

S. H. B.

# A DIALOGUE

OR

THIRD CONFERENCE BETWEEN SOME YOUNG MEN BORN  
IN NEW ENGLAND, AND SOME ANCIENT MEN WHICH  
CAME OUT OF HOLLAND AND OLD ENGLAND,

CONCERNING

THE CHURCH AND THE GOVERNMENT THEREOF.

BY

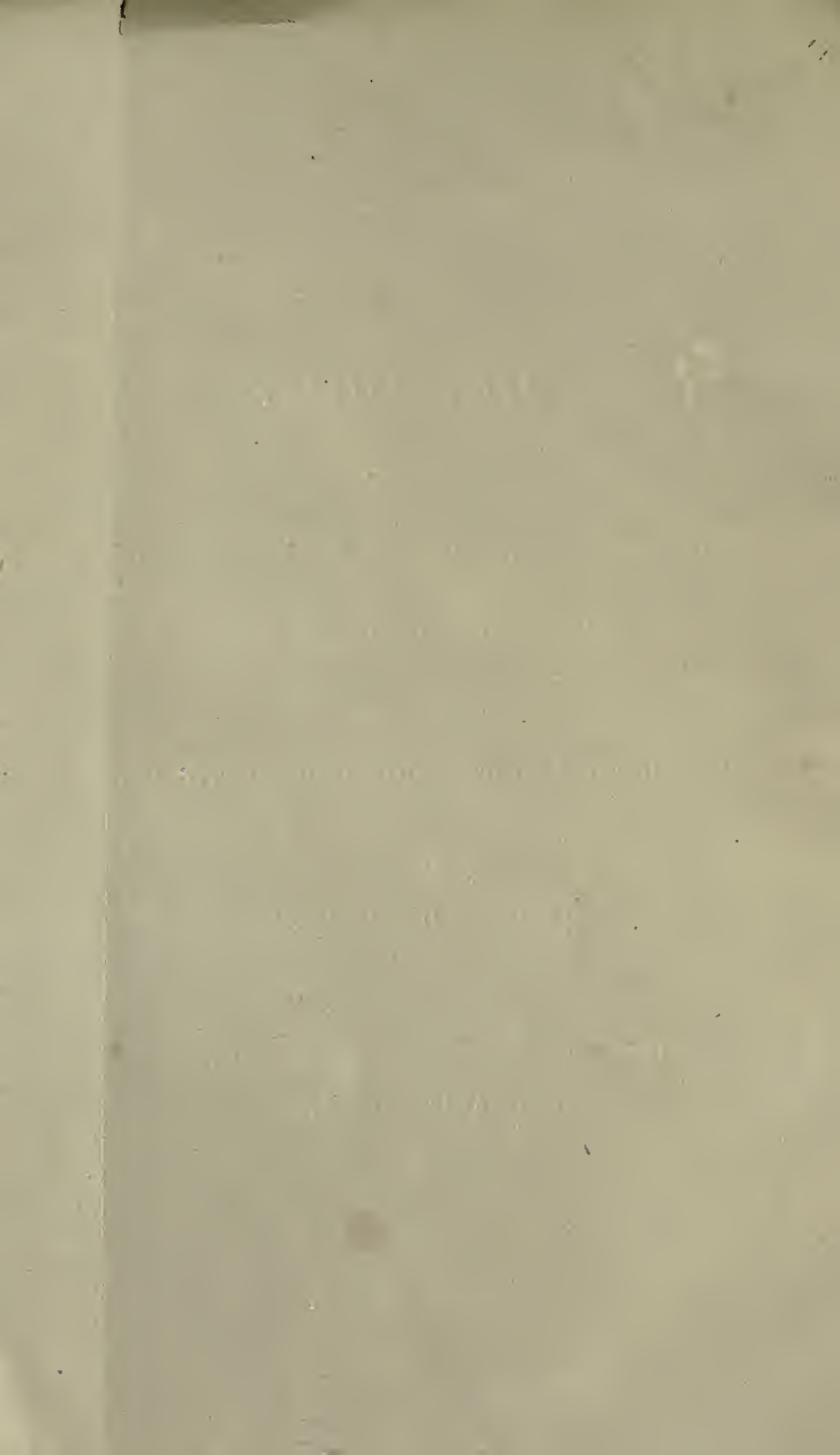
WILLIAM BRADFORD,

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GOVERNOR OF NEW PLYMOUTH.

EDITED, WITH A PREFACE AND NOTES,

BY CHARLES DEANE.











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## EDITORIAL PREFACE.

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THE author of this Dialogue was William Bradford, for many years governor of the colony of New-Plymouth, and author of the History of Plymouth Plantation, published for the first time, by the Massachusetts Historical Society, in 1856. The original manuscript, written in the beautiful hand of Governor Bradford, in a small volume, five inches by three in size, of about one hundred and fifty pages, is in the Library of the Historical Society.

This, it will be seen, is styled the "third conference."

The first Dialogue, or Conference, was held or written in 1648, and relates chiefly to the views of the Separatists; and gives a most interesting and valuable sketch of those who were early and prominently engaged in the religious movement which marked the rise of that sect, with many of whom Bradford was personally acquainted. A few leaves only of the original manuscript of the first conference are extant, and these are in the Library of the Historical Society. The whole, however, was copied by Secretary Morton into the records of the Plymouth Church, and was printed for the first time by Dr. Young, in his *Chronicles of the Pilgrims*, in 1841. In a note at the conclusion of the Dialogue, Dr. Young says, "Bradford continued this Dialogue in two other parts; one of which I have had in my possession, written with his own hand. The title is as follows: 'A Dialogue or 3d Conference,' &c., citing in full the title of the volume we here publish. As to the second conference, I have never seen it, nor any reference to it.

This Third Conference, as will be seen by the title, relates to "The Church and the Government thereof." The date, "1652," on the first leaf of the book, probably indicates the year in which it was written. Though this must be regarded as mainly an ecclesiastical discussion, it cannot be wholly devoid of interest and value in an historical point of view. Correct opinions on this subject were considered as of the first importance by our Pilgrim ancestors; and a knowledge of what one, with the experience, position, and character of Governor Bradford, thought and felt concerning the religious sects of his own day, will not be regarded with indifference by any student of our early history. Bradford was sweet-tempered and heavenly-minded in his youth. Forming his religious opinions at an early age, the sincerity of his convictions was soon put to the test. The singular purity of his character received its seal in the ordeal of persecution through which he passed. He well knew what it meant to be compelled to leave his native land and the associations there dear to him, that he might worship God according to the dictates of his conscience. A firm opponent of all religious hierarchies and spiritual domination, he belonged to that sect of Christians sometimes nicknamed "Brownists," which had wholly separated from the Church of England. Brought up under the teachings of the famous Robinson (who, though a rigid Separatist at first, so far modified his views as to admit that good men might be found in all the reformed communions), Bradford became a man of large and generous views, singularly forgiving, and tolerant in his judgment of others. In treating of the Papists, his language may seem severe: he has no qualifying words; but probably his estimate of that stupendous hierarchy would not differ materially from that of the great body of Protestants to-day throughout the world,—and he cites abundant authority for his historical statements.

Congregationalism was the central thought which animated the minds of the Pilgrims, and around which clustered their

sort, to our whole nation. Let the glorious name of Jehovah have all the praise!"\*

The original manuscript of this Dialogue, as I have said, is in the Library of the Historical Society. From a memorandum on one of the leaves at the beginning of the volume, made in 1826, it appears to have been "found among some old papers taken from the remains of Rev. Mr. Prince's collection, belonging to the Old South Church in Boston, and by consent deposited in Library of Massachusetts Historical Society." It was not in the list of books and manuscripts deposited by the pastors and deacons of the Old South Church in 1814,—subsequently reclaimed,—and may have been placed in the Library at the date of the memorandum above cited.

A few years ago, the manuscript was copied with a view of publishing it in a volume of the "Collections"; but other matter was substituted for it. Subsequently, the Society, at my request, granted me the privilege of printing it "privately," at my own charge.† Other engagements delayed the printing of it, agreeably to this proposal; and its publication in the "Proceedings" has now been advised as a substitute for my plan, and with my entire concurrence.

Some leaves placed at the beginning and the end of this little volume furnish additional evidence of Bradford's interest in the Hebrew and Greek languages. It will be remembered that Cotton Mather says of him that, "Notwithstanding the difficulties through which he passed in his youth, he attained unto a notable skill in languages; the Dutch tongue was become almost as vernacular to him as the English; the French tongue he could manage; the Latin and Greek he had

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own copy of Morton's Memorial (*penes me*) against this citation: "I doubt the correctness of Mr. Prince's conjecture in reference to the meaning of Gov. Bradford's language in this instance. For many reasons, which might be suggested, it would appear probable, that by 'here,' Gov. B., always a staunch Plymothean, had reference to *Plymouth*."

\* Bradford's History, p. 279.

† See "Proceedings," for January, 1863.

mastered ; but the Hebrew he most of all studied, because, he said, he would see with his own eyes the ancient oracles of God in their native beauty." Between the same covers which include the precious original manuscript History of Plymouth Plantation are some eight pages of Hebrew roots with English explanations, in Bradford's hand, to which he has prefixed the following : —

“ Though I am growne aged, yet I have had a longing desire to see, with my owne eyes, somthing of that most ancient language, and holy tongue, in which the Law and Oracles of God were write ; and in which God and angels spake to the holy patriarks of old time ; and what names were given to things from the creation. And though I cañot attaine to much herein, yet I am refreshed to have seen some glipse hereof ;  
 (as Moyses saw the land of Canan a farr of.) My aime and desire is, to see how the words and phrases lye in the holy texte ; and to discerne somewhat of the same, for my owne contente.”

Two pages at the beginning of this Dialogue contain both the Hebrew and the Greek alphabet, in Bradford's hand, expressed in the original characters, with the names also of each letter spelled out in the Roman character, with some additional illustration as to long and short vowels to aid in pronounciation. Eight pages at the end (and possibly some leaves may be wanting) contain passages from the Old Testament, in Hebrew, with the English translation written underneath, from the Genevan version.

To the late Joseph Hunter, F.S.A., an Assistant-Keeper of the Public Records in London, New-England History is indebted for much new matter relating to Bradford and his

hopes of securing a pure faith and worship. Firm in his convictions of the validity of that form of church government, Bradford ably defends it throughout this little treatise, as agreeing alike with the Word of God, and with the examples of the first Christians. The Protestant doctrine of the Sufficiency of the Scriptures is laid down at the beginning of the Dialogue, as a starting point in the discussion.

Under the head of "The Independent or Congregational way," in which body Bradford would include his own communion (though the name "Independent," he says, was put upon them by way of reproach), it is worthy of notice that, for his proofs and illustrations, he draws largely from a work of John Cotton, published in 1648. This shows how fully at this time the religious opinions of the founders of the Massachusetts Colony, composed chiefly of Puritans within the Church of England who never would admit that they had left her communion, harmonized with those of the Separatists of Plymouth.

Bradford seems not to have been unmindful of the influence of his own colony in moulding the ecclesiastical constitution of the neighboring settlement. The good Plymouth physician, Deacon Samuel Fuller, had more than once been called professionally to administer to the necessities of the Massachusetts colonists in times of sickness; and on such occasions the opportunities for conferences on higher themes were not lost. He was in Charlestown in the summer of 1630, soon after the arrival there of Winthrop and his company; and in one of his letters to Governor Bradford from that place, dated June 28th, he says: "I have been at Mattapan, at the request of Mr. Warham, and let some twenty of those people blood; I had conference with them till I was weary. Mr. Warham holds that the visible church may consist of a mixed people,—godly, and openly ungodly,—upon which point we had all our conference, to which I trust the Lord will give a blessing. Here is come over with these gentlemen one Mr. Phillips (a

Suffolk man), who hath told me in private, that if they will have him stand minister by that calling which he received from the prelates in England, he will leave them. The governor is a godly, wise, and humble gentleman, and very discreet, and of a fine and good temper. We have some privy enemies in the Bay, but, blessed be God, more friends. The governor hath had conference with me, both in private and before sundry others. Opposers, there is not wanting, and Satan is busy; but if the Lord be on our side, who can be against us? The governor hath told me he hoped we will not be wanting in helping them, so I think you will be sent for. Here is a gentleman, one Mr. Cottington, a Boston man, who told me that Mr. Cotton's charge at Hampton was, that they should take advice of them at Plymouth, and should do nothing to offend them. Captain Endicott (my dear friend, and a friend to us all) is a second Barrow.\* Endicott's sympathy in Fuller's views had been secured the preceding year at Salem.† This letter shows the anxiety which existed in the minds of the Plymouth people respecting the then pending question of the ecclesiastical constitution of the new colony.‡ In another letter from Fuller to Bradford, dated at Charlestown, August 2d, the writer mentions the entering into church covenant there of some of the principal persons of the settlement, according to the Congregational method. After citing this last letter in his History, Bradford concludes: "Thus out of small beginnings greater things have been produced by His hand that made all things of nothing, and gives being to all things that are; and as one small candle may light a thousand, so the light here § kindled hath shone to many; yea, in some

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\* See I. Mass. Hist. Coll. iii. 74, 75.

† See Bradford's History, pp. 264, 265.

‡ See Palfrey's History of New England, i. 316, 317.

§ Prince, i. 250, cites this passage from Bradford's MS. History, and says: "Gov. Bradford adding this immediately after the article [letter] of Aug. 2, it seems uncertain whether by *here* he meant *Plymouth* or *Boston Church*; though I am apt to think the *latter*." The following manuscript note, by Judge Davis, is written in the margin of his

associates, and the location of the Pilgrim church in England. Since the publication of his little tract on the "Founders of New-Plymouth," in 1849, the villages of Austerfield and Scrooby have been regarded as almost sacred shrines by New-England visitors to the fatherland. Dr. Palfrey refers, in his *History of New England* (I. 134, 135), to a visit which he made to these places in 1856.

Ten years later, under the auspices of letters from Lord Houghton, whose family domains include Austerfield, Bawtry, and Scrooby, in company with my friend, Mr. Samuel F. Haven, of Worcester, I passed a delightful day in examining these most interesting remains. We were fortunately the guests of Mr. and Mrs. Charles Lowther, of Bawtry Hall, who take a deep interest in these Pilgrim memorials, and who afforded us every facility in the examination of them. They earnestly wish that a New-England school could be established at Austerfield, the birthplace of Bradford, as an appropriate tribute to the memory of the Plymouth Governor. What more fitting memorial could his descendants erect to his honor than a Grammar School, on the New-England model, in the village of his birth?

The visitor looks with interest on the little church or "chapellerie," with its curious old side doorway of early Norman date; its oaken rail before the chancel, at which Bradford received the waters of baptism, two hundred and eighty years ago; and at the ancient "Register Booke," where we read, "William sone of Willm Bradfourth baptized the xix<sup>th</sup> day of March Anno dñi, 1589."

Mr. Hunter has shown, from various documents, that the family of Bradford was, at this time, among the most respectable in that part of the country. "One thing is clear," he says: "that the Bradfords of Austerfield, during the eighteen years that he who was afterwards the governor of New Plymouth was living with them, associated with the

best of the very slender population by whom they were surrounded." \*

In the village of Scrooby, near by, a farm house of curious construction is pointed out as the probable residence of Brewster, and the place where were held the meetings of the Separatists of that neighborhood, including the youthful Bradford, before their escape into Holland. It may have been originally connected with the manor-house, which has long since passed away.

Descriptions of Austerfield and Scrooby, in connection with Pilgrim history, have been made within a few years, from personal observation, by W. H. Bartlett, in "The Pilgrim Fathers, or, The Founders of New England," London, 1853; by Dr. Palfrey in his "History of New England," Boston, 1858; and by the Rev. John Raine, vicar of Blyth, in "The History and Antiquities of the Parish of Blyth," London, 1860.

I have fancied that there were many points of resemblance between the character of Bradford, the leading man in the Plymouth colony, and that of his friend Winthrop, the leading man of the Massachusetts colony. Certainly there was much in common in their public career, and in the estimation in which they were held by their contemporaries. Perhaps Bradford's popularity in Plymouth was even more firmly grounded than that of Winthrop in Massachusetts. From 1621 to 1657, the year of his death, he had but five years' release from the office of Chief Magistrate. That is to say, of the thirty-seven years of his residence in the colony, he was its governor thirty years. He had no desire for the office except so far as it afforded him an opportunity for serving the colony. Up to 1624 he had had but one Assistant. At the beginning of that year he records:—

"The time of the new election of their officers for this year being come, and the number of their people increased, and their troubles and

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\* Collections concerning the Early History of the Founders of New Plymouth, p. 49.



occasions therewith, the Governor desired them to change the persons, as well as renew the election; and also to add more Assistants to the Governor for help and counsel, and the better carrying on of affairs. Showing that it was necessary it should be so. If it was any honour or benefit, it was fit others should be made partakers of it; if it was a burden (as doubtless it was), it was but equal others should help to bear it; and that this was the end\* of annual elections. The issue was, that as before there was but one Assistant, they now chose five, giving the Governor a double voice; and afterwards they increased them to seven, which course hath continued to this day."

Bradford, however, was not suffered to retire, but was continued governor by annual election till 1633; when, as Winthrop says, "by importunity he gat off," and Edward Winslow † was elected for that year. ‡

Bradford was not only the historian of the colony, but his pen was constantly employed in conducting the correspondence, in keeping for many years the public records, and in other official duties. If the original manuscript of the compact signed on board the Mayflower on the 10th (20th N.S.) of November should ever come to light, we should expect to find it in Bradford's hand. His penmanship is most beautiful, the letters carefully formed, and the writing as easily read as the printed page. Such is the little treatise from which we here print, and such throughout is the condition of the manuscript History of the colony, which I had the pleasure, through the kindness of the Bishop of London, of examining in the

\* That is, the *purpose* or *object*.

† In regard to Edward Winslow, one of the most accomplished residents of the Old Colony, and perhaps of New England, in his day, it should be remembered that his commercial and diplomatic duties kept him in almost constant employment, and often away from home. He visited England a number of times as well on service for the Massachusetts Colony as for his own government; and from his visit of 1646 he never returned to the colony. He died in 1655 in the service of the Protector. Winthrop (II. 283) speaks "of his abilities of presence, speech, courage, and understanding."

‡ About this time a law was enacted, reciting that whoever refused to execute the office of Governor after election, unless he had held the place the foregoing year, should be amerced in twenty pounds sterling fine; and whoever refused the office of Assistant should be fined ten pounds.

Fulham Library four years since. Bradford's chirography is in singular contrast to that of Governor Winthrop, whose manuscripts are as sealed books, to be deciphered only by the initiated.

In printing this Dialogue, I have been careful to preserve the original spelling of the author; but I have taken some liberty in the punctuation and in the use of capitals.

I may add that my desire to consult all the books used and cited by Bradford as proofs and illustrations in writing this treatise has not been gratified. Some of these I could not find in any public or private library in this neighborhood. I have referred, in a note on the third page, to one of them which I consulted in the British Museum. I had hoped to find, by the inventory of his estate, that the larger part of the volumes had been in the possession of Bradford; but having had a list of the books there returned, and having also consulted the inventory of Brewster's estate, I can say that but few of the books are described in either. In Bradford's list one item is rendered, "three and fifty small bookes," which might have included some of those I was seeking.

Following this little "composure" on church government, as here published, are two pieces of composition in verse by the same author, one of which, "A Word to Plymouth," I believe has never before been printed. The other, entitled "Some observations of God's merciful dealing with us in this Wilderness," &c., is now printed entire for the first time. These are preserved here, not on account of their poetical beauties,—for to Bradford the Muses were not propitious,—but for the historical intimations which they contain. A footnote, on pages 61, 62, will give the necessary information respecting these "sundry useful verses" of the Plymouth governor.

C. D.



הנה אהבתי מעון ביתה ומוקום משכון כבודך

הנה מנת חלקי

פא: 16. 5.

· שגאתי קהל מרעים · פא: 26. 5. 2.

A Dialogue

Or. 3. Conference, betweene some  
yonge-men borne in New-England;  
And some ancient-men, which came  
out of Holand, and old England  
concerning the  
Church.

And the govermente therof. 2. 2. 2.

— yonge-men —

Gentle-men, we hope you will pardon  
our bouldnes, in that we have importun-  
ed you to give us meeting once  
more in this kind, for our instructi-  
on, & establisshmente in the truth.  
We find that many, and great are the  
controuersies, which have risen in these  
later times, about the Church, and y<sup>e</sup>  
gouerments therof; and much trouble  
and disturbanco hath growne in the

## A DIALOGUE

*Or 3<sup>d</sup> Conference betweene some Yonge-men borne in New-England, and some Ancient-men, which came out of Holand and Old England, concerning the Church, and the Gouvernente therof.*

### YONGE-MEN.

GENTLE-MEN, we hope you will pardon our bouldnes, in that we haue importuned you to giue vs meeting once more in this kind, for our instruction & establishmente in the truth.

We find that many and great are the controuersies which haue risen in these later times, about the Church, and the Gouvernente thereof; and much trouble and disturbance hath growne in the world therby, and doth still remaine to this day. That we may know, therefore, how groundedly the better to setle our judgments and practise in so weighty a mater, we humbly craue your best judgment and aduise. We conceiue this controuersie lyes chiefly amongst 4<sup>o</sup> sorts of men. The Papists,

The Episcopacie,

The Presbiterians, and

The Independants, as they are caled.

And we doe entreat you, therefore, to speake some thing to these in order, for our information; that we may the better discerne wher the truth lyes, that we may be confirmed in the same, and the more inabled to oppose the contrary.

