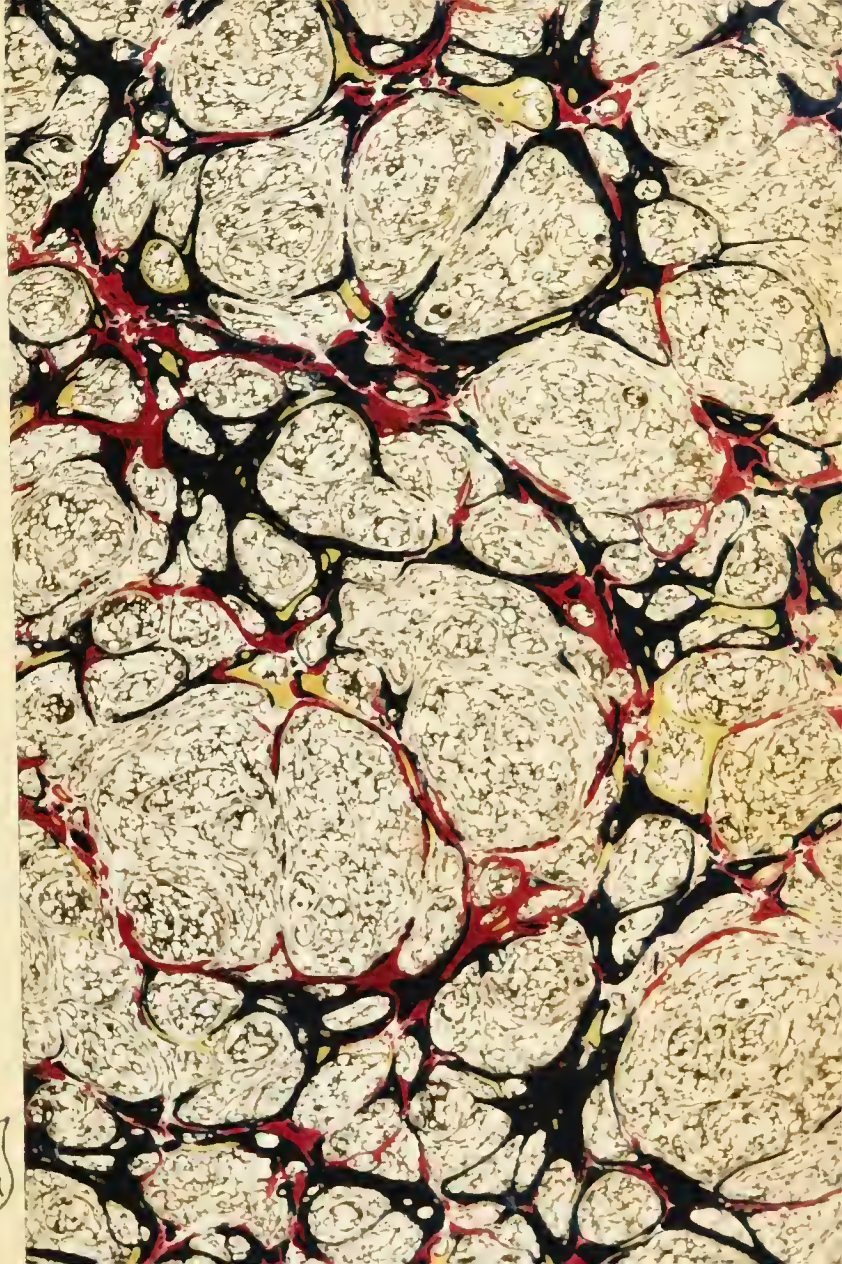
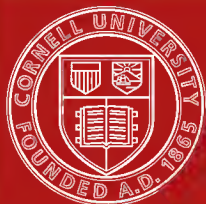


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CHILLINGWORTH
NOVISSIMA.

OR, THE

Sicknesse, Heresy,
Death, and Buriall

OF

WILLIAM CHILLINGWORTH.

(In his own phrase) Clerk of Oxford, and in the
conceit of his fellow Soldiers, the *Queens*
Arch-Engineer, and *Grand-Intelligencer*.

SET FORTH IN

A Letter to his Eminent and learned Friends,
a Relation of his Apprehension at Arundell, a
Discovery of his Errours in a Briefe Cate-
chism, and a short Oration at the
Buriall of his Hereticall Book.

By FRANCIS CHEYNELL, late Fellow
of MERTON Colledge.

Published by Authority.

LONDON,

Printed for SAMUEL GELLIBRAND, at the Brazen
Serpent in Pauls Church-yard, 1644.



TO
THE LEARNED AND
EMINENT FRIENDS OF
Mr CHILLINGWORTH,

And in particular

TO

Sir JOHN CULPEPPER, Knight,

JOHN PRIDEAUX Bishop of Worcester,

FELL Deane of Christ-Church,

BAYLY Deane of Sarum,

Doctor < SHELLEN Warden of All-soules,

POTTER Provost of Queenes, and

MORLEY Canon of Christ-Church.

SIRS,

Your deceased friend is not yet speechlesse, he calls upon you to beware and repent; some preach more, at least more practically, when they are dead, then ever they did whilst they were alive. You that were his Patrons and Encouragers, as hee acknowledged ever, when he was in the heighth of his Rebellion, doe you beware lest a worse thing come unto you. You that were the Licensers of his subtile Atheisme, Repent, Repent; for he

Dr. Bayly,
Dr. Prideaux,
Dr. Fell.

A Letter to the Friends

was so hardened by your flattery, that (for ought the most charitable man can judge) hee perished by your Approbation: he ever appealed to his works even to his very dying day, and what was it, which made him dote upon them, but your Licence and Approbation? Heark what hee saith, The third and last part of my Accusation was, That I answer out of principles, which Protestants themselves will professe to detest: which indeed were to the purpose, if it could be justified. But besides that, it is confuted by my whole Book, and made ridiculous by the Approbation premised unto it, &c. read Mr Chillingworth his Preface to the Author of Charity &c. Sect. 30. Sure I am, that the Accusation may be justified, and therefore is to the purpose; but the Approbation cannot be justified, and is therefore justly Reprobated: The Accusation is so serious, that the Approbation cannot make it (but may well make the Approvers and their Church) ridiculous. O what a ridiculous Church doe the Licensers make the Church of England to be, by saying that there is nothing in Mr Chillingworth his Book contrary to the doctrine of the Church of England; sure they meant the Church of Canterbury. But Dr Fell, and Dr Bayly are not ashamed to say, that there is nothing in that Book contrary to good manners, which Dr Prideaux would not say; but enough of that.

Νακρὸς πῶμα
λέοντες ἐφ' ἑρπί-
ζουσι λαγῶσι.

Sirs, the following History will testifie my compassion towards your deceased friend, whom I ever opposed in a charitable and friendly way. I doe not account it any glory to trample upon the carcasse of Hector, or to pluck a dead Lion by the beard; should I misquote his Book, and make that error mine owne by a false citation, which I pretend to be his in an Accusation, you that were the unhappy Licensers of his Book would soone take me tripping. If you conceive that he deserved a more Honourable buriall, be pleased to answer my Reasons, and patronize his errors with all the learning Bodleyes Library can afford: or else study his Catechisme, pardon my boldnesse, some Countiers never learnt, and some Doctours have forgot their Catechisme, or else this man we speak of had never beene so much admired, his Book extolled, or these Antichristian warres fomented

of Mr CHILLINGWORTH.

fomented by such great Clerks and busie wits.

I looked upon Mr Chillingworth as one who had his head as full of Scruples as it was of Engines, and therefore dealt as tenderly with him as I use to doe with men of the most nice and tender consciences: for I considered, that though Beefe must be preserved with salt; yet Plums must be preserved with sugar. I can assure you I stooped as low to him as I could without falling, and you know he is not a wise man in the judgement of the Philosopher, who stoops so low to another mans weaknesse, that he himselfe falls into weaknesse: and it is a Rule with us at Westminster, that he falls into weaknesse who falls into sinne.

Doe not conceive that I snatch up my pen in an angry mood, that I might vent my dangerous wit, and ease my overburthened spleene. No, no, I have almost forgot the Visitation at Merton Colledge, the Deniall of my Grace, the plundering of my house and little Library: I know when and where and of whom to demand satisfaction for all these injuries and indignities. I have learnt Centum plagas Spartaⁿa Nobilitate conquire. I have not yet learnt how to plunder others of goods or living, and make my selfe amends by force of armes. I will not take a living which belonged to any civill, studious, learned Delinquent, unlesse it be the much neglected Commendam of some Lordly Prelate condemned by the knowne Lawes of the Land, and the highest Court of the Kingdome for some offence of the first magnitude: I can, without straining my conscience, swallow such a gnat, a camel I should say, for every one of their Commendams hath a bunch upon its back, and may well make a bunch upon their conscience. I shall not trouble you with any long discourse about State matters, only you will give me leave to say what the Lacedemonian slave said, when he stood to be sold in the market; and one asked him what he was? I am ἐλεύθερος εἶμι.
(saith he) a Free man, and so am I, for though I have not taken Antidotum contra Cæsarem, yet I have taken Antidotum contra Tyrannidem. I could never yet stoop so low to the most tyrannicall Prelate as to cry Your humble Slave.

Sirs, we heare you have made a New Almanack at Oxford;

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and some conceive that you hold correspondence with all the fowre Planets, and that you have enticed the trusty Sunne from his Ecliptick line, and taught him to goe Retrograde. We wonder, I must tell you, that the Sunne never came into Libra, that Opinions, Protestations, Actions were seldome or never weighed in the ballance of the Sanctuary: and we wondered more, that Venus (I had almost forgot my Astronomy, and said Iuno) was shufled into Virgo's place, and the signe was in the Dogs head, when we did expect it in a more propitious place, the Lions heart. I remember that of Tertullian, Habet & Ecclesia dies Caniculares, the Church of Christ hath cause to complaine of Dog dayes; for the Dog doth not only shew his teeth; we heare him bark and feele him bite; we may in every month write the Dog dayes in capitall letters, nay you write them for us (so capitall are your crimes) in letters of blood. What is England become a Wildernesse? if it be not, why are so many wilde beasts suffered to goe loose and prey upon the zealous Protestants? for shame chaine up those beasts before the first of March: if shame work not, feare may, the same feare which falls upon the men of Northumberland, the feare of a Scottish Reformation: I will not listen at the doore of your Iunto to heare what newes, nor will I peepe into your pretended Parliament, no nor into Merton Colledge for feare I should see some sights like those in the eighth of Ezekiel, some with their backs towards the Temple of the Lord, and their faces towards the East; and if I should look farther, one that is no Prophet tells me, that I may see greater abominations then these. Sir, I beseech you keepe downe your staffe: but if you will hold it up, as Eurybiades did, I must cry as Themistocles did, *παραξον ἢ ἀνσωρον*, strike if you please; yet heare me, or at least heare what the Prophet saith to me, doth he not speak of you? Then hee said unto me, Hast thou seene this O sonne of man. Is it a light thing to the house of Iudah, that they commit the abominations which they commit here? for they have filled the Land with violence, and have returned to provoke me to anger: and lo they put their branch to their nose. Therefore. ——— read and tremble at the rest. Come, come
away

Ezek. 8. 16.

Ezek. 8. 17. 18.

of Mr CHILLINGWORTH.

away with this learned Atheisme, your Iudge looks upon you, the searcher of hearts and discoverer of secrets is acquainted with all your plots. The Lord sees what the Ancients of Oxford doe in the dark, every man in the chambers of his imagery: the Lord heares what you say—— O doe not say as the Ancients of Istael said, The Lord seeth us not, the Lord hath forsaken the earth. I am afraid that you have the same temptations at Oxford, which were presented to Origen, an Ethiopian woman, and an Idoll; he was (you know) put to this unhappy choice, to commit folly with which he pleased. Some lust as much after idols, as others doe after women; if in these dayes of liberty you restraine from neither, you doe in effect tempt to both, and are the grand seducers of the hopefull Gentry: but alas you are guilty of a more ambitious wickednesse, it is your study to seduce a King.

*I remember an old story of King Canutus, who (as the Chronicler relates) took off the Crowne from his owne head, and set it upon the Crucifixe at Westminster: But tell me you that have read some Italian Jesuite more subtile then the Politicians Saint, Saint Machiavel) doe you conceive that you can perswade our King to take off his Crowne from his owne head, and place it upon your idoll the Queene, or her idoll the Crucifixe, at Oxford? We have none at Westminster. Well, plot on my Masters, and walke in the light and warmth of that fire which you have kindled; but heare what the Prophet saith, Behold all you that kin- Ifr. 10. ult.
dle a fire, and compasse about your selves with sparkes, walke in the light of your fire, and in the sparks which you have kindled; This shall ye have of mine hand, ye shall lay downe in sorrow. Pardon our just feare, if we dare not say a confederacy to all those Welch Atheists, Irish Rebels, bloody Papiests of the French or Spanish faction, to whom you say, A confederacy; Associate your selves together (you know what followes) take counsell together (in your pretended Parliament) and it will be Ifr. 8. 9. 10.
brought to nought, enact and pronounce a decree, imagine mischief as a Law, yet you shall not prosper, for God is with us. I know you urge the 13 to the Romanes, to justifie your royall cru-
sity; but you know what Chrysostome, and many others, have*

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said upon that place: But I shall onely aske you one question (with which I stopped your friend Chillingworths mouth) be pleased to answer it: Doe you beleeve that Tyrannie is Gods ordinance? I ever held it a violation of Gods ordinance: and whether the supreme Judicatory of the Kingdome may not repell that force with force, which would violate Gods ordinance, judge ye; for it is absurd to talke, as Doctor Ferne doth, of a morall restraint in such a case. Sure I am, the Parliament hath power to raise an Army to preserve Gods ordinance inviolable, when it cannot be preserved by any other means: They doe certainly resist Gods ordinance who seeke to violate it; You endeavour to violate it, We to preserve it; who is in the fault?

Vbi jus humanum, naturalis vel divinum, arma capere jubet, ubi juris auctoritas intervenit, etiam si expressa voluntas principis non accedat. Biel. 4. Sent. q. 4.

Dr Ferne his 2. book p. 33.

Dr Ferne lib. p. 27

Dr Ferne 2. book p. 6.

