

Richard Baxter Naked popery, or, The naked falshood of a book called The Catholick naked truth, or, The Puritan convert to apostolical Christianity, written by W.H. opening their fundamental error of unwritten tradition, and their unjust description of the Puritans, the prelatial Protestant, and the papist, and their differences, and better acquainting the ignorant of the same difference, especially what a Puritan and what a papist is

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CHAP. I

(...) In sum, we have the tradition of a Church as big as three of the Roman for all our religion; and of all the Roman Church it self; besides the confession of the enemies of the Church, pagans, infidels, Mahometans, Jews, and hereticks; we have not one word that's part of our religion, which your selves confess not to be true. We believe that the faith of the universal Church shall never fail, nor the gates of Hell prevail against i. And so you see that we may far better tell how infallibly we have received our religion from our forefathers, than you can do of yours. But we believe not that this universal Church hath any head but Christ; no humane vicarious monarch or governour of all the world. We believe that men must believe in Christ before they can know that the Pope is his vicar, if it had been true. We know, as sure as history can tell us, that the Pope's first primacy and the rest of the patriarchates were but the humane ordinances of the clergy of one empire, and not of the whole Christian world. And we know not (nor you) but Rome and its Church and bishop, may yet all cease together.

But you make me most admire at you, that (in this Book also) you tell your relations, and other readers, of the uncertainty of notice by books in comparison of converse and talk with those of your present party; yea that your own religion is not to be known by books, as being lyable to be misunderstood, so well as by talking with Papists, and asking them what is their faith or religion. Sir, I judge by your style that you are a man of zeal and conscience in your way, and therefore that you write not this fraudulently against your conscience. Sure then you must needs be a man of more than ordinary ignorance, that can believe what you say.

1. Is it your objective or your subjective faith that we are disputing of? If it be not the rule and object of your faith, every man indeed may tell us what he believeth himself, but no man can tell us what another believeth. And then you have as many religions as men; for every man hath one of his own, and no two men in the world know and believe just all the same things, neither more nor less. And what shall those of us think of your Religion then, who find that one of you affirmeth what another denyeth? For instance, a worthy person of your religion affirmed to me, that notwithstanding the fifth Commandment, honour thy Father and Mother, a Mother hath not any governing power over a child, nor the child oweth any obedience to the Mother,

during the Father's life, because it were confusion were there more governours in a house than one, though subordinate one to the other. Is this your common judgment? May I say therefore that this is other men's belief? You know that when we alledge the sayings of your most learned writers, we are ordinarily told, that it is not the judgment of particular doctors, but of the Church in Councils, which we must call your Churches judgment. You undertake not to justifie any more. And if I talk with any of my neighbours and ask him what he believeth, have I any more than a single doctors opinion? Is his answer, the faith of your Church? But would you have any one past seven years old believe you, that writing is of no more use to memory for conservation of Antiquities? when God would not trust his Ten Commandments to the people's memories, but would write them in Stone, and put them in the arke, (which you have so little skill in Antiquity as to say here was the first writing. Sure if you will read your Jesuite Euseb. 'Nirembergius de Antiqu. Scripturae' you will not say that your grandfather taught you truly that opinion as the tradition of the Church.) Why do you write to your own relations, if writing be so unintelligible? Could the Bible have been kept as well in memory as by writings? Why were the gospels written then? Do you go to tradition, or to books, to decide any controversie now of the various readings? Did Pope Clem. 8. and Sixtus 5. reform the vulgar Latine by memory or by books? Pope Pius's Trent oath sweareth men to interpret Scripture according to the consent of the Fathers. Do any of your doctors know how that is by memory and oral tradition, or by books? Did Possevine, and Sixtus Senensis, and such others, correct books by oral tradition, or by books? Did Celestine and the Carthage Council debate the case of the Nicene Canon (a narrow instance which memory might have served for) out of men's memories, or out of written records? Why doth Turrian bring us out new forged canons, and why do the copies of many councils differ in the recital of canons, if memory and universal un-written tradition can reconcile the difference? Was the athenian philosophy propagated and preserved better by memory, or by books? Why is not the stoicks, and epicureans, and others, as fully known now as Aristotle's and Plato's, if memory without books could have done? Have you as full notice now of the Acts of James, John, Matthew, Thomas, Bartholomew, &c. without Book, as you have of Paul's by the book? Is memory sufficient to have preserved to us the statures of the land, without books and records? Yea, or the common law without any records or book cases? Why are all your councils written? and all the decretals? to say nothing of the civil Roman Laws, institutes, pandects, and digests. Can you decide the controversies about the decretals, published by Isidore Mercator, by tradition? What are all your libraries for at the Vatican, Florence, Paris, and in each learned man's house, if books be so useless and unintelligible? If one of your relations ask you, what is in the Council of Trent, Florence, Laterane, and so upward, can you tell him fully without book by tradition? And are not these councils your very religion? Doth every Papist neighbour carry them all in his brain, more certainly than in books? Or could your grandfather and grandmother have told us more certainly what is in them, than Crab, Surius, Binius, Baronius, Justellus, Albaspinæus, Petavius, Sirmondus, &c. could do? Or is all left uncertain because it is written?

Through God's mercy our essentials, and somewhat more, are delivered certainly down to us by two hands, by oral and practical tradition, and by the scripture, because they lye in a

narrow room. But yet if you had the front to tell the world, that your immutable Church hath never changed the Creed it self, we could not believe you, because Books contradict you. tradition from your great grandfather cannot assure us that filio was in the Creed from the days of the Apostles. Nor that the holy Catholick Church, the communion of Saints, and the other words mentioned in Vessius, and Usher de Symbolis were in so long. Nor that the Greeks added no words to their Creed at Nice, nor afterward at Constantinople, in general councils. Nor that all S. Hillarie's outcry against Creeds was in vain. Nor can tradition without book yet assure us, what were the very words of the creed used commonly by the Greeks, immediately before the Nicene Council; nor who wrote that ascribed to Athanasius. Nor among the various Formulas of that called the Apostles, found, as aforesaid, in Irenaeus, Tertullian, Epiphanius, Ruffinus, &c. which of them was in constant use; or whether liberty of such alteration of words was not then used.

And no unwritten report of your grandfather can assure us, that your mass book or liturgy was the same in the Apostles days as it is now; nor that it was for 600 years the same in all the Churches of one Empire. And that every bishop had not power to use what liturgy he pleased, in his own City or Parochia. Nor can your tradition assure us, that what the father and grandfather used, was used from the Apostles, when the Church of Neocaesarea clamoured at S. Basil for his singularity and innovations, and S. Basil retorts on them, that they at Neocaesarea had scarce left any thing unchanged. I hope this is not the less credible because Basil hath written it.

At least, I pray hereafter give over your ill practice of leading simple readers into a wood of church history, to lose them and the question there among a multitude of citations of old books, when you know not what else to say (as William Johnson did) because there the ignorant know nothing themselves, but may as well believe the affirmer as the denyer; and at least the diversion to voluminous controversies about particular men's words may hide your errors. Do not resolve all the controversie, yea the Faith of your Followers, into a multitude of Books of Councils and Fathers which they never saw. And do not take so much care to corrupt and alter Books, for your interest, as instances and your Indices Expurg. tell us you have done. Resolve without Book the controversie about your great Laterane Council, whether Dr. Taylor, Dr. Pierson, Dr. Gunning, (and bishop cousinslately) that say Innocent. 3. made and published the canons, and the Council did not consent to them, be in the right, or rather they that answered Dr. Pierson and Dr. Gunning, and indeed your Church, which holds the contrary (which Mr. Dodwell seemeth to me lately to have fully proved, in his Book about tolerating Papists.)

Nay, why may we not expect that you lay by your book catechisms, your office books, your controversie books, and teach your people all without book?

But by this counsel to your relations, you fully shew that you would have them to have no certainty at all, either what Christianity is, or what popery is. For they shall never speak with the universal Church, or with a general council, while they live. And all their neighbours, to whom you send them, are fallible persons. I suppose you one of the chief of them, and alas, how failible you are, you have in two writings grosly shewed.

Having said thus much more, to shew that your foundation is sand, who send us from books to our grandfathers, as infallible and that this is no better a ground than

the Abassines, Greeks, and others, may build on as well as you; and that we our selves have a far surer and universal tadition than the papacy hath, and have your own consent to every word of our objective religion, I now proceed to consider of your character of parties.

CHAP. II.

You describe to us four supposed Parties. I. The Puritan. II. The Prelatical Protestant, (whom your Fitz-Simmons calleth The Formalist.) III. The Papist, as you suppose us falsly to describe him. IV. The Papist, as you suppose him truly described, whom you call The Apostolical Christian. In all which you shew that you are far from Infallibility, and a man unfit for your Relations to trust in so great a Case.

