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THE
THEOLOGICAL
WORKS
OF
THE REV. CHARLES LESLIE.

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THE
THEOLOGICAL
WORKS
OF
THE REV. CHARLES LESLIE.

—◆—
IN SEVEN VOLUMES.
—◆—

VOL. III.



OXFORD,
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.

MDCCCXXXII.

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THE
CASE STATED
BETWEEN THE
CHURCH OF ROME
AND THE
CHURCH OF ENGLAND;

WHEREIN IS SHEWED,

THAT THE DOUBT AND DANGER IS IN THE FORMER,
AND THE CERTAINTY AND SAFETY IN THE
LATTER COMMUNION.



For their rock is not as our Rock, even our enemies themselves being judges. DEUT. xxxii. 31.

THEOLOGICAL
A CONVERSATION

BETWIXT AN

ENGLISH ROMAN CATHOLIC NOBLEMAN

AND A

GENTLEMAN, HIS FRIEND, OF THE CHURCH OF
ENGLAND.

Lord. IT is hard that by your late act of parliament I must either lose my estate or change my religion.

Gentleman. I think your lordship ought not to lose your estate, till you have first considered how far your conscience will allow you to conform to what is required of you.

Lord. If I thought I could save my soul in the church of England, I would think myself obliged to preserve my right and posterity.

Gent. Pray, my lord, what is there in the communion of the church of England should make you think your soul in any danger? Would there be any hazard of your soul if there were no invocation of saints that are dead, in the public offices of the church; no pictures or images of God to be seen there; no elevation of the host, which was but of late years brought into the church; no prayers for souls out of purgatory; if the public prayers were in the vulgar tongue; and if the sacrament were

given in both kinds? for these are all the differences you will find betwixt your public offices and ours.

Lord. But I must keep in the communion of the church, else I think I cannot save my soul.

Gent. Your lordship means in the communion of the church of Rome.

1. *Lord.* Yes, for she is the mother church, and centre of unity to all other churches, insomuch that who are not of her communion are out of the pale of the catholic church.

Gent. My lord, it is certain that Jerusalem was the mother church, where Christ first planted the gospel, and commanded that it should be thence propagated to all other nations, as he himself said, Luke xxiv. 47. *beginning at Jerusalem.* And till after the vision of the sheet to St. Peter, Acts x. no Gentile was admitted, as it is said, Acts xi. 19. *they travelled—preaching the word to none but unto the Jews only.* So that the Jewish Christian church was the only church for some time, and she it was who converted the Gentile nations, and therefore was the mother church to them all.

Acts xi. 26. And Rome was not the first Gentile church, for *the disciples were called Christians first in Antioch.* And the Greek church was before the Latin; the New Testament was wrote in Greek for their use, therefore the Greek church could not be the daughter of the Latin church, which was born after her.

2. *Lord.* But St. Peter having been bishop of Rome, and Christ having constituted him to be the head of the catholic church throughout the whole world, the same must descend to his successors the bishops of Rome.

Gent. This will not make her the mother church : you may call her supreme, absolute, universal, or what you please, any thing but the mother church, to which it is impossible she should have any title.

In the conversion of the Gentiles to Christianity, one man and one nation must receive the faith before another ; they were not all converted on a day : and as when one man converts another, so it is of churches and nations ; it gives the one no superiority over the other, except that of gratitude and esteem, but nothing of authority.

But whatever the privilege of the mother church may be, if it can be translated from the mother to the daughter, from one church to another, from Jerusalem to Antioch, and thence to Rome, as you must be obliged to say ; then it may be translated from Rome also to some other church, unless some positive command of Christ can be produced, first to fix it at Rome, and then a promise that it shall never thence be removed : but the church of Rome is not once named in all the New Testament, unless she is meant by the *church at Babylon*. Nor is 1 Pet. v. 13. there any promise whatsoever made to her, or any the least intimation of her being the head of the churches, the standard and centre of unity to them all. Strange ! if that be the *summa rei Christianæ*, as Bellarmine calls it, (in the preface to his book *De Romano Pontifice*,) “ the sum and foundation of the “ Christian religion.”

And as silent are the scriptures concerning the supposed universal supremacy of St. Peter, or that he ever was at Rome, or bishop of Rome. Some after-writers have mentioned it ; but that is far from such an universal tradition as is sufficient for

the mighty superstructure which is raised upon it. But let it be granted, it signifies nothing, because all is founded upon some words said to St. Peter, such as, *Thou art Peter—Feed my sheep, &c.*, which cannot be strained to such an universal supremacy as the popes have claimed, nor were so understood in the primitive church: for which I refer your lordship to a book I know you value, and favoured me with the perusal of it, the learned monsieur Du Pin his *Traité de la Puissance Ecclesiastique et Temporelle*; printed at Paris, 1707; where, p. 495 to p. 501, and p. 754 to p. 765, you will find all these texts, urged for the supremacy of St. Peter, answered in the same manner as is done by the protestant writers, and it is shewed how very foreign they are from the purpose intended.

Matth. xvi.
18.

And that the rock upon which Christ said he would build his church was not Peter, but the faith which Peter then confessed, your lordship may see the current sense of the fathers, and consult at your leisure St. Augustine, *De Verb. Dom.* Ser. XIII.; Nazianzen, *De Vet. Testam.*; St. Cyril, *De Trin.* lib. IV.; St. Chrysostom, *Hom.* LV. in Matth.; St. Ambrose, *Com. in Ephes.* ii.; Hilary, *De Trin.* lib. II. cap. 6: and there are many others.

2 Cor. xi.
28.
1 Cor. vii.
17.

But nothing that was said of St. Peter is so express for an universal supremacy as what St. Paul said of himself, that *the care of all the churches* lay upon him. And again, *So ordain I in all churches.* If such a decretal could be produced of St. Peter's, I doubt not it would have been made use of towards proving his universal supremacy: in the Acts of the Apostles it is told, that St. Paul was at Rome preaching the gospel two whole years together, Acts xxviii.

30, 31; but not a word of St. Peter's being there: and as St. Paul planted the gospel at Rome, so he wrote to the church there as his particular charge; for he says, *I speak to you Gentiles, inasmuch as* Rom. xi. 13. *I am the apostle of the Gentiles, I magnify mine office.* But St. Peter was the apostle of the Jews, they were his particular charge; and he himself allowed, *that the gospel of the uncircumcision was* Gal. ii. 7, 8, 9. *committed to Paul, as the gospel of the circumcision was to himself:* and accordingly he directed his Epistle to the Jews of the dispersion, who were *strangers scattered throughout Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia.* But he wrote not to the Gentiles, particularly not to Rome, which would seem strange, if he had been bishop of Rome, and that had been his chief and principal charge. And St. Paul's *withstanding him to the face* before the whole church of Antioch, in behalf of the Gentiles whom he had misled, *fearing them who were of the circumcision,* shews the care St. Paul took of those who were more particularly his charge; and seems a behaviour not very suitable to the supreme head of the church, both Jews and Gentiles, if St. Paul had known any thing of St. Peter's being so constituted by Christ.

And as little had it become the other apostles to send their sovereign upon business, as they sent Acts viii. 14. Peter to Samaria.

But if, as some say, St. Peter was bishop of the Jewish converts at Rome, and St. Paul of the Gentiles there, St. Paul would have had a much greater flock than St. Peter, and the successors of St. Paul, and not of St. Peter, must have been bishops there,

because the church of Rome is now, and has long been, all of the Gentiles.

But the surest way to find out the truth is by fact, and not straining expressions which may have several meanings: the eastern monarchs have used to give themselves mighty titles, as *son of the sun*, and *brother of the stars*, and *king of all the kings of the earth*, &c.; but will any believe that any of them was the universal monarch for all this, contrary to plain fact?

Pray, my lord, let me ask you, Do you think one could write the history of a king, suppose of king Charles the Second, and in all the history neither call him king, mention his restoration, coronation, or tell of one regal act ever he did, as calling a parliament, or presiding in it, sending or receiving an ambassador, or granting a commission, &c.? And so of a pope, could his history be wrote without calling him pope, or telling of one papal act of his?

Lord. No, it is impossible; for such an history could not be called the history of a king or of a pope.

Gent. Now, my lord, let me apply this. We have the history of the Acts of the Apostles, in which St. Peter has a great share, though not so much as St. Paul, and there is a council mentioned wherein both of them were present, and there is not a tittle of any superiority of St. Peter over St. Paul, or any other of the apostles, either in that council or any where else throughout that whole history, which, as your lordship has determined, is impossible, if St. Peter had that supremacy which the popes have claimed as his successors.

This is so demonstrative a proof, that the writers on your side think it necessary for them to endeavour some solution to it; but the weakness of their answer is a yet greater confirmation on our side: for they can find no other way to get some superiority to St. Peter in this council than to suppose that he opened it, because, as they say, he spoke first, which would not infer the supremacy they intend, if it were true; but it is plainly otherwise; for it is said, *and when there had been much disputing, Peter rose up and said*—Acts xv. 7.—Nor did he speak last, for after he had done, Paul and Barnabas declared the conversion of the Gentiles, by their means, without putting them under the law, which was the point in debate; and after they had held their peace, St. James, who was bishop of Jerusalem, where the council was held, did, as president, resume what had been said by St. Peter and others, and gave his definitive sentence upon the whole, *Wherefore my sentence is*—And the decree of the council was drawn up in the words of St. James. So that it is plain he closed the council, whoever opened it or spoke first, which is not so material as to be told in this account of that council; but dismissing the council, and putting an end to it, seems of greater authority: if what is said of St. James here had been said of St. Peter, I question not it would have been made use of as a full proof of his supremacy, and presiding in that council.

Lord. I must confess the history of the New Testament is very barren, as to facts relating to the authority of St. Peter over the other apostles; we must depend upon the texts before mentioned, of *Feed my sheep, &c.*

Gent. None of these texts are so express as what I quoted of St. Paul. But if they were meant in that extent for which you produced them, it is impossible but that must appear in the facts of St. Peter, especially in the part he bore in that council at Jerusalem; and facts are the surest explanation of words.

1 Cor. xv.
10.

We discourse now only of authority, what authority one apostle had over another, for that is the point wherein we are concerned: we speak not of their gifts and graces, and their labours in propagating the gospel, wherein one might be more eminent and successful than another, but this gave him no authority over the others; and in this also St. Paul had the preference, for *he laboured more abundantly than they all*. And all the Epistles almost are his, to the several churches: and his miracles and conversations of infidels take up a much greater part in the Acts of the Apostles than those of St. Peter.

I have said so much of this matter, because the supposed supremacy of St. Peter, his being at Rome, and bishop of Rome, is the whole foundation of that supremacy claimed by the bishop or church of Rome.

And if that be so essential a point, and upon which the unity of the church depends, insomuch that without it there is no church at all, according to the scheme drawn by modern Rome; it is inconceivable the scriptures should be so wholly silent in it, nay, shewing the very contrary in fact, as I have said already concerning St. Peter. And when the direct question was put to our blessed Saviour, upon the contest among the apostles, *which of them*

should be the greatest, Luke xxii. 24; I say, if this was so material a point as to the very being of the church, it is inconceivable he should not have determined it, but by his answer rather checked the error of their thought, and left them all upon the level.

3. *Lord.* I would gladly know your notion of the unity of the church, if all bishops, as you say of the apostles, were upon the level, without any head bishop or principle of unity among them: for we are told that Christ has but one church upon earth.

Gent. Your lordship may add, and in heaven too; for all are one church to Christ, of which he alone is the head: and one part being militant, the other triumphant, makes them not two churches, but two states of the same church; which is called *one family in heaven and earth*. In like manner heaven, earth, and hell are one kingdom to the great Creator, for *his kingdom ruleth over all*. And of the earth it is said, *The kingdom is the Lord's: and he is the governor among the nations*. All the nations are one kingdom to him: but he has appointed no universal monarch as his deputy of his kingdom of the earth, but each nation is governed by their respective rulers, independent of each other: for so his wisdom has disposed, according to the capacity of his creatures; for what man would be sufficient to govern the whole world? and where must the seat be of this universal monarch? Must he not have as many or more deputies under him as there are now kings or nations? and what prudence could prevent defections and rebellions in far distant provinces? This has overthrown great monarchies, which have fallen with their own weight: what

Eph. iii. 15.

Ps. xxii. 28.

then could support an universal monarchy? When nations go to war, other neighbour kings and states may interpose, assist the oppressed, be mediators and guarantees of peace: but this could not be in case of defection from the universal monarch, for who assist rebels are rebels themselves. And such wars could not but end in the utter destruction of the one side or the other: therefore God has consulted best for the peace and safety of mankind in distributing the world into several independent governments, rather than to put all under the dominion of one.

Lord. But when nations are at war, where is the unity of this one kingdom of God upon earth?

Gent. It is disturbed where those wars are, but it is not yet totally dissolved; for there are laws of war wherein all agree: there is still what we call the law of nations, which as it maintains commerce in peace, so it regulates the fury of war: and there is one unity which nothing can dissolve, that is, *God having made of one blood all nations upon the earth.* So that here is an unity of relation, of humanity, and of common principles, which all retain.

Lord. But how is this unity kept?

Gent. Not as it should be; but so as is consistent with our fallen state and the corruptions of mankind: it is not such an unity as is in God's kingdom of heaven; which yet was once disturbed by rebellion.

Lord. But there ought to be a stricter unity in the church than in the temporal world.

Gent. I wish it were so, but, alas! it is not; and the frailty of man shews itself in the church as well

as in the state: the many heresies and divisions in the church have rent her to pieces, and broke her unity, as much as wars have that of the temporal world.

Lord. That is for not adhering to the head and universal monarch of the church.

Gent. No, my lord, it is that pretence in the church of Rome has been the great cause of these divisions: it has procured peace in the church just as setting up an universal monarchy would in the world, that is, fill it with more confusion and bloodshed than ever was in it, or could otherwise possibly be. For which reason God has appointed no universal monarch in the church more than in the state: for as Gregory the Great said to John bishop of Constantinople, (who, upon the seat of the empire being translated thither, set up for an universal supremacy in the church,) “If the church should come to depend upon one, it must suddenly fall.” And St. Cyprian said, “that therefore Christ made the college of bishops numerous, that if one should fall or turn heretical, the rest might interpose for the saving of the flock:” for, he says, “there is but one flock and one episcopate, of which every bishop has the whole in partnership with the rest: *Episcopatus unus est, cujus a singulis in solidum pars tenetur.*” This was the frame of the church in his days, and before from the apostles; this was the very state of the apostles themselves, who thus shared of the apostolate, the whole of which was given to each in partnership, or in common with the rest.

Lord. This then is your notion of the church, that as all nations upon the earth are one kingdom

to God, so all Christian churches are one church to Christ, without any universal monarch in either case; and that as the unity of the world consists in what we call the law of nations, which is common to all, so the unity of the church consists in the common Christianity wherein all agree.

If so, then every one who believeth in Christ is a Christian.

Gent. Yes, surely, as every one that believeth in Mahomet is a Mahometan.

Lord. Then there is no need to be of any church; if you believe in Christ, that is enough.

Gent. No, we must obey his commandments too, which oblige us to live peaceably and quietly as members of that body or church whereto we appertain, with Christian love and fellowship with all others, and not to make schisms and divisions by breaking communion, where nothing sinful is required as a condition of it. And when such disorderly persons are cast out of the church, or cut themselves off by a causeless separation, though they are no longer of the church, yet they cease not to be Christians; (that is a nostrum of the church of Rome;) and they must answer for their schism as for other sins, all of which are damnable in their own nature, without repentance: and yet allowances are made for invincible ignorance occasioned by the prejudices of education, &c. but not for obstinacy: no society of men will bear such perverse members among them.

Now a church is a society professing such a religion, be it true or false. Thus there is a church of the Jews, of heathens, of Christians, and Mahometans. And I would ask your lordship, which is

any of these churches? For instance, which is the church of the Mahometans?

Lord. It is the Turks, Moors, Persians, the great Mogul, &c.

Gent. Yet there is no chief priest over all these, but every church as well as nation is independent of each other; and thus it is among the several nations and churches of the heathens: the Jews were but one nation, and a small one, therefore they had, as one king, so one high priest. There was something like this in that part of the Christian church which was within the Roman empire: but to extend the supremacy of the bishop of Rome beyond the limits of the emperor of Rome, even to all the Christian churches in the world, is a fancy never came into the heads of any other mortals, and is not necessary to denominate many churches professing the same religion to be one church, as of the heathens and Mahometans, all of which are called the heathen or the Mahometan church or churches, without any common head over them all: and there is not one word in scripture appointing such an universal head in the Christian church, or altering this common sentiment of mankind, as to the meaning of the word *church*, or taking it in any other sense than commonly understood by all the world: and thus in our way of speaking, when we say *the fathers of the church*, or *the primitive church*, we mean not any particular church, but the whole body or church of Christians, though divided into many nations or churches.

Lord. But all in subordination to the church of Rome.

Gent. What, before there was a church of Rome!

for there were Christian churches before, as I have told you: and after there was a church at Rome, the bishops and fathers of those times knew nothing of its supremacy, far less of its infallibility, nor ever appealed to it in their disputes with heretics, which had been the shortest and the surest way, and impossible to have been forgot, had it been known and received as the current faith, or but opinion of the church. But, on the contrary, other churches have contended with that of Rome, and asserted their own liberties and independency upon her, when her encroachments began to arise and disturb the peace and unity of the church, which I shall shew you presently: but this is only to let you see that the unity of the church was then understood, not as being united under any one supreme bishop or church, but in the concord and good agreement of the several churches among themselves, and in the unity of the common faith; which unity is described by their all having *one Lord, one faith, one baptism, and one Spirit*, from which they are called *one body*. The *unity of the Spirit* is their unity with God, and the *bond of peace* is the unity of the churches with each other, as members of the same body: and this is a much stricter and closer union than that of the secular world. All churches agree in that summary of our faith called the Apostles' Creed: and the church of Rome herself must think this sufficient for salvation, because she requires no other profession of faith in baptism, or for being admitted into the church: but the twelve new articles of faith which the council of Trent has added to the twelve of the apostles, which we call pope Pius's Creed, and is required to be professed by con-

Ephes. iv.
3, 4, 5.

verts, has made many contests and divisions in the church; and I have not yet met with any Roman catholic so hardy as to say, that the belief of all these is necessary to salvation, only that we should not deny or oppose them; such as purgatory, the invocation of saints, &c.

4. *Lord.* The church pretends not to make new articles of faith, but only to explain the old ones: and such are what you call the new articles of Trent.

Gent. What article in the Apostles' Creed does transubstantiation explain? for there is nothing at all of the sacraments in that Creed.

Lord. Are not the sacraments then part of our faith?

Gent. They are the signs and seals of our faith, as circumcision was called, Rom. iv. 11, but not the faith itself, and therefore are not put into that summary of our faith.

Lord. But are they not necessary to salvation?

Gent. They are "generally necessary," as our Catechism words it, that is, to be reverently used when they may be had: but they are not absolutely necessary, so that if our circumstances or places where we live are such as not to afford us the opportunity of receiving the sacraments, we should be damned for want of them. I think none will say this; they are means of God's appointment, therefore to be used when we can have them; we are tied to this, but God is not tied to those means to which he ties us; he can save without them.

Lord. But we have seven sacraments, and you have but two.

Gent. That is, we take the word *sacrament* in a

stricter sense than you do ; and of the five which you have more than we, you cannot say that they are so much as generally necessary to salvation, because none can partake of them all ; for your sacrament of orders excludes all the laity, and that of marriage the clergy.

5. *Lord.* It is a sad thing that the church should be divided about these matters ; but we are all one ; you are miserably divided. How many sects or churches are there among you ?

Gent. Not so many as with you.

Lord. How can that be ? We have but one church which we own as such.

Gent. If a church is answerable for all that break off from her, then you have all these sects to reckon for, and us too, which is one more.

Lord. A church is not answerable for those who break off from her, because they are no longer of her.

Gent. Then we are not answerable for those sects which break off from our church.

Lord. But we are all one among ourselves.

Gent. So is every church or sect ; that is, those who agree among themselves do agree. So that this is no more a mark of unity than every division of men can plead, and every sect.

6. *Lord.* But we are the great body of Christians from which all broke off.

Gent. No, my lord, not the half, or ever were. The Greek church is an elder church than yours, so that you rather broke off from her, by setting up your universal supremacy, which she never owned, nor the many other numerous churches in Asia ; nor the great and once famous churches in Africa ;

nor the empire of Russia, of vast extent in Europe, once a part of the Greek church: these never owned the supremacy of Rome, and by far outnumber all that ever did own it, or were of her communion as such: and considering how many kingdoms and nations have broke off from her since the reformation, her communion is now reduced to a very small part of the Christian church, in comparison of those who differ from her.

Lord. But those other churches do not all communicate with each other.

Gent. Nor Rome with any of them, so that she stands by herself, as other churches do; and the most irreconcilable of any, because by her principles she cannot communicate with any who will not own her supremacy; which as it never was done by the greatest part of the catholic church, so there is little appearance that ever it will be; for it is observable, that no nation which broke off from Rome did ever return to her again; it is a hard matter for one that has escaped out of a snare to be inveigled thither again. So that it is very visible Rome has been upon the losing hand about this two hundred years past; and that not only as to those who have quite forsaken her, but as to the change of principles and lowering her supremacy and infallibility amongst those who still remain in her communion, which I shall shew your lordship presently, and that old and new popery are very different things, and that Rome itself has in some measure been reformed by our reformation.

