

The Baptist History Series

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The History of the English Baptists

Volume 1 of 4

Thomas Crosby

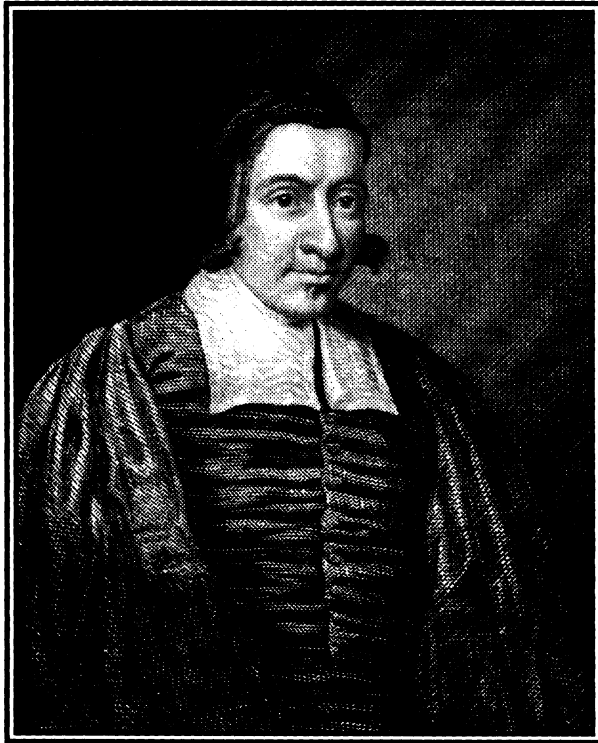


Sicut liliū inter spinas sic amica mea inter filias

On The Cover: We use the symbol of the “lily among the thorns” from Song of Solomon 2:2 to represent the Baptist History Series. The Latin, *Sicut liliū inter spinas sic amica mea inter filias*, translates, “As the lily among thorns, so is my love among the daughters.”

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
English Baptists

Vol. I



HANSERD KNOLLYS
1598-1691

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
English Baptists,

FROM THE
REFORMATION
To the Beginning of the
Reign of King GEORGE I.

VOL. I.

CONTAINING
Their HISTORY to the RESTORATION
of King CHARLES II.

By THO. CROSBY.

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Thou hast given a *standard* to them that fear thee;
that it may be displayed because of the truth.

-- *Psalms 60:4*

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THE WALDENSIAN EMBLEM

lux lucet in tenebris

“The Light Shineth in the Darkness”

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T O T H E
R E A D E R.



A M well aware, that some things contained in this history may awaken prejudice, censure, or displeasure, and occasion objections and offence, both to the treatise and my self. And I know that some have already declared their opinion, that facts which bring no credit to the persons of whom they are related, ought to be buried in oblivion. But such persons seem to me to be very ignorant of the duty of an historian. In answer to whom I shall only observe, that those heretical persons of the denomination of Baptists, on whom the sword of the magistrate fell so heavy, are yet upon record, and not omitted even by so late an author as the reverend Mr. Neal, and so exposed to the view of men from age to age. Therefore I thought it needful, as well as just, to have these things set in a clear open light, to disabuse all those who may have been imposed upon by false or partial and defective history in this matter, and to remove, or prevent, or allay, scandal, or censure, for time to come; and I am apt to think that many readers now and hereafter would have thought me partial, had I not taken notice of them. Neither do I think that it reflects any odium on the English Baptists, that some of their opinion in the point of Baptism, have been charged with heretical notions and heterodox opinions, Name me that body of christians in the world, which may not be equally, if not more, chargeable with the same. And yet I doubt not, God hath many faithful servants in this kingdom, amongst all the denominations of christians, who notwithstanding the imputation of heresy and heterodoxy charged on them by others, will be found among the blessed in the kingdom of glory.

And as it is utterly unreasonable to impute the miscarriages of some, to the rest of that body to which they belong,

To the READER.

belong, until they profess and manifest their approbation of them; so it is much more unreasonable to impute the miscarriages and bad principles of persons long since dead, to those, who in some one point, now believe and act as they did, but own not, nor abet either their bad principles, or their practical enormities.

Now though many, even of the learned, and so late an author as Mr. Neal, from whom we might have looked for more christian treatment, have made it their business to represent the Anabaptists, as they are pleased in contempt to stile them, in odious colours, and to write many bitter things, even notorious falsehoods concerning them, nay, to fasten doctrines upon them, which they never approved; yet, as shall be shewn in the sequel of this history, no one sect of christians in this kingdom have merited more the favour and good esteem of their governours and christian brethren, by their peaceable carriage and behaviour towards them, than they have done. What sect of christians have shewed the like contentedness under the deprivations which the legislature has seen needful to lay upon the Dissenters in general, than they? Who have been more content with the liberty allowed them by law than they? But not to be tedious in an epistolary way, I shall refer the reader to the work itself, and leave him to judge whether I deserve to be reproached for avoiding partiality.

He that considers the great trouble and pains that must attend the reading so many voluminous books, to take in the compass of so many years included in this history; and the perplexing thoughts and difficulties under which an author labours, whose principal end is to set things in a just and fair light, will, if he be candid, easily pass by small faults and little inadvertencies; but if there shall appear in the course of this history any considerable mistakes, I shall hold my self obliged to such gentlemen, who shall be pleased to represent them, promising to take the first opportunity that shall present, to retract or amend the same.

Tho. Crosby.



T H E
P R E F A C E.



HOEVER writes a Book seems by custom obliged to write a *preface* to it ; wherein it is expected, he should shew the motives which induced him to write the same.

'Tis now many years since the materials, of which a great part of this treatise is formed, came into my hands. Had the ingenious collector of them lived to digest them *Mr. Benj. Stinton.* in their proper order, according to his design, they would have appeared much more beautiful and correct, than now they do. I might here expatiate in his praise, and say a great deal of my own knowledge, both as to his industry and acquirements : But, as I shall hereafter have occasion to mention him, I omit it here : And shall annex to this *preface* the several opinions of the first rise of the *Baptists*, which he designed as an introduction to his intended history of them ; be-
a ing

ing the only piece of that work which he had completed.

I WAS in hopes some able hand would have undertaken to compleat what was wanting, in order to finish this work. To render the same less burthensome to such an undertaker, I employed my spare hours, in the best manner I could, to digest the materials in their proper order, and supply the vacancies; till at length, at the request of two worthy *Baptist* ministers, both since deceased, *Mr. Wallin.* I communicated them to the Reverend *Mr. Arnold.* *Mr. Neal*, who had undertaken to write an *History of the Puritans*; under which general name, I did apprehend the *English Baptists* might very well be included: And he had them in his hands some years.

THE good character of the gentleman, with the importunity of my two friends afore-mentioned concurring (though I must confess it was with doubting) yet made me yield so to do. But I was surprized to see the ill use *Mr. Neal* made of these materials; and that the rise and progress of the *English Baptists*, their confession of faith, their character, and their sufferings, were contained in less than five pages of his third volume; and that too with very great partiality, as shall hereafter be proved.

AND it is but too well known, concerning *Pædobaptist* authors in general, that when they have been necessitated to speak in favour of the opinion of the *Baptists*, presently a veil has been drawn over the same, either respecting their persons, principles, or morals; so that it is not an easy thing for strangers to form a right judgment of them; which

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which makes an history of them necessary, without any further apology. Yet, considering the great variety of opinions and humours that are in this kingdom, and the coarse treatment even of the most celebrated authors, upon the most sublime subjects; a man had need have a good share of courage, and a firm assurance of the justice of his cause, that ventures to appear publickly in such a censorious age.

THE *Editor* does presume he is thus supported; and declares, That what he has here written is purely designed to inform the honest and well-meaning Christian, whether *Pædobaptist*, or *Baptist*; by whom he hopes it may be candidly received, in proportion to the integrity of his intentions.

Mr. *Neal*, in his preface, concludes thus:

‘ I am sufficiently aware of the delicacy of ^{*History of the*}
‘ the affairs treated of in this volume, and of ^{*Puritans,*}
‘ the tenderness of the ground I go over; ^{*Vol. III,*}
‘ and, though I have been very careful of
‘ my temper and language, and have en-
‘ deavoured to look into the mysterious con-
‘ duct of the several parties with all the in-
‘ difference of a spectator, I find it very
‘ difficult to form an exact judgment of the
‘ most important events, or to speak freely
‘ without offence; therefore, if any passio-
‘ nate or angry writer should appear against
‘ this, or any of the former Volumes, I
‘ humbly request the reader to pay no regard
‘ to personal reflections, or to insinuations of
‘ any ill designs against the establish’d reli-
‘ gion, or the publick peace, which are en-
‘ tirely groundless.

‘ IN historical debates, says he, nothing
 ‘ is to be received upon trust, but facts are to
 ‘ be examined, and a judgment formed upon
 ‘ the authority by which those facts are sup-
 ‘ ported; by this method we shall arrive at
 ‘ truth: And if it shall appear, that, in the
 ‘ course of this long history, there are any
 ‘ considerable mistakes, the world may be
 ‘ assured I will take the first opportunity to
 ‘ retract or amend them”.

A NOBLE declaration, indeed! But let us now see how consentaneous his representation of the *English Baptists* is thereto, especially, considering what materials he was intrusted with.

HE allows there were no less than fifty four congregations of them in *England* in the year 1644. and says:

Vol. III.
 p. 161.

‘ THEIR confession [of faith] consisted of
 ‘ fifty two articles, and is strictly *Calvini-*
 ‘ *stical* in the doctrinal part, and according
 ‘ to the independant discipline; it confines
 ‘ the subject of baptism to grown Christians,
 ‘ and the mode to dipping; it admits of
 ‘ gifted lay-preachers, and acknowledges a
 ‘ due subjection to the civil magistrate in all
 ‘ things lawful”.

HE proceeds then to their character; which, in my opinion, is one piece of that *tender ground* he was to go over: And how careful he was of his temper and language, let the reader judge. For, says he,

Ib. p. 162.

‘ THE advocates of this doctrine were,
 ‘ for the most part, of the meanest of the
 ‘ people; their preachers were generally
 ‘ illiterate, and went about the countries
 ‘ making profelytes of all that would sub-
 ‘ mit

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‘ mit to their immerfion, without a due regard to their acquaintance with the principles of religion, or their moral characters ”.

WHAT a malicious flander is this! caft upon a whole body of Christians, confifting of fifty four congregations, according to his own acknowledgment! To me it feems unchristian, without ground, a fact unexamined, a judgment formed without any authority produced to fupport the fact; and confequently the reader left to form his judgment upon Mr. *Neal's ipse dixit*, repugnant to his noble declaration.

But left this should not be enough, he concludes their character by adding thus:

‘ The people of this perfwafion were more ‘ expofed to the publick resentment, becaufe ‘ they would hold communion with none but ‘ fuch as had been dipped. All, fays he, ‘ muft *pass under this cloud* before they ‘ could be received into their churches; and ‘ the fame *narrow spirit* prevails too generally amongft them even at this day ”.

THIS is a home ftroke; and reaches the prefent as well as preceding ages. But I am verily perfwaded the prefent *English Baptists* will not be much affected with his raillery; fince our bleffed Lord and Saviour himfelf did not difdain to *pass under this cloud*, as Mr. *Neal* is pleafed to phrase it.

