

# **A WORD OF PROPHECY**

**Concerning the Parliament, General  
Cromwell, and the Army.**

*With a little of the first Adam. Wherein  
are divers objections answered,  
concerning that position of God, being  
the Author of Sin.*

**Henry Pinnell.**

***Included is Pinnell's Introduction to the Third  
Volume of the Sermons of Tobias Crisp,  
entitled CHRIST ALONE EXALTED, 1646.***

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## **BRIEF BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH**

Henry Pinnell, born about 1613, was a Parliamentary Army Chaplain, and Minister of the Gospel, who was born, and spent much of his life in Brinkworth, a small village in northern Wiltshire. It was also here in Brinkworth, where Tobias Crisp, {from about 1627-1642,} served as Rector to a congregation of believers, being much followed for his edifying way of preaching the Gospel of Christ. Writing the preface to the Third Volume of Crisp's Sermons, printed in 1646, we discover that Pinnell actually knew Crisp personally, for he informs his readers that upon his "own experience, and more than twelve years' knowledge" he could readily vindicate the author "from all vicious licentiousness of life, and scandalous aspersions cast on his person by lying lips." Pinnell not fearing to appear upon Crisp's behalf, further stating that, "if I should not open my mouth in his behalf, whose industry and integrity God and his saints have so much approved, and from whose labours and yoke-fellow I have reaped so much comfort, if yet I should be silent, I desire to be marked with a black coal."

Pinnell graduated from St Mary Hall, Oxford in 1634; though he himself states that, "all the learning I had at Oxford, I laid out and improved in opposing the truth," furthermore stating that he received more spiritual instruction, "from simple country people, husband-men, weavers, &c., about Brinkworth, Southwick, and those parts in Wiltshire, than ever I did, or yet have by books and preachers." Pinnell, like Cradock, Dell & Webster, was vigorously opposed to a University Education in reference to manufacturing Gospel ministers, this being essentially and primarily the work of the Spirit, a tone evident in his writings. Whilst no account exists of his whereabouts after leaving Oxford, it would appear that he returned to his hometown of Brinkworth, gathered from the fact that he

mentions being acquainted with Crisp for upwards of twelve years, perhaps indicative that he was a member of Crisp's Congregation in that town?

The next time we officially hear of him, we find him as New Model Army Chaplain to Colonel John Pickering's Regiment of Foot in 1645. {Pickering was a zealous puritan, and his regiment were made up of mostly Independents, who were closely aligned with Cromwell. His troops, a respected hard fighting unit, often at the forefront in difficult and dangerous actions, were prominent in the storming of Lincoln, the siege of York, and in 1644 distinguished themselves at the battle of Marston Moor.} One has to remember that the New Model Army was largely made up of Bible-reading, Psalm-singing soldiery which forsook their workshops and fields for pikes and muskets in support of the Parliamentary cause. Indeed, for Cromwell, Fairfax, and a large majority of those who were appointed chief officers, along with their Army Chaplains, the English Civil War was primarily a religious struggle. In a speech by Cromwell given in 1655 he states that, "religion was not the thing at first contested for, but God brought it to that issue at last; and gave it unto us by redundancy, and at last it proved that which was most dear to us." Not only were the main issues religious ones, but from the point of view of the chaplains, many of the soldiers were also men that truly feared the Lord; and these saints they wanted to spiritually fortify with the truths of the Gospel, not only to mentally equip their minds to help enable them to wage a good warfare in the flesh, but primarily to strengthen their spiritual armour with that heavenly manna suitable to their welfare in Christ.

After some time in serving the interests of the Parliamentary cause, and more particularly upon the death of Pinnell's Commanding Officer, Colonel John Pickering, who in November of 1645 fell sick and died, he

began to become dissatisfied with the present course of the Army, and to question his own Military involvement. He states that, "by his death the Lord seemed to satisfy me, and to put an end to all my enquiries; I thought that it was his mind and will that I should abide no longer in that way, and with this I sat down well contented for a time," as the Lord "began to confound my thoughts concerning the present War." Despite many personal reservations, doubts and fears regarding his present state; a resolve to abandon his post, and actually leaving for some time, he reluctantly returned, confessing quite honestly that "many worldly and carnal arguments urged to me, such as my own covetous and deceitful heart had laid hold on before, but now stuck more closely unto, being pressed again by friends; so that I took up new resolutions, and did return again to the Army, to that which I had lately vomited up, my dogged nature barking at the approach and appearing of God." He continues, stating that "objections came in a main, and my distractions increased. Sometimes the flesh, and Satan together, would put me forward with motives of pride, vain-glory, singularity, popular applause, getting a name, becoming famous, eminent and be taken notice of, as Mr. Sedgwick and Mr. Saltmarsh were."

Gospel sermons preached by both Sedgwick and Saltmarsh would be the voice of the Lord to his bewildered state of mind, which as one reciprocal word were saying to him, "forsake, forsake, and come out of these crooked and carnal ways and paths." So after much reluctance, and many inward battles, he left for Windsor in December of 1647, where he told Fairfax's Council of War and Cromwell himself that they were betraying the Army. He recounts this in the following manner, "I could not rest till I went to Windsor to ease my thoughts before the General and some others." "I told him that I had a message to him, and must entreat his patience to hear it.

He desired me to walk into the house, and said, he would come presently, and nothing should interrupt his hearing of what I had to say. When he came in, I applied myself to his Excellency, and after some digression caused by the Scoutmaster, I spake more particularly to this effect unto him. Sir, you are like Ephraim oppressed and broken in judgment, you know not what to do, nor which way to turn; your understanding is lost, your counsel and wisdom blasted; you know not how to manage or dispose your Army as formerly you have done; all which the General confessed. Thus {said I} you are at a loss every way; and all because like Ephraim, you have willingly followed after the commands of men, and not of God. Then he was pleased to give me a particular account of his principles and actions, in reference to the war, from his first taking up of Arms unto that day." Pinnell continues addressing Cromwell, "Sir, you have committed great adultery and defiled yourself with much uncleanness; you climb up into the bed of a strumpet, a whore and an adulterous woman, for now the Commissioners of Parliament are here." He states that, "the neglect of their undertakings, the General did for the most part confess, but somethings he excused," and continues in relating that "the General gave ear to all that I said with much candor and clemency, took all in good part and as afterwards also by Mr. Peters gave me thanks for my plain dealing, as he called it; so I bowed before him and took my leave." Immediately the next day Mr. Hugh Peters preached a morning sermon, and Pinnell preached to the troops that afternoon. Pinnell seems to have left the Army about that time.

After leaving the army, a difficulty in obtaining a ministerial position seemed to follow him throughout the next few years. Still engaged in preaching, though not as a parson, vicar, or curate, he states that "the people still had some expectation" of him, and it seems that some objected to his manner of 'spiritualizing' the word. One

charge being that he was "too seraphical and allegorical" in his preaching, he answered, {Nil Novi, This Years Fruit, from Last Years Root, 1655,} in the following manner, "such should all endeavor to be; and so seraphical would I be. I wish that I and all that upbraid me, had a larger measure of this Ministry, that we were able to show God more clearly to men, and bring men more near unto God. He that hath an ear to hear, let him hear what the spiritual Ministry of God is in the Church. As men yet love to dally and play with the letter, and to cut such a Religion out of the Scripture, as will indulge and mince their faults, that will keep their own sin and God's mercy a great way off from them, that will form such a Christ without them, who can find no room in their inn, but must be thrust out among their bestial lusts; the crafty, subtle, serpentine, Luke 2:7, foxlike thoughts; the ambitious, proud, airy imaginations of men, are such and so many, that Christ hath not where to lay his head in their hearts. Matt.8:20."

And then comparing Christ to the Cherubims, he says, that Christ "spreads both his wings of Divinity and Humanity, Law and Gospel, Letter and Spirit, both united in him, over the Mercy-seat, that there might be no more condemnation to us, Rom.8:1, but that we should have boldness at the throne of grace, and find help in time of our need, Heb.4:16, because our Cherub, our Christ, appears in the presence of God for us, Heb.9:24; this our Angel doth always behold the face of our Father in heaven, Mat.18:10, whose face is the mercy-seat, Psal.4:6; 17:15; John 14:8, for, like his name, Exod.34:6,7, it is merciful, gracious, pardoning, &c. Forasmuch then as all things work together for our good, and that by the Creation, Law, Gospel, Letter, Spirit, &c., God intends to draw us nearer to himself, let us not neglect his great Salvation."

Though little account exists of his later years, and none of the exact day of his departure from this world, a

fitting conclusion would be a few sentences from his book entitled, *Nil Novi*, where he says, "I am finishing a short course, and would have no other mark in my eye but this, that the day of my audit is at hand; all my care is to cast my account clear, and to give it up with comfort. I like even reckoning with all men, and love not to be at odds with any but the Devil, the World, and my Self."

**TOBIAS CRISP – CHRIST ALONE EXALTED –  
INTRODUCTION – 1646.**

**TO THE IMPARTIAL READER**

Reader; truth needs no shield to shelter it; her own bare breasts are armor of proof against all daring darts of ignorance and pride; and therefore walks fearless in the midst of all those torrents of bitter words; whoever vaunts in putting on his harness? Truth only triumphs in putting it off; this never quits the field without the garland; for God that calleth to the combat carrieth on with a conquering hand; the gates of hell assault, but prevail not; for we can do nothing against the truth, but for the truth. The Prince of the air musters up his forces, and retreats; his black guard falls on with him, and are shamefully beaten back; kings, with their armies flee before it; the powers of darkness, like Jehu, march against it, furiously they attempt, they storm, but at the brightness that is before this Sun, the thick clouds remove; one of truth subverts the tents of darkness.

What is stronger than truth, whose going out is as the morning, and riseth up to a glorious day? That ancient emblem is a true image of truth; a candle in a lantern upon a high hill, beleaguered with tempestuous blasts, hangs out the flag of defiance, with this motto, *Nisi Dominus Frusta*, that is "except the LORD build the house, they labour in vain that build it; except the LORD keep the city, the watchman waketh but in vain." Psal.127:1. It is but lost labour to dig a trench about that city for which the Lord hath appointed salvation for walls and bulwarks; but though it be secured from subversion, yet it is not protected from opposition. You know how it went with Christ; was not his cradle cut out of the same wood of which his cross was made? His first entrance upon the stage of this world foreshadowed a black day at his departing; his sudden flight into Egypt from Herod's barbarous jealousy was but the prologue to that sad tragedy, {a sad tragedy indeed to the carnal perception of those that put him to death,} which he ended on Mount Calvary; nor may his children or servants expect better entertainment; bonds or afflictions, or both, abide them that are faithful; they have called the Master an impostor, or glutton, Beelzebub; and is the servant above his Lord? I know this servant of truth hath had his share in suffering for it; envious men pursue those that out-go them; a Pharisee will stone any, even Christ, that shall presume to teach them beyond their old divinity. Much dirty gear hath been cast upon the Author of this book, which, if it could have fastened on him, I were {by special



engagements} bound to wipe it off; but a false tongue cannot make a guilty person; Rabshakeh's railing made no breach in Jerusalem's walls. Christ alone must be exalted, and all flesh made his footstool.

But there be some who seek to darken the wisdom of God with the words of men, and draw a specious veil over divine mysteries, that so {it may be not intentionally} understanding is hid from the simple; these make a fair show in the flesh. But I had rather see the king in his plainest clothes than his fool in a painted coat. Where is the scribe? Where is the wise? Where is the disputer of this world? The loftiness of man must be laid low, his glory buried in the dust, all his perfections come to an end; but if thou desirest to see truth in a comely dress, and clear complexion, thou mayest have a full view thereof in this ensuing discourse. Say not the treatise is too small to contain so vast a subject, but rather admire his skill that discovers so much of heaven through so small a perspective. We applaud their art that contract the wide world into the narrow compass of a slender map; what a deal of worth is in a little diamond? How do men prize the dust of gold? Despise not small things; say not it is a little book; a little star may light thee to Christ; great bodies have most humours; grosser volumes commonly are thickened with too much earth. If thou ask what is in this? I answer, as the voice once spake to Austin, Tolle Lege, {that is, take up and read,} or as Philip to Nathaniel, "come and see." If I should say all that I know of the author, some that

know me would say that I flatter him, because of my relation to him in his life, though I know there is little to be gotten by dead men's favour. But this I shall be bold to affirm, there is no Antinomianism in the title or tract; and from all vicious licentiousness of life, and scandalous aspersions cast on his person by lying lips, I stand upon my own experience, and more than twelve years knowledge to vindicate him; let the father of lies, and all his brood, come forth to make good their charge against him. I fear not to appear in his cause; yea, if I should not open my mouth in his behalf, whose industry and integrity God and his saints have so much approved, and from whose labours and yoke-fellow I have reaped so much comfort, if yet I should be silent, I desire to be marked with a black coal.

Try him now, and judge; thou wilt find no poison in his hive; no serpent lurks under his leaves. Take up and read; come, and see whether Jesus of Nazareth be not here; not sealed up in a sepulchre, and guarded with a rude train to keep his disciples from him, as the High Priests used to do; but thou shalt find him in his garden, opening his fountain, blowing on his spices, leading into his banqueting-house, staying with flagons, comforting on every side; thou shalt find more in this book than I will promise; only be persuaded to peruse it; if thou lovest thy rest, read it; for here is news of a fruitful land, footing for thy fainting soul, the Olive branch doth witness it; fear not, be not dismayed; the waters are abated; let not thy sloth make thee guilty of thy misery. Will not the weather-beaten mariner

employ all his strength and oars to thrust into a quiet harbour? Is anything more desired by the chased hart than the cooling streams? How do men, pursued by the enemy, rejoice in the shelter of a strong hold? Can anything be more welcome to a notorious offender, justly condemned, than a gracious pardon? Is not God and his righteousness all this, and much more to a poor creature in such conditions? Behold a haven, a brook, a tower, a pardon, a full, a free pardon, a ransom for thy soul; the righteousness of God breaking through the sides, the hands, the heart of Christ, to make way to thee, to revive thy dying, drooping, bleeding heart. Incline thine ear, hearken for time to come; hear, and thy soul shall live; forsake not thine own mercies to observe lying vanities; lean not to the reeds of Egypt, when thou hast the rod of God's strength put into thy hand. Shall there be a price in the hand, and no heart to it? It may be thy feet have not yet stumbled, though thou hast walked on the hills of earth, the mountains of the world, the high mountains of the flesh, thy way hath been smooth and easy; so is the wild ass's till her month overtake her; thy conscience, perhaps, hath fancied some shadow of peace by the dull glimmering of an earthly spark; but they that walk in that light, at last lie down in sorrow. Isaiah 1:11.