I know nothing should hinder me from communicating with the Greek church, if I were there, while nothing sinful were required of me as a cou-

dition of communion, nor new creeds to be imposed on me: and so of the churches of St. Thomas, the Jacobites, and others in the east of Asia; of whom we have very imperfect and uncertain accounts: and so of the Abyssines, the Cophties, and other churches in Africa; the great church of Russia in Europe, &c. But Rome, while she pretends to universal supremacy, can communicate with none but with herself: so that our communion is much more extended or extendable than that of Rome. And this universal supremacy is that which, most of any one thing in the world, hinders the union and communion of Christian churches.

7. *Lord.* But though one church may be supreme, yet the best part of the Roman catholics place not the infallibility there, but in a general or œcumenical council, where all churches meet.

Gent. There never was such a council: the Roman empire had the vanity to call itself the *oikoumene*, which we translate, *all the world*, Luke ii. 1; hence the councils called within that empire styled themselves *œcumenical*, but no more truly so than the Roman empire was *all the world*. But the Latin church was not so much as the oikumene of the empire; for Greece and other parts of the Greek church in Asia were in it, especially after the seat of the empire was translated to Constantinople; when they contended with Rome for the supremacy; and the Latin church was not then called by the name of the church of Rome, as the learned Du Pin says in his *Traité de la Puissance Ecclesiastique*, &c. p. 551. “It is true,” says he, “that at present “the name of the church of Rome is given to the “catholic church, and that these two terms pass

“ for synonymous: but in antiquity no more was
“ intended by the name of the church of Rome, than
“ the church of the city of Rome, and the popes in
“ their subscriptions or superscriptions took simply
“ the quality of bishops of Rome. The Greek schis-
“ matics seem to be the first who gave the name of
“ the church of Rome to all the churches of the
“ west; whence the Latins made use of this to dis-
“ tinguish the churches which communicated with
“ the church of Rome, from the Greeks who were
“ separated from her communion. From this came
“ the custom to give the name of the church of
“ Rome to the catholic church: but the other
“ churches did not for this lose their name or their
“ authority,” &c. Then he goes on to vindicate the
rights of every national church, independent of the
church of Rome, and past her power to control or
alter: and the Proceeding of the Parliament of
Paris, printed in the Appendix, tells the pope that
his bishopric extends only to the diocese of Rome,
and his patriarchate to those provinces called *subur-*
bicarian; and that by taking upon him to excom-
municate others unjustly, and where his power did
not reach, he had excommunicated himself. And
then he was so far from being head, that he was
not so much as a member of the church; and they
mind him, as likewise Du Pin in the treatise before
mentioned, p. 263, of the stout resistance made by
the bishops of France to the pope, who threatened
to excommunicate all of them who would not sub-
mit to his decision; but they resolutely answered,
that they would not submit to his will, and that if
he came there to excommunicate them, he should
go back excommunicated himself: *si excommunica-*

turus veniret, excommunicatus abiret. Now what is that head, which can be excommunicated by its members? What is that supremacy can be limited and controlled by its subjects, and of which they are the judges, and can say to it, as God to the sea, *Hitherto shalt thou come, and no further; here shall thy proud waves be stayed?*

8. *Lord.* The church of France place the absolute supremacy and the infallibility, not in the pope or church of Rome, but in a general council.

Gent. Which, as I told you, never was, and it is next to impossible ever should be.

And this gives up your whole foundation; for the popes, and not councils, pretend to be the successors of St. Peter, and heirs of all the promises made to him.

In the next place, you are not agreed among yourselves concerning general councils. Bellarmine (*De Concil.* lib. I. c. 6.) gives a list of general councils which are to be rejected, *Concilia generalia reprobata*, some for not being approved by the pope, some for heresy, and some (he might have said all) as not being received by the universal church, but he meant only the church of Rome. And chap. 7 is of general councils partly confirmed and partly reprobated. And chap. 8 is of a general council neither manifestly approved nor manifestly rejected: this is going through all the degrees of uncertainty. And chap. 5, and *De Rom. Pont.* lib. IV. c. 11, he says, the several things in those councils allowed to be general were foisted in by heretics, he knows not how: this was to get rid of some objections against these councils he could not answer otherwise. And (*De Eccles. Milit.* c. 16.) he quotes the

last council of Lateran condemning the council of Basil, which he says was at first a true œcumenical council, and infallible, but afterwards turned to a schismatical conventicle, and was of no authority at all. The church of France receives the council of Basil and Constance wholly and throughout; but the church of Rome reject both in part: so that they who place the infallibility in councils, will need another infallible judge to determine these disputes concerning the councils; which are truly general, and which not; and which are partly so, and which throughout; and what part of those that are throughout have been corrupted by heretics, if that can be called true throughout which is corrupted in any part. And when one council condemns another, which shall we believe? and if we must not believe every council that calls itself œcumenical, we can believe no other council against it, for the same reason: the second council of Ephesus is generally condemned in your church; yet it called itself œcumenical, and was as much so as any of the others. And what a thing is it to say, that a council is partly right and partly wrong? And who is judge of that? Is there any certainty in this? far less infallibility? And we must have an infallible method too, to preserve the acts of these councils, that they be not adulterated, as Bellarmine says they have been; and they continue so to this day in the volumes of their councils: why then are they not amended, and these suppositions and adulterated parts (these are Bellarmine's own words) struck out? But the several editions of their councils are in the hands of other churches, and therefore they can make no alteration in them without being detected.

So that the scheme of the infallibility you place in your councils stands thus : the church of Rome makes herself the universal or catholic church, in-somuch that all who are not of her communion (which are by far the greatest part of the Christian churches in the world) are out of the pale of the catholic church ; and schismatics and heretics are no parts of a catholic council : thus a small part of the Latin church (exclusive of the Greek and all other churches) are the whole catholic church, and these little party councils, under the direction of the pope, are universal and infallible ! But, as is shewn, the church of Rome has no right to the title of the Latin church itself, far less of the universal. And she has now but a small part of the Latin church left her : the reformed, with Russia and the Greek church, will outnumber her in Europe ; and she has no national church in her communion any where else.

Lord. But there are some of her communion in most countries.

Gent. Not so many as of the Jews, who by this are more universal than your church, and so more catholic. And none of the scattered seminaries of Rome in other Christian churches can be said to represent those churches in a general council, more than two or three titular popish bishops in England could represent the church of England as it now stands. But, on the contrary, their living in a separate communion in other Christian churches shews those churches not to be of their communion ; and therefore cannot be represented in any of their councils : and these calling themselves œcumenical, as the Roman empire did, shews only how little

criticisms upon words will avail against plain matter of fact; which I have shewed to be the case as to those texts urged for the supremacy of St. Peter: and that if words would do it, there are more, nay and facts too, for the universal supremacy of St. Paul, at least over all the Christian churches of the Gentiles, which are now in all the world.

9. *Lord.* But there must be an infallibility some where in the church, and if it be neither in pope nor council, or that, as you say, there never was nor well can be a general council, truly so called, that is, of all the churches in the world, where do you place the infallibility?

Gent. Nowhere, my lord; nor can it be among men who are all fallible.

Lord. We trust not in men, as men, but assisted by the infallible Spirit of God: and this he has promised shall never depart from his church, as he has said, *My Spirit that is upon thee, and my words* Isa. lix. 21. *which I have put in thy mouth, shall not depart out of thy mouth, nor out of the mouth of thy seed, nor out of the mouth of thy seed's seed, saith the Lord, from henceforth and for ever.* And he has said, that *the priest's lips should keep knowledge, and* Mal. ii. 7. *they should seek the law at his mouth: for he is the messenger of the Lord of hosts.*

Gent. Read the next words; *But ye are departed out of the way; ye have caused many to stumble at the law; ye have corrupted the covenant of Levi, saith the Lord.* The first is what they should or ought to have done, the second is what they did do, which was quite contrary.

And notwithstanding the promise made in the

- Rom. iii. 12, 19. first text you quoted, yet *they were all gone out of the way, they were together become abominable; there was none that did good, no, not one.*—That all the world might become guilty before God, as well the church as the rest of the world. And of
- Isa. i. 5, 6. the church it is said, *The whole head is sick, and the whole heart faint. From the sole of the foot even unto the head there is no soundness in it; but wounds, and bruises, and putrifying sores.* And
- Jer. xii. 8, 9. God says, *Mine heritage is unto me as a lion in the forest; it crieth out against me; therefore have I hated it. Mine heritage is unto me as a speckled bird, &c.*

And we have now long since seen that church of the Jews, to whom these promises were made, quite thrown off, and the church of the Gentiles come in its place.

Lord. These promises were ultimately intended to the Christian church.

Gent. But they were first given to the Jewish church, and belong even literally to her, and much more uncontestably than to the church of Rome, to whom no promise whatsoever was made; nor has she any other pretence to the promises made to the church in general, than her supposed supremacy over all other Christian churches; which is disputed with her, and denied by the other churches. But there was none to dispute it with the Jewish church, for she was then the only visible church of God upon earth. And if the promises made to her can fail, in vain does the church of Rome, or even the whole Gentile church, claim these promises as indefeasible and unalterable to her; for if the promises made to

the whole church of God upon earth can fail at one time, they may likewise at another, and there can be no certainty.

Lord. Can the promises of God then fail?

Gent. No, that is impossible; but we may mistake his promises, and not understand them aright; and we may not perform the conditions required.

Lord. But the promises made to the church (that particularly which I have named of Isa. lix. 21.) are positive and unconditional.

Gent. But there is still a condition implied, that is, of our obedience; which our Saviour has fully exemplified in the parable of the husbandmen who did not render the fruits of the vineyard. As treason forfeits an estate or honours given by a prince, though in never so positive terms, and without any condition expressed; but that of allegiance to the prince is always implied; and thus the church may forfeit her charter. God said to Eli, the high priest of the Jewish church, *I said indeed that thy house, and the house of thy father, should walk before me for ever: but now the Lord saith, Be it far from me; for them that honour me I will honour, and they that despise me shall be lightly esteemed.* And he said, *ye shall know my breach of promise; or, as our margin reads it, the altering of my purpose.* And he has told us plainly that we are thus to understand his promises as well as threatenings, *At what instant I shall speak concerning a nation, (or church,) to pluck up, and to pull down, and to destroy it; if that nation, against whom I have pronounced, turn from their evil, I will repent of the evil I thought to do unto them. And at what instant I shall speak concerning a nation, (or church,)*

to build and to plant it; if it do evil in my sight, that it obey not my voice, then will I repent of the good, wherewith I said I would benefit them.

This was the language of the prophets to the Jewish church: but she understood it not, and leant upon the promises made to her as unconditional and indefeasible, let her be as wicked as she would. And this hardened her against her prophets, whom she persecuted for this reason as enemies to the church, as you find, *Come, and let us devise devices against Jeremiah; for the law shall not perish from the priest.* Here the Jewish church stuck, and here the church of Rome sticks at this day.

Jer. xviii.
18.

Lord. But the Gentile church cannot fail like the Jewish; for then there would be no church at all.

Rom. xi.
22, 23.

Gent. The apostle of the Gentiles says to the Gentile church, *Thou also shalt be cut off, if thou continue not in the goodness of God.* And that the Jews, *if they abide not still in unbelief, shall be grafted in: for God is able to graff them in again.* This shews that all the promises made either to the Jewish or the Gentile church are conditional, viz. *if they continue in the goodness of God; otherwise,* says St. Paul to the Gentile church, *thou also shalt be cut off:* and of all the Gentile churches this was said more particularly to the church of Rome, for this is in the Epistle wrote to her, and to her it was said, *Thou also shalt be cut off.*

Luke xviii.
8.

And of the church in general, whether Jewish or Gentile, it is said, *When the Son of man cometh, shall he find faith upon the earth?* Where will then that visibility be which Rome boasts of as an essential mark of the true church?

Lord. The church is compared to a *city set upon*

a hill, to a candle giving light to all that are in the house: this is to shew her visibility.

Gent. She is likewise compared to a woman persecuted into a wilderness, to a lodge in a garden of cucumbers, to a besieged city; and, lastly, that she will be so little visible, as that faith shall hardly be found upon the earth. This is not to be reconciled but of different states of the church, and at different times.

Lord. Christ says, that *his church is glorious, not having spot, or wrinkle, or any such thing; but that it should be holy and without blemish:* and he calls her his *beloved*.

Gent. So God called the church of the Jews, *the dearly beloved of his soul;* yet says, he had forsaken her for her wickedness, and hated her. And Isaiah represents her as most filthy and corrupted, chap. i. 4, 5, 6.

The church is called *holy* and *beloved* because of God's covenant with her to be his holy and beloved, which will be hereafter in those that are perfected, when the tares and the wheat shall be separated; but they must grow together till then, when *Christ shall gather out of his kingdom all things that offend, and them which do iniquity.* Then, and not till then, will the church be all *glorious, without spot, or wrinkle, &c.* As the text says, *Christ loved the church, and gave himself for it; that he might sanctify and cleanse it—that he might present it to himself a glorious church, not having spot, or wrinkle, &c.* But he has not yet so presented it; that time is not come: she is still in her cleansing state, but not yet thoroughly cleansed. And the scripture speaks of both these states of the church;

but when we distinguish not, and would apply to the most corrupt state what is said of the most glorious, we must needs fall into many errors and mistakes.

This is the difficulty under which the church of Rome now labours: she first making herself the catholic church, and then applying to herself, in this her corrupt state, whatever is said of the church even in her perfect, glorious, and triumphant state, creates her infinite trouble and endless distinctions, to reconcile these; which is as impossible to be done as to make the state of the church in heaven and upon the earth to be the same; and while the corruptions in the church of Rome are confessed and lamented by the most learned and most pious in her own communion.

And she may as well maintain her impeccability as her infallibility; for sin is the greatest error: and therefore I think nothing can be infallible but what is likewise impeccable.

10. *Lord.* The apostles were infallible, but not impeccable.

Gent. As much the one as the other. St. Peter erred, and *walked not uprightly according to the truth of the gospel: and many were carried away with his dissimulation.* And St. Paul owned that in some cases he *had no commandment of the Lord, only gave his judgment, as a private person, and spoke by permission, and not of commandment.* But in other cases he says, *I command, yet not I, but the Lord—And to the rest speak I, not the Lord.* And it is so, *after my judgment; and I think also that I have the Spirit of God.* And no doubt great deference was paid to his judgment, as being an in-

Gal. ii. 13,
14.

1 Cor. vii.
6, 10, 12,
25, 40.

spired person, but not infallible in every thing, as he himself said. The apostles were enabled to work many and great miracles, which gave them full credence as to what they delivered for Christian doctrine; but this was no personal nor universal infallibility.

11. *Lord.* The church of Rome has her miracles too.

Gent. What! both true and false? Can both come from God?

Lord. I know you deny our miracles.

Gent. And you cannot deny the many false miracles which have been notoriously detected in the church of Rome. But if one sham miracle had been found in the apostles, I am afraid it had discredited all the others, and called their mission in question whether it was from God or not. The Devil has power (when permitted) to *shew great signs and wonders*, as we are told Matt. xxiv. 24, 2 Thess. ii. 9; and the reason is given verse 12, viz. *as a just punishment to unrighteousness*. But one false or pretended miracle is sufficient to disprove all that come from the same hand. Therefore your books of miracles, the legends, must either all be believed, or all rejected, all coming from the same authority; and the greatest part of them are so very gross and simple, that no man of sense among you will say, that he can believe half of them: and your learned call them *piæ fraudes*, “holy cheats,” to stir up the devotion of the vulgar, who swallow all implicitly! And your lordship will have difficulty enough to believe all the miracles alleged of their relics: and, as I said, you must take all or none; unless you think that God can work true miracles, and the

Devil false ones, by the same means, and at the same time! Can you believe the quantities that have been shewn of the Virgin Mary's milk at several times and places? And so of the wood of the cross that is shewed in many places? Is it the same head or body of the same saint that is shewn at different churches, each of which contend that they have the true one? And each have miracles to vouch the truth of their relic! You may see a large collection of these, and the monstrousness of the legends out of which they are taken, in a book entitled, *The Devotions of the Roman Church*; which will prevent my giving instances in all the points before-mentioned.

Upon the whole, this pretence of miracles, the legends, and shops of relics, which are bought and sold, instead of a proof, are the greatest prejudice to men of sense against your church.

And it is the sorest blow that Christianity has received, while the common people put these legends upon the level with the holy scriptures, as having both the same foundation, that is, the authority of your church: whence Atheists and Deists take a handle to render both alike fabulous.

12. *Lord.* But after all, we believe the scriptures upon the authority of the church.

Gent. This is the old circle, out of which you can never conjure yourselves. You believe the scriptures because the church bids you, and you believe the church because the scriptures bid you: this is running round, and proving a thing by itself.

Lord. No; for we establish the authority of the church in the first place thus: we think it inconsistent with the goodness of God not to give men

an infallible guide to lead them in the right way to heaven, since our own reason is so weak that we cannot trust to it; and that guide is the church.

Gent. How do you know that? what have you but your own reason to tell you so? and if you cannot trust your reason, you cannot believe the church: so that all bottoms upon your own reason still, from which you strive in vain to escape.

Lord. But the scriptures bid us believe the church.

Gent. This is running into your circle again, to believe the church for the scriptures, and the scriptures for the church; but I will bring you out of it. For pray tell me, why do you believe a God? It would be blasphemy to say you believe it upon any authority, for that would place such an authority above God; and it would be nonsense to say you believe it either from the church or the scriptures, because you can believe neither without first believing there is a God. What is it then? We believe a God purely upon our own reason: and we cannot be more sure that there is a God, than we are persuaded of the truth of those reasons upon which we do believe it. And if God has given us no other guide but our own reason, with the assistance of his grace, to believe in himself; if this be all we have, or can have, for the first and main article of our Creed, what further do we require for those of less consequence? And that we cannot have more assurance than this, we may perceive by this experiment, viz. whether we believe most firmly and with greatest assurance, what we have only from our own reason, or what we receive upon the authority of the church: for example, are you not

more undoubtedly assured of the being of a God, which you believe purely upon your own reason, than of transubstantiation, purgatory, or whatever you believe upon the authority of your church?

And to say that God is obliged to give every man an outward infallible guide, is making too bold with Providence, and measuring his infinite wisdom and goodness by our short line. He has made creatures as it has pleased him: some incapable of happiness or misery, as the inanimates; some capable only of pleasures or pain of sense, as animals: and he has endowed others with reason, as man, and

Dent. xi. 26.
xx. 15.
Eccelus. xv.
14, &c.

left him in the hand of his own counsel, set good and evil, life and death, before him, and free-will to choose which liketh him. Again, of rational crea-

tures, some he has fixed in happiness, as the blessed of heaven; others are vessels of wrath, as the angels that fell: but man is betwixt these two, to work out his own salvation by his obedience to the will of God, who will judge every man according

Rom. ii. 11,
12.

to what he has given him; for as many as have sinned without the law shall be judged without the law: as they that have sinned in the law shall be judged by the law: for there is no respect of persons with God. But according to your argument

there is great respect of persons with him, and his goodness has failed the far greatest part of mankind from the beginning of the world; for what outward guide is there to Jews, heathens, Mahometans, and Christians, and to the many subdivisions among all these? And all these have guides of their own, and the blind lead the blind with most of them; for it is fact that the generality of mankind do not choose for themselves, but take their religion upon trust

as they are educated : and we must leave all this to God, who will require from none more than he has given ; for *the Lord is good to all : and his tender mercies are over all his works.* Psal. cxlv. 9.

13. *Lord.* Can any be saved then but by Christ ?

Gent. No ; but many may be saved by him who never heard of him : he died to make satisfaction to the infinite justice for the sins of the whole world ; and took our nature upon him, to atone for our fallen nature, to be applied to such who perform the conditions required. He will judge the Gentiles by the law of morality, which he has planted in their hearts, and we call natural religion ; but from Christians he requires faith in Christ, joined with sincere repentance.

Lord. Then the Gentiles are in better condition than we, because less is required of them.