I. I confess you give the Puritan a very laudable description, in comparison of the Prelatist Protestant, and the feigned Papist. And you tell us, that you were once a Puritan your self, and you own still that which you describe as Puritanism, only adding Popery to it, which you think it wants. I confess you speak incomparably more honourably and charitably of Puritans than some malicious interested persons of their own Protestant Profession will do. But,

1. You deal not informingly, in your describing a Puritan, before you distinguish that ambiguous ill-made word. It hath three common acceptions among us at least.

First, The ancientest, as it signifieth the old or later Catharists, who held that they were perfect (if they are not belyed) And none come nearer these than the Papists and Quakers, certainly Protestants are far from it.

Secondly, the old Non-conformists had the name of Puritanes put on them, by those that were against them. For what reason, I leave them to answer to God.

Thirdly, and because these Non-conformists lived strictly, and were for much preaching, and praying, and holy conference, and spending the Lords-day in holy exercises, and serious diligence in working out our salvation, and were sharp against drunkenness, swearing, and such other sins, therefore the vulgar rabble of vicious ones, that durst not rail at Piety under the name of piety, took the advantage of the bishops displeasure at the Non-conformists, and of the name Puritane, and put that name upon all Christians among them, that were notably serious in practical godliness, perswading themselves that they were all but hypocrites. And so the name among the vulgar rabble grew common to godly Conformists and Non-conformists. And as if loquendum cum vulgo had been a Law, by this means the Devil did more hurt both to godliness (rendring it among the vulgar to be but odious hypocrisie and singularity) and to episcopacy (making multitudes that disliked the wickedness of the rabble, to think that all this came from the Bishops,) and it did more to advance and honour the Non-conformists, (because the name was formerly theirs as such) than by any one thing that I remember in all my younger days. This the godly Conformists grievously complained of, as Bishop Downame in his Spittle Sermon, called Abrahams Tryal, and Mr. Robert Bolton, who saith, that he believeth that never poor persecuted Word passed through the mouths of wicked men with more bitter scorn, since malice first entred into the heart of man really the permitting of the common rabble of all the debauched sinners of

the Land to make serious godliness a common scorn under the name of Puritanisme, had as great a hand as any thing I know in all our confusions.

Fourthly, and it added fuel to the fire when some brought up a fourth sence of the word (some say, Mar. Ant. de Dom. Spalatensis was the inventor of it,) and that was doctrinal Puritanes, by which name they understood those by some called Calvinists, by others Anti-Arminians, who held the Doctrine of your Dominicans, or of the Jansenists.

Now who can well tell which of these sorts of Puritanes you were, and talk of, while you Characterize the second sort, as well as the first, and yet distinguish them from Prelatick Protestants?

2. But which ever it is, observe here that you own the Puritanes Religion still, and say, I have not so much left Puritanism, as Prelaticks call it, as added that to it wherein I found it come short of the holy apostles' doctrine and institutions. And when you have described the Puritane as one seriously conscionable and regardful of his salvation, (at large) you add, If this be to be a Puritane, would to God all the world were Puritanes! I am so far from being converted from thus much of a Puritane that I most heartily wish I could convert all the world to it.

3. But yet your description of him is so very false, that I may conclude when you turned, as you think, from being a meer Puritane to be a Papist, you never knew what a Puritane is, nor indeed ever were a Puritane your self, unless you take the word as fitted to your self, and such as you. If you had meant by a Puritane a meer Non-conformist as such, you would not so laudably have described the work of God upon his soul and life as you have done. For if most Non-conformists be such, yet so are many others as well as they. And it's easie to see what a deceitful course it is to take up a name of many significations, and such as signifieth no different religion at all, as to any one Article of Faith, nor any more difference in, or about Religion, than such as is among most Christian Churches; and much less than is among your selves.

Besides that the plainer name of a Non-conformist is of no determinate nor certain signification, save only in general to notifie one that conformeth not to all that is imposed on him; but what that is, the name doth not signifie.

A Non-conformist in Scotland is one thing, in England another thing, as the impositions are different. Non-conformity twenty years ago, or fourty years, was one thing. Non-conformity since 1662. is quite another thing. And Non-conformists differ among themselves. If twenty things be imposed as necessary to the Ministry, he is a Non-conformist who consenteth but to nineteen of them; and so is he that consenteth but to eighteen, or to seventeen, or to sixteen, and so on, as well as he that consenteth to none of them. And that there is so much difference among them is no wonder to them, nor any considerate man; for they hold Christian love and communion with those that agree with them in the foresaid common principles and practice of Christianity, (as far as they require not them to sin). And they are not of a different Religion from every one that fasteth not on Fridays, or Saints Vigils, &c. as you seem to be, nor from every one that doth so; nor from every one that thinketh not in every thing as they think, or that prayeth in other words than they; for no two men in the world should on such terms be of one religion. They believe Socrates and Solomen, who tell us of the great diversity of rites and orders in the ancient Churches, which all consisted with the same religion, faith, and love. They abhor

the principle of hating, persecuting, yea and separating from one another for such differences as will unavoidably adhere to the imperfect condition of Christians here on Earth.

At this time in England a considerable part (if not the far greatest) of the silenced ministers are for the primitive Episcopacy, and some liturgie, as you may see in their offer of A. Bishop Usher's Reduction to the King, and their desires of a reformed liturgie. Among the old Non-conformists, there were divers degrees. such as Dr. Regnolds, Mr. Perkins, Dr. Humfrey, Paul Bayn, &c. did yield to more than some others could do. How can you tell then by the name of a Puritane, what to charge any single Person with?

But it seemeth you take their Non-conformity in General, and their temper of mind and life together. But then you greatly wrong them, and seem not at all to know what their Religion is.

There are two things which you say they mistake in. 1. Their doctrine of imputed righteousness, and the covenant, and not solicitously endeavouring after the acquisition of virtue, because they trust to the imputed righteousness; your words are too large to recite. You partly here unworthily injure them by ascribing to them the very opinions and words of the Antinomians, whom they have better confuted than ever you did. And as to their doctrine of imputed righteousness, even Bellarmine in one sense owneth it. And whether our sense be sound I provoke you to try particularly by your perusal of my own writings on that subject, especially a late treatise of justifying righteousness and imputation, and a treatise called Catholick theologie, in which if there be nothing which you dare or can confute, judge whether your meer derision of imputative righteousness be not delusory. If you dare say, that you trust not to Christ's sacrifice, and meritorious perfect righteousness, as procuring you pardon and life, Jus ad Impunitatem & Regnum Coelorum, enjoy your self-confidence while you can. But if you say in this as we, then make publick confession of the injury of your reproach of such imputed righteousness, as you trust your salvation upon your self.

I imagine you will say, that my judgment is no certain signification of the judgment of the Puritans; for I am singular, and therefore what I say in these books is no proof of the sense of the Non-conforming Puritans. But, 1. my judgment of their sense is as good as yours. 2. Do you know of any one Nonconformist that hath published any dissent to what I have written? (Dr. Tully was a Conformist.) 3. You profess (before) to borrow the name Puritan from the Prelatists. And I have this to say for my authority in declaring the sense of Puritans, that one or more (whose genius is of kin to the Roman, but far less mild than yours) who are Prelatical or super-Prelatical, have about 17 years ago (being masters of that language) branded me with the Name of Purus putus Puritanus, & qui totum Puritanismum totus spirat. (The Pseudo-Tilenus hath just the same stile as the late unmasker of the Presbyterians, who revileth modest, judicious, pious, and peaceable J. Corbet, and in the most ingenious strain of wrath and malice doth valiantly militate against Love). Therefore Prelatists being judges, I may as credibly as another tell you what is the Puritan judgment.

2. Your second accusation of the Puritan is, that he begins to quarrel with all external worship and ceremonies. But this is also spoken ignorantly and untruly. You before mistook the Antinomian for the Puritan, and here you seem to take the Separatist for the Puritan. Read the

reformed liturgy and other papers offered at the savoy to the bishops, and you may see that though they are not for silencing, excommunicating, and damning men for a ceremony, nor for making as many religions, as there are differences about ceremonies, yet they are for doing all things to edification, decently and in order; and for external as well as internal Worship of God. As knowing that the body is his, and made to worship him as well as the soul, and therefore should fall down and kneel before him, and reverently and holily behave it self in his Service.

You say, p. 5., He is much confirmed in this his imagination, by considering the open profaneness, and little sense of God, he observeth generally in zealous Conformists. And on the other side he taketh notice of his brethren the Non-conformists, that they are generally free from open and scandalous sins, and at least sigh and breath after interior spirit and devotion, which certainly must be that must give us a title to Heaven, rather than a few cringes, and exterior Verbal Devotions, which any one though never so prophane may easily exercise.

1. But do you not here and in your former description quite contradict your self, when you charge them as neglecting inherent righteousness?

2. We are not so foolish as not to know, that the unreverent hypocritical abuse of God's external Worship, by others whosoever, will not excuse us for neglecting it. Of the Conformists we must speak anon.