### ANCIENT-MEN.

We shall in the first place comēd this necessarie consideration vnto you, (which we desire you may carrie all along with you in this whole controuersie) that the true church and the proper gouernente\* of the same, is to be knowne by the scriptures, and to be measured

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\* At the top of the page over this line, in the original MS., Bradford had subsequently written: "In sacrosancta scriptura existat fundamentum ecclesiæ dei." — ED.

only by that rule, the primatiue paterne; which church & the gouernement of the same is sufficiently described and layed down in the writings of the apostles and euangelists. For which, take the testimonie of that reuerend-man, M<sup>r</sup> Jewell.\* Christ and his apostles “(saith he) appointed the church in their time in such sorte as no “beter could be deuised; let vs therefore (saith he) compare the church “of the later time, with the originall; as we vse in trying of measures, “by the standard; for if ther be any falt, the standerd will bewray it.

2<sup>d</sup> Remember that Christ is the only king and lawgiuer of the church; which is his house and kingdom. *Extra bibliam non est veritas infallibilis.*

YONG-MEN.

Are ther any to be found, that are so impudent to denye these things? It is not meete that any should vsurpe vpon the Lord's royall dignitie and prerogatiue, and impose their owne word & law instead of his.

ANCIENT MEN.

They ought not indeede to be thus presumptuous (as you well say), but you will find it otherwise.

For the Papists hold, and bouldly affirme, that the church is not known by the word of God; but the word of God is knowne by the church. And vpon this ground it was that in the Councill of Basell the Cardinall Cusanus (the pops legate) maintained that the church is not knowne by the gospels, but the gospel by the church.

YOUNG MEN.

How doe they describ this church, & what power & authority doe they giue thereto?

ANCIENT-MEN.

They calle it the Roman-Catholick-Church, and say it is the only true church, out of which ther is no saluation. And that it is an vniuersall, visible-church, ouer whom the pope is visible head and Christs vickar. And that this Romane church is mother and mistres of all churches; and (by the Lord's ordinance) hath principality of ordenary power aboue all others, as being the mother and mistres of all Christian belieuers. And (say they) as Peter was the prince of the apostls, and head (and rock) of the church, to whom the keyes of the

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\* John Jewell, Bishop of Salisbury, born 1522, died 1571; a learned prelate and most voluminous writer. — Ed.

kingdom of heauen were giuen, (the rest of the apostls being (say they) as it were but legats, and in subordination vnder him), so the pope is the head of this church, (as Peter's sucesor); to whom power is giuen ouer all Christian princes, and all their people, as being Christs vicar ouer all peopell, and the vniuersall church of Christ. See Triple-Cord, Fol: 181. & .211.

2<sup>y</sup>. They hold that this church cannot erre in those things which are necessary to saluation; and he that shall not follow her authority in faith & maners is as if he had denyed God and is worse than an Infidele. See Triple-Cord, fol: 62.

3<sup>y</sup>. This church (viz. the pope and his counsell) must define what the word of God is, & what they haue defined & determined herein you shall see at large in the counsell of Trent, wher they make the Apocriphall bookes authentike, and of equall athority with the canonical Scriptures, of Moyses, the prophits and apostls. Also, vnwritten traditions they make equall with the word written; for so saith the aforesaid author, fol: 153. The pope and counsell of Trente (saith he) receiueth and reueren[c]eth with like pietie the word written and vnwritten, viz. traditions.

4<sup>y</sup>. And yet this is not all, for they hold it belongeth to this church only to iudg of the true sence & interpretation of the holy scriptures; vpon which they hold and affirme that the pope hath power to interprett, declare, and lay forth, the holy scriptures, after his owne will; and to suffer no man to expound it otherwise. & by the church (saith the former author) we vnderstand the (pope) the supreme pastor thereof, with a counsell of other bishops & doctors; and whatsoever they decree and propose to the whole church to be beleeued, that we firmly beleue to be most true & infallible. Fol: 23.

5<sup>y</sup>. They weaken the authority of the scripturs very much, as may appear by many bould (if not blasphemus) assertions, as, that the holy ghoste did not comānd or intend that the apostles and euanglists should write all needfull point of faith; and that none, or all of them, euer did performe the same. See the Triple-Cord, fol: 165. (We aledge this author so often; not but that we might produse many other for the like things; but that it is a late worke sett out by some Jesuits, & dedicated to the gentrie & nobility of Great Britaine.)\*

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\* The title-page of this book is as follows:—

“The Triple Cord, or a Treatise proving the Truth of the Roman Religion, By Sacred Scriptures, Taken in the Literal Sense, Expounded by Ancient Fathers, Interpreted by Protestant Writers. With A Discovery of sundry subtle Slights vsed by Protestants,

Another assertion of this author is, that it is most certaine that the originals are in some places corrupted. And no less certaine (saith he) that sundrie parts of the Scriptures are yet to this day wanting. Fol: 150. & 157.

From whence they make this conclusion; that it is the word which is placed in the moueths of bishops and preists, which shall neuer perish: alledging 1. Pet. 1. 25. & Mal. 2. 7. Isa. 59. Vlt.

Which, certainly, saith the author, we no-wher find to be promised to the word written.

for euading the force of strongest Arguments, taken from clearest Texts of the foresaid Scriptures. Si quispiam præualuerit contra vnum, duo resistent ei: Funiculus triplex difficile rumpitur; Eccles. 4. 12. If any may prevaile agaynst one, two resist him: A triple Cord is hardly broken. Permissum Superiorum, M.DC.XXXIII.

The running title is "The Triple Cord." On the leaf following the title-page is "The Epistle Dedicatory; To the Protestant Nobility of Great Britaine," signed "N. N." Then follows "The Preface to the Protestant Reader." The book is a thick quarto of 801 pp., besides the prefaces and "tables."

All my attempts to find a copy of this book failed, until, in 1866, I inspected one in the British Museum. (I had previously learned, through the Rev. Henry M. Dexter, D D., of Boston, the accomplished historical scholar and divine, that the author of "The Triple Cord" was Lawrence Anderton; and, subsequently to this, from the same source, that a copy of the book was in the British Museum). On the title-page of this copy is this manuscript note: "by Lawrence Anderton: printed at St. Omers. See Dodd,\* vol. 3. p. 100." Also, at foot: "1634. The author died 17 April, 1643." On a blank leaf, at the beginning of the volume, is the following, written by a former owner, "John Egan:" "The author was Lawrence Anderton, born in Lancashire, learnt the rudiments of his education at Blackburn, and was afterwards sent to Cambridge, where he was a great favorite, and from his sprightly genius and fluent eloquence was commonly called 'silver-mouthed Anderton.' Being much addicted to controversy he could not get over some difficulties regarding the Reformation, which at last ended in his being received into the Catholic Church. He afterward went to Rome, where he became a Jesuit, and was a great ornament to that illustrious body. He afterwards resided in his native country, Lancashire, where he was highly esteemed for his preaching, and admirable character. He was the author of, 2. 'The Progeny of Catholics & Protestants,' 4to, Rouen, 1632. 3. A Treatise entitled 'One God, one Faith,' with the letters W B. prefixed, 8vo; 1625."

This note is continued on a leaf at the end of the volume: "The Rev. Dr. Oliver, in his Collections for the Biography of the Members of the Society of Jesus, states that the author had been a minister of the Protestant Church before his conversion. He became a novice in 1604, æt. 28, and shone in the sequel amongst the most exalted names in the English Province. He died on the 17th of April, 1643, aged 67. In speaking of the work, The Triple Cord, Dr. Oliver says: I suspect [the author of] this is the chaplain of the Earl of Essex, whom F. Gerard received into his house in London, and who assigned 3 reasons for adopting the Institute of St. Ignatius. 1. Because it was detested more than the other religious orders by Heretics and the wicked of all classes. 2. Because it foreclosed all hopes of church preferment. 3. Because it especially cherished the practice of Obedience." — ED.

\* Charles Dodd (pseu.), "Church History of England," &c., by Hugh Tootle, 1737-42. — ED.



6<sup>y</sup>. We may add hereunto how they haue preffered the vulgar Latin translation about the originals, and made it authentick in the trials of all doctriens and controuersies, though it is knowne to be very corrupte.

And yet they thinke not themselues saue enough (by all this proouision) but they endeauor what they can to keepe the Scriptures shut vp in an vnknowne tongue; so greatly are they affraid of the light of the same.

YONGE-MEN.

Alas, if these things be admitted, what mischeefe will not follow? This is to aduance man about God, a lye about the truth; the word of a mortall & corrupte mā about the word of the eternall, liuing God, whose word is truth, wheras all men are lyers; for if this church be such a soueraign lady to cañand ouer all the Christians in the world, as the only spouse of Christ, and the pope her head (in whom lyes all the power, as Christ pretended vickar) which cannot erre; and for this her owne testimoney, only, must be taken; will not the great whor say as much? Reu: 17.

Againe, if they may make such fables as Tobit, Judith, &c. cañonicall scripture, and make a nose of waxe of the rest, to interpret them as they please, without controule; and their vnwritten traditions, to pas for currente coyne; and not the written word of God, but the word that is in the mouthes of their bishops and shauen preists to be permenent & neuer to perish; they may make religion to be what they please, and make the blind world beleieue what they list; and impose their owne lusts for laws; and lead men hoodwinkte, whither they will. If ther were no more in poperie but what you haue here laide downe, it might be sufficient to make any to abhorre this popish religion, or to looke towards the same, which is thus dirogatorie to the honour of God, and [h]is word.

ANCIENT-MEN.

You may well say so, when you shall see what they build on those foundations; and what conclusions they draw from these principles.

YONGE-MEN.

We pray you to open the same further vnto vs, that we may see more into this misterie of iniquity, and may be strengthened against the deceits and errours of the same.

ANCIENTE-MEN.

We shall shew you what that great learned man, Du Plessis, hath noted in his booke called the Mistrice of Iniquitie. The canonists &

other magnifiers of the pope & church of Rome (saith he) affirme that Christ, whilst he liued, he was head of the church militante, but when he dyed, Peter was head, and since Peeter's death, the pops of Rome his successors.

1. And the pope, (say they) is Christ's vickar, not only in earthly but celestiall and infernall things, euen ouer the angels, both good and bad ; he may excommunicate the angels them selues.

2. All the whole world is his diocesse. God and he hath but one consistorie ; Christ and he but one tribunall.

3. The pops will is the rule of justice ; what he doth God houlds it well done. The square, hee may make round ; right, of that which is wrong, and some thing of that which is nothing. He is aboue all laws, aboue all decrees, cannons & counsels, and may be contrarie vnto them.

4. Nay, (say they) the Lord should not haue been discrete had he not left such a vicar behind him that could doe all these things. Du Plessis. *Mist. Iniq* : fol : 454.\*

He further declares, out of some of their gloses, that they affirme and say that the pope is more then a man, and say of him, Thou greatest of all things, thou art neither God nor man, but some intermediant power. Yea, some call him our Lord God, the pope. Yea, (saith he) others recomēd him for a God vnto vs, and that in essence. Would euer any haue beleueed such things (saith he) if the spirit of God had not foretould as much of antichrist. Fol : 454.

And yet, as if they had not vttered blasphemie enough, they say he may dispence against the apostls as their superiour ; and against the Old Testament, in that he is greater then all the authors of the same.

And least these things should be thought too much to be beleueed of some pops that be wicked or vnworthy men (as many haue been knowne to be), they aledge a decree mentioned by Gratian, wherein it is affirmed that none are made pops but such as are worthy ; or if they

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\* The edition of this work used by Bradford has the following title-page, as per copy in the Library of the Historical Society:—

“The Myserie of Iniquitie, That is to say, The Historie of the Papacie: Declaring by what degrees it is now mounted to this height, and what Oppositions the better sort from time to time have made against it. Where is also defended the right of Emperours, Kings, and Christian Princes against the assertions of the Cardinals Bellarmine and Baronises. By Philip Morney, Knight, Lord du Plessis, &c Englished by Samson Lennard. . . . London, Printed by Adam Islip, Anno Dom. 1612; fol. 662 pp.”

The work was published in French the year before, and also about the same time in Latin. The translator had a copy of each before him while engaged on his English version. The author, an illustrious French Protestant, and Privy Counsellor of Henry IV., was born in 1549, and died in 1623. — ED.

be not, so soone as they enter into that seate, by vertu trãsmited from Sainct Peter vnto them, it maks them worthy. Fol: 81.

And amongst the dictats of Gregorie the .7. it is said, that a pope canonically ordained, is vndoubtedly made holy by the merit of S<sup>t</sup> Peter. Fol: 243. So, as you may see, these juglers prouid a salue for euery sore.

But let vs add hereunto what Pareus hath noted on Reu: in Chap. 9.\* The fathers of the Lateran councell (saith he) gaue this plaspheumus applause to the pope:

Thou art all things, and aboue all things; to thee is giuen all power in heauen, and in earth.

And againe by another in the same place.

By thy vnerring word, thou rulest ouer all;  
And fitt it is a God on earth men should thee call."

Hence is it that in the .40. Dist: "Si pape", they call the pope a God vpon earth, ouer all heauenly, earthly, ghostly, & worldly things; and he is all his owne, and no man may say, What doest thou? And though he were so euill that he should lead innumerable heaps of men into hell; yet may no man reprove him for it, and say, What dost thou? From hence it is also that they draw these conclusions:

1. That the seat of Rome giues strength to all laws, but is subjecte to none.

2. And Paule the .2. affirmed that the pope carries within the circuite of his owne breste all deuine and humane laws.

3. That no man may judge the pope, nor giue any sentence aboue his, but he shall judg all men vpon the earth.

4. That he may depose kings and disanule the alegeance of their subjects, and set vp whom he pleases.

5. That he hath authority to breake all oaths, bonds & obligations, made betweene man & man, of high or low degree. Doct Barns, fol: 186.

6. The canonists hould that no man may dispute the pops power, and ther is a law amonge the pops decrees for that purpose.

\* The work here cited is "A Commentary vpon the Divine Revelation of the Apostle and Evangelist John. By David Pareus; sometimes Professor of Divinity in the University of Heidelberg . . . Translated out of the Latine in English, by Elias Arnold. Amsterdam. Printed by C. P. Anno cle b̄ CXLIV." (1644.)

A copy is in Harvard College Library. The work was originally published in Latin, in 1628, six years after the author's death. Pareus was a celebrated divine of the Reformed Religion, and was born at Silesia in 1548.—ED.

## YONG-MEN.

These things which you haue rehersed, maks vs almost to tremble that any mortall men should dare thus to lift vp them selues, and arrogate such things vnto them as cañot belonge to any mortall creature. Surely this is the very voyce of antichrist thus to aduance him selfe aboue all that is called God; and that very mouth that speaketh great and blasphemus things. Reu: 13· 5·

But let vs hear, (we pray you) how they haue improved this power, and carried, in the execution of the same.

## ANCIENT-MEN.

They haue corrupted (hereby) all sound doctrine, and made the church to grone vnder the burthen of their traditions and vile ceremonies, which they haue multiplied aboue measure; and changed or corrupted (in a maner) all the ordinances of God; and imposed the pops laws, cañons, decrees & decretals, vpon the consciences of men, in stead of the word & law of God; and made all, both high & low, to bow downe vnder the burden of the same; establishing a lordly & powerful hirarchie of Cardinals, Archbishop, Lord Bishops, Abats, & Archdeacons; preists, parsons, vicars, deans, canons, prebands; and monkes & friers, &c. euen almost without number; all of them the sworne vassals of the pope, bound to him by an oath of canonicall obedience, to be ministers vnder him, to execute this exorbitante power with all rigore, as he should please and coñmand; sending his legats and emissaries to all princes courts, and other places, with his bulls and mandats to signifie his pleasure, and requir obedience vnto the same. And if performance was not according to his mind & pleasure, then followed thundering threatenings of excommunications and intredictions, and execution of the same; euen vpon kings and keisears & their whole kingdoms. Which not only made the world to wonder, but to quake & tremble at this stupendious power, and say, who is able to make warr with the beast?

He tooke the impire from the Greciās and gaue it to the French. And after from the French he transferd it to the Germans. Gregorie ·2· excommunicated Leo, the emperour, & depriued him of his reuenues. Pope Zacharie deposed Childrich, king of France. Leo the ·3· depriued the Grecian emperour of the westerne impire. Alexander the ·3· made Frederick the ·1· lye downe, and proudly trampled on his necke, before he would be reconciled vnto him. Gregorie the ·7· displaced Henerie the ·4· He was twize excomuni-

cated; and he and his empres, with their yong sone, made to waite at the pops gate, bare footed, in the sharp time of winter, fasting from morning tile night, humbly craueing absolution. Thus he continued for ·3· days. The ·4· day he gott admittance. But after all this, by an other pope, (Pascales the ·2·) he was deposed, who sent certaine bishops to dispoyle him of his crowne and emperiall ornaments. And, when they tooke them from him, he asked them the reason; they said it was the pops pleasure. Afterwards he was by necessitie constrained to begg a prebands place of the bishope of Spire (whom he had aduancte and done much for), but he denyed him. So he, pore prince, went to Leige, and died for sorrow, after he had reigned ·50· years. And yet this proud & cruell pope was not satisfied, but caused his body to be diged vp out of the graue, and to remaine ·5· years vnburied. Inocent the ·3· thrust out Otho the ·4· Inocent the ·4· tooke the empire from Frederick the ·2· Clement the ·6· excommunicated Lodowick the ·4· and Julyus the ·2· deprived the king of Nauar of his kingdom; and our king John was foret to resigne his crowne and kingdom to Pandolfe, the pops legate, & become his vassal & fewderarie. Many more instances might be giuen, euen enough to fill a volume; but we will only add, how Clement the ·5·, to pacifie his furie, caused Francis Dandalus, the Venetion ambasadoure, to haue a chaine of iron tyed aboute his necke, and to lye downe vnder the pops table, ther, like a dogge, to catch the bones which fell from the table, vntill the pops fury was asswaged to absolue them. Now, surely, we beleeuue they can neuer show that euer Peter did such a thing, or had kings & emperours to wait vpon him; some to lead his horse, others to hold his stirupe, and all to fall downe before him & kise his feete.

#### YONG-MEN.

No verily, we beleeuue (if we may credite the scriptures) these canōt be Peters successors, but that antichrist, the man of sine, which aduanceth him selfe aboue all that is called God. But we pray you to proceed to some other points of this churchs doctrine.

#### ANCIENT-MEN.

1. They teach their disciples and all their people to beleeuue as the church beleeuues; and by an implicite faith to rest in what the pope and his counsell dictats vnto them, which is coherente with the former grounds. If they tell them it is so and so defined, it is enough for them without further search.

2<sup>ly</sup>. In stead of edifying them with sound doctrine from the word of

God in the scriptures, they feede them with fables out of their lying legends, filled with foolish fancies and lying miracles, and other such apocriphall stufe.

3<sup>y</sup>. They teach them to worship images, and fall downe before stocks and stons ; and tell them they are the layemens books, in, or by which, they are to read & learn their Catholick doctrine & religion. Yea, the ·8· generall councell, in An° ·871· not only allowed the worshiping of images, but comāded that the image of Christ shouldbe houlden in no les reuerence then the books of the gospell. And the author of the Triple-Cord saith, that images haue a more perfecte and nearer relation to God then the Arke (of his Couenant) had. Fol: 381· and that the image of Christ is the same to the eye, that the name of Jesus is to the eare ·385· But aboue all they make an abhominable idole of the mass, and worship their breaden God ; the bearing witnes against which hath cost the blood of so many martires (which are still fresh in memory) in our fore fathers days.

4<sup>y</sup>. They joyne other mediators with Christ, espetically the virgine Mary, whom they call the queene of Heauen. Ther is no fauor so great but is obtained of her, no necessitie so pressing which she takes not away. To her they sing this song of praise :

Thou art the hope of comfortles,  
True mother of the fatherlesse,  
A comfort to the pore in thrall,  
The sick, a sure salue haue thee shall,  
To all things thou art all in all.

Thus (saith Pareus, in Reu : foll: 300·) they make Mary the hauen & helper of all men vnto saluation.

Yea, they doe in a sort equall her milke with Christs blood. As,

Thus in the mothers milke I will the Sone his blood infuse,  
Then which a beter antidote I cannot surely vse.  
O when shall I thy sweet breasts suck, and with thy wounds fed be,  
Injoy thy duggs, thy wounds, O Christ, euen such felicity?

And they sing this antheme publicly in their churches

O happy mother of that Sonne  
Which hast all our sinnes foredone ;  
Out of a mothers right we pray thee,  
Bid our Redeemer to obay thee.

Yea, she is called the queene of mercy, who hath broken the serpents head. And Pope Leo the ·10· by his secretary, (saith Du Plesis) calleth her *Deam*, a goddessse.

Yea (saith he), I fear & tremble at the consideration of her psalter; wherein all that which Dauid hath spoken of God the father, the sone, and the holy ghost, is applyed vnto her, and that without any maner of exception, throughout, euen from the begining to the end, changing Dominum, into Domina; the lord into the lady; as, Blessed is the man that loueth Mary, that feareth her, that praiseth her name, that trusteth in her, that hopeth in her, &c. Haue mercie vpon me O mother of mercie, and wash me from all my iniquities. Come let vs worship the Lady; let vs praise the Virgin that hath saued vs; let vs worship her, and let vs confesse our sins vnto her, &c. Du-Plessisse of the Mass, fol: 333.\*

And for other their canonized sainets, they ascribe ·7· things to belong to them.

First, to be publickly declared for sainets, by the pope.

2.<sup>ly</sup> to be inuocated in the prairs of the church.