Gent. Is it no advantage then to have the *glory* 2 Cor. iv. 6 of God revealed to us *in the face of Jesus Christ?* as the apostle speaks : and the effect of it upon us is described, that *we all, with open face beholding* Ch. iii. 18. *as in a glass the glory of the Lord, are changed into the same image from glory to glory, even as by the Spirit of the Lord.* The sight of the wonderful economy of our redemption must needs fill our souls with rapture and joy, when we behold the glory of God in all his attributes, each exalting the other to the uttermost, as it is said, James ii. 13, *misericordia superexaltat judicium*, that the *mercy of God exalts his justice* : for justice requires full satisfaction, it cannot remit a farthing ; to remit is mercy, and not justice ; and God is justice itself, justice in the abstract. Here then infinite wisdom finds out a full satisfaction to infinite justice ; and

infinite goodness affords that satisfaction, by the incarnation, perfect obedience, meritorious passion, and glorious resurrection, &c. of the only-begotten Son of God! This inflames our devotion, invigorates our obedience, and gives compunction to our repentance, when we *have sinned, and come short of the glory of God*. God has vouchsafed to make a covenant with us in Christ, by virtue of which we may appeal to his justice and veracity. It is a pardon signed and sealed by the king, which we may plead in court. The heathen have not this, but they are still under his mercy; they may say, God is merciful to forgive us; but we may say with St. John, that

Rom. iii. 23. *God is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness*. This is a great, a very great advantage we have above the Gentiles: and may not we enjoy it with thankfulness, and not damn them all to the pit of hell? Because God has made a covenant with us, may we not leave them to his uncovenanted mercy? Is our eye evil to them, because he has been good to us? or would we limit his mercies to his creatures, with

1 John i. 9. *whom we have nothing to do? For what have we to do to judge them that are without?—them that are without God judgeth*. And God did judge one who was without, that is, out of the pale of the church, to be the most beloved of God, and that

1 Cor. v. 12. *there was none like him in the earth*. And he is put upon the level with the greatest in the church,

Job i. 8. *though Noah, Daniel, and Job were in it, &c.* And

Ezek. xiv. 14. *as God chose a Gentile to be the great example of*

Jam. v. 11. *patience to all ages. And of another Gentile it was*

Luke vii. 9. *said by Christ, I have not found so great faith, no, not in Israel*. And he who said often to his disci-

ples, *O ye of little faith*, and upbraided his apostles^{Matt. xiv. 8.} with their unbelief; yet said to a woman of Canaan, (who would not be discouraged for the objection he put against her, of her not being within the pale of the church, but without among the dogs,) *O woman*,^{Matt. xv. 28.} *great is thy faith*. And of the ten healed there was but one thankful, *and he was a Samaritan*, that is,^{Luke xvii. 16.} a schismatic, a *stranger*, as Christ here calls him, and said to him, *Thy faith hath made thee whole*.^{Ver. 19.} And the pattern of charity is placed in the person of a Samaritan, in opposition to both a priest and a Levite; which makes good what St. Peter said of^{Luke x. 30.} Cornelius a Gentile, *Of a truth I perceive that God*^{Acts x. 34,} *is no respecter of persons: but in every nation he*^{35.} *that feareth him, and worketh righteousness, is accepted with him*. This is the doctrine which Christ taught, Luke iv. 25, &c. when he minded the Jews that a widow of Sarepta, a city of Sidon, and Naaman the Syrian, were preferred to all the widows and lepers in Israel; which so enraged the Jews, tenacious of the privilege of the church, that they *thrust him out of the city, and led him unto the brow of the hill whereon their city was built, that they might cast him down headlong*. And it is said that they were *filled with wrath*. The like fury they shewed when St. Paul told them that the gospel was to be extended beyond the pale of their church, and that God had sent him to the Gentiles: *And they*^{Acts xxii. 22, 23.} *gave him audience unto that word, and then lift up their voices, and said, Away with such a fellow from the earth: for it is not fit that he should live. And they cried out, and cast off their clothes, and threw dust in the air*. And the like rage is seen among the zealots of your church, when they hear of the

gospel being extended out of the pale of their communion, though with Christians who hold the three ancient Creeds, and have every thing essential to a church, except what Rome has made so, viz. the universal and unlimited sovereignty of her bishop, which is the great bone of contention, wherein Rome stands single by herself, thrusting all other Christian churches from her; like a man in a boat, who thinks he thrusts the shore from him, whereas he only thrusts himself from the shore; as Firmilian said to Stephen, bishop of Rome, *Excidisti te ipsum, noli te fallere*; “Do not deceive yourself, “ you have cut yourself off from the church; for “ he is truly a schismatic who has made himself “ an apostate from the communion of ecclesiastical “ unity: for while you think you can excommunicate all other churches from you, you have only “ excommunicated yourself from them.” *Dum enim putas omnes à te abstineri posse, te ipsum abstinuisti.* Cyprian, Ep. LXXV. p. 228. edit. Oxon.

But the church of the Jews had a much stronger plea for her universal supremacy and infallibility, because all proselytes, of whatever nations, must come in to her; for there was no other visible church of God upon earth, and the sacrifices were limited to the temple at Jerusalem; accordingly we find, Acts viii. 27, that the eunuch came out of Ethiopia to Jerusalem for to worship.

Now if the Christian sacrifice of the body and blood of Christ, the most solemn worship of God, were confined to St. Peter’s church at Rome, and could be had nowhere else; as the most solemn worship of God, the legal sacrifices, which were types of the Christian, were confined to the temple of

Jerusalem; and if the church of Rome, like that of the Jews, were the only church in the world; yet, after all, would the church of Rome have no more pretence to infallibility and perpetuity than the church of the Jews had. And as the church of the Jews has been cut off, for her disobedience to the law of God, so (as before mentioned) has it been said to the church of Rome particularly, *Thou also shalt be cut off*—that is, upon the same condition—*if thou continue not in the goodness of God.* And we cannot imagine there should be a church of Rome visibly as now, with a pope at the head of it, and a number of bishops, cardinals, &c. under him, holding the true Christian faith, when that time comes which our Saviour has foretold, *When the Son of man cometh, shall he find faith on the earth?* for then it would be found, and very visibly, at Rome.

But that state of the church is better represented by the *seven thousand who had not bowed to Baal*, but of whom Elijah knew none, but thought he was left alone. This was a state of segregation; there were particular persons who kept the faith, but invisible to the world or to one another; without any public worship, or so much as private meetings; for Elijah would surely have known of these, and been the principal among them; far less could they have had an organized church, with pastors and rulers over them, without being known to Elijah, and to many more, even to their persecutors, who found out the most private recesses of the primitive Christians, and their meetings, though in the most secret manner, for divine worship; and their bishops too, whom they seized and hauled to prisons and to

martyrdom; for they could not lie hid, and the faith was then visible, though under persecution: therefore it must be a much more universal depravity and corruption of the church of which our Saviour spoke, when faith should not be found, at least visibly, upon the earth. It will be more like the state of the church before the flood, represented by the ark, *wherein few, that is, eight souls were saved*. And as the corruption of the old world was great, we may suppose the corruption to be greater before the second coming of Christ, as the destruction by fire is more terrible than that by water. However, such an universal corruption is here foretold, as will in no ways consist with the least sort of that visibility which the church of Rome requires as a mark of the true church, and to continue with her for ever.

But, on the other hand, if there shall be a visible church in those days, then that church, at least the generality, which is the visibility of it, will fall from the faith, else it would be visibly to be found upon the earth; and then men will be misled by the church, and by those marks of visibility, &c. which the church of Rome gives her; in like manner as they were misled by the church before, when she commanded them to reject their Messiah.

John i. 11. *He came first unto his own, the church of the Jews, the only visible church then upon the earth, but she received him not; for she was corrupt and blinded, under the mask of pharisaical sanctity and strict observance of the law, even to the tithing of mint, anise, and cummin; she was zealous in the outward observances, but neglected the weightier matters of the law, judgment, mercy, and faith;*

and so it may be at the second coming of Christ as it was at the first; for there is no more promise of infallibility to the one state of the church than to the other.

Lord. But it was prophesied in the Old Testament that the Jews should reject their Messiah at his first coming.

Gent. And in the New Testament, that at his second coming *he should not find faith upon the earth.*

But the Jews did not so understand these prophecies against themselves: they said that the church was the only interpreter of scripture, and they must take the law from the mouth of their priests; and the church did interpret these scriptures otherwise than Christ did.

Lord. But Christ being come, he was then the church.

Gent. He was not the church, for he came to redeem the church; he did not come to redeem himself. He was the head, the church the body; but the head is not the body.

Besides, it is perfectly begging the question of the Jews, to suppose that Christ was the Messiah, for that they deny, and bid us prove it; that is the whole question betwixt them and us.

Lord. His heavenly doctrine, his miracles, and the prophecies of him, prove him to be the Messiah.

Gent. The Jews answer all this by the authority of the church, which said, *Have any of the rulers* John vii. *or of the Pharisees believed on him? But this* 48, 49. *people who knoweth not the law are cursed.* And to rivet this curse, they excommunicated those Ch. ix. 22, who did confess Christ: and they said that Christ 34. xvi. 2.

Matt. ix.
34. xii. 24.

wrought his miracles by Beelzebub. And who was to be judge in this case, the people or the church? Upon the foot of the authority of the church, it was impossible at that time for any to be a Christian. Therefore, of all men, Christians have the least reason to insist upon this.

14. *Lord.* Then I find you resolve all upon private judgment.

Gent. It is all we have for the belief of a God or of Christ, and, by your own confession, for the choice of a church. And then we may well trust to it in smaller matters; in short, we must trust to it in every thing without exception; for it is as impossible to believe any thing without our understanding, as to see without our eyes.

Lord. But you believe some mysteries which you pretend not to understand or explain, as the doctrine of the holy Trinity, the Incarnation, &c.

Gent. My reason tells me that there must be many things in the nature of God which I cannot understand or explain, because he is infinite and incomprehensible. And these I take purely upon the revelation that is given of them in the holy scriptures; for my own reason could never have found them out, nor can perfectly understand them; they are dark to me, like a country I never saw; I cannot have a right idea of it till I come thither; as I cannot of heaven, or of the state of separate souls: yet I cannot help framing some conception to myself of what I know *never entered into the heart of man to conceive*, that is, aright, and according as these things are. Therefore I take not upon me to explain them, for that would be to involve myself, and I know that I must greatly err:

and yet it would be as much against reason to deny these things, as to deny there was any country in the world, or star in the firmament, which I had not seen; and much more unreasonable it would be, to think there was nothing in the nature of the infinite Being which I did not comprehend; or because that cannot be expressed to us, but in words adapted to our understanding, therefore to measure his nature by ours; and because Peter, James, and John are three men, therefore to think that Father, Son, and Holy Ghost must be three Gods: but when I say *three persons*, with relation to the divine Trinity, there comes not such a thought in my head as *three persons of men*; but because personal actions are attributed to each of the divine Three, therefore we call them *persons*, which word the scripture applies to God, Heb. i. 3. But it is only *ad captum*, as the schools speak; that is, condescending to our capacity; as when God is said to repent, to grieve, &c. it is not that we should think it really so, for that would be contradictory to the nature of God; but it conveys a notion to us, that we should act as if it were so, that God were angry or grieved at our sins, and would repent of the blessings he had given or promised to us, if we took not heed *to walk in his ways which he has set before us*.

15. *Lord*. I am afraid the Deists will think this a straining the point in favour of revelation, and say that they are much easier without it.

Gent. They will not find it so, when they consider that they are in no less difficulties upon following their own reason only; for example, they allow a first Cause and Creator of all things, because nothing can make itself; and that first Cause must

have a necessary being, and consequently from all eternity; and that eternity is a duration without succession or time, or having any beginning, wherein all is present, without either past or to come: this the Deist is forced to confess upon the conviction of his reason. But he will not pretend to have so much as any idea or conception what this eternity is or can be, nor can he imagine a duration without beginning, in which there is nothing past, or any thing to come: nor can he express this any otherwise than in words of time, which he must own are not at all proper or applicable to it; the very word *beginning* is inconsistent with eternity, and to say *before the beginning* is a contradiction. Here then he is lost, and must have recourse to the same excuse which he ridicules in revelation, viz. that we cannot speak properly of God, nor in other words than what belong to men; and therefore that these words are not to be taken strictly, nor argued upon, or consequences drawn from them, for that this would involve us in numberless contradictions. And there is not one objection which the Deist or Socinian makes against the doctrine of the holy Trinity, the Incarnation, &c. but are of this sort, by arguing from the nature of man to the nature of God; from the persons of the one to the persons of the other, &c.; which these men of reason think highly unreasonable in their own case, as to argue from time to eternity, &c.

16. *Lord.* But, sir, the Deist would ask you, upon what authority you believe that revelation, viz. of the scriptures? And since you will not have it built upon the authority of the church, I see not what other authority you can allege for it.

Gent. Nor I neither; for I put it upon no authority; it is evidence and not authority, upon which my belief of the scriptures is founded.

Lord. Then you believe upon the authority of evidence.

Gent. That expression is not proper, though sometimes carelessly used; for authority and evidence are two things: if I believe a thing for your telling me so, without any other reason, then I believe it purely upon your authority; but if a man I never saw before makes a thing very evident to me, and convinces my reason, I believe not then upon his authority, for he has none with me, but upon the evidence he has given me; and what that evidence is, upon which we believe the holy scriptures, is set forth in a little book I had the honour to present to your lordship, entitled, *The Truth of Christianity demonstrated, &c.* which was wrote to convince Deists, who believe no church, or any church authority: and if you have no other evidence but the authority of your church to prove the truth of the scriptures, I see not how you will ever convince a Deist, who denies both.

But if I tell him that I believe the scriptures, and the facts therein related, upon the same and much stronger evidence than I have for believing there was such a man as Alexander or Cæsar, that there is such a town as Rome or Constantinople, though I was never there; yet I believe it, not upon the authority, far less the infallibility, of any man or number of men that tell me so, but from the nature of the evidence, which makes it impossible for mankind to concert such a lie, or to carry it on, without being detected: and if the truth of Christianity, that

is, of the scriptures, can be demonstrated as plainly as these other facts, (which I think is done in the book I mentioned,) then a Deist must either be convinced or confounded.

Now if you will let your church come in as part of the evidence of Christianity, she will not be refused, so far as her share goes; but upon her authority, and upon her's alone, the truth of the scriptures and of Christianity will be a jest to the Deists, since her authority can be proved no otherwise than by the scriptures, and then back again, the scriptures by her authority!

Lord. But several parts of the scriptures have been disputed; as you reject those books you call apocryphal out of the canon of the Old Testament; and the ancient heretics forged false gospels and false epistles in the names of the apostles; and as the canon of the New Testament now stands, some of the epistles have been disputed by some learned men: and this could not be determined, nor the canon established, but by the authority of the church.

Gent. As to the apocryphal books, we received the canon of the Old Testament from the church of the Jews, which never admitted them into the canon of their scriptures: and how should we know their canon better than themselves?

Again, we are sure they were not in the Christian canon in the days of St. Jerome, if he knew what was received by the church as the canon of scripture; for in his *Prologus Galeatus*, printed before your own vulgar Latin, he rejects them as apocryphal^a, and says they were not in the canon of the holy scriptures.

^a Inter Apocrypha esse ponenda——Non sunt in canone.

But as to these books themselves, let any one but read the conclusion of them, in excuse for the weakness of the performance, and then think it possible, if he can, that the Holy Ghost should make such a speech as this—*If I have done well—it is what I desired, but if slenderly and meanly, it is that which I could attain unto.* Or, as your Vulgar has it, *Si quidem bene, et ut historiæ competit, hoc et ipse velim: si autem minus digne, concedendum est mihi*; that is, “I ask your pardon, if I have not “done my work as it ought to be.”

But as to a full examination of the apocryphal books, and their authority, I refer your lordship to Dr. Cosins’s Scholastical History of the Canon of the Holy Scripture, printed 1657, and not yet answered that I can hear of.

Lord. But the canon of the New Testament was established upon the authority of the church.

Gent. No, my lord, not at all by her authority, but plainly by evidence; they proceeded wholly upon evidence, viz. whether such an epistle was sent to such a church, as to the church of Corinth, Ephesus, Galatia, &c. who carefully kept the originals, and sent copies to other churches, as was commanded, Col. iv. 16. And by this communication of the churches one with another, the true scriptures were known, and it is commonly set down at the end of the epistles by what hand they were sent: and by this method the spurious epistles and gospels forged by heretics were at first detected, as you will find in the last chapter of the fifth book of Eusebius’s Ecclesiastical History, where it is told, that the heretics were brought to this test, and could not produce the originals whence they took their co-

pies; and that their copies did vary from one another, every one adding what opinion came into his own head; and that they could not tell from whom they had learned such new doctrines. Thus the canon of the New Testament was settled in those ages when these evidences were fresh and notorious; and has been received since that time by all the Christian churches in the world so unanimously, that there is no dispute betwixt any churches concerning the canon of the New Testament. And this is an evidence too strong for the caprice of some particular men, who would shew their wit in making objections against this or that part: but this cannot hurt the faith, because the whole faith is over and over again fully expressed and contained in those Gospels and Epistles which are acknowledged by all.

Lord. But there are various lections, and translations of the scriptures into many languages, which agree not exactly and in every point with one another. And how shall we examine this by evidence? what evidence is there in this case? Here the authority of the church must come in to determine between these various lections and translations: and these various lections or different readings of several texts are very many, which some learned men have taken pains to collect.

Gent. But there is no difference among them in any thing material, or what concerns the faith: so that this, instead of an objection, (which the Deists make use of to invalidate the truth of the scriptures and the certainty of our faith,) proves a stronger confirmation of both, in that among so many various readings and translations no material difference is

found, or other than may, and without a miracle must, happen in so many thousand copies and impressions as have been made of the scriptures: and none, I suppose, will pretend that every writer or printer is infallible, not to mistake a letter or a word, or misplace them: but that nothing of this sort has happened to the detriment of the faith, or making disputes in any thing that is material, must be attributed to a very particular providence.

And the church of Rome has not undertaken, nor was it worth her while, to attempt the adjusting of the various readings: for in that translation which she has most approved, the vulgar Latin, some of the various lections are given on the margin of her own editions.

But what signifies the Latin, which is not the vulgar language of any nation now in the world; I say, what does this signify to the people who understand it not?

Lord. Therefore to answer your objections of our locking up the scriptures from the people, we have them now translated into the vulgar tongues of each country, particularly in France, where they are publicly sold in the shops.

Gent. This, instead of an answer to the objection, is a confessing to it, and owning it to have been just and necessary: and thus much your people have gained by our reformation.

But, alas! my lord, what have they gained? There is something worse than even a total locking up the scriptures in these translations, that is, a corrupting the text to deceive the people, different from even your own vulgar Latin translation, which you have authorized. This is made apparent in the Collection,

printed here at London, of the many texts thus evidently abused, both by adding to them, and taking from them, and misinterpreting them; in the French New Testament printed in France for the use of the new converts there. And this has occasioned the suppression of that New Testament, insomuch that few of them are to be found, at least they are not publicly sold now at Paris.

Lord. If they are suppressed, then your complaints are answered: but have you any objection against the Louvain translation now printed and sold at Paris, with the approbation of the doctors and divines there?

Gent. Yes, my lord, here is one in my hand, bought in Rue St. Jacques in Paris, where they are printed, with the approbations before them, in the year 1701. And in this translation there are many mistranslations. I will shew your lordship one: it is said, *As they ministered to the Lord.* The vulgar Latin has it in the same words, *Ministrantibus illis Domino.* But this French translation is in these words, *Or comme ils offroient au Seigneur le sacrifice de la messe;* “When they had offered to “the Lord the sacrifice of the mass.”

Lord. I suppose they took that to be the meaning of the words.

Gent. Your lordship may suppose so: but, my lord, what the import of the words is, or what consequences may be drawn from them, is what we call *exposition*, or commenting upon the text; but to alter the words of the text is of another nature; it is false translation, and not an interpretation; and comes under that terrible curse pronounced Rev. xxii. 18, 19. against those who add

to, detract from, or pervert the words of holy scripture.

And to shew that this was not done by chance, and what use they intended to make of this text thus translated, Acts xiii. 2, they put upon the margin, *la sainte messe*, “the holy mass;” that the people might here find a plain text of scripture for the mass and the sacrifice of it. And in the Index, (which is done by the same authority as the translation,) upon the word *Messe*, this text is named as a proof that the apostles did celebrate mass.

This sacrifice of the mass is a plain addition to the text: let me give one instance of subtracting from it. It is said, that *Jacob worshipped, ἐπι, upon*, Heb. xi. 21. or leaning *upon, the top of his staff*: but this French translation leaves out the word *ἐπι, upon*, and renders it that he *worshipped the top of his staff; Adora le haut de son baton*. And in the Index, at the word *adoration*, this text is quoted for the adoration of wood, *l'adoration fait aux bois*. Belike Heb. xi. 21. they thought there was some image carved or painted on the top of Jacob's staff, which he worshipped! and so this is made a text for worshipping their wooden images and pictures! especially the solemn worship of the cross every Good Friday: and who knows but that the head of Jacob's staff was not round but crutchways, set across, (as is usual with old men,) and then the staff was a perfect cross!

In the former text concerning the mass, this French translation adds to the words of their own vulgar Latin as well as of the original: but in this last, the vulgar Latin as well as the French subtract from the original, and both render this text the same way.

But to do justice to all, the Port-Royal Bible delivers this text from the gross interpretation put upon it, by means of a false translation, to favour the worshipping of wood.

In the other French translation I mentioned before, made for the use of the new converts, this expression, 1 Cor. iii. 15, of some that shall be saved with great difficulty, as if *passing through the fire*, is boldly rendered *the fire of purgatory*, as the words of the text, without any different character, as is used with us, when a word is put in to make English of an Hebrew or Greek idiom: but in this Louvain translation the text is let stand, *so as by fire*, only *purgatoire* is put on the margin in this edition made since the objections against the other translation, in which the addition of purgatory to this text is particularly taken notice of.

