compound of the former 3. most strange and dreadfull, *Dan. 7.*

Their oppressing, plundering ravishing, murthering, not only of the *bodies*, but the *soules* of Men are large explaining *commentaries* of such similitudes.

Your *Honours* have been famous to the end of the World, for your unparallel'd *wisdome, courage, justice, mercie*, in the vindicating your *Civill Lawes, Liberties, &c.* Yet let it not be grievous to your *Honours* thoughts to ponder a little, why all the *Prayers* and *Teares* and *Fastings* in this Nation have not pierc'd the *Heavens*, and quench'd these *Flames*, which yet who knowes how far they'll spread, and when they'll out! Your *Honours* have broke the jawes of the *Oppressour*, and taken the prey out of their Teeth (*Iob. 29.*) For which Act I believe it hath pleased the most High God to set a *Guard* (not only of Trained men, but) of mighty *Angels*, to secure your sitting, and the Citie.

I feare we are not *pardoned*, though *reprieved*: O that there may be a lengthning of *Londons* tranquillitie, of the *Parliaments* safetie, by *mercy* to the *poore*! Dan. 4.

Right Honourable, *Soule yokes, Soule oppressions plunderings, ravishings, &c.* are of a *crimson* and *deepest dye*, and I believe the chiefe of *Englands* sins, unstopping the *Viols* of *Englands* present sorrowes.

This glasse presents your *Honours* with *Arguments* from *Religion, Reason, Experience*, all proving that the greatest yoakes yet lying upon *English necks*, (the *peoples* and *Your own*) are of a *spirituall* and *soule* nature.

All former *Parliaments* have changed these yoakes according to their *consciencs* (*Popish* or *Protestant*) 'Tis now your *Honours* turne at *helme*, and (as your *task*, so I hope your *resolution*, not to change (for that is but to turne the wheele, which another *Parliament*, and the very next may turne againe:) but to ease the Subjects and Your selves from a *yoake* (as was once spoke in a case not unlike *Act 15.*) which neither You nor your Fathers were ever able to beare.

Most Noble Senatours, Your *Fathers* (whose *seats* You fill) are mouldred, and mouldring their *braines*, their *tongues*, &c. to *ashes* in the pit of *rottenesse*: They and You must shortly (together with two *worlds* of men) appeare at the great *Barre*: It shall then be no griefe of heart that you have now attended to the *cries* of *Soules*, *thousands oppressed*, *millions ravished* by the *Acts* and *Statutes* concerning *Soules*, not yet *repealed*. Of *Bodies impoverished*, *imprisoned*, &c. for their *soules* be-lieve, yea slaughtered on heapes for *Religions* controversies in the *Warres* of present and former Ages.

“Notwithstanding the *successe* of later times,* (wherein “sundry opinions have been hatched about the subject of *Religion*) a man may clearly discerne with his eye, and as it “were touch with his finger that according to the verity of “holy Scriptures, &c. mens *consciencences* ought in no sort to be “violated, urged or constrained. And whensoever men have “attempted any thing by this violent course, whether openly “or by secret meanes, the issue hath beene pernicious, and the “cause of great and *wonderfull innovations* in the principallest “and mightiest *Kingdomes* and *Countries*, &c.

The fa-
mou say-
ing of a
late King
of Bohe-
mia.

It cannot be denied to be a pious and prudentiall *act* for Your *Honours* (according to your conscience) to call for the advice of faithfull *Councillours* in the high debates concerning Your owne, and the *soules* of others.

Yet let it not be imputed as a *crime* for any *suppliant* to the *God* of *Heaven* for You, if in the humble sense of what their *soules* beleeve, they powre forth (amongst others) these three *requests* at the *Throne* of *Grace*.

First, That neither Your *Honours*, nor those excellent and worthy persons, whose advice you seek, limit the holy *One* of *Israel* to their *apprehensions*, *debates*, *conclusions*, rejecting or neglecting the humble and faithfull suggestions of any, though as base as spittle and clay, with which sometimes *Christ Jesus* opens the *eyes* of them that are borne blinde.

Essay of Religion.

Secondly, That the present and future *generations* of the Sons of Men may never have cause to say that such a *Parliament* (as *England* never enjoyed the like) should modell the *worship* of the *living*,★ *eternall* and *invisible* God after the *Bias* of any earthly *interest*, though of the highest concernment under the Sunne: And yet, saith that learned Sir *Francis Bacon* (how ever otherwise perswaded, yet thus he confesseth:) “Such “as hold *pressure* of *Conscience*, are guided therein by some private *interests* of their owne.

Thirdly, What ever way of *worshipping* God Your owne *Consciences* are perswaded to walke in, yet (from any bloody *act* of violence to the consciences of others) it may bee never told at *Rome* nor *Oxford*, that the *Parliament* of *England* hath committed a greater *rape*,★ then if they had forced or ravished the bodies of all the women in the *World*.

And that *Englands Parliament* (so famous throughout all Europe and the World) should at last turne *Papists*, *Prelatists*, *Presbyterians*, *Independents*, *Socinians*, *Familists*, *Antinomians*, &c. by confirming all these sorts of Consciences, by Civill force and violence to their Consciences.

It is rarely seen that ever persons were persecuted for their conscience, but by such persecution they were confirmed and hardned in their conscience.

To every Courteous Reader.

VW^Hile I plead the Cause of *Truth* and *Innocencie* against the bloody *Doctrine* of *Persecution* for cause of *conscience*, I judge it not unfit to give *alarme* to my selfe, and all men to prepare to be *persecuted* or hunted for cause of *conscience*.

Whether thou standest charged with 10 or but 2 *Talents*, if thou huntest any for cause of *conscience*, how canst thou say thou followest the *Lambe* of *God* who so abhorr'd that practice?

If *Paul*, if *Jesus Christ* were present here at *London*, and the *question* were proposed what *Religion* would they approve of: The *Papists*, *Prelatists*, *Presbyterians*, *Independents*, &c. would each say, Of mine, of mine.

But put the second question, if one of the severall sorts should by *major vote* attaine the *Sword* of steele: what weapons doth *Christ Jesus* authorize them to sight with in His cause? Doe not all men hate the *persecutor*, and every *conscience* true or false complaine of cruelty, tyranny? &c.

Two *mountaines* of crying *guilt* lye heavie upon the backes of All that name the name of *Christ* in the eyes of *Jewes*, *Turkes* and *Pagans*.

First, The blasphemies of their *Idolatrous inventions*, *superstitions*, and most *unchristian conversations*.

Secondly, The bloody irreligious and inhumane *oppressions* and *destructions* under the maske or vaile of the Name of *Christ*, &c.

O how like is the *jealous Jehovah*, the consuming fire to end these present *slaughters* in a greater slaughter of the holy Witnesses? *Rev. 11.*

Six yeares preaching of so much *Truth* of *Christ* (as that time afforded in *K. Edwards* dayes) kindles the flames of *Q. Maries* bloody *persecutions*.

Who can now but expect that after so many scores of yeares *preaching* and *professing* of more *Truth*, and amongst so many great *contentions* amongst the very best of *Protestants*, a fierie furnace should be heat, and who sees not now the *fires* kindling?

I confesse I have little hopes till those flames are over, that this Discourse against the *doctrine* of *persecution* for cause of *conscience* should passe currant (I say not amongst the *Wolves* and *Lions*, but even amongst the *Sheep* of *Christ* themselves) yet *liberavl animam meam*, I have not hid within my *breast* my *souls* belief: And although sleeping on the bed either of the pleasures or profits of sinne thou thinkest thy conscience bound to smite at him that dares to waken thee? Yet in the middest of all these *civill* and *spirituall Wars* (I hope we shall agree in these particulars.)

First, how ever the proud (upon the advantage of an higher earth or ground) or' clooke the poore and cry out *Schismatickes*. *Hereticks*, &c. shall *blasphemers* and *seducers* scape unpunished? &c. Yet there is a sorer punishment in the *Gospel* for despising of *Christ* then *Moses*, even when the despiser of *Moses* was put to death without mercie, *Heb.* 10. 28, 29. He that beleeveth not shall bee damned, *Marke* 16. 16.

Secondly, what ever Worship, Ministry, Ministration, the best and purest are practised without *faith* and true perswasion that they are the true institutions of God, they are sin, sinfull worships, Ministries, &c. And however in Civill things we may be servants unto men, yet in Divine and Spirituall things the poorest *pesant* must disdain the service of the highest *Prince*: Be ye not the servants of men, 1 *Cor.* 14.

Thirdly, without search and triall no man attaines this faith and right perswasion, 1 *Thes.* 5. Try all things.

In vaine have *English Parliaments* permitted *English Bibles* in the poorest *English* houses, and the simplest man or woman to search the Scriptures, if yet against their soules perswasion from the Scripture, they should be forced (as if they lived in *Spaine* or *Rome* it selfe without the sight of a *Bible*) to beleeve as the Church beleeves.

Fourthly, having tried, we must hold fast, 1 *Thessal.* 5. upon the losse of a Crowne, *Revel.* 13. we must not let goe for all the flea bitings of the present afflictions, &c. having bought Truth deare, we must not sell it cheape, not the least graine of it for the whole World, no not for the saving of Soules, though our owne most precious; least of all for the bitter sweetning of a little vanishing pleasure.

For a little puffe of credit and reputation from the changeable
breath of uncertaine sons of men.

For the broken bagges of Riches on Eagles wings: For a
dreame of these, any or all of these which on our death-bed vanish
and leave tormenting stings behinde them: Oh how much better
is it from the love of Truth, from the love of the Father of lights,
from whence it comes, from the love of the Sonne of God, who
is the way and the Truth, to say as he, *John* 18. 37. For this end
was I borne, and for this end came I into the World that I might
be are witnesse to the Truth.

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SCRIPTURES AND REASONS written long since by a *Witnesse* of Iesus

Christ, close *Prisoner* in *Newgate*, against *Persecution* in cause of Conscience; and sent some while since to Mr. *Cotton*, by a Friend who thus wrote:

*In the multitude of Councillours there is safety:
It is therefore humbly desired to be instructed in this point: viz.*

*Whether Persecution for cause of Conscience,
be not against the Doctrine of Iesus Christ the King of
Kings. The Scriptures and Reasons are these.*

Because *Christ* commandeth that the *Tares* and *Wheat* (which some understand are those that walke in the *Truth*, and those that walke in *Lies*) should be *let alone* in the *World*, and not *plucked* up untill the *Harvest*, which is the end of the *World*, *Matth.* 13. 30. 38. &c.

The same commandeth *Matth.* 15. 14. that they that are *Blinde* (as some interpret, led on in false *Religion*, and are offended with him for teaching true *Religion*) should be *let alone*, referring their punishment unto their falling into the *Ditch*.

Againe, *Luke* 9. 54, 55. hee reproved his *Disciples* who would have had *Fire* come downe from Heaven and devoure those *Samaritanes* who would not receive Him, in these words: Ye know not of what *Spirit* ye are, the son of Man is not come to destroy *Mens lives*, but to save them.

Paul the Apostle of our Lord teacheth, 2 *Tim.* 24. 2. That the servant of the Lord must not *strive*, but must be *gentle* toward *all Men*, suffering the *Evill Men*, instructing them with *meeknesse* that are contrary minded, proving if *God* at any time will give them *repentanco*, that they may acknowledge the *Truth*, and come to *amendment* out of that snare of the *devill*, &c.

According to these blessed *Commandements*, the holy *Prophets* fore-
B told,

that when the *Law of Moses* (concerning *Worship*) should cease, and *Christs Kingdome* be established, *Esa.* 2. 4. *Mic.* 4. 3, 4 They shall breake their *Swords* into *Mathookes*, and their *Speares* into *Sithes*. And *Esa.* 11. 9. Then shall none hurt or destroy in all the *Mountaine* of my *Holinesse*, &c. And when he came, the same he *taught* and *practised*, as before: so did his *Disciples* after him, for the *Weapons* of his *Warfare* are not *carnall* (saith the Apostle) 2 *Cor.* 10 4.

But he chargeth straitly that his *Disciples* should be so far from persecuting those that would not bee of their Religion, that when they were *persecuted* they should *pray* (*Matth.* 5.) when they were *cursed* they should *blesse*, &c.

And the Reason seemes to bee, because they who now are *Tares*, may hereafter become *Wheat*; they who are now *blinde*, may hereafter *see*; they that now *resist* him, may hereafter *receive* him; they that are now in the *devils snare*, in *adversenesse* to the *Truth*, may hereafter come to *repentance*; they that are now *blasphemers* and *persecutors* (as *Paul* was) may in time become *faithfull* as he; they that are now *idolators* as the *Corinths* once were (1 *Cor.* 6. 9.) may hereafter become *true worshippers* as they; they that are now *no people of God*, nor under *mercy* (as the *Saints* sometimes were, 1 *Pet.* 2. 20.) may hereafter become the people of *God*, and obtaine *mercy*, as they.

Some come not till the 11. houre, *Matth.* 20. 6. if those that come not till the *last houre* should be *destroyed*, because they come not at the *first*, then should they never come but be prevented. All which *premises* are in all humility referred to your godly wise *consideration*.

Because this *persecution* for cause of *conscience* is against the *profession* and *practice* of famous *Princes*.

First, you may please to consider the speech of *King James*, in his *Majesties Speech* at *Parliament*, 1609. He saith, it is a sure *Rule* in *divinity*, that God never loves to plant his *Church* by *violence* and *bloodshed*. And in his *Highnesse Apologie*, pag. 4. speaking of such *Papists* that tooke the *Oath*, thus:

“I gave good prooffe that I intended no *persecution* against them for *conscience* cause, but onely desired to bee secured for *civill obedience*, “which for *conscience* cause they are bound to performe.

And pag. 60. speaking of *Blackwell* (the *Arch-priest*) his *Majesty* saith, “It was never my intention to lay any thing to the said *Arch-Priests* charge (as I have never done to any) for *cause of conscience*. And in his *Highnesse Exposition* on *Revel.* 20. printed 1568. and after 1603. his *Majesty* writeth thus: “Sixthly, the compassing of the *Saints*

“and the *besieging* of the *beloved* City, declareth unto us a certaine *note* of a *false Church*, to be *Persecution*, for they come to seeke the *faithfull*, the *faithfull* are them that are sought: the *wicked* are the *besiegers*, the *faithfull* are the *besieged*.

Secondly, the saying of *Stephen King of Poland*: “I am *King* of *Men*, not of *Consciences*, a *Commander* of *Bodies*, not of *Soules*.

Thirdly, the *King of Bohemia* hath thus written:

“And notwithstanding the successe of the later times (where-
in sundry *opinions* have beene hatched about the subject of
“*Religion*) may make one clearly discerne with his *eye*, and as it were
“to touch with his *Finger*, that according to the veritie of *Holy Scrip-*
“*tures*, and a *Maxime* heretofore told and maintained, by the ancient
“*Doctors* of the *Church*; That *mens consciences* ought in no sort to bee
“*violated*, *urged*, or *constrained*; and whensoever men have attempted
“any thing by this *violent course*, whether openly or by secret meanes,
“the issue hath beene *pernicious*, and the cause of great and wonderfull
“*Innovations* in the principallest and mightiest *Kingdomes* and *Countries*
“of all Christendome.

And further his *Majesty* saith: “So that once more we doe professe
“before *God* and the *whole World*, that from this time forward wee are
“firmly resolved not to *persecute* or *molest*, or suffer to be *persecuted* or
“*molested*, any person whosoever for *matter of Religion*, no not they that
“professe *themselves* to be of the *Romish Church*, neither to trouble or
“disturbe them in the exercise of their *Religion*, so they live confor-
“mable to the *Lawes* of the *States*, &c.

And for the practice of this, where is *persecution* for cause of *conscience*
except in *England* and where *Popery* reignes, and there neither in all
places, as appeareth by *France*, *Poland*, and other places.

Nay, it is not practised amongst the *Heathen* that acknowledge not
the *true God*, as the *Turke*, *Persian*, and others.

Thirdly, because *persecution* for cause of *conscience* is condemned
by the ancient and later *Writers*, yea and *Papists* themselves.

3. Reas.

Hilarie against *Auxentius* saith thus: The *Christian Church* doth not
persecute, but is *persecuted*. And lamentable it is to see the great folly of
these times, and to sigh at the foolish opinion of this world, in that men
thinke by humane aide to helpe *God*, and with worldly pompe and
power to undertake to defend the *Christian Church*. I aske you *Bi-*
shops, what helpe used the *Apostles* in the publishing of the *Gospel*? with
the aid of what power did they preach *Christ*, and converted the *Hea-*
then from their *idolatry* to *God*? When they were in *prisons*, and lay in
chaines, did they praise and give thanks to *God* for any *dignities*, *graces*,

and *favours* received from the *Court*? Or do you thinke that *Paul* went about with *Regall Mandates*, or *Kingly authority*, to gather and establish the *Church of Christ*? sought he *protection* from *Nero*, *Vespasian*?

The *Apostles* wrought with their *hands* for their owne *maintenance*, travailing by *land* and *water* from *Towne* to *Citie*, 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 the same countenance to and by *vaine* and *worldly honours*. Doe men seek to defend the *Church of Christ*? as if hee by his power were unable to performe it.

The same against the *Arrians*.

The *Church* now, which formerly by induring *misery* and *imprisonment* was knowne to be a *true Church*, doth now terrifie others by *imprisonment*, *banishment*, and *misery*, and boasteth that she is highly esteemed of the *world*, when as the *true Church* cannot but be hated of the same.

Tertull. ad Scapulam: It agreeth both with *humane reason*, and *naturall equity*, that every man *worship* God uncompelled, and beleieve what he will; for it neither hurteth nor profiteth any one another mans *Religion* and *Beleeve*: Neither beseemeth it any *Religion* to compell another to be of their *Religion*, which willingly and freely should be imbraced, and not by constraint: for as much as the *offerings* were required of those that freely and with good will offered, and not from the *contrary*.

Jerom. in proaem. lib. 4. in Ieremiam. *Heresie* must be cut off with the *Sword of the Spirit*: let us strike through with the *Arrowes* of the *Spirit* all *Sonnes* and *Disciples* of mis-led *Heretickes*, that is, with *Testimonies* of holy *Scriptures*. The slaughter of *Heretickes* is by the word of God.

Brentius upon 1 *Cor. 3*. No man hath power to make or give *Lawes* to *Christians*, whereby to binde their *consciences*; for willingly, freely, and uncompelled, with a ready desire and cheerfull minde, must those that come, run unto *Christ*.

Luther in his Booke of the *Civill Magistrate* saith; The *Lawes* of the *Civill Magistrates* government extends no further then over the *body* or *goods*, and to that which is *externall*: for over the *soule* God will not suffer any man to *rule*: onely he *himselfe* will rule there. Wherefore whosoever doth undertake to give *Lawes* unto the *Soules* and *Consciences* of Men, he usurpeth that *government* himselfe which appertaineth unto *God*, &c.

Therefore upon 1 *Kings 5*. In the building of the *Temple* there was no *sound of Iron* heard, to signifie that *Christ* will have in his *Church* a *free* and a *willing* People, not compelled and constrained by *Lawes* and *Statutes*.
Again

Againe he saith upon *Luk. 22.* It is not the true *Catholike Church*, which is defended by the *Secular Arme* or humane Power, but the *false* and *feigned Church*, which although it carries the *Name* of a *Church* yet it denies the power thereof.

And upon *Psal. 17.* he saith: For the true *Church* of *Christ* knoweth not *Brachium saeculare*, which the *Bishops* now adayes, chiefly use.

Againe, in *Postil. Dom. 1. post Epiphan.* he saith: Let not *Christians* be *commanded*, but *exhorted*: for, He that willingly will not doe that, whereunto he is friendly exhorted, he is no *Christian*: wherefore they that doe compell those that are not willing, shew thereby that they are not *Christian Preachers*, but *Worldly Beadles*.

Againe, upon *1 Pet. 3.* he saith: If the *Civill Magistrate* shall command me to believe thus and thus: I should answer him after this manner: *Lord*, or *Sir*, Looke you to your *Civill* or *Worldly Government*. Your Power extends not so farre as to command any thing in *Gods Kingdome*: Therefore herein I may not heare you. For if you cannot beare it, that any should usurpe *Authoritie* where you have to Command, how doe you thinke that *God* should suffer you to thrust him from his Seat, and to seat your selfe therein?

Lastly, the Papists, the *Inventors of Persecution*, in a wicked Booke of theirs set forth in *K. James* his *Reigne*, thus:

Moreover, the *Meanes* which *Almighty God* appointed his Officers to use in the Conversion of *Kingdomes* and *Nations*, and People, was *Humilitie*, *Patience*, *Charitie*; saying, Behold I send you as *Sheepe* in the midst of *Wolves*, *Mat. 10. 16.* He did not say, Behold I send you as *Wolves* among *Sheepe*, to kill, imprison, spoile and devoure those unto whom they were sent.

Againe *vers. 7.* he saith: They to whom I send you, will deliver you up into *Councells*, and in their *Synagogues* they will scourge you; and to *Presidents* and to *Kings* shall you be led for my sake. He doth not say: You whom I send, shall deliver the people (whom you ought to convert) unto *Councells*, and put them in *Prisons*, and lead them to *Presidents*, and *Tribunall Seates*, and make their *Religion Felony* and *Treason*.

Againe he saith, *vers 32* When ye enter into an House, salute it, saying, Peace be unto this House: he doth not say, You shall send *Pursevants* to ransack or spoile his House.

Againe he said, *John 10.* The good *Pastour* giveth his life for his Sheep, the *Thiefe* commeth not but to steale, kill and destroy. He doth not say, The *Theefe* giveth his life for his Sheep, and the Good *Pastour*

commeth not but to steale, kill and destroy.

So that we holding our peace, our *Adversaries* themselves speake for us, or rather for the Truth.

To answer some maine *Objections*.

And first, that it is no *praejudice* to the *Common wealth*, if *Libertie of Conscience* were suffred to such as doe feare God indeed, as is or will be manifest in such mens lives and conversations.

Abraham abode among the *Canaanites* a long time, yet contrary to them in *Religion*, Gen. 13. 7. & 16. 13. Againe he so journeyed in *Gerar*, and K. *Abimelech* gave him leave to abide in his Land, Gen. 20. 21. 23. 24.

Isaack also dwelt in the same Land, yet contrary in *Religion*, Gen. 26.

Jacob lived 20 yeares in one House with his Unkle *Laban*, yet differed in *Religion*, Gen. 31.

The people of *Israel* were about 430 yeares in that infamous land of *Egypt*, and afterwards 70 yeares in *Babylon*, all which time they differed in *Religion* from the States, *Exod.* 12. & 2 *Chron.* 36.

Come to the time of *Christ*, where *Israel* was under the *Romanes*, where lived divers Sects of *Religion*, as *Herodians*, *Scribes* and *Pharises*, *Saduces* and *Libertines*, *Thudeans* and *Samaritanes*, beside the Common Religion of the *Jewes*, *Christ* and his *Apostles*. All which differed from the Common Religion of the State, which was like the Worship of *Di-ana*, which almost the whole world then worshipped, *Acts* 19. 20.

All these lived under the Government of *Cæsar*, being nothing hurtfull unto the *Common-wealth*, giving unto *Cæsar* that which was his. And for their *Religion* and Consciences towards God, he left them to themselves, as having no Dominion over their *Soules* and *Consciences*. And when the Enemies of the Truth raised up any *Tumults*, the wise-dome of the *Magistrate* most wisely appeased them, *Acts* 18. 14. & 19. 35.

THE

THE ANSWER OF Mr. IOHN
COTTON of *Boston* in *New-England*,
To the aforesaid ARGUMENTS against
Persecution for Cause of *Conscience*.

Professedly mainteining *Persecution* for
Cause of *Conscience*.

THE Question which you put, is, Whether *Persecution* for cause of *Conscience*, be not against the *Doctrine* of *Jesus Christ* the *King of Kings*.

Now by *Persecution* for Cause of *Conscience*, I conceive you meane, either for professing some point of *Doctrine* which you believe in *Conscience* to be the Truth, or for practising some *Worke* which in *Conscience* you believe to be a *Religious Duty*.

Now in Points of *Doctrine* some are *fundamentall*, without right belief whereof a Man cannot be *saved*: Others are *circumstantiall* or lesse principall, wherein Men may differ in judgement, without prejudice of *salvation* on either part.

In like sort, in Points of *Practice*, some concerne the waightier Duties of the *Law*, as, What *God* we worship, and with what kinde of *Worship*; whether such, as if it be *Right*, fellowship with *God* is held; if *Corrupt*, fellowship with Him is lost.

Again, in Points of *Doctrine* and *Worship* lesse Principall: either they are held forth in a meeke and *peaceable* way, though the Things be *Erroneous* or unlawfull: Or they are held forth with such *Arrogance* and *Impetuousnesse*, as tendeth and reacheth (even of it selfe) to the disturbance of *Civill Peace*.

Finally, let me adde this one distinction more: When we are persecuted for *Conscience* sake, It is either for *Conscience* rightly informed, or for erroneous and blind *Conscience*.

These things premised, I would lay down mine Answer to the Question in certaine *Conclusions*.

First, it is not lawfull to persecute any for *Conscience* sake *Rightly informed*; for in *persecuting* such, *Christ* himselfe is persecuted in them, *Acts* 9. 4. ^{1.}

Secondly, for an *Erronious* and *blind Conscience*, (even in fundamen- ^{2.}
tall

and weighty Points) It is not lawfull to persecute any, till after *Admonition* once or twice: and so the Apostle directeth, 7 *it.* 3. 10. and giveth the Reason, that in *fundamentall* and principall points of Doctrine or Worship, the Word of God in such things is so cleare, that hee cannot but bee convinced in *Conscience* of the dangerous Errour of his way, after once or twice *Admonition*, wisely and faithfully dispensed. And then if any one persist, it is not out of *Conscience*, but against *his Conscience*, at the Apostle saith *vers.* 11. He is subverted and sinneth, being condemned of Himselfe, that is, of his owne *Conscience*. So that if such a Man after such *Admonition* shall still *persist* in the Errour of his way, and be therefore punished; He is not *persecuted* for Cause of *Conscience*, but for sinning *against* his Owne *Conscience*.

3. Thirdly, In things of lesser *moment*, whether Points of *Doctrine* or *Worship*. If a man hold them forth in a Spirit of Christian *Meeknesse* and *Love* (though with *Zeale* and *Constancie*) he is not to be *persecuted*, but *tolerated*, till God may be pleased to manifest his Truth to him, *Phil.* 3. 17. *Rom.* 14. 1, 2, 3, 4.

4. But if a Man hold forth or professe any *Errour* or false way, with a *boysterous* and *arrogant* spirit, to the disturbance of *Civill peace*, he may justly be punished according to the qualitie and measure of the *disturbance* caused by him.

Now let us consider of your *Reasons* or *Objections* to the contrary.

Your first head of *Objections* is taken from the *Scripture*. *Object.* 1. Because Christ commandeth to let alone the *Tares* and *Wheat* to grow together unto the *Harvest*, *Mat.* 13. 30. 38. *Answer.* *Tares* are not *Briars* and *Thornes*, but partly *Hypocrites*, like unto the *Godly*, but indeed *Carnall*, as the *Tares* are like to *Wheat*, but are not *Wheat*. Or partly such *Corrupt Doctrines* or *Practices* as are indeed unsound, but yet such as come very neere the Truth, (as *Tares* doe to the *Wheat*) and so neere, that Good men may be taken with them, and so the Persons in whom they grow, cannot be rooted out, but good will be rooted up with them. And in such a case *Christ* calleth for *Toleration*, not for *penall prosecution*, according to the 3. Conclusion.

Object. 2. In *Math.* 15. 14. *Christ* commandeth his Disciples to let the *Blind* alone till they fall into the *ditch*; therefore he would have their punishment deferred till their finall *destruction*. *Answer.* He there speaketh not to *publique officers*, whether in *Church* or *Common-weale*, but to his private *Disciples*, concerning the *Pharises*, over whom they had no power. And the Command he giveth to let them

them alone, is spoken in regard of troubling themselves or regarding the offence, which they tooke at the wholesome *Doctrine* of the *Gospell*: As who should say, Though they be offended at this Saying of mine, yet doe not you feare their *Feare*, nor bee troubled at their offence, which they take at my *Doctrine*, not out of sound Judgement, but out of their *Blindnesse*. But this maketh nothing to the Cause in hand.

Ob. In *Luk.* 9. 54, 55. *Christ* reproveth his *Disciples*, who would have had fire come downe from *Heaven* to consume the *Samaritanes*, who refused to receive Him.

Obj. And *Paul* teacheth *Timothy*, not to strive, but to be gentle towards All men, suffering evill patiently.

Answ. Both these are *Directions* to *Ministers* of the *Gospell* how to deale (not with *obstinate offenders* in the *Church*, that sinne against Conscience, but) either with Men without, as the *Samaritanes* were, and many unconverted *Christians* in *Crete*, whom *Titus* (as an *Evangelish*) was to seeke to convert: Or at best with some *Jewes* or *Gentiles* in the *Church*, who though carnall, yet were not convinced of the errour of their Way: And 'tis true, it became not the Spirit of the *Gospell* to convert Aliens to the Faith of *Christ* (such as the *Samaritanes* were) by *Fire* and *Brimstone*; nor to deale harshly in publique Ministerie or private Conference with all such contrary minded men, as either had not yet entred into *Church-Fellowship*, or if they had, yet did hitherto sinne of *Ignorance*, not against *Conscience*.

But neither of both these Texts doe hinder the *Ministers* of the *Gospell* to proceed in a Church-way against Church-members, when they become *Scandalous offenders*, either in *Life* or *Doctrine*: much lesse doe they speake at all to *Civill Magistrates*.

Ob. 5. From the *prediction* of the *Prophets*, who foretold that *Carnall Weapons* should cease in the dayes of the *Gospell*, *Isa.* 2. 4. & *II.* 9. *Mic.* 4. 3. 4. And the *Apostie* professeth, The weapons of our *Warfare* are not carnall, *2 Cor.* 10. 4. And *Christ* is so farre from persecuting those that would not be of his *Religion*, that he chargeth them, when they are persecuted themselves, they should *pray*, and when they are *cursed* they should *blesse* The reason whereof seemeth to be, that they who are now *Persecuters* and wicked persons, may become true *Disciples* and *Converts*.

Answ. Those *predictions* in the *Prophets* doe onely shew, First, with what kind of *Weapons* he will subdue the *Nations* to the Obedience of the Faith of the *Gospell*, not by *Fire* and *Sword*, and *Weapons* of Warre,

but by the Power of his *Word* and Spirit, which no man doubteth of.

Secondly, those *predictions* of the *Prophets* shew what the meeke and peaceable *temper* will be of all the true Converts to *Christianity*, not *Lions* or *Leopards*, &c. not cruell *oppressors*, nor malignant *opposers*, or *biters* of one another. But doth not forbid them to drive ravenous *Wolves* from the *sheepfold*, and to restraints them from devouring the *Sheepe* of *Christ*.

And when *Paul* saith, The weapons of our *warfare* are not *carnall* but *spirituall*, he denyeth not *civill weapons of Justice* to the *Civill Magistrate*, *Rom.* 13. but onely to *Church officers*. And yet the weapons of such officers he acknowledgeth to be such, as though they be *spirituall*, yet are ready to take *vengeance* of all *disobedience*, *2 Cor.* 10. 6. which hath reference (amongst other *Ordinances*) to the censure of the *Church* against *scandalous offenders*.

3. When *Christ* commandeth his *Disciples* to blesse them that curse them and persecute them, he giveth not therein a rule to *publick officers*, whether in *Church* or *Commonweale*, to suffer notorious sinners, either in *life* or *doctrine*, to passe away with a *blessing*: But to private *Christians* to suffer *persecution* patiently, yea and to pray for their *persecutors*. Againe, it is true, *Christ* would have his *Disciples* to bee farre from persecuting (for that is a *sinfull oppression* of Men for *righteousnesse* sake) but that hindreth not but that he would have them execute upon all *disobedience* the *judgement* and *vengeance* required in the Word, *2 Cor.* 10. 6. *Rom.* 13. 4.

4. Though it be true that wicked persons now may by the grace of *God* become true *Disciples* and *Converts*, yet we may not doe evill that good may come thereof: And evill it would bee to tolerate notorious evill doers, whether *seducing teachers*, or *scandalous livers*. *Christ* had something against the *Angel* of the *Church* of *Pergamus* for tolerating them that held the *doctrine* of *Balaam*, and against the *Church* of *Thiatiara* for tolerating *Iesabel* to teach and seduce, *Rev.* 2. 14. 20.

Your second Head of *Reasons* is taken from the *profession* and *practice* of famous *Princes*, King *James*, *Stephen* of *Poland*, King of *Bohemia*.

Whereunto a treble answer may briefly be returned.

First, we willingly acknowledge, that none is to be persecuted at all, no more then they may be oppressed for *righteousnesse* sake.

Againe, we acknowledge that none is to be punished for his *conscience*, though mis-informed, as hath been said, unlesse his *error* be *fundamentall*,

mentall, or seditiously and turbulently promoted, and that after due conviction of his *conscience*, that it may appeare he is not punished for *his conscience*, but for sinning *against his conscience*.

Furthermore, we acknowledge none is to be *constrained* to beleieve or professe the true *Religion* till he be convinced in judgement of the *truth* of it: but yet restrained he may from blaspheming the *truth*, and from seducing any unto pernicious errors.

2. Wee answer, what *Princes* professe or practise, is not a rule of *conscience*: they many times tolerate that in point of *State policy*, which cannot justly be tolerated in point of true *Christianity*. Againe, *Princes* many times tolerate offendours out of very *necessity*, when the offenders are either too many, or too mighty for them to punish, in which respect *David* tolerated *Joab* and his *murthers*, but *against his will*.

3. We answer further, that for those three *Princes* named by you, who tolerated *Religion*, we can name you more and greater who have not tolerated *Heretickes* and *Schismatickes*, notwithstanding their pretence of *conscience*, and arrogating the Crowne of *Martyrdome* to their sufferings.

Constantine the Great at the request of the Generall Councell of *Nice*, banished *Arrius* with some of his fellowes. *Sozom. lib. 1. Eccles. Hist. cap. 19. 20.* The same *Constantine* made a severe Law against the *Donatists*.

And the like proceedings against them were used by *Valentinian*, *Gratian*, and *Theodosius*, as *Augustine* reporteth in *Epist. 166.* Only *Iulian* the *Apostata* granted liberty to *Heretickes* as well as to *Pagans*, that he might by tolerating all *weeds* to grow, choake the vitals of *Christianity*, which was also the practice and sin of *Valens* the *Arrian*.

Queene *Elizabeth*, as famous for her *government* as any of the former, it is well knowne what Lawes she made and executed against *Papists*. Yea and King *James* (one of your own witnesses) though he was slow in proceeding against *Papists* (as you say) for *conscience* sake, yet you are not ignorant how sharply and severely he punished those whom the malignant world calleth *Puritanes*, men of more *conscience* and better faith then he tolerated.

I come now to your third and last argument, taken from the judgement of ancient and later *Writers*, yea even of *Papists* themselves, who have condemned *persecution* for conscience sake.

You begin with *Hilary*, whose testimony we might admit without any prejudice to the truth: for it is true, the Christian *Church* doth not

persecute, but is persecuted. But to excommunicate an *Hereticke*, is not to persecute; that is, it is not to punish an innocent, but a culpable and damnable person, and that not for *conscience*, but for persisting in *error* against light of *conscience*, whereof it hath beene convinced. It is true also what he saith, that neither the *Apostles* did, nor may we propagate *Christian Religion* by the *Sword*: but if *Pagans* cannot be won by the *Word*, they are not to be compelled by the *Sword*. Nevertheless this hindreth not, but if they or any others should *blaspheme* the true *God*, and his true *Religion*, they ought to be severely punished; and no lesse doe they deserve, if they *seduce* from the truth to damnable *Heresie* or *Idolatry*.

Your next Writer (which is *Tertullian*) speaketh to the same purpose in the place alledged by you. His intent is onely to restraints *Scapula* the *Romane Governour* of *Africa* from the *persecution* of *Christians*, for not offering sacrifice to their *gods*: And for that end fetcheth an argument from the Law of *Naturall Equity*, not to compell any to any *Religion*, but to permit them either to beleeve willingly, or not to beleeve at all. Which wee acknowledge, and accordingly permit the *Indians* to continue in their *unbeleefe*. Nevertheless it will not therefore be lawfull openly to tolerate the *worship of devils* or *Idols*, or the *seduction* of any from the *truth*.

When *Tertullian* saith, Another mans *Religion* neither hurteth nor profiteth any; it must be understood of *private worship* and *Religion* professed in private: otherwise a false *Religion* professed by the Members of a *Church*, or by such as have given their *Names* to *Christ*, will be the *ruine* and *desolation* of the *Church*, as appeareth by the threats of *Christ* to the *Churches* of *Asia*, *Revel.* 2.

Your next Authour *Hierom* crosseth not the *truth*, nor advantageth not your *cause*: for we grant what he saith, that *Heresie* must bee cut off with the *Sword* of the *Spirit*. But this hindreth not, but that being so cut downe, if the *Hereticke* still persist in his *Heresie*, to the *seduction* of others, he may be cut off by the *civill sword*, to prevent the *perdition* of others. And that to bee *Hieromes* meaning appeareth by his note upon that of the *Apostle*, [A little *Leaven* leaveneth the whole *lump*] therefore (saith he) a *sparke* as soone as it appeareth, is to be extinguished, and the *Leaven* to be removed from the rest of the *dough*, *rotten peeces* of *flesh* are to be cut off, and a *scabbed beast* is to be driven from the *sheepfold*: lest the *whole house*, *masse of dough*, *body* and *flocke*, be set on fire with the *sparke*, bee sowed with the *Leaven*, be putrified with the

rotten

rotten flesh, perish by the scabbed beast.

Brentius (whom you next quote) speaketh not to your *Cause*. We willingly grant him and you, that Man hath no power to make *Lawes*, to bind *Conscience*. But this hindreth not, but that Men may see the *Lawes of God* observed, which doe bind *Conscience*.

The like Answer may be returned to *Luther*, whom you next alledge. First, that the *Government* of the *Civill Magistrate* extendeth no further then over the *Bodies* and *Goods* of their Subjects, not over their *Soules*: And therefore they may not undertake to give *Lawes* to the *Soules* and *Consciences* of Men.

Secondly, that the *Church of Christ* doth not use the Arme of *Secular Power* to compell men to the *Faith*, or profession of the *Truth*; for this is to be done by *Spirituell weapons*, whereby *Christians* are to be *exhorted*, not *compelled*.

But this hundreth not that *Christians* sinning against *light of Faith* and *Conscience*, may justly be censured by the *Church* with *Excommunication*, and by the *Civill Sword* also, in case they shall corrupt others to the perdition of their *Soules*.

As for the *Testimony* of the *Popish Book*, we weigh it not, as knowing (whatsoever they speake for *Toleration of Religion*, where themselves are under *Hatches*) when they come to sit at *Sterne*, they judge and practise quite contrary, as both their *Writings* and *Iudiciall proceedings* have testified to the World these many yeares.

To shut up this Argument from *Testimonie* of *Writers*. It is well known, *Augustine* retracted this Opinion of yours, which in his younger times he had held, but in after *riper age* reversed and refuted, as appeareth in the second Book of his *Retractions*, chap. 5. and in his Epistles 48. 50. And in his 1. Book against *Parmenianus*, cap. 7. he sheweth, that if the *Donatists* were punished with death, they were justly punished. And in his 11 Tractate upon *John*, They murther, saith he, *Soules*, and themselves are afflicted in *Body*: They put men to *everlasting death*, and yet they complaine when themselves are put to suffer *temporall death*.

Optatus in his 3. book, justifieth *Macharius*, who had put some *Hereticks* to death; that he had done no more herein then what *Moses*, *Phincas*, and *Elias* had done before him.

Bernard in his 66 Sermon in *Cantica*: Out of doubt (saith he) it is better that they should be restrained by the Sword of Him, who beareth not the Sword in vaine, then that they should be suffred to draw many

others into their *Errour*. For he is the *Minister of God* for *Wrath* to every evill doer.

Calvins judgement is well knowne, who procured the death of *Michael Servetus* for pertinacie in *Heresie*, and defended his fact by a Book written of that Argument.

Beza also wrote a Booke *de Haereticis Morte plectendis*, that *Hereticks* are to be punished with *Death*. *Aretius* likewise tooke the like course about the Death of *Valentinus Gentilis*, and justified the Magistrates proceeding against him, in an History written of that Argument.

Finally, you come to answer some maine Objections, as you call them, which yet are but one, and that one objecteth nothing against what we hold. It is (say you) no prejudice to the Common-wealth, if Libertie of Conscience were suffred to such as feare God indeed, which you prove by the examples of the Patriarchs and others.

But we readily grant you, Libertie of Conscience is to be granted to men that feare God indeed, as knowing they will not persist in *Heresie*, or turbulent Schisme, when they are convinced in Conscience of the sinfulness thereof.

But the Question is, Whether an Heretick after once or twice Admonition (and so after conviction) or any other scandalous and heynous offender, may be tolerated, either in the Church without Excommunication, or in the Common-wealth without such punishment as may preserve others from dangerous and damnable infection.

Thus much I thought needfull to be spoken, for avoyding the Grounds of your *Errour*.

I forbear adding Reasons to justifie 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 you doe.

The Lord Jesus lead you by a Spirit of Truth
into all Truth, through Jesus Christ.

A REPLY to the aforesaid ANSWER of *Mr. Cotton.*

IN a CONFERENCE betweene *TRUTH and PEACE.*

CHAP. I.

Truth. **I**N what *darke corner* of the *World* (*sweet Peace*) are *we two* met? How hath this present evill *World* banished *Me* from all the *Coasts & Quarters* of it? and how hath the *Righteous God* in judgement taken *Thee* from the *Earth*, Rev. 6. 4.

Peace. 'Tis lamentably true (*blessed Truth*) the *foundations* of the *World* have long been out of course:★ the *Gates of Earth and Hell* have conspired together to intercept our joyfull *meeting* and our holy *kisses*: With what a wearied, *tyred Wing* have I flowne over *Nations, Kingdomes, Cities, Townes*, to finde out precious *Truth*?

Truth and
Peace rarely
and seldom
meet.

Truth. The like enquiries in my flights and travells have I made for *Peace*, and still am told, she hath left the *Earth*, and fled to *Heaven*.

Peace. Deare *Truth*, What is the *Earth* but a *dungeon of darknesse*, where *Truth* is not?

Truth. And what's the *Peace* thereof but a fleeting *dreame*, thine *Ape* and *Counterfeit*?

Peace. O where's the Promise of the *God of Heaven*, that *Righteousnes* and *Peace* shall *kisse* each other?

Truth. Patience (*sweet Peace*) these *Heavens* and *Earth* are growing *Old*, and shall be changed like a *Garment*, Psal. 102. They shall melt away, and be burnt up with all the *Works* that are therein; and the most high *Eternall Creatour*, shall gloriously create *New Heavens* and *New Earth*, wherein dwells *Righteousnesse*, 2 Pet. 3. Our *kisses* then shall have their *endlesse* date of pure and sweetest *ioyes*? till then both *Thou* and *I* must hope, and wait, and beare the furie of the *Dragons* wrath, whose *monstrous Lies* and *Furies* shall with himselfe be cast into the *lake of Fire*, the *second death*, Revel. 20.

Peace. Most precious *Truth*, thou knowest we are both pursued and
laid

laid for: Mine *heart* is full of sighes, mine *eyes* with teares: Where can I better vent my full oppressed *bosome*, then into *thine*, whose faithfull *lips* may for these few houres revive my drooping wandring *spirits*, and here begin to *wipe Teares* from mine eyes, and the eyes of my dearest *Children*?

Truth. Sweet daughter of the *God of Peace*, begin; powre out thy *sorrowes*, vent thy *complaints*: how joyfull am I to improve these precious Minutes to revive our *Hearts*, both *thine* and mine, and the hearts of all that *love* the *Truth* and *Peace*, Zach. 8.

Peace. Deare *Truth*, I know thy *birth*, thy *nature*, thy *delight*. They that know thee, will *prize* thee farre above themselves and lives, and *sell themselves* to *buy thee*. Well spake that famous *Elizabeth* to her famous *Attorney* Sir *Edward Coke*: Mr. *Attourney*, goe on as thou hast begun, and still plead, not *pro Domina Regina*, but *pro Domina Veritate*.

Truth. 'Tis true, my *Crowne* is high, my *Scepter's* strong to breake down *strongest holds*, to throw down highest *Crownes* of all that plead (though but in thought) against me. Some few there are, but oh how few are valiant for the *Truth*, and dare to *plead* my *Cause*, as my *Witnesses* in *sack-cloth*, Revel. 11. While all mens *Tongues* are bent like *Bowes* to shoot out lying words against Me!

Peace. O how could I spend *eternall dayes* and *endlesse dates* at thy holy feet, in listning to the precious Oracles of thy mouth! All the Words of thy mouth are *Truth*, and there is no *iniquity* in them; Thy *lips* drop as the hony-combe. But oh! since we must part anon, let us (as thou saidst) improve our *Minutes*, and (according as thou promisedst) revive me with thy words, which are sweeter then the honey, and the honey-combe.

CHAP. II.

DEare *Truth*, I have two sad *Complaints*:

First,² The most sober of thy *Witnesses*, that dare to *plead* thy *Cause*, how are they charged to be *mine Enemies*, *contentious*, *tarbulent*, *seditious*?

Secondly, Thine *Enemies*, though they speake and raile against thee, though they outrageously *pursue*, *imprison*, *banish*, *kill* thy faithfull *Witnesses*, yet how is all verillion'd o're for *Justice* 'gainst the *Hereticks*? Yea, if they kindle coales, and blow the flames of *devouring Warres*, that leave neither *Spirituall* nor *Civill State*, but burns up *Branch* and

² great complaints of Peace.

and *Root*, yet how doe all pretend an *holy War*? He that *kills*, and hee that's *killed*, they both cry out, It is for *God*, and for their *conscience*. Tis true, nor one nor other seldome dare to plead the mighty Prince *Christ Jesus* for their *Authour*,* yet both (both *Protestant* and *Papist*) pretend they have spoke with *Moses* and the *Prophets*, who all, say they (before *Christ* came) allowed such *holy persecutions*, *holy Warres* against the enemies of holy *Church*.

Persecutors seldom plead Christ, but Moses for their Author.

Truth. Deare *Peace* (to ease thy first *complaint*) tis true, thy dearest *Sons*, most like their mother, *Peace-keeping*, *Peace-making* *Sons of God*, have borne and still must beare the *blurs* of *troublers of Israel*, and turners of the *World* upside downe. And tis true againe, what *Salomon* once spake: The *beginning* of *strife* is as when one letteth out *Water*, therefore (saith he) leave off *contention* before it be medled with. This *Caveat* should keepe the *bankes* and *sluces* firme and strong, that *strife*, like a *breach of waters*, breake not in upon the sons of men.

Yet *strife* must be distinguished:* It is *necessary* or *unnecessary*, *godly* or *ungodly*, *Christian* or *unchristian*, &c.

Strife distinguished.

It is unnecessary,* unlawfull, dishonourable, ungodly, unchristian, in most cases in the world, for there is a *possibility* of keeping *sweet Peace* in most cases, and if it be *possible*, it is the expresse command of *God* that *Peace* be kept, *Rom.* 13.

1. Ungodly strife.

Again,* it is *necessary*, *honourable*, *godly*, &c. with *civill* and earthly *weapons* to *defend* the *innocent*, and to *rescue* the oppressed from the violent *pawes* and *jaws* of oppressing persecuting *Nimrods*, *Psal.* 73. *Job* 29.

2. Godly strife.

It is as *necessary*, yea more *honourable*, *godly*, and *Christian*, to *fight* the *fight of faith*, with *religious* and *spirituall Artillery*, and to *contend earnestly* for the *faith of Jesus*, once delivered to the *Saints* against all *opposers*, and the *gates of earth* and *hell*, *men* or *devils*, yea against *Paul* himselfe, or an *Angell from heaven*, if he bring any other *faith* or *doctrine*, *Jude vers.* 4. *Gal.* 1. 8.

Peace. With the *clashing* of such *Armes* am I never *wakened*.* Speake once againe (deare *Truth*) to my second *complaint* of bloody *persecution*, and devouring *wars*, marching under the colours of upright *Iustice*, and holy *Zeale*, &c.

A threefold dolefull cry. Christs worship is his bed, Cant. 1. 16. False worship therefore is a false bed.

Truth. Mine eares have long beene filled with a threefold dolefull *Outcry*.

First, of one hundred forty foure thousand *Virgins* (*Rev.* 14) forc'd and ravisht by *Emperours*, *Kings*, and *Governours* to their beds of *worship* and *Religion*, set up (like *Absalems*) on high in their severall *States* and *Countries*.

The cry
of the
soules un-
der the
Altar.

Secondly,* the cry of those precious *soules* under the *Altar* (Rev. 6.) the *soules* of such as have beene persecuted and slaine for the testimony and *witnesse* of *Jesus*, whose *bloud* hath beene spilt like *water* upon the *earth*, and that because they have held fast the *truth* and *witnesse* of *Jesus*, against the *worship* of the *States* and *Times*, compelling to an *uniformity* of *State Religion*.

These *cries* of *murthered Virgins* who can sit still and heare? Who can but run with zeale inflamed to prevent the *destowring* of *chaste soules*, and spilling of the *bloud* of the *innocent*? *Humanity* stirs up and prompts the *Sonnes* of men to draw *materiall swords* for a *Virgins chastity* and *life*, against a *ravishing murtherer*? And *Piety* and *Christianity* must needs awaken the *Sons of God* to draw the *spirituall sword* (the *Word of God*) to preserve the *chastity* and *life* of *spirituall Virgins*, who abhorre the *spirituall defilements* of *false worship*, Rev. 14.

Thirdly,* the cry of the whole earth, made drunke with the bloud of its *inhabitants*, slaughtering each other in their *blinded zeale*, for *Conscience*, for *Religion*, against the *Catholickes*, against the *Lutherans*, &c.

What fearfull *cries* within these twenty years of hundred *thousands* men, women, children, fathers, mothers, husbands, wives, brethren, sisters, old and young, high and low, *plundred*, *ravished*, *slaughtered*, *murthered*, *famished*? And hence these *cries*, that men fling away the *spirituall sword* and *spirituall artillery* (in *spirituall* and *religious* causes) and rather trust for the suppressing of each others *God*, *Conscience*, and *Religion* (as they suppose) to an *arme* of *flesh*, and *sword of steele*?

Truth. Sweet *Peace*, what hast thou there?

Peace. *Arguments* against *persecution* for cause of *Conscience*.

Truth. And what there?

Peace. An *Answer* to such *Arguments*, contrarily maintaining such *persecution* for cause of *Conscience*.

Truth. These *Arguments* against such *persecution*,* and the *Answer* pleading for it, written (as *Love* hopes) from godly *intentions*, *hearts*, and *hands*, yet in a marvellous different *stile* and *manner*. The *Arguments* against *persecution* in *milke*, the *Answer* for it (as I may say) in *bloud*.

The *Authour* of these *Arguments* (against *persecution*) (as I have beene informed) being committed by *some* then in power, *close prisoner* to *Newgate*, for the *witnesse* of some *truths* of *Jesus*, and having not the use of *Pen* and *Inke*, wrote these *Arguments* in *Milke*, in sheets of *Papper*, brought to him by the *Woman* his *Keeper*, from a friend in *London*, as the *stopples* of his *Milk bottle*.

The won-
derfull
providēce
of God in
the wri-
ting of
the Argu-
ments a-
gainst per-
secution in
Milke.

In such Paper written with *Milk* nothing will appeare, but the way of reading it by *fire* being knowne to this *friend* who received the Papers, he transcribed and kept together the Papers, although the *Author* himselfe could not correct, nor view what himselfe had written. It was in *milke*, tending to soule *nourishment*, even for *Babes* and *Sucklings* in *Christ*.

It was in *milke*, spiritually *white*, pure and innocent, like those *white horses* of the *Word of truth* and *meeknesse*, and the *white Linnen* or *Armour* of *righteousnesse*, in the *Army of Jesus*. *Rev.* 6. & 19.

It was in *milke*, soft, meeke, peaceable and gentle, tending both to the *peace* of *soules*, and the *peace* of *States* and *Kingdomes*.

Peace. The *Answer* (though I hope out of milkie pure intentions) is returned in *bloud*: *bloudy* & *slaughterous conclusions*; *bloudy* to the *souls* of all men,* forc'd to the Religion and Worship which every civil State or Common-weale agrees on, and compells all subjects to in a dissembled *uniformitie*.

The Answer writ in Bloud.

Bloudy to the *bodies*, first of the holy *witnesses* of *Christ Jesus*, who testifie against such invented worships.

Secondly, of the *Nations* and *Peoples* slaughtering each other for their severall respective Religions and Consciences.

CHAP. III.

Truth. **I**N the Answer Mr. *Cotton* first layes downe severall *distinctions* and *conclusions* of his owne, tending to prove persecution.

Secondly, *Answers* to the *Scriptures*, and *Arguments* proposed against *persecution*.

Peace. The first distinction is this:* By persecution for cause of Conscience, I conceive you meane either for professing some point of *doctrine* which you beleeve in *conscience* to be the *truth*, or for *practising* some worke which you beleeve in *conscience* to be a *religious* dutie.

The first distinctiō discussed.

Truth. I acknowledge that to molest any person,* Jew or Gentile, for either professing *doctrine*, or practising *worship* meerly *religious* or spirituall, it is to persecute him, and such a person (what ever his *doctrine* or *practice* be true or *false*) suffereth persecution for *conscience*.

Desinitio-
on of per-
secution
discussed.

But withall I desire it may bee well observed, that this *distinction* is not full and complete: For beside this that a man may be persecuted

because he holdeth or practiseth what he beleeveth in *conscience* to be a *Truth*, (as *Daniel* did, for which he was cast into the *Lyons* den. *Dan.* 6.) and many thousands of *Christians*, because they durst not cease to *preach* and *practise* what they beleeveth was by *God* commanded,* as the *Apostles* answered (*Acts* 4 & 5.) I say besides this a man may also be persecuted, because hee dares not be *constrained* to yeeld obedience to such *doctrines* and *worships* as are by men invented and appointed. So the three famous *Jewes* were cast into the fiery furnace for refusing to fall downe (in a *non-conformity* to the whole conforming world) before the golden *Image*, *Dan.* 3. 21. So thousands of *Christs witnesses* (and of late in those bloody *Marian* dayes) have rather chose to yeeld their *bodies* to all sorts of *torments*, then to subscribe to *doctrines*, or practise *worships*, unto which the States and Times (as *Nabuchadnezzar* to his golden *Image*) have compelled and urged them.

A chaste *wife* will not onely abhorre to be restrained from her *husbands* bed,* as adulterous and polluted, but also abhor (if not much more) to bee constrained to the *bed* of a *stranger*. And what is abominable in *corporall*, is much more loathsome in *spirituall whoredome* and defilement.

The Spouse of *Christ Jesus* who could not finde her soules beloved in the *wayes* of his *worship* and *Ministry*, (*Cant.* 1. 3. and 5. Chapters) abhorred to turne aside to other *Flockes*, *Worships*, &c. and to imbrace the bosome of a false *Christ*, *Cant.* 1. 8.

CHAP. IV.

Peace. **T**He second distinction is this.

In points of Doctrine some are fundamentall,* without right beleefe whereof a man cannot be saved: others are circumstantiall and lesse principall, wherein a man may differ in judgement without prejudice of salvation on either part.

Truth. To this *distinction* I dare not subscribe,* for then I should everlastingly condemne thousands, and ten thousands, yea the whole *generation* of the *righteous*, who since the falling away (from the first primitive *Christian* state or *worship*) have and doe erre fundamentally concerning the true *matter*, *constitution*, *gathering* and *governing* of the *Church*: and yet farre be it from any pious *breast* to imagine that they are not saved, and that their soules are not bound up in the bundle of *eternall life*.

We reade of foure sorts of spirituall or Christian *foundations* in the *New Testament*.

First,

Conscience will not be restrained from its own worship, nor constrained to another.

A chaste soule in Gods worship like a chaste wife.

The second distinction discussed.

Gods people may erre from the very fundamentals of visible worship.

First, the *Foundation* of all *foundations*,★ the Corner-stone it selfe, the Lord *Jesus*, on whom all depend, *Persons, Doctrines, Practices*, 1. Cor. 3.

4 sorts of
spirituall
Foundati-
ons.

2. *Ministriall foundations*. The *Church* is built upon the *founda-
tion* of the *Apostles* and *Prophets*, Ephes. 2. 20.

3. The *foundation* of future rejoycing in the fruits of *Obedience*, 1 *Tim.* 6.

4. The *foundation* of *Doctrines*,★ without the knowledge of which, there can be no true profession of *Christ*, according to the first *instituti-
on*, Heb. 6. The *foundation* or *principles* of *Repentance* from dead works, *Faith* towards *God*, the *Doctrine* of *Baptisme*, *Laying on of Hands*, the *Resurrection*, and *Eternall Judgement*. In some of these, to wit, those concerning *Baptismes*, & *Laying on of Hands*, *Gods* people will be found to be ignorant for many hundred yeares: and I yet cannot see it proved that *light* is risen, I mean the *light* of the first *institution*, in practice. *Gods* people in their persons, *Heart-waking* (*Cant.* 5. 2.) in the life of *personall grace*, will yet be found fast asleep in respect of *publike Christian Worship*.

ζοιχεῖα
θεμελιοί.
The sixe
Foundati-
ons of the
Christian
Religion
or Wor-
ship.

Gods people (in their *persons*) are *His*, most deare and precious:★ yet in respect of the *Christian Worship* they are mingled amongst the *Babylonians*, from whence they are called to come out, not *locally* (as some have said) for that belonged to a *materiall* and *locall Babell*, (and, *literall Babell* and *Ierusalem* have now no difference, *John* 4. 21.) but *spiritually* and *mystically* to come out from her sins and *Abominations*.

Commung
out of Ba-
bell, not
locall but
mysticall.

If Mr. *Cotton* maintaine the true *Church* of *Christ* to consist of the true *matter* of *holy persons* call'd out from the *World*; and the true *forme* of *Vnion* in a *Church Covenant*; And that also, neither *Nationall*, *Provinciall*, nor *Diocesan Churches* are of *Christs institution*: how many *Thousands* of *Gods* people of all sorts, (*Clergie* and *Laitie*, as they call them) will they finde both in former and later times, captivated in such *Nationall*, *Provinciall*, and *Diocesan Churches*? yea and so far from living in, yea or knowing of any such *Churches* (for *matter* and *forme*) as they conceive now only to be true,★ that untill of late yeares, how few of *Gods* people knew any other *Church* then the *Parish Church* of dead stones or timber? It being a late marvailous *light* revealed by *Christ Jesus* the *Sun of Righteousnesse*, that his people are a *Company* or *Church* of living stones, 1 *Pet.* 2. 9.

The great
Ignorance
of Gods
People
concerning
the Nature
of the true
Church.

And however his own Soule, and the soules of many others (precious to *God*) are perswaded to separate from *Nationall*, *Provinciall*, and *Diocesan Churches*, and to assemble into particular *Churches*: yet since

Mr. Cotton
& all the
Halfe Se-
perates,
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between
true & fals
Churches,
and conse-
quently,
not yet
clear in the
funda-
mentall
matter of
a Christiā
Church.

there are no *Parish Churches* in England,* but what are made up of the *Parish* bounds within such and such a compasse of *houses*; and that such *Churches* have beene and are in constant dependance on, and subordination to the *Nationall Church*: how can the *New-English particular Churches* joyne with the *Old English Parish Churches* in so many *Ordinances* of *Word, Prayer, Singing, Contribution, &c.* but they must needs confesse, that as yet their *Soules* are farre from the *knowledge* of the *foundation* of a true *Christian Church*, whose matter must not only be living stones, but also separated from the *rubbish* of *Antichristian confusions* and *desolations*.

CHAP. V.

Peace. **W**ITH lamentation I may adde: How can their *Soules* be cleare in this *foundation* of the true *Christian* matter, who persecute and oppresse their own (acknowledged) Brethren presenting Light unto them about this Point? But I shall now present you with Mr. Cottons third *distinction*. “In point of Practice (saith he) some “concerne the weightier duties of the Law, as, What God we wor-
“ship, and with what kind of Worship: whether such, as if it be Right, “fellowship with God is held; if false, fellowship with God is lost.

Truth. It is worth the inquirie, what kind of *Worship* he intendeth; for *Worship* is of various signification: whether in generall acceptation he meane the *rightnesse* or *corruptnesse* of the Church,* or the *Ministry* of the Church, or the Ministrations of the *Word, Prayer, Seales, &c.*

And because it pleaseth the *Spirit* of God to make the *Ministry* one of the *foundations* of the *Christian Religion*, (*Heb. 6. 12.*) and also to make the *Ministrie* of the *Word* and *Prayer* in the Church, to be two speciall works (even of the Apostles themselves) *Acts 6. 2.* I shall desire it may be well considered in the feare of God.

First, concerning the *Ministry* of the *Word*; The *New-English Ministers*, when they were new elected & ordained *Ministers* in *New Englād*, must undeniably grant,* that at that time they were no *Ministers*, notwithstanding their profession of standing so long in a true *Ministry* in *Old England*, whether received from the Bishops (which some have maintained true) or from the People, which Mr. Cotton & others better liked, and which *Ministrie* was alwayes accounted perpetuall and indelible: I apply, and aske, Will it not follow, that if their new *Ministry* and *Ordination* be true, the former was false? and if false, that in the

exer-

The true
Ministrie
a Funda-
mentall.

The New
English
Ministers
examined.

exercise of it (notwithstanding *abilities, graces, intentions, labours*, and (by Gods gracious, unpromised, & extraordinary blessing) some *successes*) I say, will it not according to this distinction follow, that according to visible *rule, Fellowship with God* was lost?

Secondly, concerning *Prayer*;★ The *New English Ministers* have disclaimed and written against that *worshipping of God* by the *Common* or set formes of *Prayer*, which yet themselves practised in *England*, notwithstanding they knew that many servants of *God* in great sufferings witnessed against such a *Ministrie of the Word*, and such a *Ministrie of Prayer*.

Common
Prayer
cast off, &
written a-
gainst by
the New-
English.

Peace. I could name the *persons, time and place*, when some of them were faithfully admonished for using of the *Common prayer*, and the Arguments presented to them, then seeming weake, but now acknowledged sound: yet at that time they satisfied their hearts with the practice of the *Author of the Councell of Trent*, who used to read only some of the choicest selected Prayers in the *Masse-booke*, (which I confesse was also their own practice in their using of the *Common-Prayer*.) But now according to this *distinction*, I ask whether or no fellowship with *God* in such prayers was lost.

Truth. I could particularize other *exercises of Worship*, which cannot be denied (according to this *distinction*) to be of the *waightier points* of the *Law*, to wit, [What *God* we *Worship*, and with what kind of *worship*:] wherein fellowship with *God* (in many of our unclean and abominable *Worships*) hath been lost. Only upon these premises I shall observe. First, that *Gods people*, even the *standard-bearers and leaders* of them (according to this distinction) have worshipped *God* (in their sleepy ignorance) by such a kind of *Worship*,★ as wherein *fellowship* with *God* is lost; yea also this it is possible for them to do, after much *light* is risen against such *Worship*, and in particular, brought to the eyes of such *holy and worthy persons*.

Gods people
have worship-
ped God
with false
worships.

Secondly, there may be inward and secret *fellowship with God* in false *Ministeries of Word and Prayer*,★ (for that to the eternall prayse of *Infinite Mercy* beyond a word or promise of *God* I acknowledge) when yet (as the distinction saith) in such *worship* (not being *right*) *fellowship* with *God* is lost, and such a *service or ministration* must be lamented and forsaken.

It pleaseth
God some-
times, be-
yond his
promise, to
convey
blessings
& comfort
to His, in
false wor-
ships.

Thirdly, I observe that *Gods people* may live and die in such kindes of *worship*, notwithstanding that *light* from *God* publikely and privately, hath beene presented to them, able to convince: yet not reaching to
their

Funda-
mentals
of Chri-
stian wor-
ship not so
easie and
cleare.

their *conviction* and forsaking of such wayes, contrary to a *conclusion* afterward exprest,* to wit, [That *fundamentals* are so cleere, that a man cannot but be convinced in *Conscience*, and therefore that such a person not being convinced, he is *condemned of himselfe*, and may be *persecuted* for sinning against his *conscience*.]

Fourthly, I observe that in such a maintaining a clearnesse of *fundamentals* or waightier *points*, and upon that ground a persecuting of men, because they sinne against their *consciences*, Mr. *Cotton* measures that to *others*, which himselfe when he lived in such *practices*, would not have had measured to himselfe. As first, that it might have beene affirmed of him, that in such *practices* he did sinne against his *conscience*, having sufficient light shining about him.

Secondly, that hee should or might lawfully have beene cut off by *death* or *banishment*, as an *Hereticke*, sinning against his owne *conscience*. And in this respect the Speech of King *James* was notable to a great *Non-conformitant* converted (as is said by King *James*) to *conformity*,* and counselling the *King* afterward to persecute the *Non-conformists* even unto *death*: Thou *Beast* (quoth the *King*) if I had dealt so with thee in thy *non-conformity*, where hadst thou beene?

A notable
speech of
K. *James* to
a great
non-con-
formist,
turned
persecuter.

CHAP. VI.

Peace. **T**He next *distinction* concerning the manner of *persons* holding forth the aforesaid *practices* (not onely the *waightier duties* of the *Law*,* but points of *doctrine* and *worship* lesse principall.)

“Some (saith he) hold them forth in a *meeke* and *peaceable* way: some “with such *arrogance* and *impetuuousnesse*, as of it selfe tendeth to the “disturbance of *civill peace*.

Truth. In the examination of this *distinction* we shall discusse.

First, what is *civill Peace*, (wherein we shall vindicate thy name the better.)

Secondly, what it is to hold forth a Doctrine or Practice in this *impetuuousnesse* or *arrogancy*.

First,* for *civill peace*, what is it but *pax civitatis*, the peace of the *Citie*, whether an *English City*, *Scotch*, or *Irish Citie*, or further abroad, *French*, *Spanish*, *Turkish City*, &c.

Thus it pleased the Father of *Lights* to define it, *Ierem.* 29. 7. Pray for the *peace* of the *City*; which *peace* of the *City*, or *Citizens*, so compacted in a *civill* way of *union*, may be intire, unbroken, safe, &c. not-
with-

The 4.
distinction
discussed.

What ci-
vill peace
is.

withstanding so many thousands of *Gods people the Jewes*, were there in *bondage*, and would neither be *constrained* to the *worship* of the *Citie Babylon*, nor restrained from so much of the *worship* of the true *God*, as they then could practice, as in plaine in the practice of the 3 *Worthies*, *Shadrach*, *Misach*, and *Abednego*, as also of *Daniel*, *Dan. 3. & Dan. 6.* (the peace of the *City* or *Kingdome*, being a far different Peace from the Peace of the *Religion* or *Spirituell Worship*, maintained & professed of the *Citizens*. This *Peace* of their *Worship* (which *worship* also in some *Cities* being various) being a false Peace,* *Gods people* were and ought to be *Nonconformitants*, not daring either to be *restrained* from the *true*, or *constrained* to *false Worship*, and yet without *breach* of the *Civill* or *Citie-peace*, properly so called.

Gods people must be Non-conformitants to Evil.

Peace. Hence it is that so many glorious and flourishing *Cities* of the *World* maintaine their *Civill* peace, yea the very *Americans* & wildest *Pagans* keep the peace of their *Towns* or *Cities*;* though neither in one nor the other can any man prove a true *Church* of *God* in those places, and consequently no *spirituall* and heavenly peace: The Peace *spirituall* (whether true or false) being of a higher and farre different nature from the Peace of the place or people, being meerly and essentially *civill* and *humane*.

The difference between *Spirituell* and *Civill* Peace.

Truth. O how lost are the *sonnes* of men in this point? To illustrate this: The *Church* or *company* of *worshippers* (whether true or false) is like unto a *Body* or *Colledge* of *Physitians* in a *Citie*; like unto a *Corporation*, *Society*, or *Company* of *East-Indie* or *Turkie-Merchants*, or any other *Societie* or *Company* in *London*: which *Companies* may hold their *Courts*, keep their *Records*, hold, *disputations*; and in matters concerning their *Societie*, may dissent, divide, breake into *Schismes* and *Factions*, sue and implead each other at the *Law*, yea wholly breake up and dissolve into pieces and nothing, and yet the *peace* of the *Citie* not be in the least measure impaired or disturbed; because the *essence* or being of the *Citie*, and so the *well-being* and *peace* thereof is essentially distinct from those particular *Societies*;* the *Citie-Courts*, *Citie-Lawes*, *Citie-punishments* distinct from theirs. The *Citie* was before them, and stands absolute and intire, when such a *Corporation* or *Societie* is taken down. For instance further, The *City* or *Civill state* of *Ephesus* was essentially distinct from the *worship* of *Diana* in the *Citie*, or of the *whole city*. Againe, the *Church* of *Christ* in *Ephesus* (which were *Gods people*, converted and call'd out from the *worship* of that *City* unto *Christianitie* or *worship* of *God* in *Christ*) was distinct from both.

The difference between the *Spirituell* and *Civill* State.

The Civil State, the Spirituall estate, and the Church of Christ distinct in Ephesus.

Now suppose that *God* remove the *Candlestick* from *Ephesus*, yea though the *whole Worship* of the *Citie of Ephesus* should be altered:★ yet (if men be true and honestly ingenuous to *Citie-covenants*, *Combinations* and *Principles*) all this might be without the least impeachment or infringement of the *Peace* of the *City of Ephesus*.

Thus in the *Citie of Smirna* was the *Citie* it selfe or *Civill estate* one thing, The *Spirituall* or *Religious state* of *Smirna*, another; The *Church of Christ* in *Smirna*, distinct from them both; and the *Synagogue* of the *Jewes*, whether literally *Jewes* (as some thinke) or mystically, false *Christians*, (as others) called the *Synagogue of Sathan*, Revel. 2. distinct from all these. And notwithstanding these spirituall oppositions in point of *Worship* and *Religion*, yet heare we not the least noyse (nor need we, if Men keep but the *Bond of Civility*) of any *Civill breach*, or *breach of Civill peace* amongst them: and to persecute Gods people there for *Religion*, that only was a breach of *Civilitie* it selfe.

CHAP. VII.

Peace. **N**OW to the second Quærie, What it is to hold forth Doctrine or Practice in an arrogant or impetuous way?

Truth. Although it hath not pleased Mr. *Cotton* to declare what is this arrogant or *impetuous* holding forth of *Doctrine* or *Practice* tending to disturbance of *Civill peace*,★ I cannot but expresse my sad and sorrowfull observation, how it pleaseth *God* to leave him, as to take up the common reproachfull accusation of the Accuser of Gods children;★ to wit, that they are arrogant and impetuous: which charge (together with that of *obstinacie*, *pertinacie*, *pride*, *Troublers* of the *Citie*, &c.) *Sathan* commonly loads the meekest of the *Saints* and *Witnesses* of *Jesus* with.

To wipe off therefore these fowle blurs and *aspersions* from the faire and beautifull face of the *Spouse of Jesus*, I shall select and propose 5 or 6 cases, for which *Gods witnesses* in all Ages and Generations of Men, have been charged with *arrogance*, *impetuousnes*, &c. and yet the *God of Heaven*, and *Iudge* of all men, hath graciously discharged them from such crimes, and maintained and avowed them for his *faithfull* and *peaceable* servants.

First, *Gods people* have *proclaimed*, *taught*, *disputed* for divers months together, a *new Religion* and *Worship*, contrary to the *Worship* projected

in

The Answerer too obscure in generalls.

Gods meekest servants use to be counted arrogant and impetuous. 6 cases wherein Gods people have been bold & zealous, yet not arrogant.

in the *Towne*,[★] *City*, or *State*, where they have lived, or where they have travelled, as did the *Lord Jesus Himselfe* over all *Galile*, and the *Apostles* after Him in all places, both in the *Synagogues* and *Market-places*, as appeares *Acts* 17. 2. 17. *Acts* 18. 48. Yet this no *Arrogance* nor *Impetuoussesse*.

Secondly, Gods *servants* have been *zealous* for their *Lord* and *Master*, even to the very faces of the Highest, and concerning the persons of the Highest, so far as they have opposed the *Truth* of God: So *Eliah* to the face of *Ahab*, It is not *I*, but *thou*, and thy *Fathers* house that troublest *Israel*: So the *Lord Jesus* concerning *Herod*, Goe tell that *Fox*: So *Paul*, God delivered me from the mouth of the *Lion*; and to *Ananias*,[★] Thou whited wall, and yet in all this no *Arrogance*, nor *Impetuoussesse*.

Thirdly, Gods *people* have been *immoveable*, *constant* and *resolved* to the *death*, in refusing to submit to false *Worships*, and in *preaching* and *professing* the true *worship*, contrary to expresse command of *publicke Authority*: So the three famous *Worthies* against the command of *Nobilchadnezzar*,[★] and the uniforme *conformity* of all *Nations* agreeing upon a false *worship*, *Dan*. 3. So the *Apostles* (*Acts* 4 and 5 chap.) and so the witnesses of *Jesus* in all ages, who loved not their lives to the *death* (*Rev*. 12.) not regarding sweet *life* nor bitter *death*, and yet not *Arrogant*, nor *Impetuous*.

Fourthly, Gods *people* since the comming of the *King of Israel*,[★] the *Lord Jesus*, have openly and constantly profest, that no *Civill Magistrate*, no *King* nor *Cæsar* have any power over the *Soules* or *Consciences* of their Subjects, in the matters of *God* and the *Crowne* of *Jesus*, but the *Civill Magistrates* themselves; yea *Kings* and *Keisars* are bound to subject their owne *soules* to the *Ministry* and *Church*, the *Power* and *Government* of this *Lord Jesus*, the *King of Kings*. Hence was the charge against the *Apostles* (false in *Civill*, but true in *spiritualls*) that they affirmed that there was another *King*, one *Jesus*, *Acts* 17. 7. And indeed, this was the great charge against the *Lord Jesus Himself*, which the *Jews* laid against Him, and for which he suffered *Death*, as appears by the *Accusation* written over His Head upon the *Gallows*, *John* 9. 19. *Jesus of Nazareth King of the Jewes*.

