

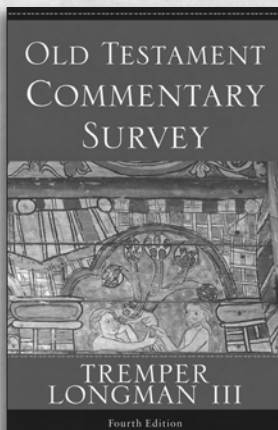


SOUTHWESTERN JOURNAL OF THEOLOGY

BRITISH BAPTISTS

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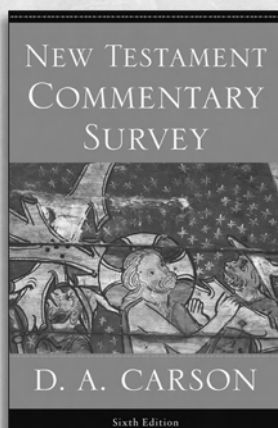
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A Word from the Editor-in-Chief

Paige Patterson

President

Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary

Editor-in-Chief, Southwestern Journal of Theology

This issue of the Southwestern Journal of Theology introduces the new managing Editor, Malcolm B. Yarnell III, and his Editorial Assistant, Madison Grace II. Malcolm Yarnell is Associate Professor of Systematic Theology and Director of the Center for Theological Research at Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary. A native of Louisiana, Yarnell is a graduate of Louisiana State University and has also completed the Master of Divinity at Southwestern, the Master of Theology at Duke University, and the Doctor of Philosophy at Oxford. The topic of Yarnell's dissertation was *Royal Priesthood in the English Reformation*.

In addition to teaching at Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, Yarnell also taught at Midwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, where he served as Academic Dean and Vice President for Academic Affairs. Recently B&H Academic published Yarnell's groundbreaking book *Formation of Christian Doctrine* on theological method in a free church context, reviewed in this issue by Distinguished Professor of Theology, James Leo Garrett, Jr. Southwestern Seminary is privileged to have Yarnell as the new Managing Editor, and this issue welcomes him to this important position.

The *Southwestern Journal of Theology* will assume a different look and a distinct new direction in the days ahead. We at Southwestern are convinced that a journal can reflect the best in technical, scholarly works and remain vital to the life of the churches. Future issues devoted to The Family, Missionary Methods, and the Bible in the Twenty-first Century will capture the attention of pastors and church leaders. Mark Howell, a Houston pastor, and Steven Smith, Southwestern's Assistant Professor of Preaching, Associate Dean for the Professional Doctoral Program, and the professor occupying the James T. Draper, Jr., Chair of Pastoral Ministry, as well as others will be serving as assistant editors. An outstanding sermon will be a part of each issue, together with articles and reviews.

The *Southwestern Journal of Theology* will reflect, but not be limited to, the Baptist tradition that gave birth to the seminary publishing the journal.

The noble perspective of a regenerate church, witnessed by baptism and a common commitment to holy living, will characterize the direction of the journal. With gratitude to God for His grace and to other noble men and women who witnessed to their faith—sometimes even to the point of martyrdom, we present this new approach and our new editor, Malcolm Yarnell.

Southwestern Journal of Theology • Volume 48 • Number 2 • Spring 2006

Editorial

The British Baptists: Sources for Free, Believing, Baptizing Churches

Baptists are a people passionate about the gracious salvation they have received from their Lord Jesus Christ; therefore, Baptists are passionate about implementing His will in their churches. We believe in Jesus Christ, fully God and fully man, who atoned for the sins of the world through His cross, and rose again from the dead so that believers would have eternal life. We believe that this one we call our Savior is by necessary implication also our Lord. Baptist disciples willingly offer their obedience to His will, a will expressly formed around the cross as revealed in the Bible. His will demands both spiritual appropriation and visible expression in our individual and corporate lives. Passion for the Word drives Baptists to associate with one another as they seek to live out the one will of God as the one people of God who have received the one baptism, which is for believers only by immersion only. Yet this passion to become and walk as His disciples creates huge tensions amongst Baptists regarding the exact shape of His will. Moreover, when Baptists fail to convince one another of a particular schema based upon Scripture, they often resort to history as secondary evidence regarding a particular understanding of the dominical will.

Due to their visible implementation of Christ's will, Baptists embody a definite historical presence, with traces of both the beauty of divine glory and the ugliness of human fallibility. The people called Baptist have a history and a compulsion to understand that history, because they understand that not only is true Christian faith properly internal or spiritual, but also external or incarnate. As an incarnate faith that confesses an incarnate God, and as a Word-oriented faith that receives a perfect revelation, Baptists intuitively understand that the history of their successes and failures involves unified yet divergent interpretations of that divine Word. In arriving at these interpretations Baptists believe they have been led by the gracious work of the Holy Spirit. The evidence of Baptist *unity* with regard to Christ's Lordship, on the one hand, alongside evidence of Baptist *disunity* with regard to His Lordship, on the other hand, is the stuff

of which Baptist history is constructed. Baptist history evinces ebb and flow, a cycle of the coming together and the pulling apart of a people who would rather die than betray the One who died for them.

Moreover, not only does history serve as evidence of harmony and discord, but the practice of history has the potential to foster further unity and disunity. Baptist history thus paradoxically may serve as another source of tension amongst those who wish to call one another, "Brother." Especially with regard to the crucial Baptist doctrines of salvation and the church, there is ever possibility for strained fellowship. Because Baptists have been saved by the grace of faith, they want to exhibit communal evidence of their salvation. And this evidence tells them that they are saved by grace and saved for service as a church. It is here, in the midst of living in and living from their salvation in Jesus Christ as churches elected from eternity and called to mission that Baptists find cause for both community and controversy.

The dialectical nature of Baptist soteriology and Baptist ecclesiology exhibits itself amongst well-meaning Baptists in our day. First, as one Baptist dwells upon the graciousness of a God who elects and saves, another Baptist is dwelling upon the necessity of a human response to divine grace, both in human will and human deed. In other words, the Calvinist Baptist confronts the non-Calvinist Baptist with the graces of God, while the non-Calvinist Baptist confronts the Calvinist Baptist with the commands of God. Second, as one Baptist dwells upon the unrestricted love of God acting for a lost and dying world, another Baptist dwells upon the unchangeable holiness of God acting against a wicked world. In other words, the ecumenical Baptist confronts the ecclesial Baptist with the need to build bridges to the world, while the ecclesial Baptist confronts the ecumenical Baptist with the need to maintain the purity of the congregations of Christ.

A major part of the critical solution to these and similar tensions includes the task of teaching Baptist history. Baptist history is thus an obligatory, yet treacherous, task within the Baptist academy. The inherent tensions amongst Baptists necessarily require address by the Baptist academy, because Baptist academies exist *from* Baptist churches in order to minister for the good of the churches rather than seeking the good of the academy alone. Baptist tensions require a responsible address by the Baptist academy, because Baptist academies exist *for* Baptist churches and must recognize they have an enormous effect upon the teaching that occurs within our free churches. A responsible address requires, therefore, full information because it seeks to draw from the good of the churches for the purpose of promoting the good of the churches.

In other words, a responsible address requires an intentional effort by the Baptist academy to draw upon the entirety of Baptist history, exposing both the glories and the faults of all of our churches. A responsible address to the churches by a responsible Baptist academy will not repress the witness of the churches, but will draw upon that witness in order to reflect the theology of the churches back to them. Theology, including historical theology, exists to reflect upon the proclamation of the churches, as those churches fulfill their divine mandate. Baptist theology, including Baptist history, exists to reflect upon the proclamation of Baptist churches, as they fulfill their divine mandate. It is here that academics discover their greatest challenge, for academics, like pastors, sometimes become enamored with their own systems. This requires a diligence, not only for prophetic speech toward the churches, but also for prophetic speech toward the academy. For instance, the non-Calvinist Baptist academic must be careful to provide a faithful if frank evaluation of Baptist Calvinism even as he provides a frank if faithful evaluation of Baptist non-Calvinism. In other words, to treat a theological particularity as if it were the universality of Baptist history, by design or by mere happenstance, not only hints of a deficient historiography, worthy of censure by able historians, it may unfortunately serve for subsequent Baptists as evidence of an insidious spiritual myopia.

It is this precarious yet essential task of Baptist history performed by the academy on behalf of the churches that concerns the current issue of the *Southwestern Journal of Theology*. In order to help Baptists reclaim a fuller understanding of their history than what may currently be the vogue, reintroduced and republished here are a few select and quite rare but very important works by British Baptists. To demonstrate that not only do the Particular Baptists of Britain in the formative years of modern Baptist history require attention, two glorious works by the General Baptists of Britain are brought forward. To demonstrate that not only should the General Baptists have their glories identified, a worthy example of a Particular Baptist, who stood boldly like Jeremiah in the midst of a corrupt Jerusalem, is also identified. Responsible history must account for all sides of Baptist beginnings. Yet, even as Baptists revel in their historical glory, the underbelly of Baptist life may not be forgotten. For set against the glory of seventeenth century Baptist thought is the Hoffmannite Christology of some General Baptists and the Hyper-Calvinism of some Particular Baptists in the eighteenth century. And against the glory of some British Baptists, who opposed slavery, there were some American Baptists, who incredibly supported slavery. As a Charleston pastor once argued, history is an exercise in mercy and judgment.

Three young scholars appear in this journal issue. First, there is W. Madison Grace, a PhD student in Systematic Theology and Baptist

and Free Church Studies at Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary. Mr. Grace both transcribes and introduces, capably and thoughtfully, *An Orthodox Creed*. This is the first critical edition of that General Baptist confession ever published, and should become the scholarly standard for that theological masterpiece. Second, there is A. Chadwick Mauldin, an MATH student in Theological Studies at Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary. Mr. Mauldin both transcribes and introduces a dialogue written by a seventeenth century General Baptist systematic theologian, Thomas Grantham. This insightful dialogue could revolutionize the current dialogue regarding Calvinism and non-Calvinism in the Southern Baptist Convention. Third, there is Colin McGahey, an MDiv student at Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary. Mr. McGahey transcribes a sermon by, and writes a concise theological biography about, a Particular Baptist pastor-theologian, Robert Robinson. Robinson exposed slavery as evil decades before American Baptists properly considered that peculiar institution. These three scholars have performed a major service for modern Baptists. Please note that the transcribers have prepared an exact representation of the originals, including irregularities in spelling and style so that readers might hear these historical figures without imposed filters.

As you read this issue carefully, hear the General Baptists of the seventeenth century as they promote a biblically faithful yet subtly complex theological confession that in some ways surpasses the more popular confessions of the Particular Baptists. Hear another General Baptist of the seventeenth century as he compiles Calvinist quotes to demonstrate problems with certain tendencies within the Reformed theological system. And hear the British Baptists through a subtle and courageous preacher, who fears not to confront the dominant culture regarding its horrific practice of human slavery, even as the culture poured its bile against him. Finally, consider the book reviews, all of which are written about Baptists by Baptists for Baptists. Hear all of these Baptist witnesses, and praise God for their manifold united witness. These are the ancestors of the free, believing, and baptizing churches known today as "Baptist." If God so wills it, perhaps by hearing our ancestors more clearly, Baptists may more closely approximate the proper interpretation of Scripture; and, perhaps by sensing their passion, we may more properly implement Christ's will revealed therein.

Transcriber's Preface to An Orthodox Creed: An Unabridged 17th Century General Baptist Confession

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The seventeenth century in England was confronted with a plethora of political and religious problems. With the rise and fall of Oliver Cromwell's protectorate, and the subsequent institution of many restrictive Parliamentary Acts that attacked those who would not conform to the Church of England, threats of a Roman Catholic resurgence, and issues of heresy within and without, Dissenters, especially Baptists, found themselves in a very precarious situation. In an effort to show agreement and find unity with other Protestants, especially with Presbyterians and Congregationalists, lengthy confessions were published by both General Baptists and Particular Baptists. The most famous of these confessions, for the Particular Baptists, is the *Second London Confession* of 1677, subsequently revised in 1689. The *Second London Confession* was modeled after the *Westminster Confession* in hopes of presenting a unified Protestantism. However, some General Baptists also attempted to model a confession after the Westminster Confession, and the result of that attempt is *An Orthodox Creed* of 1679.

Origins

An Orthodox Creed was written, as stated in the "Advertisement to the Reader," for the General Baptist churches in the counties of "Bucks, Hertford, Bedford, and Oxford." However, it was never adopted by the General Assembly of the General Baptists, the national organization, which is why it may not have enjoyed as wide a popularity among General Baptists as the *Second London Confession* enjoyed among Particular Baptists. In 1660 the General Baptists had already adopted *A Brief Confession or Declaration of Faith*, in order to "set forth by many of us, who are (falsely) called

Ana-Baptists, to inform all Men (in these days of scandal and reproach) of our innocent Belief and Practise; for which we are not only resolved to suffer Persecution, to the loss of our Goods, but also Life it self, rather than do the same.”¹ With this political and theological purpose in mind, why would the Assembly, or churches affiliated with it, feel a need to establish a new document?

The answer to this question is twofold. First was the political reason. Shortly after the presentation of the 1660 confession, under the leadership of Thomas Venner, the Fifth Monarchists broke into rebellion and caused dissenters and especially Baptists to be looked upon with greater suspicion.² B.R. White suggests that “Fifth Monarchy views were regarded as politically dangerous and that the authorities did not attempt to make any distinction between those who were relatively harmless Bible students and those who were potential or actual revolutionaries.”³ This hazardous situation created a bond between the dissenting factions, and with the Act of Uniformity in 1662 adding Presbyterians to their ranks, an increased opposition to the state Church gained prominence.⁴ This newly enlarged conglomerate of opposition led the Baptists to seek uniformity with other factions who were fighting not only against the Church of England but also against the threat of Popery from King Charles II.⁵ In 1677 the Particular Baptists presented their *Second London Confession*. Then in 1678, when “an ebullition of anti-Roman wrath swept through the nation,”⁶ the General Baptists of the Midlands followed what the Particular Baptists had done the year previous, and presented a creed. The subtitle of this creed, as contrasted with the previous one, was simply, “An Essay to Unite, and Confirm all true Protestants in the Fundamental Articles of the Christian Religion, against the Errors and Heresies of the Church of Rome.”

Unity was one of the main purposes of *An Orthodox Creed*. William H. Brackney, in discussing the desire to present more mediated positions of thought amongst General Baptists, calls it “The capstone document of the mediating confessions.”⁷ Following the form of the Westminster Con-

¹William L. Lumpkin, *Baptist Confessions of Faith* (Valley Forge: Judson, 1959), 224.

²W.J. McGlothlin, *Baptist Confessions of Faith* (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1911), 122.

³B.R. White, *English Baptists of the 17th Century* (Didcot: The Baptist Historical Society, 1996), 102.

⁴A.C. Underwood, *A History of the English Baptists* (London: The Carey Kingsgate Press Limited, 1947), 97.

⁵*Ibid.*, 105.

⁶*Ibid.*

⁷William H. Brackney, *A Genetic History of Baptist Thought* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 2004), 22.

fession, and subsequently that of the Particular Baptists, was not the only way in which a sense of community with other dissenters was sought in this confession. As Underwood says, "its articles on Election, Reprobation, Original Sin, and Perseverance were nothing like as Arminian in tone as John Smyth or Thomas Helwys would have made them."⁸ In fact these Baptists sought a unity beyond that of the Calvinist/Arminian divide. Their scope was to reconnect with "The truly Ancient and Apostolical Faith, that was once delivered unto the Saints, by our Lord Jesus Christ, and miraculously confirmed unto us, by Signs, and Wonders, and divers Gifts of the Holy Ghost, according to the good pleasure of Almighty God." With the inclusion of the Apostles Creed, the Nicene Creed, and Athanasius' Creed this creed's writers were also claiming unity with the heritage of ancient Christianity.

Second, *An Orthodox Creed* was aimed at correcting a theological heresy which had arisen in the Midlands. The confession of 1660 is unclear as to who was directly responsible for its inception, but two men, Thomas Monck and Matthew Caffyn, probably contributed to the debate.⁹ These two men were local farmers of the Midlands and messengers of General Baptists. Sometime after the 1660 confession Caffyn began to teach a view that Christ's flesh was not that of the Virgin Mary, thus reintroducing the heresy of the continental Anabaptist Melchior Hoffman. Baines points out that in conversation with Caffyn and his followers, "Monk found worse heresies than this. 'They deny (or at least doubt of) God's omnipresence; and, with the Anthropomorphites, think of God as if he were some old Man sitting in some place on a Throne.'"¹⁰ In response to these teachings Thomas Monck, who had a practice of instructing his church in systematic theology,¹¹ wrote his second work, *A Cure for the Cankering Error of the New Eutychiens: Who: (concerning the Truth) have erred*. This led him to move his church and encourage other churches to remain true to the Orthodox faith. Caffyn did not back down from Monck and asked the General Assembly to censure the Midlands leader, which they denied.¹²

Despite the efforts of Monck and others to stop the spread of this heresy, it still persisted. According to Baines, in 1677, after Monck failed to secure a declaration concerning the Trinity, an Arian church was es-

⁸Underwood, *A History of the English Baptists*, 106. Cf. McGlothlin, *Baptist Confessions of Faith*, 123; Lumpkin, *Baptist Confessions of Faith*, 296.

⁹Lumpkin, *Baptist Confessions of Faith*, 221.

¹⁰A.H. Baines, "Signatories to the Orthodox Confession," *The Baptist Quarterly* 27 no. 1 (January, 1957), 39.

¹¹Ibid.

¹²Jim Spivey, "Caffyn, Matthew," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press 2004-7, www.oxforddnb.com/view/printable/4332 (accessed 24 July 2004).

established with the assistance of Caffyn. “Monk thereupon drew up his fifty Articles, which were signed by the leading General Baptists in and around Buckinghamshire in January, 1679 and published later the year.”¹³ Whether this is the exact order of events that led up to the writing and adoption of this creed is uncertain. Other scholars do note that the Hoffmanite heresy was an impetus for Monck to lead these churches to write this document.¹⁴

One can easily see the emphasis on the Person of Christ in *An Orthodox Creed*. Whereas the 1660 confession had devoted a few lines on Christ, the creed has devoted the entirety of articles IV–VII to a discussion of Jesus Christ. In note 13 of the Preface of the following reproduction one can see an explicit desire to refute this particular heresy, “For we are sure that the denying of Baptism is a less evil, than to deny the Divinity, or Humanity of the Son of God.” This provides evidence that the Caffyn controversy was not merely a peripheral matter for the Orthodox Baptists of the Midlands.

The lack of adoption by the General Assembly does not diminish the importance of this document, for it is a clear representation of the beliefs and practices of an important group of seventeenth-century General Baptist churches in England. In fact, Spivey points out that it was only through the convincing of Caffyn in the General Assembly that the document was never widely adopted.¹⁵

Notes on This and Previous Editions

The following reproduction of *An Orthodox Creed*, for the first time since it was originally published, includes the Preface, the Advertisement to the Reader, containing the signatures, and the Postscript. These three pieces are integral for a correct understanding of the document, for in them, especially the Preface, one sees the underlying reasons for the following 50 articles. The Preface also makes clear the attempt of these General Baptists to align themselves religiously and politically with other “orthodox” Protestants seeking acceptance in the kingdom.

So why have these three pieces not been included before? The answer to that question resides with the publishing of Thomas Crosby’s *History of the English Baptists* in 1738–1740. It is in the third volume of Crosby’s seminal history that *An Orthodox Creed* was first reprinted.¹⁶ Moreover, it

¹³Baines, “Signatories to the Orthodox Confession,” 41.

¹⁴Cf. White, *Early English Baptists of the 17th Century*, 120; Lumpkin, *Baptist Confessions of Faith*, 295; Underwood, 106.

¹⁵Spivey, “Caffyn.”

¹⁶Thomas Crosby, *History of the English Baptists From the Reformation to the Beginning of the Reign of King George I*, Vol. 3 (London: 1739), Appendix.

is from Crosby's work that all subsequent editions—including Underhill,¹⁷ McGlothlin,¹⁸ Lumpkin,¹⁹ and George²⁰—of the Creed have been copied. Crosby only reprinted the 50 articles of the piece, and subsequent editors, relying exclusively upon Crosby, also reprinted only the articles. Adam Taylor, another early Baptist historian, said that it is “lamentable” that Crosby would leave out the signatures in his reproduction.²¹ Joseph Ivimey concurs with Taylor and further accuses Crosby, because of his omissions, of, “attempting to amalgamate all the Baptists into one denomination, and therefore he has endeavoured to prevent the General and the Particular Baptists from being distinguished.”²²

Unfortunately, the tradition of following Crosby's work as the authoritative version of the Creed is more problematic than merely omitting the Preface and the other pieces. As Crosby was adding this creed to his volume, he took the liberty of reformatting it. Although he did not change any of the words in the document, nevertheless his changes, however miniscule, at times changed the meaning and left the document devoid of particular emphases which the original authors included.

First, Crosby, in attempting to modernize the grammar, decided to reinterpret the comma placement of the original. Article XX, “Of the Free-will in Man”, for example, speaks of the relationship between the first and second covenants. The original reads, “according to the tenure of the new Covenant of Grace in Christ, though not perfectly according to the tenure of the First Covenant.” Crosby's rendering of this section is, “according to the tenure of the new covenant of grace in *Christ*, tho' not perfectly, according to the tenure of the first covenant.” The difference between the two is small in space, but important in impact, for the original has “perfectly” modifying “according,” whereas, Crosby has “perfectly” modifying the entire clause. The difference in the placement of the comma changes the meaning.

Note also Article XIX, “Of the agreement between the Old and New Testaments”. The last line of this article has in the original the phrase, “and hold forth the self-same Gospel-Salvation to them and us.” There is one congruent thought, yet Crosby inserts a comma between “Gospel”

¹⁷Edward Bean Underhill, *Confessions of Faith, and Other Public Documents, Illustrative of the History of the Baptist Churches of England in the 17th Century* (London: Haddon, Brothers, and Co., 1854), 121–168.

¹⁸McGlothlin, *Baptist Confessions of Faith*, 122–161.

¹⁹Lumpkin, *Baptist Confessions of Faith*, 297–334.

²⁰Timothy George, Denise George, eds., *Baptist Confessions, Covenants, and Catechisms* (Nashville, TN: Broadman & Holman Publishers, 1996), 94–130.

²¹Adam Taylor, *The History of the English General Baptists*, Vol. 1 (London: 1818), 225–226.

²²Joseph Ivimey, *The History of the English Baptists*, Vol. 2 (London: 1814), 90–91.

and “Salvation” creating a short pause and a break of thought. In changing the usage of commas, as well as semi-colons, Crosby altered the construction of thought the General Baptists originally included. Instances such as these are scattered throughout Crosby’s reproduction and, subsequently, all previous reproductions.

Second, the original document is replete with capitalized words that would not normally be treated as proper nouns. Words like “man,” “will,” and “face” are capitalized, as context demands, in the original manuscript. As one reads through the confession, one sees that these capitalized words are the important ideas and main subjects of the particular articles. Through capitalization, the General Baptists were placing emphasis upon these ideas. Yet, Crosby chose to remove most of the capitalization found in the original, and thus the theological import assigned by the authors is lessened.

Finally, Crosby removed all scripture citations from their precise placement in the document and placed them at the beginning of each article. In merely alluding to a passage of Scripture the Crosby tradition obfuscates the specific theological point the writers intended.

Crosby’s version of *An Orthodox Creed*, as a whole, is an adequate reproduction for introductory purposes. However, Crosby’s revisions have not only changed certain meanings for careful theological readers of his edition, but also for the readers of the Underhill, McGlothlin, Lumpkin, and George editions. The version of the creed reproduced here has been transcribed from the original publication rather than the editorial tradition. The punctuation, capitalization, spelling, and notation have been transcribed as published in the 1679 original, and the important front and back matter have been included for the first time in a modern edition.

AN ORTHODOX
CREED:

OR, A
PROTESTANT
Confession of Faith.

BEING

AN ESSAY to Unite, and Confirm all true Protestants in the Fundamental Articles of the Christian Religion, against the Errors and Heresies of the Church of ROME.

Rom. 10. 10. *With the Heart Man believeth unto Righteousness, and with the Mouth confession is made unto Salvation.*

Jude, 3. — *That you should earnestly contend for the Faith, which was once delivered unto the Saints.*

Chryf. Hom. 13. on 2 Cor. *I beseech you, regard not what this, or that Man saith, but inquire all things of the Scripture.*

LONDON, Printed in the Year, 1679.

To the Judicious and Impartial Reader

Courteous Reader,

The truly Ancient and Apostolical Faith, that¹ was once delivered unto the Saints, by our Lord Jesus Christ, and miraculously confirmed unto us, by Signs, and Wonders, and divers Gifts of the Holy Ghost,² according to the good pleasure of Almighty God. Which said Faith, and Practice, recorded in the holy Oracles of Truth, and miraculously preserved from Age to Age, even in the darkest times of Popery, and Apostacy, by the infinite Wisdom, Mercy, and Goodness of God, is yet remaining, and to be continued³ to the end of the World; and hath been manifested in all, or most Nations⁴ for the obedience of Faith; the which Preservations of the Sacred Scriptures, or Revelation of Gospel-Light therein contained, (of which this Nation hath had a grate share, especially within this last Hundred Years) is⁵ undoubtedly a very great Evidence, of the Divine Verity, and Authority of the same: And the End of God in revealing this Light of the holy Scriptures, or Gospel of Christ, is that it might be read and known of all Men, and it's our duty⁶ to believe it, and thereby come through Faith, not only to have a saving, but a satisfactory knowledg of those foundation and fundamental Truths, which have been the same in all Generations; have been and shall be transmitted⁷ more clear from Age to Age in the times⁸ of Reformation, until that which⁹ is Perfect is come, and that that which is Imperfect is done away; such addition is no Innovation, but Illustration; not a new Light, but a new Sight: The Looking-Glass slurd and cleared more or less, is the same Glass. *Columbus* did not make a new World, when he made a discovery of the Old.

Truth wants so much of its Glory, as it is unseen: The Understanding wants so much of its perfection, as it is short in seeing thereof.

And all Unbelief is Presumption, not Faith, which hinders Nourishment, and genders Humours.

¹Jude 3.

²Heb. 2.4.

³Mat. 28.20.

⁴Rom. 16.26.

⁵See Doct. *Usher's* Body of Divinity, pag. 11.

⁶John 20.30, 31.

⁷Isa. 11.9.

⁸Heb. 9.10.

⁹Eph. 4.13.

Grace and Glory hold proportion with the Truth. Though Knowledge may be without Grace, yet Grace is not without Knowledge, according to the measure of our approach to an exact total and adequate union of the Understanding with the truth of the Gospel; so is the glory of the Truth believed, and the communion of the Soul believing.

Now after some years profession of the Ancient way, and Truths of Christ, evidenced by the holy Oracles in Scripture, we have in most cordial manner published this little *Manual*, or Orthodox Confession of our Faith, to the consideration of all sober Persons, and Religious, or well-meaning Protestants, that own the Authority and Verity of the sacred Scriptures; and by comparing of this our Confession of Faith, with the sacred Writ, we doubt not but they will then conclude, that those strange Conceptions, hard Thoughts, and Persecuting Reflections cast upon us, and spoken of us, will be much abated, if not wholly taken away, in all Sober Religious Protestants in *England*, or elsewhere, differing from us. And to that end, in this Cloudy Day, we might arrive at a more general Concord among our selves, in the main Points of the Protestant Religion, and take off the false, and unjust Accusations of the Papists, and all other Enemies of the Faith, once delivered to the Saints, by Christ and his Apostles, at least stop their Mouths, or prevent the Simple, of being deluded by them, in their boasting of the unity of their *Pseudo*, or Catachrestical Church.

As also their Discriminating the Protestants in *England*, and elsewhere, with the name of Hereticks, and Schismatics; and that they have no Agreement among themselves. And the cause is (say they) because they have no true Faith, nor infallible Judge to guide and direct them. Now that we may refute these Calumnies, and false Charges of theirs against the *English Protestants*, we will give them, and all others, an account of our Faith grounded upon God's holy Word, written in the Scriptures of Truth, and wrought in us by his Infallible Spirit, which inspired his holy Prophets, and Apostles, to write them for our Rule, both in Faith and Practice; and as for our Agreement in matters of Faith, there are but three main Opinions among our Protestant Professors in *England*, and they are commonly known by these three Names (*viz.*) *Episcopalians*, *Presbyterians*, or *Independants*, and *Anabaptists*, (but rightly called *Baptists*). Now the difference between these may be much in Ceremonies, or Circumstantial things, and in their Discipline, and Government of the Church.

But as for their Faith in most, or all of the main Fundamentals of the Christian Religion, they do agree; as may appear to every Impartial Reader, that shall consider the Thirty Nine Articles of the Church of *England*, and Mr. *Beza's* Confession of Faith, and the Confession of Faith signed and published by the Assembly of Divines, and many others by the Baptists in *England*.

Now if these several Confessions of Faith, be compared with this our Confession now published, it will appear we have endeavoured to unite with other Protestants aforesaid, in the main Fundamental Articles of the Christian Faith. Therefore not so divided among our selves, as we are all represented to be by the slanderous Tongues of the Papists. Nor are we in any Points of Religion, so much divided among our selves,¹⁰ as the *Roman Catholicks* be in their Church, notwithstanding their vain boasting of Unity.

And for other Noval Opinions in *England*, we have reason to believe that the *Roman Catholicks* have had a great hand in helping forward and fomenting of them, yet nevertheless by this our positive Creed, or Confession of Faith, it's most manifest to all Orthodox Christians, that we have sufficiently bore Testimony against their false Doctrines, as also against Atheism, Epicurism, the mad worshipping of Idols, and multiplicity of Gods, which the blind Heathen worship; the Heresie of *Manichæus*, who held two beginnings of Good and Evil; and also the blasphemous Opinions of the *Anthropomorphites*, who make God like unto Man¹¹: Which impious Idolatrous Opinions we do abominate and those wicked Opinions and Heresies, of the *Macedonians*, *Marcionites*, *Valentinians*, *Apelles*, *Apollinarians*, *Eunomians*, *Ebionites*, *Nestorians*, *Eutyrians*;¹² who held that the Humane Nature after the Union was indued with the properties of the Divinity, (*viz.*) The Divine Nature was turned into Flesh.

Manichees, *Ubiquitarians*, *Socinians* or *Biddelians*, *Arians*, *Sabellians*, *Samosatenus*, *Sevetus*, *Patricians*, *Tritheites*, *Anti-trinitarians*, *Anti-scripturians*, *Quakers*, who have gilded over old Heresies, and gave them new Names, the better to deceive; *Seekers*, or such that are above Ordinances. All which said Opinions and Heresies, have been learnedly Confuted, by the Learned and Orthodox Pens of Dr. *Usher*. Mr. *Perkins*, Dr. *Owen*, Dr. *Hall*, Mr. *Tombs*, Mr. *Hicks*, and Mr. *Monck*, in his little Book entitled, *A Cure for the Cankering Error of the New Eutyrians*, and many other Orthodox Men, both Ancient and Modern, that have asserted the Truth in opposition to these and such like abominable Hereticks, and Heresies, too large to be inserted here. We have also in this our Confession of Faith, laboured to avoid the dangerous Rocks of *Pelagianism*, *Antinomianism*, *Arminianism*, and the *Remonstrants*. As also, (as well as we may) we have endeavoured to avoid the extreams of the *Superlapsarians*, and *Sublapsarians*, and oth-

¹⁰See Mr. *Shelden's* Book of Recantation.

¹¹The wicked opinions of the *Muggletonians*, and *Hobbists*.

¹²*Eutyries*, who thought the Union to be made so in the Natures, that the Humanity was absorpt, or wholly turned into the Divinity.—So that by that Transubstantiation the Humane Nature had no longer being. See Dr. *Person*, in his Exposition of the Creed, pag. 162.—See *Leo*, Bishop of *Rome*, Sermon 8. *De nativ. hic autem*, &c.

ers: Which said latter Opinions, we humbly conceive, and judge in many things, are inconsistent with God's Revealed Will in Scripture, especially that of irrelative Reprobation of particular Persons, before they have done either Good, or Evil.

But the *Socinian* Doctrine, and such like most dangerous Opinions, or Doctrines, which raze at once the foundation of the Christian Religion, in that they do most plainly deny, a Trinity in Unity, and Unity in Trinity; Three Persons, (*viz.* The Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost), and one God; and so by consequence, the only true object of Faith and Worship. As also, their damnable opinions in denying Christ's satisfaction by his Death, and Merits, to the Father's Justice for sinful Man; as also the imputation of the Mediatoral Righteousness of Christ, to every true Believer in order to his Justification, Christ having lived an holy Life, and perfectly kept or fulfilled the Law for us, without which we could never have been saved. All which Opinions, and many more, in part, or in whole, we have bore our Testimony against in this our positive Creed, or Confession of Faith. And thus it's plainly manifest to every Impartial Reader, that we have unfeignedly from our Hearts, joyned issue Concordably, with the Learned and Orthodox Pens of both the Ancients, and Apostolick, fundamental Faith; and do oppugne, as well as they, to our power, according to the Word of God, the whole Army, or Legion of Heresies, that have and do by subtil Instruments, incumber the Christian Religion. And let not any Persons, or Congregations that are separated from the Romish Religion, or Church of *Rome*, and yet notwithstanding hold some gross Heresie, repugnant to any of the Foundation-Articles of the Christian Faith, contained in *Athanasius's*, or the Apostles Creed (so called) conclude that they are so much better than they, though differing from them in other smaller Matters. And let such Congregations, or Persons, that hold, maintain, connive at or suffer these or such like Heresies, and Hereticks, (we have named, and by our Articles have Opposed and Confuted) take heed lest such Doctrine do not in the end unchurch them, especially if they do not defend, and contend for the Orthodox Faith, by bearing a Testimony against such Hereticks, according to the Rule which *St. Paul* gives the Churches, in *Titus 3.10.* to reform them.

And for any Persons to be so zealous as some seem, or pretend to be, in several Congregations, of some Duty contained in the second Table, and to slight, or make little Conscience of the Duties of the first Table, is very strange to Men of Conscience and Reason (notwithstanding it is the practice of such, as pretend to be Masters of Reason): for how can it be that such Persons can be good Christians, or have true love to Christ, that have Courage enough to speak, or act, when their own Persons, Estates,

or Relations, are persecuted, or oppressed, or when some¹³ Statute-Law of Christ is broken, or misinterpreted (though this is well), and their Duty, (especially the latter), and yet make no Conscience at all to oppose, or deal with them that do take away the King's¹⁴ Dignity, Power, and Crown of Glory, or Blaspheme him by their Erroneous Opinions, or Heresies?¹⁵ And yet these must be suffered, and connived at in Congregations, which we are sure, neither consisteth with Scripture,¹⁶ or Right Reason but is indeed the proper effects of ignorance in God's Laws, as also Self-interest, and Hypocritical Partiality, or Covetous Impiety. In a word, if such Persons repent not, nor Congregations reform not, by purging out such Cankering Heresies, or Hereticks, we must conclude from God's Word, Right Reason, and Common Experience, that such things are the sad Prodrums¹⁷ of some sore and dismal Cloud of Judgments, that may sooner, or later, more, or less, (we have too much cause to fear) fall upon such Congregations, if they repent not.

And for such Persons, that through Pride, or Vain-Glory, do pretend to Singularity; in finding out new Doctrines, or Opinions, and in their Preachings, or Writings, charge the Orthodox with Plagiarism, because they speak the same Truths, Doctrine, or Principles, that the Orthodox Christians have taught, written, and delivered to us from Age to Age, according to the Analogie of Faith recorded in holy Scripture; let such glory still in this their Singularity. For our parts we do profess, and ingenuously declare to all the World, that we are far off from assuming such Singularity; but rather have studied such Singularity; but rather have studied a Concord, or Unity, with our Fore-fathers, in the good Old Way of the Gospel; and have laboured to speak in the very same Words, or Language of *Canaan*, that our Fore-fathers, the Godly Saints spoke in; and do desire to walk in the Ancient Footsteps of the Flock of Christ, firmly believing in the same Gospel-Covenant, and Mediator, that *Noah*, *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*, and the holy Apostles, &c. believed in, and were saved by, through Faith in Christ, there being no alteration of the Covenant of Grace (as we know of), neither Objectively, nor Subjectively, it being one and the same in Substance, from the Fall of *Adam*, to this Day. And so the Old and New Testaments, like the Faces of the Cherubims, look one towards another,

¹³For we are sure that the denying of Baptism is a less evil, than to deny the Divinity, or Humanity of the Son of God.

¹⁴Yea, all his three Offices of Priest, Prophet, and King.

¹⁵2 Pet. 2.1. By denying his Godhead, &c.

¹⁶Gal. 5.20.

¹⁷Rev. 2.20, 21, 23, 24.

holding forth one Mediator,¹⁸ and Way of Salvation by him, though revealed to us by sundry degrees, and in divers manners.

And if any Matter, we have now published, in these Fifty Articles, shall seem Noval, or Singular to any, being soberly weighed, and impartially considered by the Reader, it will appear, it is more by way of Explanation, and Accommodation, in order to a Union, than any new Matter, or Words: All the Articles being delivered in a plain and modest style, and in Scripture Language, fitted to the meanest Capacities, we not pretending to any Rhetorical, or Humane Eloquence in speaking, no farther forth than it serves to express the truth Intelligibly to others. For Reason it self, as well as Tongues, or Humane Learning, ought to be subservient to the Mind of the Holy Ghost, or Divine Mysteries of Faith, revealed in Scripture; for we believe it, *ex autoritate dicentis*, relying upon the Truth of him that saith it, and not upon Reason: And all the Evidence which we get by Reason, is nothing to this Certitude. For if Reason should go before, like an Usher to make way to Faith in Divine Mysteries, we should never believe. In many Divine Truths, the Schoolmen say well, *Rationes præcedentes minuunt fidem, sed Rationes subsequentes augent sidem*: Reasons going before Faith weaken Faith, but Reasons coming after Faith strengthen it.

For Philosophy it self, though maintained by the successive force of the greatest Wits, yet is purblind, or dark-sighted, in Divine Mysteries, and evaporates into nothing, before Divine Revelation: but Christianity, attended by its own Authority, established its Dominion,¹⁹ and raised an eternal Empire of Truth and Holiness in the World; yet the Reason of Man cannot inspire into its own preductions, or principle of Life: for the Conversion of Men and Women to Christianity, was, and is, the effect of infinite Mercy, and equal Power; and the Simple, Plain, and Divine Truths of Jesus Christ in the Gospel; shall survive its uttermost Periods, maugre all its Enemies, and greatest Opposition; although it be in a showre of Blood, yet it shall thereby be made Fruitful: According to that true Axiom, that the Blood of the Martyrs, is the seed of the Church. And by its everlasting Monuments, remain for ever, by its victorious permanent Efficacy. And though the Way of the Gospel be attended (especially the powerful profession of it) with some difficulty, yet remember what St. *Chrysostom* saith,²⁰ *Non aspicias aspera est via, sed attende quo ducit, nec considera quod est arcta, sed ubi definit*: Regard thou not that the way to Life is streight, but mark whither it leadeth, and where it endeth. *Nemo potest hic gaudere cum seculo, illic regnare cum Deo.*²¹—No Man can have his full contentment

¹⁸*Viz.* True God and true Man, united in one Person.

¹⁹Dr. *Bates* Harmony of the Divine Attributes.

²⁰Chrys. In Mat. 16.

²¹Greg. the Great in Mat. 13.

and delight, both in this, and God's Kingdom. Consider Souls,²² God's Tabernacle is in *Salem*, and his Dwelling-place is in *Sion*: How then shall we esteem of the Truth,²³ and Worship of God? and desire to meet him where he hath promised his Presence, setting a low esteem of the Glory, and Grandure of this World, in its greatest Riches. Consider all true, and lasting Felicity, and Riches, are in Christ; and as St. *Bernard* saith,²⁴ *O Lord Jesus, he that will not live to Thee, is worthy of Death, and is already Dead; and he that is not Wise to Thee, is become a Fool; he that desireth any Being but for Thee, is to be esteemed as nothing, &c.* Oh consider what Christ hath done for us! As St. *Augustine* hath it,²⁵ *Oh Son of God! how great was thy humility! how great was thy Charity! How exceeding was thy Pity! I sinned, thou art Chastised; I offended, thou art Punished; I was disobedient, thou Obedient for me; I transgressed, and thou art Tortured, &c.* Harken to the Word of God as St. *Ambrose* adviseth us,²⁶—*Interrogentur Scripturæ, &c.* that is, Consult with the Scripture, the Apostles, the Prophets, what they speak, Christ speaketh.

But if it be said, the Scriptures be hard to be understood: Consider what St. *Augustine* hath said, in answer to such an Objection.²⁷ *Magnificè, & salubriter Spiritus Sanctus Scripturas ita modificavit, ut locis apertioribus fami occurreret, obscurioribus autem fastidia detergeret, nihil ferè de illis obscurioribus eruit, quod non planissimè alibi dictum reperiatur.*

The Holy Ghost hath therefore magnificently and wholsomely so tempered the Scriptures, that by plain, and easie places, he might prevent Famine: By obscure places, he might wipe away all Loathsomness (or Disdain): for nothing almost, is gathered out of those obscure places, which is not in some other places delivered plainly.