I have examined your great Champion Doctor Ferne his three bookes, and cannot finde any thing in them, whereby the conscience of an impartiall Scholar may be fully resolved or satisfied. It is very impertinent, in my weake judgement, to talke of the priviledges of the Kings of Judah, who were immediately elected by God; or to discourse of the power of the Romane Emperour, or the first draughts of Government in the Saxon and Norman lines; for Doctor Ferne doth acknowledge that it is not injurious to his Majesties posterity, that the King sweares to a limited power, a power limited by priviledges and immunities, granted, or restored to the people since the conquest; which priviledges grants, liberties, though not originall, yet are they irrevocable. Doctor Ferne distinguishes betweene the Title of the King, and the Power of the King; but wee did never so much as once question his Majesties Title, whether it be limited or no? It is confessed that his power, and therefore much more the exercise of his power, is limited by the Priviledges of the Parliament, the immunities of the Subject, and the Kings owne oath: Nay, it is acknowledged that the two houses of Parliament are in a sort co-ordinate with his Majesty, to some act or exercising of the supreme power, by a fundamentall constitution. Truly here is, in my judgement, so much granted, that the rest need not be disputed. But what if these powers be divided, and clash one against the other? why then the power is not fully in King or Parliament, for the power which is in the three Estates is suspended, whilest one part suspends:

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suspends: So Doctor Ferne. Give me leave to aske him, and you, Book 2. p. 34.
whether the power of the Militia be not in the three Estates, as well as the power of making Lawes? if it be not, then sure the power of making Lawes is to no purpose, because they have no power to defend or enforce Law: and if the power of the Militia be in the three Estates, then the Kings power of levying, arming men, &c. is suspended by the severall Ordinances of Parliament; for it is Doctor Fernes conclusion, that the power which is in the three Estates is suspended whilest one part suspends; Ergo, much more if two Estates suspend.

But on the other side, I desire Doctor Ferne to shew how the Kingdome is secured by the government of three Estates, if the two houses of Parliament have not sufficient power to preserve the King and the Kingdome, in case the King refuse to preserve it or him. It is unreasonable (saith Doctor Ferne) that the supply should be made by the body onely, without the head: nay rather, Doctor, it is unreasonable for the Head to neglect the preservation of it selfe, and the body; but it is very reasonable for to lift up both armes, to defend the head, and the whole body; and therefore reasonable for both houses to take up armes, and lift up their armes, put forth their whole strength to defend the King and themselves. Doctor Ferne talks of a Fundamentall constitution, which hath provided this temper of three Estates, as the reasonable meanes of our safety. But I must confesse, that it cannot enter into my dull pate to conceive, that our Government is of any settled temper; or that we have any reasonable meanes provided for the safety of this Kingdome, by that fundamentall constitution, if the King may doe what he pleases, seize on our goods, ('tis Doctor Fernes supposition) imprison our persons, kill us outright, and (which is worse) overthrow our Lawes, our liberties, our Religion, and all at once, and by consequence enslave not onely the bodies, but the consciences of our posterity; and there is no more power in both houses of Parliament to protect us by force against force, then if we had no such remedy provided, as the government of three Estates. Are we not subjected to an absolute Monarch, if the other two Estates have no legall power to releev our neglected or oppressed Common-wealth? how are we secured by the temper

selfe
Book 2. p. 28.

Book 2. pag. 6.

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temper of three Estates? or how can it be called a temper? or a temper of three Estates? if the first of the three may oppresse us, and the other two have no power to releev us? Sure I am, that by this account there is but one Estatethat hath a true power, and therefore that Estatethat must be an estate of absolute Monarchy, which Dr Ferne himselfe seemes to abhorre; and yet so vaine is that Doctor, as to call the Power of Supply legally placed in both Houses of Parliament, a Conceit, nay a vaine Conceit; his words are these; The Conceit of Supply by the two Houses in case the King refuse (to preserve the Kingdome) is a vaine Conceit: and if that be true, then I must conclude, that this provision of a Temper of three Estates is no Temper, no provision, two of the Estates are no Estates; or else this provision is in the phrase of Doctor Ferne, a lame provision, which argues the first contrivement of our Ancestors very inconsiderate; because then it followes, that there is no Reasonable Meane of safety provided for this Kingdome by that Fundmentall Constitution which provided this Temper of three Estates, so the Doctor loves to call it, though he make one Estate so predominant, that as there is no Temperamentum ad pondus, so there will bee no Temperamentum ad justitiam neither by his conceit. How say you Sir John, are not you of my perswasion, or are you askamed to tread in the steppes of your learned Countrey-man? The Lord open your eyes, and cleare your eye-sight; you are naturally sharp-sighted, but if your eye look red or yellow, you know your disease by the symptome. It shall be my prayer, that your eye may neither be dimmie nor blood-shorten.

2 Book p. 28.

1b. ubi supra.

2 Book p. 16.

Judg. 9. 24.

* Ac ne maledicis verborum in eos uti conciviciis arguamur causam perditionis publicæ ne cuiquam ignota sic non taceamus, Hilar. contra Arian p. 214

*Consider that the blood of the 70 was laid upon Abimelech their brother who slew them, and upon the men of Shechem, which had ayded him by strengthning his hands to kill his brethren. Whether you have strengthned their hands who slew their Brethren, only for being too zealous in the maintenance of that Religion which you professe, I appeale to God, your Conscience, and the evidence of the fact. If you have dealt truly and sincerely with this * Reforming Parliament, nay with your owne party, rejoyce and flatter your selves with*

with

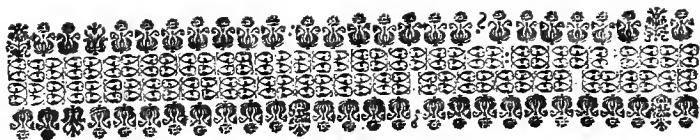
with hope of a desired successe; but if not, then take heed the curse of Iotham doe not fall upon you: there may be an evil spirit sent between the Irish and English, the French and Spanish factions; nay, fire may come out from the Queen and consume the Prelates, and fire from the Prelates and consume the Papists; or else there may come a fire from the North, a fire to purge and refine, not to destroy; which is my prayer, and will be your happinesse.

Judg. 9. 19. 20,
23 and 57 ver-
ses.

I will not hold you any longer upon the racke: Learne the first lesson of Christianity, Self-deniall; deny your owne will, and submit your selves to Gods; deny your reason, and submit to faith: Reason tells you that there are some things above reason, and you cannot be so unreasonable as to make reason judge of those things which are above reason: Remember that Master Chillingworth (your friend) did runne mad with reason, and so lost his reason and religion both at once: hee thought he might trust his reason in the highest points; his reason was to be Iudge, whether or no there be a God? Whether that God wrote any Booke? Whether the bookes usually received as Canonically be the bookes, the Scriptures of God? What is the sense of those bookes? What Religion is best? What Church purest? Come, doe not wrangle, but beleewe, and obey your God, and then I shall be encouraged to subscribe my selfe

Your Friend and Servant,

FRANCIS CHEYNELL.



A briefe and plaine *Relation* of Mr
Chillingworths Sicknesse, Death, and
Buriall: together with a just Censure of his
works, by a Discovery of his Errours collected out
of his Book, and framed into a kinde of *A-*
theisticall Catechisme, fit for *Racovia*
or *Cracovia*:

And may well serve for the instruction of
the *Irish, welch, Dutch, French, Spanish Army*
in *England*, and especially for the *Black*
Regiment at Oxford.



Am very religious in observing that old
proverbe, if it be taken in its right sense,
Nothing is to be spoken of the dead but good.
If that be true which *Quintilian* saith, *ad-*
versus miseros (I may better say *adversus*
mortuos inhumanus est jocus; that man is void
of humanity who makes sport with the dead.

Mr *Chillingworth* was looked upon by me at the first sight as a
conquered man, and therefore I was not only *civill*, but (as he
confessed) *charitable* unto him: and now he is dead, I cannot
deale with him as ^a *Asinius Pollio* did with *Plancus*, set forth

^a *Nec Plancus*
allepide, cum di-
ceretur Asinius
Pollio orationes

in eum parare quæ post mortem Planci ederentur ne respondere posset, cum mortuis non
nisi larvas luctari; quo apud eruditos nihil impudens judicatur. Plin. Præfat. Hist.
Natural.

A Relation of Mr Chillingworths Sicknesse, &c.

an Oration to which no answer is to be expected, unlesse according to the desire of *Saul* or *Dives*, a messenger should arise from the dead to give me an answer as full of terrour as satisfaction. It is no glory to triumph over one that is conquered, nay dead; for that of the Poet is true,

*Nullum cum viclis certamen * & athere cassis.*

* Scilicet esse oportet.

But I consider; that Mr *Chillingworths* party is alive, though he be dead; and though one of his Books is buried, there are many hundred Copies divulged; and therefore though I speak not of his humane frailties, or personall infirmities, and imperfections, which died with him; yet I may speak of his Hereticall Book, and of some destructive policies he used, which doe yet survive in their sad and lamentable effects. Judge what I say, put the case a man commits notorious crimes scandalously, because publicly, and doth not only hold, but vent damnable heresies; and vent them not only in the Pulpit, but in the Presse; shall not his damnable heresies and printed heresies be confuted after his death? shall thousands be seduced and perish, and all Orthodox Divines silenced with that one Proverb, *Nothing is to be spoken of the dead but good?* Nay, put the case further yet, suppose a man hath had his head full of powder-plots; and his heart full of bloody desires, nay hath been a Ring-leader and Encourager of others to bloody practises against the very light of nature as well as Scripture; must nothing be said of such a man when he is gone, but good?

Mr *Chillingworth* and I met in *Sussex* by an unexpected providence: I was driven from my owne house by force of Armes, only (as the Cavaliers confessed) because I was nominated to be a Member of the Assembly: and when I heard that my Living was bestowed upon a Doctor (who if some *Cambridge-men* deceive me not, became the *stage* farre better then he doth the *Pulpit*). I resolved to exercise my Ministry in *Sussex* amongst my friends, in a place where there hath been little of the power of Religion either known

A Relation of Mr Chillingworths

or praised. About the latter end of *November* I travelled from *London* to *Chichester*, according to my usuall custome, to observe the monthly Fast; and in my passage, with a thankful heart I shall ever acknowledge it, I was guarded by a Convoy of 16 Souldiers, who faced about 200 of the enemies forces, and put them all to flight. Upon the twelfth of *December* I visited a brave Souldier of my acquaintance, Captain *James Temple*, who did that day defend the Fort at *Bramber* against a bold daring enemy, to the wonder of all the countrey: and I did not marvell at it, for he is a man that hath his head full of stratagems, his heart full of piety and valour, and his hand as full of successe as it is of dexterity: My gratefull pen might well run on in his commendation, to the eternall fame of those who have been ungratefull to him, to whom they doe (under God) owe their preservation. But I intend not to defraud others of their deserved praise, who were present at that fierce encounter. There was present Colonell *Harbert Morley*, a Gentleman of a nimble apprehension & vigilant spirit; but the *Cavaliers* were kept at such a distance, that they never put the Colonels Regiment of horse to any trouble. There was present likewise Captaine *Henry Carleton*, the Antiprelaticall sonne of a leained Prelate, a man of a bold presence and fixed resolution, who loves his country better then his life. Captain *Simon Everden* was there also, a man of slow speech, but sure performance, who deserves that Motto of the old *Romane*, *Non tam facile loquor quam quod locutus sum preste*. You cannot expect that I should name all the rest of the Commanders: But there were (you see) some difficulties in my way, which seemed insuperable, and yet the Lord of Hosts did bring me thorow these difficulties safe from *Bramber* to *Arundell*, upon the 21 day of *December*, if I forget not. Master *Chillingworth* was at that time in *Arundell* Castle, which was surrendered to the much renowned Commander *Sir William Waller*, Serjeant-Major-generall of all the associated Counties in the East and West, upon the sixt of *January*. As soone as the Castle was surrendered, I represented Master *Chillingworths* condition to *Sir William Waller*, who commended him to the care of his worthy Chaplaine; and

Sicknesse, Death, and Buriall.

and his Chaplaine shewed so much charity and respect towards him, that he laid him upon his owne bed, and supplied him with all necessaries which the place did afford. When the rest of the Prisoners were sent up to *London*, Master *Chillingworth* made it evident to me, that he was not able to endure so long a journey; and if he had been put to it; he had certainly died by the way: I desired therefore that his journey might bee shortred, and upon my humble motion he was sent to *Chichester*, where I intreated the *Governour* that he might be secured by some Officer of his acquaintance, and not put into the hands of the *Marshall*; the *Governour* gave order that Lievtenant *Golledge* should take charge of him, and placed him in the Bishop of *Chichesters* Palace, where he had very courteous usage, and all accommodations which were requisite for a sicke man, as appeares by the testimony of his owne man at *Oxford*, and a Letter of thankfull acknowledgment from Master *Chillingworths* father to Lievtenant *Golledge*: nay, by Master *Chillingworths* Codicill, which hee desired should be annexed to his Will, in which he gave 10 *li.* to Captaine *King*, 10 *li.* to Mistresse *Mason*, who keeps the Bishops house, and attended Master *Chillingworth* in his sicknesse, and 10 *li.* to Lievtenant *Golledge*: And it may further appeare by a Letter of Caprain *Kings* sent to *Oxford*, and the testimony of Master *Edmonds*, his Apothecary; both which are as followes.

Captain Kings Letter sent to Mr *Walter Iones*, one of the Chaplains of *Christ-Church* in *Oxford*, Jan. 23.

Kind friend,

MAfter *Chillingworth* was in so weake a condition, by reason of a violens fluxe, that I perswade my selfe bee could not have lived the first night of his journey, had he gone farther; for it was very tedious to him to be brought hither. He lyes very ill, and (for ought I perceive) in a desperate condition; and how God may dispose of him we know not: if any of his friends have a pur-

A Relation of Mr Chillingworths

pose to come into these parts, they shall have free passage without any molestation. Lieutenan Golledge performes the part of a reall friend in every kinde; neither is Christobell wanting in her best care and diligence. Lieutenan Golledge hath already disburs't 10 li. or thereabout: It would not be amisse that some of Master Chillingworths friends were present with him, whilest there is some hope of life; for it will be a great satisfaction both to him and others: There must be no delayes either of time or money.

I heare that Master Chillingworths Sister, whom hee hath made Execurix, is travelling with child, and therefore unfit for travell, but he is very confident she will not let him want for necessary supplies whilest he lives, and that hee may have decent buriall (befitting one of his merit) if it pleaseth God he chance to dye. Among other of his friends, I pray acquaint Doctor Shelden, the Warden of All-soules, with what is written, whom Master Chillingworth doth very highly esteem.

From Chichester
Jan. 23.

Your very affectionate friend,

Robert King.

The testimony of Master Edmonds.