3. By the way I would you could impartially consider, if the Puritans be so good men, as you fairly confess them to be, what the reason is that Papists generally are far more fiery against them than against those whom you speak so meanly of as Prelatical Protestants? Remember how your Writer after the London Fire, answered by Dr. Lloyd, did flatter these as more suitable to the Papists genius in comparison of the Puritans. And the unmasker against J. Corbet will tell you out of Watson (an honourable witness hanged for treason in Cobham's, &c. conspiracy) how bad the Puritans are, (comparing them with the Jesuites). And if your laws took place in England, what abundance of these Puritans would you make bonfires of?

Yea, your own relations were not like to escape you. They have told me to my face, how quickly they would otherwise silence me than the orelates do, if I were in their power. And the decrees De Haereticis comburendis & exterminandis more fully tell it us. Yea, whence is it, that most certain experience proveth it that by how much the nearer any Protestants genius is to the Papists, by so much the more bloody, cruel, malicious, or slanderous and unmerciful he is to the Puritanes?

You'll say for both, that it is because the Puritans are most against them, and interest ruleth the world. But I answer,

1. God's interest is highest with every true Christian.

2. I confess it's true, that Puritans are most against Popery. But, truly, as far as I have been acquainted with them, they are not most against your Persons, nor would have any injustice or cruelty exercised against you. But the fear of your faggots, or powder plots, and such Massacres as were in France, (of Thirty Thousand, or Forty Thousand) or in Ireland, (of two hundred thousand) hath made them think your power inconsistent with their safety.

3. And you must remember that the positive additions of the Church of Rome, are in the judgment of the Puritans very great sins. But you have truly no charge against the Puritans, for

any one article of their Religion but only for not receiving, and for protesting against your additions.

4. But I perceive, p. 5. your Instances of their defectiveness are, that they are not for fasting days, particular garments for priests, set forms, Christmas day, good Friday, ascension, whitsuntide, &c. which they take for meer humane inventions and will worship. Because they think that the New Testament was written to instruct us Christians in the whold body of gospel-worship, &c.

But you are best prove this only by telling us that you know some persons of that mind. And when you have done, I will demand your Proof that those Persons are no more than Puritans. They have oft told you that their judgment is, that for all that substance of God's worship which is of universal necessity to the Church, and is of divine institution, the holy Scripture is a sufficient rule. But that very many circumstances and outward acts have in Scripture but a general law (that they be all done to edification, decently, orderly, in Concord, &c.) and it is left to humane prudence to order them by such rules. We condemn no one that useth holy Fasts or Feasts, but think them needful. We judge not those that celebrate the Memorial of God's great Mercies to his Church, by giving him thanks for the holy Life and Doctrine of his Eminent Saints, &c. But will you plainly have our judgment?

We think Saint Paul was in the right that taught the Church of Rome it self, both the rulers and the flocks, that they must neither judge nor despise each other for differences about meats and days, but receive each other (to communion notwithstanding such differences) as Christ received us, Rom. 14. and 15. And we will not believe your grandfather, nor great-grandfather, if they told us that the Apostles by tradition did institute holy days, and vigils for St. Tecla, or St. Bridgit, or St. Thomas Becket, or any that were not born till they were dead. And any one day or order which you truly prove to us that the Apostles by tradition ordained for the Universal Church, we profess our selves ready and resolved to obey.

But if you plead not tradition for any of these things, but the Churches commands, (as you must do, or be singular, or ashamed) here you come to the quick of our difference.

1. We know not of any universal vicarious law-giver under Christ that hath any power to make laws to the universal Church throughout the world. And we dare not own any such usurper lest we be guilty of treason against the only head of the whole Church.

2. We know not of any power that the chief bishop in the Roman Empire hath over other empires, kingdomes, or Churches.

3. But to our own true Pastors which are set over us according to Christ's order and his Apostles' recorded in Scripture, we Puritanes will submit in all such circumstantial, as aforesaid, which are left to their prudent determination, not putting us on any sin.

But, 4. We detest making such things as you here name to be taken for the characters of distinct religions, or distinct Churches, as if we might not with love, peace, and Christian communion, differ about a garment, a holy day, fast, or vigil. Thus far then you seem not to know what a meer Puritan is.

II. But, Sir, I have much more than all these little things against your description of a Puritane. I plainly perceive in your greatest praises of him, that you know not what his very religion it self is; or else you would never describe him as only taken up with fears and cares, and good desires to be better, having yet greedy desires of the things of the World, without any mention of the love of God above all, and of his neighbour, and a holy and heavenly mind and life, with self-denial, mortification of the flesh, &c.

Either you judge of a Puritane by what you were your self, or by what your acquaintance were, or by what they commonly profess to be their religion.

For the first you have no reason. It followeth not that they have no better a religion, because you had no better.

For the second you had no reason. For it's ten to one you knew not the hearts of your acquaintance, so well as to be able to know that they had not the love of God, &c. And if you were so unhappy in your acquaintance, what's that to other men?

Thirdly, therefore as you look that your own Religion should be described, not as we find it in this or that man, but as your Church profeseth it, so do we. And I have told you before what our Religion is. I have the more boldness in speaking the sense of others, as I said, both because I am as aforesaid stigmatized for a total Puritan, and because the generality of all of them of my acquaintance as far as I can discern are of this mind.

A Puritan then, as the word is commonly taken by the rabble, is a serious Christian Protestant, who truly believeth and practiseth what he doth profess, and doth not mortifie that profession which should help to mortifie his sin. His religion is, to be understandingly and sincerely devoted in the sacramental covenant to God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; renouncing the vanities of the world, the lusts of the fesh, and the delusions of the Devil. He believeth that all that truly consent to this covenant, have a right, and part, in, and to, the Love of God the Father, the Grace of the Son, and the Communion of the Holy Ghost, and that he that hath the Son hath life, pardon, adoption, Justification, and right to Life Eternal; and that this Right is continued, he performing his Covenant, and continuing in that Faith which worketh by Love, and not living impenitently in sin, but sincerely obeying God his Father, Saviour, and Sanctifier. He taketh the fear of God's Justice and godly Sorrow, to be but the lower steps of Holiness; but that the Kingdom of God is (not Meats and Days, but) Righteousness, Peace, and Joy in the Holy Ghost; and that the Spirit of Christ, without which none are his, is not the Spirit of Bondage, but of Power, Love, and a sound Mind. Even a Spirit of holy life, light, and love, which are the Essentials of true Holiness; and the Spirit of adoption, and supplication, causeth us with love to cry to God, and trust him as a Father. They take Christ to be the only mediator between God and Man, whose sufficient sacrifice for sin, and perfect righteousness, habitual, active, and passive (as called) advanced in dignity by the divine nature, is the meritorious cause of all their mercies to body and soul, remission, justification, holiness, and glory. They put up all their services, as into, and by, the hand of Christ; and from his mediatory hand they expect all mercies. They take the Holy Ghost within them to be Christ's advocate and witness to them of his truth and love; and their witness, earnest, seal, pledge, and first fruits of endless life. They take eternal glory for their full felicity, and this world, and flesh, (pleasure, riches, and honour),

to be so far useful as they signifie God's love, and further our love and service to him. But, to be vanity as separated from God in our hearts, and enmity, or mischief, as competitors, or as against him. In a word, faith working by supream love and obedience to God, and brotherly love to man, by honour to our superiours, justice to all; and by all the good that we can do in the world, and by repentance for our sins, patience in sufferings, and by a heavenly mind, and life, is the sum of their religion. Or, plainlier, as is said at first, the Gospel Covenant as expounded in the Creed, Lord's Prayer, and Decalogue, as the summary of things to be believed, desired, and practised; and the holy Scriptures as the full and comprehensive records of the doctrine, promises, and laws of God, containing the essentials, integrals, and necessary accidentals of religion. This is the Christian religion, and the Puritan in question is but the serious Christian distinct from the hypocrite, or dead Formalist.

But if you add Non-conformity to the sense of the word, and to his character; so I need not tell you what the impositions are which some deny conformity to, as to oaths, new-covenants, subscriptions, declarations, practices, &c. which he protesteth that he would never deny conformity to, if after his best enquiry he did not believe that God forbiddeth it (As you may see at large in their savoy petition for peace to the bishops). These two it seems you join together; and what their objective religion is, I have better told you, than you have told your relations. But as to the clearness of their judgment in it, and the measure of their practice of it, there are, I think, as various degrees as there are persons, no two men in the world being in all things just of the same degree.

And now sir give me leave patiently to ask you these two questions.

I. Why would you by temerity go about to deceive your Relations, and other Readers, by talking to them against that which you did not understand? Even then, when you blame others as dealing so by the Papists? And why do you dishonour your own Relations so, as to make so bad a description of them? Are they such as have no love to God as God, no delight in holiness, no heavenly minds? nothing almost but fear and its effects? Have they still the flames of concupiscence, and greedy desires of Money and the things of this Life, &c. If it be not so, you should not have told the world so of them. If it be so, I am sorry for them, I suppose it is contrary to their profest religion; and you may have the greater hopes to make them Papists?