DR. *Featly*, writing againft the *Baptists* in his day, fays: ‘ He could hardly dip his pen ‘ in any other liquor, than the juice of gall ”. And I find Mr. *Neal* has not only read the *Doctour*, becaufe he quotes him two or three times, but learned fome of his language

too: What of wit he may imagine in such kind of phraseology, I know not; but sure I am, *Christ's Ordinances* ought to be mentioned with more reverence, by those who profess themselves to be Christians.

THE ingenious Dr. *Wall*, in his elaborate history of infant baptism, speaking of the most ancient rites in baptism, acknowledges dipping to be ordinarily used in baptism. For, says he:

Vol. II.
p. 291.

‘ THEIR general and ordinary way was
 ‘ to baptise by immerfion, or dipping the
 ‘ person, whether it were an infant, or grown
 ‘ man or woman, into the water. This,
 ‘ he adds, is fo plain and clear, by an infinite
 ‘ number of passages, that as one cannot but
 ‘ pity the weak endeavours of such *Pædo-*
 ‘ *baptists*, as would maintain the negative of
 ‘ it; fo also we ought to difown, and shew
 ‘ a diflike of the profane scoffs which some
 ‘ people give to the *Engliſh Anti-Pædobaptiſts*,
 ‘ merely for their ufe 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 re-
 ‘ preſent it as ridiculous and fooliſh, or as
 ‘ ſhameful and indecent; when it was, in all
 ‘ probability, the way by which our bleſſed
 ‘ Saviour, and for certain was the moſt uſual
 ‘ and ordinary way by which the ancient
 ‘ Chriſtians, did receive their baptiſm”.

AND, ſpeaking of the preſent ſtate of the *Anti-Pædobaptiſts* in *England*, he ſays:

Ib. p. 216.

‘ THEY, that are now, are as commend-
 ‘ able, as any other ſort of men are, for a
 ‘ ſober and grave, quiet and peaceable way
 ‘ of living. They profeſs obedience to Ma-
 giftrates:

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‘ gistrates: *And a little further*, They are
‘ particularly commended for maintaining
‘ their poor liberally; as also for passing
‘ censures upon such members of their own
‘ congregations as live disorderly. This cha-
‘ racter of obedient subjects, is what they
‘ now own and profess, and what I hope is
‘ the real sentiment of most of them”.

AND I add, it was what they did always
own and profess ever since they had a be-
ing in this kingdom; and that neither Dr.
Wall, nor any other, is able to prove the
contrary. His silly story about Mr. *Hicks*,
I find in his latter edition, is recanted; there-
fore shall say nothing about it.

BISHOP *Burnet*, speaking of the *English History of his*
Baptists, gives them this character: own Time,

‘ THE *Anabaptists*, says he, were gene- P. 702.
‘ rally men of virtue, and of an universal
‘ charity”.

AND I would here observe, That though
in the title page of this book, and through-
out the same, I use the term *Baptist*, except
in quotations from authors; it is not, as
Dr. *Wall* observes, to cast a reproach on our
adversaries; but because I think it the most
proper term, by which we can be distinguish-
ed from other Christians.

INDEED he says: ‘ As they disown the Dr. Wall,
‘ name of *Anabaptists*, or *Rebaptizers*, so P. 2, 99.
‘ I have no where given it to them. As on
‘ the contrary, I do not give them the name
‘ of *Baptists*, nor of the baptized people;
‘ for that is to cast a reproach upon their ad-
‘ versaries, as concluding that they are not so.
‘ Every party, while the matter continues in
‘ dispute, ought to give and take such names

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‘ as cast no reproach on themselves, nor their
 ‘ opponents, but such as each of them own ;
 ‘ and such are the names that I use. ”

So that this worthy gentleman has taken upon himself to be our godfather, and given us the name of *Anti-Pædobaptists*: But, as we are not infants, we have an undoubted right to put in our exceptions.

BESIDES the length of the word, for I do not love hard names, it seems to me no proper name ; because the people called *Quakers*, from whom we differ in judgment, as well as from the *Pædobaptists*, may be included ; and therefore I have rejected it. Neither shall I think that he has assumed to himself and party a proper name, till sprinkling, pouring, or any other way of washing besides dipping, is fairly proved to be baptism, either from scripture or antiquity.

BUT, to return to Mr. *Neal*. If he would have us to understand by his ill-natured phrase, *narrow Spirit*, that he means, because we will not receive unbaptized persons to the communion of our churches, therefore we are a people of *narrow Spirits* ; then the designed reproach, which he would fix on the *English Baptists*, fits all the christian churches in all ages : For it is their declared opinion, That no persons unbaptized ought to be received to the communion of the christian church, and they practise accordingly.

To omit a cloud of witnesses I might produce, who concur in their testimonies, that this *great ordinance of baptism*, is not only the sacrament of *initiation*, but also to be continued in the church unto the end of the world,
 I shall

I shall only add a few general and comprehending testimonies :

1. IN the articles of religion, published by his Majesty's special command, *Anno 1642.* we have the judgment of the *church of England*, viz.

‘ BAPTISM is not only a sign of profession, and mark of difference, whereby christian men are discerned from others that be not christned ; but it is also a sign of regeneration, or new birth, whereby, as by an instrument, they that receive baptism rightly are grafted into the church ; the promises of the forgiveness of sin, and of our adoption to be the sons of God by the Holy Ghost, and visibly signed and sealed ; faith is confirmed, and grace increased by virtue of prayer unto God, &c.”

2. THE judgment of the *Presbyterians*, suitable to which they express themselves in their larger and shorter catechisms, we find in the confession of faith put forth by the assembly of divines, *Anno 1658.*

‘ BAPTISM, say they, is a sacrament of the *New Testament*, ordained by Jesus Christ, not only for the solemn admission of the party baptized into the visible church, but also to be unto him a sign and seal of the covenant of grace, of his ingrafting into Christ, of regeneration, of remission of sins, and of his giving up unto God, through Jesus Christ, to walk in newness of life : Which sacrament is by Christ's own appointment to continue in his church until the end of the world ”.

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3. THE judgment of the *Congregational* (commonly called *Independent*) churches, we have in their confession of faith at the *Savoy*; where were many of their Elders in *October* 1658, printed *Anno* 1659.

‘ BAPTISM, say they, is a sacrament of
 ‘ the *New Testament*, ordained by *Jesus*
 ‘ *Christ*, to be unto the party baptized, a
 ‘ sign and seal of the covenant of grace, of
 ‘ his ingrafting into *Christ*, of regeneration,
 ‘ of remission of sins, and of his giving up
 ‘ unto *God*, through *Jesus Christ*, to walk
 ‘ in newness of life: Which ordinance is
 ‘ by *Christ’s* own appointment to be con-
 ‘ tinued in his church until the end of the
 ‘ world”.

4. THE *English Baptists* judgment you have in their confession of faith, *Appendix* N^o 2. Art. XXXIX. and N^o 3. Art. XXIV.

IT is certainly commendable to keep the ordinances of *Christ* pure, as they were delivered; because it prevents the creeping in of the inventions of men in the worship of *God*. Man is naturally apt to be meddling that way, and mixing something of his own with those sacred institutions which *God* has with greatest severity prohibited; having not spared any, no not his own people, though what they have done seems not to be out of any wicked intentions, but rather out of an ignorant zeal: Of which there are many instances in scripture.

The Reverend Mr. *Neal* would do well to convince the *English Baptists*, That sprinkling of infants is the *baptism* which *Christ* in-

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stituted, and the Apostles practised. For we grant, that it is praise-worthy for the churches of Jesus Christ to preserve and keep the ordinances of Christ, as they have been delivered by Christ and his Apostles to them. And if, after a full and fair conviction from scripture, we remain still obstinate, a worse name than that of *narrow Spirits* might be justly fixed on us.

I SHALL only reply to Mr. *Neal* in the words of the Reverend Mr. *Jeremiah Burroughs*; who, though a *Pædobaptist*, very excellently expresses himself in his book, intitled, *Gospel Worship, or the right Manner of sanctifying the Name of God*, p. 8, 9, &c. His words are these:

‘ ALL things in God’s worship must have
‘ a warrant out of God’s word, must be
‘ commanded; it is not enough that it is not
‘ forbidden, and what hurt is there in it?
‘ but it must be commanded ——— When
‘ we come to *matters of religion*, and the
‘ *worship of God*, we must either have a
‘ *command*, or some-what out of *God’s word*,
‘ by some consequence drawn from some
‘ *command*, wherein God manifests his will;
‘ either a *direct command*, or by comparing
‘ one thing with another, or drawing conse-
‘ quences *plainly* from the words, we must
‘ have a *warrant* for the *worship* of God, &c.
‘ ——— When any creature is raised in a
‘ religious way above what it hath in it by
‘ nature, if I have not scripture to warrant
‘ me, I am therein *superstitious*. ——— We
‘ must be all *willing worshippers*, but not
‘ *will worshippers*. You see how severe God page 10.
‘ was to *Nadab* and *Abihu*, for but taking
‘ *other*

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‘ *other fire*, than that which God appointed;
 ‘ to offer up incense, though there was no di-
 ‘ rect commandment *against* it, &c.

page 11.

‘ IN the matters of *worship* God stands
 ‘ upon *little* things; such things as seem to
 ‘ be very small and little to us, yet God
 ‘ stands much upon them in the matter of
 ‘ worship. For there is nothing wherein the
 ‘ prerogative of God doth more appear than
 ‘ in worship, as princes stand much upon
 ‘ their prerogatives——There are things
 ‘ in the worship of God that are not written
 ‘ in our *hearts*, that only depend upon the
 ‘ will of God revealed in his word; which
 ‘ were no duties except they were revealed
 ‘ there. And ~~these~~ are of such a nature as
 ‘ we can see no reason for, but only this, *be-*
 ‘ *cause God will have them*——Though men
 ‘ would think it a little matter, whether *this*
 ‘ fire or *that* fire, and will not *this* burn as
 ‘ well as *that*? but God stands upon it ——
 ‘ When *Uzzah* did but touch the ark, when
 ‘ it was ready to fall, we would think it no
 ‘ great matter; but one touch of the ark
 ‘ cost him his life. There is not a *Minim* in
 ‘ the *worship* of God, but God stands migh-
 ‘ tily upon it——For a man to gather a
 ‘ few sticks on the sabbath, what great mat-
 ‘ ter was it? but God stands upon it. So
 ‘ when the men of *Bethbemesb* did but look
 ‘ into the ark, it cost the lives of fifty thou-
 ‘ sand and seventy men, &c.

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H E further adds, ‘ That there is no
 ‘ privileges or dignities of man that can
 ‘ secure them from God’s stroke; instancing
 ‘ *Nadab* and *Abihu*’s case, *Moses* the man of
 ‘ God being their uncle, and *Aaron* their fa-
 ‘ ther,

‘ ther, men newly consecrated to the priests
 ‘ office, renowned men that God put much
 ‘ glory upon; yet, if they will venture but
 ‘ to offend God in this little thing, his wrath
 ‘ breaks out upon them, and kills them pre-
 ‘ sently, &c.”