A Friend standing by him, desired him to declare himselfe in point of Religion, for two reasons; first, Because the Iesuites had much defamed and traduced him in that particular: secondly, Because he might be able to give an account to his friends, in case he should survive. He answered, he had declared himselfe already in that point sufficiently to the world. His friend told him, that there went abroad some hard opinions that he had of Iesus Christ, and wisht him to deale candidly and plainly to the world in that point. He answered, for those things he was settled and resolved, and therefore did not desire to be further troubled. Being demanded, what course should be taken for his interment, in case God should take him away in this place; he replied, that where ever God should please to take him, he would there be interred;

Sickness, Death, and Buriall.

terred; and (if it might be obtained) according to the custome of the Church of England; if not, the Lords will be done. And further (said hee) because the world will be apt to surmise the worst of things, and there may be some inquiry made after my usage in this place, I must testifie and declare to all the world, that I have received both of Master Golledge and his wife, abundance of love, care, and tendernesse, where I deserved it not; and that I have wanted nothing which might be desired of them; and I must in all conscience and honesty doe them this right, to testifie the truth to the world: or to that effect.

Anthony Edmonds.

And for my part, I beleve that in the course of nature hee might have recovered, had he not neglected and distrusted an able Doctor (who freely offered himselfe) onely because hee was Physician to Sir *William Waller*; sure I am that jealousie was more deadly then his disease. Yet Master *Chillingworth* did, when it was too late, discover and confesse his errour, and we perswaded the Doctor to visit him afterwards, and he was in an hopefull way of recovery: but then his spirit was much dejected, because his friends neglected, or delayed, to send him some good newes from *Oxford*: his heart was so set upon his release, and his head was still working and projecting, how he might be exchanged, or ransomed; and therefore certainly the Newes of his friends active endeavours for his releafe, was the *only Cordiall* which could possibly revive his spirits; and for want of such a Cordiall his heart was even dead within him before he died. I entreated him to plucke up his spirits, and not to yeeld to his disease; but I perceived, that though Reason be stout when it encounters with faith, yet reason is not so valiant when it is to encounter with affliction: and I cannot but observe, that many a Parliament-souldier hath been more chearfull in a prison, then this discoursing Engineer, and learned Captive was in a Palace: Beleeve it, Reader, beleeve it, that neither gifts, nor parts, nor profession, nor any thing else but faith, will sustaine the spirit of a man in spirituall straits and worldly encombrances, when without there are fightings, and within there are fears.

Another

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Another reason there was, which (as I conceive) was very destructive to this *Man of Reason*; he was displeas'd, and (I beleve) abused by most of the great Officers who were taken Prisoners in *Arundell-castle*; they looked upon him as an intruder into their councill of warre, and (as one of them whispered) the *Queens intelligencer*, who was set as a Spie over them and all their proceedings. When Major *Molins* came to treat, hee spake very coldly for Master *Chillingworth*; and a greater Commander then he, told me, that they were bound to curse that little Priest to the pit of hell, for he had been the ruine of them all: I replyed in his behalfe, that I wondered much that they should make so weake an Apology, for I could not beleve that Master *Chillingworths* single Vote could turn their Councill of warre round, and make them giddy: The ingenious Gentleman made use of the liberty of his judgement, and replyed; "Sir, Master *Chillingworth* hath so much credit at the Court, and the Court-councill hath so much influence into our military Councill, that we were even over-awed, and durst not contradict Master *Chillingworth*, for feare lest our owne resolutions might succeed ill, and then his counsell would have been esteemed the better. I told the Gentleman, that I thought Master *Chillingworth* wanted experience for the ordering of military affaires, and therefore could not well apply the generall rules of reason aright, and bring them downe to practise in cases which were difficult, because unusuall. The Gentleman replyed, "Sir, Master *Chillingworth* is so confident of his great wit and parts, that hee conceives himselfe able to manage martiall affaires, in which hee hath no experience, by the strength of his owne wit and reason: Sir (quoth I) you may forgive him, for though I hope to be saved by faith, yet Master *Chillingworth* hopes that a man may be saved by reason, and therefore you may well give him leave to fight by reason. Sir (saith that witty Gentleman) I confesse it is a sad objection, which I know not how to answer; and so in stead of an answer we went to dinner. But I did examine the businesse impartially afterwards, and perceivethat these great Commanders have grossely abused Master *Chillingworth*,

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worth, in laying all the blame upon him; as if he were guilty of losing the out-workes, the Towne; the Castle, and all; and therefore I shall doe Master *Chillingworth* so much right; as to offer some considerations, which may tend to his excuse or vindication: For what though Master *Chillingworth* were the grand-Engineer at *Glocester* and *Arundel*, and both projects failed, the fault might be in the Officers and Souldiers, and not in the Engineer: Put the case the Lord *Hopton*, Baron of *Stratton*, Field-Marshal-general of the West, promise to bring three thousand men, and the Engineer make a line of Communication which cannot be defended with fewer then two thousand; but the field-Marshal doth in the mean time forget himselfe, and quarter his men in three or foure Maniples; but his enemy being a more *wary and prudent Commander*, keeps his men in a contracted and compact body, which is too strong for the best of his Maniples, and falls upon one of the field-Marshals Quarters, takes and kills neare upon a thousand men, and the field-Marshal by such an unexpected blow is utterly disabled for the fulfilling of his promise, of sending three thousand, nay is not able to send above 1500 men: shall the Engineer or the field-Marshal be blamed in such a case?

Nay, what if the enemy advance before the Engineer hath quite finished his workes? yet if he hath made them defensible against any sudden onset, and the Souldiers, which should defend the works, quit their Trenches, and runne all away, before any one man be slaine in the Trenches, shall the Engineere be blamed in such a case, or the Souldiers, who were stricken with feare when there was no considerable cause of feare?

Finally, if the Lord of Hosts, who did strike a terrour to the very heart of the Souldiers, doe shew himselfe a God of wisdom, and insatuate the counsels of the grand *Achisophels*; nay, shew himselfe a sin-revenging God, and smite the Souldiers in the Castle with deadly diseases, *with one Pox more then they carried in with them, with the Flux, the Calenture, the spotted Feaver, and the like*: if in the midst of these distresses the Souldiers breake forth into a *mutinous flame*, and set all their fellows in a combustion, must the Engineer bee blamed if the

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Castle be surrendred in such a case? Now I appeale to their Councell of Warre, whether their case were not so like to these cases which have beene put, that it is hard to say wherein they differed. Let not then Master *Chillingworth* be charged with more faults then he was guilty of; I cannot but vindicate his reputation from all false aspersions, which are cast upon him by some who know not how to excuse themselves: I tooke all the care I could of his body whilest he was sicke, and will (as farre as he was innocent) take care of his fame and reputation now he is dead: nay, whilest he was alive, I tooke care of something more precious then his health or reputation, to wit, his precious and beloved soule; for in compassion to his soule I dealt freely and plainly with him, and told him that he had been very active in fomenting these bloody warres against the Parliament and Common-wealth of England, his naturall countrey, and by consequent, against the very light of nature: "I acknowledge (saith he) that I have beene active in these warres, but I have ever followed the dictates of my conscience; and if you convince me that I am in an error, you shall not finde me obstinate. I told him, I conceived that he might want sleep, being at that time newly come out of the Castle, and therefore I gave him time to refresh himselfe: and when I came to him againe, I asked him whether he was fit for discourse; he told me, yes, but somewhat faintly: I certified him, that I did not desire to take him at the lowest, when his spirits were flatted, and his reason disturbed, but had much rather undertake him when he was at the highest, because I came prepared to receive satisfaction, and looked upon my selfe as unlikely to give satisfaction to one, whom I acknowledged so much above mee, in regard of his parts, gifts, experience; he having studied bookes and men, and more accurately discussed that question of State then ever I had done. He then told me, that he was pretty well refreshed, and as able (as he used to be in these times of distraction) for any discourse about that great controversie of State. He desired me to begin: I satisfied his desire, and told him that it would be very requisite in the first place to state the Question aright; for (as I conceived)

many

many ingenious men were grossely mistaken even in the very state of the Question.

First then be pleased (quoth I) to consider, that *the originall difference was not betwixt the King and the Parliament*, but betwixt the *Parliament and Delinquents*; and indeed, betwixt the *Queen and the Parliament*: I told him, that hee could not be ignorant that upon the fourth of *January*, two yeares agoe, *the King went unto the Parliament upon the Queens errand*; and I beleeved that he knew better then I, how much *the Queen was discontented, because her bloody designe was not put in execution*: He told me, *that he could not deny it, and he would not excuse it*. When I was going on to discourse about other matters of fact, he confessed very honestly, that he did now perceive, *that they had no certaine information of matters of fact at Oxford*: whereby I perceived that it was no wonder that so many brave men were seduced to fight against the Parliament.

Vpon further discourse, he told me that he observed a great deale of piety in the Commanders and Souldiers of the Parliaments Army: “ I confesse (saith he) their discourse and behaviour doth speake them Christians, but I can finde little of God or godlinesse in our men; they will not seeke God whilest they are in their bravery, nor trust him when they are in distresse; I have much adoe (saith he) to bring them upon their knees, to call upon God, or to resigne themselves up to God, when they goe on upon any desperate service, or are cast into any perplexed condition. I liked him well, when I heard him run on so fluently to this effect, and I closed with him, and desired him to tell me freely, whether in good earnest he thought the Parliament did intend any thing else then the *taking of the wicked from before the King, the establishing of the Kings throne in justice, the setting up of Christs ordinances in power, purity, liberty, and the setting of the knowne lawes of the land, the priviledges of the Parliament, and liberties of the subjects, in quiet and peace.*

“ Sir (saith he) I must acknowledge that I doe verily beleeve that the intentions of the Parliament are better then the intentions of the Court, or of that Army which I have

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followed ; but I conceive that the Parliament takes a wrong
course to prosecute and accomplish their good intentions ;
for warre is not the way of Iesus Christ.

Truely I was ashamed to dispute with him any longer, when he had given me so much advantage : For first, he clearly condemned himselfe for being confederate with them, whose intentions were destructive ; because no man must promote an ill designe by any meanes whatsoever, be they never so lawfull. Secondly, he confessed himselfe cleane out of his way when he was in Armes ; for warre, saith he, (and he learnt to say so of the *Anabaptists* and *Socinians*) is not the way of Iesus Christ ; all that he could say for himselfe was, that he had no command in the Army ; and yet their greatest Officers told me, that in a true construction there was no man else that had a command to any purpose, but Master *Chillingworth*. And as touching their intentions, it is no hard matter to guesse at the intentions of the French and Spanish faction at Court, or the *Irish intentions of the Papists, Prelates, Delinquents, &c. that follow the Queens Army*. I am sure one of the Captains that was taken Prisoner at *Arundell*, had a Spanish head, a French nose, and an Irish heart : And there was a Letter found in *Arundell-Castle*, which was directed to Master *Beckingham*, the Earle of *Arundels* Receiver, which doth declare the good intentions of the *Queens Army*. I took a copy of it, which I will here transcribe word for word.

Good Mr Beckingham,

I Doubt not but you are acquainted with the generall and voluntary contribution of the whole Catholikes of this Kingdome, both to declare the true affection of their hearts towards his Majesty, in this, as in all other occasions: as also to exhibite such aid as their estates doe afford, to assist his Majesty in this present businesse, which doth concerne each one in particular.

The monies which the Catholikes are to give, must be presented this Terme, and therefore I entreat you that you will be pleased that what your liberality will bestow in so good a cause, you will cause it to be delivered to me in London, and I shall give (an ac-

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count thereof to such as it doth concern, and) you a sufficient discharge.

The subscription and name was torne away.

I need not make any observations upon this Letter, it speaks for it selfe; and it speaks to bad English, and such perfect policy, that I beleve the man that writ it was no English-man borne.

There was a Commission found there likewise (which doth declare their good intentions) directed to Sir *Edward Ford, &c.* to secure the persons of all men in *Suffex*, who had contributed to the Parliament, and to seize their estates, and sell their goods to the utmost value, for the best advantage of his Majesty; and the Commissioners were to give an account of their service to the field-Marshal Generall, Baron of Stratten, Commander in chiefe of all his Majesties forces in *Surrey, Suffex, Kent, &c.* Now their intentions are as you see: And as touching the meanes used, Master *Chillingworth* himself would not say that the Queen and her adherents, Prelates, Papiists, Delinquents, Malignants, of the French conspiracy, the *Spanish* faction, or the *Irish* Rebellion, and their confederates, doe take better courses, and use more lawfull meanes to accomplish their intentions, and bring about their designs, then the Parliament of *England*, the Kingdome of *Scotland*, and the Protestants in *Ireland*: since then Master *Chillingworth* did (as all ingenuous and active spirits doe) detest Neutrality, hee might have seene (for hee had light enough to see) the way of *Jesus Christ*.

I desired him to tell me, whether the highest Court of justice in the Kingdome may not compell Delinquents (who are prospected by force against Law) to come in by force of Armes, that they may be tryed according to Law?

First, hee acknowledged that the Parliament is the highest Court; and therefore; (I conclude) not to be controlled by some few of the Kings Councill, or by a pretended Assembly, consisting of Fugitives and Delinquents. Secondly, saith he, I must deale plainly with you, though the Parliament hath

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voted some to be Delinquents, and the Queen her selfe to be a Traitor, yet I doe not beleve that their judgement is infallible. I was able to answer him out of his owne booke, that *the judgement of a Court or person* (especially where there is evidence of the fact) *may be certaine, though that Court or person be not infallible*: Secondly, though the judgment of the highest Court be not *infallible*, yet it is *finall*, and therefore we cannot appeale from the judgement of the Parliament, to any Court, but the Court of heaven. True, (saith Master Chillingworth) but this is it which stickes with me, that there is no fundamentall constitution for the government of this Kingdome by a *standing Parliament*: To which I had many answers to returne; first, there is a fundamentall constitution for the government of this Kingdome by the three Estates: secondly, there is a Law for the frequency of Parliaments: and thirdly, the vertue and strength of every Parliament continues in the Acts of every Parliament, by which the Kingdome is governed, even after the dissolution of that Parliament; every Parliament doth live in its unrepealed Acts, and therefore lives even after its dissolution; and in that respect wee have many Parliaments yet standing; *some old Elisabeth-Parliaments doe as yet live, breath, move, and operate, with strength and vigour*: fourthly, there is an Act passed for the continuance of this Parliament, by the unanimous consent of all three Estates; and the Kings Councell could not find any other probable meanes under heaven for the disengaging of his Majesty, then the framing and passing of that Act of continuance. Master Chillingworth (putting off his hat) cried, I acknowledge that Act with all reverence, and *there is your strength*. He seemed pretty well satisfied with that answer; and as touching the way of *Jesus Christ*, I desired to know whether the Saints were not to make warre against the Whore and the Beast? Whether it be not an act of charity, for Protestants to lay downe their lives for their Brethren? Whether it be not an act of faith, to waxe valiant in fight for the defence of that faith, which was once delivered to the Saints? I perceived my Gentleman somewhat puzzled, and I tooke my leave, that he might take his rest.