II. What wonder is it that you that were no better a Puritan than you describe, are turned Papist? You that profess you were a Puritan, must needs be judged to tell us what a one you were your self, when you tell us what they are? Alas poor man! How came you to be so false to your own profession, against your baptismal vows, as to keep so much of the world at your heart, in greedy desires after money, and to have no more love to God and man? No more righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost? Could you think that a man could be saved without Love and good works? Were you deluded by such Antinomian conceits as you describe, and took that for Puritanisme? How else did you quiet your Conscience in such a state of hypocrisie? If God and holiness had not your chief love (as well as fear) you were but an hypocrite.

And here give me leave to repeat what I have oft written. What wonder is it at any man's turning Papist? When according to your own principles, no Protestant, Puritan, or other Christian

turneth Papist, that doth not thereby declare that he was a false-hearted hypocrite before, and had no true love to God in his Heart. And was not this your case?

For, 1. You affirm that all men that have true prevalent love to God are in a state of grace, and have right to salvation, (till they lose it) 2. You affirm that none of us are in a state of grace and salvation, that are not of your Church, that is, the subjects of the king, or Pope of Rome. 3. Therefore it followeth that you take none but such subjects or members of your Church, to have the true prevalent Love of God. But you know that in our Christian Covenant and profession we all take God for our God, the infinite and most amiable good, our Father in Christ, and love it self, and that faith working by love is our religion. And if any man, saith Saint Paul, love not the Lord Jesus Christ, let him be Anathema Maranatha. And he that loveth the world, the love of the father is not in him, 1 Joh. 2. 15. So that by turning Papist you confess that before you were no true Christian, nor had any true love to God and godliness, nor to Jesus Christ. And if so, you were a false-hearted hypocrite. For as a Christian you profest and covenanted it. And what wonder then if God forsook you and gave you up to strong delusions, when you would not receive the Truth in the Love of it, that you might be saved, 2 Thes. 2.

And note here, that if any man know that he truly loveth God and goodness, you tell him that he is none of those that you perswade to Popery. For you perswade none to it, but those that are ungodly Hypocrites, having no true love of God within them.

But can you think, Sir, in good earnest, that Popery tendeth more to fill men with the love of God, than our simple Christianity doth? Is not Popery a religion of bondage and servitude, consisting mainly in terrour and its superstitious effects? What are most of your tasks of pilgrimages, penances, and abundance such, but the effects of servile fear? The best of religion next Heaven should be that which is nearest to Heaven. And do you think you can love God better in the fire of purgatory torments than if he took you unto Christ in Paradise? Could you love God better in this life if he tormented you in the fire, than if he give you comfort by his mercies?

You say that the Puritan is made negligent (by his trust in Christ) to adorn his soul with piety, charity, meekness, patience, humility, and other Christian Vertues; partly thinking them impossible to be attained, partly deeming there is no absolute necessity of them to his salvation, he having nothing to do but to believe that Jesus Christ hath done all for him.

Answ. I had hoped there had been few such left in England. Even Crisp and Saltmarsh, were scarce so erroneous. And were you such a one? O miserable Man that was such a Puritan! Who did bewitch you so grosly to contradict the whole tenour of the Gospel? It is just with God to leave you, to set now as light by the meritorious righteousness of Christ as procuring you pardon, grace, and glory, as you did then set by Christian virtues, piety, and love? But what if it was so with you, will that allow you to belie so many others? How many score Volumes have the Puritans written which assert not only the possibility, but the absolute necessity of piety, charity, humility, &c. without which none can see God, (infants' case is not here medled with) I know not one person in all the land, or world, that will not abhor, as false, what you here charge in common on the Puritans, unless he be a very gross Antinomian, or some grosser heretick here unknown. Protestants, Puritans, Separatists, Anabaptists, yea, Quakers, all abhor it. And yet you

feared not to put this in print? Perhaps you will pretend for it the doctrine of justification by faith alone? But they that say that faith alone going first with repentance, doth justifie them, by procuring the pardon of their sins, and their union with Christ, do say that at the same moment of time it also sanctifieth them, by procuring from Christ the spirit of sanctification, giving them love, humility, piety, &c. And that this is of absolute necessity to their Salvation, Heb.12. 14. Mat. 18. 3. Rom. 8. 1. 6. 7. 13. So much of your false self-condemning description of a Puritan.

CHAP. III.

II. You next Characterize the Prelatical Protestant. Having said before p. 5., Their Preachers in their Sermons have little life or zeal; and seldom discourse of such truths as are apt to awaken men's consciences, and make them lay to heart the great concern of the Salvation of their Souls. Or if they do at any time preach of judgment, or of Hell, repentance, or a new life, they do it very coldly and imperfectly, and seem to talk like parrots, of what they have learnt by rote or out of others Books, and not what they have had any experience of in their hearts. And p. 6., Generally speaking, (I wish it were a slander) Prelatick Protestants are very Prophane, and give no signs of any interiour trouble of conscience. And if any of them begin to be heartily troubled for his sin, he is observed either to turn fanatick or Papist.

Answ. If by a Prelatick Protestant you should unhandsomly mean only such as are worldly Clergymen, like too many of your Roman prelates and their curates, who take gain for godliness, and who allow their Flesh, their Pride, their Covetousness, and Voluptuousness, and Sloth, to chuse their religion; whose God is their belly, who glory in their shame, and who mind earthly things, and are enemies to cross-bearing; and through Enmity to those that are better than themselves, are Cross-imposers, and persecutors, and silencers, of sober faithful ministers, because they cross their Pride and worldly Interest; such it's like may be no better Men than you describe them. But why should you take the Word in so narrow a sense?

But if by Prelatick Protestants you mean all such Protestants whose judgment is for Episcopacy,

1. You deceive, and I suppose are deceived, in your distinguishing these from Non-conformists. It's true that there are envious false-hearted Prelatists in the world, that make false names for their Brethren, to procure the belief of their false reports of them. And God will cut out the lying Tongue. But I will tell you the truth, whose malice soever is against it; there are Episcopal as well as Presbyterian and Independent Non-conformists now. Yea, divers that are against the late wars of the Parliament, and against the covenant, and never took it, and some that have been souldiers for the King, and suffered for him. Yea, so considerable is the number of them that are Episcopal, that in 1660. when the King called them to treat in order to agreement, they offered him no other Form of Church Government, than Bishop Usher's Reduction, in which not a Pin of Honour, nor one Farthing of their Revenue was desired to be taken from Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, Archdeacons; but only the Parish Ministers enabled under them, to have done somewhat more that belongeth to their Office, instead of Lay-Chancellors, &c. Most Non-conformists of my acquaintance would be glad of the terms contained in the Kings

Declaration about Ecclesiastical Affairs, where Bishops and Archbishops are left as rich and high as they were before. So far are Non-conformists Episcopal Protestants.

2. And though Conformity be very much changed from what it was heretofore, Episcopacy is not. And I must tell you, that I do not think that the Christian World hath more godly learned worthy Ministers, than many of the Episcopal were heretofore. Do you know what men Bishop Jewel, A. Bishop Grindall, and many more of old were? And Bishop Usher, Bishop Hall, Bishop Davenant, and many more of late? Who hath written more earnestly and hotly for Episcopacy, than Bishop Downname (who wrote the great Latine Book to prove the Pope Antichrist) yet who that knew him did ever question his piety or diligence? And if you look to the old Conformable Presbyters, read their Books, and enquire of the Lives of many of them, and then confess that they were better men and better Preachers than you describe. Peruse the Writings of Mr. Rob. Bolton, William Whateley, William Fenner, Dr. Preston, Dr. Sibbes, Dr. Stoughton, Dr. Gouge, Mr. Thomas Gataker, Mr. Crook, and abundance of such others, and enquire how they laboured and lived, and you may hear that they were neither such Parrots nor prophane ones as you mention.

There may be some proportionable alteration supposed to be now made in the persons of the Conformists, answerable to that which is made in Conformity it self. But surely, if you know London, and many Miles near it, and many Parishes in the several Counties, you must confess that now there are many Learned, Pious Conformists, who Preach zealously, and live religiously, and hate Covetousness and Persecution, and long to see the promoting of Piety, Peace, and Concord.

But if you expect a better Vindication of them, I must desire you to consider of two things.

1. That in most Countries and Ages the worldliest men (that is, the worst) have been the greediest strivers and seekers for Church-Power and Perferments; and he that seeketh most diligently is the likeliest to find. And that ordinarily the vulgar do dance after the Pipe of him that is uppermost, and will be of the religion of them that can help or hurt them, be it what it will be. Most will be of the Religion which is owned by Law, or countenanced by the Greatest, be it right or wrong. In the best Countries, the most are too bad. And bad men will have a prospering Religion, and not one that will expose them to Death, Banishment, Imprisonment, Beggary, Contempt, or Silence. Most will be on the upper side.