HE adds much more to the same effect, and offers several reasons by which he judgeth that *Nadab* and *Abihu* were good men; and gives a plain demonstration that they had no wicked design: As,

1. THEY were young men, newly come to their office, and might not understand all things, as if they had had longer experience.

2. IT’S observable, for *ver. 1.* ’tis called *strange fire which he commanded not*, that if there be not a command for our practice, nor such a precedent as the scripture approves of, no human *pretence* can excuse the transgressor from the judgment of God.

Will Mr. *Neal* admit *Roman Catholics*, who profane the ordinance of the supper, to the communion of his church? We believe in our consciences that sprinkling children is a profanation of the ordinance of baptism, and so consequently reject it; therefore our spirits will appear no narrower than his own. And if, upon a serious review of this passage last quoted, he will endeavour to be careful of his temper, I may hope in the next edition to see it appear in better language.

WITH respect to their sufferings Mr. *Neal* very justly observes, that ministers have a right by preaching to oppose doctrines*; but

* *Such as they believe to be erroneous, I would suppose he means.*

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unjustifiable at the same time to fight them with the sword of the civil magistrate, and shut them up in prison : And then mentions five or six, with little more than their names, of whom he had a large account, respecting their sufferings, before him. But they were *Baptists*, and so not worthy of his notice, unless he can add something to degrade them.

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THE first he mentions is Mr. *Henry Denne* ; of whom he only says, he was formerly ordained by the bishop of *St. Davids*, and possessed of the living of *Pyeton* in *Hertfordshire*. Then he mentions Mr. *Coppe* ; and says, he was minister in *Warwickshire*, and some time preacher to the garrison in *Compton House*.

THE next he mentions is Mr. *Hanserd Knollys* ; who was, says he, ‘ Several times ‘ before the committee for preaching *Antinomianism*, and *Anti-Pædobaptism* ; and being forbid to preach in the publick churches, ‘ he opened a separate meeting in great ‘ *St. Hellens* ; from whence he was quickly ‘ dislodged, and his followers dispersed ”.

IF *Antinomianism* be such a brand of infamy, as to put a vail upon the character of so good and pious a man as Mr. *Hanserd Knollys* ; how came it to pass that Dr. *Crisp* had more than a whole page bestowed on him in encomiums to his praise, which I doubt not but he justly deserved ? If I may be permitted to answer without offence, and incurring the censure of an angry writer ; it should be, because he was an *Independent Pædobaptist*.

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IN the next place he says, ‘ Mr. *Andrew Wyke*, in the county of *Suffolk*, was imprisoned on the same account; and Mr. *Oates* in *Effex* tried for his life at *Chelmsford* affizes for the murder of *Ann Martin*, because she died a few days after her immersion of a cold that seized her at that time”.

THIS is so unrighteous a piece of partiality, that no sentence too severe can be passed upon it; because he had before him a full account of that affair; and thereby knew how honourably he was acquitted, notwithstanding the most earnest and pressing endeavours of his *Pædobaptist* Brethren to bring him in guilty, thereby to fix an odium on the practice of immersion.

I WAS at a stand why this gentleman’s christian name, *Samuel*, was left out in Mr. *Neal*’s narration; seeing Mr. *Neal* had it before him. And I can assign no other reason for it, unless it were to impose on his readers, that they might take him to be *Titus Oates*, so noted in our histories with a brand of infamy upon him. But I must leave that to his own conscience; and refer my readers to page 236 of this history, where they will find, among others, the same account of these persons mentioned by Mr. *Neal* as communicated to him, and leave them to judge of his partiality in this matter.

To bring up the rear of the *Baptists* sufferings; poor *Laurence Clarkson*, with his recantation at large, is exhibited.

AMONG the thousands of *Baptists* in *England* here is one produced; who, through the severity of the times, and being but an unsteady

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steady man in his principles, and one that had not been used to suffer for conscience sake, was tempted to make this recantation, finding he could no other way obtain his liberty.

HE had been six months in prison, committed by the *Pædobaptist* committee of *Suffolk*, for that so heinous a crime of baptizing by immersion; a crime so great, that all the intercession of his friends, though he had several, could not procure his release; the committee being fully resolved not to let such crimes go unpunished: Nay, though an order came down, either from a committee of parliament, or chairman of it, to discharge him, yet they refused to obey it.

MR. *Edwards*, who first published this account, did it to expose the sectaries, against whom he had an implacable hatred. But, whether the weakness of this man under his oppression, or the folly and wickedness of his persecutors, were hereby more exposed, let the reader judge.

HOWEVER, the *Pædobaptists* gain'd no great honour by a profelyte made after this manner: For upon his release he turned *seeker*; and when the *Baptists* expelled him from their society, as a man that had denied the truth to escape suffering, he writ a small Pamphlet*, wherein he endeavours to excuse himself, by saying, That he did not assert the baptism of believers by immersion to be an error, but only intended that it was erroneously practised, there being now no true churches, nor true

* *The Pilgrimage of Saints by Church cast out; in Christ found seeking truth.*

admin-

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the *English Baptists* only, he thought it might not be improper, and did intend to introduce it with some account of the origin of their opinion, and who have been reported to be the authors of it. And since there are various accounts given of this matter, says he, I shall briefly relate the different opinions about it, as well those held by the *Pædobaptists*, as those of the *Anti-Pædobaptists*, concerning their own original, and then leave the reader to judge which has the greatest appearance of truth.

THEY are generally condemned as a new sect, whose opinion and practice, with relation to baptism, was not known in the Christian church till about two hundred years ago. Bishop Burnet says, ‘ At this time [anno 1549] there were many *Anabaptists* in several parts of *England*. They were generally *Germans*, whom the revolutions there had forced to change their seats. Upon *Luther’s* first preaching in *Germany*, there arose many, who building on some of his principles, carried things much further than he did. The chief foundation he laid down was, that the scripture was to be the only rule of Christians. Upon this many argued, that the mysteries of the Trinity, and Christ’s incarnation and suffering, of the fall of man, and the aids of grace, were indeed philosophical subtilities, and only pretended to be deduced from scripture, as almost all opinions of religion were, and therefore they rejected them. Among these the baptism of infants was one: They held that to be no baptism, and so were re-baptized. But from this, which was most taken notice of,

‘ as

‘ as being a visible thing, they carried all the
‘ general name of *Anabaptists*.’

MR. *Marshall* says, ‘ That the first that
‘ ever made a head against it [infant-bap-
‘ tism] or a division in the church about it,
‘ was *Baltazar Pacommitanus* in Germany,
‘ in *Luther’s* time, about the year 1527.’

This *Baltazar* is stiled *Baltazar Huebmar* Zuinglius, in
the epistle be-
fore his answer
to his book on
Baptism.
Pacimontanus, Dr. in *Waldsbüt*, a town near
the *Helvetians*. He was a man of great note
for learning, and did by his preaching and
writing very much promote his opinion.
He was burnt at *Viana*, in 1528. for which
he is esteemed a martyr by his followers.

BUT, says Mr. *Tombs*, *Bellarmino* and *Examen*.
Cocbleus say, that *Erasmus* himself had sowed P. 22.
some seeds of it also. And whoever reads
his works, will find several things in them
favouring the opinion of the *Anti-Pædobap-*
tists: As when he saith, in his union of the
church, ‘ It is no where expressed, in the
‘ apostolical writings, that they baptized
‘ children;’ and again, upon *Rom. vi.* ‘ Bap-
‘ tizing of children was not in use in *St. Paul’s*
‘ time; and that they are not to be con-
‘ demned, who doubt whether childrens bap-
‘ tism was ordained by the Apostles.’

JOHN GERHARD, a *Lutheran* minister, Tom. 40. of
derives the original of this sect from *Carolo-*
stadius, who was conversant with *Luther*, *Me-*
lancthon, and the other reformers, and assisted
them in that blessed work. He says, that
he is called the father of the *Anabaptists*, by
Erasmus Alberus.

S L E I D A N, who writ the history of the
Anabaptists, does not go so far, but asserts
of him, ‘ that he praised their opinion.’

OSIANDER affirms, ‘ that he joined
‘ himself to them.’

Com. 1 epist. MELANCTHON, who was well ac-
Cor. ix. 24. quainted, both with the man and his opinions,
Page 6. says of him, ‘ that he endeavoured to pro-
‘ mote the gospel, tho’ in a wrong course.’

THE short history of the *Anabaptists*, pub-
lished in 1647, says; ‘ It is hard to say, whe-
‘ ther *Caroloftadius*, or one *Nicholas Stork*,
‘ was the first founder of baptism.’

Hiſt. Anab. ARNOLDUS MESHUVIUS, another
Lib. ii. Sect. ii. historian of those times, lays it still nearer the
Tombe’s Exa- door of the first reformers; and says, ‘ That
men. p. 22. ‘ the business of *Anabaptism* began at *Witten-
‘ burg*, anno Christi 1522. *Luther* then lurk-
‘ ing in the castle of *Wartburg* in *Thuringia*,
‘ by *Nicholas Pelargus*; and that he had com-
‘ panions at first, *Caroloftadius*, *Philip Me-
‘ lancthon*, and others; and that *Luther* re-
‘ turning from his *Patmos*, as he called it,
‘ banished *Caroloftadius*, and the rest, and
‘ only received *Philip Melancthon* into favour
‘ again.’

THESE passages make it probable that
this question about Infant-baptism was agi-
tated among the reformers themselves, and
that some of them were at first for rejecting
that practice.

De Rit. Bap. VICECOMES, a learned *Papist*, has left
Lib. ii. c. 1. upon record, that *Luther*, *Calvin*, and *Beza*,
Wall, Part II. were adversaries of infant-baptism: Though
p. 179. the *Pædobaptists* look upon this only as a
slander cast upon them.

’TIS certain that *Zuinglius*, that holy and
learned reformer, who flourished about the
year 1520, was for some time against it, as
he ingenuously confesses, in these words:
‘ When

‘ When this opinion was every where so *De Bap.*
 ‘ rashly and without consideration received, *Tom. II.*
 ‘ That all men believed that faith was con- *P. 63.*
 ‘ firmed by signs, we must necessarily expect
 ‘ this sad issue, that some would even deny
 ‘ baptism to infants; for how should it con-
 ‘ firm the faith of infants, when it is manifest
 ‘ that they as yet have no faith? Wherefore *Baxter’s Scrip-
 ‘ I my self, that I may ingenuously confes- ture Proofs,*
 ‘ the truth, some years ago, being deceived *P. 291.*
 ‘ with this error, thought it better that chil-
 ‘ drens baptism should be delayed, till they
 ‘ came to full age: Though (adds he) I never
 ‘ broke forth into that immodesty and impor-
 ‘ tunity, as some now do.’

If some of the other reformers were at first
 of this opinion, as his Words imply, yet they
 might think it impracticable to carry their re-
 formation so far at once, and that it might
 overthrow what they had already so happily
 done: And when some of this opinion after-
 wards had brought a scandal upon the *Pro-*
testants, and occasioned such confusions all
 over *Germany*, they might be tempted to re-
 nounce this opinion, and write with so much
 zeal and anger, as they did against those who
 maintained it.