I could give your lordship more of the corruptions of texts in the French translations. I have now only named three, one for the sacrifice of the mass, another for the adoration of the cross and of images, and one for purgatory.

Lord. The church is not answerable for these translations, however approved and recommended by doctors, universities, &c.

17. *Gent.* But the people are deceived by them: the people believe as they are taught. There is small security to them in the abstruse disputes concerning infallibility, how far it extends, and where it is placed, and in the disputes betwixt popes and councils about it: these are questions of which, I suppose, your lordship will easily grant the common people are no judges. They know nothing of the matter. How should they, when the learned men

are divided among themselves concerning them? So that this infallibility, if it could be found and fixed, would be of little use to the generality of the people, unless their curates, and their fathers and mothers, who instruct them, were likewise all of them infallible; for, as I said, they believe as they are taught, and examine no further: nay, they are forbid to examine, for that implies a doubt, and they are not to doubt of the religion they are taught, but to receive, without any doubt, what has been told them by their curates, fathers, mothers, or nurses, and what is current in the country where they live. This is all the infallibility of which they are capable; and this is the way of all the earth: it is thus that the generality of mankind, whether heathens, Jews, Mahometans, or Christians, receive their religion. And without examining into what we have been taught, no man could change his religion; none could ever have become a Christian, especially no Jew, who had the authority of his church against Christ, to which church he alleges promises of perpetuity and infallibility.

18. *Lord.* The bishop of Meaux has cleared this in his conference with Mr. Cloud; where the bishop asserts the necessity of a living infallible judge always in being to direct men; and says, that when Christ was come, he was that living judge, and so the authority of the Jewish church was superseded.

Gent. This is *gratis dictum*, and begging the question of the Jew, as I have said already, who upon the authority of his church denies our Christ to have been the Messiah. I will not repeat, only ask these few questions further: 1. Who was this living judge before the flood? for the bishop says

there must be always such an one in being. 2. Was Abraham, who was known only to a few neighbours, and wrought no miracles to convince others, was he, I say, given as such a guide or judge to the whole earth? and Christ was not so great a traveller as Abraham. 3. Where was this living judge when Christ was dead? And if there was none for three days, it might be so for three, or three hundred years, or for good and all, because the argument fails for the necessity of such a judge always in being. You will not say the church can fail for three days: the promises of God can never fail, no not for a moment.

Lord. Christ founded his church before he died, and left his apostles for guides, chiefly Peter, the prince and principle of unity to them all.

Gent. And yet of the apostles one betrayed him, another forswore him, (and that was Peter;) all forsook him.

Lord. That was human frailty, and personal; but they retained the true faith, they were in no error as to that.

John xx. 9. *Gent.* The greatest that could be, *For as yet they knew not the scripture, that he must rise again from the dead. And if Christ be not raised, your faith is vain; ye are yet in your sins.* And the reason given for choosing Matthias into the room of Judas
1 Cor. xv. 17.
Acts i. 22. was, that *he might be a witness with the other apostles of the resurrection of Christ.* And what faith could they have in him whom they had quite given
Luke xxiv. 21. over, and never expected to see him more? *They trusted that it had been he who should have redeemed Israel.* But when he was dead, all their hopes were gone; they expected no redemption from

him. This was far from a Christian faith; and could there be a Christian church without this faith?

To avoid all this, and secure the promise of indefectibility to the church, some of your authors of greatest name have said that the church was then preserved in the Virgin Mary; and thence infer that the catholic church may be preserved in one woman, as it was then, and that so it may be again, in the times of antichrist; and the great defection is foretold will be before the second coming of Christ, when *faith shall not be found upon the earth*, that is very hardly, when it may be confined to one laic, a woman, or a baptized infant, as others of your doctors^b allow.

Lord. This is giving up the church quite, as a society, with government, discipline, &c. and I hardly believe any of our approved authors have said so much, and not been censured for it.

Gent. They are no less men than Alensis, the author of the Gloss upon the Decretals, Lyra, Occam, Alliaco, Panormitan, Turrecremata, Peter de Monte, St. Antoninus, Cusanus, Clemangis, Jacobatius, J. Fr. Picus, &c. And to save repetition, your lordship will find their books and words quoted in this small treatise in my hand, entitled, *The incurable Scepticism of the Church of Rome*, printed here 1688, p. 22, &c. I name this little tract because it is short, and will give your lordship no great trouble, and proceeds upon the same argument I have undertaken with your lordship, instead of the particular points in dispute betwixt the church of Rome and us, as invocation of saints, purgatory, &c. to

^b Bannes Com. in II. 2. Quæst. In Art. 10. Dub. 1.

go at once to the bottom of the cause, and examine the ground and foundation of faith, as taught in the church of Rome: which is shewed, I think, to a demonstration, to be wholly precarious and uncertain; and that there is no greater difference and confusion among any sort of men, upon any subject whatsoever, than there is among the divines of the church of Rome, concerning her rule of faith and infallible judge of controversy: and every one of the different opinions about it is in flat contradiction to all the others, so that if any one of them be true, all the rest must be false: and yet they all pretend to believe with divine faith, and think it necessary in this case, because it is the foundation of their faith.

Now if, according to these learned doctors, the whole church failed upon our Saviour's death, then the gates of hell did prevail for a time; and if the Virgin Mary were excepted, that would not do much as to the standing of the church. But have they any revelation to ground divine faith upon, or upon what grounds do they believe that the Virgin Mary knew the scriptures, or the resurrection of Christ, more than the apostles, and was not under the same despondency as they were? This seems to

Luke ii. 35. be that *sword* which Simeon told her should *pierce through her own soul also*.

Lord. To avoid all these things, some suppose that the Christian church was not formed till the descent of the Holy Ghost at Pentecost, when Peter converted about three thousand, as told in the second of the Acts: and that of this Christ spoke, when he told Peter that he would build his church upon him, and called him a *rock*, and that it was fulfilled at this time, when Peter was made the instrument of

that first and great conversion, which was the foundation of all that followed.

Gent. If the Christian church was not formed, as some think, till after the resurrection, because our redemption was not till then completed; or, as others think, till the ascension, when Christ commissioned his apostles to *go and teach all nations*; or till the descent of the Holy Ghost, when they were *endued with power from on high*: yet any of these ways it will follow that there was no Christian church before the death of Christ; and then that the Jewish was the only true church while Christ lived in the world: for the Jewish church was to last till the Christian was formed, else there was no church at all after Christ came till his resurrection: and then it would follow, that the only true church in the world did reject our Christ; and then there will be no choice left us, but either to acknowledge the fallibility of the church, or to reject Christ from being the Messiah. But if the Christian church was formed upon the first appearance of Christ in the world, or upon his ordaining the twelve apostles, and sending them out to preach, or upon any other act done in his life; then, as said before, the whole church failed upon his death: but if the church cannot fail, no not for a moment, because of the necessity of a living infallible judge always in being, the succession of the monarchy of the church ought to be hereditary, where the king never dies; for this scheme will not admit of an interregnum for months or years that may be spent in the election of a pope, in all which time the church has no head or monarch; much less when there are popes and antipopes, which has occasioned twenty-six schisms in

Matt.
xxviii. 19.
Luke xxiv.

49.

the church of Rome, some of them of long continuance. And who is judge in such a case? Is every man left to his own private judgment? and is it all one which of the contending popes he adheres to, whether to the right or the wrong? or can the church have two or three opposite heads at the same time?

Lord. Therefore in France, where I received my education, they place not the infallibility in the pope, but in a general council.

Gent. I told your lordship before, that there never was a council truly general; that there are disputes in your church concerning general councils, some receiving those, or parts of them, which others reject: and who shall be judge in this case?

But suppose you were agreed among yourselves concerning your councils, and that they were infallible, yet they are not a living judge always in being; you have not had one since that of Trent, which began in the year 1545, and concluded in the year 1563, now a hundred and fifty years ago; and there may not be another in twice that time, if ever: where then is the living judge always in being, which the bishop of Meaux and others think necessary?

Lord. General councils may in this sense be called *living*, and *always in being*, that their canons are always in being, and determine controversies to those who regard them: and if new heresies, or controversies, or schisms of popes arise, new councils may be called to determine them.

Gent. And ages may pass before that can be done; and the church may be corrupted in the mean time for want of such a living judge: as Europe is now

situated, it would be pretty difficult to have a general council; and it may be long enough before any pope may be of opinion to call one, or hazard his supremacy upon it.

19. But, my lord, the canons of past councils are not living, nor can speak for themselves. There are volumes printed of the learned in your own communion, giving contrary expositions of the canons. I will instance in one: the third canon of the fourth, commonly called the great, council of Lateran, acknowledged to be a true general council by all of the church of Rome, established in most express and positive terms the pope's power of deposing princes, and absolving their subjects from their allegiance, not only if he please to call them heretics themselves, but if they do not extirpate all heretics out of their dominions. This is maintained in the literal sense by Bellarmin and the Italian doctors. On the other hand, the Gallican church, who have condemned the deposing doctrine, and yet own this council of Lateran, are put to hard shifts and many distinctions to solve this; but it is impossible; for either that doctrine must be true, or this council has greatly erred.

Lord. But not in faith: this is no matter of faith.

Gent. But is it not matter of salvation for which we shall be judged at the last day? St. Paul says, *They that resist the (lawful) powers shall receive to themselves damnation—Wherefore* (says he, ver. 5.) *ye must needs be subject, not only for wrath, (or fear of temporal punishment from these powers,) but also for conscience sake; that is, towards God.* And what are these guides of conscience who lead

us wrong in this? In the description of the last judgment given by Christ, Matt. xxv. 31, to the end, men shall be judged chiefly for their practice: there is nothing mentioned there but what men have done. And have we no guide as to practice, while we raise such contentions about a guide in faith? or is the church a guide in practice too? and is a general council the church? Then the church has led us into a damnable practice, unless the pope has power to depose princes at his pleasure; and that there is no sin in rebellion, and all the blood and desolation that follow it, if his holiness so command!

Lord. But the church does not oblige us to profess or subscribe the deposing doctrine, no, nor to believe it; so that you may be a good Roman catholic notwithstanding all this; nay, you may oppose the deposing doctrine, as the clergy of France do.

Gent. And may I not be as good a Roman catholic if I do believe it, defend it, and practise it too? And have I not all the encouragement the church of Rome can give me, the frequent practice of the popes themselves, and here the canon of a general council for it? And have any of the popes ever yet renounced it?

Lord. But the doctors do not agree about the sense of that canon; you see France takes it in a quite contrary sense from the pope and Italian doctors.

Gent. Then your lordship sees that canons are but a dead letter, and that there may be disputes about them. And where then is the living infallible judge always in being? You see the canons of former councils cannot be this judge; there must

be another judge to determine what the true sense of them is. And who should that judge be but the pope, the head of the church? I am sure, if I were a Roman catholic, I should be on that side. I could shew your lordship several other canons of councils that are in dispute among your own doctors; but that can be no wonder, when I have already shewed they are in dispute about the councils themselves: so that there is no certainty what the judgment of your church is; or rather it is certain that it is most erroneous, and in matters that concern our eternal salvation, as well as the peace of the world; that is, rebellion, (among other things,) which is *as witchcraft and idolatry*. I have instanced in this sin, because I know your lordship to be tenacious of your loyalty.

And now, my lord, since the saving of our souls is the end for our being of any church, I leave your lordship to judge whether the people are safest in the communion of Rome or of the church of England, as to this point.

20. *Lord.* They are safe in the church of France, where the deposing doctrine is disowned.

Gent. My lord, our dispute is with the church of Rome; and if the church of France differs from the church of Rome, in matters whereon our salvation depends, they cannot be said to be one church, or to have the same guides to heaven.

But, my lord, the pope's deposing power has extended itself even to France, of which you will find frequent instances in their histories. And even so late as the holy league against Henry III. all the popes in that time joined with the league against the king, and supported that rebellion by their au-

thority; and the generality of the bishops and clergy of France, and their universities, took part with the league, and justified it by principle and in print. The book *de justa Abdicatione Henrici III.*, Of the just Abdication of Henry III., king of France, was then wrote upon the foot of the deposing power, not only of the pope, but also of the people. And d'Avila, in his history of these civil wars in France, tells^c, “A great and solemn procession was made by order from the cardinal legate, to implore God's assistance, (for the success of the league against the king,) in which the prelates, priests, and monks of the several religious orders walked all in their accustomed habits; but besides them, armed openly with corslets, guns, swords, partisans, and all kind of arms, offensive and defensive, making at once a double show, both of devotion and constancy of heart to defend themselves: which ceremony, though to many it seemed undecent and ridiculous, yet was of great use to augment and confirm the courage of the common people.”

And the cardinal legate says, in the Declaration he published to the leaguers^d, that “to acknowledge an heretic for their king is the dream of a madman, which proceeds from nothing else but heretical contagion.”

And the leaguers shew wherein they placed their confidence, and say^e, “they are the most holy fathers, (the popes,) and the most holy see, that have sent us relief: and though many have been

^c D'Avila, History of the Civil Wars of France. English Translation, printed in the Savoy, 1678. lib. XI. p. 459.

^d Ibid. lib. XIII. p. 578.

^e Ibid. p. 598.

“ called to that supreme dignity (of the popedom)
“ since these last troubles, yet hath there not been
“ one of them who hath changed his affection to-
“ wards us; a most certain testimony that our cause
“ is just.”

And there had been six popes during the league, viz. Gregory XIII., Sixtus V., Urban VII., Gregory XIV., Innocent IX., and Clement VIII. And they supported that rebellion, not only with their blessing on it and the authors of it, and cursing the king and all the loyal subjects who adhered to him; but they sent more substantial relief, viz. three hundred thousand crowns for the service of the cardinal of Bourbon^f, whom they had chosen king, by the name of Charles the Tenth, against the next in blood, only because he was a protestant; and fifteen thousand crowns a month to carry on that rebellion; with an army of six thousand foot, and one thousand two hundred horse, to assist these holy leaguers. The pope went heart and hand into this work, “ which he accounted excellently good,” says d’Avila^g, “ and of wonderful glory and advancement to the apostolic see.” And afterwards, when the success of the king’s arms had induced several of the clergy and others to come over to him, the pope sent his monitory letters to the prelates and catholics, commanding them, “^hunder pain
“ of excommunication, and of being deprived of their
“ dignities and benefices, and of being used as secta-
“ ries and heretics, that they should withdraw them-
“ selves from those places that yielded obedience to

^f D’Avila, History of the Civil Wars of France, lib. XII. p. 493, 501, 503.

^g Ibid. lib. XI. p. 431.

^h Ibid. XIII. p. 613.

“ Henry of Bourbon, (so he styled the king,) and “ from the union and fellowship of his faction.” And the authority of the pope prevailed so far at last, that those catholics who had joined with the king formed a conspiracy against him, upon his delay of changing his religion; wherein the princes of the blood were most violent, and told him plainly to his face, that if he did not perform his promise, (to turn Roman catholic,) they would desert him, and join with the league. See d’Avila, p. 611, 612. as likewise, p. 555, 601, and 605.

After his conversion, and being by that established upon the throne, they feared his power, and therefore the pope (as now) made less noise with the deposing doctrine, which yet he would not disown, but kept it *in petto* till a more fitting opportunity: but yet it was not carried so covertly, but that, even in their sermons, wise and willing men might know their meaning. ⁱ Ravailac, upon his examination, alleged the Lent sermons before his assassination of king Henry IV. as the ground and encouragement to that execrable fact. But after that magnanimous prince had thus fallen a sacrifice to their restless, furious zeal, and his son succeeded, young and fenceless, to the government, then they set up again the deposing doctrine on high, because then they durst do it: with which our king James does justly upbraid them, particularly his opponent, the cardinal of Perron, in the preface to his book quoted on the margin; for it was but five years after the murder of Henry IV., viz. an. 1615, that cardinal

ⁱ See King James I. his Defence of the Rights of Kings against Cardinal Perron, p. 4.

Perron, in the assembly of the three estates of France, and in the name of the first estate, that is, of the clergy, did reassert the power of the pope to depose kings, with this reason, that otherwise “there had not been any church for many ages past; and that indeed the church (he meant of Rome) was the very synagogue of antichrist.”

But to come to a fresh instance now on foot, the Pere Juvency, a French Jesuit, has lately printed a book at Rome in defence of the pope’s power to depose princes: and the unwillingness and shifts of the Jesuits at Paris to disown him in this, and to disclaim that doctrine fairly and aboveboard, shews that it is not yet quite extinguished in France, but kept in the embers, as in the reign of Henry IV: for all, who understand that order of the Jesuits, know full well that none of them dare print, especially upon such a subject, without the approbation of their superiors. However, it is plain by this, that the deposing doctrine is still countenanced at Rome, and that France is not entirely free from the infection; and though the vigour of Louis XIV. has depressed it very much, we cannot say it is totally extinguished, or that there is no danger of a relapse, while the authority of the pope is so revered as head of the catholic church, and this council of Lateran is still owned as truly general and infallible; and the bishops of France still take an oath of fidelity and obedience to the pope.

Lord. But that oath is not inconsistent with their fidelity to their king.

Gent. Pray, my lord, let me ask you, is not an oath to be taken in the known and declared sense of the imposer, for whose security it is taken?

Lord. Yes, surely; for otherwise all such oaths would be equivocal, and no security at all.

Gent. Then the question will be, what the pope means by the regalia of St. Peter, and all the rights, prerogatives, &c. of the apostolic chair, as he calls his own, to which these bishops are sworn, *contra omnem hominem*, against every man or power in the world: for it is the pope who imposes this oath, and it is taken for his security. And has he not sufficiently declared what he means by it? Take it in the words of the Proceedings of the Parliament of Paris, in the Appendix, where they say, “that by “ this decree (of the *bullâ in cœna Domini*) the “ popes declare themselves sovereign monarchs of “ the world.” And this is no more than is given them at their coronation, as you have it in the Roman Pontifical, where the triple crown is put upon the pope’s head with these words^k, “ Receive “ this diadem, adorned with three crowns; and “ know yourself to be father of princes and kings, “ governor of the world, and vicar upon earth of “ our Saviour Jesus Christ.” And must not this governor of the world have power to dethrone all petty kings and princes that are under him? else how can he govern the world? And the popes think that this their sovereign power of deposing princes is fully recognised to them in the foresaid canon of the council of Lateran. And no pope has ever yet been brought to disown this power; so far from it, that the pope who most of any other asserted this *bullâ in cœna*, and set it up on high, causing it to

^k Accipe thyram tribus coronis ornatam: et scias te esse patrem principum et regum, rectorem orbis, in terra vicarium salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi.

be affixed and published, not only at the doors of the churches at Rome, but in the field of Flora, that all might take notice, as you find at the end of the bull, in Appendix; and who practised his deposing power (the last in England) upon queen Elizabeth, absolving her subjects from their allegiance, and commanding all the catholics in England to pay her no more obedience, nor taxes, &c.; I say, this same pope has been picked out to be canonized for a saint, in the year 1712, by the present pope, with all the solemnity and requisites in the church of Rome for making a saint: and this present pope, as well as his predecessors, does, every year, thunder out the excommunications of this *bulia in cœna*, by bell, book, and candle, which, like Dracansor, cuts down friends and foes; for there never was a Roman catholic king in England, or in any other kingdom, either before the reformation or since, but is excommunicated by this bull, and by the twenty-fourth article, past the power even of the pope to absolve him, unless he first abrogate and annul all the laws of his country which are contrary to the tenor of this bull; and this never yet was done, and, I dare say, never will be done, in any popish country in Europe; and there is not, nor ever was, any popish country in any other part of the world, unless you will except the late Spanish plantations in America: and not only the kings themselves, but all their parliaments, counsellors, judges, officers, even to printers or publishers, or any whosoever that “either directly or indirectly, tacitly or expressly, violate, depress, or restrain the ecclesiastical liberties or rights of the apostolic see, and “holy church of Rome, howsoever and whensoever

“obtained, or to be obtained,” are all here together excommunicated; as likewise all archbishops, bishops, and clergy, who shall do the same; and all who shall presume to attempt any opposition or contravention to any thing contained in this bull, are left under the “displeasure of Almighty God, and “of his blessed apostles, Peter and Paul,” which is the concluding sanction of this bull: and here saints must be joined with God, lest his displeasure should not be sufficient. By all this it appears that there is hardly any Roman catholic in the world, above the condition of a ploughman, who is not excommunicated by this bull. And here you see plainly the pope assuming a temporal or civil power over all emperors, kings, and princes, limiting them, by article 5, as to the raising taxes upon their own subjects, without his express license; and exempting all ecclesiastics from being any way taxed by them, article 18, or being under their power, even in civil or criminal causes, as by article 19, though it were treason, murder, &c.: for which noble principle, Thomas Becket, archbishop of Canterbury, was canonized, for maintaining the liberties of holy church!