2. And remember that you your self here confess the scandals of some of your Romish Party, and what carnal prophane ones they are. Had you not confessed it, I would have desired you to read two Books, 1. Josep. Acosta, of the wicked slothful Priests in the Indies, as the great hindrance of their Conversion. 2. Stephanus his World of Wonders, taken most out of the Book of the Queen of Navarre, of the horrid Villanies of your Priests.

And one thing I cannot disregard. I marvel not if the Papists be most bad in Spain, France, Italy, &c. or the Lutherans in Denmark, Saxony, or Sweden; or the Calvinists in Holland; or the Prelatists and Conformists in England; because the most (who are commonly the worst) will be of the stronger side. But that Greeks should be ungodly in Turkey, or Protestants in France, or Papists in England, where they are singular, and under the

discountenance of the Times, and most hold their Religion with some self-denial, this seemeth to me a more grievous thing. And if it prove true, that even in England, where you make the World believe that you have suffered grievously, your Followers are too often found meer Formalists, living in Swearing, Drinking, Lying, Uncleaness, or some of these, what shall we think of such a Religion as this, as in a Land of uprightness would teach men to do unjustly? I wonder not what should make a Drunkard, Fornicator, or other debauched Sinner to be a Papist in France, Spain, or Italy. But what should make such a one be a Papist in England, unless his Religion favour sensuality, or else he think that it will yet prove the upper side, I cannot easily conjecture.

But you accuse the Prelatick Protestant for agreeing with the Puritan in expecting Salvation by the extrinsical righteousness of Christ without him, not by any interior righteousness in his own Soul. Answ. I told you your memory faileth you. Why did you before then describe the Puritan as so well qualified within, and desiring after more? But were you bred among Puritans, and yet talk so ignorantly and falsely? This had been more tolerable in a Cochleus, a Genebrard, or other transmarine Calumniator, that never knew us here. Read but Davenant de Just. and see how you slander the Conformists. And read my fore-named Books, and Mr. Trumans, Mr. Woodbridges, the Morning Lectures at S. Giles of Justif. Mr. Wotton de Reconciliat. Mr. Bradshaw de Justif. Praefat. &c. Mr. Gataker in many Books, Jo. Goodwin of Justif. &c. and see how you slander the Puritans. In a few plain words, Sir, the Protestants do not expect Salvation by their own personal righteousness as coordinate with Christ's, but as subordinate to it, nor as a Righteousness so denominated from the same Reason as Christs is, but from a lower Reason, and so as of a lower sort.

That is, We all hold, that Gods Law to perfect man was perfect, being the Effect of his perfect Holiness, and required personal perpetual perfect innocency and obedience in man. And that man breaking this Law, was according to the Justice of it lyable to its Penalty, which is temporal, spiritual, and eternal death, or to be forsaken of that God whom he forsook, and to be under the sense of his displeasure, or Justice. We believe that Christ Redeemed us from this Punishment, by the merit of his perfect Holiness and Obedience, and the satisfactory sacrificing of himself on the Cross, where he was in his measure forsaken of God, as in our stead and for our sins; whose punishment, as far as was fit for him to undergo, he voluntarily undertook to suffer. We believe that he never intended by this Redemption, to take man from under his subjection to God, or make him an ungoverned lawless Wight; but that by purchase he himself, as Mediator, became his Lord and King, and God's chief Administrator of the Redeemed World. And his Lord-Redeemer, with the Will and Authority of God his Creator, made him a new Law and Covenant, freely giving Right to Impunity (saving paternal healing Corrections, and temporal death, and degrees of desertion if men neglect Grace) and Right to the Heavenly Glory, as thus merited for us by Christ; and also the Communion of the Holy Ghost on Earth, to fit us by Holiness for Heaven, and to conquer our sins; and this to all that will by a true effectual Faith, accompanied with Repentance, unfeignedly accept the Gift of God, that is, that will truly consent to the Baptismal Covenant, taking God for their reconciled God and Father, Jesus Christ for their Saviour, and the Holy Ghost for their Sanctifier and Comforter, renouncing the Devil,

the world, and the Flesh, and engaging themselves as in a Holy War against them, as the Enemies of the blessed Trinity, and them. And this Covenant they must keep. For as it giveth Right to Life to such Believers, so it denounceth certain damnation to Unbelievers and unthankful Neglecters of so great Salvation.

So that when by righteousness we mean that which answereth God's perfect Law, having no sinful imperfection, we all profess that we have no such Righteousness of our own to trust in, there being no man without sin; and all sin by the law of innocency denominating the sinner unrighteous and punishable by death. But instead of such a righteousness, Gods Justice is so far satisfied by the Sacrifice and perfect righteousness of Christ, as that he freely giveth us the foresaid Covenant, and its Free Grace and Benefits. But because we must be judged by the Redeemer according to his Law of Grace, therefore we must in our selves personally have the righteousness which that Law or Covenant hath made necessary to our first, and our Salvation afterwards; which is first our foresaid Faith or Covenant-Consent, and after (to our salvation) our keeping of that Covenant in true Obedience and Holiness to the end, and our Victory over the three Enemies which we renounced. So that briefly, God justifieth as the Donor and the Judge. Christ God and Man, as Mediator, justifieth us meritoriously, as aforesaid, and by donation and final sentence; our Jus ad Impunitatem & Gloriam, our right to impunity and the heavenly glory, justifieth us as our formal righteousness (which is a relation) against the Accusation that we ought to be shut out of Heaven and damned to Hell. The covenant of grace justifieth us, by giving us Right to the Love of the Father, the Grace of the Son, and the Communion of the Holy Ghost. Even as God's donative and condonative Instrument, or act of grace. Our personal Faith including Repentance justifieth us, as the matter of our formal righteousness, against that particular Accusation, that we are Impenitent Unbelievers, and so have no part in Christ and his covenant gift. And our sincere, though imperfect, holiness added to our Faith, is our material Righteousness, against that particular accusation, that we are unholy, and so unqualified for Heaven. So that the formal nature of righteousness being relative, and the word having various senses according to the variety of respects, and all these fore-mentioned having their several parts or offices, to the Being of our final perfect Justification, all these may accordingly be the Reasons of our expectation of salvation. I forgot to adde, that we are so far justified by the Holy Ghost also, as he is the Author of this Holiness, which is our necessary qualification for eternal life. 1 Cor. 6. 10. 11. Tit. 3. 3, 4, 5. I have here truly, distinctly, and plainly told you the Protestant and Puritan, that is, the Christian doctrine of justification.

As to the sense of the word imputing see how we do, or do not own it, briefly in Mr. Bradshaw's Preface, or largely in my Treat. of justifying righteousness and imputation. And in my Cathol. Theolog. I have done you and Christianity the service, to prove by plain Citations, that many of your learnedest divines do say herein the same as we, or very little differ from us; and if you will as a Make-bate prove the contrary, you will do it to the Dissenters shame. If you trust not Christ alone, as we do, you will find the want of a Saviour in your necessity, and Purgatory will not serve your turn.

But you tell us, that some of the Prelatick Clergie begin to scoff at the Doctrine of Imputative Justice. One of them lately, in a Sermon before his Majesty, called it, and not

improperly, the Mummery of Imputative Justice. I will transcribe no more of your Scoff. It's dangerous mocking at such matters. Imputed Righteousness is oft mentioned by the Holy Ghost in Scripture. It is not some men's misexposition that will justify your derision. It's no strange thing for men of undigested thoughts on both sides, publickly and privately to revile at each other as erroneous, when if they had but the skill of speaking distinctly, and understanding one another, they would presently profess that they are agreed; or if it be for want of understanding the matter, it's pity but they should be quiet till they understand it. I am of their mind that think it is here safest to keep close to Scripture phrase; for want of which many wrangle about their own ambiguous or ill made words, that in the matter disagree not.

But, Sir, when you say, pag. 6., An Imputative holy man is a meer Christmas Mummer. And after your jeasting with the boys and girls, and the coblers and botchers regal attire, and the Daw and her fine feathers, you conclude such will be the sad Lot of meerly Imputative Saints, who to themselves and their Brethren seem very fine in the extrinsical righteousness of Christ, put on by their phantastical faith, whilst God and his Angels under all this conceited assumed Bravery see a lascivious, wanton, covetous miser.

