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THE  
HISTORY

OF

*Infant Baptism.*

PART II.

CONTAINING

Several Things that do help  
to Illustrate the said *History.*

By W. WALL, Vicar of *Shoreham* in *Kent.*

The Third Edition, with additions.

L O N D O N,

Printed for R. Bonwicke, T. Goodwin, J. Walthoe,  
S. Wotton, S. Manship, R. Wilkin, B. Tooke, R. Smith,  
J. Downing, R. Gosling, and T. Ward, 1720.







T H E  
**H I S T O R Y**  
 O F  
*Infant Baptism.*


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P A R T II.

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C H A P. I.

*Of some other Passages which are cited, and pretended to be to this purpose, but are not.*

§. 1.  HE Passages produc'd in the Year of the First Part, are all that I have met with in Authors that wrote in the four first Centuries; saying that in St. *Austin's* Works there are, as I said, a great many more; but all to the same Purpose.

In some Collections of this Nature I have seen several other Quotations pretended to be out of  
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Authors within the said Term. But they are either,

1. Out of such Books as are now discover'd to be Forgeries of late Years. Or,
2. They are nothing to the Purpose. Or,
3. Wrested and alter'd by those that cite 'em to another Sense than what they carry in the Authors themselves. Or,
4. Such wherein the Author does not say that for which he is cited; but he says something from whence the other does draw it as a Consequence; and then sets down that Consequence, as if it were the Author's own Words. Or,
5. Quotations absolutely false.

First, Out of such Books as are now discover'd to be no true Works of the Authors, whose Name they bear, but Forgeries of later Years.

730. So there are Quotations for Infant Baptism, taken out of the *Decretal Epistles*, which have been set out under the Name of the most antient Bishops of *Rome*, but were, as I shew'd before, (1) really forg'd long after that time. As for the spurious Quotations that are of any tolerable Credit for Antiquity, I gave before some account of 'em (2).

§. 2. Secondly, Many that are produc'd are nothing to the Purpose.

As when the Antipædobaptists do fill their Collections of this Natur with Passages out of the Antient Fathers that relate to the Baptizing of adult Persons. There is no Pædobaptist, but does grant that there are innumerable such Places; For in the First 300 or 400 Years of Christianity, (in which space of time it was that the greatest Part of the Heathen World, being converted, came into the Church) the Baptisms of grown Persons

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(1) Pt. I. CH. XVI. §. 1, 2. (2) Pt. I. CH. XXIII.

Chap. I. *Quotations impertinent.*

Persons Converted were more in Number than the Baptisms of the Children of Christians: As it must needs be; since the Apostles, at their Death, left the World in such a State, as that there was probably a hundred Heathens left for one Christian; even in the *Roman Empire*, where they spent most of their Pains: But at the End of 300 or 400 Years, there were probably ten Christians for one Heathen. Now in that space of time there are recorded a great many Sermons and other Discourses, perswading People to come in and be baptiz'd: and in those Discourses they instruct 'em in what is necessary thereto, as that they must first understand and believe the Principles of the Christian Religion, and resolve to forsake their wicked Courses and idolatrous Worships. And commonly when they are upon this Theme, they speak of Baptism just as the Church of *England* does in the Catechism; that there is requir'd of Persons to be baptiz'd, Repentance and Faith. There are also extant many Sermons made to the Persons newly baptiz'd, putting 'em in Mind of their Vow and Covenant. And 'tis common for the Antipædobaptists to cite some Passages out of such Discourses, which, taken by themselves, look as if those Authors were against Infant Baptism, and allow'd it only to grown Persons; but the contrary appears in that the same Authors, in other Places, when they speak of the Case of Infants, do shew their Opinion and Practice to have been otherwise; and that they look'd upon that as a particular and excepted Case. For this Sort of Quotations is often made out of *Chrysostom*, *Gregory Nazianzen*, and even *St. Austin* himself.

In short, they have in this Matter dealt with those antient Authors just as they did lately with *Mr. Baxter*; who being busie in Writing something in Defence of Infant Baptism, heard the

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Hawkers cry under his Window (3), Baxter's *Arguments for Believers Baptism*: being a Pamphlet of Collections taken out of some of Mr. Baxter's Works, wherein he, speaking of the Terms of the Baptismal Covenant, had shewn the Necessity of a justifying Faith in order to Baptism; tho' in the same Books he had declar'd he spoke in Reference to adult Persons only. On which Occasion Mr. Baxter says, *The Men that cite Authors at this Rate, cite me against my self with the like Confidence.*

Indeed Mr. Tombs wrote a Piece against Mr. Baxter, call'd, *Felo de se*, or, *The Self Destroyer*: in which he endeavor'd to shew, that tho' Mr. Baxter intended these Proofs of the Necessity of Faith, only in the Case of the Baptism of adult Persons; yet *his Arguments prove more: and that the middle Terms of his Arguments do beat down his own Tenet of Infant Baptism.* If the Antipædobaptists had dealt only thus in their Quotations out of the Antients; and had declar'd their Purpose to be, to improve these Sayings of the Fathers to confute the Opinion and Practice of the said Fathers themselves; none could deny 'em the Liberty of making their best of such a Course. And they may, if they think fit, Indite the Fathers of being *Felones de se*. But 'tis common with them to cite such Passages, as Evidences that the Authors were against Infant Baptism; or, that there was no Baptism of Infants practis'd in those Ages, or those Churches, because they find such Passages concerning the baptizing of Grown Persons, and concerning the Qualifications requir'd in them.

Such Places as these I have left out, inasmuch as they only prove that there were frequent Baptisms of adult Persons in those times; which no Body denies.

Yet

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(3) Baxter, *More Proofs for Infant Baptism*, Pag. 414.

Chap. I. *Quotations impertinent.*

Yet I shall here set down for Instance two of 'em, which do in Appearance, the most of any that I have met with, make for the Purpose of the Antipædobaptists. 7  
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*Basil. contra Eunomium, l. 3.*

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Πιστῶσι δὲ οὐ ἐπίστευ' εἶτα τοῦ βαπτισμῶν ἐπιση-  
μασθεῖσιν.

*For one must believe first: and then be sealed  
with Baptism.*

*Hieronym. in Matt. 28.*

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*Primum docent omnes gentes, deinde doctas intin-  
guant aquâ: Non enim potest fieri ut corpus recipiat  
baptismi Sacramentum, nisi ante anima susceperit  
fidei veritatem.*

' They first teach all the Nations, then when  
' they are taught they baptize 'em with Water;  
' for it can't be that the Body should receive the  
' Sacrament of Baptism, unless the Soul have before  
' received the true Faith.

St. *Hierom* here commenting on the Commission  
given by our Savior to the Apostles (4) of car-  
rying the Gospel to the Nations that were Hea-  
thens, explains the Method they were to use, *viz.*  
First, to teach those Nations the Christian Reli-  
gion, and then to baptize 'em; which all Pædo-  
baptists grant to be the Method that ought ever  
to be us'd. For if there be any Nation of *Indians*  
to be converted now a-days, they use the same:  
and yet when they have Converted and Baptiz'd  
the Parents, they do also, at the Parents desire,  
baptize what Children they have. And it is of

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(4) Matt. 28. 19.

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such Heathen People or Nations, that *St. Hieron* here speaks, that their Minds must be instructed before their Bodies be baptiz'd.

*St. Basil* is there proving against the Heretic *Eunomius*, the Divinity of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, by this Argument, that we are baptiz'd in the Name of them as well as of the Father; and consequently are to believe in them: For that Baptism supposes Faith in that Deity in whose Name the Baptism is. And applying this to the Case of one that learns the Faith of the Christians, shews that he must be taught to believe in Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, (*viz.* that each of these Persons is God) or else ought not to be baptiz'd with those Words; and that consequently the *Eunomians* did in Effect renounce their Baptism by renouncing this Faith. As there was no Dispute between the *Catholics* and *Eunomians*, about Infant Baptism; so *St. Basil* will appear to any one that reads him, not to have had any Thought *Pro* or *Contra*, at that Place, about it.

But it happens very unluckily for the Purpose of those that produce these Sayings, that both of these Fathers are known by other Passages to have owned Infant Baptism; as I have shewn plainly in the first Part of this Work (5).

§. 3. Thirdly, Some Quotations that are brought, are wrested and alter'd by those that bring 'em to another Sense than that which they carry in the Authors themselves.

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As for Example: *Danvers* (6) cites out of *Eusebius*, (7), that *Dionysius Alexandrinus* writing to *Sextus*, Bishop of *Rome*, testifies, That it was their Custom to baptize upon Profession of Faith; and that one who had been baptiz'd by Heretics, not upon  
Pro-

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(5) CH. XII, XV, XIX. (6) Treatise of Baptism, pag. 50. second Edition. (7) H. E. 1. 7. c. 9.

## Chap. I. Quotations wrested, or alter'd.

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*Profession of Faith, did desire to be so baptiz'd, accounting his former for no Baptism.*

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This, as it is here by Mr. Danvers brought in and worded, would seem to be an Instance of a Man that having been baptiz'd in Infancy, desir'd now to be baptiz'd again. But that which *Dionysius* does there write, is in these Words, and no other (8).

*The Man being present when some were baptiz'd, and hearing the Interrogatories and Answers, came to me weeping; and falling down at my Feet, confess'd and declar'd, that the Baptism wherewith he had been baptiz'd by the Heretics, was not this [or, this sort of] Baptism, nor had any Likeness to this of ours, but was full of Impieties and Blasphemies. He said, he was sore troubled in Conscience, and durst not presume to lift up his Eyes to God, for that he was baptiz'd with those profan Words and Ceremonies.*

Now this is clearly the Case of a Man that had been baptiz'd by the *Valentinians*, (or some such Heretics) who, as *Irenaeus* tells us (9), did not baptize in the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit; but with strange and profan Forms of Words which he there recites, and some of which I do hereafter (10) recite. All which is nothing relating to the Case of Infant Baptism: And he that compares the Words, will observe how foully they are quoted.

§. 4. Fourthly, Some Quotations are yet more unfair: as, when the Author cited does not say that for which he is cited; but he says something from whence the other does draw it as a Consequence, and then sets down that Consequence as if it were the Author's own Words.

Thus

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(8) Apud Eusebium loc. citat. (9) Lib. I. c. 18.  
(10) CH. V. §. 1.

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Thus *Danvers*, in the foresaid Treatise (11) says, that *St. Hierom*, in his Epistle against the Errors of *John Bishop of Jerusalem*, says, *That in the Eastern Churches the Adult were only baptiz'd;* and again, in his Epistle to *Pammachius*, says, *That they are to be admitted to Baptism to whom it does properly belong, viz. Those only who have been instructed in the Faith.*

Now if one read over that Epistle of *St. Hierom's* to *Pammachius*, against the Errors of *John Bishop of Jerusalem*, and all the other Epistles of his to *Pammachius*, (for such Work one has with Quotations set down after such a blundering Manner) there is no such thing.

But this there is (12): the said Bishop having said, that in a certain Sermon of his he had fully discours'd of the Faith and all the Doctrins of the Church: *St. Hierom* takes Occasion to reprove this as a confident Saying, that he should pretend to do all that in one Sermon: and then adds, *We have a Custom to discourse for forty Days together, to those that are to be baptiz'd, concerning the Holy Trinity, &c. If you on that Text could in one Hour discourse of all the doctrinal Points; what need is there to continue such Discourses for forty Days? But if you did re-capitulate all that you us'd to preach in the whole Lent, &c.*

There is also another Passage toward the End of the Epistle, where he thus expostulates with the said Bishop; *Do we divide the Church, who but a few Months ago, about Whitfontide, (when the Sun being Eclips'd; People thought the Day of Judgment was coming) did present forty Persons of both Sexes, and several Ages, to your Presbyters to be baptiz'd? And yet we had five Presbyters then in the*

293.

(11) Treat. of Bapt. pag. 56. (12) Epist. 61. ad Pammachium de erroribus, &c. prope medium.

the Monastery, who might have done it by their own Year af-  
right; but they would do nothing to anger you. Or ter the A-  
do you rather divide the Church, who order'd your postles  
Presbyters at Bethlehem, that they should not give  
Baptism to our Candidates at Easter, whom we there-  
fore sent to Diospolis to Bishop Dionysius to be  
baptiz'd?

Here is indeed a plain Account of adult Persons baptiz'd in those times; and that they us'd to be Catechized all the *Lent* before their Baptism. But he that shall conclude from hence, that they only were baptiz'd, and then shall quote the Place, and set it down as *St. Hierom's* Words, [*That in the Eastern Churches they only were admitted to Baptism*] is by no Means to be trusted with the quoting of Authors.

§. 5. Fifthly, Some of the Quotations brought in this Case, are absolutely false: And neither the Words cited, nor any like 'em, are at all to be found in the Books mention'd.

So *Danvers* in his said Treatise (13) cites *St. Hilary* for three several Sayings. The first where- of is found in the Book mention'd: The second is not; but there is a Sentence to the same Pur- pose in another Book. These two are not so material as to need reciting here. The third (which is very material, if it were true) is, that *St. Hilary* should say, *That all the Eastern Churches did only baptize the Adult.* The Book he seems to refer to, is *St. Hilary's second Book de Trinitate*; for that only is mention'd. But neither there (nor, as I am very confident, any where else) does *St. Hilary* say any such thing. 254

Both these last Quotations out of *St. Hierom* and *Hilary* are amended in a Postscript by (14) *Danvers*: and

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(13) Part I. Cent. 4. (14) Postscript to the Baptist's Answer to *Wills's* Appeal against *Danvers*.



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and for *Eastern* he says we must read *Western*. But this mends not the Matter, but makes it worse: for there is no such thing said of either of 'em. Indeed if either *Hierom* or *Hilary*, or any other Author of those times, had said that it was the Custom either of the *Eastern* Church, or *Western* Church, or any Church at all, to baptize only the Adult; and the Places where they said so could be produc'd; it would be a Quotation more for the Purpose of the Antipædobaptists than any they have yet brought.

And for Mr. *Danvers* (after that Mr. *Baxter* and Mr. *Wills* had so publicly Challeng'd him for a Forger of Quotations; and *Wills* had put in an Appeal to his own Party against him) to amend in a P. S. to the Answer to the said Appeal these Quotations by putting *WESTERN* for *EASTERN*, as if the Authors had really said so of one of 'em: This, if joined with a great many other Instances in the said Book, was the boldest Attempt upon the Belief of a Reader that ever I knew made.

It would have been a very tedious thing both to me and the Reader, to recite all such Quotations, and then to shew the Falseness or Mistake of them. But instead of doing that, I do declare that all that I have seen that seem'd to be to the Purpose, I have searched; and the Search after such as have proved False, Spurious, &c. has cost me as much Pains as the Collecting of these true ones. And of those that I have so seen or search'd, I have left out none in this Collection, that make *for*, or *against* the Baptism of Infants, but such as are (and, I think, plainly) of some of the five sorts before mentioned. And if any one that meets with any other which I have not met with, will be so kind as to inform me of it, by Word or Letter, I will (if I live to see any more Editions of this mean

Work) add it to the rest; and that indifferently,

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as I said, whether it make for or against Pædo- Year af-  
baptism : provided it be genuin, and to the Pur. ter the A-  
pose, and out of Authors within the time limited. postles

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## C H A P. II.

### *The Opinions of modern Learned Men concerning the antient Practice or Omission of Pædo- baptism.*

§. 1. **A**S for what later Authors have said concerning the Practice of these Primitive Times ; it would be a Voluminous Work to Collect all their Opinions or Verdicts. Neither would it answer so much Pains, to have the Account of the modern Writers, as to what they judge may be Collected from the antient Writings, when we our selves have the Writings themselves to recur to. Yet it may be worth the while to spend a few Words on that Matter in general.

1. And first, it is notorious, that almost all the Learned Men in the World that have Occasion to mention this Matter, do conclude from what they read, that it has been the general Practice of the Christian Church from the Beginning, to baptize Infants. To name any particulars were endless and frivolous.

2. Some few (as it happens in all Matters) are of a different Opinion concerning the antient Practice. And they are of two sorts.

Some have thought that there was a Time in the Christian Church when no Infants were baptiz'd ; but that Pædobaptism was brought in after a certain Term of Years.

Others, that Baptism of Infants was practis'd from the Beginning, but not univèrsally ; but that

Year af- that some Christians would baptize their Infant  
ter the A- Children, and others would not. And that it  
postles was counted indifferent.

Of the first sort, viz. of those that have thought that there was a Time when no Baptism of Infants was us'd, I know of none (beside Mr. *Tombs* himself) but *Walafridus Strabo* and *Ludovicus Vives*: Unless we are to add to them *Curcellanus* and *Rigaltius*.

750. §. 2. *Strabo* has some Favor shew'd him, when he is reckoned among Learned Men. He lived in a very ignorant Age; and for those Times might pass for a Learned Man. He had read St. *Austin's* Book of *Confessions*, and finding it mentioned there that St. *Austin* was baptized when he was of Man's Age, he seems to have concluded from thence, that it was in old Time the general Use for Christians to defer their Childrens Baptism till they were grown up: though he might with a little more Advertency have found, by the same Book, that St. *Austin's* Father was a Heathen when St. *Austin* was born, and for many Years after; and did not turn Christian, nor was baptiz'd himself, till a little before he died.

Of that Instance of St. *Austin*, and some others, I shall speak in the next Chapter. *Strabo's* Words are these, *Libro de exordiis & incrementis rerum Ecclesiasticarum, cap. 26.*

It is to be noted that in the Primitive Times the Grace of Baptism was wont to be given to those only who were arrived to that Maturity of Body and Mind, that they could know and understand what were the Benefits of Baptism, what was to be confessed and believed, and, in a Word, what was to be observed of those that are regenerated in Christ. For the Reverend Father *Austin* relates of himself in his Book of *Confessions*, that he continued a Catechumen till he was almost 25 Years old: which he did with that Intention, that during that Space being instructed

in all particulars, he might be led by his own Free-Will to choose what he thought fit; and that the heat of his Youth being now abated, he might better observe that which he had purposed.

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But when the Diligence about our Divine Religion increased; the Christians understanding that the Original Sin of Adam did involve in Guilt, not only those who had added to it by their own wicked Works, but those also who having done no Wickedness themselves, yet because (as the Psalmist says) They were conceived and born in Iniquity, cannot be free from Sin, since they spring from a polluted Root; so that the Apostle had Reason to say concerning all Persons, All have sinned, and have need of the Glory of God, being justified freely by his Graces and to say of Adam, In whom all have sinned. The Orthodox Christians, I say, understanding this, lest Children should perish if they died without the Remedy of the Grace of Regeneration, appointed them to be baptized for the Forgiveness of Sins.

Not as some Heretics, Enemies of God's free Grace, maintain'd, that there was no Necessity for Infants Baptism, because they had never sinned. If that Doctrin were true, either they would not be baptized at all; or, if they were baptiz'd without having any need of it, the Sacrament of Baptism would be imperfect in them, and not the true Baptism which we in the Creed confess to be given for the Forgiveness of Sins.

Therefore since all Persons do perish by Original Sin, whom the Grace of God does not free, (even such as have added no Increase of their own Wickedness) Infants are of Necessity to be baptized. Which both St. Austin shews in his Book de Baptismo parvulorum, and the African Councils testifie, and is manifested by a great many other Proofs from the other Fathers.

This Man, with his little reading, seems to have suppos'd that both the Doctrin of Pædo-baptism,

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baptism, and also that of Original Sin, had their Beginning but about St. *Austin's* Time. His Mistake in the first may appear by the Quotations here produced; and in the other, by those mention'd by *Vossius* in his *Pelagian History*. He also invents a Reason for St. *Austin's* Delay of his Baptism after he was grown up, which is utterly contrary to St. *Austin's* own Account; who relates at large in that his Book of *Confessions*, that it was because he was in Suspence whether he should be a Christian, or a *Manichee*. He miserably mistakes the Doctrin of the *Pelagians*, as if they had denied Infants Baptism to be necessary. He himself owns it to be necessary; and yet says that the Antients us'd it not.

But indeed there appears thro' all his Book an Affectation to shew how all the Doctrins and Mysteries of the Christian Religion have come to more and more Perfection by Process of Time; as he makes the Title of his Book to be, *Of the Beginning and Advancement of Ecclesiastical Matters*. And he was willing to say some such Thing of Baptism, that this Chapter might be like the rest.

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§. 3. What *Ludovicus Vives* says of this Matter, is in his Commentaries upon St. *Austin's* Book *de Civitate Dei*, l. 1. c. 27.

*In former Times no Person was admitted to the Holy Font, till he were of Age, and did understand what that mystical Water meant, and did himself desire to be washed with it, and did express this desire more than once. A Resemblance of which Custom we see still in our Baptisms of Infants. For an Infant born that Day, or the Day before, is ask'd the Question, whether he will be baptiz'd? And that Question they ask three Times over. In whose Name the God-fathers answer, that he does desire it. I hear that in some Cities of Italy the old Custom is still in great Measur preserv'd.*

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Since this *Vives* liv'd so little while ago, and produces no Proof out of any Author to confirm his Opinion; his affirming any thing concerning any old Custom is of no more Authority, than if any one now living should say the same without producing his Proof. Especially since he was but a young Man when he wrote these Commentaries, and, tho' Learned in Philology and secular History, yet confesses himself in his Preface to them, that as for Divinity, which was none of his Profession, he minded it only so far as his other Studies would give him Leave.

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It is certain that the Occasion given him, from *St. Austin's* Words, on which he there comments, to say any such thing, is very slender. For *St. Austin* is only speaking of some baptiz'd at the Age of Understanding, without the least Intimation that they were Children of Christian Parents.

And for the Cities of *Italy* that he mentions, I think no Body ever heard of 'em before, nor since: Unless we will suppose that some Remainers of the *Petrobrusians*, who are said about 400 Years before *Vives's* time to have been Antipædobaptists, and of whom I shall by and by give some Account (1), might continue that Practice in some of the Valleys of *Piedmont*. But If it were so, these Men were too late, for any Opinion concerning the antient Practice to be founded on what they did.

§. 4. *Curcellæus* says the same thing as *Vives* does. And there is to be said of him not only what was said of *Vives*, that affirming a Thing of Antiquity, he produces no Quotation for Proof, but also that he brings it in to maintain another Tenet as paradoxical as this it self is. He has a *Dissertation concerning Original Sin*. He denies

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(1) CH. VII. §. 9

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denies that there is any such Thing: as most that are inclin'd to *Socinianism* do. He brings as an Objection against his own Doctrin, the Custom of baptizing Infants for Forgiveness of Sin. He answers (2), That *the Custom of baptizing Infants did not begin before the third Century after Christ's Birth; that in the two first there appear no Footsteps of it.*

Whether that be true or no, will be partly judg'd by what I have here produc'd. It is best for any one that can't prove what he says, to affirm it Dictator like.

1578. §. 5. It is doubtful in which of the two fore-mentioned sorts, of those that have thought the Practice of Infant Baptism to have been, either not from the Beginning, or not universal, one is to place *Rigaltius*: He, in his Annotations on those Places of *St. Cyprian*, which I recited in the former Part of this Work (3), seems willing to have it believ'd, that in the Apostles time there was no Pædobaptism; but not willing to speak this plainly.

His Discourse of this Matter from Texts of Scriptur is too large to repeat here: he uses no Arguments but those that are common, and have their Answers as common.

100. But what he speaks plainly of the Matter of Fact, as he takes it to have been, is this (4), *From the Age of the Apostles to the Time of Tertullian, the Matter continued in ambiguo, doubtful [or various]. And there were some, who on occasion of our Lord's saying, Suffer little Children to come to me, (tho' he gave no Order to baptize 'em) did baptize even new-born Infants; and, as if they were transacting some Secular Bargain with God Almighty, brought*

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(2) §. 56. (3) Pt. 1. CH. VI. §. 1, & 11. (4) Annot. in Cypriani Epistolam ad Fidum.

brought Sponsors and Bondsmen to be bound for 'em, that when they were grown up they should not depart from the Christian Faith. Which Custom Tertullian did not like. For, What need is there, says he, that the Godfathers should be brought into Danger, &c. [and so he recites at large the Place of Tertullian, which I produc'd above (5), and then proceeds], *Most Men thinking this Opinion of Tertullian unsafe, were of St. Cyprian's Mind, that even new born Children ought to be made Partakers of the Laver of Salvation: which was also pitch'd upon in the Decree of this Synod; and so the Doubt was taken away.*

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And in his Annotations on the other Place of St. Cyprian (6), he passes this Censur upon the Practice of those Times. *They gave the Sign of Faith to a Person before he was capable of Faith it self: they made the Sign without the Thing, to stand instead of the Thing it self.*

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The zealous Bishop of Oxford, who since wrote Annotations on the same Father's Works, and who generally treats *Rigaltius* with that Respect which his great Learning deserves, yet on this Account spares not to say, *That he has in this Matter acted the Part, not of an Annotator on St. Cyprian, but a Prævaricator with him: And that what he says here, is no other sort of Stuff than what some Phanatic of the Anabaptist Crew would have said.*

Indeed it is a Wonder that since he knew that which he would insinuate (that there was no Baptism of Infants in the Apostles time) to be contrary to the Sentiments of all the Learned Men in the World; he should so take it for granted on the ordinary Pretences, without taking Notice of what they say in Answer.

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(5) Pt. 1. CH. IV. §. 5. (6) Lib. de Lapsis.



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And that he should conclude, that in the next Century of Years, which passed from the Apostles to *Tertullian's* time, it was held and practis'd variously or indifferently; only because *Tertullian* spake against what was then done about it: when almost all Learned Men do take that Opposition of his, for no Evidence that the Delay of Infants Baptism, or Virgins Baptism, or Widows Baptism, was then practis'd by any Body, (neither does *Tertullian* pretend it was) but only for an Evidence that *Tertullian* was a Man of a singular Opinion in this, as well as in forty other Things that were then practis'd or taught. Neither can *Tertullian* himself be well understood to have advis'd that Delay, but only when there is no Danger of Death (7), which in the Case of Infants is very seldom.

- This Annotator is also partial in the Account he gives of the Writers of this Century: in
100. that he mentions *Tertullian*, who wrote at the latter End of it, and gives his Opinion against the ordinary Practice of Pædobaptism; without taking any Notice of *Irenæus*, who wrote in the middle of it, and speaks of Infants, as being ordinarily baptiz'd, or regenerated. Or, of
67. *Origen*, who was Contemporary with *Tertullian*, and wrote but a little after him; and who having
110. travell'd in all the noted Churches then in the World, speaks of their Baptism both as being generally practis'd, and also appointed by the Apostles.

'Tis plain that the Place on which he there comments, does shew that the Baptism of Infants was then look'd on as undoubted, and not (as he would represent) that *the doubt about it was then taken away*, or solv'd. For *Fidus*, who doubted

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(7) See the Place, Pt. I. CH. IV. § 5, 7:

whether they might be baptiz'd before the 8th Year after the Day, and St. *Cyprian* and his Fellow Bishops, who resolv'd that Doubt, had both of 'em taken it for undoubted, that they are to be baptiz'd in Infancy (8).

This Partiality shewn by him for the Antipædobaptists side, makes one have the less Opinion of his Fidelity in that Alteration which he has made in their Favor, in the Text of *Tertullian's* Book of Baptism, in his Edition thereof; which does much alter the Sense, and of which I gave an Account when I recited the Place (9). I, tho' I knew it was otherwise in *Pamelius's* Edition, and that *Pamelius* testifies his Edition to agree with *Gaigneus's* (who first publish'd this Book of *Tertullian*) in that Place; yet was of Opinion that so Learned a Man would not have alter'd the Words without some good Authority from the Manuscripts; and I set 'em down accordingly. But since he quotes no Manuscripts to confirm that Alteration; and besides, shews himself otherwise to have such a Byass: I do now think it were proper for Learned Men to examin better how much Credit is to be given to that Amendment, which makes *Tertullian* advise the Delay of Baptism *absolutely*, which in the first, and some following Editions, was express'd, *except in Case of Necessity*. P. S. And I find already that Mr. *Stennet*, a learned Antipædobaptist, is convinc'd that no Credit is to be given to it. For he quotes the Place as it stood in the former Editions, *Quid enim necesse, si non tam necesse, Sponsors, &c.* 'For what need is there, except in Case of Necessity, that Godfathers, &c.' in his Answer to Mr. *Ruffen*, Ch. 4. pag. 76.

B 3

§. 6.

(8) See the Place, Pt. 1. CH. VI. §. 1, &c. (9) Pt. 1. CH. IV. §. 8.

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§. 6. There were no need of mentioning Bishop Taylor among these; were it not for some impo-rtunate Antipædobaptists, who cite him in this Controversie against his Will. He, in the Times of the Rebellion in *England*, (when the *Parliamentarians*, tho' divided among themselves into several Sects, did all join in oppressing those of the Church of *England*) wrote a Treatise call'd, *The Liberty of Prophecying*: in which he pleaded that they, how earnest soever they were in maintaining the Truth of their Opinions, yet ought to grant a Toleration to those that differ'd from 'em; because many other Opinions had at least a Probability, such as might well sway the Conscience of a great many honest Inquirers after Truth.

And among the rest he undertook (10) to shew how much might be said for two sorts of Dissenters, the Antipædobaptists, and the Papists: saying thus; *These two are the most troublesome, and the most dislik'd: and by an Account of these we may make a Judgment what may be done towards others, whose Errors are not apprehended of so deep Malignity.*

And in his Plea for the Antipædobaptists, though he there declares himself well satisfied with the Principles of Pædobaptism, of which he gives a Summary Account, and says, that he takes the other Opinion to be an Error; yet under Pretence of reciting what may be said for that Error, he draws up so Elaborat a System of Arguments against Infant Baptism, and sets them forth to the utmost, by such Advantage of Style, that he is judged to have said more for the Antipædobaptists than they were ever before able to say for themselves. And Dr. Hammond (11) says, *It is the most diligent Collection, and the most exact Scheme*

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(10) Sect. 17, 18. (11) Six Queries, Infant Baptism, §. 49.

*Scheme of the Arguments against Infant Baptism, that he had ever met with. And (12) that he has therein in such Manner represented the Arguments for and against it, that the latter have seem'd to many to be successful and victorious.*

Year after the Apostles

'Tis generally suppos'd that he did this with a Politic Intention (commonly practis'd by those of the Church of *Rome*) to divide the Adversaries of the Church of *England* among themselves; and to that End put Arguments into the Mouths of one Sect, in order to puzzle the others. A sort of Prevaricating in the Things of God, which few Protestants or sincere Christians will account justifiable on any Account whatever. Therefore Dr. *Hammond*, who was too great a Lover of Sincerity to approve of such a Method, quickly wrote an Answer to this Piece, solving each Objection particularly (13).

And afterward, Bishop *Taylor* himself, having premis'd that he was sorry if any one had been so weak as to be misled by such mean Objections, and that he counted it great Charity and Condescension in Dr. *Hammond* to bestow an Answer on 'em, wrote also his own Answers to his own Objections, and inserted them in a later Edition of the said Treatise; and in another Treatise, call'd, *The Consideration of the Church in baptizing the Children of Believers*. He does also in his *Great Exemplar*, and in his *Ductor Dubitantium* (14), expressly declare his Opinion, and affirm that *it is necessary that Infants be baptiz'd*; and reckons *Infant Baptism, and the keeping the Lord's Day, among those Things that are confirmed by this Rule.*

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(12) Six Queries, Infant Baptism, §. 139. (13) Six Queries. (14) L. 2. c. 3. R. 14. n. 41. it. R. 18. n. 1.

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Whatsoever the Catholic Church has kept in all Ages by-gone, may rightly be believ'd to have descended from the Apostles.

*Which, he says, is a good Rule for Rituals, [among which he reckons Baptism] tho' not for Matter of Doctrin. The Reason of which Distinction he had given before (15). Because there is no Doctrin so delivered but what is in Scriptur: indeed some Practises and Rituals are. Because the public Exercises and Usages of the Church being united and notorious, public and acted, might make the Rule evident as the Light.*

Notwithstanding all which, it is a common Thing with the Antipædobaptists to cite the Passages in that Treatise of the *Liberty of Prophecy* that make for them, as if they had been spoken by the Author from his own Judgment, and had never been answered by him.

There is not much said either in the Objections or Answers about this Point of Antiquity; they being chiefly taken from Scriptur. What he has is mostly from *Grotius*.

He objects (16), that *all Arguments from Tradition are much decryed by Protestants in other Cases, and therefore ought not to be made Use of in this.*

To which Dr. *Hammond* and he answer, that *Protestants did never renounce the Arguments from Tradition in general: but, on the contrary, whatever appears to be the Tradition of the Apostles, or to be the Practice of the Christians in those first Times, they willingly own. And that what they decry, is either the Traditions of later times, or else the false Pretences to the elder ones.*

He had objected likewise, that there is but a weak Proof of any such Tradition, and that *whereas Origen says, that the Apostles gave Order to the Churches*

110.

Churches that they should baptize their Infants, and Year af-  
 St. Austin says the same; yet that probably St. ter the A-  
 Austin took this from Origen's Writings: and postles  
 so it depends on Origen's single Testimony. 290.

At which Rate of arguing, if forty had said it, one might pretend that probably thirty nine of 'em had it from the first; and so there were but one single Evidence.

But he, as well as Dr. Hammond, answers, that Irenæus, and the Author of the Questions in the Name of Justin Martyr, and Abundance of others, (tho' they do not speak expressly of the Apostles appointing it, yet) do confirm it to have been the Practice in those Times. To which I have added a Testimony of St. Ambrose (17) that speaks expressly of the Apostles Times. 67. 274.

The Bishop also knew, or might have known, that St. Austin was no Reader of Origen's Works.

He objected moreover, that Pædobaptism was first established by Canon of the Milevitan Council, (as he calls it; meaning that Canon of the Council of Carthage, which I recited Pt. 1. CH. XIX. §. 37.) in the Year of Christ 416. So he dates it. 318.

But both he and Hammond answer that, to this Effect; That since it was the known Custom of the Primitive Church to make Canons only about Points that had been questioned by Heretics; it is a great Proof that this had never been questioned, (as St. Austin concludes it was from the Beginning, because not instituted by Councils) for none can deny that it was a common Practice long before.

And I think I have shewed it also to be a Mistake to think that it was then decreed that Infants should be baptiz'd; whereas the Decree was,

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(17) Pt. 1. CH. XIII. §. 1.

Year af- was, that they are in a true Meaning baptiz'd for  
 ter the Ar *Forgiveness of original Sin*, (which the *Pelagians*  
 postles denied; but their Baptism they denied not) and  
 that they may be baptiz'd before the 8th Day,  
 when new born; of which some in *Africa* had  
 doubted (18).

214. He had also in his Plea for the Antipædo-  
 baptists cited the Canon of the *Neocasarean Council*, which I recited *Part 1. CH. VIII. §. 1.* and  
 had drawn from it Reasons against Infant Baptism,  
 such as are there rehears'd.

• And the Answer which he and Dr. *Hammond*  
 make, is in Substance the same that is there also  
 given.

Yet after all this, this Bishop is to be reckon'd  
 among the second sort, that I mention'd, of those  
 that have denied the Practice of Infant Baptism  
 to have been general or universal in the Primitive  
 Times; as appears by his later Works, which I  
 shall have Occasion to cite when I speak of that  
 second sort of Men.

§. 7. It is tedious to spend Time in speaking  
 of Dr. *Barlow*, the late Bishop of *Lincoln*. What  
 he had said on this Subject, (of which the Anti-  
 pædobaptists do so serve themselves, that one shall  
 see his Name brought in twenty Times by some  
 one of their Writers) he himself fairly recanted.

1556. He had, in those hopeful Times that were in  
 England in the Year 1656, wrote a Letter to Mr.  
*Tombs*, wherein he had said thus; *I do believe*  
*Pædobaptism (how, or by whom I know not) came into*  
*the World in the Second Century; and in the Third*  
*and Fourth began to be practis'd, (tho' not generally)*  
*and defended as lawful from that Text grossly mis-*  
*understood, Joh. 3. 5. Upon the like gross Mistake*  
*of Joh. 6. 53. they did for many Centuries both in*  
*the*

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(18) See the Canon Pt. I. CH. XIX. §. 37.

*the Greek and Latin Church Communicate Infants, and give 'em the Lord's Supper. And I confess they might do both as well as either.* Year after the Apostles

This Letter being handed among the Antipædo-  
baptists, came afterward to be printed (18) to  
the said Dr's great Discredit, who was now  
*Margaret Professor* in the University of *Oxford*,  
and accounted a very Learned Man. 1573.

Therefore in the Year 1675, he wrote a Letter 1575.  
to Mr. *Wills* with Consent that it should be pub-  
lish'd, in which he says thus (19), *I acknowledge*  
*that such Words as are cited by Mr. D. (and such*  
*others, spoke and wrote then with more Confidence than*  
*Judgment or Discretion) are in that Letter; which*  
*had been secret still, if some had not betray'd that*  
*Trust which was repos'd in 'em. — — — — — Lastly,*  
*It is to be consider'd, that that Letter was wrote*  
*about twenty Years ago, (when I talk'd more, and*  
*understood less) and yet whatever Doubts and Ob-*  
*jections I had then against Infant Baptism, I never*  
*thought them so considerable as to warrant any*  
*Division, or Schismatical Disturbance of the Peace*  
*of my Mother the Church of England. And there-*  
*fore I did then, and since, and (when I have a just*  
*Call, God willing) ever shall, baptize Infants.*

§. 8. I am unwilling to name *Bilius* among  
these: because I believe that was not his steady  
Opinion, which may seem to be the most ob-  
vious Sense of an Expression of his in his Com-  
mentary on the 19th Oration of *Gregory Nazianzen*;  
where there is an Account of the Baptism of the  
said *Gregory's* Father, which was after his Mar-  
riage. And *Bilius* there speaking of the Danger  
of sinning after Baptism, says, *I mention this be-*  
*cause in those Times Persons came later to Baptism*  
*than*

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(18) In *Danvers's* Treatise of Baptism, Cent. 4. (19) *Wills's*  
Infant Baptism farther vindicated, pag. 87.



Year after than now a-days; when by a commendable Custom they  
 ter the Apostles are baptiz'd in Infancy, lest Delay should bring  
 Danger with it.

What a Word did that Learned Abbot suffer to escape the Hedge of his Lips? Was not that Gregory the Father a Heathen till that Time, and his Parents before him? I believe if one were to look over *Bilius's* Writings, one should find that this was not his settled Opinion. But I have not Time to do that at present.

Since the first Edition of this Book, one *Antony van Dale*, a Dutch Minister or Antipædobaptist, has written a Tract call'd, *The History of Baptisms*. Wherein he has one Chapter against Infant Baptism. And in that [at p. 375.] a Quotation of a Letter of *Salmasius*, written to *Justus Pacius* under the Name of *Simplicius Verinus*. Where *Salmasius* says; ' In the two first Centuries none  
 ' received Baptism, but such as being instructed  
 ' in the Faith, and made acquainted with the  
 ' Doctrin of Christ, could declare their Belief of  
 ' it; because of those Words, *He that believeth  
 ' and is baptized*: so that believing is to be  
 ' the First. Thence was the Order of Catechu-  
 ' mens in the Church. There was then also a  
 ' constant Custom, that to those Catechumens,  
 ' presently after their Baptism, the Eucharist  
 ' should be given. Afterward there came in an  
 ' Opinion, that none could be saved that was  
 ' not baptiz'd. And so there grew a Custom of  
 ' giving Baptism to Infants. And because the  
 ' adult Catechumens, as soon as they were baptiz'd,  
 ' had the Eucharist given 'em, without any Space  
 ' of Time passing between; It was, after that  
 ' Infant Baptism was brought in, order'd that  
 ' this should be done also with Infants.

Having not any Copy of *Salmasius's* Letters, I can judge nothing of the Authenticalness of this Quotation; nor can give any Guess (if *Salmasius*

*masius* did write such a Letter) what Age he might be of when he wrote it, or whether he publish'd it himself. I know that many Learned Men have suffer'd much in their Memory by having all their Letters and Posthumous Pieces printed after their Death: Some whereof were such, as being written in their Youth, they themselves would have been ashamed of afterward, and would, upon better Information and reading, have recanted: An Instance whereof I gave just now in one that in his Youth wrote a Letter so like this, that one may seem to be drawn from the other. And I have also known several Persons who have own'd, that before their Reading the antient Books they have been inclin'd to such an Opinion against the Antiquity of Infant Baptism, as is express'd in these two Letters; but afterward found their own Mistake. And this is the more probable in the Case of *Salmasius*, for that he never did in his Conversation or Books (that I ever heard of) shew any Inclination to Antipædobaptism. But if this were his steady Opinion concerning the Beginning of Pædobaptism; then we must add him to those 3 or 4 Men that have said this without giving any Proof from Antiquity of their Saying.

I find this very Passage quoted by Mr. *Stennet* [Answer to *Ruffen*, p. 66.] as from *Smicerus's Thesaurus, sub voce ζύναξις*. Who it seems took it from *Salmasius*.

§. 9. There is, as I said, another sort of Learned Men, who, tho' they think with the rest of the World, that Infant Baptism was ever practis'd in the Church of Christ, yet think that it was not general or universal; but that in the elder Times some Christian Parents baptiz'd their Children in Infancy, and others not: and that it was counted indifferent

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I take *Grotius* to be the Author of this Opinion. For tho' some before him did observe that many Persons of Note in the Primitive Times were baptiz'd at Man's Age, some of whom they took to be born of Christian Parents, (which last, whether they did not take to be so without due Examination, shall be discours'd afterward) yet they suppos'd 'em to be not enow to make any considerable Exception to the general Rule and Practice of the Church.

So tho' *Dr. Field*, in his Treatise *Of the Church* (19), do say that besides those who were Converted from Paganism, many that were born of Christian Parents, put off their Baptism a long Time. An Instance of which he makes *St. Ambrose*. Yet these (whom he calls many) he takes to be so few in Comparison, that he still speaks of the other as a continued Practice or Tradition. As where he treats purposely of Tradition (20), he says,

*The fourth kind of Tradition, is the continued Practice of such Things, as neither are contain'd in the Scriptur expressly, nor the Example of such Practice expressly there deliver'd; tho' the Grounds, Reasons; and Causes of the Necessity of such Practice be there contain'd; and the Benefit or Good that follows of it. Of this sort is the Baptism of Infants, &c.*

But *Grotius* from this and some other Arguments frames an Hypothesis of the Indifferency (*libertas* he calls it) of the antient Church in this Matter (21). And tho' *Rivet* do suppose that *Grotius* was a Convert of Cardinal *Perron* in this Point; for the said Cardinal in his Reply to King James had (as *Rivet* (22) observes) pleaded the Cause of the Anabaptists with all his Might: And I see, says *Rivet*; that he has brought over Hugo Grotius.

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(19) Pag 719. (20) Lib. 4. c. 20. (21) Annot. in Matt. 19. 14. (22) Apology.

Grotius. Yet I count it proper to reckon *Grotius* as the Author, because what the Cardinal had said was very probably not from his real Opinion, but from a Design to embroil the Protestants, by giving Strength to the Schism of the Antipædobaptists, who then began to grow rife in *Holland* and other Places. A Design which the Papists have since earnestly promoted; industriously putting it into their Books, that Infant Baptism cannot be prov'd from Scriptur, but only from the Practice of the Church: and as some of 'em will have it, not from any Evidence of the Practice of the antient Church neither, but only from the Authority of the present Church.

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I am not willing to think that *Grotius* had so ill a Design. But he being naturally inclined to trim all Controversies in Religion that came in his Way, and using that vast Stock of Learning which he had (as Princes that would hold the Balance do their Power) to help the weakest side, he maintains (23) (not that there was ever any Church or any Time in which Infant Baptism was not us'd, but) that in the *Greek Churches* many Persons, from the Beginning to this Day, do observe the Custom of delaying the Baptism of their Infants till they are able to make Confession of their own Faith.

The Mistake that he is here guilty of in Reference to the modern Practice of the *Greek Churches*, in which (as all Men are now sure) there neither is, nor lately has been any such Thing known as the Delay of Infants Baptism (especially if he mean the *Greek Churches* properly so call'd; for what Dispute is rais'd concerning the *Georgian Christians* I do mention hereafter) (24) makes one take less Notice of what he affirms concerning the

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(23) Annot. in Matt. 19. 14. (24) CH. VIII. §. 2.

Year of the ancient Practice thereof. As he produces no  
 ter the A- Proof at all of what he says of the late Times,  
 postles so what he urges for this Indifferency of the elder  
 Times consists in these Particulars.

214. He cites the Canon of the Council of *Neocæsarea*, mention'd above (25), and expounds it to make against Infant Baptism.

But this, if it proves any Thing, proves too much: not a Liberty, but an Unlawfulness of Infant Baptism in the Opinion of those 17 Bishops.

300. He himself says, that *it is plain that in St. Austin's Time Pædobaptism was received in all Churches; because the Pelagians being press'd with that as an Argument never could deny it.* And was it not obvious likewise for him to observe, that the *Pelagians* being press'd with this Argument, *That no Christian ever was against Pædobaptism*, could not deny it, but expressly granted it (26)? And could *Pelagius* and *St. Austin* too have forgot, that

214. a Council of 17 Bishops had determined against it but 80 Years before, if they or any Body else had at that Time gather'd any such Meaning out of their Words? The Pædobaptists say, that this Meaning lay hid for 1300 Years after the Men were dead, till he pick'd it out. But of this, and of the Use that he makes of the Words of *Balsamon* and *Zonaras* thereupon, was discoursed before (27).

He observes also, that *in the Councils one shall find no earlier Mention of Pædobaptism than in the Council of Carthage.* From whence he would  
 318. infer, that *it did not universally obtain, but was more frequent in Africa than any where else.*

And *St. Austin*, as was above cited (28), proves that it must have been instituted by the Apostles; because

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(25) Pt. 1. CH. VIII. §. 1. (26) See Pt. 1. CH. XIX. §. 30.  
 (27) Pt. 1. CH. VIII. §. 6, 7. (28) Pt. 1. CH. XV. Sect. 4. §. 3.

because it did and ever had universally obtain'd, and yet was not instituted by any Council. Mentioned it was by a Council under St. Cyprian (29), which did not enact it, but take it for granted.

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I mention'd before (30) his other Argument, which is nothing else but the perverting of the Sense of a few Words of *Greg. Nazianzen*, (where he speaking of several sorts of Persons that die without Baptism, names among the rest, *those that are not Baptized sed untorata, by Reason of Infancy*) as if *Nazianzen* had thereby intimated his Opinion to be, that Infancy did incapacitate one for Baptism. Whereas, if the Reader please to turn back to *Pt. 1. CH. XI. §. 6.* where I have cited the Place at large, he will see that *Nazianzen* there reckons *those who are not baptiz'd* [or, have miss'd of Baptism] *by Reason of their Infancy*, among those whose own Fault it is not, that they are not baptiz'd; and therefore their Punishment shall be less in the World to come.

The most material Thing that he brings, is the Instance of *Gregory Nazianzen* and *St. Chrysostom*, born, as he takes it, of Christian Parents, and yet not baptiz'd till of Age. Which shall be discuss'd in the next Chapter.

He concludes, *That all that he has brought, is of no Force to prove that Infant Baptism should be denied; but only to shew libertatem, vetustatem, & consuetudinis differentiam, the Libery, Antiquity, and Difference of the Custom.*

§. 10. I said before, that *Bishop Taylor* is to be reckon'd in this Rank; if one knows where to reckon him, or can reconcile what I have quoted from him with that which I am going to quote.

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(29) Cypriani Ep. ad Fidum. (30) *Pt. 1. CH. XI. §. 9.*

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He, in his *Disswasive from Popery*; one of his latest Works, being busie in defending the *Protestants* Doctrin against the *Papists*, who plead the Necessity of Tradition to prove Infant Baptism; and having answer'd, that it is prov'd enough from Scriptur as to the Lawfulness of it, goes on to shew that Tradition does not do so much Service in the Matter; for that it delivers it to us as the Custom of *some Christians in all Times*, but not of all. His Words are these (31):

*In the first Age they did, or they did not, according as they pleas'd; for there is no Pretence of Tradition, that the Church in all Ages did baptize all the Infants of Christian Parents. It is more certain that they did not do it always, than that they did it in the first Age. St. Ambrose, St. Hierom, and St. Austin, were born of Christian Parents, and yet not baptiz'd until the full Age of a Man, and more.*

And a little after (32), *That it was the Custom so to do in some Churches, and at some Times, is without all Question; but that there is a Tradition from the Apostles so to do, relies but on two Witnesses, Origen and Austin: and the latter having receiv'd it from the former, it relies wholly on one single Testimony; which is but a pitiful Argument to prove a Tradition Apostolical. He is the first that spoke it: But Tertullian, that was before him, seems to speak against it, which he would not have done, if it had been a Tradition Apostolical. And that it was not so, is but too certain, if there be any Truth in the Words of Ludovicus Vives. And then he recites what was above (33) cited out of Lud. Vives.*

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(31) Pt. 2. Lib. 2. Sect. 3. Pag. 117. (32) Pag. 118.  
(33) §. 3.

The most of this, is what he said before (34), and on which I did before make what Remarks are necessary: as I shall do in the next Chapter, on what he says of *Ambrose, Hierom, Austin*, born of Christian Parents, and yet not baptiz'd in Infancy. From the whole, one may here see some of the Workings of that singular Phancy that this Bishop had about Original Sin. I forgot when I saw his *Diffwasive from Popery*, to look the Date of the Edition of it, and to see if it were not a posthumous one: which I suspect, because what he says in it of this Indifferency, is contrary to what I quoted before §. 6. out of his *Great Exemplar* and *Ductor Dubitantium*; and is more agreable to what he had said in his Youth, but afterward recanted.

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§. 11. Mr. *Thorndyke* also, in the third Book of his *Epilogue*, (which is of the *Laws of the Church*) yields, that the *Eastern Church*, (tho' they held Infant Baptism necessary in Case of the Danger of Death) yet did sometimes defer it when there was no such Danger. But that the *Western Church* injoin'd it, as the present Church does, to be given presently.

He, as well as *Grotius, Taylor, &c.* seems to be mov'd to this Concession by the Instances of *Nazianzen, Nectarius, &c.* baptiz'd at Man's Age; of which I shall speak in the next Chapter, and shew the most of 'em to be Mistakes.

§. 12. *Monsieur Daille* has also something to this Purpose. He says (35), *In antient Times they often deferred the baptizing, both of Infants, and of other People; as appears by the History of the Emperors, Constantin the Great, of Constantius, of Theodosius, of Valentinian and Gratian out of St. Ambrose. And also by the Orations and Homi-*

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(34) §. 6. (35) De usu Patrum; l. 2. c. 6.



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*lies of Gregory Nazianzen (36), and of St. Basil (37), on this Subject. And some of the Fathers too have been of Opinion that it is fit it should be deferred; as namely, Tertullian, as we have formerly noted out of him.*

I shall have Occasion in the next Chapter to discourse concerning those Instances of the Emperors. And whereas he speaks of the Delay of the Baptism of Infants, and other People; it is fit for the Reader to observe, that the Orations which he cites, are indeed a Proof that many grown People converted did put off their Baptism a long Time; because those Orations or Sermons are made on Purpose to convince People of their Sin and Danger in so doing. But there is nothing in 'em that gives any Evidence, that those who were once baptiz'd themselves, did ever delay the baptizing of their Children: save that in one of 'em *Gregory Nazianzen* gives his Opinion, that in Case the Children are in good Health, and there be no Fear of their Death, one may do well to defer their Baptism till they be about three Years old; but otherwise, to baptize 'em out of Hand. The Place I have set down at large, *Pr. 1. CH. XI. §. 7.*

§. 13. *Mr. Baxter* also, who has shewn a great deal of Zeal, and spent a great deal of Pains in maintaining the Cause of Pædobaptism, yet when he is in a complying Humor allows thus much (38); *That in the Days of Tertullian, Nazianzen, and Austin, Men had Liberty to be baptiz'd, or to bring their Children, when and at what Age they pleas'd; and none were forc'd to go against their Consciences therein. And that he knows not that our Rule or Religion is chang'd: or that we are grown any wiser or better than they.* The

(36) Orat. 40. (37) εις βαπτισμῶν ἀεστρεπτικῶν.  
(38) Defence of Principles of Love, p. 7.

The Days of *Tertullian* and *Naxianzen* are pitch'd on, I suppose, because of their Sayings, which have been mention'd. The Days of *Austin* have no Reason to be brought in here; but only because Mr. *Baxter* thought that his Parents were Christians, (a Mistake common to him with many others) and that they not baptizing him in Infancy, it was probable that many other Christians omitted it likewise.

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The same Thing, as I hear, is mainrain'd by those Remonstrants that are Authors of *Censura Censura*, in their 23<sup>d</sup> Chapter.

§. 14. Since the Writing of the rest, I find that Garner the Jesuit is, or would seem to be, of this Opinion; by what he says in his Notes upon a Sermon of *Nestorius*, publish'd with *Mercator's* Works (39): *In those old Times Baptism was not given presently after the Birth, as it is now: but was many Times deferr'd a great while; not only by the Adult, (who came to it at their own Time) but also by the Parents of Infants till they were grown up.*

This Race of Men at first pretended to no more than this; that Infant Baptism cannot be prov'd from Scriptur, without having Recourse to the Proof that is taken from the Practice of the antient Church. And this they did, that they might force the Protestants to own the Traditions of the antient Church to be necessary in determining Points of Religion; for that without them the Protestants could not defend their Cause against the Antipædobaptists. But now that the Protestants have largely shewn that that Recourse to the Traditions of the antient Church does turn the Scale on the Protestants Side against the Papists; and that they find it

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necessary for their Cause to decry both Scriptur and the Traditions of the antient Church, as being both of 'em together insufficient; and that we must throw our selves on the Authority of the present Church, *i. e.* the Church of Rome: They do, in Order to force this down, fet their Wits to maintain, that Infant Baptism cannot be prov'd, neither from Scriptur, nor from the Primitive Practice, but only by the Infallibility of the present Church.

But, as such subtle Men do sometimes forget themselves, especially if they be Voluminous Authors; this same Jesuit in his Notes on another Book (40) says, *When the Apostle writes to the Romans, of whom several had been baptiz'd in Infancy, and yet says, So many of us as have been baptiz'd into Christ Jesus, have been baptiz'd into his Death, &c. under those general Words he comprehends those that were baptiz'd before the Use of Reason.* By making some that were grown Men at the Time of this Epistle, *viz.* 23 Years after Christ's Death, to have been baptiz'd at Rome in their Infancy, he supposes Infant Baptism there practis'd as soon as the Gospel can be reckon'd to have been preach'd there, and perhaps (if we compute the Times) sooner.

Mr. Danvers, *Book 1. Ch. 7.* produces one Boemos, who should say, that in the Christian Church, and Mr. Stennet *Answ. to Ruffen, pag. 85.* one Macaire, who should say, that in the Church of Alexandria, no Infants were in the first Ages baptiz'd. 'Tis the Unhappiness of vulgar Readers, that if they see a strange Name quoted, they think it a great Authority: but 'tis a very disingenuous Thing to take Advantage of this  
their

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(40) Notes on the 9th Chapter of Mercator's Subnotations, pag. 63.

their Weakness. 'Tis like putting off bad Wares upon ignorant Chapmen. For Boemus, I could never hear who he was, nor when he liv'd.

(P. S. I find, since the first Edition, that he is a late Author of no Note or Regard for Learning.) *Macaire* (as Mr. Stennet says) was Bishop of *Memphis* in *Egypt*, Anno 756. But we have no Account from him, how or when this new found Book of his came to Light, or how it appears to be genuin. This is certain, that at that Time there was no such Place as *Memphis*; and that the *Saracens* had above a hundred Years before that over-run all *Egypt*; whose Custom was to destroy all Christian Books and Learning. And can we think that this unknown Man, in such a Time of Ignorance, is able to tell us any News of the Primitive Practice, which *Origen* (who liv'd in *Alexandria* 5 or 600 Years before that) and the other Fathers who had a clear Light of History to their own Times, had never heard of? Such Authors serve only to fill up a Crowd of Names; and to put an Abuse upon a plain honest Reader: the Prevention of which is my only Excuse for mentioning these, who are by no Means to be reckon'd among Learned Men.

There is also a Passage in the former *English* Editions of *Camden's Britannia*, which, if every Reader knew who is the Author of it, would for the same Reason have no need of being mention'd here. But many Readers take all that is there put into the Text, for *Camden's* own: whereas Dr. *Holland* the Translator has inserted Abundance of his own Additions. And, among the rest, he has in *Cumberland* interpolated among *Camden's* Words, a Fancy of his own against the Antiquity of Infant Baptism. *Camden* is there speaking of the Font at *Bridekirk* in that County, Which is, he says, a large open Vessel of greenish Stone, with several little Images curiously engraven

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on it; having also an Inscription which he could not read. He guesses it to have been made originally for a Font, (to which Use it is still employ'd) and (to account for the Images engraven on it) he says, *We read that the Fonts were antiently adorn'd with the Pictures of holy Men, whose Lives were propos'd as a Pattern to such as were baptiz'd: For which he quotes in the Margin Paulinus.* Then follows in the Text, this Addition of Dr. *Holland's, For in the first Plantation of Christianity amongst the Gentiles, such only as were of full Age, after they were instructed in the Principles of the Christian Religion, were admitted to Baptisin.*

*Camden's* Words quoted from *Paulinus*, do intimate no more than this; that there were in antient Times many Baptisms of adult Persons: but that such only were admitted, is said only by Dr. *Holland*, who seems to have concluded it too hastily from what *Camden* quoted.

But it appears since by a more accurat View taken by the present Bishop of *Carlile* of the Inscription, and of those which *Camden* calls Images, on the said Font-Stone, that the contrary to what Dr. *Holland* thought, is proved from 'em. For he, in a Letter to Sir *William Dugdale*; (Printed in the Additions to the last Edition of that Book) explains both the Inscription and the Images: by which latter he says, *We have there fairly represented a Person in a long sacerdotal Habit, dipping a Child into the Water; and a Dove (the Emblem, no doubt, of the Holy Ghost) hovering over the Infant, &c.*

§. 15. Of the profess'd Antipædobaptists, (for all that I have yet mention'd were Pædobaptists, notwithstanding some of their Sayings concerning the antient Use) Mr. *Tombs* was a Man of the best Parts in our Nation, and perhaps in any: but his Talent did not lie much in antient History or Reading. All that I have seen of his of this Natur,

Natur, has been consider'd in speaking of the Authors to whom he refers (41). Year after the Ap-  
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Mr. *Danvers* has heap'd together a vast Rhapsody of Quotations (42); but having seldom consulted the Authors themselves, but taken 'em at second Hand, and out of any sort of Writers, such as he calls by the Names of *Twisk*, *Frank*, &c. and a Book call'd *Dutch Martyrology*, &c. Books of no kind of Credit, he has for the most Part strangely misrepresented 'em.

He was publicly accus'd by Mr. *Baxter* (43), and Mr. *Wills*, for a wilful Forger of Quotations; and the Book would tempt one to think so. But upon second Thoughts, I hope it was partly his Authors, and partly Want of good Heed or Skill that misled him. Mr. *Wills* went so far as to put in an *Appeal* to his own Party against him, that they ought to renounce him: and he Printed it. But he and they answered as well as they could, and made the best of a bad Matter. And indeed Mr. *Wills* in that *Appeal* (for Want of Books I suppose) made not his best Advantage of the Charge that might have been brought against him: for he instanc'd in some of his false Quotations that were of the least Consequence; omitting those of greater, and such as it had been impossible for him or them to reconcile: and also in some of 'em was mistaken himself.

Most of the rest of 'em do, as much as may be, avoid speaking of the Practice of the Primitive Church, and do except against any Argument brought from thence as a human Authority. A Method, which, if they be resolv'd to continue

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(41) Pt. I. CH. IV. §. 8. CH. V. §. 7. CH. VI. §. 1, 2, &c. CH. XXI. §. 5, &c. (42) Treatise of Baptism. (43) Confutation of the strange Forgeries of *H. Danvers*.

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tinue in their Opinion, is much for their Purpose ;  
provided they meet with Adversaries so weak as  
to let it so pass over.

§. 16. I have produc'd all the modern Learned Men that I know of, that have thought that Infant Baptism either was not from the Beginning, or was not universal. And tho' I propos'd to manage impartially, yet I hope no Reader that is a Pædobaptist will expect that I should do the like with those Learned Men that give their Verdict for it. Instead of that, I must declare that all the rest that I have seen, that have Occasion to speak of this Matter, are of Opinion, that the Sayings of the Fathers are a sufficient Evidence that it was always in Use, and that as the general Practice of the Church of Christ.

Indeed they will many of 'em say thus: That there may perhaps be produc'd here and there a singular Instance of a Person that did omit it through Carelessness, or some Accident, &c. and that *Tertullian* also is an Instance of one Man that advis'd the Delay of it till the Age of Reason, in Case there appear'd no Danger of Death in the mean Time: and that this is ordinary in all Customs, however allow'd and establish'd, that some one in an Age happens to speak or act against them; and that a few such straggling Instances are not to be esteem'd of Force sufficient to weaken the Authority of a general Rule.

But it seems to me that the Instances which the Antipædobaptists give, of Persons not baptiz'd in Infancy, tho' born of Christians, are not (if the Matter of Fact be true) so inconsiderable as this last Plea would represent.

On the contrary, the Persons they mention are so many, and such noted Persons; that (if they be all allow'd) it is an Argument that leaving Children unbaptiz'd was no unusual, but a frequent and ordinary Thing. For it is ob-  
vious

## Chap. II. *Christians not baptiz'd in Infancy.*

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vicious to conclude, that if we can in so remote an Age trace the Practice of so many that did this; it is probable that a great many more, of whose Birth and Baptism we do not read, did the like. This I will own, that it seems to me the Argument of greatest Weight of any that is brought on the Antipædobaptists side in this Dispute about Antiquity. And I believe the Reader has observed in the Places I have last quoted, that it is that which has most prevail'd, both with *Strabo* and *Vives*, to think it was once the general Practice to leave Infants unbaptiz'd; and with *Grotius*, Bishop *Taylor*, and the others, to think it was once counted indifferent. It deserves therefore not to be so slightly passed over; but if one had Time and Opportunity, to be thoroughly examin'd.

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The worst is, it is a Business of a great deal of Dust and Tedioufness, to search after the Birth and Parentage of so many Men, (who, tho' they were conspicuous Persons, yet many of 'em sprang from obscure Originals) and not to be well done by any who has not a good Library at hand. I have in my Reading taken some Observations of this Matter, which I shall communicate in the next Chapter.



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## C H A P. III.

Of those who are said to have been born of Christian Parents, and yet not baptiz'd till of Man's Age.

SECT. I. An Account of the Persons, and State of their Case.

§. I. **T**HE Instances of this that are commonly given, are the five Emperors mention'd before by Mr. *Daille*, viz. *Constantin*, *Constantius*, *Gratian*, *Valentinian* the II. and *Theodosius* the I. and also four noted Persons of the Greek Church, viz. *St. Basil*, *St. Gregory Nazianzen*, *Nectarius*, and *St. Chrysostom*; and three of the Latin, *St. Ambrose*, *St. Hierom*, and *St. Austin*. Mr. *Tombs* mentions also *Alypius* and *Adeodatus*; one the Friend, and the other the base Son of *St. Austin*: and both baptiz'd at the same Time with him.

Many of the Pædobaptists make but weak Answers to the Argument that is drawn from the Example of these Men. They content themselves to say, that it was from some erroneous or corrupt Principles, that many in those Times thought fit to defer Baptism a great while; and some till just before Death: either that they might gain a longer Time for their Lusts, or because they thought that wilful Sins committed after Baptism could not be forgiven.

That many new Converts did do this, is too plain; and is a Thing grievously complain'd of by the Preachers of those Times: and the granting of it to be true does not at all affect the Question in Hand; which is not whether adult Per-

Persons did defer their own Baptism: but whether such adult Persons as were come to a full Resolution of being Christians, and were accordingly baptiz'd themselves, did use to baptize their Children in Infancy or not. And to grant this latter, that they who were once baptiz'd, did frequently use to let their Children grow up without Baptism, is to weaken, in great Measure, the Argument for Infant Baptism that is drawn from the Practice of these Antients. For if many did omit it, tho' upon erroneous Grounds, the Argument from the general Practice is lost.

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But some others have attempted a better Answer, by shewing these Instances, or some of 'em, to be Mistakes: and that not all the Persons mention'd were born of Christian Parents, particularly *Constantin* and *Austin* have been excepted; as it was indeed easie to shew that those two ought to be. I shall make some particular Search concerning each of 'em.

And the Thing to be enquir'd concerning each of 'em is,

1st, Whether his Baptism were delay'd till Years of Age. And if so, then,

2dly, Whether his Parents were baptiz'd Christians at the Time of his Birth. I say, *Baptiz'd*: because it was, as I said before, a very common Thing for Men in those Times to be Christians in their Intention, and in their Conscience, *i. e.* they were convinced that that was the Truth, and did resolve some time or other to be baptiz'd into it; and yet did put this off from Time to Time, (as luke-warm Men do now-a-days their Repentance, or their receiving the other Sacrament) knowing that Baptism would engage 'em to a very strict Course of Life. And in this State many liv'd for a long Time after their Conversion: being in some Sense Christians, *i. e.* they declar'd for that Religion as the Truth, they

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Year af- favor'd it, they spoke for it, and in many Things  
 for the A- lived according to the Rules of it; but for all  
 possibls that, were not as yet baptiz'd, and so not account-  
 ed, in the Phrase of those Times, *Fideles*, Faithful,  
 or, Brethren.

These Men, while they were in this State, had oftentimes Children born to 'em: and for such, it cannot be expected that they should bring their Children to Baptism before they could find in their Heart to be baptiz'd themselves.

Also many such Children, (being not baptiz'd in their Infancy, because their Parents, tho' Believers, were not yet baptiz'd) when they grew up, delayed their Baptism as their Fathers had done; and so the Mischief was continued. To these it often happened that they were instructed from their Youth in the Christian Religion, and yet not baptiz'd. Of such St. *Basil* speaks in the Place cited, *Pt. 1. CH. XII. §. 3, 4.*

Therefore you see I had Reason to say that our Inquiry is of Infants born of Parents that were at that Time baptiz'd Christians. And that is all that any Pædobaptist would have to be done now, *viz.* that when any Man is baptized himself, he should baptize his Infant Children.

Mr. *Walker* endeavouring to shew that the Instances brought by the Antipædobaptists do 'em no Service, because the Antients that delayed their Childrens Baptism, did it not on the same Principles that they do now, *viz.* of the Unlawfulness of it; reckons up (1) several Reasons which moved some formerly to delay the Baptism of their Children: whereof the first is doubtless a plain and true one, *viz.* That some were as yet Heathens themselves when their Children were born; and no Marvel if they would not make their

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(1) Preface to Modest Plea:

### Chap. III. *not baptiz'd in Infancy.*

their Children Christians, &c. And the same is the Case of such as tho' in Heart and Purpose Christians when their Children were born, yet kept off from being baptiz'd. But he gives three Reasons more, for which some that were baptiz'd themselves might delay the Baptizing of their Children.

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Any Reader would from what he says conclude or suspect that many did this; at least that for these three Reasons there were an Account of three Persons that had done it. But upon Search, I believe, it will appear that there is no Proof of so many as three; and that there is but one, viz. the Father of *Gregory Nazianzen*, that makes an Instance for this: and he not a plain one; for it depends on an obscure Point in Chronology; whether the Son were born before his Father's Christianity, or after?

In making this Inquiry, I shall begin with the Emperors. Of whom it is proper to note, that whereas Mr. *Daille* having, as I cited before, spoke of the frequent deferring the Baptism of Children and of other People, names the Emperors; I suppose he means them among the other People, not among the Children whose Baptism was deferred. For all take him to be a Man of another Pitch of Reading, than that he should think *Constantin's* Father, for Example, to have been a Christian. But the Antipædobaptists take this from him; and they understand it so, and do very tenaciously maintain that it was so.

#### Seçt. 2. *Of Constantin and Constantius his Son; that they were not born of baptiz'd Parents.*

§. 1. That *Constantin* was not baptized in Infancy, but, on the contrary, in his Old Age, is a plain Case. *Eusebius*, who was familiar with him,

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him, tells us (2) when and how it was, viz. That when he thought himself near Death, he went to *Nicomedia*, and having assembled the Bishops in the Suburbs of that City; he spoke thus to 'em;

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‘ This is the Time which I have long expected, with earnest Desire and Prayers, to obtain the Salvation of God. It is Time that I also should enjoy the Badge of Immortality; Time that I should be made Partaker of the Seal of Salvation. I purposed once to receive it in the Waters of the River *Jordan*, in which our Savior is recorded to have been baptized for our Example. But God, who knows what is fittest for me, is pleased to grant it me now in this Place. Therefore let me not be delayed: for if he that is Lord both of Life and Death, be pleas'd to continue my Life in this World, and if he have determin'd that I shall any longer hold Assemblies with the People of God, and shall once in the Church communicate in the Prayers together with the Congregation; I will henceforward keep my self to such Courses of Life as become a Servant of God.

*This he spake. And they performing the Ceremonies, put in Execution the Divin Ordinance, and made him Partaker of the unspeakable Gift, requiring of him the Professions that are usual. And so Constantin, the only Man of all the Emperors that ever were, being regenerated by Christ's Ordinance, was initiated; and being made Partaker of the Divin Seal, he rejoiced in Spirit, and was renewed and filled with the Divin Light, &c.*

It is not material to mention the Story which *Nicephorus* (3), a thousand Years after, sets on Foot; that he was baptiz'd at *Rome*, by Pope *Sylvester*, near the Beginning of his Reign: because it

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(2) De Vita Constantini, l. 4. c. 62. (3) Hist. Eccl. l. 7. c. 33.

### Chap. III. Constantius Chlorus.

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it is all one to our Purpose. *Baronius* (4) greedily embraces this latter Account; I suppose, because it makes for the Credit of the Church of *Rome*, and helps to dress up the Fable of the *Donation*. But *Perron*, *Petavins*, and others, forsake him in this, as being too improbable, since it was so lately invented.

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§. 2. But since both by the one and the other of these Accounts he was not baptized in Infancy; we must enquire of the Religion of his Parents; and first of his Father *Constantius Chlorus*.

To think that *Constantin*, whose Name all People, both Learned and Unlearned, remember by the Token that he was the first Christian Emperor, (at least of his Race) should have a Christian Emperor to his Father, does appear so great and so palpable a Blunder; that any one would pass a severe Censur on it, were it not that the learned *Camden* has let drop an Expression sounding that Way. He having Occasion, in his Account of the City of *York*, to speak of *Constantius*, the Father of *Constantin*, calls him an excellent Emperor, endowed with all Moral and Christian Virtues — after his Death Deified, as appears by the old Coins.

The latter Part of this Sentence does not suffer one to think that *Camden* did in the former Part of it mean that *Constantius* was really a Christian, (but only that he favor'd the Christians, and had himself Virtues something like those of a good Christian;) for Christian Emperors were not often Deified by the Heathens. And accordingly, when *Fuller* had, in his *Church History*, at the Year 305, reflected on this Saying of *Camden*, as going too far; since *Constantius* was no otherwise a Christian than by that Rule, He that is

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(4) Ad Annum 324.

Year of not against us, is on our Side: *Heylin* in his *Ani-*  
 ter the A- *madyersions* on that Book, tho' he rebuk'd *Fuller*,  
 postles. as being too tart upon so great a Man as *Camden*,  
 yet grants the Thing, viz. that *Constantius* was  
 not a thorough-paced Christian.

What *Camden* spoke, he spoke only by the  
 By. But some Antipædobaptists do go about  
 seriously to justify this, and make an Argument  
 of it for their Tenet. And if only *Danvers* had  
 done so, I should not have taken any Notice of  
 it: for he is us'd to such Arguments. But Mr.  
*Stennet* also has not shewn the Candor to throw  
 away such a false Prop to their Cause: but  
 reckons *Constantin* among those whose not sub-  
 mitting to this Ordinance till they were Adult, tho'  
 born of Christian Parents, shews, he says, that *Infant*  
*Baptism* was not universally received. *Answ. to*  
*Ruffen*, p. 47. Of the rest that he there reckons  
 up, I must speak in the following Sections; but  
*Constantin* they ought of their own Accord to  
 have left out; for it does but hurt their Cause to  
 build on a Supposal, which almost every one  
 knows to be a Mistake in Matter of Fact.

Yet something Mr. *Danvers* has to say for this  
 too, that *Constantius* was a Christian. He takes  
 out of the *Magdeburgenses* a Piece of a Sentence of  
*Eusebius*, where speaking of *Constantin*, he, says  
 he, was *bonus à bono; pius à pio*; 'A good Man,  
 ' Son of a good Man; a pious Man, Son of a  
 ' pious Man.' It is not worth the while to  
 look whether this be truly quoted or not. 'Tis  
 certain that *Eusebius*, out of his Desire to honor  
*Constantin*, and all that belong'd to him, did  
 stretch his Expressions to farther Reaches than  
 this: As where he says (5), *Constantin became*  
*a Follower of his Father's Piety* [or, pious Favor,  
 or,

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(5) Hist. l. 8. c. 13.

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or, Respect] toward our Religion. And at another Place (6), He consider'd unto what God he should address, &c. and so he resolv'd to reverence his Father's God only.

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These Places being pick'd out by themselves, would make one think that *Constantius* had profess'd Christianity. But whoever reads the whole Account will (whether he be prejudic'd for one or the other Side of this Controversie) agree, that all that is meant by these Compliments amounts but to this; that at the Time when his fellow Emperors did bitterly persecute the Christians, he on the other side favor'd 'em, and skreen'd 'em as much as he could, and on all Occasions shew'd a good Opinion of 'em and their Religion. And so it is in the Places themselves explain'd; not that he ever made it his own Religion. He died a Heathen; and that he was by the Heathens Deified after his Death, appears not only by the Coins, but also by *Eusebius's* Words.

And besides, *Eusebius* himself determins this Matter clearly and fully (as far as concerns our Purpose) in the Place before recited (7), when having related *Constantin's* Baptism, he adds, That he was the first of all the Emperors that ever were, that being regenerated, &c. And again (8), That he only, of all that had been, did profess the Gospel of Jesus Christ with great Liberty of Speech, i. e. did make open Profession of it.

So little do some Scraps of Sentences pick'd here and there out of Author's for one's Purpose signifie, to give an Account of their true Meaning.

Beside that, if *Constantius* had embrac'd the Christian Religion when he was Emperor; yet there is no Appearance that he had any Inclination to it when his Son *Constantin* was born, which was 30 Years before.

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(6) *Devità Const.* l. 1. c. 21. (7) *Ibid.* l. 4. c. 62. (8) *Ibid.* c. 75.



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As for *Helena*, *Constantin's* Mother, tho' the Inquiry concerning her Religion be not very material; because not many, especially great Men, suffer their Wives to chuse what Religion their Sons shall be enter'd into; yet I made some Inquiry. And after I had, in order to discover her Religion, searched into the Accounts of her Condition and Parentage, which are so variously given, (some making her a *Bithynian*, others a *Briton*, (but these last marr their own Story by relating her to be a King's Daughter; whereas all about that Time speak of her as one of a mean Quality, she being in Scorn colled *Stabularia*) some taking her for a Wife, others for a Concubine (9), others for an absolut Harlot (10) to *Constantius*, and those that call her a Wife, must consequently grant that he had two at a Time, or else that *Helena* was divorc'd when he married *Theodora*) I found it was needless to inquire any farther, when I saw that *Eusebius*, a Witness unquestionable in this Matter, says (11), that her Son *Constantin* first brought her to be a godly Woman, [or, Christian] which she was not before. In her old Age all agree that she prov'd a very zealous Christian. And it does something excuse her former Way of living, that it was before her Christianity.

217. §. 3. And as for *Constantius*, the Son of *Constantin*, what has been said of *Constantin's* late Baptism does without more ado satisfy us of the Reason why his Son *Constantius* was not baptiz'd in Infancy. *Constantin* probably was not resolv'd what Religion to be of, but certainly was not baptiz'd when *Constantius* was born, nor a long Time after.

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(9) Oros. l. 7. c. 25. (10) Nicephorus, l. 7. c. 18.  
(11) L. 3. de vita Const. c. 47.

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And concerning *Fausta*, the Mother of this *Constantius*, the Daughter of *Maximianus Herculinus*, (the bloodiest Enemy the Christians ever had) whom *Constantin* was forc'd to marry for Reason of State; there is no Probability that she was a Christian when this Son was born, and very little that she was ever so at all; for *Constantin* put her to Death not long after. On the contrary, some Histories speak of her Endeavours to alienate her Husband's Mind from that Religion (12).

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So *Constantius* not having been baptiz'd into the Christian Religion in Infancy, (as 'twas impossible he should) but coming afterward to the Knowledge of it, and approving it, yet he did as his Father had done before, i. e. he deferred his Baptism to the End of his Life: for it was but just before (13) his Death that he was baptiz'd by *Euzoius*, the *Arian* Bishop of *Antioch*. 261;

About 5 or 6 Years before, *Lucifer*, Bishop of *Caralis*, had wrote his Mind very plainly and bluntly to him in Defence of *Athanasius*, whom he grievously persecuted; and told him, that instead of abusing *Athanasius*, he had (14) great need to desire that holy Priest of God to pray to God for him for the Forgiveness of his Impieties, as *Job's* Friends desir'd *Job*; and to procure himself to be baptiz'd by him, or some of his Fellow Bishops. And *St. Hilary* had complain'd (a) that he, *credendi formam ecclesie nondum regeneratus imponeret*: should pretend to prescribe a Form of Faith to the Churches, when he was not yet regenerated [i. e. baptiz'd] himself.

D 3

Indeed

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(12) Mic. Glycas, l. 4. Hist. (13) Athanas. de Synodis Socrat. H. E. l. 2. c. ult. (14) Lucifer pro Athanasio, l. 1. (a) De Synodis prope finem.

Year af-  
ter the A-  
postles

Indeed both he and his Father *Constantin*, were guilty of such Wickedness, even after their declaring for the Christian Religion, (*Constantin* in murdering so many of his Kindred; and he in doing the like, and also in persecuting the Catholic Christians) that it is no wonder if a guilty Conscience kept 'em from Baptism, till they could find in their Heart to repent of such Barbarities. And when the Papists object to us our Reformation begun under such a King as *Henry VIII.* they may reflect, that *Constantin*, by whose Means the allowed Profession of Christianity it self was brought into the World, has not a much better Character. And that it does not please God always to chuse good Men, but sometimes to make wicked Kings Instruments of bringing his Purposes to pass,

But yet there is, I think, no Christian Writer that presses so hard upon the Credit of *Constantin* in this Matter, as *Baronius*, and they of the Church of *Rome* that follow him. They strike in with that scandalous Story which the Heathen Writers of that Time did dress up on a purpose of Spite and Slander to the Christian Religion, and to *Constantin* for embracing it: Which was, that he, after the Murder of his Son *Crispus*, and his Wife *Fausta*, and his Sister's Son *Licinius*, &c. was terrified in Conscience, and sought among the Heathen Priests for some Body that would expiate him, and give him Hopes of Pardon, But that these told him, that they had Rites of Expiation for very great Sins, and for ordinary Murders; but none for such Parricide as his was: and so left him in Despair. And that then it was that he was inform'd, what large Offers of Pardon the Christian Religion made to all Comers that would be baptiz'd; and embraced that, not out of any liking to its Doctrins, but because no other would receive him.

It

### Chap. III. Valentinian the First.

35

It is questionless no Discredit to any Religion (but the Excellency of it) to have such Sacraments, to which is annex'd the Promise of Forgiveness of the greatest Sins; provided it does lay severe Injunctions against practising the same for the future. Yet since this Story is set on Foot by *Zosimus* (15) and other Heathens, out of Spite to *Constantin* and the Christian Religion; and is shew'd to be so by *Solzmitz* (16), and other Christian Historians, (for *Constantin* favor'd Christianity, and made Laws in favor of it, before this Time) it discovers an ill Byass in *Zeronius*, who (to make the Fable of his Baptism at *Rome* more probable) embraces it. But the Men of that Court make no Scruple to advance the Repute and Pride of it, by treading not only on the Necks of present Emperors, but also on the Credit of the most antient Ones. For, according to this Character, What Difference is there between *Constantin* and *Julian*; save that the one did actually go over to Heathenism, and was willingly received by the *Pagan* Priests; the other would have done the same, but was not admitted by them?

Year after the Apostles

#### Sect. 3. Of Gratian and Valentinian the Second.

There is no Proof that their Father, Valentinian the First, was a baptiz'd Christian when they were born.

§. 1. The Import of some Sayings of the Authors which I shall have Occasion to produce in the Case of these two Emperors, will not be so well understood by the ordinary Reader, unless I

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first

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(15) Zof. l. 2. (16) H. E. l. 1. c. 5.

Year af-  
ter the A-  
postles

first give a short History of their Father and them, as far as concerns this Matter.

*Valentinian* the First came from a mean Original (17) to the Imperial Dignity. He gained his Preferment by Degrees in the Army. He is not taken Notice of by the Historians, till such Time as being an Officer in the Guards, when  
261. *Julian* came to the Crown, he lost his Place for his Religion. For *Julian* being resolv'd to set up the old Religion again, gave Order that none should serve, (especially in those Places nigh his Person) but such as would go to the Heathen Sacrifices, and partake of 'em.

There were a great many in the Army, by this Time, well instructed in the Christian Religion, who rather than go to this sort of Mass, would leave their Places. Among the rest, this *Valentinian* and *Valens* his Brother threw away (18)  
264. their Sword Belts. Three Years after, both these Brothers came to be Emperors. For *Valentinian* being chosen by the Army, chose his Brother his Partner; and leaving him to govern the East, went himself to govern *Rome* and the Western Parts.

A Reader that is not well acquainted with the Custom, that Persons converted in those Times had, of delaying their Baptism, would think by the Zeal for Christianity that they shew'd under *Julian*, that they both had been at that Time baptiz'd. But 'tis certain they were not both;  
269. for we find *Valens* baptiz'd afterward. His Baptism is mention'd by the Historians, because of an unusual and wicked Circumstance of it. He was by his Wife, who was an *Arian*, perswaded to be baptized by *Eudoxius* the *Arian* Bishop of *Constantinople*: and they together prevail'd

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(17) Socrat. l. 4. c. 1. (18) Ibid. l. 3. c. 13.

vail'd on him to swear (19) at his Baptism, that he would always continue to be on the *Arians* Side, and expel the Catholics out of the Churches. An impious Practice! Instead of baptizing into the Christian Religion, as Christian, to baptize into a Sect.

Year after the Apostles

But *Valentinian's* Baptism is not mention'd at all by the Historians: neither should we be sure whether he was ever baptiz'd, were it not for a Passage in a Letter of *St. Ambrose*, which I shall have Occasion to cite by and by. He was born in *Pannonia*, a Country where Christianity had at that Time but little Footing; and probably of Heathen Parents. Who, or what they were, we hear no more than that his Father's Name had been *Gratian*, that he was nicknam'd *Funarius*; and that he had been an Officer in *Britain*, in the Time of *Constantin*. 217.

§. 2. Now as to his Sons: *Gratian* was (a) born to him before he was Emperor (20), and on the (b) fourth Year of his Reign was taken by him into Partnership. But *Valentinian*, his younger Son, was born to him the (c) third Year of his Reign; so that he was nine Years old when his Father (d) died. *Ammianus Marcellinus* says he was but four. But it must be a Mistake, both because *Socrates* (21) names the Consuls of the Year in which he was born, which were *Gratian* and *Dagalaiphus*, for the Year of Christ 366; and also because the third Year after, 369, this young *Valentinian* was Consul himself, (according to the Custom of those Times) which was before the Year on which *Ammianus* makes him to be born, 266, 269.

When

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(19) Theodoret. Hist. l. 4. c. 11, 12. (20) Socrat. l. 4. c. 10. (21) L. 4. c. 9.

58 Gratian and Valentinian the Second. Chap. III.

275. When *Valentinian* the Elder died, the Army proclaimed this young *Valentinian* Emperor, together with his Brother. So they rul'd the West, and their Uncle *Valens* the East. And when
278. *Valens* died, *Gratian* quickly after chose *Theodosius* to govern the East.
282. Four Years after, the Usurper *Maximus* set up in *Britain* for Emperor. And when *Gratian* march'd against him, his Army deserting, he was overcome by *Maximus*, and slain: *Valentinian*
283. kept *Italy* and some other Countries for a few Years; during which Time, being rul'd by his Mother *Justina*, a bitter *Arian*, he favor'd the *Arians*, and persecuted the Catholics, particularly *St. Ambrose*, Bishop of *Milan*.

Among other Indignities, he summon'd *St. Ambrose* to come and dispute before him, concerning the Faith, with *Auxentius* the *Arian*; and he with his Courtiers would judge between 'em. To which Summons, *St. Ambrose* answers in a (22) Letter to him; which has this Passage in it to our Purpose.

*When did you hear, most gracious Emperor, that Laymen have past Judgment on a Bishop in a Matter of Faith? Do we then by a sort of Fawning so debase our selves, as to forget what is the Privilege of the Sacerdotal Office? And that I should commit that into the Hands of another, which God has intrusted with me my self? If a Bishop must be taught by a Layman, What will follow? Then let a Layman preach, and the Bishop give Attention; let a Bishop learn of a Layman.*

*This is unquestionable, that if we search either into the Tenor of the holy Scriptures, or into the Account of past Times, there is none can deny that, in Matters of Faith, I say, in Matters of Faith,*  
Bishops

*Bishops are wont to judge of Emperors that are Christians, and not Emperors of Bishops.* Year after the Apostles

You will, by the Grace of God, arrive to a better Ripeness of Age; and then you your self will pass an Estimate, what sort of Man for a Bishop he must be, that will put the Sacerdotal Right under the Judgment of Laymen.

Your Father, a Man, by God's Mercy, of a more advanced Age, said, It does not belong to me to judge between Bishops. Does your Grace now say, It does belong to me to judge? And he, tho' at that Time baptiz'd in Christ, yet thought himself unable to bear the Weight of so great a Judgment. Does your Grace, for whom the Sacrament of Baptism is yet reserved to be obtained by you, take upon you the Determination of Matters of Faith, when as yet you are not Partaker of the Sacrament of Faith?

This Scuffle between the Court on one side standing for the *Arians*, and the major Part of the People on the other for their Religion, their Church and their Bishop, increased so far, (the Emperor demanding the Church for the *Arians*, the People continuing Day and Night in it; the Court giving out that Bishop *Ambrose* meant to set up for an Usurper (23), St. *Ambrose* declaring, that as he abhorred the Thoughts of Resistance (24), or of stirring up the People, so he could not, on the other side, run away from his Church and Flock in that Danger of their Souls, but was ready to suffer Death quietly) that *Maximus* the Usurper, who had already, since the Defeat and Death of *Gratian*, settled himself in *Britain* and *France*, and gaped for an Opportunity of invading *Italy*, took his Advantage of these Discontents: and he publish'd a DECLARATION  
in

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(23) *Ambrosii Epist.* 33. (24) *Idem Oratione in Auxentium.*



Year af- in Behalf of the true Religion, and threatning  
 ter the A- War to *Valentinian* (25), if he did not forbear to  
 postles persecute the Catholics.

The Court, for all their Anger against *St. Ambrose*, yet could not find a fitter Man to avert this Storm than he, because of the Influence which they thought he might have upon *Maximus*. They sent him therefore on an Embassy of Peace. Which he perform'd with all that Fidelity that became a good Christian, who would shew himself Loyal to his Prince, that had despitefully us'd him and his Religion.

But as to his Errand, he could do no good (for Usurpers, when they find their Advantage, don't use to be kept back by Reasons of Conscience). On the contrary, when *Maximus* saw that *St. Ambrose* would not communicate with him, nor with the Bishops that communicated with him; he commanded him to be gone. And *St. Ambrose* sent an Account of his Embassy to *Valentinian* (26), advising him to look to his Safety *Adversus hominem pacis involucro bellum regentem,* ' Against a Man, that under Pretence of Peace [or, doing good Offices] cover'd his Design of War, [or, Invasion].

And so it prov'd: *Maximus* invaded *Italy*; and *Valentinian* had nothing to do, but to flee.

288. But *Theodosius*, who had, ever since he heard of the Death of *Gratian*, resolv'd to revenge it, having now his Army ready, came from the East; and tho' the Usurper had strengthened himself by humoring all Parties of Christians, Jews, and Pagans; yet he overcame him, slew him, and resettled *Valentinian*, and brought him off from his Fondness to the *Arians*, (his foolish Mother being

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(25) Theodoret. Hist. l. 5. c. 14. (26) Ambros. Epist. 27.

### Chap. III. *Valentinian the Second:*

61

being now dead) and reconcil'd him to St. *Ambrose*, whom he ever after honored as a Father.

Year after the Apostles

This Quietness had lasted but three Years, when a new Usurper *Eugenius* started up; with whom *Argobastes*, one of the greatest Men at Court, traiterously join'd. *Valentinian* being then in *France*, was seiz'd by *Argobastes*, and after a while murder'd by him. This was in the Year 392, so that he was, when he died, 26 Years old.

291.

292.

§. 3. He had, a little before this Treason broke out, resolved to be baptized before he went for *Italy*. He had a particular Desire to receive it from the Hands of St. *Ambrose*, and had lately sent to *Milan* to him, to desire him to come and give it him. St. *Ambrose* was on his Way to *France* when he heard the fatal News, which render'd his Journey now too late.

One shall hardly read a more compassionat Lamentation than St. *Ambrose* makes on this Account in his Funeral Sermon for *Valentinian*. What with the Object that was present, and what with the Occasion it gave to remember *Gratian*, he says all that could be said by a Man that had lost his own Children by a like Fate. He persuades himself, that if he could have arriv'd before the murderous Blow was given, he might have prevail'd with the Tyrants to spare his Life at least. I doubt he was mistaken in that; for who ever read of an *Oliver* that did that?

But as to *Valentinian's* dying unbaptiz'd; he comforts his Sisters, that were present at the Sermon, by assuring 'em, that in such a Case God accepts of a sincere Faith join'd with a hearty Desire of Baptism, as if the Person had been actually baptiz'd. Which Saying of his is often cited for the Resolution of like Cases. *I hear*, says he, *you are troubled that he did not receive the holy Rites of Baptism. Tell me, What is there in our Power but the Will and Desire? And he,*  
both

Year af- both a good while ago had a Purpose of being baptiz'd  
 ter the A- before he returned into Italy; and also lately ex-  
 postles press'd his Desire of being baptiz'd by me: And  
 it was for that Reason especially that he would have  
 me sent for.

Hath he not then that Grace which he desir'd,  
 and which he endeavor'd to have? Inasmuch as he  
 desir'd it, he has received it.

Upon the News of this Rebellion and Murder,  
*Theodosius* came once more from the East, and  
 obtained a Victory over *Eugenius*, which (count-  
 ing the Numbers that sided with *Eugenius*) the  
 294. Historians count almost miraculous, and slew  
 him. As for the Traytor *Argobastes*, he sav'd  
 the Hangman a Labor.

And this was one of the last good Acts of that  
 295. noble Emperor. He died quickly after. And  
*St. Ambrose* had the Sorrow of preaching his Fu-  
 neral Sermon too.

I can't but observe from that Sermon, the  
 different Grounds on which *St. Ambrose*, from  
 those on which *Baronius* does condemn *Maximus*.  
*Baronius's* way is, when any great Man in History  
 comes to an ill End, or other Calamity, to find  
 something in his Life which may be suppos'd  
 to be the Cause for which that Judgment fell on  
 him: and it is commonly something done against  
 the Church of *Rome*. And speaking of the ill  
 End of *Maximus*, when he looks backward for  
 the Cause of it, he takes no Notice of his Re-  
 bellion and Usurpation, and Murder of his Prince;  
 like the Man, who, pretending to tell the Faults  
 of a Horse that he sold, forgot to mention that  
 he was blind; and observes how once on a Time,  
 a great while before, being appeal'd to by some  
 Bishops, he had meddled in Ecclesiastical Matters  
 more than became him (27). But

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(27) Ad Annum 385.

### Chap. III. Valentinian the Firſt

67

But St. *Ambroſe*, in the foreſaid Sermon (28), having ſpoken of *Gratian* and *Theodoſius* as being then in Heaven, adds, *Contra autem Maximus & Eugenius in inferno, docentes exemplo miſerabili quam durum ſit arma ſuis Principibus irrogare.*

Year 26  
ter the A-  
poſtles.

But *Maximus* and *Eugenius* are now in Hell, teaching by their dreadful Example how heinous a Thing it is for Men to bear Arms againſt their Sovereigns.

§. 4. From this whole Relation it appears,

1. That *Valentinian* the younger was never baptiz'd.

2. That *Gratian* probably was baptiz'd ſome Time of his Life, or other. Becauſe St. *Ambroſe*, in *Valentinian's* Funeral Sermon, makes frequent Compariſons between the two Brothers, and often mentions *Valentinian's* Want of Baptiſm; but obſerves no ſuch Thing of *Gratian*. Beſides, he calls him there *Fidelis*; which is a Term never given by the Antients but to a baptiz'd Perſon.

But yet 'tis probable his Baptiſm was not in Infancy. For what ſhould make *Valentinian* the Father baptize his eldeſt Son in Infancy, and not his youngeſt? Unleſs we may judge that *Juſtina*, the Mother of the youngeſt, being an *Arian*, (for the Mother of the eldeſt was not ſo) and the Father himſelf being a Catholic, they could not agree into which Faith he ſhould be baptiz'd. For the *Arians* were like the *Donatiſts* for that; that they had ſo ill an Opinion of Baptiſm given by the Catholics, that they baptiz'd ſuch over again; as may be ſeen by St. *Ambroſe's* Diſcourſe againſt *Auxentius* (29). And therefore,

§. 5. 3dly, The chief Queſtion is, Whether *Valentinian* the Father were baptiz'd himſelf at the

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(28) Orat. in funere Theodoſii. (29) Orat. in Auxentium, in fine.

Year af-  
ter the A-  
postles

the Time when his youngest Son was born. We have heard already (30), that he was a baptiz'd Christian at a certain Time, when he said, that *he did not think himself fit to judge between Bishops.* But what Time of his Reign this refers to, we have no Way to know certainly. The Passage that looks most like it in all that we read, is that which happen'd at the Election of St. *Ambrose* himself to the Bishoprick of *Milan*: and St. *Ambrose* was more likely to know that, and to refer to that, than any other. For then, as *Theodoret* tells us (31), the Bishop of *Milan* being dead, the People were much divided about the Choice of a new one, some setting up one, and some another: so that to avoid Confusion, *Valentinian* order'd the Neighbouring Bishops that were then in that City to choose one for them. The Bishops desir'd that he himself would pitch upon some Person. But he answer'd, *This is a thing too great for me to undertake. You that are filled with the Grace of God, and illuminated by the Light thereof, may much better do this Office of choosing a Man for a Bishop.*

If this were the Time that St. *Ambrose* means, at which he was then a baptiz'd Person; this was but a Year, or thereabouts, before his Death: For St. *Ambrose* was made Bishop in the Year of Christ 374, as *Baronius*, or the Beginning of 375, as *Petavius* computes; and *Valentinian* died November the 17th, 375.

So that he might for all that be unbaptiz'd when his Son *Valentinian* was born, which was, as we said (32), nine Years before, viz. Anno Dom. 366.

Sect. 4.

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(30) §. 2. (31) Hist. l. 4. c. 6. (32) §: 2.

Se<sup>c</sup>t. 4. Of Theodosius the First.

Year af-  
ter the A-  
postles

*His Father was not a baptized Christian when he was born.*

§. 1. *Theodosius*, (of whom we had Occasion to speak in the last Section) who was chosen by *Gratian* to be his Fellow Emperor, is another of the Instances of Persons not baptiz'd in Infancy. What I have to say of him, may be dispatch'd in a few Words. He was baptiz'd quickly after he was chosen Emperor (33), and in a Fit of Sickness, by *Acholius*, (or, as the *Greeks* write his Name, *Ascholius*) Bishop of *Theſſalonica*: being then 34 Years old, as *Victor* counts; 44 as *Socrates* reckons; or about 50, if the *Chronicom Alexandrinum* be to be relied on.

279.

§. 2. His Father, who was also named *Theodosius*, had been put to Death by Order of *Valens* nine Years before. At what Time of his Life he was baptiz'd, I think we should not have known but for *Orosius*, who (because he was a *Spaniard*, his Countryman) speaks more particularly of his Concerns. So that we know by him that he was baptiz'd before he died: but not till 25 Years (by the lowest Account) after this his Son was born. And whether he was, at that Time of his Son's Birth, a Christian in Intention, or an Unbeliever, is not to be known.

270.

*Orosius's* Account is this (34), that he being a Commander in the Army, had done good and faithful Services: but yet that on a sudden, and for what Reason no Body knew, there came an Order that he must be put to Death. Which when he understood, *he desired to be baptized first,*

E

for

(33) Socrates, l. 5. c. 6. (34) Hist. l. 7.

Year af-<sup>ter the A-</sup>postles *for the Forgiveness of his Sins. And when he was made Partaker of that Sacrament of Christ, as he desired; being, after a laudable Life in this World, secure also of an eternal Life, he willingly offer'd his Neck to the Executioner.*

Other Authors, tho' not mentioning his Baptism, give the same Account of his Death. And the Occasion of it they relate to be such, as gives us an Idea of the Mischief that superstitious Jealousies do, when they get into the Head of a cowardly Prince. *Valens* had had some Attempts made to dethrone him. And there was a Report ran up and down that some that us'd curious Arts had found, that he should quickly have a Successor: and the first Letters of his Name should be *THEOD*. The Names of *Theodorus, Theodoret, Theodosius, Theodulus, &c.* were then very common Names. And this Fancy cost a great many of 'em their Lives; and this Captain among the rest. His Son *Theodosius* was not, it seems, at that Time a Man not'd enough to come into Danger. When he came to the Throne, he managed his Affairs so well both in Peace and War, that none that went before, or that came after, did ever excel him.

The Reason why he was not baptized in Infancy, must have been because his Father was not then baptized, and perhaps not a Believer. I know that *Socrates* (at the forecited Place, *l. 5. c. 6.*) says, that he (the said Emperor) had *Christian Parents* [or Ancestors] *ἐν αἰσχροῦν χριστιανῶν ὑπάρχων*. But this was a Phrase commonly us'd in the Case of those whose Parents became Christians at any Time before their Death, tho' they were not so at the Time of the Birth of those their Children; As I shall, out of many Instances that might be given, have Occasion to give some presently.

SECT. 5.

## Sect. 5. Of St. Basil.

*There is no Proof to the contrary, but that he was baptized in Infancy.*

§. 1. I did in the 10th Chapter of the first Part of this Work, produce the Evidences that are in Antiquity, that St. Basil was baptized in Infancy. But it is necessary to consider those also that are brought to the contrary.

I know of but one Man of the Antipædobaptists that does pretend him for an Instance of one baptized in his adult Age, tho' born of Christian Parents: and he does it very unfairly. He found in *Osiander's* Epitome of the *Magdeburgenses* (35), that *Vincentius* in his *Speculum* tells a Story of St. Basil's going to *Jerusalem*, and being baptized in *Jordan* by *Maximus*, the Bishop there. But tho' *Osiander* and the *Magdeburgenses* (36) too do, when they mention this, declare that this is a Story of no Credit; and that *Vincentius's* Collection, being of late Years, is of no Repute; and that there is no Historian of Credit or Antiquity that speaks of any such Thing; yet Mr. *Danvers* (37), sets down the Quotation in such Manner and Words, as if they had recited it as a credible History: whereas they do both of 'em, at the Places cited, declare that it seems to them that he was baptized in Infancy by his Father, (of which I also have, in the Chapter foremention'd, given some Confirmation) or by some other Minister.

He quotes also at the same Place; and for the same Thing, *Socrates*, l. 4. c. 26. and *Sozomen*,  
E 2. . . . . l. 6.

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(35) Cent. 4. l. 3. c. 42. (36) Cent. 4. c. 10. (37) Treatise, Part 1. c. 7.



Year af- l. 6. c. 34. who neither there, nor any where  
 ter the A- else, have any Word tending that Way.  
 postles

§. 2. As *Vincentius* made his Collections of historical Matters without any Judgment, taking them out of any sort of Books, genuin or spurious; so the Author, out of whom he (38) owes to have this, is *Amphilochius's* Life of St. *Basil*. And that is known by all to be a *Grub-street* Paper, a gross Forgery; and is sufficiently detected to be such by *Rivet* (39), *Baronius* (40), *Bellarmin* (41), *Possevin*, and before them all, by Bishop *Jewel* (42).

The Author thereof had, I suppose, read or heard that *Amphilochius*, Bishop of *Iconium*, had wrote an Account of St. *Basil's* Life (as he did indeed, and *Greg. Nazianzen* and *Greg. Nyssen* did the like; but that which was written by him is lost, as are most or all his other Works). He therefore put forth his Stuff under the Name of that great Man. But it betrays it self by many Tokens, of fabulous Miracles, Incongruities in History, &c. And in that Fable which he gives of his Baptism, there are such silly monkish Quibbles and Witticisms put into the Discourse that pass between *Basil* and *Maximus*, who is made to be his Baptizer, (as one asks, *Quis est mundus?* The other answers, *Qui fecit mundum, &c?*) that one might guess from what Shop they come.