This was and is the summe of all true preaching of the Gospell or glad newes,[★] *viz*. That God anointed *Jesus* to be the sole *King* and Governour of all the *Israel* of God in spirituall and soule causes, *Psal*. 2. 6. *Acts* 2. 36. Yet this Kingly power of His he resolved not to man-

Christ Jesus and his Disciples teach publicly a new Doctrine, fundamentally different from the Religion professed. Gods servants zealous and bold to the faces of the Highest.

Gods people constantly immoveable to death.

Gods people ever maintained Christ Jesus the only Lord and King to the conscience.

That Christ is King alone over conscience is the sum of all true preaching.

age in His owne Person, but Ministerially in the hands of such Messengers which he sent forth to preach and baptise, and to such as beleevd that word they preached, *John* 17. And yet here no *Arrogance* nor *Impetuousnesse*.

5. *Gods people* in delivering the Minde and Will of God concerning the Kingdomes and Civill States where they have lived, have seemed in all shew of common sense and rationall policie (if men looke not higher with the eye of saith) to endanger and overthrow the very Civill State,* as appeareth by all *Jeremeses* preaching and counsell to King *Zedechia*, his Princes and people, insomuch that the charge of the Princes against *Jeremiah* was, that he discouraged the Army from fighting against the Babylonians, and weakned the Land from its own defence, and this charge in the eye of reason, seemed not to be unreasonable or unrighteous, *Jer.* 37. 38. chapters, and yet in *Ieremy* no *Arrogance* nor *Impetuousnesse*.

6. Lastly, *Gods people* by their preaching, disputing, &c. have beene (though not the cause) yet accidentally the occasion of great contentions and divisions,* yea tumults and uproares in Townes and Cities where they have lived and come, and yet neither their Doctrine nor themselves *Arrogant* nor *Impetuous*, however so charged: For thus the Lord Jesus discovereth mens false and secure suppositions, *Luke* 11. 51. *Suppose ye that I am come to give peace on the earth? I tell you nay, but rather division, for from hence forth shall there be five in one house divided, three against two, and two against three, the father shall be divided against the sonne, and the sonne against the father, &c.* And thus upon the occasion of the Apostles preaching, the Kingdome and Worship of God in Christ, were most commonly uproares and tumults, where ever they came: For instance, those strange and nonstrous uproares at *Iconium*, at *Ephesus*, at *Jerusalem*, *Acts* 14. 4. *Acts* 19. 29. 40. *Acts* 21. vers. 30, 31.

CHAP. VIII.

Peace. IT will be said (deare *Truth*) what the Lord Jesus and his Messengers taught was *Truth*, but the question is about Errour.

Truth. I answer, this distinction now in discussion, concernes not *Truth*, or Errour, but the manner of holding forth or divulging.

I ac-

Gods
people
have seen-
ed the
disturbers
of Civill
State.

Gods
word and
people
the occa-
sion of
tumults.

I acknowledge that such may bee the way and manner of holding forth,* (either with railing or reviling, daring or chalenging speeches, or with force of Armes, Swords, Guns, Prisons, &c.) that it may not on-ly tend to breake, but may actually breake the civill peace, or peace of the Citie.

The in-
stances
proposed
carry a
great shew
of impetu-
ousnesse,
yet all are
pure and
peaceable.

Yet these instances propounded are cases of great opposition and spirituall hostility, and occasions of breach of civill peace: and yet as the borders (or matter) were of gold: so the speckes (or manner, *Cautic*. 1.) were of silver: both matter and manner, pure, holy, peaceable, and inoffensive.

Moreover, I answer, that it is possible and common for persons of soft and gentle nature and spirits to hold out falshood with more seeming meeknesse and peaceablenesse, then the Lord Jesus or his servants did or doe hold forth the true and everlasting Gospell. So that the answerer would be requested to explain what he means by this arrogant and impetuous holding forth of any doctrine, which very manner of holding forth tends to breake civill peace, and comes under the cognisance and correction of the Civill Magistrate: Lest hee build the Sepulchre of the Prophets, and say, If we had been in the Pharises daies, the Romane Emperours dayes, or the bloody *Marian* dayes, we would not have been partakers with them in the blood of the Prophets, *Mat*. 23. 30. who were charged with arrogance and impetuousnesse.

CHAP. IX.

2. *Ob.* **I**T will here be said, Whence then ariseth civill dissentions and *Peace*. **I**uproares about matters of Religion?

Truth. I answer:* When a Kingdome or State, Towne or Family, lyes and lives in the guilt of a false God, false Christ, false worship: no wonder if sore eyes be troubled at the appearance of the light, be it never so sweet: No wonder if a body full of corrupt humours be troubled at strong (though wholesome) Physick? If persons sleepy and loving to sleepe be troubled at the noise of shrill (though silver) alarums: No wonder if *Adonijah* and all his company be amazed and troubled at the sound of the right Heyre King *Salomon*, 1 *King*. 1. If the Husbandmen were troubled when the Lord of the Vineyard sent servant after servant, and at last his onely Sonne, and they beat, and wounded, and kill'd even the Sonne himselfe, because they meant themselves to seize upon the inheritance, unto which they had no right, *Matth*. 21. 38.

The true
cause of
tumults at the
preaching of
the Word.

Hence all those tumults about the Apostles in the *Acts*, &c. whereas good eyes are not so troubled at light; vigilant and watchfull persons loyall and faithfull, are not so troubled at the true, no nor at a false Religion of Jew or Gentile.

Secondly,★ breach of civil peace may arise, when false and idolatrous practices are held forth, & yet no breach of civil peace from the doctrine or practice, or the manner of holding forth, but from that wrong and preposterous way of suppressing, preventing, and extinguishing such doctrines or practices by weapons of wrath and blood, whips, stockes, imprisonment, banishment, death, &c. by which men commonly are perswaded to convert Heretickes, and to cast out uncleane spirits, which onely the finger of God can doe, that is the mighty power of the Spirit in the Word.

Hence the Towne is in an uproare,★ and the Country takes the Alarm to expell that fog or mist of Errour, Heresie, Blasphemy, (as is supposed) with Swords and Guns; whereas tis Light alone, even Light from the bright shining Sunne of Righteousnesse, which is able, in the soules and consciences of men to dispell and scatter such fogges and darknesse.

Hence the Sons of men, (as *David* speaks in another case, *Psal.* 39.) disquiet themselves in vaine, and unmercifully disquiet others, as (by the helpe of the Lord) in the sequell of this discourse shall more appeare.

CHAP. X.

Peace. **N**OW the last distinction is this: “Persecution for Conscience, is either for a rightly informed conscience, or a “blinde and erroneous conscience.

Answ. Truth. Indeed both these consciences are persecuted: but lamentably blinde and erronious will these consciences shortly appear to be,★ which out of zeale for God (as is pretended) have persecuted either. And heavie is the doome of those blinde Guides and Idoll Shepherds (whose right eye Gods finger of jealousie hath put out) who flattering the ten Homes or worldly Powers, perswade them what excellent and faithfull service they performe to God, in persecuting both these consciences: either hanging up a rightly informed conscience, and therein the Lord Jesus himselfe, betweene two malefactors, or else killing the erroneous and the blinde, like *Saul* (out of zeale to the Is-
rael

A prepo-
sterous
way of
suppressing
errours.

Light on-
ly can ex-
pell fogs
and dark-
nesse.

Persecu-
tors op-
presse both
true and
erroneous
conscien-
ces.

rael of God) the poore Gibeonites, whom it pleased God to permit to live: and yet that hostility and cruelty used against them (as the repeated judgement yeare after yeare upon the whole Land after told them) could not be pardoned, untill the death of the persecutor *Saul* his sons had appeased the Lords displeasure, 2 *Sam.* 21.

CHAP. XI.

Peace. **A**fter explication in these Distinctions, it pleaseth the Answerer to give his resolution to the question in foure particulars.

First, that he holds it not lawfull to persecute any for conscience sake rightly informed, for in persecuting such (saith he) Christ himself is persecuted: for which reason, truly rendred, he quotes *Act.* 9. 4. *Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?*

Truth. He that shall reade this Conclusion over a thousand times, shall as soone finde darknesse in the bright beames of the Sunne, as in this so cleare and shining a beame of Truth, *viz.* That Christ Jesus in his Truth must not be persecuted.

Yet this I must aske (for it will be admired by all sober men) what should be the cause or inducement to the Answerers mind to lay down such a Position or Thesis as this is, *It is not lawfull to persecute the Lord Jesus.*

Search all Scriptures, Histories, Records, Monuments, consult with all experiences, did ever *Pharaoh*, *Saul*, *Ahab*, *Iezabel*, Scribes and Pharises, the Jewes, *Herod*, the bloudy *Neroes*, *Gardiners*, *Boners*, Pope or Devill himselfe, professe to persecute the Son of God, Jesus as Jesus, Christ as Christ, without a mask or covering?

No, saith *Pharaoh*, the Isrealites are idle, and therefore speake they of sacrificing: *David* is risen up in a conspiracy against *Saul*, therefore persecute him: *Naboth* hath blasphemed God and the King, therefore stone him: *Christ* is a seducer of the people, a blasphemer against God, and traytor against *Cæsar*, therefore hang him: Christians are schismaticall, factious, hereticall, therefore persecute them: The Devill hath deluded *John Hus*, therefore crowne him with a paper of Devils, and burne him, &c.

Peace. One thing I see apparantly in the Lords over-ruling the pen of this worthy Answerer,* *viz.* a secret whispering from heaven to him, that (although his soules ayme at Christ, and hath wrought much for

Christ

All persecutors of Christ professe not to persecute him.

All persecutors of Christ, professe not to persecute him

Christ in many sincere intentions,* and Gods mercifull and patient acceptance) yet he hath never left the Tents of such who think they doe God good service in killing the Lord Jesus in his servants, and yet they say, if we had beene in the dayes of our Fathers in Queene *Maries* dayes, &c. we would never have consented to such persecution: And therefore when they persecute Christ Jesus in his truths or servants, they say, Doe not say you are persecuted for the Word for Christ his sake, for we hold it not lawfull to persecute Jesus Christ.

Let me also adde a second; So farre as he hath beene a Guide (by preaching for persecution) I say, wherein he hath beene a Guide and Leader, by mis-interpreting and applying the Writings of Truth, so far I say his owne mouthes and hands shall judge (I hope not his persons, but) his actions, for the Lord Jesus hath suffered by him, *Act. 9. 3.* and if the Lord Jesus himselfe were present, himselfe should suffer that in his owne person, which his servants witnessing his Truth doe suffer for his sake.

CHAP. XII.

Peace. **T**Heir second Conclusion is this: “It is not lawfull to persecute erroneous and blinde conscience, even in fundamentall and weighty points, till after admonition once or twice, “*Tit. 3. 11.* and then such consciences may be persecuted, because the “Word of God is so cleare in fundamentall and weighty points, that “such a person cannot but sin against his conscience, and so being condemned of himselfe, that is, of his conscience, hee may be persecuted “for sinning against his owne conscience.

Truth. I answer, in that great battell betweene the Lord Jesus and the Devill, it is observable that Sathan takes up the weapons of Scripture, and such Scripture which in shew and colour was excellent for his purpose: but in this 3. of *Titus*, as *Salomon* speakes of the Birds of heaven, *Prov. 1.* a man may evidently see the snare; and I know the time is comming wherein it shall bee said, Surely in vaine the Net is laid in the sight of the Saints (heavenly Birds.)

So palpably grosse and thicke is the mist and fog which Sathan hath raised about this Scripture, that he that can but see men as trees in matters of Gods worship, may easily discern what a wonderfull deepe sleepe Gods people are fallen into concerning the visible Kingdome of Christ, in so much that this third of *Titus* which through fearfull prophanations,

hath so many hundred years been the pretended Bulwark and defence of all the bloody Wolves, dens of Lions, and mountains of Leopards, hunting and devouring the Witnesses of Jesus, should now be the refuge and defence of (as I hope) the Lambes and little ones of Jesus, yet (in this point) so preaching and practising so unlike to themselves, to the Lord Jesus, and lamentably too like to His and their Persecutors.

CHAP. XIII.

Peace. **B**Right *Truth*, since this place of *Titus* is such a pretended Bulwark for persecuting of Hereticks, & under that pretence of persecuting all thy followers, I beseech you by the bright beames of the Sun of Righteousnesse, scatter these mists, and unfold these particulars out of the Text:

First, What this Man is that is an Hereticke.

Secondly, How this Hereticke is condemned of himselfe.

Thirdly, What is this first and second Admonition, and by whom it is supposed to be given.

Fourthly, What is this rejecting of Him, and by whom it is supposed this Rejection was to be made.

Truth. First,★ What is this Heretick? I find him commonly defined to be such an one as is obstinate in Fundamentalls, and so also I conceive the Answerer seems to recent him, saying, That the Apostle renders this reason, why after once and twice Admonition, he ought to be persecuted, because in fundamentall and principall points of Doctrine and Worship, the Word of God is so cleare, that the Hereticke cannot but be convinced in his owne Conscience.

What is
meant by
Hereticke
in *Titus*.

But of this reason, I finde not one tittle mentioned in this Scripture: for although he saith such an one is condemned of himselfe, yet he saith not, nor will it follow that fundamentalls are so cleare, that after first and second Admonition, a person that submits not to them is condemned of himself, any more then in lesser points. This 11 verse hath reference to the former verses. *Titus* an Evangelist, a Preacher of glad Newes, abiding here with the Church of Christ at Creet, is required by *Paul* to avoid, to reject, and to teach the Church to reject Genealogies, disputes, and unprofitable questions about the Law: Such a like charge it is as he gave to *Timothy*, left also an Evangelist at Ephesus, 1 *Tim.* 1. 4.

If it should be objected what is to be done to such contentious vain strivers about Genealogies and questions unprofitable? The Apostle seems plainly to answer, Let him be once and twice admonished.

Ob. Yea, but what if once and twice admonition prevaile not? The Apostle seems to answer, αἵρετικοὺν ἄνθρωπον, and that is, the man that is wilfully obstinate after such once and twice admonition, Reject him.

With this Scripture agrees that of 1 *Tim.* 6. 4, 5. where *Timothy* is commanded to withdraw himselfe from such who dote about questions and strife of words.

All which are points of a lower and inferiour nature, not properly falling within the tearms or notions of those (στοιχεῖα) first principles and (θεμελίους) foundations of the Christian Profession, to wit, Repentance from dead workes, Faith towards God, the doctrine of Baptismes, and of laying on of hands, the Resurrection, and eternall Judgement, *Heb.* 6. 2. &c.

Concerning these Fundamentalls (although nothing is so little in the Christian Worship, but may be referred to one of these six, yet) doth not *Paul* to *Timothy* or *Titus* speake in those places by me alledged, or of any of these, as may evidently appeare by the context and scope?

The beloved Spouse of Christ is no receptacle for any filthy person, obstinate in any filthynesse against the purity of the Lord Jesus, who hath commanded his people to purge out the old leaven, not only greater portions, but a little leaven which will leaven the whole lump; and therefore this Hereticke or obstinate person in these vaine and unprofitable questions, was to be rejected, as well as if his obstinacie had been in greater matters.

Againe, if there were a doore or window left open to vaine and unprofitable questions, and sinnes of smaller nature, how apt are persons to cover with a silken covering, and to say, Why, I am no *Hereticke* in *Fundamentalls*, spare me in this or that *little* one; this or that *opinion* or *practice*, these are of an inferiour *circumstantiall* nature? &c. So that the *coherence* with the former verses, and the *scope* of the *Spirit of God* in this and other like *Scriptures* being carefully observed, this Greek word Hereticke is no more in true English and in Truth,* then an *obstinate* and *wilfull* person in the *Church of Creet*, striving and contending about those unprofitable *Questions* and *Genealogies*, &c. and is not such a *monster* intended in this place, as most *Interpreters* run upon, to wit, One *obstinate* in *Fundamentalls*, and as the *Answerer* makes the

Apo-

The word Hereticke generally mistaken.

Apostle to write in such *Fundamentalls* and *principall points*, wherein the Word of God is so cleare that a man cannot but be convinced in *conscience*, and therefore is not persecuted for matter of *conscience*, but for sinning against his *conscience*.

CHAP. XIV.

Peace. **N**OW in the second place, What is this *Self-condemnation*? *Truth.* The *Apostle* seemeth to make this a ground of the *rejecting* of such a person, because he is *subverted* and *sinneth*, being *condemned* of himselfe: It will appeare upon due search that this *selfe-condemning* is not here intended to be in Hereticks (as men say) in *fundamentalls* only, but as it is meant here, in men obstinate in the lesser Questions, &c.

First, he is *subverted* or turned crooked, ἐξέστραπται, a word opposite to *streightnesse* or *rightnesse*: So that the scope is, as I conceive, upon true and faithfull *admonition* once or twice, the pride of heart, or heat of *wrath*, drawes a *vaile* over the *eyes* and *heart*, so that the *soule* is turned loosed and from the checks of *truth*.

Secondly, he *sinneth*, ἁμαρτανει, that is, being *subverted* or turned aside; he *sinneth* or wanders from the path of *Truth*, and is *condemned* by himselfe αυτοκάτακριτος, that is, by the secret *checkes* and *whisperings* of his owne *conscience*,* which will take Gods part against a mans selfe, in smiting, accusing, &c.

Checks of
conscience

Which checks of *conscience* we finde even in Gods owne dear people, as is most admirably opened in the 5 of *Cant.* in those sad, drowsie and unkinde *passages* of the *Spouse* in her *answer* to the *knocks* and *calls* of the *Lord Jesus*; which Gods people in all their awakening acknowledge how sleightly they have listned to the checks of their owne *consciences*. This the *Answerer* pleaseth to call sinning against his *conscience*, for which he may lawfully be persecuted, to wit, for sinning against his *conscience*.

Which *conclusion* (though painted over with the *vermillion* of *mistaken Scripture*, and that old dreame of Jew and Gentile, that the *Crowne* of *Jesus* will consist of outward *materiall gold*, and his *sword* be made of *iron* or *steele*, executing judgement in his *Church* and *Kingdome* by *corporall punishment*) I hope (by the assistance of the *Lord Jesus*) to manifest it to be the overturning and rooting up the very *foundation* and

roots of all true *Christianity*, and absolutely denying the *Lord Jesus* the Great *Anointed* to be yet come in the *Flesh*.

CHAP. XV.

THIS will appeare, if we examine the two last *Quaries* of this place of *Titus*: to wit,

First, What this *Admonition* is?

Secondly, What is the *Rejection* here intended? *Reject* him. First then, *Titus*, unto whom this *Epistle* & these *directions* were written, (and in him to all that succeed him in the like work of the *Gospell* to the Worlds end) he was no *Minister* of the *Civill State*, armed with the *majestie* and *terroure* of a *materiall sword*,* who might for *offences* against the *civill state*, inflict *punishments* upon the *bodies* of men, by *imprisonments*, *whippings*, *sines*, *banishment*, *death*. *Titus* was a *Minister* of the *Gospel* or *Glad tidings*, armed onely with the *Spirituall sword* of the *Word of God*, and such *Spirituall weapons* as (yet) through *God* were mighty to the casting down of *strong holds*, yea every *high thought* of the *highest head* and *heart* in the world, 2 Cor. 10. 4.

Therefore these first and second *Admonitions* were not *civill* or *corporall* punishments on mens *persons* or *purses*, which the *Courts* of Men may lawfully inflict upon *Malefactors*: but they were the *reprehensions*,* *convictions*, *exhortations*, and *perswasions* of the *Word* of the *Eternall God*, charged home to the *Conscience*, in the name and presence of the *Lord Jesus*, in the midst of the *Church*. Which being despised and not hearkned to, in the last place followes *rejection*; which is not a *cutting off* by *heading*, *hanging*, *burning*, &c. or an *expelling* of the *Country* and *Coasts*: neither which (no nor any lesser *civill punishment*) *Titus* nor the *Church* at *Crete* had any power to exercise. But it was that dreadfull cutting off from that visible *Head* and *Body*,* *Christ Jesus* and his *Church*; that *purging* out of the *old leaven* from the *lumpe* of the *Saints*; the putting away of the *evill* and wicked person from the holy *Land* and *Commonwealth* of *Gods Israel*, 1 Cor. 5. where it is observable, that the same word used by *Moses* for putting a malefactor to *death* in typicall *Israel*, by *sword*, *stoning*, &c. Deut 13. 5. is here used by *Paul* for the *spirituall killing* or *cutting off* by *Excommunication*, 1 Cor. 5. 13. Put away that *evill person*, &c.

Now I desire the Answerer, and any, in the holy awe and feare of *God* to consider, That

From

What is
the first &
second ad-
monition.

What the
rejecting
of the He-
retick was.

Corporall
killing in
the Law,
typing out
Spirituall
killing by
Excom-
municati-
on in the
Gospell.

From whom the *first* and *second Admonition* was to proceed, from them also was the *rejecting* or casting out to proceed, as before. But not from the *Civill Magistrate* (to whom *Paul* writes not this *Epistle*, and who also is not bound once and twice to admonish, but may speedily punish, as he sees cause, the persons or purses of *Delinquents* against his *Civill State*;) but from *Titus* the *Minister* or *Angel* of the *Church*, and from the *Church* with him, were these *first* and *second Admonitions* to proceed; And Therefore at last also this *Rejecting*, which can be no other but a *casting out*, or *excommunicating* of him from their *Church-societie*.

Indeed, this *rejecting* is no other then that *avoyding* which *Paul* writes of to the *Church of Christ* at *Rome*, *Rom.* 16. 17. which *avoyding* (however wofully perverted by some to prove persecution) belonged to the *Governours* of *Christs Church & Kingdom* in *Rome*, and not to the *Romane Emperour* for him to rid and *avoyd* the *World* of them, by bloody and cruell *Persecution*.

CHAP. XVI.

Peace. **T**He third Conclusion is;★ In points of lesser moment, there ought to be a *Toleration*.

The third
Conclusiō
discussed.

Which though I acknowledge to be the Truth of *God*, yet 3 things are very observable in the manner of laying it down;★ for *Sathan* useth excellent *arrowes* to bad *markes*, and sometimes beyond the *intent*, and hidden from the eye of the *Archer*.

Sathans
policie.

First (saith he) such a person is to be tolerated,★ till *God* may be pleased to reveale his Truth to him.

The An-
swerer
granteth a
Tolerati-
on.

Truth. This is well observed by you; for indeed this is the very *ground* why the *Apostle* calls for meekenesse and gentlenesse toward *all men*, and toward such as oppose themselves, 2 *Tim.* 2. because there is a *peradventure* or *it may be*;★ *It may be* *God* may give them *Repentance*. That *God* that hath shewen *mercy* to one, may shew *mercy* to another: It may be that *eye-salve* that anointed *one mans* eye who was *blinde* and opposite, may anoint another as *blinde* and opposite: He that hath given *Repentance* to the *husband*, may give it to his *wise*, &c.

Patience
to be used
toward the
opposite.

Hence that *Soule* that is lively and sensible of *mercy* received to it selfe in former *blindnesse*, opposition and enmitie against *God*, cannot but be patient and gentle toward the *Jewes*, who yet deny the *Lord Je-*

The cari-
age of a
Soule sen-
sible of
mercy, to-
ward other
sinners in
their blind-
nesse and
opposition.

to be come,[★] and justify their *Fore-fathers* in murthering of him: To-ward the *Turkes*, who acknowledge *Christ* a great *Prophet*, yet affirme lesse than *Mahomet*. Yea to all the severall sorts of *Antichristians*, who set up many a *false Christ* in stead of him. And lastly to the *Pagans* and *wildest* sorts of the sons of men, who have not yet heard of the *Father*, nor the *Son*. And to all these sorts, *Jewes*, *Turkes*, *Antichristians*, *Pagans*, when they oppose the light presented to them; In sense of its own former opposition, and that *God* peradventure may at last give *repentance*: I adde, such a Soule will not onely be patient, but earnestly and constantly pray for all sorts of men, that out of them *Gods* elect may be called to the fellowship of *Christ Jesus*, And lastly, not only pray, but endeavour (to its utmost abilitie) their participation of the same *grace* and *mercy*.

That great *Rock* upon which so many gallant Ships miscarrie, viz. That such persons, false *Prophets*, *Hereticks*, &c. were to be put to death in *Israel*, I shall (with *Gods* assistance) remove: as also that fine silken covering of the *Image*, viz. that such persons ought to be put to death or banished, to prevent the *infecting* and *seducing* of others, I shall (with *Gods* assistance) in the following discourse pluck off.

Secondly, I observe from the Scriptures he quoteth for this *Tolerati-on*, (*Phil. 3. & Rom. 14*) how closely, yet I hope unadvisedly, he makes the *Churches* of *Christ* at *Philippi* and *Rome*,[★] all one with the *Cities* *Philippi* and *Rome*, in which the *Churches* were, and to whom onely *Paul* wrote. As if what these *Churches* in *Philippi* and *Rome* must tolerate amongst themselves, that the *Cities* *Philippi* and *Rome* must tolerate in their *citizens*: and what these *Churches* must not tolerate, that these *Cities* *Philippi* and *Rome* must not tolerate within the compasse of the *City*, *State* and *Jurisdiction*.

Truth. Upon that ground, by undeniable consequence, these *Cities* *Philippi* and *Rome* were bound not to tolerate themselves, that is, the *Cities* and *Citizens* of *Philippi* and *Rome*, in their own *Civill* life and being, but must kill or expell themselves from their own *Cities*, as being *Idolatrous worshippers* of other gods then the true *God* in *Jesus Christ*.

But as the *Lilie* is amongst the *Thornes*, so is *Christs Love* among the *Daughters*:[★] and as the *Apple-tree* among the *Trees* of the *Forrest*, so is her *Beloved* among the *Sons*: so great a difference is there between the *Church* in a *Citie* or *Country*, and the *Civill state*, *City* or *Country* in which it is.

No

The An-
swerer cō-
founds the
Churches
in *Philippi*
and *Rome*
with the
Cities *Phi-*
lippi and
Rome.

Difference
between
the Church
and the
World.

No lesse then (as *David* in another case, *Psal.* 103. as far as the *Heavens* are from the *Earth*) are they that are truly *Christs* (that is, anointed truly with the Spirit of *Christ*) from many thousands who love not the *Lord Jesus Christ*, and yet are and must be permitted in the *World* or *Civill State*, although they have no right to enter into the gates of *Jerusalem* the *Church* of God.

And this is the more carefully to bee minded,* because when ever a *toleration* of others *Religion* and *Conscience* is pleaded for, such as are (I hope in truth) *zealous* for *God*, readily produce plenty of *Scriptures* written to the *Church*, both before and since *Christs* comming, all commanding and pressing the putting forth of the *uncleane*, the cutting off the *obstinate*, the purging out the *Leaven*, rejecting of *Heretickes*. As if because *briars*, *thornes*, and *phistles* may not be in the *Garden* of the *Church*, therefore they must all bee pluckt up out of the *Wildernes*: whereas he that is a *Briar*, that is, a *Iew*, a *Turke*, a *Pagan*, an *Anti-christian* to day, may be (when the Word of the *Lord* runs freely) a member of *Jesus Christ* to morrow cut out of the wilde *Olive*, and plant-ed into the true.

The
Church
and Civill
State con-
fusedly
made all
one.

Peace. Thirdly, from this *toleration* of persons but holding *lesser errors*,* I observe the *unmercifulnesse* of such *doctrines* and *hearts*, as if they had forgotten the *Blessednesse*, *Blessed* are the mercifull, for they shall obtaine mercy, *Math.* 5. He that is sleightly and but a little hurt, shall be *suffered*, and meanes vouchsafed for his *cure*. But the deepe *wounded sinners*, and *leprous*, *ulcerous*, and those of *bloudy issues* twelve yeares together, and those which have been bowed down 38. yeares of their *life*, they must not be suffered untill peradventure God may give them *repentance*; but either it is not lawfull for a *godly Magistrate* to rule and governe such a people (as some have said) or else if they be under *government*, and reforme not to the *State Religion* after the first and second *admonition*, the *Civill Magistrate* is bound to persecute, &c.

Persecu-
tors have
forgotten
the bles-
sednesse
promised
to the
mercifull,
Math. 5.

Truth. Such persons have need, as *Paul* to the *Romanes*, Chap. 12. 1. to be besought by the mercy of God to put on *bowels* of *mercy* toward such as have neither wronged them in *body* or *goods*, and therefore justly should not be punished in their *goods* or persons.

CHAP. XVII.

Peace. I Shall now trouble you (deare Truth) but with one conclusion more, which is this: *viz.* That if a man hold forth errour with
a boyste-

a *boysterous* and *arrogant* spirit, to the disturbance of the civill Peace, he ought to be punished, &c.

Truth. To this I have spoken too, confessing that if any man commit ought of those things which *Paul* was accused of (*Act.* 25. 11.) he ought not to be spared, yea he ought not, as *Paul* saith, in such cases to refuse to dye.

But if the *matter* be of another *nature*, a spirituall and divine *nature*, I have written before in many cases,* and might in many more, that the *Worship* which a State professeth may bee *contradicted* and *preached* against, and yet no breach of *Civill Peace*. And if a *breach* follow, it is not made by such *doctrines*, but by the boysterous and violent opposers of them.

Such persons onely breake the *Cities* or *Kingdomes* peace,* who cry out for *prison* and *swords* against such who crosse their *judgement* or *practice* in *Religion*. For as *Josephs* mistris accused *Joseph* of *uncleannesse*, and calls out for civill violence against him, when *Ioseph* was chaste, and her *selfe* guilty: So commonly the meeke and *peaceable* of the earth are traduced as *rebells*, *factionous*, *peace-breakers*, although they deale not with the *State* or *State-matters*, but *matters* of *divine* and *spirituall* nature, when their *traducers* are the onely *unpeaceable*, and guilty of *breach* of *Civill Peace*.

Peace. We are now come to the second part of the *Answer*, which is a particular examination of such *grounds* as are brought against such *persecution*.

The first sort of grounds are from the *Scriptures*.

CHAP. XVIII.

F^Irst,**Matth.* 13. 30, 38. because *Christ* commandeth to let alone the *Tares* to grow up together with the *Wheat*, untill the *Harvest*.

Unto which he answereth: That *Tares* are not *Bryars* and *Thornes*, but partly *Hypocrites*, like unto the *godly*, but indeed *carnall* (as the *Tares* are like to *Wheat*, but are not *Wheat*,) or partly such corrupt *doctrines* or *practices* as are indeed unsound, but yet such as come very near the truth (as *Tares* do to the *Wheat*) and so neer that *good* men may be taken with them, and so the persons in whom they grow cannot bee rooted out, but good *Wheat* will be rooted out with them. In such a case (saith he) *Christ* calleth for *peaceable toleration*, and not for *penall prosecution*, according to the third Conclusion.

Truth,

What persons are guilty of breach of civil peace

The most peaceable wrongfully accused of peace-breaking.

The examination of what is meant by the Tares, and the command of the L. Jesus to let them alone.

Truth. The *substance* of this *Answer* I conceive to be first *negative*,* that by *Tares* are not meant persons of another *Religion* and *Worship*, that is (saith he) they are not *Briars* and *Thornes*.

Secondly, *affirmative*, by *Tares* are meant either *persons*, or *doctrines*, or *practices*; *persons*, as *hypocrites*, like the *godly*: *doctrines* or *practices* corrupt, yet like the *truth*.

For answer hereunto I confesse that not onely those worthy *witnesses* (whose memories are sweet with all that feare God) *Calvin*, *Beza*, &c. but of later times many conjoyne with this worthy *Answerer*, to satisfie themselves and others with such an *Interpretation*.

But alas,* how darke is the soule left that desires to walke with God in holy feare and trembling, when in such a waighty and mighty point as this is, that in matters of *conscience* concerneth the spilling of the *bloud of thousands*, and the *Civill Peace* of the *World* in the taking up *Armes* to suppress all false *Religions*! when I say no *evidence* or *demonstration* of the *Spirit* is brought to prove such an *interpretation*, nor *Arguments* from the place it selfe or the *Scriptures* of truth to confirme it; but a bare Affirmation that these *Tares* must signifie *persons*, or *doctrines* and *practices*.

I will not imagine any deceitfull purpose in the *Answerers* thoughts in the proposall of these three,* *persons*, *doctrines*, or *practices*, yet dare I confidently avouch that the *Old Serpent* hath deceived their precious soules, and by *Tongue* and *Pen* would deceive the soules of others by such a *method* of dividing the word of *truth*. A threefold *Cord*, and so a threefold *Snare* is strong, and too like it is that one of the three, either *Persons*, *Doctrines*, or *Practices* may catch some feet.

The Answerers fallacious exposition that Tares signifie either Persons, Doctrines or Practices.

The Answerer barely affirming a most strange interpretation.

Sathans subtletie about the opening of Scripture.

CHAP. XIX.

Peace. **T**He place then being of such great importance as concerning the *truth of God*, the *bloud of thousands*, yea the *bloud of Saints*, and of the *Lord Iesus* in them, I shall request your more diligent search (by the Lords holy assistance) into this *Scripture*. I shall make it evident, that by these *Tares* in this *Parable* are meant *persons* in respect of their *Religion* and way of *Worship*, *open* and *visible professours*, as bad as *briars* and *thornes*; not onely suspected *Foxes*, but as bad as those *greedy Wolves* which *Paul* speakes of, *Acts* 20. who with perverse and evill *doctrines* labour spiritually to devoure the *flocke*, and to draw away *Disciples* after them, whose mouthes must be stopped, and yet no carnall

force or *weapon* to be used against them, but their *mischiefe* to bee resisted with those mighty *weapons* of the holy *Armoury* of the *Lord Jesus*, wherein there hangs a *thousand shields*, *Cant.* 4.

That the *Lord Jesus* intendeth not *doctrines* or *practices* by the *tares* in this Parable is cleare: for

First, the *Lord Jesus* expresly interpreteth the *good seed* to be *persons*, and those the children of the *Kingdome*; and the *tares* also to signifie *Men*, and those the children of the *Wicked one*, *ver.* 38.

Secondly,★ such corrupt *doctrines* or *practices* are not to bee tolerated now as those *Iewish* observations (the *Lords* owne *Ordinances*) were for a while to be permitted, *Rom.* 14. Nor so long as till the Angels the *Reapers* come to reape the Harvest in the end of the *world*. For can we thinke that because the tender Consciences of the *Iewes* were to be tendred in their *differences* of *meats*, that therefore persons must now bee tolerated in the *Church* (for I speake not of the *Civill State*) and that to the worlds end, in superstitious forbearing and forbidding of *flesh* in *Popish Lents*, and *superstitious Fridayes*, &c. and that because they were to be tendred in their observation of *Iewish Holidayes*, that therefore untill the *Harvest* or *Worlds end*, persons must now be tolerated (I meane in the *Church*) in the observation of *Popish Christmas*, *Easter*, *Whitson-tide*, and other superstitious *Popish Festivals*?

I willingly acknowledge, that if the members of a *Church of Christ* shall upon some *delusion* of *Sathan* kneele at the *Lords Supper*, keep *Christmas*, or any other *Popish observation*, great tendernesse ought to bee used in winning his soule from the errour of his way: and yet I see not that persons so practising were sit to be received into the Churches of Christ now, as the *Iewes* weake in the Faith, (that is, in the *Liberties* of *Christ*) were to be received, *Rom.* 14. 1. And least of all (as before) that the *toleration* or *permission* of such ought to continue till *Doomes day*, or the end of the *world*, as this Parable urgeth the *Toleration*: Let them alone untill the *Harvest*.

CHAP. XX.

A Gaine,★ *Hypocrites* were not intended by the *Lord Jesus* in this famous Parable.

First, the Originall word ζιζάνια, signifying all those *Weeds* which spring up with the *Corne*, as *Cockle*, *Darnell*, *Tares*, &c. seemes to imply such a kinde of people as commonly and generally are knowne to bee mani-

Toleration in Rom. 14. considered. Toleration of Jewish ceremonies for a time upon some grounds in the Jewish Church, proves not toleration of Popish and Antichristian Ceremonies in the Christian Church, although in the State.

Tares proved not to signifie hypocrites

manifestly different from,* and opposite to the true *worshippers of God*, here called the *children of the Kingdom*; as these *weeds, tares, cockle, darnell*, &c. are commonly and presently knowne by every *husbandman* to differ from the *wheat*, and to be opposite, and contrary, and hurtfull unto it.

Now whereas it is pleaded that these *tares* are like the *wheat*, and so like that this *consimilitude* or likenesse is made the ground of this *interpretation*, viz. That *tares* must needs signifie *hypocrites*, or *doctrines*, or *practices*, who are like *Gods children, Truth*, &c.

I answer, first, The *Parable* holds forth no such thing, that the likenesse of the *tares* should deceive the servants to cause them to suppose for a time that they were good *wheat*, but that as soone as ever the *tares* appeared, ver. 26. the *servants* came to the *housholder* about them, ver. 27. the Scripture holds forth no such time wherein they doubted or suspected what they were.

Peace. It may be said they did not appeare to be *tares* untill the *corne* was in the blade, and put forth its fruit.

Truth. I answer,* §The one appeared as soone as the other, for so the word clearly carries it, that the *seed* of both having been sowne, when the *wheat* appeared and put forth its blade and fruit, the *tares* also were as early, and put forth themselves as appeared also.

Secondly, there is such a *dissimilitude* or *unlikenesse*, I say such a *dissimilitude*, that as soone as *tares* and *wheat* are sprung up to blade and fruit, every *husbandman* can tell which is *wheat*, and which are *tares* and *cockle*, &c.

Peace. It may be said true: So when the *hypocrite* is manifested, then all may know him, &c. but before *hypocrites* be manifested by *fruits* they are unknowne.

I answer, search into the *Parable*, and aske when was it that the *servants* first complained of the *tares* to the *housholder*, but when they appeared or came in sight, there being no *interim*, wherein the servants could not tell what to make of them, but doubted whether they were *wheat* or *tares*, as the Answerer implies.

Secondly, when was it that the *housholder* gave charge to let them alone, but after that they appeared, and were known to be *tares*, which should imply by this *interpretation* of the Answerer, that when men are discovered and knowne to be *Hypocrites*,* yet still such a *generation of Hypocrites* in the *Church* must be let alone and tolerated untill the *harvest* or end of the world, which is contrary to all *order, piety* and *safety* in the *Church* of the Lord *Jesus*, as doubtlesse the Answerers will grant;

Hence were the witnesses of Christ Wickliff and others in H. 4. his reigne called Lollards (as some say) from *Lolia*, weeds known well enough, hence taken for signe of barrenesse: *Infelix Lolium & sterites dominantur avena*: others conceive they were so called from one Lollard, &c. but all Papists accounted them as Tares because of their profession. § The false and counterfeit Christians appeare as soon as the true and faithfull.

Hypocritical Christians.

so that those Tares being notoriously knowne to be different from the Corne,★ I conclude that they cannot here be intended by the *Lord Jesus* to signifie secret *Hypocrites*, but more open and apparent Sinners.

CHAP. XXI.

THe second reason why these *tares* cannot signifie *hypocrites* in the *Church*,★ I take from the *Lord Jesus* His own *Interpretation* of the *field* (in which both *wheat* and *tares* are sowne, which saith he is the *World*, out of which God chooseth and calleth His *Church*.

The *World* lyes in *wickednesse*, is like a *Wildernesse* or a *Sea* of wilde *Beasts* innumerable, *fornicators*, *covetous*, *Idolaters*, &c. with whom *Gods people* may lawfully converse and cohabit in *Cities*, *Townes*, &c. else must they not live in the *World*, but goe out of it, In which *world* as soone as ever the *Lord Jesus* had sowne the *good seed*, the *children* of the *Kingdome*, true *Christianity*, or the true *Church*; the *Enemy Sathan* presently in the *night* of *security*, *Ignorance* and *Errour* (whilest men slept) sowed also these *tares* which are *Antichristians* or *false Christians*. These *strange Professours* of the Name of *Jesus*, the *Ministers* and *Prophets* of *God*, beholding they are ready to runne to *Heaven* to fetch *fiery judgements* from thence to consume these *strange Christians*, and to pluck them by the *roots* out of the *world*: But the *Son of Man*, the *meek Lamb of God* (for the *Elect* sake which must be gathered out of *Jew* and *Gentile*, *Pagan*, *Antichristian*, commands a permission of them in the *World*,★ untill the time of the end of the *World*, when the *Goats* and *Sheep*, the *Tares* and *Wheat* shall be eternally separated each from other.

Peace. You know some excellent *Worthies* (dead and living) have laboured to turne this *Field* of the *World* into the *Garden* of the *Church*.

Truth. But who can imagine that the *Wisdome* of the *Father*, the *Lord Jesus Christ*,★ would so open this *Parable* (as He professedly doth) as that it should be close shut up, and that one *difficulty* or *locke* should be opened by a greater and harder, in calling the *World* the *Church*? contrary also to the way of the *Light* and *Love* that is in *Jesus*, when he would purposely teach and instruct His scholars contrary to the nature of *Parables* and *similitudes*.

And lastly, to the nature of the *Church* or *Garden of Christ*.

CHAP. XXII.

IN the former *Parable* the *Lord Jesus* compared the *Kingdome* of *Heaven* to the sowing of *Seed*.★ The true *Messengers* of *Christ* are the

Sowers,

The Tares cannot signifie Hypocrites.

Two sorts of Hypocrites: 1. In the Church as *Iudas*, *Simon Magus*, and these must be tolerated untill discovered, and no longer. 2. Hypocrites in the world which are false Christians, false Churches, & these the Lord Jesus will have let alone unto Harvest.

The Field by most, generally, but falsely interpreted the Church.

The Lord Jesus the great teacher by Parables, and the only expounder of them.

The scope of the Parable.

Sowers, who cast the *Seed* of the *Word* of the *Kingdome* upon foure *sorts* of ground,* which foure *sorts* of *ground* or *hearts* of men, cannot be supposed to be of the *Church*, nor will it ever be proved that the *Church* consisteth of any more *sorts* or *natures* of *ground* properly, but *one*, to wit, the *honest* and *good* *ground*, and the proper worke of the *Church* concerns the flourishing and prosperity of this sort of *ground*, and not the other *unconverted* three *sorts*, who it may be seldome or never come neare the *Church* unlesse they be forced by the *Civill sword*, which the *paterne* or first *sowers* never used, and being forced they are put into a way of *Religion* by such a course, if not so, they are forced to live without a *Religion*, for one of the two must necessarily follow, as I shall prove afterward.

Four sorts of ground or hearers of the word in the world and but one properly in the Church, the rest seldome come or accidentally to hear the word in the Church, which word ought to be fitted for the feeding of the Church or flocke: preaching for conversion is properly out of the Church.

In the *field* of the *World* then are all those *sorts* of *ground*, *high way* hearers, *stony* and *thorny* *ground* hearers, as well as the *honest* and *good* *ground*, and I suppose it will not now be said by the Answerer, that those three *sorts* of *bad* *grounds* were *hypocrites* or *tares* in the *Church*.

Now after the *Lord Iesus* had propounded that great *leading Parable* of the *Sower* and the *Seed*, He is pleased to propound this *Parable* of the *Tares*,* with admirable *coherence* and sweet *consolation* to the *honest* and *good* *ground*, who with glad and honest hearts having received the *word* of the *Kingdome*, may yet seem to be discouraged and troubled with so many *Antichristians* and false *Professours* of the *Name* of *Christ*. The *Lord Iesus* therefore gives *direction* concerning these *tares*, that unto the end of the *World* successively in all the *sorts* and *generations* of them they must be (not approved or countenanced, but) let alone or permitted in the *World*.

The scope of the Parable of the Tares.

Secondly, he gives to His owne *good seed* this *consolation*,* that those heavenly *Reapers* the *Angells* in the *harvest* or end of the *World*, will take an order and course with them, to wit, they shall binde them into *bundles*, and cast them into the *everlasting burnings*, and to make the cup of their *consolation* run over: He addes vers. 4. Then, then at that time shall the *Righteous* shine as the *Sun* in the *Kingdome* of their *Father*.

The Lord Iesus in this Parable of the Tares gives direction and consolation to His servants.

These *tares* then neither being erroneous *doctrines*,* nor corrupt *practises*, nor *hypocrites* in the true *Church* intended by the *Lord Iesus* in this *Parable*; I shall in the third place by the helpe of the same *Lord Iesus*) evidently prove that these *tares* can be no other sort of sinners, but false *worshippers*, *Idolaters*, and in particular properly, *Antichristians*.

The Tares proved properly to signify Anti-christians.

CHAP. XXIII.

First then, these Tares are such sinners as are opposite and contrary to the *children* of the *Kingdome* visibly so declared and manifest, ver. 38.* Now the *Kingdome* of *God* below, is the *visible Church* of Christ Jesus, according to *Matth.* 8. 12. The children of the *Kingdome* which are threatned to be cast out, seeme to be the *Jewes*, which were then the onely *visible Church* in Covenant with the Lord, when all other *Nations* followed other *gods* and *worships*. And more plaine is that fearefull *threatning*, *Matth.* 21. 43. The *Kingdome* of *God* shall be taken from you, and given to a *Nation* that will bring forth the fruits thereof.

Such then are the *good seed*, *good wheat*, *children of the Kingdome*, as are the *disciples*, *members* and *subjects* of the Lord *Iesus Christ* his *Church & Kingdom*: and therefore consequently such are the *tares*, as are opposite to these, *Idolaters*, *Will-worshippers*, not truly but falsly submitting to *Jesus*: and in especiall, the children of the *wicked* one, visibly so appearing. Which wicked one I take not to be the *Devill*; for the Lord *Jesus* seemes to make them distinct:* He that sowes the good seed (saith he) is the *Son of man*, the *field* is the *World*, the good seed are the *Children* of the *Kingdome*, but the *Tares* are the *children* of the *wicked*, or wickednesse, the *enemy* that sowed them, is the *Devill*.

The Originall here, [[του πονηροῦ]], agrees with that, *Luk.* 11. 4. Deliver us [[ἀπο τοῦ πονηροῦ]], from evill or *wickednesse*; opposite to the children of the *Kingdome* and the *righteousnesse* thereof.

CHAP. XXIV.

Peace. IT is true, that all *drunkards*, *thieves*, *uncleane persons*, &c. are opposite to *Gods children*.

Truth. Answ. Their opposition here against the *children* of the *Kingdome*, is such an opposition as properly sights against the *Religious state* or *Worship* of the Lord *Jesus Christ*.

Secondly, it is manifest, that the Lord *Jesus* in this parable intends no other sort of sinners, unto whom he saith, Let them alone, in *Church* or *State*; for then he should contradict other holy and blessed *ordinances* for the punishment of offenders both in *Christian* and *Civill State*.

First, in *Civill state*, from the beginning of the *World*, God hath armed

Math. 8. 12
Mat. 21. 43
Gods king-
dome on
Earth the
visible
Church.

The difference be-
tween the
Wheat &
the Tares,
as also be-
tween these
Tares and
all other.

med *Fathers, Masters, Magistrates*, to punish evill doers,* that is, such of whose actions *Fathers, Masters, Magistrates* are to judge, and accordingly to punish such sinners as transgresse against the good and peace of their Civill state, *Families, Townes, Cities, Kingdomes*: their *States, Governments, Governours, Lawes, Punishments* and *Weapons* being all of a *Civill nature*:* and therefore neither *disobedience* to *parents* or *magistrates*, nor *murther* nor *quarrelling*, *uncleannesse* nor *lasciviousnesse*, *stealing* nor *extortion*, neither ought of that kinde ought to be let alone, either in lesser or greater *families, townes, cities, kingdomes*, Rom. 13. but seasonably to be suppress, as may best conduce to the *publike safetie*.

Civill Magistracie from the beginning of the World.

Offenders against the Civill lawes not to be perpetually tolerated. Nor offenders in the Church of Christ Jesus to be suffered.

Againe secondly, in the *Kingdome* of *Christ Iesus*, whose *kingdoms, officers, lawes, punishments, weapons*, are spirituall and of a Soule-nature, he will not have *Antichristian idolaters, extortioners, covetous, &c.* to be let alone, but the *uncleane* and *lepers* to be thrust forth, the old *leaven* purged out, the *obstinate* in sinne spiritually *stoned to death*, and put away from Israel; and this by many degrees of gentle *admonition* in *private* and *publique*, as the case requires.

Therefore if neither *offenders* against the *civill Lawes, State* and *peace* ought to be let alone; nor the *Spirituall estate*, the *Church* of *Iesus Christ* ought to beare with them that are *evill*, Revel. 2. I conclude, that these are sinners of another nature, *Idolaters, False-worshippers, Antichristians*, who without discouragement to true Christians must be let alone and permitted in the world to grow and fill up the measure of their sinnes, after the *image* of him that hath sowed them, untill the great Harvest shall make the *difference*.

CHAP. XXV.

THirdly, in that the *officers* unto whom these *Tares* are referred, are the *Angels* the heavenly *Reapers* at the last day, it is cleare as the *light*,* that (as before) these *Tares* cannot signifie *Hypocrites* in the *Church*, who when they are discovered and seen to be *Tares* opposite to the good fruit of the good seed, are not to be let alone to the *Angels* at Harvest or end of the world, but purged out by the *Governors* of the *Church*, and the whole *Church* of *Christ*. Againe, they cannot be offenders against the *civill state* and Common welfare, whose dealing with is not suspended unto the comming of the *Angels*, but unto Men, who

The great Reapers are the Angels.

who (although they know not the Lord *Jesus Christ*, yet) are lawfull *Governours* and *Rulers* in *Civill things*.

Accordingly in the 4. and last place, in that the plucking up of these *tares* out of this *field* must bee let alone unto the very *harvest* or end of the *world*, it is apparent from thence, that (as before) they could not signifie *hypocrites* in the *Church*, who when they are discovered to be so, (as these *tares* were discovered to be *tares*) are not to be suffered (after the first and second Admonition) but to be rejected, and every Brother that walketh disorderly to be withdrawen or separated from: So likewise no offendour against the *Civill state*, by *robbery*, *murther*, *adultery*, *oppression*, *sedition*, *mutinie*, is for ever to be connived at, and to enjoy a perpetuall *toleration* unto the *Worlds end*, as these *tares* must.

Moses for a while held his peace against the *sedition* of *Korah*, *Dathan*,[★] and *Abiram*. *David* for a season tolerated *Shimei*, *Joab*, *Adonijah*; but till the *Harvest* or end of the *World*, the *Lord* never intended that any but these *spirituall* and *mysticall Tares* should be so permitted.

CHAP. XXVI.

NOW if any imagine that the time or date is long,[★] that in the meane season they may doe a *world of mischiefe* before the *Worlds end*, as by infection, &c.

Truth. First, I answer, that as the *civill State* keepes it selfe with a *civill Guard*, in case these *Tares* shall attempt ought against the *peace* and *welfare* of it, let such *civill offences* be punished, and yet as *Tares* opposite to *Christs Kingdome*, let their *Worship* and *Consciencs* be tolerated.

Secondly, the *Church* or *spirituall State*, *City*, or *Kingdome* hath *lawes*, and *orders*, and *armories*, (whereon there hang a thousand *Bucklers*, *Cant.* 4.) *Weapons* and *Ammunition*, able to break down the strongest *Holds*, 1 *Cor.* 10. and so to defend it selfe against the very *Gates of Earth* or *Hell*.

Thirdly, the *Lord* himself knows who are his, & his *foundation* remaineth sure, his *Elect* or chosen cannot perish nor be finally deceived.

Lastly, the *Lord Jesus* here in this Parable layes downe two *Reasons*, able to content and satisfie our *hearts*, to beare patiently this their *contradiction* and *Antichristianity*, and to permit or let them alone.

First, lest the good Wheat bee pluckt up and rooted up also out of this *Field* of the *World*, if such *combustions* and *fightings* were, as to pluck up all the false professors of the name of *Christ*, the good wheat also would

The Tares
to be toler-
ated the
longest of
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would enjoy little peace, but be in danger to bee pluckt up and torne out of this world by such bloody *stormes and tempests*.

And therefore as *Gods people* are commanded, *Ier.* 29. to pray for the peace of *materiall Babell*, wherein they were captivated, and 1 *Time.* 2. to pray for all men, and specially *Kings and Governors*, that in the peace of the *civill State* they may have peace. So contrary to the opinion and practice of most (drunke with the Cup of the *Whores fornication*) yea, and of *Gods owne people* fast asleepe in *Antichristian Dalilahs* laps, *obedience* to the command of *Christ* to let the *tares* alone, will prove the onely meanes to preserve then *Civill Peace*, and that without obedience to this command of *Christ*, it is impossible (without great transgression against the *Lord* in carnall policy, which will not long hold out to preserve the *civill peace*).

Beside, *Gods people* the good *Wheat* are generally pluckt up and persecuted, as well as the vilest idolaters, whether *Jewes* or *Antichristians*, which the *Lord Jesus* seemes in this *Parable* to foretell. The second *Reason* noted in the *Parable* which may satisfie any man from wondring at the *patience* of *God*,[★] is this: when the *world* is ripe in sinne, in the sinnes of *Antichristianisme* (as the *Lord* spake of the sinnes of the *Amorites*, *Gen.* 12.) then those holy and mighty *Officers* and *Executioners*, the *Angels*, with their sharpe and cutting *sickles* of eternall vengeance, shall downe with them, and bundle them up for the *everlasting burnings*.

The great
& dread-
full Har-
vest.

Then shall that *Man of Sin*, 2 *Thess.* 2. be consumed by the breath of the mouth of the *Lord Jesus*, and all that *worship* the *Beast* and his picture, and receive his *mark* into their *forehead* or their *hands*, shall drink of the *Wine* of the *wrath of God* which is poured out without mixture into the Cup of his *indignation*, and he shall be tormented with *fire and brimstone* in the presence of the holy *Angels*, and in the presence of the *Lambe*, and the smoake of their *torment* shall ascend up for ever and ever, *Rev.* 14. 10. 11.

CHAP. XXVII.

Peace. YOu have beene larger in vindicating this Scripture from the violence offerred unto it, because as I said before, it is of such great consequence, as also because so many excellent *hands* have not rightly divided it, to the great misguiding of many *precious feet*, which

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other-

otherwise might have been turned into the paths of more *peaceableness* in *themselves* and towards *others*.

Truth. I shall be briefer in the *Scriptures* following.★ *Peace.* Yet before you depart from this, I must crave your patience to satisfy one *Objection*, and that is; These servants to whom the *Housholder* answereth, seem to be the *Ministers* or *Messengers* of the *Gospel*, not the *Magistrates* of the *civill State*, and therefore this charge of the Lord Jesus is not given to *Magistrates* to let alone *false worshippers* and *idolaters*.

Again, being spoken by the *Lord Jesus* to his *Messengers*, it seems to concern *Hypocrites* in the *Church*, as before was spoken, and not *false worshippers* in the *State* or *World*.

Truth. I answer, first,★ I believe I have sufficiently and abundantly proved, that these *tares* are not *offenders* in the *civill State*. Nor secondly, *Hypocrites* in the *Church*, when once discovered so to be, and that therefore the *Lord Jesus* intends a grosser kinde of *Hypocrites*, professing the name of *Churches* and *Christians* in the field of the *World* or *Commonwealth*.

Secondly, I acknowledge this command [Let them alone] was expressly spoken to the *Messengers* or *Ministers* of the *Gospel*, who have no *civill power* or *authority* in their hand, and therefore not to the *civill Magistrate*, *King*, or *Governour*, to whom it pleased not the *Lord Jesus* by *himselfe* or by his *Apostles* to give particular *Rules* or *directions* concerning their *behaviour* and carriage in *Civill Magistracy*, as they have done expressly concerning the duty of *fathers*, *mothers*, *children*, *masters*, *servants*, yea and of *Subjects* towards *Magistrates*, *Ephes. 5. & 6. Colos. 3. & 4. &c.*

I conceive not the reason of this to be (as some weakly have done) because the Lord Jesus would not have any *followers* of his to hold the place of *civill Magistracy*, but rather that he foresaw, and the *Holy Spirit* in the *Apostles* foresaw how few *Magistrates*,★ either in the first persecuted, or apostated state of Christianity would embrace his yoke: in the persecuted state, *Magistrates* hated the very name of Christ or Christianity: In the state apostate some few *Magistrates* (in their persons holy and precious, yet) as concerning their places, as they have professed to have been *Governours* or *Heads* of the *Church*, have been so many false *Heads*, and have constituted so many false visible *Christs*.

Thirdly, I conceive this charge of the Lord Jesus to his *Messengers* the *Preachers* and *Proclaimers* of his minde, is a sufficient declaration

The charge of Christ Jesus, Let alone the Tares, was not spoken to *Magistrates*, *Ministers* of the *civill state*, but to *Ministers* of the *Gospel*.

The *civill Magistrate* not so particularly spoken to as *Fathers* and *Masters* in the *New Testament*, and why. *Eph. 5. 6. Col. 3. 4. &c.*

A twofold state of Christianity, the persecuted under the *Roman Emperors*, and the *Apostate* ever since.

of the minde of the *Lord Jesus*, if any *civill Magistrate* should make question what were his *duty* concerning *spirituall* things.

The *Apostles*, and in them all that succeed them, being commanded not to pluck up the *Tares*, but let them alone, received from the *Lord Jesus* a threefold charge.

First,★ to let them alone, and not to plucke them up by prayer to *God* for their present temporall *destruction*.

Jeremie had a Commission to plant and build, to pluck up and destroy *Kingdomes*, *Ier.* 1. 10. therefore hee is commanded not to pray for that people whom *God* had a purpose to pluck up, *Ier.* 14 11. and he plucks up the whole *Nation* by prayer, *Lament.* 3. 66. Thus *Elijah* brought fire from *heaven* to consume the *Captaines* and the *fifties*, 2 *King.* 1. and the *Apostles* desired also so to practise against the *Samaritanes*, *Luc.* 9. 54. but were reprov'd by the *Lord Jesus*. For contrarily, the *Saints* and *Servants* and *Churches* of *Christ* are to pray for *all men*, especially for all *Magistrates* (of what sort or *Religions* soever) and to seeke the peace of the *City* (what ever *City* it be) because in the peace of the place *Gods* people have peace also, *Ier.* 29. 7. 2 *Tim.* 2. &c.

Secondly, *Gods Messengers* are herein commanded not to prophesie or denounce a *present destruction* or *extirpation* of all false *professours* of the name of *Christ*, which are *whole Townes*, *Cities*, and *Kingdomes* full.

Jeremy did thus pluck up *Kingdomes* in those fearfull Prophecies hee poured forth against all the *Nations* of the *World*, throughout his Chap. 24. 25. 26. &c. as did also the other Prophets in a measure, though none comparably to *Ieremy* and *Ezekiel*.

Such *denunciations* of present temporall judgements are not the *Messengers* of the *Lord Jesus* to poure forth. Tis true, many fore and fearfull *plagues* are poured forth upon the *Romane Emperours* and *Romane Popes* in the *Revelation*, yet not to their utter *extirpation* or *plucking* up untill the *Harvest*.

Thirdly, I conceive *Gods Messengers* are charged to let them alone and not pluck them up, by exciting and stirring up *Civill Magistrates*, *Kings*, *Emperours*, *Governours*, *Parliaments*, or *Generall Courts* or *Assemblies*, to punish and persecute all such persons out of their *Dominions* and *Territories*, as worship not the true *God* according to the revealed will of *God* in *Christ Jesus*.★ 'Tis true *Elijah* thus stirred up *Ahab* to kill all the *Priests* and *Prophets* of *Baal*, but that was in that *figurative* state of the Land of *Canaan* (as I have already and shall further

Christs Messengers receive a threefold charge in that prohibition of Christ, Let them alone. Gods people not to pray for the present ruine and destruction of idolaters, although their persecutors, but for their peace and salvations. The word of God rightly denounced plucks up kingdoms.

Gods Ministers are not to provoke Magistrates to persecute Antichristians.

manifest) not to be matcht or paralleld by any other *State*, but the *spirituall State* or *Church* of Christ in all the world,★ putting the false *Prophets* and *Idolaters* spiritually to death by the two-edged sword and power★ of the *Lord Jesus*, as that *Church of Israel* did corporally.

And therefore saith *Paul* expresly, 1 *Cor.* 5. 10.★ we must goe out of the world, in case we may not company in civill converse with *Idolaters* &c.

Peace. It may be said some sorts of sinners are there mentioned, as *Drunkards*, *Raylers*, *Extortioners*, who are to bee punished by the *Civill Sword*, why not *Idolaters* also? for although the Subject may lawfully converse, buy and sell, and live with such, yet the *Civill Magistrate* shall neverthelesse be justly blamed in suffering of them.

Truth. I answer,★ the *Apostle* in this *Scripture* speakes not of permission of either, but expresly shoves the difference betweene the *Church* and the *World*, and the lawfulness of conversation with such persons in *civill things*, with whom it is not lawfull to have converse in *spirituals*: secretly withall foretelling, that *Magistrates* and *People*, whole *States* and *Kingdomes* should bee *Idolatrous* and *Anti-christian*, yet with whom notwithstanding the *Saints* and *Churches* of *God* might lawfully cohabit, and hold *civill converse and conversation*. Concerning their permission of what they judge *Idolatrous*, I have and shall speake at large.

Peace. Oh how contrary unto this command of the *Lord Jesus* have★ such as have conceived themselves the true *Messengers* of the *Lord Iesus*, in all ages, not let such *Professours* and *Prophets* alone, whom they have judged *Tares*, but have provoked *Kings* and *Kingdomes* (and some one of good intentions and zeale to *God*) to prosecute and persecute such even unto death? Amongst whom *Gods people* (the *good wheat*) hath also beene pluckt up, as all *Ages* and *Histories* testifie, and too too oft the *World* laid upon bloody heapes in *civill* and *intestine desolations* on this occasion. All which would bee prevented, and the greatest breaches made up in the peace of our owne or other *Countries*, were this command of the *Lord Jesus* obeyed, to wit, to let them alone untill the *Harvest*.

CHAP. XXVIII.

I Shall conclude this controversie about this *Parable* in this brieve sum and *recapitulation* of what hath beene said, I hope by the evident demonstration

1 Pet. 2. 9.
1 Cor. 5.

Companying
with idolaters,
1 Cor. 5
discussed.

Lawfull
converse
with idolaters
in civill, but
not in spiritual
things.

Dangerous
and ungrounded
zeale.

monstration of Gods Spirit to the conscience I have proved Negatively.

First, that the *Tares* in this *Parable* cannot signifie *Doctrines* or *Practices* (as was affirmed) but *Persons*.

Secondly, the *Tares* cannot signifie Hypocrites in the Church either undiscovered or discovered.

Thirdly, the *Tares* here cannot signifie *Scandalous Offenders* in the Church.

Fourthly, nor scandalous offenders in *life* and *conversation* against the *Civill state*.

Fifthly, The field in which these *Tares* are sowne, is not the Church.

Againe affirmatively: First, the *Field* is properly the *World*, the *Civill State* or *Common-wealth*.

Secondly, The *Tares* here intended by the Lord *Iesus*, are *Anti-christian idolaters*, opposite to the good seed of the *Kingdome*, true *Christians*.

Thirdly, the *ministers* or *messengers* of the Lord *Iesus* ought to let them alone to live in the world, and neither seeke by *prayer* or *prophesie* to pluck them up before the *Harvest*.

Fourthly, this permission or suffering of them in the field of the *World*, is not for hurt, but for common good, even for the good of the good Wheat, the people of God

Lastly, the *patience* of God is, and the *patience* of Men ought to be exercised toward them, and yet notwithstanding their *doome* is fearfull at the *harvest*, even *gathering*, *bundling*, and *everlasting burnings* by the mighty hand of the *Angels* in the end of the World.

CHAP. XXIX.

Peace. THE second Scripture brought against such persecution for cause of *Conscience*,* is *Matth. 15. 14.* where the *Disciples* being troubled at the *Pharises* cariage toward the Lord *Iesus* and his *doctrines*, and relating how they were offended at him, the Lord *Iesus* commandeth his *Disciples* to let them alone, and gives this reason, that the *blinde* lead the *blinde*, and both should fall into the *ditch*.

Matth. 15.
14. the second Scripture controverted in this cause.

Unto which, Answer is made, "That it makes nothing to "the Cause, because it was spoken to his private *Disciples*, and "not to publique Officers in *Church* or *State*: and also, because

“it was spoken in regard of not troubling themselves, or regarding the offence which the *Pharises* tooke.

Truth. I answer, (to passe by his *assertion* of the *privacie* of the *Apostles*) in that the Lord *Jesus* commanding to let them alone, that is, not onely not be offended themselves, but not to meddle with them; it appears it was no *ordinance* of *God* nor *Christ* for the *Disciples* to have gone further, and have complained to,★ and excited the *Civill Magistrate* to his duty: which if it had been an *Ordinance* of *God* and *Christ*, either for the vindicating of Christs *doctrine*, or the *recovering* of the *Pharises*, or the *preserving* of others from *infection*, the Lord *Iesus* would never have commanded them to omit that which should have tended to these holy ends.

Christ Jesus never directed his Disciples to the civill Magistrate for help in his cause.

CHAP. XXX.

Peace. IT may be said, that neither the *Romane Cæsar*, nor *Herod*, nor *Pilate* knew ought of the true *God*, or of *Christ*; and it had been in vaine to have made complaint to them who were not sit and *competent*, but *ignorant* and *opposite* Iudges.

Truth. I answer first,★ this removes (by the way) that *stumbling block* which many fall at, to wit, *Pauls* appealing to *Cæsar*; which since he could not in common sense doe unto *Cæsar* as a competent *Iudge* in such cases, and wherein he should have also denied his own *Apostleship* or office, in which regard (to wit in matters of *Christ*) he was higher then *Cæsar* himselfe: it must needs follow, that his *appeale* was meerly in respect of his *Civill wrongs*, and false accusations of *sedition*, &c.

Secondly, if it had been an *Ordinance* of *God*, that all *Civill Magistrates* were bound to judge in causes *spirituall* or *Christian*, as to suppress *heresies*, defend the *faith* of *Iesus*; although that *Cæsar*, *Herod*, *Pilate* were wicked, ignorant and opposite, yet the *Disciples* and the Lord *Christ* himselfe had been bound to have performed the duty of faithfull Subjects, for the preventing of further evill, and the clearing of themselves, and so to have left the matter upon the *Magistrates* care and conscience, by complaining unto the Magistrate against such evils; for every person is bound to goe so far as lies in his power for the preventing and the redressing of evill; and where it stops in any, and runs nor cleere, there the guilt, like filth or mud, will lie.

Thirdly, had it been the holy purpose of *God* to have established the
doctrine

Pauls appealing to Cæsar. Civill Magistrates never appointed by God, Defenders of the Faith of Jesus. Every one is bound to put forth himselfe to his utmost power in Gods businesse; & where it stops, the guilt will lie.

doctrine and kingdome of his Son this way, since his comming, he would have furnished Common-weales, Kingdomes, Cities, &c. then and since, with such temporall Powers and Magistrates as should have been excellently sit and competent: for he that could have had legions of Angels, if he so pleased, could as easily have been, and still be furnished with legions of good and gracious Magistrates to this end and purpose.*

Christ could have easily been furnished with godly Magistrates, if he had so appointed,

CHAP. XXXI.

IT is generally said, that God hath in former rimes, and doth still, and will hereafter stirre up Kings and Queenes, &c.

I answer, that place of *Isa.* 49. 23. will appeare to be far from proving such Kings and Queenes Iudges of Ecclesiasticall causes: and if not Iudges, they may not punish.

In Spirituall things, themselves are subject to the Church, and censures of it, although in Civill respects superior. How shall those Kings and Queenes be supreme Governours of the Church, and yet lick the dust of the Churches feet?* as it is there exprest.

Thirdly, Gods Israel of old were earnest with God for a King, for an Arme of Flesh, for a King to protect them, as other Nations had. Gods Israel still have ever been restlesse with God for an Arme of flesh.

God gave them *Saul* in his anger, and took him away in his wrath: And God hath given many a *Saul* in his Anger, that is, an Arm of Flesh in the way of his Providence, (though I judge not all persons whom *Saul* in his Calling typed out, to be of *Sauls* spirit) for I speake of a State and outward visible Power only.

I adde, God will take away such stayes on whom Gods people rest, in his wrath, that King *David*, that is, *Christ Iesus* the *Antitype*, in his own *Spirituall* power in the hands of the Saints, may spiritually and for ever be advanced.

And therefore I conclude, it was in one respect that the *Lord Iesus* said, Let them alone, because it was no Ordinance for any *Disciple* of *Iesus* to prosecute the *Pharises* at *Cæsars* Bar.

Beside, let it be seriously considered by such as plead for present *corporall punishment*, as conceiving that such sinners (though they breake nor Civill peace) should not escape unpunished, I say, let it be considered, though for the present their punishment is deferred, yet the *punishment* inflicted on them will be found to amount to an higher pitch
then

Gods Israel earnest with God for an Arme of Flesh, which God gives in his anger, and takes away in his wrath. The punishment of blind Pharises, though let alone, yet is greater then any corporall punishment in the world, in 4 respects.

then any *corporall punishment* in the *World* beside, and that in these foure respects.

CHAP. XXXII.

First by just judgement from God *false teachers* are starke *blinde*, Gods *sword* hath stricke out the right *eye* of their *minde* and *spirituall understanding*,* ten thousand times a greater punishment then if the *Magistrate* should command both the *right* and *left eye* of their *bodies* to be bored or pluckt out, and that in so many fearfull respects if the blindness of the *soule* and of the *body* were a little compared together, whether we looke at that want of *guidance*, or the want of *joy* and *pleasure*, which the light of the eye affordeth; or whether we looke at the *damage*, *shame*, *deformity* and *danger*, which *blindnesse* brings to the outward man, and much more true in the *want* of the former, and *miseris* of the latter in *spirituall* and *soule* blindness to all *eternity*.

Secondly, how fearfull is that wound that no *Balme* in *Gilead* can cure? How dreadfull is that blindness which for ever to all eye-salve is incurable? For if persons be wilfully and desperately obstinate (after light shining forth) let them alone faith the *Lord*.* So spake the *Lord* once of *Ephraim*, *Ephraim* is joyned to *Idolls*, let him alone, *Hos.* 7. what more lamentable condition then when the *Lord* hath given a poor sinner over as a hopelesse *patient*, incurable, which we are wont to account a sorer affliction, then if a man were torne and rack'd, &c.

And this I speake not that I conceive that all whom the *Lord Iesus* commands His servants to passe from, and let alone, to permit and tolerate (when it is in their power corporally to molest them) I say that all are thus incurable, yet that sometimes that word is spoken by Christ *Iesus* to His servants to be patient, for neither can corporall or spirituall *Balme* or *Physicke* ever heale or cure them.

Thirdly, their end is the *Ditch*, that bottomlesse pit of everlasting *separation* from the holy and sweet Presence of the *Father of Lights*, *Goodnesse* and *Mercy* it self,* *endlesse*, *easelesse*, in *extremity*, *universality*, and *eternity* of *torments*, which most direfull and lamentable downfall, should strike a holy fear & trembling into all that see the *Pit*, whithese blinde Pharises are tumbling, and cause us to strive so far as hope may be) by the spirituall eye-salve of the Word of *God* to heale and cure their soule-destroying blindness.

Fourthly, of those that fall into this dreadfull *Ditch*, both leader and followers, how deplorable in more especiall manner is the *leaders* case, upon

The eye of the soul struck out is worse then for both right and left eye of the body to be stricke out tenne thousand times.

Some soules incurable, whom not only corporall but spirituall physicke can nothing availe.

The bottomlesse pit or ditch into which the spiritually blind fall.

upon whose necke the *followers* tumble, the ruine not only of his owne soule, being horrible, but also the ruine of the followers soules eternally galling and tormenting.

Peace. Some will say these things are indeed full of horreur, yet such is the state of all sinners and of many Malefactours, whom yet the State is bound to punish, and sometimes by *death* it selfe.

Truth. I answer, The Civill Magistrate beareth not the sword in vaine, but to cut off *Civill offences*, yea and the offendours too in case: But what is this to a blinde *Pharisee*, resisting the *Doctrine* of *Christ*, who happily may be as good a subject, and as peaceable and profitable to the *Civill State* as any, and for his spirituall offence against the *Lord Jesus*, in denying Him to be the true *Christ*, he suffereth the vengeance of a *dreadfull judgement* both present and eternall, as before.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Peace. **Y**Ea but it is said that the blinde *Pharises* misguiding the subjects of a *Civill State*,* greatly sinne against a *Civill State*, and therefore justly suffer *civill punishment*; for shall the *Civill Magistrate* take care of *outsides* only, to wit, of the bodies of men, and not of soules, in labouring to procure their everlasting welfare?

Truth. I answer, It is a *truth*, the mischief of a blinde *Pharises* blinde *guidance* is greater then if he acted Treasons, Murders, &c. and the losse of one soule by his seduction is a greater mischief then if he blew up Parliaments, and cuts the throats of Kings or Emperours, so pretious is that invaluable Jewell of a Soul, above all the present lives and bodies of all the men in the world I and therefore a firme Justice calling for *eye for eye, tooth for tooth, life for life*; calls also *soule for soule*, which the blinde-guiding seducing *Pharisee* shall surely pay in that dreadfull Ditch, which the Lord Jesus speakes of, but this sentence against him the Lord Jesus only pronounceth in His *Church*, His *spirituall judicature*, and executes this *sentence* in part at present and hereafter to all eternity: Such a *sentence* no *Civill Iudge* can passe, such a *Death* no *Civill sword* can inflict.

I answer secondly, *Dead men* cannot be infected, the *civill state* the *world*, being in a naturall state dead in sin (what ever be the *State-Religion* unto which *persons* are forced) it is impossible it should be infected: Indeed the *living*, the *beleiving*, the *Church* and *spirituall state*, that and that onely is capable of *infection*; for whose helpe we shall presently

Soul killing the chiefest murder. No Magistrate can execute true justice in killing soule for soule, but Christ Jesus who by typical death in the Law, typed out spirituall in the Gospel. A great mistake in most to conceive that dead men, that is, soules dead in sin may be infected by false doctrine.

see what *preservatives*, and *remedies* the *Lord Iesus* hath appointed.