3.<sup>ly</sup> to haue churches & altars.

4.<sup>ly</sup> an office, & sacrifice in honour of them.

5.<sup>ly</sup> a festifull day.

6.<sup>ly</sup> an image with lights, in signe of glorie.

The ·7· reliks and shrines.

These (with many others) they worship and inuocate, and vtter many blasphemies in their idolatrous praises. We shall only instance in two or ·3· of them. And first in their St. Francis, who, (they say) is a more worthy person than John Baptist. John was a forerunner of Christ, but Francis both a forerunner & standerd bearer. John was the friend of the bridgroom, but Francis like vnto the bridgroom himselfe. Againe, (say they) though John was highly aduante, yet, Francis was aboue him, for he was lift vp into the place from which Lucifer was throwne, & lodged in Christ's side, &c. Yea, (say they) he is better then all the apostls, for they forsooke nothing for Christ, but some little ship; but he forsooke all, euen to his hosen. This man, (say they) is the image of Christ, as Christ is the image of the Father. He is *via vite*, the way of life; & he that dyeth in his habite, is a happy man, yea if he haue but his hand in the sleeue of it. Baptisme doth wash away originall sinne, but the hoode of St. Francis

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\* The English version of this work has the following title, as per Lowndes's Bibliog. Manual: "Fowre Books of the Institutions, Vse and Doctrine of the Holy Sacrament of the Eucharist in the old Church; as likewise how, when, and by what Degrees the Masse is brought in, in Place thereof. Translated by R. S., London, 1600, folio." The work first appeared in French, in 1598, and in Latin, in 1605. — ED.

much more. If you resolute to continue to wear it, it is worth as much to you as a new baptizing, yea, rather a new abolishment, not of originall sine only, but of all maner of actuall siñes. Du-Plessis of the Mass°. fol: 337.

And their St Dominick coms not much behind; for the Archbishop Antonine, (saith Du Plesis) poiseth his mirackles, not against St. Francis, but against Christs. Christ, (saith he) raised but ·3· from death, at all; but Dominick at Rome only raised as many; and ·40· more nere to Thořosa, which were drowned on horse-back in the riuer Garona, besids infinite others. All power in heauen & in earth is giuen vnto Christ, and this power was in no small measure bestowed on Dominick, ouer all things in heauen, earth and hell, & that euen in this life; for he had angels to attend vpon and serue him, the elements obeyed him, and the deuils trembled vnder him. The Lord saith, I am the Light of the world, and the church singeth of Dominick, Thou art the Light of the world. Christ, after his resurection, went into his disciples, the dores being shut; but Dominick whilst he bare about this mortall body, which is much more, went into the temple, the dors being shut. Paul and the Apostls induced and perswaded men to beleue; but Dominick, to obserue the counsels, which is a shorter course & cutt to saluation. Thus, (saith Du Plesiss,) they still giue him the better, both of Christ and the Apostles. Fol: 336.

The next that we shall name, was our St. Thomas Becket, who was canonized by Alexander the ·3·; an[d] in the derision of the blood of Christ, was praid vnto in these words, (with other blasphemies:) That, by the grace & fauor purchased by the blood of Thomas, he would make vs ascend whither Thomas is ascended.

And how his shrine was both adornd and adored, our histories do declare; being flocked vnto by all sorts of persons, being more honoured and prayed vnto then God himselfe. Of Christ and all his apostls and prophets, are not writen so many great miracles as of this our Becket, (saith M<sup>r</sup> Bale,); as that\* so many sick, blind, lame, croked, bedrid, leprouse, sorrowfull, excited, imprisoned, hanged, drowned, and dead, were by them deliuered, as by him.

Yea, King Henery went as a humble penitent in pilgrimage to his tombe, and resigned his power vpon their high altar, and consented to their vsurped liberties; and being all naked, saue a pair of lining

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\* He means, "As that *not* so many sick, lame," &c. — ED.



breeches vpon his nether parts, receiued of the monks a disciplin with rods in their chapter house ; and was glad he scaped so. Bale, in his Acts of English Votaries.\*

By these few instances you may see how idolatrusly they worshiped, & prayed vnto their saincts ; not only equeliseng them with God & Christ, but often ascribing more honour vnto them then to the Lord him selfe. And yet of many of them, it may be justly doubted, they were rather miserable wretches in hell, then saincts in heauen.

We may also add, how they not only thus joyned them with God in their praies & inuocations, but also swore by their names, some times singly, and sometimes joyntly with God ; as, by God, and our Lady ; and, So help me God, & all saincts, &c.

All which considered, made Lodouicus Viues, (an ingenuous Papist) confess, that he could find no difference betwixte the opinione that the Christians haue of their saincts, & that which the Pagans haue of their Gods ; when as they giue them the same honour, that is giuen to God him self. Viues, in August : de Ciuit : Dei l. 8. C. vlt. †

5.<sup>ly</sup> They rest not vpon Christ and his righteousnes & merits only for justification & saluation, but vpon their owne works & merits, (at least in part) and vpon the praiers & merits of saincts, and the pops pardons, &c.

Nay, that which is more, by their works of supererrogation, to deserue & merit for others ; which being added vnto the merits of Christ, doe augmente the treasure of the church ; which the pope, (as Lord Treasurer) doth, by his indulgences, so prodigally dispencc, espetially for money.

\* John Bale or Baleus, Bishop of Ossory, in Ireland, a voluminous writer, was born in Suffolk, 1495, and died 1563. The work cited in the text is entitled: "Actes of English Votaries, comprehendinge their vnchast Practyses and Examples by all Ages, from the Worlde's Begynnyng to thys present Yeare, collected out of their owne Legends and Chronycles. Wesel, 1546, 8vo." Black letter. This is probably the first edition. A later edition, in two parts, 16mo, printed, as appears by the last leaf of Part I, in 1560, is in the Library of the Boston Athenæum. It once belonged to the Rev. Thomas Prince, and bears his autograph, with "Sudbury, June 1. 1713."—ED.

† "De Civitate Dei." This, the most popular and famous of the works of Saint Augustine, was first printed in 1467. "Monasterio Sublacensi Conradus Sweynheim, et Arnolds Pannartz die vero 12, mensis Julii, MCCCCLXVII. fol." It went through numerous editions. In 1522 was printed the edition with the commentary of Ludouicus Joan Vives, which Bradford quotes in the text. An English translation was printed in 1610; and a second, and the best, edition, in 1620. Vives was one of the revivers of literature, and famous for his learning. He was born at Valencia in Spain, in 1492, and died at Bruges, according to some accounts, in 1541. (See Watt's Bibliotheca Britannica.)—ED.

As for their other doctrens, of purgatorie, penance, pilgrimages, crossings, censings, praying vpon beads for the liuing & the dead, worshipping of relicks, and a number more (too tedious to relate), we refferr you to others who treat of them at large.

Yet we may not forgett their forbiddings of mariage, and meats, which the scriptures call doctrines of diuels; and what horrible euils haue growen therby, to the dishonoure of God, & violation of his laws!

They count it sine for their clergie to marie, yea, they call it the heresie of the Nicolaitans; that which the scriptures call honourable, they repute vile and impure, wresting that scripture against mariage: They which are in the flesh canot please God. And frame this goodly reason, that as the Lord would be conceiued in the womb of a virgine, so would he be receiued at the altar with vnpoluted and virgins hands. And Vrbanus the Second was not contented to punish those that were married, and force them to put away their wiues; but ordained that their wiues should become slaues to the prince, or lord, whose subjects they were.

#### YONGE-MEN.

We haue heard enough of their idolatrie and superstition, and also of their hereticall and erronious doctrens, to make vs loath and abhorre the same. We pray you to let vs hear something of their maners in their liues & conuersations, espetially of their holy clergie, who seeme to pretend this virgine puritie, and in respecte of others are called spirituall, and religious, most holy, reuerend, venerable, &c.

#### ANCIENT-MEN.

To satisfie your requeste we shall only mention a few things, of many, which graue-authors haue published to the world, and left in writing, to the view of all.

And hear, in the first place, what Pareus hath noted in Reu: Chap. 6 fol: 125. Baleus, (saith he) hath distributed these antichristian popes from Boniface vnto Julius the 2 (that is from the year 606 vnto the year 1513) into fiue distinct classes or orders; who, for the most part (as Genebardus, a Popish writer of their owne conf[e]seth) were magicians, sorcerers, atheists, adulterers, murderers, wicked, perjured and impure; not apostolicall, but apostatical and hereticall men. Thus farr he, being one of their owne.

Againe, (saith Pareus) Rome is an abhominable warehouse of all spirituall and corporall fornications. In the citie it selfe, filthy lusts not to be named are comonly and freely comited, nourished, and com-

mended, and gaine made therof. If any doubt, let him read histories, (saith he) or goe to Rome, and he shall find the truth of that which Petrarcha complains of, viz. that deflowring, rauishing, incests and adulteries, are but a sporte to the pontificall lasciuiousnes.

And he shall find that of Mantuan,\* (one of their owne poets,) to be true.

Goe shame into the villages, if they refuse  
Such loathsome beastlines: whole Rome is now a stewes.

And again.

Roma vale, vidi, satis est vidisse, reuertar:  
Cum leno, meretrix, scurra cynædus ero.

Now farwell Rome. I haue thee seene, it was enough to see:  
I will come back when as I mean, bawd, harlot, knaue to be.

& againe

Roma quid est? Amor est, quem dat preposterus ordo,  
Roma mares: noli dicere plura scio.

But what is Rome? She is that love wch naturs rule doth break,  
For its at Rome 'mongst males; I know much more, but will not speak.

Pareus on Reu: fol: 234.

Vnto which may be added that old verce applied by R. Grosthead.†

The world was not enough to satisfie  
Their auerice, nor whores their luxury.

Du-Plessise, in his Treaties of the Masse, fol: 188. sheweth that Auentine ‡ reporteth that vnder the shadow of continencie & holines al sorts of incestes were comited (by them) without the sparing of any degree.

And Vlrich B. of Ausbourg complaies, that they are not affraid of whordoms, adultries, incestes, buggeries and other vitiose practices; yea, of nothing of all that which the Scriptures call the abominations of the Cananites.

And likewise S<sup>t</sup> Bernard saith that the diuell hath strewed the ashes of Sodome vpon the church (clergie) and that they are sham-

\* Baptist Spagnoli Mantuan (sometimes Latinized "Mantuanus"), an Italian poet, of much fame in his day, was born at Mantua, in 1448, and died in 1516. A full account of his writings may be seen in Brunet. Bradford quotes him here through Pareus. — ED.

† Robert Grosthead or Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln, regarded as the most learned ecclesiastic of the 13th century, was born about 1175, and died 1253. His unpublished writings are more numerous than those that have been given to the world. — ED.

‡ John Arentin, author of the Annals of Bavaria, died in 1536. This work gained him a great reputation. See Watt, I. 57. — ED.

les, not caring to couer & conceale themselues, but take their swinge in the comiting of all maner of villanie vnder the vaile of continencie.

But, let vs repaire, (saith Du-Plesis) to the mother of fornications, and ther we shall see the cardinals carrying the curtizans about with them in their coaches, and the pope taking ordinarie tribute and yearly sumes of money of them; and to keepe a stewes (I. loth and abhore to speak of the worst) him selfe. Ther we shall find (saith he) Aretines,\* not in painted shapes, but in their liuely persons; John de-Casa, arch-bishop of Beneuento, deane of the Apostolike Chamber, and the pops nuncio, writing the praises of buggery in Italian verse, and causing the same to be imprinted at Venice.

Mantuan, though a gray-friar, saith,

Sanctus ager scurris, venerabilis ara Cinædis  
Seruit, honorandæ diuum ganymedibus ædes.

The afforesaid Johanes De-Casa placièd the filthy Sodomite vnder the pops nose; and he it was that caused Francies Spira to subscribe to a recantation, which brought him to that fearful desperation.

It is said that Sixtus the ·4· builded stews of both kinds, in Rome, and thereby got great rents and reuenus vnto the Church of Rome. And Peter Ruerius,† (an other pope) licenced the whole family of the cardinals, to play the Sodomits, the ·3· hole months in the year, June, July and August. Abridg. of the Acts & Mon. fol: 151·

Yea, it is openly knowne that in the popish cuntries com̄one stewes are alowed, vnto which youth and all sorts resorte to satisfie their fleshly lustes; as vsually men doe to tauernes to quenche their thirst.

Peter Martire also shews in what pompe the harlots in Rome liue. Their houses, (saith he,) be most statly & gorgious, (and com̄only such as belong to the church). They ride openly in chariots appared like princes, and sometimes vpon their fine foote-cloaths.

\* Reference is here made, I suppose, to some of the productions of Peter Aretin, an obscene and satirical writer of the sixteenth century, a native of Arezzo, who wrote verses to accompany the immodest engravings of Julio Romano. See Bayle's General Dictionary enlarged by many hands, under his name. — ED.

† Peter Ruerius was not pope, but was one of the many cardinals made by Sixtus IV., who became pope in 1476. The true statement of Fox, quoting his authority, is, that Sixtus, "at the request of this Peter Cardinal, and of Jerome, his brother," "granted unto the whole family of Cardinal St. Lucy, in the three hot months of June, July, and August, free liberty," &c. Bradford here quotes the "Abridgment of the Acts and Monuments, fol. 151." The only edition of such an abridgment, existing in Bradford's time, known to me, is that of T. Bright, published in 1589, now before me; and the statements here made are found on pp. 386 and 387 of that volume. — ED.

They haue in their company men wearing Gould cheaines, and disguised persons, and sometimes cardinals, espetically in the night time; and a most sumptuous traine of waiting women. P. Martyre. Com: places, fol: .472. .473.\*

And Mr. Tindall affirmes, that it was permitted to the ministers in Dutch-land, (to whom mariage was forbidden) that paying a gilder to the archdeacon, euery one might freely & quietly haue his whore, and put her away at his pleasure, and take another, as often as he list. And so it was in Wales, Scotland, Ireland, France and Spaine. Fol: 262.

It was found at the desolution of our abeis in England, that some of the friers had .6. some .7. some .10. and some .20. concubines. And many were detected of most infamous incests, whordoms, & filthy sodomitrie, &c., as doth appear by the records, saith Doctor Willett, on Jude, fol: 107.†

And Dtr. Barnes saith, the pope and his prelates sell all things for money, for money they make vsurie lawfull, for money they make whoredome as lawfull as marriage, for money they make as good marchandise of womens . . . . as the Gould-smith doth of gilded plate; and all this by the authority of the keys as they pretend. Barnes ‡ on the Keies. fol: 265. And these verces of Alexander the Sixt verifie the same.

Alexander sells crucifixes, Christ, & altars high,  
And reason good he should so doe, for first he did them buy.

And this of Mantuan,

—— Venalia nobis  
Templa, sacerdotes, altaria, sacra, coronæ,  
Ignis, thura, preces, cœlum est venale, deusq.

Temples, preists, altars, sacred things, and crownes renowed too,  
Fire, frankincense, prayers, Heaven and God here sell we doe.

\* This is Peter Martyr, "Vermilius," not him of Angleria, with whom he was sometime contemporary. The former was a distinguished divine, born at Florence in 1500, Professor of Divinity for a time, at Oxford, and dying at Zurich in 1562. The "Common Places" of this author were translated into English by Anthony Marten, London, 1583. Wood has perpetuated his memory in his "Athenæ." — ED.

† Dr. Andrew Willett, a learned English divine, was born in the city of Ely, in 1562, and died in 1621. He wrote many commentaries on different parts of the Scriptures. — ED.

‡ Dr. Robert Barnes was Professor of Divinity, and Chaplain to Henry VIII. He suffered as a Protestant martyr in 1540. A collection of his works, including those of William Tyndall and John Frith, made by John Fox, was published in 1573, fol. This may have been the volume used by Bradford. — ED.

And Cardinall Morton (that great politician) for money, got a licence for ·14· to studie negromācie, him selfe being one. Tind : 367·

And what is it that the pope doth not dispence with, for money? It is knowne, (saith Peter Martyre,) how by the pops licence, Emanuell, the king of Portingaile, married with tow sisters; and Catherine, Queene of England, married with tow brothers. Ferdinand, the King of Naples, married his owne aunte. And it is affirmed, that Martine the ·5· gaue licence to one to marie his naturall sister. Peter Martier, fol : 453· Coḿ : places.

But to conclude. We will giue you an instance in tow or ·3· of these holy vicars of Christ, who haue this plenarie power to dispence with and pardon whom they please.

And first in Pope John the ·13· He was a libidinus beast, a monstrous varlet; he comited inceste with ·2· of his sisters; he caled on the diuell to help him in his play, &c. ; he was deposed, but by the whores in Rome he was restored; but after, he was taken in adultrie & slaine by the womans husband. Abridg. Acts & Mon : fol : 39· & Simson of the Church, fol : 347.\*

Siluester the ·2· was a sorcerer, and was exalted to the papacy by the deuill vpon condition he should giue him selfe to the deuill after his death. Fol : 48·

Hildebrand, a firebrand, a most wicked man, a manifest nigromancer, a sorcerer, infected with a pithonickall spirite, condemned by the councill of Brixia.†

Benedict the ·9· aspired to the papacie by magicke, & practized enchantments, and conjurations, and alured women to his lusts by magicall arts. He was vnlearned and most vitious; and at length sould his dignitie for ·1500<sup>li</sup> waight of gould. And it is said he appeared after his death in a monstrous shape, more like a beast than a man.

Sergius the ·3· caused the body of Formosus to be taken out of his graue after it had been buried ·8· years, and beheaded it, (as if he had been aliue) and then cast it into Tiber, as vnworthy of buriall. And besides his cruelty, he was a vile whoremonger. He had a sone by Marozia, the wife of Guido, a famous harlot, who afterwards was

\* "The Historie of the Church since the Days of our Saviour Jesus Christ until this present Age, by Patrick Symson. London 1624," folio. The author was minister at Stirling. — Ed.

† Brescia, the capital city of the Province of Lombardy. — Ed.

pope, called John the ·12·\* This Marozia was an incestuous harlot, and married tow bretheren, Guido & Hugo, of whom<sup>n</sup> this verse was made.

Nubere Germanis satagens Herodia binis.

This was a judgment of God, (saith the author) vpon the Romans; they were guided by the popedome, and the popedome was guided by harlots.

Julius the ·2· was full of iniquitie and a great warier. As he was going to ware, he cast the keies of St. Peter into Tiber, saing, seeing the keyes of Peter would not serue his turne, he would take him selfe to the sword of Paule; and by his means in ·7· years time, ·200,000· Christians were destroyed with cursing and warr.

But we will ende with Alexander, the ·6· that monster of men. It is said of him, (in the French historie,) that he was very dishoneste, hauing no sinceritie, no shame, no trueth, no faith, nor no religion, &c. Serres, fol: 314.†

He had ·2· sons, one he made Duck of Candia, the yonger Cardinale of Valence. He had also a daughter, (a very bewtifull woman). The father, and both these brethern, made her their whore in com̄one; but the cardinall conceiueing that the duck, his brother, had the better share in her loue, and that he was raised to higher state then him selfe, he caused him to be murdered secretly in the night, as he ride in the streets, and had his body thrown into Tiber. Guiccardin, fol: 138.‡

After this he cast of his cardinall habite, and became a great warrier. And such a wicked couple were these tow, that it grue to be a prouerbe, that the pope neuer did that which he said, nor his sone seldome speake what he ment.

But obserue the righteous judgment of God vpon them; when they were ariued almost to the tope of their greatnes, and the hight of their hopes, they were throwne downe; for, on a time, haueing prepared a banquet, and inuited some cardinals, & great ones (which stood in their

\* More properly John XI., who became Pope, anno. 931. — ED.

† Jean de Serres. *Generall Historie of France*, translated by Edward Grimeston, London, 1624, folio. — ED.

‡ Francis Guicciardini, a nobleman of Florence, and a well-known writer, was born in 1482, and died in 1540. His *History of the Wars of Italy* was first published at Florence (the first sixteen books only) in 1561, fol. The remaining four books were published three years later. The work was first translated into English by Geoffrey Fenton, 1579, fol., entitled "The History of Guicciardin;" yet I doubt, on examination, if this is the edition used by Bradford. — ED.

way,) whom they mente to dispatch with poyson, they had for that end prepared some bottels of wine mixed for the turne; but by a mistake in the serueters, the pope had giuen him wine out of the wrong bottle, of which both he and his sone dronke; so as he dyed shortly after; and his sone being yonge and more vigorus, with the help of antidots scaped narrowly, and lay sicke a longe time vpon it, and all their designs were ouerthrowne therby. — *Qualis vita, finis ita.*

When the pope was dead, (saith Guiccardine) all Rome rane to see him, and rejoiced to see such a serpent destroyed; who with his imoderate ambition and poysoned infidelity, togeather with all the horrible examples of cruelty, luxurie and monstros coueteousnes, seling without distinction both holy and prophane things, had infected the whole world. Thus Guiccardine, a writer of ther owne, in his Historie of Italie fol: 234 & 236. — *Quæ bona si non est, finis tamen illa malorum est.*

#### YONG-MEN.

It is aparente by what you haue declared touching both their spirituall and corporall whordomes, and filthy polutions, that this is not the chaste-spouse of Christ, but that πόρνης μεγάλης, the great whore, that mother of whordomes and abhominations of the earth. Reu. 17. And it may be admired they should so long delude the world and attaine this hight of greatnes.