Be not proud therefore, but give glory to God, before he cause darkness, before he turn your light into the shadow of death, and make it gross darkness; that darkness that might be felt was not the least of the Egyptian plagues. What greater

torment than the conscience once sensible of being destitute of the light of life? The author's aim is to lead thee into Goshen, to guide thy feet into the way of peace; follow him, walk in the steps of the faith of our father Abraham, that faith, of which circumcision was no cause, nor evidence to himself; for he had it, and he knew he had it, before he was circumcised; by this faith he gave glory to God; we give glory to the robe of God's righteousness, when we put none of our own under it to make it sit uneasy, nor wear any of our own upon it, to obscure the full glory of it; thou wilt find this garment the best fashion, and as well held forth by this, as by any man, whose intentions were to cover all blemishes, all sins, to hide all deformity with it; yet to shelter no lust, nor sin under it. I might launch out into his life, and call in all his practice to prove it; but till more need require, I shall refer thee to Mr Lancaster in his preface to the first volume, and to the present trial of his doctrine. Let a Christian heart moderate a critical eye, and find fault that can. The God that once breathed the rich knowledge of himself through the frail organs of this earthen vessel, into the ears of those that heard him, now dart a greater glory of his righteousness and grace into the eyes of all their understandings that shall read him.

I know I can add no worth to this work; it is of divine value, it hath the stamp of heaven, the image of God is on it; the author is gone home, and yet living with the Lord, though some think the saints die, and like the wicked, leave a stink behind

them. I deny not the mortality of any, nor need I hang this man's hearse with odoriferous encomiums; yet he that visits his friend, though never so godly, in the grave, had need take a little frankincense in his hand, if he be buried among men; all the air in the world is so contagiously infected with the stinking breath of the living, that you cannot come near the dead without a bundle of myrrh. Malice and madness like a gangrene stands at the tomb and tent of every blessed soul, crying, "touch me not." Of all men, one would have thought so sweet a man as Christ had needed no spices in his sepulchre; for he did no evil, and he saw no corruption; yet Joseph would not inter his body without sweet odours, though Mary had bestowed a whole box of precious ointment on his feet in his lifetime, but a little before his burial. Let the saints walk never so wisely, warily, circumspectly; let them keep their feet as clean, as sweet as they can, they had need of their winding sheet and coffin perfumed; I say not with the parasitical smoke of a perfumed oration, but with a just vindication of their innocency as occasion shall require. But I hope there will be need of no engagement from me this way in the author's behalf; for his two last sermons in this volume are a clear vindication of him from those common aspersions laid upon him and the doctrine he preached, which for that reason amongst others, has now come into the world before their full growth, the author being taken away before he could bring forth all his conceptions in the pursuit of those two subjects; which we desire the reader candidly to

accept as the last breathings forth of the spirit in that precious saint whilst he was below. But if this stops not the mouth of envy, I shall not think any cost too great to raise up and continue the memory of truth's favourites and friends; nor esteem any labour too much, whereby I may approve myself the friend and servant of Christ Jesus and his church, otherwise than which {by God's grace} thou shalt never find, the Subject of Christ, and Servant of his Saints,

**HENRY PINNELL**

***To the Right Worshipful the Lady Anne Aston,  
elect and called of God, and therefore despised  
of the World, but honoured and beloved of all  
that are chosen and called out of it.***

Madam,

Confusion and Controversy, the consequence and companion thereof, like two black clouds, cover the face and glory of this visible Creation. The comfort and content, the heaven and happiness of the creature, is overspread and hid with the thick veils and shadows of death and darkness. What peace then or prosperity is to be expected here, {Psal.119.96; Eccl.1:2; Isa.23:9,} in the midst of such perplexities? Vanity and mortality is written upon all sublunary and earthly perfections, and will stain them. Increased light only cannot be comprehended by darkness. John 1:5. Jesus Christ in the spirit was seen by those that were spiritual in the darkest times. "We beheld his glory," {when the Jews and others saw only his shame and assumed baseness,} we saw it, "as the glory of the only begotten Son of the Father, full of grace and truth." John 1:14.

But when men wait for created light, behold obscurity; when they look for the brightness, of the earthy and created state, they walk in darkness. The sun of this world goes down into a night, yea, it sets at noon-day, and the earth is darkened in the clear day. Did not Adam die when he was risen, and ascended to the meridian of his created life? And did

not, even then, the sable cloud of death overshadow all the inhabitants of his loins, and eclipse all that beauty, splendor, glory, excellency and perfection of his created state? You are therefore admonished from the Lord, {the Glory of whose majesty when it ariseth, will terribly shake all earthly foundations, carnal confidence and fleshly principles,} to cease from man, Gen.2:7, from that man, that Adam, "whose breath is in his nostrils," as one not to be accounted of. What reckoning should you make of that dust of the ground, that earthly Adam who hath only breath breathed but into his nostrils? The earthy and fleshly microcosm, or that little world, man, with all that he hath, which is beneath heaven, which is not of an heavenly nature, shall be destroyed when the flood of the Spirit is poured out upon all flesh, though it hath the breath of life in it, the life of the first Adam, as once the old world was by the deluge of waters. No man, no not the first Adam, did ever ascend to a heavenly state; none but Jesus Christ the second Adam, this Son of man which came to earth from heaven, Eph.1:3; 2:6, and was in heaven upon earth; he, and he only ascendeth to heaven, and raiseth up those that are in him to heavenly places, a condition, state, righteousness truly heavenly.

Adam had his root and rise but in and from the earth; how then could his righteousness be heavenly or spiritual? As is the tree, such is the fruit; men do not expect grapes from thorns, nor figs from thistles. I never heard of any tree so tall, whose root was in the ground, and the top touched the skies.



The tower that was intended to be carried to that height, Gen.11:4, could never be finished, the workmen were scattered before the work was perfected. How vile and void of understanding is vain man, to think to escape the vengeance of heaven, the foundation of whose security is laid in earth?

And yet how are the children's teeth of this generation set on edge with the sour grapes that their fathers have eaten, bad precedents in the parents are of mischievous consequence to their posterity. Adam had but a terrene paradise at best, yet by the fruit of knowledge therein he aspired to an equality with God, and how do his children still hanker and long after that earthy excellency of his? How do they struggle and strive to creep up unto that terrestrial glory? How do they hunger and thirst after that goodly appearance of his spiritual and heavenly knowledge, falsely so called, supposing it to be really and properly of a celestial and divine perfection? This is that earthy mountain that the Fathers have worshipped in, and their children do not yet know the way to Zion. Many there be that say, we will follow our Fathers, but few call to remembrance, how they have sinned with their Fathers. Jer.44:17; Psal.106:6. The entrance, progress and pattern of confusion is laid down, Gen.11:7-8, and every generation of Adam takes up an exact imitation.

For when men take their journey from the East, when they forsake the spring of light, the morning of the day, the day-star; that bright and Morning-star, Jesus Christ, the Sun of

Righteousness; when they depart from the fountain of light, life and living waters, they dig and drink at the broken Cisterns of earth; they find a little plain, smooth, fair-promising plat of ground in the first Adam, and they dwell there; they take up their habitation in this Land of Shinar; Jerusalem, the vision of peace, is built upon the High and Holy Hill of Zion, the Mountain of the Lord; Babel, the confusion of the creature is founded in the plain of Shinar, the low valley of the earthy Man. Shinar signifieth the watching of one asleep, or the changing of a City. The further men go from the East, the more they leave Christ, {who awakeneth the sleepy, and giveth life to the dead,} the more dull and drowsy they become, they watch and are awake no more than one that sleepeth; they may have waking dreams of Adam's rich, full and plentiful state, but when they shall awake in the spirit of Christ, it will be with them as with that hungry man, Isa.29:8, or as with the Church of Laodicea, Rev.3:14-22, those that take sanctuary, and seek refuge in Adam and his perfection, do change a new and heavenly City for an old and earthy one. This City they build with brick made of the earth with hands, not of that lining stone cut out of the mountain without hands; they lay the foundation of their tower and city, upon Adam's purity, innocence, righteousness, they pitch themselves in Shinar, &c.

This building upon the man, Adam, always hath been, still is, and ever will be carried to a great height; some in every age of the world strive to make it reach to a spiritual and divine nature, but

the top thereof never yet touched Heaven, for God blasts the building with confusion, and calleth the work Babel, before it can be finished, Mark 12:10, and all because men will build with brick instead of stone. The Foundation and Chief Corner Stone is rejected of the builders, Lk.17:25, Jesus Christ in the spirit is slighted, as a mere Europa, a world in the moon, a chimaera, a castle in the air, having existence only in supposition, notion, and a deluded fancy.

The language of men is confounded; one calls for Presbytery, and a multiplied Episcopacy is brought up; one cries out, "here is Christ," another, "lo there he is," every man seeking to set up his form, and would have a shrine made for his own Diana. Tis just with God to bring those down, and leave them below under fleshly forms, and visible sensible appearances, who {like Peter} out of a drowsy and sleepy temper, cannot be contented with Christ alone in the spirit, and that righteousness of God in him, but must have a Tabernacle for Adam, Luke 9:33, also when he appears {like Moses and Elias} in his glory.

I foresee the cavil and exception, for some say and conclude, that I {and your Ladyship hath had your share with me in the censure} deny all set order and established forms of church government. These may go to the plow-man for their answer and satisfaction; he will tell them that by the continual motion of his cart and plow wheels, he hath his business done, whereas if they stood still, he could have no seed sown, no crop reaped, nor any profit

at all made of his land; yet in the revolution of the wheel, no spoke therein is always fixed either upward or downward. In Ezekiel's vision you have a wheel in a wheel, Ezek.1:16, an internal mystery in an external appearance, form or dispensation; the spirit of life within keeps this wheel in motion. God will have his people make a progress; he will carry them from dispensation to dispensation; from strength to strength, and never let them stand still {in any form} till they appear in the perfection and beauty of the Spirit.

Madam, I know you are removing from Shinar to Sion; from Babylon the City of men, to Bethel the House of God. Let it not trouble you to see the confusions that are in the world, or in your own heart, concerning the first Adam; there is good hope and great likelihood that the building of the earthy state will be at a stand. You are a gainer by changing rotten rags for rich, righteous and royal robes; there can be no loss of mortality being swallowed up of life. I have heard of one {and it hath been mine own case} miserably complaining once of the confusions, distractions and division of heart; indeed the Babylonish yoke and captivity is a sore bondage; fightings without, and fears within, troubles on every side, will give the flesh no rest; such heavy and grievous pressures will make sad and amaze a true Israelite, whose heart is upright before the Lord; yet I told you {not long since} that John did grow and wax strong in spirit, Luke 1:80, in the Wilderness, {John signifieth beloved,} the seed of God's love may lie under the rough, uneven, earthy clods and

thoughts of man's heart; but will at last break through, and grow up above them; this seed thrives in the night of insensibleness and dis-apprehension of the flesh, as well as in the day of sight, sense and feeling; when man sleepeth, as well as when he awakes; in winter as well as in summer. The day and the night are the Lords, he made summer and winter; the sharp, cold and frosty winter nights of trouble and disquiet are for the chastening of the weeds of flesh, that the old and outward man may perish, but that the inward and hidden man of the heart may be renewed day by day. II Cor.4:16. Divine favour is not of such shallow rooting as to die and wither away in the time of the creatures grudging, murmurings and confusions.

The Sun of Righteousness is not turned into darkness, but gives light, and shineth in its strength and glory to the celestial and spiritual part and principle, when by reason of a cloudy sky of fleshy frailties; it hath but a weak influence upon the terrene and sensible part of man. The way by which God will comfort his people thoroughly, is by consuming their supposed comforts, and withering their carnal confidence. Isaiah 40:1-11. God would have his people comforted, and the voice was to cry, all flesh is grass, &c. Adam was as the green grass of the ground, and Eve was as the flower of the field, the glory of the earthy man, I Cor.11:7, but neither the flower, nor the grass, could endure the scorching heat of the Serpent's temptation. The earthy and created excellency of the first Adam, is unto man as the gourd was to Jonas, it may cover his head in the

night, and give him the shadow of rest and peace in his natural condition, and the time of his ignorance; but when the Sun ariseth, when Jesus Christ the greater light breaketh forth to discover the darkness of that light, it withers away and shrinks into nothing; this; like the meteors and glowworm, hath its spark and splendor from the earthy glory; it shines only, and is seen in the dark state of the creature; a worm at last, that deadly and never dying worm will smite the root of it, for Adam's righteousness will not, it cannot succor the soul in the great and terrible day of the Lord.

Two great rocks lie hid in the deep heart and sea of man's nature, which make the voyage to heaven dangerous to the passengers; of which I would give your Ladyship warning beforehand; earthy excellency is one, the other is fleshly forms. The first derives its descent from Adam, and therefore will claim precedency and primogeniture; the second, though they come into the world to wait upon the sons and heirs of God, during the time of their nonage and minority, yet would share and divide the inheritance with the children, when they are of full age; the servant would abide in the house with the son. The Church in her captivity complains of two great evils, as the aggravation of her calamity, viz., strangers possessing her inheritance, and servants ruling over her. Lam.5:2,8. Among all the vanities which Solomon saw under the Sun, Eccl.10:7, he took notice of Servants riding on horse-back, and Princes walking like Servants upon the earth.

What a stage of vanity is this world, where every Art and Science is made up of madness and folly? Would you not take it as an affront to yourself, and a disparagement to your friends, if a stranger, that lives upon the mere charitable benevolence of your Father, should {by a base parasitical insinuation into your near relations} bear more sway in the family than yourself? If a proud, saucy, malapert intruder should dip his hand in the dish before you, {this you have indeed seen, and had patience to bear it,} and most uncivilly snatch the meat from you; sleight, scorn and jeer you to your face at Table; would it not trouble you and undervalue your Father's love, if you must make way to him by a base, beggarly, upstart fellow, who like a Stage-player, hath but lately put off the rags of a slave, now appears in the habit of a Master? I came not Madam, sneaking under your Father's roof, to shake and shlock away your treasure and jewels, but to warn your Ladyship of those thieves and cheaters which lie in wait to steal and rob you of these heavenly treasures, joy, peace, comfort, and a quiet spirit. Created excellencies and glory, the fair shows and specious forms of the flesh, are but strangers and foreigners to the New Jerusalem above, servants only in Jerusalem below; keep your heart with all diligence, these else will slink into it, flatter your fancy, deceive your understanding, delude your judgment, work upon your will, cheat your affections, and keep under the high-born heir of Heaven. Jesus Christ, the King of Righteousness, and Prince of Peace, shall be in low esteem, if once

these get too much favour. This Prince must walk like a servant on earth; attend and wait upon the necessities, wants, faults, frailties, and serve the sinful righteousness of man so long, till he is wearied with his iniquities. Isaiah 43:24.