My

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My heart was moved with compassion towards him, and I gave him many visits after this first visit; but I seldom found him in fit case to discourse, because his disease grew stronger and stronger, and he weaker and weaker: I desired to know his opinion concerning that *Liturgy* which hath bene formerly so much extolled, and even idolized amongst the people; but all the answer that I could get was to this purpose, that *there were some truths which the Ministers of the Gospel are not bound upon paine of damnation to publish to the people*: and indeed he conceived it very unfit to publish any thing concerning the Common-Prayer-Book, or the Book of Ordination, &c. *for feare of scandall*. I was sorry to heare such an answer drop from a dying man, and I conceived it could not but be much more scandalous, to seduce or hoodwink the people, then to instruct and edifie them in a point which did *directly concerne the publike worship of God in this Land*.

When I found him pretty hearty one day, I desired him to tell me, *whether he conceived that a man living and dying a Turk, Papist, or Socinian, could be saved?*

All the answer that I could gaine from him was, *that he did not absolve them, and would not condemne them*. I was much displeas'd with the answer upon divers reasons: First, because the question was put home, of a man living and dying, so or so. Secondly, it was frivolous to talk of Absolution, for it was out of question that he could not absolve them. Thirdly, it shewed that he was too well perswaded of Turcism and Socinianism, which runne exactly parallel in too many points. Fourthly, he seems to Anathematize the Socinians in the Preface to the Author of Charity, maintained Sect. 28. when *Knot* had reckoned up some Socinian Tenets, Mr *Chillingworth* answers, *Whosoever teaches or holds them, let him be Anathema*. I have not *Knots* Book by me now, I meane his direction to *N. N.* and Mr *Chillingworth* was so wise as not to reckon up the number of those impious doctrines, or name them in particular, because they were all fathered upon him, and he would not assist Mr *Knot* so farre in the spreading of his owne undeserved defamation, *ibid.* Sect. 28.

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I am afraid that *Knot* reckoned up too many points of Socinianism, or did not forme his Interrogations aright, and then Mr *Chillingworth* might safely anathematize, and yet be a Socinian in many points which were not reckoned up, or not well exprest; And yet his Anathema is warily pronounced, he doth not say, Whosoever teaches or holds them or any of them, let him be Anathema. Moreover, if the Socinians be asked, whether Christ be God, they will say, Yes; but then they meane that he is the Sonne of God, borne after an extraordinary manner by the overshadowing of the holy Ghost, *Luke 1. 31, 32, 35.* or that the word of God came unto him, and therefore is called God, because of his extraordinary Commission from God, or the like, *Iohn 10. 35.* Now either Mr *Chillingworth* was guilty of some such equivocation and sly evasion, or else he grew worse and worse, and would not anathematize a grosse Socinian. And if in these latter dayes Seducers grow worse and worse, I shall not wonder at it, *2 Tim. 3. 13.*

When Mr *Chillingworth* saw himselfe entangled in disputes, he desired me that I would deale charitably with him, for, saith he, I was ever a charitable man: my answer was somewhat tart, and therefore the more charitable, considering his condition, and the counsell of the Apostle, *Titus 1. 13. Rebuke them sharply,* or (as *Beza* hath it) *precisely, that they may be sound in the faith;* And I desire not to conceale my tartnesse, it was to this effect: Sir, it is confessed that you have beene very excessive in your charity; you have lavished out so much charity upon *Turks, Socinians, Papists,* that I am afraid you have very little to spare for a truly reformed Protestant; sure I am, the zealous Protestants finde very little charity at *Oxford.*

The last time I visited him, was on the Lords day, for I thought it a Sabbath-duty, and then he began to speak of some questions which I formerly propounded to him, whereof this was one; *Whether Tyranny was Gods Ordinance?* I presently took him off from that discourse, because I knew he had beene laid up fast by that argument before; for it is impossible that

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that any man should ever prove, that Tyranny is not to be resisted upon this ground, because we must not resist Gods Ordinance, unless they could prove, that which is *blasphemy to mention. viz. That Tyranny is Gods Ordinance.* I desired him that he would now take off his thoughts from all matters of *Speculation*, and fix upon some practical point which might make for his *Edification.*

He thanked me (as I hope) very heartily, and told me that in all points of Religion he was settled, and had fully expressed himselfe for the satisfaction of others in his Book, which was approved and licensed by very learned and judicious Divines. Upon further discourse I began to tell him what meditation did most comfort me in times of Extremity: and I added that the meditation was very proper for a man in his condition, if he could lay hold upon the *Covenant of Grace.* I made choise of that Scripture, *2 Sam. 23.* the five first verses; and I began to open the fifth verse a little to him: I told him that all our hopes of salvation are grounded upon the Covenant of Grace, for it is a sure Covenant, an ordered Covenant, nay, a Covenant in all things ordered and sure, an everlasting Covenant, a saving Covenant; they were *Dauids* last words, *this is all my salvation.* And I presse this point the rather, because he doth acknowledge in his Book, that the Doctrine about the Covenant is a Fundamentall Doctrine; and because his expressions are very imperfect and obscure in his subtle Book, I was in good hope that he would have explained himselfe more fully and clearly in that Fundamentall point; but I could not obtaine what I desired. Not long after, I told him, that I did use to pray for him in private, and asked him whether it was his desire that I should pray for him in publique: he answered, yes, with all his heart; and he said withall, that he hoped he should fare the better for my prayers.

I observed that Mr *Chillingworth* was much troubled with a sore throat, and oppressed with tough phlegme, which would certainly choak him up, if there were not some sudden remedy. I sent therefore to a Chirurgeon, one of Mr *Chillingworths* believe; an able man, that pleased him well, and

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gave him some ease. And the next day being Munday, at our morning-exercise in the Cathedrall, I desired the souldiers and Citizens that they would in their prayers remember the distressed estate of Mr *Chillingworth* a sick Prisoner in the City, *a man very eminent for the strength of his parts, the excellency of his gifts, and the depth of his learning*: I told them that they were commanded to love their enemies, and therefore were bound to pray for them, especially when God moved the heart of an enemy to desire their prayers: We prayed heartily that God would be pleased to bestow *saving graces* as well as *excellent gifts* upon him, that so all his gifts might be improved and sanctified: we desired that God would give him new light, and new eyes, that he might see, acknowledge, and recant his errours, that he might deny his carnall reason, and submit to faith: that God would blesse all meanes which were used for his recovery, &c.

I beleve none of his friends or my enemies can deny that we made a respectfull and Christian mention of him in our prayers. The same day I rid to *Arundel* to move the Doctour to come over againe to visit Mr *Chillingworth*, but the Doctour was sent for out of Town: (before I got thither) to visit Sir *William Springot*, and so I lost my journey, and the Doctour saw him no more. In my absence a religious Officer of *Chichester* garrison followed my suit to Mr *Chillingworth*, and entreated him to declare himselfe in point of Religion; but Mr *Chillingworth* appealed to his Book againe, and said he was serled, as you may see it more largely set down in Mr *Edmonds* his Testimony before. From my first visitation of Mr *Chillingworth* to the last, I did not finde him in a condition which might any way move mee (had I beene his deadly enemy) *either to flatter or envy him, but rather to pity and pray for him*, as you see I did. I dare appeale to his eminent and learned friends, whether there could bee more *mercy* shewn to his *body*, or *charity* to his *soule*, whilst he was alive? Consider what it is worth to have a fortnights space to repent in. O what would *Dives* have proffered for such a mercy? if Mr *Chillingworth* did

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not improve it, that was no fault of mine ; And shall not my charity to his soule and body whilest he was alive, acquit me from being uncharitable towards him after his death? No reasonable man will deeme mee guilty of such an uncharitable madnesse, as to be angry with a carcasse, or to goe wrestle with a ghost ; for I consider that his ghost might cry, *in faciem sepeli*, Bury me with my face downward, if you please, for when the *Macedonians* (give me leave to change the story a little, and say, when the *Irish*) come, and they were then neare us, they will *turn all upside down*: I am no *Sylla*, I did not give any command to scatter the reliques of *Marius* : though I have not much Wisedome, yet I have more charity then to deserve that lash of the Oratour, *He had beene more wise had he beene lesse violent* ; and yet I will confesse that I am, and ought to be violent for *Christ* and *Heaven*, and my passions are too often as hot as my zeale, but They may beare with small faults, and in this businesse I have proceeded with deliberation and moderation : I consider that I am in the body, and my body may be delivered (I know not how soone) into the enemies hand ; I doe not expect (though I might desire) that halfe that mercy which I shewed to Master *Chillingworth* may be shewen to me ; *Defunctorum cineribus violentiam inferre sacrilega presumptio est*, is a Rule (if I mistake not) in the Civill Law ; and I shall be able to justifie my carriage in the businesse of his Funerall to the face of his greatest Patrons, from all inhumanity or sacriledge,

*Marii reliquias
dissipari iussit,
acerbiori odio,
quàm si tam sa-
piens fuisset
quàm vehementi
fuit. Cicero de
Leg.*

Sacrilega bustis abstinere manus.

Let us (if you please) take a view of all our proceedings, and of Master *Chillingworths* opinions, and then (I am afraid) some will say there was a little foolish pity shewed on my part and the uncharitableness will be found in them onely, who censure me for want of charity.

First, there were all things which may any way appertaine to the *civility* of a funerall, though there was nothing which belongs to the *superstition* of a funerall : His body was decently

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laid in a convenient coffin, covered with a *mourning Herse-cloth*, more seemly (as I conceive) then the usuall covering, patched up out of the mouldy reliques of some moth-eaten copes: His friends were entertained (according to their owne desire) with Wine and Cakes; though that is, in my conceit, a *turning of the house of mourning into an house of banquetting*: All that offered themselves to carry his corps out of pure devotion, because they were *men of his perswasion*, had every one of them (according to the custome of the countrey) a branch of Rosemary, a mourning Ribband, and a paire of Gloves. But (as it doth become an impartiall Historian) I confesse there were three severall opinions concerning his buriall.

The first opinion was negative and peremptory, That hee ought not to be buried like a Christian, 1. Who refused to make a full and free confession of Christian Religion: 2. Nay, if there had been nothing else against him, but his taking up of Armes against his countrey, that they conceived a sufficient reason to deny the buriall of his corps. I will not trouble you with many reasons, that one place of Scripture was to them instead of many reasons, to prove that an Heathen might be buried in all the outward pompe and glory that can be devised, rather then one who hath destroyed his owne land, and slaine his owne people, *Isa. 14. 18, 19, 20. All the Kings of the Nations, even all of them lye in glory, every one in his owne house; But thou art cast out of thy grave, like an abominable branch, and as the raiment of those that are slaine, thrust thorow with a sword, that go downe to the stones of the pit, as a carcasse trodden under feet: Thou shalt not be joynd with them in buriall, because thou hast destroyed thy land, and slaine thy people, (marke that Reason:) the seed of evill doers shall never bee renowned.* In the third place, some were bold to say that he was *Felo de se*, guilty of his owne death, by his foole-hardinesse. Finally, it was alledged that he was an Heretick; nomember of any of the Reformed Churches, and therefore to be reckoned as an Excommunicated person; now you know what law it is which denieth buriall to Heretikes, and Excommunicated persons, though they be excommunicated for inconstmity onely, for not appearing,

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pearing, or not paying of 3.s.4.d. or some such like cause; Read *Pickerings Case* in the high Commission. The truth is, we looked upon Master *Chillingworth* as a kinde of Non-conformist, nay (to speake strictly) a Reculant rather than a Non-conformist; for Non-conformists refuse to subscribe to *Canons* which concerne *Discipline*, but Master *Chillingworth* refused to subscribe some *Articles of Religion*, as he himselfe acknowledges, though he thought charitably of them who did subscribe them: For (he saith) he doth not undertake the peculiar defence of the *Church of England*, but the *common cause of Protestants*; and yet he doth not hold the doctrine of all Protestants true, because they hold contradictions, yet he conceived them free from all error destructive of salvation: and though he did make scruple of *subscribing the truth of one or two Propositions*, yet he thought himselfe fit enough to maintaine, that those who doe subscribe them are in a saveable condition, See the Preface to the Author of *Charity* maintained Sect. 39. You see Master *Chillingworth* did refuse to subscribe. What thinke ye (Gentlemen) are not *Chichester* men pretty good Disputants? Can you confute these Reasons? If you can, doe your best; if you cannot, I have no reason to prompt you; scratch your heads, beat your desks, bite your nailes, and I will goe sleep, and will not heare what they said of Master *Chillingworths* Argument on *Fieldings* case.

The second opinion was your opinion, and the opinion of such as you are, my good friends at *Athens*; the men of a Cathedrall spirit thought it fit that Master *Chillingworth*, being a member of a Cathedrall, should be buried in the Cathedrall; and being *Cancellarius*, it was conceived that he should be buried *intra cancellos*, and rot under the Altar, neare the pot of Incense, that the constant perfume of the Incense might excuse the thrift of his Executrix — — *Ossa in odora dedit*. It was answered, that he was of or belonging to the Cathedrall at *Sarum*, and therefore they might carry him thither; but then his Will could not be performed, because he desired to be buried at *Chichester*, in case he did end his dayes in that City. But some more serious conceived, that this desire of burying

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rying him *intra cancellos* was but the issue of a superstitious conceit, that the Chancell, or *sanctum sanctorum*, was more holy then other places; and the carcasse of a Priest as sacred as that holy ground: And it was their opinion that a modest and well-grounded deniall of this request; would be the most effectuall confutation of that superstitious conceit. The ground of the deniall was Master *Chillingworths* phantasia; *viz.* That there are two wayes to make men faithfull, (and consequently to bring them to Heaven) without either necessity of Scripture or Church; his words are these; And Saint *Paul* tells us, that *γνώσιν τῶ θεῶ* might be knowne by his workes, and that they had the Law written in their hearts: *Either of these wayes might make some faithfull men, without either necessity of Scripture or Church*, Cap. 2. Sect. 124. pag. 100. the first Edition: Now shew me any place of Scripture (say they) to prove that such a mans corps should be buried in the Church, who mainrains that men may be saved without Church or Scripture. This passage is the more observable, because in some places of his booke he would beare us in hand, that he doth not thinke that Heathens shall be immediately saved without faith in Christ; See chap 3. Sect. 13. pag. 133. but you see he doth not mince the matter in the place fore-cited, for it is cleare and evident that there is *nothing of the Gospel written in the heart by nature, or in any of the workes of God by the first creation.*

The third opinion (which prevailed) was this, that it would be fittest to *permit the men of his owne perswasion, out of meere humanity, to bury their dead out of our sight*; and to bury him in the *cloysters*, amongst the old Shavelings, Monkes, and Priests, of whom he had so good an opinion all his life.