Moreover as we see in a *common plague* or *infection* the names are taken how many are to dye,* and not one more shall be stricke, then the destroying *Angel* hath the names of. So here, what ever be the soule *infection* breathed out from they lying lips of a *plague-sicke Pharisee*, yet the names are taken, not one *elect* or chosen of *God* shall perish, *Gods sheep* are safe in His *eternall hand* and *counsell*, and he that knowes his *materiall*, knows also his *mysticall stars*, their *numbers*, and calls them every one by *name*, none fall into the *Ditch* on the blinde *Pharises* backe, but such as were *ordained* to that *condemnation*, both *guid* and *followers*, 1 *Pet.* 2. 8. *Jude* 4. The *vessells* of *wrath* shall breake and split, and only they to the praise of *Gods eternall justice*, *Rom.* 9.

CHAP. XXXIV.

Peace. **B**Ut it is said, be it granted that in a *common plague* or *infection* none are smitten and dye but such as are appointed, yet it is not only every mans duty, but the common duty of the Magistrate to prevent *infection*, and to preserve the *common health* of the place; likewise though the number of the *Elect* be sure, and *God* knowes who are His, yet hath He appointed meanes for their *preservation* from *perdition*, and from *infection*, and therefore the *Angel* is blamed for suffering *Balaams* doctrine, and *Jesabel* to seduce Christ Iesus His servants, *Rev.* 2. *Tit.* 3. 10. *Rom.* 16. 17.

Truth. I answer,* Let that Scripture and that of *Titus* reject an *Heretike*, and *Rom.* 16. 17. avoid them that are *contentious*, &c. let them, and all of like nature be examined, and it will appeare that the great and good *Physitian Christ Iesus*, the *Head* of the *Body*, and *King* of the *Church* hath not been unfaithfull in providing spirituall *antidotes* and *preservatives* against the spirituall *sicknesses*, *sores*, *weaknosses*, *dangers* of his *Church* and people; but he never appointed the *civill sword* for either *antidote* or *remedy*, as an *addition* to those *spiritualls*, which he hath left with his *wife*, his *Church* or People.

Hence how great is the *bondage*, the *captivity* of *Gods owne People* to *Babylonish* or *confused mixtures* in *Worship*,* and unto worldly and earthly policies to uphold *State Religions* or *Worships*, since that which is written to the *Angel* and *Church* at *Pergamus*, shall be interpreted as sent to the Governour and City of *Pergamus*, and that which is sent to *Titus*, and the Church of Christ at *Creet* must be delivered to the civill officers and City thereof.

But

All naturall men being dead in sin, yet none die everlastingly but such as are thereunto ordained.

The Lord Iesus hath not lest his Church without spirituall antidotes and remedies against infection.

The miserable bondage Gods people live in.

But as the *Civill Magistrate* hath his charge of the *bodies* and *goods* of the *subject*: So have the *spirituall Officers, Governours* and *overseers* of *Christs City* or *Kingdome*, the charge of their *souls*, and *soule safety*: Hence that charge of *Paul* to *Tim.* 1 *Tim.* 5. 20. Them that sinne *rebuke* before all, that others may learne to *fear*. This is in the Church of Christ a spirituall meanes for the *healing* of a *soule* that hath sinned, or taken *infection*, and for the preventing of the infecting of others, that others may learne to feare, &c.

CHAP. XXXV.

Peace. IT is said true that *Titus* and *Timothy*, and so the Officers of the Church of Christ are bound to prevent *soule infection*: But what hinders that the Magistrate should not be charged also with this duty?

Truth. I answer, many things I have answered, and more shall; at present I shall only say this:★ If it be the *Magistrate* duty or office, then is he both a *Temporall* and *Ecclesiasticall* officer; contrary to which most men will affirme: and yet we know the policie of our owne Land and Country hath established to the *Kings* and *Queens* thereof, the supreme *heads* or *governours* of the Church of England.

The Kings and Queens of England Governours of the Church.

That *doctrine* and *distinction* that a *Magistrate* may punish an *Heretick* civilly will not here availe;★ for what is *Babel* if this be not confusedly to punish *corporall* or *civill offences* with *spirituall* or *Church censures* (the offendour not being a member of it) or to punish★ *soule* or *spirituall* offences with *corporall* or *temporall weapons* proper to *Delinquents* against the *temporall* or *civill state*.

Strange confusion in punishments.

Lastly, woe were it with the *civill Magistrate* (and most intolerable *burthens* do they lay upon their backs that teach this *doctrine*) if together with the common care and charge of the *Commonwealth* (the peace and safety of the *Towne, City, State* or *Kingdome*) the bloud of every *soule* that perisheth should cry against him, unlesse he could say with *Paul, Acts* 20. (in spirituall regards) I am clear from the *bloud* of all men, that is the bloud of *soules*, which was his charge to looke after,★ so far as his *preaching* went, not the bloud of *bodies* which belongeth to the *civill Magistrate*.

Woe were it with the civill Magistrate if he bloud of soules (beside the ordinary care of the bodies and goods of the subject) should cry against him.

I acknowledge he ought to cherish (as a foster-father) the Lord *Jesus* in his *truth*, in his *Saints*, to cleave unto them *himselve*, and

The Magistrates duties toward the Church the Spouse of Christ.

to *countenance* them even to the *death*, yea also to breake the teeth of the *Lions*, who offer Civill violence and injury unto them. But, to see all his Subjects *Christians*, to keepe such *Church* or *Christians* in the purity of worship, and see them doe their *duty*, this belongs to the *Head* of the *Body Christ Iesus*, and such spirituall Officers as he hath to this purpose deputed, whose right it is according to the true paterne:★ *Abimelech*, *Saul*, *Adonijah*, *Athalia* were but usurpers: *David*, *Salomon*, *Ioash*, &c. they were the true *heires* and *types* of *Christ Iesus* in His true *Power* and *Authority* in His Kingdome.

Usurpers and true heires of the spirituall Crowne of Jesus.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Peace. **T**HE next Scripture brought against such persecution is *Luke* 9. 54, 55.★ where the Lord Jesus reproveth His Disciples, who would have had fire come downe from Heaven, and devoure those *Samaritanes* that would not receive Him in these words: You know not of what *spirit* you are, the Son of Man is not come to *destroy* mens lives, but to *save* them. With this Scripture Mr. *Cotton* joynes the fourth, and answers both in one, which is this, 2 *Tim.* 2. 24. The servant of the Lord must not strive, but must be gentle toward all men, suffering the *evill men*, instructing them with *meeknesse* that are contrary minded and *oppose* themselves, proving if *God* peradventure will give them *repentance* that they may acknowledge the *truth*, and that they may recover themselves out of the snare of the *Divell* who are taken *captive* by him at his *will*.

Unto both these *Scriptures* it pleaseth him thus to answer: “Both these are *directions* to *Ministers* of the *Gospel* how to deale “(not with obstinate offenders in the *Church* who sin against *conscience*, but) either with *men* without as the *Samaritanes* were, and “many unconverted *Christians* in *Creet*, whom *Titus* (as an *Evan-gelist*) was to seek to convert:

“Or at best with some *Jewes* or *Gentiles* in the *Church*, who “though carnall, yet were not convinced of the error of their “way: And it is true it became not the Spirit of the *Gospel* to convert Aliens to the *Faith* (such as the *Samaritanes* were) by fire “and brimstone,★ nor to deale harshly in *publicke Ministry* or private conference with all such severall minded men as either had “not

Luke 9. 54. 55 discussed.

An excellent saying of persecutors themselves,

“not yet entred into *Church fellowship*, or if they had did hitherto sin “of *ignorance*, not against *Conscience*: But neither of both these Texts “doe hinder the *Minister* of the *Gospel* to proceed in a *Church* way “against *Church members*, when they become scandalous offenders “either in *life* or *doctrine*, much lesse doe they speake at all to the “*Civill Magistrate*.

CHAP. XXXVII.

Truth. **T**HIS perplexed and ravelled *Answer*, wherein so many things and so doubtfull are wrapt up and intangled together, I shall take in pieces.

First,* concerning that of the *Lord Jesus* rebuking his *Disciples* for their rash and ignorant bloody *zeale* (*Luc. 9.*) desiring *corporall destruction* upon the *Samaritanes* for refusing the *Lord Iesus*, &c. the *Answerer* affirmeth, that hindreth not the *Ministers* of the *Gospell* to proceed in a *Church* way against scandalous offenders, which is not here questioned, but maintained to bee the holy will of the *Lord*, and a sufficient censure and punishment, if no civill offence against the *Civill State* be committed.

The Answerer when he should speake to toleration in the State, runnes to punishments in the Church, which none can deny.

Secondly (saith hee) “Much lesse doth this speake at all to the “*Civill Magistrate*.

Where I observe that he implyes that beside the *censure* of the *Lord Jesus*, in the hands of his *spirituall governours*, for any spirituall evill in *life* or *doctrine*,* the *Civill Magistrate* is also to inflict *corporall punishment* upon the contrary minded: whereas

First, if the *Civill Magistrate* be a *Christian*, a *Disciple* or follower of the meeke *Lambe* of *God*, he is bound to be far from destroying the *bodies of men*, for refusing to receive the *Lord Iesus Christ*, for otherwise hee should not know (according to this speech of the *Lord Iesus*) what *spirit* he was of yea and to be ignorant of the sweet end of the comming of the *Son of Man*, which was not to destroy the *bodies of Men*, but to save both *bodies* and *soules*, *vers. 55. 56.* Secondly, if the *Civill Magistrate*, being a *Christian*, gifted, *prophesie* in the *Church*, *1 Corinth. 1. 14.* although the *Lord Iesus Christ*, whom they in their owne persons hold forth, shall be refused, yet they are here forbidden to call for fire from *heaven*, that is, to procure or inflict any corporall *judgement* upon such *offenders*, remembering the end of the *Lord Iesus* his comming, not to *destroy* mens lives, but to *save* them.

If the *Civill Magistrate* be a *Christian*, he is bound to be like *Christ* in saving, not destroying mens bodies. The *civill Magistrate* bound not to inflict nor to suffer any other to inflict violence, stripes, or any corporall punishment for evill against *Christ*.

Lastly, this also concernes the *conscience* of the *Civill Magistrate*, as he is bound to preserve the *civill peace* and quiet of the *place* and people under him, he is bound to suffer no man to breake the *Civill Peace*, by laying hands of *violence* upon any, though as vile as the *Samaritanes* for not receiving of the *Lord Iesus Christ*.

It is indeed the *ignorance* and blinde *zeale* of the second *Beast*, the *false Prophet*, *Rev. 13. 13.*★ to perswade the *civill Powers* of the earth to persecute the *Saints*, that is, to bring fiery *judgements* upon men in a *judiciall way*, and to pronounce that such *judgements* of *imprisonment*, *banishment*, *death*, proceed from Gods righteous *vengeance* upon such *Hereticks*. So dealt divers *Bishops* in *France*, and *England* too in *Queene Maries* dayes with the *Saints* of God at their putting to death, declaiming against them in their *Sermons* to the people, and proclaiming that these persecutions even unto death were Gods *just judgements* from heaven upon these *Heretickes*.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

Peace. **D**Oubtlesse such fiery spirits (as the Lord Iesus said) are not of God: I pray speake to the second place out of *Timothy, 2. Epist. 25. 26.*★

Truth. I acknowledge this instruction to be meeke and patient, &c. is properly an instruction to the *Ministers* of the Gospel. Yet divers Arguments from hence will truly and fairly be collected, to manifest and evince how farre the *civill Magistrate* ought to bee from dealing with the *civill sword* in *spirituall cases*.

And first (by the way) I desire to aske, What were these *unconverted Christians* in *Crete*, which the Answerer compareth with the *Samaritanes*, whom *Titus* (saith he) as an *Evangelist* was to seek to convert; and whether the *Lord Iesus* have any such *Disciples* and *Followers*, who yet are visibly in an *unconverted estate*. O that it may please the *Father of mercies*, the *Father of lights*, to awaken and open the eyes of all that feare before him, that they may see whether this be the *Language of Canaan*, or the *Language of Ashdod*.

What is an *unconverted Christian* but in truth an *unconverted Convert*?★ that is in English, one *unturnd turned*: *unholy holy*: *Disciples* or *Followers* of *Iesus* not following of him: In a word, that is *Christians* or anointed by *Christ*, *Antichristians* not anointed with the Spirit of *Iesus Christ*.

Certaine

Revel. 13. 13.
Fire from
heaven.
What the fire
from heaven is
which the fals
Prophet bring-
eth downe.

2 Tim. 3. 25.
26. examined.

A quere what
the Answerer
meanes by his
unconverted
Christian in
Crete.

Certaine it is,★ such they were not unto whom the Spirit of God gives that name, *Act. 11*. And indeed whither can this tend but to uphold the *blasphemy* of so many as say they are *Iewes*, that is, *Christians*, but are not? *Rev. 2*. But as they are not *Christians* from *Christ*, but from the *Beast* and his *Picture*, so their proper name from *Antichrist*, is *Antichristians*.

The originall
of Christians.

How sad yet and how true an *evidence* is this,★ that the soule of the Answerer (I speake not of his inward soule and person, but of his worship) hath never yet heard the call of the *Lord Iesus*, to come out from those unconverted *Churches*, from that unconverted *Antichristian Christian* world, and so from *Antichrist Belial*, to seeke fellowship with *Christ Iesus*, and his *converted Christians*, *Disciples* after the first patterne.

The Answerer yet in the unconverted Churches and worships.

Againe, I observe the *haste* and light *attention* of the Answerer to these Scriptures (as commonly the spirits of *Gods children* in matters of *Christs Kingdome* are very *sleepy*) for these persons here spoken of were not (as he speakes) unconverted *Christians* in *Crete*,★ whom *Titus* as an *Evangelist* was to convert, but they were such *opposites* as *Timothy* (to whom *Paul* writes this Letter at *Ephesus*) should meet withall.

Gods people
sleepy in the
matters of
Christs King-
dome, Cant.
5. 2.

CHAP. XXXIX.

Peace. **B**Ut what is there in this Scripture of *Timothy* alledged concerning the civill *Magistracy*?

Truth. I argue from this place of *Timothy* in particular, thus.★

First, if the *civill Magistrates* hee *Christians*, or members of the *Church*, able to *prophesie in the Church of Christ*, then I say as before, they are bound by this command of *Christ* to suffer opposition to their *doctrine*, with *meeknesse* and *gentlenesse*, and to be so farre from striving to subdue their *opposites* with the *civill sword*, that they are bound with *patience* and *meeknesse* to wait if *God* peradventure will please to grant *repentance* unto their *opposites*.

1 Cor. 14.
Patience and
meeknesse re-
quired in all
that open
Christs my-
steries.

So also it pleaseth the Answerer to acknowledge in these words:

“It becomes not the *Spirit* of the *Gospel* to convert *Aliens* to “the Faith (such as the *Samaritanes*, and the unconverted *Christians* in *Crete*) with *Fire* and *Brimstone*.

Secondly, be they *oppositions within*, and *Church members* (as the Answerer speakes) become *scandalous* in *doctrine*, (I speake not of
scandals

scandals against the *civill State*, which the *civill Magistrate* ought to punish) it is the *Lord* onely (as this Scripture to *Timothy* implies) who is able to give them *repentance*,★ and recover them out of *Sathans* snare: to which end also he hath appointed those holy and dreadfull *censures* in his *Church* or *Kingdome*. True it is, the *Sword* may make (as once the *Lord* complained, *Isa.* 10.) a whole *Nation* of *Hypocrites*: But to recover a Soule from *Sathan* by *repentance*, and to bring them from *Antichristian doctrine* or *worship*, to the *doctrine* or *worship Christian*, in the least true *internall* or *externall* submission, that only works the *All-powerfull God*, by the *sword* of his Spirit in the hand of his *Spirituell officers*.

What a most wofull prooffe hereof have the *Nations* of the Earth given in all *Ages*?★ And to seeke no further then our *native* Soyle, within a few scores of yeeres, how many wonderfull *changes* in *Religion* hath the *whole Kingdome* made, according to the *change* of the *Governours* thereof, in the severall *Religious* which they themselves imbraced! *Henry* the 7. finds and leaves the *kingdome* absolutely *Popish*. *Henry* the 8. casts it into a *mould* half *Popish* halfe *Protestant*.★ *Edward* the 6. brings forth an *Edition* all *Protestant*. *Queene Mary* within few yeares defaceth *Edwards* worke, and renders the *Kingdome* (after her Grandfather *Hen.* 7. his pattern) all *Popish*. *Maries* short *life* and *Religion* ends together: and *Elizabeth* reviveth her Brother *Edwards* Modell, all *Protestant*: And some eminent *Witnesses* of Gods Truth against *Antichrist*, have enclined to believe, that before the downfall of that *Beast*, England must once againe how down her faire Neck to his proud usurping yoake and foot.

Peace. It hath been *Englands* sinfull shame, to fashion & change their *Garments* and *Religions* with wondrous *ease* and *lightnesse*, as a *higher Power*, a *stronger Sword* hath prevailed; after the ancient patterne of *Nebuchanezzars* bowing the whole world in one most solemne *uniformitie* of *worship* to his *Golden Image*, *Dan.* 3.

CHAP. XL.

BUT it hath been thought, or said, Shall *oppositions* against the *Truth* escape unpunished? will they not prove mischievous, &c.

Truth. I answer (as before) concerning the blinde Guides (in
case

The civill
Sword may
make a Nati-
on of Hypo-
crites & Anti-
christians, but
not one Chri-
stian.

Wonderfull
changes of
Religion in
England.

Englands
changes in
point of Reli-
gion.

case there be no *Civill offence* committed) the *Magistrates*,* & all men that by the mercy of God to themselves discern the *miserie* of such *Opposites*, have cause to lament and bewaile that fearfull condition wherein such are entangled, to wit, in the *snares & chains* of *Satan*, with which they are so invincibly caught and held, that no power in *Heaven* or *Earth*, but the Right hand of the *Lord* in the meeke and gentle dispensing of the *Word* of Truth, can release and quit them.

The miserie of opposites against the Truth.

Those many false Christs (of whom the Lord Jesus forewarnes, *Mat.* 24.) have sutablely their false *bodies*, *faith*, *spirit*, *Baptisme*, as the Lord Jesus, hath his true *body*,* *faith*, *spirit*, &c. *Ephes.* 4. correspondent also are their *weapons*, and the *successe*, issue, or operation of them. A *carnall weapon* or *sword* of *steele* may produce a *carnall repentance*, a shew, an outside, an *uniformitie* through a State or *Kingdome*: But it hath pleased the Father to exalt the *Lord Iesus* only, to be a Prince (armed with *power* and meanes sufficient) to give *repentance* to *Israel*, *Acts* 5. 31.

A difference between the true and false Christ and Christians.

Accordingly an *unbelieving* Soule being dead in sinne (although he be changed from one *worship* to another, like a dead man shifted into severall changes of *apparell*) cannot please God, *Heb.* 11. and consequently, whatever such an *unbelieving & unregenerate* person acts in *Worship* or *Religion*,* it is but sinne, *Rom.* 14. *Preaching* sinne, *praying* (though without beads or booke) sinne; *breaking of bread*, or *Lords supper* sinne, yea as odious as the oblation of Swines *blood*, a Dogs *neck*, or *killing of a Man*, *Isa.* 66.

The worship of unbelieving unregenerate persons.

But *Faith* it is that *gift* which proceeds alone from the *Father* of Lights, *Phil.* 1. 29. and till he please to make his *light* arise and open the eyes of blind sinners, their soules shall lie fast asleep (and the faster, in that a *sword* of *steele* compells them to a *worship* in *hypocrisie*) in the dungeons of *spirituall darknesse* and *Sathans slavery*.

Peace. I adde, that a *civill sword** (as wofull experience in all ages hath proved) is so far from bringing or helping forward an *opposite* in *Religion* to *repentance*, that *Magistrates* sinne grievously against the *worke* of God and *blood* of Soules, by such proceedings. Because as (commonly) the suffrings of *false* and *Antichristian Teachers* harden their *followers*, who being blind, by this meanes are occasioned to tumble into the *ditch of Hell* after their *blind leaders*, with more inflamed zeale of lying confidence. So secondly, *violence* and a *sword* of *steele* begets such an *impression* in the sufferers,

The danger & mischief of a civill sword in Soule matters, which makes the civill Magistrate deeply guilty of all those evils which he aims to suppress.

K

that

that certainly they conclude (as indeed that *Religion* cannot be true which needs such *instruments of violence* to uphold it so) that *Persecutors* are far from soft and gentle commiseration of the *blindnesse* of others.* To this purpose it pleased the *Father of Spirits*, of old, to constraîne the *Emperour of Rome, Antoninus Pius*,* to write to all the *Governours* of his *Provinces* to forbear to persecute the *Christians*, because such dealing must needs be so far from converting the *Christians* from their way, that it rather begat in their mindes an opinion of their *crueltie*, &c.

CHAP. XLI.

Peace. **T**He next Scripture against such *persecution*, is that of the *Prophet, Isa. 24.* together with *Mic. 4. 3.* they shall break their *swords* into *plough-shares*,* and their *speares* into *pruning-hookes*, *Isa. 11. 9.* There shall none hurt or destroy in all the *mountaine* of my *Holinesse*.

Unto which it pleased Mr. *Cotton* to say, “That these *predictions* “doe onely shew, first, with what kinde of *weapons* he should subdue the *Nations* to the *obedience* of the *faith* of the *Gospell*, not by “*fire and sword*, and weapons of *War*, but by the power of the *Word* “and *Spirit of God*, which faith he, no man doubts of.

“Secondly,* those *predictions* of the *Prophets* shew, what the “*mecke* and *peaceable* temper will be of all true *converts* to *Christianity*; not *Lyons* or *Leopards*, not *cruell oppressors* nor *malignant oppressors* or *biters* one of another: but doth not forbid them to drive “*ravenous wolves* from the *sheep-fold*, and to restraîne them from “devouring the *sheep* of *Christ*.

Truth. In this first excellent and truly Christian *Answer*, me thinks the *Answerer* may heare a voyce from *Heaven*,* Out of thine owne mouth will I judge thee: For what can be said more heavenly by the *tongues* of *Men* and *Angels*, to shew the *heavenly meek temper* of all the *Souldiers* of the *Lambe of God*, as also to set forth what are the *Spirituell weapons* and *ammunition* of the holy war and battle of the *Gospell* and *Kingdome* of *Jesus Christ*, for the subduing of the *Nations* of the *World* unto him.

Peace. And yet out of the same mouth (which should not be, faith *James*) proceeds *good* and *evill*, *sweet* and *soure*; for he addes: But this doth not forbid them to drive *ravenous wolves* from the
sheep-

That cannot be a true Religion, which needs carnall weapons to uphold it. Persecutors beget a persuasion of their crueltie in the hearts of the persecuted. Antoninus Pius his golden act.

Isa. 2. 4. Mic. 4. 3. Isa. 11. 9. concerning Christs peaceable Kingdom discussed.

Mr. Cottons excellent interpretation of those Prophecies.

His doctrine and practice condemned by that interpretation.

sheepfold, and to restraints them from devouring the sheepe of *Christ*.

Truth. In these words (according to the judgement here maintained by him) he fights against the former *truth* (to wit, that by *spirituall weapons Christ Iesus* will subdue the *Nations* of the *Earth* to the *obedience* of the *Gospel*) for by driving away these *Wolves* he intends not onely the *resistance* and *violence* which the *Shepherds* of *Christ* ought spirituallly to make, but the *civill resistance* of the *materi- all Swords*,^{*} *Staves Guns*, &c. Whence I argue, that same power that forceth the evill (or *Wolves*) out, forceth the good (the *Sheepe*) in; for of the *same* or *like* things is the *same* or *like* reason; as the same *arme of flesh* that with a *staffe* beats off a *Wolfe*, with a *Rod* and *Hooke* brings in the *Sheepe*: the same *dog* that assaulteth and teareth the *Wolfe*, frighteth and forceth in the *straggling Sheep*.

Spirituall and
mysticall
Wolves.

CHAP. XLII.

Peace. **B**Vt for the clearer opening of this *mystery*, I pray explicate that Scripture where the *Spirit of God* is pleased to use this similitude of *Wolves*,^{*} *Acts* 20. 29. out of which (keeping to the *Allegory*) I shall propose these *Quæries*.

Act. 20. 29.
opened.

First, what *Wolves* were these *Paul* warnes of?

Truth. Answ. *Wolves* *literally* he will not say: Nor secondly, *persecutors* of the *Flock*, such as the *Romane Emperours* were, *Magistrates* under him.

Therefore (thirdly) such as brought other *Religions* and *Worships*,^{*} as the *Spirit of God* opens it, *vers.* 30. Such as amongst themselves should speake *perverse things*, as many *Antichrists* did, and especially *The Antichrist*. And I aske whether or no such as may hold forth other *Worships* or *Religions*, (*Iewes*, *Turkes*, or *Antichristians*) may not be peaceable and quiet *Subjects*, loving and helpfull *neighbours*, faire and just *dealers*, true and loyall to the *civill government*? It is cleare they may from all *Reason* and *Experience* in many flourishing *Cities* and *Kingdomes* of the *World*, and so offend not against the *civill State* and *Peace*; nor incurre the punishment of the *civill sword*, notwithstanding that in *spirituall* and *mysticall account* they are ravenous and greedy *Wolves*.

What those
Wolves were
Act. 20. 29.

Peace. 2. I quære to whom *Paul* gave this charge to watch against them, *vers.* 31.

Truth. They were not the *Magistrates* of the *City of Ephesus*, but the *Elders* or *Ministers* of the *Church of Christ* (his mysticall flock of sheepe) at *Ephesus*: Vnto them was this *charge* of *watching* given, and so consequently of driving away these *Wolves*.

And however that many of these *charges* and *exhortations* given by that *One Shepherd Christ Iesus* to the *Shepherds* or *Ministers* of *Churches*,* be commonly attributed and directed (by the Answerer in this discourse) to the *civill Magistrate*; yet I desire in the feare and holy presence of God it may bee inquired into, whether in all the *Will* or *Testament* of *Christ* there bee any such *word* of *Christ** by way of *command*, *promise*, or *example*, countenancing the *Governors* of the *civill State* to meddle with these *Wolves*, if in *civill* things *peaceable* and *obedient*.

Peace. Truly if this charge were given to the *Magistrates* at *Ephesus*, or any *Magistrate* in the *World*, doubtlesse they must bee able to discerne and determine (out of their owne *officiall abilities* in these spirituall Law questions) who are spirituall *Sheep*, what is their *food*, what their *poison*, what their *properties*, who their *Keepers*, &c. So on the contrary who are *Wolves*, what their *properties*, their *haunts*, their *assaults*, the manner of taking, &c. spiritually: (and this beside the care and study of the *Civill Lawes*, and the discerning of his owne proper *Civill Sheep*, obedient Sheepe, &c. as also wolvis oppressors, &c. whom he is bound to punish and suppress)

Truth. I know that *Civill Magistrates* (in some places) have declined the name of *Head* of the *Church*,* and *Ecclesiasticall Judge*, yet can they not with good conscience decline the *name*, if they doe the *worke*, and performe the *office* of determining and punishing a meerly spirituall *Wolfe*.

They must be sufficiently also able to judge in all *spirituall* causes, and that with their owne, and not with other mens eyes, (no more then they doe in *civill causes*) contrary to the common practice of the *Governours* and *Rulers* of *Civill States*, who often set up that for a *Religion* or *Worship* to God, which the *Clergie* or *Churchmen* (as men speake) shall in their *Consciences* agree upon.

And if this be not so, to wit, that *Magistrates* must not be *Spirituall Iudges* (as some decline it in the title, *Supreme Head* and *Governour*) why is *Gallio* wont to be exclaimed against for refusing to be a *Iudge* in such matters as concerned the *Iewish Worship* and *Religion*? How is he censured for a *Prophane person*, without conscience, &c.

Charges directed to Ministers of the spiritual kingdom, falsely applied to the Magistrates of the civill. No word of Christ to the civill Magistrate to feed his flock, but to his Ministers, who (if true) have spiritual power sufficient against spiritual Wolves.

Magistrates decline the name of Head of the Church, and yet practise the headship or government.

&c. in that he would bee no *Iudge* or *Head*? (for that is all one in point of Government.)

Peace. In the third place I Quærie whether the *Father* who gave,★ and the *Sonne* who keepe the *Sheepe*, bee not greater then all? Who can pluck these *Sheepe* the *Elect* out of his hand, which answers that common objection of that danger of devouring, although there were no other weapons in the world appointed by the Lord *Jesus*. But

The Elect shal
not be devour-
red.

CHAP. XLIII.

FOurthly,★ I ask, Were not these *Elders* or *Ministers* of the *Church* of *Ephesus* sufficiently furnished from the Lord *Jesus* to drive away these mysticall and spirituall *Wolves*?

Christ *Jesus*
furnisheth his
Shepherds
with power
sufficient to
drive away
Wolves.
Tit. 1. 9. 10.
opened.

Truth. True it is, against the inhumane and uncivill violence of Persecutors, they were not, nor are *Gods children* able and provided: but to resist, drive away, expell, and kill spirituall & mysticall *Wolves* by the word of the Lord, none are fit to be Christs Shepherds who are not able, Tit. 1. 9. 10. 11.★ The *Bishop* or *Overseer* must be able by sound doctrine both to exhort and to convince the Gainsayers: which Gainsayers to be by him convinced, that is, overcome or subdued (though it may be in themselves ever obstinate) they were I say as greedy *Wolves* in *Crete*, as any could be at *Ephesus*: for so saith *Paul* vers. 10. they were unruly and vaine talkers, deceivers, whose mouthes must bee stopped, who subverted whole houses; and yet *Titus* (and every ordinary Shepherd of a flocke of *Christ*) had ability sufficient to defend the flock from spirituall and mysticall *wolves* without the helpe of the Civill Magistrate.

Job 26. 1, 2.

Peace. In this respect therefore me thinks we may fitly allude to that excellent answer of *Iob* to *Bildad* the *Shuhite*, Job 26.★ How hast thou helped him that is without power? How savest thou the *arme* that hath no strength? How hast thou counselled him that hath no *wisedome*? how hast thou plentifully declared the thing as it is?

5. Lastly, I ask, whether (as men deale with *Wolves*) these *wolves* as *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*, &c?

Truth. Doubtlesse (comparing spirituall things with spirituall)

all such mysticall wolves must spirituallly and mystically so be slain. And the *Witnesses of Truth*, Revel. 11. speake fire, and kill all that hurt them, by that *sierie Word of God*, and that two-edged *sword* in their hand, *Psal.* 149.

But oh what streames of the *blood* of Saints have been and must be shed (untill the *Lambe* have obtained the *Victorie*,★ *Revel.* 17.) by this unmercifull (and in the state of the *New Testament*, when the *Church* is spread all the *World* over) most *bloody doctrine*, viz. The *wolves* (Hereticks) are to be driven away, their braines *knockt* out and *killed*, the poore sheepe to be preserved for whom Christ died, &c.

Is not this to take *Christ Jesus*, and make him a temporall *King* by force? *John* 6. 15. Is not this to make his *Kingdome* of this *world*, to set up a *civill* and temporall *Israel*, to bound out new *Earthly holy Lands* of *Canaan*, yea and to set up a *Spanish Inquisition* in all parts of the *World*, to the speedy destruction of thousands, yea of millions of *Soules*, and the frustrating of the sweet *end* of the coming of the *Lord Iesus*, to wit, to save *mens soules* (and to that end not to destroy their *bodies*) by his own blood?

CHAP. XLIV.

Peace. **T**HE next Scripture produced against such Persecution, is 2 *Cor.* 10. 4.★ The *weapons* of our *warfare* are not *carnall*, but mighty through *God* to the pulling down of strong holds, casting down *imaginationes*, and every high thing that exalteth it selfe against the *knowledge of God*, and bringing into *captivity* every thought to the obedience of *Christ*, and having in a readinesse to avenge all *disobedience*, &c.

Unto which it is answered, “When *Paul* saith, The *weapons* “of our *warfare* are not *carnall*, but *spirituall*: he denieth not *civill* weapons of *Iustice* to the *civill Magistrate*, *Rom.* 13. but only “to *Church-officers*: and yet the *weapons* of *Church officers* he acknowledged to be such, as though they be *spirituall*, yet are ready “to take *vengeance* on all *disobedience*, 2 *Cor.* 10. 6. which hath reference, amongst other *Ordinances*, to the censures of the *Church* “against *scandalous offenders*.

Truth. I acknowledge that herein the Spirit of *God* denieth not
civill

Unmercifull
and bloody
doctrine.

John 6. 15.
2. Cor. 10. 4.
discussed.

civill weapons of justice to the *Civill Magistrate*, which the Scripture he quotes, *Rom. 13.* abundantly testifie.

Yet withall I must aske, why he here affirmeth the Apostle denies not *civill weapons* of Justice to the *civill Magistrate*? of which there is no question, unlesse that (according to his scope of proving *persecution* for *conscience*) he intends withall, that the *Apostle* denies not *civill weapons* of justice to the *Civill Magistrate* in *Spirituell* and *Religious* causes: The contrary whereunto (the Lord assisting) I shall evince, both from this very Scripture, and his owne observation, and lastly by that *13* of the *Romanes*, by himsefe quoted.

First then from this *Scripture* and his owne *Observation*: The *weapons* of *Church officers* (saith he) are such, which though they be *spirituall*, are ready to take vengeance on all *disobedience*; which hath reference (saith he) amongst other Ordinances, to the *Censures* of the *Church* against scandalous offenders.

I hence observe,* that there being in this Scripture held forth a two-fold state, a *Civill state* and a *Spirituell*, *Civill officers* and *spirituall*, *civill weapons* and *spirituall weapons*, *civill vengeance* and *punishment*, and a *spirituall vengeance* and *punishment*: although the *Spirit* speakes not here expresly of *Civill Magistrates* and their *civill weapons*,* yet these States being of different Natures and Considerations, as far differing as *Spirit* from *Flesh*, I first observe, that *Civill weapons* are most improper and unfitting in matters of the *Spirituell state* and *kingdome*, though in the *Civill state* most proper and sutable.

The difference of the civill & spirituall estate.

Civill weapons most improper in spirituall causes: fitly exemplified by that similitude, 2 Cor. 10. 4.

CHAP. XLV.

FOR (to keepe to the *similitude* which the *Spirit* useth, for instance) To batter downe a *strong hold*, *high wall*, *fort*, *tower* or *castle*, men bring not a first and second *Admonition*, and after obstinacie, *Excommunication*, which are *spirituall weapons* concerning them that be in the *Church*: nor *exhortations* to *Repent* and be *baptized*, to beleeve in the Lord Jesus, &c. which are proper weapons to them that be without, &c. But to take a *strong hold*, men bring *Canons*, *Culverins*, *Saker*, *Bullets*, *Powder*, *Musquets*, *Swords*, *Pikes*, &c. and these to this end are weapons effectuall and proportionable.

On

On the other side, to batter downe *Idolatry, false worship, heresie, schisme, blindnesse, hardnesse*, out of the soule and *spirit*, it is vaine, improper,* and unsutable to bring those *weapons* which are used by *persecutors, stocks, whips, prisons, swords, gibbets, stakes, &c.* (where these seem to prevaile with some Cities or Kingdomes, a stronger force sets up againe, what a weaker pull'd downe) but against these *spirituall strong holds* in the soules of men, *Spirituall Artillery* and *weapons* are proper, which are mighty through *God* to subdue and bring under the very *thought* to *obedience*, or else to binde fast the soule with *chaines* of *darknesse*, and locke it up in the *prison* of *unbeleefe* and *hardnesse* to *eternity*.

2. I observe that as *civill weapons* are improper in this businesse,* and never able to effect ought in the soule: So (although they were proper, yet) they are *unnecessary*, for if as the *Spirit* here saith (and the *Answerer* grants) *spirituall weapons* in the hand of *Church officers* are able and ready to take *vengeance* on all disobedience, that is *able* and mighty, sufficient and ready for the *Lords* worke either to *save* the soule, or to *kill* the soule of whomsoever, be the party or parties opposite, in which respect I may againe remember that speech of *Job*, How hast thou helped him that hath no power? *Job* 26.

Peace. Offer this (as *Malachie* once spake) to the Governours the *Kings* of the *Earth*,* when they besiege, beleagure, and assault great Cities, Castles, Forts, &c. should any subject pretending his service bring store of *pins, sticks, strawes, bulrushes*, to beat and batter downe *stone walls*, mighty Bulwarkes, what might his expectation and reward be, but at least the censure of a man distract, beside himself? &c.

Truth. What shall we then conceive of His *displeasure*, (who is the *chiefe* or *Prince* of the *Kings* of the earth, and rides upon the *Word of Truth* and *meeknesse*, which is that *white Horse*, *Rev.* 6. and *Rev.* 19.* with His holy *witnesses* the *white Troopers* upon *white horses*) when to His *helpe* and *aid* men bring and adde such *unnecessary, improper* and weake munition?

Will the *Lord Jesus* (did He ever in His owne Person practice, or did he appoint to) joyne to His *Breastplate* of *Righteousnesse*,* the *breastplate* of *iron* and *steele*? to the *Helmet* of *righteousnesse* and *salvation* in *Christ*, an helmet and crest of *iron, brasse, or steel*, a target of wood to His shield of Faith? His two *edged sword* comming forth of the mouth of *Iesus*, the *materiall sword*, the worke of Smiths and

Spirituall weapons, only effectually in spirituall & soule causes.

Civill weapons not only improper, but unnecessary in spirituall causes.

No earthly Kings or Governours will be so served, as we pretend to serve the King of Kings.

Psal. 45.
The white Troopers.

Spirituall Ammunition.
Eph. 6. applied
Materiall and
Spirituall Artillery unfitly
joyned together.

and Cutlers? or a girdle of shooes leather to the girdle of truth, &c. Excellently fit and proper is that *alarme* and *item*, **Psal.* 2. Be *wise* therefore O ye *Kings* (especially those ten *Horns*, *Rev.* 17.) who under pretence of fighting for *Christ Jesus* give their power to the *Beast* against *Him*, and be warned ye *Judges* of the Earth: *Kisse the Son*, that is with *subjection* and *affection*, acknowledge *Him* only the *King* and *Judge* of *soules* (in that power bequeathed to His *Ministers* and *Churches*) lest if His wrath be kindled, yea but a little, then *blessed* are they that *trust* in *Him*.

An alarme to
civill or earth-
ly Rulers.

CHAP. XLVI.

Peace. NOW in the second place concerning that Scripture, *Rom.* 13.* which it pleaseth the *Answerer* to quote, and himselfe, and so many excellent servants of God have insisted upon to prove such *persecution* for *Conscience*; how have both he and they *wrested* this Scripture (not as *Peter* writes of the *wicked*, to their *eternall*, yet) to their owne and others *temporall destruction* by *Civill wars* and *combustions* in the world?

Concerning
the civill Ru-
lers power in
spirituall cau-
ses discust.

My humble request therefore is to the Father of *Lights*, to send out the bright *beames* of the *Sun* of *Righteousnesse*, and to scatter the mist which that old *serpent*, the great *jugler Sathan*, hath raised about this holy Scripture, and my request to you (divine *Truth*) is for your care and paines to inlighten and cleare this Scripture.

Truth. First then upon the serious *examination* of this whole Scripture it will appeare that from the ninth verse of 12 Chap.* to the end of this whole 13 Chap. the Spirit handles the duties of the Saints in the carefull observation of the second Table in their civil conversation, or walking towards men, and speaks not at all of any point or matter of the first Table concerning the *Kingdome* of the *Lord Jesus*.

Rom. 13.
speakes not at
all of spirituall
but civill af-
fares

For, having in the whole Epistle handled that great point of free *Justification* by the free *Grace* of *God* in *Christ*, in the beginning of the 12 Chap. he exhorts the *Beleevers* to give and dedicate themselves unto the Lord both in *soule* and *body*, and unto the 9 verse of the 12 Chap. he expressly mentioneth their *conversation* in the *Kingdome* or *Body* of *Christ Jesus*, together with the severall Officers thereof.

And from the 9 ver. to the end of the 13 he plainly discourseth of

L

their

their civill conversation, and walking, one toward another, and with all men, from whence he hath faire occasion to speake largely concerning their subjection to *Magistrates* in the 13 Chap.*

Hence it is that verse 7 of this 13 Chap. *Paul* exhorts to performance of *love* to all men (*Magistrates and subjects*) verse 7. 8. Render therefore to all their due,**tribute* to whom *tribute* is due, *custome* to whom *custome*, *feare* to whom *feare*, *honour* to whom *honour*. Owe nothing to any man, but to *love* one another, for he that *loveth* another hath fulfilled the *Law*.

If any man doubt (as the Papists speak) whether a man may perfectly fulfill the *Law*;* every man of found judgement is ready to answer him that these words [He *that loveth hath fulfilled the Law*] concerneth not the whole *Law* in the first Table, that is the *worship* and *Kingdome* of *God* in *Christ*.

Secondly, That the Apostle speaks not here of perfect observation of the second Table without failing in word or act toward men, but layes open the summe and sustance of the *Law*, which is *love*, and that he that walkes by the rule of *love* toward all men (*Magistrates and subjects*) he hath rightly attained unto what the *Law* aimes at, and so in *Evangelicall obedience* fulfills and keeps the *Law*.

Hence therefore againe in the 9 verse having discoursed of the 5 Command in this point of *Superiours*, he makes all the rest of the Commandements of the second Table, which concerne our *walking* with man (viz. *Thou shalt not kill*, *Thou shalt not commit adultery*, *Thou shalt not steale*, *Thou shalt not beare false witness*, *Thou shalt not covet*: and if there be any other Commandement, to be briefly comprehended in this saying, namely, *Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thy selfe*).

And verse 10 *Love* worketh no ill to his neighbour, therefore *love* is the fulfilling of the *Law*, that is (as before) the *Law* concerning our *civill conversation* toward All men, *Magistrates* or *Governours*, and fellow subjects of all conditions.

CHAP. XLVII.

Peace. **A**Lthough the Scripture is sufficient to make the *man of God perfect*,* and the *foole Wise* to *salvation*, and our *faith* in *God* must be only founded upon the *Rocke Christ*, and not upon the

The scope of
Rom 13.

Love to man,
the duty of the
whole second
Table.

How love ful-
filleth the Law

Rom. 13 so interpreted even
by them that
held persecuti-
on for consci-
ence.

the *sand* of mens *judgements* and *opinions*: Yet as *Paul* alledgeth the *judgement* and sayings of *unbeleever*s for their *conviction* out of their owne *tenets* and *grants*: So I pray you to set downe the words of one or two (not *unbeleever*s in their *persons*, but excellent and prestious *servants* and *witnesses* of *God* in their times, whose *names* are sweet and pretious to all that *feare* *God*) who although their *judgement* ran in the *common streame*, viz. That *Magistrates* were keepers of the 2 *Tables*, *defendours* of the *Faith* against *Hereticks*, and notwithstanding what ever they have written for defence of their *judgements*, yet the *light* of *truth* so evidently shined upon their *soules* in this *Scripture*, that they absolutely denied the 13 of the *Romanes* to concerne any matter of the first *Table*.

Truth. First, I shall produce that excellent servant of *God*,* *Calvin*, who upon this 13 to the *Romanes* writes; *Tot a autem haec disputatio est de civilibus praefecturis: It aq, frustr á inde sacrilegam suam tyrannidem stabilire mosiuntur qui Dominatum in conscientias exercent*: But (saith he) this whole *discourse* concerneth *civill Magistrates*, and therefore in vaine doe they who exercise *power* over *conscienc*es, goe about from this place to establish their *sacrilegious* *tyranny*.

Calvins judgement of Rom. 13.

Peace. I know how far most men (and especially the sheep of *Jesus* will flie from the thought of exercising *tyranny* over *conscience*) that happily they will disclaime the dealing of all with *mens consciences*: Yet if the *Acts* and *Statutes* which are made by them concerning the worship of *God* be attended to; their profession (and that out of zeale according to the patterne of that *ceremoniall* and figurative state of *Israel*) to suffer no other Religion nor worship in their Territories,* but *one*; their *profession* and *practice* to defend their *Faith* from reproach and blasphemy of *Hereticks* by *Civill weapons*, and all that from this very 13 of the *Romanes*; I say if these particulars and others be with feare and trembling in the presence of the most High examined; the wonderfull *deceit* of their owne *hearts* shall appeare unto them, and how *guilty* they will appeare to be of wrestling this *Scripture* before the Tribunall of the most High.

Gods people loath to be found, yet proved persecutors.

Truth. Again *Calvin* speaking concerning fulfilling of the *Law* by love, writes thus on the same place: *Sed Paulus in totam Legem non respicit tantum de officiis lequitur, quæ nobis erga promimū demandantur alege*: That is, *Paul* hath not respect unto the whole *Law*, he speaks

only of those duties which the Law commands towards our neighbours, and it is manifest, that in this place by our *neighbours* hee meanes *high* and *low*, *Magistrates* and *subjects*, unto whom we ought to walke by the rule of *love*, paying unto every one their due.

Againe, *Caeterum Paulus hic tantum meminit secundae Tabulae quia de ea tantum erat quaestio*. But *Paul* here only mentioneth the second Table, because the question was only concerning that.

And againe,★ *Quod autem repetit complementum legis esse dilectionem, intellige (ut prius) de ea legis parte quod hominum societatem spectat: Prior enim legis tabula quae est de cultu Dei minimè hic attingitur*: But in that he repeateth that *love* is the fulfilling of the *Law*, understand as before, that he speakes of that part of the *Law* which respects *humane society*; for the first Table of the *Law* which concerneth the Worship of *God* is not in the least manner here touched.

After *Calvin*, his successour in *Geneva* that holy and learned *Beza*★ upon the word *Ανακεφαλαιοῦται*, if there be any other Commandement it is summed up in this, Thou shalt love thy *neighbour* as thy *selfe*, writes thus: *Tota lex nihil aliud quàm amorem Dei & proximi praecipit, sed tamen cum Apostolus hoc loco de mutuis hominum officiis disserat, legis vocabulum ad secundam Tabulam restringendam puto*.

The whole Law (saith he) commands nothing else but the *love* of *God*, and yet neverthesse since the *Apostle* in this place discourseth of the *duties* of men one toward another, I thinke this terme *law* ought to be restrained to the second Table.

CHAP. XLVIII.

Peace. **I** Pray now proceed to the second Argument from this Scripture against the use of *civil weapons* in *matters of Religion* and spirituall worship.

Truth. The Spirit of *God* here commands subjection and obedience to *higher Powers*, even to the *Romane Emperours* and all subordinate *Magistrates*; and yet the Emperours and Governours under them were strangers from the life of *God* in *Christ*, yea most averse and *opposite*, yea *cruell* and bloody Persecutors of the name and Followers of *Jesus*: and yet unto these is this *subjection* and *obedience*

com-

Calvin confesseth that the first Table concerning Gods worship, is not here in *Rom. 13.* touched.

Beza upon *Rom. 13.*

commanded. Now true it is, that as the *civill Magistrate* is apt not to content himselfe with the *majesty* of an *earthly Throne, Crowne, Sword, Scepter*, but to seat himselfe in the *Throne of David* in the *Church*: So *Gods* people (and it may be in *Pauls* time) considering their high and glorious *preferment* and *priviledges* by *Iesus Christ*, were apt to be much tempted to despise *Civill Governours*, especially such as were ignorant of the Son of God, and persecuted him in his servants.

Now then I argue,* if the *Apostle* should have commanded this *subjection* unto the *Romane Emperours* and *Romane Magistrates* in spirituall causes, as to *defend* the *truth* which they were no way able to *discerne*, but *persecuted*, (and upon trust from others no *Magistrate* (not perswaded in his owne *conscience*) is to take it.)

Paul writes not to the *Romane Governours* to defend the truth, and to punish hereticks.

Or else to punish *Hereticks*, whom then also they must *discerne* and *judge*, or else condemne them as the *Jewes* would have *Pilate* condemne the *Lord Iesus* upon the *sentence* of others, I say if *Paul* should have (in this *Scripture*) put this worke upon these *Romane Governours*, and commanded the *Churches of Christ* to have yeelded *subjection* in any such matters, he must (in the judgement of all men) have put out the eye of *Faith* and *Reason* and *Sense* at once.

CHAP. XLIX.

Peace. IT is said by some, Why then did *Paul* himselfe, *Act. 25.* appeale to *Cæsar*, unlesse that *Cæsar* (though he was not, yet) he ought to have beene a fit *Judge* in such matters?

Truth. I answer, if *Paul* in this *Appeale* to *Cæsar*,* had referred and submitted simply and properly the cause of *Christ*, his *Ministry* and *Ministration* to the *Romane Emperours* *Tribunall*, knowing him to be an *Idoltrous stranger* from the *true God*,* and a *Lion-like* bloody *persecutor* of the *Lord Iesus*, the *Lambe* of *God*, I say let it be considered whether or no he had committed these 5. *Evils*.

Pauls appeale to *Cæsar* discussed.

If *Paul* had appealed to *Cæsar* in spirituall things, he had committed 5. evils.

The first against the dimmest light of *Reason* in appealing to *darknesse* to judge *light*, to *unrighteousnesse* to judge *righteousnesse*, the *spiritually blinde*, to judge and end the controversie concerning *heavenly colours*.

Secondly, against the cause of *Religion*, which if condemned by every inferiour *Idolater*, must needs bee condemned by the *Cæsars* themselves, who (*Nabuchadnezzar-like*) set up their *State-images* or

Religions, commanding the *Worlds uniformity of worship* to them.

Thirdly, against the holy State and Calling of the *Christians* themselves, who (by virtue of their subjection to *Christ*) even the least of them are in *spirituall* things above the highest *Potentates* or *Emperours* in the world, who continue in *enmity* against, or in an *ignorant naturall* state without *Christ Iesus*. This honour or high *exaltation* above all his *Holy ones*, to binde (not literally but *spirituall*ly) their *Kings* in *Chaines*, and their *Nobles* in *Linkes of Iron*, *Psal.* 49.

Fourthly, against his owne *Calling*, *Apostleship*, or office of *Ministry*, unto which *Cæsar* himselfe and all *Potentates* (in *spirituall* and soule matters) ought to have submitted: and unto which in controversies of *Christs Church* and *Kingdome*, *Cæsar* himself ought to have *appealed*, the *Church* of God being built upon the foundation of the *Apostles* and *Prophets*, *Ephes.* 2. 20.

And therefore in case that any of the *Romane Governours*,^{*} or the *Emperour* himselfe had beene humbled and converted to *Christianity*, by the preaching of *Christ*, were not they themselves bound to subject themselves unto the power of the *Lord Iesus* in the hands of the *Apostles* and *Churches*, and might not the *Apostles* and *Churches* have refused to have baptized or washed them into the profession of *Christ Iesus*, upon the apprehension of their unworthinesse?

Or if received into *Christian Fellowship*, were they not to stand at the Bar of the *Lord Iesus* in the *Church*, concerning either their *opinions* or *practices*, were they not to be cast out and delivered unto *Sathan* by the power of the *Lord Iesus*, if after once and twice *admonition* they persist obstinate, as faithfully and impartially, as if they were the meanest in the *Empire*: Yea, although the *Apostles*, the *Churches*, the *Elders* or *Governours* thereof were poore and meane despised persons in civill respects, and were themselves bound to yeeld all faithfull and loyall *obedience* to such *Emperours* and *Governours* in Civill things.

Were they not (if *Christians*) bound themselves to have submitted to these *spirituall* decrees of the *Apostles* and *Elders*, as well as the lowest and meanest members of *Christ*, *Act.* 16? And if so, how should *Paul* appeale in *spirituall* things to *Cæsar*, or write to the *Churches* of *Iesus* to submite in *Christian* or *Spirituall* matters?

Fifthly, if *Paul* had appealed to *Cæsar* in *spirituall* respects, hee
had

Emperours
themselves if,
Christians,
subject to the
Apostles and
Churches in
spirituall
things.

had greatly prophaned the holy name of *God* in holy things, in so improper and vaine a *prostitution* of *spirituall* things to carnall and *naturall* judgements, which are not able to comprehend *spirituall* matters, which are alone *spiritually* discerned, 1 *Cor.* 2.

And yet *Cæsar* (as a *civill* supreme *Magistrate*) ought to defend *Paul* from *Civill violence*,* and *slanderous accusations* about *sedition*, *mutiny*, *civill disobedience*, &c. And in that sense who doubts but *God's people* may appeale to the *Romane Cæsar*, an *Egyptian Pharaoh*, a *Philistian Abimelecke*, an *Assyrian Nabuchadnezzar*, the great *Mogol*, *Prester Iohn*, the great *Turke*, or an *Indian Sachim*?

Lawfull appeales in civill things to Civill Magistrates.

CHAP. L.

Peace. WHICH is the third Argument against the *civill Magistrates* power in *spirituall* and soule matters out of this Scripture, *Rom.* 13?

Truth. I dispute from the nature of the *Magistrates weapons*, *vers.* 4. He hath a *sword* (which hee beares not in vaine) delivered to him, as I acknowledge from *Gods appointment* in the free consent and choice of the *subjects* for common good.

We must distinguish of *swords*.

We finde foure sorts of *swords* mentioned in the *New Testament*.*

First, the *sword* of *persecution*, which *Herod* stretched forth against *Iames*, *Act.* 12.

Foure sorts of swords mentioned in the New Testament.

Secondly, the *sword* of *Gods Spirit*, expresly said to be the *Word* of *God*, *Ephes.* 6. A *sword* of two *edges* caried in the *mouth* of *Christ*, *Rev.* 1. which is of strong and mighty *operation*, piercing betweene the *bones* and the *marrow*, betweene the *soule* and the *spirit*, *Heb.* 4.

Thirdly, the great *sword* of *War* and *Destruction*, given to him that rides that terrible *Red Horse* of *War*, so that he takes *Peace* from the *Earth*, and men kill one another, as is most lamentably true in the *slaughter* of so many hundred thousand *soules* within these few yeares in severall parts of *Europe*, our owne and others.

None of these 3 *swords* are intended in this Scripture:

Therefore, fourthly, there is a *Civill sword*,* called the *Sword* of *Civill justice*; which being of a *materiall civill nature*, for the *defence* of *Persons*, *Estates*, *Families*, *Liberties* of a *City* or *Civill State*, and the *suppressing* of *uncivill* or *injurious* persons or actions by such *civill punishment*, It cannot according to its utmost reach and capacity

The Civill Sword.

citie (now under *Christ*, when all *Nations* are meerly *civill*, without any such typicall holy respect upon them, as was upon *Israel* a *Nationall Church*) I say, cannot extend to *spirituall* and *Soule-causes*, *Spirituall* and *Soule punishment*, which belongs to that *spirituall sword* with two edges, the *soule-piercing* (in *soule-saving* or *soule-killing*) the Word of God.

CHAP. LII.

Truth. **A** Fourth Argument from this Scripture I take in the 6. Verse,* from *Tribute, custome, &c.* which is a meerly *civill Reward* or *Recompence* for the *Magistrates* worke. Now as the *wages* are, such is the *worke*: But the *wages* are meerly *civill, Custome, Tribute, &c.* not the *contributions* of the *Saints* or *churches* of *Christ* (proper to the *Spirituall* and *Christian state*) and such *work* only must the *Magistrate* attend upon, as may properly deserve such *civill wages*, reward or recompence.

Lastly,* that the *Spirit of God* never intended to direct or warrant the *Magistrate* to use his Power in *spirituall* affaires and *Religious* worship: I argue, from the *terme* or *title* it pleaseth the wisdom of God to give such *Civill officers*, to wit, (vers. 6.) *Gods Ministers*.

Now at the very first blush, no man denies a double *Ministerie*.

The one appointed by *Christ Jesus* in his *Church*, to *gather*, to *governe*, *receive in*, *cast out*,* and order all the affaires of the *Church*, the *House*, *Citie* or *Kingdome of God*, Ephes. 4. 1 Cor. 12.

Secondly, a *Civill Ministry* or *office*,* meerly *humane* and *civill*, which Men agree to constitute (called therefore an humane *creation*, (1 Pet. 2.) and is as true and lawfull in those *Nations*, *Cities*, *Kingdomes*, &c. which never heard of the true *God*, nor his holy Sonne *Iesus*, as in any part of the World beside, where the Name of *Iesus* is most taken up.

From all which *premises*, viz. that the scope of the *Spirit of God* in this Chapter is to handle the matters of the *second Table* (having handled the matters of the *first* in the 12.) since the *Magistrates* of whom *Paul* wrote, were naturall, ungodly, persecuting, and yet lawfull *Magistrates*, and to be obeyed in all lawfull *Civill* things.

Since all *Magistrates* are *Gods Ministers*, essentially *civill*, bounded

Tribute, Custome, &c.
meerly civill
recompences
for civil work.

Magistrates
called by God
Gods Ministers.

The spirituall
Ministry.

The civill Ministry
or service.

ded to a *civill* work, with *civill weapons* or instruments, and paid or rewarded with *civill* rewards. From all which, I say, I undeniably collect, that this *Scripture* is generally mistaken, and wrested from the scope of Gods Spirit, and the nature of the place, and cannot truly be alleadged by any for the Power of the *Civill Magistrate* to be exercised in *spirituall* and *Soule-matters*.

CHAP. LII.

Peace. **A**Gainst this I know many object out of the 4. verse of this Chapter,* that the *Magistrate* is to avenge or punish *Evill*: from whence is gathered, that *Heresie*, false *Christs*, false *Churches*, false *Ministeries*, false *Seales*, being evill, ought to be punished *Civilly*, &c.

What is to be understood by *Evill*, Rom. 13 4.

Truth. I answer, that the word *κακον* is generally opposed to *Civill Goodnesse* or *Virtue* in a *Common-wealth*, and not to *Spirituall Good* or *Religion* in the *Church*.

Secondly, I have proved from the scope of the place, that here is not intended *Evill* against the *Spirituall* or *Christian Estate*, handled in the 12 Chap. but *Evill* against the *Civill State*, in this 13. properly falling under the cognizance of the *Civill Minister of God*, the *Magistrate*, and punishable by that *civill sword* of his, as an *incivilitie*, *disorder*, or breach of that *civill order*, *peace* and *civility*, unto which all the Inhabitants of a *City*, *Town*, or *Kingdome* oblige themselves.

Peace. I have heard that the *Elders* of the *New-English Churches*, (who yet out of this 13 *Rom.* maintaine Persecution) grant that the *Magistrate* is to preserve the *peace* and welfare of the *State*, and therefore that he ought not to punish such sinnes as hurt not his *peace*. In particular, they say, the *Magistrate* may not punish *secret sinnes* in the *Soule*: Nor such sinnes as are yet handling in the *Church* in a *private* way: Nor such sinnes which are private in *Families*; and therefore they say, the *Magistrate* transgreth to prosecute complaints of *children* against their *parents*, *servants* against *masters*, *wives* against *husbands*, (and yet this proper to the *Civill State*) Nor such sinnes as are between the *Members* and *Churches* themselves.

And they confesse, that if the *Magistrate* punish, and the *Church* punish, there will be a greater Rent in their *Peace*.

Truth. From thence (sweet *Peace*) may we well observe,★

First, the *Magistrate* is not to punish all *Evill*, according to this their *confession*.

The distinction of *private* and *publike Evill* will not here availe, because such as urge that terme *Evill*, viz, that the *Magistrate* is to punish *Evill*, urge it strictly, *eo nomine*, because *Heresie*, *Blasphemie*, *false Church*, *false Ministerie* is *evill*, as well as Disorder in a *Civill State*.

Secondly, I observe, how they take away from the *Magistrate* that which is proper to his cognisance, as the *complaints* of *servants*, *children*, *wives*, against their *parents*, *masters*, *husbands*, &c. (*Families* as families, being as stones which make up the common building, and are properly the object of the *Magistrates* care, in respect of *Civill Government*, *Civill order* and *obedience*.)

CHAP. LIV.

Peace. I Pray now (lastly) proceed to the *Authours* Reason why *Christs* Disciples should be so far from persecuting, that they ought to blesse them that curse them, and pray for them that persecute them, because of the *freenesse* of *Gods grace*, and the *deepe-nesse* of his *Councels*, calling them that are *Enemies*, *Persecutors*, *No people*, to become *meeke Lambes*, the *sheep* and *people of God*, according to 1 *Pet.* 2. 20. You which were not a *people*, are now a *people*, &c. and *Matth.* 20. 6. Some come at the *Last houre*, which if they were cut off because they came not *sooner*, would be prevented, and so should *never* come.

Unto this *Reason* the *Answerer* is pleased thus to reply:

First in generall; We must not doe *Evill*, that Good may come thereof.

Secondly, in particular, he affirmeth, “that it is *evill* to tolerate “*sedition* *evill* *doers*, *seducing Teachers*, *scandalous livers*:★ and for “proof of this he quotes *Christs* reproofe to the *Angel* of the *Church* “at *Pergamus*, for tolerating them that hold the *doctrine* of *Balaam*; “and against the *Church* of *Thiattyra*, for tolerating *Iesabel* to teach “and seduce, *Revel.* 2. 14. 20.

Truth. I answer, first, by assenting to the generall Proposition, that it is most true, like unto Christ Jesus himselfe, a sure *foundation*, 1 *Cor.* 3. Yet what is built upon it, I hope (by *Gods* assistance) to make

Some give to the Magistrate what is not his, and take from him that which is proper to him.

Toleration discussed. Upon this point hath M^r. John Goodwin excellently of late discoursed.

make it appeare is but *hay* and *stubble*, *dead* and *withered*, not suiting that *golden foundation*, nor pleasing to the Father of *mercies*, nor *comfortable* to the Soules of men.

It is *evill* (saith he) to tolerate notorious evill doers, seducing Teachers, scandalous livers.

In which speech I observe 2 evils:

First that this *Proposition* is too large and generall, because the *Rule* admits of *exception*, and that according to the will of *God*.

1. It is true, that *Evill* cannot alter its nature, but it is alway *Evill*, as *darknesse* is alway *darknesse*, yet

2. It must be remembred, that it is one thing to *command*,* to *con-ceale*, to *councell*, to *approve* *Evill*, and another thing to *permit* and *suffer* *Evill* with *protestation* against it, or *dislike* of it, at least without *approbation* of it.

Evill is always
Evill, yet per-
mission of it
may in case be
good.

Lastly, this *sufferance* or *permission* of *Evill* is not for its ownsake, but for the sake of *Good*, which puts a respect of *Goodnesse* upon such *permission*.

Hence it is, that for *Gods* owne *Glorie* sake (which is the highest Good) he endures, that is, *permits* or *suffers* the *Vessels of Wrath*, *Rom. 9*. And therefore although he be of pure eyes, and can behold no iniquitie, yet his pure eyes patiently and quietly beholds and permits all the *idolatries* and *prophanations*, all the *thefts* and *rapines*, all the *whoredomes* and *abominations*, all the *murthers* and *poysonings*; and yet I say, for his *glory* sake he is patient, and long permits. Hence for his peoples sake (which is the next Good in his Son) he is oftentimes pleased to permit and suffer the wicked to enjoy a longer *reprove*. Therefore he gave *Paul* all the *lives* that were in the ship, *Acts 27*.

Gods wonder-
full toleration.

Therefore he would not so soone have destroyed *Sodome*, but granted a longer *permission*, had there been but 10 righteous, *Gen. 19*. Therefore, *Jerem. 5*. had he found some to have stood in the *gap*, he would have spared others. Therefore gave he *Jesabel* a time or space, *Revel. 2*.

Therefore for his *Glory* sake hath he permitted longer *great sinners*, who afterward have perished in their season, as we see in the case of *Ahab*, the *Ninevites* and *Amorites*. &c.

Hence it pleased the *Lord* not onely to permit the many *evills* against his owne honourable ordinance of *Mariage* in the world,* but was pleased after a wonderfull manner to suffer that sin of many

Deut. 24.

wives in *Abraham, Jacob, David, Salomon*, yea with some expression which seeme to give *approbation*, as 2 *Sam.* 12.

Peace. It may be said, this is no *patterne* for us, because *God* is above Law, and an absolute *Soveraigne*.

Truth. I answer, although wee finde him sometime dispensing with his Law, yet we never finde him deny himselfe, or utter a *falsehood*: And therefore when it crosseth not an absolute *Rule* to *permit* and tolerate (as in the case of the permission of the *soules* and *consciences* of all men in the world, I have shewne and shall shew further it doth not) it will not hinder our being *holy* as hee is holy in all manner of conversation.

CHAP. LIV.

Peace. IT will yet bee said, it pleaseth *God* to permit *Adulteries, Murthers, Poisons*: *God* suffers men like *fishes* to devoure each other, *Habac.* 1. the *wicked* to flourish, *Ier.* 12. yea sends the Tyrants of the world to destroy the *Nations*, and *plunder* them of their riches, *Isa.* 10. Should men doe so, the world would be a *Wildernesse*, and beside we have command for *zealous execution* of Justice impartially, speedily.

Truth. I answer,* we finde two sorts of *commands* both from *Moses* and from *Christ*, the two great Prophets and Messengers from the living *God*, the one the type or figure of the later: *Moses* gave positive Rules both *spirituall* and *civill*, yet also hee gave some not positive but *permissive* for the common good: So the Lord *Iesus* expoundeth it.

For, whereas the *Pharises* urged it, that *Moses* commanded to give a *Bill of Divorcement* and to put away: the Lord *Iesus* expoundeth it, *Moses* for the hardnesse of your heart *suffered or permitted*, *Math.* 19. 17, 18.*

This was a *permissive* command* universall to all *Israel*, for a *generall good*, in preventing the continuall fires of Dissentions & Combustions in families (yea it may be Murthers, Poysons, Adulteries which that people (as the wisdom of *God* foresaw) was apt out of the *hardnesse* of their *heart* to breake out into, were it not for this *preventing permission*).

Hence it was that for a further *publike good* sake, and the *publike safety*, *David* permitted *Ioab*, a notorious malefactor, and *Shimei*
and

Two sorts of commands both by *Moses* and *Christ*.

Math. 16. 17. 18.
The permission of divorce in *Israel*.

and *Adonijah, &c.* And *civill States* and *Governours* in like cases have and doe permit and suffer what neither *David* nor any *civill Governour* ought to doe or have done, were it not to prevent the hazard of the *whole*, in the shedding of much *innocent blood* (together with the *nacent*) in *civill combustions*.

Peace. It may be said, *Ioab, Shimei, Adonijah, &c.* were only (as it were) reprimed for a time, and proves only that a season ought to be attended for their punishment.

Truth. Answ. I answer, I produce not these instances to prove a permission of Tares (Antichristians, Heretikes) which other Scriptures abundantly prove, but to make it cleare (against the *Answers allegation*, that even in the *civill State* permission of notorious evill doers, even against the *civill State*, is not disapproved by *God* himselfe, and the wisest of his servants in its season.

CHAP. LV.

Truth. I Proceed.* Hence it is that some Generals of Armies, and Governours of Cities, Townes, &c. doe, and (as those former instances prove) lawfully permit some evill persons and practices. As for instance, in the *civill State*, *Usury*, for the preventing of a *greater evill* in the *civill Body*, as *stealing, robbing, murthering, perishing* of the poore, and the hindrance or stop of *commerce* and dealing in the *Commonwealth*. Just like *Physicians*, wisely permitting noysome *humours*, and sometimes *diseases*, when the *cure* or *purging* would prove more dangerous to the *destruction* of the *whole*, a *weake* or *crazy* body, and specially at such a time.

Thus in many other instances it pleased the *Father of lights* the *God of Israel*, to permit that people, especially in the matter of their demand of a *King*,* (wherein he pleaded that himselfe as well as *Samuel* was rejected.)

This *ground*, to wit, for a *common good* of the *whole*, is the same with that of the *Lord Iesus* commanding the *Tares* to be permitted in the *World*, because otherwise the *good wheat* should be indangered to be rooted up out of the *Field* or *World* also, as well as the *Tares*: and therefore for the good sake the *Tares*, which are indeed *evill*, were to be permitted: Yea and for the generall good of the *whole world*, the field it selfe,² which for want of this obedience to that command of *Christ*, hath beene and is laid waste and desolate, with the fury

Usurie in a Common-weale or Civill State lawfully permitted.

Permission of the Tares in the field of the world for a twofold good.
1. Of the good Wheat.
2. Of the whole world, the field it selfe.

and rage of *civill War*, professedly raised and maintained (as all States professe for the maintenance of one *true Religion* (after the patterne of that typicall land of *Canaan*) and to suppress and pluck up these Tares of *false Prophets* and false Professors, *Antichristians*, *Heretickes*, &c. out of the world.

Hence *illae lachrymae*: hence *Germanies*, *Irelands*, and now *Englands* teares and dreadfull *desolations*, which ought to have beene, and may bee for the future (by obedience to the command of the *Lord Iesus*, concerning the permission of Tares to live in the *world*, though not in the *Church*) I say ought to have beene, and may bee mercifully prevented.

CHAP. LVI.

Peace. I Pray descend now to the second *evill* which you observe in the *Answerers position*, viz. that it would bee *evill* to tolerate notorious *evill doers*, *seducing teachers*, &c.

Truth. I say, the *evill* is, that he most improperly and confusedly joynes and couples *seducing teachers* with *scandalous livers*.

Peace. But is it not true that the world is full of *seducing teachers*, and is it not true that *seducing teachers* are *notorious evill doers*?

Truth. I answer: far be it from me to deny either: and yet in two things I shall discover the great *evill* of this joyning and coupling *seducing teachers*, and *scandalous livers* as one adaequate or proper object of the Magistrates care and worke to suppress and punish.

First, it is not an *Homogeneall* (as we speake) but an *Heterogeneall* commixture or joyning together of things most different in kindes and natures, as if they were both of one consideration.

For who knowes not but that many *seducing teachers*,* either of the *Paganish*, *Iewish*, *Turkish*, or *Antichristian Religion*, may be clear and free from *scandalous offences* in their life, as also from *disobedience* to the *Civill Lawes* of a State? Yea the *Answerer* himselfe hath elsewhere granted, that if the *Lawes* of a *Civill State* be not broken, the *Peace* is not broken.

Againe, who knowes not that a *seducing teacher* properly sinnes against a *Church* or Spirituall estate and *Lawes* of it, and therefore ought most properly and onely to bee dealt withall in such a way, and by such weapons as the *Lord Iesus* himselfe hath appointed

gain-

Seducing teachers, either Pagan, Jewish or Antichristian, may yet be obedient subjects to the Civill lawes.

gainsayers, opposites and disobedients (either within his Church or without) to be *convinced, repelled, resisted, and slaine* withall.

Whereas *scandalous offendours* against *Parents*,★ against *Magistrates* in the 5 Command. and so against the *life, chastity, goods or good name* in the rest, is properly transgression against the Civill State and Commonweale, or the worldly state of Men: And therefore consequently if the World or Civill State ought to be preserved by *Civill Government* or *Governours*; such scandalous effendours ought not to be tolerated, but supprest according to the wisdom and prudence of the said *Government*.

Scandalous li-
vers against
the Civill state
who they are.

Secondly, as there is a fallacious conjoyning and confounding together persons of severall kindes and natures, differing as much as Spirit and Flesh, Heaven and Earth each from other. So is there a silent and implicate *justification* to all the unrighteous and *cruell proceedings* of *Jews* and *Gentiles* against all the Prophets of *God*, the *Lord Jesus* Himselfe, and all His Messengers and Witnesses, whom their Accusers have ever so coupled and mixed with notorious evill doers and *scandalous livers*.

Mr. Cottons re-
cent justifies
all the cruell
proceedings
against Christ
and Christians.

Elijah was a *troubler* of the *State*; *Ieremy* weakned the hand of the people: yea *Moses* made the people neglect their worke: the *Jewes* built the *Rebellious* and bad City: the three *Worthies* regarded not the command of the King: *Christ Jesus* deceived the people, was a *conjurer* and a *traytor* against *Cæsar* in being King of the *Jewes* (indeed He was so spiritually over the true Jew the Christian) therefore He was numbred with *notorious evill doers*, and nailed to the Gallowes between two Malefactours.

Hence *Paul* and all true Messengers of *Jesus Christ* are esteemed seducing and seditious teachers and turners of the World upside downe: Yea and to my knowledge (I speake with honourable respect to the *Answerer*, so far as he hath laboured for many Truths of *Christ*) the *Answerer* himselfe hath drunke of this cup to be esteemed a *seducing Teacher*.

CHAP. LVII.

Peace. YEa but he produceth Scriptures against such *toleration*, and for *persecuting* men for the cause of *conscience*: “*Christ* (saith he) had something against the *Angel* of the Church of *Pergamus* for tolerating them that held the doctrine of *Balaam*,
“and

and against the Church of *Thiatira* for tolerating *Iesabel* to teach and seduce, *Rev.* 2. 14. 20.

Truth. I may answer with some admiration and astonishment how it pleased the *Father* of *lights*, and most jealous God to darken and vaile the eye of so pretious a man, as not to seek out and propose some Scriptures (in the proofoe of so weighty an assertion) as at least might have some colour for an influence of the Civill Magistrate in such cases: for

First,★ he saith not that Christ had ought against the City *Pergamus*, (where Sathan had his throne *Rev.* 2.) but against the Church at *Pergamus*, in which was set up the Throne of Christ.

Secondly, Christs Charge is not against the Civill Magistrate of *Pergamus*, but the Messenger or Ministry of the Church in *Pergamus*.

Thirdly, I confesse so far as *Balaams* or *Iesabels* doctrine maintained a liberty of *corporall fornication*, it concerned the City of *Pergamus* and *Thiatira*, and the *Angel* or *Officers* of those Cities to suppress not only such *practices*, but such *Doctrines* also, as the *Roman Emperour* justly punished *Ovid* the Poet, for teaching the wanton Art of Love, leading to and ushering on *laciviousnesse* and *uncleannesse*.