I must crave leave to call upon your Conscience, to judge whether a man that professeth that while he seemed a Puritan he was but an unholy, lascivious, wanton, and covetous miser, and since his turning Papist tells the World in Print, that he is now a most false calumniator, be a fit person to invite his Relations to such a pitiful change, to save their Souls? While you talked but of Imputative Justice some mens ambiguous words gave you an excuse. For some Protestants think that nothing should be called Justifying Righteousness, which is not sinless and perfect. But this is but a controversie about a Word or Name of Righteousness. But when you here pretend, that they are for meerly Imputed Holiness, I must say that I remember not that ever I read a more impudent Slander. And he that will dwell in Gods holy Hill must not receive a false Report, especially in despite of the fullest evidence that man can desire. Are not our Booksellers Shops full of Books for the necessity of personal Holiness? And that none can be saved but Saints? Is it not one of our dislikes of your Way, that Saints must be made rare Canonized Persons, when all Christians hold, that without Holiness none shall see God? When almost all the Sermons that ever I heard preached by any man of sense in my life profest this, and almost all our Books are on this very subject, who would have thought that a man on earth could have been found, that would deny it in the open face of the Sun? Yea, one that saith he was a Puritan, and an University Student? Even when the poor Puritans are ruined, and hunted about, and cast into Goals, because they dare not give over preaching the necessity of Personal Holiness to salvation (for that is the most of all their Sermons that ever I heard) dare you stand forth with such an accusation as this? as if they held no Holiness necessary but Imputative? Why then are we devoted in Baptism to the Holy Ghost? Yea what are the very Separatists more accused of, than that they would have none but real Saints in their Communion, too far presuming to judge the Heart? You seem a zealous man, though very ignorant; I pray you study not to excuse this, but let us hear that you as openly repent as you have sinned.

The most of your further dealing with the Prelatick Protestant, is to tell him that his Ritual Principles lead him to turn Papist, or else he cannot answer the Puritan. I take not my self

any further fit to interpose herein, than to tell you, that in all things truly Indifferent, there is a just middle between any mistaken scruplers that hold them sinful, and a Papist that maketh them a part of his Christianity or religion, and will not be of the same Religion and Church with those that be not of his mind, nor will willingly suffer them to preach or live. I told you that S. Paul, and the Churches described by Socrates (about Easter) were of this middle way. They neither thought liturgies or ceremonies so bad (or unlawful at all,) as some on one side called Puritans do, not so necessary as to make them a Partition Wall between Churches and Churches, or to forbid Communion, or the Preaching of Christ's Gospel, or Christian Peace, to those that differ about them. And I think this middle way is approved by God and Angels, and by many at death, or after long experience, who were against it before in prosperity and passion.

The Instances which you give, are,

I. That the Prelatick Protestant is very angry with the Puritan, that he will not abstain from flesh in Lent, on Frydays, emberdays, and vigils of Saints, Though practically speaking no body takes less notice of them than himself. And the poor Puritan, because he will not solemnly invite the People to observe, what himself never intends to take the least notice of, must for this be silenced and suspended both from Office and Benefice.

Answ.

1. Here you shew what things they be that you turn Papist for. Is not eating flesh on Frydays, Lent, or Vigils, a worthy matter to make another Religion of, or to prove men to be of differing Churches?

2. I told you before, that the Puritans judgment is as Paul's, that such things should be left indifferent, or at least make no breach among us; by our judging or despising one another. And that neither the Pope, nor any men on Earth, have Authority to make Universal Laws for them to all the Christian World; and that there is no true Tradition of Apostolical Institution of them. But yet that such Fasts and Feasts as are appointed by true Authority of Prince or Pastors, not against the Laws of God, and such as shall be proved to be instituted by the Apostles, they will observe.

3. But the poor Puritan is indeed in hard Circumstances, were there no life after this! Some of them have no flesh to eat, either on Frydays, or any day in the Week, but live thankfully upon bread and milk, and some such things; Fish they would gladly eat, if they could get it. There are now among them such as with many Children have for a long time lived almost only on brown rye bread and water. Many of them take it for a sufficient quantity to eat one temperate Meal a day, though they are in no want; and the Papist that forbearth flesh, and eateth better than the Puritan feasteth with, or that fasteth with one meal a day, which is many Puritans fullest dyet, doth condemn the poor Puritan as an heretick, and perhaps burn him at a Stake, or cast him into the inquisition, for not fasting. Poor John Calvin did eat but one small meal a day, and the papist who fast much at the rate as Calvin feasted, record him for a gluttonous person. And so did the Pharisees by Christ and his Disciples; why do not thy Disciples fast, &c.

II. Your second Instance is, The Prelatick Protestant wonders the Puritan should scruple adorning the Communion Table, with two Wax Tapers, &c.

Ans.

The former Answer serveth to this. Hear, O ye Puritans, wherein the Roman Religion doth surpass yours! Their Altars have lighted Tapers on. Do you not deserve to be burnt your selves, if you will not burn Candles on your Altars?

Yea the Pope, who hath power to set up and take down Emperours and Kings, being not only the King of Rome, but the Monarch of the whole World, doth appoint these Lights as a Professing sign before God and Man that he is of that Church which in the Primitive Times for fear of Persecution served. God by Candle-light in Dens and Caves. And is not this to prove the immutability of their Church, that vary not in a Circumstance from the Apostolical Institution? Doth his domineering over Kings and Nations, and the Hosts of Great Princes Cardinals, Prelates, Abbots, Clergy, Regulars, Seculars, that obey him, shew also that he is of that old Candle-lighted Church?

But while you seem still to plead Apostolical Tradition for all these Great Parts of your Religion, tell the poor Puritan, whether it was by Prophecie, or how else, that the Apostles delivered to the Church the use of these Lighted Tapers, in commemoration of that which was done in Dens long after the death of these Apostles? I doubt rather, the Pope doth by this practice condemn himself, and sets up these Lights to shew the World how much he and his Church are changed since those forementioned days.

III. You next say, The Prelatick Protestant wonders what hurt the Puritan can see in making the sign of that on the forehead of a new baptized Infant, yet smiles at a Papist when he makes it on himself, or his Victuals, &c.

Ans. None of us are ashamed of the Cross of Christ, nor loth to profess this as openly as you. But if we do it by Word, by Writing, by Obeying, or by Suffering, we are of another Religion from you, (it seems by you) unless we will do it also by crossing. The Jews were the crossmakers. And there are now so many Cross-makers in the World, whose Trade we like not, that we are not forward to set up their sign at our doors. But yet there are Puritans and Prelatists, that were they among the Deriders of a Crucified Christ, where the use were not a Formality, or worse, but convenient to tell the Infidels their mind, that they are not ashamed of the Cross of Christ, would not refuse seasonably to Cross themselves. But the Puritans think, that when it is made a solemn stated sign of the Duty and Grace of the New Covenant, dedicating there by the person to God, as one hereby obliging himself to profess the Faith of Christ Crucified, and manfully to fight under his Banner against the Devil, the world, and the flesh to the death, in hope of the Benefits of his Cross and Covenant, and so is made a Badge or Symbol of our Christianity, then it is made a Sacrament of the Covenant of grace, added to Christ's Sacrament of the same use; or at least too like it, though the Name be denied it. And they think that Christ hath given none power to make such new Sacraments or Symbols of Christianity; he having done that sufficiently himself. They have a conceit that the King would not be pleased with them that either frame a new oath of allegiance added to his, as the Badge of his Subjects Loyalty, nor yet that would make a new badge of the order of the knights of the garter, without his consent. At least, the Puritans think that baptism, and Christianity, and Christian burial should not be denied to those children, whose parents do not offer them to be baptized with this additional symbol. And if the poor men be deceived in such thoughts, it is but in fear of sinning

against Christ, and not that they are more ashamed of his Cross than you, or more disobedient to Authority.

(...)

CHAP. VIII. *What the Papists Church is, called the Roman Catholick Church.*

What their church is may so easily be gathered from what is said, that I shall say but little more of it.

In General, It is a Society called Ecclesiastical, constituted of such a Head, and such Members, as I have described.

Particularly,

I. It is a Humane Church as to the Efficient Cause of its Form; made by Man, as distinct from that Church-form which was instituted by Christ; even by the Fathers, because that Rome was the Imperial Seat. As is proved before.

II. It is a Humane Church as to the constitutive Head, as distinct from the true Universal Church, which hath no Head (single or collective, Pope or Council) that is not God.

III. It is a Sect consisting of about the third part of the Christian world, calling themselves the whole Church, and condemning all the rest for not subjecting themselves to this Usurping Head.

IV. It is a new Church in comparison of Christ's Universal Church, as having a new Humane Original. (As is proved.)

V. It is a treasonable Church, as set up without Christs Authority, and challenging his Prerogative, and weakning his Kingdom, by unchurching the greatest part.

VI. It is an unholy Church, as distinct from the holy Catholick Church, and that both in the essential Matter and Form. 1. In the Matter, its Head which is a constitutive part, having been oft a condemned Heretick, Infidel, Murderer, and other flagitious wicked man. 2. As to the Form, being not of God it is not holy. 3. Besides that, as to the Head, he was long made by the most wicked Whores.

All this is before proved at large.