The Prelaticall men doe conceive, that there is a kinde of holinesse in a *cloyster*; no excommunicated person must be buried there, unlessse there be an absolution sent, either before the death of the party, or *to the dead corps*, (which they must call their beloved brother) *because they themselves are as lothsome and rotten as the corps*: Nay, a Papist must not be buried in the *Cloysters* without speciall dispensation from the Bishop; and you know *the Prelates would dispense with Papists alive or dead.*

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dead: It is usuall to bury men of good rank and quality in Collegiate Cloysters; and sure I am, the Cavaliers doe not bury their dead so honourably, though they esteeme them the *Queenes Martyrs*, they throw them into ditches or rivers.

Finally, Mr *Chillingworths* bones shall rest without any disturbance, he shall not be used as *Wicliffe* was by Papists, or as *Bucer* was served by the Prelaticall faction at *Cambridge*, who vouchsafed him an Honourable buriall in the dayes of *Edward* the sixth, anno 1551. because they knew it would be an acceptable service in the eyes of Saint *Edward*, as judicious *Hooker* styles him; but in the dayes of *Queen Mary* (the first of that name) the same men plucked him out of his grave againe after an inhumane and barbarous manner: but in *Queen Elizabeths* dayes, the same men wheeled about a third time, and made an honourable commemoration of him againe in Panegyricall Orations, and flattering verses. Mr *Chillingworth* was buried by day, and therefore we had no Torches or Candles at his grave. *Tertullian* assures me, that the Christians used no such custome, though the Heathens did, and the Antichristians now doe. *Non frangimus lucernis, lucem Dei.* I know no reason why Candles were used by Heathens at the Funerall of the dead, but because they did burne the dead bodies.

————— *subjectam more parentum*

Aversa tenuère facem —————

Observe that I say, at the Funerall, for I know full well that they had some Anniversary Commemorations, at which it was usuall to bring Candles, and burne them at Sepulchers in honour of the Dead. I remember a famous instance in *Suetonius* in the life of *Augustus*, there is mention made of a great company who flocked together at the Tomb-stone of one *Masgabas*, who had beene dead about a yeare, and they brought abundance of lights thither, as their custome was. But it is strongly objected that my great and unanswerable fault was, that I did in *extremo actu deficere*, I refused

Consulas Histor. de vita & obitu Bucerii.

Tertul. in Apolog. Synod. Eliber. Can. 34-37. Vigilantius cum Synodo praedict. illam gentilium consuetudinem damnavit: Prope (inquit Vigilantius) ritum gentilium viderimus sub pretextu religionis introductum in Ecclesias Dei, Sole adhuc furore non accendi. Hieron. ad Vigilant. cap. 2. Virgil, *Eneid;*

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to bury him my selfe. and left it to others: Sirs, I confesse it, and shall deale freely and candidly in the businesse.

First, Mr *Chillingworth* in his life time, desired to have some part of the Common-prayer-book read over his Corps at the grave, in case it should please God to take him away into another world by that sicknesse. Now I could not yeeld to this request of his for many reasons which I need not specify; yet I shall say enough to give satisfaction to reasonable and modest men. I conceive it absurd and sinfull to use the same forme of words at the buriall of all manner of persons; namely, *to insinuate that they are all elected, that they doe all rest in Christ, that we have sure and certaine hope of their salvation,* &c. these and the like passages I durst not make use of upon that occasion; and all this, and a great deale more, was desired by Mr *Chillingworth*: blame me not if I did *choose rather to satisfie my owne conscience, then his desire*; for what learned Doctor *Usher* saith of more Ancient Formes of praise and prayer, is true of these passages; which kinde of Intercessions, &c. proved an occasion of confirming men in divers errors, especially when they began once to be applied not only to the good but to evill livers also, unto whom by the first institution they never were intended. Dr *Usher* his Answer to the Jesuites Challenge, pag. 192. Edit. London 1625.

Videsis Greg. Naz. Orat. in laudem Gorgon. Comment. in Iob vulgo ascripta Origeni lib. 3. Ambros. de Valent. & Gratiano differen. Beati ambo si quid mea orationes valebunt: nulla dies vos silentio prateribit nulla in bonoratos vos mea transibit oratio, nulla nox non donatos aliqua precium mearum contemtionem transcurret, &c. Ambros. de obitu Valentianiani Imperatoris.

Secondly: I doe not know to what end and purpose wee should pray *over the dead*, unlessse we conceive it fitting to pray *for the dead*. I doe consider upon what *slight occasions the people have heretofore runne into intolerable errors*; and there is a kinde of naturall superstition ingrafted in the minde of ingenuous men in this great businesse: *men are apt to slide out of their civility and blinde devotion, into detestable superstition.* They who began to complement with the dead at first, did little dream that *their Complements* should be urged as *Arguments* to prove that we may make *prayers to the dead*: and yet they who have searched farthest into the originall of that

rotten superstition, and grosse idolatry, doe as clearly demonstrate my observation to be solid and rationally, as if it were a truth written with a Sun-beame: Take Doctor *Fields* observation upon this Argument; *Notwithstanding* (saith he) *it is most certaine that many particular men extended the meaning of these Prayers further &c.* — and so it is true (saith Doctor *Field*) that Calvin saith, *That many of the Fathers were led into error in this matter of prayer for the dead, &c.* See his third Booke of the Church, and the 17 Chapter.

They conceived that the Saints continue their love to their brethren which they left behind them, that therefore they recommend to God those particular necessities of their brethren, which were made knowne to them here: nay, they did entreat Saints, lying on their death-beds, not to forget their friends on earth when they were translated to heaven. Adde to this, their reckoning up the names of Martyrs at the Eucharist; the Sacrifice of praise; the anniversary commemorations, and Pannegyricall Orations, on the severall dayes of their friends death, and I need say no more: Read the same Author (Doctor *Field*) in the same Book, the 20 chapter, and you will be satisfied.

When I read of Funeralls in the old Testament, celebrated in the presence of Idolaters mingled with the faithfull servants of God; is there any probability that there were any Prayers made over the dead corps? would the Idolaters have joined with the faithfull in any spirituall exercise of Religion presented to the true God? The Heathens had strange conceits, that by Prayers and Sacrifices *Persephone* might be appeased, and so the deceased party fare much the better for the sacrifices, or the prayers; (shadowed by the Sacrifices) for with them the Devill was worshipped, and so (as they thought) appeased: Read Doctor *Reynolds* in the first Tome of his prelections on the Apocrypha, pag. 1498. *Itaque Persephone & sacrificiis & precibus placabatur ab Ulysse, Odyssea 11. Apollonius apud Philostratum lib. 4. cap. 5. qui negat sibi opus fuisse, obtulit tamen preces & orationes; atque ita, aut sacrificiis, aut orationibus, quas sacrificia adumbrabant, placabatur Sathanas, colebatur & adorabatur.*

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rabatur. Now if prayers were made over the dead by Heathenish Idolaters, and are still made by Romish Idolaters; and the Reformed Churches have no such custome; I humbly conceive that I shall not be condemned by any sober Christian, for not imitating Heathens or Papists.

Be pleased to observe the practise of Reformed Churches, and then you will not deeme me singular in my opinion. There was a Liturgy printed not long since, and presented to the Parliament, (let it not be thought the worse because it came from *Geneva*, or because it is said to be approved by Mr *Calvin*, and the Church of *Scotland*) and in that Liturgy you shall find that there was no great store of Service said or done at the interring of the dead corps: The corps is reverently brought to the Grave, without any further Ceremonies; which being buried, the Minister, *if he be present and required*, (observe those two limitations) goeth to the Church, *if it be not farre off*, (marke that likewise) and maketh some comfortable exhortation to the people, touching death and resurrection. You see that in their judgement the corps may be reverently interred without a Minister; yet if he be present, there are no prayers appointed to be said over the dead body; but the Minister is to repaire to the Church, and preach to the Congregation, as I did upon the advantage of the like occasion.

The practise of the Church of *Scotland* is set forth by that reverend and learned Commissioner of *Scotland*, Master *Rutherford*, Professour of Divinity at Saint *Andrewes*, cap. 20. art. 9. p. 319. in these words: *Interring and buriall is not performed in the Word of God with preaching*, reading Service over the dead, *singing Scriptures (as Papists) which tend to superstition, &c.* — The place of buriall with us is not under the Altar; or the place of Assembling (*the Church*) for the Word or Sacraments, as Papists do, but in some publike place, either near the Church, or some inclosed field; because the Jewes buried sometimes in a Cave, *Gen. 25. 9.* sometimes in a Valley, *Deut. 34. 6.* sometimes in a garden, *Joh. 19. 41.* I hope you wil not say at *Oxford* that there's no *Christian buriall to be had in Scotland*, because they doe not interre the corps in the Church, or read Service over the dead.

But

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But however you'll say it must be acknowledged that singing of Hymnes, and *ευχαριστιος ευχη* were used of old amongst funerall offices.

To which I answer, that the learned Doctor *Usher* proves out of the Author of the Ecclesiasticall Hierarchy, that such a Rite could not be observed in its pomp and glory unlessse there had been some Bishop present, at whose sacred hands the *dead body might receive as it were a sacred coronation.*

2. The singing of Psalmes, and these thanksgiving prayers, are *not signes of mourning, but rejoicing*: and how it would have been interpreted at *Oxford* (you may judge) had we shewne the least signe of rejoicing at the fall of such a subtil enemy.

3. In those hymnes and Psalmes they did expresse their confidence, that the deceased party was crowned in glory; and of that I have said enough above, to shew that I had no such confidence.

But if any of Master *Chillingworths* Catholike friends at *Oxford* should speake out, and tell me that there may (as *Augustine* saith) be *Petitions* and *Propitiations*, made for men that are *not very bad, after their death*; I will ingenuously confesse that *Augustines* judgment was very *unsettled in this point*, and diverse of his expressions are *inexcusable*: But to answer them according to their folly, if they conceive that Master *Chillingworth* was a Martyr for the Catholike cause, they will likewise acknowledge (as *Augustine* in sundry places doth) that *to frame Petitions for a Martyr after his death, is an injury to the Martyr, and to the cause for which he suffered.*

If any man doe yet remaine unsatisfied, let him consider, that had I conceived it fitting to read some Service over a dead corps, yet it could not be expected in reason and equity that I should performe this last office to the body of Master *Chillingworth*: For it is well knowne, that long before these unnatural and bloody warres, *in the times of greatest compliance*, I never gave Mr *Chillingworth* the right hand of fellowship, but did freely and constantly protest against those damnable heresies, which he did cunningly subintroduce & vent in this Kingdom, not onely whilest he was a *professed Papist*, but since his *preten-*

Dr Usher his answer to the Jesuites Challenge, upon the Argument of prayer for the dead.

ουχι η Θεου δοξαζομεν η ευχαριστουμεν οτι λοιπον εσεφωρασι.
Chrysost. Hom. 4. in epist. ad Heb.

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ded conversion, (give me leave to call it so) you will see there is good ground for that *diminishing* term, when you come to read the Carechism anon. I am not ashamed to tell the whole *University*, the whole *Kingdome*, that I never looked upon Master Chillingworth as my brother, in a religious respect, for we were not men of the same Religion, or Communion: to speak plaine, we were not members of the same Church, for (as he saith truly in his subtile booke) *they who differ in Fundamentall points are not members of the same Church one with another, any more then Protestants are members of the same Church with Papists.* Chap. 3. Sect. 9. pag. 131.

Finally, it was favour enough to permit Master Chillingworths disciples or followers, *the men of his perswasion*, to perform this last office to their friend and Master. Now there was free liberty granted to all the Malignants in the City to attend the Herse, and interre his corps. Sure I am, that if Mr Chillingworth had beene as Orthodoxe and zealous a Preacher as John the Baptist was, he might have had as honourable a buriall as John the Baptist had; for all the honour that John had, was to be buried by his owne Disciples, *Matth. 14. 12.* If the doctrine of this eminent Scholar was hereticall, and his Disciples were Malignants, I am not guilty of that difference. As devout Stephen was carried to his buriall by devout men, so is it just and equall that Malignants should carry Malignants to their grave. By Malignants I meane such kinde of men *who joyne with the enemy, or are willing upon any occasion offered to joyne with him, to promote the Antichristian Designe now on foot*; those, and onely those, I call Malignants. When the Malignants brought his Herse to the buriall, I met them at the grave with Master Chillingworths booke in my hand; at the buriall of which booke I conceived it fit to make this little speech following.

A Speech made at the Funerall of Mr Chillingworths
mortall Booke.

Brethren, it was the earnest desire of that eminent Scholar, whose body lyes here before you, that his corps might be interred.

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terred according to the Rites and customs approved in the English Liturgy, and in most places of this Kingdom heretofore received: but his second request (in case that were denied him) was, that he might be buried in this City, after such a manner as might be obtained, in these times of unhappy difference and bloody warres. His first request is denied for many reasons, of which you cannot be ignorant. It is too well knowne that he was once a professed Papist, and a grand seducer; he perverted divers persons of considerable ranke and quality; and I have good cause to beleve that his returne to England, commonly called his Conversion, was but a false and pretended Conversion: And for my owne part, I am fully convinced that he did not live or dye a genuine Sonne of the Church of England; I retain the usuall phrase, that you may know what I meane; I meane, he was not of that Faith or Religion, which is established by Law in England. Hee hath left that phantasie, which he called his Religion, upon record in this subtile booke: He was not ashamed to print and publish this destructive toner, That there is no necessity of Church or Scripture to make men faithfull men, in the 100 page of this unhappy booke, and therefore I refuse to bury him my selfe; yet let his friends and followers, who have attended his Herse to this Golgotha, know, that they are permitted, out of meere humanity, to bury their dead out of our sight. If they please to undertake the buriall of his corps, I shall undertake to bury his errors, which are published in this so much admired, yet unworthy booke; and happy would it be for this Kingdome, if this booke and all its fellows could be so buried, that they might never rise more, unlesse it were for a confutation; and happy would it have been for the Author, if he had repented of those errors, that they might never rise for his condemnation; Happy, thrice happy will he be, if his workes doe not follow him, if they doe never rise with him, nor against him.