‘Tis still more evident, that these first re-
 formers look’d upon sprinkling as a corrup-
 tion of baptism, and endeavoured to introduce
 the primitive rite of dipping, as is practised
 by the *English Baptists*.

LUTHER has, in several places, fully
 declared his opinion in this matter:

‘ BAPTISM, saith he, is a *Greek* word;
 ‘ it may be termed a dipping, when we dip
 ‘ something in water, that it may be wholly

Duveil on
Acts viii. 38.

‘ covered with water : And although that
‘ custom be now altogether abolished among
‘ the most part, for neither do they dip the
‘ whole children, but only sprinkle them with
‘ a little water, they ought altogether never-
‘ theless to be dipt, and presently to be drawn
‘ out again ; for the etymology of the word
‘ seems to require that.’

IN another place he says ; ‘ Washing from
‘ sins is attributed to baptism ; it is truly in-
‘ deed attributed, but the signification is softer
‘ and slower than that it can express baptism,
‘ which is rather a sign both of death and re-
‘ surrection. Being moved by this reason,
‘ I would have those that are to be baptized,
‘ to be altogether dipt into the water, as the
‘ word doth sound, and the mystery doth
‘ signify.’

AND that this was the opinion and practice
of the chief leaders in the reformation, ap-
pears by something remarkable, that happen’d
in those times concerning this matter.

JOHANNES BUGHAGIUS PO-
MERANIUS, who was a companion of
Luther, and succeeded him in the ministry at
Wittenburg, a very pious and learned divine,
tells us, in a book he published in the *German*
tongue, *Anno* 1542,

‘ THAT he was desired to be a witness of
‘ a baptism at *Hamburg*, in the year 1529.
‘ That when he had seen the minister only
‘ sprinkled the infant wrapped in swathing-
‘ clothes on the top of the head, he was
‘ amazed ; because he neither heard nor saw
‘ any such thing*, nor yet read in any history,

* *Among the Protestants I suppose he meant.*

‘ except

‘ except in case of necessity, in bed-rid persons. In a general assembly therefore of all the ministers of the word, that was convened, he did ask of a certain minister, *John Fritz* by name, who was some time minister of *Lubec*, how the sacrament of baptism was administered at *Lubec*? Who for his piety and candour did answer gravely, that infants were baptized naked at *Lubec*, after the same fashion altogether as in *Germany*. But from whence and how that peculiar manner of baptizing hath crept into *Hamburg*, he was ignorant. At length they did agree among themselves, that the judgment of *Luther*, and of the divines of *Wittemberg*, should be demanded about this point: Which being done, *Luther* did write back to *Hamburg*, that this sprinkling was an abuse, which they ought to remove. Thus plunging was restored at *Hamburg*.’

But notwithstanding this, Dr. *Fearly* and many others will have it, that *Anabaptism* took its first rise at *Munster*; and that *Nicholas Stork*, *Thomas Muncer*, *John of Leyden*, *Mark Stubner*, *Knipperdoling*, *Phiffer*, and such like, were the first teachers of this doctrine, and founders of the sect.

THESE men denied the doctrine of the Trinity, the incarnation of Christ, the authority of magistrates, the lawfulness of taking oaths, and almost all the Christian doctrines; and were guilty of several gross enormities, such as polygamy, rebellion, theft and murder: They seized the city of *Munster*, proclaimed *John of Leyden* their king, committed abundance of violence, and caused tumults and rebellions in several places.

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THE extravagant doctrines, and seditious practices of these men, are every where charged upon the opposers of infant-baptism, to render them odious, and a dangerous and seditious sect, not fit to be tolerated in any nation, whose principles have so bad a tendency, and whose beginning was so scandalous.

IN return to all which, the *Baptists* alledge in their own defence, that the *Papists* improve this story after the like manner, against the new begun reformation it self, and represent it as the consequence of letting men have the scriptures to read, and the liberty of judging for themselves in matters of religion.

THAT there is great reason to suspect the truth of many things reported of this People, is evident: For in a time of war, and popular tumults, it is not easy to come at a certain knowledge of what is transacted; and if a design miscarries, it is generally censured, how just or good soever it was. The *Roman Catholics* charge the *Vaudois*, and *Albigois*, and sometimes the *Lutherans*, with crimes almost as black as they do these *Anabaptists*: And as for the Protestants of those times, they persecuted this sect with so much cruelty, and wrote against them with so much bitterness, that it discredits very much what they say of them, at least makes it probable they took up some reports concerning them upon very slender evidence.

Bayle's Dictionary, Anabaptists.

NEITHER do the histories of those times agree in the accounts they give of them; for some charge them with more crimes, and much greater, than others do; some accuse them with those things which are directly contrary to what is affirmed of them by others; and

and some with things so incredible, that their adversaries themselves look upon them to be but slanders.

THEY say also, that there is no just reason to lay those wars and tumults in *Germany* at the door of the *Anabaptists*; for it is plain, in the histories of those times, that *Papists*, as well Bishop Jewel's Defence, P. I. as *Protestants*, and of these the *Pædobaptists* as well as *Anabaptists*, were concerned in them. c. 4.

AND the chief occasion of their rising, was the defence of their civil liberties. When they drew up a manifesto of their demands, in twelve heads, and presented it to the magistrates, who had promised to hear their complaints, and do them justice, there is but one article, that directly regards religion; which was, that they might have liberty to chuse the ministers of their churches, and depose them afterwards, if they saw occasion. Dupin's Ecc. Hist. Cent. 16. Lib. i. P. 79.

THE confusions at *Munster*, where the blackest part of this tragedy was acted, were begun by a *Pædobaptist* minister of the *Lutheran* persuasion, one *Bernard Rotman*, preacher at the church of *St. Maurice* in that city; and were carried on by him, with several other *Lutherans*, for some time, before any *Anabaptist* appeared to have a hand in it. Spanhemius Hist. Anab. p. 12. Hook's Apol. p. 11. Sleidan.

AND though *Muncer* and *Phiffer* are said to have denied infant-baptism, and to have instilled the same opinion into others, yet they had not received or professed this principle till some time after these insurrections were begun in several parts of *Germany*. If these men were as vile as they are represented to be, and guilty of all those crimes of which they are accused, this could not have proceeded from their opinion about baptism, which

which can have no such tendency : Nor is there any colour of justice, in charging those crimes upon other Christians of that denomination, who abhor their erroneous tenets, and behave themselves after the most inoffensive manner. If all the errors which have been maintained, and all the thefts, murders, adulteries, and rebellions, which have been committed by *Pædobaptists*, were to be made the consequence of that opinion, it would soon appear a very bloody and dangerous tenet indeed, and render those who held it much more odious than *Anabaptists*.

BUT that which is more material to our enquiry after the first rise of this sect is, That these men did not advance this tenet concerning baptism, as a thing entirely new, but what was taught by others, who rejected the errors and corruptions of the church of *Rome*, as well as themselves; and affirmed it to have been the opinion of the *Waldenses* and *Petrobrusians*, who had gone before them.

THEY did not set up themselves upon this account as the heads and founders of a new sect, or religion; as enthusiastical persons are too ready to do, if there be but the least room for it.

Vol. I. Cent. *DUPIN*, a person well acquainted with
16. Lib. v. ecclesiastical history, calls this the revival of
p. 45. the error.

THERE were before, and about this time, many people of their opinion concerning baptism, who had made a declaration of much better principles, and under better leaders.

Hist. Reform. BISHOP *Burnet* says, ' There were two
Vol. II. ' sorts of these [*Anabaptists*] most remark-
p. 110. ' able; The one was of those who only
' thought

‘ thought that baptism ought not to be given
 ‘ but to those who were of an age capable of
 ‘ instruction, and who did earnestly desire
 ‘ it ——— These were called the gentle, or
 ‘ moderate *Anabaptists*: But others, who car-
 ‘ ried that name, denied almost all the prin-
 ‘ ciples of the Christian doctrine, and were
 ‘ men of fierce and barbarous tempers ———
 ‘ These being joined in the common name
 ‘ of *Anabaptists*, with the other, brought
 ‘ them also under an ill character.’

MONSIEUR *Bayle*, speaking of the many
 martyrs that the *Anabaptists* boast of, and
 their martyrology, being a large book in
Folio, says:

‘ COULD it only produce those that were put *Dictionary,*
 ‘ to death for attempts against the govern- *Anabaptists,*
 ‘ ment, its bulky martyrology would make *Letter F, 2d.*
 ‘ but a ridiculous figure. But it is certain, *Edit.*
 ‘ that several *Anabaptists*, who suffered death
 ‘ courageously for their opinions, had never
 ‘ any intention of rebelling. Give me leave
 ‘ to cite an evidence, which cannot be
 ‘ suspected; it is that of a writer, who has *Guy de Bres.*
 ‘ exerted his whole force in refuting this sect.
 ‘ He observes, that its great progress was
 ‘ owing to three things: The first was, That
 ‘ its teachers deafened their hearers with num-
 ‘ berless passages of scripture: The second,
 ‘ That they affected a great appearance of
 ‘ sanctity: The third, That their followers
 ‘ discovered great constancy in their suffer-
 ‘ ings and deaths. But he gives not the least
 ‘ hint, that the *Anabaptist* martyrs suffered
 ‘ death for taking up arms against the state,
 ‘ or stirring up the people to rebellion.’

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MONSIEUR *Bayle* being a *Papist*, and the author he cites a *Protestant*, made this remark upon it :

‘ OBSERVE by the way, says he, that this author refutes his adversaries, just as the *Catholicks* refute the *Protestants* : And then shews how the arguments used against the one, are of equal force against the other.’

GEORGE CASSANDER, who lived in those times, had disputed with the *Anabaptists*, and visited some of their ministers in prison, does in his epistle to the duke of *Gulick* and *Cleve*, give a very good character of them who dwelt in *Belgick* and lower *Germany*, even when some others were guilty of such extravagancies at *Munster* and *Batzenburgh*. He says,

‘ That they discovered an honest and a pious mind ; and that they erred from the faith, through a mistaken zeal, rather than an evil disposition ; that they condemned the outrageous behaviour of their brethren of *Munster* ; that they taught that the kingdom of Jesus Christ was to be established only by the cross. They deserve therefore, adds he, to be pitied and instructed, rather than to be persecuted.’

Hornbeck's
Sum. Con.
p. 364.

THE learned *Beza* also gives a very honourable account of many of them in his epistle to the *Gallo-Belgic* churches at *Emden*, and says :

‘ Many of the *Anabaptists* are good men, servants of God, and our most dear brethren.’

THESE authors had more justice than to condemn the innocent with the guilty, and to asperse

asperse the whole for the errors and disorders of a small part.

THE great number of *Anabaptists* that were about this time in several parts of *Germany*, and other countries, make it improbable, that these frantick men at *Munster* should be the founders of this sect, or so much as the first that revived the question, about childrens baptism in those times.

THOSE stirrs at *Munster* did not begin till *Spanhemius*, the year 1532. nor did they come to any great height, or any *Anabaptists* appear in that city till the year 1533. And yet we find great opposition made against *Anabaptists* before this in several parts, both by disputations and writings, and some severe laws made against their opinion.