4. Yet so far as *Balaams* teachers or *Iesabel* did seduce the members of the Church in *Pergamus* or *Thiatira*, to the worship of the *Idolaters* in *Pergamus* or *Thiatira* (which will appeare to be the case) I say so far I may well and properly answer, as himselfe answered before those Scriptures, brought from *Luc.* 9. & 2 *Tim.* 2. to prove *patience* and *permission* to men opposite, *viz.* “These *Scriptures* “(saith he) are *directions* to *Ministers* of the Gospel, and in the “end of that passage he addes, Much lesse doe they speake at all to “*Civill Magistrates*.

Fifthly, Either these *Churches* and the *Angels* thereof had power to suppress these doctrines of *Balaam*,★ and to suppress *Iesabel* from teaching, or they had not:

That they had not cannot be affirmed, for *Christs Authority* is in the hands of his *Ministers* and *Churches*, *Matth.* 16. & 18. & 1 *Cor.* 5.

If they had *power*, as must be granted, then I conclude *sufficient power* to suppress such persons, who ever they were that maintained *Balaams* doctrine in the Church at *Pergamus*, although the ve-

ry

Toleration.
Rev. 2. 14. 20.
examined.

Christ Mini-
sters & Churches have power sufficient from Christ to suppress *Balaam* and *Iesabel* seducing to false worship.

ry *Magistrates* themselves of the City of *Pergamus*, (if Christians) and to have suppressed *Iesabel* from teaching and seducing in the *Church* had she been *Lady*, *Queen*, or *Empresse*, if there were no more but teaching without hostility: And if so, all *power and authority* of *Magistrates* and *Governours* of *Pergamus* and *Thiatira*, and all submitting or appealing to them, in such cases, must needs fall as none of *Christs* appointment.

Lastly, From this perverse wresting of what is writ to the *Church* and the Officers thereof, as if it were written to the *Civill State* and Officers thereof; all may see how since the *Apostacie* of *Antichrist*,* the *Christian World* (so called) hath swallowed up *Christianity*, how the *Church* and *civill State*, that is the *Church* and the *World* are now become one *flocke* of *Jesus Christ*; *Christs sheepe*, and the *Pastors* or *Shepherds* of them, all one with the severall unconverted, *wilde* or *tame* Beasts and Cattell of the *World* and the *civill* and earthly *governours* of them: The *Christian Church* or *Kingdome* of the Saints, that *stone* cut out of the *mountaine* without hands, *Daniel* 2. now made all one with the *mountaine* or *Civill State*, the *Roman Empire*, from whence it is cut or taken: *Christs lilies*, *garden* and *love*, all one with the *thornes*, the *daughters* and *wildernesse* of the *World*, out of which the *Spouse* or *Church* of *Christ* is called, and amongst whom in *civill things* for a while here below, she must necessarily be mingled and have converse, unlesse she will goe out of the *World* (before *Christ Jesus* her *Lord* and *Husband* send for her home into the Heavens, 1 Cor. 5. 10.)

The Christian world hath swallowed up Christianity.

CHAP. LVIII.

Peace. **H**AVING thus (by the help of *Christ*) examined those *Scriptures* or writings of *truth*,* brought by the Author against *Persecution*, and cleared them from such vailes & mists wherewith Mr. *Cotton* hath endeavored to obscure & darken their light: I pray you now (by the the same gracious assistance) proceed to his answer to the second head of Reasons from the profession of *famous Princes* against *persecution* for *conscience*, K. *James*, *Steven* of *Poland*, K. of *Bohemia*, unto whom the Answerer returneth a treble answer.

The second head of Reasons against such persecution, viz. the profession of famous Princes, K. James, Steven of Poland, and K. of Bohemia.

“First, saith he, We willingly acknowledge that none is to be “*persecuted* at all no more then they may be *oppressed* for *righteousnesse* sake.

N

“Again,

“Againe, we acknowledge that none is to be punished for his *conscience* though misinformed (as hath been said) unlesse his Error be *fundamentall* or *seditionously* and *turbulently* promoted, and “that after due *conviction* of his *conscience*, that it may appeare he is “not punished for his *conscience*, but for sinning against his *conscience*.

“Furthermore, we acknowledge none is to be *constrained* to beleeve or professe the true *Religion*, till he be convinced in judgement of the *truth* of it, but yet *restrained* he may be from *blaspheming* the *truth*, and from seducing any unto *pernicious error*.

Truth. This first answer consists of a *repetition* and *enumeration* of such *grounds* or *conclusions*, as Mr. Cotton in the entrance of this Discourse laid downe, and I beleeve that (through the helpe of God) in such replies as I have made unto them, I have made it evident what weak *foundations* they have in the Scriptures of truth;★ as also that, when such *conclusions* (excepting the first) as *grasse*, and the *flower* of the *grasse* shall sade, that holy Word of the *Lord*, which the Author against such persecution produced, and I have cleared, shall stand for ever, even when these Heavens and Earth are burnt.

Peace. His second answer is this: “What Princes professe “and practice is not a *rule* of *conscience*. They many times tolerate “that in point of *State-policie*, which cannot justly be tolerated in “point of true Christianity.

“Againe, Princes many times tolerate offendours out of very “necessity, when the offenders are either too many or too mighty “for them to punish, in which respect *David* tolerated *Joab* and his “murders, but against his will.

CHAP. LIX.

VNnto those excellent and famous speeches of those Princes worthy to be written in *golden letters* or *rows* of *Diamonds* upon all the gates of all the Cities and Palaces in the World, the Answerer (without any particular reply) returnes two things.

Truth. First, that Princes profession and practice is no rule of *conscience*:★ unto this as all men will subscribe, so may they also observe how the Answerer deals with Princes.

One while they are the nursing Fathers of the Church, not only to feed, but also to correct, and therefore consequently bound to judge,

judge what is true *feeding* and *correcting*: and consequently *all men* are bound to submit to their *feeding* and *correcting*.

Another while, when Princes crosse Mr. Cottons judgement and practice, then it matters not what the *profession* and *practice* of Princes is; for (saith he) their *profession* and *practice* is no Rule to *Conscience*.

I aske then, unto what *Magistrates* or *Princes* will themselves or any so perswaded submit, as unto *keepers* of both *Tables*, as unto the *Antitypes* of the *Kings* of *Israel* and *Iudah*, and nursing *Fathers* and *Mothers* of the *Church*?

First, will it not evidently follow, that by these Tenents they ought not to submit to any *Magistrates* in the world in these cases, but to *Magistrates* just of their owne *conscience*: and

Secondly, that all other *Consciences* in the world (except their owne) must be persecuted by such their *Magistrates*?

And lastly, is not this to make *Magistrates* but *steps* and *stirrups* to ascend and mount up into their *rich* and *honourable Seats* and *Saddles*; I meane great and settled maintenances, which neither the *Lord Jesus*, nor any of his first *Messengers*, the true *patternes*, did ever know?

CHAP. LX.

Truth. **I**N the second place hee saith that *Princes* out of *State policy* tolerate what suits not with *Christianity*, and out of *State necessity* tolerate (as *David* did *Joab*) against their wils.

To which I answer,

First, that although with him in the first I confesse that *Princes* may tolerate that out of *State policy* which will not stand with *Christianity*,* yet in the second he must acknowledge with me, that there is a *necessity* sometime of *State Toleration*, as in the case of *Joab*, and so his former *affirmation* generally laid downe [*viz.* that it is evill to tolerate *seducing Teachers*, or *scandalous livers*] was not duly waighed in the *Balance* of the *Sanctuary*,* and is too light.

Secondly, I affirme that that *State policy* and *State necessity*, which (for the *peace* of the *State* and preventing of *Rivers* of *civill Blood*) permits the *Consciences* of men, will bee found to agree most punctually with the *Rules* of the best *Politician* that ever the *World* saw, the *King of Kings*, and *Lord of Lords*, in comparison of whom

The Answerer a knowledgeth a necessity of some toleration.

Christ Jesus the deepest politician that ever was, and yet he commands a toleration of Antichristians.

Salomon himselfe had but a *drop* of *wisedome*, compared to *Christs* Ocean, and was but a *Farthing Candle* compared with the *All* and *Ever glorious Son of Righteousnesse*.

That absolute Rule of this great *Politician* for the peace of the *Field*, which is the *World*, and for the good and peace of the *Saints*, who must have a *civill* being in the *World*, I have discoursed of in his *command* of *permitting* the *Tares*, that is, *Antichristians* or false *Christians* to be in the *Field* of the *World*, growing up together with the true *Wheat*, true *Christians*.

CHAP. LXI.

Peace. **H**Is third Answer is this:

“For those three *Princes* named by you who tolerated *Religion*, we can name you more and greater who have not tolerated *Heretickes* and *Schismatickes*, notwithstanding their pretence of *Conscience*, and their arrogating the *Crowne* of *Martyrdom* to their sufferings.

“*Constantine* the Great at the request of the *Generall Councell* at *Nice*, banished *Arrius*, with some of his *Fellowes*, *Sozom. lib. 1. Eccles hist. cap 19 20.*

“The same *Constantine* made a severe Law against the *Donatists*: and the like proceedings against them were used by *Valentinian*, *Gratian*, and *Theodosius*, as *Augustine* reports in *Ep. 166*. Onely *Julian* the *Apostate* granted liberty to *Heretickes*, as well as to *Pagans*, that he might by tolerating all weeds to grow, choake the *vitals* of *Christianity*: which was also the practice and sinne of *Valens* the *Arrian*.

“*Queene Elizabeth*, as famous for her *Government* as most of the former, it is well knowne what Lawes she made and executed against *Papists*: yea and *K. Iames* (one of your owne *Witnesses*) though he was slow in proceeding against *Papists* (as you say) for *Conscience* sake, yet you are not ignorant how sharply and severely he punished those whom the *malignant* World calls *Puritans*, men of more *Conscience* and better *Faith* then the *Papists* whom he tolerated.

Truth. Unto this I answer: First, that for mine owne part I would not use an *argument* from the number of *Princes*, witnessing in profession of practice against *Persecution* for cause of *Conscience*;
for

for the *truth* and *faith* of the *Lord Iesus* must not bee received with respect of *faces*,★ be they never so high, princely and glorious.

Precious *Pearles* and *Iewels*, and farre more precious *Truth* are found in muddy shells and places. The rich *Mines* of *golden Truth* lye hid under *barren hills*, and in *obscure holes* and *corners*.

The Princes of the world seldome take part with Christ.

The most *High* and *Glorious God* hath chosen the *poore* of the *World*:★ and the *Witnesses* of *Truth* (Rev. 11.) are cloathed in *sack-cloth*, not in *Silke* or *Sattin*, *Cloth of Gold*, or *Tissue*: and therefore I acknowledge, if the number of *Princes* professing *persecution* bee considered, it is rare to finde a *King*, *Prince* or *Governour* like *Christ Iesus* the *King of Kings*, and *Prince* of the *Princes* of the *Earth*, and who tread not in the steps of *Herod the Fox*, or *Nero the Lyon*, openly or secretly persecuting the name of the *Lord Iesus*; such were *Saul*, *Ieroboam*, *Ahab*, though under a maske or pretence of the name of the *God of Israel*.

Princes not persecuting are very rare.

To that purpose was it a noble speech of *Buchanan*,★ who lying on his *death-bed* sent this *Item* to *King Iames*: Remember my humble service to his *Majestie*, and tell him that *Buchanan* is going to a place where few *Kings* come.

Buchanans Item to *King Iames*.

CHAP. LXII.

Truth. Secondly, I observe how inconsiderately (I hope not willingly) he passeth by the *Reasons* and *Grounds* urged by those three *Princes* for their practices; for as for the bare examples of *Kings* or *Princes*, they are but like *shining Sands*, or *gilded Rockes*, giving no solace to such as make wofull *shipwrack* on them.

In *K. Iames* his Speech he passeth by that *Golden Maxime* in *Divinity*,★ that *God* never loves to plant his *Church* by *Blood*.

Secondly, that *Civill Obedience* may be performed from the *Pa-pists*.

King Iames his sayings against persecution.

Thirdly, in his observation on *Revel* 20. that true and certaine note of a *false Church*, to wit, *persecution*: The wicked are *besiegers*, the *faithfull* are *besieged*.

In *K. Steven* of *Poland* his Speech,★ hee passeth by the true difference betweene a *Civill* and a *Spirituell Government*: I am (said *Steven*) a *Civill Magistrate* over the *bodies* of men, not a *spirituall* over their *soules*.

King Steven of *Poland* his speech against Persecution.

Now to confound these, is *Babel*; and Jewish it is to seek for *Moses*, and bring him from his grave (which no man shall finde, for *God* buried him) in setting up a *Nationall state* or *Church* in a land of *Canaan*, which the great *Messiah* abolished at his comming.

Thirdly, he passeth by in the speech of the King of *Bohemia*, that *foundation* in *Grace* and *Nature*, to wit, that *Conscience* ought not to be violated or forced: and indeed it is most true, that a *Soule* or *spirituall Rape*★ is more abominable in *Gods* eye, then to force and ravish the Bodies of all the Women in the World.

Secondly, that most lamentably true *experience* of all Ages, which that King observeth, viz. that *persecution* for cause of *Conscience*★ hath ever proved pernicious, being the causes of all those wonderfull *innovations* of, or changes in the *Principalities* and mightiest *Kingdomes* of *Christendome*. He that reads the *Records* of *Truth* and *Time* with an impartiall eye, shall finde this to be the *Launcet* that hath pierc'd the veines of *Kings* and *Kingdomes*, of *Saints* and *Sinners*, and fill'd the *streames* and *Rivers* with their *blood*.

Lastly,★ that Kings observation of his own time,, viz. that *Persecution* for cause of *Conscience*, was practised most in *England*, and such places where *Popery* raigned, implying (as I conceive) that such practises commonly proceed from that great *whore* the *Church of Rome*, whose *Daughters* are like their *Mother*, and all of a *bloody nature*, as most commonly all *Whores* be.

CHAP. LXIII.

NOW thirdly, in that the Answerer observeth, that amongst the *Romane Emperours*, they that did not persecute, were *Julian* the *Apostate*, and *Valens* the *Arrian*; whereas the good Emperours, *Constantine*, *Gratian*, *Valentinian*, and *Theodosius*, they did persecute the *Arrians*, *Donatists*, &c.

Answ. It is no new thing for *godly* and eminently *godly* men,★ to performe *ungodly actions*: nor for *ungodly* persons, for wicked ends to act what in it selfe is *good* and righteous.

Abraham, *Iacob*, *David* *Salomon*, &c. (as well as *Lamech*, *Saul*, &c.) lived in constant transgression against the *institution* of so holy and so ratified a *Law* of *Mariage*, &c. and this not against the *light* and checks of *conscience*, (as other sinnes are wont to be recorded

of

Forcing of
Conscience is
a Soule rape.

Persecution
for conscience,
the Launcet
that letteth
blood Kings
& Kingdomes.

All spirituall
Whores are
bloody.

The Godly
sometimes e-
vill actors, and
the Ungodly
good actors.
Poligamie, or
the many
wives of the
Fathers.

of them) but according to the dictate and perswasion of a *Resolved Soule* and *Conscience*.

David out of zeale to *God*,★ with 30 thousand of *Israel*, and Majesticall *solemnity*, carries up the *Arke*, contrary to the *Order* *God* was pleased to appoint: the issue was both *Gods* and *Davids* great offence. 2 *Sam.* 6.

Davids advancing of Gods Worship against Gods Order.

David in his zeale would build an *house* to entertaine his *God*? what more pious? and what more (in shew) seriously consulted, when the Prophet *Nathan* is admitted Councillour? 2 *Sam.* 7. And probable it is, that his slaughter of *Vriah* was not without a good *end*, to wit, to prevent the dishonour of *Gods* name, in the discoverrie of his *Adulterie* with *Bathsheba*: yet *David* was holy and precious to *God* still, (though like a *jewell* fallen into the dirt) whereas *K. Ahab*, though acting his fasting & *humiliation*, was but *Ahab* still, though his Act (in it selfe) was a *duty*, and found successe with *God*.

CHAP. LXIV.

Peace. I Have often heard that *Historie* reports, and I have heard that Mr. *Cotton* himselfe hat affirmed it, that *Christianitie* fell asleep in *Constantines* bosome, and the laps and bosomes of those Emperours professing the name of *Christ*.

Truth. The unknowing zeale of *Constantine* and other Emperours,★ did more hurt to *Christ Iesus* his Crowne and Kingdome, then the raging fury of the most bloody *Neroes*. In the *persecutions* of the later, *Christians* were sweet and fragrant, like spice pounded and beaten in morters: But those *good* Emperours, persecuting some erroneous persons, *Arrius*, &c. and advancing the professors of some Truths of *Christ* (for there was no small number of *Truths* lost in those times) and maintaining their *Religion* by the materiall Sword, I say by this meanes *Christianity* was *eclipsed*, and the Professors of it fell asleep, *Cant.* 5. *Babel* or *confusion* was usher'd in, and by degrees the *Gardens* of the *Churches* of *Saints* were turned into the *wildernesse* of whole *Nations*, untill the *whole World* became *Christian* or *Christendome*,★ *Revel.* 12. & 13.

Constantine and the good Emperours are confest to have done more hurt to the name and crown of the Lord Iesus, then the persecuting *Neroes* &c.

Doubtlesse those holy men, *Emperours* and *Bishops*, intended and aimed right, to exalt *Christ*: but not attending to the Command of *Christ Iesus*, to permit the *Tares* to grow in the *field* of the *World*, they

The Garden of the Church and Field of the World made all one by Antichristianisme.

they made the *Garden* of the *Church*, and *Field* of the *World* to be all one; and might not onely sometimes in their zealous mistakes persecute *good wheat* in stead of *Tares*, but also pluck up thousands of those precious *stalkes* by *commotions* and *combustions* about *Religion*, as hath been since practised in the great and wonderfull changes wrought by such *Wars* in many great and mighty States and Kingdomes, as we heard even now in the Observation of the *King* of *Bohemia*.

CHAP. LXV.

Peace. **D**Eare *Truth*, before you leave this passage concerning the *Emperours*, I shall desire you to glance your eye on this not unworthy observation, to wit, how fully this worthy *Answerer* hath learned to speake the roaring *language* of *Lyon-like Persecution*, far from the *purity* and *peaceableness* of the *Lambe*, which he was wont to expresse in *England*. For thus he writes:

“More and greater *Princes* then these you mention (saith he) “have not tolerated *Hereticks* and *Schismatics*, notwithstanding “their pretence of *Conscience*, and their arrogating the *Crown* “of *Martyrdome* to their *suffrings*.

Truth. Thy tender *eare* and *heart* (sweet *Peace*) endures not such *language*: ‘Tis true, that these termes, *Hereticks* (or wilfully obstinate) and *Schismatics* (or *Renders*) are used in Holy Writ: ‘tis true also, that such pretend *conscience*, and challenge the *crowne* of *Martyrdome* to their *suffrings*.^{*} Yet since (as King *Iames* spake in his [Marke of a false Church] on *Revel.* 20.) the Wicked persecute and besiege, and the Godly are persecuted and besieged; this is the common clamour of *Persecuters* against the *Messengers* and *Witnesses* of *Iesus* in all Ages, viz. You are *Hereticks*, *Schismatics*, *factionous*, *seditions*, *rebellious*. Have not all *Truths witnesses* heard such reproaches? You pretend *conscience*; You say you are persecuted for *Religion*; You will say you are *Martyrs*?

Oh it is hard for *Gods children* to fall to *opinion* and *practice* of *Persecution*, without the ready learning the *language* thereof: And doubtlesse, that Soule that can so readily speake *Babels language*, hath cause to fear that he hath not yet in point of *Worship* left the *Gates* or *Suburbs* of it.

Peace. Again, in blaming *Iulian* and *Valens* the *Arrian*, for tolerating

“lerating all *weeds* to grow, he notes their sinfull end, that thereby “they might choake the *vitals* of *Christianity*; and seemes to consent (in this and other passages foregoing and following on a “speech of *Ierome*) that the weeds of *false Religions* tolerated in “the world, have a power to choake and kill true Christianity in “the Church.

Truth. I shall more fully answer to this on *Ieromes* speech, and shew that if the weeds be kept out of the *Garden* of the *Church*, the *Roses* and *Lilies* therein will flourish, notwithstanding that weeds abound in the *Field* of the *Civill State*.★ When *Christianity* began to be choaked, it was not when *Christians* lodged in cold *Prisons*, but Downe beds of *ease*, and persecuted others, &c.

Christs Lilies may flourish in his Church, notwithstanding the abundance of weeds (in the world) permitted.

CHAP. LXVI.

Peace. HE ends this passage with approbation of Q. *Elizabeth* for persecuting the *Papists*, and a *reproofe* to *King James* for his persecuting the *Puritans*, &c.

Truth. I answer, if *Queene Elizabeth*★ according to the *Answers Tenent* and *Conscience*, did well to persecute according to her conscience, *King James* did not ill in persecuting according to his: For Mr. *Cotton* must grant, that either *King Iames* was not fit to be a King, had not the essentiall *qualifications* of a *King*, in not being able rightly to judge who ought to be persecuted, and who not, or else he must confesse that *King Iames* and all *Magistrates* must persecute such whom in their *Conscience* they judge worthy to be persecuted.

The persecution of Queen Elizabeth and King James compared together.

I say it againe (though I neither approve Queen *Elizabeth* or K. *James* in such their persecutions, yet) such as hold this Tenent of persecuting for *Conscience*, must also hold that *Civill Magistrates* are not essentially fitted and qualified for their function and office, except they can discern clearly the difference betweene such as are to be punished and persecuted, and such as are not.

Or else if they be essentially qualified, without such a religious spirit of discerning, and yet must persecute the *Hereticke*, the *Schismaticke*, &c. must they not persecute according to their conscience and perswasion. And then doubtlesse (though he bee excellent for *Civill Government*) may he easily, as *Paul* did ignorantly, persecute the *Son of God*, in stead of the *Son of perdition*.

Therefore (lastly) according to *Christ Jesus* his command, *Magistrates* are bound not to persecute, and to see that none of their subjects be persecuted and oppressed for their *conscience* and *worship*, being otherwise subject and peaceable in Civill Obedience.

CHAP. LXVII.

IN the second place I answer and aske, what *glory* to *God* what *good* to the *soules* or *bodies* of their *subjects* shall *Princes*, did these *Princes* bring in persecuting? &c.

Peace. Mr. *Cotton* tells us in his discourse upon the third *Violl*,★ that *Queene Elizabeth* had almost *fired* the *world* in *civill combustions* by such her persecuting: “For, though hee bring it in to another “end, yet he confesseth that it raised all *Christendome* in *combustion*, “raised the *Warres* of 88. and the *Spanish Invasion*: and he addes “(both concerning the *English Nation* and the *Dutch*) that if *God* “had not borne witnesse to his people, and their *Laws*, in defeating “the *intendments* of their *enemies* against both the *Nations*, it might “have beene the *ruine* of them both.

Truth. That those *Lawes* and *Practices* of *Queene Elizabeth* raised those *combustions* in *Christendome* I deny not: That they might likely have cost the *ruine* of *English* and *Dutch* I grant.

That it was *Gods* gracious worke in defeating the *Intendments* of their *enemies* I thankfully acknowledge.★ But that *God* bore witnesse to such *persecutions* and *lawes* for such *persecutions* I deny, for

First, *event* and *successe* come alike to *all*, and are no *Arguments* of *love* or *hatred*, &c.

Secondly, the *Papists* in their *warres* have ever yet had both in *Peace* and *War* *victory* and *dominion*; and therefore (if *successe* be the measure) *God* hath borne witnesse unto them.

It is most true what *Daniel* in his 8. and 11. and 12. Chapters, and *John* in his *Revel.* 11. 12. and 13. Chapters write of the great *successe* of *Antichrist* against *Christ Jesus* for a time appointed.

Successe was various betweene *Charles* the fift and some *German Princes*:★ *Philip* of *Spaine* and the *Low Countries*: *The French King* and his *Protestant Subjects*, sometimes losing, sometimes winning, interchangeably.

But most memorable is the famous history of the *Waldenses* and *Albigenses*, those famous *Witnesses* of *Jesus Christ*, who rising from
Waldo

In his opening of the 7. Viols, in print. Mr. Cotton confesseth that *Queen Elizabeth* her persecuting the *Papists*, had almost ruined the *English Nation*.

The Wars betweene the *Papists* and the *Protestants*.

Eventus omnis belli incertus.

Waldo at Lyons in France (1160.) spread over France, Italy, Germany, and almost all Countries, into thousands and ten thousands, making separation from the Pope and Church of Rome. These fought many Battels with various successes, and had the assistance and protection of divers great Princes against three succeeding Popes and their Armies, but after mutuall slaughters and miseries to both sides, the finall successe of victory fell to the Popedome and Romish Church in the utter extirpation of those famous Waldensian witnesses.*

The wars and successes of the Waldensian witnesses against three Popes and their popish Armies.

Gods servants are all overcommers when they war with Gods weapons in Gods cause and Worship: and Revel. 2. and 3. Chapters, seven times is it recorded, To him that overcommeth in Ephesus, To him that overcommeth in Sardis, &c. and Revel. 12. Gods servants overcame the Dragon or Devill in the Romane Emperours by three weapons, The blood of the Lambe, The word of their Testimony, and The not loving of their lives unto the death.*

Gods people victorious overcommers, and with what weapons.

CHAP. LXVIII.

Peace. **T**He Answerer in the next place descends to the third and last Head of Arguments produced by the Authour,* taken from the judgement of ancient and later Writers, yea even of the Papists themselves, who have condemned persecution for conscience sake: some of which the Answerer pleaseth to answer, and thus writeth.

The third head of Arguments from ancient and later writers.

“You begin with *Hilarie*,* whose testimony without prejudice to “the Truth we may admit: For it is true, the *Christian Church* doth “not persecute, but is persecuted.

The Christian Church doth not persecute, but is persecuted.

“But to excommunicate an *Hereticke* is not to persecute, that is, it “is not to punish an innocent, but a culpable and damnable person, “and that not for conscience, but for persisting in error against light “of conscience, whereof he hath beene convinced.

Truth. In this Answer here are two things.

First, his confession of the same Truth affirmed by *Hilarius*, to wit, that the *Christian Church* doth not persecute, but is persecuted: suting with that foregoing observation of *King James* from *Rev. 20.*

Peace. Yet to this he addes a colour thus: which, saith he, wee may admit without prejudice to the truth.

Truth. I answer,* if it bee a marke of the *Christian Church* to bee persecuted, and of the *Antichristian* or false Church to persecute, then those Churches cannot be truly *Christian* (according to the first in-

Persecuting Churches cannot be Christs Churches.

stitution) which either *actually* themselves, or by the *Civill* power of *Kings* and *Princes* given to them (or procured by them to fight for them) doe *persecute* such as dissent from them or be opposite against them.

Peace. Yea, but in the second place he addeth, that to *excommunicate* an *Heretick*, is not to *persecute*, but to punish him for sinning against the light of his own *conscience*, &c.

Truth. I answer, if this worthy *Answerer* were throughly awaked from the *Spouses* spirituall *slumber*, (*Cant.* 5.) and had recovered from the *drunkenesse* of the *great Whore*, who intoxicateth the *Nations*, *Revel.* 17. It is impossible that he should so answer: for.

First,* who questioneth, whether to *excommunicate* an *Heretick*, (this is, an *obstinate Gainsayer*) as we have opened the word upon *Tit.* 3.) I say, who questioneth whether that be to *persecute*? *Excommunication* being of a *spirituall nature*, a *Sentence* denounced by the *Word of Christ Jesus* the *Spirituall King* of his *Church*; and a *Spirituall killing* by the most sharpe two-edged *Sword of the Spirit*, in delivering up the person *excommunicate* to *Sathan*. Therefore who sees not that his *Answer* comes not neere our *Question*?

Peace. In the *Answerers* second *conclusion* (in the entrance of this *Discourse*) he proves *persecution* against an *Heretick* for sinning against his *conscience*, and quotes *Tit.* 3. 10. which only proves (as I have there made it evident) a *Spirituall rejecting* or *excommunicating* from the *Church of God*, and so comes not neer the question.

Here again he would prove *Churches* charged to be false, because they *persecute*: I say he would prove them not to be false, because they *persecute* not: for, saith he, *Excommunication* is not *Persecution*. Whereas the *Question* is (as the whole *discourse*,* and *Hilaries* own amplification of the matter in this speech, and the *practice* of all *Ages* testifies) whether it be not a false *Church* that doth *persecute* other *Churches* or *Members* (opposing her in *Spirituall* and *Church* matter) not by *Excommunications*, but by *imprisonments*, *stocking*, *whipping*, *sining*, *banishing*, *hanging*, *burning*, &c. notwithstanding that such persons in *Civill obedience* and subjection are un-reproveable.

Truth. I conclude this passage with *Hilarius* and the *Answerer*, That the *Christian Church* doth not *persecute*; no more then a *Lilie* doth scratch the *Thornes*,* or a *Lambe* pursue and teare the *Wolves*, or a *Turtle dove* hunt the *Hawkes* and *Eagles*, or a *chaste and modest Virgin*

The nature of
excommuni-
cation.

What persecu-
tion or hun-
ting is.

Christs Spouse
no scratcher or
fighter.

Virgin fight and scratch like *whores* and *harlots*.

And for punishing the *Heretick* for sinning against his *conscience* after *conviction*, which in the second *conclusion* he affirmeth to be by a *civill sword* I have at large there answered.

CHAP. LXIX.

Peace. **I**N the next place he selecteth one passage out of *Hilarie*, (although there are many golden passages there exprest against the use of *Civill Earthly Powers* in the *Affaires of Christ*.) The passage is this:

“It is true also what he saith that neither the *Apostles* nor We “may propogate *Christian Religion* by the *Sword*:* but if *Pagans* “cannot he won by the *Word*, they are not to be compelled by the “*Sword*: Neverthesse this hindreth not (saith he) but if they or “any other should *blaspheme* the true *God* and his true *Religion*, they “ought to be severely punished: and no lesse doe they deserve, if “they *seduce* from the *Truth* to damnable *Heresie* or *Idolatrie*.

Who cannot
be won by the
Word, must
not be compelled
by the
Sword.

Truth. In which Answer I observe, first his Agreement with *Hilarie*, that the *Christian Religion* may not be propagated by the *Civill Sword*.

Unto which I reply, and aske then what meanes this passage in his first answer to the former speeches of the *Kings*, viz. “We acknowledge that none is to be *constrained* to beleieve or professe “the *true Religion*, till he be convinced in judgement of the *Truth* “of it: implying 2 things.

First, that the *Civill Magistrate*, who is to constraine with the *Civill Sword*, must judge all the *Consciences* of their Subjects, whether they be convinced or no.

Secondly, when the *Civill Magistrate* discerns that his Subjects *consciences* are convinced, then he may constraine them *vi & armis*, hostilely.

And accordingly,* the *Civill State* and *Magistracie* judging in *spirituall things*, who knowes not what *constraint* lies upon all *consciences* in *Old* and *New England*, to come to *Church*, and pay *Church duties*, which is upon the point (though with a *sword* of a finer gilt and trim in *New England*) nothing else but that which he confesseth *Hilarie* saith true, should not be done, to wit, a *propagation* of *Religion* by the *Sword*.

Constraine
upon Consci-
ences in Old
and New Eng-
land.

Againe, although he confesseth that *propagation* of *Religion* ought not to be by the *sword*: yet he maintaineth the use of the *sword*, when persons (in the *judgement* of the *Civill State*, for that is implied) *blaspheme* the true *God*, and the true *Religion*, and also seduce others to damnable *Heresie* and *Idolatrie*. Which because he barely affirmeth in this place, I shall defer my Answer unto the after *Reasons* of Mr *Cotton* and the Elders of New English Churches; where Scriptures are alleadged, and in that place (by *Gods* assistance) they shall be examined and answered.

CHAP. LXX.

Peace. **T**HE *Answerer* thus proceeds: “Your next *Writer* is “*Tertullian*,* who speaketh to the same purpose in the “place alleadged by you. His intent is only to restraints *Scapula* “the Roman Governour of *Africa*, from persecuting the *Christi-* “*ans*, for not offering sacrifice to their *Gods*: and for that end, “fetcheth an Argument from the Law of Naturall equity, not to “compell any to any Religion, but permit them to believe or not “to believe at all.

“Which we acknowledge; and accordingly we judge, the “English may *permit* the *Indians* to continue in their *unbelief*: ne- “verthelesse it will not therefore be lawfull to *tolerate* the *worship* “of *Devils* or *Idols*, to the seduction of any from the *Truth*.

Truth. Answ. In this passage he agrees with *Tertullian*, and gives instance in *America* of the English permitting the Indians to continue in their *unbeleefe*: yet withall he affirmeth it not lawfull to tolerate *worshipping* of *Devils*,* or *seduction* from the *Truth*.

I answer, that in *New England* it is well known that they not onely *permit* the *Indians* to continue in their *unbelief*, (which neither they, nor all the *Ministers* of *Christ* on *Earth*, nor *Angels* in *Heaven* can helpe, not being able to worke beleefe) but they also permit or tolerate them in their *Paganish worship*, which cannot be denied to be a *worshipping* of *Devils*, as all false *Worship* is.

And therefore consequently according to the same practice, did they walke by *Rule* and *impartially*, not onely the *Indians*, but their *Countrymen*, *French*, *Dutch*, *Spanish*, *Persians*, *Turkes*, *Jewes*, &c. should also be permitted in their *Worships*, if correspondent in *civill obedience*.

Peace.

Tertullian his
speech discus-
sed.

The Indians
of New Eng-
land permitted
by the English
not only to
continue in
their unbelief
(which they
cannot cure)
but also in
their false
worship which
they might by
the civil swor-
restraine.

Peace. He addes further, when *Tertullian* saith, That another mans *Religion* neither hurteth nor profiteth any; It must be understood of *private worship* and *Religion* professed in private: otherwise a false *Religion* professed by the members of the *Church*, or by such as have given their *names* to *Christ*, will be the *ruine* and *desolation* of the *Church*, as appeareth by the threats of *Christ* to the *Churches*, *Revel.* 2.

Truth. I answer (passing by that unsound *distinction* of *members* of the *Church*, or those that have given their *Names* to *Christ*, which in point of visible *profession* and *Worship* will appeare to be all one) it is plaine,

First, that *Tertullian* doth not there speake of private, but of public-like *Worship* and *Religion*.

Secondly, Although it be true in a *Church* of *Christ*, that a false *Religion* or *Worship* permitted, will hurt, according to those threats of *Christ*, *Revel.* 2. Yet in 2 cases I believe a false *Religion* will not hurt (which is most like to have been *Tertullians* meaning) First,* a false *Religion* out of the *Church* will not hurt the *Church*, no more then *weedes* in the *Wildernesse* hurt the inclosed *Garden*, or *poyson* hurt the *body* when it is not touched or taken, yea and *antidotes* are received against it.

In a cases a false Religion will not hurt the true Church, or the State.

Secondly, a false *Religion* and *Worship* will not hurt the *Civill State*, in case the *worshippers* breake no *civill Law*: and the *Answerer* (elsewhere) acknowledgeth, that the *civill Lawes* not being broken, *civill Peace* is not broken: and this only is the Point in Question.

CHAP. LXXI.

Peace. **Y**OUR next Authour (saith he) *Jerome*, crosseth not the “Truth, nor advantageth your Cause; for we grant what “he saith, that Heresie must be cut off with the sword of the Spirit: “but this hinders not, but being so cut down, if the Heretick will “persist in his Heresie, to the seduction of others, he may be cut “off also by the Civill Sword,* to prevent the perdition of others. “And that to be *Jeromes* meaning, appeareth by his note upon that “of the Apostle, [A little Leaven leaveneth the whole lump] “Therefore (saith he) a sparke as soon as it appeareth, is to be extinguished, and the leaven to be removed from the rest of the “dough

The seducing or infecting of others discussed.

“dough; Rotten pieces of flesh are to be cut off, and a scabbed
 “beast is to be driven from the sheepfold; lest the whole House,
 “Body, masse of Dough, and Flock, be set on fire with the sparke,
 “be putrified with the rotten slesh, sowred with the leaven, perish
 “by the scabbed beast.

Truth. I answer,★ first, he granteth to *Tertullian*, that *Heresie* must
 be cut off with the *sword* of the *Spirit*: yet withall he maintaineth
 a cutting off by a second sword, the *sword* of the *Magistrate*; and
 conceiveth that *Tertullian* so meanes, because he quoteth that of the
Apostle, *A little leaven leaveneth the whole lump*.

Answ. It is no Argument to prove that *Tertullian* meant a *civill*
sword, by alleadging 1 Cor. 5. or Gal. 5. which properly and only
 approve a cutting off by the *sword* of the *Spirit* in the *Church*, and
 the purging out of the *leaven* in the *Church* in the Cities of Corinth
 and Galatia.

And if *Tertullian* should so meane as himselfe doth, yet

First,★ that grant of his, that *Heresie* must be cut off with the sword
 of the *Spirit*, implies an absolute sufficiencie in the *sword* of the
Spirit to cut it down, according to that mighty operation of Spirituall
weapons, (2 Cor. 10. 4.) powerfully sufficient either to convert
 the Heretick to God, and subdue his very thoughts into subjection
 to *Christ*, or else spiritually to slay and execute him.

Secondly, it is cleare to be the meaning of the *Apostle*, and of
 the Spirit of God, not there to speake to the *Church* in *Corinth* or
Galatia,★ or any other *Church*, concerning any other *dough*, or *house*,
 or *body*, or *flock*, but the *dough*, the *body*, the *house*, the *flock* of *Christ*
 his *Church*: Out of which such *sparks*, such *leaven*, such *rotten flesh*
 and *scabbed sheep* are to be avoided.

Nor could the eye of this worthy *Answerer* ever be so obscured,
 as to run to a *Smiths* shop for a *Sword* of *iron* and *steale* to helpe the
Sword of the *Spirit*,★ if the *Sun* of *Righteousnesse* had once been plea-
 sed to shew him, that a *Nationall Church* (which elsewhere he pro-
 fesseth against) a *state Church* (whether *explicite*, as in *Ola England*,
 or *implicite*, as in *New*) is not the *Institution* of the Lord *Jesus Christ*.

The *Nationall typicall State-Church* of the *Jewes* necessarily called
 for such weapons:★ but the *particular Churches* of *Christ* in all parts
 of the *World*, consisting of *Jewes* or *Gentiles*, is powerfully able by
 the *sword* of the *Spirit* to *defend* it selfe, and *offend* Men or Devils, al-
 though the *State* or *Kingdome* (wherein such a *Church* or *Churches*
 of

The Answerer
 trusteth not
 to the sword
 of the Spirit
 only in Spirituall
 causes.

The absolute
 sufficiencie of
 the sword of
 the Spirit.

The Church
 of Christ to
 be kept pure.

A Nationall
 Church not
 instituted by
 Christ Jesus.

The nationall
 Church of the
 Jewes.

of *Christ* are gathered) have neither carnall *speare* nor *sword*, &c.*
as once it was in the *Nationall Church* of the *Land of Canaan*.

1 Sam. 13.

CHAP. LXXII.

Peace. **B**Reutius (whom you next quote,* saith he) speaketh not to your cause. Wee willingly grant you, that man hath no power to make *Lawes* to binde *conscience*, but this hinders not, but men may see the *Lawes* of God observed which doe binde *conscience*.

Man hath no power to make lawes to binde conscience.

Truth. I answer, In granting with *Breutius* that man hath not power to make *Lawes* to binde *conscience*, hee overthrowes such his *tenent* and *practice* as *restraine* men from their *Worship*, according to their *Conscience* and beleefe, and constraîne them to such *worships* (though it bee out of a pretence that they are convinced) which their owne *soules* tell them they have no *satisfaction* nor *faith* in.

Secondly, whereas he affirmeth that men may make *Lawes* to see the *Lawes* of God observed.

I answer, as *God* needeth not the helpe of a materiall *sword* of *steele* to assist the *sword* of the *Spirit* in the affaires of *conscience*, so those men, those *Magistrates*, yea that *Commonwealth* which makes such *Magistrates*, must needs have power and authority from *Christ Iesus* to sit *Iudge* and to determine in all the great controversies concerning *doctrine*, *discipline*, *government*, &c.

And then I aske,* whether upon this ground it must not evidently follow, that

Desperate consequences unavoidable.

Either there is no lawfull *Commonwealth* nor *civill State* of men in the world, which is not qualified with this spirituall *discerning*: (and then also that the very *Commonweale* hath more *light* concerning the *Church of Christ*, then the *Church* it selfe.)

Or, that the *Commonweale* and *Magistrates* thereof must judge and punish as they are perswaded in their owne *beleefe* and *conscience*, (be their *conscience* *Paganish*, *Turkish*, or *Antichristian*) what is this but to confound *Heaven* and *Earth* together, and not onely to take away the *being* of *Christianity* out of the *World*, but to take away all *civility*, and the *world* out of the *world*, and to lay all upon heapes of *confusion*?

CHAP.

CHAP. LXXIII.

Peace. **T**He like answer (saith he) may bee returned to *Luther*,★ whom you next alledge.

First, that the *government* of the *civill Magistrate* extendeth no further then over the *bodies* and *goods* of their *subjects*, not over their *soules*, and therefore they may not undertake to give *Lawes* unto the *soules* and *consciences* of men.

Secondly, that the *Church* of *Christ* doth not use the Arme of *secular* power to compell men to the true profession of the *truth*, for this is to be done with *spirituall weapons*, whereby *Christians* are to be exhorted, not compelled. “But this (saith hee) hindreth not that *Christians* sinning against *light* of *faith* and *conscience*, may justly be censured by the *Church* with *excommunication*, and by the *civill sword* also, in case they shall corrupt others to the perdition of their *soules*.

Truth. I answer, in this joynt *confession* of the *Answerer* with *Luther*, to wit, that the *government* of the *civill Magistrate* extendeth no further then over the *bodies* and *goods* of their *subjects*, not over their *soules*; who sees not what a cleare *testimony* from his own mouth and pen is given, to wit, that either the *Spirituall* and *Church* estate, the preaching of the *Word*, and the gathering of the *Church*, the *Baptisme* of it, the *Ministry*, *Government* and *Administrations* thereof belong to the *civill body* of the *Commonweale*? that is, to the *bodies* and *goods* of men, which seemes monstrous to imagine: Or else that the *civill Magistrate* cannot (without exceeding the bounds of his office) meddle with those spirituall affaires.

Againe,★ necessarily must it follow, that these two are contradictory to themselves: to wit,

The *Magistrate* power extends no further then the *bodies* and *goods* of the subject, and yet

The *Magistrates* must punish *Christians* for sinning against the *light* of *faith* and *conscience*, and for *corrupting* the *soules* of men.

The Father of *Lights* make this worthy *Answerer* and all that feare him to see their wandring in this case, not only from his *feare*, but also from the light of *Reason* it selfe, their owne *convictions* and *confessions*.

Secondly, in his joint confession with *Luther*, that the *Church*
doth

Luthers testimony in this case discussed.

Mr. Cottons positions evidently proved contradictory to themselves.

doth not use the secular power to compell men to the Faith and Profession of the *truth*, he condemneth (as before I have observed)

First, his former *Implication*, *viz.* that they may bee compelled when they are convinced of the *truth* of it.

Secondly, their owne practice, who suffer no man of any different *conscience* and *worship* to live in their jurisdiction, except that he depart from his owne *exercise* of *Religion* and *Worship* differing from the *worship* allowed of in the *civill State*, yea and also actually submit to come to their *Church*.

Which howsoever it is coloured over with this varnish, *viz.* that men are *compelled* no further then unto the hearing of the *word*, unto which all men are bound: yet it will appeare that *teaching* and being taught in a *Church* estate is a *Church* worship, as true and proper a *Church* worship as the Supper of the Lord, *Act.* 2. 46.

Hearing of the Word of God in a Church estate a part of Gods worship.

Secondly, all persons (*Papist* and *Protestant*) that are conscientious, have alwayes suffered upon this ground especially, that they have refused to come to each *others Church* or *Meeting*.

CHAP. LXXIV.

Peace. **T**He next passage in the *Author* which the *Answerer* descends unto,* is the *testimony* of the *Papists* themselves, a lively and shining testimony from Scriptures alledged both against themselves and all that associate with them (as *power* is in their hand) in such *unchristian* and bloody both *tenents* and *practices*.

Papists plea for toleration of conscience.

“As for the *testimony* of the *Popish* booke (saith he) we weigh it “not, as knowing what ever they speake for *toleration* of *Religion*, “where themselves are under *Hatches*, when they come to sit at “*Stern* they judge and *practise* quite contrary, as both their *writings* “and *judiciall proceedings* have testified to the *world* these many yeares.

Truth. I answer, although both *writings* and *practices* have been such, yet the *Scriptures* and *expressions* of *truth* alledged and uttered by them, speake loud and fully for them when they are under the *Hatches*, that for their *conscience* and *religion* they should not there be choaked and smothered, but suffered to breathe and walke upon the *Deckes* in the ayre of *civill liberty* and *conversation* in the Ship of the *commonwealth*, upon good assurance given of *civill obedience* to the *civill State*.

The Protestants partiall in the case of persecution.

Againe, if this practice bee so abominable in his eyes from the *Papists*, viz.* that they are so partiall as to persecute when they sit at *Helme*, and yet cry out against *persecution* when they are under the *Hatches*, I shall beseech the Righteous Judge of the whole *world* to present as in a Water or Glasse (where face answereth to face) the faces of the *Papist* to the *Protestant*, answering to each other in the *samenesse* of *partiality*, both of this doctrine and practice.

When Mr. *Cotton* and others have formerly been under *hatches*, what sad and true complaints have they abundantly powred forth against *persecution*? How have they opened that heavenly Scripture, *Cant* 4. 8. Where *Christ Iesus* calls his tender *Wife* and Spouse from the fellowship with *persecutors* in their *dens* of *Lions*, and mountaines of *Leopards*?

But comming to the *Helme* (as he speaks of the *Papists*) how, both by *preaching*, *writing*, *Printing*, *practice*, doe they themselves (I hope in their persons *Lambes*) unnaturally and partially expresse toward others, the cruell nature of such *Lions* and *Leopards*?

O that the *God* of Heaven might please to tell them how abominable in his eyes are a *waight* and a *waight*,* a *stone* and a *stone* in the bag of *waights*! one waight for themselves when they are under *Hatches*, and another for others when they come to *Helme*.

Nor shall their confidence of their being in the *truth* (which they judge the *Papists* and *others* are not in) no nor the *Truth* it selfe privileged them to *persecute* others, and to exempt themselves from *persecution*, because (as formerly.)

First,* it is against the nature of true *Sheep* to persecute or hunt the *Beasts* of the *Forrest*, no not the same *Wolves* who formerly have persecuted themselves.

Secondly, if it be a duty and charge upon all *Magistrates* in all parts of the *World* to judge and persecute in and for spirituall causes, then either they are no *Magistrates* who are not able to judge in such cases, or else they must judge according to their *Consciences*, whether *Pagan*, *Turkish* or *Antichristian*.

Lastly,* notwithstanding their confidence of the *truth* of their owne way, yet the experience of our *Fathers errours*, our owne *mistakes* and *ignorance*, the sense of our own *weaknesses* and *blindnesse* in the depths of the *prophesies* & *mysteries* of the Kingdom of *Christ*, and the great professed *expectation* of *light* to come which we are not now able to comprehend, may abate the *edge*, yea sheath up the
sword

A false balance in Gods matters abominable to God.

Sheep cannot hunt, no not the wolves.

Pills to purge out the spirit of persecution.

sword of persecution toward any, especially such as differ not from them in *doctrines* of *repentance*, or *faith*, or *holinesse* of *heart* and *life*, and hope of glorious and *eternall union* to come, but only in the way and manner of the *administrations* of *Jesus Christ*.

CHAP. LXXV.

Peace. **T**O close this head of the testimony of *Writers*, it pleaseth the *Answerer* to produce a contrary testimony of *Austin*, *Optatus*, &c.

Truth. I readily acknowledge (as formerly I did concerning the testimony of *Princes*) that *Antichrist* is too hard for *Christ* at *votes* and *numbers*:* yea and beleeve that in many points (wherein the servants of *God* these many hundred yeares have beene fast asleep) *superstition* and *persecution* have had more suffrages and votes from *Gods* owne people then hath either been honourable to the *Lord*, or *peaceable* to their owne or the soules of others: Therefore (not to derogate from the pretious *memory* of any of them) let us briefly consider what they have in this point affirmed.

Superstition & persecution have had many votes from *Gods* owne people.

To begin with *Austin*: “They murder (saith he) soules, and “themselves are afflicted in body, and they put men to everlasting “death, and yet they complaine when themselves are put to tem- “porall death.

I answer,* This *Rhetoricall persuasion of humane wisdom*e seems very reasonable in the eye of *flesh* and *blood*, but one *Scripture* more prevails with faithfull and obedient soules then thousands of plausible and eloquent speeches: in particular,

Austins saying for persecution examined.

First, the *Scripture* useth *soule-killing** in a large sense, not only for the *teaching* of *false prophets* and *seducers*, but even for the *offensive walking of Christians*, in which respect 1 Cor. 8.) a true *Christian* may be guilty of destroying a soule for whom *Christ* died, and therefore by this rule ought to be hanged, burned, &c.

Soul-killing.

Secondly, That plausible similitude will not prove that every false *teaching* or false practice actually kills the *soule*, as the *body* is slaine, and slaine but once, for *soules* infected or bewitched may againe recover, 1 Cor. 5. 2 Tim. 2. &c.

Thirdly, for *soule-killings*, yea also for *soule-woundings* and grievings, *Christ Jesus* hath appointed *remedies* sufficient in his *Church*. There comes forth a *two edged sword* out of his *mouth* (Rev. 1. and

Punishments
provided by
Christ Jesus
against Soule-
killers and
Soule-woun-
ders.

Rev. 2) able to cut downe *Heresie* (as is confest) yea and to kill the *Hereticke*,* yea and to punish his soule everlastingly, which no *sword* of *steele* can reach unto in any punishment comparable or imaginable; and therefore in this case we may say of this *spirituall soule-killing* by the *sword* of *Christs* mouth, as *Paul* concerning the incestuous person, 2 Cor. 2. *Sufficient* is this *punishment*, &c.

Fourthly, Although no Soule-killers, nor Soule-grievers may be suffred in the *Spirituall* State or Kingdome of *Christ*, the *Church*; yet he hath commanded that such should be suffered and permitted to be and live in the *World*, as I have proved on *Matth.* 13. otherwise thousands and millions of *soules* and bodies both, must be murdered and cut off by *civill combustions* and bloody warres about *Religion*.

Fifthly, I argue thus: The Soules of all men in the World are either naturally *dead in Sin*, or alive in *Christ*. If dead in sinne, no man can kill them,* no more then he can kill a *dead man*: Nor is it a false Teacher or false Religion that can so much *prevent* the means of *Spirituall life*, as one of these two; Either the *force* of a *material sword*, imprisoning the Soules of men in a *State* or *Nationall Religion*, *Ministry* or *Worship*; Or secondly, *Civill warres* and *combustions* for *Religion* sake, whereby men are immediately cut off without any longer *meanes* of *Repentance*.

Now againe, for the Soules that are alive in *Christ*, he hath graciously appointed *Ordinances* powerfully *sufficient* to maintaine and cherish that *life*, *Armour of prooffe* able to defend them against *men* and *devils*.

Secondly, the Soule once alive in *Christ*, is like *Christ* himselfe, (*Revel.* 1.) alive for ever, (*Rom.* 6.) and cannot die a *spirituall death*.

Lastly, Grant a man to be a *false Teacher*, an *Hereticke*, a *Balaam*, a *Spirituall Witch*, a *Wolfe*, a *Persecuter*, breathing out *blasphemies* against *Christ*,* and *slaughters* against his *followers*, as *Paul* did, *Act.* 9. I say, these who appeare *Soule-killers* to day, by the grace of *Christ* may prove (as *Paul*) *Soule-savers* to morrow: and saith *Paul* to *Timothy* (1 *Tim.* 4.) thou shalt save thy selfe and them that heare thee: which all must necessarily be prevented, if all that comes within the sense of these *Soule-killers*, must (as guilty of blood) be corporally kill'd and put to *death*.

Men dead in
Sin, cannot be
Soule kill'd.
A Nationall
enforced Re-
ligion or a Ci-
vill War for
Religion the
two great
preventers of
soule conver-
sion and life.

Soule killers
prove (by the
grace of Christ)
Soule savers.

CHAP. LXVI.

Peace. **D**Eare *Truth*, your *Answers* are so satisfactorie to *Austins* speech, that if *Austin* himselfe were now living, me thinks he should be of your mind. I pray descend to *Optatus*,* who “(saith the Answerer) justifies *Macharius* for putting some *Here-ticks* to death, affirming that he had done no more herein then “what *Moses*, *Phineas* and *Elias* had done before him.

Optatus examined.

Truth. These are *shafts* usually drawne from the *Quiver* of the *Ceremoniall* and *typicall* state of the *Nationall Church* of the *Jewes*,* whose *shadowish* and *figurative* state vanished at the appearing of the *Body* and *substance*, the *Sun* of *Righteousnesse*, who set up another *Kingdome* or *Church* (Heb. 12.) *Ministrie* and *Worship*: in which we finde no such *Ordinance*, *precept* or *president* of killing men by *Materiall Swords* for *Religion* sake.

Persecuters leave Christ, & flie to *Moses* for their practice.

More particularly concerning *Moses*, I Quærie what *commandement* or *practice* of *Moses* either *Optatus* or the *Answerer* here intend? Probably that passage of *Deut.* 13. wherein *Moses* appointed a slaughter either of a *person* or a *city* that should depart from the *God* of *Israel*, with whom that *Nationall Church* was in *Covenant*. And if so, I shall particularly reply to that place in my *Answer* to the *Reasons* hereunder mentioned.

Concerning *Phineas* his zealous Act:

First, his slaying of the *Israelitish* man, and woman of *Midian*,* was not for *spirituall*, but *corporall* filthines.

Phineas his act discussed.

Secondly, no man will produce his *fact* as *presidentiall* to any *Minister* of the *Gospel* so to act in any *Civill state* or *Commonweale*; although I believe in the *Church of God* it is *presidentiall* for either *Minister* or *people* to kill and slay with the *two-edged sword* of the *Spirit of God* any such bold and open presumptuous sinners as these were.

Lastly, concerning *Elijah*: There were two famous *acts* of *Elijah* of a killing nature:

First, that of slaying 850 of *Baals* Prophets. 1 *Kings* 18. Secondly of the two *Captaines* and their *Fifties*, by fire, &c. For the first of these,* it cannot figure or type out any *materiall slaughter* of the many thousands of *false Prophets* in the *World* by any *materiall sword* of *Iron* or *Steele*: for as that passage was *mi-*

Eliahs slaughters examined.

raculous,

raculous, so finde we not any such *commission* given by the *Lord Iesus* to the Ministers of the *Gospel*. And lastly, such a slaughter must not only extend to all the false *prophets* in the *World*, but (according to the *Answerers* grounds) to the many thousands of thousands of *Idolaters* and false *worshippers* in the *Kingdomes* and *Nations* of the *World*.

For the second Act of *Eliah*,^{*} as it was also of a *miraculous* nature: So secondly, when the *followers* of the *Lord Iesus* (Luc. 9.) proposed such a practice to the *Lord Iesus*, for injury offered to his owne person, he disclaimed it with a *milde checke* to their *angry spirits*, telling them plainly they knew not what *spirits* they were of; and addeth that gentle and mercifull *conclusion*, That he came not to destroy the *bodies* of men, as contrarily *Antichrist* doth, alledging these instances from the *Old Testament*, as also *Peters* killing *Ananias*, Acts 5. and *Peters* vision and voice, Arise *Peter*, kill and eat, Acts. 10.

CHAP. LXXVII.

Peace. **Y**OU have so satisfied these instances brought by *Optatus*, that me thinks *Optatus* and the Answerer himself might rest satisfied.

I will not trouble you with *Bernards* argument from Rom. 13. which you have already on that Scripture so largely answered.

But what thinke you (lastly) of *Calvin*, *Beza*, and *Aretius*?

Truth. Ans. Since matters of fact and opinion are barely related by the Answerer without their grounds, whose grounds notwithstanding in this Discourse are answered. I answer, if *Paul* himself were joyned with them, yea or an Angel from Heaven bringing any other rule then what the Lord *Iesus* hath once delivered, we have *Pauls* conclusion and resolution, peremptory and dreadfull, Gal. 1. 8. *Peace.* This passage finished, let me finish the whole by proposing one conclusion of the Author of the arguments, viz. It is “no prejudice to the Commonwealth if Liberty of Conscience “were suffered to such as feare God indeed: *Abraham* abode a “long time amongst the Cananites, yet contrary to them in Religion, Gen. 13. 7. & 16. 13. Againe, he sojourned in Gerar, and “King *Abimelech* gave him leave to abide in his Land, Gen. 20. 21. 23. 24.

Isaac

Eliahs consuming the 2 Captaines and their companies by fire, discussed.

“*Isaack* also dwelt in the same Land, yet contrary in Religion, *Gen.* 26.

“*Jacob* lived 20 yeares in one house with his Unkle *Laban*, yet “differed in Religion, *Gen.* 31.

“The people of Israel were about 430 yeares in that infamous “land of Egypt, and afterwards 70 yeares in Babylon: all which “times they differed in Religion from the States, *Exod.* 12. & “2 *Chron.* 36.

“Come to the time of Christ, where Israel was under the Ro-
“manes, where lived divers Sects of Religion, as Herodians,
“Scribes and Pharises, Saduces and Libertines, Theudaeans and
“Samaritanes, beside the Common Religion of the Jews, & Christ
“and his Apostles. All which differed from the Common Religi-
“on of the State, which was like the Worship of *Diana*, which
“almost the whole World then worshipped, *Acts* 19. 20.

“All these lived under the Government of *Cæsar*, being nothing
“hurtfull unto the Commonwealth, giving unto *Cæsar* that which
“was his. And for their Religion and Consciences towards God,
“he left them to themselves, as having no dominion over their
“Soules and Consciences: And when the Enemies of the Truth
“raised up any tumults, the wisdom of the Magistrate most wisely
“appeased them, *Acts* 18 14. & 19. 35.

“Unto this the Answerer returnes thus much:

“It is true, that without prejudice to the Common-wealth, Li-
“bertie of Conscience may be suffered to such as feare God indeed,
“as knowing they will not persist in Heresie or turbulent Schisme,
“when they are convinced in Conscience of the sinfulness there-
“of. But the question is, whether an Heretick after once or twice
“Admonition, (and so after Conviction) and any other scanda-
“lous and heynous offender, may be tolerated either in the Church
“without Excommunication, or in the Common-weale without
“such punishment as may preserve others from dangerous and
“damnable infection.

CHAP. LXXIX.

Truth. **I** Here observe the *Answerers partiality*, that none but such
as truly feare God should enjoy *Libertie of Consci-*
ence, whence the *Inhabitants of the World* must either come into

the estate of men fearing *God*, or else *dissemble* a *Religion* in hypocrisie, or else be driven out of the *World*: One must follow. The first is only the gift of *God*, the second and third are too commonly practised upon this ground.

Againe, since there is so much controversie in the *World*, where the name of *Christ* is taken up, concerning the true *Church*, the *Ministrie* and *Worship*, and who are those that truly feare *God*; I aske who shall judge in this case, who be they that feare *God*?

It must needs be granted, that such as have the power of *suffring* or not *suffring*,* such *Consciences*, must judge: and then must it follow (as before I intimated) that the *Civill State* must judge of the truth of the *Spirituell*; and then *Magistrates* fearing or not fearing *God*, must judge of the feare of *God*: also that their *judgement* or sentence must be according to their *conscience*, of what *Religion* soever: Or that there is no lawfull *Magistrate*, who is not able to judge in such cases. And lastly, that since the *Soveraigne power* of all *Civill Authority* is founded in the *consent* of the *People*, that every *Common-weale* hath radically and fundamentally in it a power of true discerning the true feare of *God*,* which they transfer to their *Magistrates* and *Officers*: Or else that there are no lawfull *Kingdomes*, *Cities*, or *Townes* in the *World*, in which a man may live, and unto whose *Civill Government* he may submit: and then (as I said before) there must be no *World*, nor is it lawfull to live in it, because it hath not a true discerning Spirit to judge them that feare or not feare *God*.

Lastly, although this worthy *Answerer* so readily grants, that *Libertie* of *Conscience* should be suffered to them that feare *God* indeed:* yet we know what the *Ministers* of the *Churches* of *New-England* wrote in answer to the 3 Question sent to them by some *Ministers* of *Old England*, viz. that although they confest them to be such persons whom they approved of far above themselves, yea who were in their hearts to live and die together; yet if they and other godly people with them, comming over to them, should differ in *Church constitution*, they then could not approve their *Civill cohabitation* with them, and consequently could not advise the *Magistrates* to suffer them to enjoy a *Civill being* within their *Iurisdiction*.

Heare O *Heavens*, and give eare O *Earth*, yea let the *Heavens* be astonished, and the *Earth* tremble at such an *Answer* as this from
such

Dangerous
consequences
flowing from
the Civill
Magistrates
judging in
Spirituell cau-
ses.

The World
turned upside
down.

The wonder-
full answer of
the Ministers
of the Church
of New Eng-
land to the
Ministers of
the Church of
Old England.

such excellent men to such whom they esteeme for *godlinesse* above themselves.

CHAP. LXXIX.

Peace. YEa, but they say, they doubt not if they were there but they should agree; for, say they, either you will come to us, or you may shew us light to come to you, for we are but weak men, and dreame not of *perfection* in this life.

Truth. Alas,* who knowes not what lamentable *differences* have beene betweene the same *Ministers* of the *Church of England*, some conforming, others leaving their *livings, friends, country, life*, rather then conforme; when others againe (of whose personall *godlinesse* it is not questioned) have succeeded by *conformity* into such forsaken (so called) *Livings*?* How great the present *differences* even amongst them that feare *God*, concerning *Faith, Iustification*, and the evidence of it? concerning *Repentance* and *godly sorrow*, as also and mainly concerning the *Church, the Matter, Forme, Administration* and *Government* of it?

Lamentable differences even amongst them that feare God.

Let none now thinke that the passage to *New England* by Sea, or the nature of the *Countrey* can doe what onely the Key of *David* can doe, to wit, open and shut the Consciences of men.

Betweene the Presbyterians and Independants, Covenanters and Noncovenanters, of both which many are truly godly in their persons.

Beside, how can this bee a faithfull and upright acknowledgement of their *weaknesse* and imperfection, when they *preach, print*, and *practise* such violence to the *soules* and *bodies* of others, and by their *Rules* and *Grounds* ought to proceed even to the killing of those whom they judge so deare unto them, and in respect of *godlinesse* far above themselves?

CHAP. LXXX.

Peace. YEa but (say they) the *godly* will not persist in *Heresie* or turbulent *Schisme*, when they are convinced in *Conscience*,* &c.

Truth. Sweet *Truth*, if the Civill Court and *Magistracy* must judge (as before I have written) and those Civill Courts are as lawfull, consisting of *naturall men* as of *godly* persons, then what *consequences* necessarily will follow, I have before mentioned. And I adde, according to this *conclusion* it must follow, that, if the most

The doctrine of persecution necessarily and most commonly falls heaviest upon the most godly persons.

godly persons yeeld not to once or twice *Admonition* (as is maintained by the *Answerer*) they must necessarily be esteemed *obstinate* persons, for if they were *godly* (saith he) they would yeeld. Must it not then be said (as it was by one, passing sentence of *Banishment* upon some, whose godlinesse was acknowledged) that he that commanded the *Judge* not to respect the poore in the cause of *judgement*, commands him not to respect the holy or the godly person?

Hence I could name the place and time when a *godly* man,[★] a most desirable person for his trade, &c. (yet something different in *conscience*) propounded his willingnesse and desire to come to dwell in a certaine *Towne* in *New England*; it was answered by the Chiefe of the place, This man differs from us, and wee desire not to be troubled. So that in conclusion (for no other reason in the world) the poore man, though godly, usefull and peaceable, could not be admitted to a Civill Being and Habitation on the Common Earth in that Wildernesse amongst them.

The latter part of the Answer concerning the *Hereticke* or obstinate person to be excommunicated, and the *scandalous offender* to be punished in the *Commonweale*, which neither of both come neere our *Question*: I have spoken I feare too largely already.

Peace. Mr. *Cotton* concludes with a confident perswasion of having removed the grounds of that great *errour*, viz. that persons are not to be persecuted for cause of *conscience*.

Truth. And I beleeeve (deare *Peace*) it shall appear to them that (with feare and trembling at the word of the Lord) examine these passages, that the charge of *errour* reboundeth backe even such an *errour*, as may well bee called the *bloody tenent*,[★] so directly contradicting the *spirit* and *minde* and *practice* of the *Prince of Peace*; so deeply guilty of the *blood* of soules compelled and forced to *Hypocrisie* in a *spirituall* and *soule rape*; so deeply guilty of the *blood* of the *Soules* under the *Altar*, persecuted in all *ages* for the *cause* of *Conscience*, and so destructive to the *civill peace* and *welfare* of all *Kingdomes*, *Countries*, and *Commonwealths*.

CHAP. LXXXI.

Peace. **T**O this Conclusion (deare *Truth*) I heartily subscribe, and know the *God*, the *Spirit*, the *Prince*, the *Angels*, and all the true awaked Sons of Peace will call thee blessed.

Truth.

The doctrine of persecution drives the most godly persons out of the world.

The bloody Tenent.

Truth. How sweet and precious are these *contemplations*, but oh how sweet the *actions* and *fruits*?

Peace. Thy lips drop as the *Honey-combe*, *Honey* and *Milke* are under thy *Tongue*; oh that these *drops*, these *streames* might flow without a *stop* or *interruption*!

Truth. The glorious white *Troopers* (*Rev.* 19.) shall in time be mounted, and he that is the most *High Prince* of *Princes*, and *Lord Generall* of *Generalls* mounted upon the Word of Truth and Meeknesse (*Psal* 45.) shall triumph gloriously, and renew our meetings. But harke, what noise is this?

Peace. These are the dolefull *drums*, and shrill sounding *trumpets*,* the roaring murdering *Canons*, the *shouts* of *Conquerours*, the *grones* of *wounded*, *dying*, *slaughtered*, *righteous* with the *wicked*. Deare Truth how long? how long these dreadfull *sounds* and direfull *sights*? how long before my glad *returne* and *restitution*?

Warres for
Conscience.

Truth. Sweet Peace, who will beleeeve my true *report*? yet true it is, if I were once beleev'd, blest Truth and Peace should not so soone be parted.

Peace. Deare Truth, what welcome hast thou found of late beyond thy former times or present expectations?

Truth. Alas, my *welcome* changes as the *times*, and strongest *swords* and *armes* prevaile: were I beleeeved in this, that *Christ* is not delighted with the *blood* of men (but shed his owne for his bloodiest *enemies*) that by the word of *Christ* no man for gainsaying *Christ*, or joyning with his enemy *Antichrist*, should bee molested with the *civill sword*:* Were this *foundation* laid as the *Magna Charta* of highest *liberties*, and good *security* given on all hands for the preservation of it, how soone should every brow and house be stucke with *Olive Branches*?

The blessed
Magna Charta

Peace. This heavenly *invitation* makes mee bold once more to crave thy patient *eare* and holy *tongue*. *Errorrs* impatient and soon tyred, but thou art *Light*, and like the *Father of Lights*, unwearied in thy shinings. Loe here what once againe I present to thy impartiall *censure*.

A MODEL of CHURCH and
CIVIL Power.

Composed by Mr. COTTON and
the MINISTERS of NEW-
ENGLAND,

And sent to the CHURCH at SALEM,
as a further Confirmation of the bloody
Doctrine of Persecution for cause
of CONSCIENCE.

Examined and Answered.

CHAP. LXXXII.

Truth. **VV** *Hat* hast thou there?
Peace. Here is a *combination* of thine owne
Children against thy very *life* and mine:★ Here
is a *Modell* (framed by many able learned and
godly hands) of such a *Church* and *Common-weale* as wakens *Moses*
from his unknown Grave, and denies *Iesus* yet to have seene the
Earth.

Truth. Begin (sweet *Peace*) read and propound. My hand shall
not be tyred with holding the *ballances* of the *Sanctuarie*: doe thou
put in, and I shall weigh as in the presence of Him whose pure
eyes cannot behold *iniquitie*.

Peace. Thus then speakes the *Preface* or Entrance.★ “Seeing
God hath given a distinct power to *Church* and *Common-weale*,
the one *Spirituell* (called the Power of the *Keyes*) the other
Civill called the Power of the *Sword*) and hath made the mem-
bers of both *Societies* subject to both Authorities, so that every
Soule

A strange Mo-
dell of a
Church and
Common-
weale, after the
Mosaicall and
Jewish pattern

Mat. 16. 19.
with Joh. 20.
23. Rom. 13. 1.
Mat. 10. 18.
Tit 3. 1.
Acts 15. 20.

“soule in the Church is subject to the higher powers in the Commonweale,* and every member of the Commonweale (being a member of the Church) is subject to the Lawes of Christs Kingdome, and in him to the censures of the Church; the Question is, how the Civill State and the Church may dispence their severall Governments without infringement and impeachment of the power and honour of the One or of the Other, and what bounds and limits the Lord hath set betweene both the Administrations.

Isa. 49. 23.
Gal. 3. 28.

Truth. “From that conclusion (deare *Peace*) that every member of the Commonweale,* being a member of the Church, is subject to the Lawes of Christs “Kingdome, and in Him to the censure of the Church; I observe that they grant the *Church of Christ in Spirituall causes* to be superiour and over the highest *Magistrates* in the World, if members of the Church.

Christs power in his Church confest to be above all Magistrates in spirituall things.

Hence therefore I infer, may she refuse to receive, and may also cast forth any, yea even the highest (if obstinate in Sin) cut of her *Spirituall society*.

Hence in this *Spirituall society*, that soule who hath most of *Christ*, most of His *Spirit*, is most (spiritually) honourable, according to the *Scriptures*, quoted *Acts* 15. 20. *Isa.* 49. 23. *Gal.* 3. 28.

And if so, how can this stand with their common *tenent*, that the *Civill Magistrate* must keep the first Table set up, reforme the *Church*, and be *Judge* and *Governour* in all *Ecclesiasticall* as well as *Civill causes*?

Secondly, I observe the lamentable wresting of this one Scripture,* Sometimes this Scripture must prove the *Power* of the *Civill Magistrates*, *Kings* and *Governours*, over the *Church* in *Spirituall causes* &c. Yet here this Scripture is produced to prove *Kings* and *Magistrates* (in *Spirituall causes*) to be censured and corrected by the same *Church*. 'Tis true in *severall respects*, he that is a *Governour* may be a *subject* but in *one* and the same *spirituall respect* to *judge* and to be *judged*: to sit on the *Bench*, and stand at the *Bar* of *Christ Jesus*, is as impossible as to reconcile the East and West together.

Isa. 49. 23. lamentably wrested.

CHAP.

CHAP. LXXXII.

*The first head, That both Iurisdictions may stand
together.*

Peace. “VV Hereas divers affecting transcending power to themselves over the Church have perswaded “the Princes of the World,* that the Kingdome of Christ in His “Church cannot rise or stand, without the falls of those Common- “weales wherein it is set up,* we do beleeve and professe the con- “trary to this suggestion; the government of the one being of “this World,* the other not; the Church helping forward the “prosperity of the Commonweale by meanes only *Ecclesiasticall* “and *Spirituall*; the Commonweale helping forward her owne “and the Churches felicity by meanes politicall or temporall;* the “falls of Commonweales being knowne to arise from their scat- “tering and diminishing the power of the Church, and the flouri- “shing of Commonweales with the well ordering of the people “(even in morall and civill virtues) being observed to arise from “the vigilant administration of the holy Discipline of the Church, “as *Bodin*, (a man not partiall to Church Discipline) plainly “testifieth. The vices in the free estate of Geneva, *quæ legibus nus- “quam vindicantur*, by meanes of Church Discipline, *sine vi & tu- “multu coercentur*; the Christian liberty not freeing us from sub- “jection to Authority, but from inthrallment and bondage unto “sinne.

Truth. Ans. From this *confession*,* that the *Church* or *Kingdome* of *Christ* may be set up without prejudice of the *Commonweale*, according to *John* 18. 36. My *Kingdome* is not of this *World*, &c. I observe that although the *Kingdome* of *Christ*, the *Church* and the *Civill Kingdome* or *Government* be not *inconsistent*, but that both may stand together; yet that they are *independent* according to that *Scripture*, and that therefore there may be (as formerly I have proved) flou- rishing *Commonweales* and *Societies* of men where no *Church* of *Christ* abideth; and secondly, the *Commonweale* may be in perfect peace and quiet, notwithstanding the *Church*, the *Commonweale* of *Christ* be in *distractions*, and spirituall *oppositions* both against their *Religions*, and sometimes amongst themselves, as the *Church* of *Christ*

The first head
examined.

John 18. 36.

Jer. 29. 7.

Ezra 7. 23.
Rom. 1. 2. 3.
2 Tim. 2. 2.

The Civill
Commonweal
and the Spirituall
Commonweale the
Church, not
inconsistent,
though inde-
pendent the
one on the o-
ther.

Christ in Corinth troubled with divisions, contentions, &c.

Secondly, I observe it is true the Church helpeth forward the prosperity of the *Commonweale* by spirituall meanes *Ier.* 29. 7. The prayers of Gods people procure the *peace* of the *City*, where they abide, yet that *Christs Ordinances* and *administrations of Worship* are appointed and given by *Christ* to any *Civill State, Towne* or *City* as is implied by the instance of *Geneva*, that I confidently deny.

The *Ordinances* and *Discipline of Christ Jesus*,* though wrongfully and prophanelly applied to naturall and unregenerate men may cast a blush of *civillity* and *morality* upon them as in *Geneva* and other places (for the shining brightnesse of the very *shadow* of *Christs Ordinances* casts a shame upon *barbarisme* and *incivillity* yet withall I affirme that the misapplication of *Ordinances* to unregenerate and unrepentant persons hardens up their soules in a dreadful sleep and dreame of their owne blessed estate, and sends *millions* of *soules* to hell in a secure expectation of a false *salvation*.