VII. It is a Church that hath had its pretended succession interrupted (as is proved) sometimes by long vacances, sometimes by long schismes, when no one was the Universal Head; sometimes by the Incapacity of the persons, being lay-men, or infidels, simoniacal, condemned deposed hereticks, and therefore no bishops.

VIII. It is a schismatical Church, that cuts off it self from all the rest of the Christian Church. And by making a false uead and principle, and conditions of unity, which the universal Church never did, never will, or can unite in, is the grand cause of the greatest continued Schism.

IX. It is a trayterous Church against princes, making it their very religion to force bloody oaths on them, and to excommunicate and depose them, and give away their dominions, and that tolerateth its most famous doctors to maintain, that being excommuntcate, they are no kings, and

may be killed; and to maintain, that the Pope is above them in temporals, and may set up and pull down Kings when he seeth cause.

All this is expresly proved before.

X. It is a Church that believeth contradictions (as is proved in their Councils) e. g. the Council of Basil saying, No one of the skilful did ever doubt, but that the Pope was subject to the Judgment of a General Council, in things that concern Faith, &c. And others saying the clean contrary. As also in divers other things.

XI. It was for above forty years, sometimes two, sometimes three Churches, instead of one. For the Head being an essential part, two or three Heads make as many Churches.

XII. It is at this day divers Churches really, as to the Form that are by the ignorant supposed to be one. Two or three Forms and Partes Imperantes, being essential, make as many Churches, though the subjects live mixt. The summa Potestas is a constitutive essential part. Some called Papists take the Pope for the summa Potestas, and some a Council, and some both conjunct, and some the Church real or diffused through the World.

XIII. It is a Church made up of a tolerated hodge-podge of many Sects, some utterly uncapable Members, so they do but serve the Pope.

I have shewed out of many Doctors cited by Sancta Clara that many that believe not in Christ are of their Church. He saith himself pag. 113. (Deus, Nat. Grat.), What is clearer than that at this Day, the Gospel bindeth not, where it is not authentically preached; that is, that at this Day men may be saved without an explicite belief of Christ? For in that sence speaks the Doctor concerning the Jews. And verily what ever my illustrious Master hold, with his learned Master Herera, I think that this was the Opinion of Scotus, and the common one, citing many that follow it.

And that men that hold all the different Opinions in the Jesuites Morals, and the Schoolmen, besides many various Religious Sects, make up their Church, is not denied.

XIV. It is a Church that pretendeth to have a Judge and end of Controversies; but indeed hath a Judge that for the most part dare not decide them, and that can make no end of them when decided.

For instance, the Controversie of the Virgins immaculate conception decided at Basil, is never the nearer an end. Images were decreed up by some Councils, and down by others. Even S. Thomas stood not to the second Council of Nice about Image Worship. The various Councils that decreed variously for and against a Council's Supremacy, never the more ended the strife.

And indeed it is so hard to know approved from reprobate Councils, and what parts of them the Pope meant to approve, and what not, (as by Pope Martin 5. his Conciliariter appeareth) that there is no certainty, and no end.

XV. It is a Church that hath almost laid by the ancient Discipline of Christ's appointment, and instead of it hath set up partly Auricular Confession, when it should be Publick, and partly a tyrannical sort of hostile proclaiming their Adversaries excommunicate without hearing them, and forbidding Gods Word and Worship to whole Kingdoms.

Saith Learned Alaspineus a Bishop, Observ. 1. pag. 1. If ever any one in this Age was deprived of Communion (which I know not whether it ever fell out) it was only from the receiving of the Eucharist. In the other parts of his life he retained the same familiarity and converse with other Believers, which he had before he was excommunicated.

XVI. It is a Church that is upheld by Flames and Blood, distrusting the ancient Discipline, and the meer Protection of the Magistrate, and the proper work of his Office.

The foresaid 12. General Council at Laterane proveth it, besides Inquisitions and bloody Executions.

XVII. It is a Church that cherisheth ignorance in the matters of Salvation.

Proved, 1. By forbidding the reading of the Scriptures translated, without Licence. 2. Their Prayers in an unknown Tongue. 3. The quality of their commonest Members.

XVIII. It is a Church that militateth against Christian Love.

1. By their foresaid condemning the most of Christians. 2. By the foresaid bloody Religion and Execution.

XIX. It is a Church which hath often damned it self, one Pope and Council damning others.

As is proved.

XX. It is a Church which indeed is no Church, according to their own Rules; the Pope indeed being no Pope, and the General Councils no General Councils, (as is proved) And if it were one, it could not possibly be certainly known to be so; because the Pope, who is an essentiating part, cannot be certainly known.

As is proved both as to Election, Ordination, and all that is necessary to a Right and Title.

As to the Doctrines which they hold contrary to the Scriptures, I have named many of them elsewhere, (in my Key, pag. 39. 142, 143, &c.) And others more largely.

And thus I have told you what I take a Pope, a Papist and the Papal Church to be. But you must remember that as the same man may be a visible Christian or Member of the true Universal Church as headed by Christ, and a visible Papist or Member of the Sectarian Church as headed by the Pope, so I judge none of you as in the first respect, but allow you the same Charity proportionably as I do other erring Sects. And especially to those many thousands who adhere to a Church which they understand not, and profess that in gross which in particulars they themselves abhor. Of which number I am not hopeless your self (W. H.) to be one.

CHAP. IX. *How our Religion differeth from the Papists.*

And now out of all this it is easie for you to gather how our Religion differeth from the Papists. I shall recite but a few of the Differences, leaving you to collect the rest from what is said of theirs.

I. Our Religion is wholly divine or made by God. For so is the holy Scripture, which is all ours. But the Papists super additions are made by men. Even Popes and Councils, under pretence of Declaring, Expounding, Governing, Judging, &c.

II. The Religion of Protestants is no bigger, nor no other in the Essentials, than the Sacramental Covenant with God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, expounded in the Creed, Lords Prayer, and Decalogue. And in the Integrals no bigger, nor other, than the holy Canonical Scriptures. But the

Papists is as big as all the Decrees of all General Councils, added to all the Bible; if not the Popes Decretals also, and uncertain Traditions.

Tell us not of our 39 Articles, and other Church Confessions, as contrary to this. For those Confessions all profess what I here say. And you may as well tell us of our other Books and Sermons. Our question is not of mens Subjective Religion; For so each person hath one of his own; And it cannot be known but by knowing what is in each mans mind! And our Books and Confessions are (as is aforesaid) but the Expression of our sense of that which is our Regular Objective Religion. And we are ready to confess and amend any misconception, but our Objective Religion which is the Rule and Law of our Faith is only divine.

III. Our Religion is known, even the Sacred Bible. But yours is unknown what are approved Councils, and what decrees are intended to be de fide, and what temporal, and what perpetual, and how far the Pope's decretals bind, and whether all Isidore Mercator's Decretals be the Popes, with abundance of the like.

IV. Our religion is owned by you, and every word confessed to be Divine and Infallible. But your added Popery is disowned by us as sinful, presumptuous and false.

V. Our religion is fixed and unchangeable; (for so you confess the holy Scriptures to be) But yours is still swelling bigger and bigger while Councils will increase it, and hath no certain bounds.

VI. Our religion is only that ancient one delivered by the Holy Ghost in the Apostles, and so is certainly Apostolical, your additions are novelties since brought in.

VII. Our Religion is infallible, holy, pure, your additions are fallible, contradictory, sinful, oft contrary to plain Scripture, condemning one another.

VIII. Our Religion is Universal, owned by all the Christian world in the essentials, and in the Main in the Integrals, that is, the Scripture. Greeks, Papists, Armenians, Abassines, and all other parties that are Christians own it. But your additions are some disowned by one part of Cristians, and some by another, and some by all save your selves.

IX. Our Religion therefore is the true terms of Catholick concord, according to Vincent. Lerinens. Doctrine, quod ab omnibus, semper, ubique receptum est. But your additions are the very Engine of the dividing Enemy, by which he hath long kept the Christian World, distracted by discord, with all the calamitous effects and consequents.

X. Our Religion hath a certain Rule for the ending of all controversies, so far as there is hope of ending them in this world. All men will rest in the Judgment of God; and his word in all such necessary things is plainer than all your General Councils. But your Humane Authority is such as fighteth with it self and all the world, and which the Universal Church never yet received nor will ever rest in.

XI. Our Religion owneth a certain lawful government appointed by God, which well used may keep just order in the world. That is, parents in families, pastors in such particular Churches as Christ hath instituted, (as join for personal Communion in holy doctrine, worship and conversation) which they are indeed capable of overseeing and governing by sacred doctrine in Christ's way. And associations or correspondencies of these Pastors for concord.

And, Princes and Magistrates to keep peace and order among them all; Governing clergymen as they do Philosophers, Physicians, &c.

But yours hath an Utopian pretended Government of men on the other side the world, whose Countries you scarce ever heard or dreamed of; and an Usurpation of an impossible confounding kind and degree of Rule.