THEY were opposed at *Augsburg* about the year 1516. by *Regius*: In *Saxony* by *Luther*, 1522. In *Thuringia* by *Micerius*, 1525. In *Switzerland*, at *Zurick*, there were three publick disputations held between *Zuinglius* and the heads of the *Anabaptists*, in *Jan. March*, and *Nov.* 1525. *Oecolampadius* also disputed with these Hereticks, as he calls them, the same year at *Bazil*; and again in the Years 1527, and 1529.

THIS opinion prevailed so fast, that to prevent the growth of it, the magistrates of *Zurick* published a solemn edict against it in 1525. requiring all persons to have their children baptized, and forbidding rebaptization, under the penalty of being fined, banished, or imprisoned. Another was put forth in 1530. making it punishable with death.

Hooke's *Apo-*
logy, p. 29.

' IN the year 1528. *Hans Shaeffer*, and
' *Leonard Freek*, for opposing infants bap-
' tism, were beheaded at *Schwas* in *Germany*;
' and *Leopald Suyder* at *Augsburg* for the
' same.

' AT *Saltzburg* eighteen persons of the
' same faith were burnt; and twenty five at
' *Waltzen* the same year.

' ANNO 1529. twenty of them were put
' to death in the *Palatinate*; and three hun-
' dred and fifty at *Altze* in *Germany*. The
' men for the most part beheaded, and the
' women drowned.

' ANNO 1533. *Hugh Crane*, and *Marga-*
' *ret* his wife, with two more, were martyred
' at *Harlem*; the woman was drowned; the
' three men were chained to a post, and roast-
' ed by a fire, at a distance, till they died.
' This was the very same year that the rising
' was at *Munster*.

Ib. p. 30.

' LIKEWISE in the Protestant *Cantons* in
' *Switzerland*, they were used as hardly,
' about the same time.

' ANNO 1526. one *Felix Mentz*, a *Bap-*
' *tist* minister, was drowned at *Zurich*.

' ANNO 1530. two of the baptized bre-
' thren were burnt.

' ANNO 1531. six more of the congrega-
' tion of *Baptists* were martyr'd in the same
' place.

' ANNO 1533. two persons, *Lodwick Test*,
' and *Catherine Harngen*, were burnt at
' *Munster*.

THERE is part of a letter, preserved in
an author not to be suspected, that was writ-
ten to *Erasmus*, out of *Bohemie*, dated *October*
10, 1519. in which an account is given of

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a sect then in being, and which had been in that country for above ninety years, who by the character given of them, appear to be *Anabaptists*; and were not only long before *Colomesius's* *Stork* and *Muncer*, but also before *Luther* *Collection*, and *Calvin*, who set themselves to oppose the church of *Rome*. The letter describes them thus: ^{ep. 30.}

‘ These men have no other opinion of the *Wall's Hist.*
‘ Pope, cardinals, bishops, and other clergy, *Bapt. Part II.*
‘ than as of manifest antichrists. They call *P. 200.*
‘ the Pope sometimes the beast, and some-
‘ times the whore, mentioned in the *Revela-*
‘ *tions*. Their own bishops and priests they
‘ themselves do chuse for themselves; igno-
‘ rant and unlearned laymen, that have wife
‘ and children. They mutually salute one
‘ another by the name of brother and sister.
‘ They own no other authority than the scrip-
‘ tures of the Old and New Testament:
‘ They slight all the Doctors, both ancient
‘ and modern, and give no regard to their
‘ doctrine. Their priests, when they cele-
‘ brate the offices of the mass [or commu-
‘ nion] 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
‘ leavened. They believe or own little or
‘ nothing of the sacraments of the church:
‘ Such as come over to their sect, must every
‘ one be baptized anew, in mere water.
‘ They make no blessing of salt, nor of
‘ water; nor make any use of consecrated oil.
‘ They believe nothing of divinity in the sa-
‘ crament 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 me-
 ‘ mory 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
 ‘ adored and worshipped with the honour of
 ‘ *Latria*, sits at the right hand of God, as
 ‘ the Christian church confesses in the creed.
 ‘ Prayers to saints, and for the dead, they
 ‘ count a vain and ridiculous thing; as like-
 ‘ wise auricular confession and penance, en-
 ‘ joined by the priest for sins. Fasts and
 ‘ fast-days are, they say, a mockery, and
 ‘ the disguise of hypocrites. They say, the
 ‘ holy days of the virgin *Mary*, and the
 ‘ Apostles, and other saints, are the inven-
 ‘ tion of idle people; but yet they keep the
 ‘ *Lord’s-day*, and *Christmas*, and *Easter*, and
 ‘ *Whitsontide*, &c.’

THIS description does almost in every
 thing fit the modern *Anabaptists*, especially
 those in *England*. Their saluting one another
 by the name of brother and sister; their chu-
 sing their own ministers, and from among the
 laity; their rejecting all priestly garments,
 and refusing to kneel at the sacrament; their
 slighting all authorities but that of the scrip-
 tures, but especially their baptizing again all
 that embraced their way, does certainly give
 the *Baptists* a better right than any other Pro-
 testants, to claim these people for their pre-
 decessors.

’TIS true, some zealous *Pædobaptists*, who
 would willingly have none thought sober and
 religious, who deny baptism to children,
 have

have insinuated that these *Pyghards*, and followers of *Hus* in *Bobemia*, did not baptize such as came over to them, from any dislike of infant-baptism, but of those ceremonies which the church of *Rome* used in it. And *Ottius* does positively affirm this to be the reason of it.

BUT there is no proof from any authentic histories that those early Protestants, who retained infant-baptism, did any of them, upon their departing from Popery, reject their baptism in that church, and receive a new baptism.

WALDEN, who lived in those times, Tom. III. Tit. v. c. 53. and writ against the *Hussites* in *Bobemia* above an hundred years before *Ottius*, affirms, ‘ That some of them maintained this heresy, Marshall against Tombs, page 65. ‘ That believers children were not to be baptized; and that baptism was to no purpose administered to them.’

WE must therefore look for a more early beginning of this sect and opinion than the insurrection at *Munster*, or the reformation in *Germany*. And we find there are some of Cassander Dupin. Cent. 16. Lib. v. page 45. the *Pædobaptists*, and those of no small repute, who affirm, that the *Albigenses* were the first who dared positively to declare against infant-baptism, and call the preaching of this opinion, by *Muncer*, *Stork*, &c. only a reviving of that error.

OF this sect there was a great number, in divers parts of *France* and *Bobemia*, above three hundred years before *Luther*’s and *Calvin*’s reformation. They went under different names, either from the places that were fullest of them, or the persons who were their principal leaders: But the name of *Albigenses* Fox, Vol. I. p 299. and *Waldenses* were the titles most commonly

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given to them; the one from *Albi*, a place so called in *Languedoc*, in which were great numbers of them; the other from one *Waldus*, the supposed founder of that sect, who was a rich and learned citizen of *Lyons*, and began there to oppose the errors and superstitions of the church of *Rome*, about the year 1160.

THE *Papists* impute a great many heinous crimes to these people; a method which they generally take with all who have dissented from their church. And yet *Reinerus*, a zealous opposer of them, gives a very honourable account of this sect.

Danvers,
page 344.

‘THEY are, says he, in their manner
‘ compos’d, and modest; no pride in ap-
‘ parel, because they are therein neither costly
‘ nor fordid. They transact their affairs
‘ without lying, fraud, and swearing, being
‘ most upon handicraft trades: Yea, their
‘ doctors or teachers are *weavers* and *shoe-*
‘ *makers*, who do not multiply riches, but
‘ content themselves with necessary things.
‘ These *Lyonists* are very chaste and tem-
‘ perate, both in meats and drinks; who
‘ neither haunt taverns, or stews: They do
‘ much curb their passions; they are always
‘ either working, teaching, or learning, &c.
‘ very frequent in their assemblies and wor-
‘ ships, &c. They are very modest and
‘ precise in their words, avoiding scurrility,
‘ detraction, levity, and falsehood.’

THOSE who write against the *Baptists*, charge them with abundance of heresies, and monstrous doctrines; so that it is not easy with certainty to come at their opinions.

As to the matter of Baptism, some represent those they write against, as denying all
baptism.

baptism. Others speak of some that allowed baptism to the adult, but denied it to infants. Others again accuse them of no error at all about baptism. But there is an expedient found out to reconcile this historical difference, which both parties agree to, and seems to be the truth, *viz.* That there were several sects, who went under this general name of *Waldenses* or *Albigenses*, like as there are of *Dissenters* in *England*. That some of these did deny all baptism, and others only the baptism of infants. That many of them were of this latter opinion, is affirmed in several histories of this people, as well ancient as modern. I will for brevity-sake only mention one, whose authority is the rather to be taken, because he was not only a *Pædobaptist*, but also set himself with great care to find out the truth of this matter. 'Tis that of *Chaffanian*, who in his history of the *Albigois* says:

‘ SOME writers have affirmed that the *Albigois* approved not of the baptism of infants: Others, that they entirely slighted this holy sacrament, as if it was of no use, either to great or small. The same has been said of the *Vaudois*; though some affirm, that they have always baptized their children. This difference of authors kept me for some time in suspense, before I could come to be resolved on which side the truth lay. At last considering what St. *Bernard* says of this matter, in his 66th Homily on the second chapter of the *Song of Songs*, and the reasons he brings to refute this error, and also what he wrote *ad Hilde-
fonsum comitem Sancti Ægidii*, I cannot deny that the *Albigois*, for the greatest

Stennet against
Ruffen, p. 81.

‘ part, were of that opinion. And that
 ‘ which confirms me yet more in the belief
 ‘ of it, is, that in the history of the city of
 ‘ *Treves*, which I have mentioned before, at
 ‘ the end of the fourth chapter, ’tis said, that
 ‘ at *Ivoi*, in the diocese of *Treves*, there were
 ‘ some who denied that the sacrament of bap-
 ‘ tism was available to the salvation of in-
 ‘ fants: And one *Catherine Saube*, who was
 ‘ burnt at *Montpelier*, in the year 1417. for
 ‘ being of the mind of the *Albigois*, in not
 ‘ believing the traditions of the *Romish* church,
 ‘ had the same thoughts concerning infant-
 ‘ baptism, as ’tis recorded in the register of
 ‘ the town-house of the said city of *Mont-*
 ‘ *pelier*; of which we shall speak at the end
 ‘ of the fourth book. The truth is, they did
 ‘ not reject this sacrament, or say it was use-
 ‘ less; but only counted it unnecessary to in-
 ‘ fants, because they are not of age to believe,
 ‘ or capable of giving evidence of their faith.
 ‘ That which induced them, as I suppose,
 ‘ to entertain this opinion, is what our Lord
 ‘ says: *He that believeth, and is baptized,*
 ‘ *shall be saved; but he that believeth not,*
 ‘ *shall be damned.*’

CASSANDER, who has examined the
 question about infant-baptism with much care,
 and is said to have writ with more impartiality
 concerning the *Anabaptists* than any other au-
 thor, makes *Peter de Bruis*, and *Henry*, who
 lived four hundred years before all this, to be
 the first that taught this opinion, and practised
 according to it. For, speaking of these pre-
 tended hereticks, he affirms of them; ‘ That
 ‘ they first openly condemned infant-baptism,
 ‘ and stiffly asserted that baptism was fit only
 ‘ for

‘ for the adult; which they both verbally
 ‘ taught, and really practised in their adm-
 ‘ nistration of baptism.’