*K. Combes* has published this Piece in *Greek* and *Latin*, and endeavor'd to vindicate it by saying, the main Part of it might be genuin, tho' it be interpolated and mixt with some fabulous Additions: but, as Mr. *du Pin* observes (43), he brings no kind of Proof of his Opinion. §. 3.

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(38) *Vincent. spec. Hist.* l. 14. c. 28. (39) *Crit. Sac.* l. 3. c. 27. (40) *Ad Ann.* 363. (41) *De Script. Eccl.* (42) *Apol. Eccl. Angl. Artic.* 1. Div. 33. (43) *Nouv. Bib. T.* 2. *Amphiloch.*

§. 3. The true Account wrote by *Nazianzen*, *Orat. 30. in laudem Basilij*, nor that by *Nyssen*, have no Mention of any such Thing; nor that under the Name of *Ephram Syrus*. On the contrary, *Nazianzen* seems plainly to refer to his Baptism in Infancy by his own Father; as I shew'd before.

Year after the Apostles

Their reciting all the remarkable Passages of his Life, after he came to Age, without mentioning any Thing of his Baptism, is a strong Argument that there was no such Thing: since in all that are baptiz'd at Age, their Baptism makes a considerable Circumstance for a Writer, whose chief Subject is their Christianity. And therefore the Monk, who fram'd a Life for him that might sell well, would not omit it: and to dress it up the better, made it to be in *Jordan*, where Christ was baptiz'd, and *Constantin* desir'd to be.

§. 4. If the 29th Chapter of *St. Basil's* Book *de Spiritu sancto* be genuin, (which is question'd by *Erasmus* and others) then it is certain, that the same Man that baptiz'd him, did also put him into the Ministry. For so he says in that Chapter. He is there shewing, that the Custom us'd by him and the Churches of saying the *Doxology*, thus, *Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, with the Holy Spirit*; or thus, *Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Spirit*, (instead whereof the *Arians* would have him say; *By the Son in the Holy Spirit*) was no Innovation. He quotes several antient Authors that had spoke so: And begins thus:

*I my self, if it be proper to say any Thing of my self in this Case, do keep the Use of this Expression ἀπὸρ πατὸρ καὶ υἱὸν καὶ πνεῦμα ἅγιον, as an Inheritance left me by my Father, having received it from a Man who liv'd a long Time in the Ministry of God, by whom I was both baptiz'd, and also put into the Ministry of the Church.*

Year af-  
ter the A-  
postles

This could not be *Meletius*, (whom Dr. *Cave* reckons to be the Man by whom he was ordain'd Deacon) because he afterwards reckons *Meletius*, as another of his Authors for the same Usage; and says, *That the famous Meletius is of the same Sentiment, they that have convers'd with him do affirm.*

That St. *Basil* himself did use to baptize Children, I shewed before in the first Part of this Work, CH. XII. §. 9, 10.

### Sect. 6. Of St. Gregory Nazianzen.

*He was not baptiz'd in Infancy. An Inquiry whether his Father was a Christian, when this his Son was born.*

§. 1. When fourteen Instances are produc'd to prove any Thing, and one can shew that thirteen of 'em are Mistakes, he is apt to suspect that there is some Mistake in the other too, tho' he cannot find it out. Yet here is an Instance of a Christian's Son not baptized in Infancy, if this *Gregory's Carmen de vitâ suâ* be a genuin Piece, (as I never heard of any that question'd it) and if there be no Mistake in the Réading of it.

I shall represent impartially, and as briefly as I can, the Proofs that are brought of his being born before his Father's Christianity; and those to the contrary.

That he was not baptiz'd in Infancy is plain, both from the foresaid Poem *de vitâ suâ*, and also from the Sermon that he made at his Father's Funeral (44), and also from the History of his Life by *Gregorius Presbyter*. For in all these a full

full Relation is given, how he, in a Voyage by Sea from *Alexandria* to *Athens*, was in great Danger of Shipwreck by a Storm; And whereas all the rest in the Ship were terrified with the Fear of their bodily Death; I, says he, did more dreadfully fear the Death of my Soul. For I was in great Hazard of departing this Life unbaptiz'd: amidst the Sea Waters that were to be my Death, wanting that spiritual Water. And therefore I cried out, intreated, besought, that some Space of Life might be granted to me. He goes on to shew how his Lamentation and Dread on that Account were so great and so moving, that the People in the Ship forgot their own Danger, in Compassion to those Terrors which they saw were upon his Soul. And how he then vowed to God, that if he were deliver'd from that Danger, he would offer himself up to God; and did so accordingly.

§. 2. That his Father was not a Christian when he married, nor for some Time after, is plain from the said Funeral Oration (45). He was of the Religion call'd *Hypisfarian*. These Men, as is there related, did so renounce the Worship of Idols and Sacrifices, as that they retained nevertheless the Worship of *Fire* and *Torches*.

Mr. *Le Clerc* (46), being busied in finding Contradictions in the Fathers, thinks he has found one here: because *Gregory* in another Place (47), says, his Father  $\upsilon\pi' \epsilon\iota\delta\omega\lambda\omicron\iota\varsigma \pi\acute{\alpha}\tau\epsilon\rho\varsigma \eta\epsilon\nu \zeta\acute{\omega}\omega\nu$  which he translates, *Was Subject to the Idols of Animals*: Not minding that  $\zeta\acute{\omega}\omega\nu$  there is the Participle of the Poetical Verb  $\zeta\acute{\omega}\omega$  and not the Genitive of  $\zeta\acute{\omega}\omega\nu$  tho' *Bilins* had noted that Criticism.

He continued in that Superstition till the Year of the Council of *Nice*, *Anno Dom.* 325. His 225.

E 4

Wife

(45) Orat. 19. (46) Life of *Naz.* Bibliot. T. 10.  
(47) Carm. 1. de rebus suis.

Year af-  
ter the A-  
postles

Wife had before us'd her Perswasions and Prayers for his Conversion. But then, when *Leontius*, Bishop of *Casarea*, and some other Bishops, were going by that Place for *Nice* to the Council, she got them to instruct him in the Grounds of the Christian Religion; and he was baptiz'd into it quickly after: and not long after that took Priest's Orders: And when the Bishop of *Nazianzum* died, became his Successor. In which Office he lived 45 Years, and died near 100 Years old. All this is clear in the Oration aforesaid.

§. 3. Now the Question is, Whether our *Gregory* his Son were born before that his Father's Conversion in the said Year 325, or after?

And the Solution of it must be collected by knowing, if one could, how old he [the Son] was when he died. For we know justly the Year on which he died by St. *Hierom*, who wrote the Tract *de Scriptoribus Ecclesiast.* (48) the 14th Year of *Theodosius*, Ann. 392. and says there (49), that *Gregory Nazianzen* had been dead but 3 Years. 289. He died therefore in the Year 389.

The Difficulty is to know what Age he was of when he died.

*Gregorius Presbyter*, who wrote his Life, says, he died *very old*. And *Suidas* (who mistakes the Time of his Death two Years, making him to live till the 13th Year of *Theodosius*) says (50), that he was then 90 Years old. By that Account he must have been born in the Year 300, which is 25 Years before his Father was a Christian.

But *Baronius* (51) finds Reason, as he thinks, to correct this Chronology, from a Passage out of *Gregory* himself; who, in the aforesaid *Carmen de vitâ suâ*, speaking of his studying at *Athens*, and

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(48) Verb. Hieronymus. (49) Verb. Gregor. (50) Verb. Suidas. (51) Ad Ann. 354 & 389.

### Chap. III. St. Gregory Nazianzen.

73

and of his Resolution to leave that Place, says, it was then his 30th Year [or, the 30th Year]. This *Baronius* concludes to be the Year 354, by *Julian* the Apostate's being a Student there at the same Time (for he was made *Cæsar* and sent into *France* the next Year). From whence he infers, that *Gregory* was born in the Year 324, (which was the Year before his Father's Conversion) and that he was but 65 Years old when he died.

Year after the Apollis

§. 4. But *Papebrochius* in his *Acta Sanctorum Maii 8vo* (52) corrects this Correction, and sets the Time of his Birth back to the old Account: bringing a great many probable Evidences that *Gregory's* Age must be greater than 65 Years; since he himself so often speaks of his being unfit for Business, by Reason of his great Age.

When *Maximus* the Cynic opposed his being made Bishop of *Constantinople*; *Gregory*, in his Oration on that Subject (53), brings in his Adversaries, objecting to him his *Sickliness and Old Age*.

When he desir'd to resign the said Bishoprick, (which was 8 Years before he died) and perswaded the Bishops then present at the Council to consent to his so doing; he used this Argument (54), *Let these my grey Hairs prevail with you*: Which looks as if he were then more than 57 Years old.

This Learned Man does also answer the Reason that *Baronius* brings to the contrary, by endeavoring to shew, that the foresaid mention of the 30th Year, is not meant for the 30th Year of his Life, (of which it was the 54th, as he thinks) but the 30th of his Studies. And indeed the Words,

as

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(52) *Chronologia vitæ Sancti Greg. expensa & emendata.* (53) *Orat.* 28. (54) *Orat.* 32.

Year after the Apostles as they stand, do bear that Sense very well: They are these:

ὅτι ἤδη πολὺς χρόνος τέλειται τοῖς λόγοις χεῖνθ·  
ἤδη τριακοσὸν μοι χρόνον ἔστ' ἢν ἔτθ.

*For I had already spent a long time in study of Learning: This was almost the 30th Year [or, my 30th Year].*

Gregorius Presbyter, who wrote the Life of St. Gregory, and took it for the most part out of his foreſaid Poem, ſeems to underſtand it ſo: And yet his Words are capable of the other Conſtruction too. He expreſſes it thus, *τριακοσὸν ἤδη πηρώσας ἔτθ ἐν τοῖς μαθήμασιν*. *Having now completed 30 Years, [or else, his 30th Year] in the Study of Learning (55).*

Moreover Rufinus, who was Contemporary with him, ſays (56), He died *ſeſſâ jam atate*, 'being ſpent with Age.' Which hardly can be ſaid of one that was but 65 Years old.

Theſe Reaſons, join'd with ſome others of leſs Weight, prevailed with Papebrochius to embrace the old Account as the trueſt, *viz.* that he was 90 Years old when he died; and conſequently that he was born *Anno Dom. 300*. And that was 25 Years before his Father was a Chriſtian.

Mr. *Le Clerc*, who writes a ſort of Life of this Saint (57), manages this Argument of his Age, after a heedleſs and abſurd Manner. For firſt, he, following *Pagi*, who had followed *Papebrochius*, ſays, that he was born *Anno 300*, which is 25 Years before his Father's Conversion: And accordingly ſuppoſes with the foreſaid Authors, that the Year on which he left *Athens* was the

54th

(55) *In vitâ Gregorii.* (56) *Hiſt. l. 2. c. 9.* (57) *Bibliot. T. 10.*

54th of his Age. And the Use he makes of this, is, to wonder that he would spend so great a part of his Life in studying Rhetoric, forgetting in the mean time all Care of his aged Parents, and of the Church of God. And yet afterward in the same Life, he wonders why, since it was the Opinion of that Age, that those that die unbaptized are damned, his Father and Mother being such zealous Christians did not get him baptized in Infancy. Which is to suppose, that he was born after his Father's Conversion; which he and every Body place at the Year 325; or else it is the Wonder of a Man that doats. One of these Suppositions helps a Man that would expose Gregory to Censur; which seems to be the Design of this Writer of Lives for this and some other Fathers. And the other serves to raise Objections against the Universality of the then Practice of Pædobaptism. But it is very unfair to serve both these Intentions from this Instance: because one of 'em supposes him to be born after his Father was a Christian, and the other 25 Years before.

There is another Reason to make one believe that he was born before his Father's Conversion: which is this. In the foresaid Oration at his Father's Funeral, he tells how his Mother, being desirous of a Son, had begg'd one of God in her Prayers, and that in Answer to those Prayers, he was born to her. And afterward he comes to speak of those Prayers that she made for her Husband's Conversion: in which Prayers she was encouraged to the greater Hope of being heard, *as having*, says he, *already made trial of the divin Liberality*. On which Words *Bilius* makes this Comment (58), *namely when she obtain'd her Son Gregory of God, by her Prayers, as he had said a little*

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(58) Annot. in loc.



Year af-  
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little before. And indeed that is the only Instance mention'd before in that Oration, to which one can suppose him to refer.

Also this Reason: He often mentions his Mother's pious and christian Care and Dedication of him to God in his Infancy, and from the Womb (59), but never any such Thing of his Father.

§. 5. The Reasons would be sufficient to sway a Man to believe that he was born before his Father was a Christian; were it not for one that seems very plain to the contrary. And that is a Passage in the foresaid Poem, where *Gregory* the elder earnestly perswades his Son, who had more Mind to a privat Life, to become his Assistant in the Office of Bishop of *Nazianzum*. He uses all the Force of paternal Authority, requiring him, upon Pain of the Loss of his Blessing, to comply with his Desire, and to relieve his Old Age: And, among the rest, has these Words (60).

Ὅτι πῶς ἄρα τὸν ἐκμαμήτρης βίον,  
Ὅσος δὴ ληθεύσῃς ἐμοὶ χεῖνθ'·  
Δὲ τὴν χάριν, δὲς.

*So many Years of Life you have not seen  
As I, your Father, have in Orders been.  
Do me the Kindness, do. —*

*Papebrochius* does take Notice of this Place, and says, it has puzzled every Body that has read it. He goes about to answer it by supposing the Word *θυσιῶν* is misprinted, and that it should be *ἐπιστάων*. But he produces no Manuscript

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(59) Orat. Apologet. & alibi. (60) Carmen de vitâ suâ, vers. 520. Circiter. pag. 6. Ed. Paris 1610.

Script in Favor of his Amendment: and if one Year after the Apostles were to amend by the Sense without any Book, should think rather that *θυσιῶν* has crept in by mistake for *πολιῶν*; (or, for the Verse Sake, *τῶν πολιῶν*: for he often here lets an *Anapaestus* go for the fourth Foot of his Jambic) The Sense according to the Editions is, *Your Life is not of so many Years, - as are the Years of my Sacrificing; i. e. officiating in the Priest's Office: Which is a Sense very difficult to reconcile in History with Truth. That of Papebrochius; You are not so old as I am: is true; but a poor Sense. You are not so old as my grey Hairs are, is to the Purpose of the Father's Argument at that Place.*

Bishop Hall had found out this Place (61), when he sought for Instances of Clergymen that had made use of the Marriage-bed after they were in Holy Orders (of which this is the plainest that he can find). And the Antipædobaptists have taken it from him; and made Use of it for their Purpose.

§. 6. If this pass for current, then we must say that *Baronius's* Account of his Age is the truest; and farther, that he was yet two or three Years younger than he makes him. For if he had been full 30 Years old at the Year 354, he would still have been born a little before his Father's Baptism, and two Years before his Ordination. But the Words are *χεδὸν τριακοστῆν*, almost the 30th; which in a Poem may indeed pass, tho' he were but 27 or 28.

We must say likewise, that all that he himself, and *Rufinus*, and *Gregorius Presbyter*, do speak of his old Age, must be understood of a *prematura senectus*, caused by his Sickness, which he often mentions. And that *Suidas*, when he makes

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(61) Honor of the married Clergy, 1. 2. §. 8.

Year af- makes him live to 90 Years old, mistakes, at  
 ter the A- least, 27 Years: which might possibly be, since  
 postles he wrote 600 Years after *Gregory* was dead:

880. And that what he himself says of his Mother's  
 Experience of the Divin Liberality, before her  
 Husband's Conversion, must refer' to something

840. else. And that *Gregorius Presbyter*, (who also  
 lived near 600 Years after *St. Gregory*) if his Mean-

ing be to speak of the Time when he left *Athens*  
 and went home, as the 30th Year of his Studies,  
 must be mistaken by taking what *Gregory* him-

self had said of the 30th Year, for the 30th of  
 his Studies, (as others have since done) which,

according to this Supposition, must be but almost  
 the 30th (*viz.* the 27th or 28th) of his Life.  
 And that *Mr. du Pin* (who has gone a (62) middle-

way, making him to be born *Anno* 318. (which  
 falls 7 Years before his Father's Baptism) does

yet place his Birth 8 or 9 Years too soon. For  
 if he was born after his Father's Priesthood, it

must be *Anno* 327 or 326 at soonest. And possi-  
 bly the numerical Figure in the Text of *Mr.*

*Du Pin*, is mistaken by the Printer: for in the  
*Index*, at the End of the *Tome*, it is Printed 328.

And according to this Account, he was but 61  
 or 62 when he died. And his Father and Mo-

ther (for they were much of one Age) were about  
 50, when he [the Son] was born. Which is

old for a Woman to have Children: and yet  
 she had one, if not more Children, after her

Son *Gregory*.

And then also we must say, that this *Gregory*  
 the Elder was as singular in this Practice of  
 keeping his Children unbaptiz'd; as *Mr. John-*

*son* (63) has shewed him to be in the Point of  
 Passive Obedience: and as the Papists will say  
 he

re was in getting Children after his being in Holy Orders. Year after the Apostles.

I hope the Reader will pardon the Length of this Disquisition, and the uncertain Issue of it at last: for he will perceive by it how difficult it is to find the Birth or Age, even of such whose later Years have been never so well noted. I lighted on one Thread more, which I thought might have directed in this Labyrinth. I observed that St. Gregory once speaks of St. Basil, as having been about the same Age with himself. For he says at the End of the Funeral Oration (64), which he makes for him, *This Elogium is given thee, Oh Basil! by a Tongue that was wont to be most acceptable to thee, ἡ ὁμοίως ἡ ἡλικίῃ, and by one of the same Function, and of the same Age with thee.* If then I could find St. Basil's Age, it would, I thought, direct me in that of his Friend Gregory; at least so near, that we should not mistake 30 Years. But I can't find readily the Account of St. Basil's Age any more than of the other, and am quite out of the Humor of entring on a new Search after any Body's Age. St. Basil died 379. (the first Day of that Year.) This was 10 or 11 Years before Gregory died. St. Basil, as well as St. Gregory, is often spoken of as an old Man; and yet by this last Account he must be but 51, or thereabouts, when he died.

279.  
289.

But then, on the other side, that same Oration on St. Basil, (in which Gregory mixes so many of his own Concerns, that it is a sort of History of both their Lives) does by many Circumstances, too little and too long to be repeated, shew that they were but young Men when they left Athens. He says that when they declar'd their

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Pur-

(64) Orat. 20.

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Purpose of returning Home from thence; not only all their Intimates and Equals of the same Age with them, *ἄλλοις*, but also many of the Doctors there, express'd a great Regret at their leaving the University so soon, being very unwilling to part with them. Which makes it probable that they themselves were but young Masters of Arts; and so confirms *Baronius's* Opinion, that they were but 30, or almost 30, and not 54, as they must have been by the other Account.

210.

Besides, *St. Gregory* in that Oration recounting the great Examples of Christian Fortitude that had been in *Basil's* Family, and speaking of the great Persecution that was in *Pontus* under *Maximinus*, relates how great a Share the Grandfathers of *Basil* had in it. Whereas if *St. Basil* himself had then been about 10 Years old, (as he must have been by the first Account) his Father, rather than his Grandfathers, would have been likely to be mention'd. I said in the former Editions, that that one plain Place aforesaid, which makes this *Gregory* born after his Father's Baptism and Ordination, did seem to oversway all the Reasons of Chronologers to the contrary. But I have since minded another Absurdity that attends it. *St. Hierom. de Script. Eccl.* speaks of *Gregory* as having been his Master. *Præceptor meus, a quo Scripturas, illo explanante, didici.* Now *St. Hierom* himself was born in the Year 329, and it is not likely that he would speak so of one that was but 4 Years older than himself. Perhaps it may be more likely that a Word may be misprinted, than so many Absurdities allowed. I shall determin nothing, but leave it to others.

§. 7. The Antipædobaptists have taken Notice of no other Children of that *Gregory* the elder, but this his Son *Gregory*. But he had two other Chil-

Chap. III. St. Gregory. Gorgonia. Cæsarius. 81

Children, a Daughter *Gorgonia*, and a Son *Cæsarius*. There is no Account whether *Gorgonia* were elder or younger than her Brother *Gregory*; save that *Elias Cretensis* (if he knew any better than we) makes (65) her to be younger. If she were elder, she must have been born before her Father was a Christian; since it is the hardest Matter that may be to bring her Brother *Gregory's* Years within that Compass. However that were, she was not baptiz'd in Infancy; and being afterward left to her own Discretion, she did not receive Baptism till a little before she died (66), when she was so old as to have Grand-children, whom she had instructed in the Christian Faith. Her Husband also, whom she had married (as it seems by her Brother's Words at her Funeral) while he was a Heathen, was by her prevail'd on to be baptiz'd with her. She died before her Father, who died before St. *Basil*. And since St. *Basil* died, as was said, on *New years Day* 379, it seems to have been 375 at the soonest, when she died. Her Brother *Gregory* was then, by the last Account of his Age, but 48. 'Tis very unlikely then that she was younger, having then Grand-children of such an Age.

Year after the Apostles  
687.

*Cæsarius* was younger than either of 'em, and died the first of 'em. And tho' *Gregory's* Words at his Funeral (67), concerning his Baptism, are not very plain for the Time of it: yet they seem to intimate that he had then lately received it. And indeed (to observe this here once for all) the far greatest Part of those that were not baptiz'd in Infancy, but were left to take their own Time for it; we find to have put it off from Time to Time till they were apprehensive of Death, excepting

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(65) Com. in Greg. Naz. Orat. 19. (66) Naz. Orat. in laudem Gorgoniae. (67) Orat. in laudem Cæsarii.

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cepting such as went into Orders, or the like. But we find no baptiz'd Person, except this Gregory, that did so leave his Children unbaptiz'd.

If all the Children of this elder Gregory were born after their Father's Christianity, and yet left unbaptiz'd; it is the Instance but of one Man's Practice. And there is some more Excuse for a Bishop, or other Minister to do this, than for other Men; because, if his Children fall sick, or into any sudden Danger of Death, he is ready at hand in the House to give them Baptism.

It was probably from some Compliance with this Practice of his Father, that St. Gregory, in one of the Places that I quoted (68), gives that Opinion, which is singular in him; that *it is a good way if a Child appear not to be in any Danger of Death, to defer his Baptism for some Time.* He mentions *three Years* or thereabouts. And as he, at the same Place, advises and counts it necessary, *if it be in Danger of Death, to baptize it immediately;* so 'tis probable the same was his Father's Opinion: and that this his Son had no Sickness in his Infancy; and so he thought he might defer the baptizing him.

312. That many People in this Time delayed and put off the baptizing of their Children something longer than ordinary, not out of Principle that so they ought to do; but out of Negligence, and a Procrastination which they themselves own'd to be blamable; appears plainly by that common and proverbial Speech, which *Isidore* (speaking of *Zipporah's* circumcising her Child) mentions (69), and says, *was used to be said in Time of Danger.* 'God's Judgments come upon us; let us baptize our Children out of hand.

Sect. 7.

(68) Pt. 1. CH. XI. §. 7. (69) *Isid.* Pelus. lib. 1. Ep. 125:

## Sect. 7. Of Nectarius.

*There is no Appearance of his Parents' being Christians, nor knowing who they were.*

§. 1. Tho' St. Gregory Nazianzen, who, after his Father's Death, was Bishop of Constantinople, had done more for the restoring the Catholic Faith there, than had been done by any Man in so short a Time; yet he found a Necessity of resigning the Place. Partly by Reason of his Age and Infirmary; and partly for that there was such a Contention in the Council of Bishops about him: Some said it was not Canonical, that he having once accepted another Bishoprick formerly, should remove from it. Others, that he living as a Hermit, wholly given to Study and Prayers, was not at all dextrous in making his Court with the Emperor for the Good of the Church: neither had he any good Mein, but a contemptible Presence.

To allay these Heats he did what St. Clement (70) had advis'd in such a Case to be done. He willingly abdicated, and said, *If this Contention be upon my Account, I am ready to depart; only let the Flock of Christ be in Peace* (71).

And when they were in Consultation about another to be chosen; who should they light on but one *Nectarius*, a Layman of *Tarsus*, of a Senator's Rank, remarkable for a grave and comely Presence; but of no Learning or Skill in Divinity? The Emperor lik'd this Man so well, that he was finally chosen. They did the Gentle-

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(70) Clemens Romanus Epist. 1. ad Corinth. c. 54.  
(71) Naz. Orat. ad 150 Episcopos.



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ter the A-  
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man a great Diskindness; for of a creditable and graceful Alderman, they made of him a very insipid Bishop.

But what is to our Purpose is this; *Nectarius*, tho' he was by Belief and Profession a Christian, yet had not been as yet baptiz'd (72). They were forc'd, having baptiz'd him, to give him Ordination a few Days after, notwithstanding the Apostolical Canon against choosing a Novice for a Bishop.

§. 2. The Antipædobaptists would make an Argument from hence, that his Parents must have been of their Perswasion, since they had not baptiz'd him in Infancy. But first they ought to shew that his Parents were Christians: since, as I said before, half the World at this Time were such as had been, since they came to Age, converted from Heathenism, and lik'd Christianity; but the greater part of 'em did put off their Baptism from Time to Time for a long while. And one might name several beside this Man, that were pitch'd on by the People for Bishops before they were baptiz'd; some, whose Parents are known to be Heathens; and some, whose Parents are not at all mention'd in History; so that 'tis impossible to know what Religion they were of. But they do not make Instances for this Purpose, unless they are prov'd, at least by probable Arguments, to have been born of Christians.

As for *Nectarius's* Parents, we know nothing of their Religion. And I believe 'tis as hard to find who they were, as 'tis to know who was *Homer's* or *Job's* Father.

Señ. 8.

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(72) Socrat. l. 5. Soz. l. 7.

## Sect. 8. Of St. John Chrysoftom.

290.

*His Parents were probably Heathens at the Time of his Birth.*

§. 1. Among all the antient Fathers, there is none that has had so many to write his Life as *St. Chrysoftom*. For, besides that *Palladius*, who liv'd together with him, has wrote his *Dialog* purposely on that Subject; the antient Historians, who liv'd nigh his Time, *Socrates* (73), *Sozomen* (74), *Theodoret* (75), &c. have given a larger Account of him than of any other Man. And in the middle Ages, there are Abundance that have wrote Tracts of the same: but these later have intermixt several Fables, which are disprov'd by the elder.

Of these *Palladius* says (76), that he was baptiz'd by *Meletius*, Bishop of *Antioch*, after he had been instructed by him 3 Years in the Christian Religion. And tho' none of the other antient Writers do mention this his Baptism at Man's Age; yet 'tis very probable, since, as far as we can learn, his Parents were Heathens at the Time of his Birth. *Georgius*, Patriarch of *Alexandria* (77), and *Metaphrastes*, do say they were; and they are not in this contradicted by those elder.

520.  
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§. 2. His Father *Secundus* died presently after he was born; as he himself intimates, *Lib. 1. de Sacerdotio*. His Mother *Anthusa* was a Christian when this her Son was 20 Years old: But that is no Argument that she or her Husband were so at the Time of his Birth. At that Time the

274.

254.

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Hea-

(73) L. 6. (74) L. 8. (75) L. 5. (76) Dial. de vita Chrysoftom. (77) Vita Chrysoftom.

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Heathens turn'd Chriſtians as faſt as the Papiſts in England turn'd Proteſtants in the Time of the Reformation. And even at that Time when her Son was 20 Years old, tho' ſhe was then a Chriſtian in Belief, yet the aforeſaid Hiſtorians *Georgius* and *Metaphraſtes* ſay, that ſhe was not baptiz'd till her Son was baptiz'd firſt. They ſay it of his Parents in the foreſaid Life, that they were baptiz'd by *Meletius* after their Son. But it could be true only of his Mother, his Father being dead long before.

I believe the Antipædobaptiſts would not have conceived that they had Ground enough to make *Chryſoſtom* one of their Inſtances, if they had not been encourag'd thereto by *Grotius*. And what he ſays (78); is, that he being born of Chriſtian Parents, as the true Opinion is, and educated by *Meletius*, yet was not baptiz'd till the 21ſt Year of his Age.

That he was born of Chriſtian Parents, he brings no Proof at all. And it is little to the Purpoſe that he was educated by *Meletius*. As Biſhops don't uſe to take Infants to nurſe, (tho' Lads or young Men to educate they may) ſo in this Caſe it appears, that *Chryſoſtom* was 20, or at leaſt 18 Years old, before he came to *Meletius*. And then *Meletius* did with him as any Biſhop now would do with a young Man that had been brought up in Heatheniſm: he inſtructed him, and when he had continued a Catechumen three Years, baptiz'd him.

That he was ſo old, as I ſay before he came to *Meletius*, is plain, becauſe by all the Accounts he came not to him till he ſoſook the School of *Libanius*, the Heathen Maſter of Rhetoric. And that he continued his Hearer till that Age, appears

(78) Annot. in Matt. 19.

pears by what he himself writes, *Oratione 1. ad* Year after the Apostles  
*viduam juniorem*; where speaking in Praise of those Women that continue Widows, and how they are valued even among Heathens, he tells this Story, For I formerly, when I was young, took Notice that my Master, who was one of the most superstitious Men that ever liv'd, did much admire my Mother. For as he ask'd some that were about him who I was, and one made Answer that I was a Widow-woman's Son; he ask'd me, how old my Mother was, and how long she had been a Widow? And when I told him that she was 40 Years old, and that it was 20 Years since she buried my Father; he was much affected at it, and speaking aloud to those that were present, 'Strange, says he, what brave Women there are among the Christians?'

Some Chronologers find it more agreeable with the Computation of Time to suppose that it was not full 20, but 18: Which by a round Number he here calls 20. But it is much one to this Purpose.

The Saying of *Libanius* seems to suppose, that *Anthusa* had been a Christian now for a considerable Time; or at least that he took it so. But as he knew nothing of her Concerns till that Moment; her professing of Christianity at that Time was enough to make him say what he did, without making any Inquiry how long she had been of that Profession.

Some Readers also will be apt to conclude, that *Chrysoftom* had been at that Time but a little while a Hearer of *Libanius*, (from whence it would follow probably that *Anthusa* was a Christian when she first sent her Son to this School) because *Libanius* did not at this Time know who he was. But the Nature of those Auditories or Lectures was, that one from one Part of the City, and another from another, came

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on the weekly Lecture-days to hear, and sent their Contributions: So that a Lad or a Man might be a Hearer for a long Time before the Master had any personal Knowledge of him. The Word [*School*] being otherwise used in our Time, might be apt to make this Mistake. But it is to be taken in the antient Sense, as in *Acts* 19. 9. The School of *Tyrannus* was not a College of Lads under his Care, but a Place of public Lectures that he kept.

§. 3. There is, on the contrary, Reason to think that she was not a Christian when she consented that her Son should hear this Master, who was a spiteful Enemy to the Christian Religion. And as this is probable of it self; so 'tis made more than probable, that not only she, but her Son himself also, was a Heathen when he came first to hear him, by what *Sozomen* affirms (79), viz. That on a Time when *Libanius* was like to die, some of his Friends ask'd him who he thought fit should be his Successor? And he answer'd, *John* [meaning this *John*, who came afterward to be called *Chrysoftom*) should have been the Man, if the Christians had not stole him away from us. The Word is, *εὐλανοῦν* rob'd us of him. Which argues that he was a Heathen before.

§. 4. Mr. *Du Pin*, in the Notes he gives upon what he had said of *Chrysoftom* (80), says, that some Writers make his Parents to be Heathens; but that he himself, in the first Sermon against the *Ἀρβυλοῖς*, says, that he was bred up and nourished in the Church; and that it appears out of his first Book de *Sacerdotio*, c. 1. that his Mother was a Christian when his Father died, which was quickly after she was deliver'd of him.

Having

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(79) Hist. l. 8. c. 2. (80) Nouvelle Bibliot. T. 3. in *Chryso.*

Having a great Regard to every Thing that this excellent Author says, I read over on Purpose both those Tracts. And in the *Sermon* found nothing that seem'd to relate any Thing at all to this Matter; so that I believe there must be some Mistake. Also in the *first* Chapter of the *Book* cited, there is nothing at all of the Matter. That which I guess the most probable to be meant, is *Chap. 2.* where *Chrysoftom's* Mother, earnestly intreating him not to leave her, recounts to him the great Troubles she had undergone about his Estate and Education in her Widowhood; and yet that she had kept her self a Widow, and had gone thro' the Brunt of all these Fatigues; *In the first Place*, says she, *being assisted by the Help* [or, Influence] *that is from Above, and τῆς ἀδελφῆς βοήθειαν ἐπαύσας* and then also the Comfort which I had by the continual Sight and Company of you, my Son, did not a little contribute to it.

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But here is nothing but what might be properly said by a Christian Woman in reference to those Times, in which she had been a Heathen: since God Almighty imloys his Providence in relieving the Necessities not only of Christians, but of all Men and other Creatures that know him not. She does not mention in all that long Speech any Praying to God, or Use of his Word, that she had made in those Days; which to me is a greater Proof that she was not at that Time a Christian, than the foresaid Words are that she was.

At least here is nothing that can nigh counter-vail the Argument from the foresaid Words of *Libanius* concerning this *John's* Heathen Profession at first, rehearsed by *Sozomen*. And *Sozomen* is a good Witness in this Case, having liv'd part of his Time together with *Chrysoftom*. For he had wrote several Books before that History; and he had compleated that History in 440. So that he must have been born before *St. Chrysoftom* died, which was *Anno 407.*

340.

Sett. 307.

## Sect. 9. Of St. Ambrose.

*There is no Account of his Parents being Christians at the Time of his Birth.*

§. 1. St. *Ambrose's* Case is just the same with that of *Nectarius*. And he himself, after he had heard how *Nectarius* was chosen Bishop of *Constantinople*, said (81), *I was utterly unwilling to be ordain'd; and, when there was no Remedy, desir'd that at least my Ordination might be delayed for a longer Time. But the Rule of the Church could not prevail; the Force of the People prevail'd. Yet the Western Bishops have approved of my Ordination by their Consent; and the Eastern by their doing the same Thing.* The Rule, or Prescription, that he speaks of, is that mention'd by St. *Paul*, 1 *Tim.* 3. 6. which Canon, it seems, the People would by Force have to be dispens'd with, when they had an extraordinary Opinion of a Man.

274. He was a Layman, and was Governor under *Valentinian* the Emperor, of some Provinces of *Gallia Cisalpina*: and when the People of *Milan* (which was one of the Cities under his Government) were, after the Death of *Auxentius* their Bishop, in a Tumult about choosing another; he came to keep the Peace, and perswaded 'em to Quietness and Concord. He spoke to 'em so handsomely and so gravely, that all Parties agreed on a sudden to pitch upon him for Bishop (82). He opposed it what he could: but they sent to the Emperor for his Consent, because he was at

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(81) Epist. 82. ad Vercellens. Eccles. (82) Paulinus in vita. Rufinus, l. 2. c. 13. Socr. l. 4. c. 30. Sozomen. Theodoret. l. 4. c. 6.

at that Time the Emperor's Minister. And he said, *He was very glad that the Men he chose for Governors were so well lik'd by the People, that they would choose the same for Bishops.* So he gave his Consent, but yet he would not determine the Choice, as being a Thing out of his Sphere. He order'd the Bishops then present in or about that City to direct the Choice of the People, who continued resolute for *Ambrose*. But *Ambrose* was not as yet baptiz'd. He received Baptism at the Hands of *Simplicianus* (83), and within 8 Days was ordain'd Bishop.

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§. 2. Our Business being to inquire why he was not baptiz'd in Infancy; the Antipædobaptists would have it that he was born of Christian Parents: and some of 'em stick not to say, that *Paulinus* in his *Life* says he was. But *Paulinus* does not say so. What he says of his Father is this, that he was a Noble man of *Rome*, and Governor of *Gallia*. But he was the less likely to be a Christian for that; the Senate and great Men of *Rome* being the last Body of Men in the Empire, that came over to the Christian Faith. Insomuch that a long Time after this, when St. *Ambrose* was an old Man, *Valentinian* the Second had much ado to withstand the Attempt made by the Senate to bring again into Fashion the Heathen Worship. So says St. *Ambrose* at his Funeral (84), *Before his Death he refused to grant the Privileges of the Temples, when such Men stood up for 'em, of whom he might well be afraid. Whole Crowds of Heathen Men came about him; the Senate petition'd. He was not afraid for the Sake of Christ to incur the Displeasure of Men.* And if one may guess by Circumstances, he

233.

291.

(83) Augustin. Confess. l. 8. c. 2. (84) Orat. in obitum Valentiniani.



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he lost the Empire and his Life in this Quarrel; *Eugenius* the Usurper, that prevail'd against him, having all the Heathen Party on his Side: who restor'd those Heathen Altars which *Valentinian* had denied, and set up (85) Temples of *Jupiter*. And *Argobastes* had threatned, if he overcame *Theodosius*, to make the great Church (86) at *Milan* (the *St. Paul's* of that City) a Stable for his Horses; because they would not communicate with *Eugenius*, nor receive his Offering, as being an Usurper. But better News came to Town quickly, as I shew'd before (87) in the History of *Valentinian*.

I bring in this to shew, that when *Paulinus* makes *St. Ambrose's* Father to have been a great Man at *Rome*; that is no Argument that he was a Christian. But indeed *Paulinus*, or whoever wrote that *Life*, (for *Erasmus* (88) takes it to be a Forgery of some late Monk, as I observed before) knew so little of his Father's Concerns, that he did not know his Name. He makes his Name to be *Ambrosius*, because the Son's was so: but his Name, if his Son knew better (89), was *Symmachus*. Tho' the *Life-writers* copying one out of another, do to this Day call him *Ambrosius*. He seems to have died while *St. Ambrose* was young.

But at the Time when *St. Ambrose* was come to Man's Estate, *Paulinus* does indeed say, that his Mother was a Widow, and dwelt at *Rome*, and was then a Christian: if that would avail any Thing to prove that her Husband or she were so formerly, when he was born.

§. 3.

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(85) *Paulinus in vitâ Ambrosii.* (86) *Aug. de Civ. Dei, l. 5. c. 26.* (87) *Sect. 3. §. 3.* (88) *Censura prefixa operibus Ambrosii.* (89) *Ambrosii. Orat. in obitum Satyri:*

§. 3. On the contrary, a strong Proof that they were not, is that which he says of himself, that he was not brought up in the Bosom of the Church. For in his *Second Book de Pœnitentia*, c. 8. speaking of his own Unworthiness, and Unfitness to be a Bishop, he says it will be said of him, *Ecce ille, non in ecclesia nutritus sum, &c.* 'Loe! this Man that was not brought up in the Bosom of the Church, &c.

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As for what St. *Ambrose's* own Thoughts were of the Necessity of Infant Baptism, it appears by his Words cited before (90), that he made it a great Question, *whether a Child could be sav'd without it.*

### SECT. 10. Of St. Hierom.

*There is no Proof to the contrary, but that he was baptized in Infancy.*

§. 1. St. *Hierom*, who wrote the Lives of several Persons of Note that had been before him, found none of the Antients that came after him, so kind as to write his: for that Life which was formerly published with his Works, is a mere Fable. Yet he having wrote a great many occasional Letters, which, for the Goodness of the Style, and the Learning contain'd in 'em, are preserv'd; many of the chief Passages of his Life may be pick'd out of them.

In all that he has said of himself, or the anonymous Author of the Life aforesaid, or any Body else has said of him; there is no Ground to question his Baptism in Infancy, except an obscure Passage, mentioned twice in the same Words,  
and

Year af- and those ambiguous ones, in two Letters that he  
ter the A- wrote to Pope *Damasus*.  
postles

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The Occasion was this: *St. Hierom* being retir'd from *Rome* into *Syria*, in order to lead a Monk's Life there, found the People of those Parts much divided; not so much in Opinions of Religion, as in disputing which of several that were set up, was the lawful Bishop of *Antioch*, with whom they ought to hold Communion. Some acknowledged *Meletius*; others refusing him, followed *Paulinus*; and others adher'd to *Vitalis*.

And another Difficulty was; they thereabouts expressed their Faith in the Trinity by acknowledging *three Hypostases*. Being ask'd by the *Latins*, What they meant by *Hypostases*; they answer'd, *Personas subsistentes*, 'Persons subsisting. *St. Hierom* and the other *Latins* answer'd, that they had the same Faith, and owned *three Persons subsisting*. This was not enough; they would have 'em express the Word it self, *three Hypostases*. *St. Hierom* scrupled the doing that, because *Hypostasis* among secular Authors had signified *Substance* or *Essence*: and *who*, says he, *will with a sacrilegious Mouth preach up three Substances?* And again, *If any one by Hypostasis, meaning Ousiam, Essence; [or, Being] does not confess that there is but one Hypostasis in three Persons; he is estranged from Christ.*

272.

About these Things he writes to *Damasus*, who had in the mean Time been made Bishop of *Rome* (91), desiring to know whether he and the Church of *Rome* (for he is resolv'd to go by their Example) do allow of this Word *Hypostasis* for Person. And also which of the foresaid Parties, *viz.* of *Meletius*, *Paulinus*, or *Vitalis*, they would communicate with: for he would do the same. *And this I do*, says he,  
*Inde*

(91) Epist. 57.

*Inde nunc mea anima postulans cibum, unde olim Christi vestimenta suscepi.* 'Desiring now Food [or, Instruction] for my Soul from that Place where I formerly took upon me the Garments of Christ.' Year after the Apostles

This Letter not procuring, as it seems, an Answer so soon as he expected; he writes another *Epist.* 58, to the same Purpose; desiring him with greater Importunity to give him his Answer. In which he uses the same Motive: but express'd in Words so just the same; that one gives no Light to the other. *Ego igitur, ut ante jam scripsi, Christi vestem in Romanâ Urbe suscipiens, &c.* 'I therefore, who, as I wrote before, took on me the Garment of Christ in the City of Rome, &c.'

From this Place *Erasmus* (92) raised a Conjectur, that he was baptiz'd at Rome. And if so, he could not be baptiz'd in Infancy: for he was born at *Stridon* in *Dalmatia*; and did not come to Rome till he was big enough to go to the Grammar School. 1412.

And what *Erasmus* spoke doubtfully, other following Writers of this Father's Life, *Baronius*, *Du-Pin*, *Dr. Cave*, &c. have (as it happens in relating Matters) told as an absolute unquestion'd Thing.

That which *Erasmus* says, is this; He means his Baptism by that taking on him Christ's Garments: for, I think, he does not mean it of his receiving Priest's Orders; but in Baptism there was a white Garment given 'em.

He might have been sure enough that he did not mean it of the Habit of a Priest; for St. *Hierôm* was not as yet ordained Priest, when the Letter was writ: And when he was ordain'd, it was not

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at

(92) In vitâ Hieronymi.

Year af- at Rome, but at Antioch by Paulinus, to whose  
 ter the A- Communion Damasus had it seems advis'd him.  
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§. 2. But there was another sort of *Habit* or *Garment*, which he had then already put on, and which he knew to be very much valued by *Damasus*, whose Acquaintance he now sought, and which he probably took upon him at *Rome*, (for he took it on him in his younger Years (93), and 'twas at *Rome* that he spent those) and that was the *Habit of a Monk*, which he then wore when he wrote that Letter. And 'tis a great deal more likely that he means that, than the *Albes* which were worn but a few Days. Especially since neither he, nor I think any other Author, among all that Variety of Expressions which they use for denoting Baptism, do ever use that Phrase of *receiving the Garments of Christ*. Because the ordinary Christians did not use for constant wearing, any particular Garment as a Badge of their Religion. But the *Monks* and *Virgins* that had profess'd perpetual Virginitie, did at that Time (as has been usual ever since) wear a peculiar *Habit*, as a Token of their Profession.

Of which if any one doubt, it must be one that has never read any Thing in *St. Hierom*: for he being given to an over-weaning Opinion of that Way, mentions it with great Elogiums on every turn. And as he calls the Persons, *Servos Christi*, and *Christo Sacratos*, ' Servants of Christ, and consecrated to Christ. And the Virgins, *Virgines Dei*, ' God's Virgins (as if married People did not belong to God or Christ at all). So, what is most to our Purpose, he commonly calls that peculiar sort of *Coat* that the Virgins, or Nuns wore, *Christi tunicam*, ' the Coat, or, *Garment*, ' of Christ. And the Veil, *Flammeum Christi*, ' The

(93) See §. 5.

The Veil of Christ. Of each of which I will give one Instance.

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In his *Epitaphium*, or Funeral Oration, in Praise of *Paula* (94), he recounts how desirous she had been in her Life-time that her Children, and those that belonged to her, should take on 'em that Habit and Profession, of renouncing the World, and leading a single Life, as she had done that of a Widow; and how she had in great Measure her Desire: for besides that *Eustochium* her Daughter was then a *professed Virgin*, her Grand-daughter also by her only Son *Toxotius*, being then a Child, was, by her Parents, *Christi Flammeo reservata*, ' designed to wear the *Veil of Christ*.

And in his Letter to *Eustochium* (95), the Subject whereof is, *de virginitate servanda*, to exhort her to continue constant and unstained in her Purpose of perpetual Virginity; he says, *It is not fitting, when one has taken hold of the Plow, to look back; nor being in the Field, to return home: Nec post Christi tunicam ad tollendum aliud vestimentum tecto descendere: Nor after one has put on the Coat of Christ, to come down from the Roof to take any other Garment.*

Since these Expressions are the very same with those that he us'd before of himself; 'tis probable that those also are to be understood of the *Monks Habit*: Or at least, it is not at all necessary that they must be understood of his Baptism at *Rome*. And if they be not; then there remains no kind of Ground to doubt of his being baptiz'd at *Stridon* in Infancy, as other Christian Children were. For neither *Erasmus*, nor any of those that have followed him, have brought any other

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Proof

(94) Epist. 27. (95) Epist. 22.

Year af- Proof but these Words; and had it not been for  
ter the A- them, no Man had ever had such a Surmise.  
postles

§. 3. *Baronius* does indeed say (96), that after he was baptiz'd, he presently reformed his Life, which before he had led in some Lewdness: and whereas he had lost the first Virginity, he kept undefiled that which he calls the Second, which is after Baptism.

If this were true, or could be prov'd; the Question were at an End. But there seems to be no more Ground for it than that *Baronius*, having first taken for granted from *Erasmus's* Conjectur that he was baptiz'd at Man's Age, thought it more decent to lay that Fornication, of which he is know'n to be guilty, rather before his Baptism than after.

The Tract of *St. Hierom*, to which he refers for the Proof of this, is his *Apology made for his Books that he had wrote against Jovinian*. In which there is indeed mention of those two sorts of Virginity, and there is also a Confession of his own Loss of Virginity. But it is in several Clauses or Paragraphs, that he mentions these two Things; and not so as to affirm, or intimate that he could claim either of the said sorts of Virginity himself. I think not; yet it may be proper to lay before the Reader the Places themselves.

He had been accus'd by a great many, that in the said Books against *Jovinian* he had so excessively commended Virginity, that he had in some Expressions represented all Marriage as sinful; for which Accusation he had indeed given too much Occasion. Yet he vindicates and explains the Places excepted against as well as he can. And then says,

*This*

*This therefore I protest, and make it my last Declaration; that I did not then condemn Marriage, nor do now condemn it. Virginity I do extol to the Sky; not that I am possessed of it, but that I the more admire a Thing that I my self have not. It is an ingenuous and modest Confession to commend highly that in others which one has not one's self. Must not I, because being of a gross Body I am fain to go on the Ground, admire that Faculty that the Birds have of flying in the Air; and envy the Pigeon, which*

*Radit iter liquidum, celeres neque commovet alas.  
With stretch'd out Wings glides thro' the yielding Sky?*

*Let no Man deceive himself: nor let him undo himself by hearkning to a soothing Flatterer. The first Virginity is that which is from one's Birth: the Second is that which is from one's second Birth. 'Tis none of my Saying, 'tis an old Rule. ' No Man can serve two Masters, the Flesh and the Spirit. The Flesh lusts against the Spirit, and the Spirit against the Flesh. These are contrary one to the other, that we cannot do the Things we would. When any Thing in my Book seems severe, regard not my Words, but the Scriptur from which the Words are taken. Christ is a Virgin. The Mother of our Virgin Lord is a Virgin, &c.*

Here after he had confess'd and apologiz'd for himself; he pass'es to the other Theme of commending Virginity, and shewing the Inconveniences of an incumbred and secular State. Here is nothing affirmed that he himself had either of the two sorts of Virginity. And if any one judge, as *Baronius* seems to have done, that the Chain of Thought leads one to think he meant so; that Conjectur will be much over-balanc'd by what he says plainly and expressly of his own Case in



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another Place (97), where he speaks of his ill Life, and aggravates the Guilt of it as being the defiling of his Baptism. For commenting on that Expression of *Isaiab* concerning himself, that he was a *Man of unclean Lips*, he says, *He as being a just Man had sinned only in Word, and therefore had only unclean Lips, not a foul Conscience. But I, as using my Eyes to Lust, and being offended by my Hand, and sinning by my Foot and all my Limbs, have every Thing unclean. And because having been once baptiz'd with the Spirit, I have defil'd my Garments again; I deserve the second Baptism, which is that of Fire.*

It was some great and mortal Sin that he speaks of, (for they don't use to speak so of Sins of daily Incurfion) and we read of no fuch that he was guilty of but his Fornication. His Words also are fuch as to particularize that.

And besides, he professes in a great many Places (98), (in the forefaid Letter to *Damasus* for one) that he undertook the *Monk's Life*, as a State of *voluntary Penance* for his Sins; whereas they that in those Times were baptiz'd in their adult Age, would have been counted greatly to undervalue the Grace of Baptism, if they had thought any fuch Thing necessary for the Sins they had committed before. They always speak of Baptism as giving a Person a free, total and absolut Discharge from all Guilt of Sin, Original or Actual, before that Time.

§. 4. One Thing that will stick as an Objection in the Minds of those that are acquainted with the Ecclesiastical Disciplin of that Age, is this; that if he had been baptiz'd in Infancy, or any Time before his Fornication; that Sin being after his Baptism, would have rendred him incapable of Holy

(97) Explanatio Visionis Isaiæ, Epist. 142. (98) Epist. 61, 58, &c.

Holy Orders. Because the Canons of that Year after the Apostles Time, those of *Nice* (99), those of *Eliberis* (1), and those of *Neocæsarea* (2), as also *Can. Apostol.* 61. *als.* 53. do enact, that if any one after his *Baptism* did fall into Fornication, or any other of the great Crimes; such a Man, tho' he might by Penance be restor'd to Lay-Communion, must never be ordain'd to the Holy Functions. And so strict it was, that if such an one were ordained by Mistake, his Crimes not being known; when they came afterward to be known, he was to be depos'd by the *Nicen* Canon: but the *Neocæsarean* admits him to continue in the Name, and some Part of the Office; but not to *Offer*, as they called it, *i. e.* to consecrate the holy Elements. And this they will have to be observ'd, *because* (as the Words of the *Nicen* Canon are) *the holy Church does in all Things keep to that which is blameless*, or, without Scandal. But as for Heathens, or Men unbaptiz'd, they judg'd that no Sin whatever committed in that State was to be an Impediment of their Promotion after they came to be baptiz'd. In a Word, they reckon'd that Penance, or, a long Course of Repentance, would cure a mortal Sin; but so as to leave a Scar. But that *Baptism* did perfectly wash off all the Stain and Discredit of Sins committed before it. So that St. *Hierom's* being ordain'd Presbyter (as we said before he was) by *Paulinus*, will make an Argument that his *Baptism* was after his Fornication.

But then they that know that the *Canons* ran thus, know also that the Practice was not always so strict and regular as the Canon; but that, on the contrary, these and some other such strict Rules were frequently dispens'd with in the Case of such Men as came afterward to be of great Merit

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(99) Can. 9, 10. (1) Can. 30. (2) Can. 9, 10.

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or Abilities, which the Church could not well want: and that *St. Hierom* was, without Controversie, the most learned and best skill'd in interpreting the Scriptur of any Man then living; and also was a great Favorit of Pope *Damasus*, whose Interest was great in all the Church.

And besides, an Observation which retorts the Force of this Argument strongly to the other side, is this; that these Canons had in great Measure their Force upon *St. Hierom*. For he not only protested, when he was made Presbyter, as he tells us himself (3), that if *Paulinus* who ordain'd him, meant thereby to take him out of his State of Monachism [or, Penance], that he would not so accept it; but also, after he was ordain'd, refused, out of a deep Humility and Sense of his Sin, to execute the Priestly Office, at least in the principal Parts thereof. Of which there are these Proofs.

1. That in all his Letters and Works one finds no Mention or Instance of his acting in that Office. Of this I am no farther confident, than that having taking Notice as I read, I remember none.

2. That *Epiphanius* affirms this of him and of *Vincentius*, another Monk that had been ordain'd. The Occasion was this. *Epiphanius* had in, a Case which he judged to be of Necessity, ordain'd *Paulinianus*, *St. Hierom's* younger Brother, Priest; tho' the Place in which he did it was out of his own Diocess. Being blam'd for this Incroachment by *John* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, he makes this Apology (4), *Tho' no Man ought to go beyond his own Measure; yet Christian Charity, in which there is no Guile, is to be preferr'd before all. Nor should you consider what is done; but at what Time, and in what Manner, and for what Reasons, and upon whom the Thing*

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(3) Epist. 61. contra errores Joannis Hierosol. (4) Epist. ad Joann. Hierosol.

Thing was done. For when I saw that there was a great Number of holy Brethren in the Monastery; and the holy Presbyters Hierom and Vincent, by Reason of their Modesty and Humility, would not execute the Offices proper for their Title, nor labor in that Part of the Ministry, in which consists the chief Salvation of Christians, &c.

Year after the Apostles

His being made Priest after his Sin, is not so great a Proof of his Baptism coming between, as those severe Censures of himself are, that his Sin was after his Baptism. He that in that Age should have spoken of his Sins committed before Baptism, as he does of his (5), *I came into the Fields and Wilderness, that there bewailing, durescentia peccata, my Sins, that lie so hard upon me, I might move the Pity of Christ towards me, would have been censur'd to derogate from that Article of the Creed, I believe one Baptism for the Remission of Sins.* And he himself says in other Places (6), *All Fornications and Lewdnesses of the most scandalous Natur, Impiety against God, Parricide or Incest, &c. are washed away in this Christian Fountain or Laver.*

In how different a Strain does St. *Austin* confess his Sins, which, tho' much greater than St. *Hierom's*, viz. a continued Course of Fornication with several Harlots, yet because his Baptism came after them, he says thus of 'em (7), *What Praise ought I to give to the Lord that my Memory recounts these Things, and yet my Soul is in no Terror for 'em?*

§. 5. I said he enter'd into a Monk's Life young (when I was shewing that it was probable he took the Habit at Rome). He himself says so in several Places (8).

(5) Epist. 61. (6) Epist. ad Oceanum de unius uxoris viro. (7) Confess. l. 3. c. 7. (8) Epist. 2. it. 62, &c.

Year af-  
ter the A-  
postles

The vulgar Reader is not to imagin, that this Monastic Life was then of the same sort with that, which is now for the most Part in use in the Church of Rome. On the contrary, the first Institution and Primitive Practice of it was commendable. It is Time, and the Corruption of the Age, and Superstitions added to it, and the great Revenues that have been settled on the Monasteries, that have perverted it. They professed Virginitie: And they did accordingly with wonderful Hardships of Diet, Lodging, &c. keep under the Body. They sold all they had, and gave it to the Poor. They renounc'd all the Affairs of secular Life, but at the same Time us'd daily Labor for their Living; they had not then the Fat of the Land; nor one politic Head, whose Interest they were to promote. If any one endeavored to live at Ease, or indulge himself; he was not counted a Monk. St. Hierom speaks of some few that he had seen of this sort (9). *I have seen, says he, some that after they have renounced the World, vestimentis duntaxat, in their Garments, or Habit only, and by a verbal Profession, not in Deeds; have alter'd nothing of their former way of Living: They are richer, rather than poorer, than before: They have as much Attendance of Servants, &c. So that we see all Monks, good or bad, wore the Garments of a Monk.*

Yet as commendable as it was in the Practice then; St. Hierom has been under some Censur, for his excessive urging it on People; not only in his own Time, but ever since; and not only among Protestants, but among those of the Church of Rome that are any Thing impartial. Mr. Du Pin, who is highly to be valued for that Quality, says of him (10), *Concerning Virginitie and*

(9) Epist. 4. ad Rusticum. (10) Nouv. Bibl. T. 3. p. 1.

and the Monks Life, he often speaks so, as if he would have one think they are necessary for Salvation.

Year after the Apostles

Where shall one meet, even among the late Monks, an Expression in Praise of this sort of Life more exorbitant than one that he has in his Letter to *Eustochium*, a Lady that profess'd that State? Where addressing himself to *Paulla* her Mother, he says, *Your Daughter has procur'd you a great Benefit: You are now become God's Mother-in-law, Socrus Dei esse cœpisti.* This is something worse than calling the Habit, *the Garments of Christ.* He means, that the Daughter, by professing a religious Virginity, was become the Spouse of Christ; and so the Mother must be his Mother-in-law. But such Allegories carried too far, border upon Impiety. They are not to be so easily pardon'd to a Man of a cool Head: But *St. Hierom* having had the Spleen to a high Degree, must be allow'd some Favor in the Censur of his Expressions. Those Men when they are in, at commending or disparaging any Thing, are carried to speak more than they mean at their sedate Times.

§. 6. But it was not during the Times of *Damasus*, that *St. Hierom* fell under any Censur for this his over-lashing: But afterward, in the Times of *Siricius*. *Damasus* had been so much of the same Temper, that 'tis likely he approv'd of him the better for it; and that one Reason of his using those high-flown Expressions was, to ingratiate himself with him. And we find him, in his Writings, during this later Popedom, frequently appealing to the Times of *Damasus*. *I wrote*, says he (11), *while Damasus of blessed Memory liv'd, a Book against Helvidius,*

285.

of

(11) Apol. pro lib. contra Jovin.

Year af- of the perpetual Virginity of the blessed Mary =  
 ter the A- In which I had Occasion, for the setting forth the  
 postles Advantage of Virginity, to say many Things of the  
 Inconveniencies of Marriage. Did that excellent  
 Man, and learned in the Scripturs, that Virgin  
 Doctor of the Church which is a Virgin, find any  
 Fault with that Discourse? And in my Book to  
 • Eustochium, I said some Things harder yet con-  
 cerning Marriage: And yet no Body was offended  
 at it. For Damafus being a Lover of Chastity,  
 heard my Commendations of Virginity with a greedy  
 Ear.

This last is the Book which he complains is  
 now *lapidatus*, stoned: Or, generally condemned.

He says also in another Place (12), that Da-  
 mafus did himself write in Commendation of Vir-  
 ginity, both in Prose and Verse.

'Tis the less Wonder, that in Letters between  
 these two, that did so magnifie this State of  
 Life, the Habit, or Garment, by which the con-  
 tinent Life of a Monk was professed, should be  
 called the *Garment of Christ*.

And if what I have produced, be sufficient  
 to make this probable, then I have clear'd St.  
 Hierom's Parents of an Imputation that has been  
 laid on 'em, ever since *Erasmus's* Time, even by  
 learned Men: And which St. Hierom himself  
 would have counted a heinous one. For when  
 he declares how sinful it would be, if any Parents  
 that are Christians should suffer their Children to  
 die unbaptiz'd; (as I have shewn (13) he does)  
 he must judge that his Parents had run a very  
 sinful Hazard, if they had let him continue so  
 long, and then take so long a Journey, before  
 they had procur'd him Baptism. And then  
 also the Pictur, which they have lately made  
 in

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(12) Epist. 2. ad Nepotian. (13) Pt. 1. CH. XV. §. 1.

in the Chappel dedicated to this Saint, in the Year of the Church of the *Invalids* in *France*, representing his Baptism at adult Age, will prove a Mistake. ter the Apostles

SECT. II. Of St. Austin.

*His Father was a Heathen, when this his Son was born: And a long Time after.*

§. 1. There is no Instance of this Natur more commonly urg'd, than that of St. *Austin*: And yet none that is a more palpable Mistake.

That he was about 33 Years old when he was baptiz'd, is clear: He himself gives a large Account of it in his *Book of Confessions* (14). As he observ'd (15), that that Book was in his Life-time more generally read than any other of his Works; so it has happen'd ever since. That, of all other, having had the Fortun to be translated into many vulgar Languages, every Body has observ'd the Story of his Baptism: And it has cast Scruples into the Heads of many unlearned Readers, to think, if Infant Baptism were then practis'd, Why he was not baptiz'd in Infancy?

§. 2. As for his Parents: *Possidius*, who a little after his Death wrote his Life, says in the Beginning thereof; that he was *born of creditable and christian Parents*. So here Matters are brought to a fair Issue. St. *Austin*, in his Books which I quoted (16), makes us to understand, that he never knew, heard, or read of any Christian that was an Antipædobaptist: And *Pelagius* his Adversary, in the Question of Original Sin, whose Interest

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(14) L. 9. c. 6. (15) *Retractat.* l. 2. c. 6. (16) Pt. 1. CH. XIX. §. 17, & 30.



Year af- Interest it was to have found some if there had  
ter the A- been any, confesses, that he knew of none. And  
postles yet now it seems St. *Austin's* own Father was one.

And this must have past for current; if St. *Austin* himself had not given us a truer, or at least a more particular Account, of his Parents than *Possidius* has done. But this he does in the foremention'd Book of his *Confessions*. Only there is this Difference; that the Story of his Baptism being set down at large, is taken Notice of by every Body: but his Father's Want of Christianity being mention'd but briefly, and by the By in one or two Places, has escap'd the Notice of many Readers.

*Marshall*, in his *Defence of Infant Baptism* (17), or rather a Friend of his, whom he made Use of to search into Matters of Antiquity; having himself, as he there says, but just *Leisur enough to look into these Authors now and then*: He was taken up, I suppose, with much higher Authors; *Calvin, Twiss, &c.* But his Friend has cleared this Matter very well: Which was easie to do. He has produc'd the particular Places, where St. *Austin* tells us, that his Father was no baptiz'd Christian, nor so much as a Catechumen, nor did believe in Christ, till a good while after he [*St. Austin*] was born. Which are these:

263. In the *first* Book of his *Confessions*, Ch. 11. speaking of the Time when he was a Child, (about 8 or 9 Years old, one must guess by the Story) he says of his Father; *Ille nondum crederat.* 'He did not yet at that Time believe.

270. In the *second* Book, Ch. 3. speaking to God of the State of his Father and Mother, at that Time when he was, as himself mentions, 16 Years old, he says, *In my Mother's Breast thou hadst already*

already begun thy Temple, and made an Entrance for thy dwelling Place. But he [my Father] was yet but a Catechumen, and that but newly.

Year after the Apostles

In the ninth Book, Ch. 9. reckoning up in a Speech to God Almighty the good Deeds of his Mother, who was then lately dead: He says; Finally, she also gained over to thee her Husband in the latter End of his Life. And had no more Occasion to bewail that [Crossness and ill Natur] in him after he was Fidelis, a baptiz'd Christian; which she had endur'd in him before he was so.

289.

276.

Yet notwithstanding all this, the Life Writers copying out of Possidius, and one out of another, do to this Day write him *parente utroque Christiano natum*, 'Born of Parents both Christians. If he, or they, mean that his Parents were both Christians at the Time of his Birth, it is a plain Mistake. But if they mean that they became so before they died; 'tis true, but ought to have been explain'd so: At least by the modern Writers, because of the Occasion of Mistake that it lays in the Way of the Antipædobaptists, of which there was formerly no Fear.

His Mother indeed was a Christian (in Heart and Belief at least: Whether baptiz'd or not, we are not certain) at the Time of his Birth. But what could a Woman do against the Will of such an Imperious and Choleric Husband, as St. Austin in many Places (18) declares his Father to have been in those Times? She did what she could or dar'd: He says of himself (19), *I was signed with the Sign of Christ's Cross, and was seasoned with his Salt*, (Ceremonies then used by Christians on their Children) *even from the Womb of my Mother, who greatly trusted in thee.* But so solemn a Thing as Baptism she could

254.

(18) Confess. l. 9. c. 9, &c. (19) Confess. l. 1. c. 11.

Year af-  
ter the A-  
postles

could not, or dar'd not, it seems, procure to be administred against her Husband's Will. For it was not a Thing (20) then used to be huddled up in a privat Parlor, or in the Woman's Bed Chamber, or without Godfathers, &c. but had many solemn Circumstances, and was perform'd by putting the Child into the Water in Presence of the Congregation, &c. except in some particular Cases of extreme Haste and Necessity.

It was contrary to her Husband's Inclination, that she taught her Child, as she nurs'd him, the Principles of the Christian Religion. As he plainly intimates when he says (21), *So I then believed, and so did all our Family, except my Father only; who did not* however so far over-rule the Power of my Mother's godly Love toward me, *but that I believed in Christ, tho' he did not.*

St. Paul perswades a believing Wife to stay with an unbelieving Husband (22), partly for the Hopes there is of *gaining* [or converting] him: And partly, because the unbelieving Party is seldom so obstinat or averse to Christianity, but that the Children are allow'd to be made *Holy* [or baptiz'd] into it. Which I shewed (23) to be the Sense which the most antient Writers give to his Words. But still this must be understood to hold *for the most Part*, not *always*. There has been seldom known any Husband that would yield so little to the Desires or Pétitions of a Wife as this Man would, while he was a Heathen. He us'd her not as a Companion, but as an absolut Servant: Even by the Account which the Son gives of the Father after his Death.

II

(20) See Pt. 1. CH. XV. Sect. 7. §. 3. (21) Conf. 1. l. c. 11. (22) 1 Cor. 7. (23) Pt. 1. CH. XIX. §. 19. it. CH. XI. §. 11.

In a Word, St. *Austin's* Case was the same Year after the Apostles; with that of *Timothy*, whose Mother was a Jewess; and yet his Father being a Greek, i. e. a Heathen, and probably a Hater of the Jewish Religion, as St. *Austin's* Father was of the Christian; he had not been Circumcised: As appears, *Acts* 16. 1, 3. *Him Paul took and Circumcised him, because of the Jews that were in those Quarters: For they knew all that his Father was a Greek: And therefore probably would be inquisitive whether he had been Circumcised, or not.*

Indeed when St. *Austin* was a Child not yet big enough to go to School, but capable to express his Mind, and it happen'd that he fell ill of a sudden Pain in his Stomach, so violent that he was like to die: And he had, as he tells himself (24), the Motion of Mind, and the Faith to beg earnestly of his Mother to get him baptiz'd: She in that Case would have ventur'd to do it, and did in great Haste bestir her self in providing for it. And it had been done, if he had not quickly mended of his Pain. But there are several Things considerable in this Case. 1. It was a Case of great Extremity: It must be done now or never. 2. It was at his own Desire, so that his Father could not blame his Mother. 3. In that Case a privat and clinical Baptism was sufficient. 4. 'Tis probable that his Father was now mollified in that Averseness that he had for the Christian Religion, in which he him self, in a few Years after, thought fit to become a Catechumen, or Hearer.

§. 3. Afterward the Scene alter'd in the Family of *Patritius*, St. *Austin's* Father. For when he began to believe in Christ, and to fear God; his Son *Austin* began to be estrang'd from Religion,

271.

(24) L. I. C. II.

Year af-  
ter the A-  
postles

- gion, and all good Inclinations, by the Heat of Lust, and Fornication (25). And when his Father now join'd with his Mother in perswading him to associate himself with the Christians, and of all the sorts of them to join with the Catholic Church; this Advice had no Effect upon him at that Time. For he quickly after ran into the blasphemous Sect of the *Manichees* (26), who derided all Baptism and the Scriptures, and were no more Christians than the *Mahometans* are now.
273. Yet it had its Effect afterward. For 12 or 13 Years after, when his Father had now been dead a good while, and he disliking the *Manichees*, turn'd a *Sceptic*, or *Seeker*, or (as they now call 'em) a *Deist*, not knowing what Religion to be of; he remembered the Advice of his Parents, which he had formerly despis'd: And I resolved, says he (27), to be a *Catechumen* in the Catholic Church, which had been recommended to me by my Parents, so long till some Certainty should shew it self to my Mind which Way I were best to take.
287. And this prov'd an Occasion of his final Conversion.

I the rather recite these Words here, their Meaning being explain'd by the Circumstances: Because taken by themselves they might strengthen that Opinion, (which has been prov'd a Mistake) that his Father was a Christian when this his Son was born.

Sect. 12.

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(25) L. 2. c. 1, 2, &c. (26) L. 3. c. 6. (27) L. 5. c. ult. it. l. 6. c. 11.

Sect. 12. Of Monica, Adeodatus, Alipius,  
and some others.

*They do none of 'em make Instances for this Purpose.*

§. 1. Some (I think one or two) have named *Monica*, St. *Austin's* Mother, among their Instances; but without any kind of Ground: Since there is no knowing whether she were born of Christian Parents, and baptiz'd in Infancy; or of Heathens, and baptiz'd at Years of Discretion. She had never been known if she had not been Mother to St. *Austin*. No Body mentions her, but he: And he says nothing, that I remember, of the State of her Parents; but a great deal of her Goodness and her Care of him.

§. 2. *Adeodatus*, St. *Austin's* Son, begotten in Fornication, who being (28) fifteen Years old, was baptiz'd together with him, is likewise mentioned without any Reason. St. *Austin* was a *Manichee* when this Son was born to him: And they condemn'd all Christian Baptism of Infants or others: As I shall shew by and by (29), concerning them and some other Sects. It were absurd to expect, that he should have procur'd him to be baptiz'd before he himself had renounc'd that Opinion, and thought fit to be baptiz'd himself. He says of him (30); *We [I and Alipius] join'd him with us of the same Age of our selves in thy Grace, [the Grace of Baptism] to be educated in thy Disciplin, and were baptized, &c.* As *Ishmael* was Circumcis'd, so this Youth

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was

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(28) Confess. l. 9. c. 6. (29) CH. V. §. 3. (30) Confess. l. 9. c. 6.

Year after the Apollonias  
 was baptized, the same Day with his Father.  
 Which was at *Easter, Anno 388.*

288.

§. 3. When I have spoken of *Alipius*, whom *St. Austin* mentions as baptiz'd together with him; I hope I have done. 'Tis only in Compliance to *Mr. Tombs*, that he need be mention'd at all. He had observed that he was baptiz'd when he was adult, and so makes him an Instance for this Purpose (31), without giving any Proof or Pretence of it, that his Parents were Christians. He might in a Week's Time have collected a hundred such Instances of Persons baptiz'd at Man's Age, whose Parents are utterly unknown, as *Alipius's* are: Only People have generally concluded that they were Heathens, because they did not baptize their Children.

And there happen to be also some more particular Proofs in his Case. As that, before his Conversion, he abhor'd or scorn'd the Name of Christ: As *St. Austin* gives us to understand, when after having given God Thanks for his Grace in recovering him himself, he adds (32); *Thou didst also subdue Alipius the Brother of my Soul, to the Name of thy only begotten, our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, which he before took in Disdain to have inserted in our Letters.*

And also that he was so ignorant of what the Christians believ'd or held concerning the Person of *Jesus Christ*. For having heard some Christians maintain that he as Man had no Soul, but that his Divinity was in the stead of a Soul to his Body; and thinking this to be the common Opinion of the Christians, and judging it to be absurd; he was, as *St. Austin* says (33), *the more hardly brought over to the Christian Religion.*

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(31) Exercit. pag. 28. it. Examen. pag. 14. (32) Confess. l. 9. c. 4. (33) Ibid. l. 7. c. 19.

Chap. III. Alipius, Tecla, &c.

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postles

But afterwards understanding this to be the Mistake of the Apollinarian Heretics, he congratulated the Catholic Faith, &c. So improbable is it that he had Christian Parents.

§. 4. There is one *Den* an Antipædobaptist Writer; and *Danvers* from him (34), that mentions a great many more Names yet, viz. *Pantratius*, *Pontius*, *Nazarius*, *Tecla*, *Luigerus*, *Erasma Tusca*, the three Sons of *Leonilla*. But they do but just mention 'em: And if the Reader would know who they are, and upon what Grounds they are brought in here; he must look to that himself.

For *Tecla*: If they mean the famous *Tecla* that is said to be baptized by *St. Paul*, there is no doubt but she was baptiz'd in her adult Age: But there is as much Probability of *St. Paul's* Parents having been Christians, as of hers. For the rest, no Body knows who they mean: For as some of those Names have had several Persons called by them, so some have had none at all that I know of.

What I have to add in this second Edition to this and the foregoing Chapter, is, that whereas one *Mr. Delaun* an Antipædobaptist, in a *Plea for Nonconformists*, written in *King Charles II.* Time, had heaped together a great Number of Quotations out of modern Authors, who had reported the antient Opinions or Usages to be, in any Respect whatsoever, different from the Tenets or Usages of the Church of *England*; and among the rest had brought in at p. 11. all that he could rake together against Infant Baptism, (taking them, I suppose, out of *Danvers*) viz. the Sayings of *Bp. Taylor*, *Grotius*, *Lud. Vives*, *Daille*, *Dr. Field*, *Mr. Baxter*, *Wal. Strabo*, *Boemus*;

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(34) Treatise of Baptism, Part 1. c. 7.



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Chapter: And whereas there were none of these Quotations about Infant Baptism, or the other Subjects, but had been consider'd and answer'd by learned Men of the Church, (tho' not in any particular Answer to *Delaun's* Pamphlet, but on other Occasions) and consequently, unless the Nonconformists could produce some new Matter, there seem'd to have been said all that was necessary to restore Peace and Union: Now the other Day, a certain busie Writer for Dissention, instead of offering any new Thing, reprinted *Delaun's* Book, with a pompous Preface, as a Piece that never was answer'd, *a finished Piece*, &c. which call'd for an Answer from the Churchmen.

As for Infant Baptism; there is not one Word or Quotation in it, but what had been fully answer'd: nor, as I think, on any other Subject. Now at this Rate we must never be at quiet; if after Objections fully propos'd, and all of 'em publicly answer'd, the Method be, instead of a fair Reply, to reprint in a challenging Way the very same Objections again.

The Reason I have to think that he took all the Quotations he has against Infant Baptism, out of *Danvers*, is, because where *Danvers* has mix'd any Forgery of his own with the Quotation, there *Delaun* has don the like. As they do both quote *Grot. in Matt. 19. 14.* in the same Words; but forged ones: where they make him say; *Infant Baptism for many hundred Years was not ordinary in the Greek Church*; and where they make him speak of *Constantin*, as an Instance against Infant Baptism; which he was never ignorant enough to do.

C H A P. IV.

*Of the Church of the antient Britons. And of some antient Sects, viz. the Novatians, and the Donatists: Which are by some thought to have been Antipædobaptists. And of the Arians.*

§. 1. **A**BOUT 26 Years ago, a certain Antipædobaptist (1) Writer lighted upon an Argument to prove, as he thought, the antient Christians in *Britain*, before the Coming in of the *English*, to have been against Infant Baptism. It is an Evidence how great Mistakes may arise from the Misprinting of 2 or 3 Words in a Book: And that, in a Book of so little Regard as *Fabian's Chronicle*. The Account of the Matter is this.

Venerable *Bede* wrote in the Year 731, the *Church History of the English Nation*: And tells how *Austin* the Monk, after having made some Progress in planting Christianity among the *English*, made a Proposal to the *Britons*, desiring them to join in Communion with him and his new Converts, and to assist in converting the *English* to the Christian Faith. But whereas the *Britons* held and practised Rites and Traditions, in many Things different from those that he then brought from the Church of *Rome*, he insisted that they should leave off their own, and comply with his Ceremonies and Customs. This they refused. And, after many Alterations, he

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(1) Danv. Treat. of Bap. Pt. 2. c. 7.

Year at last made 'em this final (2) Propofal; You  
 ter the A- practise in many Things contrary to our Custom,  
 posties and indeed contrary to the Custom of the universal  
 Church. And yet if you will comply with me in  
 these three Things; That you keep Easter at the  
 right Time: That you perform the Office of Baptiz-  
 ing (by which we are regenerated unto God) accord-  
 ing to the Custom of the Holy Roman Church, and  
 the Apostolic Church: And that you together with  
 us do preach the Word of the Lord to the Nation of  
 the English: We will bear patiently with all the  
 other Things which you practise contrary to our  
 Customs. But they answer'd, that they would do  
 none of these Things, nor own him for their Arch-  
 bishop, &c.

This same Passage is related by several others  
 of our English Historians in the after Ages, who  
 taking it from Bede relate it to the same Sense.

Among the rest, one Fabian, (a Sheriff or  
 Alderman of London in King Henry the Seventh's  
 Time, as I take it) wrote a Chronicle of the  
 1400. English History in English. There are two  
 Editions of his Book, which I have seen in the  
 Oxford Library. There may be more: In one  
 of 'em (which is the first I know not: I think  
 the Title Page in one was torn) his Words are  
 to the same Sense as Bede's, being these; at  
 Fol. 56. Then he sayd to them, Sen ye  
 woll not assent to my hestes generally,  
 assent ye to me especially in thre thyngs.  
 The first is, that ye kepe Esterday in due  
 fourme and tyme as it is ordeyned. The  
 second, that ye give Chrystendom to the Chil-  
 dren in the manner that is used in the  
 Chyrche of Rome. And the thyrde, that ye  
 preche unto the Anglis the word of God, &c.  
 But

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(2) Bedæ Eccl. Hist. l. 2. c. 3.

But in the other, these Words [in the manner that is used in the Church of Rome] are omitted: So that the Condition stands thus [that ye give Christendom to the Children]. And this last mentioned Edition our Author having lighted on, concluded that the *British* Church before these Times had not been used to give Christendom to, or Baptize, Children.

Year after the Apostles

But he should have consider'd, that the Account of such a Thing should be taken from *Bede* and the other antient Historians; and not from *Fabian*: Especially since *Fabian* in his Preface acknowledges, (as Mr. *Wills* says (3), for I did not read that) that what he relates of the antient Affairs, he has from *Bede*: And consequently his Meaning must be to express *Bede's* Sense: And so that Edition first mention'd must be as he meant it, and the Omission in the other must have been by Mistake, of himself, or the Printer.

*Fox* (4), and other Authors that have wrote since *Fabian*, recite the Matter as *Bede* does.

This Argument taken from *Fabian* is endeavor'd to be confirm'd by some other Collateral ones: Of which none is worth the mentioning, but that from *Constantin's* being born among the *Britons*, and yet not baptized in Infancy. And that is not worth it neither; considering that very few now-a-days believe that he was born in *Britain*, and none at all but this Author, and one more, that his Father was a Christian (5).

*Pelagius* was certainly born in *Britain*. And since he owns (as I have produc'd (6) his Words) that he never heard of any *Christian, Catholic, or Sectary, that denied Infant Baptism*; 'tis certain his own Countrymen did not.

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(3) Infant Baptism asserted, p. 124. (4) Martyrology at the Year 600. (5) See CH. III. Sect. 2. §. 2. (6) Pt. 1. CH. XIX. §. 30.

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The Man brings this for one of his Arguments to prove that the *British Church* must have opposed the Baptizing of Infants; *because they so fully prized and adhered to the Scriptures, and rejected human Traditions, especially all Romish Innovations, &c.* If this be any Argument, then for certain the Pædobaptists Cause is in a bad Case.

§. 2. The *Novatians* and *Donatists* are also brought in by the same Writer, as Adversaries of Pædobaptism. Tho' both these Parties of Men were Schismatics, and forsook the Communion of the establish'd Churches in those Times: Yet their Differences having been rather in Points of Disciplin than of Faith, and they having been at some Times of the Church very numerous, and the Time of their flourishing within our limited Period of 400 Years; an Argument from their Practice of keeping Infants unbaptiz'd would be considerable. But it would be withal a very strange Discovery: Since there are so many Books extant, written at the same Time by *Cyprian, Eusebius, Optatus, Austin, &c.* containing a Ventilation of all the Disputes between the Catholics and these Men, in which nothing has ever been observ'd that should intimate that they had any such Practice or Opinion. For among all the Reasons that the *Donatists* (who rebaptized such as having been baptized by the Catholics came afterward over to them) gave, why the Baptism of the Catholics was null, there is none that lays any Blame on their giving it in Infancy. But, on the contrary, *St. Austin* does often make Use of the Instance of Infant Baptism, as granted by them, to overthrow some other Errors that they had about Baptism.

It would, I say, be a strange Discovery to make now. But the Proofs brought for it do fail one's Expectation. For as for those out of *St. Austin* against the *Donatists, Osiander, Fuller, Bullinger,*

*Bullinger*, &c. they are all by Mr. *Baxter* (7), Year after the Apostles and Mr. *Wills* (8), shewn plainly to be nothing to the Purpose. And what he would prove out of *Austin de Animâ*, and *Waldensis*, that the Dispute between *Vincentius Victor* and St. *Austin* was; whether Infants ought to be baptized; will appear a great Mistake, by reading what I have produc'd of the Opinion of *Vincentius* in this Collection (9). For it was only whether Infants that happened to die unbaptized, might ever enter into the Kingdom of Heaven.

Yet he quotes some Writers, that do indeed say the Thing that he would prove. But they are only *Sebastian Frank*, and one *Twisk*. It is an Artifice that may take with some very ignorant People, but I believe not approved by the more knowing or candid of his own Opinion, to quote for some Matter of antient History, an Author that is but of yesterday, and of no Note or Credit. When a vulgar Reader sees such a Quotation, he thinks it as good as the best, because he knows not the Author: But one of any reading flights it for that reason, because he knows him not. It is this Man's Way through all his Book, to quote for the principal Things that are in Dispute concerning Antiquity, such Books as the foresaid *Frank* and *Twisk*, and one *Merning*, and a Book that he calls *Dutch Martyrology*. They are all, as it seems, *Dutch* Writers of late Years, of the Antipædobaptists Way: And if they say all that he quotes 'em for, they say Things without any Regard whether they be true or false. It is a known Rule; that any modern Writer affirming any Thing of antient History,

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(7) More Proofs for Infant Bapt. Pt. 2. §. 2. CH. IV.  
 (8) Infant Baptism re-asserted, pag. 139. (9) Pt. 3.  
 CH. XX. §. 2, 3, 4.

Year af- History, without referring to some antient  
 ter the A- Author, is not at all to be heeded. These Men  
 Postles might as well have quoted him, as he them; And  
 it had been a like Authority.

One shall not see Mr. *Baxter* in such a Passion as he is in this Place: To premise to the Answers that he gives to the several Quotations about these *Novatians* and *Donatists*, such Sayings as (10); Utterly false. False again. This is something, were it true: But it is such a kind of Falshood as I must not name in its due Epithets, Not a Word of Truth; no such Matter in that Chapter, or the whole Book. Blush, Reader, for such a Man. Mr. *Bagshaw* is now quite overdone in the Quality of Untruths, &c.

I produced in the Collection (11), a Canon of a Council of *Carthage*, wherein they decree what is to be done in Reference to that Question; Whether they should admit to any Office of the Clergy those who in their Infancy, before they could judge of the Error, had been baptized by the *Donatists*, and afterward came over to the Church. *Cassander* and Mr. *Cobbet* had brought this as a Proof, that the *Donatists*, as well as Catholics, baptiz'd Infants. This Writer says (12); That is but a Supposition at best that they might do so. But I doubt any one else will take it for a plain Supposition that they ordinarily did so.

That Challenge of St. *Austin*, and Confession of *Pelagius*, produced before (13), that they never knew nor heard of any Heretics or Schismatics that were against the Baptizing of Infants, must be an undeniable Proof that neither of

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(10) Pag. 249, &c. 241, &c. (11) Pt. 1. CH. XVI. §. 1, 2. (12) Treat. of Baptr: Pt. 2. CH. VII. (13) Pt. 1. CH. XIX. §. 17, & 30.

of these two Sects were so: Since a considerable Body of each of 'em were remaining in those Parts; where these two Men lived: And all their particular Opinions were the Subject of every Day's Disputations. And St. *Austin*, in his *Book of Sects*, wrote a particular of their Tenets (14), as well as of all the rest. And yet since my last Edition, an Antipædobaptist Writer, Mr. *Davye*, has printed over again what *Danvers* had said of the *Britons*, the *Novatians*, the *Donatists*, denying Infant Baptism; without having a Word to say to the Confutation of that Pretence by *Baxter*, *Wills*, &c. or in my Book; which yet he had seen. And hunting farther for some Antipædobaptists among the Schismatics of those Times, has laid a Claim to the *Pelagians*: who, when they were expiring, left behind 'em (as I have shewn Pt. 1. CH. XIX. and a little more fully in a *Defence* of this Book) an eternal *Anathema* against any that should deny Infant Baptism, or say that they denied it.

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§. 3. The *Arians* are by some Catholic Writers styled *Anabaptists*. These also made a considerable Body of Men in some Part of our Period of Time, viz. of the first 300 Years after the Apostles. Especially in the Time of the Emperors, *Constantius* and *Valens*; who took almost the same Methods to force their Subjects to turn *Arians*, or at least to hold Communion with the *Arians*, as the *French* King does at this Day to force his to turn Papists, or go to Mass. If the Writer whom we have been following for some Time, had ever heard of, or lighted on, those Places where the *Arians* are called *Anabaptists*; I am perswaded he would have increased the Catalog of his Friends with one Sect more. I would

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(14) De Hæres. c. 49.



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would not have the Antipædobaptists claim any Acquaintance with so ill Company: And therefore do give 'em an Account of the Reason why they had that Name. It was not for that they had any Thing to say against Infant Baptism: But because they, as well as the *Donatists* before 'em, did use to baptize over again, such as came from the Catholic Church to 'em; not for that they had been baptiz'd in Infancy, (for if they had been baptiz'd at Man's Age it was all one) but for that they had received Baptism from the Catholics, whom the *Arians* did so hate, that they would not own any Baptism given by them to be Good. This is evident both from St. *Austin*, who recites their Tenets (15), and also from an Oration of St. *Ambrose*, which I mentioned before, against *Auxentius* the *Arian*: Where he says, *Cur igitur rebaptizandos, &c.* 'Why does *Auxentius* say, that the faithful People, who have been baptized in the Name of the *Trinity*, must be baptiz'd again? And this is all that the Word *Anabaptist* signifies; *One that baptizes over again those that have been baptiz'd already.* And therefore those of the Antipædobaptists that know the Signification of the Word, do not own the Name: They denying theirs to be Re-baptizing.

The Instance of the Emperor *Valens*, that I gave before (16), (whom St. *Basil* exhorted to have his Child baptized by the Catholic Bishops, but he chose to have it done by the *Arians*) is a clear Proof that *Arians* as well as Catholics baptiz'd Infants.

C H A P.

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(15) De Hæres. c. 49. (16) Pt. 1. CH. XII. §. 9, 10.

C H A P. V.



*Of some Heretics that denied all Water-Baptism. And of others that baptiz'd the same Person several Times over. The Dispute in the Catholic Church concerning Re-baptizing. Of the Paulianists, whom the Nicen Fathers order'd to be baptiz'd a-new, if they would come into the Church.*

§. 1. **W**HAT St. *Austin* and *Pelagius* said of all Heretics (that they had ever heard of) allowing Infant Baptism, must be understood of such as allowed any Baptism at all. For otherwise, they knew there were some Sects that renounced all Use of it to any Persons, Infants or others. And St. *Austin* had himself been of one of 'em. And he does indeed express a Limitation that is of the same Effect, when he says, *All that do receive the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, do own Infant Baptism for the Remission of Sins* (17): For those that denied all Water Baptism, did also generally renounce the Scriptures.

It may be worth the while to gratifie the *Quakers* with a short Catalog of all their antient Friends in that Point of denying Baptism, that were within our Period.

The Historians that have given us the Tale of all the Heresies they had heard of, have been much too liberal of that Name. For they have given the Name of Heretics to some that deserved a worse, and should have been called Infidels;

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(17) See the Words, Pt. 1. CH. XIX. §. 17.

Year af-ter the A-pofles. Infidels; and alfo to fome that deferved one not fo bad, and fould have gone for diftracted People.

Of the firft fort were the *Valentinians*, who made Ufe of the Name of Chrift only to mock and abuſe the Religion: Their own Religion being a Mixtur of Idolatry, Magic, and lafcivious Rites. They (18) blaſphemed the Scriptures as falſe; and the Catholics as carnal; and both, as giving a wrong Account of *Jeſus Chriſt*, of whom they made quite another fort of Being.

Of theſe *Irenæus* reckons up ſeveral forts, which had their ſeveral Opinions concerning Baptiſm. I gave a general Account of 'em before (19), out of the 18th Chapter of *Irenæus's* firſt Book: And here you ſhall have *Irenæus's* Words.

Having premifed, that *in this Sect there are as many ἀπολυτῶσεις, Redemptions* [or, Ways of Baptiſm] *as there are Ring-leaders*, he adds,

*Some of 'em drefs up a Bride-Chamber, and perform myſtical Ceremonies with certain profane Words to thoſe whom they initiate; and call this a ſpiritual Marriage, which they ſay is made according to the Likeneſs of the Heavenly Conjugations.*

*Others bring the Party to the Water, and as they are baptizing uſe theſe Words: ' In the Name of the unknown Father of all Things: In the Truth the Mother of all Things: In him that came down on JESUS: In the Union and Redemption and Communion of Powers.*

*Some, that they may amuſe thoſe whom they initiate, uſe certain Hebrew Words; Baſema, Chamafi, Baænabra, &c.*

*Others of 'em again expreſs their Redemption [or, Baptiſm] thus; ' The Name that is hidden from*

(18) *Irenæus*, l. 3. c. 2. (19) Pt. I. CH. XXI. §. 2.

‘ from every Deity, Dominion, and Truth : Year after the  
 ‘ Which JESUS of Nazareth put on in the Apostles  
 ‘ Zones of Light, &c.

And he that is initiated [or, baptiz'd] answers,  
 ‘ I am confirmed and redeemed : And I redeem  
 ‘ my Soul from this ÆON and all that comes  
 ‘ of it, in the Name of I A O, &c.

Then they anoint the baptized Person with Balsam : For they say this Ointment is the Type of that Sweetness which surpasses all Things. [Note, that this is the first Mention of Chrism that is any where read of. And since I shall shew presently, at CH. IX. that it was us'd by the Catholics from Testimonies of near the same Date as this; one may conclude that it came from some Principle universally received by all Christians; Catholic or Heretic.]

Some of 'em say; that 'tis needless to bring the Person to the Water at all : But making a Mixture of Oil and Water, they pour it on his Head, using certain profan Words, much like them beforementioned : And they say that that is Redemption [or, Baptism]. This sort use Balsam also.

But others of 'em rejecting all these Things, say, ‘ That the Mystery of the unspeakable  
 ‘ and invisible Power, ought not to be per-  
 ‘ form'd by visible and corruptible Elements :  
 ‘ Nor that of incomprehensible and incorpo-  
 ‘ real Things, be represented by sensible and  
 ‘ corporeal Things. But that the Knowledge  
 ‘ of the unspeakable Majesty, is it self perfect  
 ‘ Redemption [or, Baptism]. These last I sup-  
 ‘ pose will be owned for Friends.

§. 2. Tertullian wrote his Book of Baptism, that he might put a Stop to the Heresie that had been set on Foot by one Quintilla, a Woman Preacher, that had been at Carthage a little before ;

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before; and had, as he says (20), seduc'd a great many. The main of her Preaching was against Water-Baptism: *That it was needless: That Faith alone was sufficient, &c.* She had come out, as he understood, from the Sect of the *Caianis*. That Sect, as impious as it was in other Things (21), did not deny Baptism that we read of. She had, it seems, added that her self. He there largely sets forth the Falseness of her Doctrin, and also her Masculin Impudence in usurping the Office of a Preacher of it, tho' it had been never so true.

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§. 3. The *Manichees* are the next: As little deserving the Name of Christians as the rest, and less than the *Mahometans* do. They made the same Account of their *Manes*, as these do of *Mahomet*. They owned Christ to be a true Prophet, as these do: And *Peter, Paul, John, &c.* to have been his true Apostles. But they said (as these also do) that the Books which we have of theirs are no true Records, but had been falsified. And the same Absurdity which the Christians now do urge against these, *St. Austin* urg'd against them: *That if they plead our Copies are falsified, they ought at least to produce such as are truer.* And he, who had been once seduced by them, tells us what they held as to Baptism (22), *They say that Baptism in Water does no Body any Good: Neither do they baptize any of the Profelyts whom they delude into their Sect.*

Yet *St. Cyril of Jerusalem* (23) intimates, that they had something instead of Baptism. *Their Baptism*, says he, *is such as I dare not describe before Men and Women. I am afraid to tell, in what Matter it is that they dipping a Fig, give it*  
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(20) De Baptismo, c. 1. (21) Epiphani. de Caianis, hæ. 38 (22) De hæ. c. 46. (23) Catech. 6.

## Chap. V. The Messalians.

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to their wretched People. Yet he intimates what it was: But it is so beastly that I will not do that.

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§. 4. The *Messalians* seem to have been no other but a sort of Enthusiastical People, who leaving off their Employments thought it necessary; or at least pleasing to God, to spend all their Time in Prayer and Raptur: And thereby became subject to many Hypochondriac Conceits. *Epiphanius* and *St. Austin* speaking of 'em in their Catalogs, say nothing of their denying Baptism. But *Theodoret* (24), and the *Historia Tripartita* (25) out of him, repeats their Sense thus; *That there is no Profit accruing to the Baptized by Baptism: But that fervent Prayer only expels the Devil.* And says; *that the most noted Men of their Sect were, Dadoes, Sabbas, Adelphius, Hermas, Symeonis.*

What does *Mr. Danvers* do, but put down these Men (26) for eminent Persons that in the 4th Century bore Witness against Infant Baptism? And he cites for Authority the foresaid Place; *Hist. Tripart. l. 7. c. 11.* into which whoever looks, will see that the Error there laid to their Charge, is in the Words that I have set down, and no other: Which express the Opinion of the Quakers, not of the Antipedobaptists.

But he quotes also *Sebast. Frank* (one of the Dutch Blades I mention'd a (27) little above) to confirm that this *Dadoes, Sabbas, &c.* were eminent Witnesses against Infant Baptism. So that 'tis to be hoped for *Danvers's* Credit that he had never look'd into *Hist. Tripart.* but had taken the Quotation on the Credit of *Frank*, which must be very small.

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(24) L. 4. c. 10. (25) L. 7. c. 11. (26) Treat. of Bapts. Pt. 2. ch. 7. (27) CH. IV, §. 2,

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But if one read the whole Passage in *Theodoret, Hist. Eccl. l. 4. c. 10.* and *Hæretic. Fabul. l. 4. cap. de Messalianis*: 'Tis plain that the Men were distracted. For they pretended that by Force of their Prayer they could bring the Devil out of themselves, sometimes by *Spittle*, and sometimes by *blowing their Nose*: They would dance about, and say they were treading upon him: They would imitate Archers, and then say they had shot him. And that after the Devil was gone from 'em, they could see the Holy Trinity with bodily Eyes. They were also full of Prophecies and Revelations. And *St. Hierom*, who had liv'd in *Syria* among 'em, says (28), that they said of themselves, that *when they were come to the Top of their Perfection, they were beyond any Possibility of Sinning, in Thought, or by Ignorance.*

The Historians that have incumber'd the Church Registers with these, and some other such sorts of Sects, would at the same Rate, if they had had in any Country at any Time a Dozen or two of our *Muggletonians*, have made a considerable Sect of 'em, to be talked of in Church History to the End of the World. Where as such Men, especially when inconsiderable for Number, should be pitied in their Life-time, and kept dark: And their wild Opinions forgot after they are dead. And this Method would have lessen'd the Catalogs of Sects almost by one half.

Some (29) do reckon beside these, the *Ascodyti*, and the *Archontici*: As Sects that used no Baptism. But *Theodoret* says (30), that the *Ascodyti* were a Branch of the *Valentinians*; and the *Archontici* of

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(28) Prolog. ad Dialog. contra Pelag. (29) Epiph. de Archonticis. (30) Hæret. fab. l. 1. c. 13.

## Chap. V. Marcionites. Muscovites.

of them. Which I am very glad of, being weary of reckoning any more.

St. *Austin* says (31), a Sect called *Seleucians*, or *Hermians*, do not admit of Water-Baptism, nor of the Resurrection. These are the Sects that have renounced all Use of Baptism.

§. 5. Some on the other extreme have administered it several Times to the same Person: And are therefore properly called *Anabaptists*. I speak now of those that practis'd *formal Anabaptism*, i. e. what they themselves owned to be Anabaptism, or Re-baptizing of the same Person. And of such I remember no more in antient Times, but the *Marcionites*. *Marcion* taught, as *Epiphanius* says (32), that it is lawful to give three Baptisms: So that if any one fall into Sin after his first Baptism, he may have a second: And a third, if he fall a second Time. And here it seems he stop'd his Hand. Yet *Epiphanius* says, that he had heard, that his Followers went farther, and gave more than three, if any one desir'd it.

He that writes the *Present State of Muscovy* says (33), their Way is, that Persons of Age, who change their Religion, and embrace the Muscovite Faith; nay even Muscovites, who having changed their Religion in another Country, are willing to return to their own Communion, must first be rebaptiz'd. He speaks also of some Vagabond People among them, called *Chaldeans*, who do customarily, and by a Sort of License, practise great Extravagancies from the 18th of December to *Epiphany*; during which Time they are excluded the Church: But on *Twelfth Day*, when their License is expir'd, they are rebaptiz'd, (some of 'em having been baptiz'd ten or twelve Times) and

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(31) De Hær. c. 59. (32) Hær. 42. Marcionitæ:  
(33) Dr. Crull, ch. 11.



Year af-look'd upon as good Christians. But *Brerewood*, Ch. ser the A<sup>23</sup>. says, (and quotes *Passevin* for it) that they use not this Baptism on Twelfth Day, as a Sacrament, or as any Purification of themselves; but only as a Memorial of Christ's Baptism received on that Day in *Jordan*: And that the *Abassens* do the same Thing upon the same Day upon the same Account. So that 'tis to be hoped that *Dr. Crull* may be mistaken in the Reason of their Practice. And for what he says here of their rebaptizing all that came over to their Religion; I have Occasion to note something on it, at *CH. IX. §. 2.*

*Mr. Thevenot* also tells a Story (34) of some People call'd *Sabeans*, living at *Bassora* in *Arabia*, that are, as he there says, improperly call'd Christians, that do reiterate the Baptism which they use. But it is not the Christian Baptism, nor given in that Form. They have, he says, no Knowledge of *Jesús Christ*, but that he was a Servant to *John Baptist*, and baptiz'd by him: And of the Books of the Gospel no Knowledge at all. But however it be with any late Sects, in antient Times there were, as I said, no Sects that did this but the *Marcionites*.

I know that the Name of Anabaptists, or Re-baptizers, was then by the Catholics imputed to several Heretics, and by some Churches of the Catholics to other Catholic Churches. But they that were so censured did none of 'em own, as the *Marcionites* did, that what they did was Re-baptizing: They all pleaded that the Baptism which the Party had received before was null and void; as being administred in a corrupt Church, or by Heretical Bishops, &c.

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Chap. V. *Ancient Disputes about Re-baptizing.* 133

The Antipædobaptists now hold the same Plea: <sup>Year after the Apostles</sup> But the Ground of the Plea is very different; for I never read, and I believe they can't produce, any Instance of any one that pleaded Baptism to be void because it was given in Infancy. And as they disown the Name of *Anabaptists*, or Re-baptizers; so I have no where given it to 'em: As, on the contrary, I do not give 'em the Name of *Baptists*, nor of the *baptized People*; for that is to cast a Reproach upon their Adversaries, as concluding that they are not so. Every Party, while the Matter continues in Dispute, ought to give and take such Names, as cast no Reproach on themselves nor their Opponents, but such as each of 'em own: And such are the Names that I use.

§. 6. The Dispute about Re-baptizing, or the Imputation thereof, was one that troubled the Church in former Times as much as any. Many Sects of Heretics and Schismatics were so bitter against the Catholics, that they said; All Things were so corrupt among 'em, that Baptism, or any other Office done by 'em, was null and void: And therefore they baptiz'd afresh all that came over from the Church to them. And many Churches of the Catholics were even with 'em, and observed the same Course with all that came over from them. But others would not: But said, that Baptism, tho' given by the Schismatics, was valid. And this came at last to be a Bone of Contention between the Catholics themselves: Each Party finding Fault with the others Way of receiving Schismatics into the Church.

In St. *Cyprian's* Time, the Christian World was divided into Halves on this Point. For he, and all the Churches of *Africa*, some of *Egypt*, and many in *Asia*, received not Heretics into the Church without a new Baptism; and one of the Apostolic Canons (c. 37. *als.* 46.) orders, that they

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they be not otherwise received. But the Christians at *Rome*, and most in *Europe*, used only to give 'em a new Confirmation, or laying on of Hands; and so admit 'em.

200. . Afterward, this came to be a Rule (35); that they that came to the Catholic Church from such Sects as used not the right Form of Baptism, [In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit] must be baptized at their Admission: but they that in any Sect had been baptized with those Words, should be adjudged to have already true Baptism.

§. 7. Yet the Paulianists were excepted from this general Rule: Tho' they, as *Athanasius* informs (36), used the said Form of baptizing; yet the Council of *Nice* expressly decreed (37), that they must be baptized a-new, if they would come into the Catholic Church. The Reason seems to be; that they, tho' using the same Words, of *Father, Son, and Holy Spirit*, yet meant by them so different a Thing, (for they took the Son to be a mere Man) that they were judg'd not to baptize into the same Faith, nor in the Name of the same God, that the Catholics and others did.