And this Authority of the Word of God, its an Honour upon the Ministry thereof, that we should honour them, and hearken to them, when they come in the Name of Christ; for Christ saith, *Qui vos audit, me audit*: He that heareth you, heareth me. Therefore let such that make no conscience of disdain, and reflecting calumniously upon the sober godless Ministers, or Servants of Christ, forbear such practice; for God saith, Touch not mine anointed, and do my Prophets no harm; and the dust of their Feet, will be a witness against such Persons (if they do not repent) in the Day of Judgment.

²²Psal. 77.

²³*Viz.* The true Object of Divine worship, *viz.* Fa. Son & Holy Spirit.

²⁴Bern. in Cant. Hom. 20.

²⁵Aug. Med. Cap. 7.

²⁶Ambr. ad Gratia. Imper.

²⁷Aug. de Doct. Christ. lib. 2.

Finally, Consider Immortal Souls! This place you are now in, is not *Terra viventium*, the Land of the Living, which maketh us blessed, and which the Meek shall inherit: But *Terra morientium*, the Land of the Dying, wherein we dwell as Strangers and Pilgrims, for a short time: And as the Vail of the Temple before it was rent, did hinder us from the sight of the Cherubims, and Mercy seat: So must our Corruptions be rent from us, which hinder us from the beatifical sight of Christ, our Saviour. *Sed si recte Deum amemus*. But if we truly love God the Father, and Jesus Christ and his Kingdom, (this love will symbolize our Minds, into that which we love; for the Mind is not where it liveth, but where it loveth). An endeavour so to live in this World, that short time to have to live among the Wicked, and slanderous backbiting Tongues, and tempestuous proud Waves, and dangerous Rocks of Heresie, and ungodly Professors; who glory more in their formal name of a Christian, or Professor, than they care, or endeavour to live in the power of it; that being too straight a way, or too heavy a burthen for many now a-days. Yet the Godly should be as Lillies themselves, *Quae in sas utique pungentes se spinas candors proprio illustrare non cessant*: Which in their own Beauty do adorn the Thorns themselves, by whom they are pricked. And though their proud Waves beat upon thee, and to be as Thorns to thee, yet *ne tribuletur Cardes tuum*,²⁸ let not thy Heart be troubled; for this Jesus Christ is Musick in the Ear, Pleasure and Comfort in the Heart. So that from your experience of God's Grace, thou wilt say with the Psalmist,²⁹ *O how amiable are thy Dwellings, O Lord of Hosts? My Heart and my Flesh shall rest in the Living God.*

Consider these things, Christian Reader, which are here humbly proposed, to that end the Protestant Interest might be united in the love of, and practice, and power of Godliness, in Church and Family; and Heresie oppugned, and Hereticks detected, Schism prevented, and Scandals removed, were undeserved and humble Souls comforted, and all good Christians in the unity of the true Faith, established according to God's Word; and Christian Congregations reformed, and Obedience to Superiours (in all lawful things) performed. These, and such like, being the Main Ends of our publishing this Confession of Faith at this time: Therefore if any shall Censure it, we only beg this favour, That first they will be pleased to weigh and consider, those things herein proposed, in the ballance of the Sanctuary, according to our Saviour's Rule,³⁰ to Search the Scripture, &c. And like the noble *Bereans*,³¹ to search and see whether these things be so

²⁸Bern. in in Cant. Hom. 15.

²⁹Psal. 84. 1, 2.

³⁰Joh. 5.39.

³¹Act. 17.11.

or no, and after that to judge. And as St. *Paul* saith,³² *To prove all things, and hold fast that which is good*; and contend earnestly for the Faith that was once delivered to the Saints. And if thou findest any Profit, or Advantage to thy Soul, give God the Glory, and help us by thy Prayers, and we have our End. *Vale*.

An Orthodox Creed.

I. Article.

Of the Essence of God.

We verily believe, that there is but one,³³ only Living³⁴ and true God;³⁵ whose Subsistence is in and of Himself;³⁶ whose Essence cannot be comprehended³⁷ by any but Himself; a most Pure, Spiritual,³⁸ or Invisible Substance:³⁹ who hath an Absolute, Independent, *Unchangeable*, and *Infinite* Being; without Matter or Form, Body, Parts, or Passions.⁴⁰

For I am the Lord, I change not, Mal. 3.6. *God is a Spirit*, John 4.24. *Now unto the King Eternal, Immortal, Invisible, the only Wise God, be Honour and Glory, for ever and ever, Amen*, I Tim. 1.17. *Ye heard a Voice, but saw no Similitude*, Deut. 14.12.

II. Article.

Of the Divine Attributes in God.

Every Particle of being in Heaven and Earth, leads us to the Infinite Being of beings, (namely God) who is Simplicity, (*viz.*) one meer and perfect Act, without all Composition,⁴¹ and an Immense Sea of Perfections; who is the only Eternal Being, everlasting without Time,⁴² whose *Immense* Presence, is always every where present;⁴³ having Immutability without any alteration⁴⁴ in Being, or Will,⁴⁵ (In a word) God is Infinite, of universal,

³²I Thes. 5.21.

³³Deut. 6.4.

³⁴Deut. 5.26.

³⁵Jer. 10.10.

³⁶Exod. 3.14.

³⁷Psal. 147.5.

³⁸Hab. 1.13. Deut. 4.15, 16.

³⁹Col. 1.15.

⁴⁰Acts 17.28. Luke 24.39.

⁴¹John 5.26. I John 1.5.

⁴²Mat. 5.48. Exod. 6.3. Isa. 40.28. Psal. 90.2.

⁴³Ps. 139.7.

⁴⁴Heb. 6.17. James 1.17.

⁴⁵Mal. 3.6. Numb. 23.19.

unlimited, and *Incomprehensible Perfection*, most Holy,⁴⁶ Wise, Just,⁴⁷ and Good; whose Wisdom is his Justice, whose Justice is his Holiness, and whose Wisdom, Justice, and Holiness, is Himself.⁴⁸ Most Merciful, Gracious, Faithful and True, a full Fountain of Love, and who is that Perfect, *Sovereign, Divine Will*, the *Alpha* of Supreme Being.⁴⁹

Is it true, indeed, that God will dwell on the Earth? Behold, the Heaven, and Heaven of Heavens cannot contain Thee: How much less this House which I have built, I Kings 8.27. Great is the Lord, and worthy to be praised, and his Greatness is Incomprehensible. Psal. 145.3.

III. Article

Of the Holy Trinity.

In this divine, and infinite being, or *Unity* of the Godhead, there are three Persons, or Subsistences,⁵⁰ the Father,⁵¹ the Word, or Son,⁵² and the Holy Spirit,⁵³ of one Substance,⁵⁴ Power,⁵⁵ *Eternity*,⁵⁶ and Will;⁵⁷ each having the whole Divine Essence, yet the Essence undivided.⁵⁸ The Father is of none, neither Begotten nor Proceeding; the Son is eternally Begotten of the Father; the Holy Ghost is of the Father, and the Son, proceeding.⁵⁹ All *Infinite*, without Beginning, therefore but one God, who is *Indivisible*, and not to be divided in Nature, or Being, but distinguished by several Properties and Personal Relations; and we worship and adore a *Trinity* in Unity; and a *Unity* in Trinity, three Persons, and but *one God*; which Doctrine of the Trinity, is the foundation of all our Communion with God,⁶⁰ and comfortable Dependence on him.

And there are three that bare Record in Heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Spirit, and these three are one, I John 5.7. Baptizing them in the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, &c. Mat. 28.19.

⁴⁶Lev. 20.26.

⁴⁷Rom. 16.27. Psal. 119.68. Deut. 32.4.

⁴⁸Ex. 34.6.

⁴⁹Isa. 41.4. Job 33.13.

⁵⁰I John 5.7. John 15.26. 2 Cor. 13.13. Gen. 1.26. Mat. 3.16, 17.

⁵¹John 5.17. Gal 1:13.

⁵²Mat. 16.16.

⁵³Mat. 12.32.

⁵⁴Heb. 1.3.

⁵⁵Gen. 1.2, 26.

⁵⁶Rev. 1.8

⁵⁷I Cor. 12.6, 11.

⁵⁸John 14.11. I John 5.7.

⁵⁹John 15.26. Gal. 4.6. I Pet. 1.11.

⁶⁰2 Cor. 13.14.

IV. Article

Of the Divine Nature, or Godhead of Christ.

We confess and believe, that the Son of God, or the Eternal Word, is very and true God,⁶¹ having his Personal Subsistence of the Father *alone*,⁶² and yet for ever of himself as *God*, and of the Father as the Son, the *Eternal Son* of an eternal Father; not *later* in Beginning.⁶³ There was never any time when he was not,⁶⁴ not less in Dignity, not other in Substance,⁶⁵ Begotten without diminution of his Father that begat, of one Nature and Substance with the Father; Begotten of the Father, while the Father communicated wholly to the Son, which He retained wholly in himself, because both were Infinite;⁶⁶ without *inequality of Nature*, without division of Essence, neither *Made*, nor *Created*, not *Adopted*, but Begotten before *all Time*,⁶⁷ not a *Metaphorical*, or subordinate God;⁶⁸ not a *God by Office*, but a God by Nature, *Coequal*,⁶⁹ *Coessential*,⁷⁰ and *Coeternal*, with the Father,⁷¹ and the Holy Ghost.

Jesus said unto them, Verily, verily, I say unto you, before Abraham was, I am, John 8.58. *Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, and to day, and for ever*, Heb. 13.8. *David therefore calleth him Lord, how is he then his Son?* Luke 20.44.

V. Article.

Of the Second Person in the Holy Trinity, taking our Flesh.

We believe that the only Begotten Son of God, the Second Person in the *Sacred Trinity*,⁷² took to himself a true, real, and *fleshly Body*,⁷³ and *reasonable Soul*,⁷⁴ being Conceived in the fullness of Time,⁷⁵ by the Holy Ghost,⁷⁶ and Born of the Virgin *Mary*,⁷⁷ and become very and *true Man*,

⁶¹John 5.20. John 1.1, 2, 3.

⁶²Heb. 13. I Cor. 15.16, 17.

⁶³Col. 2.2, 9.

⁶⁴Mic. 5.2. *Gnolam*, or *Eternity*. Mat. 2.6. Prov. 8.22, 23, 35.

⁶⁵Phil. 2.6.

⁶⁶John 16.27, 28. John 1.18.

⁶⁷Isa. 40.11, 12, 22.

⁶⁸Rev. 1.8, 11.

⁶⁹Phil. 2.6.

⁷⁰Joh. 10.30.

⁷¹Isa 9.6. John 17.5.

⁷²I Joh. 5.7.

⁷³Isa. 7.14. John 1.14. Luke 1.31, 32. Heb. 2.16, 17. John 19.34, 36.

⁷⁴Mat. 26.38.

⁷⁵Luke 2.6, 7.

⁷⁶Luke 1.35. Mat. 1.18, 20.

⁷⁷23.25. Gal. 4.4.

like unto us in all things, even in our Infirmities, Sin only excepted,⁷⁸ as appeareth by his Conception, Birth, Life,⁷⁹ and Death. He was of a Woman,⁸⁰ and by the Power of the Holy Ghost, in a Supernatural and Miraculous manner, was Formed of the only Seed, or *Substance* of the *Virgin Mary*, in which respect he hath the Name of the Son of Man,⁸¹ and is the true Son of *David*, the Fruit of the Virgins Womb,⁸² to that end he might die for *Adam*.

VI. Article.

Of the Union of the two Natures in Christ.

We believe the Person of the Son of God, being a Person from all *Eternity existing*, did assume the most pure Nature of Man,⁸³ (wanting all Personal Existing of its own)⁸⁴ into the Unity of his Person, or Godhead,⁸⁵ and made it his own; the properties of each Nature being preserved, and this *Inseparable* and *Indissolvable* union of both Natures, and was made by the Holy Ghost, *Sanctifying* our Nature in the Virgins Womb,⁸⁶ without change of either Nature, or *mixture of both*;⁸⁷ and of two Natures is one Christ, *God-Man*, or *Immanuel*, God with us.⁸⁸ Which Mystery exceeds the Conception of Men, and is the wonder of Angels, one only Mediator, Jesus Christ, the Son of God.⁸⁹

VII. Article.

Of the Communication of Properties.

We believe that the two Natures in Christ, continue still distinct in Substance, Properties, and Actions,⁹⁰ and remain one and the same Christ:⁹¹ for the Properties of the Godhead, cannot agree to the *Properties* of the Manhood, nor the Properties of the Manhood, to the Properties of the *Godhead*. For as the *Godhead*, or Divine Nature cannot Thirst, or be Hun-

⁷⁸Heb. 4.15. Heb. 2.13, 14.

⁷⁹Luke 2.52.

⁸⁰Gal. 4.4

⁸¹Rom. 1.3, 4. Luke 3.23, 24. Heb. 7.14.

⁸²Gen. 26.17. Heb. 2.16.

⁸³Heb. 2.14.

⁸⁴Heb. 2.16.

⁸⁵Acts 20.28.

⁸⁶Mat. 1.20.

⁸⁷Luke 1.35. Rom. 1.3, 4.

⁸⁸Mat. 1.23. I Tim. 3.16.

⁸⁹I Tim. 2.5.

⁹⁰John 10.30. John 5.26, 27, 30. I John 4.9. Mat. 9.6.

⁹¹Joh. 7.4.

gry, no more can the Manhood be in all, or many places at once. Therefore, we believe the Godhead was neither turned nor *transfused* into the Manhood, nor the Manhood into the Godhead, but both; the Divine Nature keepeth entire all his Essential Properties to it self, so that the Humanity is neither Omnipotent, Omniscient, nor Omnipresent: And the Humane also keepeth his Properties, though often that which is proper to the one Nature, is spoken of the Person denominated from the other,⁹² which *must* be understood by the Figure *Senecdoche*, (*viz.*) A part being taken for the whole, by reason of the Union of both Natures into one Person.

Hereby perceive we the love of God, because he laid down his Life for us, I John 3.16.

VIII. Article.

Of the Holy Spirit.

We believe that there is one holy Spirit, the Third Person subsisting in the Sacred Trinity;⁹³ *one with the Father and Son*, who is very and *true God*; of one Substance, or Nature, with the Father and Son,⁹⁴ *Coequal, Coessential, and Coeternal* with the Father and Son, to whom with the Father and Son, Three Persons, and but one Eternal and Almighty God,⁹⁵ be by all the Hosts of Saints and Angels, ascribed Eternal Glory and Hallelujahs. *Amen.*

IX. Article.

Of Predestination and Election.

The decrees of God *are* founded on Infinite Wisdom, and situate in Eternity,⁹⁶ and are Crowned with Infallibility as to the Event.⁹⁷ Now Predestination unto Life, is the everlasting Purpose of God:⁹⁸ whereby before the Foundation of the World was laid, he hath constantly Decreed in his Counsel secret to us,⁹⁹ to deliver from Curse and Damnation, those whom he hath chosen in Christ,¹⁰⁰ and bring them to everlasting Salvation, as Vessels made to Honour,¹⁰¹ through Jesus Christ, whom he Elected before

⁹²Acts 20.28. I Cor. 2.8. John 3.13. Mark 2.10.

⁹³I Joh. 5.7. Mat. 28.19. Gen. 1.26.

⁹⁴Acts 5.4. 2 Cor. 13.13. I Cor. 12.6, 11. Isa. 6.8, 9. Acts 28.25, 26.

⁹⁵Isa. 6.3.

⁹⁶Isa. 46.10. Acts 15.18.

⁹⁷Acts 17.26. Ephes. 1.11. Mat. 25.34. 2 Tim. 1.9.

⁹⁸Joh. 6.37. & 10.28, 29.

⁹⁹Eph. 1.4. Rom. 11.33.

¹⁰⁰Rom. 8.30.

¹⁰¹Rom. 9.29. I Thes. 1.4. Tit. 1.1.

the Foundation of the World,¹⁰² and is called God's Elect, in whom his Soul delighteth;¹⁰³ being the Lamb fore-ordained,¹⁰⁴ and so Predestined unto the Superlative Glory of the Hypostatical Union.¹⁰⁵ And this not for any foreseen Holiness in his Humane Nature (sith all that did flow out of the Hypostatical Union) being Elected of meer Grace, as are all the Members of his Mystical Body.¹⁰⁶ And God the Father gave this his Elected and Beloved Son, for a Covenant to the People, and said, *That his Covenant shall stand fast with him; and his seed shall endure for ever.*¹⁰⁷ And albeit God the Father be the Efficient Cause of all good Things he intended to us,¹⁰⁸ yet Christ is the Meriting Cause of all those good Things God intended to us in Election, (*viz.*) Repentance, Faith and sincere Obedience to all God's Commandments.¹⁰⁹ And so God the Father, that He might bring about the Eternal Salvation of his Elect, chose the Man Christ, with respect to his Humane Nature, out of the fallen lump of Mankind,¹¹⁰ which in the fullness of Time, he made of a Woman, made under the Law, to redeem those that were under it;¹¹¹ that we might receive the Adoption of Sons.¹¹² And though Christ came from *Adam*, as *Eve* did,¹¹³ yet not by *Adam* as *Cain* did,¹¹⁴ *viz.* by natural Propagation. Therefore without any stain of Sin,¹¹⁵ and this second *Adam*, being by God's Eternal Decree, excepted out of the first Covenant, as being neither God the Father, who was justly offended; nor yet sinful *Adam*, who had offended him in breaking of it.—Therefore Christ the Second *Adam* was a fit Mediator between God and Man, to reconcile both in himself,¹¹⁶ by the shedding and sprinkling of his Blood, according to God's Eternal Purpose in Electing of Christ, and of all that do, or shall believe in him; which Eternal Election, or Covenant-Transaction between the Father and Son,¹¹⁷ is very consistent with his revealed Will, in the Gospel.¹¹⁸ For we ought not to oppose the Grace

¹⁰²I Pet. 1.19, 20.

¹⁰³Isa. 42.1. Mat. 12.17, 18.

¹⁰⁴Luk. 23.35. I Pet. 1.19.

¹⁰⁵Joh. 1.14. Heb. 2.16. Col. 2.9.

¹⁰⁶Tim. 1.9.

¹⁰⁷Psal. 89.2, 3, 4, 18, 19, 20, 34, 35, 36, 27.

¹⁰⁸Joh. 3.16. I John 4.9, 10, 19.

¹⁰⁹Rom. 3.24, 25, 26. & 8.3.

¹¹⁰Heb. 7.14. & 10.5, 6, 7, 8.

¹¹¹Gal. 4.3.

¹¹²Eph. 1.5.

¹¹³Gen. 2.21, 22, 23.

¹¹⁴Gen. 4.1. & 5.3.

¹¹⁵Mat. 1.18, 19. Luke 1.35.

¹¹⁶2 Tim. 2.5. Heb. 9.15. Eph. 2.13, 14, 15, 16.

¹¹⁷Isa. 49.6, 7, 8, 9.

¹¹⁸2 Thes. 2.13.

of God in Electing of us, nor yet the Grace of the Son in Dying for all Men (and so for us); nor yet the Grace of the Holy Ghost in propounding the Gospel, and persuading us to believe it:¹¹⁹ For until we do believe, the effects of God's displeasure are not taken from us; for the Wrath of God abideth on all them that do not believe in Christ;¹²⁰ for the actual declaration in the Court of Conscience, is by Faith as an Instrument,¹²¹ (not for Faith as a Meriting Cause): for Christ is the Meriting Cause of eternal Life to all that believe, but not of God's Will to give eternal Life to them, nor yet of God's Decree to save us,¹²² albeit we are chosen in Christ before the Foundation of the World. Now Faith is necessary as the way of our Salvation, as an Instrumental Cause:¹²³ but the Active and Passive Obedience of Christ, is necessary as a Meriting Cause of our Salvation;¹²⁴ therefore God's Eternal Decree doth not oppose his revealed Will in the Gospel,¹²⁵ it being but one, not two diverse or contrary Wills. For his decree as King, decreeth the Event, or what shall be done infallibly; but his Command as a Lawgiver,¹²⁶ sheweth not what shall be done, but what is the duty of Man to do, and leave undone: Therefore God hath (we believe) decreed, that Faith as the means, and Salvation as the end, shall be joynd together, that where one is, the other must be also:¹²⁷ for it is written, *He that believeth, shall be saved.*¹²⁸ Also, *Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved.*¹²⁹ Now here is a great Mystery indeed, for God so administereth his absolute Decree, that he leaveth us much place for an Efficacious Conditional-Dispensation,¹³⁰ as if the Decree it self were conditional.

X. Article.

Of Preterition, or Reprobation.

We do believe, that known unto God are all his Works from Eternity.¹³¹ Therefore he foresaw *Adam's* fall, but did not decree it, yet foreseeing it in his eternal Counsel and Wisdom, did Elect and chuse Jesus Christ, and all that do or shall believe in him, out of that fallen Lump of Mankind.

¹¹⁹Eph. 1.17, 18, 19. I Cor. 2.13. I Thes. 1.5.

¹²⁰John 3.18, 36.

¹²¹Rom. 3.30. Gal. 3.8, 11. Phil. 3.9. Rom. 5.1, 2.

¹²²I John 4.9, 10, 19.

¹²³Heb. 11.16. John 1.11, 12. Acts 13.39.

¹²⁴Acts 20.28. Ephes. 1.14. Rom. 5.9, 10, 18, 19.

¹²⁵Joh. 6.40. I Tim. 2.3, 4. Job 23.13.

¹²⁶Ps. 115.3. Job 42.2. Isa 33.22.

¹²⁷John 3.36.

¹²⁸Mark 16.16.

¹²⁹Acts 16.31.

¹³⁰Isa. 14.24. Psal. 115.3. Psal. 132.11, 12 & 89.30, to 34.

¹³¹Acts 15.18.

And hath manifested his Love and Grace by Jesus Christ, (his Elect, or beloved Son) through the Gospel means, to all; and hath given us his Word and Oath, to assure us that he desires not the death of the Wicked, but rather that they repent, or return to him and live;¹³² and if any do perish, their destruction is of themselves.¹³³ And hath decreed to punish all those wicked, or ungodly, disobedient, and unbelieving or impenitent Sinners,¹³⁴ that have, or shall despise his Grace, Love, and Woings, or Strivings, of the Holy Ghost,¹³⁵ or Long-suffering, whether by a total and continued rejection of Grace, or by an universal and final Apostacy; and such Persons so living and dying, shall be punished with everlasting destruction in Hell-fire,¹³⁶ with the fallen Angels, or Devils, and shall be fixed in an irrecoverable state of Damnation irrevocable, under the Wrath of God, they being the proper Objects of it; and shall remain under his inexpressible Wrath and Justice, in unconceivable Torment, Soul and Body, to all Eternity.¹³⁷

XI. Article.
Of Creation.

In the Beginning it pleased God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, according to his eternal, and immutable Decree, for the manifestation of the Glory of his eternal Power, Wisdom, and Goodness,¹³⁸ to Create, or make out of nothing¹³⁹ the World, and all things therein, whether Visible or Invisible,¹⁴⁰ and created Man Male and Female,¹⁴¹ with a fleshly Body, and a Reasonable (and Invisible, or Spiritual, Angelical, and Immortal) Soul,¹⁴² made after the Image of God,¹⁴³ in Knowledge, Righteousness, and true Holiness, having the Law written in his Heart,¹⁴⁴ and power or liberty of Will to fulfil it;¹⁴⁵ yet mutable, or under a possibility of Transgressing,¹⁴⁶ being left to the liberty of their own Will, which was subject to change; and also gave them command not to eat of the Tree of Knowledge of Good

¹³²Ezek. 18.22, 32. & 33.

¹³³Hos. 13.9. Jam. 1.13, 14.

¹³⁴2 Thes. 1.9, 10. & 2.10.

¹³⁵Heb. 10.26, 27, 29, 30.

¹³⁶Isa. 30.33. & 66.24. Mark 9.45, 46. Jude 4.

¹³⁷Mat. 25.41, 46. Rev. 20.13, 14.

¹³⁸Gen. 1.1. Rom. 11.36. Rev. 4.11.

¹³⁹Heb. 11.3.

¹⁴⁰Col. 1.16.

¹⁴¹Gen. 5.1, 2.

¹⁴²Gen. 2.7. Mat. 10.28. Mat. 22.31, 32. Rev. 6.9. Luke 23.46. Acts 7.59.

¹⁴³Gen. 1.27. & 9.6. Eph. 4.24.

¹⁴⁴Rom. 2.14, 15.

¹⁴⁵Eccles. 7.29.

¹⁴⁶Gen. 3.6.

and Evil,¹⁴⁷ and while they kept this Command, they enjoyed most happy Communion with God, and had Dominion over the Creatures: And all this wonderful Work of Creation, both in Heaven and in Earth, was finished in the space of Six Days,¹⁴⁸ and all very good.¹⁴⁹ And although Reason cannot conceive nor comprehend it, yet God's Word hath plainly revealed it, and Faith believes it.

XII. Article.

Of Divine Providence.

The Almighty God that Created all Things, and gave them their Being, by his infinite Power and Wisdom, doth Sustain, and Uphold, and Move,¹⁵⁰ Direct, Dispose, and Govern,¹⁵¹ all Creatures and Things, from the greatest to the least,¹⁵² according to the Counsel of his own good Will and Pleasure, for his own Glory, and his Creatures good.¹⁵³

XIII. Article.

Of the First Covenant.

The First Covenant was made, between God and Man, before Man had sinned in eating of the forbidden Fruit; in which Covenant God required of Man perfect Obedience to all the Commands thereof;¹⁵⁴ and in case he did so obey, he promised to be his God.¹⁵⁵ And on the other part, Man promised to perform entire and perfect Obedience to all God's holy Commands in that Covenant, by that strength wherewith God endowed him in his first Creation: by the improvement of which, he might have attained unto Eternal Life without Faith, in the Blood of the Mediator of the New Covenant of Grace; but he sinning against this Covenant, (which consisted in two Roots, (*viz.*) *To love God above all things; And his Neighbour as himself;*¹⁵⁶ it being the substance of that Law that was afterwards written in two Tables of Stone, and delivered unto *Moses* upon Mount *Sinai*) and fell under the just Sentence of Eternal Death,¹⁵⁷ which was the punishment that God had appointed for the breach of it. And under this

¹⁴⁷Gen. 2.16, 17.

¹⁴⁸Gen. 1.1, 2.

¹⁴⁹Gen. 1.31.

¹⁵⁰Heb. 1.3.

¹⁵¹Job 38.11. Job 26.7 *to the end.* Psal. 135.5, 6.

¹⁵²Mat. 10.29, 30, 31.

¹⁵³Psal. 65.8. *to the end.* Ephes. 1.11.

¹⁵⁴Hos. 6.7 & 8.1.

¹⁵⁵Deut. 26.17, 18, 19.

¹⁵⁶Mat. 22.37, 40. Rom. 2.14, 15.

¹⁵⁷Gen. 3.12, 13.

Righteous Judgment of God, *Adam* and his Natural Posterity, had for ever remained, as the fallen Angels do, had not God of his infinite Grace and Love, provided his Son, to take unto himself our Nature, and so became a fit Mediator between God the Father who was offended, and Man who had offended him¹⁵⁸ in breaking his holy Law and Covenant.

XIV. Article.

Of the Fall of Man, of his Sin, and of the Punishment thereof.

The First Man *Adam*, in eating voluntarily of the forbidden Fruit, incurred the Curse of God upon himself,¹⁵⁹ and all, his Posterity (that come of him by Natural Propagation) *viz.* Corporal and Spiritual Death, in Body and Soul eternally;¹⁶⁰ but this Covenant was not only made with him, but with his Seed also, which should descend from his Loins by Natural Generation; he standing as a publick Person¹⁶¹ in the stead of all Mankind. And as St. *Paul* saith, *By him came sin, and death by sin, &c (Rom. 5.14.)* and so deprived himself and all his Posterity, of that Original Righteousness, which God¹⁶² created him in.

XV. Article.

Of Original (or Birth) Sin.

Original Sin, is the fault and corruption of the Nature of every Man,¹⁶³ that naturally descendeth from *Adam* by natural Generation; by means of which, Man has not only lost that Original Righteousness, that God created him in, but is naturally inclined to all manner of evil, being conceived in Sin, and brought forth in Iniquity;¹⁶⁴ and (as St. *Paul* saith) *The flesh lusteth against the spirit.*¹⁶⁵ And therefore every Man justly deserveth God's Wrath and Damnation.¹⁶⁶ And this Concupiscence, or indwelling Lust, remaineth even in the Regenerate, that they cannot love; nor obey God perfectly in this Life, according to the tenour of the First Covenant.¹⁶⁷

¹⁵⁸Rom. 5.12, 18. Ephes. 2.13, 14.

¹⁵⁹Rom. 5.12, 14.

¹⁶⁰Gen. 3.10, 12. Ephes. 2.1, 3.

¹⁶¹Rom. 5.15, 16, 17. Heb. 7.9, 10.

¹⁶²Psal. 51.5. Gen. 6.5. Rom. 7.7. James 1.14.

¹⁶³Rom. 7.21. Gen. 6.5. Titus 1.15. Rom. 3.23. Gen. 5.3. Jer. 17.9.

¹⁶⁴Psal. 51.4, 5.

¹⁶⁵Gal. 5.16, 17.

¹⁶⁶I Cor. 15.22. Rom. 6.23. Gen. 2.17. John 5.24. Isa. 64.6. Gal. 3.10.

¹⁶⁷Rom. 7.17, 21, 22. & 2.14, 15. Gal. 3.21, 22. Mat. 12.33.

XVI. Article.*Of the New Covenant of Grace.*

The first *Covenant* being broken by Man's Disobedience, and by his Sin, he was excluded from the Favour of God, and *Eternal Life*; in which deplorable condition of his, God being pleased out of his *Free-Grace*, and Love to fallen Man,¹⁶⁸ (in order to his recovery out of this sinful and *deplorable* Estate) hath *freely* offered him a Second, or a New Covenant of Grace,¹⁶⁹ (which New Covenant of Grace is Jesus Christ) in remission of Sins, through Faith in his Blood,¹⁷⁰ which God hath promised to give to all them that do obey and submit to the conditions of this Covenant,¹⁷¹ which Covenant of Grace, and Eternal Salvation annexed to it, is freely and fully offered unto all Men, upon the terms of the Gospel, *viz.* Repentance, and Faith: And the Benefits of this Covenant, by God's Free-Grace, through the Redemption that is in Jesus Christ, whom God hath set forth to be a Propitiation through Faith in his Blood,¹⁷² to declare his Righteousness for the Remission of sins that are past through the forbearance of God, that he might be Just, and the Justifier of him that believeth in Jesus. Therefore we conclude, that a Man is Justified by Faith, without the deeds of the Law:¹⁷³ for by Faith we receive that Righteousness that the Law, or the First Covenant, required of the first *Adam*; which Righteousness Christ hath fulfilled (in our Nature which he took of the *Virgin Mary*) by his Active Obedience,¹⁷⁴ and is by God's free Donation, made over to us by Imputation,¹⁷⁵ for he hath made him to us Wisdom, Righteousness, and Sanctification:¹⁷⁶ For as by one Man's Disobedience, many were made Sinners, so by the Obedience of one (that is Christ) shall many be made Righteous. For Christ hath not only fulfilled the Sanction of the Law, (*viz.*) to love God with all his Heart, and his Neighbour as himself, but hath also voluntarily suffered the Curse of the Law, being made a Curse for us;¹⁷⁷ that we might receive the Blessing of *Abraham*, and the Promise of the Spirit through Faith, in his Blood.¹⁷⁸ And now, albeit the Essential Righteousness of Christ, as he is God equal with his Father, be not imputed

¹⁶⁸Deut. 27.26. Col. 1.13. 2 Cor. 4.4. John 3.16.

¹⁶⁹Jer. 31.31, 32. Rom. 3.23, 24. Gal. 3.21, 22. Rom. 3.31. Heb. 8.7. Gen. 3.15.

¹⁷⁰Luke 24.47. Ephes. 1.7. Psal. 20.3. Acts 10.43.

¹⁷¹Acts 3.19. & 26.18. & 2.37, 38. Mark 1.15. Gal. 3.11, 17.

¹⁷²Jer. 32.40. Isa. 42.6. Rom. 3.24, 25, 26. Acts 19.43. Isa. 53.11. Rom. 5.9. & 3.20.

¹⁷³Gal. 3.8. & 2.16.

¹⁷⁴Rom. 5.10, 19. & 10.4. Psal. 40.7, 8. Mat. 3.2.

¹⁷⁵2 Cor. 5. *ult.*

¹⁷⁶I Cor. 1.30.

¹⁷⁷Gal. 3.13. I Pet 2.24. Isa. 53.6, 7, 8. Phil. 2.7, 8.

¹⁷⁸Gal. 3.13, 14.

unto us, nor yet his Personal Righteousness as he was, or is Man (only), yet we believe his Mediatoral Righteousness, as God-Man;¹⁷⁹ is imputed, reckoned, or made over to us,¹⁸⁰ upon the terms of this New-Covenant of Grace;¹⁸¹ and so being justified by his Grace, we are thereby made Heirs according to the hope of Eternal Life.¹⁸² *For (as St. Paul saith) if Righteousness come by the Law, then Christ is dead in vain, Gal. 2. ult.*

XVII. Article.

Of Christ and his Mediatorial Office.

It pleased God, in his Eternal Purpose, to chuse, and ordain the Lord Jesus Christ, his only begotten Son, according to the Covenant made between them both,¹⁸³ to be the alone Mediator between God and Man,¹⁸⁴ (*viz.*) God the Father, who was by *Adam's* sin justly offended, and *Adam* (our common Parent) the person offending. Now in order to reconcile God to Man, and Man to God, who were at distance, Christ Jesus the Second Person in the Trinity, being very God, of the same Substance with his Father, did, when the fulness of Time was come, take unto him Man's Nature, with all the Essential Properties, and common Infirmities, (Sin only excepted) being made of a Woman, of the Seed of *Abraham*,¹⁸⁵ and *David*:¹⁸⁶ And although he came from *Adam*, and had truly the Nature of Man, (yet not by *Adam*); and the Person of Christ, took our Nature into union with the Divine Nature, but he did not take the Person of *Adam* which sinned;¹⁸⁷ therefore we believe he was neither the Covenantee, nor yet the Covenanter, and so by consequence, neither the Creditor, nor the Debtor. And being concerned by this Office or Appointment of the Father to make Peace,¹⁸⁸ it plainly appears, that he is the only fit Mediator between God and Man,¹⁸⁹ who is very God, and very Man; yet one Christ; who was Sanctified, and Anointed with the Holy Spirit above measure,¹⁹⁰ and was Superlatively, and Admirably fitted for, and called unto this Office

¹⁷⁹Heb. 7.26. Mat. 3.15. Rom. 5.18.

¹⁸⁰Gal. 4.6, 7. Rom. 4.3. 4.23.

¹⁸¹Rom. 3.25, 28.

¹⁸²Tit. 3.7. & 1.2.

¹⁸³Zech. 6.12, 13. Gal. 3.17. Psal. 89.28. & 105.10.

¹⁸⁴Gal. 3.19, 20. Heb. 10.15. & 12.24. I Tim. 2.5. Job 9.33. *any Days-Man betwixt us, &c.*

¹⁸⁵Gal. 3.16. Gen. 3.15.

¹⁸⁶I Chron. 17.11.

¹⁸⁷Luke 1.35. Heb. 7.26. Rom. 9.5.

¹⁸⁸Heb. 5.5 & 7.21, 22, 26. Ephes. 2.14. Isa. 42.1, 6.

¹⁸⁹I Pet. 1.19, 20. Heb. 9.15.

¹⁹⁰Heb. 1.9. Psal. 45.7. Isa. 61.1. Col. 2.3.

by his Father,¹⁹¹ who put all Judgment into his Hand, and Power to execute the same, and he willingly undertook the same; and being made under the Law, did perfectly fulfill or keep it,¹⁹² and underwent the Punishment due to us, which we should have suffered, our sin, and the punishment of it being reckoned, or imputed to him;¹⁹³ he being made a Curse for us,¹⁹⁴ and underwent and trod the Wine-press of his Father's Wrath for us, in dolorous pangs and agony of Soul, and painful sufferings in his Body,¹⁹⁵ was Crucified, Dead, and Buried, or remained in the state of the Dead, yet saw no Corruption,¹⁹⁶ and on the Third Day he arose from the Dead,¹⁹⁷ with the same Body in which he suffered;¹⁹⁸ with which he also Ascended, and there sitteth at the Right Hand of his Father, making Intercession for his Saints;¹⁹⁹ and shall return to judg Men and Angels,²⁰⁰ at the end of the World: And the same Lord Jesus, by his perfect Obedience to the whole Law, and Sacrifice of himself, which he through the Eternal Spirit offered up unto God the Father,²⁰¹ hath fully satisfied the Justice of God, and reconciled him to us; and hath purchased an everlasting Inheritance in the Kingdom of Heaven,²⁰² for all those that the Father hath given unto him;²⁰³ and now by a continued Act of Intercession in Heaven, doth apply the Benefits he hath purchased unto the Elect.²⁰⁴ And in this Office of Mediator, he hath the Dignity of Three *Offices*, (*viz.*) Priest,²⁰⁵ Prophet,²⁰⁶ and King:²⁰⁷ all which Offices are necessary for the benefit of his Church, and without which we can never be *saved*.²⁰⁸ For in respect of our *Ignorance*, we stand in need of his *Prophetical* Office, and in respect of our *Alienation* from God, and imperfect Services, and God's *Wrath* and *Justice*, we stand in need of his *Priestly* Office, to reconcile God to us, and us to God; and in respect of our *bondage to Sin and Satan*, and aversness to return to God,

¹⁹¹Heb. 5.5. John 5.22, 27.

¹⁹²Rom. 10.4.

¹⁹³2 Cor. 5.21.

¹⁹⁴Gal. 3.13.

¹⁹⁵Luke 22.44, 45. Isa. 53.10, 11, 12. I Pet. 2.24. Mat. 27.46. & 26.37, 38.

¹⁹⁶Acts 13.28, 29, 30, 34.

¹⁹⁷Luk. 24.7.

¹⁹⁸John 20.25, 27.

¹⁹⁹Act. 1.9, 10, 11. Mark 16.19. Rom. 8.34.

²⁰⁰Mat. 25.31, 32, 41.

²⁰¹Heb. 9.14.

²⁰²Heb. 9.15. Ephes. 2.14, 15, 16.

²⁰³Joh. 17.2.

²⁰⁴I Pet. 1.2. *to the 9.*

²⁰⁵Heb. 7.17.

²⁰⁶Act. 3.22.

²⁰⁷Psal. 45.5, 6, 7.

²⁰⁸Acts 4.11, 12.

we need his *Kingly Office*, to subdue our Enemies; and deliver us Captives out of the kingdom and power of Sin, and preserve us to his Heavenly Kingdom.²⁰⁹ And thus (in our Nature) he living the life of the Law, and suffering the penalty due to us, continually presents us at the Throne of Grace,²¹⁰ so is a most wonderful and compleat Mediator for his Elect.

XVIII. Article.

Of Christ Dying for all Mankind.

God the Father, out of his Royal Bounty, and Fountain of Love, when all Mankind was fallen by Sin, in breaking of the first Covenant of Works made with them in *Adam*, did chuse Jesus Christ, and sent him into the World to die for *Adam*, or fallen Man. And God's love is manifest to all Mankind, in that he is not willing, as himself hath Sworn, and abundantly declared in his Word, that Mankind should perish eternally,²¹¹ but would have all to be Saved, and come to the knowledg of the Truth: And Christ died for all Men, and there is a sufficiency in his Death and Merits for the Sins of the whole World,²¹² and hath appointed the Gospel to be preached unto all;²¹³ and hath sent forth his Spirit to accompany the Word, in order to beget Repentance and Faith:²¹⁴ So that if any do Perish, it's not for want of the means of Grace manifested by Christ to them, but for the non-improvement of the Grace of God, offered freely to them through Christ in the Gospel.²¹⁵

XIX. Article.

Of the Agreement between the Old and New Testaments.

The Gospel, or New Covenant, was held forth, or preached to the Fathers, from *Adam* to Christ's coming in the Flesh,²¹⁶ though it was revealed by sundry Degrees, and in diverse Manners,²¹⁷ in Types and Shadows, darkly;²¹⁸ yet it was the same Gospel, the same Christ, the same Faith (for kind), and the very same Covenant, that they were justified and saved by, before Christ took Flesh of the Virgin, that we have now, and is to

²⁰⁹2 Tim. 4.18. Col. 1.13, 14.

²¹⁰Heb. 4.14, 15, 16.

²¹¹Rom. 5.8. Mat. 20.28. Rom. 8.3. Heb. 9.15. Ezek. 18.23. Heb. 2.9. I John 2.2. I Tim. 2.3, 4, 5, 6.

²¹²Heb. 10.12, 13, 14, 15.

²¹³Mark 16.16. Tit. 2.11, 12.

²¹⁴I Thes. 1.5, 6, 7.