AND after him, Dr. *Wall* says: ‘ I take *History of In-*
 ‘ this *Peter Bruis*, and *Henry*, to be the first *fant-baptism*,
 ‘ *Antipædobaptist* preachers that ever set up ^{Book II.}
 ‘ a church, or society of men holding that ^{P. 184.}
 ‘ opinion against infant-baptism, and re-bap-
 ‘ tizing such as had been baptized in infancy;’
 and calls them, in the contents, the two first
Antipædobaptist preachers in the world.

BUT lest these early reformers should bring
 any reputation to the *Anabaptists*, he relates
 several infamous stories and malicious slanders
 cast upon them by the *Papists*, without any
 endeavours to clear them: A method that he
 would hardly have taken with the first leaders
 of the reformation, either in *England* or *Ger-*
many.

THESE were both *Frenchmen*, and began
 to propagate their doctrines, and found the
 sect, who after their names were called *Petro-*
brusians and *Henricians*, in *Dauphine*, about
 the year 1126.

THEY had both of them been in priests
 orders, and had each of them a place or em-
 ployment in that office: The former having
 been a minister of a parish-church, but was
 turned out: The latter a monk, but had de-
 serted the monastery, upon the change of his
 principles; for which reason they were called
 apostates, as well as hereticks.

PETER began first; and after he had
 for some time published his opinions, and
 drawn many followers after him, *Henry* be-
 came his disciple, and afterwards his suc-
 cessor.

THE errors they are said to defend, are digested into six articles.

1. THAT infants are not to be baptized.
2. THAT temples or altars ought not to be built; and, if built, to be pulled down again.
3. THAT crosses are not to be worshipped, but rather broken, or trodden under foot.
4. THAT the mass is nothing, and ought not to be celebrated.
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 prayers in the church.

THEIR opinion concerning Baptism, is all that needs here to be enquired into.

PETER, abbot of *Clugny*, writ an epistle to three bishops of *France*, against these hereticks and their followers, in the year 1146. the time when they chiefly prevailed. He accuses them of all these tenets, and makes their denying of infant-baptism the first, and expresses it thus.

The first Proposition of the new Hereticks.

Wall's *History of Infant-baptism*, Part II. P. 173. ' 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 creature: He that believeth, and is baptized, shall be saved; but he that believeth not, shall be damned.* From these words of our Saviour it is plain that none can be saved, unless he believe, and be baptized; that is, have both christian faith and bap-
' tism;

‘tism; for not one of these, but both together, does save: So that infants, tho’ they be by you baptized, 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 persons 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, re-baptize him, but baptize him; for he is so to be accounted, as not yet baptized, who is not washed with that baptism, by which sins are done away.’

THIS account of their practice does perfectly agree with the *modern Baptists*: And the author who relates it, says also,

‘THAT they were reported to renounce all the Old Testament, and all the New, except the four gospels. But this he says he was not sure of; and would not impute it to them, for fear he might slander them.’

So it appears that he took some care in reporting their opinions, and can hardly be supposed to accuse them so positively of that which he only had by hearsay, or at least to make it the first article of their heresy.

A YEAR after this *author* had written against them, *St. Bernard*, abbot of *Clareval*, was desired by the Pope to accompany some bishops, whom he had sent to stop the spreading of these doctrines, and reduce those who had been led into them. When they came nigh to the territory of the earl of *St. Giles*,

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Bernard writes a letter to the said earl, in whose country the aforesaid *Henry* was at this time harboured; in which he recounts what mischiefs that heretick, as he calls him, had done.

Wall's Hist.

Bapt. Part II.

P. 175.

‘ THE churches, says he, are without
 ‘ people; the people without priests, &c.
 ‘ God’s holy place is accounted profane; the
 ‘ sacraments are esteemed unholy, &c. Men
 ‘ die in their sins; their souls carried to that
 ‘ terrible judicature, alas! neither reconciled
 ‘ by penance, nor strengthned by the holy
 ‘ communion. The infants of *Christians* are
 ‘ hindred from the life of Christ, the grace
 ‘ of baptism being denied them: Nor are
 ‘ they suffered to come to their salvation,
 ‘ tho’ our Saviour compassionately cries out in
 ‘ their behalf, saying, *Suffer little children*
 ‘ *to come to me, &c.*’

THE same *St. Bernard* published a little after several sermons; in one of which he complains of a sort of hereticks, who pretended to derive their doctrines from the Apostles, supposed to be these *Petrobrusians* and *Henricians*: Concerning whom he says,
 ‘ They laugh at us for baptizing infants, for
 ‘ our praying for the dead, and for desiring
 ‘ the prayers of the saints: They believe no
 ‘ fire of purgatory after death, but that the
 ‘ soul when it departs the body presently passes
 ‘ either into rest or damnation.’

Sermon in
Cant. 66.

’TIS true, that both these authors give them but an ill character, and impute many errors and vile practices to them: But, of these, the *Pædobaptists* themselves are willing to clear them.

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THE truth is, says Mr. *Marshall*, ‘ These *Infant-bapt.*
‘ two men did, for twenty years together, p. 66.
‘ so much spread the doctrine of the *Wal-*
‘ *denses*, and so plague the bishops mitres,
‘ and the monks bellies, that I wonder not,
‘ though they charged any thing upon them,
‘ which might make them odious to the
‘ people.’

THEIR new doctrine did strangely spread in a little time; and tho’ it began only in *Dauphine*, it soon obtained in most of the provinces of *France*; and from being buzz’d about in desarts, and little villages, it began quickly to be owned by great crouds of people, and entertained in populous towns and cities: Which greatly enraged the *popish clergy*, and occasioned a very hot persecution. *Peter* was in the year 1144 taken in the territory of *St. Giles*, and according to the laws of those times burnt to death. *Henry* escaped for some time after this, and went on to propagate the same doctrines in several places; but at length he was taken also, and delivered in chains to the bishop of *Ostia*: But what was done with him is not said, tho’ it may easily be supposed; for the men of that character don’t use to be guilty of letting hereticks escape out of their hands.

THESE persons lived in the 12th century after Christ, and had a great number of followers, who kept themselves clear of many gross errors, with which the church of *Rome* was corrupted in that dark time. And yet there were two famous persons, who lived and attempted a reformation of religion, above an hundred years before these; who are also accused of broaching this doctrine, and found-
ing

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ing a sect that denied the baptism of infants : That is, *Bruno* and *Berengarius* ; the former was bishop of *Angers*, and the latter deacon of the same church.

BOTH these are said to have attempted a reformation of some corrupt doctrines and practices of the church of *Rome*, about the year 1035. among which the practice of baptizing infants was one. Of this there are two witnesses produced, which *Dr. Wall* acknowledges to have great appearance of truth, notwithstanding his endeavours to render it suspicious.

ONE proof that these men were against infant-baptism, is from a letter written by *Deodwinus*, bishop of *Leige*, to *Henry I.* king of *France* ; in which are these words :

Wall's Hist. c. vii. Part II. p. 159. ‘ There is a report come out of *France*, and which goes thro’ all *Germany*, that these two,’ viz. *Bruno* and *Berengarius*. ‘ do maintain that the Lord’s body [the host] is not the body, but a shadow and figure of the Lord’s body. And that they do disannul lawful marriages ; and, as far as in them lies, overthrow the baptism of infants.’

THE other proof produced, is from *Guitmund*, who wrote against *Berengarius*, towards the latter end of his life. This author, after he had taken notice of the afore-mentioned letter, and the opinions therein laid to their charge, says : ‘ That *Berengarius* finding that those two opinions [of marriage, and baptism] would not be endured, by the ears even of the worst men that were, and that there was no pretence in scripture to be brought for them, betook himself wholly
‘ to

‘ to uphold the other [*viz.* that against transubstantiation] in which he seemed 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 scripture misunderstood.’

THIS seems to be agreeable to the method of the first *authors* of the present reformation in *England* and *Germany*. They set out with a design to rescue both the sacraments from their corruptions and abuses, as has been proved; yet finding the common people incapable of receiving so great an alteration at once, dropt the business of baptizing children, and bent their chief endeavours against Transubstantiation.

THESE were two famous *champions* for the truth, against popish errors and superstitions; especially the latter: And for above an hundred years after, all that stood up for the purity of the Christian religion, were called *Berengarians*. And so many were his followers, that *Matthew Paris* says, he drew all *France*, *Italy*, and *England*, to his opinion.

IF any still doubt, whether there were in this age several who opposed the baptism of infants, let them read *Dr. Alix’s* remarks on the ancient church of *Piedmont*, and particularly what he says concerning one *Gundulphus*, and his followers in *Italy*; divers of whom were examined by the bishop of *Cambray* and *Arras*, in the Year 1025. who represents them to have given the following Reason against infant baptism, *viz.*

Stennet
against Ruffen,
p. 85.

‘ BECAUSE to an infant, that neither wills
nor runs, that knows nothing of faith, is
ignorant of its own salvation and welfare;
in whom there can be no desire of regene-
ration, or confession of faith; the will,
faith, and confession of another man, seems
not in the least to appertain.’

THUS do the most learned of the *Pædo-*
baptists themselves make the first rise of the
sect, they in contempt term *Anabaptists*, to
be at least five hundred years before the con-
fusions at *Munster*, where others would fix
their origin. Nor do some stop here; but
go still farther back, to find out the authors
and founders of this sect, even to the fourth
century. For Mr. *Long*, Prebendary of St.
Peter's, *Exon*, says:

History, Do-
natiists, p. 60.

‘ For, though there were great fewds be-
tween the *Donatists*, and others, that sepa-
rated from them, on the like pretences
as they separated from the *Catholicks*, as
Maximinianists and *Luciferians*, who were
professed *Anabaptists*.’

Now the *Donatists* flourished about the
year 400. as appears by several edicts pub-
lished against them about that time: And,
though the name of *Anabaptist* is given in
several ancient writers to the *Donatists*, and
Arians in general, this was not because they
objected against the baptism of infants; but
for their baptizing those again, who had been
baptized before by the *Catholicks*, either in
infancy, or at age.

BUT now, concerning the *Luciferians*,
Mr. *Long* asserts:

Ib. p. 103.

‘ THAT they did not only rebaptize the
adult, that came over to them, but refused
to

‘ to baptize children, contrary to the practice
 ‘ of the Church, as appears, says he, by fe-
 ‘ veral discourses of St. *Augustin.*’

THESE, by his account, were the most moderate of those who separated from the Catholick church in those times: That they were called *Luciferians* from *Lucifer Calaritanus*, bishop of *Sardinia*, once a zealous defender of the Catholick faith against the *Arians*, for which he was banished by them, when they had the Power; and that his separation from the *Catholicks* was occasioned by their shewing too much countenance to the *Arians*, and admitting them upon too easy *History, Donatists, p. 102.* conditions, not only into their communion, but into ecclesiastical dignities.