XII. Our Religion is fitted to give Glory to Christ, and his Grace and Kingdom. But yours to set up Proud Usurpers over Princes and People, in such an impossible Government making Subjection to him, necessary to salvation.

As if a man unacquainted with Cosmography that never heard that there was such a Town as Rome in the world, must be no Christian and be damned. when yet the Popes name was never mentioned in our Baptism.

XIII. Our Religion is Faith working by Love. Christ's Ministers that are truly of our Religion, take only convincing evidence of Truth, and unfeigned love, and works of love, to be their means of winning Souls. And they take not Christ's Discipline, which worketh only on the conscience, to be a leaden Sword, or vain. But yours is a hanging killing Religion; Jails, Strappado's, Exterminating, and Burning men are your means and works of love.

You take a Bonfire, or the Ashes of the Bodies of such as will not believe in the Pope, to be a great Medicine to save the peoples Souls. Such Murders as were done on the Albigenses, Waldenses, in the Inquisitions, the French and Irish Massacres, Smithfield Flames, Piedmont, &c. are your proof that you love God and Man, and some of your good works.

XIV. Our Religion tendeth to holy consolation, and a heavenly mind and life. For it teacheth us how to be certain of God's love by its effects on our Souls, and to know that we are justified by Christ, and to trust the sufficiency of his Sacrifice, Merits, and Intercession; and to believe, that when we are absent from the body we shall be present with the Lord, 2 Cor. 5. 1. 7, 8. and to desire to depart and be with Christ, Phil. 1. 23.

But yours leaveth a man uncertain of his Justification. For you mostly deride such distinguished Fundamentals, as (received) essentiate a justified Christian. And your Doctors lay all men's necessary Religion, and so their Peace, upon their receipt of so much truth as hath been authentically proposed to them; whereas no man living is certain that he hath received so much as hath been so proposed. All men are guilty of neglecting some such Proposal at one time or other. And gradual neglects the best are guilty of. And you cannot ascertain men what is an authentick Proposal. You also tell men of the necessity of their own satisfactions for the sin that Christ forgiveth, and that in the Fire of Purgatory; so that (as is said before) none such can dye comfortably, that look to go hence into such a Fire, where torment may make it hard to you to love God that tormenteth you. It is a spirit of bondage that seemeth to actuate your very austerities, and to turn your Religion into superstitious tasks of self-made Services; Ceremonies, and expectations of the expiating Flames in Purgatory. But you shew too little of the Spirit of adoption, of power, love and a sound mind, 2 Tim. 1. 7. of righteousness, peace and joy in the Holy Ghost, Rom. 14. Terrour and Torments are temptations to you to desire the miserablest life on Earth (much more a life of pleasure) rather than to dye, when such Flames must next follow.

XV. We offer God such Worship as we can prove by his Word that he commandeth and accepteth; and such reasonable service in spirit and truth, which is not unsuitable to the Father of Spirits, and God of wisdom; yet using all reverent and decent behaviour of the body as well as of the mind.

But it would be hard to number over all the Humane inventions of Formalities, and Rites, and Ceremonies, and Images, and other arbitrary external things, by which you have corrupted the Worship of God, and hid the body in your new fashioned Cloathing, which you pretended to adorn; And as worldly minds do cumber themselves, as Martha, with many unnecessary things, and then say, Is it not lawful to do this and that? While they hereby alienate the thoughts, affections, and time, which should be laid out on the one thing needful, so do you in Gods Worship make such abundance of work with your Ceremonies, for thoughts, affections, and time, as maketh it very difficult to give the great and spiritual part of Worship its proportion, (far beyond what Augustine Epist. ad Januar. so much complained of in his time.) and then think you justifie all, if you can say, How prove you this or that unlawful? As if your Servant should instead of his work play at Cards most of the day, and ask you, How you prove it unlawful? You never well studied 2 Cor. 11. 3., I fear lest by any means as the Serpent beguiled Eve through his subtilty, so your minds should be corrupted from the simplicity that is in Christ, nor Col. 2. 18, 19, 20. 22, 23. nor Act. 15. 28. nor Rom. 14 and 15. nor Ioh. 4. 20, 21. An ignorant woman set upon Christ, just as you pervert all holy discourse, with turning all to, Which is the true Church? Our Fathers worshipped in this mountain, and ye say that in Jerusalem is the place where men should Worship. But Christ answereth you in her, the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth. For the Father seeketh such to worship him. God is a Spirit, &c. Those that by Custom be not ingaged in your way of numerous Formalities and bodily actions, can hardly think that you are spiritually and seriously worshipping God, or can believe that Infinite Wisdom would be pleased with such things as am loth to denominate or describe.

XVI. Our religion teacheth us that without Holiness none shall see God, and none but the Pure in Heart and Life are blessed, and if any man have not the sanctifying spirit of Christ he is none of his. and that God must be loved above all, and our treasure, heart and conversation must be in Heaven, and none but Saints are saved.

I think you deny none of this; And yet you Canonize a Saint as if he were a wonder or rarity, and you call a few sequestred votaries religious, as if all that will be saved must not be religious. And your Doctors are permitted to teach all that's cited in the Jesuites Morals, and Mr. Clarkson fore-cited. Even that it is not commanded, that God be intensively loved above all. Tolet. li. 4. de Instruct. Sacerdot. c. 9. see our Morton Apolog. part 1. l. 2. c. 13. Stapleton l. 6. de Justif. c. 10. & Valent. l. de Votis c. 3. This Precept of loving God with all the mind, is doctrinal, not obligatory, see my Key, chap. 33, 34. 38.

And yet you have the Fronts to perswade men that we are for only Imputative Holiness, and against good works.

XVII. Our Religion is for increasing true practical knowledge in all men, by all our industry, as knowing the Father of Lights saveth us by illumination; and therefore we are for all mens

reading or hearing the holy Scriptures, and worshipping God in a known tongue. But yet with the help of the skilfullest Teachers.

The Prince of darkness leadeth men in the dark to do the works of darkness, that they may be cast into outer darkness. How the case is with yours I have before shewed.

XVIII. Our Religion is for so much fasting and austerities as is truly necessary to the subduing of pride, worldliness, or fleshly lusts, or to express our self-abasement in due times of humiliation, (prescribed by Authority on publick occasions, or discerned by our selves in private) and so much as is truly helpful to us in God's service, or our preparations for death. But how much you have turned these into unreasonable Ceremony, and how much into a pretended satisfaction to Gods Justice by punishing our selves, as if our hurt delighted God when it tends not to our healing, I shall not now stay to open. See Dallaeus de Poenis, Indulgentis, & de Jejuniis, of it at large.

XIX. Our religion teacheth us that all that truly believe in, and are heartily devoted to God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, as their God, and Saviour, and Sanctifier, forsaking the Devil, the world, and the flesh, should be taken by baptismal profession hereof into the Church, and shall be saved, if they prove not Hypocrites or Apostates. And that we must judge men by this their Profession, till they plainly or provedly nullifie it, supposing every man, under God, to be the best Judge of his own heart.

But your religion teacheth you to hold and say, that if men are never so fully perswaded in themselves that they truly love God and holiness, and are thus devoted to him, yea and if their lives express it, yet if they be not Papists, they are all deceived, and none but Papists so love God. And every Papist thus knoweth the hearts of others, better than we can know our own.

XX. Our Religion leaveth us room for Repentance, and hope of Pardon, if we mistake. For we take not our selves to be impeccable or infallible in all that we hold; though we are sure that our Rule and Objective Religion is infallible. But your Church being founded in the false conceit of the Popes and councils infallibility, you shut the door against repentance and amendment; and when once a false decree is past, you take your selves obliged to defend it, lest by Reformation you pluck up your Foundation, and all should fall. Were it not for this I am perswaded your Church would recant at least the doctrine of transubstantiation, if not that of deposing Princes, and some others.

And now I humbly present what I have written to W. H. and not without hope (if he will but impartially read it) of his reduction. For the man seemeth to me to sin through Ignorance, and to have an honest zeal than many others. For my own part, 1. I profess to him I write as I think; and that after forty years reading I think as many of the Papists books as of the Protestants. 2. And that I would joyfully recant, whatever it cost me, if I could find that I do erre. But I have shewed him that I differ not from them, without that which to me appeareth to be constraining reason. 3. And that if he will prove to me that I have in one word of this Book unjustly accused, either their pope, papists, religion, or church, I shall thankfully receive his conviction, and repent.

And I agree with him wholly in professing my religion to be, The apostolical christniaty, and whatever he proveth to be truly such I will receive. The name of The Protestant religion I

like not, because meer Christianity is all our religion, and our Protestation against Popery denominateth not our religion it self, but our rejection of their corruptions of it. But the name of the Protestants religion I approve and own, that is, apostolic Christianity cleansed from popery

From pages 24-59 and 183-196 of the original.