I do not prostrate this small present to your Ladyship for Patronage, but peruse all; and though it come to your hands without former acquaintance, yet I believe, not without a candid acceptance. One part concerns you little, by the other you may get something. I must not continue long with you; this may be a testimony of my respects when I am gone from you. I came not to you to make my abode with you, but to put you in remembrance of your departing from yourself. Your own self is the last cottage you live in here, and that but a poor, mean, earthy one neither; and when this is dissolved, and, like a shepherd's tent, removed, your soul takes possession of an heavenly Mansion. When self is conquered, the soul is crowned; but this victory is not attained, nor gained by might and power of fleshly force, but by the Spirit of the living God; all the auxiliary additions and contributions of the first and natural Adam, will not help so much as hinder in this combat and conflict; no less than a celestial Army, a multitude of heavenly hosts can do this work. Not he that boweth down upon his knees, that kneeleth upon the ground, that worshippeth in the earthy Adam, but he that keepeth on his legs, that standeth on his feet, he that standeth steadfast in the everlasting Gospel, Doctrine, Righteousness and Faith of the Lord Jesus the heavenly Adam; not he



that lieth down and takes his rest at the earthy springs and fountains of fleshly, natural, created perfection, excellency, joy, satisfaction, &c., but he that only lappeth of the water, Judges 7:5, of life freely, he hath that Midianitish man, that enemy self, that carnal mind which is enmity against God; he it is, I say, that hath all enemies delivered into his hands, and subdued under his feet.

And yet how many forsake their feet, their walking in Christ Jesus the Lord, and the faith of the Gospel; kneeling upon the ground of the earthy Adam, under presence of devotion and divine worship to God. Gideon's soldiers were to be proved at the way water, Judges 7:4, 5, and Israel provoked God at the waters, Psal.106:32; so your trial also is like to be at the waters of the first Adam, out of whom all human glory and perfection {as all things at the beginning were brought out of those waters, Gen.1:2, &c.,} is produced, formed, and {as it were} created. Though Christ {like Gideon} bring you to the perfection {and further than that} of the natural and created state, tis not that you should lie down and live in it, but rather lap at it and leave it. Cleanse not your soul with water only, but bathe it in that open Fountain of water and blood. "In that day there shall be a fountain opened to the house of David and to the inhabitants of Jerusalem for sin and for uncleanness." Zech.13:1. This, like a purging river, will turn black into white, scarlet and crimson into the likeness of wool and snow. "Come now, and let us reason together, saith the LORD, though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be as white as snow;

though they be red like crimson, they shall be as wool." Isa.1:18. This is the Jordan in Israel, John 9:7, where leprous souls are cleansed, the pool of Siloam, {or sent, i.e., whither you are sent,} that restores to spiritual sight from natural blindness. Rev.3:18.

The gold I present your Ladyship which may happily be soiled a little on the outside, by the earthen vessel it is brought in; an experimental construction and a spiritual interpretation will make it bright and glistening. I know no other treasure that will enrich your heart, nor is there anything else worth your acceptance, from the hand of him whose heart doth, and ever will exceedingly rejoice in the prosperity and stability of your soul.

**Henry Pinnell.**

**What was said to the General at Windsor,  
as it was written in a Letter shortly  
after it was spoken.**

Brother,

In my last by H.W., the Carrier, I intimated somewhat to you, concerning my present condition; which if you should hear of by others, might happily be misreported unto you, and raise some jealousy and trouble of spirit in you, and the rest of my friends.

Therefore that you may know the certainty of my state, I do, with mine own hand write unto you, and shall truly inform you of things; more particularly of such as respect my relation to the Army. When I lay at Autrie, in Devonshire, the Lord began to confound my thoughts concerning the present War; my spirit was much taken off from following that course any longer, as a way that God seemed to have left, and therefore should wither and die; but he would set up his Kingdom, and bring forth his own glory, and his peoples safety, another way. Strong reasonings there were pro and con, and many disputes in my heart, whether to leave the Army then, or no, during which conflict in myself, my Colonel, Mr. John Pickering, fell sick and died. By his death the Lord seemed to satisfy me, and to put an end to all my enquiries; I thought that it was his mind and will that I should abide no longer in that way, and with this I sat down well contented for a time.

On December 16<sup>th</sup> {1645} I buried my Colonel at Lyme, without any customary ceremony at all, and the next day departed, with a resolution not to return again to exercise, or to be considered in the notion of a Chaplain to the Regiment anymore; of which resolution I privately acquainted one or two of my friends, but did not publicly take my leave of the Regiment, for my heart was not quite taken off from those worldly advantages which came in that way. Then I came through the coasts to visit my friends, among whom I was silent, though I had great disputes still in myself, and was at much uncertainty in my spirit, whether to sit still or no. I durst not discover my mind unto you, and the rest of my friends, for fear that either I should grieve you, or that you would persuade me contrary to my own will. So I came to London, where I acquainted some friends with my thoughts and the workings of heart, and desired them to find out some way of employment for me; for I was not weary of the Army only, but {such as it was} of my Ministry too. They told me I was under a temptation, and wished me not to give place to the Devil. With much love and good intention, they persuaded me to proceed, not considering that the Lord is blasting and breaking down this Antichristian and Babylonish form of Ministry now so much magnified in England, and that he will put a purer, faithful and effectual ministry into the hands of his Saints. Many worldly and carnal arguments they urged to me, such as my own covetous and deceitful heart had laid hold on before, but now stuck more closely unto, being

pressed again by friends; so that I took up new resolutions, and did return again to the Army, to that which I had lately vomited up, my dogged nature barking at the approach and appearing of God.

But God, who is just and holy in all his ways, pursued me with a strong wind, his Spirit wrought trouble and disquiet in me, and raised a continual tempest in, and round about me all the while I lay, and remained in this broken ark and splinted ship, unto which I had committed myself for security, ease and perfect honour; for such like were the motives of my return and entrance again into the Army, only for a little season I had some calm in my spirit, when the Army was marching to London, with engaged resolutions to follow truth and righteousness, and to oppose oppression, cruelty, violence, corruption and injustice among men in the earth, though of place, power, and abused authority. Herein I was carried with all freedom, peace, clearness and cheerfulness of spirit. But when men began to neglect their undertakings, to falsify their vows, to turn aside and corrupt their ways before the Lord, I was at a stand. But my dull and dark heart could not see the end of the Lord, till he sent a voice into the Wilderness, and after that a vision into his Temple; then I discerned the way of the Almighty. While I walked in my confusions and distractions, as in a wilderness, the voice cried by Mr. Sedgwick and Mr. Saltmarsh, "forsake, forsake, and come out of these crooked and carnal ways and paths, and come into more strict and spiritual courses and enjoyments." I heard the sound of

words, as of a mighty rushing wind, but could not tell whence it came; I did not clearly understand that it was of the Lord, but thought it had been the strong workings of their own melancholy and private fancies; nor could I tell whether it would go; I did not know that the Lord would breath into my heart the same or the like evidences which were given to them, nor did he as yet. But after this wind came an earthquake, which shacked my earthly, carnal and worldly frame; the oppositions, disputes and reasonings of my earthly heart began to be moved; objections came in a main, and my distractions increased. Sometimes the flesh and Satan together, would put me forward with motives of pride, vain-glory, singularity, popular applause, getting a name, becoming famous, eminent and be taken notice of, as Mr. Sedgwick and Mr. Saltmarsh were, and why should not I say something as well as they? By and by I was discouraged upon the same grounds; and thus the temptation wrought; why should I so play the hypocrite and seek the praise of men? And thus I was tortured between two, and lay in a trembling condition. The two seeds, the two nations, flesh and spirit strove in the womb of my heart together; fleshly fear and discouragements, fleshly pride and boldness striving which should come forth first. But before either could come to the birth the Spirit caught it by the heel, and made it halt that it could not rise to its height, nor run to its end.

This earthquake within me removed me from London on December 11, 1647. I could not rest till I went to Windsor to ease my thoughts before the

General and some others; and on December 13<sup>th</sup>, I came thither; my objections and confusions followed me, and lay sore upon me. The next day I pressed into the General Counsel of War, where I was tormented between fear and boldness. My time was then; fain I would have spoken, and was almost angry with God, because he would not suffer me, but the Lord's time was not yet; and an answer was given unto me that the Commissioners of Parliament being there, to whom I have no word from the Lord, therefore it was not seasonable.

When I was thus silenced, a fire followed the earthquake, and entered into my bones and bowels, for that {an occasion being offered by Lieutenant General Cromwell seeing me there, and coming to me with much courtesy and respect} I spake a few words unto him, but not to his satisfaction nor mine because of the present business of the Counsel interrupting. This fire or new wine of the Lord wrought in my body beyond the usual and accustomed manner and measure after my travel and change of air. Still I endeavored to disturb then my thoughts to the General or some others of the Army, but I found no convenient opportunity for that end, for the Lord was not in the wind, earthquake, or fire, so as to bring forth what he had formed in me; I thought that was not the time, nor place, nor way, wherein God would speak by me, and therefore resolved to return to London and send my mind in writing to the Army. As I was resolving thus to do, a small still voice, {and but small and very still,} came unto me, set me upon my legs, composed my spirit,

silenced all my carnal reasonings and disputes, made me sit down in quiet assurance and confident expectation from the Lord, bid me go yet again to the General, and told me, that he would be with me. So I went in a dark misty morning, and as I was going, it was said unto me, that I should speak unto them in a day like their condition, full of clouds and darkness. When I came to the General's Quarters, I found him in the orchard alone; with all reverence and respect I addressed myself unto him, though it is reported that I never put off my hat, nor gave him any honour at all; I told him that I had a message to him, and must entreat his patience to hear it. He desired me to walk into the house, and said, he would come presently, and nothing should interrupt his hearing of what I had to say. When he came in, I applied myself to his Excellency, and after some digression caused by the Scoutmaster, I spake more particularly to this effect unto him.

Sir, you are like Ephraim oppressed and broken in judgment, you know not what to do, nor which way to turn; your understanding is lost, your counsel and wisdom blasted; you know not how to manage or dispose your Army as formerly you have done; all which the General confessed. Thus {said I} you are at a loss every way; and all because like Ephraim, you have willingly followed after the commands of men, and not of God. Then he was pleased to give me a particular account of his principles and actions, in reference to the war, from his first taking up of Arms unto that day. The Parliament, he said, was his mother, and put the



sword into his hand; which he never took up to pull down authority, but to relieve the oppressed. I replied, true, Sir, the Parliament was your mother that brought you forth, and gave you life and power to act in the way you have done; it put the sword into your hand to suppress the violence of the oppressor; yea, the Lord of hosts was with you as a mighty man of war; he guided your council and strengthened your hand; he covered your head, and kept you, in the day of battle the Lord went before you, and chased your enemy; he gave you success and victory; prospered your designs; and did great and wonderful things by you. But your mother the Parliament became unjust, corrupt, and oppressing; the Lord bid you plead with this your mother, as a harlot, and a wife of whoredoms. You did so, and did well in so doing; you refused to disband, you engaged with the Army to do justice, to relieve the oppressed, to purge the Houses, &c., you came to London with that resolution, but have neglected to do what you promised, and now the Kingdom cries and groans under your neglect as much as under the former oppressions. God hath persuaded me that you will bear with me, and therefore I shall with all freedom and plainness speak unto your Excellency what is in my heart.

Sir, you have committed great adultery and defiled yourself with much uncleanness; you climb up into the bed of a strumpet, a whore and an adulterous woman, for now the Commissioners of Parliament are here, and you join and mix your counsels with them, and will do nothing without

them, though they remain in the state they were, when you first pleaded against them; only the eleven members are withdrawn; and yet you think to settle this Nation in peace and quietness. But what peace so long as the witchcrafts and whoredoms are so many? No, God will weaken your hands, and wither your hopes; you shall not prosper as you have done, because you have forsaken the Rock of Israel. The neglect of their undertakings, the General did for the most part confess, but somethings he excused.

Moreover concerning the Army, I said, the whole Army is like unto an Island of Willows, confusion and distraction compasses it about like waters; they nor you have not any bridge or boat to get out; you know not which way to turn or go for safety; your own counsels and policies, your carnal reason and wisdom in which you now act so much; some sudden flashes of repentance and reformation, all these and the like give you up and bind you till the enemy hath put out your eyes, brought you to his mill and made sport with thee. Other things fell in to discourse, as touching Mr. Sedgwick, Mr. Saltmarsh, and the agitators, which I shall omit; these things were so fastened and lay so sore on my spirit two or three days before I spoke to the General, that I could by no means shake them off, till I had cast them at his feet. No sooner had I delivered my message, but my bowels were settled, and the whole frame of my body reduced to a good temper again. The General gave ear to all that I said with much candor and clemency, took all in good

part and as afterwards also by Mr. Peters gave me thanks for my plain dealing, as he called it; so I bowed before him and took my leave.

The next day Mr. Hugh Peters was to preach in the morning, and I in the afternoon; hard censures and conclusions were put upon my sermon, by some from whom {a little before} I had received thanks for it, but the Lord showed me so plainly from what spirit it proceeded in them, that I had no cause at all of Repentance for anything I had said; and if there had been any that had taken my sermon of whom I might have had the notes, I would have published it with this relation for all to judge.