224. This shews the Abhorrence that the Christians at that Time had of an Opinion that would now grow fashionable. And *Photinus*, a little after, in the Time of *Constantius*, did no sooner make an Attempt to revive this Heresie, but that both the Catholics and Arians (tho' they could hardly agree in any Thing else) agreed in condemning him and his Opinion: Which Act of theirs, says *Socrates* the Historian (38), was approved of all Men, both at that Time present, and also in Times

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(35) Basil. de Spiritu Sancto, c. 1. (36) Orat. 3. contra Arianos. (37) Can. 19. (38) Lib. 2. c. 24.

*Times following.* He means that all of the most differing Parties and Opinions agreed that such a Doctrin was abominable: And *Theodoret*, who liv'd at the same Time with *Socrates*, having reckon'd up in one Book all the Sects that had attributed to our Savior no other Natur than human, says in the last Chapter thereof (39), *That they were at that Time all extinct and forgotten; so that the Names of 'em were known to but few.* And so they have continued till of very late Years: Unless the modern Abettors of 'em will plead, that the Succession of their Doctrin has been preserv'd from the Year 600 in the Churches of *Mecca* and *Medina*.

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§. 8. It appears how conscious these Men are, that all Antiquity is against them, by their setting themselves so bitterly against it. There is no Sect of Men now in the World that do use such Endeavors, and some of 'em very unfair ones, to bring all the antient Christians and their Writings into a general Disrepute. They employ and encourage some Persons to read the Fathers, only to weed and cull out of 'em some Sayings, which, taken by themselves, may be represented either ridiculous, insipid, or heterodox. They also collect out of History, all the Faults or Miscarriages that any antient Writer has been charged with: And making a Bundle of this Stuff, Part true, Part false, they present it to their Profelyts, and even to the World, as the *Life* of such a Father; or as a *Specimen* of such a Father's Works. They give a great many Reasons why it is not worth the while to read, study, or translate the Discourses of these Antients; that Time is much better spent in reading the modern Criticisms upon the

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the Text of Scriptur, which do often give the Sense thereof such a Turn, as to make our Religion to be a very different Thing from that which has been all along the Religion of Christians. If they can gain this Point, to alienate People from any Regard to the Doctrin and Faith of the Primitive Times; they make a good Step, not only for their own Turn to overthrow the Doctrin of the Trinity; but also for the Advantage of their next Successors the *Deists*, who can with a much better Grace argue against a Religion that has been alter'd in its most fundamental Points, than against one that has continued the same since the Time that it was once deliver'd to the Saints.

But among all the Reproaches cast on the Fathers, there is none so scandalous and destructive of the Credit both of the Fathers and of Christianity it self, as is one that they have lately set abroad; *viz.* that the Doctrin of the Trinity, or of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, in whom we believe, and in whose Name we are baptiz'd, is (as it is understood, explain'd, and held by the said Fathers) a Doctrin of *Tritheism*, or of believing in three Gods. I may repeat their Sayings: For they are industriously handed about in the *English* Tongue. One of 'em says thus (40);

*They [the Fathers] thought the three Hypostases [or, Persons in the Trinity] to be three equal Gods, as we should now express it. And again (41), Not to recur to the Fathers, whose Opinion was quite different from that which is now received: As who, properly speaking, affirmed that there were three Consubstantial Gods, as has been shewn by Petavius, Curcellæus, Cudworth, and others.*  
And

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(40) Supplement to Dr. Hammond's Annot. on 1 John 5. 6. (41) Ibid. Preface.

And again, *Who, to speak the Truth, were Tritheists rather than Asserters of the present Opinion: For they believed the Unity of Substance, not the Singularity of Number, as Tertullian speaks: That is, that the Substance of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, was specifically one, but numerically three: As the learned Men I beforemention'd have clearly shewn, and might more largely be demonstrated.*

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This Spittle of an Outlandish Author our English Socinians greedily licked up: And to any Thing that was offer'd out of the Fathers they have in their late Books (42) oppos'd this; that the Fathers held only a specifical Unity of the Divin Natur, and the Persons to be as so many Individuals. This they repeat often, and refer to Curcellæus's undeniable Proofs of it. Of which Bishop Stillingfleet taking Notice, did in his *Vindication of the Doctrin of the Trinity*, Ch. 6. answer and refute particularly all the Instances brought by Curcellæus, in a large Discourse from Pag. 76, to Pag. 100. bringing, as he expresses it himself, *undeniable Proofs* that Curcellæus had mistaken their Meaning.

§. 9. Notwithstanding this, what does the foresaid Author do, but three Years after the Publication of Stillingfleet's Book, writing some *Critical Epistles*, loads 'em with the same Slanders repeated, without taking any Notice that they had been answer'd? Saying (43), *That the Nicen Fathers thought the Divin Natur is no otherwise one than specifically, but that it is in Number threefold: As Petavius, Curcellæus, Cudworth, and others have proved by such Arguments, as that there can nothing be said in Answer to 'em.*

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(42) Defence of Hist. of Unitarians, p. 5. Answer to La Motte. Letter to Universit. p. 13. (43) Epist. 3. ad Episcop. Sarisb. pag. 108.

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In another of the said Epistles (44), he repeats the same Slander, and would Father it on some Learned Men in England. He says, *Learned Men in England, and elsewhere, do not forbear to say openly, that the Nicen Fathers believed three Eternal and Equal Essences in God; and not one God in Number.* And having mention'd, that several Protestant Churches have received the *Nicen Creed* into their public Confessions, he adds; *If then they will stand to this Part of their Confession, they must own that they believe three Eternal Naturs, and renounce the numerical Unity of God. Or if they will not do that, they must expunge that Article of their Confession, in which they own the Nicen Faith.*

And these Letters he ventures to send into *England*, directed to Bishops there, who he must needs think abominated such exorbitant Sayings; and who could easily, if he had had the Prudence to consult 'em first, have satisfied him that one of their Brethren had long ago answer'd all those Proofs of *Curcellan*, with which he made such a Noise. *Petavius's* and *Cudworth's* Instances being not so considerable, nor so maliciously urg'd.

Our Church is not wont to take such Affronts, and continue silent under 'em, unless when the Party is accounted of so little Credit as to be not worth the answering. The Learned Men therein (and especially the most Learned Person against whom these Epistles were directed) would probably have spent some Pains to vindicate the Church of Christ from so foul a Slander, but that they thought the Falshood of this Imputation of the Fathers had been already sufficiently shewn.

Here

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(44) Epist. 5. ad Episcop. Vigorn. pag. 177.

Here I did in the first Edition take Notice, <sup>Year af-</sup> that some Passages written a great while ago <sup>ter the A-</sup> by a Right Reverend Bishop, (of which others <sup>postles</sup> also had taken Notice before) did seem to incline to this Opinion of Mr. *Le Clerc* concerning the Fathers. Of which I have no more to say, than what I have said in the Preface of this second Edition.

§. 10. Mr. *Le Clerc* brings some pretended Proofs of the Tritheism of the Antients, of his own Collection: Of which Bishop *Stillingfleet* took no Notice, they being not in *Curcellans*. They are Sayings, or Pieces of Sayings of the Fathers, so partially pick'd out and unfairly represented, that at that Rate one might abuse and misrepresent any Writer; even the *Scriptur* it self. He mentions in the Words before recited a Scrap of a Sentence of *Tertullian* in his Book against *Praxeas*, c. 25. The whole Sentence runs thus, *Ita connexus Patris in Filio, & Filii in Paraclete tres efficit, coherentes alterum ex altero; qui tres unum sunt, non unus: Quomodo dictum est, Ego & Pater unum sumus: Ad substantia unitatem, non ad numeri singularitatem.* 100. Thus the Connexion of the Father in the Son, and the Son in the Holy Spirit, makes, that there are Three that *cohere* in one another; which Three are *Unum*, One Substance, not *Unus*, one Person: As it is said, *I and the Father are Unum, One Substance*: To denote the Unity of Substance, not the Singularity of Number. That is, (as Mr. *Le Clerc* says) the Substance of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, is specifically one, but numerically three. But that is (as any one else will say) to denote the Unity of Substance: Not the Singularity of Number of the Persons: Or, that the Persons are not numerically one, tho' the Substance is. For it is to be noted, that this Book was written against that Error



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Error of *Praxeas*, whereby he taught that Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, are one *Person*: to confirm which he brought that Place of Scriptur, *I and the Father are One*. *Tertullian* tells him, our Savior's Word there is *Unum*, which denotes one *Substance*; not *Unus*, which would have denoted *One Person*.

And tho' the Design of the Book be, as I said, to maintain that Side of the Question; that there are in some Sense *three* in the Godhead, (as *Praxeas* had maintained the contrary, carrying the Arguments for the Unity farther than he ought) yet even in this Book there are more than twenty Passages in which *Tertullian* aims to express as well as he can (for they had not then so determinate a Use of Words) a *numerical Unity of the Substance, or Essence*. Particularly this Passage (46):

*Igitur unus Deus Pater, & alius absque eo non est: Quod ipse inferens non Filium negat, sed alium Deum: Caterum alius à patre filius non est. — Atqui si nominasset illum, separasset, ita dicens; Alius præter me non est, nisi Filius meus. Alium enim Filium fecisset, quem de aliis excepisset. Puta solem dicere; Ego Sol, & alius præter me non est, nisi radius meus: Nonne denotasses vanitatem, quasi non & radius in sole deputetur?*

‘ So there is one God the Father, and there  
‘ is no other beside him: Which he affirming  
‘ does not exclude his Son, but any other God:  
‘ And the Son is not another from the Father  
‘ — It would have been to separate [or distin-  
‘ guish] him, if he had named him, and had  
‘ said, *There is no other beside me, except my Son*.  
‘ It had been to make his Son another, whom he  
‘ had excepted out of those that are others. Sup-  
‘ pose

‘ pose the Sun should say; *I am the Sun, and* Year af-  
 ‘ *there is no other beside me, except my Light* [or ter the A-  
 ‘ *Ray*], would you not judge it absurd? As if postles  
 ‘ the Light were not counted to the Sun it self?

To mention one Passage more of the said Book,  
 CH. 29. where he is answering the Argument  
 of *Praxeas*, who had said; that since the Essence  
 [or Substance] of the Father and the Son is one  
 and the same; the Son could not suffer but the  
 Father must suffer too. And where *Tertullian*,  
 if he had thought the Essence of the Son to be  
 only *specifically* the same with that of the Father,  
 and not *numerically*, could not have forbore to  
 answer so. But he answers thus; That the  
 Divin Natur did not suffer at all: But if it had,  
 that Argument would not have concluded. *Nam*  
 ‘ *fluvius, si aliquâ turbulentiâ contaminatur;*  
 ‘ *quanquam una substantia de fonte decurrat nec*  
 ‘ *secernatur à fonte: Tamen fluvii injuria non*  
 ‘ *pertinebit ad fontem. Et licet aqua fontis sit qua*  
 ‘ *patiatur in fluvio: Dum non in fonte patitur, sed*  
 ‘ *in fluvio; non fons patitur, sed fluvius qui ex*  
 ‘ *fonte est. Ita etsi spiritus Dei quid pati posset*  
 ‘ *in Filio: Quia tamen non in Patre pateretur; sed*  
 ‘ *in Filio; Pater passus non videretur. Sed sufficit*  
 ‘ *nihil spiritum Dei passum suo nomine.*

‘ For if a Stream be puddled with any Di-  
 ‘ sturbance: Tho’ it be the *same Substance* that  
 ‘ runs from the Spring, and be not distinct from  
 ‘ the Spring, yet the Hurt of the Stream will  
 ‘ not affect the Spring. And tho’ it be the  
 ‘ Water of the Spring which suffers in the  
 ‘ Stream; yet so long as it suffers in the Stream,  
 ‘ and not in the Spring; the Spring does not  
 ‘ suffer, but the Stream which is derived from  
 ‘ the Spring. So tho’ the Spirit [or *Deity*] of  
 ‘ God could suffer any Thing in the Son, yet so  
 ‘ long as it suffer’d not in the Father, but the  
 ‘ Son, the Father would not be said to suffer.  
 ‘ But

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But it is sufficient [to take off your Argument] that the Divinity suffer'd not at all in its own Nature.

If he had thought the Essence to be only specifically the same, he would not have gone so far for an Answer; the Aim thereof is to shew, that tho' it be numerically the same in both Persons, yet something might be said of one of 'em, which could not be said of the other.

But in other Books the same Writer affirms the numerical Unity of Essence more plainly, and in the Terms of the Question, tho' not then in common Use. For in his *Apology*, Ch. 21. he says, that the *deus* is *de Spiritu Spiritus, & de Deo Deus: Modulo alter, non numero.* Spirit of Spirit, and God of God: Another in Mode, but not in Number. The same Expression of *modulo alius, ab alio* is also in the Book against *Praxean*, c. 9. and to the same Purpose, Ch. 14.

It is therefore plain, that *Tertullian* thought that in some Sense the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, are numerically one: Which must be in Respect of the Substance; for as for the Persons, the Design of his whole Book against *Praxean*, is to maintain that they are three in Number.

§. 11. Mr. *Le Clerc* does also endeavor to make his Advantage of *Gregory Nazianzen*, with whom *Curcellanus* had not meddled. He pretended to write the *Life* of this Father (47). One may easily see thro' his pretended Reasons for it, and perceive that the Design was to represent him as a Tritheist: There are so many Sayings of his wrested, and some false translated for that Purpose. 'Tis true, that *Gregory*, in those voluminous Disputations of his against the *Arians* and *Sabellians*, having no Adversaries of the  
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(47) *Bibliot. T. 19.*

*Tritheistical* Opinion, and not fearing to be himself suspected of it, has some Expressions in his Arguments and Explications unguarded on that Side: Yet so as that he still speaks with Abhorrence of the Belief of three Gods. And it is a known Rule of Charity, that no Consequences drawn from an Author's Expressions, are to fix on him an Opinion contrary to his own express Declaration: But that what he says at one or two Places seeming to favor any Opinion, must be explain'd by others, if he have any other that are plain, full, and purposely written to the contrary.

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What Mr. *Le Clerc* had produc'd from this Father was not answer'd, (which can no Way so well be done, as by translating his Works intire; a Thing useful, if the modern Readers of Books had so much Regard to Antiquity as they ought: But such a Regard is much lessen'd by such *Lives*) and therefore he concluded in another Piece (48), that *Gregory* was undoubtedly of that Opinion: The Thing is so clear, that it cannot be question'd by those that have consider'd it. He mentions also in the *Critical Epistles* I spoke of before, his Performance in proving this upon *Gregory*. Yet of all the Passages produc'd in that *Life* to justify this Accusation, this is the hardest: that he in a certain Sermon (49) being busie in shewing the Unfitness of all those Examples of natural Things which are commonly made Use of to explain the Trinity, how they are all deficient and unapt in one Respect or another: Says; that *He, as well as others, had thought of the Vein of Water that feeds the Spring: The Spring or Pond it self: And the Stream that issues from it.*

*Whether*

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(48) Supplement to Dr. *Hammond's* Ann. Preface.  
 (49) Orat. 37. de Spiritu Sancto.

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Whether the first of these might not be compar'd to the Father, the second to the Son, and the third to the Holy Spirit. But he was afraid that by this Similitude there would seem to be represented something numerically one: For that the Vein, the Spring, and the Stream, are numerically one, tho' diversly modified or represented.

This indeed plainly shews, that Gregory was afraid of representing the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, as numerically one in some Sense: But how? As having an *Essence* numerically one? Not so: For he does in 100 Places shew that to be his real Meaning. But in the *Sabellian Sense*, which taught the *Persons* to be numerically one, or, that Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, are several Names of one *Person*: And consequently that it may properly be said that the Father was incarnated, suffer'd, &c. He had the more Reason to be cautious of saying any Thing that might seem to favor that Sense, because the Catholics were slander'd by the *Arians* to hold that Opinion.

160. The 100 Places that I spoke of, might be produc'd out of Gregory's Works. But there happen to be enow in that very Sermon, or Oration: Where there is this for one. He is there answering those that thought that from the Confession of three Persons in the Godhead, would follow by Consequence the Doctrin of three Gods. He answers thus; that tho' there be three in whom the Godhead is, yet there is in them three but one Godhead, ἓς ὁ Θεός, ἑνὴ τὰ Θεότης and again; αὐτεὺς ἐν μεμερισμένῳ ἢ Θεότης. But then he brings in an Exception which they made against this Answer of his;

Obj. But they will say; that the Heathens (such of them as had the most advanc'd Philosophy) held that there is but one Godhead. And also in the Case of Men, all Mankind has but one common Natur.

And

And yet the *Heathens* had many Gods, not one only: Year after the Apostles  
 And also there are many Men.

This Objection comes home to the Point. And here it is that *Gregory* must declare, whether he hold a specific or a numerical Unity. Therefore observe how he answers. To the Case of the Heathen Gods he makes a separat Answer, that concerns not this Question. But to that of Mankind having one common Natur, and yet being many Men, he answers thus;

Sol. But here [*viz.* in the Case of Men] the several Men have no other Unity than what is made by the Conception of our Mind, τὸ ἐν ἔχει μόνον ἐπινοητικῶς. He goes on a while to shew that Men do in Reality differ from one another: And answers to the Objection about the Heathen Gods: And then adds, τὸ ὃ ἡμέτερον ἐπινοήτων, ἐστὶν αὐτῆ μετὰ τῷ Ἰακώβ, φησὶν ὁ ἐμὸς θεολόγος. Ἀλλὰ τὸ ὃ ἔχουσι αὐτῶν ἔχει πρὸς τὸ συγκαίμενον ἐχ' ἑαυτὸν ἢ πρὸς ἑαυτὸ: τῷ ταυτῶ τῆς οὐσίας καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως. But our Deity [or God] is not so: Nor is the Portion of *Jacob* like them, as our Theolog [meaning *Jeremy* 10. 16.] says: But every one of them [the Persons of the Trinity] has an Unity with the other, no less than that which he has with himself, by Reason of the Identity of Essence and Power.

'Tis impossible any Thing should be fuller to the Purpose than this. For the proper Difference between a numerical and a specific Unity, is this; that a specific Unity is only by our Conception: And the numerical Unity is the only real Unity. In the several Men that differ in Age, in Shape, &c. there is something alike, *viz.* the Essence or Natur of Man. This our Mind abstracts from the rest, and conceives it as one in them all. But this common Natur so abstracted from the Individuals, subsists only in our Mind: And in Reality every Man has his own Essence distinct in Number from the rest: And if all  
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other Men were destroy'd, he would have his own Essence just as he has it now. And that which Gregory answers is; that several Men have no other Unity or sameness than what is by the Conception of our Mind, i. e. no other than a specific Unity. But each of the three, viz. Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, has an Unity with the other, as much as with himself; by Identity [or sameness] of Essence and of Power, which must be a numerical one.

Mr. *Le Clerc* does indeed recite some of this Answer, but in such a Fashion, as shews he had a Mind to marr it in the reciting. And the like he does in several other Passages of *Gregory*. In the foremention'd Comparison of the three Persons to the Vein, the Pond, and the Stream; Because the Greek Word used by *Gregory* for the Vein, is *ὀφθαλμὸς*, he translates it, *P'oeit*, an Eye. Who ever went about to represent the Trinity by an Eye, a Fountain, and a Stream? So great a Critic should not have been ignorant that it signifies there (as *Elias Cretensis* in his Comments on the Place had noted) the Vein that feeds the Pond, or the Hole or opening of that Vein into the Pond. And this yet is not so absurd, as where a little after, the same Words are translated; *an Eye, a Fountain, and the Sun*. There are a great many other Places in that *Lise*, where *Gregory* is made, by curtailing or altering his Words, to speak Nonsense: And I wish the main Design of it were not to make him speak something that is by many Degrees worse. For to hold three Gods, is not to be a Christian, nor any Worshipper of *Jehovah*, but a Pagan.

The very same Oration furnishes us with several more Proofs of the contrary. A little after the foremention'd Passage, he quotes and approves of a Rule of Christian Worship given by his Name-  
154. Sake *Gregory Thaumaturgus*, (or else by *St. Basil*:  
For

Chap.V. *numerical Unity of Essence in the Trinity.* 147

For the Words are ambiguous) *ὁμῶς Θεὸν τὸν Πατέρα, Θεὸν τὸν υἱόν, Θεὸν τὸ Πνεῦμα ἅγιον: τρεῖς ἰδιότητες, Θεότητα μίαν.* That we are to worship God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Spirit: Three Properties, One Divinity.

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And at another Place in the same Oration; *The Three are one in the Godhead [or Essence], and the one three in Properties [or Persons], That there may be neither one in the Sabellian sense; nor three in that wicked sense now set up, viz. the Arian.*

I desire the Reader to compare the Account of this Oration or Sermon, which he will conceive by these Passages, with the Account given by Mr. *Le Clerc* of the same Oration: and if he doubt which is the truest, to read the Oration it self, and some other of the same Father's Works; and so pass his Judgment. This may be sooner done, than to read the Squabbles *pro* and *contra* about them. And indeed if People would choose to read the Fathers and antient Writers themselves, rather than the Scraps and Quotations out of them; it were the only Way to defeat the Purpose of those, that would defeat us of that Strength and Corroboration of the Christian Religion, which accrues by the constant Succession of its fundamental Doctrins in all Ages.

I will mention but one Passage more of *Gregory*, and that out of his Oration concerning Baptism (50), out of which I recited before what properly concerns Baptism: But he there speaking of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, in whose Name they were to be baptized, explains their Way of subsisting in the Godhead, so as any one will perceive he means a numerical Unity of the Essence. Always provided that we make Allowance for this; that they had not, as I said,

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any such settled Use of Words of a determinate Meaning, *specifically, numerically, &c.* as we use now: But express'd their Sense by paraphrasing as well as they could. But you will see that he means, that tho' they are in some Sense three, yet that their Essence, or Natur is one, and that *numerically* one: Not three Natures or Essences all alike, (as three Men have) But one in Number.

*They are each of 'em God as consider'd singly, viz. the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, each having his Property: But the three together are God, when consider'd conjunctly. The first of which Sayings is true because of the Consubstantiality, the other because of the Monarchy [or Unity]. I no sooner go to think of one, but I am in my Mind surrounded with the three shining round about me. I no sooner go to think distinctly of the Three, but I am carried back to the Unity [or to consider them as one]. When I am thinking of one of the three, I conceive him as the whole; and my Mind has no Room for any Thing else: I find my self unable to comprehend the Greatness of him, so as to leave any Thing for the other. When I think of the three together, I see them as One Lamp, whose compacted Light cannot be divided or measured.*

§. 12. Peoples Meaning about a Doctrin is never better perceiv'd, than by observing in some Dispute about it how and with what Reasons one Side attacks, and how the other answers. Let us therefore observe in some Heresies that were about the Doctrin of the Trinity, what Arguments the Sectaries us'd, and which Way the Churchmen answer'd. It will appear that the Doctrin of the Church was such an Unity of Essence in the Divin Persons, as we call numerical.

I shall mention one Heresie before the Council of *Nice*, and one after it; Because the Pretence is for the Time of that Council, and for some Time

Time before and after it, that the Christians held the Persons in the Trinity to be so many *different Beings*, and to be one in Essence no other-wise than *as three Men have the same common Natur among them*. If this were true; then farewell Fathers, and the Church of Christ for all that Time. For this would never justify them from an Imputation of Tritheism. But the contrary, God be thanked, has been fully shewn both by Bishop *Stillingfleet*, as I said, and by many other Learned Men: And needs no shewing to any one that will read the Books themselves.

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1. The first notable Heresie that rose about the Doctrin of the Trinity, was that of *Praxeas*, against which *Tertullian* wrote the Book we spoke of: And it was after his Time carried on by *Noetus* and *Sabellius*; from the Year 200 to 260: After which Time the Men of that Sect were called *Sabellians*. They held, that there is but one Person in the Godhead, as I said. And this they pretended not to be any new Doctrin set up by them, (for they and all People at that Time owned this for a certain Rule, as it undoubtedly is; that *whatsoever is new in the Fundamentals of Religion, is false*) but they maintained stiffly that it was the very Sense of the Christian Church before them. Now I say, that these Men could never have so far mistaken the Churches Sense, as to assert one *Person* in Number; unless the general Doctrin had own'd that there is but one *Essence* in Number. For if the Church had held, that Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, had each a distinct numerical Essence, as three Men have; the *Sabellians* could never have run into that Mistake of the Churches Meaning, as to think it to be, that there is but one Person, and consequently that the Father suffer'd; which they did, and were therefore called *Patripassians*. And on

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the other Side, the Church would have had no Difficulty in answering the Objections of the *Sabellians*; who argued, that since there is but one God, there can be but one Person in the Godhead. For if the Church had held, as before, that the three Persons have only the same specific or common Essence, and not the same numerical Essence: It had been no more a Mystery that the Son should take Flesh, and the Father not; than it is that of three Men, that have all the same common Natur of Man, one should do or suffer any Thing, and the other not. And they could not have avoided answering so. Whereas, on the contrary, the Fathers find it a very operose and difficult Thing to answer the Objections of those Men (witness *Tertullian's* Book against *Praxeas*), and do always fly to the incomprehensible Natur of the Divin Essence.

And when the *Arian* Disputes arose, the Catholics that maintain'd the Clause of *one Substance*, were constantly by the *Arians* reproach'd with *Sabellianism*, i. e. of holding but one Person in Number: Which could not have been, but that they explain'd themselves so, as to shew that they meant but *one Substance in Number*. This was the first and main Ground of *Arius's* falling off from the Church. For so *Socrates* relates the Matter (53).

220. Alexander the Bishop sitting on a Time with his Presbyters and other Clergy, discours'd something nicely of the Holy Trinity; how there is in the Trinity words, a Unity [or Singularity]. But Arius, one of the Presbyters of his Church, a Man not unskilful in Logical Quirks, thinking that the Bishop did set up the Doctrin of Sabellius, did himself,

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(53) Hist. L. 1. c. 5.

*out of Contentions, set up the directly opposite extreme to that of that Libyan.* Year after the Apostles

And a little after that the Council of Nice had inserted into the Creed that Phrase, that the Son is *ὁμοούσιος*, *coessential* [or, of one Substance] with the Father: The same Historian tells, how there were great Contests about the Import of that Word. And he says (54); *They that disliked that Word, thought that the Approvers of it did set up the Opinion of Sabellius: And so called them Blasphemers, as if they had gone about to take away ἑνότητα the Subsistence [or, distinct Personality] of the Son of God. And they, on the contrary, that approved that Term, reckon'd that their Opposers brought in Πόλυθεϊσμός [or, several Gods]. And Saxomen gives the very same Account, l. 2. c. 18, 19.*

230.

This plainly shews, that the Catholics, who own'd the Word *ὁμοούσιος*, explain'd themselves so as to mean *one Substance in Number*. For else the Accusations ought to have run quite contrary: And not the Deniers of that Phrase, but the Approvers of it, would have been accus'd of Polytheism or Tritheism: As they are now by these Men. But they were then upbraided with *Sabellianism*, the direct contrary Extreme: And the Defenders of the *Nicen* Creed against the *Arians*, do take most Pains in vindicating themselves from that Imputation; which could have had no Appearance, if they had not been understood to hold *one Substance in Number*.

This made 'em to be accus'd of *taking away the Subsistence [or distinct Personality] of the Son of God*: Because they teaching that there is in the Trinity but *one Substance in all*, and the others extending what they said of *μία*, *Substance*,

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(54) L. i. c. 23.

Year after the Apostles to ὑπαρξίς, *Subsistence*, concluded that they there- by made but *one Subsistence in all*; and so the Son could have none. Whereas if they had meant, as these late Slanderers represent their Meaning, *three Substances in Number*, or any Thing that would have amounted to what that Reviler calls (55) *three Consubstantial Gods*; they would have been so far from taking away his ὑπαρξίς, that they had given him a distinct *οὐσία*, Essence or Divinity, and had made him a distinct God from God the Father.

225. If there were Time to enter into any of the Particulars of the History of the Men of that  
260. Time, such as *Eustathius, Meletius, &c.* and other chief Defenders of the *Nicen Faith*; That would plainly shew the Falshood of this Accusation. For if this Accusation were true, these Men would have been by the *Arians* hated and depos'd under any Pretence sooner than that of *Sabellianism*: Which, as *Socrates* (56) and *Theodore* (57) tells us, was the chief Pretence against them.

2. Now to come to some later Times, and the Heresies then arising. We shall see how directly contrary to History that Opinion is, that pretends that it was *after the fifth Century* that the *Doctrin of one individual Essence* was received. For it places the Beginning of the Catholic Religion in Opposition to Tritheism, just at the Time when Tritheism, in Opposition to the true Religion, was first of all vented.  
470. For *Joann. Philoponus*, in the sixth Century, was the first Man of all that owned the Son and Holy Spirit to be God, that ever offer'd to deny the *Doctrin of one individual Essence* in the Godhead,

(55) Above at §. 8. (56) L. 2. c. 9. de Eustathio,  
(57) L. 2. c. 31. de Meletio.

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head, and to affirm that each Person in the Trinity had his own Essence or Substance distinct, and so that there were three Substances or Natures in Number as well as three Persons.

The Quotations concerning him, and concerning his being Condemn'd for this Doctrin, might be easily produc'd, being a Piece of History so well known and uncontroverted.. It is only to spare Time (having too far digrest already) that I desire the Reader to take the Account of his Heresie in the Words of the Learned Dr. Cave (58); who giving a short Account of him (as he does of all other Writers), relates the ordinary History concerning him thus: *He vented several Doctrins contrary to the Faith. Having taken for granted from Aristotle's Philosophy, of which he had been a great Student, that Hypostasie is the same with Natura, he thence concluded that there is but one Natur in Christ; and rejected the Council of Chalcedon. And afterward, when the Catholics objected to him that there are in the Trinity three Hypostasies, and yet but one Natur; to get clear of that Objection, he ventur'd to maintain that there are three Natures or Substances in the Trinity: Yet still positively denying that there are three Gods, or Deities. He was for this Reason accounted, and is to this Day accounted the Author and Ringleader of the Sect of the Tritheists.*

The Socinians themselves, when they think it for their Purpose, do instance in the Condemnation of this Man; saying of an Opinion which they would represent the same as this, that (59) *it was condemn'd by the Antients in the Person of Philoponus: And in the middle Ages, in the Person*

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(58) Hist. Literaria Part 1. verb. Joann. Philoponus. (59) Considerations on the Explication of the Trinity, pag. 12.

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son or Writings of Abbot Joachim, &c. And can there be any Thing fouler than to impute to the Antients an Opinion, which they condemn'd as soon as they heard it vented? Would they have Condemn'd him for expressing that which was their own Meaning?

All that has any Appearance of Truth in this Accusation of the Fathers, is this; First, that they being us'd to a Style that is fitter for an honest plain Man to signify his Meaning, than for a Logician to hold a Dispute in, and yet being forc'd to speak much of the Trinity, do many Times express themselves so, and use such Comparisons, Periphrases, &c. as a captious Man may take his Advantage of, if he will single out some particular Places: And 2ly, that their Disputes being against *Arians*, *Eunomians*, &c. who not only denied the numerical Unity, but even the specifical Unity or Equality of Essence in the Trinity, do sometimes use such Arguments as prove a specifical Unity; not that that was all they would have; but to overthrow *one* Error first. And on this Head they sometimes use the Instance of three Men being *ὁμοούσιον* of *one Substance*: Such is that Place of *Gregory Nyssen* which *Curcellanus* urges, and *Bishop Stillingfleet* confesses to be the hardest Place in all Antiquity. But in such Places their Aim is to argue thus; If three Men, tho' differing as three Individuals, yet having all the same sort of Essence, are in some Sense styled of *one Substance with one another*; how much more may the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit be so styled, who do not differ as three Men, but have an Essence that is *ἀτμήτου*, *ἀμεριστου*, *unparted, undistinguish'd*; and that is *ἀχωρίστως ἢ ἀδιαιρέτως*, *inseparably and indivisibly one* and the same in them all? They us'd these last Words to express that which we now express by *numerically one*; or *one in Number*. And they thought

thought these Words did it more effectually; because a Thing may be one in Number, (as there is but one World in Number) and yet not uncompounded, indivisible, &c. as God's Essence is. In a Word, to say that they sometimes us'd the Instances of a specific Unity, is true: But to say that they pleaded for no more than that in the Trinity, is false.

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§. 13. These Answers and Defences are necessary only in the Case of those Fathers, whose Style is more loose and Asiatic, and so their Words more capable of being perverted from their true Meaning. But other Fathers, as St. Austin, St. Hierom, St. Ambrose, &c. who liv'd at the same Time, and held the same Faith and Communion, being brought up to some Use of Logic, have placed their Words concerning the numerical Unity so, as that no File or Tooth can touch 'em. This Bishop *Stillingsfleet* has shewn of St. Austin: and it is proved incontestably by these Words of his, *l. 7. de Trinitate, c. 4. If the Word Essence were a specific Name common to the Three, Why might there not be said to be three Essences; as Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob are three Men, the Word Man being a specific Name common to all Men? And a little after; Quia hoc illi est Deum esse, quod est esse, tam tres essentias quam tres Deos dici fas non est. Since with him it is the same Thing to be God, as it is to be; We must no more say three Essences [or Beings], than three Gods. St. Hierom cannot well speak more home than he does in the Place I quoted on another Occasion (60), If any one by Hypostasis meaning Essence, does not confess that there is but one Hypostasis in three Persons, he is estranged from Christ.*

(60) CH. III. Sect. 10. §. 1.



Year of Christ. And St. *Ambrose* argues (61), *How can the Unity of the Godhead admit of Plurality, when Plurality is of Number, and the Divin Natur admits not of Number?* There would be no end of repeating the Sayings of these and other Fathers, that are full and home to this Purpose.

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§. 14. What then can be done with these Fathers? They are point blank against the *Socinians*; and they cannot be made *Tritheists*, but must be own'd to be *Unitarians* in respect of God's Essence. They, must be blacken'd some other Way. As for St. *Hierom*, he is proud, unconstant, &c. and the rest have other Faults. What shall be said of St. *Austin*, whose Piety, Humility, and Caution in Writing, has obtain'd a great Repute? Set Mr. *Le Clerc* upon him: He'll prove him to be *one that has promoted some two Doctrins, which have taken away all Goodness and Justice both from God and Men* (62), and will find a Way to lay the Odium of that Tyranny with which the *French King* persecutes his *Protestant* Subjects, at his Door. Upon what Grounds? Because he held the Doctrin of *Predestination*, an inextricable Point, in which good Men in all Ages have differ'd: And because he was convinc'd by the unquiet and contentious Humor of the *Donatists* and *Circumcellions*, and by the good Effect which the Emperor's Edicts afterward had upon 'em, that *moderat* Penalties inflicted on turbulent *Schismatics* are useful.

'Tis not only the Christians at the Time of the Council of *Nice*, and near before or after it, that have incurr'd the Displeasure of these Men, by their branding the *Paulianists* in the manner

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(61) Lib. 3. de Spiritu Sancto, c. 14. (62) Supplement to Dr. *Hammond's* Annot. Preface.

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I mention'd: 'Tis all the Antients of whom we have any Remains. *Socrates* (63) tells, how *Sabinius*, a Writer of the *Macedonian* Sect (these were a-kin to the *Paulianists*), found it for his Purpose to cast Dirt on the Fathers of the *Nicen* Council, making them a Pack of ignorant and silly Men. Yet he left a Handle whereby himself might be refuted: For he had acknowledg'd (as he durst not deny) that *Eusebius* was a Man of great Judgment and Learning. *Socrates*, by producing *Eusebius's* Testimony (64) in Commendation of the rest, rebukes the Falshood of that Slanderer. But these have taken a more effectual Course: They have put 'em all into the Inditement, not leaving us one by whose Evidence we might retrieve the Credit of the rest. The Reason is; they can find never a *Paulianist* among 'em.

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The Apostles chose the best Men they could find, to succeed them in the Ministry: such as *Timothy*, *Titus*, *Polycarp*, &c. They also gave 'em this Charge (65), *The Things which you have heard of us before many Witnesses, the same commit you to faithful Men, who may be fit to teach others also.* They knew how much it concern'd the Good of the Church, and the Credibility of the Doctrin in futur Times, to have it handed down by faithful, prudent, and judicious Men. We have all the Reason in the World to believe (unless the contrary could be prov'd) that this Charge was obey'd by their Deputies; and that the Succession was for the first Ages generally carried on in good Hands. This Race of Men would perswade us the contrary: For they spare not any that are left of those that were nigh the Apostles.

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(63) L. 1. c. 8. (64) De vità Constant: l. 3. c. 9. (65) 2 Tim. 2. 2.

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Apostles. Take *Irenaus* for Example. He receiv'd the Doctrin from *Polycarp*, who was chosen by *St. John*. He has left some Books against the Heresies that were then, and some other Pieces. These were much valued by the Men of the next Ages. They call him the Mauller of Heresies and false Doctrins, a skilful Conveyer of the History and Traditions of the Church. We pick out of his Works the compleatest Catalog by far of the Books of the New Testament of any that is so antient. Yet in so large Writings he has here and there (as it happens to a Man) some Sayings and Sentences of small Force or Weight; some particular Observations of little Moment, some Arguings weak, and some mistaken. These they cull out, would have us judge of the whole Garden by these Flowers; that they may represent the Man a silly and credulous Pop, and his Works not worth the Pains of Reading.

Next to the undervaluing the Authority of the Scriptur, there is no so mischievous Way to undermine the Christian Religion, as thus to vilify the antient Professors of it. For it is they that have handed down the Scriptur, and the Interpretation and Confirmation thereof to us. It is from them that we know which Books are Canonical, or were truly the Writings of such or such an Apostle. One of the Assurances that we have that the Miracles recorded were really wrought, is, that they who liv'd so near the Time that they might easily inquire, did believe, and were really convinc'd of the Matter of Fact. And the more injudicious they are represented to be, the weaker that Argument is. Therefore tho' we know 'em to be but Men, and liable to Mistakes, yet it is an unnatural Impiety to make it one's Buliness to represent 'em worse than they are.

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## Chap. V. by vilifying the Primitive Church.

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But as their Credit has held now so many Year <sup>of</sup> hundred Years in all the Christian World, when <sup>not the As</sup> all the Books of those that have nibbled at 'em <sup>postles</sup> have been slighted and forgotten: So the Attempts made by these Men are too void of Strength and Truth, to give us any Reason to fear that they should overthrow it. It is a poor Piece of Spite to set one's self to be reveng'd on the Credit of Men dead 1300 or 1500 Years since, because their Words will not be brought to favor some Alteration of the Christian Faith that we would set up. And it is also an impious Thing to be so far in Love with such an Alteration, as to go about to build it upon the Ruins of the Credit of Christianity in general: For what an ill Face does this put upon the Christian Faith, to maintain that it has been conveyed down to us by a Church made up of silly and credulous Men, and such as believ'd there were three Gods?

§. 15. After I had finish'd this Chapter, there came over another Book from *Holland*, written by the same spiteful Enemy of the Fathers, whose Cavils against 'em I have been here answering; where he brings in *St. Austin* also among the Tritheists. He could not have taken a more effectual Course to hinder any Body from believing his Slanders of the other Fathers. He calls his Book *Bibliotheque Choisie*, intending it for a Continuation of his *Bibliotheque Universelle*. And himself he styles here *John Pheroponus*, that is, *One that takes a great deal of Pains to do Mischief*.

First, he labors by all Ways to vilify *St. Austin*, as one that was no such Linguist as *Pheroponus* is: *He understood* (he says p. 406.) *neither Greek nor Hebrew. He was not fit to expound the Scriptur. His Reasonings popular, such as might please the Numidians, and other Africans, who were of all Nations the most ignorant and most corrupt.*

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This he says, tho' he know that St. *Austin* was, not only for his Preachings, but Writings, the most celebrated Bishop (as St. *Hierom* says) not only in *Africa*, but in the whole World. But he says (p. 407.), *The Churchmen of this Age were hardly any better in the other Provinces of the Roman Empire.* The Question, Whether one that understands not *Hebrew* nor *Greek* (which yet is not altogether true of St. *Austin*) may not for all that be fit to expound the *Scriptur*; we will let pass: But this is certain, that one that does not believe the Divinity of our Savior *Christ*, is not fit to write *Harmonies*, *Annotations*, or *Paraphrases* on it, nor *Translations* of it. And all that abhor that *Heresie*, will be careful how they read 'em.

He proceeds (p. 410.) to say, without any Proof there given, that *St. Austin*, as well as the other *Fathers*, has followed the *Doctrin* of that *Time*, which establish'd a specific *Unity* between the *Father*, *Son*, and *Holy Spirit*, and a *Distinction* of the numerical *Essence*: So that speaking properly, they believed three *Essences* perfectly equal, and strictly united in *Will*: (which very Mention of three *Essences* is what St. *Austin* spoke of with Abhorrence in the Words I quoted just now). Then having mention'd a Book written against himself by the *Abbot Faydit*, intitled; *A Defence of the Doctrin of the Fathers concerning the Trinity, against the Tropolates and Socinians.* Or, *The two new Heresies of Steven Nye and John le Clerc, Protestants.* He answers, that he holds no *Heresie*: He does not approve of the *Tritheism* of the *Fathers*, &c. And if it be said that the *Fathers* were not *Tritheists*, then he refers to the Authors he uses to do; *Petavins*, *Curcellaus*, *Cudworth*, (as if they had not been answer'd) and to the Piece that I mention'd [*The Life of Greg. Nazianzen*] written by himself. Where does this

this Man think the Catholic Church was at that Year after the Apostles Time? For he not only makes the Fathers to be Heretics, (and Tritheists, which is indeed to be Pagans) but calls it also the *Doctrin of that Time.*

But to shew us from how envenom'd a Spirit all this rises; and how he employs himself: he tells us (p. 409.) that *he has found a Way to make a Comedy of five Acts, out of the Stories of certain Miracles done at Hippo, of which St. Austin speaks in his 322 Sermon, and the following.* Now the Things there related by St. *Austin*, are (if not proper Miracles in the modern Sense of the Word, yet) wonderful and gracious Providences of God; which the Word *miracula* well enough signifies, and which all pious Men think themselves bound to lay to Heart and commemorate, tho' this Man makes a Mock of 'em. This Advertisement he gives, to see, I suppose, whether this Copy too will yield any Money; and whether, as he has found Booksellers that would stand out at nothing, so he can find any Players profan enough to Act this his Comedy. And if they be so inclin'd, 'tis pity but they should do it; that they may fill up the Measur of their Impiety; and that all Christian Princes and States may follow the good Examples of the *French King* in exterminating them, and of the *King of Prussia* in prohibiting his Books.

§. 16. Since the first Edition of this Book, Mr. *Le Clerc* does in an Encomium which he writes on Mr. *Lock*, *Bibl. Choisie*, T. 6. own, that he has seen Bp. *Stillingfleet's Vindication of the Trinity*. And after having passed a very slighting and contemptuous Censur on what the Bishop has there, and in some other Pieces, written against Mr. *Lock's* Notions, and on the other side, as much magnified his Hero, (the Solidity of his Doctrin, the Exactness of his Thought, &c. whereas Bp.

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*Stillingfleet* understood neither his Adversary's Meaning, nor the Matter it self, and was never used either to think or to speak with any great Exactness. See the sawcy Arrogance of this Critic.) He pretends at last to be surprized to find there a Confutation of *Curcellanus's* Proofs of the Tritheism of the Antients. He had Reason to be surpriz'd, if he had not seen it before: because he had since the Publication of it cast vile Reproaches on all the antient Christians on the Credit of those Proofs, which he might see here all overthrown.

What does he do upon this Surprise? Does he pretend to shew by any Particulars, that *Curcellanus* had not mistaken the Sense of his own Quotations, as the Bishop pretended to shew that he had? Or, if he cannot do this, Does he acknowledge his own Slanders? Neither of these. But instead of vindicating those Quotations from being wrested, he throws in one more of his own to 'em, which is more apparently wrested than any of 'em. 'Tis out of *St. Hilary de Synodis*. Which Book, he says, *Mr. Stillingfleet had not read very carefully, or else did not remember distinctly. For there is hardly any Book from which one may more plainly prove that the Orthodox of that Time believed one God in Specie [i. e. as to the Sort or Kind of Gods], but Three in Number.* Is not this horrid? Three Gods in Number? Did ever any Christian own this? Then he produces the Passage.

It must be noted that *St. Hilary* there, in disputing against the *Arians*, does labor to shew that the Term  $\delta\upsilon\epsilon\iota\sigma\mu\omicron\varsigma$ , of *one Substance*, is the most clear, and the most significative of the Catholics Meaning; but yet that the Term  $\delta\iota\omega\iota\sigma\mu\omicron\varsigma$ , of *like Substance*, as also the Term, of *equal Substance*, may be born with and admitted, as being capable of being explain'd in an orthodox Sense, and as being

being so explain'd and us'd by many Catholic Writers: *viz.* that in *Divinis*, Likeness or Equality are all one with Identity or Sameness. Speaking thus, ‘ (a) Si ergo [Pater] naturam neq; aliam neq; dissimilem, ei quem invisibiliter [i. invisibiliter] generabat, dedit; non potest aliam dedisse nisi propriam. Ita similitudo proprietatis est, proprietatis æqualitas est, &c. *If then he [God the Father] gave [or, communicated] to him whom he without any Division begot, a Natur which is not another nor unlike; it must be so, that he gave him no other than his own. So Likeness, and Sameness [or, Ownness], and Equality, are all one.* And then a few Words after, comes the Passage at which Mr. *Le Clerc* carps; ‘ *Caret igitur, fratres, similitudo naturæ contumeliæ suspicione: nec potest videri Filius idcirco in proprietate Paternæ naturæ non esse, quia similis est: cum similitudo nulla sit nisi ex æqualitate naturæ; æqualitas autem naturæ non potest esse, nisi una sit: Una non Personæ unitate, sed GENERIS.* So that there is no need, Brethren, that you should suspect this Phrase, Likeness of Natur, of any reproachful Meaning: nor will the Son seem not to have the Father’s own Natur for that Reason, because he is said to be like him. Whereas there is no Likeness but by Equality of Natur; and Equality of Natur cannot [in this Case, speaking of Divin Natur] be, unless it be One. One, not by Unity of Person, but of GENUS.

Whereas Mr. *Le Clerc* observes here, that supposing the numerical Unity of the Divin Essence, ’tis not proper to say, the Natur of the Son is like or equal to that of the Father; ’tis true, if St. *Hilary* had not explain’d himself so,

(a) Prope finem.



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as by Equality to mean Identity. And whereas he observes that by the Word *Genus*, St. Hilary shews his Meaning to be of a *generical* or *specific* Unity only; this also would have some Sense according to the ordinary Use of the Word, *Genus*. But St. Hilary had declar'd in that very Book in what Sense he took the Word: As at the Beginning of the Book, in these Words; *But seeing I must often use the Words, Essence and Substance; We must know what Essence signifies: lest we should use Words, and not know the Meaning. Essence is that which a Thing is, &c. And it may be called the Essence, or Natur, or Genus, or Substance of any Thing.* — And a little after, *Whereas therefore we say, that Essence does signifie the Natur, or Genus, or Substance, &c. And constantly afterward he uses those Words as Synonymous. And accordingly Erasmus in the Dedication of his Edition of St. Hilary's Works had said; Of the same Essence, or, as St. Hilary often speaks, of the same Genus or Natur with the Father, which the Greeks express ἐκείνου. So that to say, Unitate non Persona sed Generis, is to say, Not one Person, but one Substance: Or as he himself expresses it in the Page before, Non Personâ Deus unus est, sed naturâ. God is not one in Person, but in Natur.*

So unfair and pedantic a Thing it is to catch hold of some single Phrase or Expression, whereby to account for an Author's Meaning thro' a whole Book. The contrary appears by many Passages in the Book. Particularly by this. He as well as the other Fathers does often say, that he that should preach that the Son, as well as the Father, is unbegotten, and without any Cause, Fountain, Origin, or Principle, [which the Greeks express ἀγέννητος ἔ ἀναρχος, unbegotten and unoriginated, or, self-originated] would inevitably make two Gods. Or, that God is one by virtue of the *innascibility*:

*innascibility: autoritate innascibilitatis Deus unus est.* Because tho' there are three Persons, yet One only of them is the Fountain and Origin of the Deity. Or, as *Tersulian* expresses it, *They are all One, inasmuch as all are of One, that is, as to Unity of the Substance. Contra Prax. c. 2.*

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Now he that speaks thus, plainly denotes a numerical Unity. For a specific Unity might as well or better be conceived between Three co-ordinate *ἀγέννητα ἕ ἀναρχα*. But a numerical Unity cannot be conceived, without conceiving the Father as the Fountain of the Deity.

## C H A P. VI.

*The Opinions of the Antients concerning the futur State of Infants, or other Persons, that happen to die unbaptized.*

§. I. **T**HE Account of their Opinion in this Matter will be best given in these Particulars.

1. All the antient Christians (without the Exception of one Man) do understand that Rule of our Savior, *Joh. 3. 5. Verily, verily, I say unto thee; Except a Man [tis in the Original *ἄνθρωπος* *ἄνθρωπος*, except a Person, or except one] be born of Water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of God; of Baptism.*

I had Occasion in the first Part to bring a great many Instances of their Sayings: where all that mention that Text from *Justin Martyr* down to *St. Austin* do so apply it: and many more might be brought. Neither did I ever see it otherwise applied in any antient Writer. I believe *Calvin*

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Year af- was the first that ever denied this Place to mean  
 ter the A- Baptism (1). He gives another Interpretation,  
 postles which he confesses to be new. This Man did  
 indeed write many Things in Defence of Infant-  
 Baptism. But he has done ten Times more  
 Prejudice to that Cause, by withdrawing (as far  
 as in him lay) the Strength of this Text of  
 Scriptur (which the antient Christians used as a  
 chief Ground of it) by that forced Interpretation  
 of his, than he has done Good to it by all his  
 new Hypotheses and Arguments. What Place  
 of Scriptur is more fit to produce for the Satis-  
 faction of some plain and ordinary Man (who  
 perhaps is not capable of apprehending the Force  
 of the Consequences by which it is proved from  
 other Places) that he ought to have his Child  
 baptiz'd, than this, (especially if it were translated  
 in *English* as it should be) where our Savior says,  
 that no *Person* shall come to Heaven without it?  
 meaning, at least in God's *ordinary* way. 'Tis  
 true that *Calvin* does at other Places determin  
 this to be so: as I shall shew presently at §. 8.  
 But his Dictat is but a poor Amends for the  
 Loss of a Text of Scriptur. Since his Time,  
 those Parties of the Protestants that have been  
 the greatest Admirers of him, have follow'd  
 him in leaving out this Place from among their  
 Proofs of Infant Baptism, and diverting the  
 Sense of it another way: Which the Antipædo-  
 baptists observing, have taken their Advantage,  
 and do aim to shut off all the Protestant Pædo-  
 baptists from it. They are apt now to face out  
 any of 'em that makes any Pretence to this  
 Text, as going against the general Sense of Pro-  
 testants. Mr. *Stenner* in his late Answer to Mr.  
*Russen*, p. 73. having said that the *Custom* of  
 baptizing

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(1) Instit. l. 4. c. 16. §. 35.

*baptizing Infants seems to have taken its Rise from the Misinterpretation (as he calls it) of this Text; and having instanc'd in Chrysostom, Cyril, and Austin, as concluding from this Place a Necessity of Baptism to Salvation, (and he might have added to 'em all the antient Christians that ever spoke of this Matter as producing this Text, tho' not this only) he himself declares, that he takes Calvin's Interpretation, of which he there gives a Scheme, to be the truer: you may be sure. Immediately after which, that which only seem'd before, he now terms to be certain. And he adds, Those of the Romish Church do still build their Infant Baptism on the same Principle. If that be true, then we may observe (by the way) that he takes afterward, Ch. 6. a great deal of Pains to no Purpose, to prove that they pretend no Scriptur Ground at all, but only the Authority of the Church. But this Principle, he says, the Protestants have justly abandon'd. If he mean, the Principle of an absolut Impossibility of Salvation for a Child by mischance dying unbaptized, as rais'd from this Text; 'tis true. But if he mean, the Principle of an Impossibility of Salvation to be had, according to God's ordinary Rule and Declaration, any other way than by Baptism; I shall by and by shew, that not all the Protestants, if any, have abandon'd it. On the contrary, they, most of 'em, take this Text in the Sense that the Fathers did: only they judge, that in determining of the futur State of an Infant so dying, we are not to bind God to the Means that he has bound us to; but may hope that for extraordinary Cases and Accidents he will make an Allowance. As in the Case of Circumcision omitted, tho' the Rule were as peremptory as this; That Soul shall be cut off: yet where his Providence made it impracticable (as in those continual Travels in the Wilderness,*

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c.) he did not execute the Penalty: and yet in ordinary Cases the Rule stood firm.

But see what a Triumph this Antipædobaptist raises, upon the Supposal that the Protestants have abandon'd this Principle. *And since, says he, this Foundation is by these last [the Protestants] allowed to be insufficient to bear the Weight of Infant Baptism; it might be worth a farther Inquiry, whether it be founded on any solid Foundation at all: and if those who appear first to have us'd it, proceeded on so great a Mistake, whether this Custom ought not to be discontinued, as well as the Basis on which it was originally laid?*

The judicious Mr. Hooker saw betimes the Inconvenience, as well as Groundlesness, of this new Interpretation of Calvin's, which was then greedily embrac'd by Cartwright and others, that they might with better Face deny any Necessity of that privat Baptism, which had been order'd by the Church in Cases of Extremity: and says on that Account, *I hold it for a most infallible Rule in Expositions of holy Scriptur, that where a literal Construction will stand, the farthest from the Letter is commonly the worst. To hide the general Consent of Antiquity agreeing in the literal Interpretation, they cunningly affirm, that certain have taken these Words as meant of material Water: when they know that of all the Antients there is not one to be named that ever did otherwise, either expound or alledge the Place, than as implying external Baptism. Shall that which has always received this, and no other Construction, be now disguis'd with a Toy of Novelty? — God will have the Sacrament us'd not only as a Sign or Token what we receive; but also as an Instrument or Mean whereby we receive Grace, &c. If Christ himself, who giveth Salvation, do require Baptism, it is not for us that look for Salvation, to sound and examin him, whether unbaptized Men may be saved: but seriously*

to do that which is requir'd, and religiously to fear the Danger which may grow by the Want thereof, &c. Eccl. Pol. l. 5. §. 59, 60.

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2. By those Words [the Kingdom of God] in this Text, they do all of 'em understand (as any one would naturally do) the Kingdom of *Glory hereafter in Heaven.*

This is confess'd by the Right Reverend Author of the late *Exposition of the 39 Articles* of the Church of *England*, who goes about himself to affix another Sense on those Words, *viz.* that they here signifie, *the Church*, or, the *Dispensation of the Messiah*. For speaking of the antient Times, he says (2), *The Words of our Savior to Nicodemus, were expounded so as to import the absolute Necessity of Baptism to Salvation: for it not being observed that the Dispensation of the Messiah was meant by the Kingdom of God, but it being taken to signifie eternal Glory, that Expression of our Savior's was understood to import this, That no Man should be sav'd unless he were baptiz'd, &c.*

It must be granted, that in some Places of the New Testament, by these Words [the Kingdom of God] is meant the Gospel State in this Life. I gave an Instance (a) before, where I think it is so taken. But it is also often taken in the ordinary Sense for the State of futur Glory. And that it should be so taken here, I crave Leave to offer these Reasons.

1. All the antient Expositors and other Fathers, both *Greek* and *Latin*, do, as I said, understand it so. The Reader has seen a Multitude of their Sayings occasionally here brought, whereof not one is capable to be understood otherwise: and I believe none can be produc'd that is. *Hermas*, who set down in Writing these Words of our Savior,

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(2) Art. 27. (a) Pt. 1. CH. XIX. §. 21.

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Savior, or the Substance of 'em, before St. *John* himself did, takes it so. As appears by his speaking (b) of People entring this Kingdom after their Death. *Tertullian* (c) paraphrases *cannot enter by non habet salutem, cannot be saved.* And so all the rest. Now 'tis hard to think that not one of the Antients should expound it right.

2. Mr. *Walker*, who had consulted as much on the Exposition of this Text as any Man, takes the Antipædobaptists for the first Inventers of the new Exposition: and that it was invented by them to serve a Turn. For so are (d) his Words; *God's spiritual Kingdom on Earth, or, visible Church, is all that the Anabaptists will have these Words to signifie: and that upon this Design, because they would by this Distinction avoid the Force of the Argument hence, &c.*

3. As he there observes, this Text explains it self: for the Expression being redoubled by our Savior, in v. 3. and again in v. 5. it is in v. 3. *He cannot see the Kingdom of God.* And St. *Austin* long ago made this Observation (3), *What he had said, he cannot see, he explained by saying, he cannot enter into.* Now for the Church here; one that is not baptiz'd may see it. It is therefore plainly meant of the Kingdom of Glory.

4. It is not likely that our Savior should, in his Discourse with *Nicodemus*, introduce a Sentence in so solemn a Way of Speaking, as to premise twice over to it these Words; *verily, verily, I say unto thee:* and yet at last the Sentence should come to no more than this; that *without Baptism one cannot be enter'd into the Church.* For *to be baptiz'd,* and *to be enter'd into the Church,* are Terms much about equivalent.

Neither

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(b) See Pt. 1. CH. I. §. 2. (c) Ib. CH. IV. §. 3. (d) Modest Plea, c. 12 § 8. (3) Lib. 3. de anima & ejus origine, c. 11.

Neither does it appear what the Antipædo-  
 baptists gain by this Interpretation of theirs, if  
 it were consistent: since the only way, at least  
 the only known and ordinary Way, to the King-  
 dom of Glory, is by being of Christ's Church,  
 or, under the Dispensation of the Messiah.

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As for the *absolut Necessity of Baptism to Salva-  
 tion*, which the learned Bishop whom I mention-  
 ed, says these Words were antiently expounded  
 to import: I am going presently to recite the  
 Sense of the Antients particularly, how far they  
 expounded 'em so, and how far not.

St. *Austin* is of Opinion (4), that had it not  
 been for this Sentence of our Savior; the *Pela-  
 gians*, when they were so hard prest with the  
 Arguments taken from the Baptism of Infants,  
*would have determined that Infants were not to be  
 baptized at all.*

The Church of *England*, together with the  
 whole antient Church, does apply and make Use  
 of this Text as a Ground of baptizing Infants:  
 beginning the Office for it thus; *Forasmuch as all  
 Men are conceiv'd and born in Sin, and that our  
 Savior Christ says, None can enter into the King-  
 dom of God, except he be regenerat and born  
 a-new of Water and of the Holy Ghost, &c.*  
*And afterward, Seeing now, dearly beloved Bre-  
 thren, that this Child is regenerat, &c.* And they  
 do in all the *three Offices of Baptism*, as soon as  
 the Party is baptiz'd, whether he be Infant or  
 one of riper Years, give Thanks that he is *rege-  
 nerated and grafted into the Body of Christ's Church.*

And whereas some People have express'd a  
 Wonder at St. *Austin*, that he should hold, *that  
 all that are baptiz'd are also Regenerat*; no Man  
 living can read him without perceiving that he  
 uses

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(4) L. 1. de peccat. merit. c. 30,



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uses the Word [regenerat] as another Word for [baptized] and that this with him would have been an identical Proposition: as if one should say now a-days; *All that are baptiz'd, are christned.*

If some of late Days have put a new Sense on the Word [regenerat], How can St. *Austin* help that? And the Church of *England* uses the Word in the old Sense.

Many of the late Defenders of Infant Baptism have, as I said, left out this Place from among the Proofs that they bring from Scriptur for it: but for what Reason it is hard to imagin.

If they fear that from hence will follow a Ground of absolut Despair for any new Convert for himself, and for any Parent in respect of his Child, dying before he can be baptiz'd: is it not natural to admit of the same *invenia* and Allowance in these Words, as we do, and must do, in many other Rules of Holy Scriptur? namely, to understand 'em thus; That this is God's *ordinary* Rule, or the *ordinary* Condition of Salvation: but that in *extraordinary* Cases (where his Providence cuts off all our Opportunity of using it) he has also extraordinary Mercy to save without it. The Antients, as I shall shew, did hope, and even conclude so, in Case of a Convert believing: and many in the following Ages, of an Infant.

If the Objection be, that it is not easie to conceive, how an Infant can be born or regenerat *of the Spirit*, (which is mention'd in the Text as well as *of Water*) since he is not capable of any Operations of the Spirit on his Will, &c. It is not only own'd by all other Christians, that the Holy Spirit, besides his Office of converting the Heart, does seal and apply Pardon of Sin, and other Promises of the Covenant: but also by the Antipædobaptists, that the Spirit of Christ is given or applied to Infants. So  
says

says Mr. Danvers (5), That they are capable of <sup>Year af-</sup> Salvation by Christ's Purchase, and the Application of <sup>ter the A-</sup> Christ's Blood and Spirit to 'em; Who doubts it? <sup>pples</sup>  
*I am sure I never affirm'd the contrary. And Mr. Tombs, The Grace of God electing them, putting them into Christ, anising them to him by his Spirit (6).*

The Antipædobaptists do themselves make Use of this Place of Scriptur against the Quakers and other Antibaptists, (and that with good Reason) to prove the Necessity of Baptism. Some of them also, that can read no other than the *English Translation*, will sometimes very unwarily urge it against the Pædobaptists; and will observe that 'tis said; *Except a Man be born, &c.* 'tis not said, a Child: concluding from the Word that he that is so born must be a *Man grown*. But these, you'll say, are *right English Divines*. This may be retorted on them: for the Original is not *ἕαν μὴ ἀνὴρ*, or, *ἕαν μὴ ἄνθρωπος* ⊕: *Except a Man*: but *ἕαν μὴ τις*, *except any one*. And so the Text is understood by the Antients: and by all that can read the Original.

'Tis a common thing with the Antipædobaptists, when they are attack'd with that Argument, that Womens receiving the Communion is no more plainly express'd in Scriptur than Infant Baptism, to answer by citing that Text; *δοκιμαζέτω ἑαυτὸν ἄνθρωπος* ⊕, &c. *Let a Man examine himself, and so let him eat, &c.* and to urge, that the Word *ἄνθρωπος* ⊕ being of the common Gender includes Women as well as Men. And they will frequently boast and say, *Do but produce as good Proof for baptizing Infants, as this Text affords for Womens receiving; and we will comply.* Nevertheless, it is not advisable for 'em to venture

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(5) Answ. to Appeal, p. 9. (6) Examen §. 10.

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venture any more on this Challenge, than they can be content to lose. For the Word *τις* used here, *εἰς μὴν τις*, does (much more naturally than the Word *ἀνθρώπου*) signifie any one, or any Person, Man, Woman, or Child. 'Tis only an *Anglicism* to say, *Except a Man*, instead of, *Except a Person be born of Water, &c.*

§. 2. Tho' the Antients understood the fore-said Text to mean Baptism, and tho' the Words are peremptory, yet they were of Opinion that God Almighty did in some extraordinary Cases, when Baptism could not be had, dispense with his own Law. And one Case, which they all agreed to be exempted, was that of Martyrs. If any one had such Faith in Christ, as willingly to sacrifice his Life for the Testimony of his Truth; they concluded that such a Man, whether he had as yet been baptiz'd or not, was received into the Kingdom of Heaven. For this they called *Baptismum Sanguinis*, a being baptiz'd in Blood: referring to that of our Savior, *Mat. 20. 22. You shall be baptized with the Baptism that I am baptized with.*

100. So Tertullian (7), *We have also another Baptism, (which as well as the other can be used but once) namely that of Blood. Hic est baptismus qui lavacrum & non acceptum representat, & perditum reddit. This is a Baptism which will either supply the Place of Water-Baptism to one that has not received it, or will restore it to one that has lost*  
150. [or defaced] *it. The same thing is owned by*  
250. *Cyprian (8.)*

St. Cyril, who says thus, (9) *If one be never so upright, and yet do not receive the Seal of Water, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of Heaven: this*

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(7) De Baptismo, c. 16. (8) Epist. 73. ad Jubaianum.  
(9) Catech. 3.

this is a bold Speech, but it is none of mine; it is Jesus Christ that has made this Decree. Yet afterward, in the same Oration, excepts Martyrs.

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So likewise *Fulgentius*, as positive as he is, that none can be saved without Baptism, yet puts it (11), *exceptis iis qui pro Christi nomine suo sanguine baptizantur*. ' Except those who are for the ' Name of Christ, baptized in their own Blood. ' *Gennadius* speaks to the same Purpose (12).

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And St. *Austin* says (13), *Ever since the time that our Savior said; Except any one be born again of Water, &c. and at another Place, He that shall lose his Life for my Sake, shall find it: no Person is made a Member of Christ, but either by Baptism in Christ, or by Death for Christ.*

§. 3. Beside the Case of Martyrs: If a heathen Man was arriv'd to some Degree of Belief of the Christian Religion, and Confession of it, and yet died without Baptism: they judg'd of his Case with some Distinction.

For if the Man had shewn a Contempt or gross Neglect of Baptism as a needless thing, and then were cut off by Death without receiving it: they judg'd such a Case to be hopeless. *Tertullian* himself calls that a wicked Doctrine; to think that Baptism is not necessary to those that have Faith. His Words you have before Pt. 1.

100.

CH. IV. §. 3. And St. *Ambrose* (14) speaks of it as a received Opinion, that a Catechumen, tho' he believe in the Cross [or Death] of the Lord Jesus, yet unless he be baptized in the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, cannot receive Remission of Sins, nor be Partaker

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of

(11) De fide ad Petrum, c. 30. (12) De Eccl. dogmatibus, c. 74. (13) L. 1. de Anima, & ejus origine, c. 9. (14) Lib. de his qui initiantur, c. 4.

Year af- of the Gift of spiritual Grate. He must mean,  
 ter the A- of those that refuse or contemn Baptism, as  
 postles

260. will appear by what I shall quote from him  
 by and by. And *Gregory Nazianzen* speaking  
 of three Sorts of Persons that die un-  
 baptized, reckons these the worst, and likely  
 to have the greatest Punishment. His Words  
 are recited in *Pt. 1. CH. XI. §. 6.* *St. Austin's*  
 Words also I produced before, *Pt. 1. CH.*  
*XV. Sect. 4. §. 3.* *But when a Man goes without*  
*it by his wilful Neglect of it, he is involv'd in*  
*Guilt : for that must not be call'd a Conversion of*  
*the Heart to God, when God's Sacrament is contemn'd.*  
 So that the learned *Vossius*, in his Book of Baptism,  
*Disp. 6. Th. 6.* having spoke of some Points of  
 Baptism, in which the Opinions of the Fathers  
 differ'd, owns them to have been unanimous in  
 this. *This is, says he, the Judgment of all Anti-*  
*quity, that they perish eternally, who despise Baptism,*  
*i. e. will not be baptized when they may.*

If it were one that intended to be baptiz'd  
 some Time or other, but put it off from Time  
 to Time, either out of a negligent Delay, or out  
 of a Desire of enjoying unlawful Lusts some  
 Time longer, and then happen'd finally to miss  
 it ; as *St. Chrysostom* says he had known it hap-  
 pen too often : they judg'd such an one lost ;  
 tho' not liable to so great Punishment as he that  
 260. had absolutely despis'd it. So *Gregory Nazianzen*  
 determins in the Place last mention'd : and their  
 Sayings to that Purpose are too common to need  
 repeating. I shall recite only one of *Hermas* for  
 its Antiquity, being writ in the Apostles Time.  
 He speaks (15) of a Vision which he saw of the  
 Building of the Church Triumphant, under the  
 Emblem of a Tower built with several Stones :  
 and

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(15) Pastor lib. 1. vis. 3.

Chap. VI. Those that miss'd of Baptism by Delay. 177

and he saw (16) many sorts of Stones rejected and cast far from the Tower. And among the rest, <sup>Year after the Apostles</sup> some *cadentes juxta aquam, nec posse volvi in aquam, volentibus quidem eis intrare in aquam: that fell nigh the Water,* [on which the Tower was built] and tho' they seem'd desirous to go into the Water, could not roll into it. And in the Explication (17), he asks, *What are those other, that fell nigh the Water, and could not roll into the Water?* Answer is made, *They are such as heard the Word, and had a Mind to be baptized in the Name of the Lord; but considering the great Holiness which the Truth requires, withdrew themselves, and walked again after their wicked Desires.* And I think it very probable that St. James means this sort of Men, Chap. 1. v. 6, 7, 8. where he speaks of some that were double-minded, wavering, unstable, tossed too and fro in their Resolutions; and he says there, that *such shall receive nothing of the Lord.*

Some put off their Baptism a long Time, fearing least after it they might fall into Sin again. These *Tertullian* commends, and advises to stay till the Danger of Lust is over: and says at one Place (18), that to such Men, if they should happen to miss of Baptism, *an intire Faith is secure of Salvation.* But all the rest do much discommend this Practice; as appears at large in the Sermons made to the Catechumens by St. Basil, St. Gregory Nazianzen, St. Gregory Nyssen, St. Chrysostom, and others.

*Nazianzen* says (19), This is the Deceit of the Devil counterfeiting Holiness, and cheating Men of the Grace of Baptism, by perswading 'em to an Over-  
M Caution:

(16) Cap. 2. (17) Cap. 7. (18) See Pt. 1. CH. IV. §. 9.  
(19) Or. 40.

178. *Those that miss'd of Baptism by Delay* Chap. VI.

Year after the Apostles Caution: that by Means of their Fear of staining their Baptism, they may altogether miss of it.

260. Nyssen says (20), That of the two it is better to receive it now, tho' one should fall into Sin after, than to hazard the Loss of it by this Caution. For to those that sin afterward, he allows Hopes of Pardon upon Repentance: but of those that die without being baptiz'd at all, he says, *When I hear that peremptory Sentence, Verily, verily, I say unto thee, Except one be born again, &c. I dare not forebode any good to those that are not initiated.*

380. Chrysostom (21) brings in these Men arguing: and answers them, 'I am afraid: says one. If you were afraid, you would receive Baptism and preserve it. But I therefore receive it not, because I am afraid. But are you not afraid to die in this Condition? — He that sins after Baptism (as 'tis like he will being but a Man) will, if he repent, obtain Mercy. But he that making a sophistical Use of the Mercy of God, departs this Life without the Grace, will have inevitable Punishment. And afterward, In what Anguish of Mind am I, think you, when I hear of any one that is dead that was not baptiz'd, considering those unsufferable Torments? And in another Tract (22); If sudden Death seize us, which God forbid, before we are baptiz'd; tho' we have a thousand good Qualities, there is nothing to be expected but Hell.

150. Firmilian, Bishop of Cesarea in Cappadocia, who was of the same Opinion as St. Cyprian was, that Baptism given by Heretics is null, asks (by Way of Objection to himself) this Question (a); what should be said of the Case of those, who having

(20) De Baptismo. (21) Hom. 1. in Acta Apost. (22) Hom. 24. in Joann. (a) Apud Cyprian. Epist. 75. prope finem.

having come from the Heretics to the Church, and having been receiv'd without a new Baptism, were since dead without it? He answers; *They are to be accounted in the same State as those that have been Catechumens among us, and have died before they were baptized.* But what he thought that State to be, cannot be plainly known, because the next Words are very obscure: yet *Rigaltius*, by an Amendment of the Words (without the Authority of any *M. S.*), makes 'em favorable for the Case of such deceased Persons: And *Bp. Fell* allows of his Opinion.

If any of the foresaid sorts of Men did put off their Baptism till some dangerous Sicknes seized 'em, and then were baptized in their Sick-Bed, and died: Tho' they did give Hopes that such a Baptism was available to Salvation, yet they counted these no creditable sort of Christians, because they seem'd to come to it no otherwise but by mere Constraint. Nay, *Nyssen* (23) reckons these among such as shall not be punish'd, but, on the other side, shall not go to Heaven. There were antient Canons, that such, if they recover'd, should never be admitted to Holy Orders: as appears by the Epistles of *Cornelius* recited by *Eusebius* (24). Tho' it appear by the same that *Novatian* was dispens'd with for this Incapacity.

But, there is one Case of a Man's dying unbaptized, on which they generally put a favorable Construction, tho' with some Difference of Opinion concerning his futur State. And that is, if a Man while he was in Health, were come to a stedfast Resolution of being baptiz'd the next Opportunity, but were hinder'd by sudden

M 2

Death,

(23) Or, in *Éos qui differunt baptisma.* (24) *H. E.* l. 6. c. 43.



Year af- Death, or some other unavoidable Impediment.  
 ter the A- *Nazianzen's* Opinion of such is, that they shall  
 postles not be punish'd, and yet neither, on the contrary,  
 shall they be glorified. He, as well as *Nyssen*,  
 and many other of the *Greek Church*, seems to  
 have thought that there is a middle State, not  
 partaking, or not much, either of Happiness or  
 Misery. You have his Words, *Pt. 1. CH. XI. §. 6.* He shewed also by that Anguish of Soul  
 which he himself felt when he was like to die  
 without Baptism (24), that he feared either Hell,  
 or at least the Loss of Heaven.

*St. Ambrose* speaks at one Place doubtfully of  
 these Mens escaping Punishment, but more doubt-  
 fully of their obtaining any Reward, in the  
 Words which I cited in *Pt. 1. CH. XIII. §. 2.*  
*But suppose they do obtain a Freedom from Punish-  
 ment, yet I question whether they shall have the  
 Crown of the Kingdom.* But yet afterward he  
 gives his Opinion positively in the Case of *Valen-  
 tinian* (who miss'd of Baptism in the Manner we  
 now speak of), that his Desire of Baptism was  
 accepted instead of Baptism, not only for Pardon,  
 but also for Glorification: as was shewed in  
*CH. 3. Sect. 3. §. 3.*

*St. Austin* embraces this Opinion of *St. Ambrose*  
 last mention'd. And gives a Proof of it out  
 of Scriptur from the Example of the penitent  
 Thief: Which, says he (25), when I consider  
 throughly, I find that not only Martyrdom for the  
 Name of Christ may supply the Want of Baptism;  
 but also Faith and the Conversion of the Heart,  
 in a Case where by Reason of the Straightness of  
 the Time the Sacrament of Baptism cannot be cele-  
 brated. For that Thief was not crucified for the  
 Name

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(24) See *CH. 3. Sect. 6. §. 1.* (25) *Contra Donatistas,*  
*l. 4. c. 22.*

*Name of Christ, but for his own ill Deserts; neither did he suffer for his Belief; but while he was suffering, he came to believe. So that in his Case it appears, how much that which the Apostle says; with the Heart we believe unto Righteousness, and with the Mouth Confession is made unto Salvation, does avail without the visible Sacrament of Baptism. But it is then fulfilled invisibly when not the Contempt of Religion, but some sudden Exigent of Necessity keeps one from Baptism.*

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Since this Thief had a Promise of Paradise; it is plain that St. *Austin* means, that a Man dying in that Case may have Hopes not only of Impunity, but of Reward. Besides that he thought there is no middle Place.

In his *Retractions* (26), he considers this Matter over again; and says, the Example of the Thief is not absolutely fit for this Purpose, because one is not sure whether he were baptiz'd or not, i. e. some Time in his Life before, which is very improbable. Yet he insists on the Probability of it in his Writings against *Vincentius Victor*.

§. 4. One might have thought that they should have as good Hopes of the State of an Infant dying unbaptized, as of a Heathen Convert, who believed and sincerely desir'd Baptism, dying likewise unbaptiz'd: since it may be said of the Infant, as well as of the other, that it is not his Fault, but Mischance, that he is not baptiz'd. And *Nazianzen*, and the others that do allot a middle State to the one, do allot the same to the other. But St. *Austin*, and those who allow of no State absolutely middle, have Hopes of the Convert's (such as the Thief was) going to Heaven, tho' unbaptiz'd: but no Hopes

Year after the Apostles

of an unbaptiz'd Infant's escaping some Degree of Condemnation.

The Reason of the Difference, as they seem to understand it, is; that whereas God ordinarily requires both Faith and Baptism, yet that either of 'em (when the other cannot be had) may suffice to Salvation. As the Thief having no Baptism, but having Faith and the Desire of Baptism, was saved: And Infants, having not Faith, but having Baptism, are saved: But infants dying unbaptiz'd, having neither Faith nor Baptism, cannot escape some Degree of Condemnation for Original Sin.

To this Purpose are St. *Austin's* Words (27), *As in the Case of the Thief, who by Necessity went without Baptism corporally, Salvation was obtain'd, because he Spiritually was Partaker of it by his godly Desire: So where that [Baptism] is had, Salvation is likewise obtain'd, tho' the Party go without that [Faith] which the Thief had.* And so likewise 1015. St. *Bernard* (28) resolves the Case from St. *Austin*, Having said that a Man having Faith, and the Desire of Baptism, may be sav'd tho' he miss of Baptism, he adds; *Infants indeed, since by Reason of their Age they cannot have Faith, nor the Conversion of the Heart to God, consequently can have no Salvation if they die without Baptism.*

The Antients had not all of 'em the same Opinion concerning the Death that is brought on Mankind by Original Sin. The Author of that Comment which has been ascrib'd to St. *Ambrose*, but has since been thought to be *Hilary* the *Deacon's*, and by others to be mix'd out of several antient Works, thinks it to be only temporal

(27) De Baptismo contra Donatistas, l. 4. c. 23. (28) Epist. 77. ad Hugonem de Sancto victore.

poral Death. The Words that are 2 or 3 Lines before those I am going to recite, are for certain *Hilary's* (for *St. Austin* quotes them under his Name (29)). The Words to this Purpose are these; *Comment in Rom. 5* Having spoken of the Death which *St. Paul* says came on all by *Adam's Sin*, he adds; *There is also another Death, which is called the second Death in Hell, which we do not suffer for the Sin of Adam: but by Occasion thereof it is brought on us by our own Sins.* Year after the Apostles

'Tis plain this Man would not have sentenc'd Infants to the second Death in Hell. But the more common Opinion I think, especially in the *Western Parts*, was; that the Death threatred to *Adam*, and coming by Original Sin on all by Nature is Eternal Death. *Pacianus* teaches so in his *Sermon of Baptism*. Mind, Oh Beloved; in what Death a Man is before he be baptized. You know that received Point, that *Adam* was the Head of our earthly Origin: whose Condemnation brought on him Subjection to Eternal Death, and on all his Posterity, who were all under one Law.

Accordingly they differ'd concerning the futur State of Infants dying unbaptiz'd: But all agreed that they miss'd of Heaven.

Those of the *Greek Church* do generally incline to the Opinion of that middle State. Their Words are cited in the first Part, viz. *Nazianzen's*, CH. XI. §. 6. Those of the Author of the Questions in *Iustin Martyr*, CH. XXIII. §. 3. And those of the Author of the *Questiones ad Antiochum*; *ibid.* The Opinion of *Pelagius*, (who convers'd most in the *Greek Church*) CH. XIX. *passim.* The Words of *St. Ambrose* (who transcrib'd most that he wrote from *Greek Authors*), CH. XIII. §. 2.

M 4

But

(29) L. 4. ad Bonifac. c. 4.

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But St. *Austin*, and most of the *Latin* Church in his Time, holding no such middle State, do believe such Infants under some Degree of Condemnation: whose Words you have in the XV, XIX, and XXth Chapters. Both one and the other agree in this; that Infants dying unbaptiz'd cannot come to the Kingdom of Heaven.

How hard soever this Opinion may seem, it is the constant Opinion of the Antients: none ever having maintained the contrary in these Times, nor a great while after, except that §19. *Vincentius Victor* mention'd in the XXth Chapter of the first Part, who also quickly recanted. St. *Austin*, in a Letter to St. *Hierom*, (30) says, *Whoever should affirm that Infants which die without partaking of this Sacrament shall be quicken'd in Christ, would both go against the Apostles preaching, and also would condemn the whole Church: Universam Ecclesiam.* And of the *Pelagians*, who believing no Original Sin, had therefore the most favorable Opinion of any that was then held, of the natural State of Infants, he says (31), that even they, being awed by the Authority of the Gospel, or rather, *Christianorum populorum concordissimâ fidei conspiratione perfracti*, being overswayed by the agreeing Consent in the Faith of all Christian People, *sine ullâ excusatione concedunt quod nullus parvulus, nisi, &c.* do without any Tergiversation own, that no Infant that is not horn again of Water and of the Spirit, does enter into the Kingdom of God.

*Tertullian* himself, who at one Place advises to keep Children unbaptiz'd till the Age of Reason, is thought by the Pædobaptists, and confess'd by some of the other Side, to mean when there is no Danger of Death before: because he

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(30) Epist. 28. (31) Epist. 105. ad Sixtum, prope finem.

he owns it for a standing Rule, that *without Baptism there is no Salvation for any Person* (32). Year after the Apostles

And *Nazianzen*, who advises to defer their Baptism till they are three Years old, or thereabouts, expresses himself with this Limitation [*if there be no Danger of Death*]. And if there be any Danger, advises it to be given out of Hand, as a Thing without which they will, he says, *not be glorified* (33). And except these two, none speak of any Delay of it at all.

§. 5. But that Party that believed no middle State, and thought that the Scriptur obliges us to confess that Infants are under some Degree of Condemnation, and that they are by *Natur Children of that Wrath* mention'd *Ep. 2. 3.* yet believed that it is a very moderat and mild Punishment which they shall suffer, if they die unbaptized. This I speak of the Times of our Period of the four first Centuries: for afterward the Opinion grew more rigid, as we shall see.

*St. Austin* does very often assert this mild Degree of their Condemnation; because the *Pelagians* did not fail to represent the Doctrin of Original Sin odious, upon the Account of such Infants as mis'd of Baptism, sometimes not by their Parents Fault, but by some unavoidable Accident. He thinks it necessary to maintain against these Men the Doctrin it self, tho' it be severe: But he takes Care not to represent it more severe than he thought the plain Words of Scriptur inforced. Therefore as in one Place (34) of his Book *de peccat. merit.* He says, *Let us not therefore of our own Head promise any eternal Salvation to Infants without the Baptism of Christ, which the Holy Scriptur, that is to be preferred*

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(32) See Pt. 1. CH. IV. §. 3. (33) See Pt. 1. CH. XI. §. 6. (34) Cap. 23.

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ferred to all Human Wit, does not promise. So in another Chapter of that Book (35) he has these Words:

*It may well be said that Infants departing this Life without Baptism will be under the mildest Condemnation of all. But he that affirms that they will not be under Condemnation, does much deceive us, and is deceiv'd himself: When as the Apostle says, Judgment came on all Men to Condemnation, &c. To the same Purpose he speaks in his Enchiridion, c. 93.*

In another Book of his it appears how mild he thought this Condemnation might be: Even so mild, that to be in that State might be better than to have no Being at all. For Julian, the Pelagian had objected, that if the Doctrin of Original Sin were true, it were a cruel and wicked Thing to beget Children; who would be born in a State of Condemnation, and consequently in such a State as that it were to be wish'd they had never been born: Citing that of our Savior, *Well were it for that Man that he had never been born.* To this St. Austin answers (36), that God is the Author of Being to all Men; many of whom, as Julian must confess, will be eternally condemn'd: And yet God is not to be accus'd of Cruelty for creating 'em. And farther, that all godly Parents will take all Care possible for baptizing their Children, which will take off that Original Guilt, and make them Heirs of a glorious Kingdom. And as to those Infants that yet die unbaptiz'd; answers thus;

*I do not say that Infants dying without the Baptism of Christ will be punish'd with so great Pain, as that it were better for 'em not to have been born: Since our Lord spoke this, not of all Sinners,*  
but

but of the most profligate and impious ones. For if in the Day of Judgment some shall be punish'd in a more tolerable Degree than others, as he said of the Men of Sodom, and would be understood not of them only: Who can doubt but that Infants unbaptiz'd, who have only Original Sin, and are not loaded with any Sins of their own, will be in the gentlest Condemnation of all? Which as I am not able to define what or how great it will be; so I dare not say that it would be better for 'em not to be at all, than to be in that State.

And you your selves, who contend that they are free from all Condemnation, are not willing to consider to what Condemnation you make 'em subject, when you separat from the Life of God and the Kingdom of God so many Images of God: and also when you separat 'em from their pious Parents, whom you expressly encourage to the begetting of 'em. If they have no Original Sin, 'tis unjust that they should suffer so much as that. Or if they suffer that justly, then they have Original Sin.

He shews that the futur State in which the Pelagians thought such Infants would be, is not so different from that in which he judg'd they would be, as they did invidiously represent. For they confess'd that without Baptism they could not come to the Kingdom of God, but must eternally be separated from God and from their Parents: But they would not call this Condemnation. He judg'd that they were under Condemnation, but so gentle, that probably that State would be better than no Being at all: And consequently that they or their Parents would have no Reason to wish that they had never been born.

St. Austin does so generally observe this Rule of Speaking with great Caution and Tenderness of the Degree of their Condemnation; that when *Brasimus* came to revise his Works, he quickly

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quickly found that the Book *de fide ad Petrum* was none of his (37), for this Reason among others, because the Author (who is since known to be *Fulgentius*) does express the Condemnation of Infants that die unbaptiz'd in such rigid Terms, as that *whether they die in their Mother's Womb, or after they are born (38), one must hold for certain and undoubted, that they are ignis æterni sempiterno supplicio puniendi, to be tormented with the everlasting Punishment of eternal Fire; and again (39), interminabilia gehennæ sustinere supplicia: Ubi Diabolus, &c. to suffer the endless Torments of Hell; where the Devil with his Angels is to burn for evermore. This, says Erasmus, I never read any where else in St. Austin: Tho' he does frequently use the Words; Punishment, Condemnation, Perishing.*

*Erasmus's* Observation is true for the General; Yet it must be confess'd, that in one Sermon (40) of his, where he is eagerly declaiming against the *Pelagians*, who taught that Infants were baptiz'd not for eternal Life but for the Kingdom of Heaven, and that if they die unbaptiz'd, they will miss of the Kingdom of Heaven indeed, but have eternal Life in some other good Place: He confutes their Opinion thus; *Our Lord will come to judge the Quick and the Dead: And he will make two Sides, the Right and the Left. To those on the Left-hand he will say; Depart into everlasting Fire, &c. To those on the Right; Come, receive the Kingdom, &c. He calls one, the Kingdom: The other, Condemnation with the Devil. There is no middle Place left, where you can put Infants. — And afterward; Thus I have explain'd to you what is the*

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(37) *Erasmi Censura ad istum librum.* (38) *Cap. 27*  
(39) *Cap. 3.* (40) *De verbis Apostoli, Sermon. 14.*

*the Kingdom, and what everlasting Fire: so that when you confess the Infant will not be in the Kingdom, you must acknowledge he will be in everlasting Fire.*

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But these Words came from him in the midst of a declamatory Dispute. He would, if he had been to explain himself, have said, as in other Places, that this Fire would be to them the most moderat of all. Tho' he speak of this Matter 1000 or 2000 Times, yet he never, as I know of, mentions the Word [eternal Fire] in their Case but here. So that we must either conclude, that the Heat of Controversie carried him in that *extempore* Sermon beyond his usual Thought: Or else we must conclude by *Erasmus's* Rule, that that Sermon is none of his.

It was the foresaid Book of *Fulgentius* (which asserts this dogmatically, and over and over) being commonly joined with his Works, and taken for his, that fixed on him in After-Ages the Title of *Durus infantum Pater*. 'The Father that is so hard to Infants.' 'Twas *Fulgentius*, that liv'd 100 Years after, and not he, that most deserv'd that Name. 410:

Whereas *Grotius* observes (41), that St. *Austin* never express'd any Thing at all of their Condemnation, not even to those lesser Pains, till after he had been heated by the *Pelagian* Disputes; seeming to intimate that he was not of that Opinion before; but took it up then in Opposition to the *Pelagians*: I have shewed before (42) what St. *Austin* himself says to that Imputation: For it was objected by some in his Life-time.

§. 6.

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(41) Annot. in Matt. 19. 14. (42) Pt. 1. CH. XV. Sect. 3. §, 2.

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§. 6. I shall here make a short Excursion beyond my Limits of 400 Years: and see how the Opinions of Men did come to some Abatement of this Rigour after the Times of *Fulgentius*, who died *Anno 533*.

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In Pope *Gregory's* Time, *Anno Dom. 600*, the Opinion of their being tormented, continued. For he speaks thus (43); *Some are taken from this present Life before they come to have any good or ill Deserts by their own Deeds: And having not the Sacrament of Salvation for their Deliverance from Original Sin, tho' they have done nothing of their own here, yet there they come ad Tormenta, to Torments. And a little after; perpetua tormenta percipiunt, they undergo eternal Torments.*

The same, or at least the Opinion of moderate Torments, continued down to *Anselm's* Time: For he speaks thus on that Subject (44); — *Tho' all shall not be equally tormented in Hell. For after the Day of Judgment, there will be no Angel nor human Person, but what will be either in the Kingdom of God, or else in Hell. So then the Sin of Infants is less than the Sin of Adam: And yet none can be saved without that universal Satisfaction, by which Sin, be it great or small, is to be forgiven.*

Thus far it continued. But about this time the Doctrin of the Church of *Rome* and the *Western World* took a great Turn in this Point: And they came over to the Opinion of the *Greek Doctors* that I mentioned. For *Peter Lombard*, *Anno Dom. 1150* determines (45), that the proper Punishment of Original Sin (where there is no actual Sin added to it) is

*pana*

(43) Lib. 1. Exposit. in Job. c. 16. (44) Lib. de concept. Virginis & peccat. originali, c. 22. (45) Lib. 2. Sentent. Dist. 33.

*pena damni, non pena sensus,* 'The Punishment of Loss (*viz.* Loss of Heaven and the Sight of God), but not the Punishment of Sense, *viz.* of positive Torment. Year after the Apostles 733

Pope Innocent the Third confirms this, by determining (46) that the Punishment of Original Sin is *caentia visionis Dei, being deprived of the Sight of God: And of actual Sin the Punishment to be gehennæ perpetuæ cruciatus, the Torments of an everlasting Hell.* 1100.

Then Alexander de Ales (47), and Aquinas (48), and so the whole Troop of Schoolmen, do establish the same by their Determinations. They suppose there is a Place or State of Hell or Hades, which they call *limbus* or *infernus puerorum*, where unbaptiz'd Infants will be in no other Torment or Condemnation but the Loss of Heaven. 1130. 1155.

But they did not know what to do with that Authority of the Book *de fide ad Petrum* which I mention'd, and which they took to be St. Austin's, which says; *We must believe most firmly, and make no question of it, that they are tormented with eternal Fire.* Yet see the Power of Distinctions. Alexander de Ales answers (49); *To be punish'd with that Fire may be understood two Ways: Either on account of the Heat of it, or of the Darknes of it. They that have actual Sins will be punish'd with the Heat: But the other, only with the Darknes of it, as wanting the Sight of God, &c.* Now Darknes without Heat is, one would think, but improperly express'd by Fire. But he says, (and true enough) *that if we do not understand it so, it will be contrary to what St. Austin says at other Places of the Mildness of their Punishment.* This

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(46) Decret, lib. 3, cap. de baptismo. (47) P. 2. Q. 105. M. 10. (48) Tertia Q. 1. Art. 4. (49) Loc. citat.

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This was, as I said, the general Opinion of the Schoolmen. Yet *Gregorius Ariminensis* (50) (who is called the *Tormenter of Children*) and *Dreido* (51) endeavour'd to revive the Opinion of *Fulgentius*: But found no Followers, after that the other Opinion had been countenanc'd. The Doctrin of eternal Torments finds a Difficulty in sinking into Mens Belief, (if they have consider'd what Eternity is) when it is applied to the Case of wicked Men. Much more in the Case of Infants, who have in their own Person not known or committed Good or Evil, and have only the Stain of Natur. And our Saviór speaking of grown Men, says, *They shall be beaten with few Stripes, if they be ignorant Persons, and such as knew not their Master's Will*. How much more must that Rule hold in the Case of Infants, who never were capable of any Sense at all about it?

Dr. *Field* in his Book of the Church (52) is pleas'd to call this Opinion of the Schools a *Pelagian* Conceit. But I have prov'd that it is elder, especially in the *Greek* Church, than *Pelagius*; and was held by those that acknowledg'd Original Corruption: Which Corruption, they confessed, carried with it, in unbaptized Persons, Condemnation. But they thought the Loss of Heaven for ever was that Condemnation; and that when there was no actual Sin in the Case, there would no positive Punishment, or a very gentle one, be added. They thought that that alone made a mighty Difference between Infants baptiz'd, and those that die unbaptiz'd; that the one should enter into the Kingdom of Heaven, the other

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(50) L. 2. Diq. 31. Q. 3. (51) Lib. 1. De gratiâ & lib. arbitrio. tract. 3. (52). Lib. 3 Appendix

other eternally miss of it: According to that Sentence of our Savior beforemention'd, *John 3: 5.* Year after the Apostles

This Opinion of no positive Punishment, or a very gentle one, was afterward so general, that when the contrary one was anew set up by the Protestants, it was by some adjudged to be Heresie. For *Father Paul*, in giving an Account how the Council of *Trent* prepared (53) their Decrees about Original Sin, (which were determin'd in the 5th Session; *June 17. 1546.*) mentions their Disputes among themselves, whether they should condemn as heretical that Proposition of the Lutherans; *That the Punishment for Original Sin is Hell Fire:* and says it must very narrowly being anathematiz'd: it was only out of Respect to *St. Austin* and *Gregorius Ariminensis* that they forbore. The good Fathers doubtless mistook, as well as other Men, *Fulgentius's* Book for *St. Austin's*; so that the Blow had in great Measure mist him: but by what I produc'd before out of *Pope Gregory the First*, *They shall undergo eternal Torments;* it appears that they were nigh doing a greater Mischiefe. There wanted but an Ace but they had branded one of the most renowned Bishops of the infallible See for a Heretic. A Shot that would have recoil'd on themselves.

§. 7. All mention'd hitherto have taken for granted that there is no Hopes of such Infants entering the Kingdom of Heaven: Only they differ about their positive Punishment, or the Degree of it. But some others have conceived Hopes of their obtaining that also in one Case: Which is, when the Parents being good Christians, do in Heart and Purpose dedicate their Child to God, and pray for it, and do their best Endeavor

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(53) Hist. of the Council of *Trent*, lib. 2,

Year af- vor to get it baptiz'd ; but are prevented by  
 ter the A- its sudden Death.  
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I have taken some Pains (more perhaps than such a particular Thing deserves) to find who was the first that ventur'd to declare this charitable Opinion, after it had been so decry'd by the Antients, and recanted by *Vincentius*. I find none elder than *Hincmarus* Archbishop of *Rhemes*,  
 760. *Anno Dom.* 860. who express'd such Hopes ; but it was in a Case that was very particular. A certain rash and stubborn Bishop in his Province, named *Hincmarus* too, Bishop of *Laudun*, had excommunicated all his Clergy, so that there was no Body to give Baptism, Absolution or Burial. The Archbishop writes a severe Reproof to him (54), and in it takes Occasion to speak of the Fate of such Infants, as had in the mean Time died without Baptism ; hoping that they by God's extraordinary Mercy might be saved, tho' he had done what lay in him for their Perishing. He argues thus ; *As in the Case of Infants that are under the Guilt of the Sin of Natur, that is, the Sins of others ; the Faith of others, that is, of their Godfathers that answer for 'em in Baptism, is a Means of their Salvation : So also to those Infants to whom you have caused Baptism to be denied, the Faith and godly Desire of their Parents or Godfathers, who in Sincerity desired Baptism for 'em, but obtain'd it not ; may be a Help [or, Profit] by the Gift of him whose Spirit (which gives Regeneration) breaths where it pleases.* I have Occasion to mention this *Hincmar.* of *Laudun* again in the next Chapter, §. 1. because *Danvers*, reading somewhere that his Metropolitan reproved him for suffering Infants  
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(54) Opusculum 53 capitulorum, cap. 48.

Chap. VI The Opinion of Hincmarus.

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to die unbaptiz'd, concluded that he was doubt-  
less a Bishop for his Turn.

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Then for the Case of an Infant dying in the  
Womb, the Schoolmen beforemention'd, *Alex.  
de Ales* and *Aquinas* (55) do say; that such an  
Infant being subject to no Action of Man, but of  
God only; he may have Ways of saving it for ought  
we know. They extend this no farther than to  
the Case of a stillborn Infant: Tho' the Reason  
seems much the same for one that dies before he  
can possibly be baptiz'd.

*Vossius* brings in (56) *St. Bernard*, *Petrus Ble-  
sensis*, *Hugo de Sancto Victore*, and even *St. Austin*  
himself, as asserting a Possibility of Salvation,  
and the Kingdom of Heaven, without Baptism:  
And he seems to understand this their Assertion  
to extend to the Case of Infants. But the Places  
of *St. Austin* and *Bernard* are no other than  
those I recited §. 4. of this Chapter: Which  
do expressly exclude Infants, and speak only of  
grown Men, whose actual Faith and Desire of  
Baptism makes Amends for the Want of it where  
it cannot be had. And the Places in the other  
two, *Blesensis* and *Hugo* do, if one examin 'em,  
speak to no other Purpose.

The next therefore that I know of, that has  
any favorable Opinion, or rather suspends all  
Opinion, of the Case of such Infants, is our  
*Wickliff*: Whose Words are these (57); *When an  
Infant of Believers is brought to Church, that ac-  
cording to Christ's Rule he may be baptized; and  
the Water or some other Requisite is wanting; and  
the Peoples pious Intention continuing, he dies in  
the mean Time naturally by the Will of God: It  
seems hard to define positively the Damnation of  
such*

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(55) P. 3. Q. 68. Art. 11. (56) De baptismo, Disp. 7:  
theol. 22, 23. (57) Trialog. l. 4. c. 11.



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such an Infant; when neither the Infant nor the People have sinned, that he should be damned. Where then is the merciful Liberality of Christ? &c.

Then he discourses some Things preparatory to his Answer, too large to repeat here: But his Answer is this; *cap. 12.* And by this, I answer your third Objection, granting that God, if he will, may damn such an Infant, and do him no Wrong; and if he will, he can save him: And I dare not define either Part. Nor am I careful about Reputation, or getting Evidence in the Case; but as a dumb Man am silent, humbly confessing my Ignorance, using conditional Words: Because it is not clear to me whether such an Infant shall be saved or damned. But I know that whatever God does in it will be just, and a Work of Mercy to be prais'd of all the Faithful. Then he calls them presumptuous that of their own Authority define any Thing in this Case. He counts it rash to determin their Damnation: And, on the other side, says; *He that says,* 'that in this Case put, an Infant shall be saved, as is pious to believe, puts himself more than needs, or will profit him, upon an Uncertainty. In the next Chapter he handles the Degree of their Punishment in case they be damned: and he determins it contrary to the Schools, that it will be not only Loss of Heaven, but sensible Punishment.

It is to be noted that he had spoke his Mind before of the State of Infants that are baptized, as being out of Danger. For in *cap. 12.* having discours'd of three Sorts of Baptism; *viz.* of Water, of Blood, and of the Spirit; and that the Third is the chief; and that God, for ought we know, may sometimes grant that without the other: He adds; *Reputamus tamen absque dubietate, quod infantes rectè baptizati flumine, sint baptizati tertio baptismate, cum habeant gratiam baptismalem.* 'But we hold that to be  
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without Doubt, that Infants that are rightly baptiz'd with Water, are baptiz'd with the third Baptism, [viz. that of the Spirit] when as [or, seeing that] they have the baptismal Grace.

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This last I note, because Mr. *Danvers* (58) had brought this Man for one of his Witnesses against Infant Baptism; taking a great deal of Pains to shew how great a Man *Wickliff* was. And what is worse, he had cited some Passages out of this Book, and these very Chapters: Taking here and there a Scrap, which by it self might seem to make for his Purpose.

Mr. *Baxter* (59), to answer him and vindicate *Wickliff*, transcribed the whole Passage of the Length of several Pages. A Thing that is tedious, but yet necessary in answering such Quoters. And now Reader judge (says Mr. *Baxter*) what a sad Case poor, honest, ignorant Christians are in, that must have their Souls seduc'd, troubled, and led into Separations, &c. by such a Man — When a Man as pleading for Christ and Baptism dare, not only print such Things, but stand to 'em in a second Edition, and defend 'em by a second Book.

But all this did no good upon him. For that he might shew himself the most tenacious Man that ever liv'd, of what he had once said, he does in another Reply after that, go about with a great many Words to maintain his Point.

I shall be so civil to my Reader as to take for granted that the Words of *Wickliff* here given, tho' but a small part of those produc'd by Mr. *Baxter*, do satisfy him: for if an Author give his Opinion in plain Words, that all baptiz'd Infants are in a State of Salvation; but make a Question of those that die unbaptized, whether

(58) Treat. of Bapt. pag. 280. Ed. 2. (59) More Proofs, pag. 353.

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 postles *Christ's Rule*, and do call the Peoples Intention of

1315. doing it, a *pious Intention*; one needs no plainer  
 Account of his approving it. If *Wickliff* had  
 ever spoke a Word against the baptizing of  
 Infants, the Council of *Constance* would not have  
 fail'd in those 45 Articles drawn up against  
 him, after his Death, to have objected that;  
 for they commonly overdo that Work: whereas  
 they object nothing about Baptism; and what  
 others object is, that he gave Hopes that some  
 unbaptized Infants might come to Heaven.