²¹⁵John 5.39, 40. Mat. 23.37, 38. & 24.12. Acts 13.46, 48.

²¹⁶Gal. 3.8. Gen. 12.3. Heb. 4.2, 3.

²¹⁷Heb. 1.1, 2.

²¹⁸Heb. 10.1.

continue to the end of the World.²¹⁹ For as the Church of the *Jews* in their Gospel Types had a Priest, and an Altar, and a Lamb, and a Fire, and without all these no Sacrifice could, or was accepted of God, then nor now, without Faith in the Antitype Christ, whose Humane Nature is the true Lamb, the Union of Natures, the High Priest, the Divine Nature, the Altar, and the Holy Ghost, the Heavenly Fire.²²⁰ And again, the Blood shed upon the Brazen Altar, may be applied to our Justification, and the sprinkling of it upon the Incense Altar, may be applied to the Work of Sanctification by Christ's²²¹ Spirit, sprinkling his Blood upon us.²²² And the Blood that was carried within the Vail, into the most Holy Place, is applied to our Glorification in Heaven.²²³ And as they had in their Church the Ark, a figure of Christ's Presence; so have we the Promise of his Presence to the end of the World.²²⁴ And as they had the Tables of the Old Covenant, or Law, in the Ark; so have we the Law fulfilled by Christ;²²⁵ and meeting God in Christ, it's handed forth by Christ now to us,²²⁶ as the only rule of our Sanctification, and Obedience, through his Grace. And as they had the Manna to nourish them in the Wilderness to *Canaan*; so have we the Sacraments to nourish us in the Church, and in our Wilderness-condition, till we come to Heaven. And as they had the Rod that Corrected them; so have we the Church-Censures now to Correct us,²²⁷ when we offend his Law. And their Burnt-offering may be applied to Christ, killing of Original Sin in us, and their Sin-offering may be applied to Christ killing, or taking away our Actual Sins; and their Peace-offering may be applied to our Reconciliation with God in Christ by his Spirit; and so all the rest of those Gospel-Antitypes may be applied. And thus the Old and New Testaments, like the Faces of the Cherubims, look one toward another, and hold forth the self-same Gospel-Salvation to them and us.

XX. Article.

Of Free-will in Man.

God hath indued the Will of Man with that natural liberty and power, of acting upon Choice, that it is neither forced, nor by any necessity of Na-

²¹⁹Heb. 9, 10 & 11. *Chapters.*

²²⁰Heb. 9.14.

²²¹Eph. 5.2.

²²²I Pet. 1.2.

²²³Heb. 9.7, 8, 9, 12, 24.

²²⁴Mat. 18.20. & 28.19, 20.

²²⁵Rom. 3.31 & 8.3, 4. & 10.4.

²²⁶I John 2.6, 7, 8.

²²⁷I Cor. 4.19, 20, 21.

ture determined, to do Good or Evil:²²⁸ But Man in the state of Innocency, had such power and liberty of Will, to chuse and perform that which was acceptable and well pleasing to God, according to the requirement of the First Covenant;²²⁹ but he falling from this state of Innocency, wholly lost all ability, or liberty of Will, to any Spiritual Good, for his eternal Salvation,²³⁰ his Will being now in bondage under Sin and Satan;²³¹ and therefore not able of his own strength to Convert himself, nor prepare himself thereunto, without God's Grace taketh away the enmity out of his Will, and by his special Grace, freeth him from his natural Bondage under Sin, enabling him to will freely and sincerely, that which is spiritually good,²³² according to the tenure of the new Covenant of Grace in Christ, though not perfectly according to the tenure of the First Covenant;²³³ which perfection of Will is only attainable in the state of Glory, after the Redemption, or Resurrection of our Fleshly Bodies, *Rom.* 8.23. *Ephes.* 4.13.

XXI. Article.

Of Vocation and Effectual Calling.

Vocation, or Calling, General, or Common, is, when God by the means of his Word and Spirit, freely of his own Grace and Goodness, doth ministerially acquaint Mankind with his gracious good purpose of Salvation, by Jesus Christ; inviting and woing them to come to him,²³⁴ and to accept of Christ revealing unto them the Gospel-Covenant,²³⁵ and those that with Cordial Hearts do improve this common Grace,²³⁶ he in time worketh unfained Faith, and sincere Repentance in them;²³⁷ and by his Grace they come to accept of Christ, as their only Lord and Saviour, with their whole Heart; and God becomes their Father in Christ, and they being then effectually called,²³⁸ are by Faith united to Jesus Christ by Grace unto Salvation.²³⁹

²²⁸Mat. 17.12.

²²⁹Eccles. 7.29.

²³⁰Rom. 5.6. & 8.7, 8.

²³¹Joh. 8.44.

²³²Ephes. 2.8, 9, 10.

²³³Rom. 7.14, 15, 16.

²³⁴Mat. 11.28.

²³⁵Act. 20.21.

²³⁶Rom. 16.25, 26. Tit. 2.11.

²³⁷Act. 5.31. Acts 11.18.

²³⁸Rom. 8.28, 30. Rom. 11. 5, 7. Ephes. 1.11, 17, 18, 19.

²³⁹Rom. 5.1. Ephes. 2.8. Rom. 4.16.

XXII. Article.*Of Angelical Repentance.*

Unfained Repentance, is an inward and true sorrow of heart for Sin,²⁴⁰ with sincere confession of the same to God, especially that we have offended so gracious a God, and so loving a Father;²⁴¹ together with a settled purpose of Heart, and a careful endeavour to leave all our sins and to live a more holy and sanctified Life, according to all God's Commands.²⁴² Or it is a turning, or change of the whole Man to God, with endeavour through his Grace, to mortifie the indwelling Lust, or Corruptions,²⁴³ and obtain a great reformation both in the outward and inward Man, according to the Will of God; and this Repentance, for the nature of it, must be continued throughout the whole course of our Lives,²⁴⁴ and is wrought in us by the Spirit of God, by the Ministry of the Law and Gospel,²⁴⁵ in order to our obedience to Christ, or being Baptized in his Name,²⁴⁶ but this Repentance unto Life is not wrought without Faith in the Soul;²⁴⁷ for by Faith we receive that Grace that perfects, or carrieth on the Work of Repentance in the Soul from first to last.²⁴⁸

XXIII. Article.*Of Justifying, or Saving Faith.*

Faith is an Act of the Understanding,²⁴⁹ giving a firm Assent to the things contained in the Holy Scriptures.²⁵⁰ But Justifying Faith is a Grace, or Habit, wrought in the Soul,²⁵¹ by the Holy Ghost,²⁵² through preaching the Word of God, whereby we are enabled to believe,²⁵³ not only that the Messias is offered to us, but also to take and receive him as a Lord and Saviour,²⁵⁴ and wholly and only to rest upon Christ, for grace and Eternal Salvation.²⁵⁵

²⁴⁰Tit. 2.3, 4, 5. Acts 2.37, 38. 2 Cor. 7.10, 11. Acts 17.30.

²⁴¹Psal. 51.4. Luke 15.17, 18, 19.

²⁴²Eze. 18.30. Ephes. 2.10.

²⁴³Rom. 8.13. Ephes. 4.20 *to the* 32.

²⁴⁴John 8.31, 32, 35.

²⁴⁵Rom. 8.13.

²⁴⁶Acts 3.19, 26. & 2.38.

²⁴⁷Heb. 11.6.

²⁴⁸Gal. 3.26, 27, 29.

²⁴⁹Rom. 10. 14, 17. Mat. 13.20, 21. Acts 24.14.

²⁵⁰Psal. 19.7, 8, 9, 10. & 119.72.

²⁵¹2 Pet. 1.5, 11. I John 5.4. & 5.2.

²⁵²2 Cor. 4.13. Ephes. 2.8.

²⁵³Acts 31.31. Acts 15.11.

²⁵⁴2 Pet. 1.5, 11. Acts 8.37.

²⁵⁵Phil. 3.8, 9.

XXIV. Article.*Of Justification by Christ.*

Justification is a Declarative, or Judicial Sentence of God the Father,²⁵⁶ whereby he of his infinite Love, and most free Grace, for the alone and Mediatorial Righteousness of his own Son, performed in our Nature and stead; which Righteousness of God-Man, the Father imputing to us,²⁵⁷ and by effectual Faith received and embraced by us,²⁵⁸ doth free us by Judicial Sentence from Sin and Death, and accepts us Righteous in Christ our Surety, unto Eternal Life;²⁵⁹ the Active and Passive Obedience of Christ being the Accomplishment of all that Righteousness and Sufferings the Law, or Justice of God required;²⁶⁰ and this being perfectly performed by our Mediator, in the very Nature of us Men,²⁶¹ and accepted by the Father in our stead,²⁶² according to that eternal Covenant-Transaction, between the Father and Son.²⁶³ And hereby we have a deliverance from the Guilt and Punishment of all our Sins, and are accounted Righteous before God, at the Throne of Grace, by the alone Righteousness of Christ the Mediator, imputed, or reckoned unto us through Faith; for we believe there are six necessary Causes of Man's Justification, or Salvation. (*Viz.*) First, The Efficient Cause of our Justification, is God's free Grace.²⁶⁴ Secondly, The Meritorious Cause is the Blood of Christ.²⁶⁵ Thirdly, The Material Cause is Christ's Active Obedience.²⁶⁶ Fourthly, The Imputation of Christ, his Obedience for us, is the Formal Cause.²⁶⁷ Fifthly, The Instrumental Cause is Faith.²⁶⁸ Sixthly, God's Glory, and Man's Salvation, is the final Cause.²⁶⁹ Now we principally apply the first and last to God the Father, the second and third to Christ the Mediator, the fourth and fifth to the blessed Comforter, the Holy Ghost; hence it is we are Baptized in the Name of the Father, of the Son, and Holy Ghost,²⁷⁰ and so we worship a Trinity in Unity, and Unity in Trinity, *I John 5.7.*

²⁵⁶Acts 13.38, 39. Rom. 8.34, 35. & 3.23, 24, 25.

²⁵⁷Rom. 4.22, 23, 24, 25. I Cor. 1.30, 31.

²⁵⁸2 Thess. 1.3, 4. Acts 15.9. Gal. 5.6.

²⁵⁹Rom. 8.1. Rom. 4.6, 7, 8. Gal. 3.13, 14. John 5.24. Rom. 3.22, 30.

²⁶⁰Rom. 5.19 I Cor. 1.30. Ephes. 1.7. Rom. 5.9. Rom. 10.4. Gal. 3.13.

²⁶¹Heb. 2.9, 10, 16, 17.

²⁶²2 Cor. 5.21.

²⁶³Isa. 53.10, 11, 12.

²⁶⁴Rom. 3.24.

²⁶⁵Rom. 5.9.

²⁶⁶Rom. 5.19.

²⁶⁷Rom.4.6.

²⁶⁸Rom. 5.1.

²⁶⁹Ephes. 1.11, 12.

²⁷⁰Mat. 28.19. 2 Cor. 13.14.

XXV. Article.*Of Reconciliation and Sonship by Christ.*

Two Priviledges flow out of our Justification by Faith in Christ, (*viz.*) Our Reconciliation, and Adoption, or Sonship. Reconciliation is a gracious Privilege, whereby we that were Enemies, are made Friends; or we that were Enemies, Rebels, and Aliens, are received into Favour, or brought near to God through Faith in Christ Jesus.²⁷¹ And Adoption is that power and privilege to be the Sons of God, through Faith in Christ our Surety,²⁷² who being the Eternal Son of God, became by Incarnation our Brother,²⁷³ that by him God might bring many Sons unto Glory;²⁷⁴ according to his Eternal Decree of preserving the Humane Nature of Christ, that it never fell in *Adam*.²⁷⁵ And so we are, by Faith according to God's free Grace, and Christ's Purchase, or Redemption, and the Holy Spirits application of it to us, made Heirs, and Joint-heirs with Christ our Elder Brother,²⁷⁶ of the same Kingdom, and stupendous and unutterable Glory, for ever and ever.

XXVI. Article.*Of Sanctification, and good Works.*

Those that are United unto Christ by Effectual Faith, are Regenerated, and have a new Heart and Spirit created in them,²⁷⁷ through the virtue of Christ his Death, Resurrection, and Intercession,²⁷⁸ and by the Efficacy of the Holy Spirit, received by Faith,²⁷⁹ and are Sanctified by the Word and Spirit of Truth dwelling in them, by destroying, or pulling down the strong Holds, or Dominion of Sin and Lust,²⁸⁰ and more and more quickened and strengthened in all saving Graces, in the practice of Holiness;²⁸¹ without which no Man shall see the Lord.²⁸² And this Sanctification is throughout the whole Man though imperfect in this Life, there abiding still in the best Saints, some remnants of Corruption,²⁸³ which occasions a continual War in the Soul; the Flesh lusting against the Spirit, and the Spirit against the

²⁷¹Rom. 5.8, 9, 10. Ephes. 2.12, *to the* 18.

²⁷²Eph. 1.5. Gal. 4.4, 5, 6. Rom 8.16, 17.

²⁷³Heb. 2. 11, 12, 13, 17.

²⁷⁴Heb. 2.10.

²⁷⁵Heb. 4.15. Mat. 1.18. Heb. 7.26.

²⁷⁶Rom. 8.16, 17.

²⁷⁷Ezek. 36.26. Ephes. 4.24. 2 Cor. 5.17. I John 3.9.

²⁷⁸Tit. 3.5. I Cor. 4.15.

²⁷⁹2 Cor. 3.18. I Tim. 2.20. Psal. 110.3.

²⁸⁰2 Cor. 10.4, 5. & 5.17.

²⁸¹Joh. 17.17. Joh. 16.14, 15.

²⁸²Heb. 12.14.

²⁸³Rom. 7.20. Gal. 5.16, 17.

Flesh. Yet through the continual supply of strength from Christ, which flows from him to Believers by means of the Covenant of Grace,²⁸⁴ or Hypostatical Union with our Nature, the Regenerate part doth overcome, pressing after a Heavenly Life, in Evangelical obedience to all the Commands that Christ, their King and Lawgiver, hath commanded them in his Word, or holy Scriptures,²⁸⁵ which are the only Rule, and square of our Sanctification and Obedience in all good Works, and Piety. And sith our only assistance to good Works (such as God hath commanded) is of God, who worketh in us both to will and to do,²⁸⁶ we have no cause to boast, nor ground to conclude, we merit any thing thereby, we receiving all of free and undeserved Grace, and when we have done the most, yet we are unprofitable Servants, and do abundantly fall short; and the best duties that we can now perform, will not abide the Judgment of God:²⁸⁷ Neither do any good Works whatsoever, that are done by Unregenerate Men, or without Faith in, and Love to Christ, please God, or are accepted of him.²⁸⁸ Yet good Works are of great advantage, being done in Faith, and Love, and wrought by the Holy Spirit,²⁸⁹ and are to be done by us, to shew our thankfulness to God, for the Grace of the New Covenant by Christ, and to fit us more and more for Glory:²⁹⁰ And in this sence, the Ten Commandments, as handed forth by Christ the Mediator, are a Rule of Life to a Believer, and shew us our Duty to God and Man, as also our need of the Grace of God, and Merit of Christ.

XXVII. Article.

Of Baptism, and the Lord's Supper.

These two Sacraments, (*viz.*) Baptism, and the Lord's Supper, are Ordinances of Positive, Sovereign, and holy Institution, appointed by the Lord Jesus Christ, the only Lawgiver, to be continued in his Church to the end of the²⁹¹ World; and to be Administred by those only who are rightly qualified, and thereunto called, according to the Command of Christ,²⁹² in *Mat.* 28.19.

²⁸⁴I Joh. 3.8. & 2.20.

²⁸⁵Rom. 6.14. Ephes. 4.15. 2 Cor. 3.18. & 7.1. Psal. 112.1 & 119.48. John 15.4, 6.

²⁸⁶Isa. 43.13. & 26.12. Phil. 2.13. w Cor. 3.5.

²⁸⁷Job 9.2, 3, 20. & 25.4. Gal. 2.16. James 2.9, 10. & 3.2.

²⁸⁸Heb. 11.6. Isa. 64.6. Prov. 8.17. I Cor. 16.22.

²⁸⁹James 1.18, 19, 22. Gal. 5.22, 23. John 4.14. & 5.25.

²⁹⁰Gal. 5.6. I Cor. 6.9, 10, 11, 19, 20. Heb. 12.28, 29. I Cor. 13.2, 3. Psal. 50.14.

²⁹¹Mat. 28.19, 20. I Cor. 11.26.

²⁹²I Cor. 4.1.

XXVIII. Article.*Of the right Subject and Administration of Holy Baptism.*

Baptism is an Ordinance of the New Testament, ordained by Jesus Christ to be unto the Party Baptized, or Dipped, a Sign of our entrance into the Covenant of Grace, and ingrafting into Christ, and into the Body of Christ, which is his Church;²⁹³ And of Remission of Sin in the Blood of Christ,²⁹⁴ and of our Fellowship with Christ, in his Death and Resurrection, and of our living, or rising to newness of Life.²⁹⁵ And orderly none ought to be admitted into the Visible Church of Christ, without being first²⁹⁶ Baptized;²⁹⁷ and those which do really profess Repentance towards God, and Faith in, and obedience to our Lord Jesus Christ, are the only *proper Subjects* of this Ordinance, according to our Lord's holy Institution, and Primitive Practice; and ought by the Minister, or Administrator, to be done in a solemn manner, in the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost,²⁹⁸ by *Immersion* or Dipping of the Person in the Element of Water;²⁹⁹ this being necessary to the due Administration of this holy Sacrament, as holy Scripture sheweth, and the first and best Antiquity witnesseth for some *Centuries of Years*.³⁰⁰ But the Popish Doctrine which they teach and believe, that those Infants that die without Baptism, or have it not *actually*, or in desire, are not, nor cannot be saved, we do not believe. Nor yet their practice of admitting Persons only upon an Implicite Faith of the Church; nor their Superstitious and Popish Ceremonies of Salt, and Spittle, and Breathing on the Face of the party Baptized; together with their Chrisoms and hallowed Lights.³⁰¹ Neither do we believe, that Infants dying in Infancy without Baptism, go to *Purgatory* or *Limbus Infantum*, as they erroneously teach. Nor do we believe, that the *Pope of Rome*, or any other Persons whomsoever, have power to alter, or change, this Ordinance of Christ, as they have done by these Superstitious, and such like Idolatrous Inventions and Practices of the Romish Church. All which Superstitions of theirs, are contrary to Christ's *Institution*, or the Apostles Practice of holy *Baptism*.

²⁹³Rom. 6.3, 4, 5. I Cor. 12.13. Gal. 3.27. Mark 16.16.

²⁹⁴Mat. 3.11. Acts 2.38.

²⁹⁵Rom. 6.1. *to the* 8.

²⁹⁶Mat. 28.19. Acts 8.37. Mat. 3.6. Heb.1, 2.

²⁹⁷Acts 2.37, 38. Acts 8.35, 36, 37, 38, 39.

²⁹⁸Mat. 28.15.

²⁹⁹John 1.2, 8, 31. & 3.22, 23. Mark 1.9, 10.

³⁰⁰See Mr. H. Dan. *His Treatise of Baptism*.

³⁰¹See the *Popish Catechism*. p. 184, 185, 186, &c.

XXIX. Article.*Of the Invisible Catholick Church of Christ.*

There is one holy Catholick Church, consisting of, or made up of the whole number of the Elect; that have been, are, or shall be gathered, in one Body under Christ,³⁰² the only Head thereof:³⁰³ Which Church is gathered by Special Grace, and the Powerful and Internal Work of the Spirit; and are effectually united unto Christ their Head, and can never fall away.³⁰⁴

XXX. Article.*Of the Catholick Church as Visible.*

Nevertheless, we believe the Visible Church of Christ on Earth, is made up of several distinct Congregations, which make up that one Catholick Church, or Mystical Body of Christ. And the Marks by which She is known to be the true Spouse of Christ, are these, *viz.* Where the Word of God is rightly Preached, and the Sacraments truly Administred, according to Christ's Institution, and the Practice of the Primitive Church,³⁰⁵ having Discipline and Government duly Executed by Ministers or Pastours of God's Appointing, and the Churches Election, that is a true constituted Church: to which Church (and not elsewhere) all Persons that seek for Eternal Life, should gladly joyn themselves.³⁰⁶ And although there may be many Errors in such a Visible Church, or Congregations, they being not Infallible, yet those Errors being not Fundamental, and the Church in the *major*, or Governing part, being not Guilty, she is not thereby unchurched; nevertheless She ought to detect those Errors,³⁰⁷ and to Reform, according to God's holy Word, and from such Visible Church, or Congregations, no Man ought by any pretence whatever, schismatically to separate.³⁰⁸

XXXI. Article.*Of Officers in the Church of Christ.*

The Visible Church of Christ, being compleatly Gathered and Organized, according to the Mind of Christ, consists of Officers and Members; and the Officers (appointed by Christ) to be chosen by his Church, for

³⁰²Heb. 12.22, 23. Rev. 14.1 *to the* 5.

³⁰³Col. 1.18. Eph. 1.10, 22. & 5.23, 26, 27. John 10.16.

³⁰⁴Gal. 3.28. Psal. 72.17. & 102.28. Rev. 13.8.

³⁰⁵Gal. 3.26, 27, 28. Acts 2. 41, 42, 43, 44, 46, 47. Eph. 2.19, 20, 21. I Cor. 11.23. *to the* 29. Gal. 3.1.

³⁰⁶Eph. 3.21. Acts 18.8. I Cor. 12.13. I John 2.19.

³⁰⁷Rev. 2.2, 14, 15, 16, 20, 21, 22, 23. Tit. 3.10, 11.

³⁰⁸Jude 17, 18, 19. James 3.13, 14, 15, 16. I Tim. 4.1. & 2 Tim. 1.13, 14, 15, 16. Acts 20.29, 30, 31. I Cor. 12.25.

the peculiar Administration of Ordinances, and Execution of the Power and Duty Christ hath enjoined them to the end of the World; Are these three, (*viz.*)³⁰⁹ Bishops,³¹⁰ (or *Messengers*), and Elders,³¹¹ (or *Pastors*), and Deacons,³¹² or (*Overseers* of the Poor): and the Way appointed by Christ, for the calling of any Person fitted and gifted by the Holy Ghost, unto the Office of Bishop, or Messenger, in the Churches is, (*viz.*) That he be chosen thereunto by the common Suffrage of the Church,³¹³ and solemnly set apart by Fasting and Prayer, with Imposition of Hands, by the Bishops of the same Function, ordinarily; and those Bishops so Ordained, have the Government of those Churches that had Suffrage in their Election,³¹⁴ and no other ordinarily; as also to preach the Word, or Gospel, to the World, (or Unbelievers).³¹⁵ And the particular Pastour, or Elder, in like manner is to be chosen by the common Suffrage of the particular Congregation, and ordained by the Bishop, or Messenger³¹⁶ God hath placed in the Church he hath charge of; and the Elder so ordained, is to watch over that particular Church; and he may not ministerially act in any other Church before he be sent,³¹⁷ neither ought his Power, or Office, any way to infringe the Liberty, or due Power, or Office of his³¹⁸ Bishop,³¹⁹ God being a God of Order,³²⁰ having ordained things most harmoniously, tending every way to Unity.³²¹ The Deacons are in like manner to be chosen by Election and Ordination, and are in their particular Congregations, to receive the Charity and free Benevolence of the People:³²² and the Bishops and Elders so Chosen, and Ordained, to the Work of God,³²³ ought to be enabled and capacitated thereunto, by a sufficient and honourable Maintenance³²⁴ of the People that chose them, answerable to the Dignity of their Places,³²⁵ and Charge committed to them, without which they cannot discharge

³⁰⁹See the ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ, from pag. 149. to pag. 160.

³¹⁰Acts 1.20, 25, 26. Acts 13.2, 3.

³¹¹Acts 14.23. Acts 20.17, 28.

³¹²Acts 6.3, 4, 5, 6.

³¹³Acts 1.23, 24, 25, 26. Acts 14.23. χειρωτονησαντες ο αφυτοις πρεσβυτεθρος κατ εφκκλησιαν, προσευξααυθοι, &c. Quimq; ipsis per Suffragia, &c.

³¹⁴I Tim. 1.3. Tit. 1.5. Rev. 2.1, 2, 8, 12.

³¹⁵Mat. 28.19. Mark 16.16. Acts 1.22. 2 Tim. 4.2.

³¹⁶Acts 14.23.

³¹⁷Rom. 10.15. Acts 13.2, 3, 4.

³¹⁸I Cor. 16.16.

³¹⁹Or Overseer, or Shepherd.

³²⁰I Tim. 1.3. Acts 20.23. I Cor. 11.34. Tit. 1.5. Heb. 13.17.

³²¹I Cor. 14.33.

³²²Act. 6.1, 2, 3, 5, 6. I Tim. 3.8, 12, 13. I Cor. 3.9.

³²³I Tim 3.5. & 4.6, 16. & 2 Tim. 4.5. Titus 1.7.

³²⁴I Cor. 9.1 to the 14. Phil. 4.15, 16, 17.

³²⁵I Tim. 5.17, 18. Gal. 6.6, 10. Deut. 25.4. 2 Cor. 11.7, 8.

their Duty (as they ought to do) in studying to divide the Word of God aright, as St. *Paul* adviseth *Timothy*, and also to give themselves wholly to it;³²⁶ and this Maintenance is to be given out of the Labours, Profits, and Estates of the People, by Equality, and proportionable to their Ability,³²⁷ in Liberality, God having reserved a Portion for all his Labourers, out of all the Members worldly Goods, and Possessions.

XXXII. Article.

Of Prayer, with Laying on of Hands.

Prayer, with Imposition of Hands by the Bishop, or Elder, on Baptized Believers (as such), for the reception of the Holy, Promised Spirit of Christ, we believe is a Principle of Christ's Doctrine, and ought to be practised and submitted to by every Baptized Believer, in order to receive the Promised Spirit of the Father, and Son.³²⁸

XXXIII. Article.

Of the end and right Administration of the Lord's Supper.

The Supper of the Lord Jesus, was instituted by him the same Night wherein he was betrayed;³²⁹ To be observed in his Church, to the end of the World,³³⁰ for the perpetual Remembrance, and shewing forth the Sacrifice of himself in his Death;³³¹ and for the Confirmation of the Faithful Believers in all the Benefits of his Death and Resurrection, and Spiritual Nourishment and growth in him; sealing unto them their continuance in the Covenant of Grace, and to be a Band and Pledge of Communion with him, and an Obligation of Obedience to Christ, both passively and actively, as also of our Communion and Union each with other, in the participation of this holy Sacrament.³³² And the outward Elements of Bread and Wine, after they are set apart by the Hand of the Minister, from common Use, and Blessed, or Consecrated, by the Word of God and Prayer, the Bread being broken, and Wine poured forth, signifie to the Faithful, the Body and Blood of Christ,³³³ or holdeth forth Christ and him Crucified; and the Minister distributing the Bread and Wine to the Communicants, who are

³²⁶I Tim. 3.5, 6, 8. & 11.13, 14,15. 2 Tim. 1.2, 3, 4, 14. & 3.14, 15, 16, 17. & 4.1, 2, 5. Col. 4.11, 17.

³²⁷2 Cor. 8.12, 13, 14 15. & 9.5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11.

³²⁸Acts 8.12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19. Acts 19.6, 7. 2 Tim. 1.6, 7. Heb. 6.2. John 13.16, 17, 18, 26. & 16.7. Eph. 1.13, 14. 2 Tim. 1.6. Acts 2.38, 29.

³²⁹Luke 22.17, 18, 19, 20. Mat. 26.26, 27, 28, 29. Mat. 28.20.

³³⁰I Cor. 11.23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29. Mat. 28.20.

³³¹Gal 3.1.

³³²I Cor. 10.16, 17.

³³³Gal. 3.1.

to take, or receive, both the Bread and Wine at the Hands of the Minister, applying it by Faith,³³⁴ with Thanksgiving to God the Father, for so great a Benefit;³³⁵ and no Unbaptized, Unbelieving, or open Prophane, or wicked Heretical Persons, ought to be admitted to this Ordinance to prophane it.³³⁶

Neither is that Popish Doctrine of Transubstantiation to be admitted of, nor Adoration of the unbloody Sacrifice³³⁷ of the Mass, as they call it, together with their denying of the Cup to the Laity, and many more Idolatrous, and Superstitious Practices, decreed in the Popish Councils of *Lateran*, and *Trent*,³³⁸ In opposition to which, and such like Idolatry of *Rome*, many of our worthy and famous Ancients and renowned Protestants, lost their lives by Fire and Faggot³³⁹ in *England*, whose Spirits (we hope) are now in Heaven, as worthy Martyrs and Witnesses of Christ, in bearing a faithful Testimony to this holy Ordinance of their Lord and Master. Neither may we admit of Consubstantiation, it being not consonant to God's Word. Nor are little Infants, that cannot examine themselves, nor give Account of their Faith, nor understand what is signified by the outward signs of Bread and Wine, to be admitted to this Sacrament. Though *St. Austin* taught so from *John* 6.63. and many of the *Greek Churches* so believe and practise to this Day. And this holy Ordinance ought to be often celebrated among the Faithful, with Examination of themselves, (*viz.*) of their Faith, and Love, and Knowledg, of these holy and divine Mysteries, lest they eat and drink their own Damnation, for prophaning of God's holy Ordinance,³⁴⁰ as many (we fear) have done, and (yet) do at this Day; whose hard and blind Hearts the Lord in Mercy open, if it be his blessed Will.

XXXIV. Article.

Of the Discipline and Government of the Church of Christ.

We believe that the Great King, and Law-giver, Christ, the Universal and only Head of his Church, hath given to his Visible Church, a subordinate Power, or Authority,³⁴¹ for the Well-being, Ordering, and Governing of it, for his own Glory, and the Churches Profit, and Good: The Executive part of which derivative power of Discipline and Government, is committed to his Ministers, proportionable to their Dignities and Places in the

³³⁴I Cor. 11.27, 28, 29, 30.

³³⁵Mat. 26.30.

³³⁶I Cor. 5.7, 8, 13. Acts 2.41, 42, 46, 47.

³³⁷See the *Popish Catechism*, p. 286, 287, &c.

³³⁸See the *Popish Catechism*, p. 197, 198. to the 206, &c.

³³⁹See *Mr. Fox his Book of Martyrs*.

³⁴⁰I Cor. 11.18, 10, 21, 22, 28, 29.

³⁴¹Isa. 9.6. Mat. 28.18. Mat. 18.17, 11. Rev. 2.3. I Cor. 5.4.

Church,³⁴² in a most harmonious way, for the Beauty, Order, Government, and Establishment of the same, and consisteth in the exercise and execution of the Censors, or Rod of Correction, he hath appointed therein,³⁴³ for the Purgation, or Pruning of the same; in order to prevent Scandals and Offences, both publick and private. And in case of personal and private Trespasses between Party and Party, that the Member so offended, tell his Offence to his Brother³⁴⁴ between them alone; and if he shall not hear him, to take one or two more; if he will not hear him then, to tell it unto the Church.³⁴⁵ And the Ministers of Christ ought to rebuke them sharply, that sin before them in the Church,³⁴⁶ and in case there be any wicked, publick, and scandalous Sinners, or Obstinate Hereticks, that then the Church ought speedily to convene such her Members, and labour to convict them of their Sin and Heresie, Schism, and Prophaneness, whatsoever it be; and after such regular Suspension,³⁴⁷ and due Admonition, if such Sinners repent not; that then for the Honour of God, and preserving the Credit of Religion, and in order to save the Sinner's Soul, and good of the Church, in obedience to God's Law, to proceed and excommunicate the Sinner, by a judicial Sentence in the Name of Christ and his Church,³⁴⁸ tendering an admonition of Repentance to him with Gravity, Love, and Authority, and all this without Hypocrisie, or Partiality; praying for the Sinner, that his Soul may be saved in the Day of the Lord. And under this second degree, of Withdrawing, or Excommunication, to account him as a Heathen, or Publican,³⁴⁹ that he may be ashamed. But upon the third and highest Act of Excommunication, it being a most dreadful Thunder-clap of God's Judgment, it is most difficult, for any Church now to proceed in,³⁵⁰ it being difficult to know when any Man hath sinned the unpardonable Sin, and so to incur a total Cutting-off from the Church.

XXXV. Article.

Of Communion of Saints, and giving to the Poor.

All Christians that have been Baptized into one Faith, and united in one true Visible Way of Worshipping the true God, by Christ Jesus our

³⁴²Heb. 13.7, 17.

³⁴³2 Thes. 3.6. 1 Thes. 5.12, 13, 14. 2 Cor. 2.5, 6, 7.

³⁴⁴Lev. 19.17, 18.

³⁴⁵Mat. 18. 15, 16, 17.

³⁴⁶1 Tim. 5.20. 2 Tim. 2.14. Tit. 1.12, 13, 14.

³⁴⁷Lev. 13.1. *to the* 8. Num. 12.14, 15. 2 Thess. 3.6.

³⁴⁸1 Cor. 5.4, 5, 6, 7. Tit. 3.10. Rev. 2.14, 20, 22, 23.

³⁴⁹Mat. 18.17.

³⁵⁰1 Cor. 16.22.

Lord,³⁵¹ should keep the Unity of the Spirit, in the Bond of Peace,³⁵² seeing there's but one Mystical Body of Christ, and should have fellowship and communion in each others Sufferings, or Afflictions; for if one Member suffer, all are pained with it.³⁵³ Hence it is also they partake of each others Gifts in great variety, which make the Harmony of dependency on each other,³⁵⁴ seeing a need of every Member for the Publick use, and common Profit of the whole, both in the private as well as more publick and solemn Worship of God's House: As also an interest in each others Goods and Possessions,³⁵⁵ so far as comports with Necessity and Charity, according to the Charter-Privileges, or Law of their King; and though no Equality, or Property, be pleaded for, yet the Works of Charity and Mercy, must be minded as a Duty to lend to the Lord,³⁵⁶ and pity and relieve the Lord's Poor,³⁵⁷ weekly laying out for them as God hath prospered us,³⁵⁸ according to our Ability, in Freedom, Liberality, and Charity, according to our Brethren's necessity, whether Sick, or in Prison, to visit and relieve them,³⁵⁹ and not only within the Church, but to all as we have opportunity and ability to be doing good, *Gal.* 6.10.

XXXVI. Article.

Of Perseverance.

Those that are effectually called, according to God's eternal Purpose,³⁶⁰ being justified by Faith, do receive such a measure of the holy Unction,³⁶¹ from the Holy Spirit, by which they shall certainly persevere unto Eternal Life,³⁶² *Rom.* 8:30.

XXXVII. Article.

Of the Sacred Scripture.

The Authority of the holy Scripture, dependeth not upon the Authority of any Man, but only upon the Authority of God,³⁶³ who hath delivered

³⁵¹Eph. 4.5. Col. 3.15. Acts 2.46.

³⁵²Eph. 4.3, 4, 5, 6. I Cor. 12.12, 13. Acts 4.32.

³⁵³I Cor. 12.26.

³⁵⁴& Vers. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 28, 29, 30.

³⁵⁵2 Cor. 8.9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15.

³⁵⁶Psal. 37.26. Prov. 11.25. & 19.17.

³⁵⁷Prov. 22.22. Deut. 15.10. Ephes. 4.28.

³⁵⁸I Cor. 16.1, 2. & 3.14, 15. Deut. 15.7. *to the* 11.

³⁵⁹Mat. 25.35, 36, 37, 38, 39.

³⁶⁰Rom. 8.28.

³⁶¹Gal. 3.14. John 1.12, 13.

³⁶²John 17.12, 21. & 10.28, 29. Rom. 1.17. Jer. 31.33, 34.

³⁶³2 Pet. 1.19, 20, 21. 2 Tim. 3.15, 16, 17.

and revealed his Mind therein unto us, and containeth all things necessary for Salvation;³⁶⁴ so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any Man, that it should be believed as an Article of the Christian Faith, or be thought requisite to Salvation.³⁶⁵ Neither ought we (since we have the Scriptures delivered to us now) to depend upon, hearken to, or regard the pretended immediate Inspirations, Dreams, or Prophetical Predictions, by or from any Person whatsoever, lest we be deluded by them.³⁶⁶ Nor yet do we believe that the Works of Creation, nor the Law written in the Heart, (*viz.*) Natural Religion (as some call it), or the Light within Man, as such, is sufficient to inform Man of Christ the Mediator, or of the way to Salvation, or Eternal Life by him;³⁶⁷ but the holy Scriptures are necessary to instruct all Men into the way of Salvation, and eternal Life. And we do believe, that all People ought to have them in their Mother Tongue,³⁶⁸ and diligently, and constantly to read them in their particular Places and Families, for their Edification, and Comfort. And endeavour to frame their Lives, according to the direction of God's Word, both in Faith and Practice, the holy Scriptures being of no private Interpretation, but ought to be interpreted according to the Analogie of Faith, and is the best Interpreter of it self;³⁶⁹ and is sole Judge in Controversie.³⁷⁰ And no Decrees of Popes, or Councils, or Writings of any Person whatsoever, are of equal Authority with the sacred Scriptures. And by the holy Scriptures we understand, the Canonical Books of the Old and New Testament, as they are now translated into our English Mother-Tongue, of which there hath never been any doubt of their Verity, and Authority, in the Protestant Churches of Christ to this Day.

The Names of the Books of the Old Testament.

Genesis. Exodus. Leviticus. Numbers. Deuteronomy. Joshua. Judges. Ruth. I. Samuel. II. Samuel. I. Kings. II. Kings. I. Chronicles. II. Chronicles. Ezra. Nehemiah. Esther. Job. Psalms. Proverbs. Ecclesiastes. Canticles. Isaiah. Jeremiah. Lamentations. Ezekiel. Daniel. Hosea. Joel. Amos. Obadiab. Jonah. Micah. Nahum. Habakkuk. Zephaniah,. Haggai. Zechariah. Malachi.

³⁶⁴Joh. 20.30, 31. & 21.25.

³⁶⁵Mat. 22.29. John 5.39, 46, 47. & 10.35. & 17.23. Prov. 30.5, 6. Josh. 1.7. Rev. 22.18. Deut. 12.32.

³⁶⁶Isa. 8.20. 2 Pet. 1.19. 2 John 7, 8, 9, 10. Mat. 24.23, 24, 25, 26. 2 Thess. 2.7, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15.

³⁶⁷I Cor. 1.20, 21, 22, 23, 24. & 2.6, 7, 8, 9, 13, 14. Rom. 15.4, 5. & 16.25, 26. & 1.16, 17, 18. Gal. 5.22. Rom. 11.31, 32. & 10.13. *to the 21.*

³⁶⁸I Cor. 14.4, 9, 10, 11, 19. Col. 3.16.

³⁶⁹2 Pet. 1.20, 21. Acts 15.15, 16.

³⁷⁰Mat. 22.29, 30. Acts 17.10, 11, 12, 13. & 18.28.

The Names of the Books of the New Testament.

Matthew. Mark. Luke. John. The Acts of the Apost. Paul's Epistle to the Romans. I. Corinthians. II. Corinthians. Galatians. Ephesians. Philippians. Colossians. I. Thessalonians. II. Thessalonians, I. Timothy. II. Timothy. Titus. Philemon. The Epistle to the Hebrews. The Epistle of James. The I. and II. Epistles of Peter. The I. and II. and III. Epistles of John. The Epistle of Jude. The Revelation.

All which are given by the Inspiration of God, to be the Rule of Faith and Life.

XXXVIII. Article.

Of the Three Creeds.

The Three Creeds, (*viz.*) *Nicene Creed, Athanasius his Creed, and the Apostles Creed*, (as they are commonly called) ought thoroughly to be received, and believed. For we believe they may be proved by most undoubted Authority of holy Scripture, and are necessary to be understood of all Christians; and to be instructed in the knowledg of them, by the Ministers of Christ, according to the Analogie of Faith, recorded in sacred Scriptures (upon which these Creeds are grounded), and Catechistically opened, and expounded in all Christian Families, for the edification of Young and Old; which might be a means to prevent Heresie in Doctrine, and Practice, these Creeds containing all things in a brief manner, that are necessary to be known, fundamentally, in order to our Salvation; to which end they may be considered, and better understood of all Men, we have here Printed them under their several Titles as followeth, (*viz.*)

The Apostles Creed.

I Believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of Heaven and Earth; and in Jesus Christ, his only Son, our Lord: Who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin *Mary*, suffered under *Pontius Pilate*, was crucified, dead, and buried, he descended into³⁷¹ Hell, the third Day he rose again from the Dead, he ascended into Heaven, and sitteth on the Right Hand of God the Father Almighty, from thence he shall come to judg the Quick and the Dead. I believe in the Holy Ghost; the holy Catholick

³⁷¹*Not that he (to wit) Christ went into the place of the Damned, but that he went absolutely unto the state of the Dead. See Dr. Usher, in his Body of Divinity, p.174. and Mr. Perkins on the Creed.*

Church; the Communion of Saints; the Forgiveness of Sins, the Resurrection of the Body, and the Life everlasting. *Amen.*

The Nicene Creed.