My business being now ended I was snatched from thence with a strong hand {December 21,} and carried on my way rejoicing. That night I came to Sir Thomas Evelings in Surrey; early in the morning before day, {December 23,} as I was lying in my bed {Major Axel lying asleep by me} my sleep brake from me, and the Lord suffered Satan to tempt me; I was fearful at first to open my eyes, lest I should see some ghastly and ugly sight to amaze me; but it was told me that I should see nothing to affright; so was the Lord graciously pleased to indulge my weakness. Being strengthened and encouraged thus from on high, I opened my eyes, but saw nothing as yet to astonish me. The Tempter came upon me with much eagerness and violence, took hold of both mine arms, spread them abroad, held me down and strove earnestly to get into me, but could not. My flesh at first was somewhat afraid, but no sooner did fear arise, but instantly the Lord appeared to me, in

the midst of my body, ten thousand times brighter than the Sun, and spake to me so plainly, that 100000 witnesses cannot make it so sure unto me; that it was he that spake unto me, as his own voice did, which said, "stronger am I within than he that is without thee," and withal threw off the Tempter as a very weak thing, as little and as light as a feather. Presently after he came and appeared before me, but stood at a distance and durst not come near me, for the Lord yet stayed with me and in me, and I plainly perceived that he was afraid of the glorious Power and Majesty, which was my breast-plate and bulwark; yet he stood vaunting, vamping and breathing out high threatenings against me. He upbraided me with singularity and vain glory, and charged me that what I had done at the Headquarters I had done altogether in hypocrisy. Upon the accusation my flesh contracted some guilt; for {as I told you} the deceitfulness of my heart did much to put me on, and pull me back before I went; and yet I can truly say, that with integrity and singleness of heart, and in faithfulness to God I discharged myself in this matter; and how this should be, you will easily discern, if you know what the two natures, and the two men are; what the two nations, seeds, principles, with their different inclinations, motions, actions in man are. But to proceed, no sooner did guilt begin to fasten but immediately the Lord set himself against Satan, and said, "take away the filthy garments from him;" he spake further with invincible evidence, and said, "iniquity is not there; sin is at an end; the wicked

one cometh and findeth nothing; now is the accuser of the brethren cast out." These words though I heard them not with the ear of sense, were spoken with such a mighty, powerful, and effectual demonstration of truth, life and glory, that in the strength of them I can stand against the contradictions of the whole world; and such indeed was their efficacy, that the devil instantly did fly and shrink away with such shame and silence as you cannot imagine. Now, and never till now, did I know what justification is, and what it is to have God so nigh as to justify, I understood the notion of it long since, I mean notionally; and was so far acquainted with it, as to have much peace and comfortable expectation from it, but infinitely short of this; for this was so glorious, excellent, and transcendent that it is impossible for me to express it.

All storms were blown over, and my soul being sweetly received into the vision of Peace, that City where it would be; not long after I fell into a slumbering sleep, and in a dream, me thought I heard my dear friend Mr. Robert Bacon, preaching in one of the public places, with much plainness and weakness of speech, but with great power and demonstration of the Spirit; his doctrine was maliciously opposed by an eloquent young man with great wisdom and excellency of flesh and human accomplishments, whose mouth was soon stopped by Colonel Thomas Harrison. Many of rude behavior came forth cursing and banning at his doctrine, and exclaiming on him for a heretic, schismatic, &c. This also was given into as the interpretation of it, viz.,

that the appearances of God in a higher and more spiritual way than formerly shall be contradicted and blasphemed, by Jew rather than by Gentile, by professors more than by profane, by Protestant more than by Papist, by those that keep their Church {as they say} rather than by those that know no Church at all. If every day's experience doth not bring in too full a testimony hereunto, I shall be contended to be so accounted of as Joseph was by his brethren. Gen.37:19.

Yesterday in the morning {December 27,} as I was lying in my bed at Mr. Smiths in Cheapside, the Devil came again and got under my left shoulder, moved a little, and left me; I know he shall never set upon my right arm, my strength, and power, which is of, and in the Lord; he may come on my left side and stir a little in the infirmities and weaknesses of the flesh, but the spirit lusteth against him so, that he cannot do the evil that he would, the Lord is so rebuking him that I begin to lay my hand on the dragons den, and the nest of the adder, to come near the hole of the asp, to play with the serpent and cockatrice without hurt or fear; I could show you the meaning of this more plainly, and tell you of my further privileges, but I forbear because I know what the world will say.

These things I have written to you that you may not be troubled at any rumor whatsoever which shall arise concerning me; but know that the Lord is with me, and hath given me to rejoice in reproaches and evil speeches, as well as in the praise of men. Rom.10:6-8. The same Lord is nigh unto every one

that waiteth for him; yea, he is over all, and in all, that you shall not need to go hither and thither to seek him, but rather look for him within you, and wait for his rising out of his sepulcher of the flesh, even the flesh, who at his appearing will bring life and immortality, to light. Fare you well, your loving brother,

**Henry Pinnell. London, Dec.28, 1647.**

**Postscript:** I know I shall seem as a dreamer and a deceiver to many; as an insolent and proud man for what I have said of the Parliament and Army; but my answer to all that censure me, is, first, it is a very small thing with me to be judged of man, or to stand in man's judgment day; and therefore no such thing moveth me at all. Secondly, I bless God who overcame my fears and frailties, and made me faithful and bold to discharge the duty which then he laid upon me, and required of me; his Spirit moved me to speak, and hath {to this very day} sealed and settled upon me an abundant great reward of much more peace and joy then I should have had for my silence; though I seem as a deceiver to men, yet was I true to him that trusted me. Thirdly, those that judge me, let them tell me, why God did not give up Israel into the hand of their enemies after he had threatened to deliver them no more, Judges 10:13, without any restriction or limitation of their amendment or returning to him, or why he did not destroy Nineveh when he had sent Jonas peremptorily to denounce ruin against that City without exception of repentance or reformation.

Jonah 1:2 & 3:4. If it be said that God secretly reserved in himself the condition of their humiliation, and so would not overthrow them, as he had threatened; but respite, suspend; yea, altogether divert and withhold his judgment from them, in case they did repent; though there be no such thing expressed, I demand then, whether or not God doth not still retain the same prerogative and liberty in himself now, as he did then? And therefore whether men now commanded to declare the message of God to any people or persons, are to be censured of, being led by a lying spirit, though the thing spoken by them do not come to pass any more, than that which Jonah said of Nineveh? And though God may suffer an evil and hurtful angel {during the time of Antichrists Reign} to withhold the four winds from blowing on the Sea or Land, yet where hath he bound himself from releasing those winds again, and pouring out the spirit of prophesy upon his people? Fourthly, if some may take liberty to revile and reproach the authority of Parliament, and that in the hearing of some of their members, without any control or check; if some {and they of the more strict and precise sort of Presbyterian Preachers too,} may have the freedom to scandalize and asperse the most faithful men of the Army, accusing them of errors, schisms, heresies, &c., as I have heard some of them do, though they confess they never spake with those men they thus charge; why then may not others take the boldness {from better grounds, and in a more honest way} to speak as freely to the faces either of Parliament men, or



Officers, or Commanders of the Army, and reprove them for such miscarriages, which they will not deny themselves to be guilty of? For my own part, I have not spoken so much behind the back of any of them, as I have, or would do to their faces, esteeming it a base and dishonest thing to do otherwise. Fifthly, neither am I any whit displeas'd, {as he was, Jonas 4:1,} at the prosperity, good success, and strange victories, which God, in much mercy to this Kingdom, hath wonderfully crown'd the Army with since I left it; I have the testimony of a good conscience to rejoice in. If I was deceiv'd, I can boldly say, the Lord did deceive me; and, if he will have it so, it is better for me {who am but one} to die in the repute and credit of all men, and be counted a liar, rather than the whole Nation {or so many godly in it} should perish. Sixthly, but the thing is fulfill'd already to me; for the Army, which once was so beautiful and lovely in mine eye, is now become most black and ugly, God having made me ashamed of fleshly confidence therein. I am yet confident of what I said to some at Windsor, who ask'd me about the disbanding of the Army, i.e., that it shall lie as one mountain in the scale against another; as one hill in the balance against another; as one potsherd to dash against another; it is a vessel wherein is no pleasure, fitted only to break and to be broken. And though I know there are many precious saints of several dispensations in it, yet shall they more and more relinquish that way, as they grow up to more immediate and more spiritual

enjoyments. As God guideth and goeth before every man, so let him walk, and let his name be praised.

**FINIS.**

## **A little of the first Adam, and how occasioned.**

Mr. Baker, when I was at Dale {June 25} you know my discourse in public was upon John chapter 9, at which discourse you took great offence, as appears both by your carriage towards me, and your charge against me; which two things I shall {as I told you} bring to public examination, that they may have an open trial, and have verdict pass upon them accordingly.

Your carriage, as I told you, when I had endeavored and obtained a conference with you; I thought was very uncivil, unjust, and altogether unbecoming a professing Christian, much more a real Saint, contrary to the rules of right reason, and the royal law of Love. For after I had ended my discourse, you neither propounded anything presently, wherein you were unsatisfied, in a fair, friendly and brotherly way; nor did you come or send to me to receive satisfaction concerning my opinion or doctrine, which might happily be misunderstood, either by your hearing or my speaking; which if you had done, I suppose would have been the most probable way to preserve unity and peace; and I should very gladly have embraced any such proposal from yourself. But, contrary to the principles of true Christianity, you did slanderously report of me behind my back, bitterly inveighing against my doctrine, going from one to another, and dissuading them from hearing me, as being a most dangerous and erroneous way, every way labouring to vilify and

make me odious, that my person and preaching might be brought into contempt and scorn. When I met you at Hophill, you did peremptorily justify and maintain all that you had said and done, as honest and lawful. This was your behavior; now whether it be suitable to the Gospel or no; let all men judge, nay judge yourself.

1. Whether it be suitable so much as to the Law? I know you contend much for the Law to be your rule of life. Doth the Law teach you to order your conversation thus? Doth the Law allow you to murder your neighbours name, to rob and steal from him his credit and reputation among men? Do you {like those Jews, Jer.7:4-9,} cry the Law of the Lord, the Law of the Lord is our rule, and yet backbite, slander, and maliciously detract contrary to the Law? You that make your boast of the Law, through breaking the Law dishonour you God? Surely the uncircumcision that keepeth the righteousness of the Law, Rom.2:23;26-27, shall judge and condemn the circumcision, which by the letter transgresseth the Law. There be some that are led by the Law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus, who {though they are accounted carnal, loose and licentious, yet} live more holily than those that are Moses Disciples, and pretend so much unto the letter, though they be as without a Law, yet are they not so to Christ and God. Whilst you justify your erroneous and irregular actions, you prove yourself a downright Antinomian, one that in words pleads for the Law, but walks directly contrary to it in practice.

2. In dealing thus with me have you observed the law of equity or moral honesty, doing as you would be done by? Or is your name and credit so little worth, that you care not how it be traduced?

3. Doth not the Scripture say, that a man is not to be rejected as a heretic, till after the first and second admonition, Tit.3:10, and that a brother is to be dealt with as a brother, before he be cast off? Wherein have you walked thus towards me? In reviling me and my doctrine behind my back, before you ever admonished me to my face? Is the Scripture your rule? Is this your walking up to it? Or would you be counted an Anti-Scripturist? Who is now the erroneous man, Mr. Baker?

4. When men shall see and hear of your practice to be so contrary to the peace, purity, and profession of the Gospel, how can you escape the censure of a seditious person, a railer, a backbiter, a factious schismatic, causing division, strife and contention, not endeavoring to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace, as you ought to do?

Neither hath the rancor and venom of your tongue kept within the bounds of Derbyshire, but the poison thereof is spread as far as Nottingham already; for I hear that your brother the Schoolmaster in that place hath {as dishonestly as yourself} defamed me there also. If what he hath said be by your instigation, you must be contented to bear the greatest share of his miscarriage; if not, he hath brought his own good behavior into question, and must bear all the burden himself. It is reported by him that I deny the two Sacraments {so

called} - the Supper, and Baptism, upon what grounds I know not, for I never had any discourse with him; I do not know your Brother, nor doth he {I suppose} know me; I believe ye are brethren; your carriage is so much alike.

But because he hath interposed between us with his new raised rumor, I shall step aside to speak a word to that, and then return to the examination of your charge.

1. For the Supper. First, I never forbid the use thereof to any until the coming of Christ. Secondly, if by the coming of Christ, you understand it according to the vulgar sense; for his last coming at the end of the world, I leave you and every man to your faith therein. But, thirdly, why may not the coming of Christ, and that {until he come} be understood of that coming of Christ in the Spirit, which he foretold before his departing out of the body.

2. As for Baptism, I leave you and others also to the freedom of your faith therein. But if you will impose the observation thereof, and the obedience thereunto upon me as to an Ordinance, I must first be satisfied. First, whether by Baptism you understand paedo-baptism, childish-baptism, or the baptism of children? If so, then where is either your precept or pattern for so doing? Or, secondly; if you will have Baptism of water to be restrained and to belong only to those that are adult and of ripe years; yet then, where is your authority from any institution of Christ after his resurrection, who had before by his death put an end to foregoing types

and figures of Himself? Therefore; that place, Matt.28:19, will not hold Water, nor serve your turn at all in the sense you urge it, and would have it brought unto; for those words {into the NAME} do rather exclude than imply, in, into, or with water. Nor is it enough that you tell me of the practice of the Apostles, that they did baptize with water and that after the Resurrection and Ascension of Christ, unless you produce a warrant from Christ, authorizing them so to do, and commanding them and us, by way of injunction to submit unto it, as a necessary and binding duty. But I say; first, if you will make the practice of the Apostles {their histories as recorded by the Holy Ghost in the Book of Acts} your rule in one thing, why not in another, the ground and authority being equal for both, and therefore both alike binding? And then, why do you not anoint your sick with oil, as the Apostles did, James 5:14, and as James commandeth you? Is the use and virtue of anointing lost, and doth the efficacy of Baptism last? Will water keep longer than oil? Again, why do you not circumcise as Paul did? You will say that Circumcision is abolished, but Baptism is not? Was John any more than a servant, as Moses was? Why then must he abide in the House of God, when the Son himself is come? I do not find that Paul did repent for shaking hands with Moses in circumcising Timothy, more than he did for saluting John, in baptizing some of the Corinthians.

Yet, secondly, I deny not, but that the Apostles might have an indulgent dispensation given unto them, suitable to the infancy of the Church

then, as others may have now answerable to the lowness and weakness of the faith of some in these days, whom I leave to stand or fall to their own Master; but if Baptism be enforced as a Law, I shall question two things, and very much scruple.

First, whether it be not an adding to the Book of God to interline and insert the Baptism of Children into the Bible when there is no such thing mentioned by Christ or his Apostles in all the New Testament, either by way of Command or Custom? Secondly, whether to conclude Baptism of water and so consequently to impose it on any from that in Matthew 28:19 be not a part of will worship; a making void the command of Christ by men's traditions; and a taking away from the Book of God? For whereas Christ there brings up Baptism to its height, fullness, glory, purity and perfection; some go about to empty, weaken and make void the sense and scope of that Scripture, by applying that to water, which Christ expressly attributeth and appropriated to the Father Himself and the Spirit. I have not the faith to believe, that the reasonings and arguments of men, the conclusions, inferences and inductions of reason are sufficient to make any Ordinance in the Church of Christ, without an immediate, plain, direct, punctual and divine institution from Christ. But enough hath been said of this by others {as Mr. Henry Denne & John Tombes} already.

Therefore, Mr. Baker, I shall pass from the manner of your carriage, and come to examine the matter of your charge.