Christs Ordinances put upon a whole City or Nation, may more civilize and moralize, but never Christianize them.

CHAP. LXXXIV.

The second head, concerning Superiority of each Power.

Peace. “**B**Ecause contention may arise in future times which* “of these Powers under Christ is the greatest as it “hath been under Antichrist, we conceive first, That the power “of the *Civill Magistrates* is superiour to the *Church policie* in *place*, “honours, dignity, earthly power in the *World*;* and the *Church* superiour to him (being a member of the *Church*) *Ecclesiastically*, that “is, in a *Church* way ruling and ordering him by *Spirituall Ordinances* according to *God* for his *soules* health, as any other member, so that all the *power* the *Magistrate* hath over the *Church* is “temporall not spirituall,* and all the *power* the *Church* hath over the “*Magistrate* is spirituall not temporall: And as the *Church* hath “no temporall power over the *Magistrate*, in *ordine ad bonum spirituale*: So the *Magistrate* hath no *Spirituall* power over the “*Church in ordine ad bonum temporale*.

The second head concerning superiority of each power.
Rom. 13. 1. 5. 6
Isa. 49. 23.
Isa. 49. 23.

Luc. 12. 14.
Joh. 8. 11.
And that *judicium* of the church in law suits, 1 Cor. 6. 2 is only *arbitrium* not *coastivum*.

“Secondly, the delinquencie of either party calleth for the exercise of the power of terrour from the other part; for no Rulers “ordained of *God* are a terrour to good works, but to evill, *Rom.*

“13. 3. So that if the Church offend, the offence of the Church calleth upon the Civill Magistrate, either to seeke the healing thereof as a nursing father by his owne grave advice, and the advice of other Churches; or else if he cannot so prevaile to put forth and exercise the superiority of his power in redressing what is amisse according to the quality of the offence by the course of civill Justice.

“On the other side, if the Magistrate being a member of the Church shall offend, the offence calleth upon the Church either to seek the healing thereof in a brotherly way by conviction of his sinne; or else if they cannot prevaile, then to exercise the superiority of their power in removing of the offence and recovering of the offendour by Church censures.

Ans.
Truth

If the end of *Spirituall* or *Church* power is *bonum spirituale*, a spirituall good;★ and the end of *Civill* or *State* power is *bonum temporale*, a temporall good: And secondly, if the *Magistrate* have no spirituall power to attaine to his temporall end, no more then a *Church* hath any temporall power to attaine to her *Spirituall* end,★ as is confest: I demand if this be not a *contradiction* against their owne *disputes*, *tenents*, and *practices* touching that question of *persecution* for cause of *conscience*: For if the *Magistrate* be supreme *Judge* (and so consequently give supreme *judgement*, *sentence* and *determination*) in matters of the first Table, and of the *Church*, and be *custos utriusq*, *Tabulæ*, keepers of both Tables (as they speake) and yet have no *Spirituall* power as is affirmed, how can he determine what the true *Church* and *Ordinances* are, and then set them up with the power of the *Sword*? How can he give *judgement* of a false *Church*, a false *Ministry*, a false *Doctrine*, false *Ordinances*, and with a *Civil Sword* pull them down, if he have no *Spiritual power*, *authority* or *commission* from *Christ Iesus* for these ends and purposes?

Further I argue thus: If the *civill officers* of *State* must determine, judge and punish in *Spiritual causes*, his *power*, *authority* and *commission* must be either *Spirituall* or *Civill*, or else he hath none at all, and so acts without a *commission* and warrant from the *Lord Iesus*,★ and so consequently stands guilty at the Bar of *Christ Iesus* to answer for such his practice as a transcendent *Delinquent*.

Now for *civill power*, these worthy *Authors* confesse that the *Government* of the *civill Magistrate* extendeth no further then over the *bodies* and *goods* of the *Subject*, and therefore hath no *civill power*

A contradiction to make the Magistrate supreme judge in spirituall causes, and yet to have no spirituall power.

The Civill Magistrate confest to have no Civill power over the soules of men.

power over the *Soule*, and therefore (say I) not in *Soule-causes*.

Secondly, It is here confest in this passage, that to attaine his Civill end or *Bonum temporale*, he hath no *Spirituell power*,[★] and therefore of necessitie out of their own mouths must they be judged for provoking the *Magistrate*, without either *Civill* or *Spirituell power*, to judge, punish and persecute in *Spirituell causes*; and to feare and tremble, lest they come neere those *frogs* which proceed out of the mouth of the *Dragon* and *Beast* and *false Prophet*, who by the same *Arguments* which the *Authours* here use stirre up the *Kings* of the Earth to make warre against the *Lambe Christ Iesus*, and his Followers, *Revel.* 17.

Nor spirituall.

CHAP. LXXXV.

IN the next place I observe upon the point of *Delinquencie*, such a *confusion*, as *Heaven* and *Earth* may stand amazed at: If the *Church* offend (say they) after advice refused, in conclusion the *Magistrate* must redresse, that is, punish the *Church* (that is, in *Church offences* and cases) by a course of *Civill justice*.

On the other side, if the *Civill Magistrate* offend after *Admonition* used, and not prevailing, in conclusion the *Church* proceeds to *censure*, that is, to Excommunication, as is afterward more largely proved by them.

Now I demand, if the *Church* be a *Delinquent*, who shall judge? It is answered, the *Magistrate*. Againe, if the *Magistrate* be a *Delinquent*,[★] I aske who shall judge? It is answered, the *Church*. Whence I observe, (which is monstrous in all cases in the *World*) that one person, to wit, the *Church* or *Magistrate*, shall be at one time the *Delinquent* at the *Bar*, and the *Iudge* upon the *Bench*. This is cleere thus: The *Church* must judge when the *Magistrate* offends; and yet the *Magistrate* must judge when the *Church* offends; and so consequently in this case must judge whether she contemne *Civill Authority* in the *Second Table*, for thus dealing with him: Or whether she have broken the rules of the first Table, of which (say they) God hath made him *Keeper* and *Conserver*. And therefore, though the *Church* make him a *Delinquent* at the *Bar*, yet by their confession God hath made him a *Iudge* on the *Bench*. What *blood*, what *tumults* hath been, and must be spilt upon these grounds?

The Magistrate and the Church, by the Authors grounds, at one and the same time, in one and the same cause, made the Judges on the Bench, and Delinquents at the Barre.

Peace. Deare *Truth*, No question but the *Church* may punish the *Magistrate* spirituall in *spirituall* cases; and the *Magistrate* may punish the *Church*, *civilly*, in *civill* cases: But that for one and the same *cause* the *Church* must punish the *Magistrate*, and the *Magistrate* the *Church*, this seemes monstrous, and needs explanation.

Truth. Sweet *Peace*, I illustrate with this *Instance*: A true *Church of Christ* (of which, according to the *Authors* supposition, the *Magistrate* is a member) chooseth and calls one of her *members* to office:★ The *Magistrate* opposeth: The *Church* perswaded that the *Magistrates* exceptions are insufficient (according to her *priviledge*, which these Authours maintaine against the *Magistrates* prohibition) proceeds to Ordaine her officer: The *Magistrate* chargeth the *Church* to have made an unfit and unworthy choice, and therefore according to his *place* and *power*, and according to his *conscience* and *judgement* he suppresseth such an *officer*, and makes void the *Churches* choice: Upon this the *Church* complains against the *Magistrates* violation of her *priviledges* given her by *Christ Iesus*, and cries out that the *Magistrate* is turned *Persecuter* and not prevailing with *admonition*, she proceeds to *Excommunication* against him: The *Magistrate* according to his *conscience*, endures not such *profanation* of *Ordinances* as he conceives; and therefore, if no *advice* and *admonition* prevaile, he proceeds against such obstinate *abusers* of *Christs* holy *Ordinances*, (as the *Authors* grant he may) in *Civill Court of justice*, yea and (I adde according to the *patternne* of *Israel*) cuts them off by the *sword*, as obstinate *usurpers* and *prophaners* of the holy things of *Christ*.

I demand what helpe hath any poore *Church of Christ* in this case,★ by maintaining this power of the *Magistrate* to punish the *Church of Christ*, I meane in *spirituall* and *Soule-cases*, for otherwise I question not but he may put all the *members* of the *Church* to *death* justly, if they commit crimes worthy thereof, as *Paul* spake, *Acts* 23.

Shall the *Church* here slie to the *Popes* Sanctuarie against *Emperours* and *Princes* excommunicate, to wit, give away their *crowns*, *kingdomes* or *dominions*, and invite forraigne *Princes* to make War upon them and their *Territories*? The *Authors* surely will disclaime this; and yet I shall prove their *Tenents* tend directly unto such a practise.

Or

An illustration demonstrating that the Civill Magistrate cannot have power over the Church in spirituall or Church causes.

The punishments Civill which the Magistrate inflicts upon the Church for Civill crimes, lawfull and necessary.

Or secondly, shall she say the *Magistrate* is not a true *Magistrate* because not able to judge and determine in such cases? This, their *confession* will not give them leave to say, because they cannot deny *unbelievers* to be *lawfull Magistrates*: and yet it shall appeare (not withstanding their *confession* to the contrary) their Tenents imply, that none but a *Magistrate* after their own *conscience*, is a lawfull *Magistrate*.

Therefore, thirdly, they must ingenuously and honestly confesse, that if it be the duty of the *Magistrate* to punish the *Church* in *spirituall cases*, he must then judge according to his *conscience* and *persuasion*, whatever his *conscience* be: and then let all men judge into what a wofull state they bring both the *civill Magistrate* and *Church of Christ*, by such a *Church-destroying* and *State-destroying* Doctrine.

Peace. Some will here say, in such a case either the *Magistrate* on the *Church* must judge; either the *Spirituall* or *Civill* State must be supreme.

I answer, if the *Magistrate* be of another Religion,

First,★ What hath the *Church* to judge him being without?
1 Cor. 5.

Secondly, If he be a *member* of the *Church*, doubtles the *Church* hath power to judge (in *spirituall* and Soule-cases) with *spirituall* and *Church* censures all that are within, 1 Cor. 5.

Thirdly, If the *Church* offend against the *civill* peace of the *State*, by wronging the *bodies* or *goods* of any, the *Magistrate* bears not the sword in vaine, Rom. 13. to correct any or all the members of the *Church*.

And this I conceive to be the onely way of the God of Peace.

The true way of the God of Peace in differences between the Church & the Magistrate.

CHAP. LXXXVI.

The third head concerns the End of both these Powers.

“First the common and last end of both is Gods glory, and Mans “eternall felicitie.

“Secondly, the proper ends:

“First of Commonwealth, is the procuring, preserving, increasing of externall and temporall peace and felicitie of the State in “all Godlines and Honestie, 1 *Tim.* 2. 1, 2.

“Secondly, of the Church, a begetting, preserving, increasing
 “of internall and spirituall peace and felicity of the Church, in all
 “godlinesse and honesty, *Esay* 2. 3, 4. and 9. 7. So that Magistrates
 “have power given them from Christ in matters of Religion, be-
 “cause they are bound to see that outward peace be preserved, not
 “in all ungodlinesse and dishonesty (For such peace is Satanicall)
 “but in all godlinesse and honesty, for such peace God aymes at.
 “And hence the Magistrate is *custos* of both the Tables of godli-
 “nesse, in the first of Honesty, in the second for Peace sake. Hee
 “must see that honesty be preserved within his jurisdiction, or else
 “the subject will not be *bonus Cives*.★ Hee must see that godlinesse
 “as well as honesty be preserved, else the subject will not be *bonus*
 “*vir*, who is the best *bonus cives*. Hee must see that godlinesse and
 “honesty be preserved, or else himselfe will not bee *bonus Magi-*
 “*stratus*.

Truth. In this passage here are divers particulars affirmed mar-
 vellous destructive both to *godlinesse* and *honesty*, though under a
 faire marke and colour of both.

First, it will appeare that in spirituall things they make the *Gar-*
den and the *Wildernesse* (as often I have intimated) I say the *Garden*
 and the *Wildernesse*, the *Church* and the *World* are all one:★ for thus,
 If the *Powers* of the *World* or *Civill State*, are bound to propose
externall Peace in all *godlinesse* for their end, and the end of the
Church be to preserve internall Peace in all *godlinesse*, I demand if
 their end (*godlinesse*) bee the same, is not their *power* and *state* the
 same also, unlesse they make the *Church subordinate* to the *Common-*
wealths and, or the *Commonweale subordinate* to the *Churches* end,
 which (being the *governour* and setter up of it, and so consequent-
 ly the *Judges* of it) it cannot be?

Now if *godlinesse* bee the *worshipping* and walking with *God* in
Christ,★ is not the Magistrate and Commonweale charged more by
 this *tenent* with the *worship* and *Ordinances* of *God*, then the *Church*,
 for the Magistrate they charge with the externall peace in *godli-*
nesse, and the *Church* but with the *internall*.

I aske further, what is this internall peace in all *godlinesse*? whe-
 ther intend they internall within the *Soule*, which onely the eye of
God can see, opposed to *externall* or *visible*, which man also can
 discerne? or else whether they meane internall, that is spirituall
soule matters, matters of *Gods Worship*, and then I say that peace (to
 wit,

Chamer. de
 Eccles. p. 376.
 Park. part. po-
 lit. lib. 1. cap. 1

The Garden
 of the Church
 and the Wil-
 derness of the
 World made
 all one.

The Com-
 monweale
 more charged
 by these Au-
 thors with the
 Worship and
 Ordinances,
 then the
 Church.

wit, of *godlinesse* or *Gods worship*) they had before granted to the *civill State*?

Peace. The Truth is, (as I now perceive) the best and most *godly* of that *judgement* declare themselves never to have seene a true *difference* betweene the *Church* and the *World*,[★] and the *Spirituell* and *Civill State*; and howsoever these worthy *Authours* seeme to make a kinde of *separation* from the *World*, and professe that the *Church* must consist of *spirituall* and *living Stones*, *Saints*, *Regenerate* persons, and so make some peculiar inclosed *Ordinances*, as the Supper of the *Lord*, (which none, say they, but *godly* persons must taste of) yet by compelling all within their *Iurisdiction* to an outward *conformity* of the *Church worship*, of the *Word* and *Prayer*, and *maintenance* of the *Ministry* thereof, they evidently declare that they still lodge and dwell in the confused mixtures of the *uncleane* and *cleane*, of the *flock* of *Christ*, and *Herds* of the *World* together, I meane in *spirituall* and *religious* worship.

The authors of these Positions never yet saw a true difference betweene the Church of Christ and the world, in point of worship.

Truth. For a more full and clear discussion of this Scripture, 1 *Tim.* 2. 1. 2. (on which is weakly built such a mighty building) I shall propose and resolve these foure *Quæries*.

CHAP. LXXXVII.

First,[★] what is meant by *godlinesse* and *honesty* in this place. Secondly, what may the *scope* of the holy *Spirit* of *God* be in this place.

1 *Tim* 2. 1. discussed.

Thirdly, whether the *civill Magistrate* was then *custos utriusque Tabulæ*, keeper of both *Tables*, &c.

Fourthly, whether a *Church* or *Congregation* of *Christians* may not live in *godlinesse* and *honesty*, although the *civill Magistrate* be of another *conscience* and *worship*, and the whole *State* and *Country* with him.

To the first, What is here meant by *godlinesse* and *honesty*?

Answ.[★] I finde not that the *Spirit* of *God* here intendeth the first and second *Table*.

For, how ever the word Ευσέβεια signifie *godlinesse*, or the *worship* of *God*, yet the second word Σεμνότης I finde not that it signifies such an *honesty* as compriseth the *duties* of the second *Table*, but such an *honesty* as signifies *solemnity*, *gravity*, and so it is turned by the *Translatours*, Tit. 2. 7. ἐν τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ ἀφθορίαν, σεμνότητα, that is, in *doctrine*

The word honesty in this place of Timothy cannot signifie here the honesty or righteousness of the second Table.

doctrine, incorruptnesse, gravity: which *doctrine* cannot there bee taken for the *doctrine* of the *civill state*, or second Table, but the *gravity, majesty, and solemnity* of the spirituall *doctrine* of *Christianity*. So that according to the Translatours owne rendring of that word in *Titus*, this place of *Timothy* should be thus rendred (In all *godlinesse* (or *worshipping* of *God*) and *gravity*) that is, a solemne or grave profession of the *worship* of *God*; and yet this mistaken and misinterpreted *Scripture* is that great *Castle* and strong *Hold* which so many flye unto concerning the *Magistrates charge* over the two *Tables*.

Secondly, what is the *scope* of the *Spirit* of *God* in this place? I answer first *negatively*,* the *scope* is not to speake of the *duties* of the *first* and second *Table*:

Nor secondly is the *scope* to charge the *Magistrate* with forcing the people (who have chose him) to *godlinesse* or *Gods worship*, according to his *conscience*, (the *Magistrate* keeping the peace of externall *godlinesse*, and the *Church* of *internall*, as is affirmed:) but

Secondly, *positively*, I say the *Spirit* of *God* by *Paul* in this place provokes *Timothy* and the *Church* at *Ephesus*, and so consequently all the *Ministers* of *Christs Churches* and *Christians*, to pray for two things.

First,* for the peaceable and quiet state of the Countries and places of their abode, that is implied in their praying (as *Paul* directs them) for a quiet and *peaceable* condition, and suits sweetly with the command of the *Lord* to his people, even in *Babel*, *Ier.* 29. 7. Pray for the peace of the *City*, and seeke the *good* of it, for in the *Peace* thereof it shall goe well with you. Which *Ruie* will hold in any *Pagan* or *Popish city*,* and therefore consequently are *Gods* people to pray against *Warres*, *Famines*, *Pestilences*, and especially to bee far from kindling *coales* of *War*, and endeavour the bringing in and advancing their *conscience* by the *sword*.

Secondly, they are here commanded to pray for the *salvation* of *all men*, that *all men*, and especially *Kings* and *Magistrates* might be saved, and come to the knowledge of the *truth*, implying that the grave or solemne and shining *profession* of *godlinesse* or *Gods worship* according to *Christ Jesus*, is a blessed meanes to cause *all* sorts of men to be affected with the *Christian profession*, and to come to the same knowledge of that *one God* and *one Mediatour Christ Jesus*. All which tends directly against what it is brought for, to wit, the

Magi-

The scope of
Gods Spirit in
this place of
Timothy.

Gods people
must pray for
and endeavour
the peace of
the State they
live in.

Although Pa-
gan or Popish

Magistrates forcing all men to godlinesse or the worshipping of God, which in truth causeth the greatest breach of peace, and the greatest distractions in the World, and the setting up that for godlinesse or, worship which is no more then Nebuchadnezzars golden Image, a State worship, and in some places the worship of the Beast, and his Image, Dan 3. Rev. 13.*

Forcing of men to godlinesse or Gods worship, the greatest cause of breach of Civill peace

CHAP. LXXXVIII.

THirdly, I Quærie whether the *Civill Magistrate* (which was then the *Roman Emperour*) was *keeper* or *guardian* of both *Tables* (as is affirmed.)

Scripture and all *History* tell us,* that those *Cæsars* were not only ignorant, without *God*, without *Christ*, &c. but professed *worshippers* or *maintainers* of the *Roman gods* or *divells*; as also notorious for all sorts of *wickednesse*, and lastly, *cruell* and *bloudy Lions*, and *Tygers* toward the *Christians* for many hundred yeares.

The Roman Cæsars described.

Hence I argue from the *wisdome*, *love* and *faithfulnesse* of the *Lord Jesus* in his *house*,* it was impossible that he should appoint such *ignorant*, such *Idolatrous*, such *wicked* and such *cruell* persons to be his *chiefe Officers* and *Deputy Lieutenants* under himselfe to keep the *worship* of *God*, to guard his *Church*, his *Wife*: No wise and loving father was ever knowne to put his *childe*, no not his *beasts*, *dogs* or *swine*, but unto fitting keepers.

Not appointed by Christ Jesus keepers and guardians of his Church.

Men judge it matter of high complaint, that the *Records* of *Parliament*, the *Kings children*, the *Tower of London*, the *Great Seale* should be committed to unworthy *keepers*! And can it be without high *blasphemie* conceived that the *Lord Jesus* should commit his *Sheep*, his *Children*, yea his *Spouse*, his thousand shields and bucklers in the *Tower* of his *Church*! and lastly, his *Great and Glorious Broad Seales* of *Baptisme* and his *Supper*, to be preserved pure in their *adminstrations*, I say that the *Lord Iesus* who is *wisdome*, and *faithfulnesse* it selfe, should deliver these to such *keepers*.

Peace. Some will say, it is one thing what persons are in *fact* and *practice*: another what they ought to be by *right* and *office*.

Truth. In such cases as I have mentioned, no man doth in the common eye of *reason* deliver such matters of *charge* and *trust* to such as declare *themselves* and *sinnes* (like *Sodome*) at the very time of this great charge and trust to be committed to them.

Peace. It will further be said, that many of the *Kings* of *Judah* who had the charge of *establishing, reforming* (and so consequently of keeping the first Table) the *Church, Gods worship, &c.* were notoriously *wicked, Idolatrous, &c.*

Truth. I must then say, the case is not alike, for when the *Lord* appointed the *Government* of *Israel* after the rejection of *Saul* to establish a Covenant of *succession* in the type unto *Christ*, let it be minded what *pattern* and *president* it pleased the *Lord* to set for the after *Kings* of *Israel* and *Judah*, in *David* the man after His owne *Heart*.

But now the *Lord Jesus* being come Himselfe, and having fulfilled the former types, and dissolved the *Nationall State* of the *Church*, and established a more *Spirituell* way of *worship* all the *World* over,* and appointed a *Spirituell government* and *governours*, it is well knowne what the *Roman Cæsars* were, under whom both *Christ Jesus Himselfe* and his *Servants* after him lived and suffered; so that if the *Lord Jesus* had appointed any such *Deputies* (as we finde not a tittle to that purpose, nor have a shadow of true reason so to thinke) he must I say in the very first *institution*, have pitched upon such persons for these *Custodes utriusq, Tabulæ*, keepers of both Tables, as no man wise, or faithfull or loving, would have chosen in any of the former *Instances* or cases of a more inferiour nature.

Beside to that great *pretence* of *Israel*, I have largely spoken to.

Secondly, I aske how could the *Roman Cæsars* or any *Civill Magistrates* be *custodes*, keepers of the *Church* and *worship* of *God*, when as the *Authours* of these *positions* acknowledge, that their *Civill power* extends but to *bodies* and *goods*.

And for *Spirituell power* they say they have none, *ad bonum temporale* (to a temporall good) which is their proper end, and then having neither *Civill* nor *Spirituell power* from the *Lord Iesus* to this purpose, how come they to be such Keepers as is pretended? Thirdly, If the *Roman Emperours* were Keepers,* what Keepers were the *Apostles*, unto whom the *Lord Jesus* gave the care and charge of the *Churches*, and by whom the *Lord Iesus* charged *Timothy*, 1 *Tim.* 6. to keep those *commands* of the *Lord Iesus* without spot untill his *comming*.

These Keepers were called the foundation of the *Church*, *Ephes.* 2. 20. and made up the *Crowne* of 12 Stars about the head of the *Woman*,

It pleased not the Lord Jesus in the first institution of his Church to furnish himselfe with any such Civill Governours, as unto whom hee might commit the care of his worship.

The true Keepers which Christ Jesus appointed, of his Ordinances and Worship.

Woman, *Rev.* 12. whose names were also written in the 12 *foundations* of *New Ierusalem*, *Rev.* 21.

Yea what Keepers then are the ordinary Officers of the *Church* appointed to be the Shepherds or Keepers of the Flocke of *Christ*, appointed to be the Porters or Dore-keepers and to watch in the absence of *Christ*, *Mark* 13. 34. *Acts* 20.

Yea what charge hath the whole *Church* it selfe, which is the pillar and ground of *Truth*, 2 *Tim.* 2. in the midst of which *Christ* is present with his Power, 1 *Cor.* 5. to keep out or cast out the impenitent and obstinate, even *Kings* and *Emperours* themselves from their Spirituall society, 1 *Cor.* 5. *Jam.* 3. 1. *Gal.* 3. 28.

4. I aske whether in the time of the *Kings* of *Israel* and *Iudah* (whom I confesse in the typicall and Nationall state to be charged with both Tables) I aske whether the *Kings* of the *Assyrians*,* the *Kings* of the *Ammonites*, *Moabites*, *Philistims*, were also constituted and ordained Keepers of the worship of *God* as the *Kings* of *Iudah* were (for they were also lawfull *Magistrates* in their *Dominions*?) or whether the *Roman Emperours* were *custodes*, or keepers more then they? or more then the *King* of *Babylon Nebuchadnezzar*, under whose Civill government *Gods* people lived, and in his owne Land and City, *Ier.* 29.

The Kings of the Assyrians &c. not charged with Gods worship as the Kings of Judah in that Nationall and typicall church

CHAP. LXXXIX.

Peace. **Y**OU remember (deare *Truth*) that *Constantine*, *Theodoseus*,* and others were made to beleieve that they were the *Antitypes* of the *Kings* of *Iudah*, the *Church* of *God*; and *Henry* the 8. was told that that Title *Defensor Fidei*, Defendour of the *Faith* (though sent him by the *Pope* for writing against *Luther*) was his owne *Diadem* due unto him from *Heaven*. So likewise since, the *Kings* and *Queens* of *England* have been instructed.

Constantine, *Theodosius*. &c. misinformed.

Truth. But it was not so from the beginning, as that very difference between that Nationall state of the *Church* of *God* then, and other *Kings* and *Magistrates* of the *World* (not so charged) doth clearly evince and leadeth us to the Spirituall *King* of the *Church*, *Christ Iesus* the *King* of *Israel*, and his Spirituall Government and Governours therein.

Fifthly, I aske whether had the *Roman Cæsars* more charge to see all their Subjects observe and submit to the worship of *God* in

Masters of families under the Gospel not charged to force all under him from their owne consciences to his.

their dominion of the *World*, then a *master*,★ *father* or *husband* now under the *Gospel* in his *Familie*?

Families are the *foundations* of *government*, for what is a *Commonweale*, but a *Commonweale* of *Families* agreeing to live together for common good?

Now in *families*, suppose a beleieving *Christian Husband* hath an unbeleiving *Antichristian wife*, what other charge in this respect is given to an *husband*, 1 Cor. 7. but to dwell with her as an husband if she be pleased to dwell with him: but, to bee so farre from forcing her from her conscience unto his, as that if for his conscience sake she would depart, he was not to force her to tarry with him, 1 Cor. 7. Consequently the *Father* or *Husband* of the *State* differing from the *Commonweale* in *Religion*, ought not to force the *Commonweale*, nor to be forced by it: yet is he to continue a *civill husbands* care, if the *Commonweale* will live with him, and abide in *civill covenant*.

Now as a *husband* by his *love* to the *truth* and holy *conversation* in it, and seasonable *exhortations*, ought to indeavour to save his wife, yet abhorring to use *corporall compulsion* (yea, in this case to *childe* or *servant*) so ought the *Father*, *Husband*, *Governor* of the *Commonweale* endeavour to win and save whom possibly he may, yet farre from the appearance of *civill violence*.

If the charge of Gods worship was left with the *Romane Emperour*, then was he bound to turne the whole world into the *Garden*, *Flock*, and *Spouse* of *Christ*. Millions put to death.

Sixthly,★ if the *Romane Emperours* were charged by *Christ* with his *Worship* in their dominion, and their *dominion* was over the *world* (as was the *dominion* of the *Grecian*, *Persian*, and *Babylonian Monarchy* before them) who sees not if the whole world bee forced to turne *Christian* (as afterward and since it hath pretended to doe) who sees not then that the world (for whom *Christ Jesus* would not pray) and the *God* of it, are reconciled to *Jesus Christ*, and the whole *field* of the *world* become his inclosed *garden*?

Seventhly, if the *Romane Emperors* ought to have been by *Christs* appointment *Keepers* of both *Tables*, *Antitypes* of *Israel* and *Judahs Kings*, how many *millions* of *Idolaters* and *Blasphemers* against *Christ Jesus* and his worship ought they to have put to death according to *Israels* patterne?

Lastly, I aske (if the *Lord Iesus* had delivered his *Sheepe* and *Children* to these *Wolves*, his *Wife* and *Spouse* to such *Adulterers*, his precious *Jewels* to such great *Theeves* and *Robbers* of the *world* as the *Romane Emperours* were, what is the *reason* that he was never pleased

sed to send any of his *servants* to their *gates* to crave their *helpe* & *assistance* in this his worke,* to put them in minde of their office, to chalenge and claime such a service from them according to their office, as it pleased God alwayes to send to the Kings of Israel and Judah in the like case?

Peace. Some will here object *Pauls* appealing to *Cæsar*.

Truth. And I must refer them to what I formerly answered to that Objection. *Paul* never appealed to *Cæsar* as a Judge appointed by Christ Jesus to give definitive sentence in any spirituall or Church controversie, but against that civill *violence* and *murther* which the *Jewes* intended against him, *Paul* justly appealed: For otherwise if in a *spirituall cause* he should have appealed, he should have overthrowne his owne *Apostleship* and *Power* given him by *Christ Jesus* in *spirituall* things, above the highest *Kings* or *Emperors* of the world beside.

Christ never sent any of his Ministers or Servants to the Civil Magistrate for help in spirituall matters.

CHAP. XC.

Peace. **B**Lessed *Truth*, I shall now remember you of the fourth *Quærie* upon this place of *Timothy*, to wit, whether a Church of *Christ Iesus* may not live in *Gods worship* and comelinesse, notwithstanding that the *civill Magistrate* professe not the same but a contrary *Religion* and *Worship* in his owne person and the Country with him.

Truth. I answer the Churches of *Christ* under the *Roman Emperours* did live in all *godlinesse* and *christian gravity*,* as appeares by all their holy and glorious practices, which the Scripture abundantly testifies.

Secondly, this flowes from an *institution* or *appointment* of such a *power* and *authority*, left by the *Lord Iesus* to his *Apostles* and *Churches*, that no ungodlinesse or dishonesty in the first appearance of it was to be suffered, but suppress and cast out from the *Churches of Christ*, even the little Leaven of doctrine or practice, 1 *Corinth.* 5. *Gal.* 5.

Christ Jesus hath left power in his Church to preserve her selfe pure, though in an idolatrous Countrey.

Lastly, I adde, that although sometimes it pleaseth the *Lord* to vouchsafe his *servants peace* and *quietnesse*, and to command them here in *Timothy* to pray for it, for those good ends and purposes for which *God* hath appointed *civill Magistracy* in the *world*, to keepe the *world* in *peace* and *quietnesse*. Yet *Gods* people have used most to

Gods people
have used to
shine in bright-
test godlinesse
when they
have enjoyed
least quietnes.

abound with *godlinesse* and *honesty*,★ when they have enjoyed least *peace* and *quietnesse*. Then like those *spices*, Cant. 4. *Myrrhe*, *Frankincense*, *Saffron*, *Calamus*, &c. they have yeelded the sweetest favour to *God* and man, when they were pounded and burnt in cruell *persecution* of the *Romane Censors*: then are they (as *Gods Venison*) most sweet when most hunted: *Gods Stars* shining brightest in the darkest night: more heavenly in *conversation*, more *mortified*: more abounding in *love* each to other, more longing to be with *God*: when the *inhospitable* and *salvage World* hath used them like *strangers*, and forced them to hasten home to another Country which they professe to seeke.

CHAP. XCI.

Peace. **D**Eare *Truth*, it seemes not to be unseasonable to close up this *passage* with a short descant upon that *Assertion*, viz. “A *subject* without *godlinesse* will not be *bonus vir*, a good man, “nor a *Magistrate* except he see *godlinesse* preserved, will not be *bonus Magistratus*.

Truth. I confesse that without *godlinesse* or a true *worshipping* of *God* with an upright heart according to *Gods Ordinances*, neither *Subjects* nor *Magistrates* can please *God* in *Christ Iesus*, and so be spiritually or *christianly good*,★ which few *Magistrates* and few men either come to, or are ordained unto: *God* having chosen a little *flock* out of the world, and those generally poore and meane, 1 *Cor.* 1. *Iam.* 2. Yet this I must remember you of, that when the most *High God* created *all things* of *nothing*, he saw and acknowledged divers sorts of *goodnesse*,★ which must still be acknowledged in their distinct kindes: a good *Ayre*, a good *Ground*, a good *Tree*, a good *Sheepe*, &c.

I say the same in *Artificialls*, a good *Garment*, a good *House*, a good *Sword*, a good *Ship*.

I also adde a good *City*, a good *Company* or *Corporation*, a good *Husband*, *Father*, *Master*.

Hence also we say, a good *Physitian*, a good *Lawyer*, a good *Sea-man*, a good *Merchant*, a good *Pilot*, for such or such a *shoare* or *Harbour*, that is, Morally, Civilly good in their severall *Civill respects* and imployments.

Hence (*Psal.* 133.) the *Church* or *Citie* of *God* is compared to
a *City*

Few Magi-
strates, few
men spiritual-
ly and christi-
anly good.

Yet divers
sorts of good-
nesse naturall,
artificiall, ci-
vill, &c.

a *Citie* compact within it selfe; which compactnes may be found in many *Townes* and *Cities* of the *World*, where yet hath not shined any spirituall or supernaturall *goodnesse*. Hence the *Lord Jesus* (*Matth.* 12.) describes an ill state of an *house* or *kingdome*, viz. to be divided against it selfe, which cannot stand.

These I observe to prove, that a *Subject*, a *Magistrate*,★ may be a good *Subject*, a good *Magistrate*, in respect of *civill* or *morall goodnes*, which thousands want, and where it is, it is commendable and beautifull, though *Godlines* which is infinitely more beautifull, be wanting, and which is onely proper to the *Christian state*, the *Commonweale* of *Israel*, the true *Church*, the holy *Nation*, *Ephes.* 2. 1 *Pet.* 2.

The Civill Goodnes of Cities, Kingdomes, Subjects, Magistrates, must be owned, although Spirituall goodnes (proper to the Christian State or Church) be wanting.

Lastly, however the *Authors* deny that there can be *Bonus Magistratus*, a good Magistrate, except the see all *Godlines* preserved; yet themselves confesse that *civill honesty* is sufficient to make a good *Subject*, in these words, viz. He must see that *Honestie* be preserved within his *jurisdiction*, else the *Subject* will not be *Bonus cives*, a good *citizen*: and doubtlesse (if the *Law* of *Relations* hold true) that *civill honestie* which makes a good *citizen*, must also (together with qualifications sit for a Commander) make also a good *Magistrate*.

CHAP. XCII.

Peace. **T**He 4. head is, The proper meanes of both these Powers to attaine their ends.

“First, the proper meanes whereby the Civill Power may and “should attaine its end, are onely Politicall, and principally “these Five.

“First the erecting and establishing what forme of Civill Government may seeme in wisdom most meet, according to generall rules of the Word, and state of the people.

“Secondly, the making, publishing, and establishing of wholesome Civill Lawes, not only such as concerne Civill Justice, but “also the free passage of true Religion: for, outward Civill Peace “ariseth and is maintained from them both, from the latter as well “as from the former:

“Civill peace cannot stand intire, where Religion is corrupted, “2 *Chron.* 15. 3. 5. 6. *Iudg.* 8. And yet such Lawes, though conversant

“sant about Religion, may still be counted Civill Lawes, as on the contrary, an Oath doth still remaine Religious, though conversant about Civill matters.

“Thirdly, Election and appointment of Civill officers, to see execution of those Lawes.

“Fourthly, Civill Punishments and Rewards, of Transgressors and Observers of these Lawes.

“Fifthly, taking up Armes against the Enemies of Civill Peace.

“Secondly, the meanes whereby the Church may and should attaine her ends, are only ecclesiasticall, which are chiefly five.

“First, setting up that forme of Church Government only, of which Christ hath given them a pattern in his Word.

“Secondly, acknowledging and admitting of no Lawgiver in the Church, but Christ, and the publishing of his Lawes.

“Thirdly, Electing and ordaining of such officers onely, as Christ hath appointed in his Word.

“Fourthly, to receive into their fellowship them that are approved, and inflicting Spirituall censures against them that offend.

“Fifthly, Prayer and patience in suffering any evill from them that be without, who disturbe their peace.

“So that Magistrates, as Magistrates, have no power of setting up the Forme of Church Government, electing Church officers, punishing with Church censures, but to see that the Church doth her duty herein. And on the other side, the Churches as Churches, have no power (though as members of the Commonweale they may have power) of erecting or altering formes of Civill Government, electing of Civill officers, inflicting Civill punishments (no not on persons excommunicate) as by deposing Magistrates from their Civill Authoritie, or withdrawing the hearts of the people against them, to their Lawes, no more then to discharge wives, or children, or servants, from due obedience to their husbands, parents, or masters: or by taking up armes against their Magistrates, though he persecute them for Conscience: for though members of Churches who are publique officers also of the Civill State, may suppress by force the violence of Usurpers, as *Iehoiada* did *Athaliah*, yet this they doe not as members of the Church, but as officers of the Civill State.

Truth.

Truth. Here are divers considerable *passages* which I shall briefly examine, so far as concerne our *controverſie*.

First, whereas they ſay, that the *Civill Power*★ may erect and eſtabliſh what *forme* of *civill Government* may ſeeme in *wiſedome* moſt meet, I acknowledge the *propoſition* to be moſt true, both in it ſelf, and alſo conſidered with the end of it, that a *civill Government* is an *Ordinance* of God, to conſerve the *civill peace* of people, ſo farre as concerne their *Bodies* and *Goods*, as formerly hath bene ſaid.

Civill power originally and fundamentally in the people.

But from this *Grant* I infer, (as before hath been touched) that the *Sovereigne*, *originall*, and *foundation* of *civill power* lies in the *people*, (whom they muſt needs meane by the *civill power* diſtinct from the *Government* ſet up.) And if ſo, that a *People* may erect and eſtabliſh what *forme* of *Government* ſeemes to them moſt meete for their *civill condition*: It is evident that ſuch *Governments* as are by them erected and eſtabliſhed, have no more *power*, nor for no longer time, then the *civill power* or people conſenting and agreeing ſhall betruſt them with. This is cleere not only in *Reason*, but in the experience of all *common-weales*, where the people are not deprived of their *naturall freedome* by the power of *Tyrants*.

And if ſo, that the *Magiſtrates* receive their power of governing the *Church*,★ from the *People*; undeniably it followes, that a *people*, as a *people*, naturally conſidered (of what *Nature* or *Nation* ſoever in *Europe*, *Asia*, *Africa* or *America*) have fundamentally and originally, as men, a power to governe the *Church*, to ſee her doe her *duty*, to correct her, to redreſſe, reforme, eſtabliſh, &c. And if this be not to pull *God* and *Chriſt*, and *Spirit* out of *Heaven*, and ſubject them unto *naturall*, ſinfull, inconstant men, and ſo conſequently to *Sathan* himſelfe, by whom all *peoples* naturally are guided, let *Heaven* and *Earth* judge.

Mr. Cotton and the New-English Miniſters give the Government of Chriſts Church or Spouſe into the hands of the people or Common-weale.

Peace. It cannot by their owne *Grant* be denied, but that the *wildeſt Indians* in *America* ought (and in their kind and ſeverall degrees doe) to agree upon ſome *formes* of *Government*,★ ſome more *civill*, compact in *Townes*, &c. ſome leſſe. As alſo that their *civill* and *earthly Governments* be as lawfull and true as any *Governments* in the *World*, and therefore conſequently their *Governors* are *Keeper*s of the *Church* or both *Tables*, (if any Church of Chriſt ſhould ariſe or be amongſt them:) and therefore laſtly, (if *Chriſt* have be-truſted and charged the *civill Power* with his *Church*) they muſt

The very Indian Americans made Governours of the Church by the Authors of theſe Poſitions.

judge according to their *Indian* or *American consciences*, for other *consciences* it cannot be supposed they should have.

CHAP. XCIII.

Truth. **A** Gaine, whereas they say that outward Civill peace cannot stand where *Religion* is corrupted; and quote for it, 2 *Chron.* 15. 3. 5. 6 & *Judges* 8.

I answer with *admiration* how such excellent *spirits* (as these *Authors* are furnished with, not only in heavenly but earthly affaires) should so forget, and be so fast asleep in things so palpably evident, as to say that outward *civill* peace cannot stand, where *Religion* is corrupt. When so many stately *Kingdomes* and *Governments* in the *world* have long and long enjoyed *civill* peace and quiet,* notwithstanding their *Religion* is so corrupt, as that there is not the very Name of *Iesus Christ* amongst them: And this every *Historian*, *Merchant*, *Traveller*, in *Europe*, *Asia*, *Africa*, *America*, can testifie: for so spake the *Lord Jesus* himselfe, *Joh.* 16. The *world* shall sing and rejoyce.

Secondly, for that Scripture 2 *Chron.* 15. 3 &c relating the miseries of *Israel* and *Judah*, and *Gods* plagues upon the people for corruption of their *Religion*, it must still have reference to that peculiar state unto which *God* called the seed of one man, *Abraham*, in a *figure*, dealing so with them as he dealt not with any Nation in the World, *Psal.* 146 *Rom.* 9.

The *Antitype* to this State I have proved to be the *Christian Church*, which consequently hath been and is afflicted with spirituall *plagues*, *desolations* and *captivities*, for corrupting of that *Religion* which hath been revealed unto them. This appeares by the 7 *Churches*, and the people of *God*, now so many hundred yeares in wofull *bondage* and slaverte to the mysticall *Babel*, untill the time of their joyfull *deliverance*.

Peace. Yea but they say that such *Lawes* as are conversant about *Religion*, may still be accounted *Civill Lawes*, as on the contrary an Oath doth still remaine *Religious*, though conversant about *Civill* matters.

Truth. *Lawes* respecting *Religion* are two-fold:*

First, such as concerne the *acts* of *Worship* and the *Worship* it self, the *Ministers* of it, their *fitnes* or *unfitnes*, to be suppressed or established:

Many Civill States in flourishing peace and quiet, where the Lord Jesus is not founded.

Lawes concerning Religion, either Religious,

blished: and for such Lawes we find no footing in the New *Testament* of Jesus Christ.

Secondly, *Lawes* respecting *Religion* may be such as meerly concerne the *Civill State*,* *Bodies* and *Goods* of such and such persons, professing these and these *Religions*, viz. that such and such persons, notorious for *Mutinies*, *Treasons*, *Rebellions*, *Massacres*, be disarmed:* Again, that no persons *Papists*, *Jewes*, *Turkes*, or *Indians* be disturbed at their *worship*, (a thing which the very *Indians* abhor to practice toward any.) Also that *imanitie* and *freedom* from *Tax* and *Toll* may be granted unto the people of such or such a *Religion*, as the *Magistrate* pleaseth, *Ezra* 7.

or Civill.

The very Indians abhor to disturbe any Conscience at Worship.

These and such as are of this nature, concerning only the *bodies* and *goods* of such and such *Religious persons*, I confesse are meerly Civill.

But now on the other hand, that *Lawes* restraining persons from such and such a *Worship*, because the *Civill state* judgeth it to be false:

That *Laws* constraining to such & such a *worship*, because the *Civill State* judgeth this to be the only true way of worshipping *God*:

That such and such a *Reformation* of *Worship* be submitted unto by all Subjects in such a *Iurisdiction*.*

That such and such *Churches*, *Ministers*, *Ministries* be pull'd downe, and such and such *Churches*, *Ministries*, and *Ministrations* set up:

Canons and Constitutions pretended Civill, but indeed Ecclesiastical.

That such *Lawes* properly concerning *Religion*, *God*, the *Soules* of men, should be *Civill Lawes* and *Constitutions*; is as far from *Reason*, as that the *Commandements* of *Paul*, which he gave the *Churches* concerning *Christs worship* (1 Cor. 11. & 1 Cor. 14.) were *Civill* and *Earthly constitutions*: Or that the *Canon* and *Constitutions* of either *æcumenicall* or *Nationall synods* concerning *Religion*, should be *Civill* and *State-conclusions* and agreements.

To that instance of an *Oath* remaining *religious* though conversant about *civill things*; I answer and acknowledge, an *Oath* may be spirituall,* though taken about earthly *business*, and accordingly it will prove, and onely prove what before I have said, that a *Law* may be civill though it concerne persons of this and of that *religion*, that is as the *persons* professing it are concerned in *civill respects* of *bodies* or *goods*, as I have opened; whereas if it concerne the *soules* and *religions* of men simply so considered in reference to *God*, it

Laws meerly concerning spirituall things, must needs be spirituall.

must of necessity put on the nature of a *religious* or *spirituall ordinance* or *constitution*.

Besides, it is a most improper and fallacious instance for an *oath*, being an *invocation* of a true or false *God* to judge in a case, is an action of a *spirituall* and *religious nature*, what ever the *subject* matter be about which it is taken, whether *civill* or *religious*: but a *law* or *constitution* may be *civill* or *religious*, as the *subject* about which it is *conversant* is, either *civill* (meerly concerning *bodies* or *goods*) or *religious* concerning *soule* and *worship*.

CHAP. XCIV.

Peace. **T**Heir fifth Head is concerning the Magistrates power in making of Lawes.

“First, they have power to publish and apply such Civill Lawes “in a State as either are exprest in the Word of God in *Moses* Judicialls (to wit, so far as they are of generall and morall equity, “and so binding all Nations in all Ages) to bee deducted by way “of generall consequence and proportion from the word of “God.

“For in a free State no Magistrate hath power over the bodies, “goods, lands, liberties of a free people, but by their free consents. “And because free men are not free Lords of their owne estates, “but are onely stewards under God, therefore they may not give “their free consents to any Magistrate to dispose of their bodies, “goods, lands, liberties at large as themselves please, but as God (the “soveraigne Lord of all) alone. And because the Word is a perfect “rule as wel of righteousness as of holines, it will be therefore necessary that neither the people give consent, nor that the Magistrate “take power to dispose of the bodies, goods, lands, liberties of the “people, but according to the Lawes and Rules of the Word of “God.

“Secondly, in making Lawes about civill and indifferent things “about the Commonweale.

“First, he hath no power given him of God to make what laws “he please, either in restraining from, or constraining to the use of “indifferent things, because that which is indifferent in its nature, “may sometimes bee inexpedient in its use, and consequently unlawfull, 1 *Cor.* 2. 5. it having been long since defended upon good “ground, *Quicquid non expeait, quatenus non expedit, non licet*.

Second-

“Secondly, he hath no power to make any such Lawes about indifferent things, wherein nothing good or evill is shewne to the people, but onely or principally the meere authority or wil of the imposor for the observance of them, *Colos. 2. 21, 22. 1 Cor. 7. 23*, compared with *Ephes. 6. 6*.

“It is a prerogative proper to God to require obedience of the sonnes of men, because of his authority and will.

The will of no man is *Regula recti*, unlesse first it bee *Regula recta*.

“It is an evill speech of some, that in some things the will of the Law, not the *ratio* of it, must be the Rule of Conscience to walke by; and that Princes may forbid men to seeke any other reason but their authority, yea when they command *frivola & dura*. And therefore it is the duty of the Magistrate in all lawes about indifferent things, to shew the Reasons, not onely the Will, to shew the expediency, as well as the indifferency of things of that nature.

“For we conceive in Lawes of this nature, it is not the will of the Lawgiver onely, but the Reason of the Law which bindes. *Ratio est Rex Legis, & Lex est Rex Regis*.

“Thirdly, because the judgement of expedient and inexpedient things is often difficult and diverse, it is meet that such Lawes should not proceed without due consideration of the Rules of Expediency set downe in the Word, which are these three:

“First, the rule of Piety, that they may make for the glory of God, *1 Cor. 10. 31*.

“Secondly, the rule of Charity, that no scandall come hereby to any weake brother, *1 Cor. 8. 13*.

“Thirdly, the Rule of Charity, that no man be forced to submit against his conscience, *Rom. 14. 14. 23*. nor be judged of contempt of lawfull Authority, because he is not suddenly perswaded of the expediency of indifferent things; for if the people be bound by God to receive such Lawes about such things, without any triall or satisfaction to the conscience, but must judge them expedient because the Magistrate thinkes them so, then the one cannot be punished in following the other, in case he shall sinne in calling *Inexpedient Expedient*; but Christ saith the contrary, If the blinde lead the blinde, they shall both fall.

Truth. In this passage these worthy Men lay downe such a *ground*, as the *gates of Hell* are not able to shake concerning the *Magistrates* walking in indifferent things:★ And upon which *ground* that *Towre of Lebanon* may be raised whereon there hang a thousand *shields* and *bucklars*, *Cant 4.* to wit, that invincible *Truth*, That no man is to be *persecuted* for cause of *conscience*: The *ground* is this: The *Magistrate* hath not *power* to make what *Lawes* he please, either in *restraining* or *constraining* to the use of indifferent things: And further he confesseth that the *reason* of the *Law*, not the *will* of it must be the rule of conscience. And they adde this impregnable reason: viz. “If the people be bound to receive “such *Lawes* without satisfaction to conscience, then one can- “not be punished for following the other, in case he shall sinne “contrary to Christ Jesus, who saith, If the blinde lead the blinde, “they shall both fall.

Hence I argue, If the *Civill Magistrate* have no power to *re- straine* or *constraine* their *subjects* in things in their owne nature in- different,★ as in eating of *meats*, wearing this or that *garment*, u- sing this or that *gesture*, but that they are bound to try and examine his *commands*, and satisfie their owne *reason*, *conscience* and *judge- ment* before the *Lord*, and that they shall sinne, if they follow the *Magistrates* command, not being perswaded in their owne soule and conscience that his commands are according to *God*! It will be much more unlawfull and heynous in the *Magistrate* to com- pell the subjects unto that which (according to their *consciences* per- swasion) is simply unlawfull as unto a falsely constituted *Church*, *Ministry*, *Worship*, *Administration*, and they shall not escape the Ditch, by being led blindfold by the *Magistrate*, but though hee fall in first, yet they shall in after him, and upon him, to his greater and more dreadfull judgement.

In particular thus, If the *Magistrate* may *restraine* me from that gesture in the Supper of the Lord, which I am perswaded I ought to practice, he may also *restraine* me by his commands from that Supper of the Lord it selfe in such or such a Church according to my conscience.

If he cannot (as they grant) *constraine* me to such or such a gar- ment in the worship of God, can he *constraine* me to worship God by such a Ministry, and with such worship, which my soule and conscience cannot be perswaded is of God?

If

The Authors large confessi- on of the liber- ty of consci- ence from the Laws of Ci- vill authority in spirituall cases.

Civill Magi- strates confes- sed not to have power to urge the conscience in indifferent things.

If he cannot command me in that circumstance of time to worship God this or that day, can he command mee to the worship it selfe?

Peace. Me thinkes I discerne a threefold guilt to lye upon such Civill powers as impose upon and inforce the conscience,* though not unto the ministration and participation of the Seales, yet either to depart from that worship which it is perswaded of, or to any exercise or worship which it hath not faith in.

A threefold guilt lying upon Civil powers commanding the subjects soule in worship.

First, of an appearance of that Arminian Popish doctrine of freewill, as if it lay in their owne power and ability to beleieve upon the Magistrates command since it is confessed that what is submitted to by any without faith it is sinne, be it never so true and holy *Rom.* 14.

Secondly, since God only openeth the heart and worketh the will, *Phil.* 2. it seemes to be an high presumption to suppose that together with a command restraining from, or constraining to worship, that God is also to be forced or commanded to give faith to open the heart to incline the will, &c.

Thirdly, A guilt of the hypocrisie of their subjects and people in forcing them to act and practice in matters of Religion and Worship against the doubts and checks of their consciences,* causing their bodies to worship, when their soules are far off, to draw near with their lips, their hearts being far off, &c.

Persons may with lesse sin be forced to many whom they cannot love, then to worship where they cannot beleieve.

With lesse sinne ten thousand fold may a naturall Father force his daughter, or the Father of the Commonweale force all the maydens in a Country to the marriage beds of such and such men whom they cannot love, then the soules of these and other subjects to such worship or Ministry, which is either a true or false, because *Cant.* 1. 16.

Truth. Sweet *Peace*, your conclusions are undeniable, and O that they might sinke deep into those Noble and Honourable Bosomes it so deeply concernes! but proceed.

CHAP. XCV.

Peace. IN that fifth head they further say thus:

“Thirdly, in matters Ecclesiasticall we beleieve, first, “That Civill Magistrates have no power to make or constitute “Lawes about Church affaires which the Lord Jesus hath not ordained

“dained in his Word for the well ordering of the Church; for
 “the Apostle solemnly chargeth *Timothy*, and in him all
 “Goverours of the Church, before God and the Lord
 “Jesus Christ (who is the only Potentate, the King of Kings, and
 “Lord of Lords) that the Commandement given by him for the
 “ordering of the Church be kept without spot unrebukeable to
 “the appearing of the Lord Jesus Christ, 1 *Tim.* 6. 14. 15. And
 “this Commandement given in the Word, the Apostle faith is able
 “to make the man of God perfect in all Righteousnesse, 2 *Tim.* 3.
 “17. And indeed the adminstration of all Christs affaires doth im-
 “mediately aime at spirituall and divine ends (as the worship of
 “God and the salvation of mens soules:) and therefore no Law
 “nor meanes can be devised by the wisdome or wit of man that
 “can be fit or able to reach such ends, but use must be made of such
 “onely as the divine Wisdome and holy Will of God hath or-
 “dained.

“Secondly, We beleeeve the Magistrates power in making
 “Lawes about Church affaires, is not only thus limited and restrai-
 “ned by Christ to matters which concerne the substance of Gods
 “worship and of Church government, but also such as concerne
 “outward order, as in Rites and Ceremonies for uniformities sake:
 “For we finde not in the Gospell that Christ hath any where pro-
 “vided for the uniformity of Churches, but onely for their unity.

“*Paul* in matters of Christian libertie commendeth the unity of
 “their Faith in the holy Spirit, giving order that wee should not
 “judge nor condemne one another in difference of judgement and
 “practice of such things where men live to God on both sides, e-
 “ven though there were some errour on one side, *Rom.* 14. to the 6.
 “How much lesse in things indifferent, where there may be no et-
 “tour on either side.

“When the Apostle directeth the Church of Corinth that all
 “things be done decently and in order, he meant not to give po-
 “wer to Church Officers, or to Civill Magistrates to order what
 “ever they should thinke meet for decencie and order; but only
 “to provide that all the Ordinances of God be administred in the
 “Church decently without unnaturall or uncivill uncomelinesse
 “(as that of long haire, or womens prophecyng, of the like) and
 “orderly without confusion or disturbance of edification, as the
 “speaking of many at once in the Church.

“Thirdly,

“Thirdly, we doe neverthelesse willingly grant that Magistrates upon due and diligent search what is the counsell and will of God in his Word concerning the right ordering of the Church, may and ought to publish and declare, establish and ratifie such Lawes and Ordinances as Christ hath appointed in his Word for the well ordering of Church affaires, both for the gathering of the Church, and the right administration of all the Ordinances of God amongst them in such a manner as the Lord hath appointed to edification. The Law of *Artaxerxes*, *Ezra* 7. 23. was not usurpation over the Churches liberty, but a Royall and just confirmation of them: Whatsoever is commanded by the God of Heaven: For why should there be wrath against the King and his Sonnes?

Truth. Deare *Peace.* me thinkes I see before mine eyes a wall daubed up (of which *Ezekiel* speakes) with untempered mortar: Here they restraints the *Magistrate* from making *Lawes* either concerning the substance or *ceremony* of *Religion*, but such only as *Christ* hath commanded, and those, say they, must publish and declare after the example of *Artaxerxes*.

I shall herein performe two things: First, examine this *Magistrates* duty to publish, declare, &c. such Laws and Ordinances as *Christ* hath appointed.

Secondly, I shall examine that prooffe from *Artaxerxes*, *Ezra* 7. 23.

In the first,* me thinks I heare the voice of the people of *Israel*, 1 *Sam.* 8. 5. Make us a *King* that may rule over us after the manner of the *Nations*, rejecting the *Lord* ruling over them by his holy Word in the mouth of his *Prophets*, and sheltring themselves under an Arme of *Flesh*; which Arme of *Flesh* God gave them in His *Anger*, and cut off againe in His *Wrath*, after he had persecuted *David* the figure of *Christ Jesus* who hath given his people the *Scepter* and *Sword* of his *Word* and *Spirit*, and refused a temporall *Crowne* or *Weapons* in the dispensation of his *Kingdome*.

Gods Israel
desious of
Sauls arme of
flesh.

Where did the Lord *Jesus* or his Messengers charge the Civill Magistrate, or direct Christians to petition him, to publish, declare or establish by his Arme of *Flesh* and Earthly weapons the Religion and worship of *Christ Jesus*?

I finde the Beast and false Prophet (whose rise and doctrine is not from Heaven, but from the Sea and Earth) dreadfull and terrible

rible by a Civill Sword and dignitie, *Rev.* 13. 2.

I find the Beast hath gotten the power and might of the Kings of the Earth,★ *Revel.* 17. 13.

But the Lambes weapons are Spirituallly mighty, 2 *Cor.* 10. &c. his Sword is two-edged comming out of his mouth, *Revel.* 1. His preparations for War are white Horses and white Harnesse, which are contest by all to be of a spirituall nature, *Revel.* 19.

When that whore *Iesabel* stabbed *Naboth* with her Pen,★ in stirring up the people to stone him as a Blasphemer of God and the King, what a glorious maske or vaile of Holines put she on? Proclaime a Fast, set a day apart for humiliation; and for confirmation, let all be ratified with the Kings Authoritie, Name, and Seale, 1 *Kings*, 21. 8.

Was not this recorded for all Gods *Naboths*, standing for their Spirituall interests in heavenly things (typed out by the typicall earth and ground of *Canaans* land) that they through patience and Comfort of the Scriptures might have hope, *Rom.* 15. 4.?

Againe, I demand who shall here sit Judge, whether the Magistrate command any other Substance or Ceremonie but what is Christs?

By their former Conclusions, every Soule must judge what the Magistrate commandeth, and is not bound, even in indifferent things, to the Magistrates Law, further then his own Soule, Conscience and judgement ascends to the Reason of it: Here the Magistrate must make Lawes for that Substance and Ceremonie which Christ appointed: But yet he must not doe this with his eyes open, but blindfold and hoodwinkt; for if he judge that to be the Religion of Christ, and such to be the order there in which their Consciences judge otherwise, and assent not to, they professe they must submit only to Christs lawes, and therefore they are not bound to obey him.

Oh what is this but to make use of the Civill Powers and Governours of the World,★ as a Guard about the Spirituall Bed of Soule-whoredomes, in which the Kings of the Earth commit Spirituall fornication with the great Whore, *Rev.* 17. 2? as a Guard while the Inhabitants of the Earth are drinking themselves drunke with the wine of her fornication.

But oh what terrifying, what allurings are in *Jeremies* Curse and Blessing! *Jer.* 17. Cursed is the man that trusteth in man, that maketh

The 7 headed Beast, and the Lambe differ in their weapons.

Naboths case typicall.

Civill Powers abused as a Guard about the Bed of Spirituall whoredomes.

keth Flesh his Arme (too too common in spirituall matters) and whose heart departeth from Jehovah: He shall be as an Heath in the Wildernes (even in the spirituall and mysticall wildernes) and shall not see when comfort comes, but shall abide in drouth in the wilderness in a barrenland, &c.

CHAP. XCVI.

Peace. **O** What mysteries are these to Flesh and Blood! how hard for flesh to forsake the Arme thereof! But passe on (deare *Truth*) to their prooffe propounded, *Ezra* 7. 23. Wherein *Artaxerxes* confirmed by Law what ever was commanded by the God of Heaven.

Truth.★ In this Scripture I mind first the people of God captivated under the *dominion* and government of the *Kings of Babel* and *Persia*.

Ezra 7. 23. discussed.

Secondly, *Artaxerxes* his favour to these Captives,

1. Of *freedom* to their *Consciences*.
2. Or *bountie* towards them.
3. Of exempting of some of them from common charges.

Thirdly, *Punishments* on offenders.

Fourthly, the *ground* that carries him on to all this.

Fifthly, *Ezra* praising of *God* for putting this into the heart of the *King*.

Concerning the people of God the Iewes, they were as Lambes and Sheep in the jaws of the Lyon,★ the dearely beloved of his Soule under the devouring Tyrants of the World, both the Babylonian and the Persian, farre from their owne Nation, and the Government of their own anointed Kings, the figures of the true King of the Iewes the Lord Jesus Christ.

Gods people not subject to the Kings of Babel or Persian in Spiritu-als.

In this respect it is cleere, that the Iewes were no more subject to the Kings of Babylon and Persia in Spirituall things, then the Vessels of the Sanctuary were subject to the King of Babels use, *Dan.* 5.

Concerning this *King* I consider, first his person, a *Gentile Idolater*, an oppressing *Tyrant*, one of those devouring *Beasts*, *Dan.* 7. & 8. An hand of bloody *Conquest* set the Crown upon the lead of these *Monarchs*; and although in *Civill* things they might challenge subjection, yet why should they now sit down in the throne

of *Israel*, and governe the people and *Church of God* in Spirituall things?

Secondly,★ consider his acts of Favour, and they will not amount to a positive Command, that any of the *Iewes* should goe up to build the *Temple*, nor that any of them should practice his own *worship*, which he kept and judged the best for his owne Soule and People.

'Tis true, he freely permits them, and exerciseth a bounteous assistance to them: All which argues no more, but that sometimes it pleaseth *God* to open the hearts of *Tyrants* greatly to favour and further his people. Such favour found *Nehemiah*, and *Daniel*, and others of *Gods* people have and shall finde, so often as it pleaseth Him to honour them that honour Him, before the Sonnes of Men.

Peace. Who sees not how little this Scripture contributes to their *Tenent*? but why (say some) should this *King* confirme all with such severe punishments? and why for all this should *Ezra* give thanks to *God*, if it were not imitable for after-times?

Truth. The Law of *God* which he confirmed, he knew not, and therefore neither was, nor could he be a Judge in the Case.

And for his Ground, what was it but the common *terroures* and *convictions* of an affrighted Conscience?

In such sits and *pangs*, what have not *Pharaohs*, *Sauls*, *Ahabs*, *Herods*,★*Agrippa's* spoken? and what wonderfull decrees have *Nabuchadnizzar*, *Cyrus*, *Darius*, *Artaxerxes* put forth concerning the *God of Israel*, Dan. 3. & 6. & *Ezra* 1 & 7 &c. and yet as farre from being charged with (as they were from being affected to) the Spirituall Crown of Governing the Worship of *God*, and the Conscience of his people.

'Tis true, *Ezra* most piously and justly gave thanks to *God* for putting such a thing into the heart of the King: But what makes this pattern for the Laws of Civil Governours now under the Gospel?★ It suited well with that Nationall state of *Gods Church*, that the Gentile King should release them, permit them to returne to their own Land, assist them with other favours, and enable them to execute punishments upon offenders according to their Nationall State.

But

Tyrants hearts
sometimes
wonderfully
mollified to-
wards Gods
people.

Nabuchad-
nezzar, Dari-
us, and Artaxerxes their
decrees examined.

Ezra's thanks-
giving for the
Kings decree
examined.

But did God put such a thing as this into the heart of the King, viz. to restraints upon paine of Death all the millions of men under his Dominion from the Idolatties of their severall and respective Countries? to constrain them all upon the like penaltie to conforme to the Worship of the God of Israel, to build him a Temple, erect an Altar, ordaine Priests, offer sacrifice, observe the Fasts and Feasts of Israel? yea did God put it into the Kings heart to send Levites into all the parts of his Dominion, compelling them to heare; which is but a naturall thing (as some unsoundly speake) unto which all are bound to submit?

Well however, *Ezra* gives thankses to God for the *Kings*, and so should all that feate God in all Countries,* if he would please to put it into the hearts of the Kings, States and Parliaments, to take off the yokes of Violence, and permit (at least) the Consciences of their Subjects, and especially such as in truth make Conscience of their Worships to the God of Israel: and yet no cause for *Ezra* then, or Gods *Ezra's* and Israelites now, to acknowledge the care and charge of Gods worship, Church and Ordinances, to lie upon the shoulders of *Artaxerxes*, or any other Civill Prince or Ruler.

The duty of all Civill States toward the Consciences of their Subjects.

Lastly for the Confirmation or Ratification which they suppose Magistrates are bound to give to the Lawes of Christ,* I answer, Gods cause, Christs Truth, and the two-edged sword of his Word, never stood in need of a temporall Sword, or an humane Witnes to confirme and ratifie them. If we receive the witnesse of an honest man, the witnesse of the most holy God is greater, 1. *Iohn* 5.

Christ needs no humane confirmations.

The result and summe of the whole matter is this: 1. It may please *God* sometimes to stir up the *Rulers* of the Earth to permit and tolerate, to favour and countenance *Gods* people in their *worships*,* though only out of some strong conviction of *conscience* or *feare of wrath*, &c. and yet themselves neither understand *Gods* worship, nor leave their owne state, Idolatry or Country worship. For this *Gods* people ought to give thankses unto *God*; yea and all men from this example may learne not to charge upon the *Magistrates* conscience (besides the care of the *Civill peace*, the bodies and goods of men) the Spirituall peace in the worship of *God* and *soules* of men: but hence are *Magistrates* instructed favourably to permit their subjects in their *worships*, although themselves bee

The sum of the Examples of Gentile Kings decreeing for Gods Worship in Scripture.

not perswaded to submit to them, as *Nebuchadnezzar*, *Cyrus*, *Darius* and *Artaxerxes* did.

CHAP. XCVII.

Peace. **T**He sixt question is this: How far the *Church* is subject to their Lawes?

“All those (say they) who are members of the Commonweale “are bound to be subject to all the just and righteous Laws there- “of, and therefore (membership in Churches not cutting men off “from the membership in commonweales) they are bound to be sub- “ject, even every soule, *Rom.* 13. 1. as Christ himselfe and the A- “postles were in their places wherein they lived, and therefore to “exempt the Clergy (as the Papists do) from Civill subjection, and “to say that *generatio Clerici*, is *corruptio subditi*, is both sinfull and “scandalous to the Gospel of God; and though all are equally “subject, yet Church members are more especially bound to yeeld “subjection, and the most eminent most especially bound, not on- “ly because conscience doth more strongly binde, but also because “their ill examples are more infectious to others, pernicious to the “State, and provoke Gods wrath to bring vengeance on the “State.

“Hence if the whole Church or officers of the Church shall “sin against the State or any person by sedition, contempt of Au- “thority, heresie, blasphemy, oppression, slander, or shall with- “draw any of their members from the service of the State with- “out the consent thereof, their persons and estates are liable to “Civill punishments of Magistrates according to their righteous “and wholesome Lawes, *Exod.* 22. 20. *Levit.* 24. 16. *Deut.* 13. 5. “& 18. 10.

Truth. What concernes this head in civill things, I gladly subscribe unto: what concernes heresie, blasphemy, &c. I have plentifully before spoken to, and shall here only say 2 things:

First, those Scriptures produced concerne only the people of God in a Church estate, and must have reference onely to the Church of Christ Jesus, which (as Mr. *Cotton* confesseth) is not Nationall but Congregationall of so many as may meet in one place, 1 *Cor.* 14 & therefore no Civill State can be the antitype and parallell; to which purpose upon the 11 Question I shall at large shew

shew the difference betweene that Nationall Church and State of Israel,* and all other States and Nations in the World.

Secondly, If the Rulers of the Earth are bound to put to death all that worship other gods then the true God, or that blaspheme (that is speake evill of in a lesser or higher degree) that one true God; it must unavoidably follow that (the beloved for the Fathers sake) the Jewes whose very Religion blasphemeth Christ in the highest degree, I say they are actually sonnes of death, and all to be immediately executed according to those quoted Scriptures: And

The Law of putting to death blasphemers of Christ cuts off. I hopes from the Jewes of partaking in his blood.

Secondly, the Townes, Cities, Nations and Kingdomes of the World must generally be put to the sword, if they speedily renounce not their Gods and Worships, and so cease to blaspheme the true God by their Idolatries: This bloody consequence cannot be avoided by any Scripture rule, for if that rule be of force Deut. 13. & 18. not to spare,* or shew mercy upon person or City falling to Idolatry, that bars out all favour or partiality; and then what heapes upon heapes in the slaughter houses and shambles of Civill Warres must the world come to, as I have formerly noted, and that unnecessarily, it being not required by the Lord Jesus for his sake, and the Magistrates power and weapons being essentially Civill, and so not reaching to the impiety or ungodlinesse, but the incivility and unrighteousnesse of tongue or hand?

The direfull effects of sighing for conscience.

CHAP. XCVIII.

Peace. **D**Eare *Truth*, these are the poysoned daggers stabbing at my tender heart! Oh when shall the Prince of peace appeare and reconcile the bloody sons of men? but let me now propose their 7 head: viz.

“In what order may the Magistrate execute punishment on a “Church or Church-member that offendeth his Lawes.

“First, grosse and publicke notorious sinnes which are against “the light of conscience as Heresie, &c. there the Magistrate keeping him under safe ward should send the offendour first to the “Church to heale his conscience, still provided that the Church “be both able and willing thereunto: By which meanes the Magistrate shall convince such an ones conscience that he seeketh “his healing, rather then his hurt.

“The

“The censure also against him shall proceed with more power
 “and blessing, and none shall have cause to say that the Magi-
 “strate persecutes men for their consciences, but that he justly
 “punisheth such an one for sinning rather against his conscience,
 “*Tit.* 3. 0.

“Secondly, in private offences how the Magistrate may proceed,
 “see Chap. 12. It is not materiall whether the Church or Magi-
 “strates take it first in hand. Only with this caution, that if the State
 “take it first in hand, they are not to proceed to death or banish-
 “ment, untill the Church hath taken their course with him, to
 “bring him to Repentance, provided that the Church be willing
 “and ready thereunto.

Secondly, in such sinnes wherein men plead Conscience, as
 Heresie, &c.

Truth. Here I have many just exceptions and considerations
 to present.

First, they propose a distinction of some sinnes: some are against
 the light of conscience, &c. and they instance in Heresie.

Ans. I have before discust this point of an Heretick sinning a-
 gainst light of conscience; And I shall adde that howsoever they
 lay this down as an infallible conclusion that all Heresie is against
 light of Conscience; yet (to passe by the discussion of the nature
 of Heresie, in which respect it may so be that even themselves may
 be found hereticall,* yea and that in fundamentalls) how doe all I-
 dolaters after light presented, and exhortations powerfully pressed,
 either Turkes or Pagans, Jewes or Antichristians, strongly even to
 the death hold fast (or rather are held fast by) their delusions.

Yea Gods people themselves, being deluded and captivated are
 strongly confident even against some fundamentalls,* especially of
 worship, and yet not against the light, but according to the light or
 eye of a deceived conscience.

Now all these consciences walke on confidently and constant-
 ly even to the suffering of death and torments, and are more strong-
 ly confirmed in their beleefe and conscience, because such bloody
 and cruell courses of persecution are used toward them.

Secondly, speakes not the Scripture expresly of the Jew, *Isa.* 6.
Mat. 13. *Acts* 28. that God hath given them the spirit of slumber,
 eyes that they should not see, &c. all which must be spoken of the
 very conscience, which he that hath the golden key of *David* can
 only

Error is con-
 fident as well
 as Truth.

Gods people
 as well as o-
 thers will be
 found obsti-
 nate in funda-
 mentall errors
 in which suffe-
 rings and per-
 secution doth
 harden.

only shut and open, and all the Picklocks or Swords in all the *Smiths* shops in the *World* can neither by *force* or *fraud* prevent his time.

Is it not said of Antichristians,* 2 Thessal. 2. that *God* hath sent them strong *delusions*, so strong and efficacious, that they beleeve a Lie and that so Confidently, and some so Conscientiously, that Death it selfe cannot part betweene the *Delusion* and their Conscience.

Strong delusions.

“Againe, the *Magistrate* (say they) keeping him in safeward: “that is, the Heretick, the Blasphemer, Idolater, &c.

Peace. I here aske all men that love even the Civill Peace, where the Lord Jesus hath spoken a tittle of a Prison or safe ward to this purpose.

Truth. We find indeed a prison threatned by God to his irreconciled enemies, neglecting to account with him, *Matth.* 5.

We finde a prison into which persecuters cast the Saints: So *John*,* so *Paul*, and the Apostles, *Matth.* 14. 10. &c. were cast, and the great Commander of, and caster into prison, is the Devill, *Revel.* 2.

Spiritually prisons.

Wee finde a Spirituall prison indeed, a prison for Spirits, 1 *Pet.* 3. 19. the Spirits formerly rebellious against Christ Jesus speaking by *Noah* unto them, now kept in safe ward against the judgement of the great day.

In Excommunication, a Soule obstinate in sinne is delivered to Sathan his Jaylour, and he keeps him in safe ward, untill it pleaseth God to release him.

There is a prison for the Devill himselfe a thousand yeares, *Rev.* 20.* And a Lake of eternall fire and brimstone, into which the Beast and False Prophet, and all not written in the Lambes booke, and the Devill that deceived them, shall eternally be there secured and tormented.

Christ Jesus appointed no materiall prisons for Blasphemers of him, &c.

But neither amongst these, nor in any other passage of the New Testament, doe we finde a prison appointed by Christ Jesus for the Heretick, Blasphemer, Idolater, &c. being not otherwise guilty against the Civill State.

’Tis true, Antichrist (by the helpe of Civill Powers) hath his prisons, to keep Christ Jesus and his members fast: such prisons may well be called the Bishops prisons,* the Popes, the Devils prisons: These inquisition houses have ever been more terrible then the Magistrates.

The Bishops prisons.

At first, persecuting Bishops borrowed prisons of the Civill Magistrate (as now their successors doe still in the world) but afterward they wrung the keyes out of the Magistrates hands, and hung them at their own Girdles, and would have prisons of their owne, as doubtlesse will that Generation still doe, if God prevent them not.

CHAP. XCIX.

Peace. **A** Gaine (say they) the *Magistrate* should send *him* first to the *Church* to heale his *Conscience*.

Truth. Is not this as the Prophet speakes, Like *mother*, like *daughter*?* So the *mother* of *whoredomes* the *Church* of *Rome* teacheth and practiseth with all her *Hereticks*: First let the holy *Church* convince them, and then deliver them to the *Secular* power to receive the punishment of *Hereticks*.