HE was a man greatly esteemed and commended on many accounts by the *Catholicks*; great numbers were of his persuasion, and followed him, and stood independent on the *Donatists* congregations, or any of the other factions.

MR. *Philpot* the martyr, in a letter of his *Ib. p. 103.* to his fellow-sufferer, who scrupled infants baptism, finds out another about this time, on whom he fathers the first rise of this opinion.

ONE of his fellow-sufferers for the Protestant religion, being in doubt about the lawfulness of infant baptism, writ a letter to him about it. In *Philpot's* answer to this, he says,

‘ THAT *Auxentius* one of the *Arians* *Cafe of Infant*
 ‘ sect, with his adherents, was one of the first *Baptism,*
 ‘ that denied the baptism of children; and *p. 96.*
 ‘ next after him, *Pelagius* the Heretick, and
 ‘ some

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‘ some other that were in St. Bernard’s time, ‘ as it appears by his writings.’

Socrates,
Ecclesi. Hist.
Lib. IV. Ch.
XXV.
Greek Copy,
Ch. XXX.

THIS *Auxentius* was bishop of *Milan*, and departed this life in the year 378. being succeeded in his bishoprick by St. *Ambrose*, who is remarkable for his being elected a bishop before he was baptized.

OTHERS have followed this opinion ; as *Bullinger* *, *George Phillips* †, *Holms* ‡, and the *Athenian Oracle* §§§.

Wall’s Hist.
Vol. II. Ch.
IV. Sect. III.

I SHALL not enquire into the truth of these representations: Both the *Donatists* and *Arians* are termed *Anabaptists* in several ancient authors ; but the occasion of giving them that title is disputed. However, since they were accused of gross heresies, and the authors of a dreadful schism in the church, some writers against the *Baptists* are willing enough to represent these as their predecessors.

BUT, if this be doubtful, there is still a more early opposer of infant baptism produced by others ; of which there is such authentic proof, as not to be denied by any ; and that is *Tertullian*, who flourished about the year 200, and was very famous in the Christian church, leaving many learned writings behind him.

THIS man is the first christian writer, who expressly mentions such a practice as baptizing of infants, and at the same time condemns it, as an unwarrantable and irrational practice.

* Tom. III. Sect. VIII.
Lamb. p. 137.
§§ Vol. III. p. 245.

† *Answw. to*
‡ *Animad. on Tom. p. 93.*

CHASSANIAN, a learned *Frenchman*, and zealous *Pædobaptist*, in his history of the *Albigois*, having proved that they rejected the baptism of infants, tho' he thinks that they erred in this matter, yet endeavours to excuse them, by alledging, ' That they were *Stennet against*
' not the first who were of this opinion, *Ruffen, p. 83.*
' seeing *Tertullian* was for deferring baptism,
' till persons came to years of discretion.'
Dr. *Wall*, who in one place calls *Peter Bruis* and *Henry* the two first *Antipædobaptist* preachers in the world, yet in another place acknowledges there was, in the first four hundred years, one *Tertullian*, who advised it *Wall's Hist. Bapt. Part I.*
to be deferred till the age of reason; and one *P. 82.*
Naxianzen till three years of age, in case of no danger of death. Mr. *John Goodwin* the *Independent*, being engaged in this controversy, says, ' That *Tertullian* seems to have *Catabap.*
' been the first who persuaded Christians to *P. 74.*
' delay baptism, especially the baptism of
' their children, until afterwards.' Mr. *Stokes* *Remarks on*
also calls *Tertullian* the first *Antipædobaptist* *Dr. Gale,*
in the world. *p. 53.*

BOTH parties in this controversy cite *Tertullian's* words, as making for them. The *Pædobaptists*, to prove there was such a practice as baptizing infants in the Christian church, as early as *Tertullian's* time: The *Baptists*, to improve what he says against it; and to shew that the first writer that makes any mention of such a custom, dislikes and condemns it. For thus he expresseth himself:

' THEY whose duty it is to administer *Tertull. de*
' baptism are to know, That it must not be *Bapt. c. 18.*
' given rashly, *give to every one that asketh*
' *thee*, has its proper subject, and relates to
' alm-

‘ almsgiving : But the command rather is here
 Wall’s *Hist.* ‘ to be considered ; *Give not that which is*
Bap. p. 1, 26. ‘ *holy to dogs, neither cast your pearls before*
 ‘ *swine ; and that, lay hands suddenly on no*
 ‘ *man, neither be partaker of other mens*
 ‘ *faults.* Therefore, according to every ones
 ‘ condition and disposition, and also their age,
 ‘ the delaying of baptism is more profitable,
 ‘ especially in the case of little children ;
 ‘ for what need is there, that the godfathers
 ‘ should be brought into danger, because they
 ‘ may either fail of their promises by death,
 ‘ or they may be mistaken, by a child’s pro-
 ‘ ving of wicked disposition. Our Lord
 ‘ says, indeed, *forbid them not to come unto*
 ‘ *me ;* therefore let them come when they are
 ‘ grown up ; let them come when they under-
 ‘ stand, when they are instructed, whither it
 ‘ is that they come ; let them be made Chri-
 ‘ stians, when they can know Christ : What
 ‘ need their guiltless age make such haste to
 ‘ the forgiveness of sins ? Men will proceed
 ‘ more warily in worldly things ; and he that
 ‘ should not have earthly goods committed to
 ‘ him, yet shall have heavenly ; let them
 ‘ know how to desire this salvation, that you
 ‘ may appear to have *given to one that*
 ‘ *asketh.*’

HERE then is a *Baptist* as early as the year
 200. and if, by that term, we only under-
 stand an opposer of infant baptism, he bids
 very fair for being the first ; because that sup-
 poses such a practice to be introduced, or at
 least attempted. We cannot expect, that any
 should expressly declare themselves against in-
 fants baptism before such an opinion was
 broached, or that any could separate till such a
 practice

practice was introduced. But, if that term be used to signify such as hold the doctrine, on which infant-baptism is rejected, *viz.* That a personal profession of repentance and faith is necessary from those who are admitted to baptism, this was taught and practised by persons of greater authority than *Tertullian*, and who lived long before his time; as will appear by the next account, which some have given concerning this matter, *viz.*

THAT the baptism of infants was, in the primitive times, left as an indifferent thing; being by some practised, by others omitted.

SOME *Pædobaptists*, of no small reputation, finding themselves so hardly pressed in the business of antiquity, are willing to halve the matter with their Brethren.

I FIND several men of great learning, and diligent searchers into antiquity, to go this way; as *Grotius*, *Daillee*, bishop *Taylor*, and *Mr. Baxter*. What they say to this purpose is worth observing.

GROTIUS, who his adversaries acknowledge, had a vast stock of learning, and was well read in antiquity, says to this purpose in his Annotations on *Matt. xix. 14.* taken partly from *Wall*, and partly from *Poole*.

IT does not appear, that infant-baptism *Wall*, par. ii. did universally obtain in the primitive times, *p. 23.* but was more frequent in *Africa* than any where else. In the councils of the ancients, one shall find no earlier mention of *Pædobaptism* than in the council of *Carthage*.

IN *Tertullian's* time it appears, there was nothing defined concerning the age in which they were to be baptized, that were consecrated

*Tertullian on
Baptism,
Ch. xviii.*

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crated by their parents to Christian discipline ; because he diffuades, by fo many reafons, the baptizing of infants.

GREGORY NAZIANZEN, fpeaking of thofe who die without baptifm, mentions among the reft thofe that were not baptized by reafon of infancy ; and he himfelf, though a bifhop's fon, and educated a long time under the care of his father, was not baptized till he became a youth, as is related in his life. And *Chryfoftom*, though according to the true opinion born of Chriftian parents, and educated by *Miletus* a bifhop, was not baptized till paff twenty one years of age.

But moft of all, the canon of the fynod of *Neo Cefarea*, held in the year 315. is worthy our notice ; which determines, that a woman with child may be baptized when fhe will ; for in baptifm the mother communicates nothing to the child, becaufe, in the profefion at baptifm, every one declares his own refolution : How much foever interpreters draw it to another fenfe, it is plain, that the doubt concerning baptizing women great with child was for that reafon ; becaufe the child might feem to be baptized together with its mother, and a child was not wont to be baptized, but upon its own will and profefion ; and fo *Balfamon* explains it, that cannot be enlightned or baptized ; and alfo *Zozaras*, the child in the womb has then need of baptifm, when it fhall be able to deliberate and choofe ; and many of the *Greeks*, fays *Grotius*, from the beginning to this day, obferve the cuftom of detaining the baptifm of their infants, until they are able to make

con-

Com. Cant.
Tit. 4.

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confession of their own faith; and then concludes, by saying, he has not brought this to overthrow the baptism of infants, but to shew the liberty, antiquity, and difference of the custom.

BUT notwithstanding this last clause, wherein he endeavours to excuse what he had said, the *Pædobaptists* are very angry with him, for what he has published against that practice. One says, 'That he was perverted *Rivet's Apology*.
' by cardinal *Perron*, who, in his answer to *King James*, pleaded the cause of the *Anabaptists* with all his might.' Another accuses him with an intention herein to gratify both the *Socinians* and the *Papists*. And a third says upon this, 'That he was 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 ballance, do their power, to help the weakest side.'

THE learned bishop *Taylor* gives the same account, not only when he is representing the arguments of the *Anabaptists*, but when he gives his own sentiments in the case. His words are these, as quoted by *Mr. Wall*:

'IN the first age, says he, they did, or they did not, according as they pleased; there is no pretence of tradition that 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. Jerome*, and *St. Austin*, were born of Christian parents; and yet not baptized until the full age of a man, or more.

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AND a little after : ‘ 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 on but two witnesses, *Origen*
 ‘ and *Austin* ; and, the latter having received
 ‘ it from the former, it wholly relies on one
 ‘ single testimony ; which is but a pitiful ar-
 ‘ gument 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.’

RIGALTIVS, another writer who was
 very conversant with the works of the fathers,
 gives the same account :

Annot. in Cy-
priani, Ep. ad
Fid.

Wall’s *Hist.*
Bap. par. ii.
p. 13.

De Ufu Pa-
trum, lib. ii.
cb. vi.

Wall’s *Hist.*
Bap. par. ii.
p. 25.

‘ FROM the age of the *Apostles*, says he,
 ‘ to the time of *Tertullian*, the matter con-
 ‘ tinued in *ambiguo*, doubtful or various ;
 ‘ and there were some, who, on occasion of
 ‘ our Lord’s saying, *Suffer little children to*
 ‘ *come to me*, though he gave no order to bap-
 ‘ tize them, did baptize even new-born in-
 ‘ fants ; and, as if they were transacting some
 ‘ secular bargain with God Almighty, brought
 ‘ sponsors and bondsmen to be bound for them,
 ‘ that when they were grown up, they should
 ‘ not depart from the Christian faith ; which
 ‘ custom *Tertullian* did not like.’