You charge me that I should say the first Adam was born or created blind; and this, you say, is error, heresy and false doctrine. Answer. First, I did say that every man, by nature is born blind, in respect of discerning the things of God. I Cor.2:14. Secondly; I said also, that the first Adam in his created state was blind, as to the understanding of the Mystery of God in Christ to be revealed unto him, or as to the true knowledge of himself and the condition he was then in. He had the sight of sense, he saw his wife, the tree and the apple that he did eat; but he had not a sight of the imperfection and shortness of the present state he was then in, and to that which he was afterwards to be raised up unto in Christ.

For, if he had known the property of the Tree of Life, {which represented Christ,} he would not have forsaken and rejected it, but rather have eaten of the fruit thereof, that he might have lived; as the Apostle speaks. "Which none of the princes of this world knew; for had they known it, they would not have crucified the Lord of glory." I Cor.2:8. If Adam that was the chiefest and most excellent in knowledge above all other creatures in the world; if he had known the mystery of Christ in the Tree of Life, he would not have been seduced by the Serpent to seek his perfection in the forbidden fruit. Man that is ignorant of God's Righteousness, goeth about to establish his own. Rom.10:3. Why else is not the opening of their eyes affirmed of Adam and Eve, till after their eating of the forbidden fruit? Gen.3:7. What coverings had they of the divine nature, glory

and righteousness of God in the day of their Creation; and could they see the want thereof before their eyes were opened? Let me further illustrate this thing thus.

A child as soon as it is born, is said to be an innocent, harmless child, free from the guilt or commission of any personal sin; is his nature therefore pure, perfect, holy, heavenly, and void of all inclinations to sin? Again, Paul saith of himself, that he was blameless as touching the righteousness of the Law, Phil.3:6, before his conversion; had he therefore an adequate righteousness, every way agreeable and equal to the spirituality and holiness of the Law? Before the Law came he had little or no sin, he was lusty and strong in his fleshly confidence, he came into no misfortune or danger of his life; but when the Law entered, his sin abounded, his strength weakened, his life withered and died. Rom.5:20; 7:9. Sin was in his nature before, but not discovered till the Commandment came; it lay in him as a dead thing, underground, out of sight, and out of mind, it troubled him not, it was as a benumbed or dead member, he was not sensible of it at all. Without the Law, sin is dead. Rom.7:8. Thus the first Adam, as he was created innocent, {so they speak,} harmless, and void as yet of doing any evil till the act of his disobedience in eating; but his condition, state, or nature, in the day of his Creation, was not as pure, perfect, and holy as the Law of God; and the commandment came unto him to kill him, to make sin abound and become exceeding sinful, that he might not think his present state sufficient, and

content himself therewith, but die unto that, and seek a better state in Christ. He was naked and without the wedding garment at first, Gen.2:25, {nakedness in essence is want of Divine Righteousness,} but was not ashamed of his nakedness; he was showed, told, and convinced of his nakedness by his presumptuous undertaking, of being more perfect in his own way; and therefore God reasons thus with him, "who told thee that thou wast naked; hast thou eaten of the tree, whereof I commanded thee that thou shouldest not eat? Gen.3:11. Thus Adam who was alive before the commandment came, is now killed by the Letter, and dies to that first life, his resurrection to a better life being by the Promised Seed.

Mr. Baker. But Adam in his Creation was not as Paul and all men else, or as children are now since the Fall, defiled with any original pollution. Answer. First, I do not say that Adam was contaminated with any act of sin, or uncleanness before his fall; yet this doth not prove him to be as exactly holy and perfect as the Law, for if he had been so, how came he so crooked and contrary to the Law? The perfection of the Law consists in perpetuity as well as in purity and such should the state of Adam have been if it had been equal to the Law. Yet, secondly, if Adam had not in him the principles and seeds of sin, how could he have transgressed and become a sinner? For the spawn of wickedness and evil in the Devil had not been enough to produce and propagate the prodigious off-spring of iniquity and sin, unless there had been suitable matter in the nature of Adam to

mix with his serpentine suggestion and temptation. It is said, John 14:30, that the prince of the world came to Christ, and found nothing in him. He could never fasten any temptation upon Christ, all his assaults could not prevail over him; had he found as little in the first Adam, as he did in the Second, there had been the like success, Matt.4:11, and no monster of Misery had been brought into the World.

Mr. Baker. Objection. The Cause of the Cause is the cause also of the effect, therefore if Adam had but the seeds and principles of sin in him, at his Creation, though he were not actually a sinner, yet you make God the author of sin. Assertion. First, what if I say, that God was the cause without which Adam had not fallen, is there any hurt in that? God might have made Adam in such an immutable condition that he could not have fallen, and then certainly you would have said, God was the cause of his standing.

Secondly, a blind child is not in so good a condition as one that hath his eyes; yet the blindness of the child is neither his fault, nor his fathers, though it be the cause of the child's stumbling and falling. Adam is called the son of God; this Adam was created blind, as to the spiritual understanding of divine things; yet neither did this man {Adam} or {God} his parent sin, in that he was born blind; but that the Workmanship of God in Christ might be manifested in him. John 9:2,3. It was not the fault, but the infinite wisdom and pleasure of God to make Adam so, that he might make way for the exaltation of our Lord Jesus Christ,

and the magnifying of the riches of his grace and love in Christ.

Thirdly, once more take it thus; a virgin not yet deflowered, but retaining still her chastity as in the day she was born, you will not say, but this chaste and pure virgin hath the seeds and principles of propagation, and a desire too of natural issue; yet this damsel cannot be reprov'd of fornication as a harlot, nor hath she sinned if she marry and have children; she is not to be accused of folly, unless she give up herself to a stranger in an illegitimate and meretricious way. Who more chaste and innocent than Adam? Yet did he violate that primitive and created purity, when he turned aside to couple and close with the allurements of the Serpent. He had not offended, if he had betrothed his soul to God in the sacrament of the tree of life; yea, it had been more honor, happiness and safety for him so to have done. The Devil is called the father of murder and lies; John 8:44; indeed he is the father of all that is evil; and therefore it is said, that the whole world {all that is of the world in opposition to God} lieth in the wicked one, I Jn.5:19, every wicked and sinful act lieth in the loins of the Devil, as the father thereof; but except Satan had gendered with the heart of Adam, there had been no such bare born brat as sin ever brought into the World, there was first lust in Adam, which by the injections of Satan, conceived and brought forth sin, James 1:13-15, when he had completely finished his sin in the actual eating of the forbidden fruit, then he died and not before, Gen.2:17, though he was mortal at first.

Satan is the father, man's heart the mother of all evil.

Mr. Baker. But Adam was spiritual at first, and therefore had not so much as any propensity or inclination to sin of himself, but what he was enticed unto by Satan, nor can it be said, that he was blind, as to the understanding of spiritual things, in his created state.

Answer. If Adam was spiritual or heavenly, in his created state, what is the meaning then of that in, I Cor.15:47, where it is said that the first man is of the earth, earthy? And this is spoken of Adam before his fall, the materials of which he was formed at first, were but dust and earth. Gen.2:7. Yea, God, who best knows his frame, mold, nature, and constitution of his being, called his name but Adam; man, or earth. Gen.5:2. In the day he was created; or, as some will have it, red earth; which if it be meant of gold, to intimate the golden and excellent state of Adam above other creatures, yet was he but red earth, or gold that perisheth; gold that could not make him rich to God, I Pet.1:18,19, but the Saints gold which they have of the second Adam is tried in the fire, and maketh rich indeed. Rev.3:18.

Again, the Apostle in distinguishing the two Adams, calls the one natural, and the other spiritual, and concludeth the natural to be before the spiritual; and that the First man, in his greatest excellency and highest perfection, viz., when he was a living soul, was but natural and earthy. I Cor.15.44-47. How you will prove Adam to be spiritual I cannot yet understand.

Mr. Baker. Adam was at first endowed with a spiritual understanding, knowledge, righteousness, holiness, and every way like God, immutability only excepted; for he knew the nature property, and use of everything, and was able to give names to every creature.

Answer. First, that a natural man might understand the virtue, quality, causes, operations, and effects of natural things; yet not discern the glory and excellency of supernatural and divine things; these none knoweth, but the Spirit of God. I Cor.2:11.

Secondly, if Adam were in all things like unto God, immutability only excepted, where then was his eternity, omniscience, omnipresence, omnipotency, and the other Attributes of God?

Mr. Baker. If Adam had not been in a spiritual condition, how can he be said to fall, for his falling presupposes him to be in a better and higher state before, than he was after his fall?

Answer. To this I reply, by these instances, and ask you again. First, suppose a man to be clear and free from debt, one that owes nothing to any man, but hath no stock or substance of his own to make him to be accounted a rich man; yet he is a very rich man in comparison of him that hath nothing, and oweth much besides; that is so far in debt, he knows not which way to get out. But may not he that had nothing {though owned nothing neither} run into debt, and become a poorer man than he was, when he neither had anything, nor owed anything. Some men are said to be 1000 l.,

worse than a goat, and as the Poet said, he that hath nothing, may lose even that whole nothing.

Secondly, a civil honest man that hath but moral principles and qualifications of righteousness, justice, equity, temperance, moderation and sobriety; such a man is more excellent and lovely than a profane, rude and wicked man; yet may this man fall to lewd and vile courses, though he never was a true Christian and believer of the Gospel, doth his following of devilish practices now prove that he was a Saint before? Doth his present walking, like an infidel, prove that once he had the faith of God?

Thirdly, may not a pure virgin initiate her primitive chastity, and become a notorious strumpet? Yet you will not conclude, that therefore she was lawfully married, first to an honest man because she is now fallen from her first state, and hath lost her virginity.

Adam was created in a wealthy state, inasmuch as he was not at all indebted to the Law, though he was not in possession or seized of the true riches of Divine Righteousness and Glory. He had the perfection of an earthy nature by Creation; but he had the participation of the divine nature by Promise. Gen.3:15, II Pet.1:4. He had all moral and natural excellency belonging to his earthy and created state; but was he ever the more endowed with the true treasure of divine righteousness and holiness, for having the image and superscription of the Heavenly King, upon no more but a piece of earth and clay? It must be more current coin of the purest silver and gold upon which the Kings picture



must be stamped to make a man really rich in the possession of it. It must be the divine nature, Jesus Christ the Second Adam, the Heavenly Man, that Eternal Word of God, the purity of which is that upon which God stamps his glory, and by which man is eternally happy. Adam had a virgin-like innocency in his created state; but not a Matrimonial Union unto God; or, at best, he was bound to God but with the bond of creation, which was as himself earthy; or the bond of the first Covenant, the Covenant of works; during which time he was barren and unfruitful in the knowledge of God, and in respect of any spiritual issue of divine comfort, immortal peace, joy unspeakable and glorious, &c.

But {in the second Adam} God doth betroth his people to Himself, in Mercy, Righteousness, and Truth, Hos.2:19,20, whereby they shall know the Lord; their espousals are forever, and such as whereby they have a true spiritual knowledge of God. The Lord hath united his people to himself in Christ, by a New Covenant, the Covenant of Grace; such a Matrimonial engagement that cannot admit of a divorce; such sweet enjoyments have they from Him, such Conjugal and Spiritual Communion with Him, that they increase and multiply in their Joys, Peace, Comfort, Rest, and the barren is made fruitful and a joyful mother of many children. Isa.54:1-5, Psal.113:9.

Mr. Baker. It is said, Eccles.7:29, that God made man upright, and what is that else but heavenly and spiritual?

Answer. First, in the creation you shall find that God approved of his work {as he made it} as good, and when he took a view of it altogether he concluded that it was very good. Gen.1:31. It is said of everything as well as man, that it was very good; will you therefore conclude that everything that was made is Heavenly and Spiritual?

Secondly, seeing there are so many Scriptures against you, to prove that Adam was but earthy and natural, and not so much as one Scripture for you, to prove expressly that he was spiritual; what ground have you to conclude so?

Thirdly, tis true, Adam was made right, strait, direct, even, plain, smooth, upright, but not righteous or holy; or if naturally and morally righteous and holy; yet not spiritually so. He had a rectitude, a purity and perfection in its kind, answerable to his created being. The first Adam had no more than a terrestrial body, and a glory suitable unto it; but the glory of terrestrial is one and the glory of celestial is another. The glory of Adam was as far inferior to the glory of Christ, as the Moon and Stars are below the Sun. The glory of the first Adam was to fall like the stars, and totally to be eclipsed, as the moon may be. His state, and even the ministration of his condemnation was Glory, how much rather then shall the Dispensation of Righteousness by the second Adam exceed in Glory? For even that glorious state of Adam, which was but mean and transitory, had no glory in respect of Christ's glory, which excelleth and remaineth, II Cor.3:10,11, as the Apostle discourses concerning

the transcending liberty of the saints under the dispensation of the Everlasting Gospel by the Spirit of Glory, above what the Jews had under the beggarly rudiments of the Law. So far as the natural Jew can heighten himself towards perfection by all the furniture and accommodations of the worldly Sanctuary and the carnal Commandment, so far may he be a Post-representation {if I may so say} unto us of the first Adam. For as the first temple was to be destroyed, and all the worship and services thereunto to belonging to be abolished; as the outward Jew was to be cut off, that the inward Jew might sprout forth; so may we thereby be put in mind, that we cannot enter into our heavenly house, Christ Jesus, that building of God; till this earthy house, the natural state of the first Adam be dissolved. {II Cor.5:1} We take not possession of our glorious Mansion-house, Christ Jesus, in the promised Seed, till our old mud-wall, earthy house of the first Adam be fallen about our ears, and become a ruinous heap; and God {as the Apostle saith of the Law and first Covenant} taketh away the first Adam, and subjected the first Creation to vanity, that he may bring in the second Adam, who established and sustained all things by the word of his power, Heb.10:9, and with him a better hope, Heb.7:19, the hope of gaining a better state in Christ than was lost by Adam. When the soul is once environed with, and wrapped up in the glory of Christ Jesus, it will tread and trample upon all the excellency of the earthy man. It will not disdain and scorn the sublunary dross and dung of his fallen

state only, but it will also despise and contemn the very lunar glory, the shining excellencies, the gold, silver, pearls and precious stones, the perfection of the natural and created state.

Objection. But Adam was made in the likeness and image of God; and is not that spiritual?

Assertion. First, no likeness is the same, for Adam was made in a similitudinary and adumbrate righteousness and holiness, but not in righteousness and holiness of Truth. "And that ye put on the new man, which after God is created in righteousness and true holiness." Eph.4:24.

Secondly, he was the shadow of the Substance, the picture of the Body. If a Painter draw the picture of a man never so exactly, will you say it is a living picture?