#### ANCIENT-MEN.

This is that misterie of iniquitie which begane betimes, and wrought by degrees. One great steppe to this aduancemente was when Constantine out of his godly zeal bestowed ritches & honours vpon the church, espetially vpon the bishops, & aduanced Siluester the first, bishop of Rome, in an eminent maner (because Rome was the imperiall seat) and caused a miter besett with presious-stons to be put vpon his head; which afterwards made them swell with prid & ambition, & could neuer be satisfied, but sought to be vniversall bishope, and rule ouer all others. But yet rested not ther, but vsurped the ciuill power also, and lift vp them selues aboue kings & emperours, and then were they come to the hight of exaltation, as in the time of Boniface, &c. when they could say, behould both swords. *Ego sum pontifex, Ego sum Cæsar.* I am the high priest, I am Cæsar. And then they sett vp whom they would, and threw downe whom they pleased, and the highest were faine to fall downe before them. According to that of Mantuan:



Great Cæsar with victorious kings,  
 Who goulden crownes doe wear;  
 They doe adore his footsteps, who  
 The double sword doth beare.\*

Paschalis the ·2· when he was chosen pope, put on a purple robe and a diadem vpon his head, with a scepter in his hand, and a girdle tyed about him, haueing ·7· seales and ·7· keyes hanging therat, to signifie his plenarie-power to bind & lose, to open & shut; and of sealing, resigning, and judging. He excommunicated the noble emperour Henerie the ·4· and stirred vp his owne sone to make warr against him.

Bonifacie the ·8· when he kepte his jubile at Rome, the first day he shewed him selfe in his pontificall garments with Peters keyes; but the ·2· day he shewed him selfe in royall apparell, with a naked sword carried before him, and a harold proclaiming, *Ecce potestas vtriusq̄ gladij*: behold the power of both swords; claiming to him selfe soueraine authority in all things, both ciuill & ecclesiasticall. And he excommunicated Philip, the King of France, and his posteritie, to the ·4· generation; because he made an ordinance that no money should be carried out of his cuntry to Rome.

When Albert the ·1· came to the pope (after he was chosen) and desired (in a humble maner) his blessing, and to be crowned by him, the pope tould him he was not worthy, but put the crowne on his owne head, and a sword by his side, and said, I am Cæsar.

They would pretend diuine authority from the scriptures; as, Thou art Peter, to the will I giue the keies of the kingdom of heauen, &c. *Mat. 16.* But it is euidente that Phocas, that murderer, was he of whom Boniface the ·3· first obtained the title and power of Vniuersall Bishop, and the Church of Rome to be the head of all churches; which was that they had long gaped for; and which being once obtained they rested not till they trode the emperours & their power vnder their feete. — *Esto procul Roma, qui cupis esse pius.*

#### YONG-MEN.

These things which you haue related doe make it clear vnto vs that this Roman-Church is not the true Church of Christ, but that scarlet-coloured whor, that great Babylon, that mother of whordoms and abominations of the earth. *Reu. 17.* And her popes, &c. that man of sine, that anti-christ, that sone of perdition, which shall be de-

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\* See Pareus above cited, page 174. — ED.

stroyed. The Lord keepe vs farr from her iniquitie, that we may be kept from her plagues. But we pray you let vs hear your judgment of the Episcopacie, as it hath been in England for many years, therein differing from other reformed churches..

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## OF THE EPISCOPACIE.

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### ANCIENT-MEN.

It will be needfull before we speake to this poynte that some thing be premised to preuent mistakes. And first, we accknowledg that bishops, such as are mentioned in the holy scriptures, are of deuine institution and the ordinance of God. 2<sup>y</sup> But lord bishops, inuested with sole spirituall power and gouernment, and exercising sole authority, power, and gouernment ouer the churches, without their choyse or consent, is strang from the scriptures, no institution of Christ, but a humane deuise and intrusion.

3<sup>y</sup> Though this lordly hirarchie, consisting of primates, metropolitans, archbishops, lord-bishops, deans, arch-deacons, with all their subordinats, and inferior-dependents, in regard of their places, callings, power, and iurisdiction, were vnlawfull and strang from the rules of holy scriptures, and according to the popish patterne, yet wee acknowledge that many of their persones were men of worth for vertue & learning, for pietie & godliness, and many exelent parts; yea, some of them blessed martires, who gaue their bodyes to the fire for the trueth of Christ.

4<sup>y</sup> For the maine (in charitie) we beleeeue they saw not the euill in these things, but had their minds more intente vpon the puritie of doctrine in the cheefe foundations of religion, and purging of the same from popish-leauen; espetially the first & most sincere reformers.

5<sup>y</sup> Though they saw some thing amise, yet they could not doe all things at once; the times would not beare it; they thought to gaine vpon them by degrees, as the times would suffer; and so might haue done had men remained faithfull, and prid and ambition had not hindered and blinded the eyes of sundrie.

6<sup>y</sup> and lastly. The casting out of the pope & his supremasie, and the supressing of the worst part of the hirarchie, abots, monks,

and friers, those swarmes of locusts which did eat vp and defile the land; and pulling downe of their strong foundations and firme corporations, which they thought to be indesoluble; it did cause such an earth-quake in the land as did astonish the minds of men; and in that junkture of time made the world to wonder, and after times to admire the same. No maruell therefore, though the greatnes of that work did not giue way to many other things which were to be the worke of time.

We are therefore thankfully to acknowledg the great worke of God in the Reformation made in our dear, natiue-countrie, in which the tyranie and power of the pope was cast of, and the purity of doctrine in the cheefe foundations of religion restored; and though she fell short in some things of other Reformed Churches, (espetially in gouernment,) yet not in the growth of the power of godlynes, but rather to exceede them in such as the Lord raised vp and inlightened amongst them.

But herein was the great defecte, that this lordly hierarchie was continued (after the pope was cut of) in the same calings and offices, and ruled (in a manner) by the same lawes, and had the same power & jurisdiction ouer the whole nation, without any distinction; all being compelled, (as members of this Nationall Church) to submitte to the forme of worship established, and this gouernment set ouer them; farr difering from the liberty of the gospell and the practiss of some other Reformed Churches, who only admitted such into the church, and to partake in the holy things, as manifested repentance and made publicke confession of their faith according to the scriptures; and had such a ministrie sett ouer them as them selues liked & approued of.

And of this Dtr. Ridley biterly complaines, (who was some times a "bishop, and after, a blessed martyre) How that the greatest parte of "all sorts, in King Edwards days, both magistrats, bishops, ministers, "lawyers, and people of all sorts & degrees, were neuer perswaded in "their harts (but from the teeth outward, and to please the king) of "the trueth of Gods word, & the religion they reuiued, but did dis- "emble.

"And pitifull and lamentable it was (saith he) to see the people so "loathsomly and ireligiously, to come to the holy-communion and the "seruice of God, which they vnderstood neuer a whit, nor could be "edified any thing at all ther by. Acts & Mon: fol: 517.

A very sad complainte, and shows vs the true face of things in those times, by him that was able to discern, who was neither Brownist,

nor seperatist. He also judged it to be a cheefe cause of Gods judgments which followed in queen-Marys dayes.

#### YONG-MEN.

We perceiue then, that the cheefest agreemente and conformitie between other Reformed-churches & the Nationall Church of England, as it stood vnder the prelates and bishops, was more cheefly, in regard of the puritie and truth of doctrin, then in regarde of either the constitution of the church, or gouernemente of the same, in w<sup>h</sup> we perceiue they did mainly difer.

#### ANCIENT-MEN.

You say right in that, for they neuer approued this gouernment, but bore it as a burden; as appeares, not only in their generall practise, but also in their writings. For which take these few testimonies of many:

By this you see (saith Mr. Beza) that the church is not to be taken for certaine of the worshipfull clergimen alone, but for an whole assemblie and congregation of Gods people; with out whose consent neither excommunication nor election of ministers ought to be vsed. On Epeh .5.\*

And in his Confession, Art .7. Chap .14. he hath these words: My Lord-Bishop, M<sup>r</sup>. Officiall, M<sup>r</sup>. Vicar, their promoters, procurators, & the like; it was not possible to haue brought them into the Church of God, till they had driuen Christ the maister out. And ther is neither holy scripture, neither councill, nor anciente doctors, which euer knew such monsters. And in the .12. Chap. of his Confessions, he saith: Concerning their suffragans, officials & proctors in the courts of the church, &c. and other such innumerable vermine, what can I say otherwise? for one shall as soone find the diuell among the angels, as one word or mention of them in the Scriptures, or in the ancient counells, doctors, Greek or Latine, to approue them. I say more, that it is as possible to accord these estates, with the true form of the church, as to accord light and darknes, truth and lyes. So he. Through the ambition of Bishops (saith Gualter) it is come to pase

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\* Theodore Beza, an eminent and voluminous French writer and promoter of the Reformation, was born in 1519, and died in 1606. A large number of his works were translated into English in his own day. Many of these are now very rare. — ED.

that the libertie of the church is troden vnder foote, and chosing of ministers dependeth on them. Gualter on Acts. Hom : 104.\*

Now where the ambition of prelates hath disturbed and broken this order, and haue challenged vnto them a lordship ouer the inheritance or church of Christ, the congregations are euery day molested with new contentions; and ther appeareth no end, either of errorrs, or most bitter debates. Gualter, Hom : 104.

I thinke, verilie, (saith Mr. Wheatonhall) Gualter, in these words pointed with his finger espetially at England; for no nation of Christendome, that is caled a Reformed-Church, hath had, or is like to haue, such endless contentions and continuall errorrs, only through the lordship and magnificent estate of lord-bishops; which no Reformed Church in all Europe hath retained but England. Whetenhall, pag: 127. †

Danæus ‡ saith, they do perfidiously depriue the church of her right, who thrust a pastor on a people without their knowledg or consent; for they doe the church the greatest injurie when they spoyle her of her judgment and voyce giueing; who are therefore truly to be called sacrilegious or church-robers. Vnto which he addeth: By all this it appears, how that calling of ministers is none, or not lawfull, which is made by the authority, letters, commandment and judgment of the king alone, or queene, or the patrons, or bishope, or archbishop, &c., as is vsed in England; which (saith he) I speake with greefe. M<sup>r</sup> Jacobs Attestation, § pag: 42. Mr. Caluin hath the like.

Truly (saith Mr. Caluin) this is a foule example, that out of the court are sent bishops to possess churches; and it should be the worke

\* Rodolph Gualter, one of the early Swiss Reformers, was born at Zurich, 1529, and died 1586. He wrote many works on Scripture, History, and Grammar, some of which were early translated into English; among which is the one cited by Bradford, "An hundred, threescore, and fiftene Homelyes or Sermons, vpon the Actes of the Apostles, written by Saint Luke; made by Rodulphe Gualthere Tigurine, and translated out of Latine into our tongue for the commoditie of the English reader. By John Bridges, London, 1572," fol. (See Watt.)—ED.

† Thomas Whetenhall wrote a Discourse on the Abuses in the Church of Rome, 1606, 4to. — ED.

‡ Lambert Danæus was a French Protestant Divine, born about the year 1530, and died 1596. Many of his writings were translated into English in his time. Bradford is here citing Danæus through Jacob — ED.

§ The author quoted is Henry Jacob, an English divine, who founded the Independent Church, in London, in 1616. He wrote a number of works, among which is the one cited in the text: "An Attestation of many Learned . . . Divines justifying this Doctrine, viz., that the Church-government ought to be always with the peoples free consent." 1613. 8vo. Jacob is said to have died in Virginia, in 1624. — ED.

of a godly prince to abstaine from such corruption; for it is a wicked spoyling of the church, when ther is thrust vpon any people, a bishop whom they haue not desired, or, at least, with free voyce allowed. And againe, it is tyrannous for any one man to appointe or make ministers at his pleasure. Therefore (saith he) this is the most lawfull way, that those be chosen by comōne voyces, who are to take vpon them any publick function in the church. Caluin on the ·14· of the Acts, & the ·6· of the Acts. Whetenhall, page ·144·

Francis Lambart saith, maruell not that I said ther be many bishops in one city; for verily euery city hath so many bishops as it hath true preachers.

And againe he saith, euery parish (or congregation) ought to haue their proper bishop, which should be chosen & confirmed by the people & comūallitie of the church, of euery place. And to doe this, they haue no need of letters, rings, seales, tokens, and such other things of this kind, very much vsed, clean contrary to the word of God. And so long they should be accounted for bishops, as they preach most purely the gospell of the kingdom of God, from w<sup>h</sup> if they swarue and teach strang doctrine, they ought to be deposed and put out of them by whom they were chosen, euen of the comūality of the church aforenamed.

And againe he saith, all the canons of the world cañot lawfully chose one bishop of the church of Jesus Christ; and that the church of God hath no ministers besides these, bishops and deacons. Whetenhall, pag ·87·

And Zuinglius saith, a church is taken for the seuerall congregations, which conueniently meete together in some one place for the hearing of the word, and receiuing of the sacraments. The Grecians call these *Parikias*. And of this mañer of church, Christ speaketh, Mat ·18· Tell the church. And the Apostle Paull to the Corinthions. Whet: pag ·88·\*

Peter Martire saith, we confesse the kies are giuen to the whole church; and by the kyes, he meaneth gouerment and ecclesiasticall power.

He also saith, without the consent of the church not any one can be excommunicated. This right belongs to the church; neither ought it to be taken away from it. Jac. Attestation, page ·34· He also

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\* Bradford evidently here quotes Lambert (probably the author of "The Summe Christianity," 1536), and Zuingli, through Whetenhall. — Ed.

affirmeth that gouernente is a notable portion of the gospell, and not the least part of Christian Religion; and that the gospell seemeth to be neglected of them, who put away from them so excelente a part thereof. In his Epist: to the Lords of Polonia.

Also Caluin saith, in that forme of the church which the apostls set downe we haue the only pattern of a true church; from which if any bend aside neuer so litle, he erreth. Epis: to Sadolet.\*

Chemnicus saith, that Paul & Barnabas did not thrust ministers on the church without their consent; and that the election & vocation of ministers by the historie of the apostles & their examples, appears clearly to belong to the whole church; and that this is the judgmēt & way of the apostolike, primitiue, and ancient church, concerning the lawfull election & calling of ministers; which way hath place in those churches which are constituted according to the word of God.

Junius saith,† it is manifest that that way of chosing & calling ministers is most approued by the testimonie of holy scriptures, which the apostles in old time kept in the churches. And when the bishops did arogate that power to them selues, and depriue them of it, it was the churches damage, injurie and shame. And what that way was, he shewed before; how that the whole church did chose, (that is, the body, consisting of the eldership & people or comōne sort) by equal & comōne voyces. Jacobs Attestion, pag 44.

Then he answereth some obiections: But some will say, the people are ignorant of their duty and right herein. Let them be taught (saith he) and they will vnderstand it. But they know not how to vse it aright. Ans; they will not know it euer, if they vse it neuer. But they are factious often, and deuided into parts. Let them be reduced to peace by wholesome counsell, and let them be ruled by the authority of the word, and the endeours of good men; that their minds being ordered, they may do that which is their right to doe. Page 46.

We might add many more (for the whole current of all those exel-

\* "During his [Calvin's] stay at Strasburgh, he continued to give several marks of his kind affection to the church of Geneva, as appears, among other things, by the answer he wrote in 1539 to the beautiful but artful letter of Cardinal Sadolet, Bishop of Carpentras." "That letter is to be found in the volume which contains Calvin's small works (*opusculos*)"; dated Sept. 1, 1539. (Bayle's Dict. enlarged, IV. 46.) — ED.

† Chemnitius and Junius are here cited through Jacob, a copy of whose book, belonging to the American Antiquarian Society, I have consulted. Mart. Chemnitius wrote a number of theological works, published at Frankfort on the Maine. Francis Junius was Professor of Divinity at Leyden, and a writer of distinction. He was born in 1545, and died of the plague, at Leyden, in 1602. — ED.

ent deuines and first lights and guides of the Reformed Churches, rune in one stream this way). But these shall suffice. By which you may see how, from the scriptures, they shew what a church is ; what power it hath, both in chosing & ordaining or confirming their owne officers ; and in deposing them, if the case so require ; as also to receiue the worthy, and to excommunicat the guilty, when need requires. And that it is not only an injurie and damage for any to depriue them of this their right & libertie ; but that it was no lese then sacriledge and tyranus vsurpation in the lordly hirarchie so to doe.

#### YONG-MEN.

We see plainly these testimones are very full against the power and vsurpation of the prelacie ; and as clear for the approbation and lawfullnes of the Congregationall way.

But it is objected, wheras you seeme to lay so much waight on the name or terme lord-bishope, that it is but a title of reuerence, and may as well be giuen to bishops now, as the Hebrew Adoni, the Greeke *κυριος*, the Latin Dominus, and the Dutch Here ; [&] may sometimes, and haue been giuen in way of honour vnto them, without offence.

#### ANCIENT-MEN.

It is not so much the name, as the thing, that is stood vpon. They are called spirituall-lords, and chaleng spirituall power and sole authority ouer the churches ; which belongs only to the Lord Jesus Christ, the only law-giuer of his church. Neither is the consequence good, for our English terme Lord, & Lordship, vsually and properly implies power and authority, and sole rule & gouernment ouer others ; wheras these forain terms, *אֲדוֹנָי*, *κυριος*, Monsieur, Dominus, Here, &c., doe not alwaies so signifie, but often and more vsually importe no more but M<sup>r</sup> or Sir, in our sense and phrase and maner of speaking.

It is obserueable what Socrates (that famous historian) saith in the proeme of his 6<sup>th</sup> booke.\* The fauorers of prelates (saith he) will blame vs for not entitling bishops, most godly, most holy, and such like epithetons, &c. But I will lay asid, (saith he) these swelling titles and tye my selfe to the truth of historie. So farr was he from those flatering titles of your grace, your lordship, your honour, &c. the

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\* Socrates (Scholasticus) an ecclesiastical historian, born about the middle of the fifth century. His "Church History" is probably the book here cited. It was translated into English as early as 1585. — ED.



name of lord was scarce giuen to kings and emperours in those days, much less to bishops & prelates.

#### YONG-MEN.

But our bishops would seeme to deriue them selues and callings from deuine authority of the scriptures, as the apostles successors.

#### ANCIENT-MEN.

So doth the pope from Peter, (as you heard before) but they will neuer be able to proue their lordly power, nor metropolitan or diocesan jurisdiction, from the scriptures. Their pedigree will be found to be of much later date. Our owne late lawes will sooner show the foundation a rise of our late bishops, and their callings and jurisdiction, then the scriptures.

It was inacted by a statute made in the .1. year of the raigne of queene Elizabeth, that all jurisdiction, priuiledges, sup[e]reorities, & prehemienēs, spirituall or ecclesiasticall, as by any spirituall or ecclesiasticall power or authority hath heretofore been (vnderstand by the popes decrees, or prelates canōns) or lawfully may be exercised or vsed for the vissitation of the ecclesiastcall state & persons, & for reformation, order and correction of the same; and of all maner of errores, heresies, schismes, abuses, offences, contemptes & enormities; shall for euer by authority of this present-parlemente, be anexed to the crowne of this realme. .1. of Eliza: Chap .1. fol:1001.

2<sup>ly</sup>. By vertue of this statute the queen was to assigne such persons by her letters patents as she thought fitt, to exercise this ecclesiasticall jurisdiction.

3<sup>ly</sup>. By the same power comited vnto her, she did and might cause such as she thought fitt, to be elected & ordained for bishops, archbishops, &c. And in the .8. of her raignt, because some doubts were and might be made about the proceedings therein, she had power to dispence (and did) with all causes or doubts of any imperfection or disabilitie that can or may in any wise be objected against the same. The .8. of her raige, fol: 1068.

Also it was by an acte of parlement prouided, in the .25. of Henery the .8. that the archbishop of Canterbury, for the time being, and his successors, should haue power & authority frō time to time, by their discretions, to giue, grant & dispose, to the king, his heires & successors, all maner of such licences, dispensation, &c. as heretofore had ben vsed and accustumed to be had & obtained, &c. from the Sea of Rome.

And also the aforesaid archbishop, he or his sufficient deputies, might grant all maner of licences, dispensations, faculties, &c. for any such cause or mater, &c. as hath bene accustomed (to any of the kings subjects) to be had at the Sea of Rome; or by authority of the same. An<sup>o</sup>: 25<sup>o</sup> of Hen<sup>o</sup>: 8<sup>o</sup>: Chap<sup>o</sup>: 13<sup>o</sup>:

Thus you may see from what botome and foundation their power, callings, and jurisdiction did arise, whatsoever else is pretended or pleaded otherwise.

And together with these functions & callings, they did retaine their commissarie courts, courts of faculties, &c. with all their officers, as chancelors, comissaries, officalls, doctors, proctors, registers, aparitors, &c., in which they did examene causes, pase excommunications, punish or absolue at their pleasure, grant licences, lay censures vpon persons, & take them of againe for money. Yea, they had allso their prisons to comite men too when they pleased, (in which they were neither like the apostells, or their true successors). Their courts were vsually full of bawdery, bribery, tiranie & oppression, and a continuall snare and vexation to the godly. They followed more the pops law then the rules of the gospell; as one of their cheefe proctors (in his answer to the Abstracte, . . . .)\* affirmes, that the canon-law, is the commone-law ecclesiasticall.

They would needs haue the pontificall and preistly apparell continued, and held vp, to the great offence of the godly at home and abroad; as copes, four-cornerd-capps, surplisses, albs, canonicall coats, & such like trash, fitter for the whore of Rome, then the Church of Christ.