Now, my lord, I leave it to yourself, whether, if you were a king, you would desire all the bishops of your kingdom to be under an oath of fidelity to another, who pretended an absolute and civil power over you, with authority to depose you, as he had done to several of your predecessors, and would by no means be brought to disclaim such his power; but, on the contrary, made a fresh claim of it every year, and of his being the sovereign monarch of the world: nay, he puts in his claim for more, if more

can be thought of, as it is worded in the *bullæ in cœna*, article 24: "All the rights of the apostolic see, and holy church of Rome, howsoever and whensoever obtained, or to be obtained." *Howsoever obtained*; that is, you are not to inquire whether right or wrong: and *whensoever*; that is, you are not to go back to antiquity, or the institution, or look further than the present possession, which with him gives right when it is for him: and *to be obtained* secures any new acquisitions he can make, and all his future pretences; this is like swearing *et cætera's*. And now, I think, the plenitude of his power is sufficiently guarded: and all this is included in the regalia of St. Peter, and the rights of the Roman church, to which the bishops of France, as well as of other popish countries, are sworn, if they take that oath sincerely, that is, according to the known and declared sense of the imposer.

21. *Lord.* But I suppose this oath must have been taken away, if that model of church-government had gone on, which was proposed by the parliament of Paris, (and no doubt with the king's approbation,) that a council of the bishops, &c. in France should be constituted by his majesty to dispose of vacant bishoprics, &c. and determine all ecclesiastical matters without any appeal or recourse to Rome.

Gent. And it had gone on, but for the success of that confederacy formed by pope Innocent XI. against the king of France, to reestablish his supremacy there; in order to which he sent a nuncio to our late king James, to invite him to be head of that confederacy: but he, who had learnt no other than

French popery, absolutely refused, and opposed the encroachments of the pope's supremacy, as appears plainly by his concurrence with monsieur Barillon, the French ambassador, then residing with him, to cause the Proceedings of the Parliament of Paris against the Pope's Supremacy, hereunto annexed, to be translated into English, and printed at London, in the year 1688, which was his last of reigning here: and the pope had this for his excuse, that he could not otherwise have carried on his confederacy, than by concerting the deposition of king James, who would not have agreed to the first of the articles sworn at the Hague by the princes, allies, and confederates, in February, 1691, and printed here at that time, viz. "that no peace be made with Louis XIV. till he has made reparation to the holy see for whatsoever he has acted against it; and till he annul and make void all those infamous proceedings against the holy father, Innocent XI." These are the Proceedings of the Parliament of Paris hereunto annexed. And in the treaty of king William with Spain, bearing date Dec. 31, 1690, it is stipulated, art. 4, "that all things in the ecclesiastics (in France) should be restored as in their former state."

Now if king James would not come in to these things, was there not sufficient reason for the pope to exercise his deposing power against him, in the best manner that he could? And if he had such power from God, then king James had no injury to complain of as done to him, being deposed by his lawful superior.

Lord. You recall to my mind the astonishment we were in here at the cold reception, and even

slights, put upon the earl of Castlemain, ambassador of king James at Rome; while a protestant doctor, noways acceptable there upon his own account, and some others, were caressed in an extraordinary manner. But the event of things explains their conduct. And now we see the reason why Innocent XI. was then called here *the protestant pope*, because he took part against king James, and helped on the revolution. And I have been told, that at that time the pope did require of king James his promise to use his endeavours to have the oath of supremacy taken away in England, and that his majesty did positively refuse it; which some of us wondered at here; but that another did promise it, and, in this, was as good as his word, and has taken this stumblingblock out of the way.

Gent. King James's fate was very hard; he was abdicated in England, because he was a papist; and the pope wrought his deposition, because he was too much a protestant: and such protestants are the French reckoned at Rome; they are called there *hæretici tolerati*, "tolerated heretics;" nor would they be tolerated if the pope could help it; that is, if he durst imitate the example of his predecessor, the new saint, pope Pius V, to depose the sovereign, absolve the subjects from their allegiance, and interdict the kingdom. But that experiment proved so fatal to the pope in England, that it is not likely it will ever be tried again, either in France or any where else; the thunder of the Vatican is spent, and become a *brutum fulmen*; the emperor keeps *commachio* still, notwithstanding it is particularly named, by the Latin name *coma-clum*, in the *bullæ in cœna*. The second article

damns all who appeal from the pope to a future council; yet have we seen it done in form by the king of France and the parliament of Paris, and that very bull named, and thrown off without any regard: and the whole Gallican church are under this excommunication in almost all the articles of it, by the four memorable propositions, here annexed, which were established in the general assembly of their bishops and clergy, in the year 1682; upon which the pope refused his bull to the bishops there, as is complained of in the Proceedings of the Parliament of Paris, and was the ground of their quarrel with pope Innocent XI. And the learned Du Pin wrote his treatise before mentioned, *De la Puissance Ecclesiastique, &c.*, in defence of these propositions against all the objections of the pope and church of Rome.

Lord. You should have said *the court* of Rome.

Gent. I understand not the distinction. If you mean nothing by the church of Rome but a general council, then there is no church of Rome now in the world; but if there be a church of Rome, where shall we look for it but at Rome? and what is it there but the pope and his cardinals? and is not that it which you call the court of Rome? where then is the difference?

Lord. We own the pope to be the first and the chief of the bishops, and as such keep communion with him, as it is said in the Proceedings of the Parliament of Paris, p. 51.

Gent. The precedence of bishops is not a matter of that consequence as to break the peace of the church for it, or which of them should be president in a council. If that were all the difference, the

bishop of Rome should have it with all my heart, or any other bishop they should agree upon: and if this were all that is meant by the supremacy of the pope, we should not trouble the world much about it. But he will not be content with any such thing. The supremacy he claims is no less than an absolute sovereignty over all the churches and kingdoms of the earth, their bishops, and their kings: and this not by any ecclesiastical constitution, or grant of temporal princes, which might be conditional, limited, and revocable, and would infer their superiority to him; but by a divine and indefeasible right, as successor of St. Peter, and heir of all the promises made to him, unalterable, unlimitable, and unaccountable to any power upon earth.

Lord. Whatever he means by his supremacy, we mean no such thing, or other than that he is the first or chief of the bishops; and, as such, think ourselves obliged to keep communion with him.

Gent. But when he means one thing by his supremacy, and you mean another, and he has sufficiently declared what he means by it, and requires your owning it, and swearing to it, for his security, who deals most sincerely with him; we, who, not believing any such supremacy in him, will neither own it nor swear to it; or you, who, not believing it more than we, in the sense you know he means it, yet own it in general terms, but in a quite contrary sense to what you know he means, and trusts to as his security? We disown it, and fight against it; you fight against it as much as we, yet seem to own it.

Lord. But though we differ from the pope upon the point of his supremacy, yet we keep communion with him.

22. *Gent.* Is not excommunication putting a man out of communion?

Lord. Yes, for so is the word *excommunicate*, that is, to put out of communion.

Gent. Can a man be said then to be in the communion of a bishop who has excommunicated him?

Lord. No, I think not, else excommunication signifies nothing.

Gent. Then none can be truly said to be in communion with the pope who are excommunicated by him every year in the *bullâ in cœna*; and that is all France, and you, my lord, and all who are on your side of the question concerning the supremacy of the pope; for that is the main, almost the only subject of that bull.

Lord. But all casuists do agree that an excommunication does not bind which is made *clavè errante*, that is, where the judge passes sentence through misinformation, inadvertence, or of malice, self-designs, or other sinister motive: in these the judge has erred; and also where he has exceeded his authority, and extended it to things that are not subject to it: in these cases the sentence is unjust, and will not be ratified in heaven.

Gent. But who is judge whether the sentence be pronounced *clavè errante* or not? and how far the pope's authority does extend? He has excommunicated you, all of you, as if each one were particularly named, for so it is expressed in the bull. On the other hand you despise this bull, and say, with the parliament of Paris, that he has hereby excommunicated himself! and so you have a head of the church who is excommunicated! and so of every pope who gives his sanction to this bull, that is,

all the popes in our time, and long before. And from whose communion is the pope of Rome excommunicated? is there any other communion but that of Rome? is a person excommunicated no longer a member of the church? and can he then be the head of it? These are matters of no small importance, no less than whether we are members of the church, or cut off from it. You are cut off, says the pope and church of Rome. No, says France to them, you yourselves are cut off: and yet these two churches are the same! And is there no judge in this case? is every man left to his own private judgment? How then have we been teased with that question, Who shall be judge? This answers all objections with you; for begin at what point of popery we will, and bring arguments never so convincing, we are always stopped with this question, who shall be judge? and so you refer all to the authority of your church: but when you answer this as to your own case, you will have answered it as to us too.

If the pope is supreme head of the universal church, he must have power of excommunication over all in his own communion, that is, according to his scheme, over all Christians in the world: and to dispute the validity of his excommunication is a total denial of his supremacy, and setting up another supreme above him. And who is that? who is judge whether his excommunication is valid or not? and by what authority does he judge? It must be by some authority superior to that of the pope; and so he is supreme over the supreme.

But if the pope's excommunication stands, (without which his supremacy falls,) we may say, *who*

then can be saved? All the Christian kings and princes that are, or ever were in the world, even those of his own communion, particularly in England, as well before the reformation as since, are all together cursed and anathematized to the pit of hell by the *bullâ in cœna*; and with them all their bishops, divines, parliaments, judges, lawyers, clerks, printers, and publishers, or any others who have any manner of way been aiding, assisting, or consenting, though tacitly, to the contravention of their princes to any part of this bull, that is, as I said before, almost every one above the condition of a ploughman are hereby all damned by all the authority the pope has: therefore have a care of giving him too much, for he will take all any body will give: he accepted this from Bellarmin¹, that “if the pope should command the practice of vice, and forbid virtue, the church were bound to believe vice to be good, and virtue to be wicked.” Nay, his own canon law saith^m, that “if the pope were so wicked as to carry with him innumerable people by troops as slaves to hell, to be with himself for ever tormented; yet no mortal man whatever must presume here to reprove his faults, because he is judge of all, and himself to be judged of none.” So then they must keep their reproofs, and not endeavour to stop the career, till they are with him in hell; for then, I suppose, his supremacy ceases! Behold the machine of human invention, which God never thought of, nor ever once mentioned, of climbing to heaven by a sort of mechanism, upon a ladder of popes, cardi-

¹ De Rom. Pont. lib. IV. c. 5.

^m Decret. part. I. dist. 40. can. 6. Si Papa, &c.

nals, councils, &c.! And though we see them leading us by troops into hell, we must give no obstruction, because it would break the machine of their being our infallible guides to heaven!

23. *Lord.* But, after all, if you could find an infallible guide, whom you believed to be so, it would give you much ease, and be a comfort to you.

Gent. But I must have some reason to believe him to be such a guide: and I could not be more sure of it than of the truth of that reason upon which I did believe it; so that all recurs upon my own reason still: and if my reason misleads me in this, it is the most fatal delusion, because it stops all methods of recovery, when I have once given to another the dominion over my faith. But this the apostles disclaimed; for when they exhorted the churches, they said, *Not for that we have dominion* 2 Cor. i. 24. *over your faith, but are helpers of your joy: for by faith ye stand, that is, by your own faith.* And, Gal. i. 8. *If we, or an angel from heaven, preach any other gospel unto you, let him be accursed.* Did not this make them judges whether any new gospel or doctrine was preached unto them? And our Saviour bids them stick to their own judgment, and said unto them, *Yea, and why even of your own selves* Luke xii. *judge ye not what is right?* And, *If I do not the* John x. 37. *works of my Father, believe me not.* Was not this appealing to their judgment, whether he did the works of his Father or not? And as many as followed their own judgment, they believed on him: but they who were tied up implicitly to the authority of the church, they rejected him; they said, *Have any of the rulers or of the Pharisees believed* John vii. 48, 49.

on him? *But this people who knoweth not the law are cursed.*

Lord. If a man durst dispute the methods of Providence, it would seem strange that God did not order it so, as that the church should have first known their Messiah when he came, and have declared him to the people, and then they all would have believed on him.

1 Cor. i. 25. *Gent.* The apostle says that *the foolishness of God is wiser than men.* And he gives the reason in the words following, *why God chose the foolish things of the world to confound the wise, that no flesh should glory in his presence. But he that glorieth, let him glory in the Lord.* And he applieth this to the case we are upon, to the revelation of Jesus Christ when he came: for if he had been received upon the declaration and authority of the church, we had gloried in the church, whose authority would have been prior and superior to that of Christ himself, as being the ground upon which we believed him. But as the sun cannot be seen but by his own light, so God and Christ cannot otherwise be known; no adventitious or borrowed light can shew the original light whence all lesser lights are derived, which, like the moon and stars, disappear at the presence of the sun: so the church disappeared at the presence of Christ, who was

John i. 14. known by his own light only, *We beheld his glory, the glory as of the only begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth.* Here was no going to the church to know which was he; or if you had, she would have misled you: it would have been like going to the moon to ask where the sun was. The church is the moon, and the stars are the particular

bishops, and doctors, and other eminent men; but Christ is *the Sun of righteousness*, and he will not give his glory to another.

Lord. But few believed Christ when he came, or in all his life; for it is said, that *he was to the Jews* 1 Cor. i. 23. *a stumblingblock, and to the Greeks foolishness.*

Gent. The stumblingblock to the Jews was the authority of their church against him, as I have shewed; and the Greeks, that is, the Gentiles, could not, till after the resurrection of Christ, have any notion of the economy of our redemption by him. Nor was he preached unto them till after the vision of the sheet to St. Peter, Acts x. For the gospel was to be preached to the Jews first, but when they rejected it, leaning upon the infallibility of their church, then it was sent to the Gentiles; who being free from that stumblingblock of the church, received it readily, and now make up the whole body Acts xiii. 46. of the Christian church throughout the world.

And this teaches us another thing, that is, that an infallible guide (supposing such a one) would not be an infallible assurance to us, unless we were infallible too: for besides our not knowing him, or mistaking another for him, (for there have been false Christs,) we might misunderstand his doctrine, and turn it to quite contrary purposes from what he intended. This was the case in our Saviour's time: he was a guide truly infallible, and yet how few followed him, notwithstanding all his miracles and heavenly doctrine! Therefore while we are fallible ourselves, and liable to errors and mistakes, in vain do we grope after an infallible assurance, otherwise than the evidence of things makes them plain to that reason which God has given us.

Rev. i. 20. The angels of heaven fell: Adam fell from his innocency: and the seven bishops, who were the seven stars in the right hand of Christ, and the seven golden candlesticks, the seven churches in the midst of which he walked, these all are fallen: and what are we that we expect infallibility? What bishop, what church, now is so infallibly seated as these beloved seven were? what church has a promise of being exempted from that general defection which is foretold will be before the second coming of Christ, when he *shall not find faith upon the earth?* Or may we not rather think, that the plea of infallibility in the church of Rome, (so many ways detected,) which hides repentance from her eyes, and hinders her to return from any of her errors, which by this means continually flow without any ebbing on any side; I say, may we not think this always increasing corruption the chief cause to bring on that universal defection in the latter times? Does it not seem to hasten apace, to be even at the doors, when we see no absurdity so great, no text of scripture so full and express, to be too hard for this infallibility? Not the denying of all our outward senses at once, and owning that we neither see, hear, feel, taste, nor smell! not the express institution of the Lord's supper in both kinds, to which the council of Constance claps a *non obstante*, and takes away the cup from the laity! not the authority and strong reasoning of the apostles, I Cor. xiv. against public prayer in an unknown tongue! All these are overruled by infallibility! And many more we have to instance in the particular doctrines in dispute with the church of Rome: in all which, by virtue of her unlimited and infal-

lible power of interpretation, she leaves no text of scripture of any meaning other than she thinks fit to put upon them, let the words be never so express. And this indeed is no other than taking the scriptures wholly from us, while we must not read them with our own understanding: and the result of this is, that the whole foundation of our faith is in the church of Rome, without scripture or any thing else, because the scripture and every thing else is put absolutely and implicitly in her power. And yet no man alive knows what this church of Rome is, or where to be found; I mean that church of Rome to which the infallibility is annexed: for if you travel to Rome, you will see nothing there but what, by a modern distinction, you call the court of Rome. Where then is this infallible church of Rome? Some place it in the pope alone, as the only heir of St. Peter, and living judge of controversy, and therefore above all councils, and the whole body of the church put together. Others like not this; and because some popes have proved heretical, and have been censured and deposed for it, and others of them have proved most wicked and flagitious men, who, besides the viciousness of their own lives, have filled the world with blood, rebellions, and usurpations, in pursuance of the deposing power they have assumed over princes; for these and other reasons they would not have the infallibility trusted with the pope, but lodge it in a general council, as superior to the pope, with power to reform and even to depose him. A third party approve of neither of these ways; for as they think the pope alone without a council not to be infallible, so neither the council without the pope,

who is the head of it, and without whom there cannot be a lawful council, as not a parliament without the king; these are for king and parliament, and place the supremacy and infallibility in neither pope nor council apart, but only when both together and agreeing: but because this will defeat several of those councils called *general*, and split others, as when the pope or his legates withdrew from the council, (like a king leaving his parliament,) then such was no longer a lawful council, but a schismatical conventicle, as was said of the councils of Constance and Basil, &c.; and because there have been popes against popes, and councils against councils; and that the requisites necessary to constitute a lawful council, and consequently infallible, are some of them disputed, as the authority of summoning and convening the council, and presiding in it; and other requisites, allowed by all to be necessary, are impossible to be known with any certainty, as, that all the fathers there met should use all diligence to examine and canvass to the bottom every point that comes before them, and that they should be under no terror or fear of any, nor biassed by party, hopes of preferment or gain, or any other corrupt passion, but doing all things out of true zeal to the glory of God and good of the church; otherwise that there is no infallibility follows that council; and this being impossible for any to know but God alone, consequently the infallibility of all councils is rendered precarious, and no certainty at all in them; or rather it is certain, by the histories of all general councils, that these human passions, not consistent with infallibility, had an influence in all or most of them: so that we cannot be certain of the infalli-

bility of any council, unless we are infallibly sure that none of these human passions had a mixture in it: this makes a fourth party in the church of Rome, that is, of those who place the infallibility neither in pope nor council, jointly or severally, but in the church militant, as they speak, that is, the church diffusive, or all churches up and down the world. We must then travel and learn. Here is a wide mark, and we are plainly left, at last, to our own private judgment, to collect and compare, to approve or reject, what we find scattered in all the distant churches upon earth: and no man's life or capacity will be sufficient to make the inquiry in any tolerable measure.

And now, my lord, which of these four sorts of infallibility will you take? There are three to one against you, choose which you will; and all these are of the church of Rome: and what difference is there betwixt having no guide, or one you cannot find?

Lord. If I cannot find him, I have him not; and that is all one as to have none.

Miserable man! if he has no infallible guide, and is fallible himself; and yet upon his going right depends his eternal either happiness or misery!

24. *Gent.* You may as well find fault with the creation: *Shall the clay say to the potter, Why hast thou made me thus?* Who was guide to the angels that fell? who was guide to Adam? who was, or who is, guide to all the earth? to the heathens, to Mahometans, to Jews? These last stick to their church as an infallible guide, and therefore are most obstinate, and the most inveterate enemies to Christianity. Who is guide to infants and to idiots?

and shall we interrogate the Almighty what he will do with these, or why he created them? And perhaps the greatest part of mankind die before they come to the years of discretion: and when they are of age, how few are capable to judge, or have opportunity or capacity to examine the different pleas betwixt church and church, religion and religion! And do we not see the generality of the world take up their church and religion just according to their education? My lord, if you and I had been born and bred in Turkey, we might have been Mahometans.

Lord. Is religion then nothing but a chance, according to the place we are born in, or where we receive our education?

Gent. No, my lord; truth is truth, though all the world should depart from it; and there have been converts in all nations and religions; but none where men cannot be persuaded to overcome the prejudice of education, and examine impartially for themselves: but infallibility bars all examination, for that implies a doubt, and brings us to private judgment; and where then shall we wander? And yet you must apply to every man's private judgment when you would make him a convert to your church; why else do you argue or reason with him? Must he not then examine all the arguments and motives you give him for the infallibility of your church, and judge for himself whether they are well grounded, and will bear the test of reason? or must every body have reason, and examine, but yourselves? Believe it, then, you are in the most dangerous condition of any; and you are the men who receive your religion by chance, just according to your education. Suppose another should return your own

answer to you, and say, I will not examine, I am infallibly sure, and I will hear no more: what would you think of such a man? Every enthusiast will tell you the same: he will take his oath that he is infallible! and will hear no more than the deaf adder the charms of reason; but he will bid you silence your reason, for that is it which blinds you, though Solomon calls it *the lamp of God*, which he hath planted in our heart, Prov. xx. 27. This is *the image of God*, in which he created us, and will be our judge and witness in the last day, as it is given us for our guide here: but instead of trimming this lamp, to make it burn clearly, we hear the general cry from your side, Put it out! put it out! we cannot deal with you till that lamp be extinguished; it thwarts us at every turn, and starts a hundred objections, that we cannot believe peaceably for it. But when it is quite taken away, (if that were possible to be done,) then you offer to shew us a meteor of infallibility, (about which yourselves are not agreed, nor know where to find it,) which will keep us from ever doubting any more: as when a man's eyes are put out, he cannot see a dirty step or a precipice before him, and then he is in that state of security you propose.