Thirdly, if the image of God in Adam be enough to make him spiritually holy and perfect, how will you defend Christ from being a sinner? For it is said, that God made his Son of a woman, under the Law, and sent Him in the likeness of sinful flesh. Gal.4:4, Rom.8:3. Therefore Christ was really a sinner, if your line of argumentation we follow? Yet this is your ratiocination, and the manner of your dispute. Adam {you say} was made in the likeness of God, who is unequivocally holy, and therefore Adam was so too. Why will not my argument hold as well as yours? And then it follows, that because Christ was made in the likeness of sinful flesh, therefore he had sinful flesh really in him and about him, more than by imputation only, if Adam had a spiritual holiness more than by imputation.

Fourthly, not to dispute the rise and original of the soul, whether it be by propagation or infusion? I conceive Adam may be said to be made in the image of God in a two-fold consideration.

First, either as he was a living soul. In the Gospel according to Luke the third chapter, and verse 38, Adam is called the son of God, as Enoch was the son of Seth, and as Seth was the son of Adam, for there the genealogy of Christ after the flesh, is carried back and driven upward from Joseph, and terminated in God.

Mistake not what I say, but read it with a grain of salt. I do not say that Adam was the son of God by natural generation, according to a gross, vulgar and carnal construction, no more than any of the rest were the sons one of another by Creation; but as there was a continued derivation of life, by successive propagation; the fountain of which life was in God.

Now as God is said to be the living God, and as Adam is said to be a living soul; so Adam {as living, or having life} may be said to be in the image of God. This seems to me to be the sense and scope of that in Genesis 1:26 compared with Genesis 2:7. For that man which God would have to be made in his own image; that man, even when he was completed and perfectly finished; the most that was said of him is that he became a living soul. Here is the altitude and height of the first Adams perfections, as the Apostle takes measure of him, "there is a natural body, and there is a spiritual body; and so it is written, the first man Adam was

made a living soul; the last Adam was made a quickening spirit." I Cor.15:44,45. None can conclude that Adam was spiritual, because he had a natural life.

If Adam had the image of God but only as he was a living soul, then every living creature, as beasts, birds, &c., may be said to have the image of God as well as man.

1. They might indeed, be said to have the image of God, if the Scripture did anywhere so speak. 2. But, God, who is most perfect, would attribute his image to the most perfect creature, Man. 3. Beasts, Birds, &c., have the image of God in another sense, i.e., as they {with the whole creation} bear the stamp of the eternal wisdom and power of the Godhead. Romans 1:20.

Secondly, Adam may be said to be made in the image of God, as he was a public person, representing Christ; and so he is said to be the figure of him that was to come. Rom.5:14. Adam was before Christ in priority of time and appearance in the flesh; as the picture of a King sent unto a foreign Princess may be said to be first {discovered and seen} in being in that Country; and thus the Natural is before the Spiritual. I Cor.15:45. But in priority of cause Christ was before Adam, in the nature of his existence, as the Efficient before the Effect, and as the body or substance must be before the picture which doth represent the body; and thus Christ is Alpha as well as Omega, the beginning and end, the first as well as the last. Rev.22:13.

God, who is Essentially One, hath a three-fold manifestation of Himself. First; in the lifeless and dark shadow of the Law; in the Temple which had a gradual holiness, a place holy, more holy and holiest of all; and in the sacrifices, &c. The Law was but the shadow, not the image. Heb.10:1. Secondly; in the lively {though dim and dull} semblance of man; in which thick earth the divine majesty had but a little weak splendor and luster. Nor did the eternal power of the Godhead stamp on Adam, make him divine, or of an eternal power like itself; neither did the image of God's spiritual righteousness and holiness in man make him spiritually righteous and holy. The Kings image stamp upon a piece of Clay, doth not make the Clay to be Gold, nor living Clay.

Thirdly, in the living substance, Christ Jesus, who is the brightness of his Father's glory, and the very character of his being. Heb.1:3. This, and this only is that Son, that only begotten Son, that came out of the bosom of the Father, which alone can spiritually declare and make known God as he is a Spirit, and bring forth abundance of Grace, Righteousness, Life and Immortality to light. Rom.5:17,18, II Tim.1:10. Immortality comes by Christ; Adam was not immortal, nor spiritual. Abraham had two sons, one after the flesh, the other by promise; the elder was after the flesh, and was not to inherit with the younger, which was by promise. Gal.4:22,23,30. God, the High and Holy One, the Eternal Father hath two Sons, one after the flesh {as I may say} the natural or first Adam; the other after the spirit, Christ, the Promised Seed. The

elder son, or first Adam, had not the inheritance of Righteousness, Life and Glory settled upon him; but Christ, the second Adam, was appointed heir of all things. Heb.1:2. Ishmael, though he was the first-born of Abraham, had no possession of Abraham's heritage; the promised Land was not entitled to him, neither was he counted for the seed. And why should we think that Adam, though he was the first-born of God by creation, had a hereditary right to heaven, righteousness or {Divine} holiness, seeing he is not counted for the Seed. The inheritance of true divine righteousness, &c, is conferred and confirmed on Christ alone, the spiritual Isaac, and those that are his. Gal.3:14,16,29.

Mr. Baker. We are exhorted, Eph.4:24, to put on the new man, which after God is created in righteousness and true holiness. And in Col.3:10, the Apostle tells them, that they had put on the new man, which is renewed after the image of him that created him. What else doth the Apostle there mean {by the new man} but the first Adam recovered from his fall, and reduced to his pristine and primitive state?

Answer. 1. Look upon those Scriptures again, and tell me whether the Apostle speaks of putting on the new man, or the old? Now if you will have the new man there to be meant of the first Adam, then you confound the two Adams, for the first Adam, {in his pure natural, as well as in his lapsed estate,} and those that are of his race, are everywhere in Scripture, that I know, distinguished by the name of Old Adam from Christ, and those that are his seed,



who {in opposition to the first Adam} are called the New Man.

2. It is said, Col.3:10, that that New man which we are to put on, is renewed in knowledge after the image of, &c., which cannot be understood of the first Adam, for we never read that knowledge is called the image of God in the first Adam.

There is therefore a two-fold image of God. 1. Of Life: In this Adam was formed, when he was made a living soul. This life, and the righteousness, perfection and glory thereof, though it be but natural, is so precious unto man, that skin for skin, and all that he hath will he give for it. Job.2:4. It is the master-piece of Satan's temptations, and the last plot usually, that he hath on man to set upon him as he did on Christ. Matt.4:8,9. The Devil will carry a man to the highest pitch of the first Adam, as to the top of an exceeding high mountain {for Adam's created state was far more exceedingly high than any present, natural and worldly condition of man now} and there show him all the dominion that Adam had over all that earthly creation, and what a glorious state he was in; and then this old serpent tempted and enticed man to look upon this golden ball of vanity, and accept of it, tells him he shall be {as} God. But the spiritual man discerns and foresees the danger, espies the serpent under the herbs, knows there is death in the apple, and therefore despises all the pompous vanity of the first creation. When Satan, by despair, cannot break a man's neck from the fall of Adam, he will bring him to the brink and brow of his created state, and from

thence endeavor to call him down {as the Jews did to Christ} and make him run headlong to his flattering ruin. Lk.4:29, 5-6. When the Devil cannot drive a man away from God by the corrupt Adam, he will draw him to himself by the pure Adam, and there hold him as a close prisoner, in fetters of Gold, as he did before in shackles of Iron. The Kingdom, Power, Glory of this creation is delivered to the god of this world. The Serpent took away man's excellency and glory; the Serpent offers it him again upon terms. Surely that cannot be worth the taking up, which the Devil proffers, and if Satan have dominion, and be lord over man's riches, to give and take at his pleasure, I can hardly be persuaded that it is spiritual. The enemy of man hath laid his earthy honor in the dust, and trod his life to the ground. I wonder that we should so much dote upon the painted beauty of man! Tis a sign our eyes are weak, and that we are dim-sighted, not able to behold the beauties of holiness in God. Besides, what hope is there for us to recover Adams State? For if there was a total privation, {as doubtless there was of Adams life,} there can be no more regress to it. Adam is not said to swoon or faint, but to die in the day he did eat; not the death of the body, for he lived many hundred years after; but the death of that State, to which he was not to return again. And therefore we are bid to mortify the old man, not labor to recover him to his health and strength. Nor will it serve the turn to say, that as we died in Adam, so we are made alive by Christ; as though our reviving by Christ were no more than a restitution to the life of the first

Adam; for our life which we have by Christ, is by Resurrection not by Regression; not a returning to the same life, but a raising to another life. There is also the image of God as it consists in knowledge, Col.3:10, and this image I do not find attributed to Adam; but is peculiarly appropriated to Christ, and those that are his. Not Adam, but Christ hath the spirit of Wisdom and Knowledge; and in Christ not in Adam, are hid all the treasures of Wisdom and Knowledge. Col.2:3. If Adam had received a true Spiritual and Divine knowledge of God and Christ in the Tree of Life, he had been immortal and could not have died, for the seed of that Knowledge is Eternal, and so is the fruit too. John 17:3, I Jn.3:9. Every man is brutish in his knowledge, saith the Prophet. Jer.10:14. Yea, he is become brutish by his knowledge. Jer.51:17. Not only in his low, base and fallen state; but even in his high and honorable state; man {in honor} is but as a beast, for want of understanding. Psal.49:20.

Man {Adam} had so little knowledge in his excellency, glory, honour, that he became as the Behemoth, as the multitude of earthy beasts. Adam was as a Behemoth, or the multitude of earthy beasts.

First, either in that he had as little true and spiritual knowledge of the Mystery of God and Christ as all the whole multitude or any particular beast of the field.

Secondly, or as he was a public Person, and had in him all posterities and generations of men, who in him and with him are altogether out of the

way, brutish in their knowledge, and naturally as ignorant of God, and his righteousness as the beasts that perish. The Serpent, the subtlest beast in the field of this earthy Creation, which steals into the paradise of man's natural excellency and glory, and there circumvented him with the enchantments and snares of Death. Cursed Creature! Let it be thrown flat on its belly and let its food be forever nothing but the dusty vanities of the ground that is under foot and trampled upon {like that lofty City, Isa.26:5,6} by the feet of the poor and the steps of the needy, scorned, despised, and slighted saints, let it eat and live only upon the foolish, frothy, fleshly praises of the natural man; let its meat be nothing else but the carnal earthy righteousness of that fickle, frail, inconstant, unstable, transient state of the first Adam. And yet, Oh, the depth of the wisdom and works of the Lord! How unsearchable is his understanding, counsel, purpose! His ways are in the waters, and the beams of his chambers are there; the Lord hath a sweet and secret entertainment for his people beneath and within the fluctuations, estuations, ragings, foamings, confusions of the sea and waters of this creation; his thoughts towards his saints are very deep; a fool cannot fathom them, an unwise man cannot find them out; for the Lord hath contrived the way of man's happiness to lie within the Gates of his Ruin and Destruction, that he which loseth his life may find it. Man's wisdom of the flesh, his own lust draweth and driveth him to the ditch of Death, Lam.1:14,15, this like the Serpent, doth stab man

to the heart by a glance upon the rib, Gen.2:22 & 3:1, &c., to say that man's wisdom was ordained for a trap and snare of death unto him cannot be borne, and will not be granted by all; but to say that God did, and doth so order and dispose it to that end, can be denied by none; for the Lord can overwhelm the Egyptian flesh with its chariots and horses, human wisdom and carnal reason, in the self-same sea that he carrieth the true spiritual Israel into the Holy Land. The principles of man's mortality are seated within himself, but the cause of his health and life is in, and from the Lord. "O Israel, thou hast destroyed thyself; but in me is thine help." Hos.13:9. The earthy wisdom and knowledge of man consists in, and is conversant about doing that which is evil, Jer.4:22, for thus was Adam's knowledge employed and improved; and will anyone say, this was the image of God?

Thirdly, but perhaps you lay hold on the word 'renewed,' Col.3:10, and think that it imports and implies as much as restitution, {and no more,} of Man to Adam's first state.

1. If you look well upon that Scripture, you shall find that the Apostle speaks of that New Man in whom there is neither Greek nor Jew, &c., verse 11, which the Apostle more plainly affirms to be Christ. "There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female, for ye are all one in Christ Jesus." Gal.3:28.

2. But if you do keep to that word, renewed, it will stand you but in little stead. If a man pull down his old house and renew it, or build another new

house, II Cor.5:1, you will not say that the new house is the same that the old was. The first temple was a stately structure although it had not a commensurate and adequate splendor and magnificence to the second, which did far exceed the first in luster and glory. Hag.2:9. The earthy Jerusalem was a holy city, it had a holiness of attribution and dedication, not of inherent, essential or true divine holiness, nor was it the same with that Jerusalem, which is above. Gal.4:25,26. And that holy city, the earthy Jerusalem you shall find given up to be trod under foot of the Gentiles, Rev.11:2, and you have the holy city, the new Jerusalem coming down from God out of heaven, Rev.21:2, but differing from the former, for this had no Temple, nor need of Sun, or Moon to shine in it, Rev.21:22,23; 22:1-5, there is the Heavenly paradise described, as the Anti-type of the earthy, but with this difference, i.e., of immutability and perpetuity. The curse entered into Adam's paradise and blasted all his happiness, he abode not there as a lord forever; but here is no curse, and they that have {holiness} the name of God in their foreheads, shall reign for ever and ever. Rev.22:3-5. The first Paradise, Holy City, and Temple, were types of the heavenly, but not Heavenly. The holy city of man's earthy and created state and paradise, God subjected unto vanity and corruption, and gave it over to be trod under foot thereby, and afterward causeth righteousness to look down from heaven. Psal.85:11.

Mr. Baker. If Adam was any way defective and not made spiritual in his creation then it argues insufficiency and want of wisdom in God.

Answer. This objection was none of your own, but borrowed of a neighboring preacher, as I was informed by one, after our conference was ended, and we parted. But seeing I have met with it {though at secondhand} I shall take notice of it, and return this answer thereunto.

It was the will of God, not any want of wisdom in God, to make the first Adam but earthy and natural. Psal.135:5-6. He is to give account to none but himself. He is above all gods, and may do what pleaseth Himself in heaven and in earth. If his pleasure was to make an earthy Adam as well as a spiritual, and yet would find fault too with that earthy Adam; nevertheless, who shall reply to him, or ask a reason of him, why he did so? "Thou wilt say then unto me, why doth he yet find fault? For who hath resisted his will? Nay but, O man, who art thou that repliest against God? Shall the thing formed say to him that formed it, why hast thou made me thus?" Rom.9:19-20.