Get thee gone then, thou cursed booke, which hast seduced so many precious soules; get thee gone, thou corrupt rotten booke, earth to earth, and dust to dust; get thee gone into the place of rottenesse, that thou maist rot with thy Author, and see corruption. *So much for the buriall of his errors.*

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Touching the buriall of his corps, I need say no more then this, It will be most proper for the men of his persuasion to commit the body of their deceased Friend, Brother, Master, to the dust, and it will be most proper for me to hearken to that counsell of my Saviour, Luk. 9. 60. Let the dead bury their dead, but go thou and preach the Kingdom of God. And so I went from the grave to the Pulpit, and preached on that Text to the Congregation.

Some conceive that I studied on purpose, to picke out the most piercing Text in the Bible; a Text which doth much reflect upon the party deceased: but *these men erre, not knowing the Scriptures*; for had I used that Prayer at Master Chillingworths grave (which was dictated by the Spirit upon the like occasion, the fall of a great enemy of Israel, *Judges 5. 31.*) doubtlesse that Prayer would have reflected more upon the party deceased, and all his surviving party: *So let all thine enemies perish, O Lord, but let them that love thee be as the Sunne when he goes forth in his strength.* They would have beene more displeas'd, had I taken that Text, which is applyed to no lesse a man then the sonne of *Iosiah*, by the Prophet *Jeremiah*: *They shall not lament for him saying, Ah my brother, or, ah sister, — ah Lord, or ah his glory: He shall be buried with the buriall of an asse, drawne and cast forth beyond the gates of Ierusalem, Jerem. 22. 18, 19.* Doubtlesse that man deserves the buriall of an Asse, who beleeves his owne Reason more then the God of truth; he that dares not condemne, nay, admires those for rationally men, who would reason Christ and the holy Ghost out of their Godhead, and even dispute them both out of the Trinity, doth certainly deserve the buriall of an Asse. *Man is born like a wild asses colt*, as silly, wild, and coltish as the Colt of a wilde Asse; and if he prove an old Colt, and perish by his *Coltish trickes*, wonder not at the sharpe censure of the holy Ghost. You see then there are sharper Texts then this that I pitched upon for the ground of my discourse.

Secondly, all that understand that Text, *Luke 9. 60.* will acknowledge, that the Text did reflect rather upon the living, then the dead. But why then was he buried at all? I have

told

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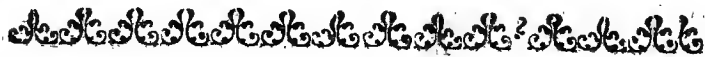
told you already, his followers were permitted to bury him out of *meere Humanity*. I pleaded for his buriall from that great example recorded at length by the holy Ghost, *2 Sam. 1.* from the eleventh verse to the end of the chapter. *Saul* you know was forsaken of God long before his death; *the spirit of the Lord*, (the excellent gifts and common graces of the Spirit in particular) the spirit of government departed from him: Moreover, *he consulted a witch*, and by her the *Devill at Endor*, and an evill spirit from the Lord took possession of him; yet *Saul* was solemnly buried, bewailed, nay extolled by *David* for those things which were lovely in him, as you may read in the place forecited, *17, 21, 24.* verses. And I dare boldly say, that I have beene more sorrowfull for Mr *Chillingworth*, and mercifull to him, then his friends at *Oxford*: his sicknesse and obstinacy cost me many a prayer, and many a teare. I did heartily bewaile the losse of such strong parts, and eminent gifts; the losse of so much learning and diligence. Never did I observe more acutenesse and eloquence so exactly tempered in the same person: *Diabolus ab illo ornari cupiebat*; for he had eloquence enough to set a faire varnish upon the fouleest designe. He was master of his learning, he had all his arguments *in procinctu*, and all his notions *in numero*. *Howle ye firre trees, for a Cedar is fallen*: lament ye *Sophisters*, for the Master of sentences (shall I say) or fallacies is vanished: wring your hands, and beat your breasts, yee *Antichristian Engineers*, for your Arch-engineer is dead, and all his Engines buried with him. Ye daughters of *Oxford* weep over *Chillingworth*, for he had a considerable and hopefull project how to clothe you and himselfe in scarlet, and other delights. *I am distressed for thee, my brother Chillingworth*, (may his Executrix say) *very pleasant hast thou beene unto me, thy love to me was wonderfull, passing the love of father, husband, brother. O how are the mighty fallen, and the weapons, nay engines of warre perished!* O tell it not in *Gath*, that he who raised a battery against the Popes chaire, that he might place Reason in the chaire in stead of *Antichrist*, is dead and gone: publish it not in the streets of *Askelon*, that he who did at once batter

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batter *Rome*, and undermine *England*, the Reforming Church of *England*, that he might prevent a Reformation, is dead; lest if you publish it, you puzzle all the Conclave, and put them to consider, whether they should mourne or triumph.

If any man enquire, whether he hath a *Tombe-stone*, as well as an *Elegy*, let him know that we plundered an old Friar of his *Tombe-stone*, and there is roome enough for an *Epitaph* if they please to send one from *Oxford*; if not, give us leave to say, we have provided a *Sepulchre*, and it is your fault if you doe not provide a *Monument*: for as *Laurentius Vallæ* the master of Elegances observes, a Monument is nothing else but a speaking *Sepulchre*: *Vixque Monumentum dixerim, nisi literæ aut alii tituli appareant, quæ si desint, magis sepulchrum quàm monumentum erit.* Laur. Vall. Elegant. lib. 4. cap. 75.

If there be any man yet unsatisfied, that this great Philosopher, Mathematician, Oratour (and any thing but what he pretended to be, a *Divine*) hath had no more honour at his death, then a *plaine Tombe-stone*, and such a *song of lamentation* as was taken up for *Saul*, let him read this following *Catechisme*; and if he be either *Papist*, or *Protestant*, he will be satisfied, if he be true to his owne principles.



A Prophane Catechisme, collected out of Mr Chillingworths Works.

Question.

How shall I be able to prove to an *Atheist*, that there is a *God*, and that the *Books of the Old and New Testament* are the word of *God*?

Ans^w. When *Protestants* affirme against *Papists*, that *Scripture* is a perfect rule of *Faith*; their meaning is not, that

that by Scripture all things Absolutely may be proved, which are to be beleebed; for it can never be proved by Scripture to a gain-sayer, that there is a God, or that the Book called Scripture is the word of God—— for (as he saith a little before) nothing is proved true by being said or written in a Book, but only by Tradition, which is a Thing credible of it selfe, chap. 1. p. 55. Sect. 8. the first Edition approved at *Oxford.*

Doubtlesse the Atheists and Papiſts will give him hearty thanks for this answer, which doth preferre Tradition (which the Atheist vilifies) before Scripture, which the Papiſts vilifie: he hath pleased them both. The Papiſts will be well pleased to see this doctrine licensed by the Protestants of the University of *Oxford*, that Tradition is more credible then Scripture, for Tradition is credible *for it selfe*; but the Scripture, when it is to be proved a perfect Rule *to us*, is credible *only by Tradition* in *Mr Chillingworths* conceit, pag. 96. and where shall we meet with this universall Tradition?

2. But I finde another answer, pag. 53. *Tradition may be helped out by naturall Reason.* Controversies, wherem the Scripture it selfe is the subject of the question, cannot be determined, saith *Mr Chillingworth*, but by *Naturall Reason*, the only principle, beside Scripture, which is common to Christians, cap. 2. sect. 3. And in his marginall observations on a passage of *Mr Hookers* he layes downe this as a Rule; *Naturall Reason* then built on principles common to all men, is the *last Resolution*, pag. 65. Nay, Reason is in some sort *Gods word*, see his answer to the Preface, pag. 21. How then (will the Atheist say) is Reason credible for it selfe, since (*Mr Chillingworth* saith) that Gods word is not credible for it selfe? Surely these answers will never bring a man to divine faith; for to rely upon Tradition, is but to rely upon *Humane* testimony; and such as the testimony is, such is the faith: if the testimony, which is the ground of faith, be *humane*, then the faith cannot be *divine*. Againe, naturall Reason is not infallible, nor is it able to judge of truths which are above Reason: now it is cleare, that supernaturall truths are

above naturall Reason. Finally, faith is not grounded upon Reason, but upon Authority.

He gives a third answer, chap. 1. pag. 36. God hath confirmed the doctrine of the Scripture by miracles; but then he saith, we have nothing to assure us of the truth of those miracles, but Tradition; and therefore we are not got one steppe nearer faith or Heaven by that shift: and if he flie back to Reason, then consider what he saith, pag. 117. God hath nowhere commanded men to beleeve all that Reason induceth them to beleeve.

Qu. But if this great point must be tried by Reason, what Reason can you produce, to prove the Scripture to be the word of God?

An. There is as good reason for it, as there is to beleeve other stories or matters of Tradition: He requires men to yeeld just such a kinde or degree of assent to the Gospel of Christ, as they yeeld to other stories or matters of Tradition, chap. 1. pag. 37. for God desires us only to beleeve the conclusion as much as the premises deserve; ib. sect. 8. p. 36. And the Chronicle of England, joyned with the generall tradition of our acquaintance, deserves as much credit in Mr. Chillingworths conceit, as the Gospel of Christ; for his words are these, chap. 2. sect. 159. p. 116. 117. Wee have, I beleeve, as great reason to beleeve there was such a man as Henry the eighth King of England, as that Jesus Christ, suffered under Pontius Pilate. The Lord rebuke that spirit of errour, which moved the great men of Oxford to license this blasphemy! What have I no more reason to beleeve the three persons in the holy Trinity, speaking in their glorious Gospel to my heart and conscience, then I have to beleeve Stoves Chronicle, or the generall tradition of my owne acquaintance, or some such other fallible testimony?

Qu. But what if I cannot be assured, that any part of the Scripture is the word of God, may I be saved without beleeving this weighty point?

An. Yes, saith Mr. Chillingworth, chap. 2. sect. 159. if a man should beleeve Christian Religion wholly and entirely,

and lbe according to it, such a man though he should not know, or not beleve the Scripture to be a rule of faith, no nor to be the word of God; my opinion is he may be saved. Excellent Divinity indeed! what, is not this a principle of Christianity, that Scripture is the word of God, and rule of faith? and if it be, how then is it possible for a man to beleve the Christian Religion wholly and entirely, and yet not beleve this principle? Yes, I may beleve the Scripture as I doe Augustins works, pag. 114.

Qu. But if I am assured that some Scripture is the word of God, how shall I know what books are Canonickall, and what not?

An. By universall Tradition. I must receive those books for Canonickall, of whose Authority there was never any doubt or question in the Church, pag. 148. I may then, it seems, doubt of the Epistle of James, the second of Peter, the second and third Epistles of John, the Epistle to the Hebrewes, the Epistle of Jude, the book of the Revelation, the books of Job, Esther, Ecclesiastes, &c. He saith, he cannot in reason so undoubtedly beleve those books to be Canonickall, which have beene questioned, as those which were never questioned. At least I have no warrant to damne any man—that shall deny them now; having the example of Saints in Heaven, either to justify or excuse such—their deniall, chap. 2. sect. 38. pag. 67. Surely here is a pretty tempting excuse for, if not a justification of those Libertines who question these books, and may upon Mr Chillingworths principles question all the rest, if they acknowledge one of the Gospels, that containes as much as all the rest. Ergo that is sufficient, pag. 93. 101.

But if they beleve no booke to be Canonickall, and therefore will not assent to any booke of Scripture, they doe not commit a sinne of derogation from Gods perfect and pure veracity; for he onely gives God the lye, who denies some booke or point which he himselfe knowes or beleeves to be revealed by God, chap. 3. sect. 15, 16, 17. Now it is impossible that a man should know one thing to be true, and beleve the contrary; or know it and

not beleve it, sect. 18. Whither these and the like principles (which frequently occurre in his writings) tend, let the most sober and charitable men judge. The only Fundamentall Error in Mr *Chillingworths* judgement, is to deny something which the party himselfe knowes or beleeves to be revealed by God: and therefore in his judgement none but down-right Atheists erre fundamentally, cap. 2. p. 135. 136. Atheisme then, as the Jesuites and Arminians conceive, is the formality of an Heretick, p. 100. for it is down-right Atheisme for any man to deny that to be true, which he acknowledges to be spoken by the God of truth.

Qu. But if I doe beleve the Scripture to be Gods word, is it necessary to beleve that controversies are to be decided by that Word?

An. Yes, saith Mr *Chillingworth*, *this is no Fundamentall point*; his words are full. I say that this *posiion* (Scripture alone is the rule whereby they which beleve it to be Gods word, are to judge all controversies in faith) *is no Fundamentall point*; chap. 2. pag. 115. His intent is by this assertion to make good a dreame of his, that some controversies in faith need not be judged or determined at all. Mr *Chillingworth* pretends, that he holds the Scripture to be a perfect rule of faith, and yet he saith it is not necessary to judge all controversies (and those no small ones, because they are controversies) in faith by that perfect rule. It is a perfect rule, but we need not be ruled by it in all points of faith.

Qu. But is there then any other way to decide controversies which hath any colour of probability from the Scripture?

An. Yes: nine or ten severall meanes of agreement offered themselves to Mr *Chillingworth* upon the sudden, (and haply more might have beene thought on if he had had time) and these that are offered, have as much probability *from Scripture*; as that which Papists obtrude upon us. And truly he was such a ready blasphemer, that he could vent *extemporary blasphemies*; yet such as the Licentious men at *Oxford* approved, chap. 3. pag. 130. 131.

First he saith, *we could, if we would, try it by loss, whose Doctrine*

arine is true, and whose false; for which he cites *Prov. 16. 33.* It may be, this Sophister did cast lots for his Religion, and it was his hard lot to draw Popery first, then Arminianisme, and then his doctrine run lower and lower, till it came almost to the very dregs of Socinianisme.

Secondly, we could referre it to the King, *Prov. 16. 10.* and *21. 1.* Mr Chillingworth might make merry with his owne prophane doctrine, but I admire that he should dare to sport himselfe with the Majesty of Scripture, and the Majesty of the King: But truly I am affraid, that some are so indifferent in point of Religion, that they are content not only to referre it to the King, but to the *Queene.* It were proper for them to vent such Doctrine, who have, as the old Tradition and pro- verbe hath it, taken an oath to be of the Kings Religion.

Thirdly, to an Assembly of Christians assembled in the name of Christ, *Math. 18. 20.* Let them not then blame the Parli- ament for consulting an Assembly of learned and pious Chri- stians, and most of them Ministers of the Gospel, assembled in the name of Christ.

Fourthly, to any Priest, *Malach. 2. 7.* This makes well of the *Queens* side.

Fifthly, to any Preacher of the Gospel, Pastour, or Doctour, *Math. 28. 20.* Sure Mr Chillingworth was more independent then they that are commonly so called.