Also they stood stifly to maintaine a company of vaine ceremonies, profitable for nothing (excepte to maintaine their courts, and fill their catch-pouls purses,); such as the crose in baptisme, kneeling at the Lords Supper, wearing the surplise, keeping of holy-days, bishoping or confirm[ing] of children, &c. These & a number more, with strictie conformitie to the comone-seruice, were more vrged and looked too, then ether the powerfull preaching of the word of God & sound doctrine, or holines of life & conuersation. Nay, it is notoriously knowne, (to the dishonour of God & the Gospell) that painfull and zelous ministers were silenced, and godly professors reproched with nic-names of Puritanes, Browists, precissions, and shuch like contumelies, for these things.

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\* Blank in the MS.—Ed.

## YONG-MEN.

We beleue these things which you haue related, concerning the maner of their callings and grounds of their proceedings, haue not been so commonly knowne, or at least, considered by many. We confess we haue been ignorante in many of these things, and now doe not maruell they found such opposition, but rather that they were so long forborne. But we find that many plead, and are of opinion, that diocesan-bishops haue been from the apostles time, and that Timothy & Titus were such, and some of the apostles them selues were such.

## ANCIENT-MEN.

The apostles were ouer all churches, and had a larger commission; Mat. 28. and euangelists (such as Tim: & Titus) were also extraordinary men, & imployed by the apostles for the preaching of the gospell & establishing of the churches. And it should be dirogatorie to their callings to be tyed to a perticuler flocke, as ordinary bishops were. Acts 20.

But the truth is, ther were no proper diocesan-bishops in the world till the Councill of Nice, (which was in the 4<sup>th</sup> centuarie,) nor any diocesses deuised, till then; that patriarchs were deuised, and other sup[e]reorities, for good ends, to watch against, and supress erours & heresies; but it being but a humane deuice, and wanting warrent from the word of God, it proued fruitles, and was a meanes to pufe vp the bishops with prid, & make them swell with ambition, and serued to aduance antichrist vnto his seat.

And yet it was a long time after, ere that they did assume such lordly power, to exclude their presbitors in their administrations, or the people from their voyces in elections and other rights; as those that are aquainted with histories doe well kōwe; and as came to pass in after times, espetially after the exaltation of antichrist to his hight.

It is not denied but that many churches before these times might grow too bulkie, like vnweldy bodyes; and many bishops that were of eminent parts for gifts, and in eminent places, were much resorted to for counsell and help in many cases,\* and they gaue them honour and respecte, as their merits did well deserue. But that ther were any proper diocesan bishops, with sole power & jurisdiction ouer others before these times of Constantine, they will neuer be able to proue; what soeuer florishes they or any for them may make or pretend.

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\* & sometimes tooke too much vpon them. — BRADFORD'S note. — ED.

## YONG-MEN.

Some thinke the Presbiteran gouerment (which is by Classis, and Sinods) to be as oppressing and burthensome as this of the prelat. We pray you shew vs in what they differ.

## ANCIENT-MEN.

We shall shew you what M<sup>r</sup> Gillespie, a Scotch-minister, saith herin. The prelate (saith he) was but one, yet, 1<sup>ly</sup>. he claimed the power of ordination and jurisdiction as proper to him selfe in his owne diocesse. But we giue the power of ordination & church censures not *uni*, but *unitai*, not to one, but to an assemblie gathered into one.

2<sup>ly</sup>. The prelate assumed a perpetuall precedancy and priuiledge of moderating sinods, which we deny to any one man.

3<sup>ly</sup>. The prelate did not aske or receiue aduice from his fellow presbiters, but when he pleased.

4<sup>ly</sup>. He made him selfe pastor to the diocesse (consisting it may be of some hundreds of congregations) holding that the ministers of perticular congregations did preach and administer sacrements in his name by verue & authority from him, as his vicars, because he could not acte in euery congregation. But the Presbiterall gouerment acknowledged no pastoriall charge of preaching and ministring the sacraments to more congregations then one.

5<sup>ly</sup>. As the prelat denyed the power & authority of pastors, so they vterly deny the very offices of ruling elders and deacons for taking care of the pore in perticular congregations.

6<sup>ly</sup>. They did not acknowledg congregationall elderships, nor any power of discipline in perticular congregations, which the Presbiterians doe.

7<sup>ly</sup>. They intrude pastors ofttimes vpon churches against their consente, which the Presbiteriens doe not.

8<sup>ly</sup>. They ordaine ministers without any perticular charge, which the Presbiteriall gouerment doth not.

9<sup>ly</sup>. In sinods they doe not allowe any but the clergie alone.

10<sup>ly</sup>. The prelat declined to be accountable to, and censurable by, either chapters, diocessan, or nationall sinods; but in Presbiteriall gouer<sup>t</sup> all are called to accounte, in presbiteries, provinciall, and nationall assemblies; and none are exempted from sinodical censures in case of scandalle and obstinacie.

11<sup>ly</sup>. The prelat power was not merely ecclesiasticall; they were lords of parleme<sup>n</sup>t and held ciuill places in the state, which we condē<sup>m</sup>.

12<sup>y</sup>. The prelates were not chosen by the church; presbyters are.

13<sup>y</sup>. The prelates did presume to make lawes binding the conscience, euen in things indiferent; and did persecute, imprison, fine, depose, excommunicate men for certaine rites & ceremonies acknowledged by themselues to be indifferent (seting the will and authority of the law-makers asside). This the Presbiteriall gouernment abhoreth, saith he.

14. The prelates did excōmunicate for monie-maters, for trifles, w<sup>h</sup> the Presbiteriall gouernment condemmeth.

15. The prelates did not allow men to examine by the judgmente of Christian & priuate discretion, their decrees & canons, so as to search the scriptures and looke at the warrents, but would needs haue men thinke it enough to know the things to be cōmanded by them that are in place and power; but Presbyterall gour<sup>t</sup>: (saith he) doth not lord it ouer mens consciences, but admiteth & comendeth the searching of the scriptures, whether these things it holds forth be not so; and doth not presse mens consciences with sic volo, sic iubeo, but desire they may doe in faith what they doe.

16. The prelates held vp pluralities, non-residences, &c., which the Presbyteriall gouer<sup>t</sup>: doth not.

17. As many of the prelates did them selues neglect to preach the gospell, so they kepte vp in diuerse places a reading-non-preaching ministrie, which the Presbyteriall gouernment suffereth not.

18. They opened the dore of the ministrie to diuerse scandalous arminianized and popishly affected men, and locked the dore vpon many worthy to be admitted. The Presbyteriall gouernment, (saith he) herein is as contrary to theirs, as theirs was to right.

19. Their official-courts, comissaries, &c, did serue them selues as heires to the sones of Eli; thou shalt give it me now, and if not, I will take it by force. The Presbyteriall gouernment (saith he) hatteth such proceedings.

20. The prelates and their high-cōmission-court (saith he) did assume potestatem utriusq̄ gladij, the power of both the temporal an[d] ciuill sword; the Presbyteriall gouernment medleth with no ciuill nor temporall punishments. Arons-Rod. fol: 179.\*

Thus we haue giuen you many of the differences between these tow

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\* George Gillespie was a minister at Edinburgh, and a member of the celebrated Westminster Assembly of Divines. Among his many books was the one cited by Bradford: "Aaron's Rod blossoming; or, the Divine Ordinance of Church Government vindicated;" London, 1646. — Ed.

gourments, by one of them selues, and in his owne words. And sundrie more might be made; neither will we now skane the practise of the Presbyterieans, how answerable it is in all things to some of these grounds.

YONG-MEN.

These are very deepe charges and wound sorely this Nationall Gouermente by prelates and lord bishops & their substitutes. And it is like if the head be thus corrupte and distempred the body cannot be sounde, but ill-affected. We desire to hear something thereof, and then that you will proceede to speake some thing of the Presbiterians, and their gouermente.

ANCIENT-MEN.

We shall not say much herein, because it hath bene obuious to euery mans eyes and eares, and some testimonies might be thought partiall. Take therefore only these tow; first, Archb. Whitgift saith, now the church is full of hypocrites, dissemblers, drunkards, whoremongers, ignorant-persons, papistes, atheists, and such like. Ans: to the Admõition, pag 44. 45.\*

And Doctor Bilson saith, to our churches comes all sortes, atheists, hypocrites, &c., all which filth, (saith M<sup>r</sup>. Jacob,) ought verily to be imputed to non-residents and pluralists; and that a diocesan bishop must needs be a great pluralist and non-resident him selfe, for he hath the proper charge of soules, ouer all his cirquite; that is, ouer many hundred congregations, and for the most part is neuer with them, nor so much as euer saw their faces. Jacobs Attestation, fol: 131.

And M<sup>r</sup>. Caluin saith, that it is a prodigious and monstrous mishcheefous wickednes, vtterly against God, against nature, and against the ecclesiasticall gouerment, that one arrante theefe should sitt ouer diuers churches-together, and that he should be called their pastor, which cannot be present with his flock though he would. Wetenhall, pag 145.

Thus you see the complection of this Nationall-Church; and the causes therof, in a great measure; and what just ground ther hath been of complainte and bearing witnes against the same, by those who haue suffered hard measure for so doing, from men; but their reward is with the Lord.

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\* John Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury, wrote a number of books, among which was "An Answere to a certan Libell, entitled, An Admonition to the Parliament," London, 1571. He died at Lambeth, 1604. — ED.

## YONG-MEN.

We must acknowledg you haue giuen vs more light in these things then we in many things saw before, and we doubt not but such as haue been faithfull to the Lord & his truth shall reap the fruit of their labours. But we pray you to proceed to speak of the Presbyterian gouernement.

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## OF THE PRESBYTERIANS.

## ANCIENTE-MEN.

The Reformed Churches, vnder the Presbyterian gouernment, we esteeme and reuerence thē as the true churches of Christ; being for the maine rightly constituted and reformed according to the word of God; at least in those grounds and principles laid downe and held forth by those excelente men and shining lightes which the Lord raised vp in the first times of Reformation; as we haue allready seen by the testimonies of sundrie of them, & by many more may appeare. But it were to be wished that many things had been better examined and mended according to the true standard and right patterne of the word of God, as we doubt not but many of them selues were of the same minde, and were contented to beare with, and suffer many things which, in regard of the condition of the times and places in which they liued, they knew not how to help or mende. And what hath been left vureformed at first hath seldom been mended affterwards, but rather grown worse, as too much experience hath showne. And this that excelent and holy man Peter Martyre well kēwe, when he write to the ministers of Polonia. Who seeth not (saith he) that when “a mater is defered, desired occations are lost. Wherefore bestire “your selues with speede, *Breethren*, pluck vp by the rootes all “superstition, and false opinions; let the euill seeds & rotten roots be “cut vp euen in the verie begining, for if they be neglected at the “first (I know what I say) they are with difficulty taken away after- “ward. I haue seene some (saith he) which haue pared away the “leaves, flowers & fruits of superstition, but haue spared the roots, “which haue afterward sprunge vp againe, to the great hurt of the “Lords yinyeard. Epis: to the Ministers of Poland, pag 87. Well had it been had this good and holsom counsell bene better followed, both by them and others.

## YONG-MEN.

We desire to know how them selues describe or speake of the church; and how the same may be knowne and discerned.

## ANCIENT-MEN.

Vsually they distinguish betweene the Catholick-church and a perticuler-church. The Catholick church is some time taken by them for all the electe of God, that euer haue been, or shall be, euen all the saints that euer haue been or shall be in the world; and some time, for all the faithfull that liue disperced through the whole world in any present age.

But of a perticuler church (which most concernes our mater in hand) you haue heard before, how that Zuinglius & others say, the church is taken for the seuerall congr[eg]ations which conueniently meete together in some one place, for the hear[ing] of the word, and receiuing the sacraments, which are by the Greecians called parikias, & of this maner of church Christ speaketh, Mat· 18· Tell the church and the Apostle ·I· Cor· 5·

And the French Confession, Art ·27· hath these words, We affirme out of the word of God, that the church is a company of the faithfull, w<sup>h</sup> agree together in following the word of God & imbracing pure religion, wherin they also dayly profite, &c. Herman: Conf: page ·320·

And in the Belgia Confession it is said the true church may be discerned from the false by these notes: First, if the pure preaching of the Gospell doe flourish in it; if it haue the lawfull administration of the sacraments according to Christs institution; if it doe use the right ecclesiasticall discipline for the restraining of uice; finally, if it doe square all things to the rule of Gods word, refusing whatsoever is contrarie to it, &c. Hermon: Conf: page ·322· \*

All the rest doe for the most part agree herein, as may be seen more at large in the ·10· section of the Church. Hermon: of Conf: ·306· & following.

And the Scotch Confession saith, whersoever the former notes are seen and of any time continue, ther, without all doubt, is the true church of Christ (be the number neuer so few) who, according to his promise, is in the midst of them. Not in the vniversall (say they),

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\* "An Harmony of the Confessions of the Faith of the Christian and Reformed Churches in Europe. Translated out the Latine. Added the Confession of the Church of Scotland." 4to, 1643. — ED.



of which we haue spoken before, but perticuler, such as were in Corinth, Galacia, Ephesus, and other places, in which the ministrie was planted by Paull, and were by him selfe named the churches of God, &c. Hermonie of Conf: pag 18.

#### YONG-MEN.

Seeing they hold this ground of perticuler churches, and that ther are in these churches a presbyterie or eldership, with power of discipline, as you haue now showed vs, & before in the '6' differencs made by Mr. Gillespie betweene them selues and the prelat, ther may seeme herein no difference betweene them and those of the Congregationall-way. If ther be, we pray you show vs wherin it lyeth.

#### ANCIENT-MEN.

We shall show you how the afforesaid author, Mr. Gillespie, giues a hint herof; though he doth but touch it by the way. What is it (saith he) that can denominate many perticuler visible churches or congregations to be one visible minist[er]iall flock or church, vnlesse it be their vnion and association vnder one ecclesiasticall gouernment? No doubt (saith he) they had the administration of the word and sacraments partitue or seuerall. Nor doe I deny (saith he) but they had a partitue seuerall gouernment, which did denominate them to be one visible ecclesiasticall flock. Aarons-Rodd, fol: 298.

By which you may perceiue vpon what botome their Presbyteriall gouernment is founded; for though they hould (& that rightly), that euery perticuler church ought to haue their owne officers, viz. elders & deacons, and of their elders some are to teach & others for to rule & gouerne, of which their presbyterie or eldership doth consiste, and these exercise some kind of discipline and gouernment amongst them selues;

Yet they hold that such perticuler churches are to enter into a bond of association with other churches; and by vertu of this consociation they erecte classises and sinods, both prouinciall and nationall, and vpon the same ground some ascend higher to generall councells or sinods. And vnto these they ascribe superior power & jurisdiction one ouer another, to whom they alow apeales from one to an other, till they come to the highest. And out of their perticuler presbyteries the perticuler churches chose delegates for the classes, & so other superior courts; by which means, (say they) all the members of each church thus consociate become subjecte to, and are bound to obey

the decrees and sentences giuen by the seuerall superior & higher courts or jurisdictions; and the higher may annull & resinde any acte of the inferior.

YONG-MEN.

Doe they leaue it as a mater only of conueniencie thus for churches to consociat, or [doe] they count it a duty, & of necessity to be done; and if so, what grounds haue they from the scriptures for the same?

ANC: MEN.

They say they are bound to it by the same reason that euery beleeuer is bound to joyne him selfe to some church or other. But we see not how this reason will inforce it, for a Christian cannot be edified and enjoie the cheefe means of saluation without fellowship with some church; but a perticuler church may be well enough both edified and gouerned by her oune elders without association with & subordination to others. Againe, euer[y] beleeuer is left free to what church he will make choise to joyne him selfe vnto (or, at least, should be); but they obtained an ordinance of parlemēt in England, An<sup>o</sup>: 1647. that a comītie therin spetified, should deuide the respectiue counties into distinct classically presbyteries; and, being approued by the comītie of the Lords & Comōnes according to an ordinance of the Lords & Comōnes, dated the .19. of Aug: 1645. the said classically presbyteries shall haue power to constitute congregational elderships within their seuerall precincts. And the said comītie of Lords & Comōnes had power by the same ordinance to bound the prouinciall assemblies in the kingdome, and to increase the number of delegates which are or shalbe sente to any prouinciall assembly, as they shall thinke fitt.\* See the ordinance printed that year.

By which it seems it is rather of humane policie or prudencie, then by any ground from scripture. They tell vs indeed that the church of Jerusalem consisted of more congregations then one; and were all vnder one Presbyteriall gouernment, and therefore called one church, because ther is mention made of many belieuers ther, and many apostles ther, and many languages spoaken ther, &c. .2. instance they giue in the Church of Ephesus, in which (say they) were many churches vnder the gouernment of one presbiterie, because Paule preached long ther, and ther is mention of a church in the house of

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\* See Neal's "History of the Puritans," Toulmin's ed., London, 1837, Vol II. 371, 372.—ED.

Priscila & Aquila. And that those many congregations were one church and vnder one Presbyteriall gouernement appeares, (say they) out of the Reu. 2· 1· 2· 3· 4· 5· 6· compared with Acts· 20· 17· 28· But how soundly these & such like instances proue this thing we confesse we see not.

And as litle waight seemes to be in this, how from Mat· 18· as is holden forth the subordination of an offending brother to a perticuler church; so also it holds forth by paritie of reason the subordination of a congregation to a superiour assembly.

And in the seuerall assemblies for the gouernment of the church it is agreeable to the word of God that apeals be made from the inferiour to the superiour respectiuely; and the prof brought for the subordination of assemblies, proues the lawfullness of apeals. An other instance is brought from the Apostle Peter, his writing to the Christians in seuerall prouinces; yet he calls them the flock, not flocks, and exhortheth the elders to feede the flocke of God, which dependeth on them, or which is amonge you. ·1· Pet· 5· 1· 2· But what doth this euince more then the feeding of the seuerall and respectiue flocks, which they were sett ouer in their seueral places? as in Acts· 20· 28· These are the cheefests grounds that we find are giuen by the Assembly of Deuines, or others that joyne with them, in setting vp this Presbyteriall gouernment now in our owne cuntry, in England. But they seē to vs (we must confesse) very weake and obscure, to rear such high buildings vpon. Such waighty things had neede of stronger foundations. It is obserued by some that are lerned, that through out the New-testament this word *πρεσβυτεριον*, is found but in three places; wherof ther is but one that houldeth out any thing of the gouernment in hand, and in that place ther is the naked word only, without the addition of any such expression, *greater, lesse, superior, inferior*, or any kind of *adjuncte*, that can possible put a thought in vs of more presbiteries then one.

We cannot be said (say they) therefore to be cleer in our rule, when we are forced, out of one word, and but once vsed, to raise so *many thrones* or formes of gouernement. See The Reas: of the Dissenting Bretheren, fol: 32· & ·3· 40·\*

Againe, we find not in the scriptures the name of classis, prouinciall sinods, nationall sinods, or assemblies, generall councils. It was held

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\* "The Reasons presented by the Dissenting Brethren against certain Propositions concerning Presbyterian Government, and the Proof of them," &c., 1648. See Palfrey's Hist. New England, Vol. II. p. 92. — Ed.

to be a good argument against the prelates that the name of Archbishop, Lord-Bishop, &c., nor the thing, was not to be found in the scriptures. Much lesse doe we find in the scriptures one presbyterie to be sett ouer an other: as first presbyteries, then ·2· classes, ·3· prouinciall sinods, ·4· nationall assemblies, and lastly a generall-councell as the highest court aboue all.

We find not in the scriptures of the New-testamēt any institution or comand for the erecting or establishing of such seuerall standing courts and tribunals for the gouernment of the church, with such superiour power one ouer another. Neither doe all the Reformed Churches thinke them al to be of that necessitie: for the Geneua rest in the classically; the French goe no higher then the nationall; and the Low-countries are said to haue seldome any nationall, or desire to haue them. And it is affirmed that it is generally granted by the Presbyterians them selues, that for ·50· years after Christ, and in the apostls times, ther was but one kind of presbyterie. All w<sup>ch</sup> may seeme to hold forth that this is rather a prudentiall way of mens owne chusing for their suposed good, then any stricte obligation from the word of God to bind their consciences; for then it ought to bind all vnto all, if they can attaine the same.

#### YONG-MEN.

We [des]ire to hear some of the answeres that may be giuen to the former grounds propossed by them.

#### ANCIENT-MEN.

The Presbyteriens them selues hold, that no pastoriall charge of preaching the word and administring the sacraments, is laid vpon any pastor, but to one conecregation, according to Acts ·20· 28. Take heed to your selues and to all the flock wherof the Holy Ghost hath made you ouerseers, to feed the church of God which he hath purchased with his owne blood; as you may see in the ·4· difference put by Mr. Gilespie, betweene them and the prelates. And by the like reason his gouernment should be extended no further, as to classes, &c., synods, lower and higher. The power of the apostles in ruling in all churches was from their large comission, and extendible with thir comission to preach in all churches, they not being tyed to one flock as ordinary teachers are. Againe, it is said in Acts ·6· the apostles caled the multitudo of the disciples, &c. And they chose the ·7· for deacons, &c. [torn] if this was a presbyterion, [torn] church, consisting of many pert[icul]er congregations, as they affirme, then these should

be deacons to all these perticular churches (wich is contrary to their own principles), and so there should be as well a Diaconat-church as a Presbyteriall church.

Againe, the power of the keys (both for feeding & ruling) was giuen together to ecclesiæ primæ, the first church. And ther must be a first before there could be a conssoiation; and why should ordination and excommunication, &c., be after taken from them and giuen to the classis? But we cannot stand in giuing reasons in this breefe discourse; we reffer you to the Reasons of the Discenting Breethren in Assembly of Deuines.