The same Thing appears in the Tenets of  
*Wickliff's* Scholars that survived him. For *Fox*  
 in his *Martyrology* (60), recites out of the Register  
 of the Church of *Hereford* a Declaration of Faith  
 made by one *Walter Brute*, a Scholar of *Wickliff's*,  
 examin'd before the Bishop of *Hereford*, *Anno*  
 1293. in which he says, *I greatly marvel*  
*at that Saying in the Decrees which is ascribed to*  
*Austin, that little Children that are not baptized,*  
*shall be tormented with eternal Fire, altho' they were*  
*born of faithfult Parents, who wished them with all*  
*their Hearts to have been baptized ——— How,*  
*shall the Infant be damn'd that is born of faithfult*  
*Parents that do not despise, but rather desire to have*  
*their Children baptized? &c.* And afterward in

1305. the Time of *Henry IV.* one of the Articles usually  
 injoin'd for the *Lollards*, who were the Disciples  
 of *Wickliff*, to recant, was, as *Fox* (61) recites  
 it, this; *That an Infant; tho' he die unbaptized,*  
*shall be saved.* But there is no such Thing in  
*Fox*, as *Danvers* (62) would prove out of a Book  
 he calls *Dutch Martyrology*, that one *Clifford* in-  
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(60) 2d Edition, 1st Vol. p. 453. (61) *Ibid.* pag. 485.  
 (62) *Treat. Pt. II. CH. VII.*

formed the Archbishop, that a *Lollard*, if he had a Child new born, would not have him be baptiz'd. *Fox* does indeed tell (63) how a good while after, in the Time of *H. VI.* some *Lollards* of *Norfolk* had, among other Articles, this objected to them; that they held or taught, That Christian People be sufficiently baptiz'd in the Blood of Christ, and need no Water: and that Infants be sufficiently baptiz'd, if their Parents be baptiz'd before 'em: and that the Sacrament of Baptism used in the Church by Water, is but a light Matter and of small effect. But he shews at the same Place, that in all Probability both this and several other of the Articles charged on 'em, were by the Informers alter'd in Words from what they had said, on Purpose to make 'em odious: which was the constant Vein of the Popish Accusers of those Times. *Wickliff* had said, that the Water it self, without the Baptism of the Spirit, is of little Efficacy. And he and his Followers had said, that if the Parents be good Christians, and pray for their Child; there is Hopes that it may be sav'd, tho' it do by some sudden Chance die before it can be baptiz'd. And if these Men said no more than so, yet that was enough for their Adversaries to frame such a slanderous Information. But if we suppose that they did really hold what was objected, then they were not of the Antipædobaptist Opinion, (as *Danvers*, by altering the Words something the other Way, would (64) represent) but of the Humor of the Quakers, to slight all Water-Baptism.

The *Hussites* also in *Bobemia* had the same hopeful Opinion, viz. That Infants dying unbaptized may be saved by the Mercy of God, accepting  
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(63) *Ubi prius pag. 608.* (64) *Treat. Pt. 2. CH. VII.*

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1395. their Parents faithful Desire of baptizing 'em for the Deed: as appears by their History both in *Fox* (65) and the Writers from whom he copies. And this was objected to 'em as an Error by the Papists there, as it was to the *Lollards* here. Indeed they were Disciples of our *Wickliff* as well as the *Lollards*. For *John Huss*, the first Reformer there, imbibed the Sense of Religion which he had, from *Wickliff's* Books: and took this Principle among the rest.

1315. Nay even in the Church of *Rome* some Doctors have shewn a great Inclination to this Opinion, and have express'd it as far as they durst. *Cassander* quotes *Gerson*, *Biel*, *Cajetan*, and some others, as expressing some Hopes in this Case, and encouraging the Parents of such Children to pray for 'em. But I doubt that *Gerson* and *Biel* do mean only such Infants as die in the Womb: which amounts to no more than what the old Schoolmen had said, as I shewed. Yet *Gerson's* Words are ambiguous: I will set 'em down. He had been observing (66) that God does not always tack his Mercy to the Sacraments: and thereupon advises *Women great with Child and their Husbands*, to use their Prayers for their Infant that is not yet born, that (if it be to die before it can come to the Grace of Baptism with Water) the Lord Jesus would vouchsafe to sanctifie it beforehand with the Baptism of his holy Spirit. For who knows but that God may perhaps hear 'em? Nay, who would not devoutly hope, that he will not despise the Prayer of his humble Servants that trust in him? This Consideration is useful to raise Devotion in the Parents, and to ease their Trouble of Mind, if the Child die without Baptism; forasmuch

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(65) At the Year 1415. (66) Serm. de Nativitate Mariae Confid. 2.

as all Hope is not taken away. But yet there is, *I confess, no Certainty without a Revelation.* Year after the Apostles

This is Part of a Sermon preach'd before the Council of *Constance*, where *Huss* was condemn'd and martyr'd. And one Error whereof *Huss* was accus'd, was, that he held the Salvation of Infants, that by Mischance die unbaptized. Therefore if *Gerson* mean this of Children born alive, it shews that he was of another Temper than the rest of that bloody Popish Council.

Cardinal *Cajetan* was another of the better sort of Papiſts; and he (67) ventures to say of Children that die after they are born, and yet before they can be baptized, that 'tis not unreasonable to say, that *Baptism in the Desire of the Parents is in such Case of Necessity sufficient for their Salvation*: but says, he speaks under Correction. And he has been corrected. For some Doctors have call'd him (68) Heretic for this: others that are not so severe, yet say it is an erroneous and rash Opinion to think this to be possible. Indeed the Council of *Florence* had determin'd, that the Souls of all that die in actual mortal Sin, or even in original Sin alone, do go ad infernum, to Hell. I suppose they mean that Infants go to that Part of Hell, which they call *limbus puerorum*, where there are no Torments.

But above all *Cassander* himself has shewn a very compassionate Temper in the Pains he has taken to encourage Parents to some Hopes, and to earnest Prayers for their Child so dying (69). But withal a very modest one, when he adds these Words; *This Opinion of mine concerning Infants I will not defend with Contention or Obstnacy*:

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(67) In 3iam partem Thomæ, Q. 68. Art. 1, & 2. (68) Vasquez in 3iam T. 2. Disp. 341. c. 3. (69) De baptismo infantium.

*Year of-nacy: nor rashly condemn those, who being persuaded by the Authority of the Antients, and of almost the whole Church, do allow Salvation to those Infants only, to whom God, in his secret, but just Judgment, does vouchsafe the Sacrament of Regeneration and Baptism.*

§. 8. Upon the Reformation, the Protestants generally have defin'd that the due Punishment of Original Sin is in Strictness, Damnation in Hell. I suppose and hope that they mean with *St. Austin* a very moderat Degree of it in the Case of Infants, in whom original Corruption, which is the *Fomes* or Source of all Wickedness, has not broke out into any actual Sin.

But if their Doctrin has in this Respect been more rigid than that of the Church of *Rome*, or of the antient *Greek* Doctors; they have in another Respect, *viz.* in the Case of Christian Peoples Children, given such a mitigating Explication of our Savior's Words, as to allow better Hopes than either of 'em. For they do generally incline to think, that if a Child by Misfortun die before it can have Baptism, the Parents sincere Intention of giving it, and their Prayers, will be accepted with God for the Deed; and will be available to procure of God's Mercy Pardon of Original Sin, and even an Entrance into the Kingdom. Whereas the Schoolmen and Fathers have thought that Christ at the Day of Judgment will proceed by that Sentence, *John* 3. 3, 5. (such an one cannot enter into the Kingdom of God) in the Manner that a Judge in a Court of *Common-Law* proceeds upon the Words of a *Statute*, having no Power to make Allowance for Circumstances: The Protestants do hope that he will act in the Manner that a Judge of a Court of *Equity* does, who has Power to mitigate the Letter of the Law in Cases where Reason would have it. The  
Fathers

Fathers themselves thought this Allowance would be made in the Case of a grown Man, who had a personal Desire of Baptism: and that if it was an invincible Necessity that kept him from Water, he might enter the Kingdom without being born of Water. The Protestants think the same in the Case of the Desire of the Parent for his Infant. They think thus; the main Thing in God's Intention in this Case is, that a Parent as he dedicates himself to God, so he should likewise dedicate his Child, and get him enter'd into that Covenant made in Christ, without which there is no Hopes of Heaven: and that he should accordingly make Use of that Symbol or outward Sign which God has appointed to be the Way of Admission into that Covenant, if he can possible: and that his Refusal to do the latter, will be look'd on as a Refusal of the Covenant it self. But that if notwithstanding his sincere Desire and Endeavor of obtaining the outward Symbol, he be by some Accident disappointed of it; God will yet grant the same Favor that he had promis'd upon the Use of it: because it is the Heart that God regards; and where that is ready, outward Things are accepted according to what a Man has, and not according to what he has not: especially if some Act of God himself, as the sudden Death of the Infant, &c. do render it impossible for him to have 'em.

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*Luther* and his Followers do indeed speak more doubtfully of this: and do lay so much Stress on actual Baptism, as that they allow a Layman to do the Office in Times of Necessity, rather than that the Infant should die without it.

But *Calvin* and those that follow him (who to the great Prejudice of Religion made a needless Schism from the others, or else the others from them,



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them, I know not which) sunk the Doctrin of the Necessity of Baptism a Pitch lower. They own (70) that Baptism is necessary not only *necessitate precepti*, by God's Command, but also thus far, *necessitate medii*, that it is God's ordinary Means to regenerate and give Salvation. But they determin it as a Thing *certain*, that the Child of a godly believing Parent shall obtain the Kingdom of Heaven, tho' he do by sudden Death, &c. miss of Baptism: *provided this happen by no Negligence or Contumacy of the Parent.* And they deny that there is or can be any such Necessity as to justifie a Layman's giving it. And Calvin takes an Occasion to jeer some Papists that had said, that *if a Child be like to die, and no Water to be had but what is in the Bottom of a deep Well, and nothing to draw with; the best way is to throw the Child down into the Well, that it may be wash'd before it be dead.*

The Church of England have declared their Sense of the Necessity, by reciting that Saying of our Savior, *Joh. 3. 5.* both in the Office of Baptism of Infants, and also in that for those of riper Years. And in the latter they add these Words; *Beloved, you hear in this Gospel the express Words of our Savior Christ, that except a Man be born of Water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of God. Whereby you may perceive the great Necessity of this Sacrament, where it may be had.* And Archbishop Laud, shewing that Infant Baptism is proved from Scriptur, and not from the Tradition of the Church only, (against the Jesuit, his Adversary, who, to cast in a Bone of Contention,

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(70) Calvin, Antidot. ad Synod. Trident. Sess. 7. Can. 5. it. Antidot. ad Artic. Paris Art. 1. it. Institut. l. 4. c. 75. §. 22.

ention, had asserted the latter) gives his Sense of **Year after the Apostles**  
 it thus (71); *That Baptism is necessary to the Salvation of Infants (in the ordinary way of the Church, without binding God to the Use and Means of that Sacrament, to which he has bound us) is express in St. John 3. Except, &c.*

Concerning the everlasting State of an Infant that by Misfortun dies unbaptized, the Church of England has determined nothing, (it were fit that all Churches would leave such Things to God) save that they forbid the ordinary Office for Burial to be used for such an one - for that were to determin the Point, and acknowledge him for a Christian Brother. And tho' the most noted Men in the said Church from Time to Time since the Reformation of it to this Time, have expressed their Hopes that God will accept the Purpose of the Parent for the Deed; yet they have done it modestly, and much as *Wickliff* did, rather not determining the Negative, than absolutely determining the Positive, that such a Child shall enter into the Kingdom of Heaven. Archbishop *Laud's* Words we see, are, *We are not to bind God, tho' he has bound us.* And Archbishop *Whitgift* disputing with *Cartwright*, says (72), *I dislike as much as you the Opinion of those that think Infants condemn'd that are not baptiz'd.* All this is modest. But there are indeed some, that do make a Pish at any one that is not confident, or does speak with any Reserve about that Matter; and they despise him and his Scruples as much, and with as much Success, as *Vincentius* the talkative did those of *St. Austin* on the same Point (73). For

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(71) Relation of Conference, §. 15. num. 4. (72) Defence of Answ. to Admonition, Tr. 9. CH. 5. Div. 2.  
 (73) See Pt. 1. CH. XX.

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For the Opinion of the *English Presbyterians*, I shall content my self with citing these Words of Mr. Baxter (74); *I have hereby been made thankful that God has kept me from the Snare of Anabaptism. For tho' I do not lay so much as some do on the mere outward Act or Water of Baptism, (believing that our Heart-consent and Dedication qualifies Infants for a Covenant-right before actual Baptism, which yet is Christ's regular Solemnization and Investiture) yet I make a great Matter of the main Controversie. Notwithstanding that I hereticate not the Anabaptists for the bare Opinion's sake, &c.*

The *Antipedobaptists*, as they allow no Advantage to an Infant by its Baptism, nor yet by its being the Child of a godly and religious Parent; so they do not all agree about the State of Infants dying before actual Sin. One sort of 'em determine with great Assurance, that all Infants, of Heathens as well as Christians, of the Wicked as well as of the Godly, shall be saved, and shall enter into the Kingdom of God. And they dissuade Men from having their Children baptiz'd, or *born again of Water, &c.* seeing by this Determination they are secure of Heaven without it. To which the other commonly answer; that they desire such a Safety for their Children, as has some Ground in God's Word, and not in their Determination only: since an Infant has no Promise, Right, or Expectation of the Kingdom of Heaven, merely as it is a human Creature, or born of human Race; but only as being enter'd and interess'd in the Covenant of Christ, by which is promised an eternal Life after this; and the said Covenant does require, as a Condition of all that are to enter

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(74) Reply to Hutchinson, page 39.



enter into the Kingdom, that they be born again of Water, &c.

Another sort of Antipædobaptists have not this Assurance concerning all Infants, but do suppose a different State of 'em on Account of the Decrees of Election and Reprobation.

§. 9. Concerning the State of a baptized Infant dying before actual Sin, the whole Christian World has agreed that it is undoubtedly saved, and will be admitted to the Joys of Heaven: since it has all that the Church of Christ can give it. St. *Austin* says, as I shewed before (75), *He that does not believe this, is an Infidel.* And, *God forbid that we should doubt of it.* 'Tis certain, there was never any doubt made of it till the Times of the late Managers of the Doctrine of Predestination. Some of these have added several Limitations and Proviso's to this Proposition, relating to the Election or Sanctification of the Parents, or their Right to Church Membership: and some of 'em have used such Expressions, as that they seem to think that even among the Infants of faithful Parents, some are so reprobated by the eternal Decree of God, that tho' they be baptized, and die in Infancy, yet they will be damn'd. Some Sayings of *Paræus*, *Perkins*, *Zanchius*, &c. are by their Adversaries produc'd to this Purpose (76). And it is known what Exceptions some have taken at the *Rubric* of the last Edition of the *English Liturgy* at the End of the Office of Baptism; that *it is certain by God's word that Children which are baptiz'd dying before they commit actual Sin, are undoubtedly saved.*

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(75) Pt. I. CH. XV. Sect. 5. §. 6. (76) See Acta Synodalia Dordracena Remonstrantium dogmatica, pag. 45, 46.

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What Enemies soever that Assertion may have now, it had none in those Times of which I am writing. The Maintainers of Predestination in those Days spoke thus, of the Case of an Infant dying before actual Sin; that if he was baptiz'd before he died, it was thence manifest that he had been elected: If not, it appear'd that he was not elected. Or thus; that those Infants which were predestinated to Salvation, came by God's Providence to obtain Baptism: But the others mist of it.

This is plain in the Discourses of *St. Austin, Prosper, Fulgentius, &c.* There are, says *St. Austin* (77), *two Infants born: If you ask what Merit they have; they both are of the Lump of Perdition. But how comes it that the Mother of the one brings him to the Grace [viz. of Baptism]: The Mother of the other in her Sleep overlies it? You will ask me, What Merit had one that he should be brought to the Grace? What Merit had the other that was overlaid by his sleeping Mother? Neither of 'em deserv'd any Good. But ' the Potter has Power ' over his Clay, of the same Lump to make one ' Vessel to Honor, another to Dishonor.*

And he puts a harder Case yet. The *Pelagians*, who held that the Grace of God is given according to Mens Merits, were urg'd by *St. Austin* to tell what foregoing Merit one Infant that was baptiz'd and then died, could have above another that died without the Grace of Baptism. *If you should say, says he* (78), *that he merited this by the Piety of his Parents: You will be answer'd; Why then do the Children of godly Parents sometimes miss of this Benefit, and the Children of wicked Parents obtain it? Sometimes a*  
*Child*

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(77) *Sermon de verbis Apost. 11.* (78) *Lib. 2, contra duas Epistolas Pelagianorum, c. 6.*

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Child born of religious Parents is taken away as soon as it is born, before it be wash'd with the Laver of Regeneration: and an Infant born of the Enemies of Christ is, by the Compassion of some Christian, baptized in Christ. A baptized and chaste Mother bewails her own Son dying unbaptized; and yet finding another Child left in the Street by some Strumpet, takes it up and procures it to be baptiz'd. Here for certain the Merits of the Parents can have no Place, &c. He goes on to shew by several other Reasons or Instances, that it was impossible to assign any other Ground of Difference, except the free Purpose of God, *Why some Infants being baptiz'd should obtain, and others dying unbaptiz'd should miss of, so excellent a Benefit of being made the Sons of God, without any Merit of their Parents, or of their own.*

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So Prosper (or be it Hilarius, or Pope Leo that was the Author of the Book) *de vocatione Gentium, lib. i. c. 7.* challenges those who attributed the Difference that God makes in calling one Nation or one Person to the Means of Salvation, and not another, to the different Use that they had made of Free-will, to give any tolerable Account of the Case of Infants; *Why some being regenerated, are saved: Others not being regenerated, do perish.* — For I suppose, says he, that these Patrons of Free-will will not be so shameless, as either to say that this Difference happens by chance; or to deny, that those that are not regenerated do perish.

• And those who were at that Time (from the Year 420 to 500) the opposite Party in the Church, to those that held this absolut Election and Reprobation; and were called by the others *Semipelagians*, as in reference to the Adult they maintain'd that God had elected those who he foresaw would be faithful; so for Infants that die in Infancy, they said; that those of 'em

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which God *forefaw* would have been godly if they had liv'd, those he in his Providence took Care should be baptiz'd: And those that would have been wicked if they had liv'd, he by some Providence causes to miss of Baptism. So that both these contrary Parties agreed in this; that of Infants so dying, all the baptized ones were sav'd: And (as the Opinion then was) all the unbaptiz'd miss of it.

Of the modern *Prædestinarians* or *Calvinists*, if some have been so rigid as to think that some baptiz'd Infants dying in Infancy do perish; yet they are not all of that Opinion. *Vossius* allows it to be an infallible Rule which is express'd in the Rubric aforesaid. 'Tis, says he (79), *not the Judgment of Charity only, but of Charity that cannot be mistaken, that we account baptized Infants go to Heaven, as many of 'em as die before the Use of Reason, and before they have defiled themselves with actual Sins.*

§. 10. From the last quoted Place of *St. Austin*, one may observe, that the Antients did not in the baptizing of Children, go by that Rule which some *Presbyterians* would establish, *viz.* that none are to be baptiz'd but the Children of Parents actually godly and religious. For he speaks of the Case of a Strumpet's Child, or a Child *born of the Enemies of Christ*, *viz.* of Heathens, found in the Streets and baptiz'd, as a common Instance. And in his Epistle to *Auxilius* (80), a young Bishop that had rashly excommunicated a whole Family for the Parents Crimes, he desires him to shew a Reason if he can, how a Son, a Wife, a Slave, can justly be Excommunicated for the Fault of the Father, Husband, Master. And then adds; *Or any one*

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(79) De Baptismo Disp. 4. Th. 4. (80) Epiq. 75.

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one in that Family that is not yet born, but may be born during the Excommunication: So that he cannot, if in Danger of Death, be reliev'd by the Laver of Regeneration? Year after the Apostles

Bishop Stillingfleet has fully shewn (81) the Absurdity and Inconsistency of this Opinion of such Presbyterians: And how they can never in many Cases that may be put, come to a Resolution or Agreement what Children may be baptiz'd, and what not: and has clear'd the Grounds of Baptism from such Scruples. And as for the Text, 1 Cor. 7. 14. on which they build those Scruples, I have shewn (82) that the Antients do understand it in a Sense much more plain and natural, and more agreeable to the Scope of St. Paul's arguing there, which gives no Foundation for any such Scruple. And we see by the Instances here brought, and many other, that they willingly baptiz'd any Infants, if the Parents, or any other that were Owners or Possessors of such Infants, shew'd so much Faith in Christ as to desire Baptism for them.

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(81) Unreasonableness of Separation, Pt. 3. Sect. 36 (82)  
Pt. 1. CH. XIX. §. 19. it. CH. XI. §. 11.





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## C H A P. VII.

*An Account of the State of this Practice from the Year 400, till the Rise of the German Antipædobaptists. Of the Waldenses, and their chief Accusers, St. Bernard, Petrus Cluniacensis, Reinerius, Pilichdorf, &c. The Confessions of the Waldenses themselves.*

§. 1. **I** Gave before (1) a Note of Reference to the Books of some Authors that liv'd after the Year 400, for the Use of those that would trace this Practice for one Century farther. The general Account of 'em is, that they speak of Infant Baptism as a Thing uncontroverted. And so it holds for all the following Times till after the Year 1000. The Antipædobaptists who do put in their Plea for the first 300 or 400 Years, yet do (so many of 'em I mean as have any tolerable Degree of Learning and Ingenuity) confess, that in all these following Ages the ~~baptizing of Infants~~ did prevail. Mr. Tombs says (2), *The Authority of Austin was it which carried the Baptism of Infants in the following Ages almost without Controul.* And tho' it appear plainly by St. Austin's Writings, which I have largely produc'd, that there was no Christian in the World that he knew or heard of, that denied it, (except those that denied all Baptism) so that he need not say, *St. Austin's Authority carried it;* yet it is however a Confession of the Matter of Fact for the After-times.

Only

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(1) Pt. I. CH. XXII. (2) *Examens*, Pt. I. §. 8.

Only whereas he puts in the Word, *almost*; Year af-  
 as if some, tho' few, did oppose it: there is, <sup>for the A-</sup>  
 on the contrary, not one Saying, Quotation, or <sup>postles</sup>  
 Example that makes against it, produced or  
 pretended, but what has been clearly shewn to  
 be a Mistake. As in the first 400 Years there  
 is none but one *Tertullian*, who advis'd it to be  
 deferr'd till the Age of Reason; and one *Na-*  
*zianzen*, till three Years of Age, in Case of no  
 Danger of Death: So in the following 600  
 there is no Account or Report of any one Man  
 that oppos'd it at all.

Some Places of Authors have been cited in-  
 deed: but there wants nothing but looking into  
 the Books themselves to see that they are nothing  
 to the Purpose. So Mr. *Danvers* created to Mr.  
*Wills* and Mr. *Baxter* a great deal of Trouble,  
 in sending them from one Book to another to  
 discover his Mistakes and Misrepresentations of  
 several Authors within this Space; but withal a  
 great deal of Discredit to himself; for there is not  
 one of his Quotations, that seem'd material  
 enough to need searching, but proved to be such.  
 Mr. *Wills* had at first yielded him two Authors  
 as being on his Side: but Mr. *Baxter* coming  
 after, (and Mr. *Wills* himself upon a second  
 Review) rectified that erroneous Concession; as  
 was easie to do by consulting the original Au-  
 thors; for it was taking the Scraps and Breviats  
 of Things out of the *Magdeburgensian* Epito-  
 mizers, which occasion'd that there was any  
 Possibility of Mistake.

One of the two I spoke of, was *Hincmarus* 760.  
 Bishop of *Landun*, whom I had Occasion to men-  
 tion in the last Chapter on another Account.  
 He had upon a (3) Quarrel excommunicated all  
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(3) *Hincmari* Rhein. O. p. 55, capit. c. 28, &c. ad 48.

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the Clergy of his Diocese, so that there was for a Time none to baptize, bury, absolve, &c. Some Children died by that Means without Baptism: Complaint was made to his Metropolitan: He reproves him, shews him the pernicious Consequences, hopes that the Children that died, and others that died without Absolution, the Communion, &c. may by God's Mercy be saved, (I quoted his Words for that before) but adds, *But as for you, you cannot be secure, if any by your Order have died without the said Sacraments, that you shall not be severely judged, (tho' the Mercy of Almighty God make it up in them) unless your true Humility do procure your Pardon, &c.* The stubborn Bishop would not obey; but recriminated: He sent Word to the Archbishop (4), saying, *You gave me an Example: I have a Village in your Diocese, &c. and you excommunicated them: and I have an Account of how many Infants died without Baptism, and Men without the Communion, &c.* The Archbishop denied this; the Matter is brought before the Synod held in the *Attiniacum*: They condemn the Bishop of *Laudun*.

970.

Now see what Mr. *Danvers* makes of this, (which I set down as a Specimen: not that I mean to trouble the Reader with tracing him any farther, whatever I have done my self) he relates it thus (5):

*Hincmarus Bishop of Laudun in France in the 9th Century, renounced Childrens Baptism, and refus'd any more to baptize any of 'em, &c. — For which he and his Diocese was accused in the Synod of Accinicus in France in these Words; Ne missas celebrarent, aut infantes baptizarent, aut penitentes absolverent, aut mortuos sepelirent,* (which

(4) Ibid. Præfatio. (5) Treat. Pt. 2, c. 7. p. 233. Edit. 1674

(which he translates contrary to the Idiom of *Latin* Phrase, and to the Tenor of the History) Year after the Apostles  
 ' that they neither celebrated Mass, baptized  
 ' Children, absolved the Penitent, or buried the  
 ' Dead. Whereas the Accusation was not against  
 the Diocese, but against the Bishop only, that  
 he had excommunicated 'em and interdicted his  
 Clergy, *ne missas celebrarent, &c. that they*  
*should not [or, could not] say Mass, baptize*  
*Children, absolve Penitents, or bury the Dead.*  
 And he quotes for this, *Bib. Patrum Tom. 9.*  
*part 2. p. 137. Magd. Cent. 9. c. 4. p. 40, 41, 43.*  
*Dutch Martyrology, p. 244. part 1.*

Now for *Dutch Martyrology* I will by no Means  
 answer. But this I will undertake, that who-  
 ever looks into *Hincmarus's Opusculum*, which is  
 recited in *Bib. Patrum Tom. 9. part 2. p. 93, &c.*  
 [p. 137. seems to be a Mistake of the Printer]  
*Ed. Colon. 1618, or into Magd. Cent. 9. c. 9. p.*  
*443. [which is the Place that must be meant,*  
*tho' his Print be c. 4. p. 40, 41, 43.] Edit. Basil.*  
*1547. will find the Account of the Matter as*  
 I have told it, and no other.

Now at such a Rate of quoting, reciting,  
 translating, and altering, he may find Antipædo-  
 baptists in every Age, and at any Place. 'Tis  
 Abundance of the Quotations that he has brought,  
 which I as well as Mr. *Baxter* and Mr. *Wills* have  
 search'd, and never found any, not so much as  
 one, (of those I mean which are for the Cen-  
 turies aforesaid from 400 to 1000, and seem'd  
 to be any Thing material) but what had some  
 such Mistake as this, or a worse, in the applying  
 of 'em. But I shall not go on to recite 'em,  
 especially since the foresaid Writers have done  
 it already (6). One would wonder what he

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(6) *Baxter*, More Proofs, &c. *Wills*; Infant Baptism asserted,  
 it. Inf. Bapt. reasserted.

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meant to make of this *Hincmarus*: if we can conceive that he thought his Opinion to be against baptizing Children, Did he think that he judg'd burying the Dead unlawful too?

§. 2. But about the Year of Christ 1050, there are Quotations that have better Foundation, and a greater Appearance of Truth, and do at least deserve an Examination; concerning *Bruno* Bishop of *Angers*, and *Berengarius* Archdeacon of the same Church; and about 100 Years after, some concerning the *Waldenses* of yet greater Credit.

*Bruno* and *Berengarius* seem to have aim'd at a Reformation of some corrupt Doctrins then in the Church of *Rome*. They had an Opportunity more advantageous than ordinary, one being Bishop, and the other Archdeacon of the same Place. They are said to have begun their Attempt about 1035, when *Berengarius* was but a young Man, for he liv'd 50 Years after that Time. They oppos'd Transubstantiation, for which they had a great many Mouths open, and many Pieces wrote against 'em. Among which many, there is one (not written by one of the same Nation, but a Foreigner, who owns that he speaks by hear-say) that charges 'em with some Error that did overthrow Infant Baptism. It is a Letter written by (*Durandus* Bishop of *Leige*, as *Baronius* and the Editors of the *Bib. Patr.* had supposed; but as Bishop *Usher* (7) and *F. Mabillon* (8) have fully proved, by) *Deodwinus* Bishop of *Leige*, to *Henry I.* King of *France*. The Words are (9);

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(7) De succes. Eccl. p. 196. (8) Analect. T. 4. p. 396.  
(9) Bib. Patr. T. 11. Ed. Col. 1618. Durandi Epist.

There is a Report come out of France, and which goes through all Germany, that these two do maintain that the Lord's Body [the Host] is not the Body, but a Shadow and Figur of the Lord's Body. And that they do disanul lawful Marriages: and as far as in them lies, overthrow the Baptism of Infants.

Year after the Apostles

Of Bruno we hear no more: probably he died.

But of Berengarius, the Report that Deodwinus had heard was so far certainly true, as that he did deny the real Presence in the Sacrament, in that proper and corporal Meaning, in which a great many then began to understand it. And there are a little after this a great many Tracts written, and a great many Councils (10) held against him and others of his Opinion, for that supposed Error. But none of those Tracts, nor any of those Councils, do object any Error held by him in reference to Matrimony or Infant Baptism. And since he is found 3 or 4 several Times to have been receiv'd to Communion by his Adversaries upon his Recantation of that his Opinion of the Eucharist, without Mention of any other; 'tis probable, and almost certain, that the Report which Deodwinus had heard of his holding those other Opinions was a Mistake: or else that (as Bishop Usher (11) guesse) he had denied that Baptism does confer Grace *ex opere operato*: which was enough at that Time to make his Adversaries say, he did overthrow Baptism. And that is Deodwin's Word: he does not say, they denied it; but his Words are, *quantum in ipsis est, parvulorum baptismum evertunt.*

955.  
963.

They,

(10) Concil. Turonense. Anno 1055. Romanum 1063.

(11) De Succes. Eccl. Cap. 7. Sect. 37.

Year af-<sup>c</sup> They, as far as in them lies, overthrow the  
 ter the A-<sup>c</sup> Baptism of Infants.  
 postles

975. *Guitmund* indeed, who is one of those many that I said wrote against *Berengarius* toward the latter End of his Life about his Opinion of the other Sacrament, does take Notice of *Deodwin's* Letter, and of the Report therein mention'd of his holding those other Opinions: but he speaks of 'em as of Tenets which *Berengarius*, if he ever held 'em, never did think fit to own or publish: for his Words (12) are, that *Berengarius* finding that those two Opinions [of Marriage and Baptism] would not be endur'd by the Ears even of the worst Men that were: and that there was no Pretense in Scriptur to be brought for 'em: betook himself wholly to uphold the other, [viz. that against Transubstantiation] in which he seem'd to have the Testimony of our Senses on his Side, and against which none of the holy Fathers had so fully spoken, and for which he pick'd up some Reasons and some Places of Scriptur misunderstood, &c.

This is what he says as by Report from  
 970. *Deodwin's* Letter. And for his other Adver-  
 950. saries (13), *Lanfranc Adelman* (14), *Algerus* (15),  
 1030. and others, they do not at all, as I can find, mention any Thing about Baptism.

One Thing I do here note by the By: that both this *Guitmund*, and the others mention'd, do so maintain the Doctrin of Transubstantiation against *Berengarius*, as that they say nothing of worshipping the Host, nor any Thing from whence one may gather that it was then practis'd in the Church of *Rome* it self. I believe they

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(12) De veritate corporis & sang. lib. 1. (13) De corpore & sanguine Domini. (14) Eplstola ad Berengar. de veritate, &c. (15) De Sacramento corporis & sanguinis, &c.

They then held Transubstantiation, as the *Lutherans* do now Consubstantiation, so as not to worship the Host as the Papists do now.

Year after the Apostles



Now for the next Age after this; The Author of the Acts of *Bruno* Archbishop of *Triers* cited by Bishop *Usher* (16) says, that the said *Bruno* taking on him to expel those that were of the *Berengarian* Sect out of his Diocese, there were some found among 'em who upon Examination confess'd their Opinion to be; that *Baptism* does no good to *Infants* for their *Salvation*. And the said Author tells it upon his Credit, that he was present at their Confession and heard 'em say so.

§. 3. But 'tis probable that these were a sort of People that have been since called *Waldenses*. For it must be observed, that in this Age, viz. the 12th Century, several Societies of Men began to make a Figur in the World, who differing from one another in some other Matters, all agreed in renouncing the Pope and See of *Rome*, and denying Transubstantiation, and the Worship of Images, and some other grosser Corruptions lately brought into that Church. These were at first in several Places call'd by several Names and Nick-names, but have been since by our *English* Writers denoted by the general Name of *Waldenses*. And one of the Nick-names in Use at this Time, was to call 'em *Berengarians*. Now whether those in *Bruno's* Diocese, that were so called, did mean by that Saying of theirs, that *Baptism* it self is a Thing of no Use, to *Infants* or any one else; or whether they put the Emphasis on the Word *Infants*, does not appear: and there were about this Time some Sects that would say the one, and some

1050,

(16) De succes. Eccl. c. 7. p. 207.



Year af- some that would be apt to say the other; as I  
 ter the A- shall shew.  
 postles

Beside the Name of *Berengarians*, other Names that were severally used at several Places and Times, were these; *Cathari* [or, *Puritans*], *Paterines*, *Petrobrusians*, *Lyonists*, *Albigenses*, *Waldenses*, and several more. And these; tho' differing many of 'em very much one from another, have been of late confusedly and by one general Name called *Waldenses*. But the more exact Accounts, and particularly Mr. *Limburgh's* History of the Inquisition, do distinguish the *Waldenses* from the *Albigenses*, both as to their Tenets and their Places of Abode. And 'tis, I think, only among the latter, that any Antipædobaptists were found. As *France* was the first Country in *Christendom* where dipping of Children in Baptism was left off; so there first Antipædobaptism began.

But of these *Waldenses* so taken in a Lump, the Pædobaptist and Antipædobaptist Writers do at this Time hotly dispute whether they held for or against Infant Baptism.

The Antipædobaptists produce the Evidence of the *Popish* Writers of that Time, who wrote against 'em: some of which do plainly and fully charge some of 'em with denying it.

The Protestant Pædobaptists say, this was one Slander of many with which those their Adversaries endeavor'd to blacken 'em, because they condemned the Errors and Corruptions of the Church of *Rome*: and produce for Evidence several Confessions of the *Waldenses* themselves, wherein they own Infant Baptism. Now such Confessions were doubtless more to be relyed on than the Accusations of their Adversaries, if they were as antient as they.

The present *Waldenses*, or *Vaudois* in *Piemont*, who are the Posterity of those old, do practise  
 Infant

Infant Baptism: and they were also found in the Practice of it, when the Protestants of *Luther's* Reformation sent to know their State and Doctrin, and to confer with 'em: And they themselves do say, that their Fathers never practis'd otherwise. And they give Proof of it from an old Book of theirs, call'd the *Spiritual Almanack* (17), where Infant Baptism is owned: and *Perin* their Historian gives the Reason of the Report that had been to the contrary, viz. that their Ancestors being constrained for some hundred Years to suffer their Children to be baptized by the Priests of the Church of Rome, they deferr'd the doing thereof as long as they could, because they had in Detestation those human Inventions that were added to the Sacrament, which they held to be the Pollution thereof. And forasmuch as their own Pastors were many Times Abroad, employed in the Service of their Churches, they could not have Baptism administred to their Infants by their own Ministers. For this Cause they kept 'em long from Baptism: which the Priests perceiving, and taking Notice of, charg'd 'em with this Slander. There are many other Confessions of theirs of like Import, produc'd by *Perin, Baxter, Wills, &c.* This is the Account the *Waldenses* give of themselves in those Confessions, some of which seem to have been publish'd about 200 Years ago. One of the *Bohemian Waldenses* is dated 1508.

Year after the Apostles  
 1430

1408.

But the Antipædobaptists (some of 'em) say, this was by a corrupt Compliance: for that about this Time they made a great Defection from their former Principles and Integrities, and have too much gendred since into the Formalities of the Hugonots.

(17) *Perin, Hist. of Waldenses, l. 1. c. 4.*

Year af-  
ter the A-  
postles

1417.

Hugonots. As if they had done it in Compliance with *Luther*, who did not begin till 1517.

Yet they can produce no other or elder Confession of theirs, that speaks contrary to these. There are extant several of their elder Confessions, which express particularly the Points in which they protested against what they held to be corrupt in the *Romish* Doctrin and Way, as against Transubstantiation, Chrism, extrem Unction, &c. but do mention nothing, one way or other, about Infant Baptism: which is a Sign that that was none of the Things they disown'd. They do in several of their old Books, copied in *Perin's* History of 'em, speak of Baptism and the other Sacrament (for they owned but two). And in them they oppose themselves against the *Popish* Doctrin of the Sacraments: and particularly they blame the *Papists* for relying too much on the outward or visible Part of 'em (as the Protestants do now to the same Purpose blame that Tenet of theirs; that *Sacraments do transfer Grace ex opere operato, by the outward Work done*). And there is one of 'em also that does mention the baptizing of Children, but so as to leave the main Question still ambiguous. It is their *Treatise concerning Antichrist*: written, as is pretended, Anno 1120. But I do not believe that: not having found any other Account of this People so early. In it they say (as *Perin* recites it at the End of his History), *He [Antichrist] attributes the Reformation of the Holy Spirit to a dead outward Faith, and baptizes Children into that Faith, that thereby Baptism and Regeneration must be had, and gives and receives Orders, and other Sacraments by that, grounding therein all his Christianity, which is against the holy Spirit.* One Party say, They do hereby condemn all baptizing of Children, as a dead outward Work. The other say, They ought by these

1020.



these Words to be understood to own baptizing of Children; and to except only against the foresaid *Popish* Tenet: for whether it be in Children or grown Persons, it is an Antichristian or *Popish* Abuse to ascribe the Regeneration to the *dead outward Work*, or mere outward Act; which ought especially to be ascribed to the Grace or Mercy of God, sealing and confirming the Covenant to 'em. *Perin* himself, who produces it, understands it so. And there is a Catechism of theirs, which *Perin* (19) says, is composed out of their old Books, that does expressly mention and own Infant Baptism. But of what Date that Catechism is, I know not.

Bishop *Usher* (20) quotes out of *Hoveden's Annals* in *Hen. 2d. fol. 319. Ed. London*, a Confession of Faith made by the *Boni homines* of *Tholouse*, (this was one Name given to one of those sorts of Men that have been since called *Waldenses*) who being summon'd and examin'd before a Meeting of Bishops, Abbots, &c. repeated it before the Assembly; but being urg'd to swear to it, refus'd. In the Body of which Confession they say; *Credimus etiam quod non salvatur quis, nisi qui baptizatur: & parvulos salvari per baptismum.* ' We believe also that ' no Person is sav'd, but what is baptiz'd: and ' that Infants are saved by Baptism. Mr. *Baxter* having been called upon by *Danvers* to produce any Confession of theirs of any *antient* Date that owned Infant Baptism, produces this (21), which was about the Year 1176, and says, *Would you have a fuller Proof?* But the other answers (22), that this Confession was not what they naturally and usually held: but what the Court forc'd 'em

1076.

1076.

(19) Pt. 3. l. 1. c. 6. (20) De success. Eccl. c. 8. p. 242.  
(21) More Proofs, p. 380. (22) Second Reply.

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ter the A-  
postles

'em to say by way of Recantation : which proves rather, that they usually held the contrary, or were suspected so to do. This latter appears by the Story to be the Truth of the Matter : and 'tis wonder Mr. Baxter would urge it: But however it signifies nothing to the Purpose. For these Men were *Manichees*, (as appears by the other Opinions the Court made 'em recant, viz. that there were *two Gods, whereof the evil God made the visible World, &c.*) and consequently the Opinions they held against Baptism, were against all Baptism of Old or Young, that it is good for nothing : and so when they denied that *Infants are saved by Baptism* ; their Meaning was, that no Person is ever the more saved for being baptiz'd. This they then recanted. And this is a known (23) Tenet of the *Manichees* : of whom there were many in these Parts, whose Story is confounded with that of the other *Waldenses*, as I shall shew by and by.

It is to be noted that they that write against 'em do accuse 'em of Abundance of Heresies and monstrous Doctrins : and that with great Variety. One Writer of one Time and Place accuses those that he writes against, (whom he calls by such or such a Name, as *Puritans, Apostolics, &c.*) of one Set of false Doctrins : and another Writer of another Time and Country, lays to the Charge of those that he writes against, whom he names perhaps by some other Name, as *Arnoldists, &c.* another Catalog of heterodox Opinions. But one general Thing that they were all guilty of, is their renouncing and defying the Church and Pope of *Rome*.

And for the other Opinions (such I mean as are really false ones, and not only by the Papists

so

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(23) See CH. V. §. 3.

so accounted) they run for the most part on the Vein of the old *Manichean* Heresie: and they do often expressly call 'em *Manichees*. The old *Manichees* held two Principles, or Gods; the one Good, and the other Evil: and that the evil God made the material World: they renounc'd and blasphem'd the Old Testament, and Part of the New: they denied the Resurrection of the Body, believing that a Man survives after Death only by his Soul: they had no Use of Baptism nor of Marriage: they abhorr'd the eating of any Flesh, &c. These same Opinions, and other of the old *Manichees*, are generally the chief Ingredients in the Heresies imputed to these Men.

Year after the Apostles

There is also great Variety in the Account of their Morals. Some give to those they describe, the Character of sober, just, and conscientious Men; tho' of heretical Opinions. Others paint those they write against as Men of lewd Lives as well as Doctrins. Most of the Books against 'em are between the Year 1140 and the Year 1400. What was done against 'em afterward was chiefly by Fire and Sword. Several Armies were, by the Instigation of Popes, and the Forwardness of Princes, sent against 'em: which sometimes dispers'd 'em, but could never extirpate 'em.

1040:  
1300.

The Countries that were fullest of 'em, were the South Parts of *France*, for the *Albigenses*; and the North Parts of *Italy*, and the Valleys between the *Alpes*, for the *Waldenses*. Which last Place prov'd so good a Refuge for 'em, that they have continued and do continue there to this Day: Save that the *French* King has lately driven out those that liv'd within his Limits, and forc'd 'em to seek Habitations in *Germany* and elsewhere. Yet some say that the Inhabitants of the *Cevennes*, that are now in Arms, are also the Offspring of this People.

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ter the A-  
postles

It must be noted farther, as to the Matter of Baptism, that some of the forefaid Writers do represent those against whom they write, as denying *all* Baptism: Some others do so speak of them whom they oppose, as if they allow'd Baptism to the Adult, but not to Infants: And others, among all the false Doctrins which they charge on those they write against, mention no Error about Baptism at all.

Now see the Power of Prejudice, which it has to make each Party construe and interpret the same Relations of Matter of Fact to the Sense that their Side would have to be true. The Papists believe that all the Accusations of these People are true: And that they were such in all Points as those old Monks and Inquisitors have painted 'em. The Protestant Pædobaptists think that they really held those Tenets against the Church of *Rome*: But that all the rest are false and malicious Accusations; among which they reckon that of their denying Infants Baptism for one. And this is what the present *Waldenses* themselves do affirm. The Antipædobaptists say, that all the Protestant Doctrins are truly imputed to 'em, and so is their Denial of Infant Baptism: But all the rest are false.

§. 4. I shall by no Means undertake a Recital of all the particular Quotations: Partly because they are so numerous, confused, and contrary to one another; but especially because they are so far below the Date of those Times which I have set my self to examin. Whatever the Tenets of these Men were, they are much too late to give us any Direction about the Sense of the Primitive Church. I shall only take hold of a Handle which some of each of our opposit Parties do give of an Expedient to reconcile this Historical Difference. Which is by sitting the Matter in Dispute, and supposing that some Sects  
of

Chap. VII. *Many different sorts of the Waldenses.* 227

of these People did deny Infant Baptism, and others not.

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ter the A-  
postles

For as Mr. Baxter says at one Place (24), *Now I leave it to the Reader among many Uncertainties which of these he will believe most probable.* 1. *Whether all the Parties were slander'd.* 2. *Or whether Peter and Henry were slander'd: By occasion of the mixed Manichees, or by the vulgar lying Levity, or popish Malice.* 3. *Or whether Peter and Henry were guilty, as some now; tho' the rest were not.* 4. *Or, &c. ——— Believe which of these you find most Cause.*

So likewise on the other side, Mr. Tombs says (25); *As for the Albigenes and Waldenses, it might be that some might be against Infant Baptism, yet others not: Or it may be, in the Beginning held so; but after left it.* And Mr. Danvers (26); *Neither would I be thought to assert such an universal Harmony among the Waldenses in this Thing, but that 'tis possible there might be some Difference among some of 'em even in this Particular.*

So far they come toward a Compliance. And there is nothing in so obscure a Matter, and so perplext an Account, more probable than this. And to evince it, I shall,

1. Shew that there were many several Sects of those Men, whom we now call by one general Name *Waldenses*.

2. Produce what Proofs there are that some of 'em denied Infant Baptism: And what Probability they carry.

3. Shew how it appears of the most of 'em, that they did not deny it.

First, However later Writers have agreed for Method's sake to call 'em by one general Name

P. 2

of

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(24) More Proofs, p. 411. (25) Præcurfor, p. 30. (26) Treat. Pt. 2. Ch. 7. p. 321. Ed. 2.



Year af-  
ter the A-  
postles

of *Waldenses*, (because that is the Name that those which now remain call themselves by) yet it is plain that at the Beginning they were of several Sorts, Names, and Opinions. Bishop *Usher*, in his Book *de Successione Ecclesie*, has prov'd, by good historical Evidences, that there were some real *Manichees* that crowded in amongst them: which, as he supposes, gave Occasion to the Papists to slander the whole Body. For the *Manichees* did really contemn all Baptism, as the *Quakers* do now: And held many other of the worst Opinions which are now affixt to the *Quakers*.

1060.

*Ecbertus Schonaugiensis* (27), wrote Anno 1160, a Treatise against a People then spread in many Countries, *Whom*, says he, *our Germans call Cathari, Puritans: The Flemish call 'em, Piphles: The French, Texerant: (I suppose 'tis misprinted, he interprets it) Weavers.* Their Tenets which he repeats, shew 'em to be *Manichees*: Such as, the Unlawfulness of Marriage; of eating any Flesh, as being the Creatur of the Devil: That Christ had no true human Natur, &c. He had disputed with several of 'em: And he says, *Serm. 1. They are also divided among themselves: For several Things that are maintained by some of 'em, are denied by others.* And of Baptism particularly, he says; *Of Baptism they speak variously: That Baptism does no Good to Infants, because they cannot of themselves desire it, and because they cannot profess any Faith. But there is another Thing which they more generally hold concerning that Point, tho' more secretly, viz. That no Water Baptism at all does any Good for Salvation: And therefore such as come over to their Sect, they re-baptize by a privat Way, which they*

they call *Baptism with the holy Spirit and with Fire.* Year after the Apostles

And in *Serm.* 8. which is a Chapter on Purpose to prove to 'em the Use of Water Baptism, (as the 7th is to prove Infant Baptism) he tells how this *Baptism with Fire* was: As he says he had heard it from one that had been at their secret Meetings. 'Tis in short thus; In a close Room they light Candles or Torches as many as can be placed, round by the Walls and every where. The Company stand in order with great Reverence: The Person that is to be baptiz'd, *five catharizandus, or puritaniz'd,* is placed in the midst: The *Archicatharus* standing by him with a Book us'd to this Purpose, lays the Book on his Head; and pronounces certain Benedictions, the rest praying the while. This is called *Baptism with Fire*, because of the Lights around which make the Room look almost as if it were on Fire. But he tells 'em; *This is not the way, you Heretics: Nor to the Purpose that you pretend. You ought to make a good roasting Fire, and put him in, &c.*

What he says of their slighting all Water Baptism, but especially Infant Baptism, does help to make one understand many Passages that we meet with in the Writings against these Men. The Sayings of many Sorts of 'em that are quoted as speaking against Infant Baptism, ought not to be so taken as that they approved Baptism of the Adult, and denied it to Infants: but they really look'd on all Water Baptism as a superstitious Thing; only they thought it yet more absurd in the Case of Infants. They laugh at the Christians for two Things; one, that they placed Religion in washing People at all: And the other, that they did it to Infants. When their Arguments fail'd against Baptism in general, they took the Advantage of the Incapacity of

Year of-Infants. And so do now the *Quakers*, some of  
 ter the A- the *Socinians*, the *Deists*, and such other Sects as  
 postles would have Men go by Reason rather than by  
 Scriptur: They undervalue this Sacrament in  
 general; but they particularly deride the applying  
 of it to Infants.

1295. *Pilichdorf* also writing against these Men (28),  
 gives an Account of the Difference of their  
 severall Sects: He says, *The Waldenses do dislike,*  
*and even loath the Runcarians, Beghards, and*  
*Luciferians. And that whereas all Catholics from*  
*the four Quarters of the World agree in the Unity*  
*of the Faith; the Heretics do not so, but some of*  
*'em condemn the rest, &c.*

1154. But above all the rest, this is clearly made out  
 by *Reinerius*. He knew all the Sorts, Differences,  
 and Circumstances of those People that have been  
 since styled *Waldenses*, better than any Man. He  
 had liv'd among 'em, and had been one of one sort  
 of 'em for 17 Years, and then after his repounc-  
 ing of 'em was made an Inquisitor against 'em.  
 'Tis Pity that he had neither a Style to write  
 clearly, nor the Candor to express their Tenets  
 fairly: He in representing their Opinions fre-  
 quently gives a Turn to the Expressions, which  
 shews that his Aim was to paint 'em as odious.  
 as he could. And that especially in the Case  
 of the *Lyonists*: For the others, they could not  
 well be painted worse than they were. But  
 these had gained such a Repute by the Innocence  
 of their Lives, and the Soundness of their Faith;  
 that they did more Hurt to the Church of *Rome*  
 than all the rest: Therefore he does, as any  
 one will perceive, endeavor to blacken their  
 Opinions in the Recital.

He

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(28) *Contra sectam Waldensium, c. 12.*

He gives an Account of seven Sects of these Men (29). The *Lyonists*, or poor Men of Lyons, the *Runcarians*, the *Siscidenses*, the *Orlibenses*, the *Paterins*, the *Ordibarians*, and the *Cathari*, or *Puritans*. It was of these last that he had been : Which held the worst and most blasphemous Opinions; That the Devil (30) [or, evil God] made this World and all Things in it : That all the Sacraments of the Church, viz. the Sacrament of Baptism of material Water, and the other Sacraments, profit nothing to Salvation, and are no true Sacraments of Christ and his Church, but vain and Devilish. — Also that all Infants, etiam non baptizati, even those that are not baptiz'd, are punish'd eternally, no less than Murderers and Thieves. After a great many horrid Opinions, he describes a Practice which they used in stead of Baptism. They call'd it the *Consolation*, and the *spiritual Baptism*, or the *Baptism with the holy Spirit*. It had no Use of Water, nor of the Christian Form of Baptism.

It is remarkable what he says of one Sect of these Cathari: That they held that Christ did not take on him human Natur of the blessed Virgin, but took on him a Body that was heavenly [or from Heaven]. This was the Opinion of some old Heretics, and is said to be held by the present *Minnists*.

He says, The first of this Sect came from *Bulgaria*, and a Country that he calls *Dugranicia*. They were doubtless an Off-spring of the old *Manichees*; who, as well as these later, made Use of the Name of *Jesus Christ*; but denied the true History of him; and fram'd a Notion of him more Enthusiastical than that which the

(29) Lib. adv. *Waldenses*, c. 5, 6. Bib. P. T. 13. Colon. 1618. (30) C. 6.

Year af-  
ter the A-  
postles

worst sort of our *Quakers* do by the Name of  
*Jesus Christ within 'em.*

These *Cathari*, it seems, thought Water Baptism a *devilish* Thing: But that even without it Infants (and Men too that were not initiated in, and rescued by their Rites) would be damn'd; as being of the *Devil's* Make. Yet here, the *Albanenses*, one Sect of the *Cathari*, dissent, *Reinerius* says; and say, *No Creatur of the good God shall perish.* I suppose they meant that their Body shall be damn'd: But their Soul, because that is made by the *good God*, shall be sav'd.

The *Runcarians* and *Paterins* say likewise, that *Lucifer created all visible Things.* One would think these should be the same that others call the *Luciferians*: But that *Pilichdorf*, in the Place I mentioned, distinguishes 'em. These (and the *Ortlibenses* and *Siscidenses*, of whom he says little) have nothing about Baptism. The *Siscidenses*, he says, hold the same as the *Waldenses*: *save that they receive the Communion.* Now who he means by the *Waldenses* I know not; for this is the only place where he uses the Name. This Man wrote

1154. Anno 1254.

The *Ordibarians* say; *The World had no Beginning: That Christ was a Sinner till he became of their Sect.* They deny the Resurrection of the Body, but not the Immortality of the Spirit [or Soul]; They say, *Baptism is of no farther Value than are the Merits of the Baptizer: and that it does no Good to Infants, unless they be perfect in that Sect.* So the Words are; *nisi sint perfecti in illâ sectâ.* I think they mean; *unless they be initiated in that Sect.* *πελειόμυνοι.*

Of the *Lyonists* he says thus (31):

There

There is no Sect more pernicious to the Church than they, &c.

Year after the Apostles

Of the Sacraments he says, *They condemn 'em all.* This appears to be invidiously express'd: For, by his own Account of the Particulars, they did (to say the worst) only hold some heterodox Opinions about 'em.

First for *Baptism*: *They say that Catechism is nothing.* This also must be maliciously worded: For no People ever, that believ'd the Articles of the Creed, would hold catechizing of Children to be useless. But I guess by *Catechism* here is meant the Interrogations and Answers at the Baptizing of an Infant. *Also that the Washing that is given to Children does no good.* By Words so short one cannot tell which of these three Tenets he would accuse 'em to hold: Either, 1<sup>st</sup> That all baptismal Washing is good for nothing. For so a Quaker now would say; *The Washing you give your Children is good for nothing*: When his Meaning is, that all Baptism is so. But these People do not seem to have been *Manichees*. Or, 2<sup>dly</sup>, That Baptism is of no Force when 'tis given to *Infants*. But then it would have been plainer express'd: And he would have used the Word *Baptismus*, and not *Ablutio*, which is spoken in Disdain, and signifies an ordinary Washing. Or, 3<sup>dly</sup>, That in Baptism, the *Washing* it self, or outward Act taken by it self, is not that which saves, but God operating saves by it, as St. Peter says (32), *'Tis not the washing off the Dirt of the Flesh that saves.* This last I take to be what they might be likely to say. And this was a great Heresie in those Times, to deny that the Sacraments do confer Grace, *ex opere operato*: Even by the mere outward Work done. *Also that*

(32) & Ep. 3. Ch. V. 21.

Year af- that the Godfathers don't understand what they  
 for the A- answer to the Priest. Also, that the Offering which  
 postles is called *Anwegung*, is an Invention. Also they  
 dislike all the Exorcisms and Benedictions of Baptism.

Here is Evidence more than enough that there were several Sects of this People. Which is what I propos'd to prove by these Passages.

§. 5. And now, Secondly, That some of 'em (I do not say; any of the *Waldenses* strictly so called: But some of these Sects, which about the same Time and the same Places opposing the Church of *Rome*, are therefore by late Writers huddled together under the Name of *Waldenses*: That some of these, I say) did deny Infants Baptism; there is this Ground of Probability.

1040. First, One *Evervinnus* of the Diocese of *Colagu*, a little before the Year 1140, writes to St. *Bernard* a Letter, (which is lately brought to light by *F. Mabillon*, *Analect. Tom. 3.*) giving him an Account of two sorts of Heretics lately discover'd in that Country. One Sort were, by his Description, perfect *Manichees*. Of the other Sort, he says; *They condemn the Sacraments, except Baptism only; and this only in those who are come to Age, who they say are baptiz'd by Christ himself, whoever be the Minister of the Sacraments. They do not believe Infant Baptism: alleging that Place of the Gospel; He that believeth, and is baptized, &c. All Marriage they call Fornication, except that which is between two Virgins, &c.*


1046. Then at the Year 1146. *Peter*, Abbot of *Clugny*, writing against one *Peter Bruis*, and one *Henry* his Disciple, and their Associates (33), charges them with six Errors: The first of which was their Denial of Infant Baptism. The other five were, 2. *That Churches ought not to be built:*  
 And

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(33) Epist. contra Petrobrusianos,

And if built, ought to be pull'd down. If we were to credit all the Reports that come now from France, the *Cevennois* would seem to be of this Opinion, by their destroying so many Churches: But I hope that those Reports are not true. 3. That Crosses ought not to be worshipt, but broken and burnt. Peter Bruis had been a little before the writing of this, taken and burnt himself. This Writer says, it was a just Judgment on him, who had burnt so many Crosses. 4. That not only what Berengarius had said, viz. That there is no Transubstantiation in the Sacrament; was true: but also that that Sacrament is no more to be administered since Christ's Time. 5. That dead Men receive no Benefit from the Prayers, Sacrifices, &c. of the Living. 6. That it is a mocking of God to sing in the Church.

Year after the Apostles



He also says, that they were reported to renounce all the Old Testament, and all the New, except the four Gospels. But this he was not sure of: and would not impute it to 'em, for fear he might slander 'em. So it appears that he did not certainly know what they held. Yet to make his Proofs unquestionable, he first proves the Truth of the *Acts of the Apostles* and the *Epistles*, by their Agreement with the *Gospels*: and then the Old Testament by the New. And then out of the whole proceeds to refute their Tenets; bestowing a Chapter on each. The first of 'em was, as I said, against Infant Baptism: and is thus express'd.

*The first Proposition of the new Heretics.* They say,  
 ' Christ sending his Disciples to preach, says  
 ' in the Gospel; *Go ye out into all the World, and*  
 ' *preach the Gospel to every Creatur. He that be-*  
 ' *lieveth and is baptized, shall be saved: but he*  
 ' *that believeth not shall be damned.* From these  
 ' Words of our Savior, it is plain that none  
 ' can



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can be saved unless he believe and be baptiz'd :  
that is, have *both* Christian Faith and Baptism.  
For not one of these, but both together, does  
save. So that Infants, tho' they be by you  
baptiz'd, yet since by Reason of their Age they  
cannot believe, *are not saved*. It is therefore  
an idle and vain Thing for you to wash Per-  
sons with Water, at such a Time when you  
may indeed cleanse their Skin from Dirt in a  
human Manner, but not purge their Souls  
from Sin. But we do stay till the proper Time  
of Faith : and when a Person is capable to  
know his God, and believe in him ; then we  
do (not, as you charge us, rebaptize him, but)  
baptize him. For he is to be accounted as  
not yet baptiz'd, who is not wash'd with that  
Baptism by which Sins are done away.

This is, as to the Practice, perfectly agreeable  
with the modern Antipædobaptists : But, as  
*Cassander* observes (34), it is upon quite contrary  
Grounds. For the Antipædobaptists now do  
generally hold, that all that die Infants, baptiz'd  
or not, of Christian or of Heathen Parents, are  
sav'd ; and so 'tis needless to baptize 'em : Where-  
as these held that, baptiz'd or not, they could  
not be saved ; and so 'twas to no Purpose to  
baptize 'em. And this Writer does accordingly  
spend most of the Chapter, which is in Answer  
to this Tenet of theirs, in proving that Infants  
as well as grown Men are capable of the King-  
dom. *Abate*, says he, *of that overmuch Severity*  
*which you have taken upon you ——— and do*  
*not exclude Infants from the Kingdom of Heaven ;*  
*of whom Christ says, ' Of such is the Kingdom*  
*of Heaven. Also he argues that the Infants*  
*of the Jews had a Possibility of being saved,*  
*viz.*

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(34) De baptismo infantium;

viz. if they were circumcis'd: and if the Children of Christians have no Means to be sav'd, we are in much worse Case than they: And at last he concludes that Chapter; *Oh the Difference that is between Mercy and Cruelty, between a tender Regard to one's Children, and Unnaturalness, between Christ lovingly receiving Infants, and the Heretics impiously repelling 'em, &c.*

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It is to be noted that this Author speaks of this Opinion as then lately set on foot: and says, it might have seem'd not to need or deserve any Confutation, were it not that it had now continued 20 Years (35). That the first Seeds of it were sown by Peter de Bruis (who was living when the Book was written; but put to Death before it was publish'd, of which Mention is made in the Preface). It was first vented in the mountainous Country of *Dauphine*, and had had there some Followers: from whence being in good Measur expell'd, it had got footing in *Gascoigne*, and the Parts about *Tholouse*, being propagated by *Henry*, who was a Disciple and Successor of the said *Peter*.

1026!

This Writer aggravates this Charge of Novelty; by urging, that if Baptism given in Infancy be null and void, as they pretended; then all the *World has been blind hitherto, and by baptizing Infants for above a thousand Years, has given but a Mock-Baptism, and made but phantastical Christians, &c.* — And whereas all France, Spain, Germany, Italy, and all Europe, has had never a Person now for 300 or almost 500 Years baptiz'd otherwise than in Infancy, it has had never a Christian in it.

The next Year, 1147. *Bernard* Abbot of *Clareval*, commonly call'd *St. Bernard*, was desir'd by

1047.

Pope

Year af-  
ter the A-  
postles

Pope *Eugenius* to accompany some Bishops whom he sent into those Parts, to stop the spreading of these Doctrins, and to reduce those that had been led into 'em. And when they were come nigh to the Territory of the Earl of St. Giles's, *Bernard* writes a Letter to the said Earl (36), who at that Time harbour'd the foresaid *Henry* in his Country, recounting what Mischiefs that Heretic, as he calls him, had done. *The Churches are without People, the People without Priests, &c. God's holy Place is accounted profan, the Sacraments are esteemed unholy, &c. Men die in their Sins, their Souls carried to that terrible Judicature, alas! neither reconciled by Penance, nor strengthen'd by the holy Communion: the Infants of Christians are hinder'd from the Life of Christ, the Grace of Baptism being denied 'em: nor are they suffered to come to their Salvation, tho' our Savior compassionately cry out in their Behalf, saying, Suffer little Children to come to me, &c.* He tells the Earl, that 'tis little for his Credit to harbour such a Man that had been expell'd from all Places of *France* where he had come. The Issue was, *Henry* was banish'd.

I know not whether it was before this, or after (I think it was after), that *St. Bernard* writing his 65th and 66th Sermon on the Canticles, takes Occasion to discourse largely against a Sort of Heretics, whom he names not, but says they call'd themselves *Apostolical Men*. He describes 'em thus in several Places of those two Sermons. 1st, *That they hold it unlawful to swear in any other Case: but being examin'd of their Tenets, they would swear and forswear in the Denial of them. And that to conceal their Opinions, they would give Catholic Answers to all Questions of the Faith;*

*Faith; they would go to Church, shew Respect to the Minister, offer their Gift, receive the Sacrament, &c.* He shews by Scriptur that all true Religion owns it self. And this receiving the Communion in Dissimulation, is what *Reinerius*, about 100 Years after this Time, observes, that the *Siscidenses* would then do, and the *Lyonists*, he says, would; but the *Waldenses* would not. 2. That they held Marriage to be a wicked Uncleanness, (only some of 'em said that Virgins might marry, but none else) and yet they kept Company with Women in a Way that gave great Scandal: and Women us'd to run away from their Husbands and come and live with them. That they held Uncleanness to be only in the use of a Wife: whereas that is, as he shews, the only Case which makes it to be none. 3. That they held the eating of all Flesh, and Milk, and whatever is generated of Copulation, unlawful. He says if they did this out of a Desire to keep under the Body, he would not blame 'em: but if it was out of a *Manichean* Principle (for this as well as the foregoing was a Tenet of the old *Manichees*), they fell under that Censur of the Apostle (37); Teaching Doctrins of Devils, forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from Meats, &c. 4. That they opened not the Old Testament, and some of them none of the New, but the Gospels. 5. That they denied Purgatory. 6. They laugh at us, says he, for baptizing Infants, for our praying for the Dead, and for desiring the Prayers of the Saints. So he gives in Opposition to them the Grounds of Infant Baptism, as well as of the other Doctrins by them denied.

The Heretics he speaks of here, appear plainly to have been of *Manichean* Principles; and so probably to have derided all Baptism: whereas

Henry,

Year after the Apostles

1154;

(37) 1 Tim. 4. 3,

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ter the A-  
postles

*Henry*, as well as *Peter Bruis*, allowed of Water Baptism to the Adult: So that probably these mention'd in the Sermons, are not the same with those in the Letter; for *Peter* and *Henry* are charg'd with no *Manichean* Doctrin, save that *Peter* of *Clugny* had heard some say, that they denied all the Scriptur but the Gospels; but he owns that he had no certain Account of that: and probably the Report that imputed it to 'em arose by mistaking the Tenets of these for those.

1092. Then at the Year 1192. one *Alanus* reckoning up the Opinions of the *Cathari*, says some of 'em held Baptism of no Use to Infants: others of 'em to no Person at all.

It is to be noted, that neither *Petrus* nor *Bernard* do call them that they write against, *Waldenses*; nor do so much as mention the Name: nor was there, I believe, any such Name then known.

These are the only four Writers that I know of, that do plainly accuse those they write against, of denying Baptism peculiarly to Infants. And the only Persons they mention are, that *Peter* and *Henry*, and their Followers: for those of *Cologne* seem to have rambled thither from *Dauphine*, where *Bruis* had began to preach about 20 Years before.

Mr. *Stennet*, in his *Answer to Ruffen*, ch. 4. p. 84. would indeed have us believe that there were above 100 Years before this Time, viz.

925. Anno 1025, some that denied Baptism peculiarly to Infants, namely, the Followers of *Gundulphus*. For this, he quotes a Passage reported by Dr. *Allix* from the History of a Synod held at *Arras* that Year, which is lately brought to light by *Dacherius*, *Spicileg. T. 13.* where these Men being examined by the Bishop of *Cambray*, do indeed deny that Baptism can do any Good to Infants. But in the same Examination being far-

farther interrogated, the Men confess'd that they thought Water Baptism of no Use or Necessity to any one, Infant or Adult. Now this is not fair quoting, to take the first of these, and leave out the latter Part which follows in Dr. *Allix's* Book. These Men whom Mr. *Stennet* represents as Antipædobaptists (and if they had been so, they would have been the earliest that any History mentions) were, as to the Point of Baptism, *Quakers* or *Manichees*.

Year after the Apostles

And so all the other Writers that I have seen (except the four aforesaid) do, if they have any Thing at all about the Denial of Baptism, impute to the Heretics they speak of, the Denial of all Water Baptism. As the Fragments of the History of *Aquitain*, cited by *Pithæus*. *Joannes Floriacensis* cited by *Massonius*. *Radulph. Ardens.* and many more, whose Sayings are produc'd by Bp. *Usher* (38). The Words of *Ecbertus* I gave before (39), *That Infants ought to have no Baptism, and grown Persons no Water Baptism.* *Reinerius*, as I said, about the *Lyonists* speaks ambiguously. *Erbrardus* and *Ermingardus* are cited by *Danvers* (40), as Witnesses that some of whom they write denied Infant Baptism: But Mr. *Baxter* having searched them (41) says, that they speak of those People as denying the Law and the Prophets: maintaining the two Gods, whereof the evil one made the World: denying the Resurrection, and all Use of Marriage; or the Lawfulness of it. So that they must have been *Manichees*, who do all of 'em deny all Baptism, but especially Infant Baptism.

*William of Newbourg*, who lived then in *England*, describes some of these Men by the Name of

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of

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(38) Lib. de success. Eccl. (39) §. 4. (40) Treat. Pt. 2. ch. 7. pag. 250. (41) More Proofs, pag. 394.

Year af- of *Publicani*, and by their being *Gascoigners*: and  
 ter the A- says (42), about 30 of 'em came out of *Germany*  
 postles into *England* under *Henry II.* about 1170. and  
 1070. being examin'd of their Faith, they denied and  
 detested *holy Baptism, the Eucharist, and Marriage.*  
*Fox* out of *Historia Guisburnensis* mentions the  
 same Men: and that the chief of 'em were *Gerar-*  
*dus* and *Dulcinus.* He gives no Account of any  
 Opinion they had against Baptism. But *Hollings-*  
*head* says, they derogated from the Sacraments  
 such Grace, as the Church by her Authority had  
 ascribed to 'em.

Several Councils and Decretals made about this  
 Time do establish the Doctrin of Baptism both in  
 general, and also particularly that of Infants:  
 in opposition, as it seems, to some that denied all  
 Baptism, and to others that denied that of Infants.  
 As for Example, The *Lateran Council* under  
 1115. Pope *Innocent.* the 3d. Anno 1215. c. 1. The Sacra-  
 ment of *Baptism performed in Water with Invocation*  
*of the Trinity is profitable to Salvation, both to*  
*adult Persons and also to Infants, by whomsoever it*  
*is rightly administred in the Form of the Church.*  
 And the said Pope has in the *Decretals* a Letter  
 1099. in Answer to a Letter from the Bishop of *Arles*  
 in *Provence*, which had represented to him that  
 some (43) *Heretics there had taught that it was to*  
*no purpose to baptize Children, since they could have*  
*no Forgiveness of Sins thereby, as having no Faith,*  
*Charity, &c.*

Also the *Lateran Council* under *Innocent* the 2d.  
 1039. 1139. did condemn *Peter Bruis*, and *Arnold* of  
*Brescia*, who seems to have been a Follower of  
*Bruis*, for rejecting Infants Baptism.

These

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(42) *Hist. lib. 2. c. 13.* (43) *Opera Innocent. tertii, T. 2. pag. 776. Ed. Col. 1575.*

These Proofs do, I think, evince that there were some about this Time that denied all Baptism; and some others that denied peculiarly Infant Baptism; among those Parties of Men that have been lately call'd *Waldenses*. Year after the Apostles

I know many Pædobaptists believe neither of these: And *Perin* their Historian does endeavor to clear 'em of this as of a Slander. Two Things the Pædobaptists say to this Matter, which are very considerable.

1. That it is common for Men to slander their Adversaries about the Opinions they hold: as appears not only by many Instances in that ignorant Age; in which the Monks, who were then the only Writers, verified in themselves too much that Character quoted by *St. Paul* (44); *Always Liars, evil Beasts, slow Bellies*: but also by too many in this Age: as *Viccomes* a learned Papist has in this very Matter to his own Shame (45) left on Record, that *Luther, Calvin, and Beza*, were Adversaries of Infant Baptism.

2. That we ought in all Reason either to deny Credit to these Popish Writers concerning these Men; or else to believe 'em in one Thing as well as another. If we allow 'em for good Witnesses; then those that they describe were Men of such unsound Opinions in other Things, as that no Church would be willing to own 'em for Predecessors. But if we account 'em Slanderers; we ought not to conclude from their Testimony that any of these Men denied Infant Baptism: which does not appear by any of their own Confessions; and which the present *Waldenses* do account as a Slander cast on their Ancestors.

These Considerations do in great Measure justify those Pædobaptists, who maintain that there

(44) Tit. 1. 12. (45) De rit. bapt. l. 2: c. 1.



Year af-  
ter the A-  
postles

1422.

is no *certain* Evidence of any Church or Society of Men that oppos'd Infant Baptism, till those in *Germany* about 180 Years ago. The Proof concerning any Sort of the *Waldenses* is but *probable*. I owned before that the Probability is such as does weigh with me for the *Petrobrusians*, and perhaps some of the *Albigenses*. But for the main Body of *Waldenses* there is no Probability at all.

§. 6. And now, Thirdly: That there were several Sects or Societies of 'em that did not deny the Baptism of Infants, is proved from this; That a great many Writers against 'em diligently reciting the erroneous Opinions of those they write against, and that often in smaller Matters, yet mentions nothing of this.

1136.

*Lucas Tudensis* writes largely against the *Albigenses* that were then in *Spain*: but among all the Accusations of 'em, true or false, has nothing of this. *Petrus de Pilichdorf* (in the Year 1395, as he himself gives the Date, *Cap. 30.*) writes a Book of Confutation of the several pretended Errors of the *Waldenses* of his Time in 36 Chapters; but has nothing of Baptism: tho' he descends to speak of many lesser Matters, and aggravates all with very railing Words; yet he finds nothing to accuse 'em of, but such Things as the Protestants now hold: except one or two, as the *Unlawfulness of all Oaths*, &c.

1358.

*Aneas Sylvius* wrote in 1458, his *Historiam Bohemicam*, in which he reckons up the Tenets of the *Picards*, a sort of these Men. But (54) he mentions no Difference they had with the then establish'd Church about Infant Baptism; save that they spoke against Chrism, &c. And Fox

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(54) *Usher de Succ. Ecc. c. 6. Baxter, More Proofs, p. 380.*

reciting their Tenets out of him, mentions only this; that *Baptism ought to be administred with pure Water, without any Hallowed Oyl.* *Nauclerus* also in his *Chronicon*, written 1500. recites their Doctrins particularly (55), and mentions no such Thing as the Denial of Infant Baptism. Yet he also takes Notice of so small a Matter, as that they affirmed Water to be sufficient without Oyl. There are in *Gretzer's* Collection (56) of Pieces written against the *Waldenses*, six Treatises in all (beside *Reinerius* and *Pilichdorf* mentioned already) reckoning up their heterodox Opinions: but not one Word of this. One of 'em is a Direction to the Inquisitors, in the examining of these Men, how to discover and convict 'em: for it seems they kept their Opinions very close; whereas if they had not baptiz'd their Children, nothing would have been a more ready Conviction. The *Magdeburgenses* (57) have a Catalog of their Opinions, taken as they say out of a *very old Manuscript*: and nothing of this. Bp. *Usher* quotes (58) also *Jacob Picolaminus*, *Anton. Bonfinius*, *Bernard. Lutzenburgensis*, and several others treating of these sorts of Men, who object nothing of this.

Year after the Apostles  
1400.

1360.  
1395.

§. 7. I have, more than ever I meant to do, troubled my self in inquiring into the History of these Men: and all that I can make of the Inquiry, is this.

First, There were a great many among 'em, that really held the impious Opinion of the *Manichees*. Some of this Sect were in these Countries before the *Waldenses*, whom the Protestants own for Predecessors, arose or were taken

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Notice

(55) Vol. 2. Pt. 2. pag. 265. (56) Bib. Pat. T. 13. Ed. Col. 1618. (57) Cent. 12. p. 1206. (58) De success. Eccl. c. 6. p. 155. It. p. 306, &c.

Year af-  
ter the A-  
postles

Notice of: which was after the Year 1100. These all of 'em denied all Water Baptism. So the *Quakers* may claim Kindred of 'em if they please: But no Baptist, whether Pædobaptist or Antipædobaptist, can. They had an Invention of their own, which they us'd instead of the Christian Baptism, and which they called *Spiritual Baptism*: And they said (59), by it *Forgiveness of Sins, and the Holy Spirit was given. It contain'd in it Imposition of their Hands, and the Saying of the Lord's Prayer. Only one Sect of 'em, the Albanenses, said the Hand did no Good; being, as all other Flesh is, created by the Devil. So they us'd the Prayer only.*

These Men were thus far on the Antipædobaptists side, that this Mock-baptism of theirs they gave to the Adult only. And they derided the Christians for two Things: one that they us'd Baptism with Water at all; and the other, that they gave it to Persons that had no Sense of it, viz. Infants. And this, for ought I know, might be all the Ground of the *Waldenses* (who by the first Writers are not well distinguish'd from these Men) being accus'd of denying Infant Baptism.

1154. This sort of Men continued a considerable Time. *Reinerius* says (60), in his Time there were not above 4000 in all the World that were Cathari, quite pure [or perfect] of both Sexes; but of *Credentes* (so they call'd their Disciples that were not yet perfect) an innumerable Multitude.

Tho' the Authors do not well distinguish the Names: yet most generally this sort that denied all Baptism, and held the other vile Opinions, are

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(59) *Reinerius c. 6.* (60) *Reinerius c. 6.*

are denoted by these Names, *Cathari, Apostolici, Luciferians, Runcarians, Popelicans, alias Publicans.* Year after the Apostles

2. There were another sort that held none of those impious Tenets of the *Manichees*, concerning two Gods, &c. But they join'd with the other in inveighing against the Church of *Rome*, which in these Times began to be very corrupt. And the Papists do sometimes confound these with the other, and affix to these some of the Opinions of the other.

If any of these that owned Water Baptism, denied it to Infants; and if *P. Cluniacensis* did not mistake their Opinion upon the Occasion aforesaid; it was the *Petrobrustians*, otherwise call'd *Henricians*. What *Reinerius* says of the *Lyonists*, is very general and obscure. And of the others no such Thing is said. Especially this is constant; that no one Author that calls the People he writes of *Waldenses*, does impute to 'em the Denial of Infant Baptism.

3. If there were any such; they seem not to have continued long, but to have dwindled away or come over to those that practis'd Infant Baptism. For none of the *later* Writers concerning these Men do charge 'em with any Thing of this. This the Reader will observe, if he mind the Date of the Year which I have affixed to each Writer. And 'tis a manifest Sign that either none of those whom we now denote by the Name *Waldenses*, that own'd Water Baptism, held any Thing against Infant Baptism; but that the elder Writers imputed it to 'em upon the Mistake aforesaid of taking the *Manichees* Opinions for theirs; or upon vulgar Reports, which by this Time appear'd to be False: Or else that if there had been formerly any such Sects in that great Variety; they were by this Time extinguish'd.

Year af-  
ter the A-  
postles

*Pilichdorf* writes againſt them under the Name of *Waldenſes*. *Reinerius* does but once juſt mention that Name, as denoting one Sect: one can't tell which. But *Pilichdorf* intitles his Book *Againſt the Sect of the Waldenſes*, and calls 'em at every Word *Waldenſian Heretics*: but aſcribes no Opinion to them that deſerves that Name, nor any Error at all about Baptiſm. He is the only Man of their Adverſaries, who tho' he give 'em ill Language, yet charges 'em with no particular Opinion (or no material one) but what they themſelves own in their Confessions. He wrote, as I ſaid, Anno 1395. By which Time their Opinions muſt be juſtly and diſtinctly known. If they had formerly been miſtaken to be of the ſame Opinion with thoſe *Manichean* Sects; they had now had Time to clear themſelves from that Imputation. And ſo we find by his Words they did. For he ſays (61), *The Waldenſes do diſlike and even loath the Runcarians, Beghards, and Luciferians*. And they ſeem by his Deſcription to have been in the ſame State of Religion that they were found in 130 Years after by the Pro-  
teſtants.

1295.

1425.

1040.

1060.

And he alſo ſuppoſes, that from their Beginning they had been free from any falſe Doctrin about the Sacraments. For in his firſt Chapter he ſpeaks of their Original: that it was from one *Peter Waldenſis* (others call him *Waldus*), who in the Time of *Innocent* the 2d. (ſo he ſays, but others place him at 1160, which was the Time of *Alexander* the 3d.) reading that Command of our Savior to the rich young Man, *Matt.* 19. 21. (ſome others alſo add, that he was alſo affrighted at the ſudden Death of one of his Companions) took a Reſolution of ſelling all he had,

had, and giving it to the Poor: and was imitated by some others, particularly one *John* of the City of *Lyons*. After a while they took on 'em to preach; and being forbid, (for they were Laymen) they refused to forbear, and so were excommunicated. Then they betook themselves to preaching privately; and, as he adds, *out of Hatred to the Clergy and the true Priesthood, they began out of the Errors of old Heretics, and adding some new and pernicious Articles, to destroy, condemn, and reject all those Means by which the Clergy, as a good Mother, do gather their Children, except the Sacraments only.*

Year after the Apostles

He means, as appears by what follows, they rejected Indulgencies, Pardons, Canonical Hours, Prayers to the Saints, &c. But if they had rejected Infant Baptism; he would not have fail'd to have mention'd that. By which it appears, that either this Man had never heard of the *Petrobrusians*: or else had not heard that they denied Infant Baptism: or else did not take 'em to have been *Waldenses*.

And in this last mention'd Sense *Cassander* (62) speaks of the *Petrobrusians*, as a Sect that, together with the Salvation of Infants, denied their Baptism: but of the *Waldenses*, as practising it.

The *Petrobrusians* could not properly be call'd *Waldenses*, because they set up their Party before *Waldus* did his. For *Peter Bruis* had preach'd 20 Years when *Cluniacensis* wrote, as I shew'd before: which was 1146. And *Waldus* began by the earliest Account in the Time of Pope *Innocent* the 2d. whose first Year was 1130.

1026.  
1046.  
1030.

So if we take the Name [*Waldenses*] strictly, for one sort of Men; as those old Writers generally

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(62) De Baptismo Infantium.

Year af-  
ter the A-  
postles

rally do: then there is no Account that any of them were Antipædobaptists. But if we take it in that large Sense, as many late Writers do, to include all the sorts that I have rehearsed, then there is probable Evidence that one sort of 'em, viz. the *Petrobrusians*, were so: but not that the general Body of the *Waldenses* were. And that Opinion of the *Petrobrusians* seems to have been in a short Time extinguish'd and forgotten.

§. 8. Now because I take this *Peter Bruis* (or *Bruce* perhaps his Name was) and *Henry*, to be the first Antipædobaptist Preachers that ever set up a Church or Society of Men holding that Opinion against Infant Baptism, and rebaptizing such as had been baptiz'd in Infancy; I will for the Sake of the Antipædobaptists give the History of 'em so far as it is upon Record. And the same Thing may gratifie the Quakers: for I believe they were the first likewise of all that have owned the Scripturs (as I see no Reason to conclude but this People did; tho' there was a Report that they rejected some Books of 'em) that ever taught that the Use of receiving the Lord's-Supper is not to be continued.

They were both *Frenchmen*. Both of mean Rank or Quality: for *Peter of Clugny* bespeaks (63) 'em thus; *Because the Darkness of a mean Condition kept you obscure; Had you therefore a Mind by some very wicked Exploit to make your selves to be taken Notice of?* Yet they had been in Priests Orders, and had had each of 'em a Place or Employment in that Office: but the Benefices belonging to 'em were it seems but small. Because he says; *If the Places wherein you ministred as Presbyters afforded you but little Gain; would you therefore resolve to turn all into Confusion*  
and

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(63) Answ. to their 4th Article.

and Profaneness? Peter had had a Church or Parish, but was turn'd out of it; and, as this Writer insinuates, for some Misdemeanor. Henry had been a Monk, and had deserted the Monastery. For so he adds; *Because one of you was for a Reason (he knows why) turn'd out of the Church which he had, &c. The other throwing off the Monk's Habit, turning an Apostate, &c.*

Year after the Apostles

The Places where *Bruis* first made a Party and gain'd Profelytes, were in that Country which is since called *Dauphine*. For the Book which *Peter* of *Clugny* writes against 'em, is by Way of a Letter to three Bishops, within whose Dioceses this had happen'd: And the Bishops were *Eberdunensis*, *Dienensis*, & *Wapiensis*. The Bishops of *Embrun*, *Die*, and *Gap*. In the Preface (which was written some Time after the Book, and after *Bruis* was dead) there is added the Archbishop of *Arles* in *Provence*. But 'tis said in the Book, that the City of *Arles* it self was free from the Infection: only some Parts of his Province had been drawn into this Perswasion. It was in the mountainous and wild Parts of the said Dioceses that it first took Footing: for so *Cluniacensis* writes (64); *I should have thought that it had been those craggy Alps, and Rocks cover'd with continual Snow, that had bred that savage Temper in the Inhabitants; and that your Land being unlike to all other Lands, had yielded a sort of People unlike to all others; but that I now perceive, &c.*

The Time that it began, he mentions to have been 20 Years before. And at the Time when the Book was writ (which was 1146), those foresaid Dioceses were, he says, clear of it. By the Care of the said Bishops it had been rooted out there: but that the Preachers, when expell'd thence,

1026.

1046.

(64) Prope initium Epistolæ.



Year af-  
ter the A-  
postles

thence, had planted it in the plain Countries of *Provincia Narbonensis*. And there, says he, the Heresie which among you was but timerously whisper'd or buzz'd about in Deserts and little Villages, does now boldly vent it self in great Crowds of People, and in populous Towns. And the Places specified in the Book are; The Places about the Mouth of the *Rhosne*: the plain Country about *Tholouse*; and particularly that City it self: and many Places in the Province of *Gascoigne*. About

1044. the Year 1144, *Bruis* being then in the Territory of *St. Gyles's*, where he had made many Profelytes; he was by the Zeal of the faithful People (so *Cluniacensis* calls it) taken, and in that City, according to the Laws then, burnt to Death. The Time I compute thus; *Cluniacensis* had wrote that Letter to the Bishops aforesaid: but understanding that *Bruis* was put to Death, and the Doctrin expell'd out of their Dioces, he suppress'd the Publishing of his Letter: but hearing that *Henry*, whom he calls the Heir of *Bruis's* Wickedness, did still propagate it in several Places; and that there was Danger of its reviving where it seem'd to be extinct: he put a new Preface to his Work and published it. Which was in the

1046. Year 1146.

Of the Morals of *Peter Bruis* this Writer gives no Account, save that he describes in how tumultuous and outrageous a Way Things were managed by him and his Party, where they prevail'd (65): *The People rebaptiz'd: The Churches profan'd: The Altars dug up: The Crosses burnt: The Priests scourg'd: Monks imprison'd, &c.* And he tells how they would, on a *Goodfriday* to choose, get together a great Pile of Crosses which they had pull'd down, and making a Fire of 'em, would

**Chap. VII. two first Preachers of Antipadobaptism. 253**

would roast Meat at it; on which they would make a Feast, in Defiance of the Fast kept by Christians on that Day. Year after the Apostles

As for *Henry*, after he had gone about preaching in many Cities and Provinces of *France*, he was on the Year 1146 or 7, found in the said Territory of the Earl of *St. Gyles's*, when *St. Bernard* and some Bishops came to those Parts to confute these new Doctrins. And of him *Bernard* does give a Character in his Letter to that Earl: And it is a very scurvy Character for a Preacher.

*The Man*, says he, is a Renegado, who leaving off his Habit of Religion, (for he was a Monk) return'd, as a Dog to his Vomit, to the Filthiness of the Flesh and the World: and being ashamed to stay where he was known, &c. he became a Vagabond; and being in Beggery, he made the Gospel maintain him (for he is a Scholar); and setting to Sale the Word of God, he preach'd for Bread. What he got of the silly People, or of the good Women, more than would find him Victuals, he spent in gaming at Dice, or some worse Way: For this celebrated Preacher, after the Day's Applause, was at Night often found in Bed with Whores, and sometimes with married Women. Enquire, if you please, Noble Sir, how he left the City *Losanna*, what sort of Departur he made out of *Mayne*, and also from *Poictou*, and from *Bourdeaux*: to none of which Places he dares return, having left such a Stink behind him. If any one shall think that in the Credit one is to give to this Description there ought to be some Allowance made for the Malice of his Enemies: I have nothing to say against that.

He that writes the Life of *St. Bernard* (66), says that upon this Mission, *Henry* fled, and lying hid

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ter the A-  
postles

1048.

hid for some Time, but *no body being willing to receive him, was at last taken and delivered chained to the Bishop, (the Bishop of Ostia, I suppose; who was a Cardinal, and the chief Man of the Mission) but what was done with him, is not said. But of the People it is said, that those who had erred were reduc'd, the wavering were satisfied, and the Seducers so confuted, that they durst no where appear.* And a little after this, Bernard has a Letter to the People of *Tholouse* (67), congratulating their Recovery from the Confusions that had been among them on Account of those Opinions.

Their Way of Preaching against the other Sacrament of the Lord's-Supper is thus represented by *Cluniacensis* (68); *Your Words, as near as I can learn 'em, are these; ' Oh good People don't believe your Bishops, Presbyters, and Clergy-men that seduce you. As they deceive you in many other Things, so they do in the Office of the Altar; where they tell you this Lie, that they do make the Body of Christ, and give it you for the Salvation of your Souls. They lie notoriously. For the Body of Christ was only once made by himself at the Supper before his Passion: and was once only, viz. at that Time, given to his Disciples. Since that Time it was never made by any one, nor given to any one.*

As the People of this Way were from *Petor Bruis* commonly call'd *Petrobrusians*; so they were from *Henry* sometimes call'd *Henricians*:

CHAP.

C H A P. VIII.

*Of the present State of the Controversie. That all the national Churches in the World are Padobaptists. Of the Antipadobaptists that are in Germany, Holland, England, Poland, and Transylvania.*

S. I. **A**LL the Opinions that had any great Number of Abettors in the antient Times, tho' they may have been condemn'd by General Councils, yet have so continued or sprung up afresh, that they have in some Country or other become the general Opinion. So *Nestorianism, Eutychianism, &c.* have each of 'em found some Place, in which to this Day they do prevail as the national Constitution.

As for Antipædobaptism, whatever be judg'd of the Proofs brought to shew that there have been some Societies of Men that have owned it, as the *Petrobrusians* lately mention'd, &c. there is no Pretence that it has been, or is now, the Opinion of any national Church in the World. Wherever there are at present any Christians of that Perswasion, they are as Dissenters from the general Body of Christians in that Place. If this admit of any Exception, it is in the Country of *Georgia* or *Circassia*: of which I shall speak presently.

This, for all *Europ*, is notorious. The Papists do not only own Infant Baptism, but do generally still hold that an Infant dying unbaptized, tho' by Misadventure, cannot come to the Kingdom of Heaven; but must go to the Region of *Hades*, call'd *limbus infantum*. And they have scarce any

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any Antipædobaptists mixt among 'em in the Countries where they have the Government.

In many of the Protestant or Reformed Countries, there are some of this Perswasion: in some more; in some fewer; and in some none at all. But in none of 'em has it prevail'd to be the establish'd Religion. And tho' the contrary be not at all pretended, yet Mr. *Walker* has taken Pains to prove this by reciting (1) their several Confessions, wherein they own Infant Baptism: and among the rest, that of the *Waldenses* or *Vandois* assembled at *Angrogne*.

1435.

The Church of *England* is taken Notice of by some to speak very moderately in this Matter. (2) *The Baptism of young Children is in any wise to be retained in the Church: as most agreeable to the Institution of Christ.* Yet they own, as I shew'd before (3), the *Necessity of this Sacrament where it may be had.* And they do not think fit to use the Office of Burial (in which the deceased is styled a Brother) for Infants that die without it.

The *Greek* Christians also of *Constantinople*, and other Parts of *Europ* under the *Turks* Dominion, are known to baptize Infants. Sr. *Paul Ricaut* among others has given a full (4) Account of their Manner of doing it; and wherein they differ from the Ceremonies of the *Latins*.

The same may be said of the *Muscovites*: Who were from their first Conversion a Part of the *Greek* Church, but do of late choose a Patriarch of their own. Of their Practice in this Matter for the last Centuries, Mr. *Walker* has recited Evidences in the Chapter aforesaid: And for their present Practice every one knows it. They are said formerly to have baptized none before the

40th

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(1) Modest Plea, Ch. 27. (2) Article 27. (3) CH. VI. §. 8. (4) Present Seate of *Greek* Church, Ch. 7.

40th Day, except in Case of Necessity: But Dr. Crull, who has wrote latest of 'em, says (5), that now they baptize their Children as soon as they are born.

Year after the Apostles

§. 2. In all the Countries of *Asia*, the Government is either *Mahometan* or *Pagan*. Yet in many of 'em, and especially of those under the *Turks*, the greatest Part of the People are still Christian: There are also many Christians in several of the Countries that are under the *Persian* Government: And some in those of the *Mogol*. These have all continued now a long Time under Persecution and daily Hardships, and in great Want of the Means of Instruction: Yet have kept most of the main Articles of the Christian Religion. They are some of 'em *Nestorians*, as those who acknowledge the Patriarch of *Mosul*: Some *Eutychians*; as the *Jacobites*, the *Maronites* (and the *Armenians*, as most say: But Sr. Paul Ricaut judges otherwise of them). An Account of their several Tenets is given by *Brerewood* in his *Inquiries*, *Heylin* in his *Cosmography*, &c. They do all hold and practise Infant Baptism.

*Coll. Danvers* (6) says, that the *Armenians* are confest by *Heylin*, *Microcosf.* pag. 573. to defer Baptism of Children till they be of grown Years. *Heylin* in his Youth wrote a short Tract of Geography, called *Microcosm*: And afterward living to a more matur Age, he wrote a large Volume on the same Subject, called *Cosmography*; wherein he added a great many Particulars concerning each Nation, that were not in the former Piece: Also several Things he altered and amended upon better Information; and he left out such Things as he had not found to be confirmed.

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(5) Present State of *Muscovy*, Vol. I. c. 11. (6) Treat. Pt. I. ch. 7. cent. 16.

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Now in that former Piece he had divided *Armenia* into three Parts: 1. That which is properly so called. 2. *Georgia*. 3. *Mengrelia*. And of the Christians of *Armenia* properly so called, had said; that one of the Things in which they differ from the Western Christians, is *in receiving Infants to the Lord's Table presently after their Baptism*. Which he also confirms in (7) the later Book. Of the *Georgians*, he had indeed said in that former Piece; that *they baptize not their Children till 8 Years old*. But in the later and larger Tract, says no such Thing: But, on the contrary, says; *They are agreeable in doctrinal Points to the Church of Greece, whose Rituals also the People do to this Day follow: Not subject for all that to the Patriarch of Constantinople (tho' of his Communion), but to their own Metropolitan only*.

For what he had said of them in his former Piece, that *they baptize not till the 8th Year*, he had quoted in the Margin *Brerewood*. But *Brerewood*, in the Edition that I have (*London 1622*), does not say this of the *Georgians*: But making one Chapter (Chap. 17.) of the *Georgians*, *Circassians*, and *Mengrelians*, (whom he makes three several People all bordering together) of the *Georgians* says the same that *Heylin* do's in his later Book, *viz.* that they are conformable to the *Greeks*: But says, that the *Circassians* baptize not their Children *till the 8th Year*, and enter not into the Church (the *Gentlemen* especially) *till the 60th Year*, or as others say, *the 40th Year*, but bear *Divin Service standing without the Temple*; that is to say, *till through Age they grow unable to continue their Rapines and Robberies, to which Sin that Nation is exceedingly addicted: So dividing their Life betwixt*

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(7) Lib. 3. in Turcomania.

*betwixt Sin and Devotion, dedicating their Youth to Rapine, and their old Age to Repentance.*

Year after the Apostles

Concerning these Georgians and Mengrelians [or Circassians] I shall speak more particularly presently. But for the Armenians; both Brerewood in his *Inquiries* (8), and Heylin, as I quoted before, and all others, do agree that they constantly baptize Infants. And if the Reader need any larger Satisfaction, he may have it from Sr. Paul Ricaut, who writes distinctly of 'em, not from remote Report, but from the Converse he had with 'em: For many of this People do frequent *Smyrna, Constantinople, &c.* He gives (9) a full Account of their *Baptism of Infants*; and that they esteem it necessary, as being that which washes away original Sin. And also that (as Heylin and Brerewood had said) they administer to the Child after it the Holy Eucharist, which they do only by rubbing the Lips with it.

The Maronites give Baptism to Infants with this Particularity (10), that they baptize not a Male-Child till he be 40 Days old, nor a Female till 80 Days: which is the Time limited, *Lev. 12.* for the Purification of the Mother. Also they, as well as the Armenians, give the Eucharist to Infants presently after their Baptism.

Of all these sorts of Christians the Western Part of the World has all along had some Knowledge and Account: but it is otherwise of those in *India*, call'd the Christians of St. Thomas, inhabiting about *Cochin, Cranganor*, and all that vast Tract or Promontory, lying between the Coast of *Malabar* and the Coast of *Coromandel*. These were utterly unknown, and not

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(8) Cap. 4. (9) Present State of the Armenian Church, p. 8. (10) Heylin, *Cosmograph. Syria.*



Year af-  
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heard of by us of the *West* for a Thousand Years and more, viz. till about the Year 1500, when those Parts were discovered by the *Portuguese*. There were then estimated to be 15 or 16 Thousand Families of 'em, living among the Heathens, to whom they were subject. They were found in the Practice of Infant Baptism; but they did not administer it till the Child were 40 Days old, except in the Case of Danger of Death. An Account of the State of Religion in which they were found, and of this among the rest, is given by *Hieron. Osarius de rebus gestis Emanuelis* (11). And of the Methods by which they were 100 Years after brought over to a Communion with the Church of *Rome*, by Mr. *Geddes*, in his Account of the Synod of *Diamper*. The Practice of these *Indian* Christians may convince our Antipædobaptists of their Mistake in thinking that Infant Baptism began in the known Parts of the World but of late Years: for how then should it have been communicated to these Men, who had never heard of such a Part of the World as *Europ*?

1500.

In short, there can be no Question made of the Practice of any Christians in *Asia* as to this Matter; unless it be of those I mention'd before, that inhabit the Countries of *Georgia* and *Mengrelia* [or *Circassia*]. And therefore I will be a little more particular about 'em.

*Georgia* was formerly called *Iberia*: and *Mengrelia* [or *Circassia*] was called *Colchis*. They border together, lying in the remote Part of *Asia*, between the *Euxin* and *Caspian* Sea: and are in Religion much the same.

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It is to be noted that these People were converted to the Christian Faith in the Time of *Constantin*,

(11) Lib. 3. prope finem.

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*zin*, by the Means of a Christian Servant Maid; much after the same Manner as *Naaman* the Syrian was to the Knowledge of God. The Maid by Prayer to Christ cured the Queen of *Iberia* of a Sickness: This and some other Evidences converted the King: and he sent Messengers to *Constantin*, to desire some Preachers to be sent to instruct the People, which was readily granted: and the Nation became Christian. This is related by Autors that liv'd about that Time, such as *Rufinus* (12), *Socrates* (13), &c.

Year after the Apostles

And as they received the Faith from that Church under *Constantin*, so they are recorded in the succeeding Times to have held Communion with the same, viz. the *Greek Church*. And how that Church (as well before their Division from the *Latins*, as since) manag'd in the Matter of Baptism, has been already shewn. In after Times the *Saracens*, and then the *Turks*, possessing those Parts of *Asia* that lye between the *Greeks* and them, must needs break off the Correspondence in great Measur: And they themselves as well as the *Greeks*, have been since conquer'd by the *Mahometans*. Yet they have and do still keep up some Face of Christianity, tho' in great Ignorance. And the Generality of late Historians and Geographers, do still speak of 'em as conformable to the *Greek Church*, so far as they practise any Christian Worship at all: As I shew'd even now that *Heylin* in his last Book does.

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But Sir *Paul Ricaut*, who was *Consul* at *Smyrna*, and travell'd in some other Parts of the *Levant* about the Year 1677, heard the same Report of 'em that *Brerewood*, and *Heylin* at first, heard: *Heylin* of the *Georgians*; and *Brerewood* (as he

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(12) H. E. Lib. 10. c. 11. (13) H. E. Lib. 1. c. 21.

Year af-  
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distinguishes 'em) of the *Circassians*. Sir Paul Ricaut's Words are these (14):

*The Georgians, which in some Manner depend on the Greek Church, baptize not their Children till they be 8 Years of Age. They formerly did not admit 'em to Baptism until 14: But by means of such Preachers as the Patriarch of Antioch sends among them yearly, they were taught how necessary it was to baptize Infants; and how agreeable it was to the Practice of the antient Church. But these being a People very tenacious of the Doctrins they once received, could hardly be perswaded out of this Error: Till at length, being wearied with the importunat Arguments of the Greeks, they consented as it were to a middle Way, and so came down from 14 to 8 Years of Age; and cannot as yet be perswaded to a nearer Compliance.*

When I read this first, I thought that we had at last found a Church of Antipædobaptists (tho' a great Way off), and that a National one, as far as it may be so call'd in a Nation mostly Christians, tho' under *Mahometan* Government. For the Words, as they are placed, do intimate that this People keep off Children from Baptism by their Principle; and that, as is represented, of a long standing.

But as Sir Paul Ricaut could have this only by Report, and that from a Country very remote from the Places where he travell'd, and very unfrequented: So it happen'd that Sir John Chardin was actually (15) travelling in those Countries of *Georgia* and *Mengrelia* about the same Time: And also was acquainted there with a Missionary, call'd *F. Joseph Maria Zampy*, who had liv'd there 23 Years, who shewed him

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(14) Present State of Gr. Church, c. 7. (15) Voyage into *Persia*, p. 86.

a MS. Account drawn up by himself, of the Observations he had made concerning the Religion of the *Mengrelians* and *Georgians*; which Account, Sir *John* says, was perfectly agreeable to all that he himself observ'd there.