Was it not one and the same piece of clay in the hand of God, of which he made man and beast? And did it imply want of skill in God because he did not make the brute beast a reasonable creature as well as man? Tis at the potters pleasure to form his vessel as he will, whether for honour or dishonor.

"In a great house {saith the Apostle} there are not only vessels of gold and of silver, but also of wood and of earth; and some to honor, and some to

dishonor." II Tim.2:20. It doth not argue want of skill in the workman, nor want of wisdom in the master of the house, in that every vessel is not of gold. But what if God, willing to show his wrath, and to make his pleasure known, dashed in pieces the vessel of dishonor, that earthen vessel of the first Adam and his created state, fitted to ruin and destruction; and that he might make known the riches of his glory on the vessels of mercy which he had afore prepared {in Christ, not in Adam} unto glory. What if the wisdom of God {which ordereth all things} disposed so of these things, have you anything to say against it? What if God would make way for the magnifying of his heavenly riches of Grace in Christ, by undermining the earthy treasure of man in the first Adam. It is rather a prudent plot than an improvident folly; and the admiration of Divine Wisdom, no detraction from it, to make darkness first, and then command light to shine out of it. The earthy man in the beginning of his created state was without form, and void of divine righteousness, and then darkness was upon the face of the deep things of God; and when God by his Spirit in the Eternal Word; Christ Jesus had {as now he doth} brought forth light. Gen.1:2,3; I Cor.2:10; John 1:3-5. Yet he did, and still doth divide and distinguish between the light and darkness. Gen.1:4,5; I Thes.5:5. Light and Darkness, Earth and Heaven, the First and Second Adam, and their righteousness are not all one, yet God did not want art and skill when he made all these, though he did



not make Earth Heaven, nor the first Adam's righteousness spiritual and heavenly.

If you exclaim thus against me for error and heresy when I tell you but of the earthy man, how would you cry out blasphemy if you should be told all that may be said of the heavenly man, Christ Jesus himself, in respect of the fleshly knowledge of him? If you tremble and stagger thus at an earthquake, what perplexity would you be in, if you should see and hear the heavens pass away with a great noise, and the elements melt with fervent heat? If you cannot endure to see the earth and the works therein to be burnt up, II Pet.3:10-12, how will you be able to behold the dissolution of the heavens by fire, and the melting of the elements by a scorching heat? If you cannot bear the ruin of the earthy Adam, but are so moved at the shaking of the foundation of his state, Heb.12:27, how then will you undergo the dissolution of the heavenly Adam, when he shall resign his Kingdom, Glory, Dominion and State to a higher Dispensation? I Cor.15:24,28; Gal.4:3,9. When the Apostle wrote of these things, viz., these weak and beggarly elements which were to pass away, and not to return again; these things, these elements were hard to be understood. II Pet.3:16. And because you discovered your weakness to bear the one, I shall forbear to burden you with the other.

Mr. Baker. You go against the judgment of all divines; contrary to the opinion of Orthodox, learned and godly men.

Answer. I respect, honour and reverence godliness in every man, in all men; yet am I not to regulate, bound or modulate my faith by the wisdom, notion or measure of any man's apprehensions; no, though the most godly and most learned among men. And therefore we are not to enquire what this or that man's thought, opinion or judgment is, of such or such a point, but what the Scripture doth say, determine or conclude of this or that particular. Our faith is not to stand in the wisdom of men, I Cor.2:5, this were to lay the foundation upon sand. Nor are we to receive the Word itself in the word of man, but as it is, in truth, the word of God. I Thes.2:13. Truth is not Truth because man saith it, but because it is so in itself; neither is it so to any man, till it come unto him in the power and demonstration of the Spirit. The Scriptures themselves were given, not by tradition of men, but by inspiration of God. Scripture is not Scripture to a man, till it come to him in the same spirit by which it was dictated at first. Whereas you urge the opinion of godly and learned men, as contrary to mine, and they preachers too; among whom you made mention of Mr. Ball, in his Catechism; tis more than I know, or care to enquire what he saith in this matter; but be it granted that he {and others too} are contrary-minded, what then? I could produce many that are on my side, and so oppose godly and learned men against your godly and learned; yet then there would be but man against man. Let the matter be brought to the true and only test, and let the touch-stone distinguish

between the gold and the dross; to the Law and to the Testimony, if the Scripture cast the truth on your side, I will subscribe. I cannot be satisfied, because some of your authors are in print, for the publishing of an opinion in print will not make it Orthodox.

By what Counsel or Synod am I convicted and condemned for a Heretic? Produce it if you can. But, if you cast me by your own single vote, will it not savour of too much arrogance and pride, to ascribe unto yourself a definitive sentence, and power to determine what is truth, and what is error? And may not I, upon the same ground, and by the rule of your own practice, rail upon and defame you, as you have served me? Or if you take in others to join with you, or rather prostitute and give up your faith to their judgment, as you seemed to do, may not you and they be mistaken as well as I and those that are of my judgment.

Yea, grant that what I hold to be condemned and exploded for heresy, I am not therefore to dissent and relinquish my opinion, because a convention of men doth eliminate, exterminate and eject it for an error, and you, who are led so much by the determinations of men, will confess what I say to be true, and when you see my authority, you will not censure me of singularity.

It is the saying of one, eminent for godliness, and for learning inferior, {Mr. Edward Reynolds in his Exposition on Psalm 110,} I think, to few or none, that we are not to build our faith upon the authority of men, or counsels, whether Papal, Episcopal or Synodical; I have not his book by me,

but these are his words, I am sure. So that if this present deliberate and long-considering Synod should put it, as an article of their Faith, into their New Creed, and enjoin all to subscribe to it under pain of Anathema, viz., that the first Adam was made spiritually holy and righteous; yet I am not bound to believe it. The results of human counsel are not infallible; and one Paphnutius may be in the right, when the whole counsel is in the wrong.

Mr. Baker. I cannot yet be persuaded, that what you say, is true; though you may seem to make anything good by your scholarship.

Answer. 1. Tis not the work of man, but of God, to persuade the heart. Paul may plant in the ear of Lydia, but God must give the increase in her heart. Acts 16:14. Paul, and other men, may sow the divine seed in the letter thereof, in the sense of hearing and the rational faculty of the understanding; but God must break and pierce those clods of earth, flesh and natural reason; he must thoroughly open the carnal heart, before there can be any increase or fruit springing up in the spirit, before there can be any improvement of that seed unto the knowledge of the Divine Mystery. And therefore, as the King said to the woman in another case, II Kings 6:27, if the Lord help you not {to understand and receive the mystery of the two Adams} whence shall I help or persuade you?

2. I see you are very prone to mistake, and too ready to run into extremes, for whereas, at first, you did me too much wrong, now {in a complement} you would do me too much right. If you ask all that

knew me both in the Country and University, there is none that can say I ever had so much learning as might give the denomination of a scholar.

3. But how do you entangle yourself? For you confessed {and I did believe you without an oath} that you had but little learning yourself, and yet you affirmed with much confidence, that learning was necessary {indeed you did not say absolutely necessary} for the understanding of divine Truth.

Immediate Revelation, you said, are not to be expected nowadays. How then can you judge between truth and falsehood? Or so peremptorily conclude me to be in an error, seeing you acknowledge your ignorance in human learning, which, you say, is necessary to the better understanding of spiritual things? If you rely on other men's opinion, and resolve to be of their judgment, your faith will stand in the wisdom of men, not in the power of God; and why may not one man {the wisest man} deceive you as well as another? If human learning and the wisdom of this world be so necessary, what then is the meaning of that in Matthew 11:25, "at that time Jesus answered and said, I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, because thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes." It may be said of learned as well as of great men, that they are not always wise.

Concerning human learning, I gave you my judgment at our meeting; I look upon it as the flourishes of flesh, a handsome fashion, a neat dress, a comely ornament of the creature. It is as

studs and barbs, the external furniture and trimming of the outward man. It is gay and gaudy trappings, to make an ugly jade or a dull cart-horse look like a good mettled and well-bred beast; a blockheaded dunce in the mystery of God and the Gospel, in this Canonical habit, may pass amongst a generation of idiots, and silly animals, for a most reverend, grave and orthodox divine. It serves to scratch the prodigious humor of the sensual part and principle, to tickle the itching ear of a nice, quaint and curious man, yet good still in its kind, and to be allowed in its place and sphere, so long as it moves regularly and in order; but when once it begins to usurp and tyrannize, it is no rebellion to oppose and disclaim it.

Human learning is of a heroic race, well descended, of noble blood and birth in nature's family; but a most profuse and prodigal steward in the mystery of God, not fit to be entrusted with the Heavenly Treasure. It will ever be aspiring to precedency, like a new raised servant, or some proud encroaching gentleman in a great house, who hath nothing to subsist by, but the courtesy and bounty of the Master of the House, and is but as his Alms-man; yet if he can but insinuatingly collogue and play the parasite with one that bears rule; he will be ready to domineer over the home-born children and the natural heir of the Family. Such base and degenerate spirits may be found {as too many lords and gentlemen, to the shame of our Nation} here in England, who can but boast of other men's worth, and do live on other men's wealth, who

live and lurk like dorres and drones in a Commonwealth, without care and calling and have no cloak or covering for their sloth and idleness, but that they are Gentlemen; whereas a truly generous nature loves to be active and industrious, and hates a supine and sottish sluggishness as the most sordid and odious kind of life. Paul was as well born and bred as most men, Phil.3:5; Acts 22:3, yet he did not scorn, or think it any disparagement to him or his family, to earn his living with the labour of his hands, Acts 18:3; 20:34, when he might have lived upon the sweat of other men's brows, in respect of his own bodily pains. I Cor.9:12,15.

If human art and wisdom can but once flatter the favour and steal into the friendship of the natural will, the carnal reason and understanding; it will soon inveigle the heart, and alienate the affections of a man from the holy seed, the Spirit, Jesus Christ the true heir of salvation.

I deny not but that godliness and the mystery of God may be bestowed upon men of learning, but I say also that it is not committed to the learning of men, so as that, thereby they should be more qualified for the dispensation of the Everlasting Gospel. But if man's wisdom be set in the chair and called Rabbi, Father, Master, or Doctor; if it be any ways ascribed unto either for generation or education of the new man, I detest and abhor it, as the vilest supposition in the world, and as a thing so bad as that I lack a word to express my utter hatred of it.

Q. You will ask me how I could have had the Scriptures without learning and the knowledge of the tongues to translate them? A. Human learning will serve for translating the letter, and render the grammatical sense and construction of Scripture, and this is all. But how did the Saints do before there was any Scripture?

Q. But are not you yourself better qualified by your learning for the exercise of your ministry? A. All the learning I had at Oxford, I laid out and improved in opposing the truth. I cannot say, that the little learning I once had, did advantage or further me one jot in the knowledge of God, nor do I think myself any whit the fitter to be a minister because of the repute and notion of scholarship which some vainly harbor of me. And to deal plainly and ingeniously with you, when I was under the teaching of men I got more from simple country people, husbandmen, weavers, &c., about Brinkworth, Southwick, and those parts in Wiltshire, than ever I did, or yet have by books and preachers.

Q. If you make no more account of learning, but so much despise and undervalue it, why do you make any use of it? A. The dregs and reliques in a vessel will remain awhile and retain some scent and favour of the liquor that was it, after the liquor is drawn out.

There be some men that sometime may, and sometime may not be answered according to their cavils and proposals. Prov.26:4-5. I know some will cast this proverb in my dish, the Fox dislikes the grapes because he cannot reach them, and Science



hath no enemy but Ignorance. I may as well retort, who more bold than blind Bayard? Who more blind than those that see? John 9:40-41.

I would strike off Goliath's head with his own sword, if I could. If I could but enter them, I would smite the strong holds and garrisons of the Philistines with their own weapons, and turn the mouth of their own canon against them, to batter down all their bulwarks. If my breeding had been at Court, and all the learning of the Egyptians had been bestowed upon me, I would disdain to be called the son of Pharaoh's daughter. Heb.11:24. Had I the art and skill of Archimedes; yea, all the wisdom of the World and could thereby make such an engine as would remove the abomination of desolation out of the holy place, I would not fail to do it, and make such a scourge as should whip the Semantical merchants, {who think that the qualifications of a Minister are to be purchased with the cost of education at some University,} out of the temple of the Lord, it should have no place in the Worship of God, though it may be allowed in the worshippers. The tools of man will pollute the Altar of God. "And if thou wilt make me an altar of stone, thou shalt not build it of hewn stone, for if thou lift up thy tool upon it, thou hast polluted it." Exod.20:25.

That may be used for reprehension of men's enormities, which is not used by way of edification in Truth and Godliness. Paul {after he had disclaimed and renounced the wisdom and learning of man} took occasion to lay open and reprove the vicious courses of the heathen from their own Poets,

Tit.1:12, but the reformation from those lewd and wicked manners he ascribes to the dispensation of the Gospel. Tit.2:11-12. The law itself may curse and kill, it cannot cure; it may reprove and convince, it cannot make alive, quicken and convert unto God.

It was lawful for the Israelites to take the jewels of silver and gold from the Egyptians that they might spoil the Egyptians. Exod.3:22; 12:35,36. Yet see what a snare these jewels became unto Israel, when their very Priest Aaron himself had converted them to an idolatrous use in the Molten Calf. Exod.32:4. Now they became so loathsome and odious that Moses burnt those jewels to ashes. The children of Israel could not carry so filthy and abominable thing into the holy and promised land of Canaan. Human learning, natural gifts &c., are the Egyptian jewels of this world, which the Israel of God, the Saints themselves may borrow and wear as ear-rings, for they will serve to adorn a man's discourse and hang as a jewel in the ear of the Auditor; but such is the madness of outside Jews, Letter-Christians, and formal professors that they must see their god; their god must go before them, for they will not be content with the God of Scripture, but they must have a made god, gods made in a visible and sensible shape that they may see their god before them at all times. But blessed are they that have not seen and yet have believed. And such is the rashness, folly, and simplicity of men-priests, who seek the favor and praise of men, more than of God; that to please a giddy, and head strong multitude they will comply and give them what

religion, worship, or god they call for. If the vulgar popularity cries up Presbytery, that shall be established for a time, and but for a time, for the tide may turn. Independency may come in fashion, and then very like if that be desired, it will not be denied. The common people must be satisfied or else tithes, dues, and worldly maintenance will fail. Now the ear-rings are called for; gifts, pars, abilities, endowments, these qualifications of nature with a little of the spirit {which may well enough be left out too, were it not for fashion and better sound sake in discourse} will make up a complete Minister. How many having but passed through the sire of an academical education, a slight and formal examination, and a powerless, weak, and lifeless ordination, have come forth molten calves, and many a silly soul hath danced about them as their ghostly-fathers, Oxford-saviors, and petty-gods. When human parts and learning are mixed in the worship of God to specificity, modify, or denominate it, then it becomes idolatrous. This calf we carry not into Canaan, any otherwise than as Israel having drunk of the water into which the powder was thrown, Exod.32:20, might be said to carry the Calf into Canaan; it is not seen nor named under the dispensation of the Spirit. Man's wisdom and parts may beautify the things of man, but no way adorn the things of God. What need you overlay gold with copper?