Sixthly, to any Bishop or Prelate (why not then to the Bi- shop of Rome?) for it is written, Obey your Prelates, *Heb. 13. 17.* Mr Chillingworth since his pretended conversion was very apt to be seduced by the vulgar (or Rhemish) translation, or some version received at Saint Omers; but this was a volun- tary and devised meanes, as he saith in the same page.

Seventhly, to any particular Church of Christians, seeing it is a particular Church, which is called the house of God, a pillar and ground of truth, *1 Tim. 3. 15.* and seeing of any particular Church it is written, He that heareth not the Church, let him be unto thee an Heathen, *Matth. 18.* Mr Chillingworth is sometimes Prelaticall, and sometimes Congregationall.

Eighthly, we might referre it to any man that prayes for Gods spirit;

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spirit; for it is written, every one that asketh, receives, (this is one steppe beyond the Brownists) *Matth. 7.8. James 1. 5.*

Lastly, *we might referre it to the Jewes, for without all doubt of them it is written, My spirit that is in thee, &c. Isaiah 59.21.* And why not to the Socinians? they have naturall reason, a very competent Judge in Mr *Chillingworths* conceit. What wonder is it that so many blaiphemies and quibbles *for every quibble upon Scripture is a blasphemy*) should be licensed by grave and learned Professours of Divinity? what if Papists take liberty to blaspheme and put the Scripture upon the rack to force it to confesse what makes for their turn; must Protestants or such a one who undertakes the common Cause of Protestants (though he was no Protestant) bee permitted to blaspheme by the Licence of an Univeristy? Repent deare Doctours, once more repent; and I will proceed.

Qu. *But how shall I know the true sense of Scripture, there being such variety of conceits which passe for Interpretations?*

Ans. *Here help mee Reason again and Implicit Faith.* For, the last Resolution of my Faith in his conceit must be into Reason, page 65. 96. and still he labours to prove that Reason is Judge; and he frequently jeares at *Knot* for accounting it an absurdity for every man and woman to rely upon their Reason in the interpreting of Scripture p. 98. Reasons drawn out of the circumstances of the Text cannot convince me, unlesse I judge of them by my Reason; and for every man or woman to rely on that—in the interpreting of Scripture, you say is an horrible absurdity. And p. 99. Reason will shew this to be the meaning: yes, if we may use our Reason, and rely upon it. Protestants use their reason, but Socinians rely upon their reason. And he teaches implicit faith all along his book: Protestants, saith he, do agree with an *Implicit faith* in that sense of the whole Scripture which God intended, *whatsoever it was,* p 129. 130. cap. 5. sect. 3. a ready way to tempt men to beleeve very little concerning the sense of Scripture: for, men will be apt to say, that the sense of this and the other place of Scripture is not plainly and fully revealed, and Mr *Chillingworth* doth not require

require any thing to be beleevd with an explicit faith which is not plainly and undoubredly delivered in Scripture. My reason (saith he) is convincing and demonstrative, because nothing is necessary to be beleevd, but what is plainly revealed, p. 92. But nothing in his judgement is plainly revealed about any point which is called in question, *if there be a seeming conflict* of Scripture with Scripture, Reason with Reason, Authority with Authority; in such a case he cannot well understand how it can be truly sayd, that God hath manifestly revealed the truth on either side, chap. 3. sect. 9. p. 136. 137. Well, but admit that the appearances on my side are answerable, and grant that Scripture, Reason, Authority, are all against me, because on the other side; yet consider the strange power of *Education* and *Prejudices* instilled by it, and what *Passions* I am subject to, and then my error is unavoydable, and therefore excusable; for though the truth is *in it selfe* revealed plainly enough, yet to *such a one* as I am, *prepossess* with contrary opinions, the truth in that point is not plainly revealed, read page 137. Sure the corruption of our Nature is as unavoydable as prejudices and passions, and therefore he must (according to his principles) conclude that *God who knowes whereof we are made, will not enter into judgement with us for those things which (all things considered) were unavoydable*; they are his own words page 137. Nay, besides *education, prejudices, and passions, inadvertence* may in the fourth place excuse us if we dis-beleeve a plain Revelation. Finally, in the fifth place, multitude of buisnesse, distractions, hinderances, will excuse us, and hinder God from imputing our errors to us as finnes. In his answer to the preface p. 19. I am verily perswaded that God will not impute errors to them as finnes, who use such a measure of industry in finding truth, as *humane prudence and ordinary discretion* (their abilities and opportunities, their distractions and hinderances, and all other things considered) (he will be sure to give liberty enough) shall advise them unto in a matter of such consequence. But certainly humane prudence and ordinary discretion will teach men to plead these excuses, which he hath framed for them, when any point of faith shall be pressed upon them;

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them ; they will say, our opportunities are few, our distractions and hinderances many, our education meane, our abilities weake, our prejudices strong, our passions violent, our inadvertence pardonable, and therefore we will content our selves *with a modest humble implicate faith* ; we beleeve the whole Scripture to be true, in that sense which God intended, *whatsoever it was* ; but we have not time to *search*, or *ability to judge what it was* : if we beleeve nothing explicitly, or to disbeleeve a clear revelation, that revelation, though cleare in it selfe, is not *cleare to us*, our error (the corruption of our nature, our prejudices, contrary opinions, with which we are already prepossess'd, and all other things considered) is unavoidable, and therefore God will never impute it to us as a sinne. Whither these Principles tend, let the pretended Parliament at *Oxford* judge.

Qu. But are we not bound to heare what the Church will say to us for our direction in weighty points?

Ans. I must beleeve the Church in every thing she proves, either by Scripture, Reason, or universall Tradition, be it Fundamentall, or be it not Fundamentall, pag 149. These disjunctives seem to imply that something fundamentall may be proved by reason, or universall Tradition, which cannot be proved by Scripture. The Licencers may do well to declare what that Fundamentall point is, or how many there are, if there be more then one: I may go to Heathens, I need not go to the Church for any thing which Reason teaches, the Philosophers can sufficiently instruct me ; and if what the Church teaches be finally resolved into my owne reason, as he affirms p. 96. *then I do not beleeve either God or the Church, but my own reason* ; By you (saith Master *Chillingworth* to *Knot*) as well as by Protestants, all is *finally resolved into your owne reason*, Sect. 115. cap. 2. Sure I am then that such Protestants and Jesuites are in their *high-way to pure Socinianisme*, and therefore it is no marvell if some Jesuites have been such *Anti-Trinitarians* as Master *Chillingworth* pleads in his owne defence. Preface and Answer to the directions to *N. N.* Sect. 16, 17, 18, &c. the Church hath lost the interpretation of obscure places, pag. 56 and plaine places need no exposition at all.

Qu. But

out of *Mr Chillingworths Works.*

Qu. But what if the Church erre?

Ans. Then a man may learne of that self same Church (which taught him) to confute the *errours* of that Church: that is, I may learne to confute the *erroneous conclusions* of that Church, by those very *rules* and principles which that Church *teaches*, Chap 3. sect. 40. p. 150. First then, a *private* man is presumed to have more *Logicke* then that *teaching* Church. Secondly, the *Prelates* (who call themselves the Church) may give my brethren of the *Assembly* leave to confute their *erroneous conclusions*, by some *rules* and principles which they themselves have delivered. Thirdly, a man may learne of the Church how to teach the Church. Principles which lead to these harsh truths, being licenced at *Oxford*, are an argument to me that they approved this booke before they read it.

Qu. But how shall we doe then to finde out the true Church, and the true Religion?

Ans. For *commands* to seek the Church I have not yet met with any; and I beleve (saith he to *Knot*) you (if you were to shew them) would be your self to seek. Cap. 3. Sect. 41. p. 150. And for *Religion*, how little paines or care we are to take about it, hath been already shewed.

Q. But which must a man chuse first, his Religion, or his Church?

Ans. Every man is to iudge for himself with the iudgment of discretion, (which he calls humane prudence, and ordinary discretion, in the place of his Answer to the preface fore-cited, p. 19.) and to chuse either his religion first, & then his Church, as *Master Chillingworth* saith; or as *Knot*, his Church first, and then his Religion, pag. 57. Every man then is Judge, the Scripture (for fashions sake) he calls the rule, but he makes every mans naturall reason the rule, to judge whether such a Text be the Word of God, and then what is the sense of that Text; and so all is still finally resolved into our owne reason, into humane prudence, and ordinary discretion; for Tradition is a principle. nor in Christianity, but in Reason; nor proper to Christians, but common to all men, p. 72. cap. 2. sect. 51. Come away then to the Schoole of *Socrates*, for this is just, *sic anima mea cum Philosophis*. Read from the 9^o to the 100 page. I will advise

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advise with God and that Reason he hath given me, page 158.
be adored God and Reason.

Qu. But is it not possible for men to become faithfull without either Church or Scripture?

Ans. Yes, by the works of God without us, and the Law of God written in us by Nature.

Either of these ways might make some faithfull men without either necessity of Scripture or Church, ch. 2. sect. 124. p. 106

Qu. What is Faith?

Ans. It is the Assent of our Understandings.

Qu. Are not the Essentiall Doctrines of Christianity to be embraced with our will?

Ans. The assent of our understandings is required to them, but no obedience from our wills, chap. 4. sect. 2. p. 193.

Qu. What are these Essentiall doctrines of Christianity?

Ans. I do not know.

Qu. Do you not know what ye are to beleve? Or, cannot the church tell what these necessary Truths called the Essentiall and Fundamentall parts of Christianity are?

Ans. No, there's no such Church that Mr. Chillingworth was ever acquainted with. We are not to learn of the Church what is fundamentall. cap. 3. sect. 39.

Qu. What doth Mr Chillingworth think Fundamentall?

Ans. All points which are intrinsecall to the Covenant between God and man. page 193. cap. 4. sect. 3.

Qu. What are these points?

Ans. Repentance from dead works, and faith in Christ Jesus the sonne of God, (oh that he would have confessed him to be God) and Saviour of the world: this is all that is simply necessary, pag. 159.

Qu. What is it to beleve in Christ?

Ans. It is to expect remission of sinnes, and salvation from him upon the performace of the conditions he requires, p. 134. Observe, more conditions beside faith required to Iustification 2. No mention made of Christs performance, but ours. 3. No mention of free grace: it runs like a Covenant of works.

Qu. What are these conditions?

Ans.

Anfw. One is, that we believe what God hath revealed, when it is sufficiently declared to have bene revealed by him. You have had the English of that already, read pag, 134.

Qu. Is it simply necessary to salvation to believe in Christ?

An. It is simply necessary for them to whom faith in Christ is sufficiently propounded, as necessary to salvation, p. 134. He will wrangle with you if you say faith in Christ is sufficiently propounded to Jewes, Turks, Heathens: for observe that he presently adds in the selfe same page, That may be sufficiently declared to one (all things considered) which (all things considered) to another is not sufficiently declared, and consequently that may be Fundamentall and necessary to one, which to another is not so. *In his conceit then it is not necessary for some mens salvation, that they should believe in Christ.* And it hath bene formerly observed, that some men (as he conceived) might be made faithfull men without necessity of Church or Scripture. Finally, in the 133 page he saith expresly, that *Cornelius* was but a meere Gentile, one that beleevd not in Christ, and knew not *but men might be worshipped*; and yet we are assured, that his prayers and almes, even whilst he was in that estate, were accepted. Ergo in his judgement a *meere Heathen* and an *Idolater* may have access to God in prayer, and be accepted without the mediation of our only Mediator the *Lord Iesus, God-blessed for ever.* But the truth is, *Cornelius* was a Profelyte, instructed in the Jewish Religion, who beleevd in the Messiah, and that faith was sufficient for his acceptance, before the Gospel of Christ was preached unto him. The prayers and almes of idolatrous Heathens (who know not but they may worship men) cannot be accepted without faith in Christ: nor do their prayers and almes please God so well, as that for them or by them they should be promoted to a higher degree of knowledge, the knowledge of Christ, that so they may be saved by Christ: for what is this, but to deserve a Saviour, which is *meritum de congruo* at least? nay, let the *Licenses* consider, whether to deserve Christ, be not more then to deserve Heaven. Moreover, he is much mistaken, when he saith, that they who never heard of Christ, may seek God as to please him,

and that they shall be rewarded for their seeking of him with the knowledge of the Gospell or faith in Christ; for he who doth not seek God in and by Christ our only Mediatour, doth not come to God, but runs quite beside him: to such a carnall seeking, God never yet promised such a spirituall reward. Consider that of the Apostle *Rom. 9. 30, 31, 32, 33.* and the next chapter, the second and third verses. That text *Hebr. 11. 6.* should be compared with, and expounded by *Iohn 14. 6.* and then it will be evident that no man can seek so as to finde him, or come to him after an acceptable manner, unlesse he seek God in, and come to him by Iesus Christ, who is the *way*, the *truth*, and the *life*, the true way to eternall life. I hasten to the next question.

Qu. What other Condition is there of the Covenant besides beleeving?

Ans. Repentance of sinne, and obedience to Christ; for God is a punisher of them that obstinately offend him; therefore repentance of sinne is necessary, and Iesus Christ is the sonne of God and Saviour of the world, by obedience to whom men must look to be saved, p. 101. Mark, he doth not say, by whose obedience men must be justified, and yet this is the fairest confession that I can meet with: I read often of our obedience to Christ, but I never read any thing yet in Mr Chillingworths book, of Christs obedience imputed to us; now it is the imputation of Christs obedience to us, and Gods free pardon of our disobedience, which make the covenant appear to be a covenant of grace.

Qu. What is repentance?

*Ans. An universall sorrow for all those finnes which we know we have committed, and which we feare we may have committed. Answer to the Preface p. 20. If we have beene betrayed into, or kept in error by any sin of our will, if that error be discovered there must be a particular and explicite repentance of that error; if it be not discovered, then a generall and implicite repentance for all finnes knowne and unknown doth suffice, *ib. p. 21.* Observe that he saith nothing of the *hating of sinne, or the forsaking of sinne*, in which the *life* and power of repentance doth consist. *A man may live and die in his finnes and be saved by an universall sorrow.* Men are damned, faith*

saith he, who die in wilfull errors *without repentance*; but what if they die in their errors *with repentance*? Answer to the Preface p. 20. That is a contradiction, saith the Jesuit, and he saith true; but it appears by that speech, that Master *Chillingworth* conceived that an universall sorrow for sinne without any hatred of, or turning from sinne, was saving repentance.