#### YONG-MEN.

But doe the Independants allow of no association or comunion with other churches?

#### ANCIENT-MEN.

Yes, you shall hear what Mr. Burton, (that reu<sup>d</sup> and holy-man, & late sufferer) saith in answer to Mr. Prinne: We hould (saith he) comūnion and association of churches, for counsell in doubts, and comfort in distres; but we deney such combination of churches as wherby the true liberty of euery perticular church is taken away. And this comunion of churches doth no lese (if not more) preuente heresies schismes & injustice, then your Presbyteriall, saith he. Vind. fol. 18.

All those perticular churches which the apostles planted, (saith he) were all of absolute authority amongst them selues respectiuelly, and equall, one to the other. You can shew vs no rule or exampell to the contrary. And for the patterne in the primatiue churches after the apostles, we are not curious to seeke it in the corrupte current of succeeding ages, when we find it in the pure fountaine. Yet the centurists say (Cent. 1. 7. Tit. de Consoci: Eccle.) that the gouernment of churches in the 2<sup>d</sup>.100. year was allmost popular; euerie church had equall power of ordaining or casting out, if need were, those ministers they had ordained; with other things very materiall, (saith he) in that whol title, & in the title, de Sinodis Priuatis.

And for the best Reformed Churches, if in them we canōt find that paterne so fully followed as the scripture holds forth vnto vs, (saith he) we craue leaue without prejudice to take it as we find it in the word, without the least variation.

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\* The Rev. Henry Burton, who, in 1637, with Prynne and Bastwick, suffered from the tyranny of the High-Commission Court. The title of the work cited is: "A Vindication of Churches commonly called Independent, in an Answer to Mr. Prynne," &c., 1644. — Ed.

And you may know, in the begining of Protestant reformation, how could they so clearly see in the dawning, as we may now in the meridian, if we will but open our eyes? Yet the Reformed Churches haue taken vp, one, or other of them, vpon the mater, the maine things we contend for. The church of Holland receiue none to the Lord's table nor to haue a vote as a member of that church, but such as first giue satisfaction to the eldership, and then to the congregation, and haue a forme of a couenant propounded by them. And the French-churches exercise excomūication in their perticular congregations, though with liberty of appeale, so as no long debate need to be, if but Christs word alone may take place. Vindication of the churches caled Independent, fol: 19· 20· Ther is no case, (saith he) can fall in any church which hath not as many helps by a free comūion of churches wherin euery churches peculiar libertyes and priuiledges are preserued as they ought to be; as any you can name to be in your obligatorie combination of churches, wherby the liberty of each church is by comōne consent sould ouer to others, by which it ceaseth to be a free church of Christ vnder his only jurisdiction and gouernement. So as hereby great mischeefes may redound euen to the purest church, when once things come to be carried by the vote of a generall or classically assembly of deuines, swaying things beyond the rule and stretching them beyond their line. Famous was that saying of Nazianzens, that he neuer say\* "any good to come of generall counceils," because, comonly, camelion-like, they chang their hue with the nearest object.

But some may object (saith Mr. Burton) that one church, standing by it selfe, is more subjecte to fall into errour, then when combined with other churches. To which he answers, that euery perticuler church injoying its owne freedome with out combination with other churches, may much longer preserue it selfe from danger when it hath its free choyse in matters of difference or difficultie to consulte only with those churches which it knowes to be most sound and orthodox, then when it is fast bound & incircled with this or that combination of churches; being in number twelue or twenty, more or lese; whose votes must carrie euery controuersie according to the seuerall numbers of such and such, at all aduenture. Fol: 20· 21·

#### YONG-MEN.

We desire you would be pleased more fully to let vs vnderstand what the centuarists found in their search here about; for many think ther is nothing of antiquitie in this case.

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\* Sic. — ED.

## ANCIENT-MEN.

Thus writs another hereof, *Insigniores Ecclesiae*, &c. They which were more eminent churches (say they) were in some honour because of the apostles that taught in them, and because of their ministers, that were more excellent for learning and constancy; and likewise of the benefits that those churches did afford to other neighbour churches. But they had no other power ouer other churches then by mutuall offices in things belonging to edification of the whole church, to afford them their help; and then instances in perticular churches.

2. The churches in the next age after the apostles. Cent: 2: Chap: 7: tit: Consoci: If (say they) any man looke into the approued authors of this age, he shall find that the form of gouerment was allmost like a popular gouerment; for euery church had equall power to preach the word of God purely, to administer the sacraments, to absolue and excommunicat heretiques & wicked men, to elect, call and ordaain ministers, and vpon just ground to depose them; to call assemblies & sinods in doubtfull things and that were controuersall; to desire the judgments of others in determining them. Further, the neighbour churches, for charity and edification sake, not for any superior iurisdiction, but for the comãd of Christ concerning mutuall loue, in ther necessitie craued the help of their nighbour churches and also afforded theirs; and in more waighty questions, all the churches or elders of that prouince, or else most of the teachers, came together and determined by com̄one aduice what was to be done. The churches that were farther off, in other prouinces, consult with other churches by letters, which they did generally, or by com̄one consent subscrib.

And in tit: de Sinodis Priuatis, each church (that things might be better ordered) had their synod, or assemblies, or church-metings, in which the pastor, the elders, the deacons, and also the people did deliberate & determine of things belonging to the gouernement of the church.

Thus you may see the churches of the Independent-way are not (besids the scriptures, which is the surest anchor-hould,) voyd of antiquitie.

## YONG-MEN.

We are glad that these thinges are thus cleared vp vnto vs. And seeing you haue some of you liued in Holand, and we perceiue ther are differences amongst the Presbyterians them selues, we desire you to informe vs of their practisse in that cuntrie.

## ANCIENT-MEN.

First, we conceiue that those ·7· reue<sup>d</sup> men in ther answer to the Assemblie of Deuines, speake much within compass, when they say, that not the ·10· part in the Low-Countries are church members. For, though it seemes, in Scotland, and according to the modle of our nue structure in England, all within the circle & compase of their classeses or other diuisions, new or old, they intend them as members, (only the scandalus shall be suspended from the Lords table) yet it is not so ther; for they compell none, nor admite any but such as freely offer them selues; and those are examined of ther faith & knowledg, first by the consistorie, and then make a breefe confession in the publick assembly. And though ther city assemblies be very great, so as they cannot well know all their members, yet when they come to the Lords table they repaire to the consistorie, or elders, and ther receiue a token of lead, with a priuate marke, which they must giue in, when they come to pertake, by which they are knowne to be members, & without exception. Also in the case of excommunication, though the bussines be handled in the consistorie or classes, yet the sentence is made know̄ in the congregation, & the cause; and the like in the case of release or absolution. Their meetings are in great temples or churches, in the cities, (like the bigger sort of ours in England) and if ther be ·2· ·3· or ·4· of them in a citie, yet the people assembled in them are counted but one church or body; and if ther be but ·3· ·4· or more, teaching elders or preachers, yet they teach to them all in com̄one as one flock, and so shift places by turnes (by agreement amonest them selues) at one plase one day, and at another the next day, and in the fore none here, and the afternoone ther. And sometimes the people will shift their quarters also as they affecte the men. Their rulling elders vsually are but for ·3· years, and besids what they doe in com̄one in the consistorie, with the other elders, each of them is assigned his quarter in the city, vnto which all the members in such a quarter or cirquet repair vp[on] any buisins, and he hath inspection ouer them. Their deacons likewise are but for ·3· years vsually.

But their city-churches are not so great, but in the countrie townes and villages they are as smale; for many times besids the elders you shall see but a few members & a small appearance; yea, so few, as we are loth to mention what hath bene seene. The reason is, the cuntrie people (the old inhabitants) are most of them Papists, or such as mind little religion.

They baptise all the children that are brought vnto them, without



exception, be they members or not members, their parents better or worse, good or bad.

Their ministers also marrie (such as come and desire it of them) in the face of the congregation, though ther be an order prouided for mariage to be performed by the magistrats; and the more part so are.

They haue short formes prescribed for baptissing and marying, &c. but they serue for direction for the weaker sort; they are not strictly tyed to them. Their publick and solemne worship is prayer, reading some portion of scripture, constant preaching, singing of psalmes and administring the sacraments.

Their dead are buried with graue decensie, without either reading, praier or singing, being accōpanyed by their friends and the nebor-hoode to the graue in a comly sorte.

Their ministers goe in graue and desente apparell, and so minister; without retaining any relikes of popish ornaments. Their maintanance is not by tithes, but by honest and competent stipents, and that according to their eminencie in guifts and place; those in the cities haue more, they in the country less; yet none doe exceede.

Their pore are as well prouided for, as in any part of the world, if not better. Their sick are vissited by graue and able persons, meete to comfort & instructe them, and are designed ther to. Thus we haue giuen you some thing in breefe, consering their practise in these things. But, we must confess, the greater part fall short of our ancient and more zealous professors in England for the expression of the life and power of godlynes.

#### YONG-MEN.

We humbly thanke you for this paines; we are very well satisfied herewith. But seeing the Presbyterians seeme to hold forth that greater justice and equity is like to be found by appeales from court to court in these high and standing iudicatures, and the wronged and injured like to find better remedy and releefe then wher these are not in vse; as also peace, puritie, and truth beter concerued, errour & schisme preuented, &c., with such like effects, we desire to hear your opinion herein.

#### ANCIENT-MEN.

We are loth to enter into any such discourse, (comparisons are odious) and men will judg as they are affected or intrressed. Mens wisdome in matters of religion most\* giue way to Gods institutions, in

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\* Must? — ED.

which his blessing is to be expected. If ancient histories be well looked into and considered, it will be found that errors & schismes and contentions, yea, jars & tumults, in churches & provinces, did neuer more abound then when councells & sinods (with obligatorie and coercive power) were most in vse in the world; as from the time of the Nicean councell downward. After that, sinods and meetings, only consultatiue and swassive, as you herd those were in the first tow hundred years after Christ. After these were once turned into such as made binding canons, with cursing & anathamizing all that did not obey therto, ther was nothing but garboils & troubles in the world. Calling of sinods, keeping of councells, pursuing of appeals; one reuersing what an other had done, till peace & truth was driuen into corners, and prid and ambition had gott the vper hand and the Papasie exalted to the hight.

So as godly men, such as Nazianzens, began to abhor them. And Mr. Bullinger,\* speaking of councells, affirms that in old time it grue into a prouerbe; how that euery counsell brings forth warre, and what the later haue been is well enough knoen. But to speake a word to the mater in hand: a man is delt with for some sin or scandal according to the rule of Christ; he will not hear his brother or is innocent; the rule is tell it to the Church. But what church? Surely in all reason that perticuler church wherof he is a member is most like to be fittest to trie his cause; who best knows him, and what his life & conuersation is, and hath been, amonge them. They also best know his accuser and the witnesses, and what credite they are of. They can soonest help him out of his sine if he be guiltie, or purge the church of him if he be not to be borne, or cleer him if he be innocent. And not to waite the meeting of the classes, or other courtes, and burthen the accuser & witeses, to trauell, and waite, we know not how longe it may be, till they are weary, or canot bear the lose & charge, and so rather let men lye in ther sines then pull such a burthen vpon their nekes. And when they haue done what they can, if the party be froward or rich, he will apeale stil from one court to another, till he hath wearied and it may be vndon them all that pursue against him, and him selfe and his too, and yet the higher the cause goes, the less is it knowne; both in the persons intrressed ther in, or the circamstances about it, which is the life of the euidence.

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\* Mr. Henry Bullinger, an eminent Swiss reformer and voluminous writer, was born 1504, died 1577. — ED.

It will be the like case if a pore godly man be vnjustly censured, by the means of some crafty breethren, or proud-presbiters. Ho, say they, he may appeale. Well, but how long may his apeale be tossed from court to court, and he dance attendance therin till he be weary or vndone, and, it may be, neuer see an end of it whilst he liues; or if he doe, if he be not the better able to manage his cause or be freinded by some that can doe it for him, when all is done he may sitt him downe both with the injurie and lose, and know not how to mende him selfe.

And therefore though we hope we may receiue it for truth, which Mr. Gillespie affirms in his ·14· difference betweene them & the prelates, that did excommunicate for mony-matters and trifles, which they condemne, yet we see in maters of this nature there may be such occations of expenses, that men must either beare the wrong or spend their money; yea, many times doe both. And in case, (as he saith) in the ·15· difference, that they doe not, as the prelates did, thinke it enough for men to receiue things, because comanded or enjoyned by them; but that they may serch the scriptures about them, that what they doe they may doe in faith; yet when they haue searched and they cannot find a ground for what their prouincall or nationall sinods enjoynes, will they let them rest till a generall councill can be called to determine it? That indeed would be some ease because it is not like easily to be. It may be their Presbyteriall power may be ouertourned before that day. But we suppose they will giue no such respite, but must come vnder the penalty of what their synod decrees, though it be to banishment. And that is but a could answer which the Assemblie of Deuines make in this case to the Dissenting Breethren, to tell them the sinod inflict no punishments. For so said the prelates in queene Maries dayes to those whom they condemned, they left them to the seculer-power for execution.

These things considered, and many more instances that might be giuen (if it were meet to inlarge in so brefe a discourse), we freely confess we see not but that truth, peace, puritie, and justice, yea, and loue also, may as well, (and much more) be maintained and prouided for in the amicable comunion of sister churches, then by these superioure and high-Presbiterion courts, and their coerciue-power, and pursuing appeales vnto them; more suiting with the kingdoms of the world then the humble frame of Christs gospell, w<sup>h</sup> is silent in any shuch matter.

The framing and squaring of the gouerment of the church according to the gouerment of the nations of the world, hath been the ground

of much error and mischeefe; as hath been rightly noted by some, that dioceses or patriarchships haue been first framed according to the diuissions of the Roman prouinces in that ancient empire; and the pope could neuer be satisfied till he had gott the emperour's place, and power, and constituted a senate of cardinals, as a court meet to sustaine his majestie, and suport his greatness, him self being head of an œcumenicall councell, and all the prouinciall & other subordinate sinods which so longe bore swaie in the world. And how many did emptie ther baggs in following appeales to these courts, histories doe giue vs presidents good store. And whether these Presbiteriall sinods in their method & structure doe not more ressemble them (though their iudges be pares) then the simplisitie of the gospell, we leaue it to others to iudg.

#### YONG-MEN.

We confesse these things which you haue mentioned are of great consideration, & may cause any to make a stand, and well to waigh, and ponder things, before they engage and enwrape them selues in such bonds, and intrahlements, so full of complication, as these may proue to be, vnder so many subordinations, and dependancies vpon so many higher courts and tribunalls. They had need in this case, take in that speech of Jethros to Moses, Exod· 28· 23· If thou doe this thing and God so command thee.

But our new English Presbiterians, and the present Scotch, (we obserue) they fasten much vpon a phrase in their late couenant, which they vehemently press, that the reformation w<sup>h</sup> is now about in England, Ireland, &c., be according to the word of God, and the example of the best Reformed Churches. We desire to hear your judgment how this is followed.

#### ANCENT-MEN.

We had much rather be silent than expresse our minds in such cases; but seeing you presse vs herein, we shall say thus much, that the speech or phrase they vse is good if it be sincerely practised. But we feare they more adhere (in some things) to the practise of the Reformed Churches, then to the word of God, which should haue the first & cheefe place. And in some things they rather follow the example of the worst, then the best Reformed Churches. And we wish (in some respectes) it may not be said of them as was of those in ·2· of Kings ·17· 34· They neither doe according to the word of God, nor according to the example of the best Reformed Churches; not that we would be

vnderstood to compare either their persons or cause to those ther; it is far from vs so to doe but in allusion to the phrase.

We find in an ordinance of Parlement made the 28<sup>th</sup> of August 1646 for ordination of ministers (after aduice had with the assemblee of deuines now conuened at Westminster, as is therein expressed) how the ordination of ministers made by or deriued from any of the (cashed) prelates, is to be held valid, and not be disclaimed by any that haue received it, and that presbiters so ordained, being therunto appointed & authorized, may ordaine other presbiters. And it follows in the same acte; that euery person formerly ordained a presbyter (or preist) according to the forme of ordination which hath been held in the church of England, &c., is to bring a testimoniall of his ordination, &c., and being other wise found fitt he shall be admitted without any new ordination to the place he is designed vnto. The like for any minister remouing from Scotland to England, &c. See the ordinance more at large.

Now how this agrees with the word of God we know not, we would see it proued. And we conceiue it will as ill-suit with the exampls of the best Reformed Churches. When Tilenus was pressed by the Earl of Laual in France, to know from whence Caluin had his calling, he flies not to the prelates of those times to deriue his calling or ordination from them, but answers roundly that he had it from the Church of Geneua and from Farell his predecessor, who had also his from the people of Geneua, who had right and authoritie to institute and depose ministers. Wheatenhall, pag 155.\*

Wher doe they find in the Scriptures that ordination is such an indeliabie character, that a person once receiuing the same, though his flock cease, or he be remoued, that he must enter vpon an other without a new call and ordination, espetially when he hath received it from tiranus-vsurers, such as them selues held the bishops & prelates to be? Was it a fault (as we heard Mr. Gilespie hath noted before) in the prelates, to ordaine ministers without any perticuler flock, or charge, and must the same persons now enter vpon any, and one after another, without a new ordination?

Againe, what word of God doth warrent them to enclose all in a parish or prouince, within the flock of the church, as it seems their modle entends in Scotland & England? It is not sufficiente to say,

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\* See Jacob's "Attestation," p. 43. Daniel Tilenus was a learned Protestant Divine of the French church, born 1563, died 1633.

they will suspend the scandalous or grossly ignorant from the Lords table. They haue noe example from the churches in the Low-Countries, and some others who herein are better reformed and more according to the word of God. What haue I to doe, (saith the apostle) to judge them that are without, also doe not yee judge them that are within? But God judgeth them without. ·1· Cor · 5 · 12 · 13 · Will you incircle and bind them vp vnder the power of your clases, to haue their tithes, and rule ouer them as the sheep of Christ, whether they appeare to be such or noe?

What ground is ther from the word of God for the baptising of all children, though it cannot be affirmed that either of their parents are, for the present, within the visible couenant of God, or meet members for the church? Indeed, herein they haue the example of the Reformed Churches. But we presume had some of the Reformed Churches had that light which these now haue or may haue, they would neuer haue taken vp that practise; but being taken vp & groune into custome, they cannot so easily lay it downe as well as some otther things which they doe not much approue of, at least some of them.

But we will no further enlarge in these thinges, but leaue them to your consideration to examine them by the word of God, and as you shall haue light and direction from thence so judge of them, for that is the safest rule, the true touch-stone. It is the word of truth. John ·17· 17· Thy word is trueth. To the law and to the testimony, if they speak not according to this word it is because ther is no light in them. Isa · 8 · 20 · And Doctor Whittakers\* saith well; that the custome of the church is but the custome of men; the sentence of the fathers is but the opinion of men; and the determination of councells are but the judgments of men.

*Consuetudo sine veritate, vetustas erroris est.*

#### YONG-MEN.

We humble thanke you for this paines, and we shall desire the Lord to make his word to be a lampe vnto our feete and a light vnto our pathes; that we may walk in his ways and make choyse of his statutes. But we pray you to let vs hear something of the Independents judgmente, or the Congregationall way.

#### ANCIENT-MEN.

*Quod verum est, serum non est.*

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\* William Whitaker, an eminent English Divine and Protestant writer of the 16th century; born, 1547; died, 1595. — ED.

OF THE INDEPENDENTS, OR CONGREGATIONALL  
WAY.

And first for the name, *Independents*, you are to know it is not a name of choise made by any of them selues, but a title imposed by others which are their opposits. Therefore thus writs Mr. Burton in answer to Mr. Prinne: We would not you should giue vs this name, as a nick-name or a name of reproach or badg of scorne; not that you should call vs so as if we denied subjection to ciuill authoryty in maters of ciuill gouerment, nor yet that you should meane such an independencie, as if we held not good correspondencie with all sister churches by way of consociation, consultation, com̄union, com̄unication, mutuall consolation, supportation, and (in a word) in all things, duties & offices, as wherin Christs kingdome is held vp, the graces of the churchs exercised, and the liberties of each church preserued intire, which is the glory of Christ. Vindication, pag 42.

Mr. Cotton saith (also) that it is no fitt name for our churches, in that it holdeth vs forth as independent from all others. Wheras indeed wee doe professe dependencie vpon magistrats for ciuill gouerment & protection, dependencie vpon Christ and his word for the soueraigne gouerment & rule of our administrations, dependence vpon the councill of other churches & sinods when our own variance or ignorance may stand in need of shuch help from them. Ans. to Mr. Baylie, pag 11.\*

Of the Antiquitie of the Independent or Congr[eg]ationall-way & Gouerment, compared with Classicall, Mr. Cotton thus writs in answer to Mr. Baylie:

The way of God is the old way. Jer 6 16. Yea so old as fetcheth his antiquitie from the Ancient of Dayes, euen from the Lord Jesus Christ, who is the way of truth & life. Id verum, quod primum; id primum quod ab initio. Ther is no false way, but is an aberration from the first institution. Giue me leaue therfore (saith he) to professe freely, without offence, what I truly beleeeue with out scruple; that though the acts of church-gouerment (in the ordination of officers, and censures of offenders) by the prebyters of neighbour churches be

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\* John Cotton, "The Way of Congregational Churches Cleared: In two Treatises. In the former, from the Historical Aspersions of Mr. Robert Baylie, in his Book, called A Dissuasive from the Errors of the Time," &c. London, 1648.—ED.

very ancient, yet not more ancient then *Humanus Episcopatus*, (as Beza calleth it), nor so ancient as the way of Congregationall gouernment of each church within itselfe, by the space of 300 years. I will not here speak of those texts of scripture, (saith he,) of Mat 18·15· 16· 17· and 1· Cor 5· but refferr them, &c.