Lord. You see how this guide of yours, this lamp of reason, has misled the nations; for heathens, Mahometans, &c. all plead reason.

Gent. And we have no other method with them than to reason on still with them, and shew them that reason is of our side: and vast multitudes of them have been thus converted, even all the Christian churches now in the world; for all of them are of the Gentiles: and for those who yet remain un-

converted, or have not had the gospel sufficiently proposed to them, we must leave them to God who made them, and will require from no man more than he has given him, but will judge all people righteously. Of this I have spoke before.

25. But I observe, that since this notion of infallibility came into the church of Rome, it has rooted out all charity, and her religion has been chiefly employed in cursing and damning all the world but herself. Her canons are tagged with anathemas upon every occasion, and you hear little in them of who shall be saved, but every page is full of who must be damned. And the *bulle in cæna* pins the basket, and leaves very few to escape, even of the Roman communion itself.

It is a common argument with which your priests frighten women and children, viz. "You protestants say it is possible for a papist to be saved; but we papists say it is impossible for a protestant to be saved; therefore it is safer being of our side." But this has turned to their confusion; for as there is nothing in it but a confident averring, it shews that they have no charity, which is greater even than faith itself, 1 Cor. xiii. 13; and therefore that they can be no Christian church: their want of charity being by this much plainer than our want of faith. Take Chillingworth's answer to this, chap. 7. of his Works, p. 306. "You.(says he to Knot the Jesuit) vainly pretend that all Roman catholics, not one excepted, profess that protestancy unpented destroys salvation. From which generality we may except two at least to my knowledge, and these are, yourself and Franciscus de Sancta Clara, who assures us, that ignorance and repent-

“ aunc may excuse a protestant from damnation,
“ though dying in his error: and this is all the
“ charity which, by your own confession also, the
“ most favourable protestants allow to papists.”

Militiere was persuaded that king Charles I. was happy in heaven, because he preferred the catholic faith before his crown, his liberty, his life. [Now it is known to all the world that king Charles I. lived and died in the communion of the church of England, which he declared with his last breath upon the scaffold.] But archbishop Bramhal gave him this answer; “ That which you have confessed
“ here concerning king Charles will spoil your former demonstration, that the protestants have neither church nor faith. But you confess no more
“ here than I have heard some of your famous Roman doctors at Paris acknowledge to be true in
“ general; and no more than that which the bishop
“ of Chalcedon (a man that cannot be suspected of
“ partiality on our side) hath affirmed and published
“ in two of his books to the world in print, that
“ *protestantibus credentibus*, &c. ‘ persons living in
“ the communion of the protestant church, if they
“ endeavour to learn the faith, and are not able to
“ attain unto it, but hold implicitly in the preparation of their minds, and are ready to receive it
“ when God shall be pleased to reveal it, (which
“ all good protestants and all good Christians are,)
“ they neither want church, nor faith, nor salvation.’ ”

Lord. Militiere supposed that king Charles I. secretly and invisibly, in the last moments of his life, was by God’s Spirit united to the Roman catholic church.

Gent. Then no protestant, at least no protestant king, need despair. But to these divines let us add some royal testimonies. King James I, in his Premonition to Christian Monarchs, tells us, that his mother, (queen Mary,) as she was ready to lay her head upon the block, sent him this message, “that
“ although she was of another religion than that
“ wherein he was brought up, yet she would not
“ press him to change, except his conscience forced
“ him to it; not doubting but if he led a good life,
“ and were careful to do justice, and govern well,
“ he would be in a good case in his own religion.”

This was perfectly agreeable to the sentiments of his grandson, the late king James II, who often spoke to those divines who had the instruction of both his daughters, to be diligent in making them religious and good Christians, in the way of the church of England, without so much as hinting at any change of their principles towards the church of Rome, as I have heard myself from two of them, Dr. Turner, late lord bishop of Ely, and Dr. Ken, late lord bishop of Bath and Wells. And neither before nor after his coming to the crown would he suffer any attempt to be made upon them as to religion, of which there is an eminent witness now alive, who knows if I speak truth. And when a certain zealot pressed him to endeavour their reconciliation to the church of Rome, and offered his service for the purpose, the king answered, “No,
“ let them alone; they are so good, they will be
“ saved in any church.”

Lord. It is strange then he should be a Roman catholic himself!

Gent. Not at all; for he might think that best

for him, without thinking those in hazard who were sincerely of the church of England, and lived up to the rules of it.

Lord. He could not think it lawful to be present at your common prayers.

Gent. He did not think it unlawful, because he heard them at his coronation.

Lord. That was upon a particular occasion. But does any Roman catholic think it lawful to hear them constantly or frequently?

26. *Gent.* They did think so; for after the reformation the Roman catholics of England came to our churches and to our common prayer without any scruple. And this continued till about the tenth year of the reign of queen Elizabeth, when pope Pius V. forbade it by his bull: so that he made the separation; and if he had not sufficient power to do it, or that there was not sufficient cause for it, then he made the schism too, and it lies wholly at his door. Now it is the undoubted right of every national church to reform, alter, and model their liturgy, as shall be most convenient, provided there be nothing put into it that is contrary to the faith; which is not so much as alleged against our public offices. They have a breviary at Milan, and in other places, different from that at Rome. And in England, before the reformation, there were divers in several dioceses, as what was used in the church of Salisbury, of Hereford, of Bangor, of York, of Lincoln, &c. as is mentioned in the Preface to our Common Prayer Book, concerning the service of the church. But these differences did not break communion, nor did the alteration made at the reformation, till the pope, by the plenitude of his

supremacy, and to be revenged upon queen Elizabeth, took upon him to break the communion: for which as there was no sufficient cause, our Liturgy being all orthodox, even *our enemies being judges*; so, on the other hand, the pope's supremacy did not extend to break in upon the rights and liberties of any national church, as has been and is still maintained by the whole Gallican church, and others the most learned in the church of Rome. And, my lord, I know some Roman catholics of figure and good sense in England, who merely upon this account have come over to our church, and thought themselves obliged to return to the communion of their national church, and to heal the breach made by that excess of the pope's supremacy, which no sober man on this side the Alps will own. It is strange to own it in fact, and yet deny it in words. Whoever owns this bull of Pius V, for breaking communion in England, must also own the full extent of the *bullæ in cœna*, which has his authority, in a particular manner, as well as of all the popes since. And it damns almost all the papists, as well as all who are not papists.

27. *Lord.* We desire not to be called *papists*, we think it a word of contempt, as if we were only partisans for the pope, and of that party or faction of Christians who would raise his power above the church and every thing else.

Gent. I am glad your lordship thinks so; and indeed the church of France (where you were bred) are not papists in this sense: they are got free, in a good measure, from the servitude of the pope; but they are still Roman catholics.

Lord. We do not delight in that word neither,

as if our catholicism were tied only to Rome; we term ourselves *catholics in general*, as members of the catholic or universal church.

Gent. We call ourselves so too, and in the same sense; and pray every day for the catholic church in our Liturgy. Therefore we call not you *catholics*, because it would not distinguish you from us; but *Roman catholics* is calling a part the whole.

Lord. You know the meaning; not that the particular church of Rome is all the churches in the world, but she is called *catholic*, as being the head and principle of unity and communion to all other churches.

Gent. If this be the frame of this catholic church, it must have been so always.

Lord. Yes, surely, for there was always a catholic church; that is, some particular church so called, in the same sense as Rome is now.

Gent. Pray then, my lord, tell me what particular church was so called, in this sense, before there was a Christian in Rome? and how came that church to lose it? and how was it transferred to Rome?

Every bishop, every church, and every member of it, may be called *catholic*, and were so called, as being included in the general notion of *the catholic church*; but in the sense you have mentioned, as head and principle of unity to all churches, no bishop or church ever had it, till taken up in the latter times by the bishop and church of Rome.

28. *Lord.* But how came the bishop of Rome to that great sway he has long obtained in the church?

Gent. It is very obvious, because Rome was the metropolis of the empire; and consequently her bi-

shop must be more conspicuous than any other, have more respect paid him, and more applications made to him, especially after the emperors became Christian. And for the same reason, when the seat of the empire was translated to Constantinople, the bishop of that church took upon him, and aspired further to, an universal supremacy, but was opposed by Gregory the Great, bishop of Rome. There was no other consideration then for the superiority of one bishop or church, but the secular dignity of the place; for which reason the patriarch of Jerusalem (which was uncontestably the mother-church of all) was postponed, and made the lowest of all the patriarchs. But for divine right, and Christ having named any one bishop or church as head and superior to all others, there is not a word. And it could not be Rome before Rome was Christian; and Christ never named her upon any occasion whatsoever, or gave the least hint towards her, or that possibly can be applied to her. Strange and unaccountable! If he meant to build the whole Christian faith upon her, and to make her the catholic church, as including all other churches of Christians, and in all ages throughout the whole world!

But, my lord, fact (as I said before) is the surest way to give us a true light of things. And the frame or government of the church is a fact which must be determined by histories and records, not criticising upon words that afford no certainty. Let us look therefore into the frame of the church from the beginning. I hope I have made it plain from the history of the Acts of the Apostles, that there was none of them appointed as sovereign over the others, whatever words may be strained in favour

of St. Peter; for if he was called a *rock*, or *foundation*, so were all the others; they are called *the twelve foundations of the church*, which is said to Rev. xxi. 14. be *built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner stone*; and not any particular prophet or apostle. And if *the keys of heaven* were promised to Matt. xvi. 19. Peter, this was fulfilled in giving them to him John xx. 23. jointly with all the others, without any mark of superiority in him: as in the commission to *teach all nations* it was equal to them all; and we find, Matt. xxviii. 19. in fact, that it was exercised by them all with equal authority.

And all the regimen of the church which the apostles appointed was that of bishops in their several districts, without any head or sovereign bishop over them all, as supreme judge of controversy; of which there is not the least tittle to be found in any of the histories or writings of those ages next after the apostles, though there were many controversies even in faith among them, which an appeal to this judge had speedily ended; but no such thing appears; which could not have been missed, had it been known. Metropolitans were early, that is, the bishop of the metropolis or chief city of a province, who did preside in the synods of that province, and had other ecclesiastical privileges granted him, by the common consent of the bishops of the province, for order sake, and greater harmony of discipline. But a patriarch with jurisdiction over several metropolitans or provinces was never heard of in the church till the council of Chalcedon, four hundred and fifty years after Christ. And many provinces were not put under these patriarchs, but had exempt

jurisdiction of their own, as before, of which Britain was one; for the patriarchate of Rome extended only to Italy and the isles adjacent. But the first pretence to universal supremacy was set up by John, bishop of Constantinople, after the seat of the empire was translated thither; against whom Gregory the Great wrote, and said, that though his see of Rome had always the precedence of Constantinople, yet that none of his predecessors, the bishops of Rome, had ever assumed such an arrogant titleⁿ, which he calls a *Luciferian pride*, and declares him who should take it to be the forerunner of antichrist. And yet his next successor but one, that is, Boniface III, did take it, being given him by Phocas, that traitor and usurper, who murdered his master, Mauricius, the emperor, and seized his throne, whom Boniface owned and abetted, and was made universal bishop for his reward, in the beginning of the seventh century. Thus the supremacy now claimed by Rome was introduced, and has been maintained *pro viribus* ever since. And under this Britain has been subdued, which never was under the patriarchate of Rome. So much has the government and unity of the church been altered from what it was in the apostles' time, or in the first ages of the church! And thus has Rome usurped the name of *the catholic church*, and placed all its unity in submission to her bishop! Here we see the degrees by which this encroachment crept on; the patriarchate began in the fifth, and the universal supremacy in the seventh century; and Britain, which held it out against the patriarchate

ⁿ Epist. lib. II. Ep. 32, 36, 38. lib. VII. Ep. 30, 36. &c.

of Rome, was at last conquered by the more apparent usurpation of her universal supremacy, so obtained as I have told.

And yet I have heard some Britons say, that though they thought the church of Rome the most corrupt part of the Christian church, both as to doctrine and worship, and to be *a cage full of unclean birds*; yet that they must be of her, and enter into that cage, because she was the catholic church. This is like that desperate maxim in the canon law, I quoted before out of the Decretals, that “though the pope should draw infinite numbers of people with him into hell, yet we must not find fault with him, nor reprove him,” &c.

29. And I must observe also here, that though France has thrown off the pope’s infallibility, and his deposing power over princes, and has limited his supremacy, that is, indeed, taken it wholly away;—for no supremacy (properly so called) can be limited, for then it ceases to be supreme;—yet France remains still in the dregs of the corruptions of Rome, both as to doctrine and worship. The religion of the people there is the adoration of the host and of the cross, invocation of saints, worship of images, praying souls out of purgatory, telling their beads, and going to confession.

30. *Lord.* I have heard yourself say that confession was a good thing, rightly used.

Gent. And so I say still, but not in that sense it is generally used with you, and is expressed in your Catechism *ad Parochos, de Pœnitentiæ Sacramento*, sect. 46, 47; that such a repentance as God will not accept, nor pardon for it, is made sufficient by the sacrament of penance, and all our sins remitted

by it; and that, *paucissimi*, very few can be saved without it. They might have said, none; for they here require in repentance acceptable to God a sense and sorrow for sin that shall be fully equal to the demerit, *ut cum scelerum magnitudine æquari conferrique possit*, which is impossible for mortal man; and therefore all must be damned without this sacrament of penance. And they say it was necessary that God should institute this sacrament, as an easier way for men to get to heaven: *Quare necesse fuit ut clementissimus Dominus faciliori ratione communi hominum saluti consuleret*. An easy way indeed! confess to a priest, and get absolution, and this makes up the defects of your repentance, and you are saved *ex opere operato*, by the “work wrought,” the bare performance of this sacrament. And the council of Trent anathematizes all those who say that the very sacraments of the gospel do not confer grace in the same manner, by the bare performance: *Si quis dixerit per ipsa novæ legis sacramenta ex opere operato non conferrî gratiam —anathema sit*. Sess. VII. Can. 8. It is true that God did institute his sacraments as means of grace, (for which we bless his name daily in our general thanksgiving;) but this turns them into charms, when the very sacraments themselves, *ipsa sacramenta*, confer the grace, *ex opere operato*, by the bare performance of the work.

Let us exemplify this to ourselves, by the like use made of the institutions of God under the law. The Jews had got this notion of the *opus operatum*, that the bare performance of the letter of the law, in their sacrifices, feasts, fasts, and other observances, was all that was required of them. Whence the

voices of all the prophets were against these institutions; they call them *iniquity, abomination, and hateful to God*; nay, God denies that he did require them, or ever did institute them; that is, as a dead carcass without a soul, and working like charms, by the bare *opus operatum*. God did never institute such, nor does require them at our hands. And may we not say, no more under the gospel than the law? for the gospel introduced a more pure and spiritual worship; but the council of Trent, by naming only the sacraments of the new law, applies the *opus operatum* to them also, if not chiefly.

What else is the meaning of tying men to the repetition of such a precise number of *Ave's*, and *Pater's*, and *Credo's*, at such particular times, whether the mind goes along with them or not? For you will see people in the markets, buying and selling, and discoursing of common business, and dropping their beads all the while, to keep count if they have rightly performed their task of the *opus operatum*.

But if prayers and sacraments, which are means of grace of God's own institution, may be thus abused, and rendered hateful to God, what shall we say of those means of grace which are of man's mere invention? None can appoint the means but he who has the bestowing of the end to be obtained by those means: as, if I have a thousand pounds to bestow, I may put what conditions I think fit, and appoint the means for the obtaining it; and none else can appoint the means. Now grace is the gift of the Holy Ghost, and none can appoint the means of obtaining it but he who has the bestowing of the Holy Ghost; which it is the highest blasphemy for

Isa. i.
11—14.
Jer. vii. 22.

any creature to assume to himself: hence Christ's sending the Holy Ghost is a sure proof of his divinity. But the church of Rome takes upon her to appoint means of grace many and various; the whole Pontifical is made up of the forms of consecration of every thing almost one can think of into means of grace, as bells, books, candles, water, salt, oil, ashes, palms, swords, banners, and vestments of divers sorts, even to children's clouts; besides crosses, pictures, images, *Agnus Dei's*, &c.: by the use of which, in the manner prescribed, several graces, both ghostly and bodily, are said to be obtained; as, besides the favour of God, and the remission of sins, the saving from fire, from diseases, from storms at sea, thunder, lightning, and tempest at land; at which times they ring their consecrated bells, to allay the winds, and chase away the demons of the air, who seeing the sign of the cross upon such bells, and hearing their sound, shall be frightened, and fly away, as it is expressed in the form of consecration of bells in the Pontifical: nay, there is nothing in the world so insignificant (as a rose or a feather) which the pope may not consecrate into a means of grace, and is in use every day: and at Rome they are counted atheists who have not faith in these things; so much they place their religion in them!

Lord. The dissenters object all this to you, as to your rites, ceremonies, habits, &c.

Gent. But without any ground; for we consecrate none of these things, nor do we attribute any virtue, ghostly or bodily, to the use of them; as to the wearing a surplice, hearing a bell or an organ, &c.; they are purely for decency and order, and we may

change them, or take them quite away, every day, as our governors think fit. Can they shew any outward action, or thing appointed in our church, by the use of which evil spirits may be chased away, women helped in labour, or storms at sea quelled? all which, and many more virtues, are attributed in your church to the use of what you call *holy water*, and many other such like institutions of mechanical means of grace.

31. But that which makes up the bulk of the Romish devotions is, the worship and invocation of saints and angels, the adoration of their images, and of the relics of saints departed, pieces of their bodies or of their vestments, &c. to which great miracles are attributed; and therefore they are made, strictly and properly, means of grace.

Lord. We desire the prayers of one another upon earth, why not much rather of the saints and angels in heaven?

Gent. Because the one is commanded, the other not; nay forbidden, as I will shew you.

Lord. It seems to be giving greater glory to God, and more humility in us, not to approach his presence directly and immediately ourselves, as we do not to any earthly king, but by the introduction and recommendation of some eminent courtier whom we know to be in his favour.

Gent. Your simile will halt on all four; for God is nearer to us than any saint or angel; *in God we live, and move, and have our being*; but the angels and saints departed are at distance from us, and we know not where to find them, or that they hear our prayers; for they are not every where; that is an attribute of God alone.

Lord. Therefore our schoolmen say, they see our prayers *in speculo Trinitatis*, in the “looking-glass “ of God.”

Gent. Do they see every thing in that looking-glass? then they know as much as God! But if not, then how do we know they see our prayers there? And how will this sort with your simile of an earthly king, that the courtier must go to the king to know what I desired the courtier to ask of him?

Rom. iv. 16. *Abraham is the father of us all—and he was*
Jam. ii. 23. *called the Friend of God:* therefore it is likely that he saw as far into that looking-glass as another;

Isa. lxiii. 16. yet it is said, that *Abraham is ignorant of us.* And are not we as ignorant of their state, and what knowledge they have of us below? We are told

Job xiv. 21. that they have no knowledge of it: *His sons come to honour, and he knoweth it not; and they are brought low, but he perceiveth it not of them.*

Lord. It is said that *the angels of heaven rejoice over a sinner that repenteth.*

Gent. That is, when it pleaseth God to let them know it, or that the sinner comes thither. But that they know of every penitent upon earth is nowhere said, nor do I know it asserted by any.

But instead of the schoolmen’s looking-glass, and their vain philosophy, if we would look into the plain directions of holy scripture, we should settle ourselves upon a much surer foundation. See then what the apostle says upon the very case in hand;

Col. ii. 18, 19. *Let no man beguile you of your reward in a voluntary humility* (or being a voluntary in humility, as our margin reads it) *and worshipping of angels, intruding into those things which he hath not seen, vainly puffed up by his fleshly mind, and not hold-*

ing the Head, from which all the body by joints and bands having nourishment ministered, and knit together, increaseth with the increase of God. And after says, *Which things have indeed a show of wisdom in will worship and humility.* Here is a full answer to all your pretensions for this will worship of saints and angels; for both go upon the same foot. It is called *intruding into things we have not seen*, of which we are altogether uncertain, and therefore sinful in the practice, by the apostle's rule, that *whatsoever is not of faith is sin.* This was spoke in respect of meats, but is much more so as to our worship and solemn devotions to God. Your comparison of access to an earthly king is here called *a fleshly or carnal thought*, measuring God after the manner of men: and the result of this is no less than losing our reward, that is, heaven; for it is forsaking the Head, which is Christ, whose members we are, and receive nourishment from him; not so from saints or angels: God has given Christ to us as the *one Mediator between God and men*: but we have made to ourselves many mediators, to assist and help him, as if his mediation and intercession were not sufficient; and we make more applications to them than to him, or to God himself; you have ten *Ave Maria's* for one *Pater Noster*.