Mr. Baker. Is any man {think you} so simple to make a god of learning, or to look upon it as anything, any farther than as it is sanctified by the

Spirit? Answer. 1. Where hath the Spirit sanctified it to the qualification of a Minister in all the Scripture? 2. Do you think that the Israelites were so stupidly ignorant as to take the molten calf for the immortal God; yet when they would have a visible representation of the invisible Being, and change the Glory of the Incorruptible into the image of corruptible man, beasts, &c., God gave them up {as well as the Gentiles} to dote upon and follow that which was not God. Psal.81:12, Rom.1:21-24. When God speaks to man there is no similitude of Himself {in the wisdom, parts, and excellency of man, or the righteousness of the first Adam} to be seen. The ambition and industry of the creature is to bring down the Creator into the lower region of sensible appearances, to clothe and compass the incomprehensible Deity and mystery of the Lord Jesus, and the glorious Gospel of God in visible forms and the wisdom of the flesh; and when men have made a god like unto themselves, and fashioned a religion and worship after the invention of their own fancies, they are ready to cry out with those at Lystra in the speech of Lycaonia that "the gods are come down to us in the likeness of men." Acts 14:11. The longest, largest and widest form, order, and ordination of man is too short, strait, and narrow to circumscribe and limit the blessed teaching of the infinite Spirit of the Holy One of Israel. He hath learning enough that can speak a word in due season to him that is weary. Isa.50:4.

Mr. Baker. You go about to bring in a boundless and unlimited independency, to give

liberty to any that doth but pretend unto the Spirit to preach; you open a door to let into the Ministry every mechanical fellow, tinker, shoemaker {such an one as is at Nottingham} weaver, imp, &c., and if such as these may be permitted to vent the frothy humors of their shallow brains, under presence of being qualified by the Spirit for the ministerial function and office, then we are to have a goodly, wise, and learned ministry indeed.

Answer. 1. Did the Bishops {or will the Presbyters} keep all dolts, drones, and dunces out of the ministry? 2. Why may not even an exorbitant Episcopacy and a boundless Independency, {as you call it,} be as good as a groundless, proud, tyrannical and domineering Presbytery? I stand no more for an established form of Independency, than for a settled government by Presbytery, and for neither any more than for a reformed Episcopacy. II Cor.5:16. To let this pass, for though once I had this fleshly knowledge of men, yet henceforth know I neither men so any more, but rather seek to know as I am known in the Spirit. 3. As for the shoemaker at Nottingham, which you spake of, and other mechanical men, {as they are termed,} I know nothing to the contrary, but that they may sit in the chair as well as many of your great rabbis. I gave you instances of divers, who, having performed the priests office in his Canonical vestments, have been saluted for current divines both by Parliament men, and Synod men too; and they no Independents neither.

Jerome speaks of it as the glory, not the shame, and makes it the commendation, not the dishonour of those times, that the Scripture was familiarly known to tailors, seamstresses, diggers, shoemakers, &c., why should not we rejoice if all the Lord's people were Prophets, and to see the Spirit poured out upon all flesh?

I approve not any more than you do of precipitate, rash, ignorant fools that run before they are sent into the ministry. If any pretend to have the qualification of the Spirit, and hath it not, reject that man as a Pharisical hypocrite; but if any have the gift take heed you throw not water in his face to quench the spirit of prophesy in him. If God bid any one to go about his work, let no man discourage or forbid him to do it; Christ will not allow his own beloved disciple to forbid another to do his work, although he hath not the same formal and verbal commission, and doth not walk in the same external call and ceremony of discipleship with the other. He that never had hands of men laid on him, {Lk.9:49 50,} may cast out as many devils and convert as many souls, as he that goes out with never so many spells and charms of fleshly ordinations and institutions of Men.

Mr. Baker. In your discourse concerning the blind man, John 9:1-41, you said, that when eyes were fully opened we never read that afterward he prayed to receive his sight, whereby you seemed to glance at such a state of Perfection here, in which there should be no need of Prayers, but a continual rendering of praises.

Answer. 1. I say again, that mercies received should cause returns of praises, one of the ten lepers returned to Christ, what to do? To pray unto him to be cleansed, Luke 17:15,16, or to give him thanks for being cleansed? When you have bestowed your alms, do you expect the beggar should lie at your gate begging, or go away thankful?

2. I know there is such a state of perfection attainable here, wherein there shall be continual praises. Is not death, sorrow, crying, curse and pain removed, and all tears wiped away in the New Jerusalem, Rev.21:4;22:3, and what will there be left then, but matter of incessant praises? This is the condition which some, I do not say all, are in; do I therefore deny the spirit of supplication to those that are in doubts, wants, straits, bondage, and have not yet the possession of their desires and hopes? Do I hold prayer useless and needless in every condition?

Mr. Baker. You give me cause to think so; for when you preached last year at Derby you never made confession of sin, nor prayer for the pardon of it before your sermon, though it were on a fast day, whereby I guess you are against fasting and humiliation.

Answer. 1. If I had followed the form and pattern of your private spirit, I should have given you content; but I am not bound to take my dictates from man.

2. You say that I did not then confess nor pray for the pardon of sin; no, though it were on the fast day; hence you inferred, that I deny confession and prayer for pardon of sin to be lawful. I do not well

remember what I said so long since, but let me follow you in your reasoning; when I met with Mr. Baker, I heard him plead much for prayer, but little or nothing for praises, ergo, Mr. Baker denies praising of God to be lawful. I pay you in your own coin, you must not refuse or dislike it.

Christ gave thanks to his Father, Matt.11:25, but did not then pray for anything we find there, ergo, he never prayed at all, as holding it unlawful so to do. I did not confess, &c., when you heard me, therefore I say that none ought so to do, or I never did or may do so myself. I never had so much logic to understand your argument. And whereas you conclude also that I am against the duty of humiliation, I reply as before; if you had the disposing of my spirit, I should please you.

3. I forbid not the Disciples of John and the Pharisees to fast and pray often.

4. I grant that the children of the bride chamber may {and cannot do otherwise but} mourn when the Bridegroom is absent, Matt.9:14-15, must they therefore fast and weep and mourn when he is present?

5. Days of humiliation are ordained by men now, and observed by such as are subject to men, in the manner, notion, and nature that they are enjoined. Men may commend the observation of days, they cannot command the sanctification of them; they may propose the form and time of fasting, they cannot dispose the frame and affections of the heart. It may be seasonable for one man to pray, when it is more suitable for another to



be singing of Psalms. National communion, seldom or never hath its union in the Spirit. If principalities or powers cannot separate us from the love of God in Christ Jesus, Rom.8:38, if rulers and magistrates of this present world cannot estrange or take away the Bridegroom from the Saints, they cannot impose upon them the bewailing of his absence. Civil powers may command the corps, but they are not captains of the conscience.

I hear what will be objected, did not the Jews {say some} observe those days and times which were appointed for fasting, feasting, &c., and enjoined by their Kings and Civil Magistrates, who were but men.

1. They did so; so may the Jews do still, for let those that are under the dispensation of the Old Testament walk in it. If the civil Magistrate make decrees and send forth his edicts, let them be obeyed by those that are bound by conscience thereunto, but let not conscience be bound or enforced by them. The outward Jew hath no King but Caesar, the inward none but Christ, let both these exercise their respective power and jurisdiction, and all strife will cease.

2. The whole pedagogue and policy of the Jews, people and all were an external and typical Ceremony, which yet had in them and contained an internal and antitypical equity and morality. The Law in the letter, was by Moses, the Law in the spirit is in Christ. The children of Israel would needs have a King over them, like other Nations, whose Kings exercised Lordship over them, and were called

benefactors; the children also of Israel in the spirit have {Christ} their King over them, the Government is upon his shoulders; He reigns over the House of Jacob, He exercises lordship over the conscience, yet so, as that he may well be called a Benefactor. He breaketh the earthen forms, customs, principles, religion, worship, &c., in pieces, with his iron rod of the Spirit, like a potters vessel, but withal doth erect and set up such a divine and spiritual discipline that he may well be called a Gracious Lord, because of the Word of Truth, Meekness, and Righteousness, the scepter of Grace, Mercy and Love with which he ruleth; and the terrible things which his right hand doth in shooting his sharp arrows into the heart of his enemies, lust, sin, flesh and corruption. He it is that can kill and cure, destroy and make alive, confound and comfort, make sad or rejoice, command a feast or fast. Tis no good way of arguing to make up the conclusions of one science from the principles and promises of another. That which was done under the law, and in a type or ceremony will not hold under the Gospel in the verbal and literal sense of it; for what things the Law saith, it saith to them that are under it; and what things the Spirit saith, it saith to them that that are led by it.

But we are commanded by the Apostle, Rom.12:15, to weep with those that weep, and to mourn with those that mourn, even now under the New Testament, was not this present fast enjoined for Israel's sad condition whose miseries yet continue?

Tis all contest and granted, but doth that imply a constant and continued observation of a set and fixed time? Is any man sure to have his heart in a fit and suitable temper for fasting against the last Wednesday in every month? Are not the preparations of the heart, and answer of the tongue wholly from the Lord? Prov.16:1. God may dispose one man for singing at the very selfsame instant of time, that another is stirred up to prayer. If the Lord give a cheerful heart to offer up praise and thanksgivings, will it be convenient, at that time to sacrifice the oblation of a dull and pensive spirit received from the injunctions of Man? He that hath his heart disposed to mourn, let him mourn, who doth forbid him? And he that hath his spirit drawn forth to rejoicing, let him rejoice, who ought to hinder or judge him? One man may have his heart in a frame fit to keep the monthly fast, another man may be more fit to fast at another time; yet this man may truly bewail and condole the miseries and afflictions of Ireland and England as well as the other, and so fulfill the command or exhortation rather of the Apostle, in weeping with those that weep. He that doth fast upon Monday or Tuesday, without an Ordinance of Parliament, may be as truly humbled as he that keeps the Wednesday-fast, and more truly it may be, for those duties which flow from the more immediate suggestions of God unto the soul are more sound and cordial than those that are irritated and provoked by the instigations of man's precepts. He that observes a day, let him do it to the Lord; and he that observes not a day, let

him not be judged and condemned by men. Read the 14<sup>th</sup> chapter to the Romans.

Hitherto I have contended for truth, not for triumph, I shall now let fall the discourse and leave it before the judge. In all that I have here set down, the Most High God, my conscience and yours can bear me witness that in nothing you are wronged by me. Your name is prefix to nothing but what {for matter and substance} was spoken and asserted by you; when you justified your charge and carriage, and maintained, and defended your slanderous reports and defamation of me, you provoked me to a sharp reply, and to tell you that you had done very uncivilly, dishonestly and most unchristianly, at which you took great snuff, but let others judge whether I had not cause. I told you also that I might as well rail against you behind your back, as you had done to me, but that I scorned such baseness, and thought it not fit to render railing for railing; this I said to your face, and more than this {nor so much} you shall never prove that I spake behind your back. Nor did I intend to put these passages and proceedings between us in print, when I told you at our parting, that I resolved to require a more public account from you, supposing that a fair, free, and friendly debate of the matter among some friends in these parts might have been sufficient to have taken up, and composed the difference. But when I heard {about three weeks since} that you had divulged and blazed it abroad into other parts, I thought it as convenient, just and reasonable for me to make the

vindication of truth as public as you have made the imputation of an error.

Your practice in this kind, I doubt, hath been a bad president to others; for two or three Parish-preachers hereabout have since accused me of poisoning the people at Hener with error and false doctrine, but by that time their covetous practices, common tippling, excessive gaming, &c., are fully examined and laid open to the world they will appear to be such Antinomian Independents, such Independent Antinomians as will make them altogether incapable of the office of a Bishop. I cannot charge you of being active with them, but I suspect and fear that you have been exemplary to them.

Sir, before I take my leave, I shall {as a friend} suggest one thing unto you, i.e., when the shadow of the first Adams excellency is so big and long upon the earth, it is too clear a sign that the Day-star is very low and little in the horizon of man's heart; the second Adam, that Heavenly Sun of Divine Righteousness, Christ Jesus, is declining and drawing near the solstice of Capricorn, he is in a weak and low appearance, known too much after the flesh, when the glorious light and day of the blessed and eternal Spirit is so short and dark.

I have not endeavoured to shame you, but to sift out the truth, and to give you and others occasion to exercise your thoughts upon the mystery of God and man, Christ and Adam. When your meditations are ripe and perfected, let public profit be made of them. I have laid down nothing but my

experiences, and what I have heard and seen, as I have received the Lord Jesus, and been taught the truth in Him. I have no more to say to you, or any man else, but,  
*Farewell, and live well; if you know of any precepts better than these, be so candid as to communicate them, if not partake of these with me.*

## **FINIS.**

Mr. Calvert,

I hear it is reported by some that I am sad, melancholic, sick, and keep my chamber; by some that I am dead; by others that I am mad, and out of my wits, since I was with the General at Windsor. This {as I am informed} is reported by my friends. When Christ began to set forward his Father's work, his friends thought he was beside himself, Mark 3:21, and when Paul carried on that work he fell under the same censure, Acts 26:24, and what of all that, so long as it is to God? II Cor.5:13. I bless the Lord of whom I have obtained mercy, and from whom I have received the spirit of power, of love, and of a sound mind, II Tim.1:7, that I enjoy that which is better than myself, or the life itself, which maketh me to scorn and overlook the reports and reproaches of men. Here it is said of me, {as of

others heretofore,} that I am a pestilent fellow, a mover of sedition, one that poisoned and deceiveth the people, &c. I am not ashamed of the blessed and glorious Gospel of my Lord Jesus Christ, nor afraid of the bonds of the Gospel, or of persecution, for the Spiritual, Divine, and Heavenly Righteousness-sake of God. I have therefore sent you these few sheets of paper, desiring you to make them public to the view of all men.

***I am your assured friend Henry Pinnell.  
Risley in Derbyshire October. 14. 1648.***

**FINIS.**