Year after the Apostles



Now Sir *John*, and the said Missionary both, do observe, that these People do indeed many of 'em put off the Baptizing of their Children for a great while: And that many of the People there are never baptized at all. But they speak of this, not as a Principle or Tenet of theirs, that so it ought to be done: But as proceeding from a wretched Neglect and stupid Carelessness, which they shew in that and in all other Points of the Christian Religion. Christianity is there, as it seems, almost extinguish'd: And whoever reads the Book, sees the most deplorable Face of a Church that is in the World. It may be necessary to recite some Passages of the Book, and of the Manuscript there exhibited.

Sir *John Chardin* himself says (16); *Their Religion was, I believe, formerly the same with that of the Greeks. But for the present State of it, says; I could never discover any Religion in any Mengrelian: Having not found any that know what Religion, or Law, or Sin, or a Sacrament, or Divin Service, is.*

The MS. says (17), *This People has not the least Idea of Faith or Religion. The most of them take Eternal Life, the Universal Judgment, the Resurrection of the Dead, for Fables. And a little after (18), God only knows the deplorable Estate of these wretched Priests, or the Validity of their Priesthood. For it is always uncertain whether they*

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(16) Pag. 85. (17) Pag. 86. (18) Pag. 89.

Year after the Apostles

are baptiz'd; and whether the Bishops that have ordained them, have been consecrated or baptiz'd themselves.

And of their Baptism, gives this Account (19);

They anoint Infants as soon as they are born, on the Forehead. The Oyl for this anointing is call'd Myrone. The Baptism is not administred till a long Time after. No Man baptizes his Child till he has Means [or, unless he have Ability [S il'n'a moyen] to make a Feast at the Christening. Hence it comes to pass that many Infants die without receiving it.

When they administer it to any Infant, they do not carry it to Church: But in a common Room the Priest, without putting on any Priestly Habit, sits him down, and reads a long Time in a Book. After a long Reading, the Godfather undresses the Infant, and washes him all over with Water: and then rubs him over with the Myrone which the Priest gives him. This done, they clothe the Infant again, and give him something to eat, &c.

There is not one Priest among 'em that understands the Form of Baptism: So that there is no Question but their Baptism is utterly invalid. On this Regard the Fathers Theatins baptize as many Infants as they can. They give 'em Baptism under Pretence of applying some Medicin to 'em, &c.

Sir John himself, at another Place in his Book, tells how the Romish Priests that are there, do this. A Priest that is called to see a sick Child, calls for a Bason of Water, as it were to wash his Hands: Then before his Hands be dry, he touches the Forehead of the Child with a wet Finger, as if he observ'd something concerning his Distemper; Or, by shaking his Hand causes some Drops of Water to fly in the Face of a Child that stands by, as it were in Sport: Saying the Form of Baptism either Mentally, or with

## Chap.VIII. Georgians. Mengrelians.

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with a muttering Voice. One would think this as defective a sort of Baptizing, as that of the ignorant native Priests. Year after the Apostles

Sir *John* was invited to two Christnings there. He went that he might see the Fashion of it. He gives an Account of one of 'em (20). It was much after the Manner related in the MS. The Priest read, but talk'd at the same Time to those that came in and out. The People went irreverently to and fro in the Room: And so did the Boy that was to be baptiz'd, chewing a Piece of Pig the while. *He was*, he says, *a little Boy of five Years old.*

It is to be noted that the Manuscript gives this as the common Account of the Rites both of the *Mengrelians* and *Georgians*. And so Sir *John* himself, when he comes to the *Georgians*, has only this of their Religion (21). *The Belief of the Georgians is much the same with that of the Mengrelians. The one and the other received it at the same Time; viz. in the fourth Century: And by the same Means of a Woman of Iberia that had been a Christian at Constantinople. In a Word, the one as well as the other have lost all the Spirit of Christianity: And what I said of the Mengrelians, (that they have nothing of Christianity but the Name, and that they neither observe nor hardly know any Precept of the Law of Jesus Christ) is no less true of the People of Georgia.*

This State of the Matter, as it is different from what Sir *Paul Ricaut* gives, (for this People do baptize Infants when they think of it, and when they have got their good Chear ready) so it might give Occasion to the Report which he, and *Heylin* formerly, had heard. For it is probable the Patriarch of *Antioch* might send to 'em

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(20) Pag. 140. (21) Pag. 206.



Whoever reads what all other Historians say of this People, viz. that they baptiz'd 40 Days after Circumcision, will easily observe that Monsieur *Thevenot* has here mistaken in the last Word of the Sentence, *Yeurs* for *Days*. Either he misheard the Embassador, or else mistook in setting it down: or else the *French* Printer mistook it, for it is so in the *French*, as well as in the Translation of the Book into *English*. There are a great many of those *Eastern* Christians that put off the Baptism 40 Days: But if any had delay'd Baptism till 40 Years (to which Age half of Mankind does never arrive), we should have heard more of it than from that Hour's Conference.

§. 4. This is the Account of the Practice of the National Churches. But tho' there be no National Church but what baptizes Infants; yet there are, and have been for about 180 Years last past, in several Countries of *Europ*, considerable Numbers of Men, that differ from the Establish'd Churches in this Point. The History of their Beginning and Progress in *Germany* is so well known, and so much talk't of, that I shall say the less of it. It is in short this.

No sooner had the Reformation begun by *Luther*, Anno 1517. taken good footing in *Saxony*, and some other Parts of *Germany*; great Numbers of People and some Princes (who were at this Time generally weary of the Abuses and Corruptions of Popery, and long'd for a Reformation) greedily embracing it: But that within 5 or 6 Years there arose a sort of Men that pretended to refine upon him. One *Nicolas Stork*, and *Thomas Muncer*, seconded within a while by one *Baltazar Hubmer*, preach'd that the Baptism of Infants was also an Abuse that must be reformed: And they baptiz'd over again such as became their Disciples. They added also



Year af-also other Things; that it was not fit, nor to  
 ter the A- be endur'd in the *Kingdom of Jesus Christ*, that  
 postles some should be so Rich, and others so Poor:  
 Or that the Boors should be held to such bur-  
 thensome Services by their Landlords. Abun-  
 dance of People flock'd to 'em. And the more,  
 for that there had been before Discontents, and  
 some Insurrections, of those poorer sort of  
 People, because of their foresaid Hardships.


There was this Difference between *Luther's*  
 Method and theirs, that he and his Partners  
 preach'd up Obedience to all Lawful Magistrates  
 in Temporal Things; but they carried Things  
 with a higher Hand, in Defiance of Magistracy:  
 And *Muncer* call'd himself *the Sword of the Lord*  
*and of Gideon.*

1425. *Luther* and the Protestants enter'd their Pro-  
 testation against their Proceedings, as bringing a  
 Scandal on the new begun Reformation. But  
 they went on: And after some Time (great Num-  
 bers of disorderly People joining with 'em) be-  
 came Masterless, made a sort of Army, com-  
 mitted great Ravages on the Estates of Rich  
 Men, where they marched. And at last, Anno  
 1434. 1534, a strong Party of this sort of Men coming  
 mostly from *Holland*, seized on the City of  
*Munster*: Where one *John Beold*, called *John*  
*of Leyden*, being advanced to be their King,  
 they pretended to Prophecy and Revelation;  
 and did under the Name of Christ's Kingdom  
 practise several Tyrannies and Enormities, as  
 Polygamy, Plundering, &c.

Some regular Forces being brought against  
 'em, they were subdued: And the King and some  
 of the Heads of 'em being put to Death, the  
 rest were dispers'd into several Parts of *Germany*:  
 And a great many of 'em fled into the *Low*  
*Countries*; where there were already great Num-  
 bers of 'em.

The

Year af-  
ter the A-  
postles



The Antipædobaptists that are now, do not love to hear of these Men, nor do own 'em as Predecessors. Neither is there any Reason that their Miscarriages should be imputed to 'em, provided that they renounce and keep themselves from all such Seditious Practices. Especially since many of the People professing that Opinion did a little after separate themselves from the tumultuous Rabble, and made a Declaration of better Principles under better Leaders, as I shall shew by and by. Almost all Alterations in Religion, either for better or worse, have at the Beginning some Disorders. It is happy where Magistrats, Pastors, and People, do all at one Time agree and conspire in any Reformation that is thought necessary: But it is seldom known.

That which is more material to the History of Infant Baptism, is to enquire whether this *Stork, Muncer, Hubmer, &c.* did at that Time, viz. Anno 1522. set up this Tenet as a Thing then new or newly reviv'd; or whether it had been continued and handed down by some dispersed People, from the Times of the *Petrobrusians* (of whom I spoke in the last Chapter, §. 5.) to this Time. *Danvers* says (26), that the present Belgic Anabaptists do with one Mouth assert and maintain the latter. The chief Reason he brings either of his own or of theirs is, because it appears that there were great Numbers of 'em in several Parts of Germany in *Luther's* Time: And that he and others of the first Protestants had Disputations with 'em in *Saxony, Thuringia, Switzerland, &c.* whereby it is evident that they had a Being in those Parts before *Luther's* Time: For it cannot rationally be suppos'd that

1422.

1050.

1422.

1425.

1429.

Year af-ter the A-postles that they should all of a sudden be spread over so great a Territory as the upper Germany.

But of the sudden Increase both of the Protestants and of these Men, I gave some Account before. He brings also some Authorities. But they are out of Books of no Credit for any Thing before their own Time. *Dutch Martyrology, Frank, Twisk, Merning, &c.* If there were any Continuation of the Doctrin for the said 2 or 3 hundred Years; it must have been very obscure, and by a very few Men: Because there is in all that interval no Mention of 'em in any good Autor. The only Authority that I remember to have read after 1260, and before 1522. which may seem to make any Thing to the Purpose of Antipædobaptism, is a Letter written to *Erasmus* out of *Bohemia* by one *Joannes Slechta Costelecius*, dated *Octob. 10. 1519.* a Part whereof is published by *Colomesius* in his *Collection of Letters of Men of Note, Ep. 30.* This Letter, as it is dated 3 Years before *Stork* and the rest are said to have begun, so it speaks of a Sect that had been then in being in that Country for some Time. I will recite that Part of the Letter intire: Because, tho' it be not all to this Purpose, yet it is all worth the Reading; that we may see what Schemes of Doctrin were abroad in the World a little before *Luther* began to oppose the Church of *Rome.*

The third Sect is of those whom we call *Pyghards*: They have their Name from a certain Refuge of the same Nation, who came hither 97 Years ago, when that wicked and sacrilegious *John Zizka* declar'd a Defiance of the Churchmen and all the Clergy. This was 1420.

These Men have no other Opinion of the Pope, Cardinals, Bishops, and other Clergy, than as of manifest Antichrists: They call the Pope sometimes the Beast, and sometimes the Whore, mentioned in the Reve-

Revelations. Their own Bishops and Priests they themselves do choose for themselves, ignorant and unlearned Laymen that have Wife and Children. They mutually salute one another by the Name of Brother and Sister.

Year after the Apostles

They own no other Authority than the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament. They slight all the Doctors both Antient and Modern, and give no Regard to their Doctrin.

Their Priests, when they celebrate the Offices of the Mass [or Communion], do it without any Priestly Garments: Nor do they use any Prayer or Collects on this Occasion, but only the Lord's-Prayer; by which they Consecrate Bread that has been leaven'd.

They believe or own little or nothing of the Sacraments of the Church. Such as come over to their Sect must every one be baptiz'd anew in mere Water. They make no Blessing of Salt nor of the Water; nor make any Use of consecrated Oyl.

They believe nothing of Divinity in the Sacrament of the Eucharist: only that the consecrated Bread and Wine do by some occult Signs represent the Death of Christ. And accordingly, that all that do kneel down to it or worship it, are guilty of Idolatry. That that Sacrament was instituted by Christ to no other Purpose but to renew the Memory of his Passion: and not to be carried about or held up by the Priest to be gazed on. For that Christ himself, who is to be ador'd and worship'd with the Honor of Latreia, sits at the Right-Hand of God, as the Christian Church confesses in the Creed.

Prayers of the Saints, and for the Dead, they count a vain and ridiculous Thing: as likewise auricular Confession; and Penance enjoined by the Priest for Sins. Eves and Fast-Days are, they say, a Mockery, and the Disguise of Hypocrites.

They say, The Holidays of the Virgin Mary, and the Apostles, and other Saints, are the Invention of idle

Year af-  
ter the A-  
postles  
1419. idle People. But yet they keep the Lord's-Day,  
and Christmas, and Easter, and Whitsontide, &c.  
He says there were great Numbers of this Sect  
then in Bohemia.

Where it is here said that they rebaptized ;  
it is not certain whether they did it as judging  
Baptism in Infancy invalid, or as judging all  
Baptism received in the corrupt Way of the  
Church of Rome to be so. The Coherence of  
the Words seems to incline to the latter. And  
*Ottius Hist. Anabap. Anno 1521.* affirms the latter  
to be true.

There is, I think, no doubt but these *Pyghards*  
were the same that *Aeneas Sylvius* gives an Ac-  
count of in his *Hist. Bohem.* written 60 Years  
before, and calls *Picards*. He in that History  
says nothing of their denying Infants Baptism;  
as I observed in the last Chapter, §. 6. *Baltazar*  
*Lydius* and *Burigenus* do both of 'em recite the  
Confessions of these Men, offer'd by themselves  
to King *Uladistaus*, in which they expressly own  
it. *John Hufs*, whose Doctrin these Men follow-  
ed, is never said to have denied it: only he  
1408. is (27) accused to have consented to that Opinion  
1315. of *Wickliff*, that a Child that misses of Baptism  
may possibly be saved.

These *Pyghards* do in their Confessions say, that  
they are falsely call'd *Waldenses*. I am apt to  
think they had this Name of *Picards* or *Pyghards*,  
from the old *Beghards*, which was one of the  
Sects that we do now comprehend under the  
Name *Waldenses*, tho' the *Waldenses*, so call'd  
by *Pilichdorf*, did, as he says (28), abominate the  
*Beghards*. One of the Autors in *Gretzer's* Col-  
lection of Writers against the *Waldenses*, called  
*Conradus*

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(27) *Fox Martyrol. John Hufs 1415.* (28) See CH. VII.  
§. 7.

## Chap. VIII. *The Pyghards of Bohemia.*

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*Conradus de monte puellarum*, says, that this Sect was then rise in all *Germany*, and that the Men of it were called *Beghards*, and the Women *Begines*: but has nothing about their Baptism. And I have heard that there are now *Popish* Monastries in *Flanders* of Men called *Beghards*, and Women *Beguines*. I know not what Signification that Name may have in any Language, that can make it appliable to such different Constitutions (for the old *Beghards* did, as all the rest whom we call *Waldenses*, abominate the Church of *Rome*), unless it signifie the same as our *English* Word *Beggar*: and so they should have their Name from their Poverty, as some sorts both of the *Friers* and also of the *Waldenses* had. The Council of *Vienna* under *Clement V.* condemns a sort of People then in *Germany*, the Men called *Beghards*, the Women *Begines*, as holding certain distracted Opinions there recited, much the same as the wildest of our *Quakers* and *Enthusiasts*. The Council says nothing of their denying Infant Baptism, but yet they pass a Decree in Confirmation of it.

I said that the Antipædobaptists dispers'd from *Munster*, fled some into several Principalities of the upper *Germany*, and some into the *Low Countries*. They that continuèd in *Germany* found but cold Entertainment: partly because of their new Doctrins, and partly because of the Disorders they had committed during that short Time of their Reign. The *Papists* generally reproach'd the Protestants, that they were a Sect sprung from them, and would call all Protestants, in Scorn, *Anabaptists*: but the Protestants disowned 'em, and wrote against 'em. And *Sleidan* gives several Instances wherein the Protestant Princes and States declar'd against harbouring 'em; and made Answer to the Reproaches of the *Papists*, that they took more Care to rid their Countries

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of

Year after the Apostles of 'em, than they themselves did. And there are said to be very few of 'em now in either the Popish or the Protestant Countries of the upper Germany.

§. 5. Those of them that retir'd into the *Belgic* Provinces, found there more Partizans than any where else. At *Amsterdam* particularly they were near acting the same Tragedy they had done at *Munster*. One *John Geles* sent out of *Munster* by *John* of *Leyden* to get Supplies of Men, and to stir up other Cities, had formed a Design to surprize *Amsterdam*, May 12. 1535. Which, by his Numbers in the Town, and some from other Places, he was like to have effected. But they were defeated and kill'd. Also one *John Matthew* set up for a Chief, and chose to himself 12 Apostles; and found a great many Disciples to his Doctrin. They prophesied that the End of the World would be within a Year: and fill'd Peoples Heads with many other Enthusiastical Notions. Being suppress'd by the Magistrats, and some of 'em put to Death, they are said to have endur'd it with great Constancy.

1436. *Cassander* mentions also (29) one *John Batenburg*, who after the ceasing of the Sedition of *Munster* began another. There were several other Disturbances of less Moment, which I pass by.

But *Cassander* and all agree, that a little while after this, one *Menno*, a Countryman of *Friezeland*, a Man of a sober and quiet Temper, that held the Doctrin of Antipædobaptism, did disclaim and protest against the seditious Doctrins and Practices of those at *Munster*, and of *Batenburg*: and taught that the Kingdom of *Jesus Christ*, which they had pretended to set up by external Force, consisted in Patience, Meekness,

ness, and suffering quietly if Occasion should be. That one *Theodoric* succeeded this *Menno* in the same Doctrin. And *Cassander* says, that in his Time, which was about 140 Years ago, almost all that continued the Profession of that Opinion in the Belgic Provinces, were Followers of this *Menno*. And so to this Day they generally call themselves *Mennonists*, or by Abbreviation, *Minnists*.

Year after the Apostles  
1460.

He gives 'em this Character; Most of 'em do shew Signs of a pious Disposition: and it seems to be rather by Mistake, than by any wilful Wickedness, that they, carried by an unskilful Zeal, have departed from the true Sense of the Scriptur, and the Uniform Agreement of the whole Church. And says, that they seem worthy rather of Pity and due Information, than of Persecution, or being undone.

One Thing he says (30) of this *Menno*, that is particular, viz. That whereas the Credit of Antiquity and perpetual Tradition carries great Authority with it, even with those that set up new Doctrins, &c. ——— And accordingly some of these Men had at first endeavour'd to fix the Origin of Infant Baptism upon some Pope of Rome: *Menno* had more Sense [or was more wary, prudentior] than so. He was forc'd to own that it had been in Use from the Apostles Time. But he said that the false Apostles were the Autors of it.

*Cassander* does there confute this Notion with so good Reasons, that I wonder he should call it a more wary one than the other. For as it had been indeed an unwary Thing in *Menno* to deny that the baptizing of Infants was in Use in the Ages next the Apostles; when he might, for ought he knew, be convicted of Falshood by the remaining Acts and Records of those Times: so to maintain that all the Books that were preserved

(30) Præfat. ad Testimonia contra Anabaptistas.



Year af- by the Church, were such as were written by the  
 ter the A- Followers of the false Apostles, and none by  
 postles the Followers of the true, is an Imagination  
 rather more absurd than the other. There were  
 false Apostles indeed : but they set themselves to  
 slander, and speak, and write against the true  
 Ones, as appears by what St. *Paul* and St. *John*  
 do say of 'em. But the Books and Writings  
 which the Church has preserv'd, are of such as  
 do own the Auctority of the Apostles.

1599. As for the present State of the *Minnists*, a late  
 Writer of those Parts, an Extract of whose Book  
 is given by Mr. *Boval* (31), says, *Except Holland,*  
*where they live peaceably, they are almost extinct.*  
 By *Holland*, I suppose he means the United  
 Provinces.

In those Provinces there are considerable Num-  
 bers of 'em : especially in *Holland* and *Friezeland*.  
 They have the Repute of being very fair Tra-  
 ders, and very sober Men. They use a Plainness  
 in their Garb to some Degree of Affectation, as  
 the *Quakers* in *England* do. And they hold Opini-  
 ons something like theirs, against the Lawful-  
 ness of Oaths, of War, &c.

The other Tenets attributed to 'em (32) are ;  
 That there is no Original Sin. That only the  
 New Testament is a Rule of Faith. That  
 Christ had his Flesh, not of the Virgin *Mary*,  
 but from Heaven. That 'tis possible to live  
 without Sin in this Life. That departed Souls  
 sleep till the Resurrection, &c.

But some that have liv'd in that Country say,  
 that all these Opinions are not common to 'em  
 all : But that some Churches of 'em hold some  
 of these Opinions, and other Churches others of  
 'em.

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(31) Hist. of Works of learned, July 1699. (32) Stoup.  
 Religion of the *Hollanders*.

'em. For their general Humor is to divide into several Churches on the least Difference of Opinions. Those of the old *Flemmish* Way keep a very strict Disciplin, and excommunicate People on very nice Occasions: The *Friezelanders* receive all. Some of 'em allow of no Baptism but by Immersion, or putting the baptized Person into the Water: but the most Part of 'em admit of Baptism by Affusion of Water. In short, every Congregation of 'em almost does espouse some particular Tenets: only they do all of 'em renounce Infant Baptism.

Year after the Apostles

One cannot impute this, as any peculiar Fault or Folly, to the *Minnists*, that they are apt to divide and separate from one another on any small Differences of Opinion. 'Tis a Humor too general, and prevailing among many other People of that Country (as well as of ours), to think that they ought to separate from all that hold any Thing in Religion different from what they themselves hold. Whereas the great Aim and Interest of Religion is Unity and Communion in the Worship of God, notwithstanding different Sentiments in Points not Fundamental; and Schisms and Parties are forbidden, as Courses that will certainly ruin it: there is no Sin that such People think to be a less Sin than Schism is. The Papists do upbraid the Protestants in general with this Humor; as if it were the natural Principle, and the Mill-Stone on the Neck of Protestantism. 'Tis too true, that the Protestant Religion and Interest has been much impaired by it in many Countries; where it has grown and increased in Spite of the best Endeavors of the Ministers, in shewing and declaring to the People the Sinfulness of it. About which the Papists, of all Men, should make no Noise, because they are the only Men that get Ground by it: they, and some few

Year af-  
ter the A-  
postles

designing Persons, who propose an Interest by heading of Parties. But they cannot say that this is true of all. There are some Protestant Countries so happy, as to keep their People in great Union and Uniformity.

1558. But some of the *Minnists* do differ from the rest, and from all Catholic Christians, in Points more material, and such as are indeed inconsistent with Communion. For about the Year 1658, the *Socinians*, that were grown to a considerable Number in *Poland*, were expell'd thence. Many of 'em sought a Refuge in these Parts. They had most of 'em added the Opinion of Anti-pædobaptism, to what *Socinus* had taught 'em against our Savior's Divinity: and the common Name by which they had in *Poland* been called, was *Anabaptists*. So when they came to *Holland*, they assaid mostly to strike in with the *Minnists*: And they have since brought over many of 'em to their Opinion concerning the Natur of Christ. One sort of the *Minnists*, called *Collegians*, are generally *Socinians*, believing in nothing but the human Natur of *Jesus Christ*, and holding it unlawful to pray to him; wherein they surpass the Impiety of *Socinus* himself. These hold a general Assembly twice a Year at *Rhinsburg*: where 'tis said they observe this Order, that he that comes first distributes the Communion to all the Assistants: for they have no Regard to the Ordination of Ministers.

Others of the *Minnists* are *Arians*: of which Opinion one *Galenus*, now living in *Amsterdam*, is said to be the chief Patron. And so these are by some called *Galenists*.

And generally speaking, the *Minnists* tho' they do not all profess these Opinions derogatory to our Savior's Divinity, yet do refuse the Use of the Words *Trinity*, *Person*, &c. and such other Words concerning the Natur of God, as are not

Chap. VIII. Dutch Antipæd. coming to Eng. &c. 279  
not in Scriptur, but are used by the Church to  
express the Sense thereof. Year after the Apostles

The first Socinians that were in Holland (for there were some few before the Year I spoke of) had, as Socinus himself had, but a slender Opinion of Infants Baptism: yet did not absolutely refuse it. For at the Synod of Dort, Anno 1618, was read the Confession of the two Brothers, John and Peter Geystéran, Remonstrant Ministers: and was rejected by all with Detestation. For it appear'd that they, under the Name of Remonstrants, and under Pretence of the five Articles, did maintain the horrid and execrable Blasphemies of Socinus and the Anabaptists. So say the Acts (33) of the Synod. But all that their Confession says of Baptism, is; That Infants are baptiz'd not by any positive Command of God, but to avoid Scandal. And that they value the Baptism of the Adult more than that of Infants. 1518.

§. 6. In England there were now and then some Dutchmen found of the Antipædobaptist Opinion ever since the Time that it had taken footing in Holland: but none of the English Nation are known to have embrac'd it in a long Time after. Danvers indeed would find some of this Opinion in England even before those of Munster. He would perswade (34) that the Lollards held it. But they held nothing but what I mention'd before, CH. VI. §. 7. that Infants dying unbaptiz'd may yet be saved, as I shewed then, and appears more fully by Fox (35). 1328.

In the Year 1533. 25th of H. 8. John Frith (who was Martyr'd that Year) wrote a short Tract, which he calls a Declaration of Baptism (tis publish'd with his other Works, Lond. 1573.): 1433.

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(33) Acta Synod. Dordrecht. Sess. 138. (34) Treat. P. 2. ch. 7. pag. 303, 304. (35) In Henry 6. pag. 608.

Year of  
the A-  
postles

In it he takes Notice of the Antipædobaptist Opinion, as then lately risen in the World (it was about 11 Years standing in *Germany*, and was but lately got into *Holland*, for this was a Year before the Outrage and Dispersion at *Munster*). What he says of it is this, *Now is there an Opinion risen among certain, which affirms that Children may not be baptized until they come unto a perfect Age; and that because they have no Faith. But verily methinks that they are far from the Meekness of Christ and his Spirit; which when Children were brought unto him, receiv'd them lovingly, &c.* And after a short Discourse, he breaks off from that Point thus; *But this Matter will I pass over. For I trust the English (unto whom I write this) have no such Opinions.* And that the *English Lollards* had been all along free from any such Opinion, is evident from a very antient Tract of theirs, which they presented to the Parliament, which is recited by one *Dinmock*, who writes an Answer to it, and dedicates that Answer to *K. Rich. 2.* which must be about or before the Year 1390. This Tract is brought to light from some antient Manuscripts at *Cambridge*, by the Learned *Dr. Allix*, at the End of his *Remarks on the History of the Churches of the Albigenfes.* In it the *Lollards* complaining of Popish Abuses, reckon this for one; the forbidding of Marriage, and keeping Men from Women; from whence did follow Effects worse than those of Fornication it self committed with Women. For, they say, tho' *slaying of Children ere they be christned, be full sinful; yet Sodomy was worse.*

1436.

The Convocation *Anno 1536*, do take Notice of the Antipædobaptists Opinions, of which they must have heard from *Holland* and *Germany*, (the *Munster* Business having been two Years before) and do pass some Decrees against 'em. The

The rather, because some People in *England* began to speak very irreverently and mockingly about some of the Ceremonies of Baptism then in Use. Year after the Apostles

The Lower House of Convocation sent to the Upper House a Protestation, containing a Catalog of some Errors and some profan Sayings that began to be handed about among some People: craving the Concurrence of the Upper House in condemning 'em. Some of 'em are these (36):

17. *That 'tis as lawful to Christen a Child in a Tub of Water at Home, or in a Ditch by the Way, as in a Fontstone in the Church.*

I think it may probably be concluded from their Expressions, that the ordinary Way of baptizing at this Time in *England*, whether in the Church or out of it, was by putting the Child into the Water.

18. *That the Water in the Fontstone is only a Thing conjur'd.*

19. *That the hallowed Oyl is no better than the Bishop of Rome's Grease or Butter.*

63. *That Holy Water is more savoury to make Sawce with than other Water, because it is mixt with Salt; which is also a very good Medicin for a Horse with a gall'd Back: and if there be put an Onion thereto, it is a good Sawce for a Gibbet of Mutton.*

But there is none of all these foolish Sayings that reflects any Thing on *Infant Baptism*. Yet the King and Convocation (apprehensive I suppose of what might be) setting forth several Articles about Religion, to be diligently preach'd for keeping People steady in it, have these about Baptism.

1436.

I. That

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(36) Fuller's Church History, l. 5. Sect. 4.

## Dutch Antiped. coming into Engl. Chap. VIII.

1. That the Sacrament of Baptism was instituted and ordained in the New Testament by our Savior Jesus Christ, as a Thing necessary for the attaining of Everlasting Life: according to the Saying of Christ; *Nisi quis renatus fuerit, &c.* Unless one be born of Water, &c.
2. That it is offer'd unto all Men, as well Infants, as such as have the Use of Reason, that by Baptism they shall have Remission of Sins, &c.
3. That the Promise of Grace and Everlasting Life, which Promise is adjoined to the Sacrament of Baptism, pertaineth not only to such as have the Use of Reason, but also to Infants, &c. ——— they are made thereby the very Sons and Children of God. Inasmuch as Children dying in their Infancy shall undoubtedly be saved thereby: otherwise not.
4. Infants must needs be Christned, because they be born in Original Sin: which Sin must needs be remitted: which cannot be done but by the Grace of Baptism, whereby they receive the Holy Ghost, which exercises his Grace and Efficacy in them, and cleanses and purifies them from Sin by his most secret Virtue and Operation.
6. That they ought to repute and take all the Anabaptists and Pelagians Opinions contrary to the Premises, and every other Man's Opinion agreeable unto the said Anabaptists and Pelagians Opinions in this Behalf, for detestable Heresies, and utterly to be condemn'd.

These Precautions shew, if there were at this Time in England no Doctrins held by any against Infant Baptism, yet that they feared lest such should be brought over hither. And two Years after, Anno 1538. Fuller (37) recites out of Stow; that

1438.

Chap. VIII. in the Time of Hen. 8. Edw. 6. &c. 283  
that four Anabaptists, three Men and one Woman, all Dutch; bore Fagots at Paul's Cross: And that three Days after, a Man and Woman of their Sect was burnt in Smithfield. And says, This Year the Name of this Sect first appears in our English Chronicles. Year after the Apostles

But Fox had spoke of some 2 or 3 Years before. For taking Notice of the Influence that Queen Ann Bolein had over Hen. 8. he observes (38), that during her Time we read of no great Persecution, nor any Abjuration to have been in the Church of England: Save only that the Registers of London make mention of certain Dutchmen counted for Anabaptists; of whom ten were put to Death in sundry Places of the Realm, Anno 1535, other ten repented and were saved. This must have been the Year before the said Convocation. 1435.

The Bishop of Salisbury, *Hist. of Reform. Pt. 1. l. 3. p. 195.* mentions these Men, but not under the Name of Anabaptists. He says, that in May this Year 1535. Nineteen Hollanders were accused of some heretical Opinions; ' Denying Christ to be both God and Man; or that he took Flesh and Blood of the Virgin Mary; or that the Sacraments had any Effect on those that receiv'd 'em: in which Opinions fourteen of 'em remained obstinat, and were burnt by Pairs in several Places. Here is nothing peculiarly about Infants Baptism. But the Circumstance of Time, May 1535. leads one to think that they were some of them that were to have made a Part in the Insurrection at Amsterdam. For the Autor of an English Pamphlet, written 1647. call'd *A short-History of the Anabaptists* (who has made a good Collection out of *Sleidan, Hortensius, &c.*) says, that many Dutchmen from several Parts, who had been appointed to



Year af-ter the A-postles  
 to assist *John Geles* in the Surprize of *Amsterdam* beforementioned, hearing the ill Succes, fled into *England* in two Ships. Now that Insurrection was on this very Month. And that Autor reckons those two Shiploads to be the first Seminary of *Dutch Antipædobaptists* in *England*. But however that was, there were no *English* among 'em.

But altho' during this King's Reign (and for a good while after, as we shall see) there were no *English* Men that held any Opinion against Infant Baptism; yet, as I said, that in *Germany* the Papists upbraided the Protestants with the Name of *Anabaptists*, so it was done here also in the latter Times of this Reign. For this King *Hen. 8.* in a Speech made at the Proroguing of the Parliament, *Dec. 24. 1545.* (recited by the Lord *Herbert* at that Year) complaining of the great Discord among his Subjects, and of the reprochful Names they gave one to another, says; *What Love and Charity is there among you? when one calls another Heretic and Anabaptist: and he calls him again, Papist, Hypocrit, and Pharisee?*

1449.

In King *Edward's* Time: in the third Year of his Reign, *Heylin* says (39); *At the same Time the Anabaptists, who had kept themselves to themselves in the late King's Time, began to look abroad, and disperse their Dotages: for preventing which Mischief before it grew to a Head, some of the chief of 'em were conven'd, &c.* He does not say whether these were *Dutch* or *English*. And at the same Year 1549. *Ottius* in his *Annal. Anabaptist.* recites a Letter from *Hooper* to *Bullinger*, wherein he complains that *England* was troubled with a sort of Anabaptists: but reciting their Tenets, he mentions nothing of Infant Baptism,  
 nor



nor does he say whether they were *English* or *Foreigners*.

In Queen *Mary's* Time, *Philpot* had, a little before his Martyrdom, an Occasion to write a (40) Letter to a Fellow-Prisoner of his, to satisfy him in some Doubts that he had concerning the Lawfulness of Infant Baptism. This shews that the Question was then ventilated in *England*. *Philpot*, besides the Arguments from Scriptur, brings some of the Quotations from Antiquity that I have produc'd: and concludes; *The Verity of Antiquity is on our Side: and the Anabaptists have nothing but Lies for them, and New Imaginations; which feign the Baptism of Children to be the Pope's Commandment.*

But this good Man grants a great deal more of the Question in Point of Antiquity than he should have done: when he says in his Letter: *Auxentius, one of the Arian Sect, with his Adherents, was one of the first that denied the Baptism of Children: and next after him Pelagius the Heretic. And some other there were in St. Bernard's Time, as it does appear by his Writings. And in our Days the Anabaptists, &c.*

The Ground of his Mistake concerning the *Arians*, that they should be against Infants Baptism, is; that the *Arians* are by some old Writers call'd *Anabaptists*: but that was because they rebaptiz'd all that had been baptiz'd by the Catholics, in Infancy or at Age; not that they disliked Infants Baptism: as I shewed before (41). And the particular Mistake concerning *Auxentius*, must have been caused by those Words of *St. Ambrose* in his Oration against *Auxentius*; *Why then does Auxentius say, that the faithful People who have been baptized in the Name*

280.

315.  
1030.

(40) Fox Martyrol. pag. 1670. Ed. 2. (41) CH. IV. §. 3.

Year after the Apostles

*Name of the Trinity, must be baptized again?* Where any one that will read the Place will see that *Auxentius's* Reason for saying so, was not any Difference that the two Parties had about Infants Baptism, but the different Faith they had about the Trinity, in whose Name Baptism was given.

*Pelagius* denied Original Sin: from whence *Philpot*, by too visible a Mistake, concluded he had denied Infants Baptism.

1465.

In the Beginning of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, as there were no *English* Antipædobaptists, so there were very few left in *Holland*; till after the Revolt of those Provinces from *Spain* they increased again.

For Bishop *Jewel* in his *Defence of his Apology*, written about the 7th Year of this Queen, being twitted by *Harding* with the Anabaptists; *Are not these your Brethren?* And *Harding* having said that the *Roman Catholic* Countries were cleared of 'em, (among which he expressly there reckons *Base Almain*, i. e. the *Dutch Low Countries*) *Jewel* replies to him; *They find Harbour amongst you in Austria, Silesia, Moravia, and such other Countries where the Gospel of Christ is suppress'd: but they have no Acquaintance with us either in England, Germany, France, Scotland, Denmark, Sweden, or any other Place where the Gospel of Christ is clearly preach'd.*

1465.

From whence we may gather, that this sort of People were at this Time, (which was about 40 Years after their Rise) almost totally suppress'd in all these Parts of the World.

1472.

But yet about the 16th Year of Queen *Elizabeth*, a Congregation of *Dutch* Antipædobaptists was discover'd without *Aldgate* in *London*: whereof 27 were taken and imprison'd. And the next Month one *Dutchman* and ten Women were condemn'd. One Woman recanted: Eight were

were banish'd: Two were burnt in *Smithfield*, as *Fuller* (42) out of *Stow* relates. Their Tenets are recited these, *Infants not to be baptiz'd.* *Christians not to use the Sword.* *All Oaths unlawful.* *Christ took not Flesh of the Virgin Mary.* This agrees in every Point with the Account given before of the Doctrin of the *Minnists*. These were the first that that Queen ever caused to be burnt for any Opinion in Religion.

Year after the Apostles

*Fox* that wrote the *Book of Martyrs* was then living; and he ventured to intercede with the Queen for the Life of those two: but could not prevail; She shewing such a Sense of the Necessity of suppressing any new Sect by Severity at the Beginning. In his Letter to her (43) there are these Words; *As for their Errors indeed, no Man of Sense can deny that they are most absurd. And I wonder that such monstrous Opinions could come into the Mind of any Christian. But such is the State of human Weakness; if we are left never so little a while destitute of the Divine Light, whither is it that we do not fall? And there is great Reason to give God Thanks on this Account, that I hear not of any English Man, that is inclined to that Madness, &c. He intreats the Queen that these two may be banish'd, as the rest were; or otherwise punish'd. — But to roast alive the Bodies of poor Wretches, that offend rather by Blindness of Judgment than Perverseness of Will, in Fire and Flames raging with Pitch and Brimstone; is a hard-hearted Thing, and more agreeable to the Practice of the Romanists, than the Custom of the Evangelics.*

From his Words *Fuller* concludes, that this Opinion had not then taken any Footing among the


(42) Ch. Hist. 9th Book, Sect. 3. (43) Ibid.

Year of the English: for Fox was likely to know if it  
 ter the A- had.  
 postles

1547. §. 6. At what Time it began to be embrac'd by any English, I do not find it easie to discover. But 'tis plain that no very considerable Number in England, were of this Perswasion till about 60 Years, ago. The first Book (except some Books taken in a Jesuit's Trunk, which he had brought over on Purpose to spread this Opinion, which I must mention by and by: but except them, the first) that ever I heard of, that was set forth in English, upholding this Tenet, was a Dutch Book, called, *A plain and well grounded Treatise concerning Baptism*. This was translated and printed in English, Anno 1618. the 16th Year of King James the First. But neither in that King's Reign, nor in that of his Son King Charles the First, till toward the latter End of it, have we any Account of any considerable Number of People of this Way, very little mention of 'em, or of that Question, in any English Books.

1545. Dr. Featly, who wrote 1645. says in his Preface; *This Fire in the Reigns of Queen Elizabeth, King James, and our gracious Sovereign till now, was cover'd in England under the Ashes; or if it broke out at any Time; by the Care of the Ecclesiastical and Civil Magistrats it was soon put out. But of late, since the unhappy Distractions* ——— *hundreds of Men and Women together rebaptized in the Twilight, in Rivulets, and some Arms of the Thames, &c.* And in his Letter to Mr. Downham, mentioning the great Increase of monstrous Sects and Heresies at that Time, especially of Papists and Anabaptists, he says; *They boast of their great Draught of Fish; the Papists of 20000 Profelyts, the Anabaptists of 47 Churches.* Upon which View of Sects arising in such Times, he does in another Place of his Book set forth the  
 Mis-

Mischiefs of a general Toleration in any State: Which Observation of the Doctor's, made upon the first Toleration that had ever been in *England*, the Experience of all Times since following has shewn to be a just one. None can deny but that this Evil does follow upon it; how necessary soever it may sometimes be on other Respects.

Year after the Apostles  


It was during the Rebellion against King *Charles I.* and the Usurpation of *Oliver Cromwell*, that this Opinion began to have any great Number of Converts to it. In those Times of *Stirs*, they boasted in their Books that that (44) Prophecy was fulfilled; *Many shall run to and fro, and Knowledge shall be increased.* That Usurper gave not only a Toleration, but great Encouragement to all sorts of Religions that oppos'd the Church of *England* and the *Presbyterians*. Neither of these could he trust: but labour'd to weaken 'em what he could. And the more Dissenters and Separaters there were from these, the safer he reckon'd he fate. The Event, of these joining afterward together to vindicate their Country from Tyranny and utter Confusion, shew'd that he was in the right.

1542.  
 1553.

In these Times of general Liberty this Opinion encreas'd mightily: many owning it out of Conscience, (we must in Charity judge) as thinking it to be the Truth; but many also for Advantage. For *Oliver*, next to his darling *Independents*, favor'd this sort of Men most: and his Army was in great Part made up of 'em. You must suppose then, that they left out of their Scheme of Doctrins that Tenet of the *Minnists*, that the Sword is not to be made Use of by *Christians*, for they had many of 'em the

T

Places

(44) *Daniel* 12. 4.

Year of Places of Troopers, Captains, Major-Generals,  
 the A-Committee-Men, Sequestrators, &c.  
 postles

1558. It appears by a Passage in the Life of Judge Hale (45), how much that Party was favor'd at that Time. For 'tis there related how that Judge having the Case brought before him of some Anabaptists who had rush'd into a Church, and disturb'd a Congregation while they were receiving the Sacrament, not without some Violence; was minded to proceed severely against 'em. For he said it was intolerable for Men, who pretend so highly to Liberty of Conscience, to go and disturb others, &c. But these were so supported by some great Magistrats and Officers, that a Stop was put to his Proceedings. Upon which he declar'd he would meddle no more with Tryals on the Crown Side. Yet some Time before the Death of the Usurper, many of the Antipædobaptists as well as of the other separat Parties that had rais'd him, fell into a Dislike of him, and he of them. So far that he, as one Captain Dean relates, cashier'd several of them: and they, as the Lord Chancellor Clarendon relates, enter'd into several Conspiracies to assassinate him. I have been advertiz'd that I ought in this 2d. Edition to insert, in Order to their Vindication, their Address to King Charles II. recited by that Noble Lord in the 15th Book of his Excellent *History of the Rebellion*. I will therefore give the Substance of it in short; being sorry that it does not tend more to their Credit, than it do's. They (as well as all the other Parties of that Time except the Churchmen) seem to have return'd to their Allegiance to the King, not out of Conscience, but because they found themselves undone without him.

Several

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(45) Burnet's Life and Death of Sr. Matthew Hale, p. 44:

Several Sorts and Sects of Men joined in the Address: but it was sent to the King being then at Bruges, by a Gentleman, an Antipædobaptist of special Trust among 'em. They recount how under King Charles I. there had been many Errors, Excesses, Irregularities, &c. as Blots and Stains upon the otherwise good Government of that King: Whom they own to have been of the best and purest Morals of any Prince that ever sway'd the English Sceptre: That the Parliament had rais'd War to free him from evil Counsellors: that they among the rest had on this Account taken Arms: and that tho' they are since sensible that under Pretence of Reformation and Liberty the secret Designs of wicked and ambitious Persons had been hid; yet that they themselves had gon out in the Simplicity of their Souls, having never had Thoughts of casting off their Allegiance, or extirpating the Royal Family: but only of restraining the Excesses of Government. Thus far, they say, they had gon right, and had as yet don nothing but what they thought themselves able to justify [it strange that they could say this]. But that in all their Motions since, they had been roving up and down in all the untrodden Paths of Phanatic Notions; and now found themselves involv'd in so many Labyrinths and Meanders of Knavery, that they know not how to extricate themselves. Into what Crimes, Impieties, and unheard of Villanies, have we, say they, been led, cheated, cozen'd and betray'd by that grand Impostor, that loathsom Hypocrit, that detestable Traytor, that Prodigy of Natur, &c. who now calls himself our Protector? — We have trampil'd under Foot all Autorities, We have laid violent Hands upon our own Sovereign, We have ravish'd our Parliaments, put a Yoke of Iron on the Necks of our Country-men, broken Oaths, Vows, Covenants, Engagements, &c. lifted up our Hands



Year af- to Heaven deceitfully, and added Hypocrisie to all  
 tar the A- our Sins. ——— We were sometime wise to pull  
 postles down: but we now want Art to build. We were  
 ingenious to pluck up: but have no Skill to plant.  
 Strong to destroy: but weak to restore. Whither  
 shall we go for Help? If to Parliaments; They  
 are broken Reeds. If to the Army; They are a  
 Rod of Iron to bruise us. If to him who trea-  
 cherously has usurped, and do's trayterously exercise  
 Power over us; He says; ' I have chastis'd you  
 ' with Whips, and will henceforward with Scorpions.  
 ——— At last we began to whisper among our  
 selves; why should we not return to our first Hus-  
 band? &c.

And so (after many long Turns of canting Expressions) they come at last to this, that they find themselves engag'd in Duty, Honor, and Conscience, to make this humble Address, &c. But yet declare, that lest they should seem altogether negligent of that first good Cause, which God had so eminently own'd them in, &c. they think it necessary to offer the following Propositions, (which his Lordship justly calls *extravagant and wild ones*) to which if His Majesty would condescend, then they would hazard their Lives to re-establish him.

1. That the King do resettlement, with the excluded Members.
2. That he ratifie all the Concessions made by his Father at the Treaty in the Isle of *Wight*. [Now those Concessions were (as this noble Historian observes in another Place, *Book 16. pag. 723, &c. Ed. Ox. 1706.*) Such as in Truth did, with the Preservation of the Name and Life of the King, near as much establish a Republican Government, as was settled after his Murder. And such as His Majesty yielded to with much less Chearfulness, than he walked to the Scaffold.]
3. That

3. That he should set up an Universal Toleration of all Religions.
4. Abolish all Payment of Tyths.
5. Pass a general Act of Oblivion.

The Gentleman added in a Letter of his own, that he desir'd the Sum of 2000 Pound to be remitted to him from the King: which Sum not being at that Time in his Majesty's Power; This Proposal came to nothing.

It was by Reason of the Increase which had been. of this Opinion in those Times, that the Convocation which satte presently after the Restauration of King Charles II. when they made a Review of the *Book of Common Prayer*, found it necessary to add to it an Office for the Baptism of those who having been born in those Times had not yet been baptiz'd; whereof there were many that were now grown too old to be baptiz'd as Infants, and ought to make Profession of their own Faith. They give in the *Preface* to the said Book an Account of the Occasion that made this necessary then, tho' not formerly: in these Words; *Together with an Office for the Baptism of such as are of riper Years. Which altho' not so necessary when the former Book was compiled; yet by the Growth of Anabaptism, thro' the Licentiousness of the late Times crept in among us, is now become necessary.*

1561

The Parliament, assembl'd upon the said Restauration, express'd the Dislike the Nation had conceived against the Tenets and Behavior of these Men; when making an Act for the confirming all Ministers in the Possession of their Benefices, how heterodox soever they had been, provided they would conform for the futur; they excepted such as had been of this Way.

It is to be noted that when this Opinion began first to encrease, they did not all of'em proceed to Separation from the Establish'd

Year af- Church: they held it sufficient to declare their  
ter, the A- Sentiment against Infant Baptism, to reserve  
postles their own Children to adult Baptism, and to  
be baptiz'd with it themselves; without re-  
nouncing Communion in Prayers, and in the other  
Sacrament with the Pædobaptists. In the Year  
1545. 1645, when *Marshal* had in a Sermon objected  
to the Antipædobaptists the Sin of Separation;  
*Tombs* answers (46), that this was practis'd only  
by some: that it was the Fault of the Persons,  
not of the Principle of Antipædobaptism: that  
he himself abhorred it: And he quotes as con-  
curring with him, *the Confession of Faith in the*  
1545. *Name of seven Churches of Antipædobaptists in*  
*London, Art. 33.*

But these that continued in Communion were  
not for *Oliver's* Turn. There was great Care  
taken to instil into 'em Principles of total Se-  
paration; which proved too effectual: and with-  
in, a while they did all, or almost all, renounce  
the settled Congregations, and became great  
Enemies to 'em. In which Separation they do  
still, almost all, continue.

The present State of 'em is this,

They that are now, are as commendable, as  
any other sort of Men are, for a sober and grave,  
quiet and peaceable Way of Living. They  
profess Obedience to Magistrats: and they will,  
commonly express a Dislike and Abhorrence of  
those Plundrings and other Violences committed  
by some of their Party, as well as by the rest  
of the Army of that Usurper aforesaid of  
odious Memory. They are particularly com-  
mended for maintaining their Poor liberally,  
(which is a Way that never fails to attract  
the good Will of the Multitude; and to make  
Pro-

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(46) *Examen*, Pt. 2. §. 2.

Profelyts) as also for passing Censurs upon such Members of their own Congregations as live disorderly. Year after the Apostles

This Character of obedient Subjects, is what they now own and profess: and what I hope is the real Sentiment of most of 'em. One Mr. Hicks did indeed about 20 Years ago (if what was inform'd against him were true) give a most ugly and reprochful Account of the whole Body of this People as to this Point.

There was at that Time 1683, a villanous Conspiracy headed by *Shaftsbury, Monmouth, &c.* against King *Charles*: either to murder, or at least to depose him. The Conspirators sent their Emissaries about, to see what Numbers and Parties of the People could be drawn in to join in the Rebellion. And amongst other Discoveries made afterward of this Treason, there was this following Information given upon Oath by one Mr. *West* of the *Temple*, which is printed in the Account of that Plot. *Copies of Informations, p. 41.*

*This Examinant farther says, That Mr. Roe told this Examinant, that he had discoursed with one Mr. Hicks a Tobacconist, an Anabaptist Preacher, a great Ring-leader of the Anabaptists: and that the said Hicks had told him that the Anabaptists could, and he believ'd upon good Consideration would, make up an Army of 20000 Men, and 1500 of the 20000 would be Horse: And tho' perhaps there would be a Necessity of making use of some great Men at the Beginning, (and this Examinant thinks he mention'd the Duke of Monmouth) yet, when the Anabaptists were once up, they would not lay down their Arms till they had their own Terms.*

If *Hicks* did never say so; he ought to have publickly disown'd it. And if he did; the Antipædobaptists ought to have disown'd him from

Year af- from being a Leader. Whether either of them  
 ter the A- were done, or whether *Hicks* be now living, I  
 postles know not. God Almighty keep all Sorts of  
 People from such Leaders, as will lead 'em in  
 a Way to which the Scriptur expressly assigns  
 Damnation. But however, there were but two  
 Men of the 20000 that appear'd then to have  
 been guilty: And those Two were among some  
 of the first that made an ingenuous and volun-  
 tary Confession. And besides, it is not credible  
 that that Party of Men could at that Time  
 have made up such a Number, if they had been  
 never so unanimous in the Wickedness. P. S.  
 I hear since, that *Hicks* is dead: but that he  
 liv'd in *London* many Years after this; and that  
 the foresaid Accusation was not made good  
 against him: but that King *Charles II.* upon a  
 Hearing of his Case in Council, discharged him.

1560. The Number of 'em had been considerably  
 abated upon the Restauration, and the Re-settling  
 of the Church of *England*. Many at that Time  
 return'd to the Church, and brought the Chil-  
 dren which they had had in the mean Time,  
 to be baptiz'd according to the Order thereof.  
 And during the Remainder of King *Charles's*  
 Reign, the Number of 'em stood much at a  
 Stay, or rather decreas'd. But since the late

1587. Times of general Liberty and Toleration, they  
 have increas'd again. In some of the Counties  
 of *England* they are the most numerous of any  
 sort of Men that do separate from the Establish'd  
 Church. This is chiefly in the East Parts;  
*Essex, Kent, Suffex, Surry, &c.* There are very  
 few in those Parts that make any Separation  
 from the Church, but they. Which is the Occa-  
 sion that I, as I am plac'd in those Parts, have  
 the more minded what I have read in any antient  
 Book relating to that Question: From whence  
 have sprung the Notes that make the first  
 Part

Part of this Work. In other Parts of England they are much over-numbred by the Quakers. There are also great Numbers of 'em in London and the Suburbs. And it is observ'd from some late Passages, that the Presbyterians look as if they would court their Friendship, and as if they aimed to add this Stick also to the other two.

Year af-  
ter the A-  
postles

Their Tenets are, besides the denying of Infants Baptism, these ;

1. They do many of 'em hold it necessary, as I said, to renounce Communion with all Christians that are not of their Way. Many of 'em are so peremptory in this, that if they be in the Chamber of a sick Man, and any Pædobaptist, Minister or other, come in to pray with him ; they will go out of the Room. And if they be invited to the Funeral of any Pædobaptist, they will go to the House, and accompany the Corps with the rest of the People to the Church Door : but there they retreat ; they call it the Steeple-House. They seem to judge thus : Those that are not baptiz'd are no Christians, and none are baptiz'd but themselves. So they make not only Baptism it self, but also the Time, or Age, or Way of receiving it, a Fundamental.

'Tis strange to see how deeply this Principle of Division is rooted in some of 'em by the Care that many of their Teachers take to cultivate it. If any one that has been one of 'em, be afterward prevail'd on to go ordinarily to Church, and hold Communion in all Things that he can, tho' he keep still his Opinion of Antipædobaptism, they of 'em that are of this Principle bemoan him as a lost Man ; and speak of him as we should do of one that had turn'd an Apostate from the Christian Religion. If any Man, being not satisfied with the Baptism he

Year af-  
ter the A-  
postles

he receiv'd in Infancy, do desire to be baptiz'd again by them, but do at the same Time declare that he means to keep Communion with the Establish'd Church in all Things that in Conscience he can; there are (or at least have been) several of their Elders that will not baptize such a Man. To renounce *the Devil, and all his Works*, &c. has been always requir'd of Persons to be baptiz'd into the Christian Religion: But to require 'em to renounce Communion with all Christians that are not of their Opinion, is to baptize into a Sect. 'Tis a clear Case from Scriptur, and particularly from *Phil.* 3. 15, 16. that the Duty of Christian Unity does require that they (and the same is to be said of all others that differ not in Fundamentals) should hold Communion as far as they can: Even tho' they do still continue in their Opinion for adult Baptism. Of which I shall say something more in the last Chapter.

I said before that this scrupulous Stiffness is not universal among 'em. *Tombs*, and several more had, and some of 'em still have, truer Sentiments concerning *the Communion of Saints in the Catholic Church*. And I have received of late a credible Account, that the most considerable Men, and of chief Repute among 'em, do more and more come over to these Sentiments.

2. They are, more generally than the Antipadobaptists of other Nations, possess'd with an Opinion of the absolut Necessity of the Immersion, or Dipping the baptiz'd Person over Head and Ears into the Water. So far, as to allow of no clinical Baptism: *i. e.* If a Man that is sick in a Fever, &c. (so as that he cannot be put into the Water without endangering his Life) do desire Baptism before he dies; they will let him die unbaptized, rather than baptize him by Affusion of Water on his Face, &c.

They

They are contrary in this to the Primitive Christians. They, tho' they did ordinarily put the Person into the Water, yet in Case of Sickness, &c. would baptize him in his Bed.

Year after the Apostles

They bring three Proofs of the Necessity of Immersion or Dipping.

1. The Example of *John* baptizing *Christ*, of *Philip* baptizing the *Eunuch*, and generally of the ancient Christians baptizing by Immersion.
2. That Baptism ought, as much as may be, to resemble the Death and Burial and Rising again of *Christ*.
3. That the Word, *to baptize*, does necessarily include *Dipping* in its Signification; so that *Christ* by commanding to *baptize*, has commanded to *dip*.

To which these Answers are commonly given.

The 1st proves what was said before, that in Scriptur-Times, and in the Times next succeeding, it was the Custom in those hot Countries to baptize *ordinarily* by Immersion; But not that in Cases of Sickness, or other such *extraordinary* Occasions they never baptiz'd otherwise. Of this I shall speak in the next Chapter.

The 2d proves that Dipping, where it may safely be used, is the most fitting Manner. But our Savior has taught us a Rule, *Mat.* 12. 3, 4, 7. that what is needful to preserve Life is to be preferred before outward Ceremonies.

The 3d, which would if it were true be more conclusive than the rest, is plainly a Mistake. The Word *βαπτίζω* in Scriptur signifies *to wash* in general, without determining the Sense to this or that sort of Washing. The Sense of a Scriptur Word is not to be taken from the Use of it in secular Autors, but from the Use of it in the Scriptur. What *βαπτίζω* signifies among *Greek* Writers, and what Interpretation Critics



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Critics and Lexicons do accordingly give it, is not much to the Purpose in this Case to dispute, (tho' they also, as Mr. *Walker* in his *Doctrin of Baptism* has largely shewn, beside the Signification *immergo*, do give that of *lavo* in general) when the Sense in which it is us'd by the Penmen of Scriptur, may otherwise be plainly determin'd from Scriptur it self. Now in Order to such a Determination, these two Things are plain.

First, That to baptize is a Word applied in Scriptur not only to such Washing as is by dipping into the Water the Thing or Person washed; but also to such as is by pouring or rubbing Water on the Thing or Person washed or some Part of it.

Secondly, That the Sacramental Washing is often in Scriptur express'd by other Words beside *Baptizing*, which other Words do signifie Washing, in the ordinary and general Sense.

For the first there are, besides others, these plain Instances.

The *Jews* thought it a Piece of Religion to wash their Hands before Dinner: They blame the Disciples, *Mark* 7. 5. for eating with unwashen Hands. The Word here is *νίπρω*, an ordinary Word for washing the Hands. Their way of that Washing was this: They had Servants to pour the Water on their Hands, *2 Kings* 3. 11. *who poured Water on the Hands of Elijah, i. e. who waited on him as a Servant (a)*. Now this Washing of the Hands is called by *St. Luke* the baptizing of a Man; or, the Man's being baptized, *Luke* 11. 38. For where the

*English*

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(a) Dr. *Pocock* has largely prov'd from *Maimon* and others that this was the *Jew's* way. *Non lavant manus nisi è vase affusâ aquâ, Not. Mis. c. 9.*

English is; The Pharisee marvelled: that he had not washed before Dinner; St. Luke's own Words are; ὅτι ἐκράτησεν ἑαυτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀλείψαι τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ ἕως τοῦ δείπνου. that he was not baptiz'd before Dinner. And so they are translated in the Latin. A plain Instance, that they used the Word, to baptize, for any ordinary Washing, whether there were Dipping in the Case or not.

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Also that which is translated Mark 7. 4. the washing of Pots, Cups, brazen Vessels, Tables, is in the Original, the baptizing of Pots, &c. And what is there said, When they come from Market, except they wash, they eat not: The Words of St. Mark are; Ἐξέτις ἂν βαπτισθῶν, οὐκ ἐσθίουσιν. (b). And the divers Washings of the Jews are called ἰσοδοοὶ βαπτισμοὶ, divers Baptisms, Heb. 9. 10. Of which some were by Bathing, others by Sprinkling, Numb. 8. 7. It. 19. 18, 19.

For the second these are these.

Baptism is styled λουεῖν τὸ ὕδωρ, the Washing of Waters, Eph. 5. 26. λουεῖν τῆς παλιγγενεσίας, the Washing of Regeneration, Tit. 3. 5. And to express this Saying; having our Bodies baptiz'd with clean Water. The Apostle words it; λελουμένοι τὸ σῶμα, having our Bodies washed, καὶ ἑρρηνισμένοι τὰς συνείδησας, and our Hearts sprinkled, Heb. 10. 22. These Words for Washing are such as are the most usual for the ordinary Ways of Washing: The same, for Example; with that which is used Acts 16. 33. He washed their Stripes. No Man will think they were put into the Water for that.

They had several Words to signifie, Washing. And they us'd 'em promiscuously for the sacramental Washing and for other Washings. 'Tis the Christians since, that have appropriated the Word

(b) This was not dipping. Lavantes a fero totum corpus non morabant. Pocock, Not. Misc. c. 9.

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Word *Baptize* to the sacramental Washing: Much after the same Rate as they have appropriated the Word *Bible*, which in *Greek* is any Book, to the Book of God; or the Word, *Scriptur*, which in the *Scriptur* it self signifies any Writing, to the *Divin* Writings. I did not in the First, nor Second Edition proceed to give any Instances out of any other Book beside the *Scriptur*, of the Word βαπτίζω used for Washing by Perfusion: partly because it do's not belong to the main Matter of my Book; which is a *History*, not of the *Manner* of administring *Baptism*, but of the *Subjects* of it; *Infants*, or *Adult* only. And partly because I had, as for other *Autors*, refert'd the Reader to *Mr. Walker's Doctrin of Baptisms*; where there are a great many. But yet having lately met with a very plain Instance of that Use of the Word in *Origen*, which I think is not among *Mr. Walker's*; I will give it to the Reader. It is in his

*Comment. in Joann. Tom. 7. p. 116. Ed. Rotom. 1668.*

He is there examining the Ground of that upbraiding Demand made by the *Pharisees* to *St. John*; why he baptiz'd, if he were not the *Christ*, nor *Elias*, nor that *Prophet*: And says, that they had no Reason to think that either the *Christ*, or *Elias*, when they came, would baptize in their own Persons. And accordingly that *Jesus* (who was the *Christ*, and that *Prophet*) did not baptize in his own Person, but his *Disciples*. And concerning *Elias* speaks thus to the *Pharisees*:

Πόθεν ἢ ὑμῖν πεπίσειλαι Ἠλίαν βαπτίσαι τὸν ἐλευσόμενον; ἐδὲ τὰ ἐπὶ τῷ θουσιασθεῖ ξύλα, καὶ τὸς τῷ Ἀχαάθ χεόνες, λέοντα λεῖρῶ ἴνα ἐκταυθῆ ἑβραϊκῶς ἐο πνεὶ τῷ κνεῖν, βαπτισανθῶ; ἑπιπέσειλαι γὰρ τοῖς ἱερεῦσι τῷ ποπιῆσαι, &c. — ὁ ποίνον μὴ αὐτὸς βαπτίσαις τότε, ἀλλ' ἑτέροις τῷ ἔργῳ παραχωρήσας, πῶς καὶ τὰ ὑπο τῷ Μαλαχίε λεγόμενα ἐπισημαίαις βαπτίζεν ἡμῶς;

How

‘ How come you to think that *Elijah*, when he should come, would baptize; who did not in *Apah’s* Time baptize the Wood upon the Altar, which was to be washed before it was burnt by the Lord’s appearing in Fire? But he orders the Priests to do that; not once only, but says, *Do it the second Time: And they did it the second Time: And, Do it, the third Time; and they did it the third Time.* He therefore that did not himself baptize then, but assign’d that Work to others, How was he likely to baptize when he, according to *Malachy’s* Prophecy, should come?

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In the Text *1 Kings* 18. 33. the Order given by *Elijah* is; *Fill four Barrels with Water; and pour it on the burnt Sacrifice, and on the Wood. And he said, Do it the second Time, &c.*

This *Origen* calls the baptizing of the Wood.

But to proceed with the Tenets of the Antipædobaptists of *England*.

3. As exact as the Antipædobaptists are in imitating the Primitive Way used in the hot Countries; they do not baptize naked: which those antient Christians always did, when they baptiz’d by Immersion; as I shew in the next Chapter. They usually spoke of *the putting off the Body of the Sins of the Flesh* as a Thing signified by the unclothing of the Person to be baptiz’d. I suppose it is for preserving Modesty, that they dispense with that Custom. So it seems in some Cases they can allow of dispensing with the Primitive Custom.

4. But a more material Thing, in which some of ’em do deviate both from the express Command of our Savior, and the received Practice of the Church, is in the *Form* of Baptism. One sort of ’em do count it indifferent whether they baptize with these Words; *In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit:*

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Or with these; *In the Name of the Lord Jesus.* And do in their public Confession (47) allow either of the Forms. And I have heard that some of 'em do affectedly choose the latter. But I am told, by one who should know, that whatever has been done formerly, they that do so now, are very few; and those, Men not well thought of by the general Body of 'em: but only such as are suspected to be underhand *Socinians*: For they have many such among 'em; and it is not for the Use of those that have a Mind to obliterate the Belief of the Trinity, to baptize their Profelyts into the Faith and Name of it. I believe one Reason why *Socinus* had such a Mind to abolish all Use of Baptism among his Followers, was because Persons baptiz'd in *the Name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit*, would be always apt to think those Names to express the Deity in which they were to believe: which he did not mean they should do. And some of his Followers have been so disgusted with that Form of Baptism, that they have given profan Insinuations (48), that those Words were not originally in the Scriptur; but were taken from the usual Doxology into the Form of Baptism, and then inserted into the Text of *Matt. 28. 19.*

Those that baptize only in *the Name of the Lord Jesus*, plead the Examples of the Apostles, *Acts 8. 16. It. 19. 5.* But tho' in those Passages, where the Matters of Fact are related in short, there be mentioned in the Recital only the Name of the Lord *Jesus*, because that was the Name that the Apostles found it most difficult to perswade the *Jews* to own, (*they having already,*

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(47) Confes. of Anabapt. reprinted *Lond. 1691.* (48) *The Judgment of the Fathers, &c. Pt. 1. pag. 22.*

## Chap. VIII. *The Form of Baptism.*

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already, as St. Cyprian (49) says, *the antient Baptism of Moses and of the Law were now to be baptiz'd in the Name of Jesus Christ*) yet Interpreters have taken it for granted, that in the conferring those Baptisms, the Apostles used the whole Form which our Savior had prescribed. Origen in Rom. 6. Didymus, l. 2. *de Spiritu Sancto*. Cyprian. Epist. ad Jubaianum. Augustinus passim. Canon Apostol. 41, 42. aliis 49, 50. And Athanasius (50) says, *He that is baptiz'd only in the Name of the Father, or only in the Name of the Son, or without the Holy Spirit, &c. receives nothing.* In short it is true which St. Austin says (51), that in Church History you shall oftner meet with Heretics that do not baptize at all, than with any that do baptize with any other Words, viz. than those of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.

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Yet we do find one sort of Heretics that did so. It was one Sect of the *Eunomians*: who, Sozomen says (52), were the first that ever did it. And he gives his Opinion that they are in as ill Case as if they were not baptiz'd at all. 295;

5. Some other singular Opinions they hold, that do not at all relate to Baptism. Some of 'em (but I think it is but few in *England*) do hold that Error which has of old been attributed to the Antipædobaptists of *Germany*, and is said to be still held by the *Minnists* of *Holland*, that Christ took not Flesh of the Virgin *Mary*, but had it from Heaven; and only passed thro' her, as Water thro' a Pipe, without receiving any of his human Substance from her. The *Belgic Confession* (53) calls this the *Herese of the Anabaptists*.

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'Tis

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(49) Epist. ad Jubaian. (50) Epist. ad Serapionem.  
 (51) Lib. 6. contra Donatist. c. 25. (52) Lib. 6. c. 26.  
 (53) Artic. 18.

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20. 'Tis strange to observe in how many Here-  
sies, old and new, this odd Opinion, so plainly  
contrary to Scriptur, has made an Ingredient. It  
was first invented by the *Gnostics* and *Valentinians* :  
For they explain'd all that they believ'd of our  
Savior's human Natur in this Manner ; as we per-  
ceive by *Irenaus* (54). Also by *Tertullian* (55) we  
40. understand that beside them *Marcion*, and *Apelles*  
88. (that was one of his Followers) held the same : But  
with this Difference ; *Marcion* said our Savior had  
no real Flesh at all, but only in Appearance : *Apelles*  
own'd real Flesh, but not of human Race ; but  
made of the Substance of the Stars and heavenly  
Bodies, which was brought into the Virgin's  
Body only to pass thro' her. *Athanasius* also  
ascribes this Opinion (56) to the *Marcionites*.  
*Gennadius* (57), besides that he also names  
110. *Marcion*, says that *Origen* and *Eutyches* taught  
348. that Christ's Flesh was brought from Heaven.  
270. And *Gregory Nazianzen*, in an Epistle to *Necta-  
rius* (58), tells him that he had met with a  
Book of *Apollinaris*, that maintain'd this heretical  
*Tenet*, that in the Dispensation of the Incarnation  
of the only Son of God, he did not take Flesh from  
without to repair our Natur : But there was the  
Natur of Flesh in the Son of God from all Eter-  
nity. But I hear that *Canisius* (59) has found  
and publish'd an Epistle of his, wherein he dis-  
owns it. I shew'd before (60) that this of  
Christ's Flesh only passing thro' the Body of the  
Virgin, made one of the monstrous Tenets of  
1150. one Sort of the *Cathari*, spoken of by *Reinerius*,  
220. who were *Manichees* in the main. The old *Mani-  
chees*

(54) Lib. 1. c. 1. circa medium. It. l. 3. c. 17. (55) De carne Christi, c. 6, &c. (56) De Salutari adventu adv. Apollinaristas. (57) De Eccl. dogm. c. 2. (58) Apud Sezom. l. 6. c. 27. (59) Antic. Lect. T. 5. (60) CH. VII. §. 4.

Chap. VIII. *Præexistence of Christ's Human Soul.* 307  
*chees* held that he had properly no Flesh at all, Year af-  
 that he was not born of *Mary*, but came ter the A-  
 from the first Man, which first Man was not of postles  
 this Earth.

Most of the old Heretics that taught this, did it because they would not yield that our Savior did really condescend so far as to take on him Human Natur, and be properly a Man *made* (as *St. Paul* expresses it) of a *Woman*: So they made use of it to impugn his Humanity. But we have Reason to judge that most that hold it now, do it to impugn his Divinity: For by this Subterfuge, that his Flesh was sent originally from Heaven, and only pass thro' the Body of the Virgin, they evade the Arguments for his Divinity and Præexistence; taken from those Places of Scriptur which speak of his *coming from Heaven, coming forth from the Father, and coming into the World, &c.* expounding these Texts, not of an Eternal Præexistence, but of his Flesh made in Heaven and sent down. For they do not understand it, as *Apollinaris* is said to have done, that this Heavenly Flesh was from Eternity; but made at a certain Time before the World, as the *Arians* said his Divin Natur was.

So that this Opinion, as well as the former, fits those Antipædobaptists best that are inclin'd to *Socinianism*. But what then will these Men make at last of our Blessed Savior? The old Heretics, some of 'em denied him to be God, and others of 'em denied him to be properly Man: But these deny both, and say that he is neither God, nor properly Man: As not being made of a Woman, nor the Seed of *David*. Will they make no more of him than the *Jesus Christ of the Quakers*; many of whom speak of *Jesus Christ* as being nothing else but something within themselves, a Notion of their Brains? But there are, as I said, few of the *English*



Year after the Apostles Antipædobaptists that hold this: Some foreign ones, it seems, do.

Whereas *Gennadius* imputes, as I said, this Opinion to *Origen*; I did suspect it (when in the first Edition I wrote it down) to be *Gennadius's* Mistake, (having never observ'd any Saying of *Origen* tending this Way) and I do since find that *Huetius* has prov'd it to be so. He must have mistaken it for another, which *Origen* did indeed hold, and which is in the Consequence so near akin to this, that they are by *Athanasius* both condemn'd in one Sentence. He held a Præexistence (not of Christ's Flesh, but) of his human Soul.

He had imbib'd from *Plato's* Notions a Phancy that all Souls were created at the Beginning: and then he thought it probable that in that præexistent State some of these Souls behaved themselves better than others, and so were put into better Bodies. And then (according to that rambling Faculty that he had of building Castles in the Air one on the Top of another) he imagin'd that there might be some one Soul among these, that might behave it self far better than any of the rest, and so might be chosen by God out of the rest to be assumed by the λόγος. To which Sense he interprets *Pf. 45. 7.* making it to be said to this Soul; *Thou hast loved Righteousness, &c. Therefore God, even thy God, hath anointed thee with the Oyl of Gladness above thy Fellows.* After which, he finds out a great many Pieces of Work for this Soul to do, before the Time that it was united to the Body that was born of the Virgin *Mary*.

The Christians of those elder Times took great Offence at his thus bringing the Romantic Notions of the Heathen Philosophers and the Fictions of his own Brain into the most sacred Points of the Christian Faith: the main Property whereof

whereof is, that it be kept whole, undefiled, unmix'd, and unalter'd, and (as *Tertullian* says) *not to be mended.* And when his Works came abroad in the World, there was for several Ages a Debate among the Churches, whether they should receive his Books, and honor his Memory, as of a Catholic Christian; or hold both in Execration, as of a Heretic. And tho' the Admiration they had of his great Parts, Learning, Memory, Pains, &c. (which were greater than had been in any Christian before, or perhaps have been since) and their Love to the Piety that he had shewn, did much prejudice 'em in his Favor; yet because of this and other heretodox Tenets, he was by the greatest Part condemned, (such a Zeal the Christians of that Time shewed against any one that went about to bring any Alteration into their *Form of sound Words*) but many on the other Side did attempt Apologies for him. The first and best of which is, that which was drawn up by *Pamphilus* the Martyr assisted by *Eusebius* in Six Books.

Some of his Tenets these Apologists do endeavor to justify by giving a qualifying Explication of 'em: and some that were imputed to him, they shew to be imputed wrongfully. But this, which I have been speaking of, there is not one of 'em pretends to justify: but yet they say he ought not to be accounted a Heretic, because he did not affirm it positively, or teach it dogmatically, or hold it obstinately; but only propos'd it to the Consideration of the Hearers or Readers, whether such a Thing might not be. So *Pamphilus* (after he had endeavor'd to refute the rest of the Accusations against him from his own Words) when he comes to this (which is the 8th of the 9 capital Errors there

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discuss'd) says (a); *I must make Answer here my self.* The Answer he makes, is, that Origen knowing that, *That Tenet of the Soul is not plainly contain'd in the Doctrin of the Church, did (whenever some Words of Scriptur gave him Occasion, or a Hint rather, of disputing of it, and he did discuss and handle what seemed probable to him thereon) propose his Thoughts to be judg'd of and approved by the Readers, not defining any Thing as a plain [or positive] Point [dogma], or having the Authority of an Article [Sententia], and did generally add to it such qualifying Words as these; ' If that Account which I give of the Soul do seem to any one to have any Probability in it. And that he never wrote any Treatise particularly of the Soul, (as he had done of almost every Thing else) which Pamphilus says, is a Sign that he did not venture to define any Thing dogmatically about it.*

This Part of the Apology is true. For whereas there are but two Places in his Works, where he insists purposely on this Præexistence of Christ's Soul: one *contra Cels.* l. 1. the other *mei ἀρχόν,* l. 2. c. 6. (in other Places he only touches it by the by) In the first of these he (as soon as he begins to talk of that Matter of the Præexistence of Souls, upon which it is that he proceeds to speak of Christ's Soul) admonishes the Reader thus (b); *I speak this according to the Notion of Pythagoras, Plato, and Empedocles, whom Celsus often quotes.* And in the later of 'em, where he purposely insists on the Article of Christ's Incarnation, he first confesses it to be a Miracle and Mystery which it is beyond the Power of the Apostles, or even of the highest Angels to explain. But yet

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(a) Pamphili Apolog. prope finem. (b) C. Cels. l. 1. Pag. 26. Ed. Cant.

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yet in the next Words ventures on the Expli-  
cation of it, (which he gives to the Purpose afore-  
said, of a Soul præexisting and united to the  
ἀόϋθ, and then incarnated) but premises that he  
will not *define rashly* [temeritate aliqua], but  
propose rather *his own Guesſes* [or Imaginations,  
*Suspiciones nostras*] than any positive Affirmations.  
He do's not say; *'Tis every Whit as clearly reveal'd  
as any Article of Faith whatsoever: Or, No  
Christian Doctrin is more clearly deliver'd than is  
this of my Discourse.*

These Excuses did alleviate, but not quite take  
off the Scandal taken at this Innovation in the  
Faith. When a Man in his Station, a Presbyter  
of the Church, do's vent any such odd and sin-  
gular Phancy in Religion; tho' he do it with  
never so much Caution and Declaration that he  
is not positive in it, yet it always do's some  
Hurt, because of the Inclination and Itch that  
People have to catch at a new-fangl'd Opinion:  
and it cannot be so absurd, but that it will  
meet with some sorts of Men or Women at  
least, whose Brains stand awry in that Particular  
enough to make 'em embrace it. It is always  
remembered among the Heads of Accusation  
afterward brought against him: and in that  
solemn and autoritative Denunciation of him  
for a Heretic given out by *Theophilus*, the  
Patriarch of *Alexandria*, (c) as the Præexistence  
of Souls in general makes the first, so this  
Præexistence of Christ's Soul in particular makes  
the 6th of the 35 Errors there imputed to him.  
And the Patriarch is particularly enraged at  
his perverting the Sense of that Text, *Phil. 2.*  
*6, 7. ἐκένωσεν ἑαυτὸν.* by giving a new Interpreta-  
tion of it adapted to his new Hypothesis.

(c) *Epi st. Paschal. 1.*

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I believe *Theophilus* must have taken this from some Book of his not now extant: for he never, as I remember, misapplies it so in those that are. He often applies that Text, as other Christians do, to the λόγος. I will give an Instance in the next Chapter §. 10. And so for *John* 1. 10. *Col.* 1. 15, 16. He even in the midst of his Dreams did never dream of a Man-Creator.

The Place of *Athanasius*, where he condemns in one Sentence, as I said, both this Opinion of the human Soul, and the other of the Flesh, of Christ præexisting, is, in his Epistle to *Epistetus*. *Ἐικότως καταγνώσθηαι ἑαυτῶν πάντες οἱ νομιζόντες πρὸ τῆς Μαρίας εἶναι ἢ ἔξ αὐτῆς σάρκα, καὶ πρὸ ταύτης ἐρχέναι ψυχὴν ἀνθρωπίνην ἢ Θεὸν λόγον, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ πρὸ τῆς ὀρθοδόξου αἰεὶ γεννηθῆναι.* So they will all condemn themselves that think Christ's Flesh was before Mary: and that before her God the WORD had a human Soul, in which he was before his coming into the World. God Almighty preserve to us the old Christian Religion, and keep us in the Love of it, and deliver us from all new ones, and from any such hankering after 'em as may argue our being weary of the old. But to return to the Tenets of the *English* Antipædo-baptists.

6. Another Opinion which they hold more generally, is the *Millenary* Opinion. They do many of 'em take that Prophecy, *Rev.* 20. 4, 5. of the Souls of them that were beheaded for the Witness of Jesus, &c. and which had not worshipped the Beast, &c. living and reigning with Christ a thousand Years, in a proper Sense. So as to reckon that the Saints shall rise from the Dead 1000 Years before others shall. And they think that Christ will then come down, and be here upon the Earth (tho' that be not said in the Text) for that thousand Years: And then,  
Satan

## Chap.VIII. *Eating of Blood. Sleep of Soul.*

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*Satan* being let loose to deceive the Nations for some Time; the general Resurrection and End of the World will be.

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In the reciting and inculcating this Doctrine to other People that are not of their Way, many of 'em are apt, instead of saying the *Saints* shall rise before the *Wicked*, to say, *We* shall rise before *You*.

7. Another Thing which almost all the Antipædobaptists in *England* do hold, is, that that Decree of the Apostles at *Ferusalem*, mention'd *Acts 15. 29.* of abstaining from Blood, and from Things strangled, does still oblige all Christians. So they will eat of no such Things.

In these two last mention'd Opinions they have many of the most antient Catholic Fathers on their Side. And in the later of the two, the *Greek Church* has all along been, and still is (61) of their Opinion. The Council in *Trullo*, which is accounted a general one, forbids the making (62) of the Blood of any Animal into a *Sawce*. And so does one of the Canons call'd *Apostolic* forbid (63) the Eating of Blood, or any Thing strangl'd, or torn by Beasts.

8. They do many of 'em (but not all) hold the Opinion which *Calvin* in a Treatise on Purpose (64) confutes as held by the *German Antipædobaptists*, and which by the foregoing Account is said to be still held by the *Minnists* of *Holland*, from whom our Antipædobaptists must have had it; That the Soul sleeps, or is senseless, from the Time of a Man's Death till the Resurrection of his Body.

This Opinion is very wide from that of the Primitive Christians: Yet many of the most antient

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(61) Sir *Paul Ricaut* Hist of Gr. Church, ch. 20. (62) Can. 67. (63) Can. 63. (64) *Psychopannychia*,

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antient of 'em held an Opinion that is middle between this and that which is now commonly held. They held that the Soul at Death goes, not to Heaven (at least none but Martyrs Souls), but to *Hades*: And that after the general Resurrection the Soul and Body united again are received to Heaven. That the Souls of the Patriarchs were in *Hades*: And that Christ's Soul went to *Hades*. By *Hades* they mean the general Receptacle, or State, of Souls good and bad till the Resurrection: Save that some few of 'em make *Hades* the Place of the Bad, and *Abraham's Bosom* of the Good: But generally they speak of *Abraham's Bosom* as one Part of *Hades*. So that it was counted a Place or State quite different from Heaven and from Hell: As we *English* do commonly now understand the Word *Hell*.

'Tis great Pity that the *English* Translators of the Creed and of the Bible did not keep the Word *Hades* in the Translation, as they have done some Original Words which had no *English* Word answering to 'em. By Translating it *Hell*, and the *English* having no other Word for *Gehenna* (which is the Place prepared for the Devil and the Damned) than the same Word *Hell* likewise; it has created a Confusion in the Understanding of *English* Readers. We say, Christ descended into *Hell*. We ought to mean *Hades*: For so 'tis in the *Greek*, *κατέβη εἰς Ἅδου*. And so St. Peter, *Acts* 2. 31. *His Soul was not left εἰς Ἅδου in Hades*. But when we read of *Hell*, *Matt.* 5. 20, 22, 29, 30. and such other Places where the Original Word is *Gehenna*, we ought to understand the Hell of the Damned. And the Import of these two Words in the Original differs so much, that whereas all Christians ever believed that Christ descended into *Hades*; yet if any had said, he descended into *Gehenna*, he would

would have been accounted to blaspheme. And yet the *English* expresses both by the same Word. Year after the Apostles

To give an Account at once of all the Places in the Bible where the Word *Hell* is used: Where we read *Hell* in these Texts following; it is in the Original *Gehenna*, or else *Tartarus*; and ought to be understood the Hell of the Damned. *Matt.* 5. 22, 29, 30. *Matt.* 10. 28. *Luke* 12. 5. *Matt.* 18. 8, 9. *Mark* 9. 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48. *Matt.* 23. 15, 33. *James* 3. 6. 2 *Peter* 2. 4. But where we read *Hell* or *Grave* in these Texts following, the Word is *Hades*; and ought to be understood only, the State or Receptacle of departed Souls: Or, in some of 'em, no more than in general a State of Dissolution. *Matt.* 21. 23. *Luke* 10. 15. *Matt.* 16. 18. *Luke* 16. 23. *Acts* 2. 27, 31. 1 *Cor.* 15. 55. where 'tis translated *Grave*. *Rev.* 1. 18. *it.* 6. 8. *it.* 20. 13, 14. And in the Old Testament, wherever we read *Hell*, it is to be understood *Hades*. *Jacob* and *David*, &c. whenever they speak of their dying, call it their going to *Sheol*, *Hades*. Which Words our *English* Translates sometimes *Hell*, sometimes *Grave*, &c. And this shews St. *Austin's* Observation to be a Mistake: For he says (65) that *Infernum*, which is the Translation of *Hades* in many Places, is never taken in Scriptur in a good Sense, or as the Fate of a good Man.

'Tis plain that *Tertullian* took it otherwise by the following Passages, beside many other. In his Book *de Animâ*, c. 7. he speaks of the different State of departed Souls, receiving either Torment in Fire, or Comfort in Abraham's Bosom, in carcere seu diversorio inferum, in the Prison or Receptacle of *Hades*. And in his Book *de Idololat.*

C. 13.



Year after the Apostles c. 13. He speaks of *Lazarus* being *apud inferos in Sinu Abraha*. Which translated into English in our common Way of speaking would be; *in Hell in Abraham's Bosom*. It must be translated *Hades*.

Note that in all the Texts of the *Revelation*, *Death* and *Hades* θάνατος & ᾠδης are joined together. And that at the general Resurrection *Death and Hades deliver up the Dead that are in them, viz.* to be tried at that great Judgment: And then *Death and Hades are cast into the Lake, &c. i. e.* there is to be no more *Death* nor *Hades*; but all is to be either *Heaven* or *Hell, i. e.* an *Eternal and Unchangeable Estate of Wo* or of *Bliss*.

Beside the Places aforesaid, several, if not all, 67. of the most antient Copies of the *Acts of the*  
300. *Apostles*, had the Word ᾠδης in *Ch. 2. 24.* For where we read; *having loosed the Pains of Death; for it was not possible, &c.* they for θανάτου read τῶν ᾠδῶν the *Pains of Hades*. So reads *Irenaeus, l. 3. c. 12.* *St. Austin Epist. 99.* and other Places. And *Polycarp. Epist. ad Philipp.*

In the Apostles Time

Now the Antients did not think that the State of the Soul in *Hades* was to sleep, or be Senseless. On the contrary, our Savior in the Parable, *Luke 16. 22, 23.* represents *Dives* and *Lazarus* both in *Hades*, (or one in *Hades* and one in *Abraham's Bosom*, if we take *Abraham's Bosom* as out of *Hades*) but a great Way off from one another, in very different States; neither of 'em asleep, but one in Torment, the other in Repose. And all the Antients do instance in this Parable as a Proof that before the general Judgment there will be a Difference made between the State of Good Men's Souls and those of Wicked Men.

100. *Tertullian (66)* speaks of some who argued that there

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(66) De Animà, cap. ult.

there will be no Judgment before the great One, when the Soul and Body shall be joined: And answers them; *Quid ergo fiet in tempore isto? Dormiemus?* &c. 'What then shall we do in 'the mean Time? Shall we be asleep? Souls 'don't sleep, not even when they are in the Bo- dies, &c. And *Eusebius* (67) tells of some Heterodox People in *Arabia*, who held that the Soul for the present dies together with the Body, and is raised to Life again together with it. He says *Origen* being sent thither presently convinc'd those People.

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But as the foresaid Christians of these antient Times did not think that the Soul sleeps; so neither were they, generally speaking, of the Opinion that the Souls of dying Men go presently to Heaven or to *Gehenna*. I shall for Brevity, only recite what *Justin Martyr* and *Irenæus* do say. *Justin* in his Dialog speaking of some Heretics, *οἱ λέγουσι μὴ εἶναι ἀνάστασιν νεκρῶν, ἀλλὰ ἄμα τῷ ἀποθνήσκειν, τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν ἀναλαμβάνεσθαι εἰς τὸ ἔρανον: μὴ ὑπολάβητε αὐτοὺς Χριστιανούς.* *Who say there is no Resurrection of the Dead; but that when they die, their Souls are taken up to Heaven: adds; Do not take these Men for Christians.* And *Irenæus* in like manner had been saying (68), that most of the Heretics denied the Resurrection of the Body; but held instead of it, that when they died, their Souls should presently fly away up to Heaven: and that some erroneous Catholics held with 'em in this later Tenet, tho' not in the former. He urges against 'em the Example of 'our Savior; *Who, says he, observ'd in himself the Law of dead Persons, and did not presently after his Death go to Heaven, but staid three Days in the Place of the Dead.* 'Tis plain then, by

(67) H E. l. 6. c. 7. (68) Lib. 5. c. 31.

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by the way, that he took that *Paradise* where the Thief was to be that Day with our Savior, to be not properly Heaven, but a Station in *Hades*. Then a little after he argues thus; *Whenas then our Lord went into the midst of the Shadow of Death, where the Souls of deceased Persons abode; and then afterward rose again in the Body, and was after his Resurrection taken up to Heaven: It is plain that the Souls of his Disciples, for whose Sake the Lord did these Things, shall go likewise to that invisible Place appointed to them by God, and there abide till the Resurrection, waiting for the Time thereof; and afterward receiving their Bodies, and rising again perfectly, i. e. in their Bodies, as our Lord did, shall so come to the Sight of God.* ‘For the Disciple is not above his Master, but every one that is perfect shall be as his Master.

*As therefore our Master did not presently fly up to Heaven, but waiting till the Time of his Resurrection that was appointed by the Father, which had been foreshewn by Jonas; and rising the third Day was so taken to Heaven: So we must also wait the Time of our Resurrection appointed by God, which is foretold by the Prophets; and so rising again be taken up, so many of us as the Lord shall account worthy.*

This, as might be shewn by many more Quotations, was the most general Opinion of those Times. 'Tis true indeed that some Fathers spoke of the Soul as going directly to Heaven: And that this became afterward the prevailing Opinion in the *Western Church*: which is also affirmed in a Homily (69) of the Church of *England*, set forth in the Time of *Queen Elizabeth*. So that it seems to have been the general Opinion

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(69) Third Part of the Sermon concerning Prayer.

Opinion of the Protestants in *England* at that Time. But before the making of that Homily, several of our first Reformers declar'd against it. As *Tyndal* in his Answer to *Sir Thomas More*, and *Frith* in his Answer to *Bishop Fisher*. And ever since the making of it, there have been, and still are, some Divines of great Note and Station in that Church, who do plainly enough shew their Sentiment to be otherwise.

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The Reasons given by the former, *viz.* *Tyndal*, *Frith*, &c. were to this Purpose; That the placing of the Soul in Heaven does destroy the Arguments wherewith *Christ* and *St. Paul* do prove the Resurrection of the Body. As when our Savior proves that *Abraham*, *Isaac* and *Jacob* shall rise again in their Bodies; because God, who is since their Death call'd in Scriptur *their God*, is not the God of the Dead, but of the Living, for all live to him: Whereas if *Abraham's* Soul had been then in Heaven, that had been no Proof that his Body must arise; for God then might have been his God, tho' his Body had not risen. And *St. Paul* proves to the *Corinthians* the Resurrection, because else the Christians would be of all Men most miserable, as having Hope only in this Life. And he comforts the *Thessalonians* concerning their Friends departed, not by saying that they were gone to Heaven, but that they should rise again at the last Day, and so go to Heaven. That the Opinion of separate Souls going to Heaven was the Invention of the Heathen Philosophers, who knowing nothing of the Resurrection, did so salve the Hopes of a futur State; and that some Christians (the Papiſts *Tyndal* says) had confounded and mixt the Christian and the Heathen Doctrin together. And again, if the Souls be in Heaven, Tell me, says *Tyndal*, Why they be not in as good Case as the Angels be: And then what Cause is there of the Resur-

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*Resurrection?* All this while these Men would not determin in what State the separate Souls really are: But *Frith* says, *I dare be bold to say that they are in the Hand of God, and that God would that we should be ignorant where they be, and not take upon us to determin the Matter.* And *Tyndal* speaks to the same Purpose, and adds concerning the Souls of good Men; *I believe they are in no worse Case than Christ's Soul was before his Resurrection.*

To these Reasons the later Divines, of whom I spake, do add; That by the Order of the last Judgment, in *Matt. 25.* and the Pleas there used, and Sentence there given, it should seem that the Souls had not as yet been sentenc'd and sent either to Heaven or Hell. *Come ye Blessed, inherit the Kingdom prepared for you, &c. Go ye Cursed into everlasting Fire, &c. For I was a hungry, &c. Lord, when saw we thee, &c.* And then afterward; *And these shall go away into everlasting Punishment: And the Righteous into Life eternal,* does not look as if they had been call'd out of Heaven and Hell to receive a Sentence to go to Heaven and Hell; but that they had been till this Time in Expectation of their final Sentence. Tho' the Souls had been (as these Men do constantly hold against the Antipædobaptists) the bad Ones in some Degree of Torment and Horror, the Good in a quiet Repose and hopeful Expectation, and as the Office of Burial says, *in Joy and Felicity.* Or, as the Antients express it, *in Refrigerio.*

To this may be added; That whereas the general Hypothesis is, that the Souls of the Patriarchs were taken by Christ out of *Hades*, and carried up with him into Heaven at his Ascension thither; *St. Peter*, on the contrary, preaching after Christ's Ascension, says expressly, *Acts 2. 34.* that *David* was not then ascended to Heaven.

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## Chap. VIII. *Of the State of separate Souls.*

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The Answer to which (being, I suppose, that *David* was not ascended to Heaven in Body, as *Christ* was; but his Soul might be there) seems inconsistent with *St. Peter's* Reasoning at that Place. For he is shewing that that Saying of *David*; *Thou wilt not leave my Soul in Hades*, could not be understood of *David* himself, who was both dead and buried, and his Sepulchre then extant; but that *David* being a Prophet, and seeing this before, spoke of the Resurrection of *Christ*, that his Soul was not left in Hades: where *St. Peter* seems to understand it, that *David's* Soul was in *Hades* (as well as his Body in the Sepulchre) to that Day. The rest of their Arguments I leave to be seen in their Books.

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But as to the Antipædobaptists Opinion of the Sleep of the Soul; a late Writer (70) that lives in a Part of *Kent* that abounds with them, ascribes to some of them an Opinion much worse than the ordinary one of the Sleep of the Soul till the Resurrection. For he says, some of that Sect have been heard to say, (and he believes it is the privat Tenet of others of 'em) *That Infants dying before actual Sin, their Souls consume with their Bodies: And they die never to be any more. Therefore they forbear the giving of Baptism, as unnecessary for them.* I hope and believe that this can be the Opinion of but very few, and those some ignorant People, among 'em. And I am lately assur'd by a Man of chief Note among 'em, that he never knew any one Man of any sort of 'em that held this. And indeed since our Savior shewed such a Concern and tender Regard for Infants, saying withal, *Of such is the Kingdom of Heaven:* And since God and

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(70) Case of an Infant dying unbaptized, pag. 18.

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Natur have implanted in the Heart of all pious Parents such an earnest Desire of the eternal Good of their Infants: 'Tis an unnatural Thought, that neither that Concern of our Savior, nor that Desire of godly Parents, shall ever have any Satisfaction in the Case of such Infants as die; but that one must despair of 'em, as Persons that will be lost for ever, notwithstanding any Means that can be us'd for their Salvation. P. S. One Party of the Antipædobaptists do deny any Sleep of the Soul. And I have it from good Hands, that they that do now hold it, are but few in Comparison, and such as are accounted of the more ignorant sort.

9. Many of the Antipædobaptists in England are said to be against any Singing of Psalms in Divin Worship. I recited before (71) out of 1040. *Petrus Cluniacensis* that the *Petrobrusians* held, that 'tis a Mocking of God to sing in the Church. And 1100. the *Lyonists* said, it is a hellish Noise. I believe the Disgust taken at that Time was against the excessive Regard then given in the Popish Churches to the Sound and Music, which hinder'd the Attention to the Sense of the Prayers. But to condemn all Singing of Praise to God, is a Thing too contrary to the Scriptures both of the Old and New Testament. Some of 'em do not dislike Singing in general: but say that the Psalms of *David* are not so proper now; as some that may be compos'd on Purpose for the Use of the Christian Church. And some others of 'em are not at all against Singing, any more than other Christians are. And it grows of late to be more and more in Use with 'em. Tho' many of 'em formerly have scrupl'd the Use of Psalms, as sung by the whole Con-

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(71) CH. VII. §. 5.

## Chap. VIII. *The Use of the Lord's-Prayer.*

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Congregation jointly; yet of late that Humor is in great Degree worn off: and the Practice of Singing *David's* Psalms, and in the Way that other People do, has generally obtain'd among 'em. Year after the Apostles

10. The same may be said of the Use of the Lord's-Prayer. Many of 'em do out of an odd and unaccountable Humor reject the Use of it. But, tho' this be an Imputation laid by some People on the whole Body of 'em, yet I know that some of 'em, and believe that most of 'em do both use it, and teach their Children to use it. The *Petrobrusians*, as well as all the other Sorts of the *Waldenses*, extolled the Use of it.

11. So for extream Uñction of the Sick; spoken of *James* 5. 14, 15. Mr. *Russen* of *Hyth* in *Kent*, a Place that is full of these People, says (72); *I am sure it is both their Opinion and Practice, as to some, tho' probably all do not use it.* P. S. This I find to be confess'd since by Mr. *Stennet*. But he tells me, it is but rarely practis'd: and that not (as the Papists use it) only or chiefly in Cases desperat; but mostly in Hopes of Recovery, and for that End.

12. Mr. *Russen* mentions also (73) a Way of Marriage us'd among them not according to the Use of the Church of *England*, and so of doubtful Validity in the Law of the Land. And he says, *This was introduc'd to give Room for the Jesuits and Romish Priests to take Women: for they being prohibited Marriage, and accounting Marriage one of the seven Sacraments, durst not take a Wife, or be married after the Manner of either the Romish or English Church, &c. but would take Women in the Congregations of Anabaptists or*

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(72) Picture of the Anabaptists, *Ch.* 8. *pag.* 60: (73) *Ibid.* p. 58.



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Quakers. But he (tho' writing against them something angrily) confesses, and it is a known Thing, that *many of 'em are married at our Churches: but more, he says, in their privat Assemblies.* But this all of 'em that I can speak with, deny to be true in Matter of Fact. They are for the most Part married in the Church. That Scruple diminishes among 'em.

13. Their Way of receiving the Sacrament of the Lord's-Supper is in a Posture that shews, outwardly at least, less of Devotion than the Way of most other Christians. They receive it sitting at a common Table, and (as the foresaid Writer expresses it) *with the Hat on, and handing the Elements one to another* (74). P. S. I find since that the *Hat on* is denied: the *Sitting* confess'd.

14. Some of 'em are *Sabbatarians*, i. e. they hold it still necessary, even for the *Gentil* Christians, to keep every *Saturday* as a Sabbath-day. One *Bampfild*, a Man of Note among 'em, formerly wrote a Treatise on that Subject, wherein he has, they say, said more for it than one would imagin could be said for so heterodox a Tenet. There are however in the Country few or none of this Opinion: what are, are at *London*. Whether the same Men do keep the Lord's-day too, I know not.

1544. 15. They differ more among themselves about the Practice of *Confirmation*, or Laying on of Hands after Baptism. Some of 'em do wholly omit and reject the Use of that Ordinance, as being Popish, or having no Foundation in Scriptur, or at least not now to be continued. And this it seems was the Way of those Churches or Societies of 'em, that in the Times I spoke of, did

did first openly set up at London. Others of 'em account it a necessary Thing. And some of these latter making it an Order among themselves, as the Church of *England* does, that none shall be admitted to the Holy Communion, until such Time as he be confirmed, (the Church of *England* adds, *or be ready and desirous to be confirmed*) there necessarily follows a Breach of Communion between the two Parties. And therefore *Danvers* (76) says; *All those Churches of that Constitution (which require this Ordinance) are founded in Sin and Schism, as well as in great Error and Ignorance. He says, It does not appear that any baptized Church or People did ever in any Age or Country own such a Principle or Practice to this Day, except some in this Nation in these late Times.* And gives this Account of the Rise of it; *That about the Year 1646, one Mr. Cornwell, heretofore a public Preacher, then a Minister of a baptized Congregation in Kent, coming into that baptized Congregation meeting in the Spittle Bishopsgate-street, preach'd that those who were not under Laying on of Hands, were not Babes in Christ, &c. Whereupon several were perswaded, &c. and made a Rent and a Separation: and from that very Schism propagated the same Principle and Practice among many others in the Nation ever since. But this Account of Danvers is lookt on by the moderat Men that are now among 'em, to be no just one. They say, that the most of those that do now use Confirmation, admit to the Communion, and receive as Brethren, those that scruple the using it: and è contra.*

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1546,

16. As to the Point of Predestination: Those of 'em that are of the *Arminian* Opinion, they call the *General Men*; as holding a general and uni-

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universal Redemption by Christ: and the *Calvinists* they call the *Particular Men*, as holding a *particular* and absolut Redemption of some particular Persons. I had said in my first Edition, that they generally made a different Opinion about this, to be a Bar against Communion one with another. Some of 'em do tell me, that this is not general; but only the Temper of some hot and eager Spirits on both Sides: that the Country where I dwell, is full of such of 'em as are of the least Repute: but that the major Part of their *Elders* or *Rulers* all over *England* do now admit either Sort. I am glad if this last be in fact the truer Account of the Generality of 'em: For (as I said then) if the Church of Christ be never to be One, till all Christians do explain themselves a like in the nice Disputes that happen in reconciling God's Prescience and Predestination with Man's Free-Will; it will never be One in this World. All Protestants that make Divisions on this Account, should learn Wit from our common Enemies. They, tho' they do in their Books carry this Dispute to the Height, yet, do keep themselves from Separation for it: in which Practice they are, both in Point of Interest and of Duty, certainly in the Right.

The Antipædobaptists may be sure I am not their Enemy, when I note this their Humor of dividing from one another, as an imprudent Thing. For as it is the Interest of the great Enemy of Mankind that Christians should be divided as much as is possible: and of the *Papists*, that *Protestants* should be so: So whoever were an Enemy to these Men in particular, would wish to see ten Parties or Divisions for every one that is among 'em.

¶ 7. Many

17. Many (but it seems not all) of the *General Men* are *Pelagians* in the Point of Original Sin. They own nothing of it. The other do: as appears both by the *Confession of Faith* (77) of seven Churches of 'em, which I mentioned before; and also by their present Profession. Some of the *General Men* say, they wonder how these that own Sin in Infants, can be against their Baptism. The *Pelagians* that owned no Sin in Infants, yet granted the Necessity of their Baptism to obtain the Kingdom of Heaven: these believe they have Sin, yet deny them Baptism for the Forgiveness of it.

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18. *Socinians* they have some that creep in among 'em: but I have not heard of any Church or Congregation of 'em that makes Profession of that Doctrine; but, on the contrary, that they that profess it openly are rejected from their Communion. And as much as I have said against their Divisions, I do not see how they that worship and believe in Christ as God; can join with them that either renounce the Worship of him, or believe him to be only a Creator lately made, and even still to be, in the best Nature that he has, of finite Worth, Dignity, and Capacity.

A late *Confession* publish'd in the Name of 100 Churches of 'em shews those Churches to be Catholic as to the Faith of the Trinity. But yet some printed Papers of much the same Date with that Confession passing between some of their Congregations, do shew that there are great Scandals given or taken, by some of 'em against others on Account of *Socinian* Tenets. There are some of these Papers signed by several of their Messengers, Elders, and Representatives,

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tives, and printed 1699. renouncing that Assembly of Antipædobaptists, which they call the *General Assembly*, held at *Goswell-street*, London, and perswading others to do the like; saying, that it is to the Reproach of *Jesus Christ* and the Pollution of the Churches to hold Communion with that Assembly: and that it is inconsistent for any who hold the Divinity of our Lord *Jesus Christ* to do so.