And you have multiplied these saints to yourselves without number, like the heathen deities, and new canonizations are going on every day. Every country, city, parish, and almost person, have a particular saint for their patron. You have saints, as they had gods, for the sea, for the air, fire, &c. for peace, for war, for learning, and all sorts of trades

and occupations. St. Christopher and St. Clement are for the sea, especially the Virgin Mary, to whom the seamen sing *Ave maris stella*. St. Agatha is for the fire, and they make letters on her day to quench fire with. St. Nicholas and St. Gregory are for scholars; St. Luke for painters, &c.: and they have saints for all diseases; St. Cornelius cures the falling sickness, St. Roche the pox, St. Apollonia the tooth-ach, &c. And they have particular saints for all beasts and cattle: St. Loy presides over the horses, and St. Anthony over the swine, &c. And they bring their cattle to be blessed by these saints on their particular days. And they pray to these saints jointly with God: a scholar says, "God and St. Nicholas be my speed!" and when one sneezes, "God help and St. John!" and to a horse, if he stumbles, "God and St. Loy save thee!" &c. And upon every surprise they cry, "Jesu Maria!"

32. *Lord*. You should not compare these to the demons of the heathens, for they were evil spirits; and they called them *gods*.

Gent. The word *gods* is frequently given in scripture to angels and to men as ministers of God: and thus the heathens understood it, and supposed their gods to be such ministers; as Æolus to govern the winds, Neptune the sea, &c. Therefore they call them *dii mediocrum*, inferior gods, as standing in the middle betwixt the supreme God and us, to succour or punish us, according to his orders. St. Augustine, who knew them well, tells us what they argued for themselves; they said^o, "We do not wor-

^o Non colimus mala dæmonia; angelos quos dicitis, ipsos et nos colimus, virtutes Dei magni, et mysteria Dei magni, Augustin. Psal. xcvi.

“ ship evil demons or spirits, but we worship those
“ whom you (Christians) call angels, the powers of
“ the great God, the mysteries of the great God.”
But St. Augustine answered them, that they must
be evil spirits whom they worshipped, because they
required worship from men, as the Devil did from
our Saviour, which the good angels always refused ;
and he quotes Rev. xix. 10. xxii. 9, where the angel
forbade John to worship him. And the same did
the saints upon earth, as Peter refused it from Cor- Acts x. 26.
nelius, and Paul and Barnabas from the men of xiv. 14, 15.
Lystra, &c.

Lord. But we suppose not that the heathens had
any notion of the supreme and true God, but that
they worshipped every one of their gods as supreme
and independent.

Gent. Some men make monsters of others, to hide
their own deformity! Your guides have set up this
notion to hinder the parallel betwixt the heathen
worship of their inferior gods, and yours of saints
and angels. For there is nothing more evident than
that the heathen did acknowledge the one supreme
and true God, though in much ignorance and super-
stition. St. Paul said that *they knew God*, that he Rom. i. 19
was manifest unto them, *even his eternal power and*^{—23.}
Godhead. So that they were without excuse in
their foolish imagination, to change the glory of the
uncorruptible God into an image made like to cor-
ruptible man, &c. And he told the Athenians, *Whom* Acts xvii.
therefore ye ignorantly worship, him declare I unto^{23.}
you. He did not preach a false God unto them, but
they had blended the worship of God with these in-
ferior gods or demons, which was their superstition,
for so the word signifies, *δεισιδαιμονία, the fear of*

these demons, and it is thus rendered every where in the New Testament, which we translate *superstition*, and so your own vulgar Latin, Acts xvii. 22, and xxv. 19. And the Latin word *superstitio* means the same thing, and is derived, as Servius has it, from *super stare*, as being a fear of those heavenly powers, who *supra stant* stand over us, and so superstition is *superstantium rerum timor*. Others derive it from *superstites*, that these *divi ex hominibus facti*, “men deified after their death,” are still *superstites*, and the fear of them, as such, is superstition, or, *qui superstitem memoriam defunctorum colunt*, “who worship the memory of these dead men.”

The worship of these lesser gods is what is forbidden in the First Commandment, which respects the object of worship, that no religious worship is to be given to any but to the supreme God alone. The Second Commandment relates to the manner of worship, that is, by images. But this your church has hid from the people, and divided the Tenth into two, to keep up the number, that the people might think they still have the Ten Commandments; and it is thus in your very *Catechism ad Parochos*. But of this hereafter.

The heathens had their good and evil *dæmones*, as their good and evil genii; but according to St. Augustine’s rule, they must be evil demons who accepted the worship of men, which were all the heathen demons: therefore the word *dæmon* is taken in the worst sense, and translated *devil* throughout the New Testament, and what we translate *the doctrines of devils* is the doctrine of the *dæmones*, or of the worship of the *dæmones*, διδασκαλίαι δαιμονίων,

and a various lection has it νεκροῖς λατρεύοντες, *who worship the dead*. The *dæmones* of the heathen were their dead heroes, whom they made *divi* by an apotheosis; as the pope does saints by a canonization. But it is too gross to put it upon the heathen, that they thought every one of those gods whom they made was the supreme God who made themselves. They owned these to be lesser gods, and only the virtues and powers of the great God; and they thought that they honoured the supreme God the more by doing honour to his substitutes; and all their worship was ultimately referred to him: so that “^p he only was worshipped in all their gods and goddesses; for they made him King of all their gods and goddesses.”

And the common appellation given to Jupiter in Homer is, Πατήρ, and Βασιλεὺς ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε, *the Father and King of the gods as well as of men*. And he represents him as commanding all the other gods, sending them on his errands, calling them to account, and sometimes chastising them. He was called *majus Deus*, the “great God.” Lucian, in his Dialogues, brings in Neptune making suit to Mercury, that he might speak with Jupiter.

But, besides all these, we have sufficient testimony in scripture of the heathens acknowledging the one supreme and true God: Nebuchadnezzar calls him *God of gods, and Lord of kings—the most high God*; and says, *I blessed the most High, and I praised and honoured him that liveth for ever and ever, whose dominion is an everlasting dominion,*

Dan. ii. 47.
iii. 26, 29.
iv. 34, 35.

^p Hi omnes dii deaque sit unus Jupiter. *August. de Civit. Dei*, lib. IV. c. 11. Ipsum enim deorum omnium dearumque Regem esse volunt. *Ib.* c. 9.

and his kingdom from generation to generation: and all the inhabitants of the earth are reputed as nothing: and he doth according to his will in the army of heaven, and among the inhabitants of the earth: and no man can stay his hand, or say unto him, What doest thou?

Ezra i. 2. Cyrus calls him *the Lord God of heaven*: and
 vi. 10, 12. Darius the same, in as high expressions as any Chris-
 Dan. vi. 26. tian could use, *the living God, and steadfast for ever, and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed, and his dominion shall be even unto the end, &c.*

Lord. It is strange that when they acknowledged the great God so fully, they did not forsake their own little gods.

Gent. No, for they did not think it inconsistent to acknowledge one God above all, and yet to suppose that every nation had its own god or gods in subordination to the supreme God, and as deputies under him. This was their notion. And they supposed that Judæa had its own tutelar gods, as well as other countries. Therefore the king of Assyria, having conquered it, sent to teach his people who went thither *the manner of the God of the land*; to appease his wrath who had plagued them with lions. But yet they forsook not their own gods; for it is said, *they feared the Lord, and served their own gods.* And they allowed the same liberty to the Jews, who were not required in any of their captivities to renounce their own God, but only to worship the gods of the nations where they lived: and of these tutelar gods, they supposed one might be stronger or more powerful than another, and therefore they would boast of their gods, one country against another; thus said Sennacherib, *Who are*

2 Kings xvii. 26, 27.
 Ver. 33.

they among all the gods of the countries, that hath ^{2 Kings xviii. 34, 35.} *delivered their country out of mine hand, that the Lord (the tutelar God of Judæa) should deliver Jerusalem out of mine hand? Where are the gods of Hamath and of Arpad, &c.? When Moses and Aaron told Pharaoh that the God of the Hebrews had met with them, he was not offended that they had another God besides those which were worshipped in Egypt; he took it as a thing granted, that every people had their own tutelar God.*

This then was the difference betwixt the Jews and the Gentiles; the Gentiles thought it lawful to worship the tutelar god of any country, but still in subordination to the most high God, as has been shewed: on the other hand, the Jews were obliged to worship the Lord God, the supreme God, and him only; and they were forbid to worship any of the gods of the nations.

But this sin they often fell into; they worshipped these gods, but still in conjunction with the Lord their God, as it is said, they did *worship and swear* ^{Zeph. i. 5.} *by the Lord, and swear by Malcham.* But Samuel told them, *If ye return unto the Lord with all your hearts, then put away the strange gods and Ashtaroth from among you—and serve him only—Then they did put away Baalim and Ashtaroth, and served the Lord only.* ^{1 Sam. vii. 3, 4.}

Lord. But it is said, that they had *forsaken the Lord.*

Gent. It is called *forsaking the Lord*, when we will not obey his commandments, but worship him otherwise than he has required, and join others with him which he has forbidden: he said, *The house of Israel is estranged from me, separated from me* ^{Ezek. xiv. 5, 7.}

through their idols; yet they come and inquire of a prophet concerning me. And again;

Ezek. xxiii. 39. *When they had slain their children to their idols, then came they the same day into my sanctuary.*

Jer. vii. 9. *And he says to them, Will ye burn incense unto Baal, and walk after other gods, and come and stand before me in this house, which is called by my name? It is said, They feared the Lord, and served their own gods, after the manner of the nations.*

2 Kings xvii. 33. *But it follows immediately, They fear not the Lord, because they do not after his statutes, wherein he commanded them not to fear other gods. And again,*

Ver. 34. *They feared the Lord, and served their graven images.* Yet this was departing from the fear of the Lord, but not a downright denial of the supreme God, or throwing him off from being any more their God, and taking any other gods in his room as the supreme God: no, but it was taking other gods with him, of which he says, *Oh, do not this abominable thing that I hate.*

This was the first sin against which God took care to guard in the First Commandment, *Thou shalt have none other gods before me, or with me.* And for the distinction that the worship of inferior gods or ministers of God is not here forbidden, we say, *Ubi lex non distinguit, ibi non est distinguendum,* "Where the law does not distinguish, we must not;" for there is no law but may be distinguished away. And this is exactly the same notion the heathen had of their *dæmones*. And the worshipping of these, or fearing them, is literally what we call *superstition*: it is a means of grace which God has not appointed.

Lord. But we have reason to suspect that several

of the heathen *dæmones*, or men deified after they were dead, were supposititious, and that no such men ever were in the world.

Gent. Many such will be found in the catalogue of your saints. What think you of the seven sleepers, who slept three hundred and sixty-two years, and thought it but one night? What think you of the eleven thousand English virgins, all martyred together at Cologne; and the fine legend told of them? What do you believe of St. George's killing the dragon, and rescuing the king's daughter? As true as our ballad of the dragon of Wantly. Yet there are days kept for all these, and offices made for them, with prayers to them, and to God, that we may be saved by these their merits. There are multitudes of the like, which you will find even to a surfeit in the devotions of the Roman church, with their breviaries, missals, legends, and authors quoted at large. And can these prayers be in faith to persons that never were in being, and for the merit of actions that were never done? This is a means of grace of our own invention indeed!

Besides, many have been canonized for notorious crimes, as our St. Thomas Becket of Canterbury, whose merit was, that he would exempt all ecclesiastics from the secular power, though even in civil or criminal causes; which was called asserting the liberties of holy church, and it is fully asserted in the *bullæ in cæna*. But notwithstanding all these authorities, it is a wicked principle, and dissolves all civil government; it exempts from the king's obedience the first of the three estates of the realm, which has, or ought to have, the greatest influence upon the people; and transfers their allegiance to

another sovereign, which is the highest treason, by the laws of all well governed nations, as well as by the laws of God. Yet for asserting this, Becket was canonized; and for not giving way to it, the king was whipped by the monks of Canterbury! to which he was forced to submit in those times of papal supremacy.

Such another was your lately sainted pope Pius V, the greater assertor and last practiser of the power of the pope to depose princes; and who broke the communion of the church of England.

But there is one saint (truly so) of whom I have reserved to speak in the last place, because of the excesses of your church in their devotions to her, bordering even upon blasphemy to any common ear. No less than a canonized person, St. Bonaventure, has published what he calls *The Psalter of the Blessed Virgin Mary*, wherein every one of the hundred and fifty Psalms, as likewise the *Te Deum*, and other most solemn adorations of God, are all turned to the Virgin Mary. Rosaries and books of devotion to her are many; there is one translated into English for the use of the Roman catholics here, entitled, *The Devotion of Bondage, or the Practice of perfectly consecrating ourselves to the Service of the Blessed Virgin: permissu Superiorum, 1632.* It is licensed and highly recommended both to clergy and people by the bishop of St. Omer's, with several indulgences granted to those who shall devoutly make use of it; wherein we offer up ourselves, both souls and bodies, as bondslaves to the blessed Virgin: among whose high prerogatives you will find this the sixth, p. 32: "The sovereign dominion that was given her, not only over the world, but over the

“Creator of the world.” This indeed might well ground that petition made to her, *Jure matris, impera Filio*: “By the right of a mother command your Son.” And her being called “the mother of the whole Trinity,” in the Missal Polon. fol. 237. In the Primer or Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary, printed in English, 1699, (and in the Exposition before it, said to be of great antiquity, and composed by the church, directed by the Holy Ghost,) you will find many prayers to the Virgin Mary, not only of intercession or praying for us, but to grant us grace, pardon of sin, and eternal life, in as full and positive terms as could be asked of God himself. See the hymn, *Memento, rerum Conditor*, p. 34, and *Ave maris stella*, p. 53, and the prayer to her, p. 59, “Under thy aid”—*Sub tuum præsidium*—which is taken out of the Roman Pontifical, in the office for consecrating an image of the blessed Virgin, where we pray for aid, &c. from herself directly, without mentioning any intercession; nay, they bless in her name, which was never done to any creature. The priesthood was ordained by God to *bless in his name*; no Deut. x. 8. apostle or angel ever blessed the people in his own name: but in this Primer, p. 16, you will see the priest give the blessing in these words, “The Virgin Mary, with her pious Son, bless us:” to which the people answer, Amen. Here the principal part is given to the Virgin; her Son only blesses with her, and she is first named: but if she be not preferred, yet she is here put upon the level with her Son at least, and blesses the people jointly with him.

Lord. Why may not the Virgin Mary bless as

well as any angel? and we find that Jacob prayed the angel might bless his grandsons.

Gent. That Angel was God, and so it is expressed; Gen. xviii. 15, 16. *God, before whom my fathers Abraham and Isaac did walk, the God which fed me all my life long unto this day, the Angel which redeemed me from all evil, bless the lads.* This Angel was Christ, who often appeared before he took flesh. He was the Angel which wrestled with this same Jacob, and blessed him: he was the Angel appeared to Moses in the bush, and said, *I am the God of Abraham, &c.* which no created angel could have said. It was Jos. v. 14, 15. he who appeared to Joshua, *as Captain of the host of the Lord*, and said, as before to Moses, *Loose thy shoe from off thy foot; for the place whereon thou standest is holy*, which no mere angel ever said: so that this will be no precedent for blessing the people in the name of the Virgin Mary.

Epiphanius reckons the worship of the Virgin Mary⁹ (not then so rank) among the heresies under the name of the Collyridians, who offered cakes to the moon as queen of heaven, which is the same name they give now to the Virgin, and she is painted standing upon the moon her representative. Jer. vii. 18. xliv. 19. Epiphanius observes, that our blessed Lord, foreseeing the superstition that would come into the world on account of his mother, treated her always at a distance, never once called her *mother*, no not upon the cross, or by any other appellation than that of *woman*; and, checking her forwardness, said unto John ii. 4. her, *Woman, what have I to do with thee?* She is as little named as possible in the Gospels, where Christ pronounces a greater blessing to those that

⁹ Hæc. 78, 79.

hear his word, than to the womb that bare him; Luke xi. 28. and she is not reckoned among those who saw him after his resurrection. She is but once named in the Acts of the Apostles, and that upon no other Acts i. 14. account than that she with other women continued in the communion of the apostles after the ascension of our Lord: but none of her acts or miracles are recorded, though abundance in the legends: and she is not once named, upon any account whatsoever, in any of the Epistles. Strange, that this should be so forgot, which makes now so great a part in the devotions of the church of Rome!

But there is an honour of an extraordinary nature paid to her at the head of all the saints, in the office of the mass, where, before the consecration, the elements are offered up to God in memory of the passion, resurrection, and ascension of Jesus Christ, and for the honour of the blessed Virgin Mary, &c. *in honorem beatæ Mariæ semper virginis*. Did Christ then suffer, rise, and ascend for her honour? It was for the honour and glory of God indeed; but to thrust her in, or any of the saints, to share in this, looks a little too familiar, and putting them, at least her, near upon the level with the Almighty, since more could not be said to him.

And here we may see a good reason why God would not have any religious worship paid to these, or any ministers of his kingdom, nor would be worshipped with them; for he saw there would be encroaching, and coming nearer to him than was fit for the condition of creatures: they would have a share with him; nay, that they might come at last to advance these above God himself, and prefer the

saints even to Christ! as it has been said^r, that “Christ did nothing which St. Francis did not do, “yea, that he did more than Christ himself.”

And now we see the reason why your *Index Expurgatorius*^s would not have it seen in the fathers that God only is to be worshipped, for they have expunged this out of the Indices of their works, that they might not be found by the people, who might take offence to see their worship divided betwixt God and creatures.

Was there ever so shameless a thing done by any church, as to take upon them to correct and alter the fathers? It is plainly to stifle the evidence against themselves; and renders every thing at least suspected that they quote out of them: and the scriptures had been purged too, but that they are so common in the hands of protestants, that it could not be done without manifest detection. But how far they have gone towards it, by mistranslations, adding or leaving out some words, I have shewed already. But to pursue the subject we are now upon.

34. Not only the souls of the saints in heaven, but their dead bodies or bits of them, a finger, a toe, or a tooth, or a scrap of their clothes, a girdle, or a book, or any thing else that they used, are worshipped, and great miracles said to be done by them.

Lord. Was not a dead man raised by touching the bones of Elisha?

Gent. Yes, God may work miracles by what means he pleases. But does this consecrate the dead

² Kings
xiii. 21.

^r Lib. Conform. fol. 1149.

^s Adorari solius Dei est: *Deleatur ex Ind. Operum Athanasii Indice Lib. Prohib. et Expurg.* p. 52. Madrit. an. 1627. *item ex Ind. Op. S. August.* *ibid.* p. 56.

body of every saint to be a means of grace and a worker of miracles? Many miracles were wrought by the rod of Moses; is every rod therefore a means of grace either ghostly or bodily? or may we consecrate any rod to be such a means? Nothing is such a means to us but what God has commanded and appointed to be done, as baptism and the Lord's supper. It is the institution, not an example, that makes any thing a means of grace to us: else we might go and imitate all the miraculous actions of Moses or of Christ, and call them means of grace to us, because so used by them.

But as to the relics in your church, many of them have been notoriously detected, and it has been found out that the dead bodies of malefactors have been taken for the relics of saints, and great miracles said to be done by them. The same relic of such a saint, the head or finger, is shewn in several places, and each contend that theirs is the right, and each have miracles avouched for them. Many instances of this, with vouchers undeniable, you will find in the Devotions of the Roman Church. How then can you worship such relics in faith? without which it is a sin.

35. But not only the saints and their relics, but their images are with you made a distinct means of grace; for in the consecration of the image of a saint, it is said, that whoever shall worship such a saint, *coram hac imagine*, "before this image," may obtain so and so; for which end the image is blessed and sanctified. So that it is not enough to worship the saint, but if I do it before such a consecrated image, I shall obtain more grace than otherwise. This makes the image itself a means of

grace; for there is virtue there. Why else would it not do as well to pray, and not before such an image? Why else, indeed, are such images so formally consecrated, if there be no virtue in the consecration? And why do men go pilgrimages, or send vows to Loretto, or any other distant place, if they think there is no virtue in the image there, more than in forty of the same sort which they may have at home; and the saint represented by the image is as near them in the one place as in the other? There must be then some virtue communicated to one image more than to another.

Lord. Then you are against any pictures or images of the saints, or paying any honour to the holy men departed.

Gent. No, my lord, we are not so stingy; we scruple not pictures for ornament, but not for worship, or for worshipping before them, as you speak. And we honour the saints departed, as far as we think lawful, and, as we are verily persuaded, as far as they desire; since, according to St. Augustine's rule before mentioned, if they accepted our adoration, it would prove them to be evil spirits. And then you are to consider, that instead of intercessors, as you hope for by your worship of them, they will vindicate themselves, and become your accusers. But in our honour of them, we first take care not to specify any particular person as a saint, but who is so recorded in holy scripture; for we understand not canonizations by men, who know not the heart: in the next place, we limit the honour we pay them by the rule of God's commandments, which we suppose most pleasing to them. We keep particular holydays for the apostles, St.

John Baptist, St. Stephen, &c.; we bless God for them, commemorate their virtues, and pray that we may follow their good examples. We have one day for all the saints in general, and another for St. Michael and all angels. Thus we honour them, and for this we bear the reproach of our sour dissenters, as if we were too much inclining to popery. You think we give too little honour to the saints, and they think we give too much! but we hope we keep the mean. We abstain from the pictures or images of the saints in our churches, because they have been abused to superstition, and to avoid offence; but in places not dedicated to worship, as in private houses, we think them not unlawful, more than the picture of any good man.