Peace. Me thinks also they approach neere that *Popish* Tenent, *Ex opere operato*: for their Exhortations and Admonitions must necessarily be so operative and prevalent, that if the *Heretick* repent not,* he now sins against his *Conscience*: not remembring that *Peradventure*, 2 Tim. 2. If *peradventure*, God will give them *repentance*: and how strong *delusions* are, and *believing* of *lies*, and how hard it is to be undeceived, especially in *Spirituals*?

Truth. And as it may so prove, when an *Heretick* indeed is brought to this *Colledge* of *Physitians* to have his conscience healed, and one *Heretick* is to cure another: So also when any of *Christs Witnesses* (supposed *Hereticks*) are brought before them, how doth the *Lord Jesus* suffer whippings and stabs, when his *Name*, and *Truths*, and *Witnesses*, and *Ordinances* are all prophaned and blasphemed?

Besides, suppose a Man to be an *Heretick*, and yet suppose him brought as the *Magistrates* Prisoner, though to a true *Church*, to heale his *Conscience*:* What promise of *Presence* and *Blessing* hath the *Lord Iesus* made to his *Church* and *Spouse* in such a way? and how common is it for *Hereticks* either to be desperately hardned by such cruell courses (yet pretending *Soule-healing*) or else through *fear* and *terrou*r to practice grosse hypocrisie even against their *consciences*? So that these *Chirurgions* and *Physitians* pretending to heale *Consciences*, by such a course wound them deeper, and declare them-

Like mother
like daughter.

Conscience
not so easily
healed and
cared.

Wounding in-
stead of heal-
ing of Con-
sciences.

themselves *Chirurgions* and *Physitians* of no value.

Peace. But what thinke you of the Proviso added to their Proposition, viz. Provided, the Church bee able and willing?

Truth. Doubtles this proviso derogates not a little from the nature of the Spouse of Christ. For she, like that gracious woman, *Prov.* 31. 26.★ openeth her mouth with wisdom, and in her tongue is the Law of Grace: she is the pillar and ground of Truth, 2. *Tim.* 2. The golden candlestick from whence true light shineth: the Angels or Ministers thereof able to try false Apostles (*Rev.* 2.) and convince the Gainsayers, *Tit.* 1.

Christs Spouse
able and wil-
ling to heale
wounded con-
sciences.

Againe (according to their principles of suppressing persons and Churches falsely worshipping) how can they permit such a blind and dead Church not able and willing to heale a wounded Conscience?

Peace. What should be the reason of this their expression?

Truth. Doubtles their *Consciences* tell them how few of those *Churches* (which they yet acknowledge *Churches*) are able and willing to hold forth *Christ Jesus* the *Sun of Righteousnes*, healing with his wings the doubting and afflicted *conscience*.

Lastly, their *conscience* tells them, that a Servant of *Christ Iesus* may possibly be sent as an *Heretick* to be healed by a *false Church*, which *Church* will never be willing to deale with him, or never be able to convince him.

Peace. “Yea, but they say, by such a course the *Magistrate* “shall convince such an ones *conscience*; that hee seekes his good, “&c.

Truth. If a man thus bound be sent to a *Church* to be healed in his *conscience*, either he is an *Heretick*, or he is not. Admit he be: yet he disputes in *feare*, as the poor *theefe*: the *Mouse* disputes with a terrible persecuting *Cat*:★ who while she seemes to play and gently tosse, yet the conclusion is a proud insulting and devouring crueltie.

A persecuting
Church dis-
putes with an
Heretick as a
Cat with the
Mouse; and
with a true
Witnes as a
Lyon with a
Limbe in his
paw.

If no *Heretick* but an innocent and faithfull witnes of any Truth of *Jesus*; disputes he not as a *Lambe* in the *Lyons* paw, being sure in the end to be torne in pieces?

Peace. They adde: The *censure* this way proceeds with more power and blessing.

Truth. All power and blessing is from that blessed Son of God,

unto whom all power is given from the *Father*, in Heaven and Earth. He hath promised his *presence* with his *Messengers*, preaching and baptizing to the worlds end, ratifying in Heaven what they blinde or loose on Earth.

But let any man shew me such a *commission*, *instruction* and *promise* given by the *Son of God* to *Civill powers* in these spirituall affaires of his *Christian Kingdome* and *Worship*?

Peace. Lastly they conclude, “This course of first sending the “Heretick to be healed by the Church, takes away all excuse; for “none can say that he is persecuted for his Conscience, but for “sinning against his Conscience.

Truth. *Jesabel* placing poore *Naboth* before the *Elders* as a blasphemmer of *God* and the *King*, and sanctifying the plotted and intended murther with a day of humiliation,* may seeme to take away all excuse, and to conclude the *Blasphemer* worthy to be stoned: But *Jehovah* the *God of Recompences* (*Jer.* 51.) when he makes *Inquisition* for blood, will find both *Iesabel* and *Ahab* guilty, and make the *Dogs* a feast with the flesh of *Iesabel*, and leave not to *Ahab* a man to pisse against the wall; for (as *Paul* in his owne plea) there was nothing committed worthy of death: and against thee, O *King*, saith *Daniel*, I have not sinned (*Dan.* 6.) in any Civill fact against the State.

CHAP. C.

Peace. **T**Heir eighth question is this: viz. What power Magistrates have about the gathering of Churches?

“First, the Magistrate hath power, and it is his duty to incourage and countenance such persons, as voluntarily joyn themselves in holy Covenant, both by his presence (if it may be) and “promise of protection, they accepting the right hand of fellowship from other neighbour Churches.

“Secondly, he hath power to forbid all Idolatrous and corrupt “Assemblies, who offer to put themselves under their patronage, “and shall attempt to joyne themselves into a Church-estate, and “if they shall not hearken, to force them therefrom by the power “of the Sword, *Psal.* 101. 8. For our tolerating many Religions “in a State in severall Churches, beside the provoking of God, may “in time not only corrupt, leaven, divide, and so destroy the peace
of

“of the Churches, but also dissolve the continuity of the State, especially ours whose wals are made of the stones of the Churches: “it being also contrary to the end of our planting in this part of “the World, which was not only to enjoy the pure Ordinances, “but to enjoy them all in purity.

“Thirdly, He hath power to compell all men within his grant, “to heare the Word, for hearing the Word of God is a duty which “the light of Nature leadeth even Heathens to: The Ninivites “heard *Jonah*, though a stranger, and unknowne unto them, to be “an extraordinary Prophet, *Jonah* 3. And *Eglon* the King of *Moab* “hearing that *Ehud* had a message from God, he rose out of his “seat for more reverent attention, *Judg.* 3. 20.

“Yet he hath no power to compell all men to become members “of Churches, because he hath not power to make them fit members for the Church, which is not wrought by the power of the “Sword, but by the power of the Word: Nor may he force the “Churches to accept of any for members, but those whom the “Churches themselves can freely approve of.

Truth. To the first branch of this *head*, I answer, That the *Magistrate* should encourage and countenance the *Church*, yea and protect the persons of the *Church* from violence, disturbance, &c. It being truly noble and glorious, by how much the *Spouse* and *Queene* of the *Lord Jesus* transcends the *Ladies*, *Queens*, and *Empresses* of the *World*, in *glory*, *beauty*, *chastity* and *innocency*.

’Tis true, all *Magistrates* in the *world* do this: viz. Incourage and protect that *Church* or *Assembly* of *worshippers*, which they judge to be true and approve of; but not permitting other consciences then their owne: It hath come to passe in all ages, and yet doubtlesse will, that the *Lord Jesus* and His *Queene* are driven and persecuted out of the *World*.

To the second, That the *Magistrate* ought to suppress all Churches which he judgeth false, he quoteth *Psal.* 101. 8. “Betimes I “will cut off the wicked of the Land, that I may cut off all evill “doers from the City of *Jehovah*: unto which, he addeth foure Reasons.

Peace. Deare *Truth*, first, a word to that Scripture, so often quoted, and so much boasted of.

Truth. Concerning that holy Land of *Canaan*, concerning the *City* of *Jehovah*, *Jerusalem*, out of which King *David* here resolves

Psal. 101. 8.
concerning the
cutting off the
wicked, exam-
ined.

No Land of
Canaan, nor
holy City now

to cut off all the wicked and evill doers.* I shall speake more largely on the 11 *Head* or *Question* in the *differences* between that and all other Lands.

At present I answer, There is no holy Land or *City* of the *Lord*, no *King* of *Sion*, &c. but the *Church* of *Jesus Christ*, and the *King* thereof, according to 1 *Pet.* 2. 9. Ye are a holy *Nation*, and *Ierusalem* is the holy people of God in the true profession of *Christianity*, *Heb.* 12. *Gal.* 4. & *Rev.* 21. Out of which the *Lord Jesus* by his holy Ordinances,* in such a *government*, and by such *governours* as he hath appointed, he cuts off every wicked person and evill doer.

If *Christ Jesus* had intended any difference of *plate*, *Cities* or *Countries*, doubtlesse *Jerusalem* and *Samaria* had been thought of, or the *Cities* of *Asia*, wherein the *Christian Religion* was so gloriously planted.

But the *Lord Jesus* disclaims *Jerusalem* and *Samaria* forth having any respect of *holinesse* more then other *Cities*, *John* 4.

And the Spirit of God evidently testineth that the *Churches* were in the *Cities* and *Countries*,* not that the whole *Cities* or *Countries* were Gods holy Land, and *Cities* out of which all *false worshippers* and *wicked persons* were to be cut, *Rev.* 2. & 3.

The *Divells* throne was in the *City* of *Pergamus*, in respect of the state and persecution of it, and yet there was also the *Throne* of the *Lord Jesus* set up in His *Church* of *worshippers* in *Pergamus*, out of which the *Balaamites*, and *Nicholaitans* and every *false worshipper* was to be cast, though not out of the *City* of *Pergamus*, for then *Pergamus* must have beene throwne out of *Pergamus*, and the *World* out of the *World*.

CHAP. CI.

Peace. **O**H that my head were a *fountaine*, and mine eyes *Rivers* of *teares* to lament my *children*, the *children* of *peace* and *light*, thus darkning that, and other lightsome Scriptures with such darke and direfull clouds of *bloud*.

Truth. Sweet *Peace*, thy *teares* are seasonable and precious, and botled up in the *Heavens*: but let me adde a second consideration from that Scripture: If that Scripture may now literally be applied to *Nations* and *Cities* in a parallel to *Canaan* and *Ierusalem* since
the

No difference
of Lands and
Cities since
the comming
as was before
the comming
of the Lord
Jesus.

the *Gospel*, and this *Psal.* 101. be literally to be applied to *Cities, Townes,** and *Countries* in *Europe* and *America*, not only such as as-say to joyne themselves (as they here speake) in a corrupt *Church* estate, but such as know no *Church* estate, nor *God*, nor *Christ*, yea every wicked person and evill doer, must be hanged or stoned, &c. as it was in *Israel*, and if so, how many *thousands* and *millions* of men and women in the severall *Kingdomes* and *governments* of the *World* must be cut off from their Lands, and destroyed from their *Cities*, as this Scripture speakes?

The bloody interpretation of *Psal.* 101.

Thirdly, since those persons in the *New English* plantations accounted unfit for *Church* estate, yet remaine all members of the *Church of England*, from which *New England* dares not separate, no not in their *Sacraments*, (as some of the *Independents* have published) what *riddle* or *mysterie*, or rather *fallacie* of Sathan is this?

*Peace.** It will not be offence to *charity* to make conjecture: First, herein *New England Churches* secretly call their *Mother whore*, not daring in *America* to joyne with their owne Mothers children, though unexcommunicate, no nor permit them to worship God after their consciences, and as their Mother hath taught them this secretly and silently, they have a minde to doe, which publickly they would seem to *disclaime*, and *professe* against.

The New English separate in *America*, but not in *Europe*.

Secondly,* If such members of *Old England* should be suffered to enjoy their *consciences* in *New*, (however it is pretended they would profane *Ordinances* for which they are unfit (as true it is in that *naturall persons* are not fit for *Spirituell worship*) yet this appears not to be the bottome, for in *Old England* the *New English* joyne with *Old* in the *ministrations* of the *Word, Prayer, singing, contribution, maintenance* of the *Ministrie, &c.*) if I say, they should set up Churches after their *conscience*, the *greatnesse* and *multitudes* of their owne Assemblies would decay, and with all the contributions and *maintenance* of their *Ministers*, unto which all or most have beene forced.

The New English permit not their brethren of *Old England* to enjoy their consciences lest their owne numbers might exceed their owne, or at least the greatnesse of their owne Assemblies & maintenances decrease.

Truth. Deare *Peace*, These are more then conjectures, thousands now espie, and all that love the purity of the worship of the living God should lament such halting: I shall adde this, not only doe they partially neglect to cut off the wicked of the Land, but such as themselves esteemed beloved and goldy have they driven forth, and keep out others which would come unto them, eminently godly by their owne confession, because differing in conscience and

and worship from them, and consequently not to be suffered in their holy Land of *Canaan*.

But having examined that Scripture alledged, let us now weigh their Reasons.

First (say they) the not cutting off by the sword, but tolerating many *Religions* in a State would provoke God: unto which I answer,★ first (and here being no Scripture produced to these *Reasons*, shall the sooner answer) that no prooffe can be made from the *Institutions* of the *Lord Jesus* that all Religions but one are to be cut off by the *Civill Sword*; that Nationall Church in that typicall Land of *Canaan* being abolished, and the *Christian Commonweale* or Church instituted.

Secondly, I affirme that the cutting off by the Sword other Consciences and Religions is (contrarily) most provoking unto God,★ expressly against his will concerning the Tares *Matth. 13.* as I have before proved; as also the bloody mother of all those monstrous mischiefes (where such cutting off is used) both to the *soules* and *bodies* of men.

Thirdly, let *conscience* and *experience* speake how in the not cutting off their many *Religions*, it hath pleased God not only not to be provoked, but to prosper the state of the united Provinces our next neighbours, and that to admiration.

Peace. The second reason is, such tolerating would leaven, divide and destroy the peace of the Churches.

Truth.★ This must also be denied upon so many former *Scriptures* & *Reasons* produced, proving the power of the *Lord Jesus*, and the sufficiency of his *Spirituall* power in his Church, for the purging forth and conquering of the least *evill*, yea and for the bringing every thought in subjection unto *Christ Iesu*, 2 Cor. 10.

I adde,★ they have not produced one Scripture, nor can, to prove that the permitting to *leaven* of false doctrine in the *World* or *Civill State*, will leaven the Churches: only we finde that the permission of *leaven* in *persons*, *doctrines* or *practices* in the Church, that indeed will corrupt and spread, 1. Cor. 5. & Gal. 5. but this Reason should never have been alledged, were not the particular Churches in *New England*, but as so many implicate *Parish Churches* in one implicate National Church.

Peace. Their third Reason is, it will dissolve the *continuity* of the State, especially theirs, where the *walls* are made of the stones of the Churches.

Truth.

Christ Jesus never appointed all Religions but his owne to be cut off by the Civill Sword.

A bloody mother.

Christ Spirituall power, most powerfull.

Christ forbidding his followers to permit leaven in the Church, doth not forbid to permit leaven in the World.

Truth. I answer briefly to this bare *affirmation* thus, that the true *Church* is a *wall* spirituall and mysticall, *Cant.* 8. 9.

Then consequently a false *Church* or *Company* is a false or pretended *wall*, and none of *Christs*.

The *civill State*, *Power* and *Government* is a *civill wall*, &c. and

Lastly, the *walls* of *Earth* or stone about a *City* are the naturall or artificiall wall or defence of it.

Now in consideration of these foure wals I desire it may be proved from the Scripture of Truth,* how the false spirituall wall or company of false *worshippers* suffred in a *City* can be able to destroy the true *Christian wall* or company of *beleevers*.

The Wall,
Cant. 8. 9. dis-
cussed.

Againe,* how this false *spirituall wall* or false *Church* permitted, can destroy the *civill wall*, the *State* and *Government* of the *City* and *Citizens*, any more then it can destroy the *naturall* or *artificiall* wall of earth or stone.

A spirituall
wall cannot
properly im-
paire the civil.

Spirituall may destroy *spirituall*, if a stronger and victorious, but *spirituall* cannot reach to *artificiall* or *civill*.

Peace. Yea but they feare the false *spirituall wall* may destroy their *civill*, because it is made of the stones of *Churches*.

Truth. If this have reference to that practice amongst them, *viz.* that none but members of *Churches* enjoy *civill* freedome amongst them (ordinarily) in imitation of that *Nationall Church* and *State* of the *Jewes*, then I answer, they that follow *Moses Church constitution*) which the *New English* by such a practice implicitly doe) must cease to pretend to the Lord *Jesus Christ* and his *institutions*.

Secondly,* we shall finde lawfull *civill State* both before and since *Christ Jesus*, in which we finde not any tidings of the true *God* our *Christ*.

Many flourish-
ing Civill
States where
true Churches
are not found.

Lastly, their *civill New English State* framed out of their *Churches* may yet stand, subsist and flourish, although they did (as by the word of the *Lord* they ought) permit either *Jewes* or *Turkes* or *Antichristians* to live amongst them subject unto their *Civill Government*.

CHAP. CII.

Peace. ONe branch more, *viz.* the third remaines of this Head, and it concerns the hearing of the Word, “unto which
“(say they) all men are to be compelled, because hearing of the
Y “Word

“word is a duty which even Nature leadeth Heathens to: for this
 “they quote the practice of the Ninevites hearing *Jonah*, and *Eglon*
 “(King of Moab) his rising up to *Ehuds* pretended message from
 “God, *Judg* 3.

Truth.★ I must deny that position: for light of Nature leadeth
 men to heare that onely which Nature conceiveth to be good for
 it,★ and therefore not to heare a Messenger, Minister or Preacher,
 whom *conscience* perswades is a false *messenger* or *deceiver*, and comes
 to deceive my soule, as Millions of men and women in their sever-
 rall respective *religions* and *consciences* are so perswaded, conceiving
 their owne to be true.

Secondly,★ as concerning the *instances*, *Jonah* did not compell the
 Ninevites to heare that *message* which he brought unto them.

Besides the matter of *compulsion* to a constant *worship* of the *world*
 in *Church estate* (which is the *Question*) comes not neare *Jonahs*
 case.

Nor did *Christ Jesus* or any of his *Embassadours* so practice: but
 if persons refused to heare the command of the *Lord Jesus* to his
 Messengers was onely to depart from them, shaking off the dust of
 their *feet* with a denunciation of *Gods wrath* against them, *Math.* 10.
Act. 14.

Concerning *Eglon* his rising up: First, *Ehud* compelled not that
 King either to heare or reverence,★ and all that can bee imitable
 in *Eglon*, is a voluntary and willing *reverence* which persons ought
 to expresse to what they are perswaded comes from *God*.

But how doe both these instances mightily convince and con-
 demne themselves, who not onely professe to turne away from, but
 also persecute or hunt all such as shall dare to professe a *Ministry* or
Church estate differing from their owne, though for personall *godli-*
nesse and excellency of gifts revered by themselves.

Thirdly, to the point of *compulsion*: It hath pleased the *Lord Jesus*
 to appoint a two fold Ministry of his Word.

First,★ for *unbeleevvers* and their *conversion*, according to *Math.* 28.
 19. *Marc.* 16 15, 16. and the constant practice of the Apostles in
 the first preaching of the *Gospel*.

Secondly, a Ministry of *feeding* and *nourishing* up such as are *con-*
verted and brought into *Church estate*, according to *Ephes.* 4. &c.
 Now to neither of these doe we finde any *compulsion* appointed by
 the *Lord Jesus*, or practised by any of his.

The

Hearing dis-
 cussed.

Every Religi-
 on prefers its
 owne Priests
 and Ministers
 before all other.

Jonahs prea-
 ching to the
 Ninevites, and
 their hearing
 of his message
 examined.

Eglon his ri-
 sing up to E-
 huds message,
 examined.

A twofold
 Ministry of
 Christ, con-
 verting and
 feeding.

The compulsion preached and practised in *New England*, is not to the hearing of that *Ministry* sent forth to convert unbelievers, and to constitute *Churches*: for such a *Ministry* they practise not: but to the hearing of the word of *edification, exhortation, consolation*, dispensed only in the *Churches* of *worshippers*: I apply,

When *Paul* came first to *Corinth* to preach *Christ Iesus*, by their Rule the Magistrates of *Corinth* ought by the Sword to have compelled all the people of *Corinth* to heare *Paul*.

Secondly,★ after a Church of *Christ* was gathered (by their rule) the *Magistrates* of *Corinth* ought to have compelled the people still (even those who had refused his Doctrine, for the few onely of the Church embraced it) to have heard the Word still, and to have kept one day in seven to the *Christians* God, and to have come to the *Christians* Church all their dayes. And what is this but a settled formality of *Religion* and *Worship*, unto which a people are brought by the power of the sword?

Paul never used any civill compulsion.

And however they affirme that persons are not to be compelled to be *members* of *Churches*,★ nor the Church compelled to receive any: Yet if persons be compelled to forsake their Religion which their hearts cleave to, and to come to *Church*, to the *worship* of the *Word, Prayers, Psalmes, and Contributions*, and this all their dayes: I aske whether this be not this peoples Religion, unto which submitting, they shall be quiet all their dayes, without the inforcing them to the practice of any other Religion? And if this bee not so, then I aske, Will it not inevitably follow, that they (not onely permit, but) enforce people to bee of no Religion at all, all their dayes?

The New English forcing their subjects to church all their daies, and yet forcing them not to any Religion (as they say) they force the people then to be of no religion all their dayes,

This toleration of Religion, or rather irreligious *compulsion*, is above all *tolerations* monstrous, to wit, to compell men to bee of no Religion all their dayes. I desire all men and these worthy *Authors* of this Modell, to lay their hands upon their heart, and to consider whether this *compulsion* of men to heare the *Word*, (as they say) whether it carries men, to wit, to be of no Religion all their dayes, worse then the very *Indians*, who dare not live without Religion according as they are perswaded.

Lastly, I adde, from the *Ordinance* of the Lord *Jesus*, and practice of the Apostles (Acts 2. 42.) where the Word and Prayer is joyned with the exercise of their *fellowship*, and breaking of Bread; in which Exercises the *Church* continued constantly: that it is appa-

The Civill
State can no
more lawfully
compell the
Consciencies
of men to
Church to
heare the
Word, then to
receive the
Sacraments.

that a *Civill State* may as lawfully compell men by the *civill sword* to the breaking of *bread*,* or Lords Supper, as to the *Word* or *Prayer*, or *Fellowship*.

For first, they are all of the same *nature*, *Ordinances* in the *Church* (I speake of the *feeding Ministrie* in the *Church*, unto which persons are compell'd) and *Church Worship*. Secondly, every *conscience* in the *World* is fearfull, at least shie of the *Priests* and *Ministers* of other *Gods* and *Worships*, and of holding Spirituall fellowship in any of their *Services*. Which is the case of many a Soule, viz. to question the *Ministers* themselves, as well as the Supper it selfe.

CHAP. CIII.

Peace. **D**Eare *Truth*, This pressing of men to the Spirituall Battels of Christ Jesus, is the cause why (as it is commonly with prest Souldiers) that so many thousands flie in the day of Battell. But I present you with the 9. Question, viz.

What power the Magistrate hath in providing of Church-Officers?

“First (say they) the Election of Church officers being the proper Act of the Church, therefore the Magistrate hath no power (either as Prince or Patron) to assume such power unto himselfe. “When Christ sends to preach by his supreme power, the Magistrate may send forth by his power subordinate, to gather “Churches, and may force people to heare them, but not invest “them with office amongst them.

“Secondly, the Maintenance of Church-officers being to arise “from all those who are ordinarily taught thereby (*Gal. 6. 6.*) hence “it is the dutie of the Civill Magistrate to contend with the people, as *Nehemiah* did, *chap. 13. ver. 10. 11.* who doe neglect and “forsake the due maintenance of the Church of God, and to command them to give such portions for the maintenance of Church “officers, as the Gospell commandeth to be offered to them freely “and bountifully, *2. Cor. 9. 5, 6, 7.* According as *Hezekiah* commanded the people to give to the *Priests* and *Levites* the portions “appointed by the Law, that they might be encouraged in the Law “of the Lord, *2 Chron. 31. 4.*

“Thirdly, the furnishing the Church with set officers, depending much upon erecting and maintenance of Schooles, and
good

“good education of youth; and it lying chiefly in the hand of the
 “Magistrate to provide for the furthering thereof, they may there-
 “fore and should so farre provide for the Churches, as to erect
 “Schooles, take care for fit Governours and Tutours, and com-
 “mend it to all the Churches, if they see it meet, that in all the
 “Churches within the Jurisdiction once in a yeare, and if it may
 “be, the Sabbath before the Generall Court of Election, there be
 “a Free-will offering of all people for the maintenance of such
 “Schooles: And the monies of every Towne so given, to be
 “brought on the day of Election to the Treasurie of the Colledge,
 “and the monies to be disposed by such who are so chosen for the
 “disposing thereof.

Truth. In the choice of officers, it is very obscure what they mean by this supreme power of Christ Jesus sending to preach. We know the Commission of the Lord Jesus to his first Messengers to goe into all Nations to preach and gather Churches, and they were immediately sent forth by him: but Mr. *Cotton* elsewhere boldeth, that there is now extant no immediate *Ministry* from *Christ*, but *mediate*, that is, from the *Church*.

Let us first see how they agree with themselves, and secondly how they agree with the *Magistrate* in this busines.

First,* if they hold a sending forth to preach by Christs supreme power, according to *Math.* 28. *Mark* 16. *Rom.* 10. they must necessarily grant a time, when the *Church* is not, but is to be constituted out of the *Nations* and *Peoples* now converted by this *preaching*: whence according to the *course* of *Scripture*, the nature of the *Worke*, and their own *Grant* in this place, it is apparent that there is a *Ministry* before the *Church*, gathering and espousing the *Church* to *Christ*: and therefore their other *Tenent* must needs be too light, viz. that there is no *Ministry* but that which is *mediate* from the *Church*.

In the first
 patterne there
 is a conver-
 ting Ministrie,
 to gather the
 Church or
 Flock of
 Christ.

Peace. Blessed *Truth*, this doctrine of a *Ministry* before the *Church*, is *harsh* and *deep*, yet most *true*, most *sweet*. Yet you know their *Ground*, that two or three Godly *persons* may joyne themselves together, become a *Church*, make officers, send them forth to preach, to convert, baptize, and gather New *Churches*.

Truth. I answer, first we find not in the first *institution* and *patterne*, that ever any such two, or three, or more, did gather and constitute themselves a *Church* of *Christ*, without a *Ministrie* sent

No president
of any people
in the Gospell
converting &
gathering
themselves,
without some
Messenger
sent from the
Lord to effect
those ends.

Professed pub-
lique conversion
is not onely
from sinnes a-
gainst the se-
cond Table
in personall
Repentance,
but from false
worship also.

A true Mini-
stery necessary
before con-
version, and
therefore be-
fore the
Church in the
first patterne.

from *God* to invite and call them by the *Word*, and to receive them unto *fellowship* with *God* upon the receiving of that *Word* and *Mes- sage*:★ And therefore it may very well be Quæried how without such a Ministry two or three become a Church? and how the power of Christ is conveyed unto them; Who espoused this people unto *Jesus Christ*, as the *Church* at *Corinth* was espoused by *Paul*, 2 *Cor.* 11.? If it be said themselves, or if it be said the Scriptures, let one instance be produced in the first *patternes* and *practices* of such a Practice.

It hath been generally confest, that there is no comming to the *Mariage feast* without a *Messenger* inviting, sent from *God* to the *Soules* of men, *Matth.* 22. *Luc.* 14. *Rom.* 10.

We finde when the *Thessalonians* turned to *God* from their *Idolls* to serve the living and true *God*, 1 *Thessal.* 1. 9. it pleased *God* to bring a *Word* of *Power* unto them by the mouth of *Paul* in the same place.

Peace. You know (deare *Truth*) it is a common plea, that Gods people now are converted already, and therefore may congregate themselves, &c.

Truth. Two things must here be cleered:

First,★ doth their *conversion* amount to externall turning from *I- dolls*, 1 *Thess.* 1. 9. beside their internall *Repentance*, *Faith*, *Love*, &c. Secondly, who wrought this *conversion*, who begot these Children? (for though the *Corinthians* might have ten thousand *Tea- chers*, yet *Paul* had begotten them by the *Word*.)

'Tis true (as Mr. *Cotton* himselfe elsewhere acknowledgeth) *God* sendeth many *Preachers* in the way of his *providence* (even in *Babel* mysticall) though not according to his *Ordinance* and *Institution*: So even in the *wildernesse* (*Rev.* 12.) *God* provideth for the sustentation of the woman, *Rev.* 12. by which *provision* even in the most *Popish times* and *places*, yea and by most false and *Popish callings* (now in this lightsome Age confest so to be) *God* hath done great things to the personall *conversion*,★ *consolation*, and *salvation* of his people.

But as there seems yet to be desired such *constitution* of the *Chri- stian Church*, as the first *institution* and *patterne* calls for: So also such a *calling* and *converting* of Gods people from *Antichristian Idols* to the *Christian Worship*: And therefore such a *Ministry* (accord- ing to the first patterne) sent from *Christ Jesus* to renew and re-

store

the *Worship* and *Ordinances* of *God* in *Christ*.

Lastly, if it should be granted that without a *Ministry* sent from *Christ* to gather *Churches*, that *Gods*, people in this Country may be called, *converted* from *Antichristian Idolls*, to the true *worship* of *God* in the true *Church* estate and *Ordinances*, will it not follow that in all other Countries of the World *Gods* Elect must or may be so converted from their severall respective false *worships* and *Idolatries*,* and brought into the true *Christian Church* estate without such a *Ministry* sent unto them? Or are there two *wayes* appointed by the *Lord Jesus*, one for this Country, and another for the rest of the *World*? Or lastly, if two or three more (without a *Ministry*) shall arise up, become a *Church*, make *Ministers*, &c. I ask whether those two or three, or more must not be accounted immediately and extraordinarily stirred up by *God*, and whether this be that supreme power of *Christ Jesus* (which they speake of) sending forth two or three private persons to make a *Church* and *Ministers*, without a true *Ministry* of *Christ Iesus* first sent unto themselves? Is this that *commission* (which all Ministers pretend unto) *Mat. 28. 19. &c.* first, in the hands of two or three private persons becoming a *Church*, without a mediat call from which *Church* (say they) there can be no true *Ministry*, and yet also confesse that *Christ* sendeth forth to preach by his *supreme power*; and the *Magistrate* by his power subordinate to gather *Churches*?

The true way of the Ministry sent with that commission *Matth. 28.* discussed.

CHAP. CIV.

Peace. **Y**OU have taken great paines to shew the irreconcilableness of those their two assertions, *viz.* First, there is now no *Ministry* (as they say) but what is mediat from the *Church*, and yet secondly, *Christ Jesus* sends *Preachers* forth by his supreme power to gather the *Church*: I now wait to heare, how, as they “say, the *Magistrate* may send forth by his power subordinate to “gather *Churches*, enforcing the people to heare, &c.

Truth. If there be a *Ministry* sent forth by *Christs* supreme power,* and a *Ministry* sent forth by the *Magistrates* subordinate power to gather *Churches*; I aske what is the difference between these two? Is there any gathering of *Churches* but by that *commission*, *Mat. 28. Teach* and *baptize*? And is the *civill Magistrate*

The Civill Magistrate not betruſted with gathering of Churches.

in-

intrusted with a power from *Christ* as his *Deputy* to give this *commission*, and so to send out *Ministers* to preach and baptize?

As there is nothing in the *Testament* of *Christ* concerning such a *delegation* or *assignment* of such power of *Christ* to the *civill Magistrate*:[★] So I also ask, since in every free State *civill Magistrates* have no more power but what the peoples of those *States*, *Lands* and *Countries* betrust them with, whether or no (by this meanes) it must not follow that *Christ Iesus* hath left with the Peoples and Nations of the World, his Spirituall Kingly power to grant commissions and send out Ministers to themselves, to preach, convert and baptize themselves? How inevitably this followes upon their conclusion of power in Magistrates to send, &c. and what unchristian and unreasonable consequences must flow from hence, let all consider in the feare of *God*.

Iehosaphats sending forth the *Levites* to teach in *Iudah*,[★] &c. as they alledge it not; so elsewhere it shall more fully appeare to be a type and figure of *Christ Iesus* the only King of his Church providing for the feeding of his Church and People by his true *Christian Priests* and *Levites*, viz. The *Ministry* which in the *Gospel* he hath appointed.

CHAP. CV.

Peace. **W**VE have examined the Ministry, be pleased (deare *Truth*) to speake to the second branch of this head, viz. the maintenance of it: They affirme that the Magistrate may force out the Ministers maintenance from all that are taught by them, and that after the patterne of *Israel*, and the argument from 1 Cor. 9. Gal. 6. 6.

Truth. This theame, viz. concerning the maintenance of the Priests and Ministers of worship, is indeed the Apple of the Eye, the *Dianah* of the *Dianah*, &c. yet all that love *Christ Iesus* in sincerity, and soules in and from him will readily professe to abhorre filthy lucre (*Tit.* 1.) and the wages of *Balaam* (both more common and frequent then easily is discernable.)

To that Scripture *Gal.* 6. 6.[★] Let him that is taught in the Word make him that teacheth partaker of all his goods: I answer,[★] That teaching was of persons converted, beleevvers entred into the Schoole and Family of *Christ* the Church, which Church being
rightly

If the Magistrate, then much more the people of the world, from whom the Magistrates receive their power.

Iehosaphat (2 Chron. 17.) a figure of *Christ Iesus* in his Church not of the *Civill Magistrate* in the State.

Gal. 6. 6. Concerning the maintenance of the Ministry examined.

rightly gathered, is also rightly invested with the *power* of the *Lord Jesus*, to force every soule therein by spirituall *weapons* and *penalties* to doe its duty.

But this forcing of the *Magistrate* is intended and practised to all sorts of *persons* without as well as within the *Church*, *unconverted*, *naturall* and dead in sinne, as well as those that live, and feeding enjoy the *benefit* of spirituall food.

Now for those sorts of persons to whom *Christ Iesus* sends his Word out of *Church* estate,* *Iewes* or *Gentiles*, (according to the *Parable* of *Math. 13. high-way hearers, stony ground* and *thorny ground* hearers) wee never finde title of any *maintenance* to bee expected, least of all to bee forced and exacted from them. By *civill power* they cannot be forced, for it is no *civill payment* or businesse, no matter of *Cæsar*, but concerning *God*: nor by *spirituall power*, which hath nothing to doe with those which are without, *1. Cor. 5.*

Christ Iesus never appointed a maintenance of his Ministers from the unconverted and unbelieving.

It is reasonable to expect and demand of such as live within the *state* a *civill maintenance* of their *civill officers*, and to force it where it is denied. It is reasonable for a *Schoole-master* to demand his recompence for his labour in his *Schoole*: but it is not reasonable to expect or force it from *stranges, enemies, rebels* to that *City*, from such as come not within, or else would not bee received into the *Schoole*. What is the *Church* of *Christ Iesus*, but the *City*, the *Schools*, and *Family* of *Christ*? the *Officers* of this *City, Schoole, Family*, may reasonably expect maintenance from such they minister unto, but not from strangers, enemies, &c.

*Peace.** It is most true that sinne goes in a *linke*, for that *tenent* that all the men of the *world* may bee compelled to heare *Christ* preach (and enjoy the *labours* of the *Teacher* as well as the *Church* it selfe) forceth on another also as evill, *viz.* that they should also be compelled to pay, as being most equall and reasonable to pay for their conversion.

They that compell men to heare, compell men also to pay for their hearing and conversion.
Luc. 14. Compell them, examined.

Truth. Some use to urge that Text of *Luc. 14. Compell* them to come in. Compell them to *Masse* (say the *Papists*:) compell them to Church and Common prayer, say the *Protestants*: Compell them to the *Meeting*, say the *New English*. In all these *compulsions* they disagree amongst themselves: but in this, *viz.* Compell them to pay, in this they all agree.

There is a double violence which both Errour and Falshood use to the soules of men.*

Morall and

First, morall and[★] perswasive, such was the perswasion first used to *Ioseph* by his *Mistris*: such was the *perswasions* of *Tamar* from *Ammon*: such was the compelling of the *young man* by the Harlot; *Prov.* 7. shee caught him by her much faire *speech* and *kisses*. And thus is the whole world compelled to the worship of the Golden Image, *Dan.* 3.

Civill Compulsion.

The second Compulsion is *civill*,[★] such as *Iosephs* *Mistris* began to practise upon *Ioseph* to attaine her whorish desires.

Such as *Ammon* practised on *Tamar* to satisfie his brutish lust. And such was *Nabuchadnezzars* second compulsion, his fiery Furnace, *Dan.* 3. and mysticall *Nabuchadnezzars* killing all that receive not his marke, *Rev.* 13.

The Ministers of Christ Jesus compell with no other sword then that of Christs mouth, the sword of the Spirit with two edges.

The first sort of these *violences*,[★] to wit, by powerfull argument and perswasion, the *Ministers* of the *Gospel* also use. Hence all those powerfull perswasions of *Wisedomes Maidens*, *Pro.* 9. Hence (saith *Paul*) knowing the *terrou* of the *Lord*, we perswade men, 2 *Cor.* 5. and pull some out of the fire, saith *Iude*: such must that *compulsion* be, *Luc.* 14. viz. the powerfull perswasions of the *word*, being that two-edged sword comming out of the mouth of *Christ Iesus* in his true *Ministers* sent forth to invite poore sinners to partake of the *Feast* of the *Lambe* of *God*. The *civill Ministers* of the *Commonweale* cannot be sent upon this *businessse* with their *civill weapons* and *compulsions*, but the *spirituall Minister* of the *Gospel* with his spirituall sword of *Christs* mouth, a *sword* with two edges.

The maintenance of the Ministry spirituall.

But more particularly the *contributions* of *Christs Kingdome* are all holy and spirituall,[★] though consisting of materiall earthly *substance*, (as is *Water* in *Baptisme*, *Bread* and *Wine* in the *Supper*) and joyned with prayer and the *Lords Supper*, *Act.* 2. 42.

Naturall men can neither truly worship nor maintain it.

Hence as Prayer is called *Gods sacrifice*,[★] so are the *contributions* and mutuall supplies of the *Saints*, *sacrifices*, *Phil.* 4.

Hence also as it is impossible for *naturall* men to bee capable of *Gods worship*, and to feed, be nourished and edified by any spirituall ordinance, no more then a *dead childe* can *sucke* the breast, or a *dead man* *feast*:

So also is it as impossible for a *dead man* yet lodged in the grave of Nature to contribute spirituall (I meane according to *Scriptures* rule) as for a *dead man* to pay a *reckoning*.

I question not but naturall men may for the outward act *preach*, *pray*, *contribute*, &c. but neither are they worshippers suitable to him
who

who is a Spirit (*Iohn 4.*) nor can they (least of all) bee forced to worship or the maintenance of it, without a guilt of their hypocrisie.

Peace. They will say, what is to be done for their soules?

Truth. The *Apostles* (whom wee professe to imitate) preached the *Word* of the *Lord* to unbelievers, without mingling in *worship* with them, and such *Preachers* and preaching such as pretend to be the true *Ministry* of *Christ*, ought to be and practise: Not forcing them all their dayes to come to *Church* and pay their *duties*, either so confessing that this is their *Religion* unto which they are forced: or else that (as before) they are forced to be of no *Religion* all their dayes.

The way to subdue *Rebels* is not by *correspondence* and *communion* with them,* by forcing them to keepe the *City Watches*, and pay *sessements*, &c. which all may be practised (upon compulsion) treacherously, the first work with such is powerfully to subdue their judgments and wills, to lay downe their *weapons*, and yeeld willing subjection: then come they orderly into the *City*, and so to Citie priviledges.

Rebels not subdued by compliance, but resistance.

CHAP. CVI.

Peace. PLEASE you now (deare Truth) to discusse the *Scriptures* from the *Old Testament*, *Nehem 13.* and *2 Chron. 31.*

*Truth.** God gave unto that *Nationall Church* of the *Jewes* that excellent Land of *Canaan*, and therein *Houses* furnished, *Orchards*, *Gardens* *Vineyards*, *Olive yards*, *Fields*, *Wells*, &c. they might well in this settled abundance, and the promised continuation and increase of it afford a large temporall supply to their *Priests* and *Levites*, even to the *Tenth* of all they did possesse.

The nationall Church of the Jewes might well be forced to a settled maintenance of their priests but not so the Christian Church.

Gods people are now in the *Gospel* brought into a spirituall land of *Canaan*, flowing with spirituall milk and honey, and they abound with *spirituall* and heavenly *comforts*, though in a poore and *persecuted condition*, therefore an inforced settled maintenance is not suitable to the *Gospel*, as it was to the *Ministry* of *Priests* and *Levites* in the *Law*.

Secondly, in the change of the Church estate, there was also a change of the *Priesthood* and of the *Law*, *Heb. 7.* Nor did the *Lord Iesus* appoint that in his *Church*, and for the maintenance of his

Ministrie, the *Civill sword* of the *Magistrate*, but that the *Spirituell Sword* of the *Ministrie* should alone compell.

3. Therefore the *compulsion* used under *Hezekiah* and *Nehemiah*, was by the *civill* and *corporall* *Sword*,* a type (in that typical State) not of another *materiall* and *corporall*, but of an heavenly and spiri-
tuall, even the *sword* of the *Spirit*, with which *Christ* fighteth, *Revel.* 3. which is exceeding sharpe, entring in between the *soule* and *spirit*, *Heb.* 4. and bringing every thought into *captivitie* to the *obedience* of *Christ Jesus*: He that submits not at the shaking of this *sword*, is cut off by it; and he that despiseth this *sword*, all the power in the *World* cannot make him a true *worshipper*, or by his purse a maintainer of *Gods worship*.

Lastly, If any man professing to be a *Minister* of *Christ Jesus*,* shall bring men before the *Magistrate* (as the practice hath been, both in *Old* and *New England*) for not paying him his *wages* or his due: I aske (if the voluntarie consent of the party hath not obliged him) how can either the officers of the *Parish*, *Church*, or of the *Civill State* compell this or that man to pay so much (more or lesse) to maintaine such a *Worship* or *Ministrie*? I ask further, if the determining what is each mans due to pay, why may they not determine the tenth and more, as some desired (others opposing) in *New England*, and force men not only to maintenance, but to a *Jewish* maintenance.

Peace. Yea but (say they) is not the *Labourer* worthy of his hire?

Truth. Yes, from them that hire him, from the *Church*, to whom he laboureth or ministreth,* not from the *Civill State*: no more then the *Minister* of the *Civill State* is worthy of his hire from the *Church*, but from the *Civill State*, (in which I grant the persons in the *Church* ought to be assistant in their *Civill* respects.)

Peace. What maintenance (say they) shall the *Ministrie* of the *Gospel* have?

Truth. We finde two wayes of maintenance for the *Ministrie* of the *Gospel*,* proposed for our direction in the *New Testament*.

First, the free and willing contribution of the *Saints*, according to *1 Cor.* 16. *Luc.* 8. 3. &c. upon which both the *Lord Jesus*, and his *Ministers* lived.

Secondly, the diligent worke and labour of their owne hands,
as

The Civill
Sword of the
Nationall
Church of the
Jewes could
not type out
a Civill, but
a Spirituall
Sword of the
Christian
Church.

No man
should be
bound to wor-
ship, nor main-
taine a Wor-
ship against
his own con-
sent.

Christs labou-
rers worthy of
their hire, but
from them
that hire them

What mainte-
nance Christ
hath appoint-
ed his Mini-
sters in the
Gospel.

as *Paul* tells the Thessalonians, and that in two cases:

1. Either in the inabilities and necessities of the Church.

2. Or for the greater advantage of Christs truth; as when *Paul* saw it would more advantage the name of Christ, he denies himselfe, and falls to worke amongst the Corinthians and Thessalonians.

Let none call these cases extraordinary: for if persecution be the portion of Christs sheep, and the *business* or *worke* of Christ must be dearer to us then our right eyes or lives, such as will follow *Paul*, and follow the *Lord Jesus*, must not thinke much at, but rejoyce in *poverties, necessities, hunger, cold, nakednesse, &c.* The *Stewards* of Christ *Iesus* must be like their *Lord*, and abhorre to steale as the evill *Steward*, pretending that the shamed to beg, but peremptorily, dig he could not.

CHAP. CVII.

Peace. ONe and the last branch (deare *Truth*) remains concerning Schooles.

“The *Churches* (say they) much depend upon the *Schooles*, and “the *Schooles* upon the *Magistrates*.

Truth. I honour *Schooles* for *Tongues* and *Arts*: but the *institution* of *Europes Universities*,* devoting persons (as is said) for *Scholars*, in a *Monasticall* way, forbidding *Mariage* and *Labour* to, I hold as far from the mind of *Iesus Christ*, as it is from propagating his Name and Worship.

Universities of Europe a cause of universall sins & plagues, yet Schooles honourable for Tongues and Arts.

We count the *Universities* the *Fountaines*, the *Seminaries* or *Seed-plots* of all *Pietie*: but have not those *Fountaines* ever sent what streames the *Times* have liked? and ever changed their taste and colour to the *Princes* eye and *Palate*?

For any depending of the Church of Christ upon such *Schooles*, I finde not a little in the Testament of Christ *Iesus*.

I finde the *Church* of Christ frequently compared to a *Schoole*:* All *Beleevers* are his *Disciples* or *Scholars*, yea *women* also, *Acts* 9. 36. There was a certaine *Disciple* or *Scholar* called *Dorcas*.

Christs church his Schooles, and all Believers Scholars.

Have not the *Universities* sacrilegiously stole this blessed name of *Christs Scholars* from his people? Is not the very Scripture language it selfe become *absurd*, to wit, to call *Gods* people, especially *Women* (as *Dorcas*) *Scholars*?

Peace. Some will object, how shall the *Scriptures* be brought to light from out of *Popish darknesse*, except these *Schooles of Prophets* convey them to us?

Truth. I know no *Schooles of Prophets* in the *New Testament*, but the particular *Congregation of Christ Jesus*, 1 Cor. 14. And I question whether any thing but Sinne stopt and dried up the *current* of the *Spirit* in those rare *gifts of tongues* to Gods sons & daughters, serving so admirably both for the understanding of the *Originall Scriptures*, and also for the propagating of the name of *Christ*.

Who knowes but that it may please the *Lord* againe to cloath his people with a spirit of *zeale* and *courage* for the name of *Christ*,* yea and powre forth those fiery streames againe of *Tongues* and *Prophecie* in the *restauration* of *Zion*?

If it be not his holy pleasure so to doe, but that his people with daily study and labour must *dig* to come at the *Originall Fountaines*,* Gods people have many wayes (besides the *Universitie*, *lazier* and *Monkish*) to attaine to an excellent measure of the knowledge of those *tongues*.

That most despised (while living) and now much honoured Mr. *Ainsworth*,* had scarce his Peere amongst a thousand *Academians* for the *Scripture Originalls*, and yet he scarce set foot within a *Colledge* walls.

CHAP. CVIII.

Peace. I Shall now present you with their 10. Head, viz. concerning the Magistrates power in matters of Doctrine.

“That which is unjustly ascribed to the Pope, is as unjustly ascribed to the Magistrates, viz. to have power of making new “Articles of Faith, or Rules of Life, or of pressing upon the Churches to give such publike honour to the Apocrypha writings, or “Homilies of men, as to read them to the people in the roome of “the Oracles of God.

Truth. This *Position* simply considered I acknowledge a most holy truth of God, both against the *Pope*, and the *Civill Magistrates* challenge, both pretending to be the *Vicars of Christ Iesus* upon the *Earth*. Yet two things here I shall propose to consideration.

First, since the *Parliament of England* thrust the *Pope* out of his *chaire* in *England*, and set downe *King Henry* the 8. and his *Succe-*

sours

Who knowes
but God may
againe powre
forth the gifts
of Tongues?

Tongues at-
tainable out
of Oxford or
Cambridge.

Mr. Ainsworth

sours in the *Popes* roome,* establishing them supreme *Governours* of the *Church of England*, since such an absolute *government* is given by all men to them to be *Guardians* of the first *Table* and *worship* of *God*; to set up the true *worship*, to suppress all *false*, and that by the power of the *Sword*, and therefore consequently they must judge and determine what the *true* is, and what the *false*.

King Henry the 8. set down in the Popes chaire in England.

And since the *Magistrate* is bound (by these *Authours* principles) to see the *Church*,* the *Church* officers and members doe their duty, he must therefore judge what is the *Churches* duty, and when she performs or not performs it, or when she exceeds, so like wise when the *Ministers* performe their duty, or when they exceed it.

If the Mgi-strate must punish in Spirituall cases, he must of necessity be judge in Spirituall causes also.

And if the *Magistrate* must judge, then certainly by his owne eye, and not by the eyes of others, though assembled in a *Nationall* or *Generall Councell*.

Then also upon his judgement must the people rest, as upon the minde and judgement of Christ, or else it must be confest that he hath no such power left him by Christ to compell the soules of men in matters of Gods worship.

Secondly,* concerning the *Apocrypha* writings and *Homilies* to be urged by the *Magistrate* to be read unto the people as the *Oracles* of *God*: I aske if the *Homilies* of *England* contain not in them much pretious and heavenly matter! Secondly, if they were not penn'd (at least many of them) by *excellent* men for *learning*, *holinesse*, and *witnesse* of *Christs Truth* incomparable. Thirdly, were they not authorised by that most rare and pious *Prince Ed. 6.* then *head* of the *Church of England*? With what great solemnity and rejoycing were they received of thousands?

Apocripha, Common-Prayer and Homilies, pretious to our forefathers.

Yet now behold their *children* after them sharply censure them for *Apocrypha* writings and *Homilies* trust into the roome of the *Word of God*, and so falling into the *consideration* of a false and counterfeit *Scripture*.

I demand of these worthy men whether a servant of God might then lawfully have refused to read or heare such a false *Scripture*?*

A case.

Secondly, if so, whether *King Edward* might have lawfully compelled such a man to yeeld and submit, or else have persecuted him, yea (according to the *Authors* principles) whether he ought to have spared him, because after the *admonitions* of such pious and learned men, this man shall now prove an *Hereticke*, and as an obstinate person sinning against the *light* of his owne *conscience*?

In

In this case what shall the *conscience* of the subject doe, awed by the *dread* of the most *High*? What shall the *conscience* of the *Magistrate* do, zealous for his glorious *Reformation*, being constantly perswaded by his *Clergy* of his *Lieutenants*hip received from *Christ*?

Again,* what *priviledge* have those worthy servants of *God* either in *Old* or *New England*, to be exempted from the mistakes, into which those glorious *Worthies* in *K. Edwards* time did fall?* and if so, what bloody *conclusions* are presented to the *World*, perswading men to plucke up by the *Roots* from the *Land* of the living, all such as seem in their eyes hereticall or obstinate?

Reformations
are fallible.

Bloudy con-
clusions.

CHAP. CIX.

Peace. **D**EARE *Truth*, What darke and dismall bloudy paths doe we walke in? How is thy name and mine in all ages cried up, yet as an English Flag in a Spanish bottome, not in truth but dangerous treachery and abuse both of *Truth* and *Peace*?

11 Head.

We are now come to the 11 Head* which concernes the Magistrates power in worship.

“First, they have power (say they) to reforme things in the “worship of *God* in a Church corrupted, and to establish the pure “worship of *God*, defending the same by the power of the sword “against all those who shall attempt to corrupt it.

“For first, the reigning of Idolatry and corruption in Religion “is imputed to the want of a King, *Iudges* 17. 5, 6.

“Secondly, Remissenes in Reforming Religion, is a fault imputed to them who suffered the High Places in *Israel* and in *Gallio*, “who cared not for such things, *Acts* 18.

“Thirdly, Forwardnesse this way is a duty not only for Kings “in the Old Testament, but for Princes under the New, 1 *Tim* 2. 2. “*Rom.* 13. 4. *Esay* 49. 23. Neither did the Kings of *Israel* reforme “things amisse as types of *Christ*, but as Civill Magistrates, and so “exemplary to all Christians. And here Reformation in Religion “is commendable in a Persian King, *Ezra* 7. 23. And it is well “knowne that remissenes in Princes of Christendome in matters of “Religion and Worship (divolving the care thereof only to the “Clergy, and so setting the Hornes thereof upon the Churches “head) hath been the cause of Antichristian inventions, usurpat- “ions and corruptions in the Worship and Temple of *God*.

“Se-

“Secondly, they have not power to presse upon the Churches, “stinted Prayers, or set Liturgies, whether New or Old, Popish, or “others under colour of uniformity of Worship, or morall goodness of them both for matter and forme, conceiving our arguments sent to our Brethren in *England* concerning this Question “to evince this Truth.

“Thirdly, they have no power to presse upon the Churches, neither by Law (as hath been said before) nor by Proclamation and “command, any sacred significant ceremonies, whether more or “lesse, Popish or Jewish rite, or any other device of man, be it never so little in the worship of God, under what colour soever of “indifferencie, civility, using them without opinion of sanctity, “publicke peace or obedience to righteous Authority, as Surplice, “Crosse, kneeling at Sacrament; Salt and Spittle in Baptisme, Holy dayes: They having beene so accursed of God, so abused by “man, the imposing of some ever making way for the urging of “more, the receiving of some making the conscience bow to the “burthen of all.

“Fourthly, they have not power to governe and rule the acts of “worship in the Church of God.

“It is with a Magistrate in a State, in respect of the acts of those “who worship in a Church, as it is with a Prince in a Ship, wherein, though he be governour of their persons (else he should not “be their Prince) yet is not governour of the actions of the Mariners (then he should be Pilot:) Indeed if the Pilot shall manifestly erre in his action, he may reprove him, and so any other “passenger may: Or if he offend against the life and goods of any, “he may in due time and place civilly punish him, which no other “passenger can doe: For, it is proper to Christ, the Head of the “Church, as to prescribe, so to rule the actions of his own worship “in the wayes of his servants, *Esay* 96, 7. The government of the “Church is upon his shoulder, which no Civill officer ought to attempt: And therefore Magistrates have no power to limit a Minister either to what he shall preach or pray, or in what manner “they shall worship God, lest hereby they shall advance themselves “above Christ, and limit his Spirit.

Truth. In this generall Head are proposed two things.

First, what the Magistrate ought to doe positively concerning the worship of God.

Secondly, what he may doe in the worship of God.

What he ought to doe is comprised in these particulars.

First, he ought to reforme the worship of God when it is corrupted.

Secondly, he ought to establish a pure worship of God.

Thirdly, he ought to defend it by the sword: he ought to restrain Idolatry by the sword, and to cut off *offendours*, as former passages have opened.

For the prooffe of this positive part of his duty are propounded three sorts of Scriptures.

First, from the practice of the *Kings of Israel and Judah*.

Secondly, some from the New *Testament*.

Thirdly, from the practice of *Kings of other Nations*.

Unto which I answer.

First,★ concerning this latter, the *Babylonian and Persian Kings, Nebuchadnezzar, Cyrus, Darius, Artaxerxes*: I conceive I have sufficiently before proved, that these *Idolatrours Princes* making such *Acts* concerning the *God of Israel*, whom they did not *worship* nor *know*, nor meant so to doe, did onely *permit* and tolerate, and *coun-tenance* the *Jewish worship*, and out of strong *convictions* that this *God of Israel* was able to doe them good (as well as their owne *gods*) to bring wrath upon them and their *Kingdomes*, as they beleaved their owne also did, in which respect all the *Kings of the world* may be easily brought to the like: but are no *president* or *patternes* for all *Princes* and *Civill Magistrates* in the *World*, to chalenge or assume the *power of ruling or governing* the *Church of Christ*, and of wearing the spirituall *Crowne* of the *Lord*, which he alone weareth in a *spirituall* way by his *Officers* and *Governours* after his owne holy appointment.

Secondly, for those of the New *Testament* I have (as I beleeve) fully and sufficiently answered.

So also that prophesie of *Isa. 49*.

Lastly,★ however I have often touched those Scriptures produced from the practice of the *Kings of Israel and Judah*. yet because so great a *waeight* of this controversie lyes upon this *president* of the *Old Testament*, from the duties of this *nature* enjoyned to those *Kings* and *Governours*, and their practices, *obeying* or *disobeying*, accordingly *commended* or *reproved*. I shall (with the helpe of *Christ Iesus*, the true *King of Israel*) declare and demonstrate how weake
and

The argument
from the Ba-
bylonian and
Persian kings
re-minded.

The president
of the Kings
and Gover-
nours of Israel
and Judah
examined.

and brittle this supposed *Pillar of Marble* is, to beare up and sustain such a mighty burthen and waight of so many high concernments as are laid upon it.* In which I shall evidently prove that the *state* of *Israel* as a *Nationall State* made up of *Spirituall* and *Civill power*, so farre as it attended upon the *spirituall*, was meerly figurative and typing out the *Christian Churches* consisting of both *Iewes* and *Gentiles*, enjoying the true power of the *Lord Iesus*, establishing, reforming, correcting, defending in all cases concerning his *Kingdome* and *Government*.

The state of Israel relating to spirituall matters proved typically.

CHAP. CX.

Peace. **B**lessed be the *God of Truth*, the *God of Peace*, who hath so long preserved us in this our retired *conference* without *interruptions*: His *mercy* still shields us while you expresse and I listen to that so much *imitated*, yet most *unimitable State* of *Israel*.

Yet before you descend to *particulars* (deare Truth) let me cast * one *Mite* into your great *Treasury* concerning that Instance (just now mentioned) of the *Persian Kings*.

Me thinkes those *presidents* of *Cyrus*, *Darius* and *Artaxerxes* are strong against *New Englands Tenent* and *practice*. Those *Princes* professedly gave free *permission* and bountifull *incouragement* to the *Consciences* of the *Iewes*, to use and practise their *Religion*, which *Religion* was most eminently contrary to their owne *Religion* and their *Countries* worship.

The Persian Kings make evidently against such as produce them for maintenance of the doctrine of persecution.

Truth. I shall (sweet Peace) with more delight passe on these rough wayes, from your kinde acceptance and unwearied patience in attention.

In this discovery of that vast and mighty difference betweene that State of *Israel* and all other States (onely to bee matched and parallel'd by the *Christian Church* or *Israel*) I shall select some maine and principall considerations concerning that State wherein the irreconcilable *differences* and disproportion may appeare.

First,* I shall consider the very *Land* and *Country* of *Canaan* it selfe, and present some *considerations* proving it to be a *None-such*.

First, this *Land* was espyed out and chosen by the *Lord* out of all the *Countries* of the *World* to be the seat of his *Church* and people, *Ezek.* 20. 6.

The Land of Canaan chosen by God to be the seat of the Church, but under the New Testament all Nations alike.

But now there is no respect of *Earth*, of *Places* or *Countries* with the *Lord*: So testified the *Lord Iesus Christ* himselfe to the

woman of *Samaria* (*Iohn* 4.) professing that neither at that *Mountain* nor at *Ierusalem* should men *worship* the *Father*.

While that Nationall State of the *Church* of the *Iewes* remained, the Tribes were bound to goe up to *Ierusalem* to *worship*, *Psal.* 122. But now, in *every Nation* (not the whole Land or Country as it was with *Canaan*) he that feareth God and worketh righteousness is accepted with him, *Act.* 10. 35. This then appeared in that large Commission of the Lord *Jesus* to his first Ministers: Goe into *all Nations*, and not onely into *Canaan*, to carry tidings of *Mercy*, &c.

Secondly, the former Inhabitants thereof, seven great and mightie *Nations* (*Deuter.* 7.) were all devoted to destruction by the Lords owne mouth, which was to bee performed by the impartiall hand of the Children of *Israel*, without any sparing or shewing *Mercy*.

But so now it hath not pleased the Lord to devote any people to present Destruction,* commanding his people to kill and slay without *Covenant* or *Compassion*, *Deuteronomy* 7. 2.

Where have *Emperours*, *Kings*, or *Generals* an immediate call from God to destroy whole Cities, City after City, Men, women, Children, Old and Young, as *Ioshua* practised? *Ioshua* 6. and 10. Chapters, &c.

This did *Israel* to these seven Nations, that they themselves might succeed them in their Cities, Habitations, and Possessions.

This onely is true in a spirituall *Antitype*, when Gods people by the Sword (the two-edged Sword of *Gods Spirit* slay the ungodly and become *Heires*, yea fellow *Heires* with *Christ Iesus*, *Romanes* 8. Gods meeke people inherit the earth, (*Matthew* 5.) They mystically like *Noah* (*Hebrewes* 11) condemne the whole unbelieving World, both by present and future sentence, 2 *Corinth.* 6. 2.

CHAP. CXI.

THirdly the very *materials*, the *Gold* and *Silver* of the Idols of this Land were odious and abominable, and dangerous to the people of *Israel*, that they might not desire it, nor take it to themselves,

The inhabitants of Canaans Land every soule to be put to death that the Israelites might enjoy their possessions: not so now.

selves, *Deut.* 7. 25. 26. lest themselves also become a *curse*,★ and like unto those cursed abominable things. Whereas we finde not any such accursed *nature* in the *materials* of *Idols* or *Images* now, but that (the *Idolatrous formes* being changed) the *silver* and *gold* may be cast and coyned, and other *materialls* lawfully employed and used.

The very materiall gold & silver of Canaans Images typically to be abhorred.

Yet this we finde in the *Antitype*, that *gold*, *silver*, yea *house*, *land*, yea *wives*, *children*, yea *life* it selfe, as they allure and draw us from *God* in *Christ*, are to be abominated and hated by us, without which *hatred* and *indignation* against the most plausible and pleasing enticings from *CHRIST JESUS*, it is impossible for any man to bee a true *Christian*, *Luke* 14. 26.

Fourthly,★ this Land, this *Earth* was an *Holy land*, *Zach.* 2. 12. Ceremonially and typically *holy*, *Fields*, *Gardens*, *Orchards*, *Houses*, &c. which *Holines* the World knowes not now in one *Land*, or *Country*, *House*, *Field*, *Garden*, &c. one above another. Yet in the Spirituall *Land of Canaan* the *Christian Church*,★ all things are made holy and pure (in all Lands) to the pure, *Tit.* 1. meats and drinkes are sanctified, that is, dedicated to the holy use of the thankfull *Believers*, 1 *Tim.* 4. yea and the *unbelieving Husband*, *Wife*, and their *Children* are sanctified and made holy to *Believers*, insomuch that that golden inscription (peculiar to the *forehead* of the *High Priest*) *Holines to Iehovah*, shall be written upon the very *Bridles* of the *Horses*, as all are dedicated to the service of *Christ Jesus* in the Gospels peace and holines.

The Land of Canaan ceremonially holy.

Greater holynesse in the Antitype under the Gospel, then in the types under the Law.

Fifthly,★ the Lord expresly calls it his own Land, *Levit.* 25 23. *Hos.* 9. 3 *Iehovah* his Land, a terme proper unto Spirituall *Canaan*, the *Church of God*, which must needs be in respect of his choice of that *Land* to be the Seate and Residence of his *Church* and *Ordinances*.

The Land of Canaan Iehovahs Land.

But now the partition *wall* is broken down, and in respect of the *Lords* speciall proprietie to one Country more then another, what difference between *Asia* and *Africa*, between *Europe* and *America*, between *England* and *Turkie*, *London* and *Constantinople*?

This Land (among many other glorious *Titles* given to it) was called *Emanuel*s land,★ that is, *God* with us, *Christ* his land, or *Christian* land, *Isa* 8. 8.

Emanuel's Land so no Land or country more then another.

But now: *Jerusalem* from above is not materiall and Earthly, but

but Spirituall, *Gal. 4. Heb. 12. Materiall Ierusalem* is no more the *Lords citie* then *Iericho, Ninivie, or Babell* (in respect of place or Countrey) for even at *Babell* literall was a *Church of Jesus Christ*, 1 *Pet. 5.*

It is true that *Antichrist* hath christned all those *Countries* whereon the *Whore* sitteth,* *Revel 17.* with the Title of *Christs land*, or *Christian land.*

And *Hundius*, in his *Map of the Christian World*, makes this land to extend to all *Asia*, a great part of *Africa*, all *Europe*, and a vast part of *America*, even so farre as his *unchristian Christenings* hath gone. But as every false *Christ* hath *false Teachers, false Christians, false Faith, Hope, Love, &c.* and in the end *false Salvation*, so doth he also counterfeit the false Name of *Christ, Christians, Christian land* or *Countrey.*

Sixthly, this Land was to keepe her *Sabbaths* unto *God*: Sixe yeares they were to sow their *Fields*, and prune their *Vines*, but in the 7.* yeare they were not to sow their *Fields*, nor prune their *Vineyards*, but to eat that which grew of it selfe or own accord.

But such *Observations* doth not *God* now lay upon any *Fields, Vineyards, &c.* under the *Gospell.*

Yet in the Spirituall land of *Canaan*, the true *Church*, there is a Spirituall *Soule-rest* or *Sabbath*, a quiet depending upon *God*, a living by *Faith* in him, a making him our *portion*, and casting all care upon him who careth for us: yea sometimes he feedeth his by immediate gracious workes of *Providence*, when comforts arise out of the *Earth*, without secondary meanes or causes, as here, or as elsewhere *Manna* descended from *Heaven.*

Seventhly, such portions and possessions of *Lands, Fields, Houses, Vineyards*, were sold with *caution* or *proviso* of returning againe in the yeare of *Jubilee* to the right owners, *Levit. 25. 23.*

Such *cautions, such provisos* are not now injoynd by *God* in the sale of *lands, fields, inheritances*, nor no such *Iubilee* or *Redemption* to be expected.

Yet this also finds a fulfilling in the *spirituall Canaan,** or *Church of God*, unto which the *silver Trumpet* of *Jubilee*, the *Gospel*, hath founded a spirituall *restitution* of all their spirituall *rights* and *inheritances*, which either they have lost in the fall of the first man *Adam*, or in their particular falls, when they are captive and sold unto sin, *Rom. 7.* Or lastly in the spirituall *captivitie* of *Babele bondage*: how
sweet

The Blasphemous titles of the Christned and Christian World.

The materiall Land of Canaan was to keep her Sabbath, so no materiall land or Country now. God feedeth his sometimes immediately.

The Jubilee of Canaan a type of restitution and redemption in the Gospell.

sweet then is the name of a *Saviour*, in whom is the joyfull sound of *Deliverance* and *Redemption*!

Eightly, this Land or Country was a figure or type of the kingdome of *Heaven* above,* begun here below in the *Church* and *Kingdome* of *God*, *Heb.* 4. 8. *Heb.* 11. 9. 10. Hence was a *Birthright* so pretious in *Canaans* Land: Hence *Naboth* so inexorable and resolute in refusing to part with his Inheritance to King *Ahab*, counting all *Ahabs* seeming *reasonable* offers most *unreasonable*,* as soliciting him to part with a *Garden* plot of *Canaans* land, though his refusall cost him his very life.

Canaans land
a type of the
Kingdome of
God on Earth
and in Heaven

Why Naboth
refused to
part with a
Garden plot
to his King
upon hazard
of his life.

What *Land*, what *Country* now is *Israels* *Parallel* and *Antitype*, but that holy *mysticall* Nation the *Church* of *God*, peculiar and called out to him out of every Nation and Country, 1 *Pet.* 2. 9. In which every true *spirituall* *Naboth* hath his *spirituall* inheritance, which he dares not part with, though it be to his *King* or *Sovereigne*, and though such his *refusall* cost him this present life.

CHAP. CXII.

Peace. **D**Oubtlesse that *Canaan* Land was not a patterne for all *Lands*: It was a *none-such*, *unparalleld* and unmatchable.

Truth. Many other *considerations* of the same nature I might annex, but I picke here and there a flowre,* and passe on to a second Head concerning the people themselves, wherein the state of the people shall appeare unmatchable, but only by the true Church and Israel of God.

The difference
of the people
of Israel and
all other Peo-
ples.
The people of
Israel the seed
of one man.

First, the people of Israel were all the Seed or Off-spring of one man *Abraham*, *Psal.* 105. 6. and so downward the Seed of *Isaac* and *Iacob*, hence called the *Israel* of *God*, that is, *wrastlers* and *pre-vailers* with *God*, distinguished into twelve *Tribes* all sprung out of *Israels* loynes.

But now, few *Nations* of the World but are a mixed Seed, the people of *England* especially the *Britaines*, *Picts*, *Romanes*, *Saxons*, *Danes* and *Normans*, by a wonderfull providence of *God* being become one *English* people.

Only the *Spirituall* *Israel* and Seed of *God* the New-borne are but one:**Christ* is the Seed, *Gal.* 3. and they only that are *Christs* are only *Abrahams* Seed and Heires according to the promise. This *Spirituall* Seed is the only *Antitype* of the former figurative
and

Only made
good in the
Spirituall seed,
the regenerate
or new-borne.

and typicall: A *Seed* which all *Christians* ought to propagate, yea even the *unmarried* men and women (who are not capable of *naturall off spring*) for thus is this called the *Seed of Christ* (who lived and died unmarried *Isa.* 59. 21.

Secondly, this people was selected and separated to the *Lord*, his *Covenant* and *Worship* from all the *people* and *Nations* of the *World* beside to be his peculiar and onely people, *Levit.* 20. 26. &c. Therefore such as returned from *Babylon* to *Jerusalem*, they separated themselves to eat the *Passeover*, *Ezra* 6 And in that solemne *humiliation* and *confession* before the *Lord*, *Nehem* 9.★ the *children of Israel* separated themselves from all strangers.

This separation of theirs was so famous, that it extended not only to *Circumcision*, the *Passeover*, and matters of *Gods worship*, but even to *temporall* and *civill* things: Thus (*Ezra* 9) they separated or put away their very wives, which they had taken of the strange *Nations* contrary to the *Commandement* of the *Lord*. But where hath the *God of Heaven* in the *Gospel* separated whole *Nations* or *Kingdomes* (*English, Scotch, Irish, French, Dutch,★ &c.*) as a peculiar people and *Antitype* of the people of *Israel*? Yea where the least footing in all the *Scripture* for a *Nationall Church* after *Christs* comming?

Can any people in the *world* patterne this *samplar* but the *New-borne Israel*, such as feare *God* in every *Nation* (*Acts* 10. 35.) commanded to come forth and separate from all uncleane things or persons, (*2 Cor.* 6.) and though not bound to put away strange wives as *Israel* did, because of that peculiar respect upon them in *Civill* things, yet to be holy or set apart to the *Lord* in all manner of *civill conversation*, *1 Pet.* 1. Only to marry in the *Lord*, yea and to marry as if they married not *1 Cor* 7. yea to hate *wife* and *children, father, mother, house* and *land*, yea and life it selfe for the *Lord Jesus*, *Luc.* 14.

Thirdly, this *Seed of Abraham* thus separate from all people unto the *Lord* was wonderfully redeemed and brought from *Aegypts bondage* through the *Red Sea*, and the *Wildernesse* unto the Land of *Canaan*, by many strange signes and wonderfull *miracles*, wrought by the outstretched hand of the *Lord*, famous and dreadful,★ and to be admired by all succeeding *peoples* and *generations*, *Deut.* 4. 32, 33, 34. Aske now from one side of the *Heaven* unto the other, whether there hath been such a thing as this, &c?

And

The people of Israel separate from all Nations in Spirituall and in some Civill things.

No Nation so separated to God in the Gospel, but only the new borne Israel that feare God in every Nation.

The whole people of Israel miraculously forth of Egypt.

And we may aske againe from one side of the Heaven unto the other whether the Lord hath now so miraculously redeemed and brought unto *Himselfe* any *Nation* or people as he did this people of Israel.*

Peace. The *English, Scotch, Dutch* &c. are apt to make themselves the parallels, as wonderfully come forth of Popery, &c.

Not so any whole Nation now.

Truth. 1. But first, whole Nations are no Churches under the Gospel.

Secondly, bring the *Nations* of *Europe* professing *Protestanisme* to the ballance of the *Sanctuary*,* and ponder well whether the *body, bulk*, the generall or one hundreth part of such peoples be truly turned to *God* from *Popery*.

Popery not so easily turned from as is conceived.

Who knowes not how easie it is to turne, and turne, and turn againe whole *Nations* from one *Religion* to another?

Who knowes not that within the compasse of one poore *span* of 12 yeares revolution,* all *England* hath become from halfe *Papist*, halfe *Protestant*, to be absolute *Protestants*; from absolute *Protestants*, to absolute *Papists*; from absolute *Papists* (changing as fashions) to absolute *Protestants*?

Wonderfull turnings in Religion in 12 yeares compasse in England.

I will not say (as some worthy witnesses of *Christ* have uttered) that all *England* and *Europe* must againe submit their faire necks to the *Popes* yoake: But this, I say, many *Scriptures* concerning the destruction of the *Beast* and the *Whore* looke that way: And I adde,* they that feele the pulse of the people seriously must confesse that a *victorious Sword*, and a *Spanish Inquisition* will soone make millions face about as they were in the Fore-Fathers times.

he Pope not unlike to recover his Monarchie over Europe before his downfall.

CHAP. CXIII.

Peace. ○ That the *Steersmen* of the *Nations* might remember this, Bee wise and kisse the Sonne, lest he goe on in this His dreadfull anger, and dash them in peeces here and eternally.

Truth. I therefore thirdly adde, That only such as are *Abrahams* Seed, *circumcised* in Heart, *New-borne*, *Israel* (or *wrastlers* with *God*) are the *Antitype* of the former *Israel*,* these are only the holy *Nation* (1 *Pet.* 2.) wonderfully redeemed from the *Ægypt* of this *World* (*Titus* 2. 14.) brought through the *Red Sea* of *Baptisme* (1 *Cor.* 10.) through the wilderness of *afflictions*, and of the *peoples* (*Deut.* 8.

Who are now the true Seed of Abraham.

Ezek. 20.) into the *Kingdome of Heaven* begun below, even that *Christian Land of Promise*, where flow the everflowing streames and Rivers of Spirituall milke and honey.