We believe in one God the Father Almighty, Maker of all things Visible, and Invisible; and in one Lord, Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the only begotten Son of the Father, that is of the Substance of the Father, God of God, Light of Light, Very God of very God, Begotten, not made, being of one Substance with the Father, by whom all things were made, both the Things in Heaven, and the Things in Earth; Who for us Men, and for our Salvation, came down, and was Incarnate, he was made Man; he suffered, and rose the third Day, he ascended into the Heavens: He shall come to judge both the Quick and the Dead. And we believe in the Holy Ghost. Therefore they which say, there was a time when he was not, before he was begotten, or that he had his Beginning of nothing, or that he is of another Substance, or Essence; or that affirm the Son of God to be Made, or to be Convertible, or Mutable, these the Catholick and Apostolick Church of God, doth pronounce for Accursed.

Athanasius his Creed.

Whosoever will be saved, before all things it is necessary that he hold the Catholick Faith.

Which Faith except every one do keep whole and undefiled, without doubt he shall perish everlastingly.

And the Catholick Faith is this, That we worship one God in Trinity, and Trinity in Unity. Neither confounding the Persons, not dividing the Substance.

For there is one Person of the Father, another of the Son, and another of the Holy Ghost.

But the Godhead of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, is all one; the Glory equal, the Majesty Coeternal.

Such as the Father is, such is the Son, and such is the Holy Ghost.

The Father uncreate, the Son uncreate, and the Holy Ghost uncreate.

The Father Incomprehensible, the Son Incomprehensible, and the Holy Ghost Incomprehensible.

The Father Eternal, the Son Eternal, and the Holy Ghost Eternal; and yet they are not three Eternals, but one eternal.

As also there are not three Incomprehensibles, nor three Uncreated, but one Uncreated, and one Incomprehensible.

So likewise the Father is Almighty, the Son Almighty, and the Holy Ghost Almighty; and yet they are not three Almighties, but one Almighty.

So the Father is God, the Son is God, and the Holy Ghost is God; and yet they are not three Gods, but one God.

So likewise the Father is Lord, the Son Lord, and the Holy Ghost Lord; and yet not three Lords, but one Lord.

For like as we are compelled by the Christian Verity, to acknowledg every Person by himself to be God and Lord. So are we forbidden by the Catholick Religion, to say there be three Gods, or three Lords.

The Father is Made of none, neither created, nor begotten. The Son is of the Father alone, not made, nor created, but begotten. The Holy Ghost is of the Father, and of the Son, neither made, nor created, nor begotten, but proceeding.

So there is one Father, not three Fathers; one Son, not three Sons; one Holy Ghost, not three Holy Ghosts.

And in this Trinity, none is afore, or after other; none is greater, or less than another, but the whole three Persons be Coeternal together and Coequal; so that in all things, as is aforesaid, the Unity in Trinity, and the Trinity in Unity, is to be worshipped.

He therefore that will be saved, must thus think of the Trinity.

Furthermore, it is necessary to everlasting Salvation, that he also believe rightly the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ.

For the right Faith is, that we believe and confess, that our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, is God and Man. God of the Substance of the Father, begotten before the Worlds: And Man of the substance of his Mother, Born in the World; perfect God, and perfect Man, of a reasonable Soul, and Humane Flesh subsisting. Equal to the Father as touching his Godhead, and inferiour to the Father as touching his Manhood; who although he be God and Man, yet he is not two but one Christ. One not by conversion of the Godhead into Flesh, but by taking of the Manhood into God. One altogether, not by confusion of Substance, but by unity of Person: For as the reasonable Soul and Flesh is one Man, so God and Man is one Christ, who suffered for our Salvation, descended into Hell, rose again the third Day from the Dead, he ascended into Heaven, he sitteth on the Right Hand of the Father God Almighty; from whence he shall come to judge the Quick and the Dead.

At whose coming all Men shall rise again with their Bodies, and shall give account for their own Works. And they that have done good, shall go into Life everlasting, and they that have done evil, into everlasting Fire. This is the Catholick Faith, &c. Which, *every one should believe faithfully.*

XXXIX. Article.*Of General Councils, or Assemblies.*

General councils, or Assemblies, consisting of Bishops, Elders, and Brethren,³⁷² of the several Churches of Christ, and being legally convened, and met together out of all the Churches, and the Churches appearing there by their Representatives, make but one Church; and have lawful right and suffrage in this General Meeting, or Assembly, to act³⁷³ in the Name of Christ; It being of Divine Authority,³⁷⁴ and is the best means under Heaven to preserve Unity, to prevent Heresie, and Superintendency among, or in any Congregation whatsoever within its own Limits, or Jurisdiction.³⁷⁵ And to such a Meeting, or Assembly, Appeals ought to be made, in case any Injustice be done, or Heresie, and Schism countenanced, in any particular Congregation of Christ; and the Decisive Voice in such General Assemblies is the Major part, and such General Assemblies have lawful power to Hear, and Determine, as also to Excommunicate.³⁷⁶

XL. Article.*Of Religious Worship, and the Sabbath-Day.*

The Light of Nature sheweth there is a God, who hath a Sovereignty over all,³⁷⁷ but the holy Scripture hath fully revealed it; as also that all Men should worship him according to God's own Institution and Appointment. And hath limited us, by his own revealed Will, that he may not be worshipped according to the Imaginations and Devices of Men, or the Suggestions of Satan, under any visible Representations whatsoever,³⁷⁸ or any other way not prescribed in the holy Scriptures: and all Religious Worship is to be given to the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and to God alone;³⁷⁹ not to Angels, Saints, or any other Creature, and since the Fall, not without a Mediator,³⁸⁰ nor in the Mediation of any other but Christ alone;³⁸¹ nor is this Worshipping of God now under the Gospel, tied to any place, or made more acceptable by one place than another.³⁸² Yet the Assembly of

³⁷²Acts 15.1. *to the 7.*³⁷³& 11.12, 13, 14, 19, 22, 25, 28.³⁷⁴Mat. 18.20.³⁷⁵Acts 15.1, 2, 30, 31.³⁷⁶Mat. 18.18, 19, 20. I Cor. 5.4, 5, 6.³⁷⁷Rom. 1.19, 20. & 2.15.³⁷⁸I Chr. 16.29. Psal. 95.6, 7, 8. & 99.7 & 99.5. Deut. 8.6. Psal. 103.7. & 14.6. Mark 7.7. Psal. 99.8, 9. & 106.29, 39. John 4.24. Rev. 9.20.³⁷⁹Exod. 34.14. I Cor. 8.4. Mat. 28.19.³⁸⁰Deut. 526, 27, 28, 29, 30. John 14.6.³⁸¹Gal. 3.9. Heb. 9.15. I Tim. 2.5.³⁸²Mat. 18.20. John 4.21. Mal. 1.11. I Tim. 2.8.

the Church, ought not to be neglected by any.³⁸³ And in order to his being worshipped, and served, God hath instituted one Day in Seven,³⁸⁴ for his Sabbath to be kept holy unto him; which from the Resurrection of Christ, is the First Day of the Week,³⁸⁵ which is called the Lord's Day, and is to be observed and continued to the end of the World, as a Christian Sabbath, the last Day of the Week being abolished. And this Christian Sabbath is to be kept after a due and reverent manner, in preparing of our Hearts, and ordering of Affairs so beforehand, that we may rest that Day from Worldly and Carnal Employments,³⁸⁶ and frequent the solemn Assemblies of the Church,³⁸⁷ and in all publick and private Duties of Religion; as Hearing, Meditating, and Conferring, and Reading in, or of the holy Scriptures,³⁸⁸ together with Prayer, publick and private, and in the duties of Necessity, Charity, and Mercy, and not in any vain or Worldly Discourse, or idle Recreations whatsoever.³⁸⁹

XLI. Article.

Of publick and private Prayer.

Prayer is an Holy, Religious, and Sacred Ordinance of God,³⁹⁰ and the Duty of all Men to perform, by the Law of God,³⁹¹ and to God alone,³⁹² and no other, whether Saint or Angel; and in the Name of Christ the Mediator;³⁹³ and in his Name alone, and no other, whether Saint or Angel, or any other Creature. And that for all men living, (except they have sinned the unpardonable Sin) both high and low;³⁹⁴ especially for Ministers and Magistrates.³⁹⁵ And not for Dead Saints, nor Infernal Spirits. And Prayer is to be made in a Tongue understood of the People.³⁹⁶ And we ought to pray for all things necessary, according to the Will of God in Christ Jesus, in a Solemn and Reverent manner, every way suitable and agreeable to the Platform, or manner of Prayer, which Christ taught his Disciples, and

³⁸³Heb. 10.25. Acts 2.42.

³⁸⁴Exod. 20.8.

³⁸⁵I Cor. 16.1, 2. Acts 20.7. Rev. 1.10.

³⁸⁶Isa. 58.13. Neh. 13.15. *to the 23.*

³⁸⁷Heb. 10.25.

³⁸⁸Rev. 1.3. James 1.23, 25. Rom. 10.14. Psal. 119.15. Zech. 7.2. Luke 21.36. Act. 16.13, 16.

³⁸⁹Isa. 56.2, 6.

³⁹⁰Mat. 6.7. Jude 20. Heb. 12.28.

³⁹¹Isa. 55.6. Jer. 29.12. & 10.6, 25. Psal. 32.6. Mat. 26.41.

³⁹²Isa. 30.2. Hos. 4.12. James 1.5.

³⁹³John 14.13, 14, & 15.16. & 16.23.

³⁹⁴I Tim. 2.1, 2, 3.

³⁹⁵Jam. 5.16. I Thes. 5.17, 25. 2 Thes. 3.1, 2. Mat. 9.38.

³⁹⁶I Cor. 14.14, 15, 16, 17.

us,³⁹⁷ in his holy Gospel, which is the only perfect Rule of all Prayers; and by the assistance of the Holy Spirit of God, without which we cannot pray aright.³⁹⁸ And this Religious Worship all Men are bound, and required to serve God in, both publick and private,³⁹⁹ at least two times a Day, in all Christian Families by Prayers, and Supplications, Intercessions, and giving of Thanks to God the Father, in the Name and Mediation of Christ Jesus our Lord.⁴⁰⁰

XLII. Article.

Of publick Humiliation, by Fasting and Prayer.

Publick Humiliation, by Fasting and Prayer, is an Ordinance of God, appointed for his Church and People.⁴⁰¹ And it being an extraordinary Duty, especially as it hath respect to the Church generally, or the Nation as such, and therefore we must have due regard to the Grounds, Ends, and Manner, of its being performed; confessing of, and reforming from Sin, both in publick as well as private Fasts.⁴⁰² Abstaining from our Pleasures, as also our common Food, in a sensible and real afflicting of our Souls before the Lord; or to seek to God by Prayer and Fasting for some Spiritual, or Temporal Good, that God hath promised us, or that we stand in need of. Having due regard to God's Word and Glory, in this Solemn, or Divine Ordinance.⁴⁰³

XLIII. Article.

Of Family, or Relative Duties therein.

Parents, and Masters, are a sort of Subordinate Governours, and Rulers, in their respective Jurisdictions and Families, in their respective Relative Places, according to their Capacities, and Opportunities;⁴⁰⁴ and are engaged from God's Word, to take Charge of their Families, and rule and govern them according to the Word of God, both Husbands, Parents, Masters, and all others concerned in any such Relation;⁴⁰⁵ and by their godly and religious Example, instruct their Families:⁴⁰⁶ they being found

³⁹⁷Mat. 6.6 to the 14.

³⁹⁸Rom. 8.26, 27.

³⁹⁹I Thess. 5.18. Isa. 17.65. Jer. 18.14, 15. Hos. 5.4. Psal. 69.6.

⁴⁰⁰Dan. 6.10. Psal. 5.2, 3. & 55.15, 16, 17. Zach. 8.21. Phil. 1.4, 6. I Tim. 4.5. Isa. 1.15. Rev. 5.8.

⁴⁰¹Joel 1.14, 15. & 2.12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18. 2 Chron. 20.3.

⁴⁰²Lev. 23.27, 28, 29. Ezra 8.21. & 9.4 & 10.1. Neh. 9.1, 2, 3. Isa. 58.3, 4, 5, 6.

⁴⁰³Jonah 3.4, 6, 7, 8, 9. Zech. 7.5. Mat. 6.16, 17, 18. 2 Sam. 12.21, 22. Esther 4.16.

⁴⁰⁴Gen. 18.19. I Sam. 2.23, 24, 25. Prov. 31.11, 12, 27, 28.

⁴⁰⁵I Tim. 5.8. Mat. 7.9, 10. Col. 4.1.

⁴⁰⁶Eph. 4.25, 29, 30, 31, 32. & 5.4.

carefully keeping of the Sabbath-Day, in the holy and religious services of hearing the Word preached, with publick and private prayer. As also requiring and instructing their Families and Relations, to follow their godly and religious Example, in the private and publick Exercises of Religion;⁴⁰⁷ and calling them to an account, how they spend the Sabbath, and other times, and Mercies they enjoy; Especially the reading of the Scriptures, and hearing the Word preached, with publick Prayer with them, and for them, in order to a Blessing for them, and their Families. The neglect of which Duty, or Power of Godliness, and Religion in Families, is one main cause of that wicked Atheism, and Impiety in the World and Families; and of the carnal Lukewarmness, and Ignorance in Churches, together with contempt of Government; because many Professors make so little account, or conscience of performing any duty at Home in their own Families.⁴⁰⁸

XLIV. Article.

Of Children dying in Infancy.

We do believe, that all little Children dying in their Infancy, (*viz.*) before they are capable to chuse either Good or Evil,⁴⁰⁹ whether born of Believing Parents, or Unbelieving Parents, shall be saved by the Grace of God, and Merit of Christ their Redeemer, and Work of the Holy Ghost,⁴¹⁰ and so being made Members of the Invisible Church, shall enjoy Life everlasting;⁴¹¹ for our Lord Jesus saith, *of such belongs the Kingdom of Heaven.*⁴¹² Ergo, We conclude, that that opinion is false, which saith, That those little Infants dying before Baptism, are damned.

XLV. Article.

Of the Civil Magistrate.

The Supreme Lord and King of all the World, hath ordained Civil Magistrates⁴¹³ to be under Him, over the People for his own Glory, and the Publick Good. And the Office of a Magistrate, may be accepted of, and executed by Christians, when lawfully called thereunto;⁴¹⁴ and God hath given the power of the Sword into the hands of all lawful Magis-

⁴⁰⁷John 24.15. Eph. 5.19, 20, 21, 25. Ephes. 6.1, 2. *to the* 10. Prov. 1.1. Acts 10.30, 33. I Tim. 4.3. I King. 2.1, 2, 3. Gen. 49.28, 29. Job 1.5. I Chro. 29.19. Prov. 22.6, 15. 2 King. 2.24.

⁴⁰⁸Prov. 29.15, 21. 2 Tim. 3.15.

⁴⁰⁹Isa. 7.16. &8.4.

⁴¹⁰2 Sam. 12.19, 20, 21, 22, 23. Ezek. 18.4 *to the* 21. I Kings 14.13.

⁴¹¹Mat. 18.2, 3, 4. Jer. 31.29, 30. Deut. 1.39.

⁴¹²Mat. 19.13, 14. Mark 10.13, 14, 15.

⁴¹³Rom. 13.1, 2, 3, 4. Prov. 8.15.

⁴¹⁴I Pet. 2.14, Prov. 20.26.

trates, for the defence and encouragement of them that do well, and for the Punishment of evil-doers,⁴¹⁵ and for the maintenance of Justice, and Peace, according to the wholesome Laws of each Kingdom, and Commonwealth.⁴¹⁶ And they may wage War upon just and necessary Occasions.⁴¹⁷ And subjection in the Lord ought to be yielded to the Magistrates, in all lawful things commanded by them,⁴¹⁸ for Conscience sake,⁴¹⁹ with Prayers for them, for a Blessing upon them,⁴²⁰ paying all lawful and reasonable Custom and Tribute to them, for the assisting of them against Foreign, Domestical, and Potent Enemies.⁴²¹

XLVI. Article.

Of Liberty of Conscience.

The Lord Jesus Christ, who is King of Kings, and Lord of all by Purchase,⁴²² and is Judg of Quick and Dead, is only Lord of Conscience;⁴²³ having a peculiar right so to be; He having died for that end, to take away the Guilt, and to destroy the filth of Sin; that keeps the Consciences of all Men in Thralldom, and Bondage, till they are set free by his special Grace. And therefore he would not have the Consciences of Men in Bondage to, or imposed upon, by any Usurpation, Tyranny, or command whatsoever, contrary to his revealed Will in his Word,⁴²⁴ which is the only Rule he hath left, for the Consciences of all Men to be ruled, and regulated, and guided by, through the assistance of his Spirit. And therefore the obedience to any Command, or Decree, that is not revealed in, or consonant to his Word, in the holy Oracles of Scripture, is a betraying of the true Liberty of Conscience.⁴²⁵ And the requiring of an implicate Faith, and an absolute blind Obedience, destroys Liberty of Conscience, and Reason also, it being repugnant to both.⁴²⁶ And that no pretended good end whatsoever, by any Man, can make that Action, Obedience, or Practice, lawful and good,

⁴¹⁵Ibid.

⁴¹⁶2 Sam. 23.3. Psal. 82.3, 4. & 72.4, 7.

⁴¹⁷Eccles. 3.8. Prov. 20.18. Luke 3.15. Acts 10.22. I Chron. 5.22. Prov. 24.6.

⁴¹⁸Tit. 3.13. 2 Pet. 2.13, 17. Eccles. 10.20. Prov. 21.22.

⁴¹⁹Rom. 13.5.

⁴²⁰I Tim. 2.1, 2.

⁴²¹Mat. 22.17, 21. & 17.25, 27. 2 Sam. 21.16, 17. & 23.15, 16.

⁴²²I Tim. 6.15. Acts 10.36.

⁴²³Acts 4.17, 18, 19, 20. James 4.12. Rom. 14.4. Acts 5.29.

⁴²⁴I Cor. 7.23. Mat. 15.9 & 14.9.

⁴²⁵Col. 2.20, 22, 23.

⁴²⁶I Cor. 11.22. I Pet. 5.2, 3. Mat. 15.14. Deut. 12.32. Mich. 6.6, 7, 8. Acts 17.25, 29, 30. Deut. 4.17, 19. I Cor. 20.18.

that is not grounded in, or upon the Authority of holy Scripture, or right Reason agreeable thereunto.⁴²⁷

XLVII. Article.

Of Marriage.

Marriage is to be between one Man, and one Woman; neither is it lawful for any Man, to have more than one Wife, nor for any Woman to have more than one Husband, at the same time.⁴²⁸ And it is lawful for all sorts of People to Marry, who are able of judgment to give their consent.⁴²⁹ But Marriage must not be within the degree of Consanguinity, or Affinity, forbidden in the Word,⁴³⁰ nor can any such Incestuous Marriages ever be made lawful by any Law of Man, or consent of Parties, to live together as Man and Wife.⁴³¹ And it is the Duty of Christians to Marry in the Lord;⁴³² and therefore those that profess the true Religion, ought not to marry with Infidels, or Idolaters, nor prophane wicked Persons in their life, nor yet with any that maintain damnable Heresies.

XLVIII. Article.

Of the Lawfulness of an Oath.

A Lawful Oath, is a part of Religious Worship;⁴³³ wherein the Person swearing in Truth, Righteousness, and Judgment,⁴³⁴ solemnly calleth God to witness what he sweareth, and to judg him according to the Truth, or Falseness thereof.⁴³⁵ And we are to swear by no other Name, but by the Name of God only,⁴³⁶ when we are called before a lawful Magistrate, upon a lawful Matter, warranted by God's holy Word;⁴³⁷ and an Oath is to be taken in the plain and common sence of the words, without Equivocation, or mental Reservation, in a solemn and reverent using of God's Holy Name;⁴³⁸ and such an Oath, we believe all Christians, when lawfully called

⁴²⁷I Sam. 15.3, 4, 11 *to the* 27. Rom. 14.10, 12. Gal. 1.14. Phil. 3.6. John 4.22. 2 Sam. 3.6, 7, 8.

⁴²⁸Mat. 19.5, 6. Gen. 2.24. Mal. 2.15.

⁴²⁹I Cor. 7.36. Heb. 13.4. I Tim. 4.3. Exo. 22.16, 17. Gen. 29.23.

⁴³⁰Lev. 18.6. *to the end.* 2 Sam. 13.14. Gen. 3.16. Deut. 22.28. Ephes. 5.3. I Cor. 7.2.

⁴³¹I Cor. 5.1, 4, 13. Gen. 6.2.

⁴³²I Cor. 7.39. Numb. 25.1, 2. 2 Cor. 6.14, 15, 16, 17.

⁴³³Exod. 20.7. Deut. 6.13. & 10.20.

⁴³⁴Jer. 4.2. Psal. 15.4.

⁴³⁵Zech. 5.4. 2 Chron. 6.22, 23.

⁴³⁶Isa. 65.16. Jer. 12.16. Mat. 5.34.

⁴³⁷Neh. 13.25. 2 Kings 11.4, 17.

⁴³⁸Psal. 24.4.

thereunto by the Magistrate, may take.⁴³⁹ But the foolish monastical Vows of *Papists*, and all idle and vain Swearing, is an abominable, and wicked prophaning of the holy Name of God.⁴⁴⁰

XLIX. Article.

Of the state of Man after Death, and of the Resurrection of the Dead.

The Bodies of Men after Death, return to Dust,⁴⁴¹ and see Corruption; but their Souls, or Spirits, which neither die nor sleep, having an Immortal Subsistence, immediately return to God who gave them;⁴⁴² the Souls of the Righteous being then made perfect in Holiness, are received into Paradise, where they are with Christ, and behold the Face of God in Light and Glory, waiting for the full Redemption of their Bodies;⁴⁴³ and the Souls of the Wicked are cast into Hell, where they remain in Torment and utter Darkness, reserved to the Judgment of the great Day.⁴⁴⁴ And besides these two places, for Souls separated from their Bodies, the holy Scripture mentions none. And at the last Day, such of the Saints as shall be found alive, shall not sleep, but be Changed;⁴⁴⁵ and all the Dead shall be raised up with the self-same Bodies, and none other, although with different Qualities,⁴⁴⁶ which shall be united to their Souls for ever and ever: but the Bodies of the unjust, shall by the Power of Christ, as a severe and just Judge, be raised to Dishonour;⁴⁴⁷ and the Bodies of the Just and Righteous; by his Spirit, as he is Head of the Catholick Church, unto Honour,⁴⁴⁸ and be made conformable with his Glorious Body,⁴⁴⁹ and shall enjoy everlasting Life, in singing perpetual Praises, and Hallelujahs to God, for ever and ever. *Amen.*⁴⁵⁰

⁴³⁹Heb. 6.16.

⁴⁴⁰Jer. 23.10. Lev. 19.12. Ephes. 4.28. Amos 8.14. James 5.12. I Sam. 12.29. 2 Kings 6.31. Isa. 48.1. Zeph. 1.5.

⁴⁴¹Gen. 3.19. Acts 13.36.

⁴⁴²Eccl. 12.7. Acts 7.59.

⁴⁴³Luk. 23.43. 2 Cor. 5.1, 6, 8. Phil. 1.23. Heb. 12.23.

⁴⁴⁴Jude 6. I Pet. 3.19. Luk. 16.23, 24.

⁴⁴⁵I Cor. 15.51, 52. I Thess. 4.17.

⁴⁴⁶I Cor. 15.42, 43, 44.

⁴⁴⁷John 5.28, 29. Dan. 12.2.

⁴⁴⁸I Cor. 15.21, 22, 23. Rev. 20.5, 6.

⁴⁴⁹Act. 24.15. Phil. 3.21.

⁴⁵⁰Rev. 19.1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7. & 14.37.

L. Article.*Of the last Judgment.*

And lastly, We believe, God hath appointed a Day, wherein he will judg the World in Righteousness, by Jesus Christ,⁴⁵¹ to whom all Power, and Judgment is given of the Father; in which Day, not only the Apostate Angels shall be judged, but likewise all Persons that have lived upon the Earth, shall appear before the Tribunal of Christ, to give an account of their Thoughts, Words, and Deeds,⁴⁵² and shall receive a just Sentence, according to what they have done in their Bodies, whether Good, or Evil, when God according to his purpose, will manifest the glory of his Mercy, in the salvation of his Elect;⁴⁵³ and of his Justice in the eternal damnation of the Wicked and Disobedient:⁴⁵⁴ for then shall the Righteous go into everlasting Life, and receive the fullness of Joy and Glory;⁴⁵⁵ but the Wicked, who know not God, nor obey the Gospel offered them in Christ, shall be cast into eternal Torments,⁴⁵⁶ and punished with everlasting Destruction,⁴⁵⁷ from the Presence of the Lord, and from the Glory of his Power. *Amen.*

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⁴⁵¹Act. 17.51. John 5.22, 27. Rom. 2.16. 2 Tim. 4.1.

⁴⁵²I Cor. 6.3. Jude 6. Mat. 12.36. 2 Cor. 5.10. Eccles. 12.14. Rom. 14.10, 12. Mat. 25.32.

⁴⁵³Luk. 21.28. I Thess. 4.17. Psal. 16.11. Luke 12.32.

⁴⁵⁴Mat. 25.46. Psal. 58.10.

⁴⁵⁵2 Tim. 4.8.

⁴⁵⁶Luke 16.28. Rev. 14.11.

⁴⁵⁷Joh. 8.24. 2 Thess. 1.8, 9, 10. Rev. 20.10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15. & 22.11, 15.

An Advertisement to the Reader.

This Protestant Confession of Faith, containing Fifty Articles, believed and professed, and now published by many Baptized Protestant Christians, whose Names are hereunto Subscribed, and do most heartily and unfeignedly own, believe, and profess the said Articles; and desire through the Grace of God, to persevere in this our Faith, or professed Belief, &c. And have with one consent, agreed that this Confession of our Faith be Printed and Published, in the Name of many Baptized Christians, or Congregations in the several Counties of *Bucks, Hertford, Bedford, and Oxford*: To which said Protestant Confession of Faith, we have this 30th Day of *January, Anno. Dom. 1678.* subscribed our Names, in the behalf of our selves and many others, to whom we belong in the Counties aforesaid, which are as followeth, *viz.*

*Thomas Monck.
Stephen Dagnall.
Richard Young.
John Trulove.
James Fenne.
Joseph Cooper.
William Howes.
Daniel Cox.
Nicholas Rennold.
Henry Baldwin.
William Glenester.
John Carter.
Henry Gosse.
John Rennolds.
R. Burname
Robert Iony.
Thomas Headach.
William Bate.
Will. Giles, senior.
Will. Giles, junior.
John Hendly
John Holan.
Hugh Glinister
Leonard Wilkins.
John Hobbs.
Angel Mantle.
Robert Catlin.*

*John Babb.
Clement Hunt.
John Mountegue.
William Smart.
Richard Goodchild.
Jeffery Wild.
Robert Fellow.
William Davis.
George Catheral.
Thomas Dell.
John Garret.
John Russel.
Richard Bampton.
William Glenister.
Henry Gosse, junior.
John Delafield.
Timothy Ransome.
John Darvel.
William Goodchild.
Nicholas Gaffield.
Daniel Lucas.
Joseph Etheridge.
Robert Goodson.
William Norman.
Thomas French.
John Glenister.
James Lucas.*

Post-script.

Courteous Reader,

I Doubt not but that some of these things before premised in this Confession of Faith, especially those Articles that relate to the Doctrine of the ever Blessed Trinity, and Justification by the Blood, Merits, and Satisfaction of Jesus Christ our Saviour; Together with the Authority of the holy Scriptures, and that Godly Doctrine manifestly asserted in those three Creeds we have published; all which Doctrine in part, or whole, will have little entertainment by some, and without question great opposition from many, that do oppose the Church of *England*, and others also, as well as us, in these great Fundamental Truths, wherein we are all agreed, (*viz.*) The Doctrine of the Trinity, and Christ's Satisfaction to his Father's Justice, for sinful Man. And no wonder there is such Instruments, and Cunning Sophisters abroad: For it's evident that Satan knows, that if the Foundations be destroyed, we shall be at a loss; and what greater Foundation than that which is laid, even Jesus Christ, (*viz.*) The True Christ, *God Man*, or *Immanuel*, God with us. But St. *Peter* sheweth us, that some shall bring in such damnable Heresies into the World, in denying this true Object of Faith and Worship, and so worship and believe a meer Idol, and Invention of their own. And now altho these Articles be passed over with brevity, as some may judge, and yet happily others may, and will conclude they are too large, and have too much repetition in the Preface, &c. in many of them, which the Critical will call Tautologies, &c. Let them if they please; yet the Sober and Intelligent, will conclude there is need of it; for the benefit of the Ignorant and meaner sort of People, for whose sakes it is written in a plain manner, for their Instruction, and as brief as it could for the benefit of the poorer sort, who cannot buy great Volumes.

FINIS.

Transcriber's Preface to A Dialogue between the Baptist and the Presbyterian: An Early Baptist Responds to Calvinism

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In his 1678 publication *Christianismus Primitivus*, Thomas Grantham writes: "It is enough for me, that I can faithfully approve my Heart to God in this Work, as aiming sincerely at his Glory in it, and the chief good of all Men by it."¹ This quote establishes a vivid and accurate tone for the life and ministry of Thomas Grantham. Grantham played a notable role in the development of the late seventeenth century General Baptists. In fact, Grantham is said to be the best representative of early Baptist theology of the Arminian persuasion.² It is for this reason that making available Grantham's work, *A Dialogue Between the Baptist and the Presbyterian*, is of such importance. Baptists have a rich eventful history. It can only be an aid to the student of history to be acquainted with works such as the following.

This introduction will provide the reader with a brief biographical sketch of Thomas Grantham and a short analysis of Grantham's *A Dialogue Between the Baptist and the Presbyterian*. Perhaps we may instill a deeper sense of appreciation for the life, ministry, and writing of a relatively neglected Baptist pioneer.

Biographical Sketch of Thomas Grantham

Thomas Grantham was born in 1634 in Lincolnshire, England. Grantham, in his younger years, made a living as his father had, as a tailor and a farmer. It was in his fourteenth or fifteenth year that Grantham

¹Thomas Grantham, *Christianismus Primitivus: or, the Ancient Religion, in its Nature, Certainty, Excellency, and Beauty* (London, 1678), iv.

²J. Matthew Pinson, "The Diversity of Arminian Soteriology: Thomas Grantham, John Goodwin, and Jacob Arminius" (Paper delivered to the Evangelical Theological Society, Southeastern Regional Meeting, Charlotte, NC, 10–11 March 1995), 1.

underwent his spiritual conversion. By the time he was nineteen he had joined a church, which was founded upon the biblical mandate of believers' baptism by immersion. Grantham opened his home to the small church for worship while the church spent several years securing pastors for their services. By 1656, Grantham had shown his preaching talents and was asked to become the pastor himself.³

Grantham began his life as a minister with some personal reservation as he stated that he would "rather have been sent to any drudgery in the world, than to preach."⁴ However, Grantham was willing to answer the call of God, regardless of the personal cost. The cost for Grantham and his General Baptist brothers and sisters was very real. 1656 through 1660 was a time of persecution for the General Baptists. It was in 1660, though, that Grantham and Joseph Wright had the opportunity to be heard by King Charles II. They were able to plead their case and present the King with the General Baptist's *A Brief Confession of Faith*. They received a promise of protection, but that promise was short lived indeed. Eventually, Grantham would spend fifteen months in jail during 1662 and 1663.⁵ Grantham believed that undergoing persecution is a sign of the true church. In contrast, however, to persecute others is not to exhibit the attributes of the true church of God.⁶ This was certainly an indictment of the official church in Grantham's day.

Grantham, in 1666, would be elected to the controversial office of "messenger." The General Baptists, in this way, essentially established a position where the minister would engage in itinerate preaching. A messenger (like Grantham) would travel in order to preach the gospel where it was needed. The messenger would also ordain elders in obscure areas that lacked leadership.⁷ It was after this milestone in Grantham's ministry that he began to seriously engage in writing and debating in order to educate and defend General Baptists and their views.

January 17, 1692 would mark the death of Thomas Grantham. It speaks highly of Grantham when one considers the way in which his memory was treated by John Connould. Connould was vicar at St. Stephen's Church in Norwich. Grantham and Connould carried on a cor-

³Samuel Edward Hester, "Advancing Christianity to Its Primitive Excellency: The Quest of Thomas Grantham, Early English General Baptist (1634-1692)" (PhD diss., New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary, New Orleans, LA, 1972), 9-13.

⁴Ibid., 13.

⁵Ibid., 14-17.

⁶R. Andrew Rankin, "The Person and Work of the Holy Spirit in Thomas Grantham" (Collected Papers from the Baptist Theologians Seminar, ed. James Leo Garrett, Jr., Roberts Library, Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, Fort Worth, TX, 1991).

⁷H. Leon McBeth, *The Baptist Heritage* (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1987), 78-79; Hester, "Advancing Christianity to Its Primitive Excellency," 19-20.

respondence in which, among other things, the topic of infant baptism was debated. Countering the trend of the day, these proponents of two different ecclesiologies developed a deep mutual respect. Consequently, in order to avoid threats that Grantham's body would be dug up, Connould had Grantham's body interred in the middle aisle of St. Stephen's church.⁸ Such a gesture surely speaks volumes with respect to Grantham's life and ministry.

Analysis of A Dialogue Between the Baptist and the Presbyterian

Grantham's *Dialogue Between the Baptist and the Presbyterian* (hereinafter *Dialogue*) is essentially a rebuttal of what he views to be the negative aspects of Calvinistic theology. It is a subtle collection of various writings. First, it begins with a preface, which generally sets itself against the notion that God is the author of sin: "So that according to this Doctrine, all the Sins, both of Devils and Men, from the beginning to the end of the World, was by force of God's Decree." The second section is comprised of a compilation of correspondence. The correspondence begins with a letter Grantham wrote to a Dr. Collings. Grantham, in keeping with the book's theme, attacks Collings' Calvinistic moorings. Collings' response is included along with a poem of rebuttal sent by a colleague of Collings.

The main body of Grantham's book presents a fictional dialogue between a Baptist and a Presbyterian, providing the inspiration for the title. Grantham draws from numerous Reformed authorities in order to construct the Presbyterian portion of the dialogue. This section concerns itself with several aspects of Calvinistic soteriology, such as reprobation, sin, divine sovereignty, and the atonement. It seems, however, that Grantham is most concerned (as his preface foreshadows) with God being understood to be the author of sin, and the feared implications of the doctrine of limited atonement. Grantham concludes his book with a postscript, which includes a poem intended for John Calvin and his role in the execution of Michael Servetus.

Grantham, as one might assume from a General Baptist, approached the writing of *Dialogue* from what can be called an Arminian perspective. Grantham would have disagreed with his Calvinist contemporaries with regard to their views on unconditional election, limited atonement, irresistible grace, and perseverance of the saints. It should be noted, however, that in contrast with some of his Arminian counterparts, Grantham is said to have been much more in unity with Jacob Arminius's Reformed understanding of sin and the lack of human ability. This avoidance of a

⁸Ibid., 29–32.

Semi-Pelagianism, perhaps, helps Grantham to avoid the charge of believing salvation to be aided by human merit.⁹

Grantham is interacting in his book with some of the more severe aspects of Calvinistic doctrine. In order to highlight some of these aspects, several main arguments that summarize the content of Grantham's dialogue section will be discussed. First, as previously mentioned, Grantham reveals his conviction that the Presbyterian's doctrine unavoidably implies that God is the author of sin. Second, Grantham is suspicious of his opponent's distinction between God's revealed will (what man ought to do) and God's acceptable will (what is decreed by God to come to pass). God appears, according to Grantham, to lack sincerity, if viewed in this manner. Third, Grantham moves on to argue against the doctrine of reprobation, and to ask why the gospel would need to be preached to anyone who is already damned. Fourth, Grantham condemns the notion that infants without faith are condemned to perish. He rejects the extra-biblical doctrine that posits some sort of "seminal faith" within the "elect infants."

Fifth, the Presbyterian's strong view of God's sovereignty is equated with the teachings of Mohammed. Grantham quotes a passage where Islamic teachings on God are shown to be fatalistic. The implication, of course, is that Calvinism falls under the same indictment. Sixth, Grantham attacks as arrogant the Calvinistic doctrine that one cannot fall away from grace. Seventh, there is a call for the Presbyterian to reject any contradiction found within his own system. For example, Grantham cites a particular article found within a Reformed confession, which seemingly uses universal language with regard to the atonement. He implores his opponent to embrace his own confession. Seventh, the idea that Esau was an example of reprobation in Scripture is rejected. Instead, Grantham argues that the condemnation of Esau represents a corporate condemnation as a result of willful sin. Finally, the charge of historic novelty is issued with regard to Calvinism. Grantham simply does not observe these doctrines in history until the fifth century.

In his postscript, Grantham positively affirms his position on many of these soteriological issues. For example, election is defined as God choosing those who die in infancy, and God choosing those who accept the gospel. Also, reprobation is understood as God condemning those who reject the gospel. Consequently, election and reprobation exist in time and space. None is elect or reprobate until they embrace or reject the gospel.

It is unfortunate that Grantham did not have the opportunity to interact with later more balanced voices, soteriologically speaking, in the Calvinistic community, such as Andrew Fuller and Jonathan Edwards.

⁹Pinson, "The Diversity of Arminian Soteriology," 3-4.

Edwards might have allayed some of Grantham's concerns with respect to Calvinists making God the author of sin. Observe Edwards in the following quote:

He hath mercy on some, and hardeneth others. When God is here spoken of as hardening some of the children of men, it is not to be understood that God by any positive efficiency hardens any man's heart. There is no positive act in God, as though he put forth any power to harden the heart. To suppose any such thing would be to make God the immediate author of sin.¹⁰

To be sure, Edwards sought to protect God from any charge of creating fresh sin in the hearts of humanity, but within the confines of a Calvinistic soteriology. Grantham would no doubt have still found this to be distasteful. However, perhaps Edward's diligent attempt to affirm both God's sovereignty and humanity's moral responsibility would have been more appreciated by Grantham, in contrast to the more severe voices with whom Grantham contended in *Dialogue*.

One point that ought to be noted is Grantham's rehearsal of the execution of Michael Servetus with the approval of John Calvin. Grantham speaks of Servetus' death in the context of his own indignant reception from the Calvinists in Norwich. Grantham states:

Calvin burnt Servetus, (a learned and pious Baptist) for differing in opinion in Matters of Religion. Servetus is justified since his Death, and Calvin condemned for false Accuser and Fratricide, by Grotius and other Learned Men.

While modern Christianity should rightly be appalled at the execution of an individual for religious reasons, we must still recognize that Servetus was in fact a true heretic.¹¹ Servetus was condemned because he was both anti-Trinitarian and an anti-Paedobaptist.¹² A denial of the Trinity, for Calvin as well as for the rest of orthodox Christianity, is, of course, a theological catastrophe.¹³ Nevertheless, theological truth is never defended

¹⁰Jonathan Edwards, *God's Sovereignty in the Salvation of Man*, in *The Works of Jonathan Edwards* (1835; reprint, Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2000), 849.

¹¹For the purpose of this discussion, heresy is defined as the denial of a foundational or defining element with respect to the Christian religion.

¹²Roland H. Bainton, *Hunted Heretic: The Life and Death of Servetus 1511–1553* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1953), 208.

¹³Timothy George, *Theology of the Reformers* (Nashville: Broadman and Holman, 1988), 200–201; Justo L. Gonzalez, *The Story of Christianity* (Peabody, MS: Prince Press,

through persecution. The execution of Servetus for “re-baptism” only drives the point closer to home for Baptists that religious liberty is the right of heretics just as much as it is the right of the orthodox. Grantham’s outrage concerning the putting to death of an individual for “Matters of Religion” is certainly justified and generally shared by most Christians today.

Also, it should be noted that Grantham himself was pristinely orthodox regarding the doctrine of the Trinity. In his *St. Paul’s Catechism*, Grantham affirms the Trinitarian content of the *Nicene Creed*.¹⁴ Also, *Christianismus Primitivus*, Grantham’s most significant theological collection, contains a discussion of the Trinity wherein Grantham defends the orthodox doctrine as a demonstrably biblical truth.¹⁵

Conclusion

Thomas Grantham was a tireless and brave advocate of the gospel of Jesus Christ. He was deeply concerned for the souls of lost humanity. It was his sincere conviction that the breed of Calvinistic soteriology that was so prevalent in his day both hindered and violated the preaching of the gospel. Grantham’s *Dialogue* was written to address this very concern. Grantham’s dying words speak volumes as to his great passion for the message of Christ:

I came not amongst you for riches or for honour; but to preach the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ; to spend and be spent for your good, both by preaching and writing: which words and works I recommend to you, to strengthen you in the faith which I have preached.¹⁶

Every evangelical and Baptist Christian today must share in Grantham’s deep desire to spread the message of Christ with the same bravery, sincerity, and carefulness that he did.

2001), 67–68.

¹⁴Thomas Grantham, *St. Paul’s Catechism: or, A Brief and Plain Explication of the Six Principles of the Christian Religion* (London, 1687), 24–26.