But all this is not (as far as I can learn) that they charge the *General Assembly* with *Socinian* Tenets; but only with refusing to turn out some that are accus'd of holding 'em: which Accusations they think to be fully prov'd; but the others, it seems, say they are not.

Since my first Edition, there is printed in 1706, a *Socinian* Pamphlet, intitled; *The Unreasonableness of making and imposing Creeds*. It is without a Name; but the Autor seems to be an Antipædobaptist, that is angry with two Parties of his Brethren, one called, *The General Assembly*, the other, *The General Association*. Which, as he represents, having been at some Variance, did on *June 9. 1704.* unite on the following Terms;

First, They set down two Articles of Faith concerning God the Father and our Lord *Jesus Christ*: containing an orthodox Confession of the Trinity, and being much of the same Sense as are the two first of the 39 Articles of the Church of *England*. [This he calls a Specimen of *modern Creed-making*.]

Then they enact, That if any of their Members shall publish or say any Thing contrary to that Faith; He shall be *esteemed disorderly, and dealt with accordingly*. But they add, that if any Member receiving this Faith, shall reflect on any Member that does not receive it (provided he do not teach the contrary), He also shall

shall be esteemed disorderly, and dealt with accordingly.

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And on these Terms that the *Assembly* and *Association* do presently meet together as formerly, and unite. And they enact, That all Papers that have been published, relating to any Difference between 'em, be suppressed. I suppose they had in their Eye the Papers that I spoke of.

Upon which this Autor observes that they that have not Threats wide enough to swallow this rough Creed, must not tell their Reason why. But if they will hold their Tongues and only think; they shall have the Favor not to be reflected on. Upon which he falls into a Vein of the vilest Raillery, Burlesque, Buffoonry, and Mockery of the Doctrin of the Trinity, that this impious Age has produc'd. And it has produc'd a great deal: too much in all Conscience to be born with. That *Socinian* Doctrin seems to have infected all its Disciples (this Antipædobaptist as well as the Pædobaptist ones) with such a Degree of Searedness, that they do no longer discourse in any serious Way; but, as if they were talking of some Play or Jest, make themselves Sport with the awful Mystery of *God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit*. And since they cannot argue, would laugh us out of our Faith. One would think that if their Consciences urge 'em to argue against the God of the Christians, they should in a Christian Nation be compelled to do it with less Effrontery and Impudence.

These Antipædobaptists, as he tells us afterward, met again in 1705. and agreed that none should be a Member of the *General Assembly*, (which, it seems, is a Body made up of the *Representatives* of particular Churches) unless he do subscribe the whole of the foresaid Draught of 1704. So that no *Socinian* can be chosen a  
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Year of- Representative [or Proctor] to sit in the General  
 ter the A- Assembly. For which he is very angry with 'em,  
 possles tho' all the World beside must think it but a  
 necessary Caution.

At last, he tells 'em in a laughing Way, that to make any Canons without the Queen's License, is a *Pramunire*. Which is, I suppose, brought in to insult, and triumph over, the Convocation of the Church of *England*, for its being under such Restraint: whereas these Bodies of Men do in their Assemblies make and publish any Rules that they think needful on any emergent Occasion; and do actually inflict and execute their Church-Censurs on such of their Members as do not observe 'em.

19. They are generally much inclin'd to hold public Disputations about Religion before the Multitude. Having plain Places of Scriptur to produce concerning Adult Baptism, and several Examples of it; they work much on such of the People as had not minded this before, and had not had a right State of the Question between the Pædobaptists and the Antipædobaptists: wherein the former grant that in a Nation newly converted to Christianity, (and such are all the Cases mention'd in the Scriptur) the Adult People must be baptiz'd first, before their Infants can be baptized.

Their most eager Disputes are against the *Quakers*. And they have Reason. For since so great a Part of their Zeal is spent in setting the Time and Manner of Baptism Right, as they judge: and it happens among them (as indeed the like does among all Parties) that there are some that have little Religion beside their Zeal in that Matter: the *Quaker* gives them the foulest Affront possible. He cuts off all their Religion at one Stroak; saying that all Water-Baptism, at what Age soever it be given, is a useless Thing: and

and perverts all the Places of Scriptur where it is spoken of, with some far fetch'd Interpretations: as he does likewise in the Case of the other Sacrament. And tho' among People of Sense that do own the Scriptur (as some at least of the *Quakers* do) one would think that this Dispute should quickly be at an End; yet 'tis strange to observe what Numbers there do continue in many Places of *England* of that enthusiastical Sect, that can turn the plainest Places of Scriptur into a Riddle.

'Tis a great Discredit to the Climat and Air of *England*, that that sort of Distemper of Brain that disposes Men to *Quakerism*, should be no where so epidemical as there. The same Men in the Popish Religion would have been *visionary Saints*, *Hermits*, *Carthusians*, &c. In the *Indian* Religion, they would have been *Ghebers* (78), and their Cant now is much like the others *Ghiberish*. In the *Mahometan*, they would have been of those *Dervises* that have Raptures of crying *Allah, Allah*, till their Heads grow giddy and they fall down. If the Sets of Opinions for the late Sects have, as some think, been contriv'd by the *Jesuits*; that *Jesuit* that contriv'd this, shew'd so dull a Faculty for the Work, that he might, one would have thought, have despair'd of any Disciples: And yet it is become one of the most spreading in *England*. A late Autor says (79), he has been credibly informed, that a *St. Omer's Jesuit* declar'd, that they were 20 Years *hammering out* the Sect of the *Quakers*. 'Tis strange they could not forge nor smooth it any handsomer. For as all Poetry, Fiction, or Play, ought to represent, if not true History, yet some-

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(78) See Mr. *Thevenor's Travels into Persia*. (79) *Foxes and Firebr.* Pt. 1. pag. 4.



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something that may look, or be conceiv'd, like it; so they that would frame a Religion pretending to be founded on the Scriptur, or to be believ'd together with it, should dress it up with Tenets that have some Appearance of Likeness to the Declarations of Scriptur; and not make it to renounce such Things as the Scriptur does injoin in so plain Words as it does the two Sacraments. But there is a Sort of People that take a malicious Pleasure in trying how broad Affronts the Understandings of some Men will bear.

'Tis the vulgar People among the *Quakers* that we speak of as thus led by the Nose, and possess'd with this sort of Enthusiasm. Their Leaders and the politic Men among 'em (if they be not of the foresaid *Hammerers*) seem to have for the Bottom of their Religion, *Deism*; and to think that Reason and human Philosophy is a better Rule for a Man to direct his Conversation by, than any Tradition or revealed Doctrin. For what other than such is the Consequent of that Principle; that *the Light within us*, which comes at last to be no other than our own Reason, is better than *any Light without us*, i. e. than any Scriptur?

20. The *English Antipædobaptists* have for their Church-Government, *Elders*, or *Presbyters*. These have a ruling Power in the Congregations. *Deacons*: These take Care of the Poor. *Teachers*: Any whom the Congregation approves of for that Purpose, as fit to teach: So of these they have Abundance. Yet those Congregations of 'em that are accounted the most regular, do not appoint or suffer any (that are not yet ordained *Elders*) to preach publicly, but only in a probational Way, in order to be ordained if they continue to be approved: except on some Case of Necessity, as in the Want of *Elders*,

## Chap.VIII. *Their Church Officers.*

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**Elders, &c.** They have some whom they call *Messengers*, which is the *English Word* for *ter the A-*  
*Apostles*. And there are of these two sorts. *postles*  
Some are such of their *Presbyters*, as being found  
of the best Ability, Judgment, &c. are appointed  
(beside the Care of their own Congregation) to  
go sometimes about a certain District, Diocese,  
or Province. And when any of these comes to  
preach in any other Man's Congregation, or to  
be present at any Meeting of their Churches;  
he is received and heard with greater Respect  
than ordinary, and his Authority more regarded  
than of ordinary Presbyters. But for direct and  
proper Jurisdiction over other Presbyters or  
People, he has none: nor any Power of *Ruling*  
but in his own Congregation. The other sort  
is of such as are nothing else but Messengers in  
the ordinary Sense of the *English Word*: *viz.*  
Men appointed as Messengers to carry the Sense  
and Opinion of some Congregations to other  
Congregations at a Distance.

They have some, whom they call *Representa-*  
*tives*: i. e. Men chosen and delegated by the  
particular Churches that they have all over  
*England*, to meet at *London* every *Whitsontide*,  
to consider of the common Affairs of their Re-  
ligion. This Meeting of *Representatives*, is, as I  
take it, that which is called the *General Assem-*  
*bly*; something resembling our Lower House of  
Convocation. The Place is in *Goswell-street*,  
*London*. But one Congregation does sometimes  
send 2 or 3 Representatives.

All these are chosen with the Approbation of  
the People: only the People themselves are in  
their Approbation much swayed by the Advice  
of their *Messengers, Elders, &c.* and by the Opi-  
nion which they give concerning the Fitness of  
any one. And then they are ordained by the  
Laying on of an Elder's Hands.

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They do, in the Disputes which they hold with People of the Church of *England*, frequently urge, that this their Way, *viz.* for the People to have their Suffrage in the Choice of Church-Officers, is the most regular Way: as being that which was us'd by the Primitive Christians. Which is a Piece of History that cannot fairly be denied. It was certainly the Primitive Way for the Bishop to choose the Presbyters with the Approbation of the People: and for the Presbyters and People together, being for the most part assisted by some neighbouring Bishops, to choose a new Bishop in the Room of one that died. This continued for many hundred Years: and those Christians that have gone about to mend this Way, have made it much worse.

But the Antipædobaptists have upon the whole no Reason to boast of the Regularity of their Management in this Matter. For whereas the Primitive Practice was, as I said, for the Bishop to choose the Presbyters with the Approbation of the People; The Antipædobaptists, as they have preserved and increased the Privilege of the People, have quite shut out the Office of a Bishop, (for by the foregoing Account, the Messenger has not any of the Power of a Bishop) which of the two is the more necessary. For the Multitude, partly for Want of Judgment concerning the Fitness of any one, and partly by their Inclination to Faction and Party, and being (a) *puffed up for one against another*, are found by woful Experience, in all Churches where that Way is used, to be wretched Choosers for themselves. The Original and Primitive Pattern is the best.

21. They

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(a) 1 Cor. 4. 6.

21. They have this Way of adjusting Differences that arise among themselves on Account of Trespases, Dues, or other Money Matters: which I recite as being worthy of Imitation. If any one of 'em does wrong to another, or refuses to do, or to pay, what is equitable in any Case: if he will not be brought to Reason by a privat Arguing of the Matter, nor by the Verdict of two or three Neighbours added; the Plaintiff brings the Case before the Congregation when they with their Elder are assembled in the Natur of a Vestry. And in difficult Cases there lies an Appeal from a particular Congregation to some fuller Meeting of their Church under a *Messenger*. And he of the two, that will not stand to the ultimat Determination of the Assembly by their Usage appointed, is no longer acknowledg'd by the rest as a Brother.

As this is very much according to our Savior's (80) and St. Paul's (81) Direction in such Cases; so I have been told that it has the good Effect to prevent Abundance of Law-Suits, and end many Quarrels: very few of 'em offering to withstand the general Verdict and Opinion of all their Brethren. And there is no Reason to doubt but that a like Course would, if it were put in Practice, have a like good Effect among other Societies of Christians.

22. The like Disciplin (of renouncing Brotherhood) they use against such of their Communion as are known to be guilty of any such Immorality, as is a Scandal to the Christian Profession of a sober and godly Life: for which Care of their Members there is no Man but will commend 'em. And therefore I do not mention the ordering of this as particular in them:

All

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(80) Matt. 18. 15, 16, 17. (81) 1 Cor. 6. 1, 2, &c.

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All Churches by their Constitution do order the same Thing to be done. But the Administration, or putting in Execution of this Order, is in some Churches very slack and negligent; and in some, very much perverted by corrupt Officers of the Courts. The Bishops visiting of every Parish in particular (which when it began first to be omitted by some Bishops, was so earnestly injoin'd by (82) Canons) is now almost antiquated and forgotten. And there is many Times a very huddling Work made of a Visitation.

So far as this Disciplin is omitted or perverted in any Church; so far is that Church fallen into a very dangerous Decay. Among all the Exceptions made by the several Sorts of Dissenters against the Church of *England*, there is none nigh so material as this: nor is there any Neglect, the amending whereof would, beside the stopping of the Mouths of Gainsayers, produce a greater spiritual Advantage to their People. In the mean Time the Dissenters ought to consider and allow these Things following.

1. That this is much more difficult in a national Church than in one of their Societies. For none side with them but what do it out of some Zeal: whether it be a true and godly Zeal, or an ignorant and factious one; still it is Zeal, and may be made Use of to a vigorous Execution of the Orders past among 'em. But there is in all Nations, besides the zealous Men, a sort of *flying Squadron*, that have really no Concern at all for any Religion, but being perfectly indifferent, do of Course fall in with the national

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(82) See Bochelli Decreta Eccl. Gal. 1. 5. Tit. 15. c. 2, 5, 9, &c. It. Bp. *Stillingfleet's* Charge at his primary Visitation, pag. 54, &c.

tional Church, as being the most fashionable at that Time. These, wherever they light, are a great Hindrance to the due Execution of any Canons for Disciplin. They are either by their Riches and Power too big, or else by their Number too many for the Force of the Law. The Dissenters, notwithstanding the Boasts of their Exactness of Disciplin, would find themselves embarras'd, if this were their Case.

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2. That tho' the Scriptur does command Churches to excommunicate wicked Men, yet it does not allow privat Men to make Separations from a Church that does not duly practise that Command. Let a Man but take Care that he do not deserve by his own Wickedness to be turn'd out of the Church: and if others who do deserve it, be not upon a Motion made, turn'd out; that is not his Fault, nor will be imputed to him. The Church of *Corinth* was faulty in this, when *St. Paul* wrote his first Epistle to 'em: and tho' he does there (84) reprove 'em for this Fault; yet at the Time of his 2d Epistle there were still many wicked Men (85) whom they had not yet turn'd out; and yet in both his Epistles (86) he charges that none go about to make any Division. And from that Time to this Time there has been no Church free from these *Spots in the Feasts of Charity*. It is indeed impossible for any Church, while it is in this World, absolutely to free it self. In the mean Time privat Christians are advis'd to withdraw their Familiarity (87) and Conversation from those that they know to be such. And so far every privat Man has the Power of Excommunication in his own Breast.

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3. That

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(84) 1 Cor. 5. 2. (85) 2 Cor. 12. 20, 21. (86) 1 Cor. 1. 10. 2 Cor. 13. 11, 12. (87) 1 Cor. 5. 11.

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3. That whereas there are but four sorts of Men whom the Scriptur does command to be excommunicated. 1. Idolaters (88), Unbelievers (89), Teachers of false Doctrin in the Fundamentals (90) of the Faith. 2. Men of vicious and immoral Lives (91). 3. Such as in Points of Trespasses or Differences between Man and Man, will not hear the (92) Church. And 4ly, Those that make Divisions in or from a Church. The Dissenters and dividing Parties should, amidst all the Zeal that they shew for executing the Law upon the three first sorts, remember that the Law is as full, as plain, as peremptory against the fourth sort as against any of the other. For there is not a Text in all the Scriptur that is plainer against any Sin, or that does more expressly command any sort of Sinners to be excommunicated, than is that of St. Paul, Rom. 16. 17. *Now I beseech you, Brethren, mark those which cause Divisions and Offences, contrary to the Doctrin which you have learned, and avoid 'em.* Therefore he that thinks Adultery to be a Sin, and Drunkenness to be a Sin, &c. and Schism to be none; or that a Man is to be *avoided* or excommunicated for the one, but not for the other; is one that does not take Christ's Commands as they lie in Scriptur; but picks out some that he will observe, and others that he will slight, according as they please or displease his Humor. The Word of God is, that every one should avoid; or separat from him, that goes about to make a Separation. The Dissenters, if they apply this, will be inclin'd to a little more Moderation and Charity in the Censurs that they pass upon

National

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(88) 2 Cor. 6. 16, 17. (89) 2 Cor. 14. 15. (90) 2 Tim. 2. 16, 17, 18. (91) 1 Cor. 5. 7, 12. (92) Matt. 18. 17.

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National Churches, for their Want of so severe a Disciplin as they call for.

23. The *English* Antipædobaptists have, as the other separating Parties in *England* have, some *Jesuits* that in Disguise do ever now and then strive to insinuate and get in among 'em. This Society did at first exert the chief of their Strength, and imploy the ablest Men they had, in writing Books of Controversie against the Protestants: and they had the Repute of having puzzl'd the Cause better than any other Popish Writers had. This Way, however unfairly manag'd by them, had yet this Commendation; that it was *fighting in open Field*. But having been there repuls'd with some Loss, 'tis now a long Time since, that they have wholly taken to that Way which *Dr. Stillingsfleet*, 30 Years ago (93), call'd their *present Way of pickeering and lying under Hedges*. They will turn themselves into any Shape, pretend to be of any Religion, put on the Disguise of Trades-Men, Handycraftsmen, Soldiers, Physicians, &c. to get an Opportunity either of making Profelyts to the Church of *Rome*, or of promoting Divisions among Protestants. But there is no Employment they love so well, as that of a Preacher in any of the separat Congregations. They can act this Part notably. They stick not in their Sermons to rail as fiercely as any against the Pope of *Rome*, so that they may use the Credit, which they thereby get with the deluded People, to engage 'em deeper in Principles of Separation from the establish'd Church of the Countries where they live. Sometimes they have been detected in their Life-times: and sometimes the Cheat has not appear'd till a good while after.

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The Autor of a Book call'd *Foxes and Firebrands*, has collected out of Histories, Records, Letters, &c. Abundance of Instances wherein they have been found instilling or inflaming Principles of Separation among all the Sects or divided Parties in *England*, and *Scotland*, ever since the Reformation. And out of him the Autor of a Book call'd, *The Pictur of the Anabaptists*, has recited such, wherein they have been concerned with the Antipædobaptists. I shall not here repeat 'em.

One Instance which shews how long it is sometimes before the Intrigue is discover'd, is this; In the former Years of Queen *Elizabeth's* Time, there were a sort of People call'd *Puritans*, that express'd some Dislike at some Orders or Ceremonies of the Church of *England*: but yet did not proceed to Separation, but, on the contrary, declar'd an Abhorrence of it. But about 1467. the Year 1567, there succeeded them (as Fuller relating the Matter (94) expresses it) another Generation of active and zealous Nonconformists. Of these Coleman, Button, Hallingham, and Benson, were the chief: inveighing against the establish'd Church Disciplin: accounting every Thing from Rome which was not from Geneva: endeavoring in all Things to conform the Government of the English Church to the Presbyterian Reformation.

*Camden* (a) and *Heylin* (b) do mention the same Men with the same Character: as opposing the Disciplin, Liturgy, calling of our Bishops as approaching too near to the Church of Rome, &c.

Now neither *Camden*, *Heylin*, nor *Fuller*, who recite the Names of these Men, ever knew any Thing

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(94) Church Hist. lib. 9. (a) Annal. Elizab. ad Ann. 1568. (b) Hist. of Presbyter. l. 6. p. 257.

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Thing to the contrary, but that they were really such as they pretended, viz. Protestants puritanically inclin'd: much less did the People that were led into Separation by 'em, know any Thing.

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But a hundred Years after the Time that these Men and their first Associates must have been dead, viz. about 20 Years ago, it was discover'd that three of the four, viz. *Hallingham, Coleman, and Benson*, were *Jesuits*; And that, by the Sagacity of Bishop *Stillingfleet* (95) comparing the Histories of those Times with some *Jesuits* Letters intercepted about the same Time.

1585.

The chief Letter to this Purpose is recited by the foresaid Autor of (96) *Foxes and Firebrands*, and averr'd by him to be a true Copy taken out of the Registry of the Episcopal See of Rochester in that Book which begins Anno 2 & 3 Phil. & Mar. and is continued to 15. Eliz.

What he recites from that Book is to this Purpose. In the Year 1568, one *Hebh* went about the lower Parts of *Kent*, preaching up Division and a purer Reformation: He came to *Rochester*, and they, not knowing what seditious Doctrins he had preach'd in the Country Places, admitted him to preach in the Cathedral. The next Day there was found in the Pulpit a Letter that had dropt from him, written to him from one *Malt*, a Jesuit at *Madrid*, (which is there recited at large) applauding the Course he took, and advertising him of the Success of some others sent on the like Errand: and adding these Words; *Hallingham, Coleman, and Benson, have set a Faction among the German Heretics, so that several who*

1468.

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have

(95) Unreasonab. of Separation, Preface. (96) Pt. 1. pag. 15.

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*have turned from us, have now denied their Baptism.* This and other Evidences being brought, he was convicted in the Bishop's Court at *Rochester* to be a *Jesuit*, and could not any longer deny it. In his Boots were found his Beads, and a Pope's Bull for the *Jesuits* to preach what Doctrin they pleas'd for dividing of Protestants, particularly naming the *English*. And in his Trunk were several Books for *denying Baptism to Infants*.

The Autor of this Recital makes no Use of this Passage of the Letter about *Hallingham, Coleman, and Benson*. But Bishop *Stillingsfleet* shews, that they must have been the same Men mentioned by the foresaid Historians: and that by *German Heretics* are meant any Protestants; that Religion being then called the *German Heresie*.

The Book from whence this is quoted must probably have been then in the Registry, because the said Autor (who was accounted a Man of Credit) would not else so positively have referred to it. But I understand by Inquiry that it is not now there. By what Interest it can have been taken away since that Time, (which was about 30 Years ago) is hard to guess. But however, it seems that Mr. *Russen* who says (97) at present; *If they look upon this Story as untrue, let them search the Register, &c. where they shall find to their Ignominy the Verity thereof*, is mistaken. P. S. Since the Writing of this, I understand that it is said to have been stolen away in the late K. *James's* Time. A Neighbor Clergyman, the Reverend and Learned Mr. *Edward Brown*, Rector of *Sundrish* in *Kent*, now deceased, was told so by an old Officer of the Church of *Rochester*. And he left a *Memorandum*, of it in Writing with Dr. *Barker*, Rector of *Braffhead*,  
who

who since Mr. Brown's Death told me he had it. But the Persons are now all dead : and the written Memorandum is lost.

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I shall mention but one Case more ; and that is one which is not taken Notice of by the fore-said Collectors. All that I understand of it is from a Pamphlet printed by one *Everard* in the Year 1664. By which it appears that he in *Cromwell's* Time had been a Captain of Horse, and a noted Preacher against Infant Baptism. He speaks as if he had had a great many Converts. This Time at which he printed his Pamphlet was a Time in which it was impossible for him to carry on that Trade in a Disguise any longer. So he faces about, and endeavors to decoy 'em over with him to the Church of *Rome*. To this Purpose he pretends that it had pleas'd God to bring him to an Opportunity of discouraging concerning Religion with a very grave and judicious Gentleman, who examining every Thing from the Bottom, and laying the Ax to the Root of the Tree, &c. ask'd him in the first Place, whether he was sure and certain, that the Christian Religion in general was more true than the Religion of the Turks, Jews, &c. In short, this Man had by Degrees made him see that there is no firm Relyance for one's Faith either on the Scriptur, or on the Direction of the Spirit, or on Reason ; but only on the Auctority of the Catholic Church, by which he all along means the Church of *Rome*. So he gives to his Pamphlet this Title ; *An Epistle to the several Congregations of the Nonconformists. By Capt. Robert Everard, now by God's Grace a Member of the Holy Catholic Church of Christ : shewing the Reasons of his Conversion and Submission to the said Catholic Church,* printed 1664.

But the Reasons therein given are so exactly the same with the ordinary Sophisms which the Jesuits commonly use to amaze and confound

Year of the Minds of ignorant People, and the Writer of 'em sets 'em forth with so much of the same sort of Art; that he that reads the Book will easily discern that *Everard* was not now converted, but was a Papist before.

We must think that the Instances of this Nature that have been discover'd, are probably but few in comparison with those that never have been so. We oftner find where these Men have been, than where they are: and it were happy for *England* if they had some Mark, whereby they might be known.

There is one Tenet of the Antipædobaptists in which the *Jesuits* concur with 'em, not only when they are in this Disguise, but also in their late Books to which they set their Names: That is, that *Infant Baptism cannot be prov'd from Scriptur.* The old Books of the Papists, and even of some *Jesuits* do, as well as the Books of Protestants, prove it by Arguments from Scriptur, as Archbishop *Laud* and *Vossius* have largely shewn. But the late *Jesuits* have given a politic Turn to that Point of the *Romish* Doctrin: and say, that it can be prov'd only by the Custom and Tradition of the Church. They serve two Designs by this Device. One is, to puzzle the Protestants in general, who maintain that the Scriptur is a sufficient Rule. The other is, to encourage the Antipædobaptists, that are among the Protestants, in their Opinion and Separation. To which Purpose they do in their Books furnish 'em with Answers to all the Arguments brought from Scriptur.

Col. *Danvers* says (98), *A great Papist lately in London, going to a Dispute about Infant Baptism,*  
told

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told his Friend, " He was going to hear a Miracle,  
" viz. Infant Baptism prov'd by Scriptur.

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And one *E. P.* an Antipædobaptist Preacher, formerly of *Deptford*, now I think about *Dover* in *Kent*, in a Pamphlet which he intitles, *A Three penny Answer*, &c. has this Remark (99), *A Popish Priest confess to a Minister of the baptized way*, that " there is no Scriptur for baptizing Infants: but yet it ought to be done, " because the Church has commanded it. *This was a true and ingenuous Confession.* There is no doubt but this Priest would, if *Mr. P.* had given leave, have preach'd the same in his Congregation. And if he might have preach'd in a *Vizor*, would have said it ought not to be done at all.

But I don't so much wonder at these two, as I do at *Mr. Stennet*, who in his late *Answer to Mr. Ruffen* has thought fit to strengthen his Cause not only by quoting *Cardinal Perron*, *Fisher* the Jesuit, &c. but has spent eleven whole Pages in giving us an Harangue of *Mr. Bossuet*, a late Popish Autor, written in Favor of the Antipædobaptists. Is it News to *Mr. Stennet* too, that the Papists for these 80 Years past do this against their own Conscience, and out of a Design against the Protestants in general? If it be, let him consult and compare the popish Writers; and he will find that before that Time they do themselves all of 'em prove Infant Baptism by Scriptur, and that 'tis only the later ones that have alter'd their Tale. There seems to have been about that Time a Consult of the *Jesuits*, wherein it was resolv'd to give this Cue to the Writers of their Side. *Cardinal Perron* began this Course: and the learned *Rivet* even then

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then smelt the Design, and gave the World Notice of it, as I shewed CH. II. §. 9. Yet even still the Papists carry it on in new Writings every Day: and it takes, it seems (not only as *Saffold's* Bills do with the new Folks that come to Town every Year, but) even with some of the wiser sort. If the Discourse that he recites so at length, had any Thing of new Argument in it; it might be used, come it from whom it would. But there is nothing of that, but what is common, and even trivial, and has been answer'd 100 Times. It affirms that Infant Baptism depends *solely* on the Tradition of the Church: but this is said Dictator like.

And for the complying Answer that is there given, and fills four or five Pages more; which was written it seems by Mr. *de la Roque*: I thought at first it had been a Sham; it looks as if the Autor himself, or some other Papist or Antipædobaptist, had framed an Answer under the Name of a Protestant, such as they would have. But Mr. *de la Roque* was it seems a learned Man in other Points, and has well refuted the Main of his Adversaries Book: which is of Communion in one kind: but having Occasion to speak of this Matter only by the By, and having not studied it, but depending on *Grotius*, and having not well minded what *Grotius* says neither, he has yielded even more than his Opponent pretended to. The Opponent had said that Infant Baptism depends *solely on the Tradition of the Church*. The Answerer throws away even this Grant: and says, *The Primitive Church did not baptize Infants*, p. 188. and proves it by nothing but an Allegation that is quite mistaken in Matter of Fact. He says, *the learned Grotius proves it in his Annotations on the Gospel*. Let any one read the Annotations, and he will see that *Grotius* (how much soever he acts

aets the Prevaricator at that Place) so far from proving, does not pretend that there ever was a Time in which the Church *did not baptize Infants*: but only *Libertatem & consuetudinis differentiam*: 'The Liberty and Difference of the Custom; viz. that some in the Church did, and some did not. And how groundless his Pretence even of that is, I have endeavor'd to shew at the foresaid CH. II. §. 9.

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One would think that even the weakest among the Antipædobaptists should apprehend, that this new Favor and loving Kindness which the Priests and Jesuits shew to their Side, is all of the same Stamp and Design, as was that which the late King *James*, by Counsel of the same Men, shew'd to the Dissenters in general, viz. that by furthering the Division they might weaken us all. And as all the honest Men among the Dissenters then did scorn and refuse those Favors, when they saw whither they tended: so ought the Antipædobaptists in this Case. But if they will not be dissuaded from tampering with the deceitful Gifts of the Enemy; then their best Way is, to do as some have done before 'em, viz. to borrow the Arguments of the Jesuits without saying where they have 'em. For People will be never the more perswaded that Infant Baptism cannot be prov'd from Scriptur, because a Papist says so.

The *English* Antipædobaptists are as careful as Men in their Circumstances can well be, against this Intrusion of Papists in Disguise; by requiring an Account of any new Preacher coming to 'em: but it is a Thing that can hardly be ever totally prevented without a Draught of Articles of Religion, to which every Preacher should subscribe.

§. 7. Of the Antipædobaptists in *Poland* I have not much to say; save that they were formerly



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1450.

merly there in great Numbers. *Laelius Socinus* about the Year 1550, and after him, his Nephew *Fauftus*, broached there a most desperat Opinion against the Divinity of our Savior Christ (1); *Who is over all, God blessed for ever. Amen.* Some Heretics of old (but yet none within 1000 Years of that Time) had held that *Jefus* was, a mere Man: And that the WORD or  $\lambda\omicron\gamma\omega$  did only come upon him, or inhabit in him. But these Men taught, that even the WORD himself, of whom *St. John* speaks, was a Creatur. Which was a Heresie perfectly new, and surpassing in Impiety almost all that ever were. So they renounced the Doctrin of the Trinity. The Form of Words by which Christians are baptized, *In the Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit*, stood in their Way. *Socinus* therefore exprets'd a very slighting Opinion of all Water Baptism. He would have it be accounted needless in a Nation that is settled in the Profession of Christianity. He said (2), The Apostles practis'd it; but they had no Command so to do: And so other Christians might use it, as an indifferent Thing. That they may baptize, if they will; or let it alone, if they will. And if they will give Baptism; they may give it in Infancy, or in adult Age: 'Tis much what one. His Followers, many of 'em, took him at this last Proposal. They would baptize, but not in Infancy.

There were also some other Antipædobaptists that were not *Socinians*. But they were so generally mixt, that the ordinary Name given to all 1550. *Socinians* was *Anabaptists*. About the Year 1650, they were by public Edicts expelled that Kingdom:

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(1) Rom. 9. 5. (2) Disp. de baptismo. Epist. de baptismo ad virum nobilem. Epist. altera de bapt.

dom: As the Protestants in general have since been.

Year after the Apostles

And the same may be said of *Bohemia* and *Moravia*, and some other Countries thereabouts. There were for about 100 Years many Antipædobaptists mixt with the Protestants in those Countries. But both one and the other have since been by popish Persecutions either perverted, or forced to seek new Seats.

In *Hungary* and *Transylvania*, but especially the latter, there are said to be still considerable Numbers of 'em. Some Towns and Villages consisting mostly of these Men. But 'tis said withal (3), that they are mostly *Socinians*. There were in *Transylvania* so long ago as the Time of the later *Socinus* beforementioned, viz. *Faustus Socinus*, some of these that were deeper in that Heresie, if possible, than he himself was. They held, as he (4) tells us, *The Doctrins of the TRINITY and of INFANT BAPTISM to be the chief Errors of other Churches. So that if any one would renounce these two, and would firmly hold, that all that have been baptiz'd in Infancy, must be baptiz'd when they are grown up; they would own such an one for a Brother in Point of Doctrin, &c. tho' he differ'd in some other Things.*

This is a gracious Condescension. But yet I question whether, as the Case stands, it will induce many to accept of the Proposal: Because all People thereabouts know, that by complying but a very little farther they may be admitted for true *Musselmen*, and allow'd to wear white Turbants in the City of *Stambol*: An Honor which these Gentlemen seem very ambitious of. But as for those that desire to keep the Name of Christians, God preserve 'em from the Folly of buying the Brotherhood of these Men at so dear a rate as the renouncing of their God. CHAP.

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(3) Osiander. Appendix Hist. (4) Epist. de bapt. ad virum nobilem.

## C H A P. IX.

*Of the most antient Rites of Baptism.*

§. 1. **T**HE Rites and Circumstances attending Baptism have been largely handled by *Josephus Vicecomes*. I shall only briefly mention some of the most antient.

It was the Custom of every Church of Christians to require adult Persons that were to be baptiz'd, to spend some Time in Prayer and Fasting before their Entrance into that holy Covenant: that they might come with greater Seriousness and Stedfastness of Resolution to the Sacrament thereof. And the Church did use to fast and pray with them and for them.

40. This Fasting, tho' it be no where mention'd in Scriptur, yet is expressly put among the Customs of the Christians by *Justin Martyr*, (who must have been born in the Scriptur Times) in that *Apology* which he makes to the Heathen Emperors concerning the Tenets and Practices of the Christians. The Place I recited before (1).

100. And so it is also by *Tertullian* (2). *They*, says he, *that come to Baptism, must use the Devotions of frequent Prayers, Fastings, Kneelings, and Watchings, and the Confession of all their past Sins; that they may at least do as much as was don in John's Baptism.* 'They were baptiz'd, 'tis said, 'confessing their Sins.

I said before (3), that 'tis probable that this was none of the least Reasons for keeping the  
Lent

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(1) Pt. I. CH. II. §. 3. (2) Lib. de baptismo, c. 20.  
(3) Pt. I. CH. XVII. §. 5.

Chap. IX. *Dipping ordinarily used in Baptism.* 351

*Lent Fast*; because the Baptism of so many People was to be at *Easter*. The Council of *Laodicea* do order (4), *That none be admitted to Baptism that Easter, that does not give in his Name before a Fortnight of Lent be out. And that they must all be able to say the Creed by Thursday before Easter. And that if any be baptiz'd in Sickness: When they recover, they must learn and recite it.* Year after the Apostles 267.

§. 2. Their general and ordinary Way was to baptize by Immersion, or dipping the Person, whether it were an Infant, or grown Man or Woman, into the Water. This is so plain and clear by an infinit Number of Passages, that as one cannot but pity the weak Endeavors of such Pædobaptists as would maintain the Negative of it; so also we ought to disown and shew a Dislike of the profan Scoffs which some People give to the *English* Antipædobaptists merely for their Use of dipping. 'Tis one Thing to maintain that that Circumstance is not absolutely necessary to the Essence of Baptism: And another, to go about to represent it as ridiculous and foolish, or as shameful and indecent; when it was in all Probability the Way by which our blessed Savior, and for certain was the most usual and ordinary Way by which the antient Christians, did receive their Baptism. I shall not stay to produce the particular Proofs of this. Many of the Quotations which I brought for other Purposes, and shall bring, do evince it. 'Tis a great Want of Prudence, as well as of Honesty, to refuse to grant to an Adversary what is certainly true, and may be proved so. It creates a Jealousie of all the rest that one says.

Before

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(4) Can. 45, 46, 47.

Year af-  
ter the A-  
postles

100.

Before the Christian Religion was so far encourag'd as to have Churches built for its Service, they baptiz'd in any River, Pond, &c. So *Tertullian* (5) says; *It is all one whether one be wash'd in the Sea, or in a Pond, in a Fountain, or in a River, in a standing or in a running Water: Nor is there any Difference between those that John baptiz'd in Jordan, and those that Peter baptiz'd in the River Tiber.* But when they came to have Churches; one Part of the Church, or Place nigh the Church, called the *Baptistery*, was employ'd to this Use; and had a Cistern, Font, or Pond large enough for several at once to go into the Water: divided into two Parts by a Partition, one for the Men and the other for the Women for the ordinary Baptisms.

On the other side, the *Antipædobaptists* will be as unfair in their Turn, if they do not grant that in the Case of Sicknes, Weakness, Hast, Want of Quantity of Water, or such like extraordinary Occasions, Baptism by Affusion of Water on the Face was by the Antients counted sufficient Baptism. I shall out of the many Proofs for it produce two or three of the most Antient.

151. *Anno Dom. 251. Novatian* was by one Party of the Clergy and People of *Rome* chosen Bishop of that Church, in a schismatical Way, and in Opposition to *Cornelius*, who had been before chosen by the major Part, and was already ordain'd. *Cornelius* does in a Letter to *Fabius* Bishop of *Antioch* vindicate his Right: and shews (6) that *Novatian* came not canonically to his Orders of Priesthood; much less was he capable of being chosen Bishop: For that all the Clergy, and a great many of the Laity, were against his being

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(5) De baptismo, c. 4. (6) Euseb. H. E. l. 6. c. 43.

## Chap. IX. Sick People baptized in Bed.

353

being ordain'd Presbyter, because it was not lawful (they said) for any one that had been baptiz'd in his Bed in Time of Sickness, [*ἢ ἐν κλίνῃ διὰ νόσον μεχρῶντα*] as he had been, to be admitted to any Office of the Clergy.

Year after the Apostles

This shews that at the Time when *Novatian* turn'd Christian, which could not by this Account be much above 100 Years after the Apostles, it was the Custom for any one that in Time of Sickness desir'd Baptism, to have it administred to him in his Bed by Affusion: As in another Part of this Letter is said of him; *ἐν δούλῃ τῇ κλίνῃ ἢ ἐκείτῳ μεχρῶντα*. Baptiz'd by Affusion in the Bed as he lay.

120.

'Tis true, the Christians had then a Rule among themselves, that such an one, if he recovered, should never be prefer'd to any Office in the Church. Which Rule they made, not that they thought that Manner of Baptism to be less effectual than the other; but for the Reason express'd by the Council of *Neocasarea* held about 80 Years after this Time: The 12th Canon whereof is; *He that is baptiz'd when he is sick, ought not to be made a Priest (for his coming to the Faith is not voluntary, but from Necessity) unless his Diligence and Faith do afterward prove commendable, or the Scarcity of Men fit for the Office do require it.*

214.

Another Instance about the same Time, is this; One *Magnus*, a Countryman, writes (7) to *St. Cyprian*, desiring to be satisfied in some Points relating to the Schism of the *Novatians*. One was: Whether those that were baptiz'd in that Schism, must be baptized again if they come over from the Schism to the Church? This, *St. Cyprian* answers, must be; because all Baptism given by such as are in a State of Division from

155.

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(7) Cypriani Epist. 69. Edit. Oxon.

Year of the Church, is void. The other was; Whether they that in the Communion of the Church are baptiz'd in Bed, as *Novatian* was, must likewise be baptiz'd again, if they recover? To this, *St. Cyprian* answers as follows;

for the Apostles

*You inquire also, dear Son, what I think of such as obtain the Grace in Time of their Sickness and Infirmity; whether they are to be accounted lawful Christians: Because they are not wash'd all over with the Water of Salvation; but have only some of it pour'd on 'em. In which Matter I would use so much Modesty and Humility, as not to prescribe so positively, but that every one should have the Freedom of his own Thought, and do as he thinks best: I do, according to the best of my mean Capacity, judge thus; That the Divin Favors are not maimed or weakened, so as that any Thing less than the whole of 'em is convey'd, where the Benefit of 'em is received with a full and compleat Faith both of the Giver and Receiver.*

*For the Contagion of Sin is not in the Sacrament of Salvation washed off by the same Measures that the Dirt of the Skin and of the Body is washed off in an ordinary and secular Bath: So as that there should be any Necessity of Soap and other Helps, and a large Pool or Fish-pond by which the Body is washed or cleansed. It is in another Way that the Breast of a Believer is washed; after another Fashion that the Mind of a Man is by Faith cleansed. In the Sacraments of Salvation, when Necessity compels, the shortest Ways of transacting Divin Matters do by God's gracious Dispensation confer the whole Benefit.*

*And no Man need therefore think otherwise, because these sick People, when they receive the Grace of our Lord, have nothing but an Affusion or Sprinkling: Whenas the Holy Scriptur by the*  
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Chap. IX. *Baptism by Affusion sufficient.*

355

Prophet Ezekiel says (8); 'I will sprinkle clean Water upon you, and you shall be clean, &c. Year after the Affusion'.

He quotes to the same Purpose, Numb. 19. 13. it. 8. 7, &c. And having applied them, says a little after; *If any one think that they obtain no Benefit, as having only an Affusion of the Water of Salvation; don't let him mistake so far, as that the Parties, if they recover of their Sickness, should be baptiz'd again. And if they must not be baptiz'd again, that have already been sanctified with the Baptism of the Church; Why should they have Cause of Scandal given 'em concerning their Religion and the Pardon of our Lord? What! shall we think that they have granted to 'em the Grace of our Lord, but in a weaker or less Measure of the Divin and Holy Spirit: So as to be accounted Christians, but yet not in equal State with others? No: The Holy Spirit is not given by several Measures, but is wholly poured on them that believe, &c.*

And having, in order to set forth this Equality, alluded to what is said, Exod. 16. 18. of every Man's having an equal Omer of Manna, he adds; *By which it was signified that the Mercy and heavenly Grace of Christ which was to come in After-times would be divided equally to all; and the Gift of the spiritual Grace would be poured on all God's People without any Difference on Account of Sex, or Years of Age, (which Words are another Proof of his owning Infant Baptism) or of Respect of Persons.*

*We see, says he, this proved by the Experience of the Thing: That such as are baptiz'd and do obtain the Grace in their Sickness when need so requires, are freed from the unclean Spirit with which they were before possessed; and do live commendably*

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(8) Ezek. 36. 25.





## Chap. IX. *Baptism by Affusion sufficient.*

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*Hour of the Night* in which he was converted (11); *He and all his, straightway.*

Year after the Apostles

These are some of the most antient Instances of that sort of Baptism that are now extant in Records. But the farther one proceeds in reading the following Times, the more frequent they are: In so much that *Gennadius* (12) of *Marseilles* in the fifth Century speaks of Baptism as given in the *French Church* indifferently, by either of the Ways, of Immersion or Asperision. For having said; *We believe the Way of Salvation to be open only to baptized Persons; We believe that no Catechumen, tho' he die in good Works, has eternal Life: He adds; Except the Case of Martyrdom, in which all the Sacraments of Baptism are compleated.* Then to shew how Martyrdom has all in it that Baptism has, he says; *The Person to be baptiz'd owns his Faith before the Priest: And when the Interrogatories are put to him, makes his Answer. The same does a Martyr before the Heathen Judge: He also owns his Faith; and when the Question is put to him, makes Answer. The one after his Confession is either wetted with the Water, or else plung'd into it: And the other is either wetted with his own Blood, or else is plung'd [or, overwhelm'd] in Fire.*

395.

In the Times of *Thomas Aquinas* and *Bonaventur*, Immersion was in *Italy* the most common Way; but the other was ordinary enough. *Thomas* speaks thus (13); *Baptism may be given not only by Immersion, but also by Affusion of Water, or Sprinkling with it. But it is the safer Way to baptize by Immersion, because that is the most common Custom.* And again: *By Immersion*

1155.

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(11) Acts 16. 33. (12) De Eccl. dogmatibus, c. 74.  
(13) 3. q. 66. Art. 7.

Year after the Burial of Christ is more lively represented: And therefore this is the most common and commendable Way. Bonaventur (a) says, that the Way of Affusion was probably us'd by the Apostles, and was in his Time us'd in the Churches of France, and some others: But he says; The Way of Dipping into the Water is the more common, and the fitter, and the safer.

One would have thought that the cold Countries should have been the first that should have changed the Custom from Dipping to Affusion, because in cold Climats the Bathing of the Body in Water may seem much more unnatural and dangerous to the Health than in the hot Ones (and it is to be noted by the Way, that all those Countries of whose Rites of Baptism, and Immersion used in it, we have any Account in the Scriptur, or other antient History, are in hot Climats; where frequent and common Bathing both of Infants and grown Persons is natural, and even necessary to the Health). But by History it appears, that the cold Climats held the Custom of Dipping as long as any: For England, which is one of the coldest, was one of the latest that admitted this Alteration of the ordinary Way. Vasquez (14) having said that it was the old Custom both in the East and the West to baptize both grown Persons and Infants, that were in Health, by Immersion: And that it plainly appears by the Words of St. Gregory, that the Custom continued so to be in his Time, adds; *And it continues, as they say, to this Day among the English, as Erasmus has noted in the Margin of the 76 Epistle of St. Cyprian. Erasmus is there observing how* the

(a) L. 4. Dist. 3. Art. 2. q. 2. (14) In tertiam Disp. 145. cap. 2.

the Baptism of Infants is in different Countries variously administred: and says; *perfunduntur apud nos, merguntur apud Anglos.* Year after the Apostles

‘ [the Dutch] they have the Water poured on ‘ ’em: In England they are dipt. Therefore it is probable that *Erasmus* wrote his *Colloquy* called *ixθυοραζια* in England. In which he says; *We dip Children newly come forth from their Mothers Womb, all over into cold Water, which has stood a long Time in a Stone-Font: I will not say, till it stinks.* This is a good Authority for so late as the Time of *Henry 8.* at which Time he lived in England. And I produced before (15) a Passage out of a Convocation in that King’s Reign, which also shews that the general Custom in England then was to dip Infants. And it continued so for two Reigns more. I will here endeavor to trace the Times when it began to be left off in the several Countries of the *West*: Meaning still, in the Case of Infants that were in Health, and in the public Baptism; for in the Case of sickly or weak Infants, there was always in all Countries an Allowance of Affusion or Sprinkling to be given in hast, and in the House, or any other Place.

Year after the Apostles

1436.

*France* seems to have been the first Country in the World where Baptism by Affusion was used ordinarily to Persons in Health, and in the public Way of administring it. *Gennadius* of *Marseilles*, whose Words I gave before, is the first Autor that speaks of it as indifferent.

395.

It came more and more into Request in that Country, till in *Bonaventur’s* Time it was become, as appears by his Words last quoted, a very ordinary Practice: And tho’ he say, some other

1160.

Z 4

Churches

(15) CH. VIII. §. 6.

360 *Dipping when left off in the West, Chap. IX.*

Year after the Apostles Churches did then so use it, yet he names none but *France*.

1175. The Synod of *Angiers*, 1275. speaks of Dipping or Pouring as indifferently used; and blames some ignorant Priests, for that they dip or pour the *Water* but once: and instructs them that the general Custom of the Church is to dip thrice, or pour on *Water* three Times.

1304. The Synod of *Langres* mentions pouring only; Let the Priest make three Pourings or Sprinklings of *Water* on the Infant's Head, &c.

And so from thence to the Year 1600, (and still to this Day for ought I know) the synodical Acts and Canons of the Churches in *France* do mention, sometimes Dipping or Pouring, and sometimes Pouring only: But the Practice for a long Time has been Pouring only. The Synod of *Aix* 1585, says; *Pouring or Dipping, according as the Use of the Church is*, and orders, that the *Pouring of the Water be not done with the Hand, but with a Ladle [or, Vessel] kept in the Font for that Purpose*. This Account of the Synods, I have out of *Bochell. Decret. Eccl. Gallicana, l. 2. de baptismo*.

From *France* it spread (but not till a good while after) into *Italy, Germany, Spain, &c.* and last of all into *England*.

For *Italy*: I have shewn already, that Dipping was the more ordinary Custom at the Year 1160. By what Degrees it alter'd, is not worth the while to search. In 200 Years Time the other became the ordinary Way.

In *Germany, Walafridus Strabo* 850. *Rupertus* 1120. and several others, do so speak of Baptism, as that it appears by their Words, that Dipping of Infants was the general Custom; except of such as were sick, &c. and must be baptiz'd in haste. But the Council of *Cologne* under *Herman*, in the Year 1536. speaks of it more

## Chap. IX. In France and Germany.

361

more indifferently. *The Child is thrice either dipped, or wetted with the Water, &c.* And 15 Years after, the *Agenda* of the Church of *Ments* published by *Sebastian*, do recommend and prefer the later; Then let the Priest take the Child in his *Left-Arm*: and holding him over the *Font*, let him with his *Right-Hand* three several Times take *Water* out of the *Font*, and pour it on the *Child's Head*, Ita quod aqua tingat caput & scapulas, so as that the *Water* may wet its *Head* and *Shoulders*. Then they give a *Note* to this Purpose; that *Immersion*, once or thrice, or pouring of *Water*, may be used, and have been used in the Church: And that this *Variety* does not alter the *Nature* of *Baptism*: And that a *Man* shall do ill to break the *Custom* of his Church for either of 'em. But they add, that 'tis better, if the Church will allow, to use *Pouring* on of *Water*. For suppose, say they, the *Priest* be old and feeble, or have the *Palsie* in his *Hands*, or the *Weather* be very cold, or the *Child* very infirm, or be too big to be dipt in the *Font*; then 'tis much fitter to use *Affusion* of the *Water*. Then they bring the *Instance* of the *Apostles* baptizing 3000 at a *Time*, the *Instance* of *St. Lawrence* that I spoke of before, and the *Story* (which I suppose is forged) of *Chlodoveus* baptiz'd in that *Fashion* by *Remigius*: And say; That therefore there may not be one *Way* for the *Sick*, and another for the *Healthy*; one for *Children*, and another for bigger *Persons*; 'tis better that the *Minister* of this *Sacrament* do keep the safest *Way*, which is, to pour *Water* thrice: unless the *Custom* be to the contrary.

In *England* there seem to have been some *Priests* so early as the *Year* 816, that attempted to bring in the *Use* of *Baptism* by *Affusion* in the public *Administration*; for *Spelman* recites a *Canon* of

Year after the *Apostles*  
1451.

716.

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Year after the Apostles a Council in that Year (16), Let the Priests know, that when they administer Holy Baptism, they must not pour the Water on the Head of the Infants: But they must always be dipt in the Font. As the Son of God gave his own Example to all Believers, when he was thrice dipt in the Waters of Jordan; so it is necessary by Order to be kept and used.

1322. Lynwood, who was Dean of the Arches in the Time of H. 5. 1422. and wrote the best Account of our English Constitutions, having spoken of the Manner of baptizing Infants by Dipping, adds this Note (17); But this is not to be accounted to be of the Necessity [or Essence] of Baptism: But it may be given also by Pouring or Sprinkling. And this holds especially where the Custom of the Church allows it. 'Tis to be noted, that France had, as I shew'd just now, before this Time admitted of the Way of pouring Water: And Lynwood had liv'd in France under H. 5. of England, who was King there.

1280. Some do prove from Wickliff that it was held indifferent in England in his Time whether Dipping or Pouring were used: Because he says at one Place (a); Nor is it material whether they be dipped, once or thrice, or Water be pour'd on their Heads: But it must be done according to the Custom of the Place where one dwells. But we ought to take the whole Context as it lies in his Book. He had been speaking of the Necessity of Baptism to Salvation, from that Text, *John* 3. 5. and then adds; & *ordinavit ecclesia quod qualibet persona fidelis in necessitatis articulo*

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(16) Concil. Anglicana, Tom. 1. pag. 331. Synod. apud Celecyth. sub Walfredo. (17) Constit. l. 3. c. de Bapt. (a) Trialog. l. 4. c. 11.

*articulo poterit baptizari [l. baptizare] ——— Year after the Apostles*  
*Nec refert, &c.* And the Church has ordained that in a Case of Necessity any Person that is Fidel [or that is himself baptized] may give Baptism, &c. ——— Nor is it material whether they be dipped, &c. Such Words do not suppose any other Way than Dipping used ordinarily: But only in a Junctur of Necessity, or Fear of the Infant's Death.

The Offices or Liturgies for public Baptism in the Church of England, did all along, so far as I can learn, injoin Dipping without any Mention of Pouring or Sprinkling. The *Manuale ad usum Sarum*, Printed 1530. the 21st of H. 8. 1430. orders thus for the public Baptisms; *Then let the Priest take the Child: And, having asked the Name, baptize him by dipping him in the Water thrice, &c.* And John Frith writing in the Year 1533, a *Treatise of Baptism*, calls the outward Part of it, the *plunging down in the Water, and lifting up again.* Which he often mentions, without ever mentioning Pouring or Sprinkling. 1433.

In the *Common-Prayer Book* printed 1549, the 2d of K. Edward the 6th, the Order stands thus; *Shall dip it in the Water thrice, &c. So it be discreetly and warily done: Saying, N. I baptize thee, &c.* But this Order adds; *And if the Child be weak, it shall suffice to pour Water upon it, saying the foresaid Words.* Afterward, the Books do leave out the Word, *thrice*: and do say; *shall dip it in the Water, so it be discreetly, &c.* Which Alteration, I suppose, was made in the 6th of Edward the 6th, for then there was a new Edition of the Book with some light Alterations. And from thence it stood unalter'd as to this Matter to the 14th of Ch. 2d. 1449. 1452. 1562.

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Year af-  
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(b) From this Time of King Edward, Mr. Walker (who has taken the most Pains in tracing this Matter) derives the Beginning of the Alteration of the general Custom. He says, that *Dipping was at this Time the more usual, but Sprinkling was sometimes used: Which within the Time of half a Century [meaning from 1550 to 1600] prevail'd to be the more general (as it is now almost the only) way of Baptizing.*

1450. But it is not probable that in so short a Reign as that of King Edward, who died in 1553, the Custom could receive any great Alteration. Customs in which the whole Body of the People is concern'd, alter but slowly, when they do alter.

1458. And in Queen Mary's Time the Custom of Dipping seems to have continued. For Watson the Popish Bishop of Lincoln did on the Year 1558, which was the last of Queen Mary, publish a Volum of Sermons about the Sacraments: in the Fourth of which he says; *Tho' the antient Tradition of the Church has been from the Beginning to dip the Child three Times, &c. yet that is not of such Necessity; but that if it be but once dipped in the Water, it is sufficient. Yea, and in Time of great Peril and Necessity, if the Water be but pour'd on the Head, it will suffice.* A Sign, that Pouring was not in Queen Mary's Time us'd but in Case of Necessity.

But there are apparent Reasons why that Custom should alter during Queen Elizabeth's Reign.

The Latitude given in the Liturgy, which could have but little Effect in the short Time of King Edward's Reign, might, during the long Reign of this Queen, produce an Alteration

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(b) Doctrin of Baptisms, c. 10. pag. 147.

Chap. IX. *Left off in Queen Elizabeth's Time.* 365

tion proportionably greater. It being allowed to weak Children (tho' strong enough to be brought to Church) to be baptiz'd by Affusion, many fond Ladies and Gentlewomen first, and then by degrees the common People, would obtain the Favor of the Priest to have their Children pass for weak Children, too tender to endure dipping in the Water. Especially (as Mr. Walker observes) if some Instance really were, or were but fancied or framed, of some Child's taking Hurt by it.

Year after the Apostles

And another Thing that had a greater Influence than this, was; That many of our English Divines and other People had, during Queen Mary's bloody Reign, fled into Germany, Switzerland, &c. and coming back in Queen Elizabeth's Time, they brought with them a great Love to the Customs of those Protestant Churches wherein they had sojourned: And especially the Authority of Calvin, and the Rules which he had establish'd at Geneva, had a mighty Influence on a great Number of our People about that Time. Now Calvin had not only given his Dictat in his *Institutions* (c) that the Difference is of no Moment, whether he that is baptiz'd be dipt all over; and if so, whether thrice or once; or whether he be only wetted with the Water poured on him: But he had also drawn up for the Use of his Church at Geneva (and afterwards published to the World) a (d) Form of administering the Sacraments, where, when he comes to order the Act of baptizing, he words it thus; *Then the Minister of Baptism pours Water on the Infant; saying, I baptize thee, &c.* There had been, as I said, some Synods in some Dioceses

1436.

1445.

of

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(c) L. 4. c. 15. §. 19. (d) *Traetat. Theolog. Catechismus*, pag. 57. Ed. Bezae 1576.

Year af-  
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of France that had spoken of Affusion without mentioning Immersion at all; that being the common Practice: but for an Office or Liturgy of any Church; this is, I believe, the first in the World that prescribes Affusion absolutely. Then *Musculus* had determin'd (e), *As for Dipping of the Infant; we judge that not so necessary, but that it is free for the Church to baptize either by Dipping or Sprinkling.* So that. (as Mr. Walker (f) observes) *no wonder if that Custom prevail'd at Home, which our reformed Divines in the Time of the Marian Persecution had found to be the Judgment of other Divines, and seen to be the Practice of other Churches Abroad; and especially of Mr. Calvin and his Church of Geneva.*

And when there was added to all this the Resolution of such a Man as Dr. *Whitaker*, *Regius Professor at Cambridge* (g), *Tho' in Case of grown Persons that are in Health, I think Dipping to be better; yet in the Case of Infants, and of sickly People, I think Sprinkling sufficient:* The Inclination of the People, back'd with these Authorities, carried the Practice against the Rubric; which still requir'd Dipping, except in Case of Weakness. So that in the later Times of *Queen Elizabeth*, and during the Reigns of *King James* and of *King Charles I.* very few Children were dipt in the Font. I have heard of one or two Persons now living, who must have been born in those Reigns, that they were baptiz'd by dipping in the Font; and of one Clergyman now living, that has baptiz'd some Infants so: but am not certain. P. S. I have since heard of several. And I my self have had one Opportunity of administering Ba-  
ptism

(e) *Loci Commun. de Baptismo*, p. 431. (f) *Ch 10. §. 107.*  
(g) *Prælectiones de Sacr. de Baptismo*, Q. 1. c. 2.

ptism so, by the Parents Consent. But the Year after the A-  
 Children were however all that Time carried to <sup>ter the A-</sup>  
 the Font. As much as to say; The Minister is <sup>postles</sup>  
 ready to dip the Child, if the Parents will ven-  
 ture the Health of it.

Mr. Blake, who wrote in 1645 a Pamphlet, 1545  
 intituled; *Infants Baptism freed from Antichristia-*  
*nism*, says p. 1. (in Answer to his Adversary,  
 who had said that Infants, pretended to be  
 baptiz'd by the Ministers of the Church, have  
 not true Baptism, since they are not dipped, but  
 sprinkled) *I have been an Eye-witness of many*  
*Infants dipped: and know it to have been the con-*  
*stant Practice of many Ministers in their Places*  
*for many Years together.* And again, p. 4. speak-  
 ing of the present Practice of that Time, says,  
*Those that dip not Infants, do not yet use to sprinkle*  
*'em: There is a Middle-way between these two:*  
*I have seen several dipped; I never saw nor*  
*heard of any sprinkled, or (as some of you use*  
*to speak) rantiz'd. — Our Way is not by Asper-*  
*sion, but Perfusion; nor sprinkling Drop by Drop,*  
*but pouring on at once all that the Hand contains.*  
 And for Sprinkling says; *I leave them to defend*  
*it that use it.*

Of what Age Mr. Blake was when he wrote  
 this, I know not: but in a Pamphlet which he  
 wrote the Year before, viz. 1644. called, *The*  
*Birth-Privilege*, and which he dedicates to his  
 Parishioners of *Tamworth in Staffordshire*, he so  
 speaks as that one may guess him to have been  
 about 42 Years old. He says in the said *Dedi-*  
*cation*; *I have served you for Christ a double*  
*Apprenticeship of Years almost compleat: which*  
*Time has seemed to some to have added more than*  
*a Third to the Years of the Days of my Pilgrimage.*  
 What he means by [*seem to some*] I cannot  
 imagin. But if he at 1644 were about 42, and  
 could remember as he says; The Dipping of  
 Infants

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Infants must have been pretty ordinary during the former Half of King James's Reign, if not longer. And for Sprinkling properly called; It seems it was at 1645, just then beginning, and used by very few. It must have began in the disorderly Times after 41. For Mr. Blake had never us'd it, nor seen it us'd.

1544. But then came the *Directory*, which forbids even the carrying of the Child to the Font: And says; *Baptism is to be administred, not in privat Places, or privatly,* (these are the Men that have since brought Baptism in privat Houses to be so spreading a Custom as it is) *but in the Place of public Worship, and in the Face of the Congregation, &c. And not in the Places where Fonts in the Time of Popery were unsitly and superstitiously placed.* So (parallel to the Rest of their Reformations) they reformed the Font into a Bason. This learned Assembly could not remember that Fonts to baptize in, had been always us'd by the Primitive Christians, long before the Beginning of Popery; and ever since Churches were built: but that Sprinkling, for the common Use of baptizing, was really introduced (in France first, and then in other Popish Countries) in Times of Popery: And that accordingly all those Countries in which the usurped Power of the Pope is, or has formerly been, own'd, have left off dipping of Children in the Font: But that all other Countries in the World (which had never regarded his Authority) do still use it: And that Basons, except in Case of Necessity, were never us'd by Papiests, or any other Christians whatsoever, till by themselves.

The Use was; The Minister continuing in his Reading-Desk, the Child was brought and held below him: And there was placed for that Use a little Bason of Water about the Bigness of a Syllabub Pot, into which the Minister dipping

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dipping his Fingers, and then holding his Hand over the Face of a Child, some Drops would fall from his Fingers on the Child's Face. For the *Directory* says, it is not only lawful, but most expedient to use Pouring or Sprinkling.

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postles

Upon the Review of the Common-Prayer Book at the Restauration, the Church of *England* did not think fit (however prevalent the Custom of Sprinkling was) to forego their Maxim; that it is most fitting to dip Children that are well able to bear it. But they leave it wholly to the Judgment of the Godfathers and those that bring the Child, whether the Child may well endure dipping, or not: as they are indeed the most proper Judges of that. So the Priest is now order'd; *If the Godfathers do certifie him that the Child may well endure it, to dip it in the Water discreetly and warily. But if they certifie that the Child is weak, it shall suffice to pour Water upon it.* The Difference is only this; By the Rubric as it stood before, the Priest was to dip unless there were an Averment or Allegation of Weakness: Now he is not to dip, unless there be an Averment or Certifying of Strength sufficient to endure it.

Except such Antipædobaptists as do not allow of Affusion in any Case, (and I think there are few such but in *England*) all the rest of the World will agree that this *Order* is the most unexceptionable of any that could be given: and does keep as close to the Primitive Way as the Coldness of our Region, and the Tenderiness to which Infants are now us'd, will admit. But in the *Practice*, the Godfathers take so much Advantage of the Reference that is made to their Judgment, that they never do certifie the Priest that the Child may well endure it: And the Priests do now seldom ask that Question. And indeed it is needless, because they do al-

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ostles

ways bring the Child so drest in Cloaths, as to make it plain that they do not intend it shall be dipt. When dipping in, the Font was in Fashion, they brought the Child wrapt up in such a Sort of Clothing as could presently and without Trouble be taken off, and put on again. I think they call'd it a *Chrysom*, or some such Name. And besides; the Fonts that have been built since the Times I spoke of, are, many of 'em, built so small and Basin-like, that a Child cannot well be dipt in 'em, if it were desir'd.

Since the Times that Dipping of Infants has been generally left off, many learned Men in several Countries have endeavor'd to retrieve the Use of it: But more in England than any where else in Proportion.

*Sotus* gives his Opinion (b), that *Baptism ought still to be given by Dipping; so as that it is not lawful to give it otherwise, unless for some necessary, or creditable, and reasonable Cause.* But *Vasquez* (i) takes him up for this with some Anger; and he maintains that now a days, since it is grown the common Custom, Affusion is perfectly as well as Dipping. This he says of Affusion, or *Pouring on of Water*: But for sprinkling of Water, he says; *That is not at all in Use, and so cannot be practis'd without Sin, unless for some particular Cause.* *Estius* also does much commend Dipping: But now that the other is the common Custom, would have nothing alter'd.

In England Mr. *Mede* shew'd his Inclination to retrieve the ancient Custom plain enough (indeed he carried the Argument for it too far), when he said (k), that *there was no such Thing as Sprinkling*,

(b) In 4. Dist. 3. q. unicâ. Art. 7. (i) In tertiam Disq. 45. c. 2. (k) Diatribe on Tit. 3. 5.

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*Sprinkling or Rhautism us'd in Baptism in the Apostles Days, nor many Ages after them.* If he takes *Sprinkling* strictly, (as it is distinguish'd from *Pouring on* of Water) it may be true: but if he say so of *Pouring Water*, it is not true, unless he limit it to *ordinary Cases*.

Bishop Taylor in his *Rule of Conscience*, and also Mr. Dan. Rogers in his *Treatise of Sacraments*, have said so much on this Head; that Danvers the Antipædobaptist catches hold of their Words, and brings them among his Authorities (l) that to baptize is nothing else but to dip. But he is forc'd to curtail and misrepresent their Words: for they do both of 'em in their own Words (which he has left out) own, that Baptism by Affusion is true Baptism. But so much is true, that they do both of 'em plead hard that it ought not to be us'd but in Case of Necessity, and that the Ministers should in no other Case dispense with the Act of Immersion. And indeed as the Rubric then stood, it requir'd Immersion *positively*, unless the Child were weak. Here by the Way I cannot but take Notice how much Trouble such an adventurous Autor as this Danvers, is able to give to such a careful and exact Answerer as Mr. Walker. Danvers does in this Place deal with above 20 other Writers after the same Rate as he does with the two I mention'd, viz. Scapula, Stephanus, Pasor, Vossius, Leigh, Casaubon, Beza, Chamier, Hammond, Cajetan, Musculus, Piscator, Calvin, Keckerman, Diodat, Grotius, Davenant, Tilenus, Dr. Cave, Wal. Strabo, and Archbishop Tillotson. He does in the Space of 12 Pages (m) quote all these in such Words as if they had made Dipping to

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(l) Treat. of Bapt. Pt. 2. Ch. 4. (m) From 191 to pag. 204.



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be of the Essence of Baptism. Mr. *Walker* shews that he has abus'd every one of 'em; by affixing to some of 'em Words that they never said, by adding to others, by altering and mis-translating others, and by curtailing the Words of the rest. But what a Trouble is this, to go upon such a Man's Errand from Book to Book, search the Chapters (which he commonly names wrong) recite the Words first as he quotes 'em, and then as they really are in the Book? This cost Mr. *Walker* three large Chapters (n). And what would it have been to answer the whole Book, which is all of a Piece? This is the Book that is so much handed about among the Antipædobaptists of *England*.

But to go on to mention some more learned Men of *England* that have wish'd for the restoring of the Custom of Dipping such Infants as are in Health. Sir *Norton Knatchbull* says thus; (o) *With leave be it spoken; I am still of Opinion that it would be more for the Honor of the Church, and for the Peace and Security of Religion, if the old Custom could conveniently be restor'd.* Yet he there declares himself fully satisfied with the Lawfulness of the other Way, so far as that no Body ought to doubt of its being true and full Baptism. For avoiding the Danger of Cold, he thinks it advisable to restore another antient Custom also, of baptizing only at certain Times of the Year, except such Infants as are like to die. But Infants were, as I shew'd before (p), by that antient Custom excepted from any Obligation to stay till those Times. And *Easter* is in our Climat no very warm Season. And there is

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(n) Ch. 11, 12, 13. (o) Annot. on 1 Pet. 3. 20. (p) Pt. 1. CH. XVII. §. 3.

is nothing commoner than for Infants to die suddenly.

Year after the Apostles

Mr. *Walker* has taken the most Pains (I may venture to say it) of any Man in the World, to shew that Baptism by Pouring, or Sprinkling, is true Baptism, and is valid; and that Baptism so given ought not to be reiterated: and that all Ages of the Church have been of that Opinion: and that the Antipædobaptists have no Reason to separat on that Account. And yet in the same Book he does in several Places declare, that he thinks the other Way more advisable for the ordinary Use. In one of the Chapters (q) which I mention'd, where he is vindicating the Words of Mr. *Dan. Rogers*, from the Force which Mr. *Danvers* had put on 'em; and where he confesses of Mr. *Rogers* thus much; *Mr. Rogers was for retrieving the Use of Dipping, as witnessed to by Antiquity, approved by Scripture, required by the Church (as then it was except in Case of Weakness), and symbolical with the Things signified in Baptism:* He adds his own Opinion in these Words; *Which I could wish as well and as heartily as he, in order to making of Peace in the Church, if that would do it.* And in the next Paragraph; *If I may speak my Thoughts, I believe the Ministers of the Nation would be glad if the People would desire, or be but willing to have their Infants dip'd, after the antient Manner both in this and in other Churches; and bring them to Baptism in such a Condition as that they might be totally dip'd, without Fear of being destroyed.* And in the Conclusion of that Book (r) he thus bespeaks the Antipædobaptists; *And as some learned Persons, who have defended the Lawfulness of Sprinkling, have yet in some Respects preferred Dipping*

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(q) Ch. 11. §. 52. (r) Pag. 293.

*Learned Men plead for the Chap. IX:*

ping before it: So tho' I blame your holding an indispensable Necessity of it, &c. Yet in order to the Peace of the Church by your Re-union with it, and the saving of your Souls by rescuing you from under the Guilt of Schism, I could wish the Practice of it retriev'd into Use again: so far as possibly might be consistent with Decency of Baptizing, and Safety to the Baptized. He speaks often to the same Purpose in his *Modest Plea*.

Dr. Towerson in his *Explication of the Catechism* (s), having recited the Arguments for Immersion, says, *How to take off the Force of these Arguments altogether, I mean not to consider: partly because our Church seems to perswade such an Immersion; and partly because I cannot but think the forementioned Arguments to be so far of Force, as to evince the Necessity thereof, where there is not some greater Necessity to occasion an Alteration of it.*

Dr. Whitby says (t), *It were to be wished that this Custom [of Immersion] might be again of general Use; and Aspersion only permitted, as of Old, in Case of the Clinici, and in present Danger of Death.*

These (and possibly many more) have openly declar'd their Thoughts concerning the present Custom. And Abundance of others have so largely and industriously proved that a total Immersion was, as Dr. Cave says (u), *the almost constant and universal Custom of the Primitive Times,* that they have sufficiently intimated their Inclinations to be for it now. So that no Man in this Nation, who is dissatisfied with the other Way, or does wish, or is but willing, that his Child should be baptized by Dipping, need in the least to doubt, but that any Minister in this Church would,

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(s) *Of Baptism*, p. 20, 21, 22. (t) *Comment on Rom. 6.* (u) *Primitive Christianity*, Pt. 1. Ch. 10.

would, according to the present Direction of Year after the Rubric, readily comply with his Desire, and, <sup>ter the A-</sup> as Mr. *Walker* says, be glad of it. <sup>postles</sup>

And as for the Danger of the Infants catching Cold by Dipping, Sr. *John Floyer* has in a late (w) Book endeavor'd to shew by Reasons taken from the Natur of our Bodies, from the Rules of Medicin, from modern Experiences, and from antient History, that washing or dipping Infants in cold Water is, generally speaking, not only safe, but very useful: and that tho' no such religious Rite as Baptism had been instituted, yet Reason and Experience would have directed People to use cold Bathing both of themselves and their Children: and that it has in all former Ages so directed 'em. For (besides that the *Jews* by God's Law used it on many Occasions, and the *Christians* made it the far most usual Way of their Baptism) he shews that all civiliz'd Nations, the *Egyptians, Greeks, Romans, &c.* made frequent Use of it, and gave great Commendations of it: and that Natur it self has taught this Custom to many barbarous Nations; the old *Germans, Highlanders, Irish, Japanese, Tartars,* and even the *Samoieds* who live in the coldest Climat that is inhabited.

This Learned Physician gives a Catalog of Diseases for which it is good: Some of 'em, for which it is the best Remedy that is known. And he says, he cannot advise his Countrymen to any better Method for Preservation of Health than the cold Regimen: to dip all their Children in Baptism; to wash 'em often afterward till 3 Quarters of a Year old: to inure them to cold Air, drinking of Water, few Cloaths:

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to

(w) Of cold Baths.

Year af- to use 'em when Boys to bathing in Rivers; when  
 ter the A- Men, to cool Baths, &c.  
 postles

He prognosticates that the old Modes in Physic and Religion will in Time prevail, when People have had more Experience in cold Baths: and that the Approbation of Physicians would bring in the old Use of Immersion in Baptism. If it do so, one Half of the Dispute (which has caused a Schism) between the Pædobaptists and Antipædobaptists will be over. There are more of the first who are brought by the Arguments of the other to doubt of the Validity of their Baptism for that they were not dip't at the receiving it, than there are for that they received it in Infancy. Neither was there ever an Antipædobaptist in *England*, as I shewed in the last Chapter, till this Custom of sprinkling Children, instead of dipping 'em, in the ordinary Baptisms, had for some Time prevailed.

What has been said of this Custom of pouring or sprinkling Water in the ordinary Use of Baptism, is to be understood only in reference to these *Western* Parts of *Europ*: for it is us'd ordinarily no where else. The *Greek* Church, in all the Branches of it, does still use Immersion: and they hardly count a Child, except in Case of Sicknes, well baptiz'd without it. And so do all other Christians in the World except the *Latins*. That which I hinted before, is a Rule that does not fail in any Particular that I know of, *viz.* All those Nations of Christians that do now, or formerly did, submit to the Authority of the Bishop of *Rome*, do ordinarily baptize their Infants by Pouring or Sprinkling. And tho' the *Englisb* received not this Custom till after the Decay of Popery; yet they have since received it from such Neighbour Nations as had began it in the Times of the Pope's Power. But all other Christians in the World, who  
 never

**Chap. IX. What Churches do still dip Infants.** 377

never owned the Pope's usurped Power, do, and ever did, dip their Infants in the ordinary Use.

Year after the Apostles

And if we take the Division of the World from the three main Parts of it; All the Christians in *Asia*, all in *Africa*, and about one third Part of *Europ*, are of the last Sort: in which third Part of *Europ* are comprehended the Christians of *Gracia*, *Thracia*, *Servia*, *Bulgaria*, *Rascia*, *Walachia*, *Moldavia*, *Russia Nigra*, &c. and even the *Muscovites*, who, if Coldness of the Country will excuse, might plead for a Dispensation with the most Reason of any. Dr. Crull gives this Account of 'em (18); *The Priest takes the Child stark naked into his Arms, and dips him three Times into the Water, &c. the Water is never warmed over the Fire, tho' the Cold be never so excessive: but they put it sometimes in a warm Place, to take off a little the Cold.* If they warm'd it more, I don't see where were the Hurt. The *Latins* that staid behind at the Council of *Florence* do determin (19) it to be indifferent whether *Baptism* be administred in warm or in cold Water. And an Archbishop of *Samos*, who has wrote the History of that Island, says at p. 45. that they use hot [or warm] Water.

1339.

We have no Reason to think that the *Muscovites* do submit to this, as to a Hardship put upon 'em by the Christian Religion: for they commonly, when they come sweating out of a hot Stove, do suddenly throw themselves into cold Water, and think it medicinal so to do, as the said Doctor relates. And the Neighbour Nations thereabouts, even those that are not Christians, do ordinarily put their Infant Children into the coldest Water they can get, for Health's

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(18) State of *Muscovy*, Vol. I. c. II. (19) Cap. de unione Jacobinorum & Armenorum.

Year af-  
tor the A-  
postles

Health's Sake, and to harden 'em. For so the same Autor tells of the *Crim Tartars* (20), that the Mothers do use to bath their Infants, once a Day at least, in cold Water, wherein a little Salt is dissolv'd, to make 'em hardy. And the Success answers: for these are one of the healthiest, hardiest, and most vigorous Nations in the World.

But whereas the said Doctor says (21); that the Muscovites glory that they are the only true Christians now in the World; forasmuch as they are baptiz'd, whereas others have been only sprinkled: which is the Reason they allege for rebaptizing all such, of what Perswasion soever, that embrace their Religion. This is neither consistent with the Account given by himself in the same Chapter of their Rebaptizations: that even Muscovites that having chang'd their Religion in another Country, are willing to return to their own Communion, must first be rebaptized: nor with the Account of the Practice of other Greek Christians, who do all baptize ordinarily by Immersion as well as the Muscovites: nor with the Account given by other Writers of the Practice of the Muscovites themselves. For tho' Mr. Daille (22) do say much the same of 'em as Dr. Crull does here (he does not say quite the same: he says, *The Muscovites say, that the Latines are not duly and rightly baptized*). Yet other Writers say, that the Muscovites themselves do in Case of the Weakness of the Child baptize by Affusion. Joannes Faber, in an Epistle that he has written purposedly of these People's Religion, says, *If the Child be strong, he is thrice plunged all over. Otherwise he is wetted with the Water.* But this last

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(20) Ch. 7. p. 112. (21) Ch. 11. at the Beginning.  
(22) L. 2. de usu Patrum, pag. 148.

is seldom used: conspersio enim minus sufficiens Year af-  
ter the A-  
postles  
 judicatur, for they count Sprinkling not so well [or  
 not so sufficient]. And another Autor quoted  
 by Mr. Walker out of *Purchas Pilgrim*, Pt. 3. p.  
 229. says, that in such a Case a Pot of warm  
 Water is pour'd on the Child's Head. And  
 another, *The Priest pours a whole Gallon of Water  
 upon the Child, &c.*

Since the Writing of this, I find that Mr.  
*Ruffen*, ch. 5. (quoting for it *Alvarez* c. 5.) says,  
*The Abassens baptize in the Church-Porch, without  
 Fonts, with a Pot full of Water only.* I know not  
 what Credit is to be given to this. I know that  
*Brerewood* does often note *Alvarez*, as an un-  
 faithful Relater. And *Brerewood* himself, tho'  
 he say nothing of the Manner of their baptizing  
 Infants, (only that they do it on the 40th Day  
 for a Male, and the 80th for a Female Child)  
 yet speaking of their yearly Baptizing them-  
 selves on Twelfth-Day, (not using it as a Sacra-  
 ment, but as a customary Memorial of Christ's  
 Baptism on that Day) says, that they do it in  
*Lakes or Ponds*, ch. 23. which makes that which  
*Alvarez* says very improbable.

§. 3. What was just now mention'd of the  
*Muscovites* baptizing stark naked, and dipping  
 three Times, is perfectly agreeable to the antient  
 Practice in both the Usages. The antient Chri-  
 stians, when they were baptized by Immersion,  
 were all baptiz'd naked; whether they were  
 Men, Women, or Children. *Vossius* (23) has  
 collected several Proofs of this: which I shall  
 omit because it is a clear Case. The *English* Anti-  
 pædobaptists need not have made so great an  
 Outcry against Mr. *Baxter*, for his saying that  
 they baptiz'd naked: for if they had, it had  
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(23) De baptismo, Disp. 1. c. 6, 7, 8.



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been no more than the Primitive Christians did. They thought it better represented the putting off the Old-man, and also the Nakedness of Christ on the Cross: moreover as Baptism is a Washing, they judg'd it should be the Washing of the Body, not of the Cloaths.

They took great Care for preserving the Modesty of any Woman that was to be baptiz'd. There was none but Women came near or in Sight till she was undress'd, and her Body in the Water: then the Priest came, and putting her Head also under Water, us'd the Form of Baptism. Then he departed, and the Women took her out of the Water, and cloth'd her again in white Garments.

303. There is an Account given by *Sozomen* (24) of an Insult made by the Soldiers in the great Church at *Constantinople*, against *St. Chrysofom* and his Adherents: and how on *Easter-Eve* they rush'd in armed: and he adds, *There was a great Tumult at the Font, the Women shrieking in a Fright, and the Children crying: the Priests and Deacons were beaten, and forc'd to run away with their Vestments on. What else must needs happen in such a Confusion, they that have been baptiz'd do apprehend; but I shall not express it, lest some that are not Christians do light upon my Book.*

But *St. Chrysofom* himself, in a Letter of Complaint of this Matter to *Innocent* then Bishop of *Rome*, describes the Foulness of the Outrage more particularly: *The Women who had undrest themselves in order to be baptized, were forced by the Fright of this Violence to run away naked; not being permitted in that Amazement to provide for the Modesty and Credit of their Sex. And many*

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many of 'em were also wounded: the Font was stained with Blood, and the holy Waters of it died with a red Colour.

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§. 4. The Way of trine Immersion, or plunging the Head of the Person three Times into the Water, was the general Practice of all Antiquity. *Tertullian* in a Dispute against *Praxeas*, who held but one Person in the Trinity, uses this among other Arguments (25); Our Savior commanded the Apostles, that they should baptize unto the Father, and unto the Son, and unto the Holy Spirit; not unto one Person, for we are not plunged once, but three Times; once at the naming of each Name. And the 50th [alias 42] of those Canons that are very antient, tho' without Reason called *Apostolic*, orders any Bishop or Presbyter that does not use the trine Immersion in Baptism, to be deposed.

The Antients do themselves own that there is no Command in Scriptur for this: yet they speak of it as brought into Use by the Apostles. And 'tis common with them to urge this Custom and some others, as Instances that some Rites or Orders are deriv'd from the Apostles Practice, and yet not set down in Scriptur. *Tertullian* (26) arguing against some that pleaded that in all Pretence of Tradition one must produce some written Authority, gives an Answer which I shall here recite at large, because he instances in this and several other Customs then received.

Let us try then, whether no Tradition ought to be allowed that is not written: and I shall freely grant that this need not to be allowed, if the contrary be not evinced by the Examples of several other Customs,

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(25) Cap. 26. (26) De coronâ militis, c. 1, 2, 3.

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postles

Customs, which without the Authority of any Scripture are approved, only on the Account that they were first deliver'd, and have ever since been us'd.

Now to begin with Baptism. When we come to the Water, we do there (and we do the same also, a little before, in the Congregation) under the Hand of the Pastor make a Profession that we do renounce the Devil, and his Pomp, and his Angels. Then we are three Times plunged into the Water: and we answer some few Words more than those which our Savior in the Gospel has enjoined. When we are taken up out of the Water, we tast a Mixture of Milk and Honey. And from that Day we abstain a whole Week from bathing our selves, which otherwise we use every Day.

The Sacrament of the Eucharist, which our Lord celebrated at Meal-time, and ordered all to take; we receive, in our Assemblies before Day: and never but from the Hands of the Pastor.

We give Oblations every Year for [or in Commemoration of] the Dead on the Day of their Martyrdom. We count it an unfitting Thing to keep any Fast's on the Lord's Day, or to kneel at our Prayers on that Day. The same Liberty we take all the Time from Easter to Pentecost.

We are troubled at it, if any of our Bread or Wine fall to the Ground. At every Setting out, or Entry on Business; whenever we come in or go out from any Place; when we dress for a Journey; when we go into a Bath; when we go to Meat; when the Candles are brought in; when we lie down, or sit down; and whatever Business we have, we make on our Foreheads the Sign of the Cross.

If you search in the Scriptures for any Command for these and such like Usages, you shall find none. Tradition will be urged to you as the Ground of 'em; Custom as the Confirmer of 'em; and our Religion teaches to observe 'em.

Chap. IX. *They dip the Head three Times.*

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Of the Oblations and Prayers which they made for [or in Commemoration of] the Dead; as I said before in the first Part, CH. XX. §. 3. that they were nothing of the Natur of the Popish Ones; so here it appears: for they us'd 'em for Martyrs themselves. And tho' we see here, that the Papists were not the first that used the Sign of the Cross; yet they are the first that ever taught that it is to be worshipp'd.

In an Epistle of St. Hierom in Form of a Dialog (27) one of the Parties makes the same Use of the same Instance of trine Immersion, as Tertullian does here: saying thus of the Custom of Confirmation after Baptism, which he there proves by Scriptur, but adds; *And if there were no Authority of Scriptur for it; the Consent of the whole World in that Matter would obtain the Force of a Precept. For many other Things which are by Tradition observed in the Church, have got Authority as if they were written Laws: As, in the Font of Baptism, ter mergitare caput, to plunge the Head thrice under Water, &c.* St. Basil speaks just after the same Manner of the same Thing (28). And St. Chrysostom (29) says, *Our Lord has delivered to us one Baptism by three Immersions.*

278.

260.

280.

The Eunomians had the oddest Way of Baptizing that ever was heard of. For besides that they differ'd from all other Christians in the Words used at Baptism; one Sect of 'em baptizing only in the Name of Christ, as I said (30); another Sect, instead of saying, *In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit,* expressed their own impious Opinions

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(27) Epist. contra Luciferianos. (28) Lib. de Spiritu sancto, c. 27. (29) Hom. de Fide. (30) CH. VIII. § 6.



their Custom was to put the Head of the Ba-  
 ptized but once under the Water: but that  
 some *Arians* in that Country kept up the Custom  
 of three Immersions: and that they made a  
 wicked Advantage of it, by perswading the  
 People that thereby was signified that there  
 are three *Substances* in the Trinity, into which  
 they were separately baptiz'd. *Gregory* makes  
 'em Answer (33); that tho' the Custom of the  
 Church of *Rome* and other Churches was three  
 Immersions, yet he in that Case would advise  
 them to keep to their present Custom: that  
*in the same Faith different Usages of the Church do  
 no Hurt: that whereas there is in the three Persons  
 but one Substance, there could be no Blame in  
 dipping the Infant either once or thrice. For that  
 by three Immersions the three Persons, or by One,  
 the Singularity of the Substance was represented.  
 That if they should now on a sudden take up the other  
 Custom, the Heretics would boast that they were  
 come over to their Side, &c.* So the *Spaniards*  
 kept to the Use of one Immersion for some  
 Time. For 40 Years after, it is confirm'd in  
 one of their (34) Councils. But *Walafidus Strabo*  
 says (35), that after a while the old Way pre-  
 vailed.

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530<sup>a</sup>

The Schoolmen among the Papists, tho' they  
 say that either Way may do, yet speak of trine  
 Immersion, where Immersion is used, as much  
 the more fitting. And for the Protestants,  
*Vossius* says (36), *What Son of the Church will not  
 willingly hold to that Custom which the antient Church  
 practis'd all over the World, except Spain? &c.*  
*Besides, at present the trine Immersion is us'd in all*

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(33) Epist. ad Leandrum Reg. l. i. c. 41. (34) Conc:  
 Tolet. 4. Can. 5. (35) De increment. Eccl. c. 26. (36)  
 De Baptismo Disp. 2. Theol. 4.

Year af- Countries: so that the Custom cannot be chang'd  
 ter the A- without an Affectation of Novelty, and Scandal  
 poffles given to the Weak. He means all Countries where  
 Immersion is us'd.

- §. 5. Of the Circumstances that antiently attended Baptism, some are mention'd by *Tertullian* in the Place last recited. One is the Signing of the Forehead with the Sign of the Cross. This is spoken of by all the antient Writers as used by Christians upon all Occasions. They that now a-days are against the Use of it at Baptism, do observe, that tho' the Fathers do often mention this Custom, yet none of 'em do speak particularly of its being us'd at Baptism.
280. I gave an Instance, I think, plain enough to the contrary, in the first Part, CH. XIV. §. 5. And besides, when they say, as *Tertullian* here does, that it was us'd on every Occasion that was never so little solemn; they I think sufficiently intimate its Use at Baptism, which is the most solemn Act of a Christian's whole Life. Besides, that *Tertullian* speaking of Baptism, says, *Care signatur ut anima muniatur.*
260. St. *Basil* mentions this Custom of Christians at the same Place (36), where he mentions that of trine Immersion. And St. *Cyprian* (37) having Occasion to recite that Text, *Ezek. 9. 4, 5.* where the Executioners of God's Wrath are commanded to *slay all, Old and Young, Maids and Little Children that had not the Mark upon their Foreheads*, applies it to the Christians, and says, it signifies that none now can escape but those only that are *renati & signo Christi signati*: "baptized and signed with Christ's Mark. And he frequently in other Places speaks of it as a Thing

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(36) De spiritu sancto, c. 27. (37) Ad Demetr. prope finem.

Chap. IX. *The Forehead signed with the Cross.* 387

Thing used by all Christians. And *Rufinus* says Year after the Apostles (38), It was the Custom for every one at the *End of the Creed*, *frontem signaculo contingere*, to make the Sign on his Forehead: and we know that every one repeated the Creed at his Baptism, either by himself or his Sponsors, as *Rufinus* himself in his *Explication of the Creed* mentions, and calls it the *antient Custom*. 290.

It was a noble Thing that they design'd by this Badge of the Cross: It was to declare that they would not be asham'd of the Cross of Christ: never be abash'd at the Flouts of the Heathens, who objected to 'em that the Person in whom they trusted as their God, had been executed for a Malefactor: never be scandaliz'd if it came to be their Fortun to suffer in themselves. On the contrary, they voluntarily own'd it as their Share and Allotment in this World. This was according to our Savior's Rule, *to deny themselves, take up their Cross, and follow him*. He that does this with a firm Resolution; is the Man that has overcome this World.

§. 6. Another Custom that *Tertullian* instances in, is, the giving to the new baptiz'd Person a Mixtur of *Milk and Honey*. There is none of the ceremonial Circumstances that accompanied Baptism of which so early Mention is made, as there is of this, if *Barnabas's Epistle* be so antient as learned Men do think. For as *Tertullian* 100 Years after the Apostles here speaks of it as a Thing generally and constantly us'd; so it is also plainly intimated in that Epistle. Which because the Interpreters of it have not minded, nor have taken any Notice that the Place does at all refer to Baptism; I shall

B b 2

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(38) Apol. 1. statim ab initio.



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recite it something at large : and it will appear that this Custom used at the Christian Baptism gives some Light to it, which otherwise seems to have none at all.

He had been shewing that many Sayings of the Old Testament do, in an allegorical Way, refer to the Church of Christians that was to be. He instances for one in that Description given by *Moses* of the promised Land, where he calls it, *A Land flowing with Milk and Honey*. To explain how this belongs to the Christians, he says, *cap. 6.* Επει ἔτι ἀναγενθούς ἡμᾶς ἐν τῇ ἀφεσει τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν, ἐποίησεν ἡμᾶς ἄλλοι πύποι ὡς παιδῶν ἔχειν τὴν ψυχὴν, ὡς ἀνὴρ ὁ ἀναπλασσομένης [i. ἀναπλασσομένης] αὐτὸς ἡμᾶς, &c. Since God having at the Forgiveness of our Sins [i. e. at Baptism] renewed us, has caused us to have our Hearts in another Form as the Hearts of a Child, just as if he had formed us anew, &c. Therefore the Prophet thus foretold it; Enter into the Land flowing with Milk and Honey, and rule in it. Ἰδὲ ἐν ἡμῶς ἀναπλασσομένα, &c. Behold then we are formed anew: as also he speaks by another Prophet, Behold, says the Lord, I will take from them, that is from those whom the Spirit of the Lord foresaw, their Hearts of Stone, and I will put into them Hearts of Flesh.

— Wherefore we are they whom he has brought into that good Land. But what means the Milk and Honey? Because as a Child is nourished first with Milk, and then with Honey; so we being kept alive with the Belief of his Promises, and the Word of his Gospel shall live, &c. To the same Purpose he speaks of Baptism as a new Formation, *ch. 16.*

The Coherence which he seems to mean, is thus. The Christian Baptism does put us into a new State: by God's forgiving us all that is past, and giving us new Hearts, we are in the State of Children new born. Milk and Honey (which

(which are therefore given after Baptism) being Food proper for Children, and being the Things by which *Moses* did characterize the promised Land; that Character of it does typifie the true Land of Promise, to the Enjoyment whereof the Christians are now by Baptism called.

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The Custom of giving Milk and Honey to the new baptiz'd Person, whether he were a grown Man or an Infant, continued down to St. *Hierom's* Time: for he mentions it (42). And how much longer I know not: for I remember no later Mention of it. It has however for a long Time been forborn. 'Tis natural to suppose, that this, being only an Emblem to signify that the new baptiz'd Person is as a new-born Babe, was left off at such Time when, the World being come into the Church, there were hardly any more Baptisms but of Babes in a proper Sense, who needed no such Representation to signify their Infancy.

It was in those first Times of general Use among the Heretics, as well as Catholics. For *Tertullian* objecting to (43) *Marcion*, that his Christ, how much soever he undervalued the God that made the World, yet was forc'd to make Use of his Creaturs even in his religious Offices, says, *He does not for all that reject the Water of the Creator, with which he washes his Disciples: Nor his Oyl, with which he anoints 'em: Nec mellis & lactis societatem, qua infantat: nor the Mixtur of Milk and Honey, with which he enters 'em as Infants: nor his Bread, &c. being forc'd in his own Sacraments to make Use of the peggery Gifts of the Creator.*

(42) Adv. Luciferianos. (43) Cont: Marcion, l. 1: c. 14.

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§. 7. The White Garment, in which the new baptized Persons were clothed, is not mention'd that I know of, by any of the earliest Writers. Cyril (44) mentions it; and in the After-times there is much said about it. By it they signified that they were now *washed from their Sins in the Blood of the Lamb: had put on Christ: were become Children of the Light and of the Day: and resolved to keep themselves unspotted from the World.* They wore this for a Week: and then it was laid up as an Evidence against 'em, if they ever revolted from that holy Faith and Profession. This was used in the Case of Infants as well as of grown Persons. I gave an Instance before (45).

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290.

§. 8. There were in some Churches two Anointings us'd at Baptism. One, of the naked Body with Oyl just before the Immersion. Of this St. Cyril speaks *Catech. Mystag. 2.* and the Autor of *Quaest. à Gentibus proposit. Q. 137.* and St. Chrysoft. *Hom. 6. in Epist. ad Coloss.*

67.

100.

The other, which was univerversally us'd, and is mention'd by the more antient Writers, was after the Baptism, with a rich Ointment or *Chrism.* I observ'd before (46) that the first Mention we have of this Chrism, was the Use of it by the *Valentinian Heretics*, who, as *Irenaeus* tells us (47); *anointed the baptized Person with Balsam: and said, this Ointment is a Type of that Sweetness which surpasses all Things.* But tho' this be something antienter than any Mention of it as used among the Catholics; yet it is plain that it was also us'd by them generally about the same Time: because Autors a little after this do speak of it as an unquestion'd Custom. *Tertullian* recites it

(44) *Catech. Mystagog. 4.* (45) Pt. 1. CH. XVIII. §. 1.  
(46) CH. V. §. 1. (47) L. 3. c. 2.

Chap. IX. *The Imposition of Hands.*

it thus (48); Then when we come out of the Water, we are anointed with a blessed [or consecrated] Ointment, according to that ancient Rite by which Men used to be anointed for the Priest's Office, with Oyl out of a Horn; ever since the Time that Aaron was anointed by Moses: so that Christ himself has his Name from Chrism [or Uction]; and a little after; Then we have the Imposition of Hands on us, which calls down and invites the holy Spirit. And St. Cyprian thus (49); The baptized Person must be anointed also, that by having the Chrism, that is the Anointing, he may be the anointed of God. And in the Council of Laodicea the 48 Canon is: Baptized Persons must after their Baptism receive the holy Anointing, &c. In a Word; there is nothing more frequently mention'd in Antiquity than this Anointing and Laying on of the Hands of the Bishop, in order to implore the Graces of the Holy Spirit on the Baptized. And yet St. Hierom, when he is in one of his Moods, says (50); We find this don in many Places, more for the Credit of the Episcopal Office, than for any Necessity of the Precept.

Year after the Apostles



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278.

The Parts of the Body that were anointed, were not in all Churches the same. In the Church of Jerusalem it was the Forehead, (which was ever in all Churches one of the Places) and the Ears, the Nostrils, and the Breast: as appears by the third of St. Cyril's *Mystical Catechisms*.

250.

The Chrism was used presently after the Baptism: And so was the Laying on of Hands, if the Person were Adult, and the Baptizer were a Bishop. But if the Person were an Infant; the Laying on of Hands was defer'd till he were of Age, with his own Mouth to ratific

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(48) De Bapt. c. 7. (49) Epist. 70. ad Januar. (50) Adv. Luciferiano s.

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the Profession made at Baptism. And tho' the Person were Adult; yet if it was only a *Deacon* or a *Presbyter* that baptiz'd him, the Laying on of Hands was *ordinarily* reserv'd for the Bishop to do: according to that Example of the Church of *Jerusalem*, who having heard that many People at *Samaria* had been converted and baptiz'd by *Philip*, who was but a *Deacon* (51), sent unto them *Peter* and *John*. Then they laid their Hands on 'em: And they received the *Holy Ghost*.

205. The Council of *Eliberis* do order (52), that if a *Layman* or a *Deacon* have in Time of Necessity given Baptism; the Person, if he live, must be brought to the Bishop for Imposition of Hands. But they seem to suppose, that if the Baptism was given by a *Presbyter*; he, in such Case of Necessity, might give the Imposition too, rather than the Party die without it.

It was the Custom of the Church of *Rome*, that if the Baptizer were under the Degree of a Bishop, he should anoint the other Parts aforementioned, but not the Forehead: And the anointing of that was reserved for the Bishop to do, when he laid on Hands, as I quoted before (53) out of Pope *Innocent*. But the first Council of *Orange* allows of but one Anointing of the Baptized, and that to be used presently after the Baptism. But if any one, say they (54), by Reason of any Accident was not anointed at his Baptism; then the Bishop shall be advised of it when he comes to confirm him. For we have but one *Benediction* of *Chrism*. Not pretending to set a Rule to any, but that the Anointing may be esteem'd necessary.

And

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(51) Acts 8. 14, 15, &c. (52) Can. 38, & 77. (53) Pt. I. CH. XVII. §. 6. (54) Can. 1.

And in the Church of Rome, tho' the ordinary Rule were, that none but the Bishop should give the Chrism on the Forehead, as I said; yet in Case of Scarcity of Bishops, or of their Negligence in performing their Visitations to do this, it was allowed to Presbyters to do it. For Gregory the Great, in the Ninth Epistle of his third Book, says; that *Presbyters may anoint the Breast; but none but the Bishop, the Forehead.* But in *Epist. 26.* he revokes this Order in the Case of Want of Bishops, and in such a Case allows the Presbyters to anoint the Forehead too. And long before his Time, the same Liberty had been given to Presbyters, *in the Absence of the Bishop, not else,* in the first Council of Toledo (55). And the Autor of the Comments ascribed to St. Ambrose, in *Ephes. c. 4.* says, it was the Custom at that Time in *Agypt*; *Presbyteri consignant, si præsens non sit Episcopus.* *The Presbyters do confirm, if the Bishop be not present.*

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*Novatian*, it seems, as he was not baptiz'd in the ordinary Way, but in his Bed; (which was one Objection against his being made a Bishop) so also he never had had this Anointing and Imposition of Hands: Upon which *Cornelius* founds this other Objection against him (56); *Neither was he, after he recover'd, made Partaker of those other Things which a Christian ought by the Rule of the Church to have; i. e. to be confirmed [or sealed σφραγισθῆναι] by the Bishop: which he not having, How was he made Partaker of the Holy Spirit?*

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If any one had been baptiz'd in a schismatical Congregation, and afterward desir'd to be admitted among the Catholics; he was by the Rule of some Churches to be baptiz'd anew:

But

(55) Can. 20. (56) Euseb. l. 6. c. 45.

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But in the Church of *Rome* (whose Example finally prevail'd) he was not baptiz'd anew, (provided those from whom he came, believ'd the Trinity, and baptiz'd into it) but he had a new Imposition of Hands and Anointing. For they would never yield, that the Prayers of Schismatics could procure the Grace of the Holy Spirit.

Of these two Things, the Chrism or Anointing is not commanded in Scriptur: Yet it is still practis'd by all the Christians of the East and West; except the Protestants. But the Laying on of Hands is plainly mention'd in the Scriptur; *Acts* 8. 17. *Heb.* 6. 2. and is yet continued by all Christians, except some very absurd People. It is injoined in the Church of *England*, with an excellent Office drawn up on Purpose for it. But I think there is never a Divine of that Church that has not express'd his Grief, that it is not more frequently offer'd, and more seriously and solemnly accepted and used. I hope so much of what *St. Hierom* says in the Place I last quoted from him (57), is true; *That it is not necessary to Salvation: For else, as he there says, they are in a lamentable Condition, who in Villages and remote Places being baptiz'd by Presbyters or Deacons, do die before the Bishop's Visitation.*

These were the most antient Rites relating to Baptism. Many that came up in After-times, and are now used in the Church of *Rome*, are not worth the reciting: And it would be tedious to do it.

It is to be noted here, that some learned Men, who are skill'd in the Customs of the *Jews*, do assure us, that those three Ceremonies of anointing the Body at Baptism, and of the trine Immer-

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(57) Adv. Luciferianos.

Immersion, and of the Milk and Honey, were all us'd by the *Jews* in their baptizing of a Profelyt, whether Infant or Adult (as well as the requiring Undertakers in the Case of Infants). And this is indeed the most probable Account of the Way from whence it was that the first Christians had these Customs, of which there is no Mention in the Writings of the New Testament, *viz.* that they us'd them by Imitation of the Jewish Baptism. Which does still more confirm (what I discours'd of in the Introduction) that they reckon'd their Baptism to succeed (with some Alterations) in the Room of the Jewish Baptism of Profelyts of the Nations.