Qu. *What other condition is required in the Covenant between God and man in Christ?*

Ans. *Sincere* or *ediente*. Answer to the Preface, p. 18. This indeed is the prime condition he meanes, when he saith p. 134. *That to beleve in Christ, is to expect remission of sinnes from Christ upon the conditions he requires.* This is pure *Socinianisme*, to beleve that we shall be pardoned upon our obedience, or as the *Socinians* expresse it, and justified (according to the Covenant) by *our owne obedience*; not as we say, *by the obedience of Christ*, and freely pardoned for the *al. sufficient satisfaction of Christ, made in our stead, and put upon our account.* Besides, if a man neglect never so many duties, live in never so many errors, and commit never so many grosse sinnes; he conceives that an *Implicite Faith* and a generall Repentance of all sinnes knowne and unknowne, are sufficient Antidotes, and his Obedience shall passe for sincere Obedience; as you may clearly see in those places which have beene already alleaged. If a man be not convinced that Christ is God, (by his principles) an *Implicit Faith* and generall Repentance will serve the turne, though that truth hath beene sufficiently propounded to him; and it is meerly his own fault that he is not convinced, for in his conceit as long as this man remains (as he saith) unconvinced. (but as we say, obstinate) so long he doth not derogate any thing from Gods veracity or truth. His words are these. But if the propofall be only so sufficient, not, that the party (to whom it is made) is convinced, but only that he *should, & but for his own fault would* have beene convinced of the divine verity of the doctrine proposed. The crime then is not so great, *for the beliefs of Gods veracity may well consist with such an error.* Yet a fault I confesse it is, and without Repentance, damnable, if all circumstances considered (that is, mens passions, hindrances, &c. consi-

dered as above said) the proposall be sufficient, p. 18. of his answer to the Preface. Now what he meanes by repentance hath beene shewen, a generall sorrow for all sinnes knowne and unknowne; *such a repentance as will consist with a mans obstinate deniall of a truth, for he may die in this error with Master Chillingworths repentance, and neither the error nor the obstinacie shall be imposed to him, because he is sorry for he knowes not what,* and remained unconvinced of his error, though it was meerly his owne fault, that he was not convinced. This is a ready way to save *Jewes, Turkes, Socinians, Papists, Infidels, and all;* for he doth meerly retaine the names of faith, repentance, sincere obedience, without the substance, life, and power of them. The Faith he talkes of, leaves the will at liberty: he starts at the Apostles phrase, *the obedience of faith.* You (saith he to Knot) say there is some merit in faith, we some obedience in it, which can hardly have place where there is no possibility of disobedience, as there is not, where the understanding doth all, and the will nothing, p. 319. Sure I am, the Devill hath such a faith, *an assent without obedience;* his faith is no faith, because grounded meerly upon probabilities; he only saith that the precepts of Christianity are most likely to come from God, p. 36, chap. 1. but the Spirit of God being implored by devout and humble prayer, and sincere obedience, may and will by degrees advance his servants to an higher certainty, p. 36. 37. But this certainty is a reward given to beleevers; so then men are beleevers before the Spirit gives them any certainty that the Christian religion did proceed from the fountaine of goodnesse: Now he who only beleeves the Christian religion of all other religions to be most likely to be true, is not very likely to implore the Spirit very earnestly either by prayer or obedience; for who will obey the precepts of Christianity till he be assured that they and the promises are divine? But saith Master Chillingworth, men may talke their pleasure of an absolute and most infallible certainty, but did they generally beleeve that obedience to Christ were the only way (marke that, the onely way) to present, and eternall felicity, *but as firmly and undoubtedly as that there is such a City as Constantinople, nay but as much as Cæsars*

Commentaries, or the History of Salust; I beleeve the lives of most men, both Papists and Protestants would be better then they are, *chap. 6. pag. 327.* Sure Christs obedience for us is the way to happinesse, therefore our obedience is not the only way. 2. It is certaine that all true Protestants do beleeve the Gospel more firmly then (*Cesars Commentaries or Salust*) prophane Histories. 3. Such a Faith as this will not implore the Spirit by devout and humble prayer, or by sincere obedience. 4. I appeale to all indifferent men what kind of obedience is like to spring from an implicite faith in unsanctified reason; a faith that is a bare assent without obedience, the faith of Devils, not the faith of Christians. 5. The repentance of obstinate men, (I meane in *sensu composito*, as Master Chillingworth means) a generall sorrow which he calls repentance (that is, humiliation without reformation) repentance of sinnes which I love and live in, and damnable errors which I die in, is not that repentance from dead works which Christ requires; sure Hereſie in the language of the Apostle is a work of the flesh, and therefore as dead a work as any other; we may then safely conclude (*that an implicite faith in unsanctified reason or fallible tradition, and a generall sorrow for I know not what sinnes and errors (though grosse enough for to be known) such sinnes and errors as the party doth love, live, and die in, and never so much as confesse to be sinnes or errors, because he is so obstinate that he will not be convinced of them*) I say, safely conclude, that this *faith and this sorrow are both unchristian, if not Antichristian*. He that hath an *implicite faith* in his *owne unsanctified* reason, makes himselfe a *Pope*. Sanctified reason sees but in part, and therefore unsanctified reason is spiritually blind, it cannot see any thing which is spiritually discerned. Besides, I feare that he conceived there was some merit of congruity in the *laine* obedience of this *blind* beleever, because he saith the *sincere obedience* of such a beleever *doth implore the Spirit*. Now whether a man that relies upon his *owne* reason, and his *owne* obedience; in stead of relying upon Gods authority and Christs obedience, can be saved by the Covenant of Grace, let all true Christians judge.

A prophane Catechisme, collected

Qu. *What other condition is required of us?*

Ans. *A true, sincere and cordiall love of God.* Answer to the Preface, p. 20.

Qu. *How may a man be raised to this love?*

Ans. *By the consideration of Gods most infinite goodnesse to us, and our own almost infinite wickednesse against him, Gods Spirit cooperating with us, may raise us to a true, sincere and a cordiall love of God.* in the same page.

Qu. *Wherein doth this infinite goodnesse of God manifest it selfe?*

Ans. 1. *In creating us of nothing.* 2. *In creating us after his own image.* 3. *In creating all things for our use and benefit.* 4. *In streaming downe his favours on us every moment of our lives.* 5. *In designing us, if we serve him, to infinite and eternall happinesse.* 6. *In redeeming us with the precious blood of his beloved Sonne.* 7. *By his patience towards us in expecting our conversion.* 8. *In toying, alluring, leading, and by all meanes (which his wisdom can suggest unto him, and mans nature is capable of) drawing them to repentance and salvation.*

I have picked out the marrow of his notions the best Divinity his works afford, but observe. 1. We are (saith he) designed to eternall happinesse *if we serve God*; which is perfect Popery, shall I say, or Socinianisme? here is a conditionall decree, and the condition is works. 2. God expects our conversion, I thought he had effected our conversion; if God stay till we will turne off our selves *or cooperate with his Spirit in the first act of our conversion*, we shall never be converted. Sure I am, this Implicite faith grounded on un sanctified reason, and fallible tradition, will rather *resist*, then *cooperate* with the holy Spirit. The Scripture tels us that we do never love God in good earnest till we doe beleve Gods love to us: compare the 16. and 19. verses of the 1 *Iohn* 4. And faith is not *wrought in us by our cooperation with the Spirit*, but by the Almighty power of God who quickens us whom he finds dead in trespasses and sinnes unto a lively faith; as is evident in the two first chapters of the Epistle to the *Ephesians*.

Qu. *Is it possible for a man that lives and dies a Papist to be saved?*

Ans.

Ans. *Yes very possible in the iudgement of Master Chillingworth.* 1, Because the Papists do not erre in Fundamentals, *chap. 3. Sect. 56. pag. 164.* For the only and main reason (saith he) why we beleeve you not to erre in Fundamentals, is your holding the Doctrine of Faith in Christ and Repentance. The worst sort of Papists who have means to find the Truth, but will not use them, may be saved if they die with a generall repentance for all their sinnes knowne and unknowne, because the Truths which they hold of Faith in Christ, and repentance are as it were an Antidote against their errors, and their negligence in seeking the truth. Especially, seeing by confession of both sides we agree in *much more* then is simply and indispensably necessary to salvation, *Chap. 3. Sect. 12. pag. 132.* And truly I doe beleeve if the worst of Papists, and the worst of Protestants did agree in fewer things then they doe, there would be more hope of the salvation of Papists.

Qu. *What is the best way to bring Papists and Protestants into one communion?*

Ans. *The framing and proposing of a Liturgy which both sides hold lawfull.* p. 132. This was perchance the great strataagem aimed at in the framing of that Liturgy which was sent into *Scotland*; and this is a point which deserves the consideration of the pretended Parliament or Assembly at *Oxford.*

Qu. *Is the Spirit absolutely promised to the succession of Bishops?*

Ans. *No:* for many of them have beene notoriously and confessedly wicked men, men of the world: whereas this Spirit is the Spirit of truth, whom the world cannot receive, because he seeth him not, neither knowes him, p. 146, 147. Whether this be not as true of some Popish Prelats in *England*, as of the Bishops of *Rome*, let the learned determine.

Qu. *What if a Church maintaine an error contrary to Gods Revelation knowne by that Church to be a divine Revelation?*

Ans. *The Church that doth so is no longer a Church.* p.

Qu. *Doth not Master Chillingworth sometimes contradict himself*

A prophane Catechisme, collected.

himselfe, and call the Roman Church the Catholique Church.

Ans. He seemes to do so; p. 132. His words are these: We beleêve the Catholique Church cannot perish, yet that she may, and did erre in points not Fundamentall; and that Protestants were obliged to forsake these errors of her Church, as they did, though not the Church for the errors, for that they did not, but continued still members of the Church. Observe that the question is about forsaking the Church of *Rome*, and he talkes of the Catholique Church. 1. The Catholique Church did not erre with the *Roman*; the Greek Church did forsake the errors of the *Roman*. 2. Those Protestants who did protest against the Church of *Rome*, were a considerable part of the Catholique Church. 3. Those Protestants did not continue members of the Roman Church but did renounce her communion, because of her errors. 4. His distinction which followes betweene the Catholique and Roman Church makes his former observations non-sence at least. 5. He saith they separated from the Roman Church only in things which they conceived superstitious or impious ——— and (he saith) they were obliged to doe this under paine of damnation. Not (saith he) as if it were damnable to hold an error not damnable, p. 132. Did those Protestants rightly conceive the practises of *Rome* to be superstitious and impious, or did they not? if they did conceive aright, then superstition and impiety are in Master *Chillingworths* judgement not damnable; if they did conceive amisse, why doth Master *Chillingworth* justifie our separation from the Church of *Rome*? Sure Master *Chillingworth* was no fit man to maintaine the commou cause of Protestants against Papists.

Qu. May not a man bee damned by maintaining errors which are not in themselves damnable?

Ans. Yes, because it is damnable outwardly to profess and maintaine, and isync with others in the practise of that which inwardly we do not hold: for this is (as he confesses) damnable dissimulation and hypocrisie, p. 132. Men may do well to take notice, that Mr *Chillingworth* doth account something damnable; and I note this the rather at this time, because

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men are so apt to professe one thing in one place, and another thing in another in these dayes of liberty, and to joyne with others in the practise of that which they inwardly dislike. Yet *Mr Chillingworth* saith, that if in him alone there should have met a confluence of all the errors which all the Protestants in the world have fell into out of humane frailty, he would not be so much afraid of them all, as to ask pardon for them, because to ask pardon for them, were to imply, that God is angry for them, *Ans.* to the Preface p. 19.

Qu. May a man goe constantly to Masse, and be saved?

Ans. Yes, if he bee devout at it (for that he meanes by a godly Lay-man) if he bee strongly perswaded that there is no impiety or superstition in the use of the Latine service, *Ans.* ro the Preface p. 9. sect. 7. It seems there is no fault in the Masse, but that it is in Latine.

Qu. What profit might be gained by the Masse-book if it were in English?

Ans. Such devotion, instruction, edification, salvation, in the place forecited. Was not this a stout Champion, chosen by Canterbury on purpose, not to confute, but harden Papists, and seduce Protestants.

Qu. What are the causes of error?

Ans. Negligence in seeking truth, unwillingnesse to find it, pride, obstinacy, a politique desire that that Religion should be true, which suites best with my ends, feare of mens ill opinion, or any other worldly feare or worldly hope, these seven betray men to, and keepe men in damnable errors, p. 158. It is one of the most honest passages in his book. Brethren let us beware of these motives.

Qu. What kinde of man was Knot?

Ans. One that went about to delude his King, and Courtrey with strange captions; Sure *Mr Chillingworth* and hee were both of a make, read 117.

Qu. How may a King usurp an Absolute Lordship and Tyranny over any people?

Ans. He need not put himself to the trouble and difficulty of
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abrogating Lawes, made to maintaine common liberty; for he may frustrate their intent, and compasse his owne design as well, if he can get the power and authority to interpret them as he pleases, and to adde to them what he pleases, and to have his interpretations and additions stand for lawes; if he can rule his people by his Lawes, and his Lawes by his Lawyers, p. 51. cap. 2. I think our Judges followed his directions in the point of Ship-money.

Qu. *What weapons of warfare may be justly called carnall?*

Ans. *Massacres, Treasons, Persecutions, and in a word all meanes either violent or fraudulent.* p. 52. God grant that the *Irish* forces which land daily, doe not make us as well acquainted with this warfare in *England*, as they are in *Ireland*.

Qu. *What obedience doe we owe to the lawes and judgements of Courts?*

Ans. *Onely externall obedience, not internall approbation.* p. 97.

Qu. *If I disapprove the judgement of any Court, am I bound to conceale my owne judgement?*

Ans. *No, I may lawfully professe my judgement, and represent my reasons to the King or Common-wealth in a Parliament, as Sir Thomas Moore did without committing any fault,* p. 97 *Why then are men so much blam'd for professing their judgement against some things which seeme to be established by Law, and representing their reasons to the Parliament? and why did not Master Chillingworth yeeld externall obedience to the Common-wealth of England in this Parliament? for who can deny that the Common-wealth of England is assembled in this Parliament?*

Qu. *May not a Court which pretends not to be infallible, be certain enough that they judge aright?*

Ans. *Yes, our Judges are not infallible in their judgements, yet are they certaine enough that they judge aright, and that they proceed according to the evidence that is given, when they condemne a thiefe or a murtherer to the Gallows.* p. 140.

Now Reader judge Master *Chillingworths* workes, my proceedings, and this Treatise according to the evidence given: and thinke an implicite faith in thine owne reason almost as bad as implicite faith in the Church or Pope of *Rome.*

I conclude all as Doctor *Fern* concludes his last booke. The God of Power and Wisdome cast out all Counsels, and defeat all Designes that are against the restoring of our Peace, and the continuance of the true Reformed Religion. Amen.

Soli Deo gloria.

FINIS.

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