¹⁵Grantham, *Christianismus Primitivus*, 40–41.

¹⁶Cited in Hester, “Advancing Christianity to Its Primitive Excellency,” 31.

A
DIALOGUE
Between the
BAPTIST
AND THE
PRESBYTERIAN.

WHEREIN

The *Presbyterians* are punished by their own Pens, for their Cruel and Soul-devouring Doctrines, making God the Ordainer of all the Sins of Men and Devils: And reprobating the greatest part of Mankind, without any help of Salvation.

Whereunto is annexed,

A Treatise of ELECTION, Intituled, *The Order of Causes*: Formerly published by an Eminent Servant of Christ, and now republished with some Explication concerning FREE-WILL.

By THOMAS GRANTHAM, Messenger of the Baptized Churches in *Lincolnshire*.

Pfal. 64. 7, 8, 9. *But God shall shoot at them with an Arrow, suddenly shall they be wounded. So shall they make their own Tongue to fall upon themselves: all that see them, shall flee away. And all Men shall fear, and shall declare the Work of God; for they shall wisely consider of his doing.*

London, Printed in the Year, 1691.

**An Epistolary Preface,
to the Citizens of the Ancient City of *Norwich*.**

Honoured Sirs;

God's Providence having ordered my Residence in this City; and my Business being to Preach the Gospel, I have endeavoured to perform my Office amongst you; for which I have met with many unkind and undue Reflections, and more especially from that sort of Professors who have espoused the Principles and Doctrine of Mr. *John Calvin*, concerning his imaginary *Decree of absolute and irrelative Reprobation*.

Two Confessions of Faith I find much received in this City, containing these words; *God did from all Eternity, freely and unchangeably ordain ALL THINGS whatsoever come to pass.—And that his Almighty Power extendeth it self even to the first Fall, and all other Sins of Angels and Men, and that not by a bare permission. And that By the Decree of God, some Angels and Men were fore-ordained to Everlasting Death.—And that these Angels and Men; thus predestinated and fore-ordained, are particularly and unchangeably designed; and their Number so certain and definite, that it cannot be either encreased or diminished. See the Conf. of Faith. by the Assemb. of Divines.* In which Confession, they also teach, That God did not decree any of those things, because he foresaw they would come to pass: But they make the Decree of God the FIRST Cause of all things whatsoever comes to pass, *Chapt. 5. Sect. 2.* So that according to this Doctrine, all the Sins, both of Devils and Men, from the beginning to the end of the World, was by force of God's Decree, THE FIRST CAUSE, unavoidably necessary; and hereupon also the unavoidable Damnation of just such a Number, both of Angels and Men, as God would have to be damned and no more.

And hereupon it will follow, that God's Decree was the first cause that *Cain* killed his Brother *Abel*; that *Ruben* polluted his Father's Bed; that *David* committed Adultery with *Bathsheba*, and murdered *Uriah*; yea, and of all the Villanies in the World. The odiousness of which Doctrine will better appear, if we put this case: *A* oweth *B* 100 *l.* he pays it, for so it was decreed; but then comes *C* in the Night, and robs *B* of his 100 *l.* and also cuts his Throat. And this comes to pass also by force of God's Decree unavoidably; because (say they) *God did from all Eternity unchangeably decree all things whatsoever comes to pass.* That I do them no wrong by speaking, hear the words of *Calvin* himself, *Inst. L. I. c. 17. Thieves and Murderers are the Instruments of Divine Providence, which the Lord himself useth to execute*

his Judgments, which he hath determined in himself, and that he works through them.

When I had seriously considered, that many were ensnared in these dreadful and blasphemous doctrines, to the exasperating their Spirits, against the Truth of the Gospel, and against such as do sincerely preach it as the Means of Salvation to all Men, scandalizing them by the Name of *Free-willers*, &c. I did find my self concern'd, to testify against this unmerciful Doctrine, and this unrighteous accusation about Free-will¹; And to preach the Everlasting Gospel, that God is *not willing that any should perish, but that All should come to repentance*, 2 Pet. 3. 9. And being well assured of the sincerity of my Doctrine and purpose, I did as Occasion offered assert the Truth, both by Word and Writing.

And hearing that Dr. *John Collings* was the greatest Asserter of the *Reprobatarian Principles*; I found an opportunity to write him, upon the occasion of a Passage in his Book, Intituled, *A Discourse of Divine Love*, pag. 259. which I now publish, with his Answer, and my Reply, to prevent and correct false Reports, which have gone abroad amongst some concerning these Papers. The Doctor's Proposition is this:

God cannot Seriously act, and be finally opposed.

A dangerous Position it is; as if the final Impenitency of Sinners, were the issue of some want of seriousness in God; that is, though he calls them to Repentance, yet he does not inwardly intend that they shall repent: and to this purpose he quotes several Scriptures; all which will be evident by the Papers following. My first to him proceeds thus.

Some Observations upon a Passage of Dr. *Collings*, in his *Discourse of Divine Love*, pag. 259. Viz. *God cannot seriously act, and be finally opposed.*

1. Here the final Impenitency of Sinners is charged upon God, for that he is not serious in leading them to Repentance; directly contrary to the Word of God, *Rom. 2.2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11.*

2. It reflecteth upon God's gracious Expostulation, and acting in a way of Mercy with *Cain*, (who opposed God finally) as if God was not serious with him.

3. It reflecteth upon God's striving by his Spirit with the old World; as if God did not strive seriously, nor act seriously by the preaching of *Noah*, wherein God waited long, and yet they opposed finally.

¹Concerning which point of Free-will, you shall have an Account in the last Treatise, where it will appear, they that accuse others, do hold as much as the Persons they accuse (if not more) concerning Free-will.

4. It reflecteth upon God's Counsel to the Pharisees, (quoted by the Doctor) as if he was not serious in that Counsel, which he by his Servant *John the Baptist* gave them, *to bring forth Fruits meet for Repentance*; for they resisted finally, as the Doctor himself intimates.

5. It renders God not serious in sending his Prophets to turn *Israel* from their Iniquities, *Jer. 7.13.* (which is quoted by the Doctor) for they did oppose finally, and were cast out, and the Prophet was forbidden to pray for them, *Jer. 7.15,16.*

6. It impeacheth God as not serious, in calling *Israel* to Repentance, *Psal. 81.* (quoted by the Doctor) for they opposed finally, and God gave them up *to their own Hearts Lusts, and they walked in their own Counsels, Ver. 12.*

7. The Doctor reflects dishonour upon Christ, as not serious in his actings towards *Jerusalem*, when he would have gathered them, (the words are quoted by the Doctor) when yet he wept over them, for their final Opposition. For the things which did once belong to their Peace, were now hid from their Eyes.

Finally, The Doctor is humbly intreated, that he do not oppose God finally, by such Reflections as these, nor by finally rejecting the Counsel of God against himself, as *the Pharisees* did, for he hath been long under the Power of that Sin.

Norwich,
Sept. 12. 1690

Tho. Grantham

Here follows the Doctor's Answer, dated Sept. 12. 1690.

I Received a Letter this Night, by an unknown Hand, from an Unknown Person, who calleth himself Thomas Grantham: whosoever that Thomas Grantham be, I perceive he is one, that either knoweth God so little, as that he believeth him not Omnipotent, or of so little sense, to affirm Omnipotency may be resisted, when it seriously willeth to effect an End; which it cannot do, without a willing to put forth its utmost Power to effect it.

He seems mightily scandalized at a Saying in a Book of Mine, on I Cant p. 259. God cannot seriously Act, and yet be finally resisted. That is, he cannot act seriously, for any End or Effect, and be finally opposed as to that Intended Effect. This Proposition I thought had been secured, as well by that of the Apostle, Who hath resisted his Will at any time? As from the Nature of God, who is Almighty, and therefore cannot be finally opposed in what he resolveth, [that is, willeth to effect:] but that God may be finally opposed in what he adviseth or commandeth, none that ever I heard of yet denied.

Well, but if this gentleman may not have his Notion, the Final Impenitence of Sinners must lie at God's Door, contrary R.2.2,3, &c. First, Let the Author prove, That God willed their Repentance by an inward Act of his Will; for if he did not, his Act in calling them to Repentance, might have another End, as to which he was not, nor could not be opposed.

The same must be proved, as to his Instances of the old World, the Pharisees, the Jews, &c. Let him prove, that God within himself, willed the Eternal Salvation of these Persons, and to do what in him lay towards it, and accordingly acted; or affirm that any reasonable Creature, can seriously act for an End, and yet not inwardly will it, or put forth his Power in order to it.

For his Admonition and Charge in the close, I shall only say with the Apostle, It is a small thing to be judged of Men, especially Men who understand the Nature of God no better. But I have too much Business further to regard such impertinencies.

J. Collings.

To this Letter I Sent this Reply.

Reverend Sir,

1. In much faithfulness to God and you, I send you my Observations upon your Position, *i.e. God cannot seriously act, and be finally opposed*; for I think you are the first Man that ever spake so of the God of Truth. But you persist in it, and labour to defend it, by accusing me of Ignorance about God's Omnipotency; And are you sure you know him therein unto Perfection? You cannot fairly collect from my Paper, that God can be resisted in the thing wherein he will act Omnipotently, for then he should cease to be God. But does God never act Seriously when he doth not act Omnipotently? This, Sir seems to be your Notion, but it is far from Truth.

2. Nor do these words [who hath resisted his Will *at any time*] prove your Proposition; for I find them not in the Bible. Indeed, St. Paul shews that some bold Spirits would be ready to interrogate the most High much after that rude manner, but I hope Dr. Collings will not do so. For he cannot but know, He has often resisted God when he seriously advised him to the contrary, as well as my self and others have done, for which we ought to be greatly humbled. Let him not then think to defend himself by adding to the Text, lest he be reprov'd.

3. You seem to hold that God cannot affect an End, [I suppose you mean, he cannot convert a Sinner] without a willing to put forth the utmost of his Power to effect it. But you cannot give an Instance, where he ever did exert or put forth the utmost of his Power in any thing that ever

he did. We must take heed we limit not the Power of the Almighty, lest whilest we accuse others, we our selves prove our selves the most ignorant of his Omnipotency.

4. You should not alter the Terms of your Proposition. But let us consider what you now say; *God cannot seriously act (you say) for any End or Effect, and be finally opposed as to that intended Effect.* And yet you grant, God may be finally opposed in what he adviseth or commands: but seeing you explain God's resolving by his willing a thing, here seems to be a plain Contradiction, unless you can be so hardy as to say, when God Adviseth or commands Men to forsake Evil, and learn to do well, his Will is not that they should do so; and when he commands all Men every where to repent and obey his Voice, he inwardly never intends they shall do the one or the other, for he wills not that; and if he wills not that, then he wills the contrary, that he may punish them for not doing that which he would not have them to do; or else he wills nothing at all, and so his Advice and Commands signify nothing. But indeed your meaning is, God commands and adviseth Men well, but wills they shall not obey that; so he may damn them for not obeying, as appears in the close of your *2d Paragraph.* And you also put me to prove, *that God did will Sinners to Repentance,* Rom. 2. *by an inward Will.* And what is this, but to tell the World, that God does not mean as he speaks? Sir, Was it not the Riches of his Goodness, and his Long-suffering that should have led them to Repentance? O no! you will imagine God had no such End, but another, as to which God was not, nor could not be opposed, and that was not their Salvation; why then it must be their Damnation. But I had rather believe the Apostle than you; he shews that God's end was to lead them to Repentance, and that is the way to Salvation.

5. But I must prove also, *that God willed within himself, the Salvation of the old World, the Pharisees, &c.* whom he called to *bring forth Fruits meet for Repentance;* and that he willed the eternal Salvation of the Jews, *Psal. 81.* and those over whom Christ wept for their disobedience *with an inward Will.*

1. Then for the old World, The Lord was so serious, and so inwardly concern'd, that he strove with them by his Spirit; *And it grieved him at his Heart* that they were so disobedient: and he gave them a Preacher of Righteousness, and an hundred Years space to repent in. And I think this shews that he inwardly willed their Repentance; yea, and I am sure that had they repented he would not have destroyed them, for he hath taught us so to judge of his Threatnings against sinful Nations, *Jer. 18. 7, 8. Jona. 3. 10.*

2. Is it possible that you should call in question God's Seriousness with the Jews, *Psal. 81?* Are not these his words? *O that my People had hearkned unto me, and Israel had walked in my Ways! vers. 13.* See also *vers. 8. 9.*

10. and judg your self. Surely if you, or any Man else, should speak thus to his Friends, or Enemies either, it would be great uncharitableness to think you were not serious, and had an inward will for their happiness, unless we knew you to be a Dissembler, [which temper cannot be found in God].

3. That Christ was [inwardly] serious in his endeavours to gather *Jerusalem*, appears by his Words, and by his Tears, which are such as may even break an Heart of Stone. And sure I am, God's Mind in sending Christ to them was to turn EVERY ONE OF THEM AWAY FROM THEIR INIQUITIES, Act 3. *ult.*

4. Now for the *Pharisees*, they were part of the *Jews* to whom Christ was sent, and in many things they were the best Sect of the Jewish People; and God did, by his Servant *John*, seriously call them to Repentance; yea, his Counsel was of God, *Luke 7. 29, 30. Who never said to the House of Israel, Seek ye me in vain.* And yet if he were not now serious, but spake one thing, and thought another, yea, determined and resolved another, you will then make him say to them, *Seek ye me in vain.* But far be it from the Almighty, that his Word should be *Yea* and *Nay*. Sir, It is because God is true, that his Ministers may boldly assure poor Sinners that he wills not their Death, but that they turn and live; yea, he hath sworn, *He hath no pleasure in the Death of the Wicked.* And hence I conclude, [against your dangerous Position] that God is altogether serious, even as Seriousness it self.

Tho. Grantham.

To this letter the Doctor gave no reply. But a Friend of his sent me a small Paper of Verses, as I suppose, to pick some Quarrel with me about *Free-will*: And thus they speak.

*IF Faith be not, what can we then foresee?
Or, how can we avoid it if it be?
If by Free-Will in our own Acts we move,
How are we bounded by Decrees above?
So whether we drive, or whether we be driven;
If Ill, it's ours; if Good, the Act of Heaven.*

To this captious piece of Poetry, I made this short return

OUR own Free-Will! 'Tis non-sense, Since 'tis true,
Our own we are not; Then our Will is due
To him that made us; and when we were lost,
Restor'd our Loss at his own proper Cost.
Free-Will's more talk'd of, than well understood;

That Will's not truly free, that is not good.
 God is no Author of the Will that's Evil;
 The Will that leads to Sin is of the Devil.

Decrees from Heaven restrain, not farther Sin;
 Much less does *cause Sin*. For it did begin
 From Satan; This God's Word does plainly shew,
 Who charge't on Heaven's Decrees, their Charge will

reue.

Norwich, whence came this Leaven into thee,
 To fix thy Sin first upon God's Decree?

T. G.

After this another nameless Poet assaults me; but his Lines being so exceeding ridiculous, It would but prophane the *Muses* to commit them to Posterity: And because their chief Clamour was against my preaching, *that Christ died for all Men*; and for that cause calling me a *false Teacher*, I resolved to try whether plain Scripture, without my Commentary, would pass for currant amongst our *Reprobatarians*, wherefore I wrote as followeth.

To the Nameless and Nonsensical Poet

SIR,

Your great Quarrel is, because I teach this Doctrine, *That Christ died for all, and not only for some*.

Now thus saith the Lord,

*We see Jesus made a little lower than the Angels, for the suffering of Death,—that he by the Grace of God should taste Death for every Man.*²

*He is a Propitiation for our Sins: and not for ours only, but also for the Sins of the whole World.*³

*He gave himself a Ransom for all.*⁴

*And if one died for all, then were all dead: And that he died for all—.*⁵

*The Bread that I will give, is my Flesh, which I will give for the Life of the World.*⁶

²Heb. 2.9

³1 Joh. 2.2

⁴1 Tim. 2.6

⁵2 Cor. 5.14, 15

⁶Joh. 6.51

*God is the Saviour of All Men, Specially of them that believe.*⁷

*This is good and acceptable in the sight of God our Saviour; who will have All Men to be saved, and come to the knowledg of the Truth.*⁸

*Not willing that any should perish, but that All should come to Repentance.*⁹

*And he commandeth All Men every where to repent.*¹⁰

*As by the Offence of One, judgment came on All Men; even so by the Righteousness of One, the free Gift came upon All Men to justification of Life.*¹¹

*For as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive.*¹²

*That they have done Good, to the Resurrection of Life; and they that have done Evil, to the Resurrection of Damnation.*¹³

*Denying the Lord that bought them, and bring upon themselves swift Destruction.*¹⁴

*For God sent not his Son into the World to condemn the World; but that the World through him might be saved. He that believeth on him, is not condemned; but he that believeth not, is condemned already, because he hath not believed in the Name of the only begotten Son of God.*¹⁵

*God will judg the Secrets of Men according to the Gospel.*¹⁶

*Which hath been preached to every Creature under Heaven.*¹⁷

*He hath shewed thee, O Man, what is good.*¹⁸

*The Lord is gracious, and full of compassion, slow to anger, and of great Mercy.*¹⁹

*The Lord is good to all, and his tender Mercies are over all his Works.*²⁰

By these Authorities I teach, that Christ died for all.

Now, Sir, shew me (if you can) where the Scripture tells us, *that Christ died BUT for some only, and not for all.* For hitherto I have not met with any such Testimony in the Word of God.

⁷1 Tim. 4.10

⁸1 Tim. 2.3, 4

⁹2 Pet. 3.9

¹⁰Act. 17.30

¹¹Rom. 5.18

¹²1 Cor. 15.22

¹³Joh. 5.29

¹⁴2 Pet. 2.1

¹⁵Joh. 3.17, 18

¹⁶Rom. 2.16

¹⁷Col. 1.23

¹⁸Mich. 6.8.

¹⁹Ps. 103.8

²⁰Ps. 145.9

And seeing you think Christ died but for some only, shew me sufficient Testimony from the Scripture, that he died for your self: And name one (if you can) now living in this great City, for whom Christ died not. And when you have done these things well, you may expect some further Account of your paper.

Your abused Friend,
Tho. Grantham.

Finally; To give you some Account of the *Dialogue* and Treatise ensuing. For the first; Being a great distance from my Study, I could not have the help of my own Books. The Collection therefore which I here give you, I have taken from several Writers, but Chiefly from *Mr. Tho. Pierce*, (a Person of great Learning and Judgment); 1. From his *Correct Copy of Notes*. 2. His *Divine Philanthropie defended*. 3. His *Divine Purity defended*. 4. *The Self-Revenger exemplified*, in *Mr. B. And*, 5. *Self-Condernnation exemplified in Mr. W. and others*. Where the studious Reader may not only find those Quotations more fully set down, and perhaps more exactly quoted, but also very well maintained, (against his learned Adversaries who have laboured to excuse them, and to palliate the Disease which they discover); and therefore I have the more willingly made this present use of them, I hope without his Offense.

For the Treatise, you will therein find the Case of *Election* clearly handled, and so familiarly demonstrated according to Scripture-Light, that the meanest Capacity may arrive at competent Satisfaction, and be delivered from the dismal Snares wherewith the World have been encumbered by Mens presumptuous pretending to know a secret Will of God, contrary to his revealed Will in his Word: Which is a vile Absurdity, and calls in question the Veracity of the Almighty, *with who is no variableness, nor shadow of turning*.

Norwich, 12th Month
(vulg. Feb.) 1690

Your Servant for Jesus sake,

Tho. Grantham.

**A Brief Dialogue, wherein the Presbyterians
are punished by their own Pens**

Baptist.

Well met, Sir; I have somewhat to say unto you.

Presbyterian.

Pray say on, I would know what is the matter.

Bapt. I was reading an Author the other day, and he declares, That the Doctrine of the Presbyterians is blasphemous against God, and cruel to Mankind, making God the Author of all Sin, and the destroyer of Mankind, in the greatest part, without any Mercy, or help for their Salvation.

Pr. This is an heavy Charge indeed, but it is not true in this, we do not make God the Author of Sin. We do say indeed, by our *Confession of Faith* made by the *Assembly of Divines*, and approved by the *General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland*, That God did from all Eternity, freely and unchangeably ordain whatsoever comes to pass, Chap. 3.

Bapt. But when you say that God did freely and unchangeably ordain whatsoever comes to pass, do you mean that God ordain'd all the Sins of Angels and Men, that they should come to pass, of necessity or unavoidably?

Pr. Yes, that is our very meaning; for we tell you in the same Book, Chap. 5. That the Almighty Power of God, extends it self to the first Fall, and all other Sins of Angels and Men, and that not by a bare Permission, &c.

Bapt. What do you mean, by the Almighty power of God extending it self to the first Fall, and all other Sins of Angels and Men?

Pr. We mean, and say in express words, That by a necessity of divine Providence the Fall of *Adam* did necessarily happen, that God made *Adam* and *Eve* to this very purpose, that he might suffer them to be tempted, and led into Sin, and that by force of his Counsel or Decree, it could not otherwise be, but that they must sin. *Piscat. Disp. Pref.* p. 6.

Bapt. This seems very strange that God should lay *Adam* under a necessity of Sinning.

Pr. It could not otherwise happen than God had ordain'd; and in respect of God's Decree, there is no contingency (or condition) in the World. And therefore *Adam's* change from Good to Evil, was absolutely necessary to the execution of God's Decree. *Piscat. Disp. predest.*

Bapt. But do you not ground this Decree upon God's Foreknowledge, rather than upon his Will?

Pr. God foresees nothing but what he hath decreed, and his Decree doth precede (or go before) his Knowledge. *Adam* necessarily fell in respect of God, and it behoved him to sin, not by the idle permission of God separate from his Will and Decree. *Piscat. Disp. predest.*

Bapt. Can any satisfactory Reason be given for this Doctrine?

Pr. Man doth fall, God's Providence so ordaining it. And the first Man fell, because the Lord thought it expedient: why he thought it expedient we cannot tell. *Calvin. Inst. l. 3. c. 23. sect. 8.*

Bapt. By this Doctrine you make God the Author of Sin, though you would deny it.

Pr. God doth holily drive, or thrust Men on to Sin or Wickedness, that he may punish Sins with Sins. God is the Author of Sin one way, and the Devil another; *yet we say*, God is the Author, not of these Actions alone, in and with which Sin is, but of the very Pravity, Ataxy, Anome, Irregularity and Sinfulness it self which is in them; yea, that God hath more hand in Mens Sinfulness, than they themselves. *Comfort. For Believ. p. 36, 37.*

Bapt. How it is possible that the Holy God should have any will to, or hand in, the Sins of Devils and Men?

Pr. Adultery or Murther is the Work of God the Author, saith *Zuingl. de Prov. c. 6.* God may seem not to be the cause of human Actions only, but of the very Defects and Privations which cleave unto them, *Pet. Mart. in I Sam. c. 2.* God procures Adultery, Cursings, Lyings, *Piscat. Resp. ad Apol. Britii. p. 143.* All wicked Men do all that they do by force of God's Will, *idem Resp. ad Tauff. p. 65.* God efficaciously acteth, or effecteth, and by his efficacy performeth all things without any least exception. *Beza cont. Castel. Aphoris. 1, 6, 7.*

Bapt. These are very unsavory Speeches. I ever thought, and do yet believe that the Devils and wicked Men are the Authors of all Sin; and that God only suffers Sin, that is, he doth not by violence always hinder them, though he does often restrain them, and graciously prohibits all Sin under pain of his displeasure.

Pr. The Devil and Wicked Men are so restrained on every side with the Hand of God, as with a Bridle, that they cannot conceive, nor contrive, nor execute any Mischief, nor so much as endeavor its execution, any further than God himself doth not permit only, but command; nor are they only held in Fetters, but compelled also as with a Bridle to perform Obedience to such Commands. *Calvin. Inst. l. 1. c. 17.* God exciteth Men to the act of Adultery, that he stirreth them up to unjust Acts, as a Man puts Spurs to a dull Jade. *Mr. Barlee cont. Mr. T. P.*

Bapt. Certainly the Original of Sin is Satan's Malice, and the Lusts of the Flesh, and cannot be bottomed on God's Decree, for he tempteth not any Man; nor on his Commands, for they prohibit all Sin.

Pr. God's Decree, by which any is destin'd to Condemnation, is not an Act of Justice, nor doth his Decree presuppose Sin—When God makes an Angel or a Man a Transgressor, he himself doth not transgress because

he doth not break a Law. The same Sin, *viz.* Adultery or Murther, inas-much as it is the Work of God, the Author, Mover, and Compeller, it is not a Crime; but in asmuch as it is of Man, it is Wickedness. Dr. *Twiss*, in *Serm. de Prov.* See Mr. *Peirce*, *Correct Cop.* p. 10.

Bapt. This is highly gross, that you should charge God with making the Devils and Men Transgressors; where as *God made Man upright, but he hath sought out many Inventions.*

Pr. God doth stir up the Devil to lie, and is in some manner the cause of Sin, and thrusteth on the Wills of the Wicked to grievous Sins. *Pet. Vermil. in Ep. ad Rom.* p. 403, 406. and 38. Yea, God doth incite, seduce, draw, command, harden, and inject Deceptions, and effecteth those things which are grievous Sins. *Piscat. ad Amic. Dupl. Vorstii*, p. 176.

Bapt. By this Doctrine you make Man an insignificant Cypher, and God the principle Actor in all Wickedness. But seeing the Elect do sin as well as others, Who is the Cause of their Sins?

Pr. Though Reprobates are predestinated to Damnation, and to the Causes of Damnation, and created to that end that they may live Wick-edly, and be Vessels full of the Dregs of Sin; yet it follows not that God's absolute Decree is the Cause of all the Villanies and Lewdnesses in the World, because, besides the Sins of the Reprobates, there are also other Villanies committed, namely by the Elect. *Piscat. cont. Tauff.* p. 47.

Bapt. But you do not answer the Question, Whether did God decree that the Elect should sin?

Pr. Nothing is done without God's will, no not without his Opera-tion; for God worketh all things in all Men, therefore he willetth and ef-fecteth that ungodly Men do live in their Concupiscences. *Trigland. Apol.* p. 172.

Bapt. But why do not you answer the Question directly, Whether God decreed all the Villanies committed by the Elect?

Pr. God doth incite, seduce, draw and harden, and inject Deceptions; and doth or effecteth those things which are hainous and grievous Sins. *Mart. in Judg.* 3. 9. p. 49.

Bapt. This is indeed a general Answer, but yet you speak not directly to the Question.

Pr. It doth, or at least may appear from the Word of God, that we neither can do more Good than we do, nor omit more Evil than we do; because God from Eternity hath precisely decreed, that both the Good and the Evil should be so done. *Piscat. ad Amic. Dupl. Vorst.* p. 176.

Bapt. This comes near the Point; but can you say no more?

Pr. It is fatally constituted, when, and how, and how much every one of us ought to love and study Piety, or not to love it. *Piscat. idem* p. 223. and *Beza* saith the same. That both the Reprobates and the Elect, were

preordained to Sin, as Sin, in as much as the Goodness and Glory of God was to be declared thereby. *Zanch. de Nat. Dei.* p. 555. *alia Edit.* p. 572.

Bapt. Why, shall we think that God could not be glorified, without Man had sinned? What manner of Doctrine is this?

Pr. God made Men with this intent, or to this purpose, that they might really fall; because he could not attain his principal Ends any otherwise than by this course. *Piscat. cont. Schasm.* P. 29.

Bapt. By this Doctrine you make God the Cause, both of Sin and of Punishment.

Pr. The Reprobates are therefore not converted, because God will not have them converted. *Trigland. ex. Comment. Calv. in Ezek.* 18. p. 138. God's first Constitution was, that some should be destin'd to eternal Ruin; and to this end their Sins were ordained, and desertion or denial of Grace in order to their Sins. *Zanch. de Nat. Dei.* p. 740.

Bapt. I can by no means believe that our good God made any Man on purpose that he might be damned.

Pr. God made Men to divers Ends; and some to the End that they might suffer Eternal Torments. He appointed also, or ordained, that those Men being intire, should fall from their Integrity; and that for this Reason, that whom he created for Destruction, he might Reprobate; to this End that he might punish them out of Justice. *Maccov. Disp. de Praed. Thes.* 8.

Bapt. It is out of Justice indeed, for I can see no Justice in it.

Pr. It is incomprehensible, yet believed by us, how it is just to damn such as do not deserve it. *Luth. de Servo. Arbitr. cont. Phil. Nico.* p. 8. *Beza post Paelec. in Ep. ad Rom.* It is not fitting nor agreeable to ascribe the preparation to Destruction, to any other than the hidden Counsel of God. *Zanch. de Nat. Dei.* l. 5. c. 2.

Bapt. By this it is evident you hold, that Men are compelled to Sin, by the secret Impulse of God; which is a dangerous Error.

Pr. We grant Reprobates are compelled with a necessity of sinning, and so of perishing by this Ordination of God; and so compelled, that they cannot chuse but sin and perish. *Zanch. de Nat. Dei,* l. 5. c. 2. Man doth that which is not lawful for him to do, by the just impulse of God. *Calv. Inst.* l. 1. c. 18.

Bapt. If things be thus as you teach, Why does God call upon Men to abstain from every appearance of Evil, and to do Good?

Pr. God directeth his Voice to some Men, but that they may be so much the deafer; he gives Light to some Men, but that they may be so much the blinder; he offers them Instruction, but that they may be the more ignorant; and useth a Remedy, but to the end they may not be healed. *Calv. lib.* 3. c. 24.

Bapt. Why, does God speak one thing, and mean another quite contrary thereunto? How then is he serious?

Pr. God cannot seriously act, and be finally opposed, Dr. *Collings, ut supra.* God can will that Man shall not fall by his Will, which is called *voluntas signi*, (his revealed Will); and in the mean time ordain, that the same man shall infallibly and efficaciously fall by his Will, which is called *voluntas beneplaciti*, (*viz.* his acceptable Will): The former Will of God is improperly called his Will, for it only signifies what Man ought to do by right; but the latter Will is properly called a Will, because by that he decreed what should inevitably come to pass. See Mr. *Pierce Correct Copy*, p. 9.

Bapt. By your Doctrine I perceive you hold, that the number of the Saved, and the number of the Damned, were unalterably determined, before there was so much as one Man created.

Pr. Yes, we say, by the Decree of God for the manifestation of his Glory, some Men and Angels are predestinated unto Everlasting Life, and others fore-ordained to Everlasting Destruction; and those Angels and Men thus predestinated, and fore-ordained, are particularly and unchangeably designed; and their Number so certain and definite, that it cannot be either increased or diminished. *Assemb. Catechis.* c. 3. sect. 3, 4.

Bapt. Why then is the Gospel preached to Men thus determin'd to Damnation?

Pr. It must necessarily follow that Christ is preached to them to aggravate their Damnation. *Dantil. cont. Anonimum.*

Bapt. You make the Case of the greatest part of Men grown deplorable, without Remedy. Pray, What do you think of the Case of dying Infants?

Pr. Elect Infants dying in Infancy, are regenerated and saved by Christ through the Spirit. *Assemb. Catechis.* c. 10. sect. 3. And of the rest Mr. *Calvin* saith, That so many Nations of Men, together with their Infants, were involved without Remedy, in Eternal Punishment, by the Fall of *Adam*, for no imaginable Reason, but that so it seemed good in the sight of God. *Inf. l. 3. c. 23. sect. 7.*

Bapt. That God does cleanse dying Infants, and fits them for Heaven, I readily grant. But what do you mean by regenerating Infants?

Pr. They must be regenerate, and have Faith some way, else they must perish, They who are regenerated, have Faith and Repentance. But all Infants saved, are regenerated. Therefore all Infants saved have Faith and Repentance. They must be born of Water, and the Spirit, according to *John* 3.6. else there is no Heaven for them. Mr. *Firmin.*

Bapt. What manner of Faith and Repentance is this you talk of?

Pr. It is Seminal Faith, and Seminal Repentance. Mr. *Firmin.*

Bapt. But you know not what kind of Faith this is, nor can you tell what Infants have it; and so you cannot tell that one Infant dying, is saved, by this Seminal Faith and Repentance; or, are you so charitable to think that all Infants have this Faith Seminal, and this Seminal Repentance?

Pr. I aver, (how cruel soever I may be judged) that no Unbeliever can, according to any Divine Revelation, have any assured hope of their own, or their Childrens Salvation who die in their Infancy. Mr. *Whiston, Right Method*, p. 46.

Bapt. Lo how you would fill Hell with multitudes of poor dying Infants; but how then has God said, that *he hath no pleasure In the Death of the wicked*, if it be as Mr. *Calvin* and you teach, that both they and their Infants are damned without Remedy?

Pr. God wills not the death of a Sinner, so far forth as he wills his Repentance, which experience teacheth, that he doth so will as not to touch his Heart that he may repent. *Calv. in Ezek.* 18. The Sin of Incredulity doth depend upon God's Praedestination, as the Effect upon the Cause. *Piscat. ad Dupl. Varst.* p. 10, 11. God doth effect in them an Incredulity, in as much as he blindeth them whilst the Gospel is preached. p. 25, 27. All things which shall be, shall be by the inevitable Counsels and Decrees of God. *Mart. Borrhaus in Deut.* 47. p. 924.

Bapt. You should have said, that Men do harden their Hearts, and resist the Holy Ghost; but I am sorry that so many Learned Writers should represent God at such a dreadful rate, not only to make Angels and Men to damn them, but also to make them Sinners that he may damn them. What is this but to make God the greatest Sinner? which is blasphemous.

Pr. I have told you already, That when God makes an Angel or a Man, a Transgressor, he himself doth not transgress, because he doth not break a Law. The very same Sin, *viz.* Adultery or Murther, inasmuch as it is the Work of God, the Author, Mover, and Compeller, it is not a Crime; but in as much as it is of Man, it is Wickedness.

Bapt. Certainly these things hitherto asserted by you are dreadfully Blasphemous, and more like the Doctrine of the *Turks*, than of true *Christians*, and ought to be exploded with the same detestation which was wont to be made (as my Author sheweth) in these words.

Αναθεματίζω τω τε Μαωμεδ
βλασφημίαν, τω λεγεσαν, ὅτι
Θεός, ον θέλει, πλανᾷ, και ὄν
θέλει ὁδηγεῖ εἰς ἀγαθον, και ὅτι
ὁ Θεός ἠθέλεν ἕκ ἂν ἐπιλέμειν
ἀλλήλοις οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἀλλ'
αὐτου ποεῖ ὅπερ βύλεται, και
παντὸς ἀγαθὰ και ποιηρᾷ αιτου
αυτὸς ἐς, και τυχ και ἐιμαρμλοη
πάντων κεατέι.

I do Anathematize the Blasphemy
of *Mahomed*, saying, That God de-
ceiveth whom he will, and whom
he will he leadeth to what is good;
for if God would, Men would not
war one with another; but he doth
what he will, and is himself the
cause of all Good, and of all Evil;
all things are governed by Fate and
Destiny. *Nicetus Saracenita*.

Pr. Our Doctrine is more ancient than *Mahomet*; *St. Augustin* did maintain it; It is certain that *Judas* could not but betray Christ, seeing God's Decrees are immutable. And whether a Man bless or curse, he always doth it necessarily in respect of God's Providence; and in so doing, he doth always according to the Will of God. *Piscat. de Praedest. Thes.* 12. 1.

Bapt. Antiquity, for the first four Centuries, is against your Doctrine, *Augustin*, tho sometime tinctured with it, yet upon better Advice exclaims against it. And as to the Instance of *Judas*, Antiquity is against you. For thus saith *Chrysostome*;

Ο Ιούδας, ἀγαπετοί, ὅς βασιγείας
τὸ Πρῶτον τῶ, και ἤχυσε μετὰ
τις μάθετων. Ἐπὶ δωδεχα θεόνυς
χαθείσθη. ἀλλὰ γέγονεν ὕσειον
ὅς γεένυς.

*Judas, my Beloved, was at first a
Child of the Kingdom, when he
heard it said to him with the Dis-
ciples, Ye shall sit on twelve Thrones;
but at last he became a Child of Hell.*
*Chrysost. Orat. 52. as quoted by
Mr. J. Goodwin.*

Pr. I perceive you hold, that a Child of God may possibly fall away and perish. This is a dangerous Error.

Bapt. That some may depart from the Faith, giving heed to seducing Spirits, is clear in the Word of God, and of this fall I doubt the *Presbyterians*, many of them, are a terrible Instance, as well as others. Nor need any Man say more concerning falling away than they do in their *Confess. of Faith*, made by the *Assembly of Divines*; for as they deny not but that there are *temporary Believers*, and truly such are all that fall away. So they plainly tell us,

That the purest Churches under Heaven are subject to Mixture and Error; and some have so degenerated, as to become no churches of Christ, but Synagogues of Satan. Chap. 25. Sec. 5.

Surely the purest Churches under Heaven are true Believers; and if these purest Churches may become the Synagogues of Satan, it is too much to prove the Point.

For my part, though I doubt not but there is a state attainable, even in this Life, from which by the Grace of God Christians shall not fall; yet I hold it a vanity for any Man to affirm of himself, or of any other Person in particular, that it is impossible for him to fall. I hold it better by far, for the best, as well as others, to take heed lest they fall. And here the Decree concerning Reprobation may be useful; for God never made it to cause Men to be Reprobates, but to hinder them from being such; like as all good Laws made against *Treason* and *Felony*, were not made to make Men *Traitors* or *Felons*; but to prevent them that they might not be *Traitors* nor *Felons*.

Let us not then turn the Goodness of our God into Perverseness, nor his Grace into Wantonness, by thinking he will damn any Man, without first shewing Mercy; or save us of necessity; for *is God unrighteous, who taketh vengeance: how then shall he judg the World?*

Pr. But why do you suggest your fears that the *Presbyterians* are a terrible instance of falling away, as well as others?

Bapt. Because they have received a Doctrine, the Tenour of which is such, that no Man which receiveth it, can have any true or well-grounded Faith: for if God did extend the Death of Christ to scarce one Man of an hundred, how is it possible for any Man to know assuredly that Christ died for him in particular? He may have an opinion Christ died for him; but he cannot be sure of it, seeing the certain knowledg who Christ died for, must not be built upon any good which we conceive to be wrought in us, but upon the clear testimony of the Word of God. *Faith comes by hearing, and hearing by the Word of God.* Rom. 10. Hence all are bound to believe under pain of Damnation, *Mark* 16.16.

Pr. We deny, by the Pen of Mr. *Whitfield*, p. 75. that all Men are commanded to believe, but only the least part of the World: and Mr. *Brimley* tells us, There should no Gospel be preached, but for the Elects sake. And Mr. *Calvin* saith, That so many Nations of Men, together with their Infants, were involved WITHOUT REMEDY in eternal Punishment, by the fall of *Adam* [and he fell, because God thought it expedient] for no imaginable Reason, but that so it seemed good in the sight of God. *Calv. Inst. l. 3. c. 23.* And hence we conclude, that those Nations which have not the light of the Gospel, Christ died not for them; for if God gave his Son to die for them, which is the greater, he would not deny them the Gospel which is the lesser. *B. K. Serm. and Letter.*

Bapt. That God is known throughout the whole World to be Propitious, Gracious and Merciful, cannot be denied; and where God is known

to be gracious, pardoning Sin upon Repentance, he is known in Christ, though the Name of Christ be not known; and indeed few knew him by that Name of *Jesus Christ*, till he was born of the Virgin. And that God has taken care that his Name, *Gracious and Merciful*, should be known throughout the World, is evident, not only by the Holy Scriptures, but by the Writings of the *Heathen*; yea, the *Turks* themselves, though they are for *Destiny*, yet begin almost every Chapter of their *Alcoran* with these words; *In the Name of God Gracious and Merciful*.

And *Prosper* (*Augustin's* Disciple) *De vocatione Gentium*, shews, That God did never leave himself without Witness in any part of the World, *Act. 4.17.* which he compares with *Psal. 76.8, 9.* and *138.4, 5, 6. Isa. 60.* to make it good. And Mr. *Pierce* shews excellently how the Gospel is spread throughout the World. As,

1. All *Protestant* Countries.
2. All the Countries of *Papists*.
3. All the *Greek Churches*
4. All the *Muscovites*.
5. All the *Asiaticks* Under the Patriarch of *Jerusalem*.
6. The Christians called *Melchites*, under the Patriarch of *Antioch*.
7. The *Armenians* under an hundred Bishops.
8. The Christians called *Jacobites*, mingled with the *Mahometans*, through a great part of *Asia*, under the Patriarch of *Carmite*.
9. The Christians under the Patriarch of *Mezul*, about *Assyria, Mesopotamia, Parthia* and *Media*, (accounted more than all the *Papists*.)
10. The Christians called *Georgians* in *Iberia*.
11. The Christians called *Circasians*.
12. The Christians called *Mengrellians*.
13. The Christians of *Natolia*, under the Patriarch of *Constantinople*.
14. The Kingdoms of *Cazan African, &c.* under the Patriarch of *Mosco*.
15. The Christians called *Maronites*.
16. The Christian *Indians* of *St. Thome*.
17. The Christians under the Patriarch of *Alexandria* from the *Graditan Straits* to the *River Nile*.
18. The *Abassine* Christians in *Ethiopia*.
19. The Christians in *Congo* and *Angola*.
20. All the Christian *Americans* (which are not few) through *New Spain, Castella, Nova-Peru, and Brasile*.
21. All the *English, Dutch, and French* Plantations, in *Mexicana*, and the islands on either side.