Year after the Apostles

§. 9. But the most material Thing by far that was done at Baptism, was the *Professions*; the Sincerity whereof is more to be regarded than the external Baptism it self: As *St. Peter* testifies 1 *Ep.* 3. 21. They were constantly and universally requir'd: in the Case of grown Persons to be made with their own Mouth in the most serious Manner; and in the Case of Infants, by their Sponsors in their Name. That a Man may justly wonder at the Spirit of Contradiction in those People that pretend Baptism does better without 'em, and do practise accordingly: As if they had Authority to entitle Persons to the Kingdom of God, whether they do, when they come to Age, keep the Commandments or not.

These Professions were of two Sorts, relating to the two general Duties of a Christian; 1. Renouncing of Wickedness, and 2. Faith, with Obedience to God. Every one that would be enter'd into the holy Covenant of Christianity, must promise to renounce the Idolatry and false Worship then us'd in the World, and all other Wickedness. The Scriptur Phrase is, *Repent and be baptiz'd.* *Pliny's Letter to Trajan* 10.



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jan (58), concerning the Christians, is; that all the Ill that he (by examining some that had been of their Sect and were come off from it) could find in 'em, was; *That they would not sacrifice to the Gods; That they kept Assemblies before Day, in which they sang Hymns of Praise to Christ as their God; And bound themselves (not to any ill Thing, that he could hear of; but) in a Sacrament (that is Pliny's Word: It signified with them an Oath, or, solemn Obligation) not to be guilty of any Theft, Robbery, Adultery, Cheating, Treachery, &c.* It was probably the Obligation enter'd into at Baptism, to which he refers; as having heard some general Reports of their Usage in that Matter. *Justin Martyr* in the Passage which I recited in the *first Pt. CH. II. §. 3.* speaking of such as they admitted into their Society, describes 'em thus; *They who are perswaded and do believe that those Things which are taught by us are true, and do promise to live according to 'em, &c.*

The Particular Words in which this Profession was made, were, by the Account of the eldest Autors that mention 'em, much the same as are used now: only shorter, and with some little Variety in the several Churches. *Tertullian* in the Place lately quoted (59) recites 'em thus; *We do renounce the Devil, and his Pomp, and his Angels.* And he has the said Words without any Alteration, in his Book *de Spectac. c. 4.* And in the Book *de Idololatrâ*; tho' at *c. 6.* he mention only *the Devil and his Angels*; yet at *c. 18.* he adds; *since you have abjur'd the Pomp of the Devil, &c.* So that 'tis probable those were the very Words of the Form of Renunciation in the Church of Carthage at that Time. *Origen* brings

(58) Lib. 10. Epist. 97. (59) De Coronâ Militis, c. 2.

brings in (60) the Devil triumphing over a wicked Christian; *Lo! this Man was called a Christian, and was signed on the Forehead with Christ's Mark: But he had in his Heart my Precepts and Designs. This is the Man that at his Baptism Renounced me and my Works; but afterward engag'd himself in all my Works, and obey'd my Laws. But Hom. 12. in Num. He names 'em thus; his Pomp, his Works, his Services, and Pleasures.*

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In the Church of Jerusalem the Form, as we read in St. Cyrill (61), was; *I renounce thee, oh Satan, and all thy Works, all thy Poms, and all thy Services. And he explains the Works of the Devil thus; Under the Name of the Devil's Works is comprehended all Sin. And he bids 'em mind, that what they say at that solemn Time, is written down in God's Book; so that what they shall practise afterward to the contrary, will bring 'em under the Judgment of Deserters.* St. Chrysostom gives us the Form of the Church of Antioch, to the same Purpose (62); *I renounce thee, oh Satan; and thy Pomp, and thy Services, and thy Angels.*

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St. Cyprian in the Passage that he recited out of him in the first Pt. Ch. VI. §. 11. styles it *Renouncing the Devil and the World;* and he mentions it in the same Words, *Lib. de habitu patientia, §. 7.*

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When it was an Infant that was baptiz'd, these Professions were made in his Name and Stead by his Parents, or others that stood as Sponsors or Godfathers for him: as appears by the Words of Tertullian which I recited Pt. I. CH. IV. §. 9. where he objects, that *the Godfathers are by this Means brought into Danger; Because they*

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(60) In Psalm. 38. Hom. 2. (61) C. 1. Myff. 1. (62) In Ep. ad Coloff. Hom. 6.

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they may either fail of their Promises by Death, or be deceiv'd by a Child's proving Wicked. Mistaking the Design of the Thing so far, as to think that the Godfather stands to the Peril of that. And among other Fathers that liv'd a little after, the Mention of the Godfathers and of the Answers made by them in the Name of the Infant is so frequent, and I have cited so many Passages where it is occasionally mention'd, that there is no need of more. Only in some of 'em it may be observ'd, that there were, as I said, in several Churches several Variations of the Words of this Renunciation. St. Austin l. 1. de pecc. mer. c. 19. says; *that Infants do profess Repentance by the Words of those that bring 'em; when they do by them renounce the Devil and this World.* And Epist. 23. he says; *it was asked among other Things; Does this Child turn to God?*

300.

The requiring these Obligations of the baptized Person, was called the *Exorcizing* him, or putting him to his Oath. Which being become the common Word, it was so called also in the Case of Infants. St. Austin pleads against the Pelagians (63), that *it is in a real Meaning, and not in a Mockery, that the Power of the Devil is exorciz'd [or, abjar'd] in Infants, and they do renounce it by the Mouths of those that bring 'em, not being capable of doing it by their own; that being deliver'd from the Power of Darkness, they may be translated into the Kingdom of their Lord.*

In the later Times of the Church of Rome, this *exorcizing* has been accompanied with so many odd Tricks of their Invention, that the Word now sounds ill in the Ears of Protestants:

And

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(63) De Nuptiis, l. 1. c. 20.

And they take the Name *Exorcist* to signify something like that of *Conjurer* in the vulgar Acceptation. But as both these Words in their original Signification do import no more than *the requiring of an Oath or solemn Promise*: So the Use of Exorcizing formerly was no more than I have describ'd, and the Protestants do practise; save that they observ'd some peculiar Gesturs, Posturs, and Actions in the Time of doing it, which are not worth the particular naming.

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§. 10. They were bound also to profess the Christian FAITH. The Words in which this was done in every particular Church, were the same which that Church used for a Form of the Christian Creed. The Form of the Creed was not in all Churches the same in Words, but in Substance it was. It is great Pity that there is not left any Copy of any very antient Creed. We know both by the Scriptur, and by their earliest Writings, what was the Substance of their Faith: But we should be glad to have the very Form of Words which was used in the Offices of each Church, and according to which they put the Interrogatories to the Competents at Baptism. We have some Clauses of these left: But no intire Form of a Creed, till that which was agreed on at the first general Meeting of Christians from all Parts of the World, at *Nice, Anno Dom. 325.* This is the eldest Copy of any public Creed that is extant. 225.

In the oldest Books of all that we have of the Fathers, it is as it is in the Books of Scriptur: The Articles of our Faith are found scattered up and down, but not collected into any one short Draught, or Summary. There is nothing more probable than the Opinion of those learned Men, who judge that at first there was

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was no other Creed necessary for the Baptized to repeat, than that which is collected from our Savior's own Words, *Matt. 28. 19. viz. that they should say; I believe in the Father, and in the Son, and in the holy Spirit.* But the Heresies that arose, did not suffer the Church-Offices to continue in that Simplicity and Brevity.

I think there is nothing more edifying to a Christian, than to perceive that the Substance of the Faith once for all deliver'd to the Saints has continued the same in the Catholic Church from the Scriptur Times till now. Therefore I will take the Pains to set down some of the most remarkable Places out of such Christian Writers as are elder than any Copies of Creeds now extant, which do in short contain the Sum of their Belief; and agreeable to which their Creed propos'd to the Catechumens must have been.

40. *Justin Martyr* apologizes for the Christians, that they were not Atheists (as they were by some traduc'd to be), for tho' they did not go to the Temples, nor worship the Gods; *Yet,* says he (64), *the true God and Father of Righteousness, &c. and his Son, that came forth from him, and has taught us and the Angels, &c. these Things; and the Prophetic Spirit, we do worship and adore.* And having said (in the Passage of the same Apology, which I quoted in the first Part, CH. II. §. 3. about the Christians Manner of Baptism) that they were baptized in the Name of these Three; he adds this farther Explication. *There is named over the Person [or, by the Person] that has a Mind to be regenerated, the Name of the Father, God and Lord of all.* Then after a little Digression, of the Reason why the  
Chri-

(64) Apol. 2.

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Christians do not affix any Name to their God, Year after the Apostles as it was customary for the Heathens; as *Jupiter, Bacchus, &c.* He goes on; *And also the enlightened Person [or, baptiz'd Person] is washed in the Name of Jesus Christ, that was crucified under Pontius Pilat: And in the Name of the Holy Spirit, who by the Prophets foretold the Things concerning Jesus.*

*Irenaus* having to do with the *Valentinians*, 671 who taught that there was another God above the Creator of the World, and when they were confuted by Scriptur, appealed to some secret Traditions; says (65), 'Tis easie for any one to know the Tradition of the Apostles declar'd in all the World: And we are able to reckon up those who were by the Apostles ordained Bishops in the Churches, and their Successors to this Time; who 801 never taught any such Thing. Then he recites the Succession of some Churches from the Apostles, *Peter, Paul, John, &c.* and says; Suppose the Apostles had left us no Writings, Ought we not to follow the Order of that Tradition which they deliver'd to those to whom they committed the Churches? And to that Purpose, he instances in many Christians in the barbarous Nations, that had no Writings; and yet had the true Faith by Tradition, that is, says he;

*Believing in One God, who made Heaven and Earth, and all Things in them by Jesus Christ, the Son of God; who out of highest Love to his Creaturs vouchsafed to be born of a Virgin, uniting in himself [or, in his own Person] Man to GOD, and suffer'd under Pontius Pilat, and rose again, and was received up in great Glory, and will come a Savior of those that are saved, and a Judge of those that are judged; and will send into eternal*  
C c Fire

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*Fire all that deprave his Truth, and despise his Father, and his coming.*

Also on much the like Occasion at another Place (66), having given a long Account how strange Things some Heretics held, he says; *Any one, that does but keep in his Mind unalter'd that Rule of Faith into which he was baptiz'd, will easily perceive their Falshood: And then a little after gives the Account of the Catholic Faith: Thus;*

*For the Church that is extended over all the World to the Ends of the Earth, having received from the Apostles and their Disciples the Faith, which is;*

*In one God the Father Almighty, that made Heaven and Earth, and the Sea, and all Things in them: And in one Jesus Christ, the Son of God, who was for our Salvation incarnated: And in the Holy Spirit, who foretold by the Prophets the Dispensations of God, and the Coming, the Birth from a Virgin, the Suffering, the Resurrection from the Dead, and the bodily Ascension into Heaven of Jesus Christ our beloved Lord: And his Coming from Heaven in the Glory of the Father to restore all Things, and to raise again all the Bodies of Mankind: That to Jesus Christ, our Lord and GOD, and Savior, and King, every Knee may, according to the good Pleasure of the invisible Father, bow; both of Things in Heaven, and Things in Earth, and Things under the Earth: And every Tongue may confess to him: And he may pass a righteous Sentence on all; and may send the spiritual Wickednesses, and the Angels that sinned, and apostatiz'd, and all ungodly and unrighteous and unjust Men and Blasphemers into everlasting Fire: And give Life to the Righteous and Holy, and to such as have kept his Commandments, and have continued in his Love*

Love (some from the Beginning, and some by Repentance) and may bestow upon them Immortality and eternal Glory. Year after the Apostles

This Faith, he says, the Church having received, keeps, as if they had all one Heart and one Soul: And that neither the Churches in Germany, nor those in Spain, or in France, or in the East, or in Egypt, or in Africa, or under the Middle of the World, had any other Belief: And that a learned Preacher would deliver no more than this; nor an ignorant Layman any less.

*Tertullian* writing against *Praxeas* (who not being able to believe three Persons in one numerical Essence, taught that Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, are but one Person: And consequently, that the Father was incarnated, and was that *Jesus Christ* that died) opposes to him the Faith of the Church as it had always been held, Thus (67);

*We believe that there is but one God: But yet with this Dispensation or Oeconomy, that this one God has his Son, his WORD coming forth from him; By whom all Things were made, and without him was not any Thing made. That he was by the Father sent into the Virgin, and of her born, Man and GOD, Son of Man and Son of God, and named Jesus the Christ. That this is he that suffer'd, died, and was buried according to the Scriptures, and raised again by the Father, and taken up into Heaven, and sits at the Right hand of the Father, and will come to judge the Living and the Dead. Who sent from thence, according to his Promise, from the Father the holy Spirit, the Comforter, the Sanctifier of the Faith of those that believe in the Father, the Son, and the holy Spirit.*

C c 2

This



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This Rule has been deriv'd down from the Beginning of the Gospel, before even the eldest of the Heretics; much more before Praxeas, who is but of Yesterday.

And then, reciting the Objection of *Praxeas*, viz. that the Unity of God can no otherwise be maintain'd but by holding Father, Son, and Holy Spirit to be one Person. He answers;

*As if they were not in our Sense all One, inasmuch as all are of One, that is, as to Unity of the Substance: And yet the Mystery of the Oeconomy may be preserv'd, which dispenses the Unity into a Trinity: Ranking Three; Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. Tres, non Statu, sed Gradu; nec Substantiâ, sed Formâ; nec Potestate, sed Specie. Three, not in Condition but in Order [or, Rank]; not in Substance, but in Form [or, Mode]; and not in Power, but in Species [which Word I know not how to translate, being on so awful a Subject]; but in one Substance, and of one Condition, and of one Power; Because they are but one God; out of whom those Ranks, Forms, and Species are reckoned under the Names of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.*

The same Autor in another Book (68) writing against Heretics in general, gives in Opposition to all of 'em, this Summary of the Christian Faith.

*That we may declare what we hold: The Rule of Faith is; To believe that there is but one God, and no other but the Maker of the World, who created all Things out of nothing by his WORD first of all sent forth: That that WORD, being called his Son, was in divers Manners seen by the Patriarchs under the Name of God, was in the Prophets always heard, and at last being by the Spirit*  
and

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(68) De Præscriptionibus, c. 13.

and Power of God brought into the Virgin Mary, and made Flesh in her Womb, and born of her, was Jesus the Christ: And that then he preach'd the new Law and new Promise of the Kingdom of Heaven: Did Miracles: Was Crucified: Rose again the third Day: Was carried into Heaven: Sate down at the Right-hand of God: Sent in his Stead. the Power of the Holy Spirit to lead them that believe: That he will come in Glory to receive the Saints into the Enjoyment of eternal Life and the heavenly Promises; and to adjudge the Profan to eternal Fire; having first raised both from the Dead, and restored to 'em their Flesh.

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A shorter Abstract yet, drawn by the same Man upon another Occasion (69), is this;

The Rule of Faith is but One, altogether unalterable, and not to be mended. That is; of believing in one God Almighty, Maker of the World: And in his Son Jesus Christ, born of the Virgin Mary, crucified under Pontius Pilat, who arose the third Day from the Dead, was taken up into Heaven, sits now at the right Hand of the Father, will come to judge the Living and the Dead, by raising the Flesh it self to Life again.

Origen being to write a Book of the Principles of Religion, makes a (70) Preface to this Purpose; That because of the many heretical Opinions it was necessary to set down that which is the certain Line and manifest Rule; and by it to inquire of the rest. This he calls the Ecclesiastical Doctrin deliver'd down from the Apostles in the Order of Succession, and continuing still in the Church. And whereas some Men that had better Gifts than ordinary, might study and know some other Things also; that this was deliver'd

110.

(69) De velandis Virginitibus, c. 1. (70) mei ἀποκρυφ. Βραβ. Βραβ. Βραβ.

Year af- by the Apostles for the Use of all, even the dullest  
ter the A- Christians. And he says; It is this;  
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First, That there is one God, who has made and order'd all Things, creating them out of Nothing, the God of all holy Men from the Creation: Of Adam, Moses, &c.

That this God, who is both just and merciful, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, gave both the Law and the Prophets, and also the Gospel; the same being the God both of the Old and New Testament.

That Jesus Christ, who came, was begotten of the Father before all the Creation: That he ministred to [or, acted under] the Father in the Creation of all Things: For by him all Things were made. That he in the last Days humbled himself to be made Man: He was made Flesh when he was God, and continued to be Man while he was God. He took a Body like unto ours: differing only in this, that it was by the Holy Spirit born of a Virgin. And that this Jesus the Christ was born and suffer'd truly, not in Appearance only, but died truly the common Death: And did truly rise from the Dead: And after his Resurrection convers'd with his Disciples: And was taken up.

Then they have also deliver'd, that the Holy Spirit is joined with the Father and the Son, in Honor and Dignity.

It may be here observ'd by the By, first, how Origen explains that Phrase of St. Paul, *Phil. 2.7.* Being in the Form of God, &c. *ἐκένωσεν ἑαυτὸν*, &c. He in the last Days, *seipsum exinanitens homo factus est*, humbled [or emptied] himself to be made Man. He does not interpret it, that when he was a Human Soul, or Angel in Heaven, he humbled himself to take an earthly Body. 2ly, How *Rufinus* according to Origen's Sense translates, *πρωτόγεντος καὶ ἀδελφου καὶ ἰσοῦς*, Col. 1. 15. He does not say, The First-born of every Creatur. Much less

less does he say; *The First of God's Creation.* Year after the A-  
 But, *ante omnem creaturam natus ex Patre.* Born postles  
 [or Begotten] of the Father before all the Creation.

These are some of the most antient Passages, wherein the Autors undertake to give an Account in few Words of the Faith into which Christians were baptized. They do not say that these were the very Forms of the Creeds by which the Interrogatories were put: But they must have been to this Purpose. And whereas *Tertullian* says in the Place I quoted before, that the Custom was for the baptized Person to answer some few Words more than those which our Savior in the Gospel has enjoined; we may partly see here what they were. For whereas our Savior had enjoin'd only those Words, of believing *in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit*: And whereas some Heretics in those first Ages, tho' keeping those Words, yet had introduc'd monstrous Opinions: Some, of the Father, that he was not the God of the Old Testament, but another: And some, of the Son; that he was not really a Man, nor did really die; as some taught: Or that he was not really God; as others: The Church did examin the Candidates, not only whether they believed *in the Father*, but whether they believed him to be *the Maker of Heaven and Earth*: And not only whether they believed *in the Son*; but whether they believed his Divinity, Incarnation, Death, Resurrection, &c. On these Occasions it was that the ordinary Forms of the Creed were augmented by some Words added for Explication sake. And these were not in every Church the same Words: But each Church added such Words as were necessary to obviate the Heresies that arose in their Country, and were in any Particular contrary to the Fundamentals of the Faith.

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postles

100.

And besides such Explications concerning each Person of the Holy Trinity, they added also some other necessary Articles of Christian Faith to the Creed, which the baptized Person must make Profession of. So we see in these Passages (beside the Doctrin of the Trinity) *the Resurrection of the Dead*, and the *futur Judgment*, and *eternal Life*, plainly deliver'd. And more positively than any of the rest, the Article of the Church is by *Tertullian* mention'd, as recited at Baptism, in his Book on that Subject (71): Where having said that *our Faith is sealed* [i. e. we are baptiz'd] *in the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit*, he adds; *And when the Testimony of our Faith, and Promise of our Salvation, are assured by these Three, there is necessarily added a Mention of the Church. For where the Three, that is, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, are; there is the Church, which is the Body of the Three.* And also the same Man in another Treatise (72) mentioning occasionally the Church, calls it, *Sanctam Ecclesiam, in quam repromissimus*, 'The Holy Church; the Belief [or, owning] whereof we have vowed. So that 'tis plain, this Article of the Church was in some of the most antient Creeds. The Meaning of the Profession of this Article, which they had, was; *I own the Catholic Church*, i. e. I am of no Sect, or Schism; but do adhere to the Communion and Unity of the Body; In Explication of which Sense were afterward added these Words; *the Communion of Saints*: That is, of Christians. This was their Meaning of it; And they would baptize no Body without it. In what Sense the Sectaries, that do renounce this Communion, and yet still say those

Words

(71) Lib. de Baptismo, c. 6. (72) Lib. 5. contra Mar-  
cion. c. 4.

Words with their Mouth, do take 'em, I cannot imagin. As for Baptism, I think they do, many of 'em, administer it without any Creed at all.

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About 50 Years after the Time of *Tertullian*, 150. we have in *St. Cyprian* the Form in which the Baptized were interrogated in his Time concerning those other Articles, that followed the Confession of the Trinity; or at least a Part of it.

In his 69th Epistle (73), disputing against such as would have Baptism given by the *Novatian* Schismatics to be good Baptism, he says;

*If any one object, and say that Novatian holds the same Rule as the Catholic Church does, and baptizes by the same Creed that we do; that he owns the same God the Father; the same Son, Christ; the same Holy Spirit: And therefore that he may baptize, since he seems not to differ from us in the Interrogatories of Baptism. Let him that objects this, know; First, that the Schismatics have not the same Rule of the Creed with us, nor the same Interrogation. For when they say; 'Dost thou believe the Forgiveness of Sins, and the Life everlasting by the holy Church? They express a Lie in their Interrogation, since they have not [or own not] the Church.*

And in his next Epistle, to the same Purpose: *When we say; 'Dost thou believe the Life everlasting and the Forgiveness of Sins by the holy Church [or, by the Means used in the holy Church]? &c.*

§. 11. From these Traces we may perceive what was the Substance of the most antient Creeds in the several Churches: But we come now nigh those Times, since which there are intire

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225. intire Copies of the public Creeds remaining.  
The eldest of which is, as I said, that which  
was at the Council of Nice agreed on, as a  
Form to be owned by all Churches. It was  
this (74);

*We believe in one God the Father Almighty,  
Maker of all Things visible and invisible. And in  
one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God: Begotten of  
the Father: His only begotten; that is, of the  
Substance [or, Essence] of the Father: God of  
God: Light of Light: Very God of very God:  
Begotten, not made: Being co-essential [or, of  
one Substance] with the Father: By whom all  
Things were made, both Things in Heaven, and  
Things in Earth. Who for us Men, and for our  
Salvation, came down and was incarnate, and made  
Man. He suffer'd: And rose again the third Day.  
He went into Heaven: He will come to judge the  
Living and the Dead.*

*And in the Holy Spirit.*

*And those that say, that there ever was a Time  
when he [Christ] was not: Or, that before he  
was begotten, he was not: Or, that he was made  
out of Nothing: Or do say, that the Son of God  
is of any other Substance or Essence: Or, that he  
was created: Or, is changeable, or alterable:  
Such Men the Catholic and Apostolic Church of God  
does renounce [or, anathematize].*

282. When the Council of Constantinople, which  
was in the Year 382, asserts this Creed to be  
the antientest, (as they do in a synodical Epistle  
(75) written to the Church of Rome) they mean,  
it is the antientest of any that had been esta-  
blished at any general Meeting. But the several  
Churches

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(74) Eusebii Epist. apud Socrat. lib. 1. c. 8. (75) Theo-  
doret. H. E. lib. 5. c. 9.

Chap. IX. Eusebius's Creed.

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Churches must have had Forms for the Use of Baptism before. Year after the Apostles

But yet the Creeds used before in the several Churches must have been much to the same Purpose: Only in this there are some Expressions added particularly against the Heresie of *Arius*. Eusebius's Creed, which he drew up and offer'd to the Council of *Nice*, as the Faith which he says (76), He had received from the Bishops before him, and at his Catechizing, and when he was baptiz'd; and which he had held and taught, both while he was a Presbyter, and since he had been a Bishop, differ'd but little. He says, The Council accepted of his Words, making some Additions. The Form which he had offer'd, was this;

225.

185.

We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, Maker of all Things visible and invisible. And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the WORD of God, God of God, Light of Light, Life of Life, the only begotten Son, born before all the Creation, begotten of God the Father before all Worlds, by whom all Things were made, &c. Here are recited in the Body of the Creed those Words of the Apostle, Col. 1. 15. *Πρωτότοκον πόνος κτίσεως*. And it is observable how they are paraphras'd in the next Words; *Πεῖ πάντων αἰώνων ἐν τῷ Θεῷ Πατρὶς γεννημένον*. Begotten of God the Father before all Worlds [or Ages], by which we may be sure they would not have translated *Πρωτότοκος πόνος κτίσεως* as our English do's; The first-born of every Creatur, (of which English Expression the *Arians* and *Socinians* take Advantage) but Born [or, begotten] before all the Creation.

This,

(76) Epist. apud Socrat. l. 1. c. 8.



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postles

This, some learned (77) Men do think was the very Form of the Creed that had been used Time out of Mind at *Cæsarea*. If so, then this is the oldest Copy extant of any public Creed. But I think *Eusebius's* Words do lead one to conceive that this was the Substance, but the Words his own: because he says; *they accepted of my Words with some Additions.*

215. At the Time when *Arius* first moved his Controversie, *Alexander* the Bishop of the Place opposed to his Novelty, that the steady Faith of Christians is, and always was, thus (78);

*We believe in one unbegotten Father, who has no Cause at all of his Essence, &c. And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son of God: Begotten, not out of Nothing, but of the Father, We believe him, as well as the Father, to be unchangeable and unalterable, &c. And to differ Nothing from the Father, but only that the Father is unbegotten, &c. That the Son does ever exist from the Father. He took a Body, not in Shew only, but a real one, of the holy Virgin. In the End of the World he came among Men to expiate their Sins: He was crucified and died without any Diminution of his Divinity: He arose from the Dead: He ascended into Heaven, and sits at the Right-Hand of the Majesty of God.*

*Also one holy Spirit, which inspir'd both the holy Men of the Old Testament, and the Divin Teachers of the New.*

*Moreover one holy Catholic and Apostolic Church: And the Resurrection of the Dead.*

This it seems, was the Substance of what the Christians of *Alexandria* had ever held: But this could not be the very Form; because it is

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(77) Dr. Cave Epist. Apologetica. (78) Theodoret. H. E. l. 1. c. 4.

is (with the Clauses that I have left out) too long for the Use of Baptism.

Year after the Apostles

*Arius's* own Creed given in to the Emperor, was this (79):

228.

*We believe in one God, the Father Almighty. And in the Lord Jesus Christ, his Son: begotten of him before all Worlds: God the WORD: by whom all Things were made, both Things in Heaven, and Things on Earth. He came down, and was incarnated: he suffer'd and rose again, and ascended into Heaven: and will come again to judge the Living and the Dead. And in the holy Spirit. And in the Resurrection of the Flesh, and the Life of the World to come, and the Kingdom of Heaven, and one Catholic Church of God from one End of the World to the other.*

And he subjoins; that since he had this Faith, he intreated that he might by the Emperor's Means be admitted to the Unity of the Church, all Questions and needless Disputes being laid aside. But he conceals here his worst Opinions, *viz.* that there was a Time when God the Son was not: and that he was made out of Nothing, &c. and was not *very* or *true* God.

Twelve Years after the Council of *Nice*, *Constantin* dying, there succeeded in the *East* for forty Years together, except very short Intervals, Emperors that were *Arians*. During which Time the *Arians*, bearing the greatest Sway in those Parts, set up a great many new Forms of Creeds. Some of 'em in Words tolerably well agreeing with the Catholic Sense; others, very disagreeable. But the general Answer that the Christians of the *West* (which were free from the *Arian* Persecution) and the Catholic Party in the *East*, gave, when any of these were pro-

237.

(79) Socrat. H. E. l. 1. c. 26.

Year after the Apostles proposed to them for their Assent, was ; that the *Nicen* Creed was enough, and they would not entertain any new ones. I will give for a Specimen one of the best and one of the worst of 'em.

1. The Council of *Arians* met at *Antioch*,  
241. Anno 341. agreed upon this Creed (80) ;

To believe in one God of All, the Creator of all Things, visible and invisible. And in one only begotten Son of God, who before all Worlds [or Ages] subsisted and was together with the Father that begot him: by whom all Things, both visible and invisible, were made. He in the last Days came down by the good Will of the Father, and took Flesh of the holy *Virgin*: and having fulfilled all the Father's Counsel, suffer'd: and was raised again: and went back to Heaven, and sits at the Right-Hand of the Father: and will come to judge the Living and the Dead: and continues to be King and God for ever. We believe also in the Holy Spirit. And if we need say any more, we believe the Resurrection of the Flesh, and the Life everlasting.

244. And three Years after, when the Heresie of *Photinus* had in the mean Time burst out, meeting there again, they (to give as good Satisfaction as they could to the *Western* Bishops) declared their Sense of that Heresie, and of the Exorbitance of some *Arians*. After the Body of their Creed, much like the former, they add such Clauses as these (81) ; All that say, that the Son of God was made out of Nothing, or of any other Substance, and not of that of God; or, that there ever was a Time or Age in which he was not: such Men the holy Catholic Church renounces. They prove

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(80) *Socrat. lib. 2. c. 10.* (81) *Socrat. l. 2. c. 19.*

prove it to be both impious and absurd, to imagin any Time before he was begotten; since all Time and all Ages were made by him. They declare that neither when they profess three Persons, *τρία Πέσωνα*, they do make three Gods: nor when they say, there is One God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ the only unbegotten; do they therefore deny Christ to be *Θεὸν ἀρχαῖον*, the eternal God [or, God before all Ages]. They do also own there, that he is God by Natur, perfect and true God. They profess their Abhorrence of Photinus, who makes the WORD to be *ἀνύπαρκτον* without a personal Subsistence. And say, As for our selves, we know him to be not merely as a Word spoken, or as Reason in God: but God the WORD, and subsisting by himself, and the Son of God and Christ. And that he was with his Father before the World, not by way of Prescience, &c. but the subsisting WORD of the Father, and GOD of GOD ---- like to the Father in all Things, &c. Moreover, say they, We, understanding in a cautious Sense that which is said of him; The Lord possessed me in the Beginning of his Way (82), [This Text the Greek Translators had render'd; *Κύριος ἐκποίησεν*. The Lord built or made me] do by no Means understand, that he was begotten in a Way like to the Creaturs made by him: for it were impious and against the Faith of the Church, to liken the Creator to the Things by him made, &c. — Thus we believe in the perfect and most holy Trinity, calling the Father, God; and the Son, God; we do not mean these to be two, but one God, &c. These Men were not very far from the Catholic Faith.

Year after the Apostles

2. But about sixteen Years afterward; This Sect carried Matters to more extravagant Outrages. 260.

(82) Prov. 8. 22.

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ter the A-  
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rages. For the Emperor *Constantius*, a bigotted *Arian*, being then at *Antioch*, a Party met there, and determined that *the Son is not at all like the Father, neither in Essence nor in Will: that he was made out of Nothing: as Arius had at first said.*

*Sozomen* relating this (83); says that there were among these (who were but few in all) several of the Party of *Actius*, who, he says, *was the first that after Arius ventur'd to use openly such Expressions, and was therefore called, the Atheist.* And about this Time *Eunomius*, the Partner of *Actius*, publish'd his Creed to this Purpose;

*There is one God, unbegotten and without Beginning, &c. the Maker and Creator of all Things, and first of his only begotten Son, &c. For he begot, created, and made his Son before all Things, and before all the Creation, only by his Power and Operation: not communicating any Thing of his own Essence to him, &c. nor making him another like himself, &c. but he begot him of such a Natur as he thought fit, &c. And by him he made, first and the greatest of all, the holy Spirit, &c. And after him, all the Things in Heaven and Earth, &c. There is also one holy Spirit, the first and greatest of the Works of the Only-begotten, made by the Command of the Father, but by the Power and Operation of the Son.*

This Man had Reason to appoint among his Followers a new Form of Baptism: for the old one did not fit to such Opinions. So he laid it aside, and us'd that impious Form of Baptizing which I mention'd before at §. 4. *In the Name of the unbegotten Father, &c.*

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(83) Hist. Eccl. l. 4. c. 29.

## Chap. IX. *The Belief of Photinus.*

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The moderat and general Sort of *Arians* did all the while own all that the *Nicen Creed* had said of our Savior to be true, save that they thought not fit to determin that he is of *one Substance with the Father*: as neither, on the contrary, did they think fit to say, as *Arius* had done, that he was *created*, or was of *any other Substance*. They rejected both those Clauses, and said that the Substance or Essence of God is unsearchable, and nothing ought to be determined about it. Yet *Eusebius* (84) and *Athanasius* (85) shew'd 'em that that very Word had been often us'd by the Christians both of the *Greek* and *Latin Church* above 100 Years before. Many of the Books out of which they could then prove this, are now lost: yet for the *Latins*, *Tertullian* does use that very Expression in the Passage of his that I quoted last. And *Pamphilus* the Martyr in his Apology for *Origen* (or be it *Eusebius* himself that was the Autor of that Piece) makes it plain, that it was a common Expression in the Books of *Origen* that were then extant. Yet if any in those Times did scruple the Use of the Word *ουσιον*, as being not a Scriptur Word; but did by other Words shew their Belief in Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, One God, to be Catholic; *Athanasius* owns such Men for Brethren: and says, it was the Case of *Basil of Ancyra*. *De Synod. Arimin. & Seleuc. non long. a fine.*

Year after the Apostles

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However we see that this Sect of the *Arians*, even the Dregs of it among the *Eunomians*, had not nigh so derogatory Thoughts of the Natur of our blessed Savior, as our *Socinians* have; who take him to be a mere Man, and to have

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had

(84) *Euseb. Epist. apud Socrat. l. i. c. 8.* (85) *Epist. ad Afros. apud Theodoret. l. i. c. 8.*

Year af- ter the A- postles

had no Being before his human Birth. *Photinus* indeed did in those confused Times broach that Opinion which one Sort of the *Socinians* do

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now fall into; that the WORD, the  $\lambda\omicron\gamma\theta$ , of which *St. John* speaks, is eternal: But that this WORD is not a Person, nor did take Man's Natur in *Jesum Christ*, was not made *Flesh* (as *St. John* says he was), but only inspir'd, directed, or dwelt in, the Man *Jesum*. But he did no sooner say this, but that all Sorts of *Christians*, *Catholics*, *Arians*, and *Eunomians*, join'd in an Abhorrence of him, as *Bishop Pearson* (86) shews at large, by reciting the Condemnations of him particularly. And he concludes, *so suddenly was this Opinion rejected by all Christians;*

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*applauded by none but Julian the Heretic [leg. Apostat], who rail'd at St. John for making Christ God, and commended Photinus for denying it: as appears by an Epistle written by Julian to him; as it is, tho' in a mean Translation, deliver'd by Facundus ad Justinian. l. 4. "Tu quidem, O Photine, &c. You, Photinus, say something like, and come near to good Sense. You do well not to bring him whom you think to be God, into a Woman's Womb.*

And from that Time till very lately, who ever embrac'd that Opinion has thought fit at the same Time to renounce the Scriptures, and the Name of a Christian.

What Creed the *Arians* used all this while for their Candidates to make their Professions by at Baptism, I know not; for their Creeds that are upon Record they alter'd almost every Day. The *Catholics* in the East made Use of the *Nicen*, as appears by *Epiphanius in Ancorato*, where he gives Directions that every one of the  
Cate-

(86) On the Creed, pag. 120.

Chap. IX. *The Greeks baptize by the Nicen Creed.* 419

Catechumens that would come to the holy Laver, must not only profess in general to believe, but must be taught to say expressly, as their and our Mosher does, viz. "We believe in one God, &c. as it is in the *Nicen Creed*. Only in *Epiphanius's* Copy some Clauses are put in by a later Hand (or by himself afterward) out of the *Constantinopolitan Creed*, which was set forth four Years after the first writing of that Book. He dates his Book the 10th Year of *Valens*, and he says, *This is the Faith deliver'd by all the holy Bishops together, above 310 in Number.* Which must be the *Nicen Bishops*. So that 'tis certain he in the first Edition of his Book set down the *Nicen*: and it was interpolated afterwards with those few Additions which the Council of *Constantinople* made to it. And I indeed was of Opinion that the same Thing had happened to the *Jerusalem Creed*, explain'd in way of Catechism by *St. Cyril*. He wrote those Catechisms first in *Constantinus's* Time: and yet there are in 'em, as they are now, the very Clauses of the *Constantinopolitan Creed*. This, I reckon'd, could never have happen'd so exact, but that he in his old Age (for he lived to that Time) or some Body after him, had added those Clauses which the Council of *Constantinople* had put in. But I find that *Mr. Grabe* (87) is of another Opinion, and thinks that the *Jerusalem Creed* and several other ancient *Eastern Creeds*, had those Clauses before the Time of the *Constantinopolitan Council*. To whose great Learning I willingly subscribe.

There is from this Time forward abundant Evidence that the *Eastern Churches* generally made Use of the *Nicen Creed* to be repeated

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(87) Annot. in Opera Doct. Hall.



420 *The Greeks baptize by the Nicen Creed. Chap. IX.*

Year at Baptisms. The Council of Ephesus (88) orders that none do write or propose any other Faith [or Creed], but that which was agreed on by the

331. holy Fathers, assembled at Nice, &c. — And if any one do offer or propose any other to such as desire to be converted to the Knowledge of the Truth [i. e. to such as come to be baptiz'd] either from the Heathens, or from the Jews, or from any Heresie; if they be Bishops or Clergymen, they shall be depos'd; if Lay men, excommunicated. The Council of Chalcedon confirms the same (89).

351. And so does the Edict of Justinian. And several other Synods do mention it as the Faith into which they were baptiz'd, and into which they

430. do baptize. Basiliscus the Usurper of the Greek Empire, having in his Edict mention'd this Creed, adds, into which both we, and all our Ancestors that were Christians, have been baptiz'd

376. (90). And the Emperor Zeno enacts, that all Baptisms should be by that.

This shews that what I quoted before (91) out of *Greg. Nazianzen* (that he would not baptize any *Arian*) was not singular in him: since the Church in all those Parts us'd at Baptism that Creed which has the Expressions purposely levell'd against that Heresie.

§. 12. *Valens*, the great Persecutor of the *Nicen* Faith, died in the 14 Year of his Reign. And then the Church had Liberty once again to come together from all Parts both of the *East* and *West*: which they did at *Constantinople*, Anno {281. 381. They made no Doubt or Delay of establishing the *Nicen* Creed in Opposition to all the Novelties that had disturb'd the World since it. Only inasmuch as some new Heresies had sprung

(88) Act. 6. (89) Evagrius, l. 2. c. 4. (90) Evagrius, l. 3. c. 4, & 14. (91) Pt. 1. CH. XI. §. 8.

sprung up since, especially about our Belief in the *Holy Spirit*, they put in a few Clauses against them. *Eunomius, Macedonius*, and some others, had follow'd *Arius's* Pattern of innovating, so far, that as he had made the *Son of God* a Creatur; so they would do the same by the *Spirit of God*. *Arius* had had a much better Handle to take hold of: for the *Son* did indeed take on him a created Natur: and because in that Natur he was born, died, &c. there were a great many plausible Things to say among vulgar People. But to make the *Spirit of God*, which *St. Paul* shews to be inward to *God*, as the *Spirit of a Man* is to a *Man*, saying, *1 Cor. 2. 11. What Man knows the Things of a Man, save the Spirit of a Man which is in him? So the Things of God none knows save the Spirit of God.* To make him a Creatur too, was, we should think, a bold Attempt, not only on the Honor of *God*, but also on the Reason and Sense of *Men*. But so it always happens. Whenever one Sort of Innovators break in upon any Article of Faith, there always arises behind their Backs a new Sect, that will refine upon the first, and carry the Superstructur farther than they ever intended, and to such Extravagancies as the principal Heretics are asham'd of. Yet some of the *Arians*, that the Party might be the stronger against the *Catholics*, struck in with the *Macedonians* in this too.

The Bishops of this Council added therefore, as I said, some new Clauses, relating to our Belief concerning the *Holy Spirit*, and some other plain Things, to the Body of the *Nicen*. And the Creed by them publish'd is oftner call'd by the Name of the *Nicen* Creed, than of the *Constantinopolitan*: and so they themselves desir'd it should; it being only a second Edition of the *Nicen* with those Additions. *Nestorius* in his

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ter the A-  
postles

Sermons preach'd at Constantinople about 40 Years after this Time, does often quote the *Nicen* Creed in Defence of his Opinion: But the Clauses he produces are the Words of this. And generally after this Time, when we have Mention of the *Nicen* Creed, or Faith; we are to understand this, unless where the Autor does expressly make a Distinction.

It is the same (except one Word) that is now-a-days repeated in the Communion Service by almost all the establish'd Churches of Christians in the World. So general an Affront does that extravagant Autor give, that says; *All that own it, must renounce the numerical Unity of God's Essence.* The Copy of it, with a Distinction of such Clauses as were then added, is this.

281.

‘ *We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, Maker of Heaven and Earth, and of all Things visible and invisible.*

‘ *And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son of God: begotten of his Father before all Worlds: God of God: Light of Light: very God of very God: begotten, not made: being of one Substance with the Father: by whom all Things were made; [in some Copies 'tis added; both Things in Heaven and Things in Earth] who for us Men and for our Salvation came down from Heaven, and was incarnate by the Holy Spirit of the Virgin Mary, and was made Man, and was crucified also for us under Pontius Pilat. He suffer'd: and was buried: and the third Day he rose again according to the Scriptures, and ascended into Heaven, and sitteth at the Right-hand of the Father: And he shall come again to judge the Living and the Dead: whose Kingdom shall have no End.*

‘ *And we believe in the Holy Spirit, the Lord and Giver of Life: who proceedeth from the Father: who with the Father and the Son*  
‘ *toget-*

together is worshipped and glorified : who spake by the Prophets.

Year after the Apostles

And we believe one Catholic and Apostolic Church. We acknowledge one Baptism for the Remission of Sins. And we look for the Resurrection of the Dead : and the Life of the World to come.

Whereas in the Copies now-a-days used in the Western Church, 'tis said, *The Holy Spirit, &c. who proceedeth from the Father and the Son : these Words, and the Son,* were added several hundred Years after the making of the Creed, by the Church of Rome ; and so passed into all the Western Copies : but the Eastern Churches have them not. And how true soever the Doctrin may be, it was not fair for any one Part of the Church to add the Words to the old Copy. The Greeks say, He proceeds from the Father by the Son.

The chief Thing that this Creed has more than the old Nicen, is ; that the Holy Spirit is Lord, and Giver of Life. The Macedonian Heretics had taught that the Holy Spirit is one of the *ministring Spirits* mentioned Heb. 1. 14. only greater than the rest. 'Twas in Opposition to this that the Catholics testified their Faith, that he is (not a ministring or serving Spirit, as the Angels that are Creaturs, but) *τὸ κύριον Πνεῦμα,* the Spirit that is the Lord : referring to 2 Cor. 3. 17. where St. Paul having at v. 8. called the Gospel the Ministration of the Spirit (because in it the Power and Grace of the Holy Spirit is especially manifested), and having in Prosecution of that Discourse spoken to this Purpose ; that as Moses, when he turn'd his Face to the People, put on a Veil ; so the Jews reading the Law had still a Veil over their Understandings. But as Moses when he turn'd to the Lord, put off

Year af- his Veil. So, when it [the Heart of the People] ter the A- shall turn to the Lord, the Veil shall be taken postles away. Now, says he, ὁ κ̅υ̅ρι̅ος̅ ὁ̅ π̅ν̅ε̅υ̅μα̅ ὁ̅ς̅, The Spirit is the Lord, (which our English has, The Lord is that Spirit) and where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is *απενοτα* Liberty [or an open Face without a Veil]. And for the other Phrase, ζωοποι̅ς̅, a Quickner [or Giver of Life], 'tis an Attribute of the Spirit, often mention'd in Scriptur.

The Council of *Constantinople* was not the first that condemn'd the *Macedonian* Heresie. The Catholics had done it before, from the Time of the Rise of it, in several particular Councils, as they had Opportunities in those Times of Persecution to assemble together. As  
 262. in that of *Alexandria*, mention'd by *Socrates*,  
 267. l. 3. c. 7. And the *Illyrican*, mention'd by *Theo-*  
 270. *doret*, l. 4. c. 8. And one at *Rome* under *Dama-*  
*sus*, mention'd by *Theodoret*, l. 2. c. 22. And  
 278. one at *Antioch*, recited by *Holfstenius*, *Collect. Rom.*  
 281. p. 166. But this at *Constantinople* was the first General Council that met after the Rise of this Heresie.

Whether the *Greek* Church did after these Times in their Office of Baptism make Use of this *Constantinopolitan* Copy of the Creed, instead of the *Nicen* properly called; or whether they still use the old one, I know not. But it seems that in the Year 476, they kept the old Copy; because *Basiliscus*, in the Edict I cited, after having declared that he will maintain the *Nicen* Faith, into which he and all his Predecessors were baptiz'd, adds; and all Things that were enacted in Confirmation of that holy Creed in this Royal City by the 150 Fathers, against those that spoke ill of the Holy Spirit. This was the *Constantinopolitan*. Therefore what he said before must be understood of the *Nicen* properly so called.

§. 13. 'Tis wonder that during all the Contest about Creeds that was in those 50 Years of the *Arian* Times, we hear nothing said of the Creed used in the Church of *Rome*. Especially if they had at that Time procur'd their Creed to be called the *Apostolic* Creed; or the *Apostles Creed* (as they afterwards did), it could not have failed but that both the Parties would have refer'd themselves to that. But, on the contrary, there is not a Word said of it. Nor can it be known what Form of a Creed they used in those Times. They all along received and owned the *Nicen* Creed, and renounced all that would not own it: But they do not seem to have applied that to their ordinary Offices of Baptism; for that Use once began would not have been left off again: but to have had a Form of their own, as other Churches had, before the *Nicen*; and to have added to it from Time to Time such Clauses as appear'd most necessary against any Heresies that arose. But still it is a Wonder how they, and the other *Western* Churches, could reconcile their Practice (in baptizing by any other Creed than the *Nicen*) with those Canons of the Councils of *Ephesus* and *Chalcedon*, which as I shewed (92) did so positively injoin that no other should be us'd for that Purpose from that Time forward. For these Councils being general ones, must have been ratified by themselves as well as by the *Eastern* Bishops: and their Popes do to this Day swear that they will own and adhere to 'em.

Year after the Apostles

About the Year 400, we have some Light given us how the Words of the ordinary Creed in the Church of *Rome* stood at that Time: but

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(92) §. 12.

Year of  
the A-  
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but not by any Writer of that Church, which had but few; but by one whom they do not love. *Rufinus*, a Presbyter of the Church of *Aquileia*, a City in *Italy*, wrote a Comment on the Creed as it was worded in his Church: and he notes by the Way some of the Differences or Agreements which their Church had with the Church of *Rome* and the *Eastern Churches* in wording the several Clauses. And by his Account the *Roman Creed* at that Time must have stood thus.

*I believe in God the Father Almighty. And in Jesus Christ his only Son, our Lord: who was conceived by the Holy Spirit; of the Virgin Mary: crucified under Pontius Pilat: and buried. The third Day he rose again from the Dead: he ascended into Heaven: sitteth at the right Hand of the Father: from thence he shall come to judge the Quick and the Dead. And in the Holy Spirit.*

*The Holy Church. The Forgiveness of Sins. The Resurrection of the Flesh,*

The Clause, *Maker of Heaven and Earth*, was afterward added out of the *Constantinopolitan* or other *Eastern Creeds*.

*The Descent of Christ into Hades* (or *Hell*, as we style it in *English*) was not as yet in the *Roman Creed*, but was put in afterward. It is express'd in the oldest Rule or Breviat of Faith that is in the World, if there be any Credit to be given to those Records of the Church of *Edessa*, copied out of the *Syriac* by *Eusebius* (93), and translated by him: where 'tis said that *Thaddæus*, one of the 70, being sent by *Thomas* the Apostle to cure *Abgarus* the King, and to convert his People, preach'd to 'em; *How Christ came from the Father: and of the Power of his Works,*

*Works, &c. and of the Meanness and Lowliness of Year at his outward Appearance, &c. and how he died, and lower'd his Divinity: how many Things he suffer'd of the Jews: and how he was crucified; & how he sits now on the right Hand of God, &c. and how he will come to judge the Living and the Dead.*

ter the Apostles

These Things were done, as 'tis said in that Register, the 43d Year: or as other Copies have it, the 340th Year: which last, viz. the 340 Year of the Computation of Years used at *Edeffa*, is the same Year (94) on which our Savior ascend'd into Heaven.

But suppose these Records to be forged: yet they must have been a good while before *Eusebius's* Time. 200.

Excepting this Register, the eldest Creeds that have this Clause, are the *Arian* ones: viz. that drawn up at *Sirmium*, and rehearsed at the Council of *Ariminum*, mention'd by *Socrates*, l. 2. c. 37. That at *Nice* in *Thracia*, recited by *Theodoret*, l. 2. c. 21. And that at *Constantinople*, brought into Use by *Acacius* and his Party, reported by *Socrates*, l. 2. c. 41. 259. 259. 260.

*Rufinus* says (95); it was in his Time in the Creed of *Aquileia*, but not in the oriental Creed, nor in that of *Rome*: into which last it seems to have been insert'd about the Year 600; taken perhaps out of the Creed call'd *Athanasius's*, which about that Time is pretended to have been found in some Archives at *Rome*, having never been heard of before. 300. 500.

As for the Thing it self, of *Christ's* Descent into *Hades*; tho' it were not put in the antient Creeds, yet it was ever believed by all Christians: nor could it be otherwise; since they us'd

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(94) *Valesius* in loc. (95) In *Symb.*



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us'd that Phrase in the Case of any Man that died. And so does the Scriptur speak of any Man that dies, be he Good or Bad, as going to *Sheol* (which is the *Hebrew* Word), or *Hades* (which is the *Greek* for it). *Jacob*, *Gen.* 44. 29. *David*, *Pf.* 6. 5. the Wicked, *Pf.* 9. 10. all go to *Hades*. To go down to *Hades*, or *ad inferos*, was in their Way of speaking, no more than to go down to the Dead. And if we believe that *Christ* rose the third Day *καὶ τῶν νεκρῶν, a mortuis, from the Dead*; we must believe that three Days before, he descended to the Dead.

The Clause, *Everlasting Life*, is commonly judg'd not to have been in the Old Roman Creed. For *Rufinus* mentions it not in the *Aquileian*: And he notes no Difference between that and the *Roman* in this particular. And yet there is another Reason on the contrary, to think that it was express'd there; because *Marcellus*, who had made one at the Council of *Nice*, having several Enemies of the *Arian* Party in the *East* that accus'd him of *Sabellianism*, by Mistake of his Meaning, as he pretended, appeal'd to *Julius* Bishop of *Rome* and to that Church; as to Umpires of the Quarrel: and when his Adversaries would not agree to refer it to that Bishop, nor would come thither; he left there a Draught of his Belief for his perpetual Vindication. Which Draught is set down by *Epiphanius* (96), and is exactly the same with the Copy of the *Roman* Creed, given before out of *Rufinus*, save that it adds this Clause at last; *The Life Everlasting*. And except this Draught, there is no other in Antiquity that does very near resemble the *Roman* Creed.

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So that 'tis probable he took the *Roman Creed* it self for his Draught: as thinking that he could not better approve his Faith to the Church of *Rome*, than by expressing it in the Words of their ordinary Creed. And 'tis possible that *Rufinus* might omit the collating the *Roman Creed* with the *Aquileian* in this Point. If this Conjectur be right, this is the eldest Copy of the *Roman Creed* by sixty Years; for this Transaction was so long before the Time that *Rufinus* wrote. And not long after *Rufinus's* Time, this Clause appears in all the Copies.

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But however it were with the *Roman Creed*; I shew'd before (97) out of *St. Cyprian*, that this Clause was in that of *Carthage* long before. And it was in several *Eastern* ones. *Bishop Pearson* thinks (98) it was not in the Creed used for Baptism at *Antioch* in *St. Chrysostom's* Time, and he takes the Ground of that Opinion from *St. Chrysostom's Hom. 40. in 1 Epist. ad Corinth.* But tho' he be the most exact Man that ever wrote, yet he is mistaken in that. *St. Chrysostom* is there explaining that difficult Place, *1 Cor. 15. 29.* of some Mens being *baptized for the Dead*. He thinks, *for the Dead*, is as much as to say, *for their Bodies*, i. e. for the Resurrection of 'em, or, in Hopes of it. *For*, says he, *after all the Rest, we add that which St. Paul here speaks of. After the repeating those Holy Words, &c.* (meaning the Creed) *we say this at the last of all, when we are to baptize any one: We bid him say, I believe the Resurrection of the Dead: and in this Faith we baptize him. For after we have owned that together with the Rest, we are plunged down into the Fountain of those holy Waters.* But tho' this would make one think that the

(97) At §. 10. (98) On the Creed, Art. 12.

Year after the Apostles

the Resurrection was the last Article of the Creed then us'd in that Church; yet before the End of that Homily (and Bishop Pearson, it seems, did not at that Time read it out) St. Chrysostom adds, *And then, since the Word Resurrection is not enough to signify the whole of our Faith in that Matter (because many that have risen have died again: as they in the Old Testament, as Lazarus, as they at the Time of the Crucifixion) therefore he [the Baptizer] bids him [the baptized Person] say; and the Life everlasting: that none may suspect he shall die again after that Resurrection.*

This Creed of the Church of Rome has obtain'd the Name of the *Apostolic Creed*, for no greater or other Reason than this; It was a Custom to call those Churches in which any Apostle had personally taught, especially if he had resided there any long Time, or had died there, *Apostolic Churches*. Of these there were a great many in the *Eastern Parts*; *Jerusalem, Corinth, Ephesus, Antioch, &c.* but in the *Western Parts* none but *Rome*. In which *St. Paul* and *St. Peter* had liv'd a considerable Time, and were there martyr'd. So that any one that in the *Western Parts* of the World spoke of the *Apostolic Church*, was supposed to mean *Rome*: that being the only one in those Parts, and being call'd emphatically by all the *Western Christians*; *The Apostolic Church*. And so their Bishop came to be call'd the *Apostolic Bishop*; their See, the *Apostolic See*: their Faith, the *Apostolic Faith*: and among the rest; the Creed that they us'd, the *Apostolic Creed*.

This Name gave Handle enough to some People first to imagin, and then by Degrees to report a Tradition that this Creed was drawn up into this Form by the Apostles themselves: and

Chap. IX. Roman Creed called the Apostles Creed. 431

and so (by a light Alteration of the Word) to call it; *The Apostles Creed.* Year af-  
ter the A-  
postles

There was a Fable trimm'd up, setting forth when and where the Apostles met and dictated it: and the Reasons why they did it. Which if any one do still believe, he may have ready Cure in a Treatise of *Vossius* (99): or in *English*, in a Treatise of a very learned *English Gentleman* (1), both written on that Subject. If the *Roman* Christians had believ'd it themselves, they had done very arrogantly to add from Time to Time new Clauses to the Apostles Words.

About the Year of Christ 600, it seems to have attained that whole Form of Words which it has now. And being us'd at *Rome* as the ordinary Creed for the Baptized or their Godfathers to repeat, it has been likewise received by all the *Western Churches* for the same Use. The *Greek Church* do, I think, catechize by the *Nicen* Creed, but they own this also. When the two great Branches of Christendom in the *Eastern and Western Empire* could not bring their People to use the same Form of Faith at Baptism; yet to shew their Unity in the Faith, they did each of 'em receive the other's Creed into their Liturgies; and both Churches do own and use and profess both Creeds. And so this is by all own'd to be an Apostolic Creed in one Sense, viz. drawn up according to the Doctrine of the Apostles. But whereas the Gentleman I mention'd, says (2); *it has been for some hundred Years preferr'd before the Nicen*; that is, I think, only in the *Western Church*. And where he says (3), that  
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(99) *De tribus Symbolis.* (1) *Critical History of the Apostles Creed.* (2) *Critical Hist.* p. 47. (3) P. 78.

Year of Irenæus repeats the Apostles Creed; he means only the Substance of that Faith.

ter the Apostles

'Tis general, and 'tis natural, for every one to say as much as he can in Preference of those Forms that are in Use in his Church. But yet upon the whole, I cannot see but that the *Greek Church* have in this the Advantage of us, in baptizing by the *Nicen.* For (besides that theirs is the Elder, and acknowledg'd and injoin'd by the four first General Councils) the main Difference between these two Creeds being this, that the *Western Creed* (as it is now) has the Descent into Hell, which the other has not; but the other has the Articles of the Divinity of the Son and Holy Spirit much more full and express; there is, I think, no Body that doubts but the later are a much more material Point of our Faith than the former. But yet in the *Roman Creed* (as it has always been understood) the Clause, *God's only Son*, does mean his *Son by Natur*, and so owns his Divinity, as Bishop *Pearson* has shewn. And since it is the settled and notorious Interpretation and Meaning; they that pronounce it, meaning otherwise, do but Equivocate with God and the Church. To believe in a Person, is in the Phrase of Scripture, and of the Church, to believe him to be God.

Of *Athanasius's Creed* there is no Occasion of speaking here, both because it was never by any Church used at Baptism, and also because the Composure of it is not so antient as the Times we speak of. Yet it contains the Sense of what *Athanasius* and the other Catholics maintain'd in their Disputations against the *Arians*; But it proceeds also to determin against other Heretics that arose long after *Athanasius's Time*; as *Nestorius*, that divided the Person of Christ into two: And *Eutyches*, that confounded his two Natures

240.

330.

348.

Natures into one. And it is penn'd in a more scholastical Style than the Antients had arriv'd to. The Expressions most like it, that are found in any antient Writing, are in that Declaration of the Faith made at the Council of Chalcedon (which condemn'd all the said Heresies together) recited by *Evagrius*, l. 2. c. 4.

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351.

What Creed the Antipædobaptists do require of their Candidats to profess, I know not: I am afraid, none at all. I mean no settled Form, limited to certain Words: But that it is left to the several Elders to judge whether each Candidate do understand and believe the necessary Points of Faith. Which must be a very unsafe Way: For either the Elder himself may be ignorant, or he may hold privately Heterodox Opinions in the Fundamentals of the Faith, as *Socinianism*, &c. For such an one to have the instructing of any young Person in his own Way, and then to baptize him, is (as *Gregory Nazianzen* (4) in a Case not so bad expresses it) not to dip him, but to drown him. The Experience of all Ages of the Church has shewn it necessary to have a *Form of sound Words* for such a Use; not to be alter'd, augmented, or curtail'd by the Caprices of every particular Pastor.

§. 14. These Professions of Christian Faith, and of renouncing the Devil and his Works, &c. were by adult Persons solemnly made two several Times before they were baptiz'd. Once in the Congregation, some time before the Day of Baptism: Where they, standing up and speaking in a continued Sentence, said; *I renounce the Devil and all his Works*, &c. going on thro'

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all

(4) Orat. in Sanct. baptisma. prope finem.

Year af- all the Clauses of Renunciation. And in like  
ter the A- Manner repeated the whole Creed.  
postles

And again just when they were going into the Water, by Way of Answer to the Interrogatories of the Priest; who laying his Hand on the Parties Head, solemnly askt the Questions severally; *Do you renounce the Devil, &c?* He answered; *I do.* And so he ask'd the other Renunciations. And then the Belief. *Do you believe in God the Father Almighty? I do.* And so the several Articles of the Creed. And at last; *Do you believe the Resurrection of the Flesh, and the Life Everlasting?* He said; *I do.*

And therefore that Clause in *Tertullian* which I recited at §. 4. is to be pointed thus; *We do there (and we do the same also a little before in the Congregation) under the Hands of the Pastor make a Profession, &c.*

*St. Austin* mentions the former of these Times of Profession (5) in the Case of *Victorinus*: Who was a Man in such Dignity and Repute among the Heathen Party at *Rome*, that tho' he made a Pretence of turning Christian, and came sometimes to their Assemblies; yet the Christians did not believe that he would really come over to their Religion (which was even then in Contempt among the great Men at *Rome*), till they saw and heard him, at a certain Time when he was at their Church, that *when the Time came of professing the Faith, which is wont to be done at Rome in a Place a little raised in the Sight of the faithful People by those that would come to the Grace [viz. of Baptism], he with an assur'd Voice pronounced the Faith, &c.*

And *St. Hierom* mentions the later (6) when he says; *Whereas it is customary at the Font, after*

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(5) Confess. l. 8. c. 2. (6) Adv. Luciferianos.

Chap. IX. *Professions made twice by the Adult.* 435

after the Confession of the Trinity to ask; 'Do you believe the Holy Church? Do you believe the Forgiveness of Sins? &c. Year after the Apostles

But in the Case of Infants this could be done but once, viz. at the Time of their Baptism. The Baptizer ask'd the Questions, and the Sponsors answer'd in the Name of the Child. The Questions were put severally for each Article of the Creed and of the Renunciation, as in the Case of the Adult: As appears partly by what I quoted out of St. *Austin*, Pt. 1. CH. XV. Sect. 5. §. 4. and out of the Autor of the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, Pt. 1. CH. XXIII. §. 2. And also by what St. *Austin* says at another Place (7), where speaking of an Infant going to be baptiz'd he says; *The Interrogation is put*; 'Does he believe in Jesus Christ? *Answer is made*; He does.

There is no Time or Age of the Church in which there is any Appearance that Infants were ordinarily baptiz'd without Sponsors or Godfathers. *Tertullian* mentions the Use of 'em in his Time, as I shewed (8). And I have recited so many other Passages wherein they are occasionally mention'd, that there is no need of rehearsing any more on Purpose for that Matter. St. *Austin* calls the Professions, *Words of the Sacrament, without which an Infant cannot be baptiz'd.* As I shewed, Pt. 1. CH. XV. Sect. 5. §. 5. 100.

§. 15. The baptized Person was quickly after his Baptism admitted to partake of the Lord's-Supper. This was always and in all Places used in the Case of Adult Persons: And in some Ages and Places in the Case of Infants. Some have spoken of the Custom of giving Infants the Communion, as if it were antiently as general

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(7) Serm. 14. de verb. Apost. (8) Pt. 1. CH. IV. §. 9.



Year af- as the baptizing 'em: And the Antipædo-  
 ter the A- baptists do confidently say it was so. But this  
 postles has been by others shewn to be a Mistake.

Mr. *Daille* in his Treatise call'd the *Right Use of the Fathers*, bent himself with all his Might to find out Errors in the Fathers and antient Church. Not indeed with so wicked a Purpose as some have done since, that have made Use of his Instances to take away all Credit from the Primitive Church in conveying down to us the Canonical Books, and the Fundamental Doctrins in them deliver'd: But yet he has made it hard for us to believe what he there says; that he enters upon this Inquiry into their Errors unwillingly; because a Man that does so, never makes the Faults more or worse than they are. He makes the giving the Eucharist to Infants one of their chief Errors: And to prove that this was their Practice, he quotes three Autors; *Cyprian, Austin, and Pope Innocent*. And adds; *All the rest of the Doctors in a Manner of the first Ages maintain'd that the Eucharist was necessary for Infants: If at least you dare take Maldonat's Word, who affirms that this Opinion was in great Request in the Church during the first 600 Years after our Savior Christ.* And after this he, several Times without any farther Proof (9), says absolutely that so it was; *That the Fathers down as far as to the End of the sixth Century held that the Eucharist is as necessary to Salvation as Baptism; and consequently to be administred to Infants,* and concludes from that, as from one of his two chief Instances, how little heed is to be given to the Practice of the Primitive Christians.

And

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(9) *Lib. 2. c. 6. & passim.*

And yet all that he quotes from *Maldonat*: Year after the Apostles  
 And all that I believe that Learned Man would say (10); I pass by the Opinion of Austin and Innocent the first, which was in Request in the Church for above 600 Years, that the Eucharist is necessary for Infants.

No Man (but one that would fain have it so) would conclude from these Words, *Maldonat's* Meaning to be any more than this; that this Opinion began in the Time of *Austin* and *Innocent*, Anno 400. and continued from thence 600 Years, to Anno 1000 (as it did indeed in some Parts of the Church), not that it was in Request for all the first 600 Years. 300. 900.

Before the Year 412, there is no Autor produc'd but *St. Cyprian*. And whereas *Mr. Daille* speaks with the usual Artifice in such Cases, as if he singled this out of a great many Instances which he could have brought, and says (11); that *St. Cyprian* was carried away with the Error of his Time: The Truth of the Matter, I believe, is; that neither he nor any Body else can find any more. And if we examine what it is that he produces from him, we shall perceive that he has, in his Case too, much mistaken the Matter; and that, so far from his Saying it was necessary, there is no good Proof from him that mere Infants ever did receive it; tho' of Children of four or five Years of Age, that then did sometimes in that Church receive, there is. 312.

The first Proof that is brought, and the most material by far if it were not from a mistaken Edition, is out of the 59th Epistle of

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St.

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(10) *Maldonat*. in *Joan*. 6. apud *Dalleum*, l. 1. c. 8.  
 (11) L. 2. c. 4.

Year after the Apostles

St. Cyprian (which is the 64th in the late Edition), from one Word of which Epistle he would prove that it was the Opinion of Cyprian and of the 66 Bishops then assembled with him, that the Eucharist must be given to Infants. But of that Epistle you have all that concerns Infants in my Pt. 1. CH. VI. where I have shewn at §. 10. that Mr. Daille's Observation is a Mistake in the Reading of that one Word: And that there is in the correct Editions not one Syllable about it.

He produces another Passage of St. Cyprian, which is the same I quoted out of him in the foresaid CH. VI. §. 13. St. Cyprian's common Place Book ran thus; l. 3. *ad Quirinum.*

C. 25. *If any one be not baptiz'd and born again, he cannot come to the Kingdom of God.*

For Proof of this he quotes, *John 3. 5, 6. it. John 6. 53.*

C. 26. *To be baptiz'd and receive the Eucharist is not available, unless one do good Works.*

For this he quotes *1 Cor. 9. 24. Matt. 3. 10. it. 7. 22. it. 5. 16.*

I did indeed bring this Place among the Proofs of his Opinion that Infants must be baptiz'd: But own'd at the same Time, that since Infants are not expressly mention'd in it, it would be but a very weak one, were it not that he himself in other Places mentions Infants by Name as contain'd under the general Rule that requires Baptism; which he never does in the Case of the Eucharist. And any one sees that this Passage taken alone, has much less Force to prove their communicating, than it has to prove the Necessity of their Baptism. If I should among the Testimonies for Infants Baptism have set down all the Sayings of the Fathers, where they speak

Speak of Baptism as necessary for *all Persons*; those alone would have made a Collection larger than mine is: I confin'd my self to such as mention *Infants* particularly. Year after the Apostles

But for Youths, Boys or Girls younger than do now commonly receive, he does indeed quote a plain Proof out of the Book *de Lapsis*. It is this Story, which St. *Cyprian* tells on Purpose to make those that had revolted to Idolatry in the late Persecution at *Carthage* sensible of their Guilt and of God's Wrath: And that they ought not without due Confession and Penitence approach the Holy Table (12).

*I'll tell you what happen'd in my own Presence. The Parents of a certain little Girl, running out of Town in a Fright, had forgot to take any Care of their Child, whom they had left in the keeping of a Nurse. The Nurse had carried her to the Magistrats: They, because she was too little to eat the Flesh, gave her to eat before the Idol some of the Bread mixt with Wine, which had been left of the Sacrifice of those Wretches. Since that Time, her Mother took her Home. But she was no more capable of declaring and telling the Crime committed, than she had been before of understanding or of hindering it. So it happen'd that once when I was administering, her Mother, ignorant of what had been done, brought her along with her. But the Girl being among the Saints could not with any Quietness hear the Prayers said; but sometimes fell into weeping, and sometimes into Convulsions, with the Uneasiness of her Mind: And her ignorant Soul as under a Wrack, declared by such Tokens as it could, the Conscience of the Fact in those tender Years. And when the Service was ended; and the Deacon went to give the Cup to*

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(12) Lib. de Lapsis circa medium.

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those that were present, and the others receiv'd it, and her Turn came; the Girl by a Divin Instinct turn'd away her Face, shut her Mouth, and refus'd the Cup. But yet the Deacon persisted: and put into her Mouth, though she refus'd it, some of the Sacrament of the Cup. Then follow'd Reachings and Vomiting. The Eucharist could not stay in her polluted Mouth and Body: The Drink consecrated in our Lord's Blood burst out again from her defiled Bowels. Such is the Power, such the Majesty of our Lord: The Secrets of Darkness were discover'd by its Light: Even unknown Sins could not deceive the Priest of God. This happen'd in the Case of an Infant who was by Reason of her Age incapable of declaring the Crime which another had acted on her. He goes on to tell how some grown People at the same Table, guilty of the same Crime, but thinking to conceal it, had been more severely handled; confess'd with evil Spirits, &c.

This Child was probably 4 or 5 Years old. For the Heat of the Persecution was about 2 Years before this administering of the Sacrament could be, if we reckon the soonest: For St. Cyprian had been almost all that while retir'd out of the City, as appears by Bishop Pearson's Annals of that Time (13). And the Child may be guessed by the Story to have been 2 or 3 Years old, when she was carried to the Idol Feast. And so the *Magdeburgenses*, relating this Story (14), conclude from it, *puellas ephebas*, that young Girls did at this Time sometimes receive. And so *Salmasius*, or else *Suicerus* himself. *Suicori Thesaur. v. Σύναξις.*

This Passage might have been added to the other Quotations that I brought of St. Cyprian for

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(13) *Annales Cyprianici.* (14) *Cept. 3. c. 6.*

for Infants Baptism; for no Church ever gave the Communion to any Persons before they were baptiz'd: But I reserved it for this Place. This is all, till above 400 Years after Christ's Birth; save that in the Passage which I, Pt. 1. CH. VI. §. 11. recited of St. Cyprian *De lapsis*, there are some Words founding that Way.

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*Innocent* the first, Bishop of Rome, does indeed Anno 417, plainly and positively say, that Infants cannot be saved without receiving the Eucharist: And that in a Synodical Epistle (15) written to the Fathers of the *Milevitan Council*. The Council had represented to him the Mischief of that Tenet of the *Pelagians*, that unbaptiz'd Infants, tho' they cannot go to Heaven, yet may have Eternal Life; which the *Pelagians* maintain'd on this Pretence, that our Savior, tho' he had said; *He that is not born of Water, cannot enter the Kingdom*, yet had not said; *he cannot have an Eternal Life*. To this, *Innocent's* Words are; *That which your Brotherhood says that they teach, 'That Infants may without the Grace of Baptism have Eternal Life, is very absurd: Since Except they eat the Flesh of the Son of Man (16), and drink his Blood, they have no Life in them, &c.* His Meaning is plainly this; they can have no Eternal Life without receiving the Communion: And they can't do that, till they be baptiz'd. And 'tis true what Mr. *Daille* urges (17); *That St. Austin says the same Thing 8 or 10 Times over in several Places of his Books*. And some of these Books are dated a little before this Letter of *Innocent*. But tho' he wrote a great Part of his Works before this *Innocent* was made

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(15) Apud Augustin. Ep. 93. (16) John 6. 53. (17) L. 1. c. 8.

Year after the Apostles

302.

made Bishop of *Rome*, and in them speaks often of Infant Baptism; yet it is observable, that he never speaks of Infants communicating till after *Innocent* had been Bishop some Time: Which makes me think it probable that *Innocent* did first bring up this Doctrin of the Necessity of this Sacrament to Infants: For after *Innocent* had so determined, *St. Austin* oftner quotes him (a) for it, than he does any Place of Scriptur. P. S. I am glad to find so learned a Man as *John Frith* is of the same Mind. *Answ. to More.* That *Innocent* was the Autor of the Necessity of communicating Infants.

Among all the Passages of *St. Austin* to this Purpose, there is need of mentioning but one: and that because some People have said that he at that Place does affirm it to be an Apostolical Tradition; from whence they conclude how little heed is to be given to him, when he says Infant Baptism was so. The Place is, *de peccat. Meritis*, lib. 1. c. 24. He is arguing against the *Pelagians*, who said, Eternal Life (tho' not the Kingdom of God) might be had without Baptism: And says thus; *The Christians of Africa do well call Baptism it self, one's Salvation: And the Sacrament of Christ's Body, one's Life. From whence is this, but as I suppose from that ancient and Apostolical Tradition, by which the Churches of Christ do naturally hold that without Baptism and partaking of the Lord's Table none can come either to the Kingdom of God, or to Salvation and Eternal Life? For the Scriptur, as I shewed before, says the same. For what other Thing do they hold, that call Baptism, Salvation, than that which is said; he saved us by the Washing of Regeneration: And that which Peter says; The like Figure where-*

(a) Epist. 106. & alibi.

whereunto, even Baptism, does now *save us?* *Year after the Apostles*  
*And what other Thing do they hold, that call the Sacrament of the Lord's Table, Life, than that which is said, I am the Bread of Life, &c. and, The Bread which I will give, is my Flesh, which I will give for the Life of the World: And, except you eat the Flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his Blood, you have no Life in You? If then, as so many Divin Testimonies do agree, neither Salvation, nor Eternal Life, is to be hoped for by any without Baptism and the Body and Blood of our Lord; it is in vain promised to Infants without them.*

There is (as I observ'd a little before) a great Difference between saying; *There is a Tradition or Order of the Apostles for Infants to receive the Eucharist, as a Thing without which they cannot be saved:* And saying, *There is a Tradition for all to receive it, as a Thing without which they cannot be saved.* For a Rule given in general Words may be understood with an Exception of Infants, or without such Exception, according as the Natur of the Thing or other Sayings of the Lawgiver do direct. All the *Israelites* that do not keep the Passover, shall be cut off. There very young Infants must be excepted. They must all be Circumcised. That includes Infants, as well as others. Now in the Case of Baptism, *St. Austin* and those others whom we have quoted, do say; *There is a Tradition from the Apostles for baptizing Infants.* But all that *St. Austin* says here in the Case of the Eucharist is in general; that there is an Apostolical Tradition that *none* that do not receive it can have Salvation. And that this Rule should include Infants, is not said as from the Apostles, but is only his own Consequence drawn from the general Rule; neither do his Words import



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import any more: In which Consequence there may easily be a Mistake.

§. 16. After these Times of St. *Austin* and *Innocent*, there is ever now and then some Mention found in the *Latin Church* of Infants receiving, *Mercator sub not.* 8. in the Year 435. 335. *Gregory* the first, *Sacramentar.* Anno 590. and so 490. forward till about the Year 1000. But toward 900. the later End of this Term, as we learn by the Relation of *Hugo de Sancto Victore* (18), 1000. who lived Anno 1100, they gave to Infants only the Wine, and that only by the Priest's dipping his Finger in the Chalice, and then putting it into the Child's Mouth for him to suck. And after some Time, this also was left off: And instead of it, they gave the new baptiz'd Infant some Drops of Wine not Consecrated; which *Hugo* dislikes.

This Custom of giving common Wine to Infants seems by some Words of St. *Hierom* (19) to be older in the Church of *Rome* than the Custom of giving any Consecrated Wine. For instead of Milk and Honey he speaks there (if there be no Mistake in the Print) of Wine and 290. Milk given to the new baptized. *In the Churches of the West*, says he, *the Custom and Type still continues of giving to those that are regenerated in Christ Wine and Milk.*

900. It is to be observ'd that about the Year 1000 the Doctrin of Transubstantiation sprung up in the *Latin Church*, which created an excessive and superstitious Regard to the outward Elements of the Eucharist; and had among others this Effect, that as the Wine was kept from the Lay-

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(18) L. 3. de Sacram. c. 20. (19) Comment. in Esaiam, l. 15. Vide Magdeburgenses Cent. 4. c. 6.

Laymen for Fear of Slabbering, so the whole Year after the Apostles Sacrament was from Infants. And at last the Council of Trent (20) determin'd, that it is not at all necessary for them: Since being regenerated by the Laver of Baptism, and incorporated into Christ, they cannot in that Age lose the Grace of being Children of God, which they have now obtained. And yet, say they, Antiquity is not to be condemn'd, if it did sometimes and in some Places observe that Custom: For as those Holy Fathers had a probable Reason of their so doing on Account of that Time [here they should have added; Which did not believe Transubstantiation]; So it is for certain and without Controversie to be believ'd, that they did it not on any Opinion of its Necessity to their Salvation. And then they pass (21) this Anathema. If any one shall say, that partaking of the Eucharist is necessary for Infants before they come to Years of Discretion; let him be Anathema.

1460.

'Tis a brave Thing to be infallible. Such Men may say what they will, and it shall be true. What is a Contradiction in other Mens Mouths, is none in theirs. Pope Innocent, in a Synodical Letter sent to the Council of *Milevis*, says; If Infants do not eat the Flesh of the Son of Man and drink his Blood [meaning in the Sacrament] they have no Life in 'em. Pope Pius, in confirming the Council of Trent, says; If any Man say so; let him be Anathema.

317.

1463.

To deny that those antient Fathers did it with any Opinion of its Necessity to the Infant's Salvation, makes the Contradiction yet more palpable; Because that is the very Thing which they say. The Truth, I believe, is; that the Trent Fathers knew that some antient Doctors had commended  
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(20) Sess. 21. cap. 4. (21) Canon 4:

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Infants receiving: But not that one of their own infallible Bishops had so absolutely determin'd it to be necessary for their Salvation.

How soon, or how late, the Custom of Infants receiving came in, in the *Greek Church*, I know not. I do not remember any one antient Writer of that Part of the World that speaks of it: I mean of any genuin Book: for I know that a Mention of it is got into *Clem. Constitutions*. But it is a known Thing that they use it now; and have don for several Centuries: at least most of the Branches of that Church.

That which I conceive most probable on the whole Matter (referring my self to such as have minded this Piece of History more) is;

150. 1. That in *Cyprian's* Time, the People of the Church of *Carthage* did oftentimes bring their Children younger than ordinary, to the Communion.
300. 2. That in *St. Austin* and *Innocent's* Time, it was in the *West Parts* given to mere Infants. And that this continued from that Time for about 600 Years.
900. 3. That some time during this Space of 600 Years, the *Greek Church*, which was then low in the World, took this Custom from the *Latin Church*, which was more flourishing.
300. 4. That the *Roman Church* about the Year 1000, entertaining the Doctrin of Transubstantiation, let fall the Custom of giving the Holy Elements to Infants. And the other *Western Churches*, mostly following their Example, did the like upon the same Account. But that the *Greeks*, not having the said Doctrin, continued, and do still continue the Custom of communicating Infants. They think, that Command of *St. Paul*, *Let a Man examin himself, and so let him eat, &c.* so to be understood, as not to exclude such as are by their Age incapable of  
exa-

examining themselves, from partaking: but only to oblige all that are capable. As that like Command of his; *If any one will not work, let him have nothing given him to eat,* must be so limited to such as are able to work; as that Infants, and such as are not capable to work, must have Viſuals given 'em, tho' they do not work.

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The most usual Way of giving it to Infants in the Churches where it is now us'd, is to mix the Bread with the Wine, and to put to the Child's Lips a Drop or two of that Mixtur quickly after his Baptism: after which he receives no more till the Age of Discretion.

§. 17. From this Custom of the Antients giving the Eucharist to Infants, the Antipædobaptists do draw an Argument (and it is the most considerable that they have for that Purpose) that there is no great Strefs to be laid on the Practice of Antiquity in baptizing Infants. For they say; since the Antients gave 'em the Eucharist as well as Baptism; and yet all Christians are now satisfied that the first was an Error in them; what Reason have we to regard their Opinion or Practice in the other?

But, 1. That is not true, that all Christians are satisfied that the Antients did ill in giving Infants the Eucharist: for very near half the Christians in the World do still continue that Practice. The *Greek Church*, the *Armenians*, the *Maronites*, the *Cophti*, the *Abassens*, and the *Muscovites*: as is related by the late Autors, *Jeremias*, *Brerewood*, *Alvarez*, *Ricaut*, *Heylin*, &c. And so, for ought I know, do all the rest of the Eastern Christians. And it is probable that the Western had done the same, had it not been for the Doctrin of Transubstantiation coming up in the Church of *Rome*.

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2. It is not true that this Custom of giving Infants the Eucharist was in the antient Church received either so early, or so generally, as Baptism of 'em was. I have thro' all the first Part shewn the Evidences of their Baptism: but for their receiving the Eucharist, I know of no other Evidences within our Period of Antiquity, than what I have just now recited. Of which St. *Cyprian* does not speak of mere Infants: and the other two are dated after the Year of Christ 412: and that only in the *Latin* Church. It is a strong Presumption that there was no Use of it, not even in the Church of *Carthage*, in *Tertullian's* Time; because he who liv'd there, and pleaded to have the Custom of baptizing Infants to be set aside (except in Danger of Death), could not have fail'd to have given his Opinion much rather against the admitting 'em to that other Sacrament, if it had then been us'd.

3. The Grounds of these two Practices are nothing of equal Force. The Words of our Savior to the Jews, *John* 6. §3. by which *Innocent* proves the one, do no Way appear to belong to the sacramental eating, which was not then instituted. But his Words *Joh.* 3. 5. do plainly belong to the other. The Passover, which answers to the Eucharist, tho' injoin'd in general Words to all, yet was not understood to belong to the youngest Infants. Circumcision and *Jewish* Baptism, which answer to Christian Baptism, were given to Infants as well as Adult. Baptism has in Scriptur the Notion and Character of an initiating or entring Sacrament. The Eucharist not so. Now Infants are by the exprefs Words of Scriptur to be initiated, or entred into Covenant, *Deut.* 29. 10, 11, 12.

4. However it be, the Antipædobaptists cannot make any Use of this Argument, till they have

have granted that the antient Christians did baptize Infants. So long as many of 'em endeavor to keep their People in an Opinion that Infants Baptism is a new Thing; so long they will forbear to tell 'em that Infants did in antient Time receive the Eucharist: since among all the Absurdities that ever were held; none ever maintain'd that, that any Person should partake of the Communion before he was baptiz'd. And if the People among 'em shall ever be encourag'd to search into the History of the Church to find some Proofs of the one, they will at the same Time find much fuller Proofs of the other: as attested by much antienter Autors, and practis'd more universallly: and that when one was left off by the Churches that began it, the other has been still continued in all the National Churches in the World.

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C H A P. X.

*A Summing up of the Evidence that has here been given on both Sides.*

**T**H O' I pretend to manage the Part of a Relater of the Passages for and against Infant Baptism, rather than of a Judge of the Force and Consequence of 'em: yet it may be proper, now that I have produc'd all that I know concerning that Matter in the eldest Times, to sum up in short, for the Use of the Reader, the Evidence that has been given on both Sides.

It appears on one Side,

§. 1. 1. That as *Abraham* was taken into Covenant by Circumcision, an Ordinance appointed for him and all the Male Infants of his Race, to enter them into Covenant: So when God did 430 Years after, establish anew that Covenant with that Nation under the Conduct of *Moses*, he appointed *Washing* (1), which is in the Greek Tongue called *Baptism*, to be another Ordinance of entering into it. And that the Jews, as they reckon'd it one of the Ceremonies whereby their whole Nation, Infants as well as grown Persons, was then enter'd into Covenant; So when they profelyted or discipl'd any Person of the Nations, they did use to wash or baptize him: because the Law had said (2); *One Law and one Manner shall be for you and for the Stranger [or, Profelyt] that sojourns among you. And if that Profelyt had any Infant Children, Male or Female, they baptized them; as well as the Parents: and they counted and called them Profelyts, or discipl'd Persons; as well as they did the Parents. Also, that if they bought, or found, or took in War any Infants whom they intended to make Profelyts or Disciples in their Religion, they did it by baptizing 'em. For this see Introd. §. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7.*

This gives Light for the Understanding of our Savior's Commission (3); *Go and disciple all the Nations, baptizing 'em.* Whereas before, only now and then one out of the Neighbour Nations had been made a Disciple or Profelyt; they were now all to be discipl'd: and (since

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(1) Exod. 19. 10. (2) Numb. 15. 16. (3) Mat. 28. 19.

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nothing is said to the contrary) in the same Manner as those before had been.

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2. That the Jews did use to call that their Baptism by the Name of *Regeneration*, or a *new Birth*. They told the Profelyt, that how unclean, sinful, or accursed soever, he or his Children were before; they were now by this Baptism dedicated to the true God, enter'd into a new Covenant with him, put into a new State, and were in all Respects as if they had been new born. Also, that the Heathens before Christ's Time had a Custom of baptizing: and that they also call'd it, *Regeneration*. See *Introduct.*

§. 6. Book, Pt. 1. CH. IV. §. 11.

This gives Light to our Savior's Expression, where he, after the Christian Baptism now brought into Use by *John Baptist* and himself, tells *Nicodemus* (4), that to be *regenerated* or *born again of Water and the Spirit* was absolutely necessary for any one's coming to the Kingdom of God: And to *St. Paul's* styling Baptism, the *Washing of Regeneration* (5).

3. That accordingly all the antient Christians, not one Man excepted, do take the Word *Regeneration* or *new Birth*, to signifie Baptism: and *regenerat*, baptized. And that our Savior's said Words to *Nicodemus* do so stand in the Original, and are so understood by all the Antients, as to include all Persons, Men, Women, or Children, Pt. 1. CH. II. §. 4, 5, 6. CH. III. §. 2, 3, 4, 5, 8. CH. IV. §. 3, 6. CH. VI. §. 13. CH. XI. §. 2. CH. XII. §. 8. CH. XIII. §. 2. and all the other Chapters. Pt. 2. CH. VI. §. 1, 7. And that by the *Kingdom of God* there, is meant the *Kingdom of Glory*, is prov'd from

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(4) John 3. 3, 5. (5) Tir. 3. 5.



Year of the plain Words of the Context, and from the Sense of all antient Interpreters, Pt. 2. CH. VI.

ter the Apostles

§. 1.

In the Apostles time

4. The Necessity of Baptism to entrance into God's Kingdom was a declared Christian Doctrine before St. John had recorded those Words of our Savior, Pt. I. CH. I. §. 2, 3, 7.

5. Clement in the Apostles time, and Justin Martyr about 40 Years after, do speak of original Sin as affecting Infants, Pt. I. CH. I. §. 1. 40. CH. II. §. 1. And Justin Martyr does speak of Baptism as being to us instead of Circumcision, 150. P. I. CH. II. §. 2. So also does St. Cyprian, Pt. 260. I. CH. VI. §. 1. and Nazianzen, Pt. I. CH. XI. 290. §. 7. and St. Basil, CH. XII. §. 5. and St. Chrysostom, CH. XIV. §. 1. and St. Austin, *ibid.* the three last expressly calling it in St. Paul's Phrase, the Circumcision done without Hands: and St. Cyprian, the Spiritual Circumcision. Origen also says that Christ gives us Circumcision by Baptism. Hom. 5. in Jos.

67. 6. Irenaeus, born about the Time of St. John's Death, and probably of Christian Parents, is proved particularly to use the Word *regenerating* for *baptizing*: and he mentions Infants as being ordinarily regenerated, CH. III. §. 2, 3, 4, 40. 5. And Justin Martyr before him speaks of Infants or Children as being made Disciples to Christ, Pt. I. CH. II. §. 7.

7. Origen, Ambrose, and Austin, do each of 'em expressly affirm that baptizing Infants was order'd by the Apostles and practis'd in their 92. Time. And Clem. Alexandrinus plainly intimates the same, Pt. I. CH. III. §. 9. CH. V. §. 3. CH. XIII. §. 1. CH. XV. Sect. 4. §. 3. *it. Sect.* 6. §. 2. 110. Of these Origen had both his Father and Grandfather, Christians: and he himself was born but 274. 86 Years after the Apostles: So that probably 296. his Grandfather was born within the Apostles

Time;

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Time; or at least very nigh it, *Pt. 1. CH. V.* Year after the Apostles  
 §. 9. And *Clem. Alex.* flourished himself within 92 Years of the Apostles.

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8. *Tertullian*, tho' he give his Opinion unconstantly, and do at one Place advise the Delay of Infants Baptism, yet at the same Place speaks of it as a Thing customarily received, *Pt. 1. CH. IV. §. 3, 4, 5, 9.* where he also makes Baptism absolutely necessary to Salvation.

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9. That Place of Scriptur, *1 Cor. 7. 14.* *Else were your Children unclean, but now they are Holy* [or, sanctified], is interpreted of their Baptism as then given, or to be given before they can actually be reckoned Holy, by *Tertullian*, *Pt. 1. CH. IV. §. 12.* *St. Hierom*, *Pt. 1. CH. XVIII. §. 4.* *Paulinus*, *ibid.* *St. Austin*, *Pt. 1. CH. XV. Sect. 2.* *Pelagius*, *CH. XIX. §. 19.* And that ἁγιοι Holy [or Saints, or Sanctified, or Christians] is as much as to say, baptized, *Pt. 1. CH. XI. §. 11. CH. VI. §. 1.* *Origen* also appears so to have understood it, *Pt. 1. CH. XIX. §. 19. No. 4.*

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10. In *St. Cyprian's* Time, a Question being put among 66 Bishops, whether an Infant must be kept till 8 Days old, before he be baptized; not one was of that Opinion, *Pt. 1. CH. VI. §. 1.* And to put the rest together, the Words of the Council of *Eliberis*, *Pt. 1. CH. VII. Of Optatus*, *CH. IX. §. 2.* Of *Gregory Nazianzen*, *CH. XI. §. 2, 4, 6, 7.* Of *St. Ambrose*, *CH. XIII. §. 1, 2.* Of *St. Chrysostom*, *CH. XIV. §. 1, 3, 5.* Of *St. Hierom*, *CH. XV. §. 1. CH. XIX. §. 26.* Of *St. Austin*, *CH. XV. per totum.* Of *Bonifacius*, *ibid. Sect. 5. §. 4.* More of *St. Austin*, *CH. XIX, & XX. per totum.* Of a Council of *Carthage*, *CH. XVI. §. 3, 4, 5, 6.* Of a Council of *Hippo*, *ibid. §. 5.* Of *Siricius*, *CH. XVII. §. 3, 6.* Of *Innocentius*, *CH. XVII. §. 7, 8. CH. XIX. §. 28.* Of *Paulinus*, *CH. XVIII. §. 1, 3.* Of another *Paulinus*, *ibid. §. 6.* Of *Celestius*,

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311. CH. XIX. §. 5, 31, 35, 36. Of Pelagius, CH. XIX. §. 29, 30. Of Zosimus, *ibid.* §. 33. Of the Council of Milevis, *ibid.* §. 28. Of another Council of Carthage, *ibid.* And of another,  
316. CH. XIX. §. 37. Of Vincentius Victor, CH. XX.  
317. §. 2, 3, 4, 5. Of Julian, CH. XIX. §. 38. Of  
318. Theodorus, *ibid.* §. 39. Of Pseudo-Clement, CH. XXIII.  
320. §. 1. Of Pseudo-Dionysius, *ibid.* §. 2. Of the Autor of the Questions ad Orthodoxos, *ibid.* §. 3. Of the Autor of the Questions ad Antiochum, *ibid.*

The Words of these and of all the rest here cited, do shew that Infants were baptized in their Times; And that without Controversie. There is not one Man of 'em that pleads for it, or goes about to prove it, as a Thing denied by any one: save that the Pseudo-Dionysius answers the Objections that the Heathens made against it; which are much the same that the Antipædo-baptists have made since.

11. St. *Austin* mentions it among the Things that have not been instituted by any Council, but have been ever in Use. And says, The whole Church of Christ has constantly held that Infants are baptized for Forgiveness of Sin. And, That he never read or heard of any Christian, Catholic or Sectary, that held otherwise. And expressly says; That no Christian Man of any sort [nullus Christianorum] ever denied it to be useful or necessary. Meaning of those that allow any Baptism at all, Pt. 1. CH. XV. Sect. 4. §. 3. Sect. 6. §. 2. CH. XIX. §. 7. it. 17.

15. 12. The Pelagians, who denied that Infants have any need of Forgiveness of Sin, and were most of all press'd with that Argument; Why are they then baptized? did never offer to deny that they are to be baptiz'd; but do expressly grant that they have ever been wont to be baptized; and that no Christian, no not even any Sectary, did ever deny it, Pt. 1. CH. XIX.

§. 24,

§. 24, 26, 29, 30, 31, 32, 35, &c. ad 40. Pt. 2. Year after the Apostles

CH. IV. §. 1, 3.

13. And for the other Heretics of these Times; there appears not (by examining the many Varieties of Opinions that they held) any Sign that any of 'em that used any Baptism at all, denied it to Infants, Pt. 1. CH. XV. Sect. 4. §. 4. CH. XVI. §. 1, 2. CH. XXI. §. 1, 4. from 60, to 300.

14. It is held by all these antient Christians, that no Children dying unbaptiz'd can come to the Kingdom of Heaven, Pt. 1. CH. IV. §. 3, 6, 7, 8. CH. VI. §. 9, 13, 14. CH. XI. §. 6, 7. CH. XII. §. 5. CH. XIII. §. 2. CH. XIV. §. 2. CH. XV. Sect. 3. §. 2. CH. XVI. §. 3, 4, 5, 6. CH. XVIII. §. 4, 5. CH. XIX. §. 24, 28. CH. XX. §. 6. CH. XXIII. §. 3. Pt. 2. CH. VI. §. 4, 5, 6. St. *Austin* in the last of these Places says; there was in this Matter 'Christianorum & Populorum concordissima fidei conspiratio, The most uniform Consent of all Christian People [or Nations]. And that the *Pelagians* themselves were *overswayed* by it, and own'd it to be true.

*Vincentius Victor* was the only Man that is known to affirm the contrary. He maintain'd once, that by God's extraordinary Mercy and the Prayers of the Church this might be obtained: but he also recanted, CH. XX. §. 3, 4, 5. yet they all grant that Infants so dying have little or (as some say) no Punishment. 318.

But they hold, *nemine contradicente*, that all baptized Infants, dying in Infancy, are glorified, Pt. 1. CH. VI. §. 9. CH. XI. §. 6, 7. CH. XV. Sect. 3. §. 2. It. Sect. 5. §. 6. Pt. 2. CH. VI. §. 9.

15. They do accordingly speak of it as a great Sin in Parents, or others that have Opportunity, to suffer any Child under their Care, or any other Person, to die unbaptiz'd, Pt. 1.

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CH. IV. §. 4. CH. VI. §. 1, 9. CH. XV. Sect. 1.  
 CH. XVII. §. 3. Pt. 2. CH. III. Sect. 6. §. 7.

And they represent it as great Piety and Com-  
 passion in those that procure an Infant that has  
 been expos'd in the Streets by an unnatural  
 Mother, to be baptiz'd, Pt. 2. CH. VI. §. 9.  
 And when for the more orderly Administration  
 of Baptism they enact that none shall be bap-  
 tized but at certain Times of the Year, they  
 always except Infants and sickly Persons, Pt. 1.  
 CH. XVII. §. 3. for which Reason also, many of  
 'em allow a Layman to baptize in Case of Ne-  
 cessity, Pt. 1. CH. IV. §. 4.

100. 16. They shew that they have consider'd those  
 Reasons which the Antipædobaptists do now  
 make Use of, as Objections against the baptizing  
 of Infants: as that they have no Sense, no Faith,  
 no actual Sin, &c. and yet do not count 'em  
 sufficient Reasons to forbear the baptizing 'em,  
 Pt. 1. CH. XIV. §. 3. CH. XV. Sect. 3. It. Sect.  
 5. §. 1, 4, 9. CH. XIX. §. 18.

100. 17. The Use of Godfathers in Infants Baptism  
 is prov'd to have been the Custom of the Jews  
 in baptizing the Infants of Profelytes, *Introduet.*  
 §. 3, 4. and of Christians afterwards, by Quo-  
 tations from the Year after the Apostles 100,  
 and all along this Period, Pt. 1. CH. IV. §. 9.  
 CH. XV. Sect. 4. §. 3. It. Sect. 5. §. 3, 4, 5.  
 CH. XIX. §. 7. CH. XXII. CH. XXIII. §. 2. Pt. 2.  
 CH. IX. §. 9, 14.

18. This also makes one Evidence; that the  
 Proofs which some of the Antipædobaptists have,  
 after their best Search, pretended to bring of  
 any Church or any Sect of Christians in these  
 elder Times, that did not baptize Infants, are  
 found to be falsely recited, or mistaken, or not  
 to the Purpose, Pt. 1. CH. XV. Sect. 4. §. 3, 4.  
 Pt. 2. CH. I. §. 2, 3, 4, 5. CH. II. §. 15. CH.  
 IV. §. 1, 2, 3.

And

And even the Instances of particular Men, whom they would prove to have been born of Christian Parents, and yet not baptiz'd in Infancy, do all (or at least all but one) fail of any tolerable Proof, *Pt. 2. CH. III. per totum.*

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19. The Sense of all modern learned Men that do read these antient Books, except those few specified, is; that these Books do give clear Proof that Infant Baptism was customary in the Times of those Autors, and from the Apostles Time, *Pt. 2. CH. II. §. 1, 16.* There are but three or four that think otherwise. And *Menno* himself, the Father of the present Antipædobaptists, granted this to be true, *Pt. 2. CH. VIII. §. 5.*

20. Lastly, As these Evidences are for the first 400 Years, in which there appears only one Man, *Tertullian*, that advis'd the Delay of Infant Baptism in some Cases; and one *Gregory*, that did perhaps practise such Delay in the Case of his Children; but no Society of Men so thinking, or so practising: Nor no one Man saying it was *unlawful* to baptize Infants: So in the next 700 Years, there is not so much as one Man to be found that either spoke for, or practised any such Delay. But all the contrary, *Pt. 1. CH. XXII. per tot. Pt. 2. CH. VII. §. 1.*

And when about the Year 1130, one Sect among the *Albigenses* declar'd against the baptizing of Infants, as being incapable of Salvation; the main Body of that People rejected that their Opinion: And they of 'em that held that Opinion quickly dwindled away, and disappear'd; there being no more heard of holding that Tenet, till the rising of the German Antipædobaptists, *Anno 1522. Pt. 2. CH. VII. §. 2, 3, 4, &c.*

And that all the National Churches now in the World do profess and practise Infant Baptism. *Pt. 2. CH. VIII. §. 1, 2, 3.*

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§. 2. The Reasons and Evidences for the other Side ought to be divided into two Sorts. For there are some of 'em, which really have all the Force that they seem to have: but some others of 'em, must indeed pass for Reasons, or for good Evidence, to one that understands only the vulgar Translation of the Scriptur, and only the present State of the Nations of the World, and of Religion: But do lose their Force, when one searches into the Originals of the Scriptur, or when one comprehends the History of the State of Religion in the World, at that Time when the Books of the New Testament, or the Books of the antient Christians were written.

I will first sum up that Evidence which I take to be of the first sort.

1. It does not appear that the *Jewish* Baptism of Infants in our Savior's Time (according to which the Pædobaptists suppose the Apostles were to regulate theirs, in all Things not otherwise directed by our Savior) was in all Respects like to that which the Christian Pædobaptists do practise. For the Jews seem to have baptiz'd the Infants of such only as were Profelyted, or made Disciples out of the Heathen Nations, and Infants taken in War, found, bought, &c. But not their own Infants. They thought their own Infants to be clean without it; clean by their Birth, being of a Nation which had been once universally sanctified by Baptism: *Introduct.*

§. 3.

This, supposing it to have some Weight against Infant Baptism, as the Christians do practise it; yet does not make for the Antipædobaptists Practice neither. For they (as well as the Pædobaptists) do hold that all Persons are  
now

now to be baptiz'd at some Age or other (Per-  
sons born of Christian Parents as well as those  
that are born of Heathens). Which being  
granted, the Example of the Jewish Baptism  
directs it to be done in Infancy: For all whom  
the Jews baptiz'd at all, they baptiz'd in In-  
fancy, if they had then the Power of 'em. And  
besides: The Exception of Jews or Jews Chil-  
dren from the Obligation to Baptism, was  
understood by themselves to be a Thing that  
was to continue only till the Coming of the  
*Christ*, or of the *Elias*, *Introduct.* §. 3, 5. & *ult.*  
Since which Time the Jews are, as to Matter  
of Baptism, brought to the same State as Gen-  
tiles. Which do's take off all the Force of this  
Reason or Evidence.

2. As to the Argument taken from the Pra-  
ctice of the antient Christians, consider'd in  
general; it is some weakning of the Force of  
it, that some of those Antients who baptiz'd  
Infants, did also give 'em the Communion:  
Some, I say; but not very many: And those,  
none of the most Antient, *P. 2. CH. IX.*  
*§. 15, 16, 17.* Now tho' a Man's Error in one  
Thing does not necessarily prove that he errs  
in another; yet when it is in Relation to the  
same Subject, it gives some Abatement to his  
Authority. And tho' it be to this Day Contro-  
verted between the *Eastern* and *Western* Christi-  
ans, whether this be an Error, or not; yet the  
*Pædobaptists* of these Parts of the World must;  
in their Pleas against the *Antipædobaptists*, yield  
it to be an Error: Because they themselves  
do not use it. And so it is (for as far as its  
Force reaches) *argumentum ad hominem* at least.

3. As to particular Men among the Antients;  
*Tertullian* advises the Delay of Infant Baptism  
(in ordinary Cases where there is no apparent  
Danger of Death) till they come to the Age of  
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 Understanding: And then farther, till they are married, or else by their Age are past the Danger of Lust, *Pt. I. CH. IV. §. 1, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8.*

As for any Value that is to be put upon *Tertullian's* Judgment or Opinion, as a single Man; I ought to have put this among the second sort of Evidence, which is of little or no Force with such as do understand the History of that Time: Because all that do so, do know that he was accounted (both in his own Time, and also by those who after his Death spoke of him, or his Works) a Man of odd, rash, singular, and heterodox Tenets in many other Things: And that in the latter Part of his Life he turn'd (as Men of that Temper commonly do) a downright Heretic in some fundamental Points of the Faith, *Pt. I. CH. IV. §. 1, 13.* So that his Opinion or Judgment was never esteemed of any Value.