MONSIEUR *Daille* also, who must be
 reckoned amongst the men of no small
 learning, was of the same opinion. He
 says,

‘ IN ancient times, they often deferred the
 ‘ baptizing both of infants, and of other peo-
 ‘ ple, as appears by the history of the Empe-
 ‘ rours, *Constantine* the great, of *Constan-*
 ‘ *tius*,

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‘ *tius*, of *Theodosius*, of *Valentinian*, and
 ‘ *Gratian*, out of *St. Ambrose*; and also by
 ‘ the orations and homilies of *Gregory Nazi-*
 ‘ *anzen*, and of *St. Basil* on this subject:
 ‘ And some of the *Fathers* too have been
 ‘ of opinion that it is fit it should be de-
 ‘ ferred.’

AND one would wonder to find, even *Baxter's Life*,
 Mr. *Baxter*, though he had writ so zealously book I.
 for infant-baptism, and cast such bitter refle-^{p. 140.}
 ctions upon those that deny it; yet at length
 to center in this opinion, and speak more fa-
 vourably of them.

‘ AND for the *Anabaptists* themselves, says
 ‘ he, as I found that most of them were per-
 ‘ sons of zeal in religion, so *many* of them
 ‘ were sober, godly people, and differed from
 ‘ others but in the point of infant-baptism,
 ‘ or at most in the points of predestination,
 ‘ and free-will, and perseverance. And I
 ‘ found in all antiquity, that though infant-
 ‘ baptism was held lawful by the church, yet
 ‘ some, with *Tertullian* and *Nazianzen*,
 ‘ thought it most convenient to make no
 ‘ haste; and the rest left the time of baptism
 ‘ to every ones liberty, and forced none to be
 ‘ baptized. Infomuch, as not only *Constan-*
 ‘ *tine*, *Theodosius*, and such others, as were
 ‘ converted at years of discretion, but *Augu-*
 ‘ *stine*, and many such as were the children of
 ‘ Christian parents, one or both, did defer
 ‘ their baptism much longer, than I think
 ‘ they should have done. So that in the pri-
 ‘ mitive church some were baptized in in-
 ‘ fancy, and some at ripe age, and some a lit-
 ‘ tle before their death; and none were forced,
 ‘ but all left free,

Wall's *Hist.*
Bap. par. ii.
p. 26.

AT another time, he says, ' In the days of *Tertullian*, *Nazianzen* and *Austin*, men had liberty to be baptized, or to bring their children, when, and at what age they pleased; and none were forced to go against their consciences therein.'

THE last account we have of this matter is, That in the first ages of Christianity, no infants were baptized; but that this practice was brought in, after a certain term of years, without any precedent from *Christ*, his *Apostles*, or those apostolical men that lived next after them. And this is not only the opinion of the *Baptists*, but many of the *Pædo-baptists*, who have searched antiquity about this matter, do ingenuously confess the same. Many instances might be produced of this; I will only give three or four.

Ib. p. 10.

WALAFRIDUS STRABO, who lived about the year 750, is very express in this point: ' It is to be noted, says he, 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*. But when the diligence about our divine religion encreased, 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. The orthodox *Christians*, I say, understanding this, lest children should perish, if they died
' with-

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‘ without the remedy of the grace of regene- Stennet
‘ ration, appointed them to be baptized for ^{againſt} Ruf-
‘ the forgiveness of fins.’ ſen, p. 86.

LUDOVICUS VIVES, in his notes on *Auguſtin, de Civitate Dei*, ſays: ‘ No
‘ perſon was formerly brought to the ſacred
‘ baptiſtery, till he was of adult age, and
‘ both underſtood the meaning of that my-
‘ ſtical water, and requested once and again
‘ to be waſhed in it.’

SUICERUS ſays the ſame thing, but is *Ib. p. 86.*
more poſitive as to the time. ‘ In the two
‘ firſt ages, ſays he, no perſon was baptized
‘ till he was inſtructed in the faith, and
‘ tinctur’d with the doctrine of Chriſt, and
‘ could teſtify his own faith; becauſe of
‘ thoſe words of Chriſt, *He that believeth,*
‘ *and is baptized.* Therefore believing was
‘ firſt.’

CURCELLÆUS does not only confeſs the ſame, but fixes the time of bringing in infant-baptiſm. His words are theſe:

‘ PÆDOBAPTISM was not known in the *Ib. p. 87.*
‘ world the two firſt ages after Chriſt. In the
‘ third and fourth it was approved by a few.
‘ At length in the fifth, and following ages,
‘ it began to obtain in divers places. And
‘ therefore we obſerve this rite indeed as an
‘ ancient cuſtom, but not as an apoſtolic
‘ tradition.’

AND in another place, according to Mr. *Stennet*, he ſays: ‘ The cuſtom of baptizing
‘ infants did not begin before the third age
‘ after Chriſt; and there appears not the
‘ leaſt footſtep of it, in the two firſt cen-
‘ turies.’

I WILL only add to these an *English writer*, whose great learning, and diligent search into antiquity, are well known. I mean the reverend Dr. *Barlow*, afterwards bishop of *Lincoln*.

THIS famous gentleman, before his great preferment in the establish'd church had either bias'd his opinion, or tempted him to conceal it, frankly acknowledged, That both scripture and antiquity were on the side of the *Baptists*.

Danvers,
Cent. 4.
p. 63.

' I BELIEVE and know,' says he, in a letter to Mr. *Tombs*, ' that there is neither ' precept nor example in scripture for Pædo- ' baptism, nor any just evidence for it for ' about two hundred years after Christ. Sure ' I am, that in the primitive times they were ' *Catechumeni*, then *illuminati*, or *baptizati*. ' The truth is, 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 the text grossly misunderstood, *John* ' iii. 5. Upon the like gross mistake of ' *John* vi. 53. they did, for many centuries, ' both in the *Greek* and *Latin* church, com- ' municate *infants*, and give them the Lord's ' Supper: And I do confess, says he, they ' might do both, as well as either.'

WHEN this letter was published, and improved by the *Baptists*, the advocates for Pædobaptism would not let the bishop rest, till he had either denied the letter, or writ a recantation. At length Mr. *Wills* extorted a letter from him, and leave to publish it. In this the bishop acknowledges his writings

as

as above ; but is so far from proving he was mistaken, or had misrepresented the history of those times, that he does not affirm any such thing ; only tries to excuse himself, by saying, that he writ it twenty years ago, when he talked more, and understood less ; and that whatever objections he had against infant-baptism, he never disturbed the peace of the church, nor declined the practice.

THUS have I traced this matter, till we are brought up to the beginning of Christianity it self : And this last opinion is that wherein the controversy resteth.

I SHALL only add some brief remarks on the account given of the different times assigned by the learned for the first rise of the *Baptists*, and the several persons whom they represent to have been the founders of that sect.

I. THAT the most common opinion concerning the first rise of the *Baptists*, and that which would reflect the greatest odium upon them, has the least appearance of truth in it, and is sufficiently confuted by the *Pædo-baptists* themselves : *viz.* That they sprung from those mad and heretical people at *Munster* in *Germany*, a little after the reformation. The most learned of their adversaries, and those that have examined the histories of this people with the greatest care and diligence, make them to be much ancients, and assign no less than seven other different periods of time for their origin ; any one of which being true, will wipe away that scandal.

2. THAT

2. THAT as tradition is generally acknowledged to be the best and chief support of infant-baptism; so even this appears, from their own accounts, to be very precarious and uncertain.

THERE are but two ways, by which they can pretend to justify this practice; *viz.* from scripture, and from antiquity.

Now the most learned and ingenious of the *Pædobaptists* themselves do confess, that there is no express mention of any such thing in scripture; and that the arguments from thence are, at most, but probable. Their more usual way therefore is to recur to ecclesiastical history, and the writings of the *Fathers*: But how uncertain and contradictory their accounts are from hence, does sufficiently appear by this collection.

3. WE may see here also, that the advocates of infant-baptism do themselves confess and prove, that in all ages of Christianity almost, there have been some who have opposed that practice, as an human tradition, and unwarrantable custom.

THE writings of the first two hundred years are wholly silent about it: The first that mentions it, condemns it; and very many of those, who stood up afterwards to oppose the corruptions and abuses brought into religion, declared their dislike of it.

Now for all this to be granted, and proved too, by the adversaries of the *Baptists*, is no small argument in their favour; and may convince the world, that their scruples in this case

case are not wholly groundless, nor a mere novelty.

4. IN this variety of opinions, and these different accounts from ancient history, those who either want ability or opportunity to search those writings themselves, have most reason to depend on their account, who say, that there are no footsteps of infant-baptism in the first ages of Christianity; and that it appears to have been introduced a considerable time after Christ and his Apostles.

THESE, I say, supposing them to be men of equal learning and probity with the others, have most reason to be relied on; because it made against their own practice, and what they appeared desirous to support and maintain. Men are too apt to be partial to their own side, and to conceal or let pass any thing that would reflect upon their own practice in religion: He that appears so fair therefore, as to relate what makes against him as well as for him, is freest from suspicion.

AGAIN: Those who appear too angry with them, for making these concessions to the *Baptists*, have not yet been able to confute them, by producing any direction from *Christ* or his *Apostles* to baptize infants, nor one instance of baptizing any such for the first two hundred years. And if it be said, Those who talk thus are but few, in comparison of the great number that oppose them; it is answered, That truth is not always on the side of the greatest number; and that their number is not inconsiderable, when we add to them all the learned among the *Baptists*, and a great number of learned men

in

Vid. Stennet in the church of *Rome*, who assert the same against *Ruffen*, thing.
p. 173.

5. THIS diversity of opinions among the learned about tradition, and the practice of the Fathers, tends to confirm the *Baptists* in their opinion; That the holy scriptures are to be the only rule of our faith and worship; and that we are to practise nothing, as an institution of Christ, which is not therein contained. Supposing it could be proved, by sufficient evidence, that the churches did immediately after the apostles practise infant-baptism, it would not necessarily follow from thence that it was instituted by Christ, and practised by the Apostles; because the most ancient churches were subject to err, and those christians who lived in the very next age after the Apostles, made several additions, both in doctrine and worship. Their writings may therefore prove fact, but not right: And the grand question would still remain; Whether this practice was derived from *Christ*, and his *Apostles*, or begun by some others after his death?

THE writings of the *Fathers* therefore could only furnish them with probable arguments: And we must, after all, refer to scripture for certainty in this, and all other controversies about points of revealed religion. But how defective are they, even in these probable arguments; and how miserably are they divided, in their opinions on this account? It is easy to discern from this collection, that they are much more successful in confuting each other, than in defending themselves: What one calls orthodox, another

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other represents as herefy; and a practice highly applauded by one, is severely censured by another. And in ecclesiastical history there is a very great uncertainty, even as to facts.

BUT, in the midst of these confusions, *we have a sure word; whereunto we do well* 2 Pet. i. 19. *to take heed, as unto a light that shineth in a dark place. To the law therefore, and to* Isa. viii. 20. *the testimony; if they speak not according to this word, it is because there is no light in them.*



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“A HISTORY of the Baptists should be understood in its objects and aims; and cleared, in the beginning, of misapprehension and perversion. It is not the history of a nationality, a race, an organization, but of people, *traced by their vital principles and gospel practices*. The unity to be exhibited and demonstrated was not brought about by force, by coercion of pains and penalties, by repressive and punitive Acts of Conformity; but by the recognition and adoption of a common authoritative and completely divine standard... the WORD OF GOD.”

Dr. J. L. M. Curry (1825-1903)

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