Thus it appears that the name of Christ is known in all the World, *Europe, Asia, Africa, and America*; though, God knows, the gospel in the purity of it, is too little known in all these Nations. But this may shew that Christ died for many more than the *Presbyterians*, and that the whole World has an Object of Faith, and not the lesser part only.

Pr. But Mr. *Barlee* confesseth, *p.* 87. That in the general Proposal of the Gospel, *Mark* 16. 15. cannot possibly lurk any mental Reservation, or Insincerity. Yet Mr. *Whitfield* saith, *p.* 61. That Christ cannot be said seriously to desire the Salvation of those, from whom he will not remove those things which he knows will hinder their Salvation.

Bapt. You are excellent at Self-contradiction; and you that represent Christ not to be serious, because he will not save Men whether they will or no, can never be serious in your calling upon Men to repent and believe; for whilst you inwardly believe God hath decreed they shall not believe, your Sermons are meer Dissimulation, or meer Absurdities. Which made Bishop *Usher* cry out, *That this is the extreme Absurdity* into which the *Arminians* did drive the *Calvinists*. For, saith he,

“What would not a Man fly unto, rather than yield that Christ died in no wise for the Reprobates; and that none but the Elect had any kind of Title to him; and yet many thousands should be bound in Conscience to believe that he died for them, and tied to accept him for their Redeemer and Saviour—whereby they should have believed that, which in itself is most untrue, and laid hold on that in which they had no kind of interest?”

This Reverend Man saith further;

“That Satisfaction of Christ was once done for all, the Application is still in doing. The Satisfaction of Christ only makes the Sins of Mankind fit for Pardon. All the Sins of Mankind are become Venial, in respect of the Price paid to the Father—But all do not obtain actual Remission, because most Offenders do not take out or plead their Pardon as they ought to do.—We may safely conclude, that the Lamb of God offering himself a Sacrifice for the Sins of the whole World, intended, by giving sufficient Satisfaction to God’s Justice, to make the Nature of Man which he assumed a fit Object of Mercy, and to prepare a Medicine for the Sins of the whole World, which should be denied to none that intended to take the benefit of it.—In respect of his Mercy, he may be counted a kind of universal Cause of restoring our Nature, as *Adam* was of the depraving of it.”

I will conclude this Dialogue with the *31 Article* of the *Church of England*, which the *Presbyterians*, and other *Calvinists*, have lately subscribed: And shall appeal to their Consciences how they can reasonably believe the *Articles* made by the *Assembly of Divines*, which I have excepted against; or be displeas'd with me, merely because I teach, *That Christ died for all Men*.

The *Article* is this;

Christ is a perfect Redemption, Propitiation, and Satisfaction for all the Sins of the whole World, both Original and Actual.

Let them stick to this, and then magnify God's special Grace, and abase Man as much as they please.

Pr. But before we part, let me mind you of the Case of *Esau*, concerning whom *Huldericus Zuinglius* saith, *contra Catabap.* p. 172. That we cannot say of *Esau*, being rejected by God, I would to God he had died an Infant. For he could not die, whom the Divine Providence created to this very End, that he might live, and that he might live wickedly.

Bapt. Those whom *Zuinglius* called *Catabaptists*, were the faithful Asserters of the Doctrine of Baptisms against the Church of *Rome*, as we whom you falsly call *Anabaptists* are against both the Church of *Rome* and the *Presbyterians*, who have changed God's Ordinance, and set up your own Inventions instead of it.

But to the Case of *Esau*, how blasphemously do you speak in saying, That the *Divine Providence created him that he might live wickedly*? Although his case is doubtful, (as well as *Solomon's*, who sinned with as high a hand as *Esau* did) yet it is rashness to conclude that either were damned. The Learned observe, that some of your own Writers believe the contrary. *Luther* in *Gen.* 33. and *Mollerus* in *Malach.* 1. *did not doubt of Esau's Eternal Bliss*. Nor durst *Oecolampadius* to account him a Reprobate, because he knew these words, *Rom.* 9. were only spoken by a Figure. See Mr. *Pierce* *Ἀυτοχάκρισις*, p. 197. And it is observed by Mr. *Sam Loveday*, in his *Personal Reprobate Reprobated*, p. 65. That it hath been the general Opinion of the Ancient Fathers, that *Esau* in Person is saved; and he particularizeth of the Ancients, *Jerom*, *Augustine*, and *Anselm*.

The Reasons why they think *Esau* was not damned; are three.

1. He was fully reconciled to his Brother *Jacob*, notwithstanding the occasion of Offence given by *Jacob*: this appears *Gen.* 33

2. He joined with *Jacob* in the burial of their Father *Isaac*, *Gen.* 35.29.

3. They say he died in the True Religion, and that many of his Posterity were Godly: It is said to be the general Opinion of the Learned, that that holy Man *Job* was of *Esau's* Posterity; and was that *Jobab*, of whom we read *Gen. 36.33. ex Loveday, idem.*

But he that will diligently read *Gen. 25.23.* will find that there is not a word of hating *Esau* before he was born, but only it is foreshewed, that the Nation which should proceed from *Jacob*, should be greater than the Nation which should proceed from *Esau*: and how could this be any prejudice to the Salvation of *Esau*? And whereas *Paul* adds, in *Rom. 9.* as it is written, *Jacob have I loved, and Esau have I hated.* To this we say, *first,* There was no Scripture written at all when *Jacob* and *Esau* was born, nor for many hundred Years after. *Secondly,* When it was written, it is evidently written of the Posterities of *Jacob* and *Esau*; and the only cause why the Posterity of *Esau* were hated, was their Pride and Wickedness, particularly against the *Israelites*, or Seed of *Jacob*; this will appear by reading the places where these things are written. First the Prophet *Obadiah* is very plain.

Ver. 6. How are the things of *Esau* searched out? how are his hid things sought up?—For thy violence against thy Brother *Jacob*, shame shall cover thee, and thou shalt be cut off for ever. In the day thou stoodest on the other side, in the day that the Strangers carried away captive his Forces—even thou wast as one of them.—Thou shouldest not have entered into the Gate of any People in the day of their Calamity—Neither shouldest thou have stood in the cross way, to cut off those of his that did escape. And, Ver. 3. The pride of thine Heart hath deceived thee. And for this Cause the Lord hated the Posterity of *Esau*; Ver. 8. Shall I not—even destroy the wise Men out of *Edom*, and the Understanding out of the Mount of *Esau*? Yes, he would surely punish them for their Iniquity.

And to the same purpose are the words of the Prophet *Malachi*, ch. 1. 2, 3, 4. *I loved Jacob, and hated Esau, and laid his Mountains and his Heritage waste, for the Dragons in the Wilderness. Whereas Edom (that is, the Posterity of Esau) saith, We are impoverished, but we will return and build the desolate Places: thus saith the Lord of Hosts, They shall build, but I will throw down.* And thus did the Lord hate *Esau*, that is, the Posterity of *Esau*, who lift up themselves in Pride against God, and Cruelty against the *Israelites*.

The truth is, God is no respecter of Persons; and therefore God will hate in this kind, (that is, punish) as well *Judah* the Seed of *Jacob*, as *Edom* the Seed of *Esau*; yea, both these Nations, as well as other Nations, when they lift up themselves with Pride against him. Read and consider, *Jer. 9.25, 26. Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, that I will punish all them which are circumcised with the Uncircumcised; Egypt, and Judah, and Edom, and the Children of Amon and Moab, and all that are in the utmost Corners, that dwell in the Wilderness: For all these Nations are uncircumcised, and all*

the House of Israel are uncircumcised in the Heart. Lo, here is the Cause why God hates Men, even their hardness of Heart, and Rebellion against him, and nothing else.

Postscript.

What I have here presented to consideration, is but an *Essay*; for I doubt not but that the contrary-minded will quarrel these my Labours. Know therefore, that as Occasion shall be offered, you may expect (if God permit) a more ample Account of the things briefly noted in the preceding *Dialogue*.

It hath pleased God to stir up some of Learning and Judgment, to serve the Truth in these Enquiries; of whose Learned Labours I hope to give a more full Account, and especially concerning the Doctrine of the Christian Writers from the Apostles Days, to the Time of *Augustine*, which was more than 400 Years: During which Time this dreadful Doctrine, opposed in these Treatises, was a Stranger to the Church of Christ. The Testimonies being many and large, it may be convenient to take a further time for the producing of them, as well in the Languages wherein they were first written, as in our English Tongue. And the same may also be necessary in respect of those Modern Writers, which have so greatly eclipsed the Grace of God to Mankind. All which may be done by an industrious Hand, though but meanly Learned, because these things are made ready to our Hands, and may therefore be made the more serviceable to the Truth, when dispersed in small Volumes, for these large Tractates come but into few Hands.

And were I never so capable to collect and translate those Authors Opinions respectively, yet I would rather make use of the Collections and Translations already made, by those whose Abilities that way are unquestionable; and what they have done of this kind, approved and defended; as may also be shewed in time convenient.

I confess I never had experience of the Effects of this Spirit, Which makes Men think that God in Christ loves but a very few of his Offspring, (I mean Mankind, *Acts 17.28.*) and that he hates the far greatest part of them from all Eternity: I say, I never had so much experience of this Spirit, in its bitter Effects, as since I came to reside in *Norwich*. It hath filled even the highest sort of Professors with such indignation against me, meerly for preaching God's Love to all Men, [for let them talk what they please, this is the thing] that if they could, I should not have had a Place whereon to lay my Head in *Norwich*. And I have been prayed against (as I am informed) as a Limb of Antichrist; and God hath been desired to confound me with Antichrist, &c. such a Fury does this Doctrine of irrespective Reprobation

beget in the Hearts of its Admirers. *A Fraternitate Calvinianâ libera a nos Domine.*²¹

Now the Lord knows, (to whom I appeal) that I have born these things with Patience, (and yet vigorously preached the Truth, according to my ability) and I have, and do heartily pray for Mercy for these my Persecutors, and hope by such Endeavours to prevail; praying them timely to consider the dismal Effects of their Doctrine, [*that Christ died but for a few:*] How many have hereby despaired of Mercy, and laid violent Hands upon themselves! and too many (God knows) about this City. And here the most humble Christian is in the greatest danger.

And On the other Hand, how does the careless and confident sort go on in their evil Courses; concluding from those *peccant Articles* (above recited) that not one more can be damned, nor one less can be saved, than was decreed, (and that unchangeably) to be saved or damned from the beginning, yea, from before the World was, yea, from all Eternity: And therefore it is all one whether they be Religious or Irreligious.

This is the Doctrine (saith a Learned Man) which is calculated for the Kingdom of Satan, than which no Doctrine can more befriend his devouring Designs against the Souls of Men; for, saith he, *A Man may (now) be unjust, unmerciful, partial, and full of dissimulation; hating most Men without a cause, and yet be most like God.* And indeed how should Men that have thoroughly *imbibed* these Principles, be better than they take their God to be? O then beware of a false Apprehension of God; for when Men have set up such an Image of God in their Judgment, they will adore it, and thereby depart from God, and do Mischief at a venture.

As concerning God's Election and Reprobation, I shall briefly here assert my Judgment.

1. That God did from the beginning chuse (in Christ) to Salvation, all that part of the fallen Race of *Adam*, that die in their Innocency, or accept of his Mercy and Grace according to the Means he gives them; and this Decree proceeds from his own Goodness, and is not built upon any Goodness in the Creature.

2. God did reprobate in his Decree and Determination, from the beginning, all that should, in the successive Ages of the World, reject or despise his Mercy and Goodness, which should have led them to Repentance; even *every Soul of Man that doth Evil, as well of the Jews as of the Gentiles*, Rom. 2.8, 9.

3. That no Man that is an unregenerate Sinner, *is actually Elected*, till he turns from Sin, and accepts of God's Mercy by Faith, *Rev.* 17.14. And

²¹Calvin burnt Servetus, (a learned and pious Baptist) for differing in opinion in Matters of Religion. Servetus is justified since his Death, and Calvin condemned for false Accuser and Fratricide, by Grotius and other Learned Men.

that none are actually reprobated till they depart from God, or reject his Mercy and Goodness, which he graciously holds forth to them, *Rom.* 1.28. And this is so clear, that even those who are our Adversaries, are forced to allow it. For thus they speak, *Assemb. Conf. of Faith*, c. 11. *God did from all Eternity decree to justify the Elect—Nevertheless they are not justified, until the Holy Spirit doth in due time actually apply Christ unto them.* And to make this Matter evident to every considerate Reader, I shall offer this Argument.

All that are *actually Elected*, have an Inheritance in the Kingdom of God, and of Christ, and none can lay any thing to their Charge, *1 Pet.* 1.2, 3, 4, 5. *Rom.* 8.33.

But no unbelieving, Drunkard, Whoremonger, Murtherer, or Idolater, hath any Inheritance in the Kingdom of God, and of Christ, *Ephes.* 5.5. and these Impieties may be laid to their Charge.

Ergo, No unbelieving Drunkard, Whoremonger, Murderer, or Idolater, is *actually Elected*. And yet we know that some which have been such, were actually Elected, when they were purged from their Filthiness, and by Grace renewed.

As for *personal, irrelative, and unavoidable Reprobation*, it is a Plant which bears most dismal Fruit: An Instance we have of it in *Calvin*, who confesseth that he procured the burning to Death of *Michael Servetus*, who was a learned and worthy Man, though perhaps in some things mistaken, See *Hug. Grot. in Points of Controv.* Of which inhumane Act I will make this just Reflection to prevent the like.

O *Calvin*, why didst thou (like *Cain*) thy pious Brother slay,
 Because he could not walk with thee, in thy self-chosen Way?
 He did, in Sacred Baptism ('tis plain²²) the Truth assert:
 And thou, by choosing Infancy (as plain) did it pervert:
 To which thou needst wouldst it dispense, without one word
 of Truth,
 To stand by thee in thy defence. Whilst it with open Mouth
 Did stand by him whilst he did plead, Repentance and true
 Faith,
 (In Sinners all) *prerequisites*, are for that Holy Bath.

Why didst thou slander him, and then his Books to Ashes
 burn,
 Left by his Innocence, thy Wrath should to thy shame return?
 But some did 'scape thy furious Flames, and he by them does
 speak.

²²See *Calv. Inst. cont. Servet.*

More Truth than thou his Enemy. But yet suppose him weak,
(Tho Wise and Learned all must grant) must he therefore be
slain?

And Charitable too he was, (thou dost confess): How vain
Then must thou be him to oppress? Let all thy Brood take
heed,

They *Reprobate* no Man (as thou) by such an horrid Deed.

T. G.

FINIS

Transcriber's Preface to Slavery Inconsistent with the Spirit of Christianity: An 18th Century Baptist Advocates Freedom

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A Biographical Sketch of Robert Robinson

Robert Robinson (1735-1790) was a Particular Baptist leader of prominence in 18th century England. Despite a rough childhood, he was able to garner a modest education by the strength and resolve of his mother. Robinson's father was quite self absorbed, and deserted him, his mother, and two siblings when Robert was a child. Though Mary Robinson worked hard to provide for her family, she apprenticed her daughter to a dressmaker and eldest son to a painter.¹ However, she sent young Robert to grammar school. His penchant for languages and giftedness in his studies won him the respect of his clergyman teacher, Joseph Brett, who, when tuition became too burdensome for Mary, offered to cover the expenses. At fourteen Robinson was reluctantly pulled from school and apprenticed to a barber in London. His mother's dream of seeing him into the clergy started to vanish along with her ability to sustain them through her needlework.²

His desire for learning did not diminish in London, however, as his master and others recognized his unusual gifting in scholarship.³ He soon made it a practice to attend sermons of evangelical and dissenting ministers, and even referred to George Whitefield as a spiritual mentor.⁴ His professed dedication to the religious life came in 1752, but after three years

¹Graham W. Hughes, *With Freedom Fired: The Story of Robert Robinson, Cambridge Nonconformist* (London: Carey Kingsgate Press Limited, 1955), 8.

²*Ibid.*, 9.

³*Ibid.*, 10.

⁴John Stephens, "Robert Robinson," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (London: Oxford University Press, 2007).

of listening to Whitefield's sermons, he was converted in 1755.⁵ Upon release of his apprenticeship in 1758 he made his home in Mildenhall and joined up with a group of Methodists.⁶ Once his peers sensed his abilities, they begged him to preach at their meetings, and he eventually agreed.⁷ He later accepted the call to the pastorate of the Methodist Tabernacle in Norwich. Though starting as a Methodist, he and thirteen others soon broke away from the group to form an Independent church. He drew up a confession of faith, fully congregational, and Calvinist.⁸ A short time later, he set out to determine the New Testament's proper position on baptism. In 1759, convinced of the New Testament's explicit teaching of believer's baptism by immersion, he left the practice of infant baptism and was baptized by a Baptist minister. In the same year he was called to the Stoneyard Baptist Chapel in Cambridge, accepting the pastoral office in 1761. John Gill's recommendation played a large part in securing the young Robinson for the pastorate in this dying church.⁹ Robinson's preaching revived the small church.

The resolve of the young pastor toward regenerate church membership played a significant role in the revival of the congregation at Stoneyard. In his words,

The church declined both in doctrine and practice. Her articles of faith were explained away, and evaporated under a pretence of being refined. Her experience was enthusiastic, and her conduct grossly immoral. Some were cut off; some returned to the world as the dog to his vomit; and the few pious souls that remained were covered with confusion at seeing their best people withdraw to other churches.¹⁰

Graham Hughes, in his biography of Robinson, recounts the reason for the church's rapid revitalization:

His strong hand was felt, discipline was enforced, errors were corrected, sins against the fellowship were curbed, unworthy members were dismissed and great caution was observed in admitting new applicants into membership. The church early discovered what strict views were held by their minister on the

⁵Raymond Brown, *The English Baptists of the 18th Century* (London: Baptist Historical Society, 1986), 81.

⁶Hughes, *With Freedom Fired*, 13.

⁷Ibid., 14.

⁸Ibid., 15.

⁹Ibid., 16.

¹⁰Ibid., 18.

subject of discipline, order and the purity of the Church. As frequently happens when high standards are enforced, far from declining the church began to grow in strength and began to manifest spiritual progress.¹¹

Hughes also attributes Robinson's bold and stalwart stance on church discipline with the salvation of the reputation of dissenting ministers in Cambridge.¹² Robinson further set out to catechize members of his church, recognizing the catechism of new members to be essential to church discipline.¹³

Robinson preached in Cambridge on Sundays and the neighboring villages during the week, "often preaching at five in the morning and half-past six in the evening to several hundreds who gathered" to hear him.¹⁴ He was popular in the academy, and took part in ventures to establish educational institutions, relief for poor dissenting ministers and education for their children. He wrote *A Plan of Lectures on the Principles of Nonconformity* as instruction to the young concerning "the principles of non-conformity," heavily emphasizing religious liberty.¹⁵ Realizing a need for educated ministers, though many Baptists were "prejudiced against the learned ministry" in this period, he unsuccessfully attempted to open a theological academy at Cambridge.¹⁶

He openly opposed his country's taxation policy of the American colonies, and was active in petitions and demonstrations in this regard. His political views caused strife among some members of his church, and he received calls for resignation. The *Plan of Lectures* "provoked adverse comment in Parliament," and was attributed with teaching the young minister's denial of the establishment in general.¹⁷ The antagonistic provocation was likely fueled by Robinson's sympathy toward both the American colonies' dissent and the French Revolution.

In 1781 he was commissioned by London Baptists to write a history of Baptists, and though the project was abandoned for a time, it was finally published in 1790. In this work, he undertook the massive task of chronicling the history of believer's baptism from the beginning of Christian history.¹⁸ His plan was to produce a four-volume set, with one volume

¹¹Ibid., 19.

¹²Ibid.

¹³Ibid., 31.

¹⁴Brown, *English Baptists of the 18th Century*, 123.

¹⁵Ibid., 3.; Robert Robinson, *A Plan of Lectures on the Principles of Nonconformity: For the Instruction of Catechumens* (Cambridge: Francis Hodson, 1778).

¹⁶Brown, *English Baptists of the 18th Century*, 124.

¹⁷Ibid., 133.

¹⁸Hughes, *With Freedom Fired*, 64.

chronicling the history of baptism, and the other three the history of Baptists beginning with the apostolic churches.¹⁹ He died before its completion, however, which was carried through to publication by William Frend two years later.²⁰

Regarding the nature of Christ, in 1776 he published *A Plea for the Divinity of Our Lord*, which refused to begin with the Athanasian Creed.²¹ He found great discomfort in theological systems, even the most basic. He wanted everyone to read the Bible for himself and continually question why things were previously proclaimed. His Baptist views stemmed from his high view of individual conscience, and that infant baptism is the suppression of one's right to this intrinsic characteristic. This view also shaped his opposition to the Thirty-Nine Articles and his belief that the foundation of the Reformation was on "private judgment."²²

Hughes weds Robinson to the "Rational Dissenters"—a group of theologians who embraced rationalism and tended toward liberal theology.²³ Robinson was deeply studious of the work of both Milton and Locke, which undoubtedly spurred his interest in government as well as natural law.²⁴ At this time, many dissenters were involved in public political reform and openly supported the American colonies' bid for independence. Hughes states about Robinson's stance, "He regarded their rebellion as a stroke in the *sacred cause of liberty*" (emphasis mine).²⁵ Indeed, Robinson's love of history and natural law greatly influenced and changed his theology. He viewed history as the outworking of God's will to be observed and interpreted as such.²⁶

Along with the Rational Dissenters he believed natural law dictated God's intention for man to be diverse, free and thinking.²⁷ Such a method led a number of other dissenters into the heresies of Socinianism and Arianism. Though the apparent heretical tendency in Robinson during this period is debated, he appears to indicate some movement toward the same rationalism that undermined the General Baptists.²⁸ In chronicling his namesake's writings, William Robinson laments that later in life, Robert

¹⁹Ibid., 65.

²⁰Robert Robinson, *The History of Baptism* (London: Thomas and Knott, 1790).

²¹Robert Robinson, *A Plea for the Divinity of Our Lord Jesus Christ: In a Pastoral Letter Addressed to a Congregation of Protestant Dissenters, at Cambridge* (Cambridge: Fletcher and Hodson, 1776).

²²Stephens, "Robert Robinson."

²³Hughes, *With Freedom Fired*, 88.

²⁴Ibid., 90.

²⁵Ibid., 92.

²⁶Ibid., 94.

²⁷Ibid., 97.

²⁸Ibid., 101.

Robinson may have become “one of the most decided Unitarians of the age.”²⁹ He continues:

A marked and mournful change seems to have passed upon him soon after the year 1780. No man has the right to call him either Socinian or Arian. He held apparently the indwelling hypothesis to the end of his life, but became vague and confused in its application. He was like a noble vessel broken from its moorings, and drifting out to sea amidst fogs and rocks, without a compass or a rudder.

Robinson was an extraordinary individual in regards to his work ethic, intellectual abilities and preaching prowess. He worked outside of the pastorate, often regarding vocational ministers who do nothing but study as lazy, denouncing their idleness and even referring to them on occasion as “godly boobies.”³⁰ He spoke highly of his wife and twelve children, though the death of his favorite daughter, Julia, at seventeen years of age caused him inconsolable despair for a lengthy period of time.³¹ Overwork and little rest probably contributed to his death. And even though his counsel to young pastors often included the admonition to rest in order to live long on the earth, his personality was such that he could not heed his own advice when it came to his passionate study.

Robinson on Freedom

From 1770 to 1773, dissenting ministers greatly supported the efforts to repeal the Test and Corporations Act, and questioned their forced support of thirty-five of the Thirty-Nine Articles.³² Robinson quickly saw the real issue among the debates as one of religious liberty, and expressed this sentiment in his book *Arcana*.³³ Robert Hall stated, “The religious opinions of the Dissenters are so various that there is, perhaps, no point on which they are agreed, except in asserting the rights of conscience against all human control and authority.”³⁴ Robinson, perhaps more than all others of the time was highly devoted to the cause of freedom.³⁵ On freedom both for and within the church, Hughes states, “He believed that of all mankind

²⁹William Robinson, *Select Works of the Rev. Robert Robinson of Cambridge* (London: Heaton & Son, 1861), lxxvii.

³⁰Hughes, *With Freedom Fired*, 62.

³¹*Ibid.*, 64.

³²*Ibid.*, 42.

³³*Ibid.*, 43.

³⁴*Ibid.*, 44.

³⁵*Ibid.*, 45; Stephens, “Robert Robinson.”

it was the Dissenters who best understood and most frequently practiced that liberty.”³⁶ Indeed, it was from this sense of liberty that he ardently defended the practice of open communion and rejected the Particular Baptist Fund’s exclusive stipulation that the receiving persons be Calvinist.³⁷ Writing to Dan Taylor, Robinson asserted, “I hate dominion over conscience, because I am clearly convinced it dishonours God, degrades man, tacitly denies the perfection of the Divine word, dethrones the King of saints, and introduces all manner of wicked passions among Christians.”³⁸

A group of Anglican ministers along with Robinson pushed for a repeal of the need to subscribe to the Thirty-Nine Articles along with an amendment to the Toleration Act on the basis of freedom of conscience.³⁹ He was focused upon political matters, even publishing a *Political Catechism*, in which he expressed opinions on a host of political and government topics.⁴⁰ His name became notorious on the floor of the House of Commons, however, as his name was called out for contributing to an anti-establishment agenda. But in 1828, upon repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, several years after the subscription to the Thirty-Nine Articles was finally replaced with a general belief in the Scriptures, Congregational minister Sylvester Horne stated, “In this campaign no single individual, not even Dr. Joseph Priestly himself, did more valiant service than the eloquent and impassioned Baptist minister, Robert Robinson.”⁴¹

It is of little doubt that Robinson, especially in his formative years, was heavily influenced by George Whitefield. In the first three years of listening to the great evangelist, he likely heard Whitefield’s denouncement of the abuse by slave holders and their reluctance to support evangelistic efforts directed at the slaves themselves.⁴² While preaching in the colonies, Whitefield presented slave holders with an ultimatum: “repent or face divine judgment.”⁴³ Yet, even though Whitefield was critical of the slaveholders’ neglect of the spiritual welfare of the slaves, he did not denounce the industry itself.⁴⁴ While Baptist sentiments against the slave trade and the practice of owning slaves existed in various churches and associations in America, such as those in Virginia and Kentucky, debate never rose

³⁶Hughes, *With Freedom Fired*, 51.

³⁷*Ibid.*, 57.

³⁸*Ibid.*, 86.

³⁹*Ibid.*, 46.

⁴⁰Robert Robinson, *A Political Catechism* (London: Buckland et al, 1782).

⁴¹Hughes, *With Freedom Fired*, 48.

⁴²James D. Essig, *The Bonds of Wickedness: American Evangelicals Against Slavery, 1770-1808* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1982), 10.

⁴³*Ibid.*, 11.

⁴⁴*Ibid.*, 14.

above the associational level.⁴⁵ Due to its autonomous structure without a national body of enforcement, overall Baptist sentiments toward slavery did not change.⁴⁶

Opposition to the Slave Trade

The General Assembly of General Baptists was among the first of the English Baptist denominations to unite in their support of the abolition movement. In 1787 they sent representatives, including the New Connexion's Dan Taylor, to voice support to the Committee for Abolition on behalf of all General Baptists.⁴⁷ In 1790, after a series of tavern meetings, the Cambridge Constitutional Society came to fruition. From this society, the first anti-slave trade petition, drawn up by the Particular Baptist Robinson, was sent to the House of Commons.⁴⁸

Many Baptist ministers, especially those from the Bristol Academy, openly resented the slave trade perpetrated by their own country. Raymond Brown states, "British slave traders had transported about a million and a half Africans during the eighteenth century. The sugar trade of the West Indies had relied on slavery and by 1790 about 70 million [pounds] of British money had been invested in the business."⁴⁹ Slaves brought to the Americas were traded for tea and sugar.⁵⁰ John Wesley protested against the industry, and many following him refused to use sugar for their tea.⁵¹ William Carey, in his famous *Enquiry*, suggested the money usually used to purchase sugar could be instead given to support overseas missions.⁵²

In the colonies of America, the British did not impose slave codes to govern master-slave relations.⁵³ Since Parliament declined to erect a code, the colonies were left to formulate their own. Executive and legislative powers in the colonies fell squarely on the slave-owning class, and laws, therefore, were not favorable to those sympathetic to the humanity of the slaves.

⁴⁵Lester B. Scherer, *Slavery and the Churches in Early America, 1619–1819* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1975), 135.

⁴⁶*Ibid.*, 137.

⁴⁷Brown, *English Baptists of the 18th Century*, 102.

⁴⁸Hughes, *With Freedom Fired*, 49.

⁴⁹Brown, *English Baptists of the 18th Century*, 102.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, 122.

⁵¹*Ibid.*, 102.

⁵²William Carey, *An Enquiry into the Obligations of Christians, To Use Means for the Conversion of the Heathens* (reprint, Didcot, Great Britain: Baptist Missionary Society, 1991), 111.

⁵³Rodney Stark, *For the Glory of God: How Monotheism Led to Reformations, Science, Witch-Hunts, and the End of Slavery* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 312.

But the slave trade manifested itself in the owning and trading of slaves in Britain as well.⁵⁴ Liverpool and Bristol, both significantly populated by Baptists, were centers of the slave trade. Therefore, the English Baptists would have been acutely aware of the cruelty of slave transit between Africa and the Americas. In Bristol, a port where there was common observance of the trade and its frequency, Caleb Evans was outspoken against it.⁵⁵ Being the principal of the Bristol Academy, his influence became widespread.

Particular Baptist associations also began participating in the campaign for the abolition of the slave trade.⁵⁶ In 1792, the Northamptonshire Associational meeting of the Particular Baptists discussed the need for abolition of the slave trade.⁵⁷ This association's ministers and others along with them urged their peers of the importance and need of identifying with Wilberforce's abolition campaign. The Yorkshire and Lancashire Association's churches also decried the trade.⁵⁸ Bristol-trained James Dore of the Maize Pond church preached and published a sermon against the slave trade entitled *On the African Slave Trade* in 1788. Bristol-trained Jacob Grigg and James Rodway went to Sierra Leone to preach against the trade, and Grigg was later expelled for his opposition. Inter-denominational cooperation resulted from joint resolve against the slave trade, including that of Baptists, Anglicans, and Quakers.⁵⁹

Though their American cousins began the first protests against the slave trade, Britain moved more quickly to enact laws. English Quakers and Dissenters formed the Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade in 1787.⁶⁰ Cambridge-trained Robert Clarkson crossed the country tens of thousands of miles on horseback mobilizing public opinion against slavery.⁶¹ William Wilberforce used Clarkson's petitions in his anti-slavery efforts in the House of Commons. In 1807, the House of Commons finally passed a bill abolishing the slave trade throughout the British colonies.⁶² Certainly it was those men who stood on biblical principles of liberty that ended the slave trade in Britain. It was in this environment that Robinson delivered the following sermon at Cambridge in 1788.

⁵⁴Brown, *English Baptists of the 18th Century*, 102.

⁵⁵Ibid., 122.

⁵⁶Ibid., 118.

⁵⁷Ibid., 121.

⁵⁸Ibid., 165.

⁵⁹Ibid., 136.

⁶⁰Stark, *For the Glory of God*, 349.

⁶¹Ibid., 350.

⁶²Ibid.

The Sermon of 1788

Robinson's sermon is addressed to the slave, the master, and the master and slave together. Appeals to liberty and freedom, the opposition between just versus the unjust, and the inherent cruelty and depravity of the slave trade prevail in the sermon. Though most of the sermon is directed toward the African slave trade, Robinson makes clear in his Appendix that:

This discourse, which attempts to shew that slavery is inconsistent with the genius of the Christian religion, was composed less for the purpose of exposing the iniquity of the African slave trade, than for that of vindicating the character of the primitive Christians, or rather the credit of Christianity itself, which is grossly misrepresented when it is described as compatible with slavery. Slavery in every form is unjust and inhuman: but a Christian religion in coalition with slavery is a mere creature of fancy.

The text of this sermon is republished for the modern reader in order to show that Baptists and other free churchmen have, at their best, maintained a proper doctrine of man, higher than the anthropologies characteristic of Roman Catholicism and evangelicalism, but lower than that of liberalism.⁶³ Robinson ably defends Christianity against its perversions, meanwhile displaying a subtle knowledge of classical history, Christian history, and international law. Although he attempts to find a way for Great Britain to outlaw slavery without too great of an economic disruption, his ultimate concern is to promote justice and remove national hypocrisy. For Robinson, the ethical tragedy of slavery has introduced a downward spiral in morality that ultimately concludes in atheism. Rather than this, he says in his sermon, "Let our actions be just, open, manly, conformable to our own convictions, such as become free intelligent and immortal men. . . . Above all, let us copy the life of Jesus, and *If the Son make us free, we shall be free indeed.*"

For Robinson, "liberty was the burning passion of his soul."⁶⁴ Though his theology went adrift in the latter part of his life, and consequently his joy for the faith, he maintained a nonconformist, Baptist identity in the championing of freedoms: thought, worship, religion, etc. It is virtually impossible to rightly consider the passion and rationale of this sermon outside the knowledge of Robinson's legacy. The intersection of reason and

⁶³Malcolm B. Yarnell III, *The Formation of Christian Doctrine* (Nashville: Broadman & Holman, 2007), 169-70, 195-203.

⁶⁴Hughes, *With Freedom Fired*, 116.

biblical principles colored Robinson's pursuits, and he can rightly be considered a participant in the rationalistic thought of the age. Yet even when rationalism staked far more ground in his theology than it should have, sound biblical and nonconformist principles still pervaded his writing.

*Slavery inconsistent with the Spirit of
Christianity.*

A

S E R M O N

PREACHED AT

C A M B R I D G E,

On SUNDAY, FEB. 10, 1788,

By ROBERT ROBINSON.

C A M B R I D G E,

Printed by J. ARCHDEACON Printer to the UNIVERSITY;

And sold by BOWTELL, and COWPER, Cambridge; and by
DILLY, London.

MDCCLXXXVIII.

Luke 10:18.

**The Lord Hath Sent Me—
To Preach Deliverance to the Captives.**

*Jehovah hath sent me to proclaim liberty to the captives.*¹ It is not necessary to be a captive to discover the worth of such a declaration as this: it is sufficient to be a spectator of captivity.

The Jews suffered by the fate of war several captivities; and in that which is called the Babylonian² a foreign victor reduced between twenty and thirty thousand free citizens to a condition of slavery.³ The king, only in the nineteenth year of his age when faults deserve pity more than blame, was stripped of all the ensigns of his dignity, and put in chains. His mother in the decline of life, and his wives in the bloom of it, all unadorned, distinguished only by depression of spirits, and dejection of countenance, shared his cruel reverse of fortune. His officers civil and military, his craftsmen and artificers followed in train, and all at the will of the conqueror went into the hopeless condition of slaves, some to prison, some to unproductive servitude, and some to death. No humane spectator of such a complicated calamity can help feeling a just indignation at the tyrant mixing with compassion for the slaves: for what had the king of Babylon to do with the sins of the Jews?

A proclamation of liberty to captives, then, meets with the wishes of both sufferers and spectators, and grates only on the ears of a tyrant who makes slaves, and masters who hold them in servitude. Such is the declaration of the text, and only one circumstance obscures the glory of it. When a Cyrus publishes his resolution to liberate captives, the world instantly gives him credit for sincerity, and applause for his generosity: but the text is the language of Jesus, a poor man. This, however, in the present case, is no objection; because if a poor man can discover a method by which the just maxims of a monarch, which are only local and temporary, may be rendered universal and perpetual, his birth and station are of no consequence, his wisdom is all in all, and his language is reputed, as it ought to be, the voice of nature, the reason of all mankind. The fact is: Jesus was a man, and the friend of man, and the proposal in the text was not the inefficient wish of an ordinary citizen, but the sober plan of one, who knew how to carry his design into effect. He did not, indeed, enlist armies,

¹Isai. lxi. I.

²2 Kings xxiv. 10.

³Jer. lii.

appoint generals, or even acquaint monarchs with his intention: he did not immediately remonstrate against the injustice of slaveholders, nor did he rouse the passions of their slaves: but he informed a few disinterested lovers of mankind of a few facts, which he foresaw would make their way, and slowly but certainly subvert the whole system of slavery; facts which, whenever the slaveholder should come to know them, would compel him by his own convictions to release his slave; and facts, which as soon as the slave should comprehend, would prepare him to bear an advance from the servile condition of a beast into the dignity of a man.

Let us select from the gospel of Jesus three doctrines, and let us address the first to a slave apart: the second to a slaveholder apart: and the third to both masters and slaves: and, although, it be in this stage of the business mere theory, yet let us examine what practice, if there be no unforeseen obstacles, the theory must naturally produce.

The Lord Jesus taught the dignity of man as an intelligent and immortal being: a true fact, but till then wholly unknown to slaves, and very imperfectly, if at all, to their masters. He addressed men as capable of knowing and enjoying intellectual pleasures, and he reported facts naturally adapted to excite and exercise the latent powers of the mind. He shewed that man must live in a future state to reap the reward of his virtues, or to suffer the punishment of his crimes. He spoke of him as a creature of worth, and according to his estimate a single soul is of more value than a whole world of unintelligent matter. It is natural to suppose that a slave informed of dignity of his nature must rise in value in his own account, become in his own eyes a man of natural consequence equal with his lord, and feel himself inspired with that noble pride of nature which distinguishes and dignifies the free. From under the depression of slavery, having heretofore known no more of himself than of his master's camel, that he had sensual appetites, the slave should seem to struggle into new existence, aspire to the distinctions of a man, the pleasures of an intelligent being, the joy of knowing God, the practice of virtue, and the prospect of immortality. In absolute servitude a man hath every thing to fear and nothing to hope, and his spirits sink, till, having no prospect, and no use for hope, his sensual appetites at the same time continuing to employ him, he forgets his dignity, and ceases to reason like a man: but by admitting the fact taught by Jesus Christ, the soul of this sunken slave takes a contrary direction, rises ennobled into its proper state, and enters first on the felicity of speculating moral excellence, then proceeds to the pleasure of doing good, and next advances to the delight of prospect, where no bounds are set to the eye, and where bliss extends beyond all he can ask, or think.

Jesus taught the true character of God: That there was a God: that there was but one: that he was a Father and the universe his family: that

his care extended over all his works, the most inconsiderable creatures not excepted: that he compassionated the most wretched, and was ready to forgive the most wicked: that a return to duty was a return to mercy: and the eternal glory was the reward of as many as copied his wise and just administration, for he was a Father in heaven, who made his sun to rise on the evil and the good, and sent his rain on the just and on the unjust: that in a future state he would call all men to account and admit of no distinctions except those of just and unjust: that justice he would eternally protect, and injustice for ever punish. The system of a slaveholder is a contrast to all this: his government is not founded in justice: his maxims of obtaining and employing, rewarding and punishing his fellow creatures, far from tending to equalize, introduce, and support the most horrible of all distinctions, and of three equal men make one an absolute slave, a second an inhuman task master, and the third a lawless tyrant above controul. Bring this stately slaveholder acquainted with the Supreme Being, more master of him than he of his slave: enlighten his mind with the knowledge of God, and it should seem the moment he approves of the divine perfections he must abhor his own depravity, blush at his dissimilitude to the original beauty, and cast about in his mind how to restore his slaves to their just and natural rights.

Jesus taught the nature and the indispensable necessity of holiness. In his gospel holiness is in general conformity to God, to God and not to rites and ceremonies; be ye the children, the resemblances of your Father: and in particular it is the possession of such dispositions as constitute order, and are necessarily productive of happiness. Happy are the rich, the powerful: No: Happy are the pure in heart; happy are the humble; happy are the mild; happy are the merciful, for those shall see God, and these shall obtain mercy. The doctrine of Jesus is: that such a similarity to God is absolutely necessary to hope of pleasing and enjoying him: that it is impossible to substitute any thing in its stead: that without this conformity all pretensions to the character of Christian are delusive and vain, frauds which may be a while concealed, but which impartial justice must in the end expose to the eternal glory of the rectitude of God, and to the everlasting disgrace of wicked men. Such doctrine, addressed to a company of slaves and slaveholders, it should seem, must convince the master that the connection between shewing mercy and obtaining mercy is just and natural, that if he shewed no mercy he ought not to hope for any; and the slave that to be good is the noblest end of being free.

Theory says: tidings such as these, committed by Jesus to his disciples to be published to every creature in all nations, ought, assuredly, to produce

effects when they reach the ears of slaves⁴. They actually did so, and slaves became members of the first Christian churches.