And for his Testimony as a Witness of the then Practice; his speaking against Infant Baptism is as good Evidence that it was then customary, as theirs that mention it with Approbation.

110. But this I think has some Weight: that if *Tertullian* had known of any such Tradition or Order left by the Apostles, as *Origen* who liv'd at the same Time speaks of, to baptize Infants; he, as heady as he was, would not then have spoken against the Doing of it. Especially if the Book where he does this, was written (as *Dr. Allix* judges it was) while he continued in the Catholic Church.

86. This therefore may be concluded, that either there was no good Account of such a Tradition, or else that *Tertullian* had never heard of it. Which last is not at all improbable: for *Origen*, living most of his Time in *Palestina*, where the Apostles had much and long conversed, and being

being born of Christian Ancestors in Egypt not far off, might very well have good Proof of an Order left by the Apostles, and sure Footsteps of their Practice; of which *Tertullian*, born of Heathen Parents, and living at *Carthage*, (a Place where no Apostle ever came, nor might it by a great Distance) might at that Time have heard nothing.

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However it be, the Antipædobaptists must make much of this Man. For he is the only one of all the Antients that had this Opinion. So says Mr. *du Pin* (6), who has with the greatest Accuracy search'd their Works, and with the greatest Fidelity reported 'em: He in reciting this Passage of *Tertullian* observes; *One finds no other Writer in all Antiquity that speaks at this Rate.* And so the *Magdeburgenses* (7); *Tertullian by a strange Opinion holds, &c.*

4. But tho' there be never another that advises such a Delay of Baptism, yet there is a Probability that one that liv'd about 130 Years after that Time, in another Part of the World, practis'd such a Delay: viz. *Gregory the Father of Gregory Nazianzen*. He seems to have suffer'd all his Children, even those that were born to him after his Baptism, to grow up to a full Age without baptizing 'em. This Matter of Fact is discuss'd with the Evidence *pro* and *contra*, Pt. 2. CH. III. Sect. 6. §. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7.

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As *Tertullian's* Character was, that he was Learned and Ingenious, but hot and heady: So this Man seems on the other Side to have been ignorant and of mean Capacities. Only his Son indeed does, as Duty requir'd, speak honorably of him.

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(6) Bibl. nouv. Vol. 1. de Tertulliano. (7) Cent. 3. s. 4. Inclinatione Doctrinæ de baptismo.

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If he had been a Man much spoken of; it would have made a better Argument (than his Practice now does) that leaving Children unbaptiz'd was no unusual Thing, because his doing so is not mention'd with any Censur or Wonder by any Autor of that Time. But as he was a Man little regarded, and placed in an obscure and remote Corner, and never mention'd but only by the Writers of his Son's Life; (who liv'd 600 Years after) this cannot be expected. There is in older Times no Mention of his Name at all, but what we have from his Son: And had it not been for him, it would not have been known that such a Place as *Nazianzum*, or such a Bishop of it as this elder *Gregory*, had ever been. And it was not for the Son to reflect on any Faults or Neglects of his Father. He does do that; as far as could be seemly for him, when he admonishes his People against any such Neglect. Of which Admonitions of his I give several Instances in Pt. 1. CH. XI. §. 2, 4, 6, 7. In one of 'em indeed he does (perhaps out of some Compliance to his Father's Practice) advise, that if there appear no Danger of the Child's Death, the Baptism should be delay'd till he be about three Years old. But that helps this Cause but little: Both because a Child at 3 Years old is as incapable of receiving Baptism upon his personal Profession as a mere Infant: and also because he at other Places urges the speedy administering of it in general; And so he does at this Place, if any Danger of Death do appear.

This Evidence therefore of *Gregory's* Father, as I would not omit it (let it have what Weight it will bear); so I cannot reckon it to have any great Force, being but one Man's Practice, and that of a Man of little Judgment or Credit.

5: That

5. That Argument for the Universal Consent of Antiquity in baptizing Infants, which is taken from the Declaration of St. *Austin* [that he never read or heard of any Christian, Catholic or Sectary, that denied that Infants are baptized for Forgiveness of Sin], and from the Grant of *Pelagius* [that he also never heard of any that denied that they are to be baptiz'd]. That Argument, I say, is something weakened by this; that *Tertullian* 200 Years before their Time is found to have spoken against it: At least as ordinarily practis'd: So that from hence forward that Rule must proceed with an Exception of one Man, viz. *Tertullian*.

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6. The *Petrobrusians*, one of those Societies of Men called *Albigenses*, withdrawing themselves about the Year 1100, from the Communion of the Church of *Rome*, which was then very corrupt, did reckon Infant Baptism as one of the Corruptions; and accordingly renounc'd it, and practis'd only Adult Baptism, Pt. 2. CH. VII. §. 5, 6, 7.

1000:

An Exception that abates in great Measure the Force of the Evidence from these Mens Practice, is this; That (besides that they were very late and very few) they did what they did on this Principle; that no Infant, baptized or not, can come to Heaven: Which is by both the Parties now acknowledged to be a great and an uncharitable Error.

These Evidences, how much or how little soever they weigh, or avail toward the determining the Point, are however to be reckon'd among true ones: That is, they are true, and not mistaken Matters of Fact.

§. 3. But there is, as I said, another sort of Evidences and Reasons against Infant Baptism, which are apt to weigh much with one that

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understands not the State of the Times spoken of, and can read only the vulgar Translation of the Scriptur; and such a Man cannot much be blam'd for taking them as good Reason or Evidence: but they lose their Force with any one that is not under those Disadvantages. And such I reckon these following.

1. There are several antient Books that say nothing at all about Infant Baptism, neither for it, nor against it. And 'tis wonder, say some Antipædobaptists, if it were common in those Times, that these as well as others should not mention it.

A pompous Recital of the Names of these makes an unlearned Antipædobaptist think that they are so many Autors on his Side. But any one that understands how the antient Christian Writers were mostly imploy'd, *viz.* in defending the Truth and Innocence of their Religion against the Objections and Slanders of Heathens and Jews; in encouraging the persecuted People to bear with Faith and Patience the Obloquy and Sufferings they lay under, &c. Such a Man, instead of wondring that there are no more, will wonder there are so many, that do happen in such their Writings to mention so patticular a Thing as the Baptizing of Children. Especially since in the Primitive Times there was no Controversie started about that Point. Now that it is become a Controversie; yet let any Man go into a Bookseller's Shop, and take down ten Books at all Adventures: And he will find above half of 'em to be such as have no Mention *pro* nor *contra* about Infant Baptism; because they are written on such Subjects as give no Occasion for it. 'Tis the Natur of a Man, whose Head is hot with any Controversie, to wonder he does not find something

thing about that in every Book and Chapter he reads.

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Mr. *Tombs* made a Plea of this. But he was too candid a Disputant to lay much Stress on it. He takes Notice of five Autors that have nothing about it. Mr. *Stennet* takes two of his, and (10) reckons up six more, who, he says, have nothing of it. I gave Reasons, I hope, satisfactory enough why in Mr. *Tomb's* Autors no Mention of such a Thing could be expected, *Pt. 1. CH. XXI. §. 4, 5.* And the same are applicable to those produc'd by Mr. *Stennet*: save that he reckons *Irenaus* for one; who, as I shew, *Pt. 1. CH. III.* speaks plainly enough of it. And also I have shewn, *Pt. 1. CH. I, and II.* that three more of 'em, *Clemens Romanus, Hermas,* and *Justin Martyr*, tho' not speaking directly of it, do mention Things from whence Inferences may be drawn for the Proof of it. And have now also produc'd one from another of 'em: *viz. Clem. Alex.*

The very same Remark, I think, ought to be made upon that Objection against Infant Baptism which the Antipædobaptists do much insist on; *viz.* that *St. Luke*, in reciting the Lives and *Acts of the Apostles*, does not mention any Infants baptiz'd by them. Whoever observes the Tenor of that History, and considers the State of those Times, will perceive that *St. Luke's* Aim is to give a Summary Account of the main and principal Passages of their Lives; and of those Passages especially, in which they found the greatest Opposition. And in such a History, (which is but short in all) who can look for an Account of what Children they baptiz'd? Suppose that the Life and Actions of some renowned and

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laborious modern Bishop or Doctor were to be written (say of Bishop *Usher*, *Stillingfleet*, &c.), and that, in a Volum ten Times as long as the Book of the Acts of the Apostles: Who will expect to find there any Account of what Children they Christned? And yet there is no doubt but they did Christen hundreds, or (if we take in what was done by Ministers deputed by them) thousands. The main Business of an Apostle was to preach, convert, attest the Truth of Christ's Resurrection, Miracles, &c. and *not to baptize*, as *St. Paul* says (11). The Baptizing of such as the Apostles had convinc'd, and especially of their Children, would of Course be left to Deputies. Yet of the six Baptisms (which are all that *St. Paul* is mention'd to have been concern'd in), three were the Baptisms of whole House-holds (12): Such a one *and all his*. And that is as much as can reasonably be expected of so minute a Circumstance.

67. 2. *Irenaus*, who is the eldest of the Fathers in whom the Pædobaptists have as yet found any positive Mention of Infants as baptiz'd, does not at that Place use the Word it self [baptiz'd], but the Word [regenerated] or [born again], *Pt. 1. CH. III. §. 2.*

This may invalidate his Testimony with one that knows of no other Sense of that Word than what is common in modern *English* Books. But any Man that has been at all conversant in the Fathers, or that has read but those Passages of 'em that are in this my *Collection*, or but even those to which I refer'd just now at *n. 3.* and at *n. 5.* of the Evidences for Infant Baptism; will be satisfied that they as constantly meant,  
*baptized,*

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(11) 1 Cor. 1. 17. (12) Acts 16. 15, 35. 1 Cor. 1. 16.

baptized, by the Word, [regenerated, or born again] as we do mean the same by the Word [christned].

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To be satisfied of this (and I do assure any one that will search, that he shall not miss of Satisfaction) is very well worth a Pædobaptist's while. For the Testimonies of *Irenæus* and of *Justin Martyr*, so near the Times of the Apostles, are preferable for their Antiquity to the Testimony of any three or four others.

3. *St. Basil* in a certain Sermon speaks so as plainly to suppose that a great Part of his Auditory was made up of such as had been instructed in the Christian Religion from their Infancy, and yet not baptiz'd, Pt. 1. CH. XII. §. 2, 3.

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I have Reason to reckon this among the Evidences that may appear to People of little Reading, and to such as have but a shallow and superficial Knowledge of the State of the antient Times, to have a great Weight against the Belief of any general Practice of Infants Baptism at that Time: because it had such an Effect upon my self. I thought, upon the first reading of this Place, nothing could be a plainer Proof that the Christians then did not commonly baptize their Children in Infancy, than this Evidence of a Church full of People; a considerable Part of whom had been catechiz'd from their Infancy, and were not yet baptiz'd. Such a Number of heathen Converts had been easily to be accounted for: but these seem'd born of Christian Parents, because he says, *From a Child catechized in the Word.*

But all this Argument lost its Force with me, when by farther reading I perceiv'd (and wondred at my self afterward, as is common, why I had not perceiv'd before) that which



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I shew in the same Chapter, and also *Pt. 2. CH. III. Sect. 1.* to have been the State of the World as to Religion at that Time, *viz.* that beside those that were Heathens on one Side, and those that were profess'd or baptized Christians on the other, there was a vast Number of a middle sort: half Converts, heathen Men converted thus far, that they were convinc'd that Christianity was the true Religion, and that they must be baptiz'd into it some Time or other: but not being willing as yet to abandon their Lusts, they put it off from Time to Time. These Men did, as many wicked Men do now, instruct their Children in the godly Precepts of Religion: but they could not offer 'em to Baptism till they were baptiz'd themselves. And those that *St. Basil* speaks to, had been the Children of such Men.

We see a woful Example in our Churches of a much like Natur. Many wicked Men do at Times resolve to become serious some Time or other: and then they think they will come to the Holy Communion, and engage themselves to a godly Life. They put off this from Time to Time, many times till Death seizes 'em. These Men, if they had been born of Heathens, and not yet baptiz'd, but yet had come to the Knowledge of Christianity, would put off their Baptism as they now do the other Sacrament; much at the Rate as the Fathers of those to whom *St. Basil* preaches had done their Baptism, and as he complains the Sons also, to whom he preaches, did. And as we see now, that nigh half the World of nominal Christians are such Procrastinators; so there seems to have been not a much less Proportion among the Catechumens then. And as the Fathers do speak of those who were during this dilatory Course seized

seized with Death, as lost Men; so I doubt it is but poor Comfort that we can give to Men so seized, that have for like Reasons all their Life long put off the receiving the Communion: *viz.* because they would not yet repent.

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But still this State of Religion in St. *Basil's* Time does not prove, that any who were once baptiz'd themselves, did delay or put off the Baptizing of their Children.

4. Some Arguments against Infants Baptism have all their Strength from that imperfect Conception of Things, which arises from one's reading only the vulgar Translations of Scripture; and do vanish, when one consults the Originals. That Commission of our Savior to the Apostles, *Matt. 28. 19.* which is in the *English*; *Go and teach all Nations; baptizing them, &c. teaching them to observe, &c.* as it affords on one Side this Argument for Pædo-baptism; *Infants are part of the Nations: and so to be baptized by this Commission:* So on the other Side it gives Occasion to the Antipædo-baptists to retort, and say; *Infants are such a Part of the Nation as are not capable of being taught: And so not to be baptized.*

But the Word which is translated, *teach*, in the first of those Clauses, has a peculiar Signification in the Original, and is not the same Word as that which is translated, *teaching*, in the second: But signifies much like what we say in *English*; to enter any one's Name as a Scholar, Disciple, or Profelyt, to such a Master, School or Profession. Now the common Language of the Jews (in which Language it was that St. *Matthew* wrote his Gospel) as it does not admit of this Phrase; *An Infant is taught, or, instructed:* so it very well allows of this other; *Such or such an Infant is enter'd a Di-*

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disciple, or, made a Profelyt to such a Profession, or Religion. And the Jews did commonly call a Heathen Man's Infant, whom they had taken and circumcised and baptized; a young Profelyt: As I shew'd in the Introduction. And St. Peter speaking against the Imposing of Circumcision on the Heathen Converts and their Children, words it thus; ' To put a Yoke upon the Neck ' of the Disciples: Whereas it was Infants especially, on whom this Yoke was attempted to be put, Acts 15. 10. And St. Justin, as I shew'd in the first Part, CH. II. §. 6. expressly mentions Infants, or at least Children, as made Disciples, in the very same Word that is used by 40. St. Matthew in that Place. And when he speaks of People baptized in the Name of Christ, uses the same Word; μαθητεύουσι εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Χριστοῦ. As in his Dialog. p. 57. Ed. Steph. He says; ' God has not hitherto brought on, nor does ' yet bring on, the Day of Judgment; γινώσκω ' ἐν τῷ νῦν ἡμᾶς μαθητευόμενος εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ ' Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ. Knowing that there are still every ' Day some Discipled into the Name of his ' Christ, and withdrawn from the Way of Error. ' Where that he, by Discipled in the Name of ' Christ, means, baptiz'd in his Name, is apparent ' by the next Words, which are; Who do also ' receive Gifts, every one as he is worthy, when they ' are inlightned [or baptiz'd, φωτισόμενοι] in the ' Name of this Christ. For one receives the Spirit ' of Understanding: Another, of Council: Ano- ' ther, of Strength: Another, of Healing: Ano- ' ther, of Fore-knowing, [or foretelling Things, ' Πηγνώσεως] &c. These and such like Gifts of the Spirit did, it seems, continue in his Time to be given to Christians at their Baptism.

And whereas the main Objection against this Sense of the Word μαθητὴς and μαθητεύεσθαι in the Case

Case of Infants; that they should be understood to be Discipled to Christ by Baptism before any actual Teaching of 'em, is; That that Word is seldom (the Objectors say, never) used without including present actual teaching in its Signification.

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'Tis true that it is far oftner us'd in the Case of such as do at that Time learn, or have learned, or been taught: And so are all Words like or parallel to it: As when we say; such a Master's *Scholar, Pupil, Servant, Apprentice, &c.* Such a Captain's *Soldier, &c.* These Words are far oftner us'd in the Case of present *learning, serving, bearing Arms, &c.* because there is oftner Occasion to speak of 'em in that State. But yet it is truly and properly said of any Lad, that he is such a Man's *Pupil or Scholar*, as soon as he is enter'd and consign'd to learn of him, tho' he has not yet began: Such a Master's *Servant or Apprentice*, as soon as he is bound to him; though he does not yet practise or learn any Part of his Trade, or do any Service: Such a Captain's *Soldier*, as soon as he is listed; though he does not yet bear Arms.

In like Manner the Word *μαθητὴς Χριστοῦ, a Disciple of Christ*, is far oftner us'd in the Case of such as have already began to learn and practise his Religion: because there is oftner Occasion in Books to speak of something which they do or say, or which happens to 'em during the Time of their Discipleship, than there is of that first Act of their entering: But it may truly and properly be us'd concerning one that is now dedicated, consign'd, agreed, and enter'd to learn and practise it, though he has not yet began. And it is so us'd when there is Occasion to speak of such a Case.

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If any one will diligently compare these three Texts, *Matt. 10. 42. Mark 9. 41. Luk. 9. 48.* He will perceive these three Terms: The receiving of any one as μαθητήν, a Disciple: And the receiving him as τῷ Χριστῷ ὄντα, belonging to Christ: And the receiving him ἐν ὀνόματι Χριστοῦ, in the Name of Christ: to be used by our Savior as Terms equivalent, signifying the same Thing. And he will there see also a Child so received by our Savior himself.

As for the Language of the Old Testament; A Child, or little one, has the Term given him of being enter'd into a Covenant, *Deut. 29. 11, 12.* Now in that Language, a Covenanter, or Son of the Covenant; and a Profelyt; and a Disciple, do signify the same Thing. An Infant can for the present no more covenant, than he can learn: Yet he has the Name of a Covenanter, being enter'd into the Covenant by his Parents.

Beside the Instance that I gave before of the Phrase being ordinary in the Jews Language to call the Infant Child that was dedicated and baptized, a Profelyt; tho' he was not yet capable of present learning, but only was consign'd to learn; There is (as Dr. Lightfoot in his *Hor. Hebr. queres*) in *Bab. Schabb. fol. 31.* an apposit Example of such a Way of Speaking: Where one comes to Rabbi Hillel, and intreats him;

Fac me Discipulum; ut me doceas. *Make me [or, enter me] thy Disciple; that thou mayest teach me.*

So that it was a usual Acceptation of the Word Profelyt, or Disciple, in the Language which our Savior spoke, and in which St. Matthew wrote.

It is said, *Luke 9. 57. It came to pass as they went in the Way, a certain Man said unto him; Lord, I will follow thee whithersoever thou goest:*  
Now

Now St. *Matthew* calls this Man, and another who offer'd himself at the same Time, *Disciples*. For he, *Ch. 8. 19, 20, 21.* having recited the same that St. *Luke* does, concerning the first Man, subjoins immediately; *Another of his Disciples*, ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ, said unto him; *Lord, suffer me first to go and bury my Father.* The later is expressly called a *Disciple* by St. *Matthew*; who calling him another *Disciple*, does implicitly call the former likewise, a *Disciple*: though it seems to be the first Meeting that the First had with our Savior: and neither of them had gon any farther than to express a Purpose of following him.

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*Eusebius* in his *Demonstr. Evangel. l. 3. c. 7.* brings an Instance of one that makes a Proposal, or sets up for a *Teacher* of any Art or Science. Ὅτι καὶ διδάσκων ἐπαγγελίαν μαθημάτων ἴσως ἐπαγγίλλει: Ὅι τε μαθηταὶ μαθημάτων ἐεζόμενοι σφᾶς αὐτῆς τῷ διδασκῶνι προσφέροντες ἐπίσπευσιν. One gives out that he will teach some Art. The Disciples, being desirous of the Skill, offer and commit themselves to the Master. They are here called *Disciples* before they had began to learn any Thing: only they were appointed to learn.

In *Numb. 3. 28.* The *Kohathites* were set apart to be *Keepers of the Charge of the Sanctuary*. The Infants, as well as their Fathers, have the Title given 'em of *KEEPERS of that Charge*. For so are the Words; *In the Number of all the Males from a Month old and upward were Eight Thousand Six Hundred, keeping the Charge of the Sanctuary.*

So little do grammatical Derivations of Words signify to limit the Sense of them: which must rather be taken from the common Use of 'em in the Books and Languages from whence they are quoted. *Μαθητής* is deriv'd from

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from μαθηται, to learn. Therefore may a Gram-  
marian perhaps say, it cannot be applied but  
to one that does now actually learn. But we  
must rather see in what Latitude St. *Matthew*  
(who, or whose Interpreter, was, I think, the  
first that formed the Derivative μαθησκειν from it  
in any active transitive Signification) does use  
the Word. And he uses it not only for present  
Learners, but for some that were appointed to  
learn. The Word has indeed always a Refer-  
ence to Learning; but does not always sup-  
pose that Learning to be at that present Time,  
when any one is made or styled a Disciple.

Another Thing that causes in vulgar People  
a Prejudice in understanding those Words of  
our Savior, is this; A Man that can't read  
Books, is apt to form all his Notions of Things  
by what he sees in his own Time and Coun-  
try. So an illiterat Man (in *England* for Ex-  
ample) hearing of the Apostles being sent into  
the Nations to Disciple and Baptize 'em, he  
imagins it like some Preacher's Coming into  
*England* as it is now, to Preach and Baptize  
the People. Now this Notion naturally creates  
in his Mind a Supposal that Christians did not  
baptize their Children in Infancy, because they  
are now to be baptized after they are taught.  
He does not animadvert to that Difference  
which appears by conceiving all those Nations  
to which the Apostles were sent, as Heathens;  
who must be baptiz'd after they were taught,  
having had no Fathers to baptize 'em before.  
This indeed looks gross: but one may perceive  
plain Footsteps and Traces of such Conceptions  
among ignorant People in the Tenor and Chain  
of their Discourse.

5. There has been an Argument rais'd against  
Infants Baptism, even from that Text by which  
(among

(among others) the Fathers did never fail to prove it. I mean, from those Words of our Savior, *John* 3. 5. which are in the *English*; *Except a Man be born again of Water, &c.* They catch hold of the Word, *Man*, there; and say, 'tis declar'd necessary for every one after he is a *Man* grown. I would not have any Antipædobaptist, that keeps a more refined Conversation, think, that I feign or impose this on 'em. 'Tis certainly true, that some ignorant People in Country Places do not only urge this, but do say that it is inculcated to them by their Teachers.

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I shall not stand to shew the Mistake of this, having said more than so palpable a Misunderstanding of the Words, as they are in the Original, can deserve, *Pt. 1. CH. VI. §. 13. Pt. 2. CH. VI. §. 1.*

6. To enervate an Argument taken out of Scriptur for Infant Baptism, is equivalent to the forming of one against it: and does as much tend to the excusing of any illiterat Man, if the Proofs which should have convinc'd him that Children are to be baptiz'd, be eluded either by Translations that give an imperfect Sense, or by false Interpretations, the Falshood whereof he cannot perceive. I shall give three Instances.

1. In that Text, *1 Cor. 7. 14.* which is rendered in *English*; *Now are your Children Holy.* The Word here translated [*Holy*] is far more often in *St. Paul's* Epistles translated *Saints*: and so almost all (not quite all) the Antients do understand *St. Paul* here: as if he had said in *English*; *Now are your Children Saints.* They observe moreover, that with *St. Paul* this Term, *Saints*, is generally used as another Word for *Christians*. As, *To the Saints at Ephesus, at Rome,*



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Rome, &c. is as much as to say, *To the Christians* there. Therefore they take *St. Paul* to mean; *Now are your Children Christians*; that is to say, *baptized*. He perswades the believing Wife not to go away, but to stay in Hopes that she may convert, or *save*, as he words it, her unbelieving Husband: and that the rather, because it appeared that the Grace of God did generally so far prevail against the Infidelity of the other, that the Children of such Matches were baptized for the most Part. This Interpretation, or such as amounts to the like Effect, I have shewn to be the most current among the Primitive Christians, in those Places of the Collection which are referred to before, at *N. 9.* of the Evidences for Infant Baptism. And if it be allowed, there needs no more Evidence for it from Scriptur.

But what shall an unlearned Man do, that meets with this Text expounded by new Interpretations that do totally set aside that Meaning: as *Holy*, that is, *not Bastards*, &c.

Methinks this should be plain; that since the Word *ἅγιοι*, is sometimes translated, *Saints*; and sometimes *Holy*; there should even at those Places where 'tis translated, *Holy*, be understood such a Holiness as is something agreeable to the Signification of the Word, *Saints*: and not a new-made Signification, in which neither *St. Paul*, nor any other Apostle, did ever use the Word.

2. The Words of that other Text, *John 3. 5.* were always taken in one fix'd and undoubted Sense and Meaning, *viz.* to signify Baptism. And that so known and supposed, that not only the Words at length, [*born again of Water, &c.*] but the Word [*born again*] or [*regenerat*] alone was used as another Word for *baptiz'd*; and *Re-generation* for *Baptism*; not only by all the Fathers of the first 400 Years, but I think for  
above

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above 1000 Years following. So here was a plain Place of Scriptur for baptizing of all Persons that should enter the Kingdom of God.

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But even this has been in great Measur defeated by a new Interpretation, much of the Natur of that by which the *Quakers* do elude all those Places that speak of the other Sacrament. For as they, by the Words, *Bread, Wine, Eating, Drinking, &c.* do force themselves to mean some mystical or metaphorical thing: as for Bread, something else (internal Bread, I think), and so of the rest. So the new Interpreters of this Place do by the Word, *Water*, here. In short, they have brought it to this; that the Text does not signify Baptism at all, nor any Thing about it. And the Notion and Signification of the Words, *regenerat*, and *Regeneration*, is by Degrees so alter'd in common Speech, that he that reads 'em in any modern Book does not know nor understand 'em again when he meets with 'em in any antient one. From whence proceeds the Wondring that some have made at St. *Austin*, when reading occasionally some Chapter of him, they have found that he takes all that are *baptized* to be *regenerat*: thinking he means by *regenerat* the same that they do, *viz.* converted in Heart, &c.

But at this Rate of altering the Sense of Words, any Text of Scriptur whatever may be eluded. The most fundamental Article of the New Testament; *I believe in Jesus Christ*. 'Tis but to take the Words *Jesus Christ* in a new Sense for the *Light within a Man's self*: and then if he believe in himself, he holds the Article. Therefore the Words of Scriptur, or of any old Book; must be taken in that Sense in which they were current at that Time. Which because it is a Thing that vulgar People, of whom I speak, cannot inquire into; therefore I put this Way of evading the Force of this Text, among the Answers to it that may

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may pass with them; but it appears vain to those that are acquainted with the old Use of the Word.

3. There is another Interpretation yet, by which the Force of that Text is evaded. And that is by such as do grant indeed that the Words [born again of Water, &c.] are to be understood of Baptism; but they say that by the *Kingdom of God* there, is to be understood, not the *Kingdom of Glory hereafter in Heaven*; but the *Church here*, or the Dispensation of the *Messiah*. So that 'tis as much as to say; except any one be baptized, he cannot enter into, or be a Member of, the Church. I shew, *Pt. 2. CH. VI. §. 1. n. 2.* that this Interpretation is plainly inconsistent with the Context: and also that it avails not this Cause if it were allowed.

These last mention'd Reasons, Evidences, and Arguments, tho' I think them not justly pleadable against Infant Baptism, yet I thought it fair to set 'em down. Let every one pass his Judgment. And if they have not any real Weight in true arguing, yet the Appearance of it which they carry, does serve to make People pass the more favorable Censur on those of the Antipædobaptists, who have no Means of understanding the History of the antient Times, and can read only the vulgar Translations of Scriptur, and do light only on such Expositors as I have mentioned.

But this I must say; that any Antipædobaptist, who having better Means of Knowledge is convinc'd that any of these Arguments have really no Force; and yet does urge 'em upon the more ignorant People, acts very disingenuously toward 'em, and is a Prevaricator in the Things of God. For to use any Argument with an Intent to deceive, hath in it (tho' there be no Proposition utter'd that is false *in terminis*) the Natur of a Lie: which as it is base and unmanly in human Affairs, so it is impious when it is pretended to be for God; as *Job* says, *Ch. 13. 7.*

CHAP.

## C H A P. XI.

*A Disswafive from Separation on Account of the Difference of Opinion about the Age or Time of receiving Baptifm.*

§. 1. **W**HAT I have to fay in this laft Chapter, I have kept as a Referve: that in Cafe People cannot be brought to be of one Opinion in this Queftion; yet they may avoid that which is now-a-days made a common Confequence of the Difference in Sentiments about it, and is far more dangerous to their Soul's Health, than the Miftake it felf is; I mean, the Renouncing of one another's Communion in all other Parts of the Chriftian Worfhip. Whofoever could prevail on 'em to relinquifh this Humor of dividing, would do a moft acceptable Piece of Service to the Chriftian Religion and the Salvation of their Souls.

For our blessed Savior, who does eafily pardon involuntary Errors and Miftakes, and forbids his Members to defpife or reject one another for them, does impute a heavy Guilt to thofe that go about to break or divide the Unity of his Body.

I had thought once to infert here a Difcourfe of the great Sin and Mifchief of Schifm: But having been too long already; and that being a Subject which requires, and has had, juft Tracts written on it; I fhall content my felf with reciting briefly a few plain Proofs of the Stress which God in Scriptur lays upon our *endeavoring to keep the Unity of the Spirit* (*i. e.* a fpiritual or religious Unity, and not only living quietly near one another) *in the Bond of Peace*, notwithstanding Differences in Opinions.

1. There is no one Thing that is oftner, nor fo often, commanded, inculcated, intreated, and pray'd

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pray'd for, by our Savior and his Apostles, than that all Christians should be one, and as Members of the same Body. And on the other Side, no Sin that is more severely forbidden, represented as more mischievous, nor more terribly threatned, than Divisions, Schisms, Separations, and whatsoever breaks the said Unity. St. Paul does not only reckon such Things as undoubted Signs of a carnal Mind, 1 Cor. 3. 3, 4. but also when he gives a Roll or Catalog of the Sins which are certainly damning, *which they that practise, shall not inherit the Kingdom of God*, Gal. 5. 19, 20, 21. such as Adultery, Drunkenness, &c. he reckons among the rest *σαῖς καὶ αἰρέσις*, which we render *Seditious, Heresies*, which are the Names which he commonly gives to Divisions. Since his Time indeed the later of those Words has been used to denote false Doctrins in the Fundamentals of Faith: But he never means any Thing else by it, but Parties, Factions, Sects, or Divisions. One plain Instance in what Sense he takes it, is in 1 Cor. 11. 18, 19. where what are call'd *Divisions* in one Verse, are call'd *Heresies* in the other. Let any one read this Text for the Meaning of the Word: and then let him turn back again to Gal. 5. 19. where Adultery, Murder, and Heresies, are declar'd subject to the same Condemnation, of Exclusion from God's Kingdom.

The Sinfulness of Schism is so plainly, fully, and frequently set forth by our Savior and his Apostles; that there are no Christian Writers or Teachers of any Church whatever, but what do, if they are requir'd to speak, own that it is in its Natur a mortal Sin; Even the Leaders of Schismatical Congregations dare not deny it. If they did, they would be convicted of denying plain Scriptur. But as Archbishop *Tillotson* does somewhere observe of the Popish Preachers, that tho' they do own in their Writings and Disputes with  
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the Protestants, that Repentance and Amendment of Life is necessary to the Forgiveness of Sins; yet in their Discourses to their People they say so much of Confession to a Priest, &c. and so little of Amendment of Life, that the People think all of the one, and little of the other; So there are several Teachers who among all the Sins that they forewarn their People of, do so seldom preach against Schism and Division, so seldom quote those Places of Scriptur that set forth the Guilt of it; and when they do, do touch that Point so tenderly; that the People, if they do not trust their own Eyes in reading God's Word, and taking it all together, are apt to forget that Schism is any Sin at all: or at most, they conceive of it as of a little one. All the Christians near our Savior's Time had a quite contrary Sentiment. They, when they gather'd up into one short Draught or Creed the most fundamental and necessary Truths that they were to hold, put in this for one; *I believe the Holy Catholic Church, and the Communion of Saints*, i. e. I own the Universal Church, and that all *Christians* in it ought to hold Communion one with another: For the Word, *Saints*, is in Scriptur and all other old Christian Books used as another Word for *Christians*: and the *Communion of Saints* means nothing else in the Creed but the Communion of Christians. He then that believes other things to be Duties, and this to be none, ought, when he repeats the Creed, to say; I believe all the rest of it, but I do not own the *Communion of Saints* as any Article of Christian Faith.

§. 2. 2. Whereas the Sinfulness of Schism in general will not bear a Dispute; but all People that separate, do, if they be forc'd to speak, own, as I said, Schism to be a great Sin; but do say withal that their Separation is not

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Schism in the Scriptur Sense, because the Church from which they have separated is such as from which one ought to separate: And whereas the Reason that is usually given of the Necessity of a Separation of one from another, is; that one Party holds Tenets and Opinions which the other cannot assent to, or administers some of the Divine Offices in such Ways as the other does not approve; but takes the Opinions to be Errors, and the said Administrations to be grounded on those Errors: The thing to be enquir'd is, whether these Opinions, which are judg'd to be Errors, be such as do overthrow the Foundation of Christian Faith. For if they be such, the Plea must be allowed. False Doctrins in the Fundamentals of Religion do put a Bar to our Communion with those that teach 'em.

But if they be not such; we have a plain Direction and Order from *St. Paul* to bear with one another, to receive one another to Communion notwithstanding Differences in them, and not to judge or despise one another for them. He has a Discourse purposely on this Subject. It begins *Rom. 14. 1.* He continues it through all that Chapter, and to *Ver. 8.* of the next. He instances in Men holding contrary Sides in the Disputes which troubled the Church at that time. He both begins and ends that Discourse with a positive Command that they receive one another notwithstanding them: and he plainly means (as whoever reads the whole Place will observe) to Communion as Brethren; and not only to live in Peace and Quietness with one another: which last they were to do with the Heathens their Neighbors.

He orders those of 'em that were positive, and sure that their Opinion was the right, to content

content themselves with that full Perswasion of their own Mind, and to take it for granted that they are not bound to bring all the rest over to their Opinion; nor yet to forsake their Communion if they will not so be brought, *Ver. 22. Hast thou Faith,* (Faith here signifies that full Perswasion of Mind mention'd before at *Ver. 5.*) *have it to thy self before God.* He would have 'em be so modest as to think at the same time that others as good as they might yet continue of the other Opinion.

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He shews, *Ch. 15. Ver. 5, 6.* that they may notwithstanding these Differences with one Mind and one Mouth glorifie God. And whereas he prays there that they may be (as we translate it in *English*) *like-minded one toward another;* those Phrases of *like-minded,* and *one Mind,* do not import that they that thus join in glorifying God, must of Necessity be all of one Opinion in disputable Matters: for it has been all along his Scope to shew that they might well enough do that, tho' each did keep his several Opinion in those things. But those Phrases denote only that they should do it *unanimously* (which is the proper rendring of the Word, *ὁμοθυμαδόν,* and that which St. Paul generally means by the Word, *αὐτὸ φροῦν,* as Bp. *Stillingfleet* has shewn (1.) by Instances. And they might be unanimous in glorifying God, tho' they were not all of a Mind as to Meats, Days, &c. Since in the main Matters they were all of a Mind.

And tho' St. Paul there do instance only in the Disputes about Meats, and Drinks, and Days, &c. yet the Tenor of his Discourse, and the Reasons he gives against separating for them,

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(1.) Unreasonableness of Separation, Pt. 2. Sect 19.



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do reach to all Differences that are not funda-  
mental. For that which he says; *The Kingdom  
of God is not Meat and Drink, but Righteousness,*  
&c. is appliable to any Opinions that are  
not of the Foundation: The Kingdom of  
God, or Substance of Religion, does not con-  
sist in such things. And as he says; *For Meat  
destroy not the Work of God;* we may say of  
such Opinions; Do not for such things destroy  
that Unity which Christ has made so essenti-  
al to his Church. But it is otherwise of the  
fundamental Articles of our Faith: for in them  
the Kingdom of God does consist. If any one  
do hold or practise Idolatry or the Worship of  
any but the true God; or do deny the Divi-  
nity of Christ or his Death for our Sins, or  
the Necessity of Repentance and a good Life,  
or the Belief of the Resurrection and Judg-  
ment to come; the Apostle would never have  
bid us receive such, or hold Communion with  
them.

But there are, besides those that hold such  
Doctrines pernicious to the Foundation, abun-  
dance of Christians that hold the same Faith  
in all fundamental Points, who do yet live in  
Divisions and Separation, disowning and re-  
nouncing one another's Communion. 'Tis pity  
but these should be reduc'd to the Unity which  
Christ's Body requires.

Now there is no other Way in the World  
to effect this, but only that which the Apostle  
here prescribes, *viz.* that they receive one ano-  
ther notwithstanding the different Opinions they  
may hold about lesser Matters. There have  
other Ways been tryed, Ways of human Po-  
licy: but all with wretched Success. They have  
been tryed with so much Obstinacy, as almost  
to ruin the Church.

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The Church of Rome has tryed to reduce all Year after the A-  
 Men to Unity, by forcing them to be all of one <sup>ter the A-</sup>  
 Opinion, and to submit their Judgments to <sup>postles</sup>  
 her Dictates; some of which are Things which  
 the Scriptur teaches not, and some directly  
 contrary to it. They use to this Purpose, first,  
 Disputations; and when that will not do, then  
 Fire and Fagot, or other Cruelties. We have  
 liv'd to see what tyrannous, unchristian, and  
 bloody Work a Neighbor Prince has made to  
 bring all his Subjects to be of one Religion (as  
 he calls it), that is, all of one Opinion in all  
 Things deliver'd by that Church; which has  
 been far from limiting her self to fundamentall  
 Articles. And we have seen the Event: he  
 has made some Hypocrites and Apostates, who  
 do upon all Occasions shew the Regret of their  
 Conscience; some Refugees, and some Martyrs.  
 This Way therefore of bringing People to  
 glorifying God unanimously, by drawing up a  
 Set of particular Opinions, and forcing all Men  
 to subscribe to them, is no successful Way. It  
 requires of Men what God in Scriptur never  
 requires. It has filled the World with Blood  
 and Enmity, and has made *Christendom* a  
 Shambles. St. Paul with all his Apostolical  
 Authority does not, we see, require it; but says,  
 in such Things let each be fully perswaded in  
 his own Mind, (meaning, till one by Reason do  
 convince the other, or be convinc'd by him) and  
 in the mean time receive and own one another  
 as Brethren.

Another Way that has been tried, is quite  
 on the contrary, and runs to the other Ex-  
 treme. It is this. They that are of different  
 Opinions in these lesser Matters, say thus; We  
 will not receive each other at all, i. e. not to  
 any Christian Communion: and yet we will  
 obtain the End that St. Paul would have, viz.

Year after the setting forth *the Glory of God* by another  
 ter the A- Way as good. Since we are of this Opinion,  
 postles and you of that; do you make one Church of  
 Christ, and we will make another: We will  
 own no Church Communion with you, nor you  
 with us: We will neither receive you, nor  
 desire to be received by you. And yet we will  
 live in Peace, and try which shall come to Hea-  
 ven soonest.

Now this is on the other Side the most con-  
 trary to the Natur and Design of Christianity  
 of any Thing that could be devised. For  
 Christ, as he is but one Head, never design'd  
 to have any more but one Body. Here we  
 see already two, totally distinct: for they re-  
 ceive not one another. And observe the Con-  
 sequence of such a Principle. They continue  
 but a very little while before that in each of  
 these Churches some Members differing from  
 the rest in Opinion about some new-started  
 Matter, make a Subdivision, as necessary as  
 the first Division was. Then the Church which  
 out of one became two, out of two is propa-  
 gated to four: and by the same Reason, and  
 by following on the same Principle, there will  
 quickly be forty. Nay, it is certain, and will  
 be plain to any one that considers, that by  
 driving that Principle home of making separat  
 Churches of all different Opinions, it will come  
 to pass at last that there will not be any two  
 Men of one Church. For if all Things re-  
 lating to Religion were to be canvast, there are  
 not any two Men in the World of the same Mind  
 in all Things.

The Fault therefore of this Way is evident.  
 They are in the right in supposing that there  
 will always be Variety of Opinions; and that  
 'tis in vain to think by any Force to prevent  
 it. But to think that the Number of Churches  
 must

must hold Pace with the Number of Opinions, is a Mistake of wretched Consequence. It makes Christ's Church, which should be a compacted Body, a Rope of Sand. It perpetuates for ever those Strifes and Janglings about Opinions, which in one Communion would quickly cease: for each Party when they have thus taken Sides, will always strive to justify their own Side. It is that which the antient Christians call, *the setting up Altar against Altar*. It gives so advantagious a Handle to the common Enemy, that he desires no other, to ruin any Church that is so divided into Parties. St. Paul well apprehended the Consequence of such Dividings, when he (2) besought the *Corinthians* by the Name of our Lord *Jesus* Christ, that they would not admit of any such Method: and when he intreated the Christians at *Rome* (3), that if any one among them did go about such a Practice, the Effect should be, that every one of 'em should *avoid* him. In a Word, where Christianity is in this State, it is in the next Degree to Dissolution.

And whereas the Proposers or Defenders of this Course do say; We may live in Peace, tho' we do renounce one another's Communion in Religion. This is neither practicable for any long Time, nor is it sufficient for a Christian's Purpose. Not practicable: for as our Savior has said, a House so divided cannot stand; so we see by Experience the Heart-burnings, and Hatred, and Emulations, and bitter Zeal which the separat Parties do always shew one against another. Not sufficient: because Christ requires that all his Disciples should be as Brethren, and as Limbs of the same Body, which

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(2) 1 Cor. 1. 10. (3) Rom. 16. 17.

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is more than outward Peace and Quietness. The Heathen Neighbor Cities that worshipp'd several Gods, would sometimes make a League of Peace, and say, Do you worship your God and we will worship ours, without meddling with one another's Religion; but 'tis horrible so to divide Christ.

It remains therefore, that there is no other Way to answer the Design of Christ, than that Christians of the same Faith do hold Communion and receive one another, notwithstanding their various Opinions. And if any one object against his joining with the establish'd Church where he lives; That he is of one Opinion, and they of another in many Things: He needs only to mind, that this is the very Case that *St. Paul* was here speaking of, when he bids 'em *receive one another*. They that he speaks to, were likewise of different Opinions: and 'twas on Occasion of such Difference that he gives 'em this Command of not separating for 'em.

Before I go any farther, I shall observe two Corollaries that do naturally follow from what has been said.

One is, that in far the greatest Number of the divided Churches and Parties that are in *Christendom*; the Sin, the Mischief, and the Danger to their Souls does not consist so much in the Tenets and Opinions for which they differ; as in the Divisions which they make for them, the Separations, the mutual Excommunications, or renouncing of one another's Communion. This I conceive to be so clear a Truth, that whereas, if I had a Friend or Brother, or any one for whose Eternal Good I were most concerned, that differ'd in some such Opinions from the Church where he liv'd, and as I thought, from the Truth; and yet did resolve and declare (as the old *English* Puritans did)

did) that he would make no Disturbance or Separation; I should think it a Thing of no great Consequence whether ever his Opinion were rectified or not: yet if I found that he were inclin'd to separat; I should think Labor ought to be taken, as for his Life, to hinder that.

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The other is; that those Churches which do impose, as Terms of Communion, (I mean of Lay-Communion) the fewest Subscriptions, or indeed none at all, to any Doctrins, beside the fundamental Doctrins of Christian Faith; have in that Respect the best and most excellent Constitution. It is fitted for the Fulfilling of this Command of the Apostle. To do otherwise, is to refuse what he here prescribes, of *receiving one that is weak in the Faith*. For supposing those Doctrins to be true, yet he may think otherwise: and then he cannot be received without affirming what is in his Conscience a Falshood. He is therefore rejected: and as far as that Church can go, lost. Whereas if he had been receiv'd without such a Condition, he might either have learned better in Time; or if he had not, that Error would not finally have much hurt him: for it is suppos'd to be no fundamental one. Nor would it have hurt the Church: for he is suppos'd to be one that desir'd to be receiv'd, and that would not have made any Schism for it. I do not pretend to know the History of the Constitutions of the many Churches that now are: but of all that I do know, the Church of *England* is in this Respect the best constituted. That Church requires of a Layman no Declaration, Subscription, or Profession, but only of the Baptismal Covenant. Any Person when he is baptiz'd, must by himself if he be of Age, by his Sponsors if an Infant, profess to

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to renounce the Devil and all Wickedness, to believe the Creed, and to keep God's Commandments. There is nothing requir'd after this to his full Communion, save that he learn, and answer to the Questions of, a very short Catechism; of one Clause whereof I must by and by say something. No Body can in other Matters compel him to subscribe the Opinions which the Church thinks truest, nor to recant those which he thinks truest.

§. 3. 3. The same that has been said of different Opinions in doctrinal Points not fundamental, may be applied to the several Ways of ordering the public Worship, Prayers, Administration of the Sacraments, &c. Of which Ways it does as naturally fall out that some do like one best, and some another; as it does of the foresaid different Opinions, that some think one true, and some the other. The same Rule for avoiding of Schism must therefore be applied here, as there: only with this Difference; Of those Opinions, there was no Necessity that the Man I spoke of should be requir'd to assent to such as the Generality thought the truest: but here the Natur of the Thing requires that if he hold Communion, he must join in the Prayers and other Service. I must divide the Difficulties that may arise upon this, into two Cases.

One Man does not apprehend any Thing sinful, unlawful, or erroneous, in any of the Prayers or Service: but yet he likes some other Ceremonies, Orders, and Ways of Worship that are used in some other Nations or Churches, better than he does those of his own. And therefore he holds it lawful, and useful for spiritual Advancement; to gather together a Number of Men of a like Taste and Relish with

with himself, and make a separat Body by themselves.

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This Man has but a very little and slight Sense of the Sin of Schism: scandalously little. Either he has not read what the Scriptur says of it: or else Dulness or Prejudice has taken off the Edge of his Apprehension, so as that he felt nothing at the Reading of those earnest and moving Passages of our Savior and the Apostles on that Subject. To confess the Orders and Service of a Church to be lawful, and to join in 'em perhaps some Times; and yet to foment the Mischief of Schism, under which all *Christendom*, especially the Protestant Religion, and particularly the State of Religion in *England* and *Holland*, does now groan and gasp! and all this for a Gust, a Flavor, a Humor, an itching Ear pleas'd with this or that Mode of Preaching, Praying, &c. To divide the Body of Christ out of mere Wantonness! What Answer will such an one make at the last Day for having made so light of that on which the Word of God has laid such a Stress? *St. Paul* (4) intreats by *the Consolation in Christ*, by *the Comfort of Love*, by *the Fellowship of the Spirit*, by *all Bowels and Mercies*, that Christians should be unanimous: Is it then a Matter of small Moment to divide 'em into Sides, Parties, and several Bodies?

That among various Ceremonies, Forms and Methods of ordering Church Matters one should like one best, and one another, is no new or strange Thing at all: but ever was and ever will be. But yet in the Primitive Times, if any Man or Number of Men went about upon that Pretence to set up a separat Party

(4) Phil. 2. 1.



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Party from the Establish'd Church of that Place; it made the Christians tremble to hear of such a Thing. And all the neighboring Churches (for they then all kept a Correspondence and Communion with one another) did use to send Notice of their Abhorrence of such Separatists, and renounce any Communion with 'em during their Schism; and never were at Ease till they had restored Unity. A Practice, which the Pastors of the Church of *Geneva* have lately in a generous and laudable Way imitated in Respect of our *English* Separatists; tho' using in most Things the same Ceremonies that those of *Geneva* do. They had indeed various Usages in the Churches of several Countries: but a Christian of *Africa*, if he came to *Greece*, complied with the *Grecian* Ceremonies, tho' he might like his own better. Or if it happened otherwise that he liked those of *Greece* better than his own; yet upon his Return Home he submitted to the Rules and Customs of his own Church, and did not set up a new Sect out of a Pride that he had learn'd a better Way. If he thought it was better, or if it really were so; yet to make a Separation for it, did ten Times more Mischief than that Amendment could recompense. If there be any Usage or Order in a Church which may be alter'd for the better; for any Man in his Station to do his Endeavor that this may be done by common Vote and Consent, was ever accounted laudable. And where the Corruption is got into the Vitals of Religion, 'tis true that it must be done by a Separation, rather than not at all. But in other Cases, where it is not a Gangrene, he that goes about to cure the Body by tearing it Limb from Limb, is himself the most dangerously infected Member, and ought to

to be first cut off, by *St. Paul's* Direction (5), Year after the Apostles  
 if he had any Skill. As we say of Sermons; That must be an excellent one indeed, in which there is nothing that might have been said better; and yet that must be a sorry one indeed, out of which one may not receive some wholesome Direction: Or of Cities; there is hardly any, whose Laws and Government are not capable of Amendment in some Things; and yet very few so ill govern'd, where an industrious and peaceable Man may not enjoy so much Quiet as to get a Livelyhood by his Diligence: So that must be a pure Church indeed, whose Orders and Rules have no Fault or Imperfection at all: and yet that must be a woful Church, with which a good Christian may not communicate; or under whose Doctrin and Disciplin he may not by a godly Diligence work out his Salvation. Of the first sort there is none in the World. And, as I hope, no Protestant national Church of the later sort: none I mean, with which a good Christian may not communicate, provided they will admit him without requiring his declared Assent to all their Tenets. For Errors they may have, and some of 'em hold some Opinions contrary to what others do. Yet since none of these do overthrow the Foundation of Christian Faith, neither do they mix any Idolatry in their Worship; if any Party of the Members of any of these Churches (the Church of *Denmark* for Example) should in Opposition to the general Body of the Church there, say, "We like  
 "the Ways and Methods of some other Church  
 " (the Church of *England* for Example) better;  
 and should thereupon make a Schism from their  
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(5) Rom. 16. 17.

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Fellow-Members: it would be a sinful one. And it is no other in ours here that do the like. The Church of *England* do declare thus (6) concerning the Rites and Ceremonies which they have order'd; *In these our Doings we condemn no other Nations, nor prescribe any Thing but to our own People only. For we think it convenient, that every Country should use such Ceremonies as they shall think best to the setting forth of God's Honor and Glory, and to the reducing the People to godly Living, &c. and that they should put away other Things which from Time to Time they perceive to be most abused; as in Mens Ordinances it often chances diversly in divers Countries. They say moreover; The keeping or omitting of a Ceremony, in it self consider'd, is but a small Thing; but the wilful and contemptuous Transgression and breaking of a common Order and Discipline is no small Offence before God. This plainly shews that they would not approve of a Schism that should be set up in any other Church, tho' it were for the introducing of those Ways of Worship which they have prescribed. And many of the chiefest Men of other Protestant Churches have made the like Declaration on their Side. This is the ancient Way of a Catholic Correspondence and Unity between the Churches. They do all judge thus; that in those various Ways of managing the public Worship, tho' one may think one the best, and another another; yet that the worst of 'em with Unity is better than the best without it.*

This may be explained by a Comparison taken from temporal Affairs. There are in several Nations several Forms of State Government:

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(6) Preface to the Book of Common-Prayers

ment: One is rul'd by Monarchy, another by a Senate, others by more popular Ways. It is common for Men of Reading, or Travel, or Conversation, to discourse of these Ways. One likes one best, and another another. And so far there is no Harm done: because each of 'em resolves as yet, that which soever he likes best, he will live quietly under that where he is plac'd. But if one of these who lives under either of these Forms do go about to draw a Party after him; and says; "We will live no longer under this Form of Government: We know a better Way, and we will set up that"; he is now turn'd a Traytor, and must be suppress'd by the Policy of any Government whatsoever.

Or in an Army; If the Question be, whether it be best to march this Way against the Enemy, or that Way, or ly still: Each one in the Council is free to give his Opinion. And it may be, that he whose Counsel is not approved by the Majority, gives Advice which is really the better. Yet if the Resolution be once taken; and the General lead out accordingly one Way: if any Officers go about to draw a Part of the Army after 'em, and say; "We will march the other Way: They are now Mutineers and public Enemies, how good soever their Advice were. Because either of the Ways with the Union of the Army is better than the dividing of it. That brings certain Ruin and Confusion.

The Scriptur and Experience too do shew, that the Case is the same in Reference to a Church. Only as in the Army, if the Soldiers do understand by any plain and certain Discovery that the General Officers are Traytors, and have agreed to betray their Prince's Cause; a Revolt from them is in such Case Fidelity  
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to their Sovereign: So if a Church do bring into their Worship plain Idolatry, or into their Doctrins such Positions as destroy the Foundation of Christian Faith or Godliness; this is Treason against our chief Lord, and justifies Separation from such a Church. But in the Case now put, of a Man that allows the establish'd Way of Worship to be lawful, but pretends to set up a better, and thinks a Separation justifiable on that Account: such a Man is so far from being fit to be a Leader or Amender of a Church, that he needs a Catechism to teach him the first Christian Principles of Humility and Modesty. Modesty would teach him to think, that if he judge one Way the best, another as wise as he will be for another Way, and a third Party for another, &c. But God is a God of Order, and not of such Confusions.

What I quoted just now of the Declaration of the Church of *England* in Respect to foreign Churches, does visibly shew the Mistake of those that argue, that we cannot count those among us that separate Schismatics; but that we shall by so doing condemn those Foreign Protestant Churches, which differ from us in some of the same Ceremonies as the Dissenters at home do, of Schism likewise. God forbid we should do that. It is not the Use or Disuse of this or that Ceremony, Order, &c. but it is the renouncing of Communion for such Use or Disuse, that constitutes a Schismatic. Now we and the Foreign Protestant Churches do not do that. For one of us, whom Providence should bring into their Nation, would communicate with them, tho' their Ceremonies and Ways of Worship are not altogether the same as ours: And they, when they come hither, do the same with us. And such Churches, or such Christians, that are  
always

always ready to do so, have always a Communion one with another in Heart, in Purpose, in Inclination and Acknowledgment; which they are ready to bring into Act by corporal Presence and Joining, when Providence makes it practicable. And this is, or ought to be, the Temper between all Churches that differ not in Essentials. Now this is the only Sense in which that Saying is true; *That there is no Schism, where the Differences are not in the Fundamentals of Religion,* i. e. Any two Churches of different Nations are always supposed to be in Communion; and not in a Schism, so long as they differ not in Fundamentals: because it is supposed that the Members of one of these would (in Case they were to travel into the other Nation) for Unity's Sake communicate with those other.

But when People of the same Place, City, Parish, &c. do *actually* separat; and renounce Communion with the Church when they are on the Spot: this Plea cannot be used in their Case. To say; these are not *Schismatics*, because they differ not in Fundamentals; is to put a new meaning on the Word; *Schism*. They are not *Heretics* indeed (as the Church-Use has now distinguish'd the Use of those Words). But the *Donatists*, *Novatians*, &c. have been always counted *Schismatics*; tho' they differ'd not in Essentials.

Those that differ from any true Church in Essentials, and do separat or are excommunicated for such Difference; are in Respect of their Opinions, more faulty than those we have been speaking of. But those that separat for smaller Matters; are, in Respect of the mere Schism or Separation, (if we could abstract that from the Fault of the Opinion)

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the more faulty of the two. For the smaller Difference is, the greater Fault and Shame it is to make a Breach for it: and tho' the other be, in the main, the greater Sin; yet these are more plainly Self-condemned.

§. 4. The other Difficulty that I propos'd to speak of, is something greater. There is a Man that thinks the Church holds some Errors: not fundamental ones indeed; but she has brought these Errors into her public Service, in which he should join. He would not renounce a Church, for holding those Errors in disputable Points: but he cannot join in Prayers to God which are grounded on, and do suppose a Doctrin which he judges to be a false or mistaken one.

But, 1. The Man acknowledges that this is not in Matters fundamental.

2. He acknowledges that the main Body of the Prayers and Service is such as all Christians agree to be necessary, and in which he may join with his Mouth and Understanding also.

Suppose then that there be some particular Collects or Prayers, or Clauses of Prayers, which he thinks to contain a Mistake in 'em. May he not join with his Brethren in the main, and omit the adding of his *Amen* to those particular Clauses? Especially since no Man requires of him to declare his Approbation of the whole and every Part? Is not this more Christian-like, than to fly to that dreadful Extremity of Separation and total Disowning, for a disputable Point, which may possibly be his own Mistake? And if the Truth of the Matter be, that it is his own Mistake; Is there any likelier Way to come to the Knowledge of the Truth, than by continuing  
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in the Body of the Church, where the Mem- Year af-  
bers, the faithful Christians, do by mutual ter the A-  
Edification help one another? Is not this the postles  
very Counsel of St. Paul, *Phil.* 3. 15, 16. *And  
if in any thing ye be otherwise minded, God shall  
reveal even this unto you. Nevertheless, [or,  
however that be] whereto we have already at-  
tained, let us walk by the same Rule, let us  
mind the same thing.* This last Clause, [let us  
mind the same thing] is in the Sense of the  
Original, *let us be unanimous:* as Bishop *Scil-  
lingfleet* has shewn (7); and he has at the  
same Place largely shewn, that this Advice of  
the Apostle is intended for this very Purpose  
to which I have here applied it: namely,  
that such a Man as we are here speaking of,  
should continue in Communion, and conform  
to all that he can, and omit the saying *Amen*  
to what he judges a Mistake. He confirms  
this Interpretation with so good Reasons; and  
his Antagonist there opposes it with so weak  
ones, that it tempts one to think that he  
would not have oppos'd it at all, had it not  
been for Fear that by this Course the World  
would in a short Time have lost the Happi-  
ness of having any separat Sects. If the Read-  
er will please to consult that Book, he will  
have no farther need of any Arguments against  
Separation.

Some learned Protestants (*Melancthon, Calvin,  
Bucer, Pet. Martyr,* and others of the first Re-  
formers) have thought that in Cases of Necessi-  
ty a Protestant might join even in Popish  
Assemblies in those Prayers that are found;  
provided he did, to avoid Scandal, protest  
I i 2 against

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(7) Unreasonableness of Separation, *Pt.* 2. *Sect.* 19.



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against their superstitious ones. But I will not meddle with that.

The Argument that some make for Separation, because there are many ill Men in the Church, has been so plainly answer'd, that nothing more need be said. Whoever reads St. Paul's Epistles will find there were many scandalous Members in all those Churches, especially at *Corinth*, 1 *Cor.* 5. 2 *Cor.* 12. 20, 21. and yet he will find that St. Paul, so far from advising the purer sort to separat from the Church, does earnestly forbid any such Practice, 1 *Cor.* 1. 10, *it.* 11. 18, &c.

§. 5. 4. When a Lawgiver names some particular Exceptions of Cases in which the Law shall not oblige; that Law binds the stronger in all other Cases not excepted. For 'tis supposed if there had been any more, he would have named them too. The Scriptur gives a very positive Law against Separations. It excepts some Cases. It is a very presumptuous thing to add any more to 'em of our own Heads. They are these.

1. If a Church do practise Idolatry. St. Paul warning the *Corinthians* of the heathen Idolaters, says; *Come out from among them, and be ye separat*, 2 *Cor.* 6. 17. Tho' the Popish Idolatry be not so rank as that of those Heathens, yet the general Words do seem to reach their Case. But the ignorant People among many Sects of Separatists, finding here the Word, *Separat*, do indiscriminately apply it to justify Separation from Christians against whom they do not in the least pretend any Accusation of Idolatry.

2. If a Church teach Doctrines encouraging any Wickedness, as Fornication, &c. or destructive of the Fundamentals of the Christian Faith.

Faith. St. Paul mentions some, *2 Tim. 2. 18.* Year af-  
 that denied the Resurrection and Judgment to ter the A-  
 come. He commands *Timothy to shun 'em: for* postles  
*their Word will eat as a Canker.*

3. The Scriptur commands that no Sin be  
 committed to obtain any Purpose never so  
 good. Therefore a Church that will not ad-  
 mit us without our doing a Thing that is  
 wicked, or declaring and subscribing something  
 that is false, does thereby thrust us out of her  
 Communion. And the Guilt of the Sin of Sepa-  
 ration lies at her Door.

4. If a Church be Schismatical, *i. e.* in a  
 State of unjustifiable Division or Separation  
 from another Church from which she has with-  
 drawn her self. St. Paul commands, *Rom. 16.*  
*17. Mark those that cause Divisions and Offenc-*  
*ces contrary to the Doctrin you have learned, and*  
*avoid 'em.*

These Exceptions I find in Scriptur: and I  
 know of no more that reach to Churches (par-  
 ticular Men that live wickedly are to be avoid-  
 ed in our Conversation, we know). He that  
 separat from any Church upon any Ground  
 except one of these four, ought to take heed  
 and be well assur'd that he find his Ground in the  
 Scriptur.

§. 6. Now to apply what has been said to the  
 Pædobaptists and Antipædobaptists; the main  
 Inquiry is, whether the Point in Debate between  
 them be a fundamental Article of the Chri-  
 stian Faith. For if it be; they must indeed  
 separat in their Communion: and the Guilt  
 will lie on those that are in the Error. But  
 if it be not; there is not by the Rules laid  
 down any sufficient Reason for their separating  
 or renouncing one another, which Party soever  
 be in the wrong.

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Now I think, that such a Question about the Age or Time of one's receiving Baptism does not look like a Fundamental, nor is so reputed in the general Sense of Christians. And there are these Reasons why it should not be so accounted.

1. It is a general Rule, that all fundamental Points are in Scriptur so plainly and clearly deliver'd, that any Man of tolerable Sincerity cannot but perceive the Meaning of the Holy Writers to be, that we should believe 'em. Now Baptism it self, *viz.* that all that enter into Christ's Church should be baptized, is indeed plainly deliver'd in Scriptur: so that we are amaz'd at the *Quakers* and *Socinians*; the one for refusing it, the other for counting it indifferent. But at what Age the Children of Christians should be baptiz'd; whether in Infancy, or to stay till the Age of Reason; is not so clearly deliver'd, but that it admits of a Dispute that has considerable Perplexities in it: I mean with those that know not the History of the Scriptur Times, nor the Force of some of the original Words in Scriptur used. There is, as I have said, no plain Example or Instance of the Baptism of any one that had been born of Christian Parents set down at all either as receiv'd by him at full Age, or received in Infancy: which would have been the fittest Guide to us. None I mean, that is plain to vulgar Readers of the *English* Translation of Scriptur: for that many of the Fathers did take *1 Cor. 7. 14.* for a plain Instance, I shew'd before. And for the Commission, *Matt. 28. 19.* and our Savior's Rule, *John 3. 5.* whether they are to be understood to include Infants and all, or only adult Persons, is not so plain to the said Readers as fundamental Points use to be.

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God's Providence does not suffer, that the understanding of those Places, upon the Belief of which the Salvation of all, even the meanest and most ignorant Christian does depend, (and such are the Fundamental Articles) should require much Skill, Learning, or Sagacity: but only an honest Purpose and Desire to learn. This therefore being not set down so very plain, does not seem by Scriptur to be such a Fundamental, as that we should be bound to renounce Communion with every one that is not of the same Opinion as we are about it.

The Epistle to the *Hebrews*, Ch. 6. v. 1, 2. speaking of some Things which are styled *Principles of the Oracles of God*, reckons amongst 'em the *Doctrin of Baptisms*, and of *laying on of Hands*. Now whether the Meaning of that Place be to reckon both these, as Things that must be believed and owned by all that shall be saved; is a Question that needs not be discuss'd here. For suppose it be; both these Parties do own Baptism: They differ only about the Time or Manner of receiving it.

2. The antient and Primitive Christians for certain did not reckon this Point among the fundamental ones. For they drew up short Draughts and Summaries of the Faith, which we call *Creeds*: and into these they put all those Articles which they thought fundamental or absolutely necessary. Now tho' some Churches had their Creeds a little larger than others; and some Councils or Meetings of Christians did overdo, in putting some Opinions, which they valued more than need was, into their Creeds; yet there never was any Creed at all that had this Article in it; either *that Infants are to be baptiz'd*: or, *that only adult Persons are to be baptiz'd*.

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Baptism it self does indeed make an Article in several old Creeds. As for Example, in the *Constantinopolitan*, which is now received in all Christendom; *I acknowledge one Baptism for the Remission of Sins.* But the Determination of the Age or Manner of receiving it, was never thought fit to make an Article of Faith.

3. As for particular Men among the Antients, there is, I know, none whom the Antipædo-  
100. baptists would so willingly hear speak as *Tertullian*. He has a Book about Baptism, wherein he first speaks of the Matter, Water: and of the Form of Baptism: and then says, c. 10. *Having now discours'd of all Things that make up the Religion [or, Essence] of Baptism, I will proceed to speak de quæstiunculis quibusdam, of some Questions of small Moment, and 'tis among those quæstiuncule that he treats concerning the Age of receiving it. I recited the Place at large, Pt. 1. CH. IV. §. 2, &c.*

100. 4. As *Tertullian* thought it a Question of lesser Moment, so it seems the Christians of that Time and Place did not reckon it of so great Moment as to break Communion. For when he express'd his Opinion to be against the Practice then used of baptizing Infants ordinarily; yet we do not find that he was excommunicated for that: Nor at all, till he excommunicated himself by running away to the Sect of the *Montanists*, who were indeed for their impious Opinions abhorred of all Christians. Whereas if it had been accounted a fundamental Article of Faith, he could not have been born with in his Denial of it.

230. 5. This is yet more clear in the Case of *Gregory the Father of Gregory Nazianzen*, who, if I computed right at *Pt. 1. CH. XI. §. 6.* of which I do since that Time make a Question for the  
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the Reasons given in this third Edition, had some Children born to him after he was in Priest's Orders, whom he brought up with him in the House without baptizing 'em: And they were not baptiz'd till their adult Age. And yet the Man continued Priest, and afterward Bishop of that Place till he died, being nigh 100 Years old. This for the Sense of the antient Church.

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6. For the Sense of modern Christians: First the Papists of late Times do confidently maintain, that there is no Proof at all (direct or consequential) from the Scriptur for Infant Baptism. And 'tis certain, they do not pretend that there is any *against* it; for their Church as well as others does practise it: And tho' their Church can do well enough *without* Scriptur; yet they would not have her convicted of going *contrary* to it. It follows then from their Pretence, that the Scriptur is silent in the Case. If so, then 'tis a Thing that no Protestant will account a Fundamental: and consequently will not divide for it. So these Mens Arguments will make us all Friends; at least so far as to live in Communion with one another. The worse would be; that if we did so, we should lose all those fine Arguments against Infant Baptism that come out in Popish Books every Year. For they seeing us united, would not count it worth their while; and they would then be as well content that there should be Proof in Scriptur for Infant Baptism, as not.

But to leave these Men; and to speak of such as are serious in Religion: The most serious and judicious, both of the Pædobaptists and Antipædobaptists (even those of 'em that have been most engag'd against each other in Polemical Writings, which do commonly abate Peoples

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Peoples Charity) do agree that this Difference is not in the Essentials of Religion. Here I might (if I had not been too long already) recite the Words of Bishop *Taylor*, Dr. *Hammond*, Mr. *Baxter*, Mr. *Wills*, &c. on the one Side; and of Mr. *Tombs*, Mr. *Stennet*, &c. on the other. Mr. *Stennet* in a Book come out but the other Day (8) says; *If he [Mr. Ruffen] mean ——— that they [the Antipædobaptists] can't look upon those that differ from them, as Christians ——— the contrary is well known.* And again, *Enough has been said before, to take off the second Re-proach which he [Mr. Ruffen] casts on them [the Antipædobaptists], viz. that they judge none of the true Church, but those of their own Way.* But 'tis better to quote their *Confessions*. In the first Year of King *William*, one Party of the Antipædobaptists [the Particular Men] publish'd a *Confession of their Faith*: They say, it is the same for Substance with that publish'd 1643. in the Name of *seven Churches*, which I suppose were the first in *England*. Now they say, they are concern'd for *above a hundred*. They declare in the Preface the Design both of that and this *Confession* to be, *to manifest their Consent with both [the Presbyterians and Independents] in all the fundamental Articles of the Christian Religion*: And, as they add afterwards, with other Protestants. 'Tis plain then, that they count not the Age or Manner of receiving Baptism to be a Fundamental.

And here, forasmuch as this *Confession* is but lately come to my Hands, I ought to do that Justice to these Men, as to own that they do for their Part disclaim several of those Opini-  
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(8) Answ. to Mr. *Ruffen*, CH. II. p. 23. CH. X. p. 215.

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 ons which I at *CH. VIII. §. 6.* said were held Year af-  
 by some of the *English Antipædobaptists.* For ter the A-  
 besides that they give a full and Catholic Con- postles  
 fession of the Doctrin of the Holy Trinity, *c. 2.*  
 of Christ's Divinity and Consubstantiality, *c. 8.*  
 and of his Satisfaction, *c. 8. it. 11.* the Denial  
 of which Points is not charged on any Church  
 of Antipædobaptists: but only that some *Soci-*  
*nians* intrude among 'em, as they do every  
 where. Besides these, they own Original Sin,  
*c. 6.* Oaths impos'd by Authority to be lawful,  
*c. 23.* The Lord's Day to be the Day for  
 Christian Worship, and the *Saturday* Sabbath to  
 be abolish'd, *c. 22.* That every Church has  
 from Christ all that Power that is needful for  
 carrying on Order in Worship and Disciplin,  
*c. 26.* All Bishops or Elders, and Deacons to  
 be ordain'd by Imposition of Hands, *ibid.* All  
 Pastors to have a comfortable Supply from the  
 Church, so as they need not be entangled in  
 secular Affairs; but may live of the Gospel,  
 the People communicating to them of all their  
 good Things, *ibid.* No Member of a Church  
 ought to separat upon Account of any Offence  
 [or Scandal] taken at any of their Fellow-  
 Members, but to wait upon Christ in the far-  
 ther proceeding of the Church, *ibid.* In the  
 Lord's Supper the Minister to give the Bread  
 and Wine to the Communicants, *c. 30.* So  
 it seems these do not hand it about among  
 themselves, as is said of some of 'em. Worthy  
 Receivers do by Faith *really and indeed,* yet  
 not carnally and corporeally, but spiritually,  
 receive and feed upon Christ crucified, *ibid.*  
 Souls do not die nor sleep: But at a Man's  
 Death are either received into Glory, or cast  
 into Hell, reserved to the Judgment, *c. 31.*  
 Civil Magistrates to be obey'd for Conscience  
 sake,





to capacitate one for Orders in that Church: One would think then it should not be difficult to accommodate the Matter of Lay-Communion. Year after the Apostles

What has been said does in the whole amount to this; that putting the Case that there were in any Nation a Number of Believers in Christ, who were not yet settled in any Form of Church-Government, and did besides differ in some Opinions not Fundamental; and among the rest, in this Question about Infants Baptism; their Duty would be to unite themselves into one Body or Church, and not separat into Parties and several Churches for that Difference. And if it be asked, how they should regulate the Order for public Worship in which they were all to join; and particularly whether they should allow an Infant brought by his Parents to the Church for Baptism, to be there baptiz'd, or not allow it: There is no other Way in such a Case, than after a Debate by Arguments from Scriptur and Reason, to suffer themselves to be all determin'd by the major Vote; which major Vote must fix the Rules of the National Church there to be settled: and the minor Part, who would have had some Things to have been otherwise order'd, must comply with their Brethren, and join in all Things that they can, and by no Means make a Division. If the Premises that have been laid down, be look'd upon as proved; they do certainly inforce this Conclusion.

For any Man to say in this Case; the Scriptur, and not the major Vote, should determine: is frivolous. Because 'tis presuppos'd in the Case, that 'tis about the Meaning of Scriptur, and about the Force of the Consequences and Arguments drawn from Scriptur, that they differ:

Year af- differ: and the Scriptur it self directs 'em, that  
 ter the A- in such Differences not Fundamental, they should  
 postles close and unite as well as they can, and bear with  
 one another.

Now to apply this to the State of Religion as it is now, when there are in all Places National Churches already settled, one ought, in order to lay the Balance even between the Pædobaptists and Antipædobaptists, to suppose or imagin a thing that is not, but may easily be suppos'd: and that is, that there were some National Church or Churches of Antipædobaptists in the World. And suppose a Number of Christians, Pædobaptists in their Opinion, were by Providence brought to live in one of those Places. The Question is, whether they ought to join in Communion with the Church of Antipædobaptists there establish'd, or make a separat Body renouncing Communion with them. I think it follows from the Rules of Scriptur that have been laid down, that they ought to join with 'em. And I do not stick to declare, that if I were one of those new-Comers, I would do it for one. So that I advise 'em to nothing in Respect to their joining the Church here, but what I think were to be done by us if we were in their Case. I mean, I would do thus; since my Opinion is, that Infants ought to be baptiz'd, I would get my own Children baptiz'd by all Means possible: But when that were done, I would nevertheless continue to join in public Prayers, Hearing, receiving the Communion, &c. with them, if they would admit me: If they rejected me for my Opinion, the Guilt of that Breach would lie on them, and not on me. 'Tis not an Antipædobaptist or other Dissenter in Opinion that one is not to  
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communicate with: 'Tis a Schismatic or Divider that one is not to communicate with. And whereas some Pædobaptist will say to me; *You seem by this putting of the Case to make the Opinions equal: theirs to be as good as ours: and that 'tis only by the Majority that we have the Advantage.* I do not so: but this I say; the Difference is not in Fundamentals. And therefore, if thou be strong, and they be weak; thou wise, and they foolish; thy Opinion rational, theirs silly; yet we are still (or ought to be for all the Difference of Opinions) Members of the same Body, and Brethren. Men are not to be cut off for mistaken Opinions that are consistent with true Faith. Indeed if they will cut off themselves, there is no Help for that. When a Church loses its Members, and they part from her as Limbs from a Body; there is that to be said which is commonly said of a Husband and Wife parting: There is certainly a great Fault somewhere; but there is commonly some Fault on both Sides.

Year after the Apostles

Now to lay aside Supposals, and to take the State of Religion as it is now in the World; there is no National Church in the World (and I think never was) but what are Pædobaptists. All that are of the other Way, are such as have within the two last Centuries made a Separation from the Establish'd Churches of the Places where they are: as I made appear *CH. VIII.* The Reasons that I have laid down from Scriptur, do require that they should return to Unity of Communion in those Things wherein all Christians are agreed: and they may continue to argue in a Charitable Way about the Opinion till one Side be satisfied, or till they are weary. This is the best Way to save their Souls, whatever become of the Opinion.

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To speak of the Case of *England* in particular. They know themselves, that it is a Separation begun less than 80 Years ago; as I shew at *CH. VIII. §. 6.* Any very antient Man may remember when there was no *Englishmen*, or at least no Society or Church of 'em, of that Perswasion. They at first held the Opinion without separating for it. Their eldest separat Churches are not yet of the Age of a Man, *viz.* 70 Years. I mean the antient Men or Men of Reading among 'em know this; the young and vulgar, who will talk right or wrong for a Side, do not own it: but the others own it, and they justifie it by pleading that their Opinion is the truest: which Plea, supposing it to be true, will not in a Conscience that is guided by God's Word, justifie a Separation.

Let us put the Case of an Antipædobaptist, or other Dissenter, that is never so sure that he is in the Right; and that the Churches Opinion is absurd, inconvenient, foolish, &c. or any Thing that he pleases to call it, so he do not call it Idolatry, or Heresie, or *an Error which does evert the Foundation.* And yet by their own Principles before laid down, Communion is to be continued. Let the Man, when he is got into one of his severest Fits of judging his Brethren of the Church, imagin them speaking to him, in the Words of *St. Paul* to some Christians at *Corinth* (9), who were the most conceited and dividing People that he ever had to do with; *You are full, you are Rich. We are Fools for Christ's Sake, but you are wise in Christ: We are weak, but you are strong: You are honorable, but we are despised.* Yet receive us; do  
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(9) 1 Cor. 4. 8, 10. 2 Cor. 7. 2. it. 11. 17.

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not reject our Communion in all Things, because we Err in some Things. Or, as he says in another Place; *If you think me a Fool, yet as a Fool receive me.* Year after the Apostles

There are several good Books written purposely on this Subject, and directed to the Antipædobaptists, to shew, that supposing their Opinion to be true, yet their Schism is a Sin: and that, by Men of both the Opinions. One that is not rash, but desires to guide his Conscience warily, will at least read and weigh what they say. Mr. Tombs, who continued an Antipædobaptist to his dying Day, yet as I am told (10), wrote against Separation for it; and for Communion with the Parish Churches. I have not seen that Book: But this I have seen (11), that where he defends his Opinion against *Marshal*, and where *Marshal* had said; *The Teachers of this Opinion, wherever they prevail, take their Profelyts wholly off from the Ministry of the Word, Sacraments, and all other Acts of Christian Communion both public and privat, with any but those of their own Opinion.* To this Tombs answers; *This is indeed a wicked Practice, justly to be abhorred. The making of Sects upon Difference of Opinions, reviling, separating from their Teachers and Brethren otherwise Fairful, because there is not the same Opinion in disputable Points; or in clear Truths not Fundamental; is a Thing too frequent in all sorts of Dogmatists. &c. I look upon it as one of the greatest Plagues of Christianity. You shall have me join with you in shewing my Detestation of it. Yet nevertheless, it is to be consider'd that this is not the Evil of Anti-*  
K k *pedobaptism*

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(10) Baxter, Reply to Hutchinson, p. 30. (11) Tombs against Marshal, p. 31.

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pædobaptism (you confess some are otherwise mind-  
ed); and therefore must be charged on the Persons,  
not on the Assertion it self. And about this, what  
they hold, you may have now the best Satisfaction  
from the Confession of Faith in the Name of Seven  
Churches of 'em, Art. 33. &c. And accordingly  
Mr. Tombs himself continued in Communion with  
the Church till he died.

Mr. Baxter, who has wrote more Books than  
any Man in England against the Opinion, yet  
has also wrote more against the dividing for  
it; and has made many Wishes and Proposals  
for Accommodations of both Sides joining in  
public Communion; especially, in his latter  
Books, and in the History of his own Life, when  
he had liv'd to see the great Mischief that  
Schisms do to Religion and all Piety. I will  
mention only one Passage, wherein he recom-  
mends to the Antipædobaptists two Books useful  
to give 'em a true State of the Question about  
the Unlawfulness of Separation. *I am*, says he  
(12), *not half so zealous to turn Men from the*  
*Opinion of Anabaptistry, as I am to perswade both*  
*them and others, that it is a Duty to live together*  
*with mutual Forbearance, in Love and Church-Com-*  
*munion, notwithstanding such Differences: For*  
*which they may see more Reasons given, by one*  
*that was once of their Mind and Way (Mr. Wil-*  
*liam Allen in his Retraction of Separation, and*  
*his Perswasive to Unity), than any of 'em can*  
*soundly resel, tho' they may too easily reject 'em.*  
But then Mr. Baxter gives there a Marginal  
Note, telling the Antipædobaptists; *Satan will*  
*not consent that you should soberly read the Books.*  
Now methinks an Antipædobaptist that is de-  
firous

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(12) Confutation of Forgeries of H. D. Sect. 2. c. 2. §. 13.

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firmous to direct his Conscience aright in so weighty a Matter as Separation is, should not let Satan have his Will altogether; but should read such Books, and consider 'em at least, whether Satan will consent or not. Year after the Apostles

This I will own, in Excuse of the *English Antipædobaptists* that do so divide; that it is a harder Thing to repent of the Sin of Schism in *England*, than 'tis any where else. For the Commonness of any Sin does in unthinking Minds wonderfully abate the Sense of the Guilt of it. When Drunkenness is grown common and almost universal, one can hardly persuade an ordinary Man that it is a Thing that will bring Damnation on his Soul; because he sees almost all the Neighborhood, and among them such a Gentleman, or such a Lord, as much concern'd in that as he. So an Antipædobaptist thinks; whatever my Opinion be, the Separation for it can be no great Fault: for the Presbyterians, and other Parties of Men, do that as well as we; and for lesser Differences. If we have taken those Opinions which our Ancestors held without separating, and have made a separat Religion out of 'em; 'tis but what the others did before us: for they have taken the Opinions which the old *Puritans* had; and (tho' the *Puritans* could not) yet they have made good *Brownism* out of 'em. And so for other Parties. Now this Humor of dividing is no where in the World so common, as it is in *England* (at least if we except the Country I spoke of before), nor the Sin of Schism so little feared, I mean of late Years. The Reason why the same Texts of Scriptur against Schism, Division, Heresie, &c. being read by the Protestants of other Nations, do create in their Minds a Horror of it, but



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being read by an *Englishman*, do lose their Force with him, is; because he has been born and bred in a Nation where that is so common, and practis'd by Men that are in other Things so conscientious; that he is apt to put any forced Sense on the Words, rather than think that that Text of *St. Paul*, for Example, *Rom.* 16. 17. is to be taken as the Words found: tho' there is (if a Man desire plain Scriptur) not a plainer Text in the whole Bible. But the Word of God and his Law is not like human Laws, that it should lose its Edge by the Multitude of Offenders. God will not punish any Sin less, I doubt he will punish it more, for having been a common or reigning one.

Some People also have so slightly consider'd the Commands of God, that they think nothing to be a Sin, but what they see punished by the secular Laws. And so because some Christian Nations (whereof *England* does of late make one) have thought fit to grant an Impunity to Schismatics for some Reasons of State, and to tolerate (tho' not approve of) Churches or Societies renouncing Communion with the establish'd Church of the Place; they are apt to think that God also does allow of the same: which will be true when God in his Judgment will think fit to regulate himself by *Statute* Laws. But till that be, 'tis certain by God's Word that either such a Church, or else those that renounce her Communion, are Schismatics: either the one for giving just Causes to the others to separat from her; or elie the others for separating without just Cause. 'Tis certain also, that if any Church should so far comply with Reasons of State or human Laws, as to teach, that Schism (however by them tolerated) is not Sin before God; this very Doctrin

Strin would indeed be a good Reason for any pious Christian to separat from her: and that, by the second of the Exceptions I gave just now. So gross is that Notion, to think that Separation is therefore no Sin, because Mens Laws may at sometimes forbear to inflict any temporal Punishment on it. But yet as gross as it is, it is made to serve for an Excuse to the Consciences of many ignorant People. Partly this Reason, and partly the Commonness of the Sin, have made, that many Mens Consciences do no longer accuse 'em for it.

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§. 7. There may need a few Words also concerning the Difficulties that do ly in the Way of the Union that I have here propos'd. They are none of 'em such, but what may, I hope, be accommodated, if the Parties be willing. Some of 'em do lie on the Part of the Church in receiving these Men: and some on the Part of the Men themselves, in Respect of their Acceptance of the Communion offer'd them. I know of but two on each Part.

On the Churches Part, one concerns the Bishop of the Diocese chiefly: the other, both the Bishop, and the Curat of the Parish. In speaking of which, the Natur of the Thing shews, that I ought to submit what I shall say, to the Judgment of the Parties concern'd: which I declare that I do unfeignedly. I will only propose the Question, leaving the Determination to them.

1. Suppose a Man do understand the Natur and Necessity of the Church-Union I have been speaking of; and accordingly does desire to continue, or to be, a Member of the establish'd Church: but he is not satisfied of the Validity or Sufficiency of Baptism given in Infancy, or of Baptism given by sprinkling or pouring of

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Water on the Face only; and therefore he (tho' perhaps baptiz'd in Infancy, yet) has procur'd himself to be baptiz'd anew: and besides, he cannot consent to bring his Children, if he have any, to be baptiz'd in Infancy; but reserves them to adult Baptism: but in other Things he is willing to be conformable to the Rules of the Church, and very desirous of the Communion thereof. This Man is, I suppose, by the Rules of the Church of *England*, liable to be presented for his Fault, both in receiving a second Baptism (for so it is in the Esteem of the Church) and in not bringing his Children to Baptism.

Here is one Evasion or Salvo, which I scorn to make Use of, as being not satisfactory to my self: *viz.* that the Churches Hands are tyed up from any Proceedings in any Cases of that Natur by the Act of Toleration. Because I think there is nothing more certain than what Bishop *Stillingfleet* says (13), *However the Church in some Respects be incorporated with the Commonwealth in a Christian State, yet its fundamental Rights remain distinct from it: of which this is one of the chief, to receive into and exclude out of the Church such Persons which, according to the Laws of a Christian Society, are fit to be taken in or shut out.* 'Tis temporal Punishments only which those temporal Laws design to set aside. Yet this I will say; that by the general Forbearance that is now used, 'tis ten to one whether such a Person would be presented. But we will put the hardest of the Case, and suppose him to be presented.

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(13) Answer to N. O. §. 15. pag. 267.

He is then warned to appear before the Bishop at the Church-Court. He pleads, we'll suppose, Conscience for his doing or refusing the Things mention'd. The Bishop exhorts him, shews him Reasons, endeavors to satisfy his Doubts, &c. or perhaps deputed some Persons to discourse at Leisure more largely with him concerning them. If by these Means the Man be satisfied; all is well. But we must put the Case that he be not. Here the Question is, whether the Bishop in such a Case will proceed to Excommunication, or use a Forbearance. I suppose he will make a Difference of the Tempers of Men. If such a Man do shew a Temper heady, fierce, obstinate, self-opiniated, and self-willed; and a Contempt of the Court, and of all that is said to him; he is hardly a fit Member of any Church. But if there appear the Signs of a meek, humble, and Christian Disposition, willing to hear and consider the Reasons and Advices given; such a Case deserves the greater Forbearance. And tho' the Law requires three several Admonitions, yet it does not, I suppose, limit the Bishop to three, nor to any Number. And if this Forbearance continue long; the Man's Children will be grown up, so as to be baptiz'd as he would have 'em, upon their own Profession. And if he desire, or be but willing, that it be done by dipping; the Church does comply with his Desire, and does advise it in the first Place. And so the Dispute will be over. If the Bishop do excommunicate him before he be convinc'd, or this be done, then indeed I have no more to say on this Head: there is a full Stop put to the Proposal. But there are these Reasons to think that it would not be so.

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First, I never heard of that done: but several Times the contrary. All the Antipædobaptists, or indeed other Dissenters, that I have known excommunicated, have been excommunicated, not for their Opinion; but their Refusal of Communion, or for Contempt in refusing to come at all to the Bishop's Court.

2. Mr. Tombs (and several others, but I will name only him, because his Case is generally known) continued in Communion in the Church of *Salisbury* all the latter Part of his Life. And tho' he during that Time own'd his Opinion, and wrote for it, yet because he desir'd to make no Schism of it, he was not disturbed in his communicating with the Church. Nor has that Church ever been blam'd for receiving him. On the contrary, the Example has been spoken of with Commendation in a very public Way. This shews it to be practicable; and if it be so; then;

3dly, There is a great and manifest Advantage in it. For it prevents a Schism, which otherwise would be. The Man continuing in Communion, all Things will tend to an Accommodation: whereas in a Separation every Thing is aggravated to the widening of the Gaps, as we see by constant and woful Experience. A separat Party never thinks it self far enough off from any Terms of Reconciliation.

The second Difficulty, which concerns, as I said, both the Bishop and the Curate is this. By the Order of the Church of *England*, no Person is to be admitted to partake of the Holy Communion till he be confirm'd, or be ready and desirous to be confirm'd. And a Qualification requir'd of every Person before he be brought to the Bishop to be confirm'd

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is, that he have learned (or, as 'tis express in <sup>Year af-</sup> another Place, can answer to the Questions of <sup>ter the A-</sup> the Catechism. Now in that Catechism there <sup>postles</sup> happens to be a Mention of Infants being baptized. For after that it has declared that Baptism is to be given upon a Covenant of Faith and Repentance; it follows; Qu. *Why then are Infants baptized, when by Reason of their tender Age they cannot perform them?* Answ. *Because they promise them both by their Sureties: which Promise, when they come to Age themselves are bound to perform.* Now this Man being ask'd that Question would not make that Answer: but would say; they ought not to be baptiz'd till they can perform 'em.

But besides, that one may answer here (much as in the other Case) that the Practice is such, that not half the People that come to the Communion are ask'd whether they have been confirmed, or not: and also, that those who come to be confirmed when they are of the Age of a Man, are seldom or never examin'd in the Questions of the Catechism, provided it does by other Ways sufficiently appear that they do understand the Principles of Religion: the Questions as they stand in the Catechism, being seldom put but only to Children. Besides this, I say, it appears to have been the Meaning of the Church in that Question and Answer, not to determin this Point; whether Infants are to be baptiz'd (of which no *Englishman* at that Time made any doubt): but to determin this Point; whether Infants that are baptized, are baptized upon any other Covenant than that upon which grown Persons are baptiz'd, *viz.* of Repentance and Faith. And it determines that they are not baptiz'd on any other, but the very same: only with this Difference; that

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that an adult Person is baptiz'd into the Hopes of the Kingdom of Heaven, inasmuch as he *does* believe; and an Infant is baptized into the same, on Condition that he do, *when he comes to Age*, believe. And this indeed is a Principle very necessary to be rightly understood. For a Mistake herein might hinder those who are baptiz'd in Infancy from understanding the Obligation that lies on 'em to Faith and Obedience, as ever they hope to partake of the Kingdom of Heaven: to prevent which Mistake this Clause of the Catechism seems to have been inserted. So that tho' the Church do here suppose indeed, or take it for granted, that Infants are generally baptiz'd; yet that is not the Thing which she here defines: not *that* they are to be baptized; but *why* (or upon what Terms) they are baptized. And this is a Thing which an Antipædobaptist holds as firmly as any Man; that all Baptism is to be upon this Covenant. And he will readily assent to this; that supposing or taking it for granted that Infants were to be baptized, they must be understood to be baptiz'd on that Covenant, *viz.* to enjoy the Kingdom of Heaven, on Condition they do, when they come to Age, perform the Duties of Faith and Repentance.

And since this is the Substance of what the Catechism there teaches, and the Catechism was intended, not to determin Controversies, but to teach fundamental Principles; I believe that the Bishops would not refuse to confirm such a Person (otherwise sound in the Faith and conformable, and desirous of Communion) tho' he should own his Sense in his Answer to that Question of the Catechism. This I think: but I end this Discourse wherein the Authority of the  
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the Church is concerned, as I began it; viz. Year after the Apostles  
 in submitting my Opinion to theirs, and leaving it to themselves to determine whether they  
 would or not, or ought or not.

There are on the Antipædobaptist's Part concerning his Acceptance of Communion with the Church these two Difficulties.

Some Men of that Way do think, that all such as have no other Baptism but what was given in Infancy and by Affusion, are no Christians; and that to bid 'em hold Communion with such, is as much as to bid 'em hold it with Heathens. I hope there are not many such: And Mr. Stennet reckons it a Slander on the Antipædobaptists. And I am glad to find by his Discourse that he is cordial in the Abhorrence of so unchristian a Notion. And therefore I shall say the less of it; having a natural Antipathy against talking with any one whose Principles are so desperately uncharitable, as this comes to. What I said before, §. 6. to shew that this Difference about the Age or Manner of receiving Baptism is not a fundamental one, is applicable here. Let a Man that has this Thought first read that, and then let him consider farther, what becomes of the Church of Christ at this Rate. Will he think that Christ has had no Church but in those few Times and Places where this Opinion has prevail'd? *Peter of Clugny* (whom I quoted *Pt. 2. CH. VII. §. 5.*) urges the *Petrobrusians* with this dreadful Consequence 500 or 600 Years ago, that if Infant Baptism be not valid; there had been never a Christian in *Europ* for 300 or 500 Years before: and that Account is much increased now.

The Sophisters in Logic have a Way by which, if a Man do hold any the least Error in



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in Philosophy, they will by a long Train of Consequences prove that he denies the first Maxims of common Sense. And some would bring that spiteful Art into Religion; whereby they will prove him that is mistaken in any the least Point, to be that Antichrist who denies the Father and the Son. If the Pædobaptist be mistaken, or the Antipædobaptist be mistaken; yet let 'em not make Heathens of one another. The Denial of the Quakers to be Christians, those of 'em I mean that do believe the Scripturs, has such a dreadful Consequence with it; that one would not willingly admit it, (tho' they do deny all Baptism) because they do however profess that which is the chief Thing signified and intended by Baptism. But since both the Parties we speak of now, do own the Religion professed in Baptism, and do also both use the outward Sign; supposing that one Side do err in the Mode of it or the Age of receiving it: To conclude thence that they are no Christians, is the Property of one that knows not what Spirit he is of. To receive Baptism one's self in that Way which one thinks the fittest, is one Case: But it is another, and very different Case, to judge all those to Condemnation that have received it another Way. *Who art thou that judgest another Man's Servant?* I know that the Antipædobaptists do not admit to the Lord's Supper, when it is administred by themselves, any but what are baptized in their Way. But I speak now of one that is to receive it, not to administer it: he that receives it has no Charge on his Soul of the Way in which those that receive with him have been baptiz'd. But I have said more than is, I hope, needful on this Head. The *Confession*, which

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I mention'd before, of 100 Churches of Anti-pædobaptists, does not say, that only the Adult are capable of Baptism: It says but thus; they are the only proper Subjects of this Ordinance (a); and they do not say, that Immersion is necessary to the Administration; but that it is necessary to the due Administration of it. I mention'd at CH V §. 6. how the Christians of *Africa* and of *Europ* differ'd as much as this comes to, in their Opinion of the Validity of Baptism given by Schismatics: insomuch that the *Africans* baptiz'd anew any Schismatic that came over to the Church; The *Europeans* did not so. But yet these Churches did not break Communion for this Difference. A Presbyter or Bishop of *Africa*, coming to *Rome*, join'd in Communion: tho' there must needs be, in the Congregations there, several who, according to his Notion of the due Way of baptizing, were not *duly* baptized; and whom he, if he had had the admitting of 'em into his own Church in *Africa*, would have baptiz'd anew. But he left this Matter to the Conscience and Determination of the Church of the Place. And by this Means of both Parties continuing Communion, the whole Matter in which they differ'd, was at last amicably adjusted, as I there shew. And whereas the Conduct of *Stephen* of *Rome*, who would have made a Breach of this, has bin since blamed by all the Christians, as well of *Rome* as of other Places; The Conduct of *Cyprian* of *Africa*, who gave his Determination of the Question with

Year after the Apostles

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(a) Chap. 29.

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with this additional Clause (14), [*neminem judicantes, aut a jure communionis, si diversum fenserit, amoventes. Not judging any one, nor refusing Communion with him, tho' he be of the other Opinion*], has been since applauded by all Christians in the World; as a Saying worthy of so excellent a Martyr of *Jesus* Christ, and a Precedent fit to be observ'd in the Determination of all Questions that are not fundamental.

The other Difficulty is, that if such a Man do come to join in the Prayers of the Church of *England*: if there be an Infant brought to be baptiz'd in the Time of the public Service, he cannot join in the Prayers used in that Office: Or, at least, not in all of 'em.

This must be confess'd, while he holds that Opinion. But I shewed before at §. 4. that this ought not to hinder his joining in the other Prayers: so that Paragraph may serve for Answer to this. He may when the People are kneeling at those Prayers, stand up, or sit and read in his Bible. There were in King *William's* Time some that not being satisfied about his Title, thought they ought not join in, or say *Amen* to some of those Prayers wherein he was named. However they were blamed by the State for not agreeing in those; they were never blamed by the Church for continuing to join in the Rest.

What I have said of the Antipædobaptists, does plainly reach to the Case of several other Dissenters. And that with greater Force of the  
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(14) Proloquium St. Cypriani in Concil. Carthag.

Argument, because they differ less from the Church in Opinions. Year after the Apostles

One Thing I am perswaded of concerning the Antipædobaptists: and that is, that if they were convinc'd that this joining in the public Service of the Church were lawful and practicable for 'em; they would join at another Rate than some shifting People do now a-days. I take 'em generally to be cordial, open, and franc Expressers of their Sentiments. If they thought that St. Paul's Command of *receiving one another* did reach to this Case that I have been speaking of (as I think it does), they would not interpret it trickishly, as some Lawyers do a Statute in which they seek a Flaw and an Evasion: to lurk behind the Words of it, while they defeat the true Meaning. They would conclude that what God commands us to do; he means we should do cordially, sincerely, and *bonâ fide*: and not to deal with his Word as a Jesuit does with an Oath. And therefore that if his Word do bid us receive one another; he means we should do it intirely.

There is one Intreaty that I would use to 'em; which is, that if they be at all moved to consider of such joining, and to deliberate whether it be lawful, or be a Duty, or not; they would make a good and prudent Choice of the Men, whose Advice they ask about it. There are some Men among all Parties (I hope it is not many) that do promote Divisions out of Interest. These, as St. Paul says, *serve not our Lord Jesus Christ but their own Belly*. They consider if the Schism should drop, what would become of that Esteem, Credit, Applause, Admiration, Gain, &c. which they get by heading

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heading and leading of Parties: they must then be but as common Christians, walking even with the rest in a beaten Road, and all the Glory of setting up new Ways would be lost. These are not fit for any pious and sincere Man to trust with the Direction of his Conscience; nor likely to give a true Verdict. On the contrary, they are the Cause of most of the Divisions which Christ has forbidden. He says that Offences [or Scandals] must come: and St. Paul says, there must be Heresies [or Divisions]. We may say of both; *Wo be to the Men by whom they come.* The Civil Law has, I think, a Rule, that when any great Mischief appears to be spread among the People, and it is not known who were the Autors that first set it on Foot, it should be inquir'd; *Cui bono fuit?* Who are the Men that are likely to get any Advantage by it? and to suspect them. These that promote Division for Interest, keep their Consciences, as Beggars do their Sores, raw and open on Purpose, and would not have them heal'd for any Money. Let not any honest Man trust 'em with the keeping of his. But apply to a Man who (of which Opinion soever he be) is cordial, sincere, and has no Interest in the Advice he gives.

I shall conclude with the Words of St. Paul, which I have made as it were the Text of this Sermon, *Receive ye one another, as Christ also received us.* Christ received us, when we were not only silly, mistaken, erroneous, but sinful too. He received us, that he might make us wiser and better. St. Paul adds; *to the Glory of God:* meaning, that God is no Way more dishonor'd than by our Divisions,  
nor

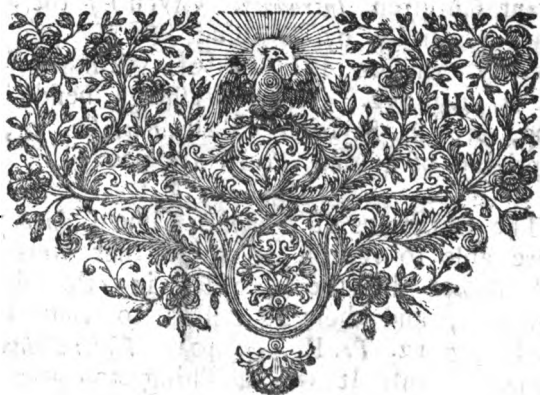
Chap. XI. *Intreaty for Union.*

nor any Ways more glorified than by our  
Unity and receiving one another.

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The whole Context is thus, *Rom. 15. 5, 6, 7.*

*Now the God of Patience and Consolation grant  
you to be like minded [i. e. unanimous] one  
towards another, according to Christ Jesus:  
That you may with one Mind and one Mouth  
[i. e. unanimously] glorify God, even the  
Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. Wherefore  
[or to which Purpose that you may so  
do] receive ye one another [tho' differing  
in Opinion] as Christ also received us, to the  
Glory of God. Amen:*



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## An Alphabetical Table of some few Matters.

### *Antipædobaptism.*

**S**T. *Austin* (Year after the Apostles 317) disputing for the Doctrin of Original Sin, and *Pelagius* against it, do both agree that no Christian (Catholic or Sectary) that either of them had read or heard of, was an Antipædobaptist, *Pt. I. pag. 303, 353.* The Opinion of Antipædobaptism not a sufficient Cause of Separation, *Pt. II. CH. ult.*

### *Baptism*

Given by the Jews to Profelyts, and their Infant Children, *Introdukt.* Given by the Christians generally by Dipping, *Pt. II. pag. 350.* but by Affusion in Case of Weakness, &c. *Pt. II. pag. 352.* Other Washings beside Dipping, are in Scriptur called *Baptism*, or, the Baptizing of a Man, *Pt. II. pag. 300.*

### *Bishops.*

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### *Councils.*

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supposed or taken for granted as a Christian Doctrin known before, *Pt. I. pag. 82, 182.* One of the earliest Councils since the Apostles Time speaks of it, *Pt. I. pag. 73.* The Councils of *Carthage* and *Milevis* [*Anno 416*], and that of *Carthage* [*Anno 418*] do not enact that Infants must be baptiz'd (that being a known thing before), but that Baptism is in them for *Remission of Sin, Pt. I. pag. 332, &c. 372, &c. Pt. II. 26.*

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*Infants,*

Whether baptiz'd or not in the Apostles Time, could not be unknown to the Christians that were antient Men 100 or 150 Years after the said Time, *Preface.* In what Sense said to be regenerated by the Holy Spirit, *Pt. I. pag. 205. 208.* The Antients did not think that Infants have Faith, *Pt. I. pag. 204, 208.* Not baptiz'd in Houses, but in Cases of the utmost Extremity, *Pt. I. pag. 227.* Dying unbaptiz'd, thought by the Antients to miss of Heaven; but yet to be under no Punishment, or a very mild one,



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