But in the first century, whilst the apostles liued, we read of no acte of church-power put forth by the elders of churches ouer absent congregations, but only in Acts 15· 28· 16· 4· But let it be considered:

1. That this sinod was not status conuentus, a monthly or yearly assembly, the ordinary standing iudicatory of the church; nor assembled for administration of ordinary church-power (as ordination of officers, or censuring of offenders), but called together vpon vrgent and vnwonted occasion, the dissention of the church of Antioch, which both craued & needed direction in such a case. Act 15· 1· 2· And we easily grant (what we willing practise in a Congregationall way) that neither doctrine, nor discipline, can well proceed vnto publick edification, when the church is rent with dissention. And when a congregation wanteth agreement and peace amongst them selues, it is then a way of God, (according to Acts 15· 2·) to consult with some other church or churches, either by them selues or their messengers mett in a sinod. But then they send not to them for power to administer any ordinance amongst themselues; but for light to satisfie discenters, and so to remoue the stumbling block of the suspition of mal-administration of their power out of the way. But otherwise, when churches want not peace nor light to excercise that power without distraction, which the Lord hath giuen them, Christ doth not directe his churches to gather into a sinod for remouing of known offences, either in doctrine or maners, &c.

2<sup>ly</sup>. The synod at Jerusalem, Acts 15· was not a conuention or consistorie of elders, apart from breethren, but such a number of bretheren were admitted into the assembly as carried the name of a whole church, &c. If the classes doe admite the bretheren of the church wher they meet, to sitt with the elders in debating & determining the maters of the sinod, euen such a number, as may denominat them a whole church; as then they shall come nerer to the primatiue pattern, so they may expecte a freer passage of the presence of the Holy Ghost with them.

3<sup>ly</sup>. That synod hauing heard & argued the whole cause in controuersie, they gaue their judgment both of the doctrine taught at



Antioch, & of the persons that taught it, as troublesome to the church & subuersiue to their soules, and vnwarented by themselues; neuertheless, they neither excommunicated them them selues, nor cōmand the church to excommunicate them, but leaue the church to exercise ther owne power according to the rule of the word, if any should be found obstinatly to persiste in such pernicious doctrine after conuiction. And, 4<sup>y</sup>. saith he, though we dare not allow alike equall power to ordinarie synods, vnless they had the like equall-pressence and assistance of infallible guides, (such as the apostles were) &c., yet our Congregationall-way doth allow a power in synods to directe & appointe what spirituall prudence from the word shall determine. But it is one thing to directe & charge churches from the word of the Lord, what should be done by them; and another thing to doe their acts of power for them. The one guideth them in the vse & exercise of it, the other taketh their power, or at least the exercise of it, out of their hands, which is more then the pattern of synods (in Acts. 15.) doth hold forth.

In the second century of yeares, (saith he) the church-gouerment was administred not in a Classicall but in a Congregationall-way, as in the former centuary, of which we need no better euidence then the euidēt testimony of the Magdeburgenses,\* in the 2<sup>d</sup>. Cent. Chap. 7. tit. de Consoci: Say they, si quis probatos autores hujus perspiciat, videbit Formam Gubernationis propemodum Δημοκρατίας similem fuisse, &c. The rest you haue heard before, so we omit it.† Then he concluds: What is Congregationall gouerment, and Independent from other churches and presbyteris, if this be not? Though he mentioneth conuentions & synods, yet he speaketh of them not as hauing power to gouerne the churches, but of the churches as haueing power to gather them. But the synods left the power of chosing, calling, ordaining ministres, of censuring offenders and of absouling penitents, to the single churches, each one enjoying equall power within them selues. The help which neighbour churches yeilded one to another, was not

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\* This reference is to a work called the "Centuries of Magdeburg," which form an Ecclesiastical History, carried down to 1298, compiled by various Protestant Divines of Magdeburg, and entitled, "Historia Ecclesiastica, congesta per Magdeburgenses et alios;" the best edition of which was published at Basle, in 1562, in 13 vols. fol. Matthias Francowitz Illyricus, an earnest defender of the Protestant faith (born in 1520, died in 1575), began and had the chief direction of the work. Matthew Judex was one of the principal writers of the first two Centuries, the latter of which is here cited from Cotton. Bradford cites the first two Centuries of this work on pages 41 and 43. (See Watt.) — Ed.

† See pages 41 and 43. — Ed.

cum imperio, & subjectione, (as he speaketh in the same place) not with dominion of some & subjection of others; but out of brotherly loue & care, & desire of mutuall edification.

In the 3<sup>rd</sup> century of years, the church injoyed, (to vse the words of the Centurists, Cent 3<sup>rd</sup> chap 7<sup>th</sup>) almost the like forme of gouernment, according to the course of the former age, though somewhat enlarged by ambition.

And as in other things he aledgeth Cyprian pertenant to the mater in hand, so out of the 10<sup>th</sup> Epis of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Book, (towards the end) he professeth his resolution to performe no acte of Church gouernment, without the consent of the elders & deacons and bretherne of the church. All these are expresse lineaments (saith Mr. Cotton) of the very body of Congregationall discipline, the same (for substance) wherin we walk at this day. And therefore let it not be slighted or dispised as a nouell inuention, of seuen, or twenty, or 50<sup>th</sup> years standing. See Mr. Cottons Ans. to Mr. Baylie, pag 93<sup>rd</sup> to pag 99<sup>th</sup>.

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## OF THE FRUITS OF CONGREGATIONALL DISCIPLINE IN THE PRIMITIUE TIMES.

Presupposing (saith Mr. Cotton) it hath been proued that our congregationall discipline is the same (for substance) wherin the primitiue churches walked for the first 300<sup>th</sup> years, (to wit, during all the time of the primitiue persecutions) I conceiue we may without arrogancie, (saith he) acknowledge the fruits of their discipline to be ours.

First, their exacte strictnes in examining & trying their catechumenie, before they recieued them into Ecclesiam Fidelium, it brought forth this sauory & spirituall fruit, the purity of churches.

And as their strict examination receiued their members pure, so their strict censure kept them pure.

2<sup>ly</sup>. From this puritie & vigilancy of their discipline in the admission of their members and in the administration of their censures, ther sprang forth many other gracious fruits, as their holy & constant & confidente confessions of the name of Christ before judgment seats, the patient and glorious martyrdumes of innumerable saints, to the conuiction and astonishment of a world of persecutors; whence sprung the conuersion of a great part of the world vnto the truth.

But afterwards, in the days of Constantine, when the externall peace & libertie of the Churches encouraged all sorts of men (cleane and vncleane) to offer themselues to the fellowship of the Church, and Congregationall discipline began to be neglected through the vsurped authority of the bishops and presbyters, the limits of the church began to be as large as the precincts of the parish, and the church it selfe, (which before was wonte to be as a garden enclosed) did now become as a wildernes, lying open to all the beasts of the field. Who so would offer him self, might haue free passage into the bosome of the church. And offer them selues they did, for outward respects & preferment, &c. But this inundation of corrupt members was preuented, by the vigilancie of Congregationall discipline whilst it stood in force in the former centuries.

3<sup>y</sup>. This was an other good fruit of the Congregationall discipline in those primatiue times, that whilst it tooke place in the churches ther could be no place nor way open for the aduancement of antichrist; no, nor for vsurpation of Episcopall prelacie, for whilst euery church kept their gouerment within their owne congregation, they knew not the heauie & lordly yoke of Cathedrall-churches, much less wère they troden downe with the impositions frō the Sea of Rome.

And for the fruits of Congregationall discipline, as it hath been exercised amongst vs (saith he) (though in much weaknes,) the Lord hath not left vs without testimony from Heauen.

First, in making these churches a little sanctuary to many 1000. of his seruants who fled ouer hither to auoyde the vnsupportable pressures of their consciences by the Episcopall tyranny.

2<sup>y</sup> in blessing the ministry of our preachers here, with like fruits of conuersione (as in our natiue countrie) of sundrie both elder & yonger persons who came ouer hither, not out of conscience, but out of respecte to freinds, or outward inlargments; but haue here found that grace which they sought not for.

3<sup>y</sup>. in discouering & suppressing those errors of Antinomians & Familists which brake forth here amongst vs, & might haue proceeded to the subuersion of many soules, had not the blessing of Christ vpon the vigilancy of Congregationall discipline either preuented or remoued or healed the same.

4<sup>y</sup>. it hath been also a testimony from Heauen, of Gods blessing vpon our way, that many thousands in England in all the quarters of the kingdome, haue been awakened to consider of the cause of church-discipline, for which we haue suffered this hazardous & voluntary

banishment into this remote wildernes, and haue therefore by letters conferred with vs about it, & been (through mercy) so farr enlightened, as to desire an vtter subuersion of Episcopacy; yea, and the Honourable Houses of Parlemeute, the Lord hath pleased to help them so farr to consider of our sufferings, and of the causes therof, as to conclude a necesitie of reformation of the Ecclesiasticall state, (amongst other causes, so) by reason of the necessitie put vpon so many English subjects to depart from all our imployments in our native country, for conscience sake.

And, in England (saith he):

5. If books & letters & reports doe not deceiue vs with false intelligence, the great and gracious & glorious victories, wherby the Lord hath wrought saluation for England in these late warres, haue been as so many testimonies of the blessing of God vpon our way. For the cheefest instruments which God hath delighted to vse herein, haue been the faith and fidelity, the courage & constancy of Independents. And when I say Independents, I meane not those corrupt sects & heresies which shroud themselues under the vast title of Independencie, and in the meane time cast off all church gouernment and churches too; but such as profess the kingdome of Christ in the gouernment of each holy congregation of saints within them selues. Mr. Cottons Ans: to Mr. Baylie, pag ·100· 101· 103· \*

Of their loue and loyalty see what Mr. Burton writeth and affirmeth against Mr. Prinne, (who taxted them herein): We dare (saith he) challenge all the world in poynt of fidelity to the state, and our native country; who do pray more frequently, more feruently for them? so that herein you cannot say we are Independents, as for want of loue and that of the best kind to the publick cause & state, as we are ready to help & serue it with our best abilities. And for true charitablnes, (brother, saith he) wher is it to be found if not in those churches you call Independent? But you will say this our loue is among our selus; and God grant it may euer be so; yet it ends not ther, but extends to all. And for a close, (saith he) I challenge you to shew me one parochiall congregation in England, wherin ther is or can be the like loue, one to another, the like care, one for another, the like spirituall watchfulness one ouer an other, the like union & comunion of members in one

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\* In the long citations which Bradford here makes from Cotton, I may remark, that, while he generally quotes whole passages, word for word, he sometimes abbreviates.—Ed.

misticall body in a simpthy of affectiones; in such a fraternitie as is described, Psa ·133· a liuely tipe of a true church of Christ. M<sup>r</sup> Burtons Ans. to M<sup>r</sup>. Prine, pag ·47·

#### YONG-MEN.

These are blessed fruits; and haply are those churches in which they may be found, and wherin they continue and abide. These are of the Lords planting and are not to be found in euery garden. The Lord purge & prune his churches, and water them with the dew of Heauen, that they may continue to bring forth fruit vnto him; that we may inioye a parte in this blessing in our dayes.

#### ANCIENT-MEN.

We haue the rather noted these thinges, that you may see the worth of these things, and not negligently loose what your fathers haue obtained with so much hardshipe; but maintaine these priuiledges which not man, but the Lord Jesus, the King of the Church, hath purchased for you. You see how when they were lost in the former ages, both what euill and miserie followed thervpon, and how longe & with what difficulty it was, before they could in any purity be recouered againe. They were lost by slouth and security in the people; and by pride & ambition in the bishops & elders. But it hath cost much blood & sweat in the recouerie; and will doe no lesse care and pains in the keeping of them. It will require much praier, zeale, holines, humilitie, vigilancie and loue, & peace, with a spirite of meeknes, that liberty be not abused, and by prid & faction turned into licenciousnes. Stand fast in the libertie (saith the appostle, Gal ·5· 1·) wher with Christ hath made vs free. Yee haue been caled vnto liberty; only use not liberty for an occassion to the flesh, but by loue serue one another. Though the Appostle speaketh this something in another case, yet it will take in this also.

We beseech you breethren, to know them which labour among you, and are ouer you in the Lord, and admonish you; and to esteeme them very highly in loue for their works sake, and be at peace among yourselues. 2 Thes ·5· 12· 13· Obey them that haue the rule ouer you, and submite your selues, for they watch for your soules as they that must giue accounte; that they may doe it with joye and not with greefe, for that is vnprofitable for you. Heb ·13· 17· For wher loue & peace and brotherly forbearance are wanting in churches, ther will neuer be that edification, and sweet closure in amicable affection, that

ought to be. And this we are abundantly taught in the primitiue patterne of churches, as well as any other things. And they doe as much conduce to spirituall fruitfullnes.

We had thought to haue giuen you some of their cheefe grounds breefly, from the Scriptures, of what they hold & practise; but time will not now suffer vs; and they haue been partly touched before in this discourse, and are sufficiently handled in many books, by diuerse excelente-men, both learned, godly, and very judicious, as any these later times haue afforded, to which we referre you.

Only this we comēde vnto your consideration, that vpon examena-tion, you shall find the scriptures which they lay their grounds vpon, to be taken in their proper, true, and natiuē, genuine sence; agreeing with the best and most godly expositors, viz., most of those shining lights that God hath reased vp in the Reformed Churches & before; without straining, wresting or writhing of them, as some others seeme to doe in their forced interpretations; so full of obscurity, as they darken that which shines clear enough in the text it selfe, as might be showne in many instances if time would permit.

But we will here cease, and put an end to this conference, desireing the Lord to guid you in his trueth, and establish you in the same, vnto the ende of your dayes, and that you may help to propagate the same, to the generations to come, till the coming of the Lord.

#### YONG-MEN.

We humbly thanke you for this labour of your loue, and paines you haue taken for our infformation. We confesse wee shall be able hereby more groundedly to discern of the differences of all those fore-recited wayes. And we hope the Lord will help vs to trye all things, and hold that which is good. 2. Thes. 5. 21. And wee craue the continuance of your prayers for vs that so we may doe; and so doe humbly take our leaue.

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*μόνη σοφῶ θεῶ, διὰ ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας· ἀμήν.*

ROM. 16. 27.

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#### TEAOS.

“I commend unto your wisdom and discretion some small books written by my own hand to be improved as you shall see meet. In special I commend to you a little book with a black cover, wherein there is A Word to Plymouth, A Word to Boston, and A Word to New England, with sundry useful verses.”

EXTRACT FROM GOVERNOR BRADFORD'S WILL.





[V E R S E S.]\*

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רְהִרְהָהּ צְבָאוֹת עֲמַנָה בְּשָׁנִים לָנוּ אֵלֶּהֶר רַעֲקֹב סָלָה

Psa: 46. 12.

Spes una hominē nec morte reliquit.

*Some observations of God's merciful dealing with us in this wilderness, and his gracious protection over us these many years. Blessed be his name.*

Firma fides turris est fortissima.

IN this wilderness we lived have here,  
In happy peace this four and thirty year,†  
Amongst a people without God or Law,  
Or fear of aught that might keep them in awe.  
Their government, if any such there be,  
Is nothing else but a mere tyranny.

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\* The following clause occurs in Governor Bradford's last will, which was presented for probate 3d June, 1657, the month following his death:—

“I commend unto your wisdom and discretion some small books written by my own hand to be improved as you shall see meet. In special I commend to you a little book with a black cover, wherein there is A Word to Plymouth, A Word to Boston, and A Word to New England, with sundry useful verses.”

In Volume III., Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., First Series, pp. 77–84 (issued in 1794), is published, what Dr. Belknap calls, “A Descriptive and Historical Account of New England in verse; from a MS. of William Bradford, Governor of Plymouth Colony.” It was a fragment. Dr. Belknap thus introduces the verses: “The following lines, having some relation to the soil, the productions, and the history of the country, are now first printed on that account, and not for any poetical beauties to be discovered in them. They may afford some entertainment; and as they seem to be within the views of the Society, they are submitted to the public.” The original manuscript, in the fragmentary form in which it was published, was recovered among some Belknap papers which

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† This shows that Bradford is here writing in the year 1654. — Ed.

Some customs they have, and skill pretend,  
 Yet lust's their law and will's their utmost end,  
 For the strongest the weaker still oppress,  
 They may complain but seldom find redress.  
 Their Lords the chiefest men seek for to please,  
 By them to grab the rest with greater ease.  
 Their lands, their goods, daughters, or wives, they'll take,  
 And keep and use them for their pleasures sake,

were presented to the Society by Miss Elizabeth Belknap, in March, 1858, a notice of which will be found in a report to the Society on that donation, in the Proceedings for that month, at page 317.

In 1838 there was published in Volume VII., Third Series of the Collections, at pages 27, 28, the lines entitled, "Of Boston in New England," and "A Word to New England"; prefixed to which the Publishing Committee, after referring to the earlier published verses, say: "Of a like strain are the lines that follow, and as, from the reference to them in the Governor's will, of which we subjoin an extract, they were by him commended to preservation, we rescue them from the original manuscript, where for more than one hundred and sixty years they have remained in obscurity."

In the Cabinet of the Historical Society is a small quarto volume containing an early transcript of these several pieces by Governor Bradford, of which mention is made in his will. I recite them in the order in which they appear. First is "A Word to New Plymouth," which, so far as I am aware, has never been published, and is now printed here. Then follows "A Word to New England," and "Of Boston in New England," which are published as above named. Then comes a piece called "Epitaphium Meum," which was printed by Morton in his Memorial, at pages 264, 265, of Judge Davis's edition; but omitting, very properly, some quotations from Scripture, in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. The concluding verses are entitled "Some observations of God's merciful dealing with us in this wilderness; and his gracious protection over us these many years. Blessed be his name." This is the piece printed by Dr. Belknap, in a fragmentary form, in 1794, above referred to, and to which he prefixed a title of his own; the first part, consisting of *seventy-nine lines*, being wanting. As these can now be supplied from this early transcript, the whole has been printed here. Some omissions and errors in the part before printed have been corrected by collation with the original manuscript, as well as with the early copy.

Prefixed to these verses of Bradford, in the little volume referred to, is a much longer piece, also in verse, on the subject of the religious sects which abounded in England and on the Continent during the period of the Long Parliament. The first part of it is wanting. I am not sure that this was penned by Bradford, and it is of little historical importance. It is possible that the little book, which has been bound within, I should say, twenty-five years, may be part of a *Commonplace Book*, in which the verses of different authors were collected by its owner. At the foot of the page which concludes the "Epitaphium Meum," is written in the same handwriting as that of the body of the book, "Johannis Williss Hick Labour Ano Dom 1657"; and at the end of the book is this: "Liber meus Ano Dom 1657 John Willette." The name is written, in both cases, in the same hand, with great clearness. The date is the year of Bradford's death.

As the verses here printed are not taken entirely from Bradford's own manuscript, I have thought it best to modernize the spelling of the whole. — Ed.

Or else dispose of them to such they will,  
 As their covetous humor will fulfill.  
 And if that any do their force oppose,  
 In great danger they go their lives to loose.  
 Their weakest neighbours they sought to invade,  
*Sans* cause, and when some slaughter they have made,  
 And Captives (with pillage) have torn away,  
 The rest (poor wretches) do without delay,  
 As now subdued, sue for peace and submit  
 To such hard terms as their new Lords think fit;  
 And them with gifts and yearly tribute please,  
 If they will live in any peace or ease.  
 When as these things I deeply think upon,  
 I may admire that we have lived so long  
 Among these folks so brutish and savage,  
 Without tasting of their Indian's rage.  
 It is God's goodness and only mercy,  
 That hath us kept from their fierce cruelty;  
 For else long before this we might have been  
 Made as miserable as any have been seen.  
 Hitherto through grace we have lost no blood,  
 But rather by them often have found good;  
 Nor woman wronged in her chastity,  
 By any of them, through Gods great mercy.  
 He that kept Abraham in that heathen land,  
 And Isaac whilst in Gera he remained,  
 And caused that their wives should not wronged be  
 By those great Princes, in their chastity,  
 He only it is that hath kept us here  
 'Mongst these rude men, who Law nor God do fear;  
 And hath upon their hearts put such a dread,  
 As they of us have rather stood afraid.  
 When we came first we were in number small,  
 Not much above a hundred in all { *Ano Dom* }  
 And in a number we did here arrive, { 1620 }  
 And by God's mercy were all brought alive.  
 But when we came, here was no house, nor town,  
 Nor certain place we knew where to sit down.  
 Nor any friends of whom we could expect  
 Us for to help or any way direct.

Some forth were sent to seek a place fitting,  
 Where we might harbour and make our dwelling.  
 But in a place where one cold night they lay,  
 They were assaulted about break of day  
 By these Indians with great clamour loud,  
 Whoes arrows fell like to a dropping cloud.  
 Yet none were hurt, though some had clothes shot through,  
 But them repelled from this their rendezvous,  
 And with their muskets made them fly & run,  
 So that long after none at us would come.  
 But now sharp winter storms come us upon,  
 So here we made our habitation ;  
 And till such time as we could houses get,  
 We were exposed to much cold and wet,  
 With such disease as our distempers bred,  
 So that within the space of three months tide  
 The full half of our weak company died,  
 And the condition of the rest was sad,  
 But the Lord compassion on them had,  
 And them again to health and strength restore,  
 And cheered them up with courage as before,  
 And hath enabled them for to go on  
 And with comfort the work to lead along ;  
 And many of them still there be  
 And some their children's children married see.\*

Famine once we had, wanting corn and bread,  
 But other things God gave us in the stead,  
 As fish and ground nuts, to supply our strait,  
 That we might learn on providence to wait ;  
 And know by bread man lives not in his need,  
 But by each word that doth from God proceed.  
 But a while after plenty did come in,  
 From his hand only who doth pardon sin.  
 And all did flourish like the pleasant green,  
 Which in the joyful spring is to be seen.