Let us follow this doctrine into a land of slavery in order to discover the operation of it in the minds and manners of the inhabitants. In Attica alone, it is said, there were only twenty or thirty thousand freemen, and they held in servitude four hundred thousand slaves. Every Christian teacher went to proclaim liberty to these captives: but this is such a country was a most difficult and delicate enterprize. It originated in justice, and was replete with mercy: but where human depravity hath arrived at a certain pitch, to introduce justice and mercy is the most hard and hopeless of all undertakings. Slaves are the wealth of their masters, and to emancipate them is to transfer their property. Slaves keep up the rank of their masters, and to elevate the one is to degrade the other class. The execution, therefore, of the Saviour's plan, required the prudent application of wise and well judged measures so as not to injure private property, not to disturb civil order, not to expose Christianity to the scandal of sedition, not to obscure the glory of a kingdom not of this world, and yet so as to procure effectual deliverance to captives, ample indemnity to their masters, and superior advantages to states. If a given number of slaves be an equal number of enemies, the state gains by the emancipation of them; and if the conscious rectitude of the action be an ample indemnity to him who makes restitution of unjust gain, the master is indemnified when he makes the slave free.

It is granted, the case was difficult, but it is affirmed, the apostles were equal to the task, and the primitive Christians under their prudent direction conducted the business so as to adorn the doctrine of their Saviour, and to demonstrate the excellence of the Christian religion. Three positions seem to contain the system of the primitive churches in regard to slaves.

First. The primitive Christian slaveholders did not force their slaves to profess the Christian religion. That same primitive Christians were slaveholders is clear from this passage: Let as many servants as are under the yoke (these were slaves) count their own masters worthy of all honour. And they that have believing masters, let them not despise them because they are brethren, but rather do them service because they are faithful and beloved, partakers of the benefit⁵. Philemon of Colosse was a master of this kind. He had a slave named Onesimus. This man defrauded his master, quitted his service, and fled to Rome. There by some means he became acquainted with Paul, who instructed him, and either baptized him, or caused him to be baptized into the profession of a Christian. Then he

⁴Mark xvi. 15.

Mat. xxviii. 19.

⁵1 Tim. vi. I, 2.

returned him to his master with a letter, of which these words are a part: I beseech thee for my son Onesimus, whom I have begotten in my bonds⁶. The power of Philemon over his slave had always been absolute, but it was Paul, not Philemon, who initiated Onesimus, for conversion was then considered an effect of argument, and not of dominion. On this account the apostle called Onesimus his son, for by baptism he had brought him into the Christian world.

Even Pagan masters did not force their slaves to profess Paganism: on the contrary, they thought their presence polluted the worship. It was for very different reasons that Pagans and Christians did not force slaves to profess religion, and when the apostles exhorted Christian slaves to count their Pagan masters worthy of all honour, perhaps this might be one reason, they left their slaves to their own reflections in matters of religion, and they might be proselytes of Moses, or disciples of Christ without incurring the displeasure of their owners. Primitive Christians entertained just notions of religion, and they wisely avoided to adorn it with vain glory of popularity by forcing slaves to profess what they did not understand. To say the truth, the forcing of conscience was alike unknown in those times to Pagans and Christians, and it was an invention of later ages: whether an honourable one I shall not now inquire, but leave to the consideration of such as admire it.

Secondly. A profession of Christianity was not a title to freedom in the first churches. A slave might hear, examine and believe the Christian doctrine; he might be baptized, receive the Lord's supper, and enjoy the benefit of all Christian institutes; but he might not claim manumission on this ground. An apostle speaks decidedly on the subject. Let every man abide in the fame calling wherein he was called⁷. Art thou called being a servant? Care not for it. Brethren, let every man wherein he is called, therein abide with God⁸. This explains the language of the same apostle to Philemon concerning Onesimus. Perhaps he therefore departed for a season, that thou shouldst receive him for ever⁹: an expression taken from the Jewish law of servitude. If the servant say, I will not go out free, then his master shall bore his ear, and he shall serve him for ever¹⁰, that is for life. The primitive Christians then did not affix manumission to profession of Christianity, and they acted wisely, for it would have degraded religion from its dignity, temporal reward being only a more pleasing kind of force. In these pure churches there were neither punishments nor bribes.

⁶Phil. x.

⁷1 Time. vi. I, 2.

⁸1 cor. vii. 20, & c.

⁹Phil. xv.

¹⁰Exod. xxi. 5,6.

Yet, thirdly, Christianity is, as an apostle calls it, a perfect law of liberty¹¹, and its natural and genuine produce is universal justice, or, which is the same thing, universal freedom. In proof of this let us step into those primitive assemblies, and hear what the apostles said to their converts.

Paul exhorted slaves to become free, if they could. Art thou called being a servant? Care not for it: but if thou mayest be made free use it rather¹². A hint was all that prudence could allow on a subject so delicate, and it was equal to saying, Set a just value upon freedom, and obtain it as soon as by any lawful means you can.

To such slaves as were under rigorous masters, and had no prospect of manumission, Peter gave this advice: Servants, be subject to your masters with all fear, not only to the good and gentle, but also to the froward. For this is thank-worthy, if a man for conscience toward God endure grief, suffering wrongfully. For what glory is it, if when ye be buffeted for your faults ye shall take it patiently? but if when ye do well and suffer for it, ye take it patiently, this is acceptable with God¹³. These were slaves subject to buffeting, or corporal punishment: but this is not an approbation of slavery, for the apostle complains of wrong, and his advice to the slave to be patient is applicable to this only as to one of many cases of affliction and oppression. Hence we reason, that the apostles disapproved of slavery, and that their advice to Christian slaves amounted to this: Get free if you can; but if you cannot, reflect on the wisdom of providence and bear the oppression of your tyrants with patience.

Let us imagine a primitive assembly of Christian slaveholders and slaves, not now, in this instance, as slaves, but above slaves, brethren beloved in the Lord¹⁴, all sitting at the same table, eating the same bread, drinking the same cup, in remembrance of their common benefactor, who had said, The Lord sent me to preach deliverance to captives. Let us hear Paul commending charity, or universal benevolence. He describes it literally, and prizes it above the faith of miracles, above the gift of tongues, above the distribution of alms, above the glory of martyrdom. Earnestly covet the best gifts: and yet I shew unto you a more excellent way. The greatest of all gifts is charity¹⁵. He describes it figuratively: the same subject in colours. All the members of Christ are one body. By one spirit we were all baptized into one body, whether we be bond or free. God hath set the members every one of them in the body as it hath pleased him, but the head cannot say to the feet, I have no need of you; for if one member suffer all the

¹¹James i. 25.

¹²I Cor. vii. 21.

¹³I Pet. ii. 18, & c.

¹⁴Phil. xvi.

¹⁵I Cor. xiii. I, &c.

members suffer with it, or if one member be honoured, all the members rejoice with it. Could the bond, or could the free, hear, believe, and feel such discourses delivered by Paul, and not regulate their actions by them? How must a slaveholder feel, when in the assembly a charitable deacon proclaimed: Remember them that are in bonds, as bound with them¹⁶? The doctrines and the ceremonies of Christianity attack injustice and cruelty in their strong holds, depraved passions, and consequently if a slave trade be the effect of such passions our religion goes to subvert the whole system of slavery. Feel its influence, and the work is done.

Let us go a step further. After the decease of the apostles, Christians understood that the liberating of slaves was a part of Christianity, not indeed expressed in the direct words of a statute, but naturally and necessarily contained in the doctrines and precepts of it: in the precepts which equalized all, and in the first principle of all doctrines, the equal love of God to all mankind. In the centuries before the establishment of a profession of Christianity, the Christians who denominated themselves Catholicks, and who afterwards coalesced with the state, were the least enlightened, and the most depraved of all the disciples of Jesus, and the Africans were the lowest order of these Catholicks: yet even the Africans thought it a Christian duty to liberate slaves. There is a letter of Cyprian of Carthage yet extant on this subject. Some Numidian bishops wrote him an account of the captivity of some Christians. The letter fetched tears from his eyes. He represented the case to the church, and he collected a considerable sum of money for the redemption of the slaves. Along with the sum he sent the letter just mentioned, containing several Christian reasons for redeeming captives, of which this is one: If Jesus at the last day will reward some, saying, I was sick and ye visited me, surely he will more abundantly reward others, to whom he may justly say, I was captive, and you set me free.

Perhaps I may be allowed to hazard a conjecture, for this is not the place for critical investigation. It seems to me, that the Africans, who first invented infant-baptism, intended by it only to save children from sacrifice or slavery. Before the time of Cyprian, that is, before the middle of the third century, if there were any debate concerning the baptism of infants, it was the baptism of infants in law, minor, not natural infants. Primitive Christians made conscience of closely copying the life of Christ. He was baptized when he began to be about thirty years of age, and it was a question of great consequence to the credit of Christianity, whether a youth ought to be suffered to enter by baptism into a Christian church, and to lay himself under obligations for life, before he arrived at years of

¹⁶Heb. xiii. 2.

legal discretion, or was allowed by law to dispose of himself: but in Africa, in the time of Cyprian, the baptism of an infant meant the baptism of a new-born babe. Every body knows that the Carthaginians were a colony from Tyre: that the Moloch of Tyre was the Saturn of Carthage: that the barbarous worshippers of this demon sacrificed children to him in flames of fire: that they purchased infants as the Jews did turtle doves for sacrifice: that to supply the markets with sacrifices and slaves parents sold their children, thieves stole them, and fighting parties subdued and carried off whole families; and that it was not in the power of the Roman emperors themselves for several centuries, if at all, to put an end to this horrible practice of sacrificing human beings.

Among such monsters one Fidus taught what little he knew of Christianity, and it is highly probable, for reasons not admissible here, that he hit on the method of saving the lives and liberties of the lambs of his flock, by prevailing on their parents to let him dedicate them to the one living and true God by baptism, as the Jews had dedicated their's by circumcision, and by putting them under the protection of some reputable sponsors. The Africans did not then believe original sin, and Cyprian and his colleagues in council approved of the baptism of infants by Fidus, because they thought the Son of man came not to destroy men's lives but to save them. The Africans then, and long after, called baptism *salus*, and they baptized children *pro salute*, to which words no Pagan Roman or Roman provincial had ever affixed the Christian idea of salvation. If this were the case: if Fidus, pitying the smiling tawny or jetty babes at their mother's breasts, baptized them for the safety of their lives and liberties, lest their ill-informed parents, long accustomed to do evil, should sell them: Fidus ought to be honoured as a benefactor to mankind, and the blame of diverting a Christian institute from its original design goes over from him to others, who in other countries imitated his conduct without any imaginable worthy motive for doing so. The earliest council in Spain discovered a somewhat similar humanity to slaves by enjoining a penance of seven years for killing a slave by design, and five for causing the death of one by accident. The most depraved Christians, therefore, in the primitive ages, were not so depraved as to imagine that barbarity and slavery, inseparable twins, could be consistent with the spirit of Christianity.

To proceed. In later times, in those which are called the middle ages, it is clear, the emancipation of slaves was considered as the natural effect of Christian principles. This is a voluminous subject full of various information, all tending to prove to the honour of Christianity that it contributed more than any thing else in the world to emancipate slaves, to improve society, and to refine the manners of mankind: but a hint must suffice here.

We have heard much of the decline of the Roman empire, and we have been told Christianity was the principal cause of the disaster. We respect the Roman empire. It was a fabrick of magnificence, one of the noblest efforts of the human mind. The Romans would be masters, but they were the best absolute masters in the world: however, let not splendour strike reason blind; the genius of Rome was love of dominion, the means often of obtaining it were factions in the senate, standing armies in the field, the depopulation of one province, the captivity of another, the reduction of millions to an unconditional dependence on the will of one. True it is, barbarous nations, as they are called, rushed into the empire, broke up the mighty mass of ancient despotism, and crumbled one into many independent states: but who will pretend to deny that, on the whole, order proceeded out of this confusion, and the western world in general became more, and more rationally free. This was the declaration of several at the time, and it is very credible for many reasons both of theory and experiment. The revolution was a loss to Rome, but a gain to the world, a diminution of imperial dignity, but an increase of human liberty. However it were, this is certain: the new states allowed a liberty of conscience to freemen, which too many Christian emperors had denied, and one of their first kings, for Christian reasons, paid large sums for the redemption of captives. The Vandals in Africa, the Wisigoths, or Western Goths, in Spain, the Ostrogoths in Italy, the Franks in Gaul, and other nations of the same stock had just notions of civil and religious liberty, and kept men in bondage only till it became safe to set them free, always holding it consistent with the spirit of Christianity to emancipate slaves. Even after their coalition with papal Rome, monarchs graced the birth of prince with a manumission of slaves. Monks purchased children to educate, and by associating them in their order made them free. The church freed many by ordaining them to office. Founders transferred their slaves with their lands to ecclesiastical bodies, which improved their condition, although it did not absolutely set them free. Dying persons ordered by will the emancipation of their slaves: and all charters and deeds of manumission, though mixed with superstitious notions, assigned Christian reasons, and every body understood that the liberating of a slave was a good work, in the true spirit of Christianity, and highly acceptable to Almighty God.

Let us come home to our own country. Our first known ancestors, the Britons, were wild and free, but dupes to the barbarous usages of Druidical superstition. They fought, they made captives, they burnt them in baskets to the honour of their gods. The Romans, the Saxons, the Danes, and the Normans by various revolutions reduced many to slavery, and none of them attempted to distribute universal freedom. Slavery in a state is a deep-rooted obstinate evil, and love of dominion is a disposition that

thrives too well in the hearts of depraved men. Conquerors will be masters, captives must be slaves. So lately as the first year of Edward VI. a statute degraded vagabonds into slaves. The act says, "If any person shall bring to two justices of peace any run-nagate servant, or any other which liveth idly and loiteringly by the space of three days, the said justices shall cause the said idle and loitering fervent or vagabond to be marked with an hot iron on the breast with the mark V. and adjudge him to be slave to the same person that brought or presented him, to have to him, his executors or assigns, for two years after, who shall take the said slave, and give him bread, water, or small drink, and reffuse meat, and cause him to work by beating, chaining, or otherwise, in such work and labour as he shall put him unto, be it never so vile: and if such slave absent himself from his said master, within the said term of two years, by the space of fourteen days, then he shall be adjudged by two justices of peace to be marked on the forehead, or the ball of the cheek, with an hot iron, with the sign of an S. and further shall be adjudged to be slave to his said master for ever: and if the said slave shall run away the second time, he shall be adjudged a felon. It shall be lawful to every person to whom any shall be adjudged a slave, to put a ring of iron about his neck, arm or leg." This act was repealed two years afterwards, but there was slavery in England before and after this period. In our publick records, there is a charter of Henry VIII¹⁷. enfranchising two slaves belonging to one of his manors; and there is a commission from Queen Elizabeth with respect to the manumission of certain bondmen belonging to her. There is in France a general law for the manumission of slaves, and though there is no such law in our statute book, yet the genius of our constitution was ever abhorrent of slavery, and now pure and proper slavery is so effectually done away that a slave or Negro, the instant he lands in England, becomes a freeman, and the law will protect him in the enjoyment of his person and property. Baptism is not necessary: to breathe British air is sufficient. Perhaps the vulgar error of liberating a slave by baptizing him came from Africa along with other African doctrines into the western world.

Happy should I be, if I could add, there is no slavery in our plantations, but, although it is unpleasant to blame one's nation, yet we must say, and we say it with sincere sorrow, while we boast of freedom at home, and zealously oppose every attempt to diminish it, we annually reduce a people, who never injured us, to a servitude unmerited, unjust, and to an enormous degree barbarous, as well as disgraceful to our country. We give the world lessons of cruelty, and, as we are called Christians, innocent Christianity, guiltless of oppression and blood, bears the scandal. The sins of individuals

¹⁷Rymer.

are not punished here, for this to them is only a state of trial: but collective bodies subsist here in a state of rewards and punishments, and if there be such a thing as national sin, that is it, assuredly, which the legislature makes its own. I fear, I fear, the African slave trade is of this kind.

Many plausible arguments have been used to defend this traffick, but, to say the truth, they are all reducible to one, that is the gain of it. What then becomes of justice, justice the base of the throne of God¹⁸, if ideas of gain and loss be allowed to supply the place of notions of right and wrong? Gain is the reason of every wretch alive for every crime that he can commit. Why does the avaricious render himself deaf to the cries of all the afflicted? He saves by it. Why does he rob the fatherless, and oppress the widow? He gains by doing so. Whence the false weight, and the deceitful balance, the perpetual frauds of some, and the violent dealings of others? They are productive of money. The base assassin, why doth he plunge his execrable dagger into the heart of his benefactor? He hopes to profit by it. Let us never quit the ground of eternal, immutable justice, never imagine any thing right that allows the propriety of something unjust and wrong.

I recollect an incident in the life of David. In the hearing of three of his military officers, he one day wished for a little water of a certain spring. The Philistine troops were then in garrison defending the fortification where the spring was. The officers of David broke through the host of the Philistines, probably by killing some of the soldiers, and certainly at the hazard of their own valuable lives, took water of the spring, and returned with it to David. What did he? He took the water, but recollecting what they had hazarded to procure it, and very likely observing they had stained themselves with human blood, the water had lost its chrystal in his eye, it seemed blood in the cup, he could not drink it, he poured it out with horror, exclaiming as he looked up to the Parent of life, My God forbid it me, that I should do this thing: shall I drink the blood of these men, that have put their lives in jeopardy!

I apply this to the present case. If more than four hundred thousand men be held in perpetual slavery in the plantations: if near one hundred thousand innocent persons be annually reduced to servitude to supply the waste: if corporal punishment, little less than staying alive, be necessary to their degradation: if raw salting be necessary to their preservation: if disgusting diet, if iron collars and brands in the flesh, if hanging, beheading, strangling, burning alive, setting heads and limbs on poles along the highway, if only a thousandth part of the horrors attributed to this trade be necessary to it, who doth not see that commodities coming through such hands are soaked in tears and stained with blood? Who doth not say

¹⁸Psal. xcvi. 2.

with an apostle, who is offended and I burn not¹⁹? or with David, My God forbid that I should drink blood!

Let us leave our Negro brethren to the care of their heavenly Father, who will, without all doubt, some day make inquisition for their blood: let us speak of ourselves. The slave-merchant protests he abhors injustice, and cruelty hath no place in his soul. Be it so. He is a Briton, we give him credit. A fact it is, intended or unintended, cruelty comes to pass of course in this traffick, and it is impossible to conduct a slave trade without it. As far as some of you, my hearers, born free, and refined to perfection by rank, education, and commerce with the world, as far as you are superior to Negroes, so much better are you prepared to meet and sustain with prudence an unavoidable ill. Suppose a foreign banditti of sable ruffians in the night should attack your house, handcuff your servants, plunder your property, seize your person, strip your wife and children, and attempt to put you all in chains: Would you make no resistance? But if you resist, behold a plea for violence, wounds and death. If you should fall a victim to superior force, and find yourself and family on board a ship, beneath the hatches, deprived of liberty and light, food friend and hope, are you sure you should have firmness enough to resist the temptation of laying violent hands on your children, your wife, and yourself? If you could surmount this, and if you should hereafter meet with a favourable opportunity to destroy your oppressor, could you help cleaving the barbarian asunder, although your doing so would make you appear a savage to yourself? Would you avoid this, and try to regain your liberty by exciting mutiny in hope of bringing the hard heart of the tyrant to relent; could you prevent the effect of his desperate rage, if he should set fire to the powder on board and involve his world and all its inhabitants in one common destruction? Even a beast resists, when you would tame him to your hand, and will man resign his mastery over himself without a struggle? But if he struggle, conflict commences which never ends without transgressing the bounds of humanity and justice.

Sorry, very sorry, I am to be obliged to say: human nature hath been affronted with the most brutal indignities in the persons of Negro slaves. They have been won and lost by their wanton masters at games of chance. When they have escaped, rewards have been offered for their heads, though he, who offers a price for blood, is guilty of felony. "I will give," says an advertising planter, "a reward of twenty pounds currency to whoever will apprehend the said negro. I will give the same reward for his head²⁰." I blush to tell, that even in London, so lately as the year seventy

¹⁹2 Cor. xi. 29.

²⁰*Law of Retribution.* By GRANVILLE SHARP, Esq; London, 1776, page 238. Carolina Gazette by Robert Wells, Dec. 30, 1774.

two, an advertisement appeared in the *Gazetteer* of the first of June for apprehending “An East India black boy about fourteen years of age, named” (I blush to relate this) “Pompey, having round his neck a brass collar with a direction to a certain house²¹.” Such well-attested facts (and they are nothing compared with what remain to be told) preclude the necessity of reflections in form; and I finish by addressing a few words to an assembly that hath not lost the use of its reason.

Let us put our entire love of liberty out of all doubt to ourselves by immediately entering into that freedom, which reason and revelation unite to recommend. Let our understandings put off prejudice, and lay themselves open to rational conviction. Let our passions discard those officious pretended friends, which if admitted will be masters, pride, avarice, envy, revenge, love of ease, and passion for power. Let us assort our companions, and if we have no vices of our own, let us refuse to be enslaved by the vices of our acquaintance. Let our actions be just, open, manly, conformable to our own convictions, such as become free, intelligent and immortal men. Let us reduce our wants within the limits of our own efforts. Above all, let us copy the life of Jesus, and If the Son make us free, we shall be free indeed.

Have we children? Let us call them to our knee, and early inspire them with the love of virtuous freedom. Let us teach them the natural connection between civil and religious liberty, and the indispensable obligation of fostering both. Let us shew them where encroachments on natural rights begin, and whither they tend. Let us set before their eyes the sad but instructive histories of consciences oppressed, property plundered, families divided, and flourishing states ruined by exercises of arbitrary power. Let us thoroughly tincture them with the doctrine of Jesus, that God sent his Son not to destroy men’s lives but to save them.

Let us, if we have domesticks, banish rigour, administer an economy of wisdom and goodness, and always remember we have a master, a master not a tyrant, in heaven, a guide to us, and a guardian to our servants.

Finally. In all civil and political debates let us be always on the side of liberty, not of licentiousness under the name, but of just, equal, and universal freedom. May we and our posterity enjoy it under the sanction of law! May other nations quickly recover or obtain it! May slaves receive it as soon as possible from their masters, lest the world should applaud them in future for taking it by force! May all the earth become in due time, as from what hath been done we hope and believe it will, a temple of God, and

²¹Mr. SHARP, in his *Limitation of Slavery*, London, 1776, page 35, says, This “remarkable instance of tyranny came within my own knowledge.—I inquired after the author, and found that he was a merchant—who shall be nameless.” The advertisement says, the boy “was named [Bob or] Pompey.”

all the inhabitants his wise and unconstrained worshippers! May we pass, when we die, into that state where the slave is free from his master, where there is no sin, no sorrow, no pain, not death, where God is all in all, and where glory honour and immortality will be to all, who after the example of their divine master have had both the power and the will to comfort those that mourn, to bind up the broken hearted, to proclaim liberty to captives, and to open the prison to them that are bound.

Appendix.

THIS discourse, which attempts to shew that slavery is inconsistent with the genius of the Christian religion, was composed less for the purpose of exposing the iniquity of the African slave trade, than for that of vindicating the character of the primitive Christians, or rather the credit of Christianity itself, which is grossly misrepresented when it is described as compatible with slavery. Slavery in every form is unjust and inhuman: but a Christian religion in coalition with slavery is a mere creature of fancy. In vain apologists quote the institutes of Moses, and the practice of new testament churches, for it is not credible that a slave trade is founded either on respect for Judaism, or faith in Christ, or that reasons for enslaving mankind are recommended by a book in praise of redemption. The most glorious part of the history of the Jews is that of their asserting their liberty against the tyranny of Pharaoh; and the uniform spirit of the new testament is, *Ye are bought with a price, be not ye the servants of men.*

War is the parent of slavery, and captivity is as ancient as Nimrod. This hero built a city, and called it Babel, which is a contraction of *Bab-bath-al*, or *Bab-al-ain*, the apple of God's eye. *Bab*, all over the east, literally means the court of a prince, and it was perfectly consistent with the genius of the easterns to assimilate such a court to the *ain* or pupil of a beautiful eye. To this they affixed *al*, the name of God, which signified no more than that it was the most excellent of its kind. It was a divine pupil, *the beauty of the excellency of the Chaldees*. In this name the inhabitants and their kings boasted. The same Nimrod built other cities, and one at least with turrets on the walls, probably for the confinement of captives. This was named *Ballel*, which literally signifies a confusion, and figuratively a confusion of *fight*, owing to what is called a blood shot, or a *blemish in the eye*, and this apt figure was intended to express what the early inhabitants of the east thought of restraint and captivity. From that day to this successive Nimrods have held all the east in bondage, and their tyranny is a deformity that hath ever tarnished the beauty of oriental nature, and marred the elegance of Asiatick art.

The Greeks boasted of liberty: but what was Spartan liberty more than aristocratical licentiousness? It becomes a Briton to think, that the celebrated Spartan government was a discipline founded on injustice, supported by cruelty, inimical to population and national wealth, incompatible with commerce, arts and sciences, utterly destructive of freedom and virtue, and productive of the very worst of all forms of despotism, an obstinate aristocracy. Spartan freemen were all idle gentlemen, who were forbidden to till the ground, or practise any mechanical employment, and who spent all their time in hunting, dancing, festivals, amusements or war. They con-

quered a people called Helots, and converted them all into slaves. They made an equal partition of lands among themselves, and compelled the Helots to farm them for the owners. They called themselves *the state*, and they obliged the degraded Helots to perform the whole manual labour of the republick, and with unparadonable ingratitude and cruelty they assassinated them at their pleasure. They compelled them to intoxicate themselves, and play mad pranks, in order to teach their young masters by contrast sobriety and genteel behaviour, and this brutal practice is quoted without any marks of indignation of some moralists. The barbarous practice of putting weakly children to death prevailed among themselves. Their system of education was a string of absurdities, and the whole tended to sink the man in the soldier, and to annihilate domestick virtue under pretence of publick good. In return for all the advantages, which the pretended state derived from the services of the Helots, the army guarded the miserable beings from foreign invaders, and protected them in the enjoyment of the blessings of absolute slavery.

In some parts of Greece slaves were to masters as ten to one, and in others as twenty to one. By an account taken at Athens at one time, it appeared that there were ten thousand strangers, twenty thousand citizens, and four hundred thousand slaves, and it was a similar disproportion that obliged masters every where to render the condition of slaves most deplorable. They were bought, sold, tamed, employed, beaten, mutilated, or destroyed exactly as beasts were: and worse than beasts they were put to torture, and deprived of the means of defence left they should endeavor to make themselves free. The Greek slaveholders reduced the whole system into one short proverb, which passed from them to the Romans, *Tot hostes, quot servi*, and their history exemplified the adage, for slaves often mutinied, and the slaughter of a million hath been called the salvation of a state.

The Romans maintained the same absolute dominion over their slaves, and for the same reason. Hence it was that, when it was proposed in the senate to distinguish slaves from freemen by a certain dress, a senator opposed the motion, because he thought slaves, always too much inclined to destroy their masters, would discover their own superiority of number, and be tempted by it to resist their lords, and subvert the state. The wisest of Pagans never imagined universal freedom, and the most just were so far from modern manners that they would be reputed barbarians now. When the slaves of the celebrated Cato had spent their lives in his service, and became through age unable to work, Cato, that exact pattern of punctual Pagan justice, would not be at the charge of supporting them, but either turned them off to shift for themselves, or suffered them to starve to death in his own family. Yet Cato was not liable to be called to account by

government; on the contrary, government protected him, and every other slaveholder, in the glorious right of starving an old slave, or stabbing a young one.

Into this disordered world, at a proper period, *God sent forth his Son to proclaim liberty to captives*: the TOTAL but not the immediate ABOLITION of the slave trade. Here two questions rise to view: a question of right, and a question of fact. The question of right is affirmed in the foregoing sermon, and an attempt is made to prove that the enfranchisement of slaves is one act of justice naturally proceeding out of evangelical doctrine. The question of fact, Whether the Christian slaveholders mentioned in the new testament did actually emancipate their slaves is rather supposed than proved. There are, however, some substantial evidences that the first Christians did not traffick in slaves, and that they emancipated such as they had at their conversion as soon as the condition of their affairs would permit. When slaves were so numerous, that one master had four hundred, another five thousand, a third twenty thousand, a fourth a multitude innumerable resembling an army, it became wealthy Christians, who probably were not of very high rank, and had not any considerable number of slaves, to act with all possible caution, and to unite prudence with benevolence. Had they annexed manumission to baptism, undoubtedly, slaves would have accepted the condition, and two great evils would have followed: the church would have been a crowd of unprincipled men, who would have disgraced the holy profession by ignorance and profligacy; and the state would have been justly alarmed, lest Christians should arm slaves, subvert government, and set up a secular kingdom. It is a character to the gospel that it was embraced by freemen, that in the history of its progress slaves seldom appear; that when they do it is without compulsion; that on embracing Christianity they were admitted to full religious liberty; and that the manumission of them was left to the discretion of the master to be effected as soon as possible without damage to religion, or giving umbrage to the state. No other state of the case accords with all the circumstances of it.

Let any man examine the Greek and Roman maxims of managing slaves, and which, brutal as they are, are absolutely necessary to render servitude safe. Then let him inquire whether a primitive disciple of Jesus could observe these maxims. Could the mild and merciful Christian assume the haughty air necessary to a slaveholder to keep his slave at proper distance, lest he should once suspect himself of a species equal to his lord? Could a Christian, who had been taught not to be angry with his brother without cause, not to resist evil, to let his communication be yea, yea, nay, nay²²: could he rate, revile, beat and torture his slave? yet slaves could not

²²Matt. v.

be managed to profit without all this. Could he, who was bound on peril of his destruction to feed the hungry, to clothe the naked, to harbour strangers, to visit the sick and imprisoned²³, could he consult his own worldly interest so as to neglect all these? yet on condition of performing all these kind offices slaves were not worth keeping. How then was it possible for primitive Christians to buy slaves, or to hold them in hand?

To these general observations, one in particular may be added in proof that Christian masters actually got rid of slavery as fast as by any prudent means they could. The first disciples of Jesus, drinking of the pure water of life at the spring-head, took no oaths, bore no arms, shed no human blood. A disapprobation of war includes a detestation of captivity, the first fruit of war. They thought, wars and fightings originated in depraved passions. Their wisdom was pure, peaceable, gentle, easy to be intreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality and without hypocrisy²⁴, in perfect agreement with the second great commandment, thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.

The truth is, there were almost from the beginning two sorts of Christians: the first, genuine disciples of Jesus, aimed only to form a *church*; the other meant to form a *state*. Unhappily for the credit of religion the last succeeded, and introduced all the maxims of secular empires, rank and subordination, licentious inactivity and horrible slavery, oaths and arms, and the shedding of human blood, and so forced monachism upon reluctant nations under the name and in the place of Christianity. Even these mistaken Christians have acknowledged that it is a part of Christianity to liberate slaves: but the other class, though they fell into disgrace, and were distinguished in different countries by many odious names agreeing only in this, that they were non-catholicks, retained the primitive faith and manners, and while they practically asserted their own freedom, taught the rights of all mankind.

These two do not always go together, and, to omit other countries, France affords an example of the most pointed abhorrence of personal slavery at home, along with a code of colonial law establishing on barbarous principles absolute and perpetual slavery in her plantations. It was in the year 1315 that Lewis X. issued an ordinance, which declared: That all mankind were by nature free-born: that many of the common people were held in servitude for the faults of their ancestors: that the kingdom was called the kingdom of Franks: that the king, by the advice of his grand council, determined the fact should accord with the name: and that therefore all slaves should be enfranchised upon just and reasonable conditions. The French lawyers do consider this ordinance as putting a final period

²³ xxv.

²⁴ James iv. I, &c.

to slavery in France, but they do not allow that freedom originated in it: on the contrary, they affirm on the testimony of ancient and authentick writers that, although they know not the source of the privilege, which effaced the idea of pure slavery in France, yet they have full proof that the Franks were originally free: that they were none of them slaves: and that if any foreign slave entered the country crying *France and liberty*, the state protected him in the enjoyment of freedom, so that his master could neither recover his original cost, nor his future service without his own consent. They, therefore, regarded this ordinance as the restitution of an ancient allowed right, which later customs had violated. In 1571 a merchant of Normandy offered to sale at Bourdeaux several Moors, but the parliament of Guienne by a solemn decree set them all at Liberty, because France, the parent of liberty, did not allow any slavery in the kingdom. In the reign of Henry III. a Spanish man of war ran ashore by distress of weather near Calais. The governour understanding there were aboard two or three hundred Turks, Moors, and Barbarians, whom Spain had enslaved by the fate of war, seized the slaves, and sent them to the king at Chartres. There, as they had been instructed, they placed themselves kneeling, and naked as they had been aboard, on the steps of the church to which the king was going to hear mass. On his majesty's arrival, in a tone which only distress can utter, they cried *misericorde, misericorde*. The king observed them, and after dinner assembled his council to deliberate; and neither the credit of the duke of Guise, who used all his interest, nor the memorial of the Spanish ambassador, who claimed the slaves for his court, and who urged the good understanding then subsisting between the two crowns, and further, that accident, not design, had brought them to Calais, nor any other reasons could prevail against the doctrine that no slavery could be endured for a moment in France, and the slaves were declared free. Soon after, they were shipped at Marseilles for Constantinople, and every man was complimented with a crown-piece.

The black code, as it is called, or the royal edict for the government of negro slaves in the plantations, is dated Versailles, 1685. It consists of sixty articles, of a few of which this is the substance. No negro slave shall marry without the consent of their masters: the children of slaves belong to their masters: no slave shall be suffered to carry any walking sticks or offensive arms, nor shall slaves of different masters gather together in companies, night or day, under any pretence whatever, on pain of corporal punishment, in some cases of imprisonment, in others of death: whatever a slave acquires by his own industry, or by the liberality of others, or by any other means, shall belong wholly to his master; and no person, slave or freeman, child or relation, shall be allowed to claim any share, all promises and obligations of slaves being null and void, they having not power to dispose of any thing:

no slave shall be suffered to execute business, except for his master: he shall not be allowed to give evidence in any cause civil or criminal, and in case he be heard in evidence his deposition shall not afford any presumption, conjecture, or shadow of proof, but shall be used only to direct the judges where evidence may be elsewhere found: no slave shall be a party in any civil or criminal process for the reparation of outrages and excess committed against slaves: if a slave shall strike his master, or his master's wife, his mistress, or their children, so as to fetch blood, or on the face, he shall be punished with death; and all offences against freemen shall be severely punished, in some cases with death: a fugitive slave shall, for the first time, have his ears cut off, and shall be marked on the shoulder with a flower de luce, for the second he shall be hamstrung, and marked with a flower de luce on the other shoulder, and for the third he shall be put to death: masters shall not be allowed to torture or mutilate their slaves, but they may chain them, or beat them with rods or cords whenever they think their slaves deserve correction: in general, slaves shall be accounted moveables, and shall be subject to the same laws as all other chattels of their masters. The lawyers of France observe that this is a code of slavery in form, and that the servitude of negroes in their colonies is nearly equal to that of Roman slaves.

Pains have been taken by many gentlemen to prove that there is no necessary connection between slavery and cruelty, and this may be true of a few domestick slaves: but whence, except from the necessity of the case, have all the laws and maxims of ancient and modern slave-government proceeded? Whence this uniform barbarity? The nerveless orientals, too idle to kill any thing else, behead and butcher slaves. The Greeks, though never famed for sincerity, were always reputed liberal and polite, yet the Greeks tortured slaves. The high spirited republicans at Rome, who stabbed a Caesar for attempting to make himself their master, were themselves the most despotical of mankind to their slaves. The French, who were never reputed cruel, while they paid an enthusiastical homage to liberty at home, governed their plantations with a rod of iron. Even Britain, just in her laws, and gentle in her manners, equal in her zeal for liberty, and more successful in obtaining it than France, hath been alike inhuman in her colonial government of slaves. Whence then could cruelty proceed but from a conviction that many slaves could not possibly be kept in order without it? It was extorted, as it always must be, by necessity. What except corporal punishment can be inflicted on a slave? Would you imprison him? He is in confinement. Would you banish him? He is banished. Would you fine him? He hath no property, his rages are not his own. Would you separate him from his wife and children? They are his master's, not his. What remains? Only one thing: corporal punishment, which must be increased in

proportion to his offences: cut off his ears for the first; cut the tendons of his hams and lame him in both legs for the second; for the third kill him, and, if there be a God and a future state, let him complain to him, and get redress if he can: but perhaps there will be no future state, perhaps a negro hath no soul, perhaps, too, there is no God.

The African slave-trade hath long been a distress to individuals; and now, if a judgment may be formed by the numerous petitions which have been presented to parliament, the general voice is for the TOTAL ABOLITION of it.

There is not difficulty in determining the nature of this trade: it is confessed unjust; and the danger to the state from the quantum of slavery in a plantation is not hard to guess. There is in Jamaica a tax or fine laid upon such as keep fewer than three white to one hundred black servants, and it is said there are in the island about thirty thousand, perhaps, more whites, and one hundred and seventy thousand negroes. Hence follows the necessity of severity. In Barbadoes the disproportion is less, if, as it is said, the whites be twenty-two thousand and the Negroes only seventy-two thousand. At St. Kitt's, the inhabitants are about forty thousand, of whom thirty thousand are blacks; and at Nevis the whites are reputed about two or three thousand, and the negroes six thousand.

Nor is there any difficulty in answering the argument taken from the supposed natural inferiority of the negroes. Perhaps this may not be true: and if it be, the clear conclusion is, that the wise ought to protect and not oppress the weak.

It hath been affirmed, that the condition of the Africans on the slave coast is so wretched, that it is an act of mercy to transport them to the European plantations. Do the negroes think so? And have the planters any Omiah to fend back with this good news to their countrymen?

The real difficulty lies in the immediate dependence of the plantations on the slave-trade, for those sultry climates the clearing of woods, the cultivation of sugar, rice, and tobacco, require labours which, the planters affirm, none but negroes can perform. For this purpose an annual cargo of Africans is necessary, and in the year 1771 forty-seven thousand, one hundred and forty-six were exported, and of these the Liverpool merchants carried more than twenty-nine thousand. The direct produce of these, on a moderate computation, amounts to one million and a half sterling, and the indirect advantages which Britain derives from their labours in the plantations are beyond computation.

Gradually to emancipate the present slaves and to convert them into a yeomanry, and to supply future labourers without violence, are two desirables of infinite consequence; but the difficulty of effecting these ends is far beyond the comprehension of those who have only private and partial

information: however, it may be believed they are both within the reach of legislature, with ample indemnity to the planters, and without diminution to the state; but by what means must be left, as it ought to be, to parliamentary wisdom. Mean time several considerations encourage people to hope that this great evil will in due course be removed.

The total abolition of proper and absolute slavery hath been effected in feudal states, as England and France, without any inconvenience, and with innumerable advantages. Why should not the same effects proceed from the same cause in the plantations? Would not free negroes properly treated propagate their species in the plantations as well as on the coast of Guinea? A growth of negroes would render importation unnecessary.

The Spaniards have made trial of a gradual enfranchisement of their slaves, and no ill consequences have followed. At the Havannah the purchaser of a slave is obliged by law to enter the name and the price of the slave in a publick register, to allow him one day in every week to work for himself, beside Sundays. The earnings of this day, if he choose to work, are secured to him by law, and as soon as he is able to purchase another day the master is obliged to sell it to him at the price of one fifth of his original cost, and so likewise the remaining four days at the same rate as soon as the slave is able to redeem them, after which he is absolutely free.

Some gentlemen have made trials similar to this in the main in the British plantations with great success, and the Americans are daily experiencing the good effects of their efforts to the same purpose. What should hinder others from imitating examples good in themselves, and successful in the issue?

Some of the best informed commercial writers in Europe affirm that the slave trade obstructs another trade better than itself: That Africa is the best situated for commerce of any other quarter of the world: that from Port-Sallee to the cape of Good Hope is an extent about three thousand leagues of coast: that its rivers are of the first magnitude, as the Nile and Nubia on the north shore, which fall into the Mediterranean, the Niger which empties itself into the Atlantick on the west, the Congo, the Zairi, and the Loango, south of the line, which fall into the Ethiopick ocean on the west side, beyond the gold coast, the Natal, the Prio St. Esprit, the Melinda and the Mozambo, which empty themselves into the Indian ocean on the east side of Africa: that the country is populous beyond credibility, and that if proper measures were pursued a greater quantity of European produce and manufactures might be exported thither than to any other country in the whole world: that there are rich mines of gold and silver, and the finest copper in the world: that many parts, and particularly the banks of the rivers near the gold coast and the slave coast are capable of the best cultivation, a temperate, fertile, healthy and manageable soil: that

cinnamon, tea, coffee, spices, ginger, cotton, rice, pepper, fustic and indigo have some of them thriven to admiration, and all might do so by proper management: that wheat and barley are in plenty and perfection: that the woods abound with valuable timber, rich fruits, and precious gums: that there are camels, horses, elephants, and almost all sorts of beasts: that ivory, hides, wax, ebony, feathers, sulphur, civet, salt petre, emeralds, aloes, and a thousand other articles of traffick abound in the immense kingdoms of Africa: and that at the entrance of the rivers into the sea there are excellent harbours, deep, safe, calm, covered from the wind, and capable of being made secure by fortifications. These are not reveries of landlopers, but true facts reported by seamen and merchants from actual observation of the coast, and the African islands, Madagascar, St. Helens, Cape Verd, the Canary and the rest: and they add, that the numerous emoluments of African commerce are capable of amazing augmentation: that such augmentation is very practicable: that the treasures of Africa are inexhaustible: that nothing which could be cultivated there could possibly interfere with the produce of Britain: that the amount of African trade must be esteemed so much clear profit to the nation: and that nothing but the SLAVE-TRADE obstructs all this.