Fourthly, All this people universally (in typicall and ceremoni-
all respect) were holy and cleane in this their *separation* and *seque-*
stration unto *God*, *Exod. 19. 5.* Hence, even in respect of their na-
tural birth in that Land they were an *holy Seed*,* and *Ezra* makes it
the matter of his great complaint, *Ezra 9. 12.* The holy Seed have
mingled themselves.

But where is now that *Nation* or *Country* upon the face of the
Earth, thus cleane and holy unto *God*, and bound to so many cere-
moniall cleansings and purgings?

Are not all the *Nations* of the *Earth* alike cleane unto *God*, or
rather alike uncleane, untill it pleaseth the *Father* of *mercies* to call
some out to the *Knowledge* and *Grace* of his *Sonne*, making them to
see their *filthinesse* and strangenesse from the *Commonweale* of *Israel*,*
and to wash in the bloud of the *Lambe* of *God*.

This taking away the difference between *Nation* and *Nation*,
Country and *Country*, is most fully and admirably declared in that
great vision of all sorts of living creatures presented unto *Peter*,
Acts 10. whereby it pleased the *Lord* to informe *Peter* of the abo-
lishing of the difference between *Iew* and *Gentile* in any holy or un-
holy, cleane or uncleane respect.

Fifthly, (not only to speake of all, but to select one or two more)
This people of *Israel* in that Nationall State were a type of all the
Children of *God* in all ages under the profession of the *Gospel*, who
are therefore called the Children of *Abraham*,* and the *Israel* of
God, *Gal. 3. & Gal. 6.* A Kingly *Priesthood* and *holy Nation* (*1 Pet.*
2. 9) in a cleare and manifest *Antitype* to the former *Israel*, *Exod.*
19. 6.

Hence *Christians* now are figuratively in this respect called
Jewes, *Rev. 3.* where lies a cleare distinction of the *true* and *false*
Christian under the consideration of the *true* and *false Iew*: Behold
I will make them of the Synagogue of *Sathan* that say they are
Jewes and are not, but doe lie, *Rev. 3.* But such a typicall respect
we finde not now upon any People, *Nation* or *Country* of the
whole *World*: But out of all *Nations*, *Tongues* and *Languages* is
God pleased to call some and redeem them to Himselfe (*Rev. 5. 9.*)
And hath made no difference betweene the *Iewes* and *Gentiles*,
Greeks,

The people of
Israel all holy
in a typicall
holinesse.

All Nations
now alike since
the comming
of the Lord
Jesus.

The children
of Israel a fi-
gure of the Is-
rael or people
of God only
under the Gos-
pel.

Greekes and Scithians, Gal. 3. who by *Regeneration* or second birth, become the Israel of God, *Gal. 6.* the *Temple of God*, *1 Cor. 3.* and the true *Jerusalem, Heb. 12.*

Lastly,* all this whole *Nation* or people, as they were of one *typicall seed* of *Abraham*, & sealed with a shamefull & painfull *Ordinance* of cutting off the *fore-skin*, w^{ch} differenced them from all the *World* beside: So also were they bound to such and such *solemnities of figurative worships*. Amongst many others I shall end this passage concerning the people with a famous observation out of *Numb. 9. 1 3.* viz. All that whole *Nation* was bound to celebrate and keepe the *Feast* of the *Passeover* in his season, or else they were to be Put to death. But doth God require a whole *Nation, Country* or *Kingdome* now thus to celebrate the *spirituall Passeover*, the *Supper* and *Feast* of the *Lambe Christ Jesus*, at such a time once a yeare, and that whosoever shall not so doe shall bee put to death? What horrible *prophanations*,* what grosse *hypocrisies*, yea what wonderful *desolations* (sooner or later) must needs follow upon such a course?

The people of Israel different from all the world in their figurative and ceremoniall worships.

'Tis true, the people of Israel, brought into covenant with God in *Abraham*, and so successively borne in Covenant with God, might (in that state of a *Nationall Church*) solemnly covenant and sweare that whosoever would not seeke *Iehovah the God of Israel*, should be put to death, *2 Chron. 15.* whether small or great, whether man or woman.

Israel Gods only Church might well renew that Nationall Covenant and ceremoniall worship which other Nations cannot imitate.

But may whole *Nations* or *Kingdomes* now (according to any one *title* exprest by *Christ Iesus* to that purpose) follow that patterne of *Israel* and put to death all, both men and women, great and small, that according to the rules of the *Gospel* are not borne againe, penitent, humble, heavenly, patient? &c. What a world of hypocrisie from hence is practised by thousands, that for feare will stoope to give that God their bodies in a forme, whom yet in truth their hearts affect not?

Yea also what a world of prophanation of the holy Name and* holy Ordinances of the Lord in prostituting the holy things of God (like the Vessels of the Sanctuary, *Dan. 5.*) to prophane, impenitent and unregenerate persons?

The hypocrisies, prophana-tions, and slaughters which such imitation now in the Gospell produce.

Lastly, what slaughters both of men and women must this necessarily bring into the world, by the Insurrections and Civill Warres about Religion and Conscience? Yea what slaughters of the innocent and faithfull witnesses of Christ Jesus, who choose to bee

slaine all the day long for Christ his sake, and to fight for their Lord and Master Christ, onely with spirituall and Christian weapons?

CHAP. CXIV.

Peace. IT seemes (deare *Truth*) a mighty *Gulfe* betweene that people and Nation, and the *Nations* of the *world* then extant and ever since.

Truth. As sure as the blessed substance to all those shadowes, *Christ Jesus* is come, so unmatched and never to bee paralleld by any *Nationall State* was that *Israel* in the *Figure* or *Shadow*.

And yet the *Israel* of *God* now, the *Regenerate* or *Newborne*, the circumcised in *Heart* by *Repentance* and *Mortification*, who willingly submit unto the *Lord Jesus* as their onely *King* and *Head*, may fitly parallell and answer that *Israel* in the type, without such danger of *hypocrisie*, of such horrible *prophanations*, and of firing the *Civill State* in such bloody *combustions*, as all *Ages* have brought forth upon this compelling a whole *Nation* or *Kingdome* to be the *anti-type* of *Israel*.

Peace. Were this *Light* entertained, some hopes would shine forth for my returne and *restauration*.*

Truth. I have yet to adde a third *consideration* concerning the *Kings* and *Governours* of that Land and people.

They were to be (unlesse in their *captivities*) of their *Brethren*, members of the true *Church* of *God*, as appears in the *History* of *Moses*, the *Elders* of *Israel*, and the *Iudges* and *Kings* of *Israel* afterward.

But first, who can deny but that there may be now many lawfull *Governours*, *Magistrates* and *Kings* in the *Nations* of the *World*, where is no true *Church* of *Iesus Christ*?*

Secondly, we know the many excellent *gifts* wherewith it hath pleased *God* to furnish many, inabling them for publike service to their *Countries* both in *Peace* and *War* (as all *Ages* and *Experience* testifies) on whose soules hee hath not yet pleased to shine in the face of *Jesus Christ*: which *Gifts* and *Talents* must all lye buried in the *Earth*, unlesse such persons may lawfully be called and chosen to,* and improved in *publike service*, notwithstanding their different or contrary *Conscience* and *Worship*.

Thirdly, if none but true *Christians*, members of *Christ Jesus*, might be *Civill Magistrates*, and publicly intrusted with *civill affaires*,
the

The difference of the Kings and Governours of Israel from al Kings & Governours of the world. First, they were all members of the Church. Excellent Talents vouchsafed by God to unregenerate persons.

A doctrine contrary to all true Piety and Humanity it selfe.

then none but *members of Churches, Christians* should be *Husbands of Wives, Fathers of Children, Masters of Servants*: But against this *doctrine* the whole *creation, the whole World* may justly rise up in armes, as not onely contrary to true *Piety*, but common *Humanity* it selfe. For if a *Commonweale* bee lawfull amongst men that have not heard of *God* nor *Christ*, certainly their *Officers, Ministers, and Governours* must be lawfull also.

Fourthly, it is notoriously knowne to be the dangerous *doctrine* profest by some *Papists*,* that *Princes* degenerating from their *Religion*, and turning *Heretickes*, are to be deposed, and their *Subjects* actually discharged from their obedience. Which *doctrine* all such must necessarily hold (however most loath to owne it) that hold the *Magistrate Guardian* of both *Tables*, and consequently such an one as is inabled to judge, yea and to demonstrate to all men the *worship of God*: yea and being thus *Governor and Head* of the *Church* he must necessarily be a part of it himselfe: which when by *Heresie* he falls from (though it may be by *Truth*, miscalled *Heresie*) he falls from his calling of *Magistracy*, and is utterly disabled from his (pretended) *guardianship* and *government* of the *Church*.

Lastly,* we may remember the practice of the *Lord Iesus* and his *followers*, commanding and practising *obedience* to the *Higher Powers*, though we finde not one *Civill Magistrate* a *Christian* in all the *first Churches*. But contrarily the *civill Magistrate* at that time was the bloody *Beast*, made up (as *Daniel* seemes to imply concerning the *Romane State*, Dan. 7. 7.) of the *Lion*, the *Beare*, and the *Leopard*, Rev. 13. 2.

The Papists doctrine of deposing Magistrates confessed in effect to be true by the Protestants.

No civill Magistrate Christian in Christs time.

CHAP. CXV.

Peace. **B**Y these waights wee may try the waight of that commonly received and not questioned opinion, viz.* That the *civill state* and the *spirituall*, the *Church* and *Commonweale*, they are like *Hippocrates twinnes*, they are borne together, grow up together, laugh together, weepe together, sicken and die together.

Truth. A witty, yet a most dangerous *Fiction* of the *Father of lies*, who hardned in *Rebellion* against *God*, perswades *Gods* people to drinke downe such deadly poison, though he knowes the truth of these five particulars, which I shall reminde you of.

First, many flourishing States* in the *World* have beene and are at this day, which heare not of *Iesus Christ*, and therefore have not

Five demonstrative arguments proving the unsoundnesse of that Maxime: The Church and Commonwealth are like Hypocrites twins. Many flourishing States without a true Church.

the *presence* and *concurrence* of a *Church* of *Christ* with them.

Secondly,★ there have been many thousands of *Gods* people, who in their personall estate and life of *grace* were awake to *God*, but in respect of *Church* estate they knew no other then a Church of dead stones, the Parish Church; or though some light be of late come in through some cranny, yet they seeke not after, or least of all are joynted to any true Church of *God*, consisting of living and beleev-
ing stones.

So that by these *New English Ministers* principles, not onely is the doore of calling to *Magistracy* shut against *naturall* and unregenerate *men* (though excellently fitted for *civill* offices) but also against the best and ablest servants of *God*,★ except they be entred into Church estate; so that thousands of *Gods* owne people (excellently qualified) not knowing, or not entring into such a Church estate, shall not be accounted fit for *civill* services.

Thirdly, admit that a *civill Magistrate* be neither a member of a true Church of *Christ* (if any bee in his *dominions*) nor in his person feare *God*, yet may he (possibly) give free *permission* without *molestation*, yea and sometimes incouragement and assistance to the service and *Church* of *God*.★ Thus wee finde *Abraham* permitted to build and set up an *Altar* to his *God* wheresoever hee came amongst the idolatrous Nations in the Land of *Canaan*. Thus *Cyrus* proclaims liberty to all the people of *God* in his *Dominions*, freely to goe up and build the *Temple* of *God* at *Ierusalem*, and *Artaxerxes* after him confirmed it.

Thus the *Romane Emperours* and *Governours* under him permitted the *Church* of *God* the *Jewes* in the *Lord Christs* time, their *Temple* and *Worship*, although in *Civill* things they were subject to the *Romans*.

Fourthly,★ the Scriptures of *Truth* and the *Records* of *Time* con-
curre in this, that the first *Churches* of *Christ Jesus*, the *lights*, *pat-
ternes* and *presidents* to all succeeding Ages, were gathered and go-
vern'd without the aid, assistance or countenance of any *Civill*
Authoritie, from which they suffered great persecutions for the
name of the *Lord Jesus* professed amongst them.

The *Nations*, *Rulers*, and *Kings* of the Earth tumultuously rage
against the *Lord* and his Anointed, *Psal.* 2. 1. 2. Yet *vers.* 6. it hath
pleased the *Father* to set the *Lord Jesus* King upon his holy Hill of
Zion.

Christ

Many of Gods
people farre
off from a true
Church state.

Yet fit for ci-
vill services.

Gods people
permitted and
favoured by
Idolaters.

Christs church
gathered and
governed with-
out the helpe
of an arme of
flesh.

Christ Jesus would not be pleased to make use of the *Civill Magistrate* to assist him in his *Spirituell Kingdome*: nor would he yet be daunted or discouraged in his *Servants* by all their *threats* and *terreurs*:* for *Love* is strong as *death*, and the coales thereof give a most vehement *flame*, and are not quenched by all the waters and *flouds* of mightiest opposition, *Cant.* 8.

Christs true Spouse chaste and faithfull to Christ Jesus in the most of feares from the World.

Christ Church is like a chaste and loving *wife*, in whose *heart* is fixed her *Husbands love*, who hath found the tendernesse of his *love* towards her, and hath been made fruitfull by him, and therefore seekes she not the *smiles*, nor feares the *frownes* of all the *Emperours* in the *World* to bring her *Christ* unto her, or keep him from her.

Lastly,* we finde in the tyrannicall usurpations of the *Romish Antichrist*, the 10 hornes (which some of good note conceive to be the 10 Kingdomes, into which the Romane Empire was quartred and divided) are expresly said *Revel.* 17. 13. to have one minde to give their power and strength unto the *Beast*, yea (*ver.* 17.) their *Kingdome* unto the *Beast*, untill the Words of *God* shall be fulfilled: whence it followes, that all those *Nations* that are guilded over with the name of *Christ*, have under that *mask* or *vizard* (as some *Executioners* and *Tormentors* in the *Inquisition* use to torment) persecuted the *Lord Jesus Christ*, either with a more open, grosse and bloody, or with a more subtle, secret and gentle violence.

The 10 hornes, *Revel.* 13. & 17.

Let us cast our eyes about,* turne over the *Records*, and examine the experience of past and present *Generations*, and see if all particular *observations* amount not to this summe, viz. that the great *whore* hath committed fornication with the *Kings* of the *Earth*, and made drunke thereof *Nations* with the cup of the wine of her *fornications*: In which *drunkennes* and *whoredome* (as *whores* use to practice) she hath robbed the *Kings* and *Nations* of their *power* and *strength*,* and (*Iesabel* like) having procured the *Kings names* and *seales*, she drinks drunk, *Revel.* 17. with the blood of *Naboth*, who (because he dares not part with his rightfull *inheritance* in the land of *Canaan*, the blessed land of promise and salvation in *Christ*) as a *Traitour* to the *civill State*, and *Blasphemer* against *God*, she (under the colour of a day of *humiliation* in *Prayer* and *Fasting*) stones to death.

The great mysterie of Persecution unfolded.

Christian Naboths slaughtered.

CHAP. CXVI.

Peace. **D**Eare Truth, how art thou hidden from the eyes of men, in these *mysteries*? how should men weep abundantly with *John*, that the Lambe may please to open these blessed *seales* unto them?

Truth. O that Men more prized their makers feare! then should they be more acquainted with their *Makers counsell*s, for his *Secret* is with them that feare him, *Psal.* 25.

I passe on to a second *Difference*.★

The *Kings* of *Israel* and *Judah* were all solemnly annointed with oyle,★ *Psal.* 39. 20. *I have found David my servant, with my holy oil have I annointed him.* Whence the *Kings* of *Israel* and *Judah* were honoured with that mysticall and glorious Title of the *Anointed*, or *Christ* of the Lord, *Lam.* 4. 20. the *Breath of our Nostrils*, the *Anointed of Iehovah* was taken in their pits, &c.

Which *anoynting* and *title*, however the *Man* of Sinne, together with the Crowne and *Diademe* of Spirituall *Israel*, the *Church* of *God*, he hath given to some of the *Kings* of the *Earth*, that so he may in lieu thereof dispose of their Civill Crownes the easier: yet shall we finde it an incommunicable priviledge and prerogative of of the *Saints* and people of *God*.

For as the *Lord Jesus* himselfe in the *Antitype* was not annointed with materiall but *spirituall* oyle, *Psal.* 45. with the oyle of *Gladnes*, and *Luke* 4. 14. from *Isa.* 61. 1. with the spirit of *God*. The spirit of the *Lord* is upon me, the *Lord* hath annointed me to preach good tidings,★ &c. So also all his members are annointed with the holy *spirit* of *God*, 2 *Cor.* 1. 21. & 1 *John* 2.

Hence is it that *Christians* rejoyce in that name, as carrying the very expresse title of the *Anointed* of the *Lord*; which most superstitiously and sacrilegiously hath been applied only unto *Kings*.

Peace. O deare Truth, how doth the great *Searcher* of all Hearts finde out the thefts of the *Antichristian* World?★ how are men caried in the darke they know not whither? How is that heavenly charge, Touch not mine Anointed, &c. (*Psal.* 105.) common to all *Christians* (or anointed with) *Christ* their Head, by way of *Monopoly* or priviledge appropriated to *Kings* and *Princes*?

Truth. It will not be here unseasonable to call to minde that admirable

2. Difference.

The mysterie of the anointing the Kings of Israel and Judah.

The Name Christian or Anointed.

A Sacrilegious Monopolie of the Name Christian.

mirable *Prophecie*, *Ezek.* 21. 26, 27. Thus saith *Iehovah God*, Remove the *Diadem*, take away the *Crowne*, this shall not be the same, exalt him that is low, and abase him that is high:★ I will overturne, overturne, overturne, untill he come whose right it is, and I will give it him. The matter is a *Crown* and *Diadem* to be taken from an *Usurpers* head, and set upon the head of the right *Owner*.

The Crown
of Christs
Kingly power.

Peace. Doubtlesse this mystically intends the spirituall Crowne of the Lord Jesus, for these many hundreth yeares set upon the *heads* of the *Competitours* and *Corrivals* of the Lord Jesus, upon whose glorious head in his *Messengers* and *Churches*, the *Crown* shall be established; The *anointing*, the *title*, and the *crown* and power must returne to the Lord Jesus in his *Saints*, unto whom alone belongs his *power* and *authoritie* in *Ecclesiasticall* or *Spirituell* cases.

CHAP. CXVII.

Truth. **I** Therefore proceed to a third difference between those *Kings* and *Governours* of *Israel* and *Judah*,★ and all other *Kings* and *Rulers* of the *Earth*. Looke upon the Administrations of the *Kings* of *Israel* and *Judah*, and well weigh the *Power* and *Authoritie* which those *Kings* of *Israel* and *Judah* exercised in *Ecclesiasticall* and *spirituell* causes, and upon a due search we shall not find the same *Scepter* of *Spirituell* power in the hand of *Civill* *Authoritie*, which was settled in the hands of the *Kings* of *Israel* and *Judah*. *David* appointed the *Orders* of the *Priests* & *Singers*, he brought the *Arke* to *Ierusalem*, he prepared for the building of the *Temple*, the *patterne* whereof he delivered to *Salomon*: yet *David* herein could not be a type of the *Kings* and *Rulers* of the *Earth*, but of the *King* of *Heaven*, *Christ Jesus*: for,

3. The Kings
of Israel and
Judah invested
with a Spiritu-
all power.

First, *David*, as he was a *King*, so was he also a *Prophet*, *Acts* 2. 30. and therefore a type (as *Moses* also was, of that great *Prophet* the Son of *God*. And they that plead for *David*s *Kingly* power, must also by the same rule plead for his *Propheticall*, by which he swayed the *Scepter* of *Israel* in *Church* affaires.

Secondly,★ it is expresly said, 1 *Cron.* 28. 11. 12. 13. *verses*, that the *patterne* which *David* gave to *Salomon* (concerning the matter of the *Temple* and *Worship* of *God*) he had it by the *Spirit*, which was no other but a figure of the immediate inspiration of the *spirit* of *God*, unto the Lord Jesus the true *Spirituell* *King* of *Israel*, *John.* 1.

David imme-
diately inspired
by the Spirit
of God, in his
ordering of
Church mat-
ters.

49. *Rabbi*, thou art the Son of God; *Rabbi*, thou art the King of Israel.

Againe, What Civill Magistrate may now act as *Salomon* (a type of *Christ*) doth act, 1 *King.* 2. 26. 27.* *Salomon* thrust out *Abiathar* from being *Priest* unto *Iehovah*.

Peace. Some object that *Abiathar* was a man of death, ver. 26. worthy to die, as having followed *Adonijah*; and therefore *Salomon* executed no more then Civill justice upon him.

Truth. *Salomon* remits the Civill punishment,* and inflicts upon him a *spirituall*. but by what right, but as he was King of the Church, a figure of *Christ*?

Abiathar his Life is spared with respect to his former good service in following after *David*; but yet he is turned out from the Priesthood.

But now put the case: suppose that any of the Officers of the *New-England Churches* should prove false to the State,* and be discovered joyning with a *French Monsieur*, or *Spanish Don*, (thirsting after conquest and dominion) to further their invasions of that Countrey; yet for some former faithfull service to the State, he should not be adjudged to Civill punishment: I aske now, might their *Governours* or their *Generall Court* (their *Parliament*) depose such a man, a *Pastour*, *Teacher*, or *Elder*, from his holy Calling or office in *Gods House*?

Or suppose in a *partiall* and *corrupt* State,* a *Member* or *Officer* of a Church should escape with his life upon the commission of *murther*, ought not a Church of *Christ* upon repentance to receive him? I suppose it will not be said that he ought to execute himselfe; or that the Church may use a Civill sword against him. In these cases may such persons (spar'd in civill punishments for some reason of, or by partialtie of State) be punished spirituallly by the Civill Magistrate, as *Abiathar* was? Let the very Enemies of *Zion* be Judges.

Secondly, If *Salomon* in thrusting out of *Abiathar* was a pattern and president unto all Civill Magistrates, why not also in putting *Zadok* in his roome, ver. 35. But against this the *Pope*, the *Bishops*, the *Presbyterians*, and the *Independents* will all cry out against such a practice in their severall respective *claimes* and *challenges* for their *Ministries*.

We find the *Libertie* of the subjects of *Christ* in the choice of an
Apostle,

Salomons deposing *Abiathar* (1 *Kings* 2. 26. 27) discussed.

Salomon his putting *Abiathar* from the Priesthood, examined.

A case put up on occasion of *Abiathars* case.

Another case.

Apostle,* *Act. 1.* of a *Deacon*, *Act. 6.* of *Elders*, *Act. 14.* and guided by the *assistance* either of the *Apostles* or *Evangelists*, *1 Tim. 1.* *Tit. 1.* without the least influence of any *civill Magistrate*, which shewes the *beauty* of their *liberty*.

The liberties of Christs Churches in the choice of their officers. A civill influence dangerous to the Saints liberty.

The *Parliaments* of *England* have by right free choice of their *Speaker*, yet some *Princes* have thus farre beene gratified as to nominate, yea and implicitly to commend a *Speaker* to them. *Wise men* have seene the evill *consequences* of those *influences* (though but in *civill* things) how much farre greater and stronger are those snares, when the golden *Keyes* of the *Sonne of God* are delivered into the hands of *civill Authority*?

Peace. You know the noise raised concerning those famous *acts* of *Asa*, *Hezekiah*, *Iehosaphat*, *Iosiah*. What thinke you of the Fast proclaimed by *Iehosaphat*? *2 Chron. 20. 3.*

Truth. I finde it to be the duty of *Kings* and all in *authority*, to encourage *Christs Messengers* of *Truth* proclaiming *Repentance*, &c.

But under the *Gospel* to enforce all *naturall* and *unregenerate* people to *acts* of *worship*, what president hath *Christ Jesus* given us?

First,* tis true *Iehosaphat* proclaimed a *Fast*, &c. but was he not in matters *spirituall* a *type* of *Christ*, the true *King of Israel*?

Jehosaphats fast examined.

Secondly, *Iehosaphat* calls the members of the true *Church* to *Church service* and *worship* of *God*.

But consider,* if *civill Powers* now may judge of and determine the actions of *worship* proper to the *Saints*: If they may appoint the time of the *Churches worship*, Fasting and Prayer, &c. why may they not as wel forbid those times which a *Church of Christ* shall make choice of, seeing it is a branch of the same *Root* to forbid what liketh not, as well as to injoyne what pleaseth?

If civill powers may injoyne the time of the Churches worship, the may also forbid her times.

And if in those most solemne *duties* and *exercises*, why not also in other ordinary *meetings* and *worships*? And if so, where is the power of the *Lord Jesus* bequeathed to his *Ministers* and *Churches*, of which the *power* of those *Kings* was but a shadow?

CHAP. CXVIII.

Peace. **T**He liberty of the *Subject* sounds most sweet, *London* and *Oxford* both professe to fight for it: How much infinitely more sweet is that true soule *liberty* according to *Christ Jesus*?

I know you would not take from *Cæsar* ought, although it were

God will not
wrong Cæsar,
and Cæsar
should not
wrong God.

to give to God:★ And what is Gods and his peoples I wish that Cæsar may not take. Yet for the satisfaction of some, be pleased to glance upon *Iosiah* his famous *Acts* in the Church of God concerning the worship of God, the Priests, Levites, and their Services, compelling the people to keepe the *Passeover*, making himsele a covenant before the Lord, and compelling all that were found in *Ierusalem* and *Benjamin* to stand to it.

Truth. To these famous practices of *Iosiah* I shall parallell the practices of Englands Kings: and first *de jure*, a word or two of their right: then *de facto*, discusse what hath been done.

The famous
acts of Josiah
examined.

First,★ *de jure*: *Iosiah* was a precious branch of that Royall Root King *David*, who was immediately designed by God: and when the golden linkes of the Royall chaine broke in the usurpations of the Romane Conquerour, it pleased the most wise God to send a Sonne of *David*, a Sonne of God, to beginne againe that Royall Line, to sit upon the Throne of his Father *David*, *Luc.* 1. 32. *Acts* 2. 30.

Magistracy in
generall from
God, the particular
formes from the
people.

It is not so with the Gentile Princes,★ Rulers and Magistrates, (whether *Monarchicall*, *Aristocraticall*, or *Democraticall*) who (though government in generall be from God, yet) receive their *callings*, *power* and *authority*, (both *Kings* and *Parliaments*) mediately from the people.

Secondly, *Iosiah* and those *Kings* were *Kings* and *Governours* over the then true and onely Church of God *Nationall*, brought into the *Covenant* of God in *Abraham*, and so downward: and they might well be forced to stand to that *Covenant* into which with such immediate signes and miracles they had beene brought.

Israel confirmed
in a Nationall
Covenant by
revelations,
signes,
and miracles,
but so not
England.

But what Commission from *Christ Iesus* had *Henry* the eight.★ *Edward* the 6. or any (*Iosiah* like) to force the many hundred thousands of *English* men and women, without such immediate signes and miracles that *Israel* had to enter into an holy and spirituall *Covenant* with the invisible God, the *Father of Spirits*, or upon paine of death (as in *Iosiahs* time) to stand to that which they never made, nor before *Evangelicall Repentance* are possibly capable of.

Henry 8. the
first head and
governour of
the Church of
England.

Now secondly *de facto*, let it be well remembred concerning the Kings of *England* professing *Reformation*.★ The foundation of all was laid in *Henry* the 8. The *Pope* chalengeth to be the *Vicar* of *Christ Iesus* here upon earth, to have power of reforming the Church, redressing abuses, &c. *Henry* 8. falls out with the *Pope*, and chalengeth

geth that very power to himself of which he had despoiled the *Pope*, as appeares by that *Act of Parliament* establishing *Henry 8* the supreme *Head and Governour* in all cases Ecclesiasticall, &c. It pleased the most *High God* to plague the *Pope* by *Henry the 8.* his means: but neither *Pope* nor *King* can ever prove such power from *Christ* derived to either of them.

Secondly,* (as before intimated) let us view the *Workes* and *Acts of Englands* imitation of *Iosiahs* practice. *Henry the 7.* leaves *England* under the slavish bondage of the *Popes* yoake. *Henry the 8.* reformes all *England* to a new fashion, halfe *Papist*, halfe *Protestant*. *King Edward the 6.* turnes about the *Wheele* of the *State*, and workes the whole *Land* to absolute *Protestanisme*. *Queene Mary* succeeding to the *Helme*, steeres a direct contrary course, breakes in peeces all that *Edward* wrought, and brings forth an old *edition* of *Englands Reformation* all *Popish*.* *Mary* not living out halfe her dayes (as the *Prophet* speakes of bloody persons) *Elizabeth* (like *Ioseph*) advanced from the *Prison* to the *Palace*, and from the *irons* to the *Crowne*, she pluckes up all her sister *Maries* plants, and sounds a *Trumpet* all *Protestant*.

The wonderful formings and reformings of Religion by Englands Kings.

Kings and States often plant, and often pluck up Religions.

What sober man stands not amazed at these *Revolutions*? and yet like *Mother* like *Daughter*: and how zealous are we their off-spring for another *impression* and better *edition* of a *Nationall Canaan* (in imitation of *Iudah* and *Iosiah*) which if attained, who knowes how soone succeeding *Kings* or *Parliaments* will quite pull downe and abrogate?

Thirdly,* in all these *formings* and *reformings*, a *Nationall Church* of *naturall* unregenerate men was (like wax) the subject matter of all these formes and *changes*, whether *Popish* or *Protestant*: concerning which *Nationall State* the time is yet to come when ever the *Lord Jesus* hath given a word of *institution* and appointment.

A Nationall Church ever subject to turne and returne, &c.

CHAP. CXIX.

Peace. **Y**OU bring to minde (deare *Truth*) a plea of some wiser *Papists* for the *Popes* supremacy,* viz. that it was no such exorbitant or unheard of *power* and *jurisdiction* which the *Pope* challenged, but the very same which a *Woman*, *Queene Elizabeth* her selfe challenged, stiling her *Papissa*, or *she Pope*: withall pleading that in point of *Reason* it was far more suitable that the *Lord Jesus* would

A woman Papissa or head of the Church.

delegate his power rather to a *Clergie man* then a *Lay man*, as *Henry* the 8. or a woman, as his daughter *Elizabeth*.

Truth. I beleeeve that neither one nor t'other hit the white,* yet I beleeeve the *Papists* arrowes fall the nearest to it in this particular, *viz.* That the *government* of the *Church of Christ* should rather belong to such as professe a *Ministry* or *Office* Spirituall, then to such as are meerly *Temporall* and *Civill*.

So that in conclusion, the whole *controversie* concerning the *government* of *Christ Kingdome* or *Church*, will be found to lye between the true and false *Ministry*, both chalenging the true *commission*, *power* and *keyes* from *Christ*.

Peace. This all glorious *diadem* of the *Kingly* power of the *Lord Jesus* hath beene the eye-sore of the *World*,* and that which the *Kings* and *Rulers* of the *World* have alwayes lift up their hands unto.

The first report of a new *King* of the *Jewes* puts *Herod* and all *Jerusalem* into *frights*; and the power of this most glorious *King* of *Kings* over the *Soules* and *Consciencs* of men, or over their *lives* and *worships*, is still the *white* that all the *Princes* of this *World* shoot at, and are enraged at the tidings of the *true Heire* the *Lord Jesus* in his servants.

Truth. You well minde (deare *Peace*) a twofold exaltation of the *Lord Jesus*,* one in the *Soules* and *Spirits* of men, and so he is exalted by all that truly love him, though yet remaining in *Babels captivity*, and before they hearken to the voyce of the *Lord*, Come forth of *Babel* my people.

A second *exaltation* of *Christ Jesus* upon the *Throne* of *David* his *Father* in his *Church* and *Congregation*, which is his Spirituall *Kingdome* here below.

I confesse there is a tumultuous *rage* at his *entrance* into his *Throne* in the *Soule* and *Consciencs* of any of his chosen;* but against his second *exaltation* in his true *Kingly* power and *government*, either *Monarchicall* in himself, or *Ministeriall* in the hands of his *Ministers* and *Churches*, are mustred up and shall be in the *battels* of *Christ* yet to be *fought*, all the *powers* of the *gates* of *Earth* and *Hell*.

But I shall mention one difference more between the *Kings* of *Israel* and *Judah*,* and all other *Kings* and *Rulers* of the *Gentiles*.

Those *Kings* as *Kings* of *Israel* were all invested with a *typicall* and figurative respect, with which now no *Civill* power in the *World* can be invested.

They

The Papists neerer to the Truth concerning the government of the Church then most Protestants.

The Kingly power of the Lord Jesus troubles all the Kings and Rulers of the World.

A twofold exaltation of Christ.

The world stormeth at both.

A fourth difference. Kings of Israel types.

They wore a double Crowne,* First, *Civill*: Secondly, *Spirituell*, in which respect they typed out the *Spirituell King of Israel*, *Christ Jesus*.

They wore a double Crown

When I say they were *types*, I make them not in all respect so to be, but as *Kings* and *Governours* over the Church and Kingdome of *God*, therein types.

Hence all those *Saviours* and *Deliverers*, which it pleased *God* to stirre up extraordinarily to his people,* *Gideon*, *Baruc*, *Sampson*, &c. in that respect of their being *Saviours*, *Iudges*, and *Deliverers* of *Gods* people, so were they types of *Jesus Christ*, either *Monarchically* ruling by himself immediately, or *Ministerially* by such whom he pleaseth to send to *vindicate* the *liberties* and *inheritances* of his people.

The Saviours of the Jewes, figures of the Saviour of the World.

CHAP. CXX.

Peace. IT must needs be confest that since the *Kings of Israel* were ceremonially anointed with Oile: and

Secondly, in that they sat upon the Throne of *David* (which is expressly applied to *Christ Jesus*, *Luc.* 1. 32. *Acts* 2. 30. *John* 1. 49.) their Crownes were figurative and ceremoniall: but some here question whether or no they were not types of *civill Powers* and *Rulers* now, when *Kings* and *Queens* shall be nursing Fathers and nursing Mothers, &c.

Truth. For answer unto such,* let them first remember that the dispute lyes not concerning the *Monarchicall* power of the *Lord Iesus*, the power of making *Lawes*, and making *Ordinances* to his Saints and Subjects: But concerning a deputed and Ministeriall power, and this distinction the very *Pope* himself acknowledgeth.

The Monarchicall and Ministeriall power of Christ.

There are three great Competitours for this deputed or Ministeriall power of the *Lord Iesus*.*

First, the *Arch-vicar* or *Sathan*, the pretended *Vicar* of *Christ* on *Earth*, who sits as *God* over the *Temple of God*, exalting himselfe not only above all that is called *God*,* but over the soules and consciences of all his *vassalls*, yea over the *Spirit of Christ*, over the holy *Scriptures*, yea and *God* himselfe, *Dan.* 8. & 11 chap. & *Rev.* 15. together with 2 *Thes.* 2.

3 Great Competitours for the Ministeriall power of Christ. The Popes great pretenders for the Ministeriall power of Christ.

This pretender although he professeth to claime but the Ministeriall power of *Christ* to declare his *Ordinances*, to preach, baptise,

or-

They also upon the point challenge the Monarchicall also

ordaine Ministers,* and yet doth he upon the point challenge the Monarchicall or absolute power also, being full of selfe exalting and blaspheming, *Dan.* 7. 25. & 11. 36. *Rev.* 13. 6. speaking blasphemies against the God of Heaven, thinking to change times and *Lawes*: but he is the sonne of perdition arising out of the bottomlesse pit, and comes to destruction, *Revel.* 17. for so hath the Lord Jesus decreed to consume him by the breath of his mouth, *2 Thes.* 2.

The second great pretender the Civill Magistrate.

The second great Competitour to this Crowne of the Lord Jesus is the Civill Magistrate,* whether Emperours, Kings, or other inferiour Officers of State who are made to beleieve by the false Prophets of the World that they are the Antitypes of the Kings of Israel and Judah, and weare the Crowne of Christ.

3 Great factions challenging an Arme of Flesh.

Under the wing of the Civill Magistrate doe three great factions shelter themselves,* and mutually oppose each other, striving as for life, who shall sit downe under the shadow of that Arme of Flesh.

1. The Prelacie.

First, the Prelacie,* who (though some extravagants of late have inclined to wave the *King*, and to creepe under the wings of the *Pope*, yet) so far depends upon the *King*, that it is justly said they are the *Kings Bishops*.

2. The Presbyterie.

Secondly, the Presbyterie,* who (though in truth they ascribe not so much to the *civill Magistrate* as some too grossely do, yet they) give so much to the *civill Magistrate* as to make him absolutely the Head of the Church:* For, if they make him the Reformer of the Church, the Suppressour of Schismatics and Hereticks, the Protectour and defendour of the Church, &c. what is this in true plain English but to make him the Judge of the true and false Church, Judge of what is *truth*, and what *errour*; who is Schismaticall, who Hereticall, unlesse they make him only an *Executioner*, as the *Pope* doth in his punishing of Hereticks?

The Pope and Presbyterie make use of the Civill Magistrate but as of an Executioner.

I doubt not but the Aristocraticall government of Presbyterians may well subsist in a Monarchie (not only regulated but also tyrannicall) yet doth it more naturally delight in the element of an Aristocraticall government of State, and so may properly be said to be (as the Prelates, the Kings so these) the States Bishops.

3. Independents.

The third,* though not so great, yet growing faction is that (so called) Independent: I prejudice not the personall worth of any of the three sorts: This latter (as I beleieve this Discourse hath manifested)

nifested) jumpes with the *Prelates*,★ and (though not more fully, yet) more explicitly then the Presbyterians cast down the *Crowne* of the *Lord Jesus* at the feet of the *Civill Magistrate*. And although they pretend to receive their *Ministrie* from the choice of 2 or 3 private *persons* in *Church-covenant*, yet would they faine perswade the Mother *Old England* to imitate her Daughter *New England's* practice, viz. to keep out the *Presbyterians*, and only to embrace themselves, both as the *States* and the *Peoples* Bishops.

The Independents: who come neerest to the Bishops

The third *competition* for this *Crown* and *power* of the *Lord Jesus* is of those that *seperate* both from one and t'other,★ yet divided also amongst themselves into many severall *professions*.

The third competition, of those that seperate.

Of these, they that goe furthest, professe they must yet come neerer to the wayes of the Son of *God*: And doubtlesse, so farre as they have gone, they bid the *most*, and make the *fairest* plea for the *puritie* and *power* of *Christ Jesus*, let the rest of the Inhabitants of the World be Judges.

Let all the former well be viewed in their externall State, pomp, riches, conformitie to the World, &c. And on the other side, let the latter be considered,★ in their more through departure from sinne and *sinfull Worship*, their condescending (generally) to the lowest and meanest *contentments* of this *life*, their exposing of themselves for Christ to greater sufferings,★ and their desiring no Civill sword nor Arme of Flesh, but the two-edged sword of Gods Spirit to try out the matter by: and then let the Inhabitants of the World judge, which come neerest to the doctrine, holines, povertie, patience and practice of the Lord Jesus Christ; and whether or no these later deserve not so much of Humanitie, and the Subjects Libertie, as (not offending the Civill State) in the freedome of their Soules, to enjoy the common aire to breath in.

Their neerer conformitie to Christ.

The Churches of the Separation ought in Humanitie and Subjects Libertie not to be oppressed, but (at least) permitted.

CHAP. CXX.

Peace. **D**Eare *Truth*, you have shewne me a little draught of Zions sorrowes, her children tearing out their mothers bowels: O when will Hee that stablisheth, comforteth, and builds up Zion, looke downe from Heaven., and have mercy on her? &c.

Truth. The Vision yet doth tarry (saith *Habacuk*) but will most surely

D d

surely come: and therefore the patient and believing must wait for it.

But to your last Proposition,* whether the Kings of Israel and Judah were not types of Civill Magistrates? now I suppose by what hath been already spoken, these things will be evident.

First, that those former *types* of the *Land*, of the *People*, of their *Worships*, were *types* and *figures* of a *spirituall Land*, *spirituall People*, and *spirituall Worship* under *Christ*. Therefore consequently, their *Saviours Redeemers*, *Deliverers*, *Iudges*, *Kings*, must also have their *spirituall Antitypes*, and so consequently not *civill* but *spirituall Governours* and *Rulers*; lest the very *essentiall nature* of *Types*, *Figures* and *Shadowes* be overthrowne.

Secondly, although the Magistrate by a Civill sword might well compell that Nationall Church to the externall exercise of their Naturall Worship: yet it is not possible (according to the rule of the New Testament) to compell whole Nations to true Repentance and Regeneration, without which (so farre as may be discerned true) the Worship and holy Name of God is prophaned and blasphemed.

An Arme of Flesh, and Sword of Steele cannot reach to cut the darknesse of the Mind, the hardnesse and unbeleeve of the Heart, and kindly operate upon the Soules affections to forsake a long continued Fathers worship, and to imbrace a new, though the best and truest. This worke performes alone that sword out of the mouth of Christ, with two edges, *Rev. 1. & 3.*

Thirdly, we have not one tittle in the New Testament of *Christ Jesus* concerning such a *parallel*, neither from *Himselfe*, nor from his *Ministers*,* with whom he conversed fourty dayes after his *Resurrection*, instructing them in the matters of his *Kingdome*, *Acts 1.*

Neither find we any such *commission* or *direction* given to the *Civill Magistrate* to this purpose, nor to the *Saints* for their *submission* in matters spirituall, but the contrary, *Acts 4. & 5. 1 Cor. 7. 23. Coloss. 2. 18.*

Fourthly,* we have formerly viewed the very nature and essence of a *Civill Magistrate*, and find it the same in all parts of the *World*, where ever people live upon the face of the *Earth*, agreeing together in *Townes*, *Cities*, *Provinces*, *Kingdomes*. I say the same essentially *Civill*, both from, 1. the *rise* and *fountaine* whence it springs

7 Reasons proving that the Kings of Israel and Judah cannot have any other but a Spirituall Antitype. Civill Types and figures must needs be answered by Spirituall Antitypes. Civill compulsion was proper in the Nationall Church of the Jewes, but most improper in the Christian, which is not Nationall.

Neither Christ Jesus nor his Messengers have made the Civill Magistrate Israels Antitype, but the contrary.

Civill Magistracie essentially civill, and the same in all parts of the World.

springs, to wit, the *peoples* choice and free consent. 2. The Object of it, viz. the *common-weale* or *safety* of such a *people* in their *bodies* and *goods*, as the *Authours* of this *Modell* have themselves confessed.

This *civill* Nature of the *Magistrate* we have proved to receive no *addition* of *power* from the *Magistrates* being a *Christian*,* no more then it receives *diminution* from his not being a *Christian*: even as the *Common-weale* is a true *Common-weale*, although it have not heard of *Christianitie*; and *Christianitie* professed in it (as in *Pergamus*, *Ephesus*, &c.) makes it ne're no more a *Commonweale*, and *Christianitie* taken away, and the *candlestick* removed, makes it ne're the lesse a *Commonweale*.

Christianitie adds not to the nature of a Civill Commonweale, nor doth want of Christianitie diminish it.

Fifthly,* the *Spirit* of *God* expressly relates the worke of the *civill Magistrate* under the *Gospel*, Rom. 13. expressly mentioning (as the *Magistrates* object) the duties of the *second Table*, concerning the *bodies* and *goods* of the *subject*.

Rom. 13. evidently proves the Civill work and wages of the Civill Magistrate

2. The *reward* or *wages* which people owe for such a worke, to wit, (not the *contribution* of the *Church* for any *spirituall* worke, but) *tribute*, *toll*, *custome* which are *wages* payable by all sorts of men, *Natives* and *Forreigners*, who enjoy the same benefit of *publicke peace* and *commerce* in the *Nation*.

Sixthly, Since the *civill Magistrate*, whether *Kings* or *Parliaments*, *States*, and *Governours*, can receive no more in *justice* then what the *People* give, and are therefore but the *eyes* and *hands* and *instruments* of the *people* (simply considered,* without respect to this or that *Religion*) it must inevitably follow (as formerly I have touched) that if *Magistrates* have received their power from the *people*, then the greatest number of the *people* of every *Land* have received from *Christ Jesus* a power to *establish*, *correct*, *reforme* his *Saints* and *servants*, his *wife* and *spowse*, the *Church*: And she that by the expresse word of the *Lord* (*Psal.* 149.) binds *Kings* in *chaines*, and *Nobles* in *links* of *iron*, must her selfe be subject to the changeable pleasures of the *people* of the *World* (which lies in *wickednesse*, 1 *John* 5.) even in matters of *Heavenly* and *spirituall* Nature. Hence therefore in all controversie concerning the *Church*, *Ministrie* and *worship*, the last *Appeale* must come to the *Bar* of the *People* or *Commonweal*, where all may personally meet, as in some *Commonweales* of small number, or in greater by their *Representatives*.

Most strange, yet most true consequences from the Civill Magistrates now being the Antitype of the Kings of Israel and Judah.

If no Religion
but that which
the Common-
weal approves
thē no Christ,
no God, but at
the pleasure of
the world.
2 Ep. Jo. 9.

Hence then no person esteemed a beleever,[★] and added to the Church.

No Officer chosen and ordained.

No person cast forth and excommunicated, but as the Common-weale and people please, and in conclusion, no Church of Christ in this Land or World, and consequently no visibly Christ the Head of it. Yea yet higher, consequently no God in the World worshipped according to the institutions of Christ Jesus, except the severall peoples of the Nations of the World shall give allowance.

Peace. Deare Truth, Oh whither have our Forefathers and teachers led us? higher then to God himselfe (by these doctrines driven out of the World) you cannot rise: and yet so high must the inevitable and undeniable consequences of these their doctrines reach, if men walke by their owne common Principles.

Truth. I may therefore here seasonably adde a seventh, which is a necessary consequence of all the former *Arguments*,[★] and an *Argument* it selfe: *viz.* we finde expresly a spirituall power of *Christ Jesus* in the hands of his *Saints*, *Ministers* and *Churches*, to bee the true *Antitype* of those former figures in all the *Prophecies* concerning *Christ* his *spirituall power*, Isa. 9. Dan. 7. Mich. 4. &c. compared with Luc. 1. 32. Act. 2. 30. 1 Cor. 5. Math. 18. Marc. 13. 34. &c.

The true anti-
type of the
Kings of Isra-
el and Judah.

CHAP. CXXI.

Peace. **G**Lorious and conquering Truth, mee thinkes I see most evidently thy glorious conquests: how mighty are thy spirituall weapons (2 *Cor.* 10.) to breake downe those mighty and strong Holds and Castles, which men have fortified themselves withall against thee? O that even the thoughts of men may submit and bow downe to the captivity of Jesus Christ!

Truth. Your kinde incouragement makes mee proceed more cheerfully to a fourth difference from the Lawes and Statutes of this Land,[★] different from all the Lawes and Statutes of the World, and parallel'd onely by the Lawes and Ordinances of spirituall Israel.

First then consider we the *Law-maker*,[★] or rather the *Law-publisher* or *Prophet*, as *Moses* calls himselfe, *Deut.* 18. and *Act.* 3. he is expresly

A fourth dif-
ference of
Lawes and
Statutes from
all others.
Moses a type
of Christ.

expresly called that Prophet who figured out *Christ Jesus* who was to come, like unto *Moses*, greater then *Moses*, as the son is greater then the servant.

Such *Law-givers* or *Law-publishers* never had any *State* or *People* as *Moses* the *type*, or *Christ Jesus*, miraculously stirred up and sent as the mouth of *God* betweene *God* and his people.

Secondly,★ concerning the *Lawes* themselves: It is true, the second *Table* contains the *Law* of *Nature*, the *Law Morall* and *Ci-vill*, yet such a *Law* was also given to this people as never to any people in the *World*: such was the *Law* of *worship*, *Psal.* 147. peculiarly given to *Jacob*, and *God* did not deale so with other *Nations*: which *Lawes* for the *matter* of the *worship* in all those wonderfull significant *Sacrifices*, and for the manner by such a *Priesthood*, such a *place* of *Tabernacle*, and afterward of *Temple*, such *times* and *solemnities* of *Festivals*, were never to be parallel'd by any other *Nation*, but onely by the true *Christian Israel* established by *Iesus Christ* amongst *Jewes* and *Gentiles* throughout the *World*.

The Lawes of Israel unparallel'd,

Thirdly, the *Law* of the tenne Words (*Deut.* 10.) the *Epitome* of all the rest,★ it pleased the most high *God* to frame and pen twice with his owne most holy, and dreadfull *finger* upon *Mount Sinai*, which he never did to any other *Nation* before or since, but onely to that spirituall *Israel*, the *people* and *Church* of *God*, in whose hearts of *flesh* he writes his *Lawes*, according to *Ier* 31. *Heb* 8. and 10.

Gods owne finger penn'd Lawes for Israel.

Peace. Such *promulgation* of such *Lawes*, by such a *Prophet*, must needs be *matchlesse* and *unparallel'd*.

Truth. In the fift place consider we the *punishments* and *rewards* annexed to the *breach* or *observation* of these *Lawes*.★

First, those which were of a *temporall* and present consideration of this *life*: *Blessings* and *Curses* of all sorts opened at large, *Levit.* 26. and *Deut.* 28. which cannot possibly be made good in any *State*, *Countrey* or *Kingdome*, but in a *spirituall* sense in the *Church* and *Kingdome* of *Christ*.

Fift difference Temporall prosperity most proper to the temporall Nationall State of the Jewes.

The reason is this,★ such a *temporall prosperity* of outward *peace* and *plenty* of all things, of *increase* of *children*, of *cattell*, of *honour*, of *health*, of *successe*, of *victory*, suits not temporally with the afflicted and persecuted estate of *Gods people* now: And therefore *spirituall* and soule *blessednesse* must be the *Antitype*, *viz.* In the midst of *revilings*, and all manner of *evill* speeches for *Christs* sake, soule *blessednesse*. In the midst of *afflictions* and *persecutions*, soule *blessednesse*,

The spirituall prosperity of Gods people now, the anti-type.

Math. 5. and Luc. 6. And yet herein the *Israel* of God should enjoy their spirituall peace, *Gal.* 6. 16.

Out of that blessed *temporall estate* to be cast or caried *captive*,[★] was their *excommunication* or casting out of *Gods sight*, *2 King.* 17. 23. Therefore was the *blasphemer*, the *false Prophet*, the *idolater*, to bee cast out or cut off from this *holy Land*: which *punishment* cannot be parallel'd by the punishment of any *State* or *Kingdome* in the *world*, but onely by the *excommunicating* or outcasting of *person* or *Church* from the fellowship of the *Saints* and *Churches* of *Christ Jesus* in the *Gospel*.

And therefore (as before I have noted) the putting away of the false *prophet*,[★] by stoning him to *death*, *Deut.* 13. is fitly answered (and that in the very same words) in the *Antitype*, when by the generall *consent* or *stoning* of the whole *Assembly*, and *wicked person* is *put away* from amongst them, that is, spiritually *cut off* out of the *Land* of the spiritually living, the people or *Church* of *God*, *1 Cor.* 5. *Galat.* 5.

Lastly,[★] the great and high *reward* or *punishment* of the keeping or breach of these Lawes to *Israel*, was such as cannot suit with any *State* or *Kingdome* in the *World* beside: the *Reward* of the *Observation* was *Life*, *Eternall Life*. The *Breach* of any one of these *Laws* was *death*, *Eternall death* or *damnation* from the presence of the Lord. So *Rom.* 10. *Iam.* 2. Such a *Covenant* *God* made not before nor since with any *State* or *People* in the world. For, *Christ* is the *end* of the *Law* for *righteousnesse* to every one that beleeveeth, *Rom.* 10. 4. And he that beleeveeth in that Son of *God*, hath eternall life; hee that beleeveeth not hath not life, but is condemned already, *John* 3. and *1 John* 5.

CHAP. CXXII.

Peace. **D**Eare *Truth*,[★] you have most lively set forth the *unparallel'd* state of that *typicall Land* and people of the Iewes in their *peace* and quiet government: Let mee now request you in the last place to glance at the *difference* of the *wars* of this people from the *wars* of other *Nations*, and of their having no *Antitype* but the *Churches* of *Christ Jesus*.

First, all *Nations* round about *Israel* more or lesse, sometime or other, had indignation against this people, *Ægyptians*, *Edomites*,
Moabites,

What *Israels* excommunication was.

The corporall stoning in the Law, typed out spirituall stoning in the Gospel.

The rewards or punishments of the Lawes of *Israel* not to be parallel'd.

The wars of *Israel* typicall.

Moabites,★ *Ammonites*, *Midians*, *Philistians*, *Assyrians* and *Babylonians*, &c. as appears in the *History of Moses*, *Samuel*, *Judges* and *Kings*, and in all the *Prophets*: You have an expresse Catalogue of them, *Psal.* 83. sometimes many hundred thousand Enemies in pitcht field against them: of *Ethiopians* ten hundred thousand at once in the dayes of *Asa*, 2 *Chron.* 14. and at other times as the sand upon the Sea shoare.

Israels Enemies round about.

Such Enemies the *Lord Iesus* foretold his *Israel*,★ The *World* shall hate you, *Iohn* 16. You shall be hated of all men for my Names sake, *Matth.* 24. All that will live godly in *Christ Iesus* must be persecuted or hunted, 1 *Tim.* 4. And not only by *flesh* and *bloud*, but also by *Principalities*, Powers, Spirituall wickednesse in high places (*Ephes.* 6.) by the whole *Pagan World* under the *Roman Emperours*, and the whole *Antichristian World* under the *Roman Popes*, *Rev.* 12. & 13. Chap. by the *Kings* of the *Earth*, *Rev.* 17. And *Gog* and *Magog*, like the sand upon the Sea shoare (*Rev.* 20.)

The Enemies of mysticall Israel.

Peace. Such *Enemies*, such *Armies*, no *History*, no *experience* proves ever to have come against one poore *Nation* as against *Israel* in the *type*; and never was nor shall be knowne to come against any *State* or *Country* now, but the *Israel* of *God* the *Spirituall Jewes*, *Christs* true followers in all parts and quarters of the *World*.

Beside all these without,★ *Israel* is betraied *within* her owne bowells, bloody *Sauls*, *Absaloms*, *Shebaes*, *Adonljahs*, *Ieroboams*, *Athaliahs* raising *insurrections*, *conspiracies*, *tumults*, in the *Antitype*, and *Parallell* the Spirituall state of the *Christian Church*.

Enemies against Israel in her owne bowells.

Secondly, consider we the famous and wonderfull *battells*, *victories*, *captivities*, *deliverances*, which it pleased the *God* of *Israel* to dispenche to that people and *Nation*, and let us search if they can be paralleld by any *State* or people, but mystically and Spiritually the true *Christian Israel* of *God*, *Gal.* 6.

How famous was the bondage and slavery of that people and *Nation* 430 yeares in the Land of *Ægypt*,★ and as famous, glorious and miraculous was their *retur*ne through the *Red Sea* (a figure of *Baptisme*, 1 *Corinth.* 10. and *Ægypt* a figure of an *Ægypt* now, *Rev.* 11. 8?)

The famous typically captivities of the Jews.

How famous was the 70 yeares *captivity* of the *Iewes* in *Babel* transported from that Land of *Canaan*, and at the full period returned againe to *Ierusalem*, a type of the *captivity* of *Gods* people
now

now Spirituall captivated in mysticall *Babel*, Rev. 18. 4?

Time would faile me to speake of *Ioshua's* conquest of literall *Canaan*,★ the slaughter of 31 Kings, of the miraculous taking of *Iericho* and other Cities; *Gideon* his miraculous battell against the *Midianites*; *Jonathan* and his Armour bearer against the *Philistims*; *David* by his 5 smooth stones against *Goliah*; *Asa*, *Iehosaphat*, *Hezekiah*, their mighty and miraculous victories against so many hundred thousand Enemies, and that sometimes without a blow given.

What State, what Kingdome, what warres and combats, victories and deliverances can parallel this people, but the Spirituall and mysticall *Israel* of *God* in every *Nation* and *Country* of the *World*, typed out by that small typicall handfull, in that little spot of ground the land of *Canaan*?

The *Israel* of *God* now,★ men and women, fight under the Great Lord Generall, the Lord *Iesus Christ*: Their Weapons, Armour, and Artillery, is like themselves Spirituall, set forth from *top* to *toe*, Ephes. 6. So mighty and so potent that they breake downe the strongest holds and Castles, yea in the very soules of men and carry into captivity the very thoughts of men, subjecting them to *Christ Iesus*: They are Spirituall conquerours, as in all the 7 Churches of *Asia*, He that overcommeth: He that overcommeth, Rev. 2. & 3.

Their victories and conquests in this are contrary to those of this *World*, for when they are slaine and slaughtered, yet then they conquer: So overcame they the Divell in the *Roman Emperours*, Rev. 12. By the bloud of the *Lambe*: 2. By the word of their Testimony: 3. The cheerfull spilling of their owne bloud for *Christ*; for they loved not their lives unto the death: And in all this they are more then Conquerors through him that loved them, *Rom.* 8.

This glorious Armie of white Troopers,★ horses and harnesses (*Christ Iesus* and his true *Israel*) Rev. 19. gloriously conquer and overcome the *Beast*, the false *Prophet* and the *Kings* of the Earth up in Armes against them, Rev. 19. and lastly, raining with *Christ* a thousand yeares they conquer the Divell himselfe and the numberlesse Armies (like the sand on the Sea shoare) of *Gog* and *Magog*, and yet not a tittle of mention of any sword, helmet, breastplate, shield or horse, but what is Spirituall and of a heavenly nature: All which Warres of *Israel* have been, may be, and shall be fulfilled mystically and Spirituallly.

I could

Their wonderful victo-
ries.

The mysticall
battells of
Gods *Israel*
now.

The mysticall
Army of white
troopers R. 19.

I could further insist on other particulars of *Israels* unparalleled state, and might display those excellent passages which it pleaseth *God* to mention, *Nehem* 9.

CHAP. CXXIII.

Peace. **Y**OU have (deare *Truth*) as in a glasse presented the face of *Old* and *New Israel*, and as in water, face answereth to face, so doth the face of typicall *Israel* to the face of the *Anti-type*, between whom, and not between *Canaan* and the *Civill Nations* and *Countries* of the *World* now, there is an admirable consent and harmony: But I have heard some say, was not the *civill* state and *Judicialls* of that people presidentiall?

Truth. I have in part,* and might further discover, that from the *King* upon his *Throne*, to the very *Beasts*, yea the *excrements* of their *bodies* (as we see in their going to War, *Deut* 23. 12.) their *civills*, *moralls*, and *naturalls* were carried on in types: and however I acknowledge that what was simply *morall*, *civill*, and *naturall* in *Israels* state, in their *constitutions*, *Lawes*, *punishments*, may be imitated and followed by the *States*, *Countries*, *Cities* and *Kingdomes* of the *World*: Yet who can question the *lawfulnessse* of other formes of *Government*, *Lawes* and *punishments* which differ, since *civill constitutions* are mens *Ordinances* (or creation, 2. *Pet.* 2. 13.) unto which *Gods* people are commanded even for the *Lords* sake to submit themselves, which if they were unlawfull they ought not to do?

Whether the Civill state of Israel was presidentiall.

Peace. Having thus far proceeded in examining whether *God* hath charged the *Civill State* with the establishing of the *Spirituell* and *Religious*, what conceive you of that next assertion, *viz.* “It “is well knowne that the remissenes of *Princes* in *Christendome* “in matters of *Religion* and *Worship*, divolving the care thereof “only to the *Clergie*, and so setting their *Hornes* upon the *Churches* head, hath been the cause of *Antichristian* invention, *usurpation* and *corruption* in the *Worship* and *Temple* of *God*.

Truth. It is lamentably come to passe by *Gods* just *permission*,* *Sathans* policie, the *peoples* sinne, and the *malice* of the *wicked* against *Christ*, and the *corruption* of *Princes* and *Magistrates*, that so many *inventions*, *usurpations*, and *corruptions* are risen in the *Worship* and *Temple* of *God* throughout that part of the *World* which is called *Christian*, and may most properly be called the *Popes Christendome*,

The true Christendome

in opposition to *Christ Jesus* his true *Christian Common-weale*, or *Church* the true *Christendome*: But that this hath arisen from *Princes* remissenesse in not keeping their watch, to establish the *Purity of Religion, Doctrine and Worship*, and to punish (according to Israels patterne) all false Ministers, by rooting them and their worships out of the *World*, that, I say, can never bee evinced; and the many thousands of glorious *Soules* under the *Altar*, (whose blood hath beene spilt by this *position*) and the many hundred thousand soules, driven out of their bodies by *Civill Warres*, and the many millions of soules forced to *hypocrisie* and *ruine* eternall, by inforced *Uniformities* in *Worship*, will to all Eternity proclaime the contrary.

Indeed it shewes a most injurious *idlenes* and *unfaithfulness* in such as professe to be *Messengers of Christ Jesus*,* to cast the heaviest weight of their care upon the *Kings* and *Rulers* of the *Earth*, yea, upon the very *Common-weales*, *Bodies* of People, (that is, the *World* it selfe) who have fundamentally in themselves the *Root of Power*, to set up what *Government* and *Governours* they shall agree upon. Secondly, it shewes abundance of carnall *diffidence* and distrust of the glorious *power* and gracious *presence* of the *Lord Jesus*, who hath given his *promise* and Word, to bee with such his *messengers* to the end of the *world*, Matth. 28.

That *Dog* that feares to meet a man in the path, runnes on with boldnes at his masters comming and *presence* at his backe. Thirdly,* what imprudence and *indiscretion* is it in the most common affaires of Life, to conceive that *Emperours*, *Kings* and *Rulers* of the earth must not only be qualified with *politicall* and *state abilities* to *make* and *execute* such *Civill Lawes* which may concerne the common *rights*, *peace* and *safety* (which is worke and businesse, load and burthen enough for the ablest shoulders in the *Commonweal*) but also furnished with such *spirituall* and heavenly *abilities* to governe the *Spirituall* and *Christian Commonweale*, the *flocke* and *Church* of *Christ*, to *pull downe*, and *set up Religion* to *judge*, *determine* and *punish* in *Spirituall controversies*,* even to *death* or *banishment*: And beside, that not only the severall sorts of *civill Officers*, (which the people shall choose and set up) must be so authorised, but that all respective *Commonweales* or *Bodies* of people are charged (much more) by *God* with this *worke* and *busines*, radically and fundamentally, because all true *civill Magistrates*, have not the least *inch* of *civill power*, but what is measured out to them from the free consent of the *whole*:

Great unfaithfulness in Ministers to cast the chiefest burden of judging and establishing true Christianity upon the Commonweal or world it selfe.

To governe & judge in civill affaires load enough on the Civill Magistrate.

Magistrates can have no more power then the common consent of the people shall betrust them with.

whole: even as a *Committee of Parliament*, cannot further act then the power of the *House* shall arme and enable them.

Concerning that Objection which may arise from the Kings of *Israel* and *Judah*,* who were borne members of *Gods Church*, and trained up therein all their dayes, (which thousands of lawfull *Magistrates* in the *world*, possibly borne and bred in false *Worships*, *Pagan* or *Antichristian*, never heard of) and were therein *types* of the great anointed, the *King of Israel*, I have spoken sufficiently to such as have an eare to heare: and therefore

Thousands of lawfull Magistrates who never heare of the true church of God.

Lastly,* so unsutable is the commixing and intangling of the *Civill* with the *Spirituall* charge and *Government*, that (except it was for subsistence, as we see in *Paul* and *Barnabas*, working with their owne hands) the Lord *Iesus*, and his *Apostles*, kept themselves to one: If ever any in this world was able to manage both the *Spirituall* and *Civill*, Church and *Commonweale*, it was the Lord *Jesus*, (wisdomes it selfe:) Yea hee was the true Heire to the Crowne of *Israel*, being the *Sonne of David*: yet being sought for by the people to be made a King,* *Joh. 5.* he refused, and would not give a president to any King, Prince, or Ruler, to manage both swords, and to assume the charge of both Tables.

The Spirituall and Civill Sword cannot be managed by one and the same person.

Now concerning Princes,* I desire it may bee remembred, who were most injurious and dangerous to Christianity, whether *Nero*, *Domitian*, *Julian* &c. *Persecuters*, or *Constantine*, *Theodosius*, &c. who assumed this Power and *Authority*, in and over the *Church* in *Spirituall* things: It is confest by the *Answerer* and others of note, that under these later, the Church, the Christian State, Religion, and Worship, were most corrupted: under *Constantine*, *Christians* fell asleepe on the beds of carnall ease and Liberty: insomuch that some apply to his times, that sleepe of the *Church*, *Cant. 5. 2.* I sleep though mine heart waketh.

The Lord Iesus refused so manage both.

Nero and the persecuting Emperours not so injurious to Christianity, as Constantine and others who assumed a power in Spirituall things. Under Constantine Christianity fell into corruption, and Christians fell asleep.

CHAP. CXXIV.

Peace. **Y**Es, but some will say, this was not through their assuming of this power, but the ill managing of it.

Truth. Yet are they commonly brought as the great *Presidents* for all succeeding Princes and Rulers in after Ages: and in this verry controvesie, their practices are brought as presidentiall to establish *persecution* for conscience.

Who force the consciences of others, yet are not willing to be forced themselves.

Constantine and others wanted not so much affection as information of conscience.

Sad consequences of charging the Civill powers with the care of Spiritualls.

Civill Rulers giving and lending their Horns or Authority to Bishops, both dangerous to the truth of Christ.

Secondly,★ those *Emperours* and other *Princes* and *Magistrates* acted in *Religion* according to their *consciences* perswasion, (and beyond the light and perswasion of *conscience* can no man living walk in any feare of God.) Hence have they forced their *subjects* to *uniformitie* and *conformitie* unto their own *consciences* (what ever they were) though not willing to have been forced themselves in the matters of *God* and *Conscience*.

Thirdly,★ Had not the *light* of their *eye* of *conscience*, and the *consciences* also of their *Teachers* been darkned, they could not have been condemned for want of heavenly *affection*, rare *devotion* wonderfull care and *diligence*, propounding to themselves the best *patternes* of the *Kings* of *Judah*, *David*, *Salomon*, *Asa*, *Jehosaphat*, *Josiah*, *Hezekiah*: But here they lost the *path*, and *themselves*, in perswading *themselves* to be the *parallels* and *antytipes* to those *figurative* and *typicall* *Princes*: whence they conceived themselves bound to make their *Cities*, *Kingdomes*, *Empires* new holy lands of *Canaan*, and themselves *Governours* and *Iudges* in *spirituall* causes, compelling all *consciences* to *Christ*, and persecuting the contrary with fire and sword.

Upon these *rootes*,★ how was, how is it possible but that such *bitter fruits* should grow of *corruption* of *Christianitie*, *Persecution* (of such *godly*, who happily see more of *Christ* then such *Rulers* themselves) their *Dominions* and *Jurisdictions* being overwhelmed with inforced *dissimulation* and *hypocrisie*, and (where power of *resistance*) with flames of *civill combustion*, as at this very day, he that *runs* may *read* and tremble at.

Peace. They adde further, that the *Princes* of *Christendome* setting their *Hornes* upon the *Churches* head, have been the cause of *Antichristian inventions*, &c.

Truth. If they mean that the *Princes* of *Europe* giving their power and *authoritie* to the *seven-headed* and *ten-horned Beast* of *Rome*,★ have been the cause, &c. I confesse it to be one concurring cause: yet withall it must be remembred, that even before such *Princes* set their *hornes* or *authoritie* upon the *Beasts* head, even when they did (as I may say but *lend* their *hornes* to the *Bishops*, even then rose up many *Antichristian abominations*. And though I confesse there is but small difference (in some respect) betweene the *setting* their *hornes* upon the *Priests* heads (whereby they are inabled immediately to push and gore whoever crosse their *doctrine* and *practice*) and

and the *lending* of their *hornes*, that is, *pushing* and *goring* such themselves, as are declared by their *Bishops* and *Priests* to be *hereticall*, as was and is practised in some *Countries* before and since the *Pope* rose: yet I confidently affirme, that neither the *Lord Jesus* nor his first ordained *Ministers* and *Churches* (gathered by such *Ministers*) did ever weare, or crave the helpe of such *hornes* in Spirituall and *Christian* affaires: The *spirituall power* of the *Lord Jesus* in the hands of his true *Ministers* and *Churches* (according to *Balaams* prophesie Num. 23.) is the *horne* of that *Unicorne* or *Rhinocerot* (*Psal* 92.) which is the strongest *horne* in the world,* in comparison of which the strongest *hornes* of the *Bulls* of *Basan* breake as *sticks* and *reeds*. *Historie* tells us how that *Unicorne* or one-horned *Beast* the *Rhinocerot*, tooke up a *Bull* like a *Tennis ball*, in the *Theater* at *Rome* before the *Emperour*, according to that record of the *Post*:

The Spirituall power of the Lord Jesus compared in Scripture to the incomparable horne of the Rhinocerot

Quantus erat cornu cui pila Taurus erat?

Unto this Spirituall power of the *Lord Jesus*, the *soules* and *thoughts* of the highest *Kings* and *Emperours* must subject, *Math.* 16. & 18. 1 *Cor.* 5. & 10. chapters.

CHAP. CXXV.

Peace. **D**Eare *Truth*, You know the noyse is made from those *prophecies*, *Isa.* 46. *Kings* and *Queenes* shall be nursing *Fathers*, &c. and *Revel.* 21. the *Kings* of the Earth shall bring their *Glory* and *Honour* to new *Jerusalem*, &c.

Truth. I answer with that mournfull *Prophet*,* *Psal.* 74. I see not that man, that *Prophet*, that can tell us how long. How many excellent *Pen-men* fight each against other with their *pens* (like *swords*) in the application of those *prophecies* of *David*, *Isa.* *Jer.* *Ezekiel*, *Daniel*, *Zacharie*, *Iohn*, when and how those *Prophecies* shall be fulfilled!

A time when Gods people are wholly at a losse for Gods worship.

Secondly,* When ever those *prophecies* are fulfilled, yet shall those *Kings* not be *Heads*, *Governours*, and *Judges* in *Ecclesiasticall* or *Spirituall* causes, but be themselves judged and ruled (if within the Church) by the power of the *Lord Jesus* therein. Hence saith *Isaiah*, those *Kings* and *Queenes* shall lick the *Dust* of thy feet, &c.

Nursing fathers and mothers.

Peace. Some will here aske, What may the Magistrate then lawfully doe with his Civill horne or power in matters of Religion?

Truth. His horne not being the horne of that *Unicorne* or *Rhinocerot*, the power of the *Lord Jesus* in *Spirituell* cases, his *sword* not the *two-edged sword* of the *Spirit*,★ the word of *God* (hanging not about the *loines* or *side*, but at the *lips*, and proceeding out of the *mouth* of his *Ministers*) but of an humane and Civill nature and constitution, it must consequently be of a humane and Civill *operation*, for who knowes not that *operation* followes *constitution*? and therefore I shall end this passage with this *consideration*:

The *Civill*★ *Magistrate* either respecteth that *Religion* and *Worship* which his *conscience* is perswaded is true, and upon which he ventures his Soule: or else that and those which he is perswaded are *false*.

Concerning the first, if that which the *Magistrate* believeth to be true, be true, I say he owes a threefold dutie unto it:

First, *approbation*★ and *countenance*, a reverent esteeme and honorable *Testimonie*, according to *Isa.* 49. *Revel.* 21.) with a tender respect of *Truth*, and the *professours* of it.

Secondly,★ Personall *submission* of his owne Soule to the power of the *Lord Jesus* in that *spirituall Government* and *Kingdome*, according to *Mat.* 18. 1. *Cor.* 5.

Thirdly, *Protection*★ of such true *professours* of *Christ*, whether apart, or met together, as also of their *estates* from violence and injurie, according to *Rom.* 13.

Now secondly,★ if it be a false *Religion* (unto which the *Civill Magistrate* dare not adjoyne, yet) he owes,

First *permission* (for *approbation* he owes not to what is evill) and this according to *Matthew* 13. 30. for publike peace and quiet sake.★

Secondly,★ he owes *protection* to the persons of his Subjects, (though of a false *worship*) that no injurie be offered either to the persons or goods of any, *Rom.* 13.

Peace. Deare *Truth*, in this 11 head concerning the *Magistrates* power in *Worship*, you have examined what is affirmed: that the *Magistrate* may doe in point of *Worship*, there remaines a second; to wit, that which they say the *Magistrate* may not doe in *Worship*.

They

The Civill
horne or po-
wer being of a
humane con-
stitution can-
not but be of a
humane ope-
ration.
The Civill
power owes 3
things to the
true Church
of Christ.

1. Approbation.

2. Submission.

3. Protection.

The Civill
Magistrate
owes to false
worshippers.

1. Permission.

2. Protection.

They say, “The *Magistrate* may not bring in set *formes* of *prayers* “Nor secondly, bring in *significant ceremonies*: Nor thirdly, not go-
“*verne* and rule the *acts* of *worship* in the *Church* of *God*, for which
“they bring an excellent *similitude* of a *Prince* or *Magistrate* in a
“*ship*, where he hath no *governing power* over the *actions* of the *ma-*
“*riners*: and secondly, that excellent *prophecie* concerning *Christ*
“*Iesus*, that his *government* should be upon his *shoulders*, *Isa.* 9. 6, 7.

Truth. Unto all this I willingly subscribe:★ Yet can I not passe by a most injurious and unequall practice toward the *Civill Magistrate: Ceremonies, Holy dayes, Common Prayer*, and what ever else dislikes their *consciences*, that the *Magistrate* must not bring in: Others againe as learned, as godly, as wise, have conceived the *Magistrate* may approve or permit these in the *Church*, and all men are bound in obedience to obey him. How shal the *Magistrates conscience* be herein (between both) torn and distracted, if indeed the power either of *establishing* or *abolishing* in *Church* matters bee committed to him?

Secondly,★ me thinkes in this case they deale with the *Civill Magistrate* as the Souldiers dealt with the *Lord Iesus*: First they take off his owne clothes, and put upon him a *purple Robe*, plat a *Crowne of Thornes* on his head, bow the knee, and salute him by the name of *King of the Jewes*.

They tell him that he is the *Keeper* of both *Tables*, he must see the *Church* doe her duty, he must establish the true *Church*, true *Ministry*, true *Ordinances*, he must keepe her in this purity. Againe, hee must abolish *superstition*, and punish false *Churches*, false *Ministers*, even to *banishment*, and *death*.