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\* All the preceding lines are wanting in the original manuscript of these verses as now extant; having disappeared before the manuscript came into the possession of Dr. Belknap, seventy-six years ago. The early transcript to which I have before referred supplies the missing lines. — ED.

Almost ten years we lived here alone,  
 In other places there were few or none ;  
 For Salem was the next of any fame,  
 That began to augment New England's name.  
 But after multitudes began to flow,  
 More than well knew themselves where to bestow ;  
 Boston then began her roots to spread,  
 And quickly soon she grew to be the head,  
 Not only of the Massachusetts Bay,  
 But all trade and commerce fell in her way.  
 And truly 'tis admirable to know  
 How greatly all things here began to grow.  
 New plantations were in each place begun,  
 And with inhabitants were filled soon.  
 All sorts of grain which our own land doth yield,  
 Was hither brought, and sown in every field :  
 As wheat and rye, barley, oats, beans, and pease  
 Here all thrive, and they profit from them raise ;  
 All sorts of roots and herbs in gardens grow,  
 Parsnips, carrots, turnips, or what you'll sow,  
 Onions, melons, cucumbers, radishes,  
 Skirrets, beets, coleworts, and fair cabbages.  
 Here grows fine flowers many, and 'mongst those,  
 The fair white lily and th' sweet fragrant rose.  
 Many good wholesome berries here you'll find,  
 Fit for man's use, almost of every kind,  
 Pears, apples, cherries, plums, quince, and peach,  
 Are now no dainties ; you may have of each.  
 Nuts and grapes of several sorts here are,  
 If you will take the pains them to seek for.

Cattle of every kind do fill the land :  
 Many now are kill'd, and their hides are tann'd,  
 By which men are supply'd with meat and shoes,  
 Or what they can, though much by wolves they lose.  
 Here's store of cows, which milk and butter yield,  
 And also oxen, for to till the field ;  
 Of which great profit many now do make,  
 If they've a fit place and able pains do take.

Horses likewise now here do multiply,  
 They prosper well, and yet their price is high.  
 Here are swine, good store, and some goats do keep,  
 But now most begin to get store of sheep,  
 That with their wool their bodies may be clad,  
 In time of straits, when things cannot be had ;  
 For merchants keep the price of cloth so high,  
 As many are not able the same to buy.  
 And happy would it be for the people here,  
 If they could raise cloth for themselves to wear ;  
 And if they do themselves hereto apply,  
 They would not be so low, nor some so high.  
 When as I look back, I cannot but smile,  
 For to think how some did themselves beguile ;  
 When cattle first went at so high a rate,  
 They did not think how soon they might abate ;  
 For many then began to look too high,  
 Whose hopes, soon after, in the dust did lie.  
 So vain is man ! if riches do abide  
 A little, he's soon lift up with pride.  
 A cow then was at twenty pounds and five,  
 Those who had increase could not choose but thrive ;  
 And a cow-calf ten or twelve pounds would give,  
 As soon as weaned, if that it did live.  
 A lamb or kid was forty shillings price,  
 Men were earnest for them lest they should rise.  
 And a milch goat was at three or four pound ;  
 All cattle at such prices went off round.  
 In money and good cloth they would you pay,  
 Or what good thing else that you would say.  
 And both swine and corn was in good request ;  
 To the first comers this was a harvest.

But that which did 'bove all the rest excel,  
 God, in his word, with us he here did dwell ;  
 Well ordered churches in each place there were,  
 And a learn'd ministry was planted here.  
 All marvell'd and said, " Lord, this work is thine,  
 In the wilderness to make such lights to shine."

And truly it was a glorious thing,  
 Thus to hear men pray, and God's praises sing,  
 Where these natives were wont to cry and yell  
 To Satan, who 'mongst them doth rule and dwell.  
 Oh, how great comfort was it now to see  
 The churches to enjoy free liberty!  
 And to have the gospel preach'd here with power,  
 And such wolves repell'd as would else devour;  
 And now with plenty their poor souls were fed,  
 With better food than wheat, or angels' bread;  
 I'the green pastures they may themselves solace,  
 And drink freely of the sweet springs of grace;  
 A pleasant banquet is prepar'd for these,  
 Of fat things, and rich wine upon the lees;  
 "Ho! eat, my friends, (saith Christ) and drink freely,\*  
 Here's wine and milk, and all sweet spicery;  
 The honey and its comb is here to be had,  
 I myself for you have this banquet made:  
 Be not dismayed, but let your heart rejoice  
 In this wilderness, O let me hear your voice;  
 My friends you are; whilst you my ways do keep,  
 Your sins I'll pardon, and your good I'll seek."  
 And they, (poor souls,) again to Christ do say,  
 "O Lord, thou art our hope, our strength, and stay;  
 Who giv'st unto us all these thy good things;  
 Us shelter still in th' shadow of thy wings.  
 So we shall sing and laud thy name with praise,  
 'Tis thine own work, to keep us in thy ways;  
 Uphold us still, O thou which art most high,  
 We then shall be kept, and thy name glorify.  
 Let us enjoy thyself, with these means of grace,  
 And in our hearts shine, with light of thy face.  
 Take not away thy presence, nor thy word,  
 But, we humbly pray, us the same afford."

To the north, or south, or which way you'll wind,  
 Churches now are spread, and you'll pasture find.

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\* [Solomon's] Song 5: 1. — BRADFORD'S NOTE.

Many men of worth, for learning and great fame,  
 Grave and godly, in to these parts here came :  
 As HOOKER, COTTON, DAMFORD, and the rest,  
 Whose names are precious and elsewhere express'd;  
 And many amongst these, you might soon find,  
 Who (in some things) left not their like behind.  
 But some of these are dead, and others aged be,  
 Lord, do thou supply, in thy great mercy.  
 How these their flocks did feed, with painful care,  
 Their labours, love, and fruitful works declare ;  
 They did not spare their time and lives to spend,  
 In the Lord's work, unto their utmost end :  
 And such as still survive do strive the more,  
 To do like them that have gone before.  
 Take courage then, for ye shall have reward  
 That in this work are faithful to the Lord.  
 Example take hereby, you that shall come,  
 In after time when these their race have run.

A prudent Magistracy here was placed,  
 By which the Churches defended were and graced ;  
 And this new commonwealth in order held,  
 And sin, and foul iniquity, was quell'd :  
 Due right, and justice, unto all was done  
 (Without delay) ; men's suits were ended soon.  
 Here were men sincere, and upright in heart,  
 Who from justice and right would not depart.  
 Men's causes they would scan and well debate,  
 (But all bribes and corruption they did hate).  
 The truth to find out they would use all means,  
 And so, for that end, they would spare no pains.  
 Whilst things thus did flourish and were in their prime,  
 Men thought it happy and a blessed time,  
 To see how sweetly all things did agree.  
 Both in th' Church and State, there was true amity ;  
 Each to other mutual help did lend,  
 And to God's honour all their ways did tend,  
 In love and peace, his truth for to retain,  
 And God's service how best for to maintain.



Some of these are gone, others do grow gray,  
 Which doth show us they have not long to stay.  
 But God will still for his people provide  
 Such as be able them to help and guide,  
 If they cleave to him, and do not forsake  
 His laws and truth, and their own ways do take.  
 If thou hast view'd the camp of Israel,  
 How God in th' wilderness with them did dwell,  
 And led them long in that dangerous place,  
 Through fears and trials for so long a space ;  
 And yet they never saw more of his glory,  
 Than in this time where he advanced them high.  
 His great and marvellous works they here saw,  
 And he them taught in his most holy law.  
 A small emblem hereof thou mayest see,  
 How God hath dealt with these in some degree ;  
 For much of himself they now here have seen,  
 And marvellous to them his works have been.

I am loath (indeed) to change my theme,  
 Thus of God's precious mercies unto them ;  
 Yet I must do it, though it is most sad,  
 And if it prove otherwise, I shall be glad.  
 Methinks I see some great change at hand,  
 That ere long will fall upon this poor land ;  
 Not only because many are took away,  
 Of the best rank, but virtue doth decay,  
 And true godliness doth not now so shine,  
 As some whiles it did, in the former time ;  
 But love and fervent zeal do seem to sleep,  
 Security and the world on men do creep ;  
 Pride and oppression, they do grow so fast,  
 As all goodness they will eat out at last.  
 Whoredom, and drunkenness, with other sin,  
 Will cause God's judgments soon to break in,  
 And whimsy errors have now got such head,  
 And, under notion of conscience, do spread,  
 So as whole places with them now are stain'd,  
 Whereas goodness, sometimes before hath reign'd.

Where godliness abates, evil will succeed,  
 And grow up apace like to the noisome weed ;  
 And if there be not care their growth to stop,  
 All godliness it soon will overtop.  
 Another cause of our declining here,  
 Is a mixt multitude, as doth appear.  
 Many for servants hither were brought,  
 Others came for gain, or worse ends they sought ;  
 And of these, many grow loose and profane,  
 Though some are brought to know God and his name.  
 But thus it is, and hath been so of old,  
 As by the Scriptures we are plainly told ;  
 For when as from Egypt God's people came,  
 A mixed multitude got in 'mongst them,  
 Who with the rest murmur and lust did they,  
 In wants, and fell at Kibroth Hataavah.  
 And whereas the Lord doth sow his good seed,  
 The enemy, he brings in tares and weed ;  
 What need therefore there is that men should watch,  
 That Satan them not at advantage catch ;  
 For ill manners and example are such,  
 As others do infect and corrupt much :  
 Chiefly if they be unstaied and young,  
 And with ill persons do converse among ;  
 Yea some are so wretched and full of vice,  
 As they take pleasure others to entice ;  
 And though it be a thing most vile and bad,  
 Yet they will do it, and thereat be glad ;  
 And laugh and scoff, when any they draw in  
 For to do evil, and to commit sin.  
 But let these, (and all) profane scoffers, know,  
 That unto God they do a reckoning owe,  
 And to account (ere long) he will them bring,  
 When they must answer for this, their foul sin.  
 Was't not enough ? for them evil to do,  
 But they must needs cause others do so too ?  
 Herein (indeed) they act the devil's part,  
 (And if they repent not,) with him they'll smart ;  
 For God to such is a consuming fire,  
 And they shall perish in his dreadful ire.

But a most desperate mischief here is grown,  
 And a great shame it is it should be known :  
 But why should I conceal so foul a thing,  
 That quickly may our hurt and ruin bring !  
 For base covetousness hath got such sway,  
 As our own safety we ourselves betray ;  
 For these fierce natives, they are now so fill'd  
 With guns and muskets, and in them so skill'd,  
 As that they may keep the English in awe,  
 And when they please, give unto them the law ;  
 And of powder and shot they have such store,  
 As (sometimes) they refuse for to buy more ;  
 Flints, screw-plates, and moulds for all sorts of shot  
 They have, and skill how to use them have got ;  
 And mend and new stock their pieces they can,  
 As well (in most things) as an Englishman.  
 Thus like madmen we put them in a way,  
 With our own weapons us to kill and slay ;  
 What gain hereof to make they know so well,  
 The fowl to kill, and us the feathers sell.  
 For us to seek for deer it doth not boot,  
 Since now (with guns) themselves at them can shoot.  
 That garbage, of which we no use did make,  
 They have been glad to gather up and take ;  
 But now they can themselves fully supply,  
 And the English of them are glad to buy.  
 And yet, if that was all, it might be borne,  
 Though hereby th' English make themselves a scorn ;  
 But now they know their advantage so well,  
 And will not stick, (to some) the same to tell,  
 That now they can when they please or will,  
 The English drive away, or else them kill.  
 Ho ! base wretched men, who thus for their gain  
 Care not at all, if their neighbours be slain !  
 How can they think that this should do them good,  
 Which thus they purchase with the price of blood !  
 I know it is laid upon the French and Dutch,  
 And freely grant that they do use it much,  
 And make thereof an execrable trade,  
 Whereby those natives one another invade ;

By which also the Dutch and French do smart  
 (Sometimes,) by teaching them this wicked art;  
 But these (both) from us more remote do lie,  
 And ours from them can have no full supply.  
 In these quarters, it's English guns we see,  
 For French and Dutch, more slight and weak they be;  
 And these Indians are now grown so wise,  
 As, in regard of these, theirs do despise.  
 Fair fowling-pieces, and muskets they have,  
 (All English,) and keep them both neat and brave;  
 And to our shame, speak it we justly may,  
 That we are not furnished so well as they;  
 For traders them will sell at prices high,  
 When as their neighbors of them cannot buy.  
 Good laws have been made this evil to restrain,  
 But, by men's close deceit they are made vain.  
 The Indians are nurtured so well,  
 As, by no means, you can get them to tell  
 Of whom they had their guns, or such supply,  
 Or, if they do, they will feign some false lie;  
 So as, if their testimony you take  
 For evidence, little of it you'll make.  
 And of the English, so many are guilty,  
 And deal under-hand, in such secrecy,  
 As very rare it is some one to catch,  
 Though you use all due means them for to watch.  
 Merchants, shopkeepers, traders, and planters too,  
 Sundry of each, spare not this thing to do;  
 Though many more that do the same abhor,  
 Whose innocence will one day answer for,  
 If (which God forbid) they should come to see,  
 (By this means,) some hurt or sad tragedy.  
 And these heathen, in their furious mood,  
 Should cruelly shed our innocent blood.  
 Lord, shew mercy, and graciously spare,  
 For thy name's sake, those that thy servants are,  
 And let their lives be precious in thy sight;  
 Divert such judgments as fall on them might;

Give them not up into these heathens' power,  
 Who like the greedy wolves \* would them devour,  
\* Vox fera, trux vultus, verissima mortis imago, — OVID.  
 And exercise on them their cruel rage,  
Quamque lupi, sæuæ plus feritatis habent.  
 With torments great and most salvage.  
Atrocitatem anhelat omnis barbarus.  
 They're not content their foes only to kill,  
Homo homini lupus.  
 But, most inhumanly, torment them will.  
 They're men that are skilful for to destroy,  
 And in others misery they do take joy.  
 O Lord, take pity on thy people poor,  
 Let them repent, amend, and sin no more ;  
 Forgive, (dear Father,) what is done and past,  
 Oh save us still, and not away us cast.  
 Ourselves are weak, and have no strength to stand,  
 Do thou support us, (Lord,) with thine own hand ;  
 When we have need, be thou our succour then,  
 Let us not fall into the hands of men.

When I think on what I have often read,  
 How, when the elders and Joshua were dead ;  
 Who had seen those great works, and them could tell,  
 What God had done and wrought for Israel ;  
 Yet they did soon forget and turn aside,  
 And in his truth and ways did not abide ;  
 But i'the next age they did degenerate ;  
 I wish this may not be New England's fate.

O you therefore that are for to succeed,  
 To this fair precedent, give you good heed,  
 And know (that, being warn'd,) if you do not,  
 But fall away, God's wrath 'gainst you'll be hot :  
 For if he spared not those that sinned of old,  
 But into the hands of spoilers them sold,  
 How can you think that you should then escape,  
 That do like them, and will no warning take.

O my dear friends, (and children whom I love,)  
 To cleave to God, let these few lines you move ;

So I have done, and now will say no more,  
But remember, God punished these sore.

Judges · 2 · 7 · 11 · 12 · 14 · 15 ·

FINIS.\*

*Melius est peccatum cavere quam emendare.*

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### A WORD TO NEW PLYMOUTH.

O POOR Plymouth, how dost thou moan,  
Thy children all are from thee gone,  
And left thou art in widow's state,  
Poor, helpless, sad, and desolate.

Some thou hast had, it is well known,  
That sought thy good before their own,  
But times are changed; those days are gone,  
And therefore thou art left alone.

To make others rich thyself art poor,  
They are increased out of thy store,  
But growing rich they thee forsake  
And leave thee poor and desolate.†

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\* Following these verses in the original manuscript is "A Collection of some Latin Sentences," from various authors, — written, as is the former part, in Bradford's exquisite hand. Only two leaves of these now remain. — ED.

† Bradford always deprecated the removal of its citizens from the town of Plymouth, even for the purpose of establishing other towns within the colony. He felt that it tended to weaken the original place of settlement, and thereby to draw away support from the mother church; without, perhaps, securing the maintenance of religious instruction elsewhere. In 1644, after noticing the resolution taken by some to make a settlement at Nawset, afterwards called Eastham, he concludes in a similar strain to the above: "And thus was this poor church left, like an ancient mother, grown old, and forsaken of her children, (though not in their affections) yet in regard of their bodily presence and personal helpfulness. Her ancient members being most of them worn away by death; and those of later time being like children translated into other families, and she like a widow left only to trust in God. Thus she that had made many rich became herself poor." (History of Plymouth Plantation, p. 427.) — ED.

Thy plants in England were first bred,  
 And kindly there were nourished  
 By faithful guides who did them feed,  
 And them assist in all their need ;

Till enemies did them envy,  
 And made them and their guides to fly  
 Over the seas to Belgic land,  
 Where for twelve years they made their stand.

So there they lived in love and peace,  
 And greatly grew and did increase ;  
 But when as those twelve years were done  
 The truce expired and wars begun.

But them a place God did provide  
 In wilderness, and did them guide  
 Unto the American shore,  
 Where they made way for many more.

They broke the ice themselves alone,  
 And so became a stepping-stone  
 For all others, who in like case  
 Were glad to find a resting-place.

From hence, as in a place secure,  
 They saw what others did endure  
 By cruel wars, flowing in blood,  
 Whilst they in peace and safety stood.

Fair Germany was overrun  
 With wars, and almost quite undone ;  
 Her lands were all besprinkled with blood  
 From Rugen shore unto Rhine flood ;

Which made the Eagle fume and fret,  
 Till that bright northern star was set,  
 The long ere that he could obtain  
 (With much suing) a peace again.

And though Holland did greatly quake  
 When Spaniard Amersford did take,  
 And had not Wesel then been took,  
 Thy haughty heart it would have shook.

And France with Spain they had such jars  
 Which have produced bloody wars  
 Which many years could not compose,  
 But England thereby did not lose.

Here they beheld with weeping eyes  
 The civil wars which did arise,  
 In their own land after long peace,  
 Praying to God that they might cease.

But like flames of fire with wind blown,  
 Over the three lands it soon was flown.  
 The bloody Irish caused to die  
 Three hundred thousand cruelly.\*

In a few months no wolves more keen  
 Than these Scythian beasts have been ;  
 But now God's hand hath them repaid,  
 And all their blood upon them laid.

And thou poor England hast thy part,  
 Even wounded to the very heart,  
 How many armies didst thou see  
 Consuming and destroying thee.

At Keinton how wast thou beset,  
 And Brentford may not we forget,  
 At Newberry the fight was sore,  
 But greatest was at Marston-moor.

But Nasby did thy glory crown,  
 Thine enemies they then went down,  
 "New-model" they could not withstand,  
 It was not they, but God's own hand ;

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\* The dreadful massacre of the English in the Irish Rebellion of 1641 is here referred to. The number of the slain as given above is considerably overestimated. — ED.



For in short space, all was subdued,  
 And former peace again renewed,  
 Till some with false Scots made a jar,  
 And did contrive a second war.

The Scots to England now were led,  
 Duke Hamilton, he was their head.  
 But near to Preston, they were met,  
 And were by Cromwell soundly beat.

Yet once again they would make war  
 But were overthrown at Dunbar.  
 To Worcester they needs would post,  
 But there themselves and lands they lost.

Thus England peace again regained,  
 And such great victories obtained  
 As all three lands in one were knit,  
 And to one rule made to submit.

But when we thought all had been done  
 A foreign war was now begun  
 By those whom gratitude did bind  
 To England to have been more kind.

For when they were in low estate,  
 England did them compassionate.  
 When Spain was like them to devour  
 Then were they helped by English power;

Who spared neither wealth nor blood,  
 In their distress to do them good,  
 But did assist them in their need,  
 Till from their bondage they were freed;

And made the Spaniards sue for peace,  
 That those sore bloody wars might cease.  
 And they became rich and wealthy,  
 And called the states High and Mighty.

But now they do them ill repay,  
 Begin a war in treach'rous way,  
 Whilst the state was in treaty held,  
 Their sea forces they would have quelled ;

So that they might, as they should please,  
 Command in the English narrow seas,  
 And unto them to give the law,  
 And keep their neighbors all in awe.

But now such wars at sea were grown,  
 As seldom hath been ever known,  
 The seas with ships were overspread,  
 The azure waves with blood made red.

The guns like thunder rent the skies,  
 And fire, as lightning, swiftly flies ;  
 The ships were torn, the masts were broke,  
 And all was filled with cries and smoke.

And some into the air were blown,  
 Others into the deep sunk down,  
 The Belgic Lion made to roar,  
 Being pursued to their own shore.

The fights were great, the wars were sore,  
 Such as Holland ne'er had before.  
 When they had tried their utmost strength,  
 Were glad to seek for peace at length.

A peace at last was obtained,  
 Which caused much joy when proclaimed,  
 And I believe these wars now past,  
 They will not break with England in haste.

