The Dutch have humanized the savages of the spice islands, who were as barbarous as the African negroes, and it was a maxim with them to attach the natives to themselves by proffered advantages of traffick more than by force of arms, which they never used but to preserve the dominion they had acquired by commerce. The mighty power of the Dutch in the East Indies originally sprang from a very small beginning. Nine merchants of Amsterdam subscribed 70,000 guilders, fitted out four ships, which sailed from the Texel 1595, and founded the Dutch East India company, whose extent of territory and immense riches are known only to themselves. It is the slave trade that prevents the Europeans from forming similar settlements in Africa, for it is impossible to conciliate the Africans while we stir up wars among the negro princes for the sake of making captives of each other for sale.

The history of the South Sea Company, and the Assiento exhibit a contrast to the Dutch prosperity in the East. The Spaniards, having in a manner destroyed the natives of Spanish America, and having no settlements on the coast of Africa, are obliged to contract with foreigners for an annual supply of negro slaves to work their gold and silver mines. The contract hath passed through several hands. The Genoese first engaged in it, but they made nothing of it. Then the English South Sea Company obtained the contract, and undertook to furnish 4,800 negroes a year, for thirty years: but the company, like the former Assientists, gained no advantages, worse than former contractors they could not fulfil their engage-

ments, and the contract hastened their ruin. That freemen may be engaged to work in mines; that free negroes may be induced to labour under the line; and that Europeans, if not wrought too hard, may be prevailed on to work in the plantations, are positions incontestible with many: and if they be granted, it follows that the slave trade is a gratification of the ambition and avarice of a few at the expence of the general prosperity of commercial kingdoms, and the natural rights of millions of the human species. Do the millions of negroes in bondage ever kneel down, clasp their hands, and with dripping eyes look upward? Great being! with what eyes dost thou behold them!

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Review Essays

***Believer's Baptism: Sign of the New Covenant in Christ.* Edited by Thomas R. Schreiner and Shawn D. Wright. Nashville: B&H Academic, 2006. 364 pages. Hardcover, \$19.99.**

New Testament scholar Thomas R. Schreiner and church historian Shawn D. Wright, both professors at The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary in Louisville, Kentucky, have done a great service to the church in co-editing this compendium of essays from well-known Baptist scholars and pastors treating the often controversial subject of baptism. Complete with a foreword and introduction, there are ten chapters in all, including four essays pertaining to the biblical and theological material pertinent to the issue of baptism, five chapters devoted to the relevant historical challenges to credobaptism, and a final chapter espousing the practical application of believer's baptism within the context of the local church.

In his foreword to the volume, Baptist theologian Timothy George sets the irenic tone that characterizes the essays included in *Believer's Baptism*. Though all Christians should long for unity in Christ, George contends, "unity in love must also be unity in truth, else it is not unity at all. The historic Baptist witness to believers' baptism is grounded on such a commitment to unity in truth" (xix). In their introduction, editors Schreiner and Wright deal briefly with many of the common objections raised against believer's baptism by evangelical paedobaptists. Though many "forms" of paedobaptism exist, Schreiner and Wright are clear from the outset that their desire in the present volume is to point out the inconsistencies within the arguments put forth by evangelical paedobaptists primarily in the Reformed tradition, those who bestow the sign of faith in Christ—baptism—upon those who have not yet exercised that faith (7).

Andreas J. Köstenberger examines the passages relating to baptism in each of the four Gospels within their salvation historical context, demonstrating how John's baptism, Jesus' later "baptism" on the cross at Golgotha, and a future time when Jesus will baptize with the Holy Spirit—a reference to the birth of the church at Pentecost—are all eschatological in nature. Köstenberger draws the following conclusion about baptism in the Synoptics and John: baptism is immersion in water for believers only upon being born again by the Holy Spirit as an essential part of Christian discipleship (33–34).

Robert H. Stein writes a particularly illuminating chapter on baptism in Luke–Acts, arguing that the components involved in one becoming a Christian—repentance, faith, confession, the gift of the Spirit, and baptism—are all very closely related temporally in Luke–Acts, often taking place on the same day (52). Rightly emphasizing the corporate nature of water baptism, Stein shows that the church baptized believers only in the book of Acts, as those being “added” to the church (Acts 2:41) involved both faith and baptism (55–56). In the book of Acts, to speak of a believer or one who comes to believe in Christ is to speak of one who has been baptized; indeed, water baptism is intimately connected to the new birth.

Employing careful and thorough scholarship Thomas R. Schreiner examines baptism in the epistles, emphasizing Paul’s teaching. Speaking to Paul’s assertion in Ephesians 4:5 that there is “one baptism” that unifies all believers, Schreiner writes of the believers being addressed: “They all shared a common saving experience by being immersed into Christ, and Paul assumes that all believers have been baptized” (71). From the vantage point of the flow of redemptive history, Schreiner argues, baptism “is an initiation rite into the new age of redemption in fulfillment of the Old Testament promises” that have come with the granting of the Spirit promised in Joel 2:28–29 (88). Baptism, then, is not for those who have yet to receive the gift of the Spirit by faith, but only for those who have repented of sin and trusted in Christ alone for salvation.

Stephen J. Wellum’s chapter on baptism and the relationship between the covenants is exemplary, and worth the price of the book. One of the most ubiquitous arguments for infant baptism is the contention of an overarching “covenant of grace” seen throughout the Scripture, signifying basic continuity across redemptive history between the people of God—Israel and the church—and the signs of the covenant—circumcision and baptism (101). However, Wellum asserts, “covenant theology’s discussion of ‘newness’ fails to reckon that in the coming of Christ the nature and structure of the new covenant has changed, which, at least, entails that all those within the ‘new covenant community’ are people, by definition, who presently have experienced regeneration of heart and the full forgiveness of sin (see Jer 31:29–34)” (105). Wellum continues to show how this oversight of covenant theology has “massive implications for the baptismal discussion” (111). The nature of Israel is a “mixed” community of believer and unbeliever, while the church is made up only of those who have received the gift of the Spirit poured out at Pentecost, and baptism is the sign of those who have entered into the Kingdom community by faith and repentance. Wellum concludes, “Ultimately baptism is linked to the proclamation of the gospel itself as it proclaims the glories of our Lord Jesus Christ and the full realities of the gospel of sovereign grace” (160)

Wellum's dismantling of the common argument for infant baptism from an overarching "covenant of grace" is particularly important for Baptists.

Often the baptism debate has focused on the etymology of the Greek word for "baptize" in the New Testament, or on the fact that no babies are ever found to be baptized throughout the Scripture. Indeed, these arguments alone are enough to make a sufficient case for believer's baptism. However, much more can be said in terms of fitting believer's baptism within the framework of salvation history, of God's acts to sum up all things in Christ (Eph 1:10). After all, the use of water in baptism is no arbitrary thing. Throughout the storyline of the Bible, the Scriptures speak of the sea in terms of chaos, and of judgment. When God judges the world for its wickedness, he sends a flood to blot out man from the face of the land (Gen 6–7), saving only Noah and those with him in the ark (cf. 1 Pet 3:20–21). In chasing after Moses and the Israelites after God has delivered them from their bondage in slavery to the Egyptians, Pharaoh's army is swallowed up by the Red Sea, and not one of them survives this act of God (Ex 14). The prophet Jonah is swallowed up by a great fish in the sea in judgment for disobedience to God, only to be spit up onto the shore after crying out to the Lord for deliverance (Jonah 1–2). The prophets see wicked monsters and wicked kingdoms emerge from the sea (Isa 27:1; Dan 7:1–8), waging war against God and against the kingdom of his coming Son of Man.

With this in the background, then, it is no coincidence that Christ, "one who in every respect has been tempted as we are, yet without sin" (Heb 4:15), identifies with sinful Israel in being baptized by his cousin John (Matt 3:13–17; Mark 1:9–11; Luke 3:21–22). After being lowered beneath the surface of the waters and being lifted back out, a voice from heaven declares, "This is my beloved Son, with whom I am well pleased" (Matt 3:17). This one who is both fully God and fully man is not overcome by water, but rather rebukes the winds and the waves and they are still (Matt 8:23–27). He is one who walks upon the very surface of the sea itself (Matt 14:22–33). Jesus points forward to another baptism (Mark 10:38–39), which takes place in his drowning in his own blood while being nailed to a tree for the sins of the world, and John proclaims a time when Jesus will baptize believers with the Holy Spirit (John 1:33). Jesus, then, grants his church the authority to go and make disciples of Christ, baptizing them, for Christ himself will be with them always (Matt 28:18–20). At the pouring out of the Spirit at Pentecost (Acts 2), the promise of the "age to come" prophesied in Joel 2:28–32 is fulfilled (Acts 2:16–21), and the church is born. All those who receive the Spirit of this new age are then baptized in water, and in this way are added to the church (Acts 2:41).

The rightly ordered local church, then, as the visible manifestation of the body of Christ, should consist only of those who have believed on Christ for salvation and have been baptized in water upon profession of that faith. This kingdom outpost proclaims the gospel of Christ's kingdom, inviting others personally to trust in Christ by faith what they will someday see by sight: Jesus is Lord (Phil 2:9–11). Baptism signifies one's union with Christ in his death, burial, and resurrection (Rom 6:3–5), and the individual being baptized and the church performing the baptism are both declaring that another sinner has been forgiven of his sins and hid in Christ, having been ripped from the domain of darkness and transferred to the kingdom of God's beloved Son (Col 1:13–14). Being lowered into the water represents judgment—and the place of judgment where Christ stood on our behalf, paying the penalty for our sin in his death. Being lifted up out of the water represents our justification and resurrection by virtue of being found in the one who has been declared just through his resurrection from the dead (Rom 4:25). Only believers in the Lord Jesus are valid candidates for this baptism, for the new covenant has been ratified in the person and work of Christ, meaning that all of those in the believing community will know Christ, “from the least of them to the greatest” (Jer 31:31–34). This church longs for the day when its King will return in final victory, when the Judged One proves also to be the Conquering King, for the open declaration of the sons of God, for the eradication of sin and death and tears, and for the time when the sea will be no more (Rev 21:21). Believer's baptism, then, is an issue tied directly to the gospel itself, and Baptists have more than just word studies to prove it.

Following Wellum's chapter, early church historian Steven A. McKinion peruses the Patristic writings on the issue of baptism, noting that there is no written defense of infant baptism before the third century (168). Such a demonstration is crucial in nullifying a frequently employed defense of infant baptism, that is, the argument from church history, as for at least the first two centuries of the church the practice of believer's baptism appears to have been the norm.

Jonathan H. Rainbow then dissects Anabaptist Balthasar Hubmaier's doctrine of baptism within his sixteenth century context, explaining the differing theologies of infant baptism espoused by his contemporaries. Rainbow asserts: “At the core of Hubmaier's doctrine (of baptism) was the conviction that the inner reality of faith and conversion and the outer sign of water baptism belong together” (200). For Hubmaier and other Anabaptists, baptism was not “merely” a sign, but was “more” than a sign. Recovering such a robust view of baptism, Rainbow rightly points out, “may help baptists to recover a full-bodied doctrine of baptism instead of the minimalistic view that is often heard in baptist circles today” (205).

Shawn D. Wright examines the work of three Reformed paedobaptists—John Calvin, John Murray, and Pierre Marcel—and points out the inconsistencies in their arguments for paedobaptism in six areas: the doctrine of the sacraments, definition of baptism, the “mixed” character of the church, the “covenant of grace” as a foundation for paedobaptism, New Testament warrant for paedobaptism, and salvation by faith alone. Particularly devastating is Wright’s critique of the New Testament warrant for infant baptism in each of these men’s writings, for they offer few biblical passages in support of the practice, and even those are exegeted poorly.

Duane A. Garrett interacts with the work of influential twentieth century Old Testament scholar Meredith Kline, a vociferous supporter of infant baptism as an extension of circumcision based upon a certain understanding of the Bible through the grid of the suzerain-vassal covenant. Garrett’s critique of Kline is detailed and incisive, and he does a fine job of pointing out the natural extension of Kline’s argument—conclusions that even Kline himself attempted to avoid (280–84).

Ardel B. Caneday writes on the doctrine of baptism put forward by Alexander Campbell, arguing that Campbell’s views on baptism are commonly misunderstood as baptismal regeneration, while conceding that many of Campbell’s followers have held to such a view. After examining Campbell’s writings on baptism, Caneday concludes by stating “that it is both historical and theological malpractice for Baptists and others to impute to Alexander Campbell the flaws of his theological heirs” (328). Seeing as Campbell was not a paedobaptist, it is somewhat difficult to see just how this essay fits within the editors’ aim to interact with evangelical paedobaptists. Even if one grants the argument that Campbell did not espouse baptismal regeneration, evangelicals would still have qualms with his anti-confessionalism and his heterodox views of the Trinity, among other things.

Last, Mark E. Dever seeks to answer many common questions about how baptism ought to be done in the context of the local church, questions pertaining to who should baptize, how baptism ought to be done, who is to be baptized, when baptism is to be done, and various other queries. In addressing the issue of whether baptism is a prerequisite for admittance to the Lord’s table, Dever asserts that “[q]uestions of visitors coming occasionally to the table may be separated from the question of Christians regularly coming as members under the care and guidance of that particular congregation” (341 n. 16). Dever’s argument here could be augmented by expanding upon any biblical rationale that he sees for allowing unbaptized Christians occasionally to the Lord’s table within the context of the local church.

In all, this book is an excellent collection of essays that serves both as an apologetic for believer's baptism and a challenge to the doctrine of paedobaptism. The authors cover the biblical and theological material, as well as many relevant historical issues with extensive thoroughness. Perhaps a chapter on Baptist confessional identity could solidify some foundational issues to provide common definitions through which to view the rest of the book's arguments. In addition, given the fact that even some Baptists are often cited in arguing against the necessity of believer's baptism for church membership and admittance to the Lord's table—including John Bunyan—it may have strengthened the overall arguments of the book to include an essay on what constitutes a “consistent” Baptist. These minor possible shortcomings, however, are far out-weighted by the book's strengths. This book would be an excellent resource for any pastor—Baptist or otherwise—or really any thinking Christian who desires to know more about believer's baptism and the inconsistencies in the paedobaptist arguments. May God grant his churches a burning desire to preach the gospel always, even in—perhaps especially in—the cataclysmic drama that is the baptism of the newest subjects of the King.

Robert E. Sagers

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***The Formation of Christian Doctrine.* By Malcolm B. Yarnell, III. Nashville: Broadman and Holman, 2007. 218 pages. Softcover, \$19.99.**

The study of theological method seemingly cannot be traced to Christian antiquity. That Christian theologians employed specific theological methods is clear, but theological method as a subject seems to have arisen in the modern era. Friedrich Schleiermacher's *Brief Outline on the Study of Theology* (1811; rev. ed., 1830; ET, 1850, 1966) dealt more with the theological curriculum than with theological method. During the twentieth century theological method became a recognized discipline when Roman Catholic theologians began to write on “foundational theology” and Protestant theologians on “prolegomena.” Now a Southern Baptist theologian has produced the first Baptist contribution to this field. In doing so Malcolm Yarnell treats not only the method of systematic theology but also the method of historical theology.

Yarnell chooses to represent the free church/believers' church tradition, positions himself in the mainstream of Southern Baptist theology, defines Evangelicalism as solely the theology of the magisterial Reformation, balances his full treatment of the sufficiency of Scripture with his adoption of this reviewer's concept of *suprema Scriptura* in place of a strict

sola Scriptura, and affirms that theological method is “disciplined response to divine revelation.”

From his mainstream Southern Baptist stance the author claims that “the Reformed, Roman Catholic, and liberal theological traditions outside the Southern Baptist fold have their counterparts, respectively, in the Founders, Landmarkist, and Moderate movements within that tradition” (p. 33). He then undertakes a detailed treatment of key representatives of these three traditions: Herman Bavinck (1854–1921), Dutch Reformed, stressing grace as restoring nature and the universal church over any sectarianism and deemphasizing personal faith; Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger (1927–), now Pope Benedict XVI, with his “architectonic” or “centralist” ecclesiology (vs. Walter Kasper and Vatican Council II) and his tending to conflate the Church with God; and Maurice Wiles (1923–2005), Anglican liberal, theologically “hospitable,” and advocate of “doctrinal criticism.”

In contrast to these three and their alleged Southern Baptist counterparts, Yarnell then proceeds to lay out his believers’ church method by taking as his model not an early Baptist such as John Bunyan or John Gill or the Mennonites’ founder Menno Simons or Baptists’ Anabaptist hero Balthasar Hubmaier but rather the lesser known Anabaptist lay theologian Pilgram Marpeck (c. 1495–1556). Building on *Gelassenheit* (“yieldedness”) and *Nachfolge* (“discipleship”), the Southwestern professor draws from Marpeck the centrality of the divine-human Christ, the coinherence of the Word and the Spirit, the defense of “biblical order” in place of “human invention,” and the believers’ church, without any concurrent embrace of a specific philosophy.

Turning to the method of historical theology, Yarnell assesses the fifth-century definition by Vincent of Lérins of tradition (“that which has been believed everywhere, always, by all”), John Henry Newman’s developmental thesis, and Johann Adam Möhler’s organic model with the infallible *magisterium*, together with the recent evangelical criticisms thereof by Alistair McGrath and Peter Toon, who allege denial of the sufficiency of Scripture. But does the Bible speak concerning doctrinal development? Yes, Oscar Cullmann has argued, distinguishing the transmission of the gospel (apostolic tradition) from tradition as a distinct source of authority (post-apostolic tradition). On the contrary, Yves Congar, a Roman Catholic, defends a more conflated view of tradition on the basis of the Paraclete sayings in the Gospel of John. Even so, Yarnell, building again on Marpeck, contends for the illumination of the Holy Spirit “for the entire church.” He is favorable to C.H. Dodd’s Christocentric Petrine and Pauline *kerygma* but critical of Cullmann’s view that tripartite confessions in the New Testament are liturgical but without confessional significance.

Taking serious note of the work of the English Methodist general historian Herbert Butterfield (1900–1979), who “seamlessly correlated scientific history with personal faith” (p. 161), Yarnell develops a theology of history in which Jesus is Lord of eternity as well as time, of all human beings, of providence, of both testaments, and of all the churches. Taking a close look at the work of the Southern Baptist church historian Robert Andrew Baker (1910–1992), he develops a pattern for a free church history of theology in which the golden age of the New Testament was followed by the Constantinian fall and various efforts at restitution and which is cross-centered and marked by Trinitarian revelation, personal salvation, and covenantal freedom.

A few critical comments are in order. First, the use of “free church” and “believers’ church” interchangeably is unfortunate in view of Yarnell’s penchant for detail and the multiple meanings of “free church” (non-establishment, non-creedal, non-liturgical). Second, Yarnell’s use of “Evangelicals” not only runs contrary to most contemporary usage but also can leave the impression that Baptists, Methodists, Pentecostals, and Bible Church members are non-evangelical. Moreover, this reviewer has never claimed that Evangelicalism can be traced to the sixteenth-century magisterial Reformation, partly because of its lack of the evangelistic-missionary impulse, but only to the first Great Awakening. Third, the author’s critique of any “invisible church” and lack of formulation of the “universal church” leaves open the question as to what he does with the non-local uses of *ekklesia* in Paul. Fourth, are not those in the minorities or “fringe movements” (p. 29) within Southern Baptist life most likely to contest Yarnell’s claim to represent the mainstream or to argue that truth outweighs numbers of adherents?

Most theologians begin their writings with articles and small monographs; Yarnell’s first book is a major contribution to theological literature as well as a worthy reflection of the Southwestern Seminary heritage. It is required reading for any who consider themselves to be well informed on theological method and may indeed stimulate its discussion. This may be the most important theological monograph by a Baptist so far in the twenty-first century.

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Book Reviews

***First Freedom: The Baptist Perspective on Religious Liberty.* Edited by Thomas White, Jason G. Duesing, and Malcolm B. Yarnell III. Nashville: B&H Academic, 2007. ix + 195 pages. Softcover, \$15.99.**

Thomas White, Jason Duesing, and Malcolm B. Yarnell III edit this volume that contains contributions from leading scholars in Southern Baptist life, including Paige Patterson, president of Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary; Richard Land, president of the Southern Baptist Convention's Ethics & Religious Liberty Commission; Daniel Heimbach, professor of Christian ethics at Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary; and Paul Pressler, retired member of the Texas legislature, district court judge, and justice for the 14th court of appeals. This work arose from the first annual conference in the Baptist Distinctives Series held at the Riley Center at Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary in September 2005.

As indicated in the title, this book seeks to discuss the Baptist perspective on religious liberty, especially as it relates to the freedom established in the First Amendment. The contributors provide theological, historical, philosophical, cultural, and legal arguments for the Baptist understanding of religious liberty. In addition, the contributors seek to remind "Baptists in the twenty-first century of the price that was paid by their forefathers for the establishment and defense of religious liberty" (4).

The book contains several excellent chapters on the development of religious liberty in Baptist thought. One major strength presented by this work is the theological development of the concept of religious liberty. While some would say that the concept of religious liberty is grounded in the social order, Barrett Duke, vice president for research and director of the Research Institute of the Ethics & Religious Liberty Commission, and Paige Patterson offer a theological foundation for such liberty. Patterson traces religious liberty in relation to the exclusivity of Christ. His conclusions are pertinent for contemporary American culture, which faces the dilemma of trying to provide freedom while maintaining a status of "political correctness." Patterson notes, "Christians embracing the exclusivity of Christ as the only saving and accurate expression of the true and living God are properly the most effective advocates of absolute religious liberty" (46). He accurately depicts Christians who believe in the exclusivity of Christ as ones who would have a strong desire to see religious liberty for

all religions because it would allow for the opportunity of non-believers to come to faith in Christ without governmental persecution.

Another strength of the work is how it traces the historical development of religious liberty and the involvement of Baptists in promulgating this liberty. White, Yarnell, and Land provide a thorough historical perspective of religious liberty in early Baptist traditions, the Southern Baptist Convention, and the founding development of America, respectively. Their contributions to the volume are crucial for a proper understanding of the development of religious liberty from the days of the Anabaptists through the founding of the Southern Baptist Convention. As a result of their work, one can see how Baptists played a role in shaping culture in the area of religious freedom.

Heimbach's chapter on the difference between religious liberty and religious autonomy is the "city set on a hill" for this book. His work delineating the value, views, and recipients of religious liberty is worth the cost of the book itself. Heimbach opens by warning his readers, "It is difficult to have a casual discussion of religious liberty because discourse on the subject is highly charged and rightly so" (125). He then proceeds to apply the paradigms of ordered versus autonomous and institutional versus individual to the concept of religious liberty. Heimbach states, "Ordered liberty is a concept of freedom that is restrained by moral obligations" (133). In contrast, autonomous liberty has "no limitations, no responsibility, no accountability" (134). Next, he applies these two concepts to institutions and individuals. Ultimately, he promotes the concepts of ordered liberty for institutions and individuals as a proper understanding of religious liberty because they strengthen society. Heimbach concludes, "When a government hinders ordered religious liberty, it cannot be stable, and it eventually destroys itself because it loses the respect and support of the responsible, public-minded segment of its citizenry that produces and strengthens social cohesion" (142).

First Freedom provides an insightful look at the theology, history, and cultural implications of religious liberty. Written primarily from the Baptist perspective, this work provides a unique understanding of how Baptist doctrine and belief has shaped government and culture regarding religious freedom. The book demonstrates the role Baptists have played in the development of this concept in Western thought and informs Baptists of the challenges they may face in protecting this liberty in the future.

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***Devoted to the Service of the Temple: Piety, Persecution, and Ministry in the Writings of Hercules Collins.* Edited by Michael A. G. Haykin & Steve Weaver. Profiles in Reformed Spirituality. Grand Rapids: Reformation Heritage Books, 2007. 140 pages. Softcover. \$10.00.**

This is the third volume in the Profiles in Reformed Spirituality series edited by Joel Beeke and Michael A.G. Haykin published by Reformation Heritage Books. The book itself is ingeniously constructed so as to allow for use as a devotional, being of small size and composed of attractive, durable and high-quality materiel. The editors of this particular volume in the series are Haykin, a superb Baptist historian that the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary in Kentucky recently and wisely added to their faculty, and Steve Weaver, a Tennessee Baptist pastor and research student of Haykin. Haykin wrote the introduction and Weaver led in the compilation of selected readings from the writings of Hercules Collins.

Hercules Collins was a leading Particular Baptist pastor in London, who was born (ca. 1646), born again, and died naturally (1702) during a formative period of British Baptist life. Collins was the author of some thirteen books and was the fifth signatory upon the confession adopted by a meeting of Particular Baptists in 1689 (*A Confession of Faith*, 3rd ed. [London, 1699], flyleaf; a.k.a. "The Second London Confession"). Collins lived out a faith that was hard-pressed to survive, suffering a horrific imprisonment in the diseased Newgate Prison, where at least three of his fellow Baptist pastors died. Collins himself remarked that his compatriots for Christ had been "hurried off to prison for nothing else but worshipping their God" (15). Deprived of formal education through the system of persecution and "toleration" established by the British government, Collins nevertheless persisted in his intellectual development. Moreover, his ministry of books and proclamation ended successfully with a congregation of some 700 people, in spite of the handicaps he had suffered. Collins is an inspiring and laudable figure whose pious thoughts and example are ably introduced by Haykin.

The bulk of the text is comprised of 36 selected readings from the works of Collins and from a funeral sermon preached by John Piggott. Included are selections from a catechism he authored, based largely upon the Heidelberg Catechism (*An Orthodox Catechism*); stirring testimonies while suffering persecution, drawn from his *A Voice from Prison and Counsel for the Living*; discourses upon divine sovereignty and human responsibility (*Mountains of Brass*); thoughts upon Scripture and worship (*The Scribe Instructed* and *An Orthodox Catechism*); helpful instructions regarding the calling, ordination, and work of a pastor and preacher (*The Temple Repair'd*); private devotional considerations from various works; and, a

portion of the funeral sermon discussing Collins's own faithful witness. As Piggott said, "He began to be religious early, and continued faithful to the last" (129). The readings are carefully chosen both for the typical Christian but especially the aspiring minister. They truly are inspiring (if technically not inspired) because the author imbibed and lived Scripture, and the editors are to be commended for their careful reading of Collins and spiritual concern for the modern reader.

While this little jewel has laudable strengths, it suffers from one glaring lacuna: the omission of the profound and deep baptismal piety of this convinced Baptist. This is extremely odd in light of the fact that Collins himself wrote four of his thirteen books in order to defend the practice of believers-only baptism by immersion! Moreover, this is something of which the editors are fully aware (135–36). Perhaps at least one citation from one of these four books would have shown how Collins considered baptism properly administered and received to be part of true Christian piety. For instance, in *Believers-Baptism from heaven, and of Divine Institution. Infants-Baptism from Earth, and Human Invention* (London, 1691), Collins writes: "Believers are baptized as an Act of their Judgment, Choice, Will and Affection; so worship God in Spirit and Truth, *John 4.24.*" He follows this devotional affirmation with a disclaimer that paedobaptists can truly act in this godly way: "*Infants cannot worship God in that Act, in Spirit and Truth, because not an Act of Judgment and Choice, Will and Affection*" (Collins's italics; *Believers-Baptism*, 86).

Perhaps the reason that the book editors, both convinced Baptists, excluded the references to baptism was because this book is published by a thoroughly Reformed agency. The uncritical bias towards a Reformed outlook is also evident in the introduction, where non-Reformed Puritans, such as the vigorous General Baptists, are summarily dismissed in order to stress Calvinistic orthodoxy; the Second London Confession is described as "that most important of all Baptist confessional documents"; and, Reformed doctors are given sole credit for the doctrine of aseity (3, 8, 23). In spite of such imbalances, this book is worthy of purchase and reading. We also look forward to the promised publication of Weaver's critical edition of Collins's last and perhaps most significant work, *The Temple Repair'd*.

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'Seditious Sectaryes': *The Baptist Conventiclors of Oxford 1641–1691*. Studies in Baptist History and Thought. 2 volumes. By Larry J. Kreitzer. Milton Keynes, UK: Paternoster, 2006. Vol. 1: xviii + 1–533. Vol. 2: xi + 534–1056. Paperback, \$89.99.

Who were the early Baptist conventiclors of Oxford? According to Daniel Featley's *The Dippers Dipt, or, the Anabaptists duck'd and plung'd over head and eares* they belonged to the lower strata of society, "Russet Rabbits, and Mechanic Enthusiasts, and Profound Watermen, and Sublime Coachmen, and Illuminated Tradesmen" (1:11). Larry J. Kreitzer, Fellow and Tutor of New Testament at Regent's Park College, Oxford, has done much in *'Seditious Sectaryes'* to dispel Featley's caricature of early English Baptists.

The first volume of *'Seditious Sectaryes'* contains biographical studies of five leaders in the Oxford Baptist conventicles: Richard Tidmarsh, Lawrence King, Roger Hatchman, Ralph Austen, and Thomas Williams. The appendices of the first volume contain the family trees of the Oxford dissenters along with several source documents and a full index. Volume 2 is a chronological source catalog of over five hundred pages containing wills, baptismal records, ecclesiastical proceedings, court judgments, personal letters and more. Kreitzer has graciously translated sources which were in Latin. The selection of individuals for biographical treatment in volume 1 is based on a 1662 court record which identified four of the individuals as Baptist conventiclors, three of whom were charged as 'seditious Sectaryes & disloyal persons and for being present at an unlawful Conventicle' (1:18). Kreitzer gives these individuals extended treatment with a chapter devoted to each leader. Kreitzer accomplishes an herculean feat of research by combing through unpublished court, city council, and ecclesiastical documents along with eye witness reports.

Chapter 1 tells the story of Richard Tidmarsh, a successful master tanner and valued civic leader. Municipal leadership proved to be problematic to Tidmarsh and many other Baptists. The chief obstacle was the swearing of oaths, which Tidmarsh refused to do. Tidmarsh was implicated with other dissenters in a supposed plot against Charles II. Such accusations highlighted the anti-Baptist sentiment of the time. Tidmarsh's name is noted twenty-four times in ecclesiastical court record from 1673–1683. In 1683 Tidmarsh was excommunicated from the Church of England for failing to attend the local parish church. Other documents reveal Tidmarsh as a significant denominational leader, one of which is *Innocency Vindicated: or, Reproach Wip'd Off*. This 1689 document bears the names of both Tidmarsh and the Particular Baptist luminary William Kiffin.

In chapter 2 Kreitzer examines the glover Lawrence King. King was not only a master craftsman, but also a noted Baptist leader in Oxford, according to the associational records. King, along with other dissenters, was considered an insurrectionist and troublemaker. Like Tidmarsh and the others, King also made regular appearances before the civil and ecclesiastical authorities to give account for his dissenting activity.

Chapter 3 treats Roger Hatchman, a stone mason turned soldier, who joined the company of “seditious sectaryes and disloyal persons” when he stood before the Oxford Petty Sessions court on January 9, 1662. Hatchman, Tidmarsh, and King were jailed in the Bocardo prison located at the North Gate of Oxford. Their crime was a refusal to swear an oath of allegiance to Charles II. Imprisonment did not have the desired effect, for one year later Hatchman stood before court again accused of dissent.

In chapter 4, Kreitzer judges Ralph Austen to be the most notable of the Oxford Baptist conventiclers charged in the 1662 court document. Austen served as Register for the Visitors of Parliament for a number of years. Such a distinguished position and responsibility gives evidence of Austen’s recognized ability and loyalty. Austen was also a noted gardener, horticulturalist, and cider-maker whose reputation and publications on fruit trees caught the attention of the Royal Society and Isaac Newton.

The final biographical chapter focuses on Thomas Williams the milliner. Williams was not only a successful tradesman, but also progressed in civic affairs. From 1633 to 1643 he rose through the ranks of civic office from the position of constable to member of the city council. The highlight of Williams’s municipal career was his service as mayor in 1653. Kreitzer observes that ecclesiastical records reveal Williams’s activity of religious dissent significantly increased after his 1664 marriage to a dissenting wife. Prior to their wedding Williams was apparently comfortable working for reform within the establishment.

‘Seditious Sectaryes’ stands as a definitive work on early Oxford Baptists. The volumes bristle with footnotes and references to ecclesiastical and court documents that sometime leave the reader longing for a diary entry, sermon or portrait of the subjects. The unavailability of such sources only serves to magnify Kreitzer’s accomplishment. In the end Kreitzer effectively reveals the Baptist conventiclers of Oxford to be in large part a conscientious, responsible people of peculiar genius, neither seditious nor sectarian in a negative sense. *‘Seditious Sectaryes’* breathes life into the obscure beginnings of Oxford Baptists, who frequently found themselves between the Rock and a hard place.

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A Genetic History of Baptist Thought: With Special Reference to Baptists in Britain and North America. By William H. Brackney. Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 2004. 592 pages. Softcover, \$40.00.

Although earlier Baptists (Underhill, McGlothlin, Lumpkin, Parker) published volumes on the Baptist confessions of faith and others (Tull, George/Dockery) authored or co-edited volumes on selected Baptist theologians, William Brackney, at Baylor University at the time of publication and now at Acadia University, is the first author to have produced a comprehensive history of "Baptist thought."

Building on the foundation that "Baptists do have an identifiable theological heritage" and that there has been "no dominant stream of Baptist theology" (p. 2), Brackney employs the term "Baptist thought" somewhat ambiguously, since at times "thought" is synonymous with doctrine and at other times it also includes ethics or spirituality.

Baptist confessions of faith, including their resurgence during the twentieth century, and the theology of Baptist-composed hymnody are treated in introductory chapters that are not organically related to the remainder of the book. That remainder deals with Baptist theologians in Britain, the United States, and Canada.

In treating English Baptist and Northern (USA) Baptist theologians, the Baylor scholar divides between the pastor-theologians and the academic theologians, but in treating Southern (USA) Baptist theologians no such separation is made. Because of this division and the author's training and experience as a church historian, the treatments of academic theologians tend to be a history of the teaching and writing in Baptist theological colleges/seminaries rather than a history of Baptist doctrine per se.

The chapter on English Baptist pastor-theologians is one of the best, although the omission of William Kiffin and the rather brief section on John Gill may be questioned. The writings of those who taught in English Baptist theological colleges are thoroughly reviewed. Among Northern Baptists, the detailed coverage of Brown, Newton, Madison/Colgate, Rochester, Chicago, and Crozer is coupled with silence as to Central, Northern, Eastern, and California. Likewise the treatment of Mercer, Furman, Southern, and Southwestern in the South is joined with the omission of Baylor, New Orleans, Golden Gate, Southeastern, and Midwestern, and of pastor-theologian Herschel Hobbs, biblical theologian Frank Stagg, and ethicists T.B. Maston and Henlee Barnette. The chapter on African-American Baptist thought presents ethics or spirituality with the single exception of Deotis Roberts. Other Baptist theologians in the USA are presented as being "in diaspora," although W.A. Criswell had deep ties with the SBC.

The term “genetic” in the title is designed to emphasize that Baptist theology has had “genes,” defined as entities “concerned with the transmission or development of hereditary characteristics” (p. 4). Hence there is stress, more implied than specified, on transmission from pastor to members and from professor to students. In the final chapter the genes are identified as the Baptist distinctives or emphases: the Lordship of Christ, the priority of the scriptures, Christian experience, “a modified Reformed theological tradition,” regenerate church membership and congregational polity, evangelism/missions, and freedom. The entire book would seem to have demanded another gene: believer’s baptism by immersion.

Masterful in bibliography, insightful as to the relation of theology to context, and loyally sympathetic, while being analytical and critical, Brackney has made a major contribution to the understanding of the Baptists.

James Leo Garrett Jr.
Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary

***Restoring Integrity in Baptist Churches.* Edited by Thomas White, Jason G. Duesing, and Malcolm B. Yarnell III. Grand Rapids, MI: Kregel Academic & Professional, 2008. 272 pages. Softcover, \$18.99**

As a local church minister for eight plus years, I have been deeply grieved on occasion by the spiritual condition of older, yet sometimes immature followers of Christ. Some problems have been easily diagnosed and remedied. Others have not. Needless to say for pastors like me, *Restoring Integrity in Baptist Churches* has hit the nail on the head. Challenging, convicting, applicable, and biblical are words to describe this work edited by White, Duesing, and Yarnell. It will remain close by my side for many years to come as I seek to restore integrity in the Baptist church I pastor.

After reading this work from cover to cover, many strengths are readily identifiable. First, the authors of the individual chapters are some of the best and brightest theologians in the Southern Baptist Convention. Three of our six Southern Baptist seminaries are represented along with one state Baptist university. Furthermore, this “dream team” of theologians includes one seminary president, three deans, and multiple professors.

Other strengths of this work are its timeliness, courage to address current and real issues, and applicability. As for timeliness, the Baptist church that I pastor has lost much of the influence that she once possessed in the community. Why is that? One of the prominent reasons is that the pagan world has witnessed her lack of integrity. Therefore, this book is needed not only in my church and in my hands but also in the hands of the forty-thousand plus pastors in the Southern Baptist Convention. As John

Hammett notes in the volume, on any given Sunday in the morning worship service, approximately two-thirds of Southern Baptists are nowhere to be found (27). That is startling and a serious problem.

As to addressing current issues, many of the book's contributors referenced controversies at Henderson Hills Baptist Church, Bethlehem Baptist Church, and within our own International Mission Board specifically related to baptism and its subject, mode, place, and administrator. The authors then offered real solutions for real problems in real churches. As for applicability, these chapters not only answer the "what" and the "why," but they answer the "how." Particularly refreshing was Professor Norman's step-by-step guide to reestablishing church discipline in a local congregation. Norman shares practical considerations for the reestablishment of church discipline including the adoption or revision of a church covenant and revising the church's legal documents (212–214).

The last strength that deserves mention is the authors' convincing appeal to a host of authoritative sources. Of course, for Southern Baptists, our final authority is the Word of God, and *Restoring Integrity in Baptist Churches* is chalked full of biblical references in their proper context. Dr. Akin (63) and Dr. Allen (95) set forth overwhelming evidence from the Scriptures for believer's baptism by immersion. In addition, the authors have appealed to hundreds of years of church history in making their case for some of our most cherished and essential distinctives such as regenerate church membership and church discipline. On the acceptance of regenerate church membership, Hammett appeals to the Anabaptists, English Baptists, and the Somerset Confession of 1656 as proof that this practice is part of our heritage (25). As for church discipline, Norman points to multiple early Baptist confessions, including the Belgic Confession of 1561 and The First London Confession of Particular Baptists of 1644 that include statements on church discipline (202–206).

When it comes to areas of improvement, I mention only two. Pastor Mark Dever's contribution to this book is one aspect that gives the volume potential wider reading among pastors. Even though many, if not all, of the other contributors have had extensive and successful local church ministries, there is often a perceived disconnect between pastors and academicians. Unfortunately pastors sometimes see professional theologians as having all the solutions while never encountering any of the problems on a local church level. While that is not the case in *Restoring Integrity*, the inclusion of more authors who are presently local church pastors would only strengthen and increase the book's value among those of us serving in the churches.

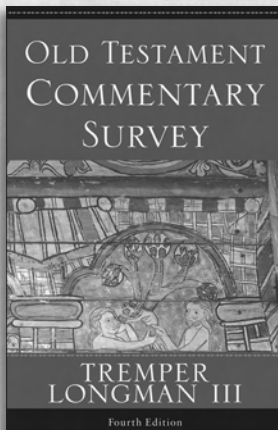
The only other area of improvement in this author's opinion was the absence of any discussion regarding the belief of the eternal security of the

believer as it relates to baptism or the gospel. In my own congregation, there have always been questions about receiving Christians for membership from Assembly of God or Pentecostal backgrounds due to their belief in a Christian's ability to lose or forfeit his or her salvation. Dr. White gives three paragraphs to Alien Immersion and includes some insightful thoughts about churches that do not normally immerse and if those baptisms should be accepted as valid (111–12, 117–118). However, nowhere does he address the issue of the church or the administrator's belief in falling from grace or losing one's salvation. Answers to this question might have been included in his chapter on baptism and the definition of a true church. They certainly would have benefited this pastor and provided clarity for some otherwise precarious situations.

Again, hats off to the editors and contributors to this fine volume that if read and practiced by Southern Baptist pastors could be the catalyst for a twenty-first century spiritual awakening and revival in America's largest Protestant denomination.

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Tremper Longman III

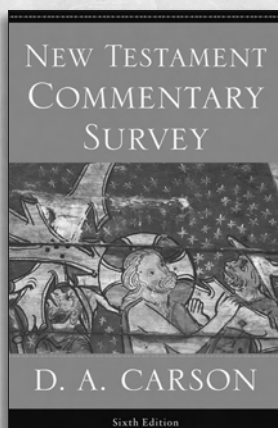
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