Thus indeed doe they make the blood run downe the head of the *civill Magistrate*,★ from the *thorny* vexation of that *power* which sometimes they crowne him with (whence in great *States, Kingdoms* or *Monarchies*, necessarily arise *delegations* of that *spirituall power, High Commissions*) &c.

Anon againe they take off this purple robe,★ put him into his own clothes, and tell him that he hath no power to command what is against their *conscience*. They cannot conforme to a *set form* of *prayer*, nor to *Ceremonies*, nor *Holy dayes*, &c. although the *civill Magistrate* (that most pious *Prince Edw* 6. and his famous *Bishops* (afterwards burnt for Christ) were of another *conscience*: which of these two *consciences* shall stand, if either *Magistrate* must put forth his *civill*

The Civill Magistrates conscience torne and distracted between the divers and contrary affirmations even of the most godly Reformers.

The Authors of these positions deal with the Civill Magistrate, as the souldiers dealt with the Lord Iesus.

The rise of high Commissions. &c.

Pious Magistrates and Ministers consciences are perswaded for that, which other Magistrates consciences condemne.

power

power in these cases, the strongest *arme* of *flesh* and most conquering bloody *sword* of Steele can alone decide the Question.

I confesse it is most true, that no *Magistrate* (as no other superiority) is to be obeyed in any matter displeasing to *God*:[★] yet, when in matters of *worship* we ascribe the absolute *headship* and *government* to the *Magistrate*, (as to keepe the *Church* pure, and force her to her duty, *Ministers* and *People*) and yet take unto our selves power to *judge* what is right in our owne eyes, and to judge the *Magistrate* in and for those very things, wherein we confesse he hath power to see us doe our duty, and therefore consequently must *judge* what our duty is: what is this but to play with *Magistrates*, with the *soules* of men, with *Heaven*, with *God*, with *Christ Iesus*? &c.

CHAP. CXXVI.

Peace. **P**ASSE on (holy *Truth*) to that *similitude* whereby they illustrate that *Negative Assertion*: “The Prince in the Ship “(say they) is *governour* over the bodies of all in the Ship,[★] but hee “hath no power to governe the *Ship* or the *Mariners* in the *Actions* of it: If the *Pilot* manifestly erre in his *Action*, the *Prince* may “reprove him, (and so say they may any *Passenger*) if hee offend against the *life* or *goods* of any, the *Prince* may in due time and place “punish him, which no private person may.

Truth. Although (deare *Peace*) wee both agree that *civill powers* may not injoyne such devices, no nor inforce on any *Gods Institutions*, since *Christ Iesus* his comming: Yet for further *illustration* I shall propose some *Quæries* concerning the *civill Magistrates* passing in the ship of the *Church*, wherein *Christ Iesus* hath appointed his *Ministers* and *Officers* as *Governours* and *Pilots*, &c.

If in a ship at Sea,[★] wherein the *Governour* or *Pilot* of a ship undertakes to carry the ship to such a Port, the *civill Magistrate* (suppose a *King* or *Emperour*) shall command the *Master* such and such a course, to steere upon such or such a point, which the *Master* knowes is not their course, and which if they steere he shall never bring the *Ship* to that *Port* or harbour: what shall the *Master* doe? Surely all men will say, the *Master* of the *Ship* or *Pilot* is to present *Reasons* and *Arguments* from his *Mariners* Art (if the Prince bee capable of them) or else in humble and submissive manner to persuade the *Prince* not to interrupt them in their course and duty properly

To professe the Magistrate must force the Church to her duty, and yet must not judge what that is, what is it but to play in Spirituall things?

An apt similitude discussed concerning the Civill Magistrate.

First quærie: what if the Prince command the Mr. or Pilot to steere such a course which they know will never bring them to the harbour

belonging to them, to wit, *governing* of the *ship*, *steering* of the *course*, &c.

If the *Master* of the *Ship* command the *Mariners* thus and thus,* in *cunning* the *ship*, *managing* the *helme*, *trimming* the *saile*, and the *Prince* command the *Mariners* a different or contrary course, who is to be obeyed?

It is confest that the *Mariners* may lawfully disobey the *Prince*, and obey the *governour* of the *ship* in the *actions* of the *ship*.

Thirdly, what if the *Prince* have as much skill* (which is rare) as the *Pilot* himselfe? I conceive it will be answered, that the *Master* of the ship and *Pilot*, in what concernes the ship, are *chiefe* and above (in respect of their office) the *Prince* himselfe, and their commands ought to be attended by all the *Mariners*: unlesse it bee in manifest errour, wherein tis granted any passenger may reprove the *Pilot*.

Fourthly,* I aske if the *Prince* and his *Attendants* be unskilfull in the *ships* affaires, whether every *Sayler* and *Mariner*, the youngest and lowest, be not (so farre as concernes the ship) to be preferred before the *Princes* followers, and the *Prince* himselfe? and their *counsell* and advice more to be attended to, and their *service* more to bee desired and respected, and the *Prince* to bee requested to stand by and let the *business* alone in their hands.

Fifthly,* in case a wilfull *King* and his *Attendants*, out of opinion of their *skill*, or wilfulnesse of *passion*, would so steere the course, trim sayle, &c. as that in the judgement of the *Master* and *Seamen* the ship and lives shall bee indangered: whether (in case humble perswasions prevaile not) ought not the *Ships company* to refuse to act in such a course, yea and (in case power be in their hands) resist and suppress these dangerous *practices* of the *Prince* and his *followers*, and so save the *ship*?

Lastly,* suppose the *Master* out of base feare and cowardise, or covetous desire of reward, shall yeeld to gratifie the minde of the *Prince*, contrary to the rules of Art and Experience, &c. and the ship come in danger, and perish, and the *Prince* with it: if the *Master* get to shore, whether may he not be justly questioned, yea and suffer as guilty of the *Princes* death, and those that perished with him? These cases are cleare, wherein according to this similitude, the *Prince* ought not to governe and rule the actions of the ship, but such whose office and charge and skill it is.

2. Quærie.
If the Mr. of the Ship command the mariners thus, & the Prince command the contrary, who is to be obeyed?

If the Prince have as much skill as the Mr. or Pilot, &c.

4. Quærie.

5. Quærie.
Whether the meanest saylor (in respect of his skill and service) be not to be preferred before the Prince himself

6. Quærie.
Whether if the Mr. of the ship gratifie the Prince to the casting away of the ship and Prince, &c. he be not guilty and liable to answer?

The application in generall of the ship to the Church, &c.

The meanest Christian according to his knowledge and grace, to bee preferred before the highest who have received none or lesse grace of Christ.

A true Minister of Christ ought to walk by another rule then the command of Civill Authority in Spirituall causes.

Former positions compared with this similitude, and found to contradict each other.

The result of all is this:★ The Church of Christ is the Ship, where- in the Prince (if a member, for otherwise the case is altered) is a passenger. In this ship the Officers and Governours, such as are appointed by the Lord Jesus, they are the chiefe, and (in those respects) above the Prince himselfe, and are to bee obeyed and submitted to in their works and administrations, even before the Prince himselfe.

In this respect every Christian in the Church,★ man or woman (if of more knowledge and grace of Christ) ought to be of higher esteeme (concerning *Religion* and *Christianity*) then all the Princes in the world, who have either none or lesse *grace* or *knowledge* of *Christ*: although in *civill* things all *civill reverence*, *honour* and *obedience* ought to be yeelded by all men.

Therefore, if in matters of *Religion* the *King* command what is contrary to *Christs* rule (though according to his *perswasion* and *conscience*) who sees not that (according to the similitude) he ought not to be obeyed?★ yea, and (in case) boldly with spirituall force and power he ought to be resisted: And if any Officer of the *Church* of *Christ* shall out of basenesse yeeld to the command of the *Prince*, to the danger of the *Church*, and soules committed to his charge, the soules that perish (notwithstanding the *Princes* command) shall be laid to his charge.

If so then, I rejoyne thus: How agree these truths of this similitude with those former positions, *viz.* that the Civill Magistrate is keeper of both Tables, That he is to see the Church doe her duty. That he ought to establish the true Religion, suppress and punish the false, and so consequently must discern, judge and determine what the true gathering and governing of the *Church* is; what the *dutie* of every *Minister* of *Christ* is;★ what the true *Ordinances* are, and what the true *Administrations* of them; and where men faile, correct, punish, and reforme by the *Civill Sword*: I desire it may be answered in the feare and presence of him whose *eyes* are as a *flame* of *fire*, if this be not (according to the similitude, though contrary to their scope in proposing of it) to be *Governour* of the *Ship* of the *Church*, to see the *Master*, *Pilot*, and *Mariners* do their duty, in setting the course, steering the ship, trimming the sailes, keeping the watch, &c. and where they faile, to *punish* them; and therefore by undeniable consequence, to *judge* and *determine* what their *duties* are, when they doe *right*, and when they doe *wrong*: and this not
only

only in *manifest Errour*, (for then they say every passenger may reprove) but in their *ordinary* course and practice.

The similitude of a *Physitian* obeying the *Prince* in the *Body* politick;★ but prescribing to the *Prince* concerning the *Princes body*, wherein the *Prince* unlesse the *Physitian* manifestly erre) is to be obedient to the *Physitian*, and not to be *Judge* of the *Physitian* in his *Art*, but to be ruled and judged (as touching the state of his *body*) by the *Physitian*: I say this similitude and many others suiting with the former of a *ship*, might be alleaded to prove the *distinction* of the *Civill* and *Spirituall* estate, and that according to the rule of the *Lord Jesus* in the *Gospel*, the *Civill Magistrate* is only to attend the Calling of the *Civill Magistracie*, concerning the *bodies* and *goods* of the *Subjects*, and is himselfe (if a *member* of the *Church* and within) subject to the power of the *Lord Jesus* therein, as any member of the *Church* is, 1 Cor. 5.

The similitude of the Magistrate prescribing to the Physician in civill things but the Physician to the Magistrate concerning his body.

CHAP. CXXVII.

Peace. **D**Eare *Truth*, you have uprightly and aptly untied the *knots* of that 11 Head, let me present you with the 12 Head,★ which is

Concerning the Magistrates power in the Censures of the Church.

The 12 Head examined.

“First (say they) he hath no power to execute or to substitute any Civill officer to execute any Church censure, under the “notion of Civill or Ecclesiasticall men.

“Secondly, Though a Magistrate may immediately Civilly censure such an offender, whose secret sinnes are made manifest by “their casting out, to be injurious to the good of the State; yet “such offences of excommunicate persons, which manifestly hurt “not the good of the State, he ought not to proceed against them, “sooner or later, untill the Church hath made her complaint to “him, and given in their just Reasons for helpe from them: For “to give libertie to Magistrates without exception to punish all “excommunicate persons within so many moneths, may prove injurious to the person who needs, to the Church who may desire, “& to God who cals for longer indulgence from the hands of thē.

“Thirdly, for persons not excommunicate, the Magistrate hath “no power in mediately to censure such offences of Church members by the power of the Sword, but onely for such as doe immediately

“diately hurt the peace of the State: Because the proper end of
 “Civill Government being the preservation of the peace and wel-
 “fare of the State, they ought not to breake downe those bounds,
 “and so to censure immediately for such sins which hurt not their
 “peace.

“Hence, first, Magistrates have no power to censure for secret
 “sinnes, as deadnesse, unbeliefe, because they are secret, and not
 “yet come forth immediately to hurt the peace of the State; we say
 “immediately, for every sinne, even originall sinne, remotely hurts
 “the Civill State.

“Secondly, hence they have no power to censure for such pri-
 “vate sinnes in Church members, which being not hainous may
 “be best healed in a private way by the Churches themselves. For
 “that which may be best healed by the Church, and yet is prosecu-
 “ted by the State, may make a deeper wound and greater rent in
 “the peace both of Church and State: the Magistrates also being
 “members of the Church, are bound to the rule of Christ, *viz.* not
 “to produce any thing in publike against a brother, which may bee
 “best healed in a private way.

“Now we call that private,

“First, which is only remaining in Families, not knowne of o-
 “thers: and therefore a Magistrate to heare and prosecute the
 “complaint of children against their parents, servants against ma-
 “sters, wives against their husbands, without acquainting the
 “Church first, transgresseth the rule of Christ.

“Secondly, that which is between members of the same Church
 “or of divers Churches: for, it was a double fault of the Corin-
 “thians (1 *Cor.* 6.) first to goe to Law, secondly to doe it before an
 “Infidell, seeing the Church was able to judge of such kinde of
 “differences by some Arbitratours among themselves: So that
 “the Magistrates should referre the differences of Church mem-
 “bers to private healing, and try that way first: By meanes
 “whereof the Churches should be free from much scandall, and the
 “State from much trouble, and the hearts of the godly from much
 “griefe in beholding such breaches.

“Thirdly, such offences which the Conscience of a Brother dea-
 “ling with another privately, dares not as yet publish openly,
 “comming to the notice of the Magistrate accidentally, he ought
 “not to make publike as yet, nor to require the Grand Jurie to
 “pre-

“present the same, no more then the other private brother, who is dealing with him, untill hee see some issue of the private way.

“Thirdly, hence they have no power to put any to an oath *ex officio*, to accuse themselves, or the brethren, in case either *criminnis suspecti*, or *praetensi*, because this preserves not, but hurts many wayes the peace of the State, and abuseth the ordinance of an Oath, which is ordained to end controversies, not to begin them, “Heb. 6. 16.

“Fourthly, hence they have no power to censure any for such offences as breake either no Civill Law of God, or Law of the State published according to it, for the peace of the State being preserved by wholesome Laws, when they are not hurt, the peace “is not hurt.

Truth. In this passage (as I said before) I observe how weakly and partially they deale with the soules of *Magistrates* in telling them they are the *Guardians* of both *Tables*, must see the *Church* doe her duty, punish, &c. and yet in this passage the *Elders* or *Ministers* of the *Churches* not only sit *Judges* over the *Magistrates* actions in *Church* affaires, but in *civill* also, straitning and inlarging his *commission* according to the particular interests of their owne ends or (at the best) their *Consciences*.

I grant the *Word* of the *Lord* is the only *rule*, *light* and *lanthorn*,* in all cases concerning *God* or *Man*: and that the *Ministers* of the *Gospel* are to teach this way, hold out this *Lanthorne* unto the feete of all men: but to give such an absolute power in *Spirituall* things to the *Civill Magistrate*, and yet after their owne ends or *Consciences* to abridge it, is but the former sporting with holy things, and to walk in *Contradictions*, as before I noted.

To give the government of the Church to the Civill Magistrate (as before) and yet to abridge his conscience, what is it but to sport with holy things? &c.

Many of the particulars, I acknowledge true, where the *Magistrate* is a *Member* of the *Church*: yet some passages call for *Explanation*, and some for *Observation*.

First, in that they say, the *Civill Magistrate* ought not to proceed against the offences of an *Excommunicate* person, which manifestly hurt not the good of the *state*, untill the *Church* hath made her complaint for helpe from them. I observe 2 things:

First,* a cleare grant, that when the *Church* complayneth for helpe, then the *Magistrate* may punish such *offences* as hurt not the good of the *state*: and yet in a few lines after, they say, the *Magistrates* have no power to censure such *offences* of *Church* members

An evident contradiction.

by the power of the *civill sword*, but only such, as doe immediately hurt the *peace* of the *civill state*; and they adde the *Reason*, because the proper end of the *civill Government*,* being the preservation of the *peace* and *welfare* of the *state*, they ought not to breake downe those *bounds*, and so to censure immediately for such *sinnes* which hurt not their *peace*. And in the last place, they acknowledge the *Magistrate* hath no power to punish any, for any such offences as breake no *civill Law* of *God*, or *Law* of the *state*, published according to it: For the *peace* of the *state*, (say they) being preserved by wholesome *Lawes*, when they are not hurt, the *Peace* is not hurt.

CHAP. CXXVIII.

Peace. **D**Eare *Truth*, here are excellent confessions unto which both *Truth* and *Grace* may gladly assent: but what is your second Observation from hence?

Truth. I observe secondly, what a deepe charge of *weaknes* is layd upon the *Church* of *Christ*, the *Lawes*, *Government* and *Officers* thereof, and consequently upon the *Lord Iesus* himselfe: to wit, that the *Church* is not enabled with all the power of *Christ*, to censure sufficiently an *offendour* (on whom yet they have executed the *deepest censure* in the world,* to wit, *cutting off from Christ*, *shutting out of Heaven*, *casting to the Divell*) which offendours crime reacheth not to hurt the good of the *civill state*, but that she is forced to make *complaint* to the *civill state*, and the *Officers* thereof, for their helpe.

O let not this be tole in *Gath*, nor heard in *Ashkalon*! and O! how dimme must needs that *eye* be, which is *blood shot*, with that *bloudy* and *cruell Tenent* of *Persecution* for cause of *Conscience*?

Peace. But what should be meant by this passage? *viz.* That they cannot give *liberty* to the *Magistrate* to punish without exception all *excommunicate* persons, within so many *months*.

Truth. It may be this hath reference to a *Law* made formerly in *New England*,* that if an *excommunicate* person repented not within (as I have heard) three *months* after sentence of *excommunication*, then the *Civill Magistrate* might proceed with him.

These *worthy men* see cause to question this *Law* upon good *reasons* rendred, though it appears not by their words that they wholly condemne it, only they desire a longer time, implying that after
some

An excellent confession of the proper end of *Civill Government*. When *Civill Lawes* are not broken, it is confest that *Civill Peace* is not hurt.

A grievous charge against the *Christian Church*, and the *King* of it.

A strange law in *New England* formerly against *Excommunicate* persons.

some longer time the Magistrate may proceed: and indeed I see not, but according to such *principles*, if the *Magistrate* himselfe should be cast out,* he ought to be proceeded against by the *Civill state*, and consequently deposed and punished (as the *Pope* teacheth) yea though *happily* he had not offended against either *bodies* or *goods* of any subject.

A dangerous doctrine against all civill Magistrates.

Thirdly, from this true *confession* that the *Magistrate* ought not to punish for many sinnes above mentioned: I observe how they crosse the *plea* which commonly they bring for the *Magistrates* punishing of false *Doctrines*,* *Heretiques*, &c. [*viz.* Rom. 13. The *Magistrate* is to punish them that doe evill:] and when it is answered, True, evill against the *Second Table*, which is there onely spoken of, and against the *Bodies* and *Goods* of the *Subject*, which are the proper *object* of the *Civill Magistrate*, (as they confesse:) It is replied, why is not *Idolatri* sinne? *Heresie* sinne? *Schisme* and false *Worship* sinne? Yet heere in this passage many *evils*, many *sins*, even of *Parents* against their *Children*, *Masters* against their *Servants*, *Husbands* against their *Wives*, the *Magistrate* ought not to meddle with.

Many sins prohibited to be punished by the Magistrate and yet they also charge him to punish all sin, Rom. 13.

Fourthly,* I dare not assent to that assertion, "*That even originall sinne remotely hurts the civill State.*" 'Tis true, some doe, as *inclinations to murder, theft, whoredome, slander, disobedience to Parents* and *Magistrates*: but *blindnes of minds, hardnes of heart, inclination to choose or worship this or that God, this or that Christ*, beside the true, these hurt not remotely the *civill state*, as not concerning it, but the *spirituall*.

Originall sin charged to hurt remotely (but falsely) the civill state.

Peace. Let me (in the last place) remind you of their charge against the *Magistrate*,* and which will necessarily turne to my wrong and prejudice: They say, the *Magistrate* in hearing and prosecuting the *complaints* of *children* against their *parents*, of *servants* against their *masters*, of *wives* against their *husbands*, without acquainting the *Church* first, transgresseth the rule of *Christ*.

Magistrates strangely forbidden to hear civill complaints.

Truth. Sweet *Peace*, they that pretend to be thy dearest friends, will prove thy bitter enemies.

First, I ask for one *rule* out of the *Testament* of the *Lord Iesus*, to prove this deepe *charge* and accusation against the *Civill Magistrate*?*

Secondly, This is built upon a supposition of what rarely falls out in the *World*, to wit, that there must necessarily be a true Church

Thousands of Common-wealths where no true church of Christ.

Church of Christ (in every lawfull State) unto whom these complaints must goe: whereas how many thousand Common-weales have been and are, where the name of Christ hath not (or not truly) been founded.

Thirdly,★ The Magistrates office (according to their own grant) properly respecting the bodies and goods of their *Subjects*, and the whole *body* of the *Common-weale* being made up of *Families* (as the *members* constituting that *body*) I see not how (according to the rule of *Christ* (*Rom.* 13) the *Magistrate* may refuse to heare and helpe the just *complaints* of any such *petitioners*, Children, Wives, and Servants, against *oppression*, &c.

Peace. I have long observed that such as have been ready to ascribe to the *Civill Magistrate* and his *Sword* more then *God* hath ascribed,★ have also been most ready to cut off the skirts, and (in case of his inclining to another *conscience* then their owne) to spoile him of the robe of that due *Authoritie* with which it hath pleased God and the People to invest and cloath him.

But I shall now present you with the 13. Head: whose Title is.

CHAP. CXXIX.

★*What power Magistrates have in publike Assemblies of Churches.*

“F^Irst (say they) the Churches have power to assemble and continue such Assemblies for the performance of all Gods Ordinances, without or against the consent of the Magistrate, *renuente Magistratu*, because

“Christians are commanded so to doe, *Matth.* 28. 18. 19. 20.

“Also because an Angel from God commanded the Apostles so to doe, *Acts* 5. 20

“Likewise from the practice of the Apostles, who were not rebellious or seditious, yet they did so, *Act.* 4. 18. 19. 20. *Act.* 5. 27 28.

“Further from the practice of the Primitive Church at Jerusalem, who did meet, preach, pray, minister Sacraments, censures, *Act.* 4. 23. *renuente Magistratu*.

“More-

The complaints of families properly fall into the cognizance of the civill Magistrate.

They who give to Magistrates more then is due, are most apt to disrobe them of what is theirs.

13. Head.

“Moreover from the exhortation to the Hebrewes, 10. 25. not
 “to forsake their Assemblies, though it were in dangerous times, and
 “if they might doe this under professed Enemies, then we may
 “much more under Christian Magistrates; else we were worse un-
 “der Christian Magistrates then Heathen: therefore Magistrates
 “may not hinder them herein, as *Pharaoh* did the people from sa-
 “crificing, for Wrath will be upon the Realme, and the King and
 “his Sons, *Ezra* 7. 23.

Secondly, it hath been a usurpation of forraigne Countries and
 “Magistrates to take upon them to determine times and places of
 “Worship: rather let the Churches be left herein to their inof-
 “fensive Libertie.

Thirdly, concerning their power of Synod Assemblies:

“First in corrupt times, the Magistrate desirous to make Refor-
 “mation of Religion, may and should call those who are most fit in
 “severall Churches, to assemble together in a Synod, to discusse
 “and declare from the Word of God, matters of Doctrine and
 “Worship, and to helpe forward the Reformation of the Churches
 “God: Thus did *Josiah*.

Secondly, in the reformed times he ought to give Libertie to
 “the Elders of severall Churches to assemble themselves by their
 “owne mutuall and voluntary agreement, at convenient times, as
 “the meanes appointed by God, whereby he may mediately reform
 “matters amisse in Churches, which immediately he cannot nor
 “ought not to doe.

Thirdly, Those meetings for this end we conceive may be of
 “two sorts.

“1. Monthly, of some of the Elders and Messengers of the
 “Churches.

“2. Annuall, of all the Messengers and Elders of the Chur-
 “ches.

“First monthly of some: First, those members of Churches which
 “are neerest together, and so may most conveniently assemble to-
 “gether, may by mutuall agreement once in a moneth consult of
 “such things as make for the good of the Churches.

“Secondly, the time of this meeting may be sometimes at one
 “place, sometimes at another, upon the Lecture day of every
 “Church where Lectures are: and let the Lecture that day be en-
 “ded by eleven of the clock.

“Thirdly, let the end of this Assembly be to doe nothing by way of Authoritie, but by way of Councell, as the need of Churches shall require.

“Secondly Annuall, of all the Elders within our jurisdiction or others, whereto the Churches may send once in the yeare to consult together for the publike welfare of all the Churches.

“First, let the place be sometimes at one Church, sometimes at another, as Reasons for the present may require.

“Secondly, let all the Churches send their waighy questions and cases six weeks or a month before the set time, to the Church where the Assembly is to be held, and the Officers thereof disperse them speedily to all the Churches, that so they may have time to come prepared to the discussing of them.

“Thirdly, let this Assembly doe nothing by Authoritie, but only by Councell, in all cases which fall out, leaving the determination of all things to particular Churches within themselves, who are to judge, and so to receive all doctrines and directions agreeing only with the Word of God.

The grounds of these Assemblies.

“First, need of each others helpe, in regard of dayly emergent troubles, doubts, and controversies.

“Secondly, love of each others fellowship.

“Thirdly, of Gods glory out of a publike spirit to seeke the welfare of the Churches, as well as their owne, 1 Cor. 10 33. 2 Cor. 11. 23.

“Fourthly, The great blessing and speciall presence of God upon such Assemblies hitherto.

“Fifthly, the good Report the Elders and Brethren of Churches shall have hereby, by whose communion of Love others shall know they are the Disciples of Christ.

CHAP. CXXX.

Truth. **I** May well compare this *passage* to a double *picture*:* on the first part or side of it a most faire and beautifull *countenance* of the pure and holy Word of *God*: on the later side or part, a most sowre and uncomely deformed *looke* of a meere humane invention.

Con-

Concerning the former, they prove the true and unquestionable power and *privilege* of the *Churches of Christ** to assemble and practise all the holy *Ordinances* of *God*, without or against the consent of the *Magistrate*.

The great privileges of the true Spouse or Church of Christ.

Their Arguments from *Christs* and the *Angels* voyce, from the *Apostles* and *Churches* practice, I desire may take deepe *impression* written by the point of a *diamond*, the finger of *Gods spirit*, in all hearts whom it may concerne.

This *Libertie* of the *Churches of Christ* he inlargeth and amplieth so far, that he calls it an *usurpation* of some *Magistrates* to determine the time and place of *Worship*: and say, that rather the *Churches* should be left to their inoffensive *libertie*.

Upon which Grant I must renew my former *Quærie*, Whether this be not to walke in *contradictions*, to hold with *light*, yet walke in *darknes*?* for

How can they say the *Magistrate* is appointed by *God* and *Christ* the *Guardian* of the *Christian Church* and *Worship*, bound to set up the true *Church*, *Ministrie*, and *Ordinances*, to see the *Church* doe her duty, that is, to force her to it by the *Civill sword*: bound to suppress the false *Church*, *Ministrie* and *Ordinances*, and therefore consequently,* to judge and determine which is the true *Church*, which is the false, and what is the duty of the *Church officers* and *members* of it, and what not: and yet (say they) the *Churches* must assemble, and practice all *Ordinances*, without his *consent*, yea against it: Yea and he hath not so much power as to *judge* what is a convenient *time* and *place* for the *Churches* to assemble in; which if he should doe, he should be an *usurper*, and should abridge the *Church* of her inoffensive *libertie*.

To hold with light and walk in darkness.

The Magistrate lift up to be the chief governour of the Church, and yet cast downe not to have power to appoint the place or time of meeting.

As if the *Master* or *Governour* of a *Ship* had power to judge who were true and fit officers, mariners &c. for the managing of the *Ship*,* and were bound to see them each performe his duty, and to force them thereunto, and yet he should be an *usurper* if hee should abridge them of *meeting* and *managing* the *vessel* at their pleasure, when they please, and how they please, without and against his *consent*: Certainly if a *Physician* have power to judge the *disease* of his *patient*, and what course of *Physicke* he must use, can he bee counted an *usurper* unlesse the *patient* might take what *physicke* himselfe pleased, day or night, summer or winter, at home in his chamber, or abroad in the aire?

2 Similitudes illustrating the Magistrate cannot be both governor of the Church and yet usurper in commanding.

Secondly, by their *grant* in this passage that *Gods* people may thus assemble and practice *ordinances* without and against the consent of the *Magistrate*. I infer,★ then also may they become a *Church*, *constitute* and *gather* without or against the consent of the *Magistrate*: Therefore may the *Messengers of Christ*, *preach* and *baptise*, that is, make *disciples* and *wash* them into the true profession of *Christianity* according to the *commission*, though the *Magistrate* determine and publikly declare, such *Ministers*, such *baptismes*, such *Churches* to be hereticall.

Thirdly, it may here be questioned what power is now given to the *Civill Magistrate* in *Church matters* and Spirituall affairs? If it be answered that although *Gods people* may doe thus against the *Magistrates* consent, yet others may not.

I answer (as before) who sees not herein partiality to themselves:★ *Gods* people must enjoy their *Liberty of Conscience*, and not be forced; but all the Subjects in a *Kingdome* or *Monarchie*, or the whole world beside, must be compelled by the power of the *Civill Sword* to assemble thus and thus.

Secondly, I demand who shall judge whether they are *Gods people* or no,★ for they say whether the *Magistrate consent* or *consent* not, that is *judge* so or not, they ought to goe on in the *Ordinances renuente Magistratu*?

How agrees this with their former and generall *assertion*, that the *Civill Magistrate* must set up the *Christian Church* and *Worship*, therefore by their owne grant he must judge the godly themselves, he must discern who are fit matter for the House of *God*, *living stones*, and what unfit matter, *trash* and *rubbish*?

Those *worthy men*, the *Authours* of these *positions*, and others of their *judgement* have cause to examine their soules with feare and trembling in the presence of *God* upon this *intergatory*,★ viz. whether or no this be not the *bottome* and *root* of the matter: If they could have the same supply of maintenance without the helpe of the *Civill Sword*, or were perswaded to live upon the voluntary *contribution* of poore Saints, or their owne *labour*, as the *Lord Iesus* and his first *Messengers* did: I say, if this lay not in the *bottom*, whether or no they could not be willingly shut of the *Civill power*, and left onely to their *inoffensive liberties*?

I could also put a sad *Quærie* to the *consciences* of some,★ viz. what should be the *reason* why in their *native Country* where the *Magistrate*

If a Church may assemble without and against the Magistrates consent (as is affirmed) then much more constitute and become a Church, &c.

Grosse partiality.

If the Civill Magistrate be to build the Spirituall or Christian house, he must judge of the matter.

A close and faithfull intergatory to the consciences of the authors of these positions

A sad quærie to some concerning their practice.

strate consented not, they forbore to practice such *Ordinances* as now they doe and intended to doe, so soone as they got into another place where they might set up *Magistrates* of their owne, and a *Civill Sword*, &c. How much is it to be feared that in case their *Magistracie* should alter, or their persons be cast under a *Magistracie* prohibiting their practice, whether they would then maintaine their *separate* meetings without and against the consent of the Magistrate, *renuente Magistratu*?

Lastly, it may be questioned how it comes to passe that in pleading for the *Churches liberty* more now under the *Christian Magistrate*, since the *Christians* tooke that *liberty* in dangerous times under the *Heathen*,* why he quotes to prove such liberty, *Pharaohs* hindring the *Israelites* from *worship*, and *Ezra* 7. 23. *Artaxerxes* his feare of wrath upon the Realme?

A marvellous challenge of more Libertie to Christians under a Christian Magistrate then under the Heathen.

Are not all their hopes and arguments built upon the *Christian Magistrate*, whom (say they) the first *Christians* wanted, and yet do they scare the *Christian Magistrate* (whom they account the *governour* of the *Church*) with *Pharaoh* and *Artaxerxes* that knew not God, expecting that the *Christian Magistrate* should act and command no more in Gods worship then they?

But what can those instances of *Pharaohs* evill in hindring the *Israelites* worshipping of *God*, and *Artaxerxes* giving liberty to *Israel* to worship *God*, and build the *Temple*, what can they prove but a duty in all *Princes* and *Civill Magistrates* to take off the yoke of *bondage*, which commonly they lay on the necks of the soules of their *subjects* in matters of *Conscience* and *Religion*?

CHAP. CXXXI.

Peace. IT is plausible,* but not reasonable that *Gods* people should (considering the drift of these positions) expect more liberty under a *Christian* then under a *Heathen Magistrate*: Have *Gods* people more liberty to breake the command of a *Christian* then an *Heathen governour*? and so to set up *Christs Church* and *Ordinances* after their owne *conscience* against his consent more then against the consent of an *Heathen* or unbeleeving *Magistrate*? what is become of all the great expectation what a *Christian Magistrate* may and ought to doe in establishing the *Church*, in reforming the *Church*, and in punishing the contrary? 'Tis true (say

If Magistrates were appointed by Christ Jesus Governours of his Kingdome, it were not reasonable that Christians should more freely breake the commands of the Christian, then of the Heathen Magistrate.

men) in *Christs* time and in the time of the first *Ministers* and *Churches* there were no *Christian Magistrates*, and therefore in that case, it was in vaine for *Christians* to seeke unto the *Heathen Magistrates* to governe the *Church*, suppress *Hereticks*, &c. but now we enjoy *Christian Magistrates*, &c.

Truth. All *Reason* and *Religion* would now expect more submission therefore (in matters concerning *Christ*) to a *Christian Magistrate*, then to a *Pagan* or *Antichristian* ruler! But (deare *Peace*) the day will discover, the fire will trie, 1 *Cor.* 3. what is but wood, hay, and stubble, though built (in mens upright intention) on that foundation *Jesus Christ*.

But (to winde up all) as it is most true that *Magistracy* in generall is of God (Rom. 13.) for the preservation of Mankinde in *civill order* and *peace*,* (the *World* otherwise would bee like the *Sea*, wherein Men, like *Fishes* would hunt and devoure each other, and the greater devour the lesse:) So also it is true, that *Magistracy* in speciall for the severall kindes of it is of Man, 1. *Pet.* 2. 13. Now what kinde of *Magistrate* soever the people shall agree to set up, whether he receive *Christianity* before he be set in office, or whether he receive *Christianity* after, hee receives no more power of *Magistracy*, then a *Magistrate* that hath received no *Christianity*. For neither of them both can receive more, then the *Commonweal*, the *Body of People* and *civill State*, as men, communicate unto them, and betrust with them.

All lawfull *Magistrates* in the *World*, both before the comming of *Christ Jesus*,* and since, (excepting those unpareld *typicall Magistrates* of the *Church of Israel*) are but *Derivatives* and *Agents* immediately derived and employed as *eyes* and *hands*, serving for the good of the whole: Hence they have and can have no more *Power*, then fundamentally lies in the *Bodies* or *Fountaines* themselves, which *Power*, *Might*, or *Authority*, is not *Religious*, *Christian*,* &c. but naturall, humane and civill.

And hence it is true, that a *Christian Captaine*, *Christian Merchant*, *Physitian*, *Lawyer*, *Pilot*, *Father*, *Master*, and (so consequentely) *Magistrate*, &c. is no more a *Captaine*, *Merchant*, *Physitian*, *Lawyer*, *Pilot*, *Father*, *Master*, *Magistrate*, &c. then a *Captaine*, *Marchant*,* &c. of any other Conscience or Religion.

'Tis true, *Christianity* teacheth all these to act in their severall callings, to an higher ultimate end, from higher principles, in a
more

The necessity of Civill government in generall of God, but the speciall kindes of men, 1 *Pet.* 2. 13.

Civill Magistrates are derivatives from the fountaines or bodies of people.

A beleeving Magistrate no more a Magistrate than an unbeleeving.

The excellencie of Christianity in all callings.

more heavenly and spirituall manner, &c.

CHAP. CXXXII.

Peace. O that thy *Light* and *Brightnes* (deare Truth) might shine to the darke World in this particular: let it not therefore be grievous, if I request a little further illustration of it.

Truth. In his season God will glorifie himselfe in all his *Truths*: but to gratifie thy desire, thus: A *Pagan* or *Antichristian Pilot* may be as skilfull to carry the Ship to its desired Port, as any *Christian Mariner* or *Pilot* in the World, and may performe that worke with as much safety and speed: yet have they not command over the *soules* and *consciences* of their *passengers* or *mariners* under them, although they may justly see to the labour of the one, and the *civill* behaviour of all in the *ship*:* A *Christian Pilot* he performes the same worke, (as likewise doth the Metaphoricall *Pilot* in the ship of the *Commonweale*) from a principle of *knowledge* and *experience*: but more then this, he acts from a roote of the feare of God and love to *mankind*, in his whole course.* Secondly, his *aime* is more to glorifie God then to gaine his pay, or make his voyage. Thirdly, he walkes heavenly with Men, and God, in a constant observation of Gods hand in *stormes*, *calmes*, &c. So that the thread of *Navigation* being equally spun by a *believing* or *unbelieving Pilot*,* yet is it drawn over with the *gold* of *Godlines* and *Christianitie* by a *Christian Pilot*, while he is holy in all manner of *Christianitie*, 1 Pet. 1 15. But lastly, the *Christian Pilots* power over the *Soules* and *consciences* of his *Sailers* and *Passengers* is not greater then that of the *Antichristian*, otherwise then he can subdue the *soules* of any by the two-edged sword of the *Spirit*, the Word of God, and by his holy demeanour in his place, &c.

Peace. I shall present you with no other consideration in this first part of the Picture, but this only:

Although the tearme *Heathen* is most commonly appropriated to the wilde naked *Americans*,* &c. yet these worthy men justly apply it even to the civilized *Romanes*, &c. and consequently must it be applied to the most *civilized Antichristians*, who are not the Church and people of God in Christ.

Truth. The Word [[מִן]] in the *Hebrew*, and ἔθνῃ in the *Greeke*, signifie no more then the *Gentiles* or *Nations* of the Earth, which
were

The Magistrate like a Pilot in the Shop of the Common - weale.

Christianitie steeres a Christian Pilots course.

The Christian Pilot hath no more power over the soules of his Mariners or passengers, then the unchristian or Pagan Pilot.

The tearmes Heathen and Christian Magistrate

were without and not within, the true typicall nationall *Church* of the *Jewes* before *Christ*, and since his comming, the *Gentiles* or *Nations* of the *World*,* who are without that one holy Nation of the *Christian Israel* the *Church* gathered unto *Christ Jesus* in particular and distinct *congregations* all the *World* over.

Translatours promiscuously render the words *Gentiles*, *Heathens*, *Nations*: whence it is evident that even such as professe the Name of *Christ* in an unregenerate and impenitent estate, whether *Papist* or *Protestant* are yet without, that is *Heathen*, *Gentiles* or of the *Nations*.

CHAP. CXXXIII.

Peace. **D**Eare *Truth*, it is now time to cast your eye on the second part of this *Head* or picture uncomely and deformed.

Truth. It containes two sorts of Religious meetings or assemblies.

First, more extraordinary and occasionall, for which he quotes the practice of *Josiah*.

An. *Josiah* was in the type,* so are not now the severall Governours of Commonweales, *Kings* or *Governours* of the *Church* or *Israel*, whose state I have proved to be a *None-such*, and not to bee parallel'd but in the *Antitype* the particular *Church* of *Christ*, where *Christ Jesus* alone sits *King* in his owne most holy *Government*.

Secondly, they propound meetings or *assemblings ordinary stated* and *constant*, *yearly* and *monthly* unto which the *civill Magistrate* should give *liberty*. For these meetings they propound plausible arguments from the *necessity* of them from *Christian fellowship* from *Gods glory*, from the experience of the benefit of them, and from the good report of them, as also those two Scriptures, 1 Cor. 10. 32. 2 Cor. 11. 38.

To these I answer,* If they intend that the *civill Magistrate* should permit *liberty* to the free and voluntary Spirituall meetings of their Subjects, I shall subscribe unto them; but if they intend that the *Magistrate* should give *liberty* only unto themselves, and not to the rest of their *subjects*, that is to desire their owne *soules* only to be free, and all other *soules* of their *subjects* to be kept in *bondage*.

Se-

All out of
Christ are hea-
thens, that is
of the Nations
or Gentiles.

Josiah a type
of Christ Jesus
the King of the
Church.

An unjust and
partiall desire
of liberty to
some consci-
ences, & bond-
age unto all
others.

Secondly, if they intend that the *Magistrate* should inforce all the *Elders* of such *Churches* under their *Iurisdiction*, to keepe *correspondencie* with them in such meetings, then I say (as before) it is to cause him to give *Libertie* with a *partiall* hand, and *unequall Ballance*: for thus I argue. If the *Civill State* and *Civill officers* be of their *Religion* and *Conscience*, it is not proper for them to give *libertie* or *freedome*, but to give honourable *testimonie* and *approbation*, and their own personall *submission* to the *Churches*. But if the *civill State* and *Officers* be of another *conscience* and *worship*, and shall be bound to grant permission and *libertie* to them, their *consciences* and *meetings*, and not to those of his own *Religion* and *Conscience* also, how will this appeare to be equall in the very eye of Common *peace* and *righteousnesse*?

For those *yearly* and *monthly* meetings, as we find not any such in the first *Churches*, So neither will those generall *arguments* from the plausible pretence of *Christian* fellowship, *Gods* glory, &c. prove such particular wayes of *glorifying God*, without some *precept* or *president* of such a kind.

For those *Scriptures*, 1 Cor. 10. 33. & 2 Cor. 11. 38. expressing the Apostle *Paul* his zeale for glorifying *God*, and his care for all the *Churches*, it is cleere they concerne such as are indeed *Pauls successors*,* sent forth by *Christ Jesus* to preach and gather *Churches*: but those *Scriptures* concerne not the *Churches* themselves, nor the *Pastours* of the *Churches* properly, least of all the *Civill State* and *Commonwealth*, neither of which (the *Churches*, the *Pastours*, or *Commonwealth*) doe goe forth personally with that *commission*, *Matth.* 28. to *preach* and *baptize*, that is, to gather *Churches* unto *Christ*.

The Commission. *Mat.* 28. of preaching and baptizing not properly directed to the *Churches*, or fixed Teachers of it, least of all to the *Commonweale*.

For as for the first, the *Churches* are not *Ministers* of the *Gospel*: the *Angels* or *Messengers* of the *Churches*, and the *Churches* themselves were distinct, *Revel* 2. & 3.

As for the second,* the *pastours* and *Elders* of the *Church*, their worke is not to gather *Churches*, but to governe and feed them, *Acts* 20. & 1 *Pet.* 5.

A quærie, who have now the care of all the *Churches*?

As for the *civill Magistrate*, it is a *Ministry* indeed: (*Magistrates* are *Gods Ministers*, *Rom.* 13.) but it is of another Nature, and therefore none of these, the *Churches* of *Christ*, the *Shepherds* of those *Churches*, nor the *civill Magistrate*, succeeding the *Apostles* or first *Messengers*, these *Scriptures* alleadged concerne not any of

H h

these

these to have care of all the *Churches*.

Peace. Deare *Truth*, who can heare this Word, but will presently cry out, Who then may rightly challenge that *commission*, and that *promise*, Math. 28. &c.

Truth. Sweet *Peace*,* in due place and season, that *Question* may be resolved; but doubtles the true *successours* must precede or goe before the *Church*, making *Disciples*, and *baptizing* as the *Apostles* did, who were neither the *Churches*, nor the *Pastors* and fixed *Teachers* of them, but as they gathered, so had the care of the *Churches*.

CHAP. CXXXIV.

Peace. **I**Cease to urge this further; and, in the last place, marvell what should be the reason of that Conclusion, “viz. There is no power of determination in any of these meetings, but that all must be left to the particular determination of “the Churches.

Truth. At the meeting at *Jerusalem*,* when *Paul* and *Barnabas* and others were sent thither from the *Church* of *Christ* at *Antioch*, the *Apostles* and *Elders* did not only *consult* and advise, but particularly *determined* the *Question* which the *Church* of *Antioch* sent to them, about *Acts* 15. and send their particular *determinations* or *decrees* to the *Churches* afterward.

So that if these *Assemblies* were of the nature of that *pattern* or *president* (as is generally pretended) and had such a *promise* of the *assistance* and *concurrence* of the *Spirit*, as that *Assembly* had, they might then say as that *Assembly* did, *Acts* 15. *It seemeth good to the holy Spirit and to us*: and should not leave particular *determinations* to the particular *Churches*, in which sometimes are very few able *Guides* and *Leaders*.

Peace. But what should be the Reason to perswade these worthy men to conceive the *particular Congregations* or *Churches* to be more fit and competent *Judges* in such high points, then an *Assembly* of so excellent and choice persons, who must only consult and advise,* &c.?

Truth. Doubtlesse there is a strong conviction in their Soules of a professed promised *presence* of the *Lord Jesus* in the midst of his *Church* gathered after his mind and will, more then unto such kind
of

A Ministrie
before the
Church.

Acts 15. commonly misapplied.

Christs promise and presence only makes an Assembly blessed

of *Assemblies*, though consisting of far more able persons, even the *flower* and *creame* of all the *Churches*.

Peace. It is generally conceived, that the promise of *Christs* presence to the end of the World (*Matth.* 28.) is made to the *Church*.

Truth. There is doubtlesse a promise of Christs presence in the midst of his Church and Congregation, *Matth.* 18. but the promise of Christs presence, *Matth.* 28. cannot properly and immediately belong to the *Church* constituted and gathered,* but to such *Ministers* or *Messengers* of *Christ Jesus*, whom he is pleased to imploy to gather and constitute the *Church* by *converting* and *baptizing*: unto which *Messengers* (if *Christ Jesus* will be pleased to send such forth) that passage, *Acts* 15. will be *presidentia*ll.

The promise of Christs presence, *Mat.* 18. distinct from that, *Mat.* 28.

Peace. The 14. generall head is this,* *viz.* What power particular *Churches* have particularly over *Magistrates*.

14. Position examined.

“First (say they) they may censure any Member (though a Magistrate) if by sinne he deserve it.

“First, because Magistrates must be subject to Christ, but Christ “censures all offenders, *1 Cor.* 5. 45.

Secondly, Every Brother must be subject to Christs censure, *Mat.* 18. 15, 16, 17. But Magistrates are brethren, *Deut.* 17. 15.

Thirdly, They may censure all within the Church, *1 Cor.* 5. 12.

“But the Magistrates are within the Church, for they are either “without, or within, or above the Church: not the first, nor the “last, for so Christ is only above it.

“Fourthly, The Church hath a charge of all the Soules of the “members, and must give account thereof, *Heb.* 13. 17.

“Fifthly, Christs censures are for the good of Soules, *1 Cor.* 5. “6. but Magistrates must not be denied any priviledge for their “Soules, for then they must lose a priviledge of Christ by being Magistrates.

“Sixthly, In Church priviledges Christians are all one, *Gal.* 2. 28. “*Col.* 3. 11.

2. Magistrates may be censured for apparent and manifest sinne “against any Morall Law of God, in their judicia

“in proceedings, “or in the execution of their office. Courts are not Sanctuaries for “sin; and if for no sin, then not for such especially.

“First, because sinnes of Magistrates in Court are as hatefull “to God. 2. And as much spoken against, *Isa.* 10. 1. *Mic.* 3. 1.

H h 2

3. God

“Thirdly, God hath no where granted such immunity to them. Fourthly, what a brother may doe privately in case of private offence, that the Church may doe publicly in case of public scan-dall. But a private brother may admonish and reprove privately in case of any private offence, *Mat.* 18. 15. *Luc.* 19. 17. *Psal.* 141. 5.

“Lastly, Civill Magistracy doth not exempt any Church from faithfull watchfulnesse over any member, nor deprive a Church of her due power, not a Church member of his due priviledge, which is to partake of every Ordinance of God, needfull and requisite to their winning and salvation. *Ergo*,

CHAP. CXXXV.

Truth. **T**Hese Arguments to prove the *Magistrate* subject (even for sinne committed in judiciall proceeding) I judge, like Mount *Zion*, immoveable, and every true *Christian* that is a Magistrate will judge so with mee: Yet a Quærie or two will not be unseasonable.

First,* where they name the *Church* in this whole passage, whether they meane the *Church* without the *Ministry* or *Governours* of it, or with the *Elders* and *Governours* joyntly? and if the latter, why name they not the *Governours* at all, since that in all *administrations* of the *Church* the duty lies not upon the *body* of the *Church*, but firstly and properly upon the *Elders*.

It is true in case of the *Elders* obstinacy in apparent sinne, the *Church* hath power over him, having as much power to take down as to set up, *Col.* 4. Say to *Archippus*, &c. Yet in the ordinary dispensations and administrations of the *Ordinances*, the *Ministers* or *Elders* thereof are first charged with duty, &c.

Hence first for the Apostles,* who converted, gathered & espoused the *Churches* to *Christ*, I question whether their *power* to *edification* was not a *power* over the *Churches*, as many *Scriptures* seem to imply. Secondly, for the ordinary *Officers* ordained for the ordinary and constant guiding, feeding, and governing the *Church*, they were *Rulers*, *Shepherds*, *Bishops*, or *Overseers*, and to them was every *letter* and *charge*, *commendation* or *reproofe* directed, *Revel.* 2. 3. *Acts* 20. And that place by them quoted for the submission of the *Magistrates* to the *Church*, it mentions only *submission* to the *Rulers* thereof; *Heb.* 13. 17. Those excellent men concealed not this out of *ignorance*, and therefore most certainly in a silent way confesse that their *doctrine* concerning the *Magistrates* power in *Church* causes would seem

Church administrations are charged firstly upon the Ministers thereof.

The Ministers or Governors of Christs Church to be acknowledged in their dispensations.

too grosse,* if they should not have named the whole *Church*, and but silently implied the *Governours* of it: And is it not wonderfull in any sober eye, how the same persons (*Magistrates*) can be exalted over the *Ministers* and *Members*, as being bound to *establish, reforme, suppress* by the *civill sword* in punishing the *body* or *goods*, and yet for the same actions (if the *Church* and *Governours* thereof so conceive) be liable to a punishment ten thousand times more transcendent, to wit, *excommunication*, a punishment reaching to their *soules* and *consciences*, and eternall estate, and this not only for *common* sins, but for those *actions* which immediately concerne the *execution* of their *civill* office, in *judiciall* proceeding.

A paradox, Magistrates made the Judges of the Churches, and Governours of them, yet censurable by them.

Peace. The *Prelates* in Q. *Elizabeths* dayes,* kept with more plainnesse to their principles, for acknowledging the *Queen* to be Supreme in all *Church* causes, (according to the Title and Power of *Henry* the 8. her Father, taken from the *Pope*, and given to him by the *Parliament*) they professed that the *Queen* was not a *sheepe*, but under *Christ* the chiefe *Shepherd*, and that the *Church* had not power to *excommunicate* the *Queen*.

Queene Eliz. Bishops truer to their principles, then many of a better spirit and profession.

Truth. Therefore (sweet *Peace*) it was esteemed *capitall* (in that faithfull *witnesse* of so much truth as he saw,* even unto *death*, Mr. *Barrow*) to maintaine before the *Lords* of the *Councell*, that the *Queen* herselfe was subject to the power of *Christ Jesus* in the *Church*: which *Truth* overthrew that other *Tenent*, that the *Queene* should be *Head* and *Supreme* in all *Church* causes.

Mr. Barowes profession concerning Queen Elizabeth.

Peace. Those *Bishops* according to their principles (though bad and false) dealt plainly (though cruelly) with Mr. *Barrow*: but these *Authors*, whose *principles* are the same with the *Bishops* (concerning the *power* of the *Magistrate* in *Church* affaires) though they wave the *Title*, and will not call them *Heads* or *Governors* (which now in lighter times seems too grosse) yet give they as much *spirituall* power and *authoritie* to the *civill Magistrates* to the full,* as ever the *Bishops* gave unto them, although they yet also with the same breath lay all their *honour* in the *dust*, and make them to lick the *dust* of the feet of the *Churches*, as it is prophesied, the *Kings* and *Queens* of the *Earth* shall doe, when *Christ* makes them nursing fathers, and nursing mothers, Isa. 49. The *truth* is, *Christ Jesus* is honoured, when the *civill Magistrate* a member of the *Church*, punisheth any member or *Elder* of the *Church* with the *civill sword*, even to the *death*, for any crime against the *civill State* so deserving it; for he beares not the sword in vain.

Is not this too like the Popes profession of *servus servorum Dei*, yet holding out his slipper to the lips of Princes, Kings and Emperours?

And *Christ Jesus* is againe most highly honoured, when for apparent sinne in the *Magistrate*, being a member of the *Church* (for otherwise they have not to meddle with him) the *Elders* with the *Church*, admonish him and recover his Soule, or if *obstinate* in sin, cast him forth of their *Spirituell* and *Christian* fellowship, which doubtlesse they could not doe, were the *Magistrate supreme Governour* under *Christ* in *Ecclesiasticall* or *Church* causes, and so consequently the true heire and successour of the *Apostles*.

CHAP. CXXXVI.

Peace. **T**HE 15.★ Head runs thus: viz. In what cases must Churches proceed with Magistrates in case of offence.

“We like it well, that Churches be flower in proceeding to “excommunication, as of all other, so of Civill Magistrates especially in point of their Judiciall proceedings, unlesse it be in scandalous breach of a manifest Law of God, and that after notorious “evidence of the fact, and that after due seeking and waiting for “satisfaction in a previous Advertisement. And though each particular Church in respect of the Government of Christ be independent and absolute within it selfe, yet where the Commonweale consists of Church members, it may be a point of Christian wisdome to consider and consult with the Court also, so far “as any thing may seeme doubtfull to them in the Magistrates case, “w^{ch} may be further cleered by intelligence given from them; but “otherwise we dare not leave it in the power of any Church to “forbear to proceed & agree upon that on Earth, which they plainly see Christ hath resolved in his Word, and will ratifie in Heaven.

Truth. If the scope of this Head be to qualifie and adorne *christian impartialitie* and *faithfulnes* with *christian wisdome* and *tenderness*, I honour and applaud such a *Christian* motion: but whereas that case is put, which is no where found in the *patterne* of the first Churches, nor suiting with the Rule of *Christianitie*, to wit, that the *Commonweale* should consist of *Church members*, which must be taken *privatively*, to wit, that none should be admitted members of the *Commonweale*, but such as are first members of the Church (which must necessarily run the *Church* upon that *Temptation* to feele the pulse of the *Court* concerning a *delinquent Magistrate*, before they dare proceed) I say let such Practices be brought to the

15. Head examined.

the *Touchstone* of the true frame of a *civill commonweale*,[★] and the true frame of the *Spirituall* or *Christian commonweale*, the *Church of Christ*, and it will be seen what *wood, hay, and stubble* of *carnall policie* and *humane inventions* in *Christs matters* are put in place of the *precious stones, gold* and *silver* of the *Ordinances* of the most *High* and only wise *God*.

The inventions of men in swarving from the true essentials of Civill and Spirituall Commonweales.

CHAP. CXXXVII.

Peace. **D**EARE *Truth*, We are now arrived at their last Head: the Title is this,[★] *viz.*

Their power in the Liberties and Priviledges of these Churches.

16. and last Head examined.

“First, all Magistrates ought to be chosen out of Church-members, *Ezod.* 18. 21. *Deut.* 17. 15. *Prov.* 29. 2. When the Righteous rule, the people rejoyce.

“Secondly, that all free men elected, be only Church-members.

1. Because if none but Church members should rule, then others should not choose, because they may elect others beside Church members.

2. From the patterne of *Israel*, where none had power to choose but only *Israel*, or such as were joyned to the people of *God*.

3. If it shall fall out, that in the Court consisting of Magistrates and Deputies, there be a dissent between them which may hinder the common good, that they now returne for ending the same, to their first principles, which are the Free men, and let them be consulted with.

Truth. In this *Head* are 2 branches:[★] First concerning the choice of *Magistrates*, that such ought to be chosen as are *Church members*: for which is quoted, *Exod.* 18. 21. *Dut.* 17. 15. *Proverbs* 19. 29.

A great Question, viz. Whether only Church members (that is as is intended) Godly persons in a particular Church estate, be only eligible or to be chosen for Magistrates.

Unto which I answer: It were to be wished, that since the point is so weighty, as concerning the *Pilots* and *Steeresmen* of *Kingdoms* and *Nations*, &c. on whose *abilitie, care* and *faithfulnesse* depends most commonly the *peace* and *safety* of the *commonweales* they fall in: I say it were to be wished that they had more fully explained what they

they intend by this *Affirmative*, viz. *Magistrates* ought to be chosen out of *Church members*.

For if they intend by this [*Ought to be chosen*] a *necessitie* of *convenience*, viz. that for the greater advancement of *common utilitie* and *rejoycing* of the people, according to the place quoted (*Prov.* 29. 2.) it were to be desired, prayed for, and peaceably endeavored, then I readily assent unto them.

But if by this [*Ought*] they intend such a *necessitie* as those Scriptures quoted imply, viz. that people shall sin by choosing such for *Magistrates* as are not members of *Churches*; as the *Israelites* should have sinned, if they had not (according to *Jethro's* counsell, *Exod.* 18. and according to the *command* of God, *Deut.* 18.) chosen their *Judges* and *Kings* within themselves in *Israel*: then I propose these necessary *Quaries*.

First whether those are not lawfull *Civill combinations*, *societies*, and *communions* of men, in *Townes*, *Cities*, *States* or *Kingdoms*, where no *Church of Christ* is resident,* yea where his name was never yet heard of: I adde to this, that Men of no small note, skilfull in the *state* of the *World*, acknowledge, that the *World* divided into 30 parts,* 25 of that 30 have never yet heard of the name of Christ: If their *Civill polities* and *combinations* be not lawfull, (because they are not *Churches*, and their *Magistrates Church* members) then *disorder*, *confusion*, and all *unrighteousnes* is lawfull, and pleasing to God.

Secondly, whether in such *States* or *Commonweales*, where a *Church* or *Churches* of Christ are resident, such persons may not lawfully succeed to the *Crown* or *Government*,* in whome the feare of God (according to *Jethroes* councell) cannot be discerned, not are brethren of the *Church*, according to *Deut.* 17.) but only are fitted with *Civill* and *Morall* abilities, to manage the *Civill* affaires of the *Civill State*.

Thirdly, since not many *Wise* and *Noble* are called, but the *poores* receive the *Gospel*, as God hath chosen the *poore* of the *World* to be *rich* in *Faith*, 1 *Cor.* 1 *Jam.* 2. Whether it may not ordinarily come to passe,* that there may not be found in a true *Church of Christ* (which sometimes consisteth but of few persons) persons fit to be either *Kings* or *Governours*, &c. whose *civill office* is no lesse difficult then the office of a *Doctor of Physick*, a *Master* or *Pilot* of a *Ship*, or a *Captaine* or *Commander* of a *Band* or *Army* of men: for which

Lawfull Civil
States, where
Churches of
Christ are not.

The world
being divided
into 30 parts,
25 never heard
of Christ.

Lawfull heires
of Crownes &
Civill Govern-
ment, although
not Christian
and godly.

Few Christi-
ans wise and
noble, and
qualified for
affaires of State.

which services, the children of *God* may be no wayes *qualified*, though otherwise excellent for the *fear* of *God*, and the *knowledge* and *Grace* of the *Lord Jesus*.

4. If *Magistrates* ought (that is, ought only) to be chosen out of the *Church*, I demand if they ought not also to be *dethroned* and *deposed*,* when they cease to be of the *Church*, either by voluntary departure from it, or by *excommunication* out of it, according to the bloody *tenents* and *practice* of some *Papists*, with whom the *Protestants* (according to their *principles*) although they seeme to abhor it, doe absolutely agree?

Some Papists and some Protestants agree in deposing of Magistrates.

5. Therefore lastly, I ask if this be not to turne the *World* upside down, to turne, the *World* out of the *World*, to pluck up the *roots* and *foundations* of all *common societie* in the *World*? to turne the *Garden* and *Paradise* of the *Church* and *Saints* into the *Field* of the *Civill State* of the *World*, and to reduce the *World* to the first *Chaos* or *confusion*.

CHAP. CXXXVIII.

Peace. **D**Eare *Truth*, thou *conquerest*, and shalt *triumph* in season: but some will say, How answer you those Scriptures al-leaded?

Truth. I have fully and at large declared the vast *differences* between that holy *Nation* of typicall *Israel*, and all other *Lands* and *Countries*, how unmatched then and now, and never to be parallel'd, but by the true *Israel* and particular *Churches* of *Christ* residing in all parts (and under the severall *civill Governments*) of the *world*: In which *Churches*, the *Israel* of *God*,* and *Kingdome* of *Christ Iesus*, such only are to be chosen spirituall *Officers* and *Governours*, to manage his *Kingly* power and *authoritie* in the *Church*, as are (according to the Scriptures quoted, not *Pope*, *Bishops*, or *Civill powers*, but) from amongst themselves, *Brethren*, fearing *God*, hating *covetousnesse* or filthy *lucre*, according to those golden *Rules* given by the *Lord Iesus*, 1 Tim. 3. & Tit. 1.

Those Scriptures, Exod. 18 Deut. 17. & 18. &c. parallel'd in the true spirituall *Israel*, by 1 Tim. 3. & Tit. 1.

The want of discerning this true *parallel*, between *Israel* in the *type* then, and *Israel* the *antitype* now, is that *rock* whereon (through the *Lords* righteous *jealousie*, punishing the *World*, and chastising his people) thousands dash, and make wofull *Shipwrack*.

The second branch, viz. that all *Freemen* elected be only *Church members*, I have before shewne to be built on that saudy and dangerous *Ground of Israels patterne*: O that it may please the *Father of Lights* to discover this to all that fear his name I then would they not sin to save a *Kingdome*, nor run into the lamentable *breach* of *civill peace* and *order* in the *world*, nor be guilty of forcing *thousands* to *Hypocrisie*, in a *State worship*, nor of *prophaning* the holy name of *God* and *Christ*, by putting their *Names* and *Ordinances* upon *uncleane* and *unholy* persons: nor of shedding the *blood* of such *Here-ticks*, &c. whom *Christ* would have enjoy longer *patience* and *permission* untill the *Harvest*: nor of the *blood* of the *Lord Iesus* himselfe, in his faithfull *Witnesses of Truth*: nor lastly, of the *blood* of so many hundred thousands slaughtred men, women, and children, by such *uncivill* and *unchristian wars* and *combustions* about the *Christian faith* and *Religion*.

Peace. Deare *Truth*: before we part, I aske your faithfull helpe once more, to 2 or 3 Scriptures, which many alleadge, and yet we have not spoken of.

Truth. Speake on; here is some sand left in this our houre glasse of mercifull *opportunitie*: One *graine* of *Times* inestimable sand is worth a golden *mountaine*; let's not lose it.

Peace. The first is that of the *Ninevites* fast,* commanded by the *King of Ninevie* and his *Nobles*, upon the preaching of *Jonah*; succeeded by *Gods* mercifull answer in sparing of the *Citie*; and quoted with honorable *approbation* by the *Lord Iesus Christ*, *Jonah* 3. & *Math.* 12.

Truth. I have before proved, that even *Jehosaphats* fast (he being *King* of that *Nationall Church* and people of *Israel*) could not possibly be a type or *warrant* for every *King* or *Magistrate* in the *World* (whose *Nations*, *Countries* or *Cities* cannot be *Churches* of *God*, now in the *Gospel*, according to *Christ Iesus*:

Much lesse can this patterne of the *King of Ninevie* and his *Nobles*, be a ground for *Kings* and *Magistrates* now, to force all their *Subjects* under them in the matters of *Worship*.

Peace. It will be said, why did *God* thus answer them?

Truth. *Gods* mercy in hearing doth not prove an *action* right and according to rule.

It pleased *God* to heare the *Israelites* cry for *Flesh*, and afterward for a *King*, given both in *anger* to them.

It

It pleased God to heare *Ahabs* prayer, yea and the prayer of the *Devils* (Luc. 8.) although their *persons* and *prayers* in themselves abominable.

If it be said, why did Christ approve this example?*

I answer, the *Lord Jesus Christ* did not approve the *King* of *Ninevies* compelling all to Worship,* but the men of *Ninevies* repentance at the preaching of *Ionah*.

Object.
Answ.

Peace. It will be said, what shall *Kings* and *Magistrates* now doe in the plagues of *sword*, *famine*, *pestilence*?

Truth. *Kings* and *Magistrates* must be considered (as formerly) invested with no more *power* then the *people* betrust them with.

But no *People* can betrust them with any *spirituall* power in matters of *worship*, but with a *Civill* power belonging to their *goods* and *bodies*.

2. *Kings* and *Magistrates* must be considered as either *godly* or *ungodly*.

If *ungodly*, his own and peoples duty is *Repentance*, and reconciling of their persons unto God, before their *sacrifice* can be accepted. Without *Repentance* what have any to doe with the *covenant* or *promise* of God? *Psal.* 50.

Againe, if *Godly*, they are to humble themselves, and beg mercies for themselves and *people*.

Secondly, upon this *advantage & occasion*, they are stir up their people (as possibly they may) to *Repentance*: but not to force the *consciences* of *people* to *worship*.

If it be said,* What must be attended to in this *example*?

Two things are most *eminent* in this *example*.*

Object.
Answ.

First, the great worke of *Repentance*, which God calls all men unto, upon the true preaching of his *Word*.

Secondly,* the nature of that true *repentance* whether *Legall* or *Evangelicall*: The people of *Ninevie* turned from the *violence* that was in their hands: And confident I am, if this *Nation* shall turne (though but with a *Legall* repentance) from that violent persecuting or hunting each of other for *Religion* sake, (the greatest violence and hunting in the *wildernesse* of the whole *World*) even as *Sodome* and *Gomorrhah* upon a *Legall* repentance, had continued untill *Christs* day; so consequently might *England*, *London*, &c. continue free from a generall *destruction* (upon such a turning from their *violence*) untill the *Heavens* and the whole *World* be with fire consumed.

How England
and London
may yet be spared.

Peace. The second Scripture is that speech of the *Lord Christ*, *Luc. 22. 36.* He that hath not a *sword*, let him sell his coat, and buy one.

Truth. For the clearing of this *Scripture*,[★] I must propose and reconcile that seeming contrary command of the *Lord Jesus* to *Peter* (*Mat. 26.*) Put up thy *sword* into his place, for all that take the *sword*, shall perish by it.

In the former Scripture (*Luc. 22.*) it pleased the *Lord Jesus*, speaking of his present trouble, to compare his former sending forth of his *Disciples*. without scrip, &c. with that present condition and triall comming upon them, wherein they should provide both scrip and sword, &c.

Yet now, first, when they tell him of two *swords*, he answers, It is *enough*: which shewes his former meaning was not literall, but figurative, foreshewing his present danger above his former.

Secondly, in the same case at the same time (*Mat. 26*) commanding *Peter* to put on his sword, he gives a threefold *Reason* thereof.

1 (*vers. 52.*) from the *event* of it: for all that take the sword, shall perish by it.

2 The *needlesnes* of it: for with a word to his *Father*, he could have 12 *legions* of *Angels*.

3 The councell of *God* to be fulfilled in the Scripture: *Thus it ought to be.*

Peace. It is much questioned by some, what should be the meaning of *Christ Jesus* in that speech, All that take the *sword*, shall perish by the *sword*.

Truth. There is a threefold taking of the *sword*: First, by murderous *crueltie*, either of private persons, or secondly, publike States or Societies, in wrath or revenge each against other.

Secondly, a just and righteous taking of the *sword* in punishing offenders against the *Civill peace*, either more *personall*, private and ordinary; or more *publike*, Oppressors, Tyrants, Ships, Navies, &c. Neither of these can it be imagined that *Christ Jesus* intended to *Peter*.

Thirdly, There is therefore a 3. taking of the *sword*, forbidden to *Peter*, that is, for *Christ* and the Gospels cause, when Christ is in danger: which made *Peter* strike, &c.

Peace. It seemes to some most contrary to all true Reason, that
Christ

Luk. 22. the selling of the Coat, to buy a Sword, discussed.

A threefold taking of the Sword.

Christ Jesus, Innocencie it selfe, should not be defended.

Truth. The foolishnes of *God* is wiser then the wisdom of *Man*.

It is not the purpose of *God*, that the Spirituall *battailes* of his *Son* shall be fought by *carnall weapons* and *persons*.

It is not his pleasure that the *World* shall flame on fire with *civill combustions*, for his *Sons* sake. It is directly contrary to the *nature* of *Christ Jesus*, his *Saints* and *Truths*, that *throats* of men (which is the highest *contrarietie* to *civill converse*) should be torne out for his sake, who most delighted to converse with the greatest sinners.

It is the councell of *God*, that his servants shall overcome by 3 *weapons*, of a spirituall nature, *Revel.* 12. 11. And that all that take the *sword* of steele, shall perish.

Lastly, it is the Councell of *God*, that *Christ Jesus* shall shortly appeare a most glorious *Iudge* and *Revenger* against all his *Enemies*, when the *Heavens* and the *Earth* shall flee before his most glorious presence.

Peace. I shall propose the last Scripture much insisted on by many,* for carnall weapons in spirituall cases, *Revel.* 17. 16. The 10 *hornes* which thou fawest upon the *Beast*, these shall hate the *whore*, and shall make her desolate and naked, and shall eat her *flesh*, and shall burne her with *fire*.

Revel. 17. 16
the Kings ha-
ting of the
Whore, discus-
sed.

Truth. Not to controvert with some, whether or no the *Beast* be yet risen and extant.

Nor secondly, whether either the *Beast*, or the *Hornes*, or the *Whore* may be taken literally for any corporall *Beast* or *Whore*.

Or thirdly, whether these 10 *Hornes* be punctually and exactly 10 *Kings*.

Or fourthly, whether those 10 *Hornes* signifie those many *Kings*, *Kingdomes*, and *Governments*, who have bowed down to the *Popes* yoake, and have committed fornication with that great *Whore* the *Church of Rome*.

Let this last be admitted (which yet will cost some work to cleer against all opposites:) Yet,

First, can the *Time* be now cleerly demonstrated to be come, &c?

Secondly, how will it be proved, that this hatred of this *Whore* shall be a true, *chaste*, *Christian* hatred against *Antichristian who-rish* practices, &c?

Thirdly, or rather that this *hating* and *desolating* and *making naked* and *burning* shall arise, not by way of an *ordinance* warranted by the *institution* of *Christ Jesus*, but by way of *providence* when (as it useth to be with all *whores* and their *lovers*) the *Church of Rome* and her great *lovers* shall fall out, and by the righteous vengeance of *God* upon her, drunke with the *blood* of *Saints* or holy Ones, these mighty *fornicators* shall turne their *love* into *hatred*, which *hatred* shall make her a poore desolate naked Whore, torne and consumed, &c.

Peace. You know it is a great controversie how the *Kings* of the *Earth* shall thus deale with the *Whore* in the 17 Chap. and yet so bewaile her in the 18 Chapter.

Truth. If we take it that these *Kings* of the *Earth* shall first *hate*, and *plunder*, and *teare*, and *burne* this Whore, and yet afterward shall relent and bewaile their cruell dealing toward her: Or else, that as some *Kings* deale so terribly with her, yet others of those *Kings* shall bewaile her.

If either of these two answers stand, or a better be given, yet none of them can prove it lawfull for people to give power to their *Kings* and *Magistrates* thus to deale with them their subjects for their *conscience*; nor for *Magistrates* to assume a title more then the people betrust them with; nor for one people out of *conscience* to *God*, and for *Christ* his sake, thus to kill and slaughter and burne each other: However it may please the Righteous Judge, according to the famous types of *Gideous* and *Iehosaphats* battells, to permit in *Justice*, and to order in *Wisdom*e these mighty and mutuall slaughters each of other.

Peace. We have now (deare *Truth*) through the gracious hand of *God* clambered up to the top of this our tedious Discourse.

Truth. O 'tis mercy unexpressible that either *Thou* or *I* have had so long a breathing time, and that together!

Peace. If *English ground* must yet be drunk with *English blood*, O where shall *Peace* repose her wearied head and heavy heart?

Truth. Deare *Peace*, if thou finde welcome, and the *God* of *peace* miraculously please to quench these all-devouring flames, yet where shall *Truth* finde rest from cruell persecutions?

Peace. Oh, will not the *Authority* of holy *Scriptures*, the *Commands* and *Declarations* of the *Sonne of God*, therein produced by thee, together with all the lamentable *experiences* of former and,
pre-

present slaughters prevaile with the Sons of *Men* (especially with the *Sons of Peace*) to depart from the *dens* of *Lyons*, and mountaines of *Leopards*, and to put on the *bowels* (if not of *Christianitie*, yet) of *Humanitie* each to other!

Truth. Deare *Peace*, *Habacacks* Fishes keep their constant bloody game of *Persecutions* in the Worlds mighty *Ocean*; the greater taking, plundering, swallowing up the lesser: O happy he whose portion is the *God* of *Iacob*! who hath nothing to lose under the *Sun*, but hath a *State*, a *House*, an *Inheritance*, a *Name*, a *Crowne*, a *Life*, past all the *Plunderers*, *Ravishers*, *Murtherers* reach and furie!

Peace. But loe! Who's here?

Truth. Our Sister *Patience*, whose desired company is as needfull as delightfull: 'Tis like the *Wolfe* will send the scattered *Sheep* in one: the common *Pirate* gathers up the loose and scattered *Navie*: the slaughter of the *Witnesses* by that bloody *Beast* unite the *Independents* and *Presbyterians*. The *God* of *Peace*, the *God* of *Truth* will shortly seale this *Truth*, and confirme this *Witnes*, and make it evident to the whole *World*,

That the Doctrine of *Persecution* for cause of *Conscience*, is most evidently and lamentably contrary to the doctrine of *Christ Jesus* the *Prince of Peace*. Amen.

FINIS.

Errata.

PAGE 23. line 28. *for* this, *read* that. p. 31. l. ult. his soule. p. 32. l. 12. *read* month, *ibid.* r. person. p. 35. l. 16. r. turned off, or loosed from. p. 37. l. 8. *for* to, *read* doe. p. 38. l. 2. *dele* affirme. p. 41. l. 22. his perilous soule. p. 43. l. 20. r. or l. ult. Answeres. p. 44. l. 28. be closer. p. 49. l. 1. last p 57. l. 22. cut. l. 24. I affirme that Justice. p. 58. l. 5. the lying. p 98. l. 6. *road*, or doe these p. 114. l. 29. r, the 31 question. p. 119 l. 10. remembers. p. 139. l. 9. immunitie. p. 161. l. 28. or Christ. p. 214. l. 36. *dele* shall. p. 225. l. 19. the Churches of God. 225. l. 25. not might not.