Epiphanius was very zealous against having them brought into churches, and tells John, bishop of Jerusalem, in a letter translated by St. Jerome, that finding a linen cloth hung up on a church door, (it is likely to keep out the wind,) whereon was a picture of Christ, or of some saint, he tore it, and ordered a dead corpse to be buried in it: and he lamented the superstition he saw coming, by these pictures and images then beginning to creep into the church.

The abuse of things, though otherwise lawful, which are not instituted by God for standing means of grace, as baptism and the Lord's supper, may justly take away the use of them. Thus the brazen serpent was appointed by God as a means of grace for miraculous cures in the wilderness, and was preserved until the days of Hezekiah; but when they burned incense to it, it became an idol, was broke to pieces, and called by a contemptible name, *Nehushtan*, that is, "a bit of brass." How much

2 Kings
xviii. 4.

more reason is there to remove the pictures and images of saints (which God never appointed) out of our churches, when we see incense burned to them, and they worshipped in your churches, as means of grace! and yet there is no evil in the pictures themselves.

36. But there is one picture, I think, has evil in it, and is unlawful any where; and yet it is seen in your churches, and commonly over the altar; that is, the picture or image of God the Father, like an old man, &c. We are forbid to make it, and then we cannot worship it. See how positively God forbids it: *Take good heed unto yourselves; for ye saw no manner of similitude* (that is, of God) *in the day that the Lord spake unto you—lest ye corrupt yourselves, and make you a graven image, the similitude of any figure, the likeness of male or female, &c.* And again: *they changed the glory of the uncorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man, &c.*

Dent. iv.
15, &c.

Rom. i. 23.

Lord. Both these texts are quoted and answered in our Catechism *ad Parochos*, upon the First Commandment, and the answer is this, 'that the sin here forbidden is to paint or carve *imaginem divinitatis*, "a picture or image of the divinity," or of the divine nature.

Gent. Pray, my lord, did you ever know a painter or statuary who attempted to draw a picture or make an image of a thought or of a soul?

Lord. No; for they cannot be seen: pictures and images are made for the eye. How then can a likeness or similitude be drawn of what is invisible?

¹ De Cultu et Invocatione Sanctorum, sect. 34, 35.

Gent. And is not the great God more invisible, and the divine nature much more incomprehensible, even to our thoughts or imagination? How then can it be represented to our eye? I dare say there never was a man since Adam who would own any such thing, or ever had so foolish a thought; no, but when they drew any picture or similitude of God, it was only meant to express some of his attributes or perfections; as, by fire, his purity; by a giant with many hands, his power; with many eyes, his providence, &c. And so you own that by an old man you only mean to express his antiquity. And will not this excuse the heathen as well as you? See the same excuse made by Maximus Tyrius, Dissert. 38, “whether statues were to be made for the gods.” But here you would put an impossible meaning upon the prohibition of God, to make it of no effect, and which will excuse the heathens as much as yourselves.

Lord. Our Catechism *ad Parochos*, (which is our text,) in the place last quoted, sect. 34, teaches us that the heathen, when they made images of serpents, beasts, &c., “they worshipped all these as God;” *hæc enim omnia tanquam Deum venerabantur*: and that the Israelites thought the same of the golden calf; for that they said, *These are the gods that brought thee out of Egypt*; and therefore that they were idolaters, because *they thus changed* ^{Psalm cvi.} *their glory into the similitude of a calf that eateth* ^{20.} *grass.*

Gent. It is very absurd to say that the heathen thought their images to be the things of which they were the images; that was impossible; for then they would not be the images, but the things them-

selves. Who ever said that a man's picture was himself? though they are called *the persons*; as when we look upon pictures we say, "This is such a man, or such a man:" but if any should put it upon us that we meant the persons themselves, we must think them idiots, or schoolmen, that loved distinctions and wrangling. Maximus Tyrius, in the Dissertation before quoted, tells us that they had many images of the same god, as of Venus, Diana, &c.; and yet that they did not think there was more than one Venus or one Diana. Have not you multitudes of the pictures and images of the Virgin Mary? and yet you say not that there is more than one such Virgin. Now the heathen worshipped their images, and, if you believe your own Catechism, you must think that they took every one for God; for, *hæc omnia*, they worshipped all these as God!

And it is as absurd to think that they took that serpent or beast, whose image they made, to be God. Or if they meant not any particular serpent or ox (for example) by the image, they must think every ox or serpent to be God: but they were not so ridiculous, as Maximus Tyrius, and all, as many of them as have wrote, will satisfy you; but that they made use of their images only as symbols, which being dedicated to such a god, they thought that this god would afford his presence with his symbol, and by it secure to them his favour and protection. How near your consecration comes to their dedication of images, I leave to yourselves to judge: but you put such monstrous things upon the heathen as they disown, detest, and abhor; and yet you must do it, that your case and theirs may not appear so very like.

But you must draw in the Jews too, else all this will stand you in no stead. And you have no mercy upon them; you suppose them full as ignorant as you have made the heathen. They must believe that the golden calf, on the same day they made it, to be the great God who made themselves and all the world, and to have brought them out of Egypt long before itself was made! But the Jews will not let this go with you, more than the heathen; they were not quite so foolish; they had learned the use of images and symbols in Egypt, and it is plain they did here imitate it. They had seen Osiris worshipped in Egypt under the figure of an ox, from which they took their figure of the calf; and it was to secure God's presence among them, upon the supposed loss of Moses, by whom they had received their law from God, and directions from him upon all occasions. But Moses had been absent from them forty days, and took neither meat nor drink with him; so that they thought he had been quite gone or dead, and that they should never see him more. And then how should they do to secure the presence of God among them? And they took to this way of an image or symbol of God; not that they forsook God, but to take care that he might not forsake them: and they meant his worship in that of the golden calf; therefore they proclaimed the dedication of it *a feast unto the Lord*. And that it was wholly for the want of Moses they did it, (by whom they had found, by long experience, the presence of God secured among them,) they themselves gave the reason: *Up, (said they,) make us gods, which shall go before us; for as for this Moses, the man that brought us up out of*

Exod. xxxii. 5.

Ver. 1.

the land of Egypt, we wot not what is become of him.

Pray, my lord, let me ask you, suppose it were made treason to draw a picture of the king, or to bow to it, would you venture your life upon all these distinctions and excuses which are made for the pictures of God? Yet we venture our souls upon it, if it be a sin, and though we think it may be beneficial to us, as putting us in mind of him, or paying respect unto him.

Now by this let us learn how dangerous a thing it is to make means of grace of our own invention, and to think that by our consecrations or dedications, without warrant of God's word, we can secure his presence with us, and procure the grace of health or any benefit either to body or soul; this is turning religion into superstition.

37. But the strangest instance of this that ever was in the world is that of transubstantiation, a mere school-nicety, which no man alive understands, and yet transformed into an article of faith by the council of Trent.

Christ said, *This is my body*; but as to the manner or means how it was so, he said not a word, whether only sacramentally, figuratively, or symbolically; or, on the other hand, whether substantially, consubstantially, or transubstantially. These are inventions of our own, from our poor philosophy! and yet about these is our whole dispute, which has tormented the Christian church in our later age more than all the other mysteries of religion. Had we kept to the words of institution, as Christ left them, and gone no further, there might have been various opinions in the schools concern-

ing the manner of the presence of Christ in the sacrament; and they who had nothing else to do might have spent their idle hours and vain distinctions about it; but it had never broke the communion of the church, if it had not been adopted into an article of faith, and made a condition of communion: and now we must dispute it. And the first thing I have to say is, that it seems very strange there should be any dispute about it; for our Saviour was then fulfilling a type of himself, which was the passover, and he kept to the same phrase or form of words which was customary with the Jews in their celebration of it, only putting himself in the room of his type, as instead of, *This is the paschal lamb which was slain for us in Egypt*, he said, *This is my body which is given for you*. And when Moses sprinkled the blood, it was with this form of words, *This is the blood of* Heb. ix. 20. *the testament which God hath enjoined unto you*. Instead of which old testament, Christ said, *This* Matt. xxvi. 28. *is my blood of the new testament*. In which words there is no difficulty at all; for no mortal ever understood these words of Moses in a transubstantial sense; and why should they the same words when Christ spoke them, following the very form of the words of Moses? This made it familiar and easy to the apostles, who called many things *hard sayings*, which were not so difficult as this, and yet expressed no wonder or astonishment at these words of Christ, which had been impossible for them not to have done, if they had taken them in the sense of transubstantiation; for it was a new thing, never before heard or thought of in the world—to deny all their senses at once!

Lord. I wonder you should stand so much upon this; you object your senses and your reason, and yet you must give them both up in the mystery of the Trinity, Incarnation, &c.

Gent. No, my lord, I must give neither of them up; for I cannot believe any revelation but by my reason, upon the evidence that appears for it: and my reason tells me that there must be many things in the infinite nature which I cannot comprehend, and therefore I acquiesce in the revelation, being once fully satisfied of it: this I have discoursed already. But for the other point, that of contradicting my outward senses, I think it an invincible objection.

Lord. Why, must you not give them up too, as to the Trinity and Incarnation?

Gent. Not at all, my lord; they contradict none of my senses. Pray, tell me, which of them do they contradict? is it the sense of seeing, hearing, or smelling?

Lord. They are not objects of sense.

Gent. Therefore they contradict them not: but in transubstantiation they are every one contradicted. And I stand upon it, that since the creation of the world God never did or said any thing which contradicted the sense of any man: it would be destroying the certainty of every thing. Miracles are appeals to our senses, and without believing our senses we can trust to no miracle, and consequently to no revelation.

Lord. I mean not a general disbelief of our senses in every thing; but if a revelation (which you are satisfied is true) should bid you disbelieve your senses, in such a particular only—

Gent. It is a needless supposition, for there is no such revelation; but if there were, if an angel should appear to me, and bid me believe that I saw him, but not to believe any thing else that I saw of a hundred things I saw round about him, I should, without more ado, either believe that I saw the other things I did see, or, if I must not believe I saw them, I should not believe I saw him: and I take it as a certain rule, that we must either believe our senses in every thing or in nothing. Had not the apostles at the Lord's supper as much reason to doubt whether it was Christ they saw, and that he spoke to them, as that it was bread which they saw and eat? If you come once to *deceptio visus*, it will go quite through, and you cannot be sure of one thing more than of another, because the fault is in the eye, not in the objects: so that if transubstantiation be true, there is nothing else in the world true but it!

And it is no small prejudice to this miracle of miracles, and contradiction to itself and to all other miracles, and to every thing else in the world, that it should be put upon us just for nothing, but to stagger our faith, and make us doubt of every thing!

For if all the benefits of the death of Christ be conveyed to us in this sacrament by a figurative and symbolical representation of his body and blood, and that it be so instituted for this end; it is to all intents and purposes as beneficial to us, as if we had eat the flesh of Christ off his bones, or drank the very blood that came out of his side; which is abhorrent to think, and to avoid which you call this an *unbloody sacrifice*. But how is it unbloody, if

it be real blood, even the selfsame blood which was shed upon the cross? Yet you yourselves allow that this must be taken in a spiritual, not a carnal sense, because Christ himself said, speaking of this sacrament, (as you own,) and to solve that hard saying, at which many were offended, of giving them his flesh to eat, he made it easy to them by this explanation, *It is the Spirit that quickeneth; the flesh profiteth nothing: the words that I speak unto you, they are spirit, and they are life.* May we not then take his words in a spiritual sense?

John vi. 63.

Lord. But you would have the words of institution taken figuratively, as when Christ said, *I am a vine, I am a door, &c.*

Luke xxii. 20.

Gent. There is not one man in your communion but must own that the words of institution are figurative; for example, *This cup is the new testament in my blood, which is shed for you.* Here is, first, the *cup* for the *wine*, by a metonymy, called *continens pro contento*. Then the *cup* being the *new testament*, I suppose you will allow is another figure. And it is another to say *which is shed*, for *which shall be shed*; for his blood was not then shed. This last figure you have boldly avoided in your mass, where it is put *effundetur*, “shall be shed,” instead of *effunditur* or *effusum*, according to the Greek ἐκχυνόμενον. However, the two former figures stand unalterable.

Matt. xxvi. 29.
Mark xiv. 25.
1 Cor. xi. 26, 27, 28.

But to shew that the words were figurative, and that the elements did not lose their nature by the consecration, they are called by their own names after the consecration, as the wine is called *the fruit of the vine* after the consecration; and it is called *bread* which they eat in the sacrament: and we are

called *bread*, because we partake of that bread. We are bread by the same figure that bread is flesh.

Lord. We believe that there is no bread in the sacrament, but we are sure we are not bread.

Gent. You are no more sure of the one than of the other. But see now the arbitrariness of your interpretation: when it is said of bread, *This is flesh*, that is so very plain, it must be taken literally; but when it is said of the bread in the sacrament, *This is bread*, the expression is so obscure that it must be taken figuratively! Is not this destroying the meaning of all expressions, to take words figuratively or literally, just as you think fit, and contrary to the common usage as understood in all other things?

Lord. No, it is not as we think fit, but as the ancient church and fathers did understand it. Here we stick.

Gent. And to this we appeal. Tertullian says that Christ made the bread his body, by saying, "*This is my body*, that is, *the figure of my body*."

Origen says of it, that it goes into the belly, like other meat, and so into the draught; but says he speaks ^xconcerning the typical and symbolical body of Christ in the sacrament.

It was said of the body of Christ, ^ythat it should not *see corruption*; but we know the sacrament will corrupt, therefore it is not the same.

Theodoret likewise calls it the ^zsymbols of the

^u Hoc est corpus meum, id est, figura corporis mei. *Contr. Marcion.* lib. IV. c. 40.

^x Hæc quidem de typico symbolicoque corpore. In Matt. xv.

^y Psalm xvi. 10. Acts ii. 27, 31.

^z Τὰ σύμβολα τοῦ σώματος τοῦ δεσποτικοῦ καὶ τοῦ αἵματος. Dial. 2.

body and blood of Christ, and says, that ^aupon their consecration they are changed indeed, and made other things, but still remain in their own proper nature, and substance, and shape, and form, and are visible and tangible, as they were before.

And writing against the Eutychians, who said that the human nature of Christ was absorbed or swallowed up in his divinity, so that there remained now none but the divine nature in him, and that he was no more a man; and used this comparison, that it was in like manner as in the sacrament, where the bread was changed into the body of Christ; “^bYes,” said Theodoret, “it is in the same manner; that is, in no manner at all;” for that the bread, though changed in its use and significancy, yet lost not its nature, but remained truly and properly bread as before. But had he believed transubstantiation, this had been a full and absolute confirmation of the Eutychian heresy, instead of a confutation; for then there had remained no more of the human nature in Christ, than you believe the substance of the bread to remain in the sacrament. This explains the meaning of Theodoret, even beyond his words, and he says in the same place, “that our blessed Saviour, who called himself *the living bread and wine*, hath also honoured the visible signs with the title and appellation of *his body and blood*; not changing their nature, but “adding to nature grace.”

Pope Gelasius says, “^cthat the sacrament of the

^a Μένει γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς προτέρας φύσεως, οὐσίας, καὶ τοῦ σχήματος, καὶ τοῦ εἶδους, καὶ ὁρατὰ ἔστι, καὶ ἀπτά, οἷα καὶ πρότερον ἦν. Dial. 2.

^b See his Dialogue called “The Immoveable.”

^c Et tamen non desinit esse substantia vel natura panis et vini :

“ body and blood of Christ, which we take, is a
“ divine thing, by which we are made partakers of
“ the divine nature ; and yet it ceases not to be the
“ substance and nature of bread and wine : and cer-
“ tainly,” says he, “ the image and similitude of the
“ body and blood is celebrated in the mysteries.”

And Facundus says the same : “ ^dNot,” says he,
“ that the bread is properly his body, or the cup his
“ blood ; but that they contain the mystery of his
“ body and blood.”

And St. Augustine says, “ ^eIf sacraments did not
“ bear some similitude to the things of which they
“ are the sacraments, they would not be sacraments
“ at all ; but from this similitude they often take
“ the name of the things themselves—as,” says he,
“ the sacrament of faith, which is baptism, is called
“ *faith*.”

And St. Chrysostom, speaking of the vessels in
which the sacrament was put, “ ^fin which,” says he,
“ there is not the true body of Christ, but the mys-
“ tery of his body is contained in them.”

But, my lord, not to trouble you with more
quotations, I refer you to bishop Cosin’s History
of Transubstantiation, where, beginning at the in-

et certe imago et similitudo corporis et sanguinis Christi in actione
mysteriorum celebrantur. *Gelas. contr. Nestorium et Eutychetem.*

^d Non quod proprie corpus ejus sit panis, et poculum sanguis ;
sed quod mysterium corporis ejus, sanguisque contineant. lib.
IX. c. 5.

^e Si sacramenta, &c. Ep. XXIII. And contr. Faust. Manich.
lib. X. c. 2. Sic sacramentum fidei quod baptismus intelligitur,
fides est.

^f In quibus non est verum corpus Christi, sed mysterium cor-
poris ejus continetur. See St. Chrysost. opere imperf. in Matth.
and Epist. ad Cæsarium, in Biblioth. P. Colon. 1618.

stitution, he sets down in every century the words of the fathers upon this point; a little book, long printed both in English and Latin, not yet answered, (that I hear,) and I believe unanswerable: wherein you will see a cloud of witnesses through the first ages of the church, and so downwards, in perfect contradiction to this new article of your faith.

And as the scriptures, primitive church, and fathers are all against you, so have you nothing in the world on your side but an unintelligible jargon of metaphysics, upon which the schoolmen ring changes till the noise of their bells have deafened common sense and reason. Such are their subtleties upon substance, accidents, subsistence, moduses, and modalities, and many more such quiddities; and their distinctions of *materialiter* and *formaliter*, *per se et per accidens*, and a thousand more, to solve all difficulties, and reconcile contradictions! No absurdity can be named out of the reach of a distinction: and when we understand it not, it operates most effectually, because then we may suppose there is something in it! Pray, my lord, let me ask you, do you know the difference betwixt substance and accident?

Lord. Substance is that which *sub stat*, stands under or supports another thing; so the substance stands by itself, and the accidents do adhere or stick in it: therefore we say, that *essentia accidentis est inherentia*, that “inherence or insticking is the essence or very being of an accident,” so that there cannot be an accident without it, for whatever sticks must have something to stick in.

Gent. When the substance then is gone, what becomes of the accidents?

Lord. They are no more, for their essence is gone, which is inherence, and they cannot inhere or stick in nothing.

Gent. Now to apply this: when the substance of the bread and wine in the sacrament is gone, as you suppose, then their accidents are no more, for there cannot be accidents of nothing, nothing has no accidents: and they cannot be the accidents of bread when there is no bread: †and you will not endure they should be called the accidents of the body and blood of Christ: therefore they are the accidents of nothing, that is, they are accidents and no accidents; they are accidents without the essence of accidents, which is inherence: there is roundness and nothing round, whiteness and nothing white, a taste and nothing tasted, liquidness and nothing liquid, &c. And if these accidents stand by themselves, why are they not substances? for that is the definition you give of substance. If you say they stand by miracle, then by miracle they are substances; and there is an end of the jargon. But who sees not that roundness without any thing round, and the like, which you call accidents, are nothing at all in nature, but abstracted notions of our own heads, creatures of our making, which, like *ens rationis*, have no existence but in our brains? Yet we dispute about these as if they were real things, which we come at last to fancy, by their being dinned so long in our ears at the schools: and we fight for them, as *pro aris et focis*; we make them articles of our faith, and excommunicate for them!

Lord. Notwithstanding your ridiculing philosophy, you will not say that we can see the sub-

† Catechis. ad Paroch. de Eucharist. Sacram. sect. 25. 44.

stance of any thing ; but that whatever comes under our outward senses, that is, whatever can be seen, felt, heard, smelled, or tasted, are only the accidents of things.

Gent. And the same philosophy will tell me that neither can accidents be seen, felt, &c. For example, a round or a white thing is a substance, but the roundness or the whiteness are the accidents : now I cannot see or feel roundness or whiteness ; they are only conceptions in my mind, and come not under any of my outward senses ; they are too thin to bear either my sight, smell, touch, or taste ; nay, I will say that they are beyond my imagination too, for who can think of roundness or whiteness without something that is round or white ? Therefore if I see or feel any thing, it is the substance I see or feel, that is, something which is round or white. What colour, taste, or smell has insticking or inherence ? for that is accident. Is it more like bread than a tulip ? Thus easily may we dispute ourselves not only out of our senses, but out of our thoughts too : and the miracle of accidents without substance must not only work upon our senses, but give us new thoughts, new conceptions, which never before came into the head of mortal man ! This is that *philosophy and vain deceit* or fallacy which the apostle says will spoil or hurt our faith : *doting about questions and strifes of words*—*perverse disputings*—*and oppositions of science falsely so called : which some professing have erred concerning the faith.*

1 Tim. vi.
4, 5, 20, 21.

But if you are in earnest about this logic of substance and accident, will you lay a good wager upon it ?

Lord. Hudibras says, "Fools for arguments lay
"wagers."

Gent. Yet you have laid all your honour and
estate upon it. But are you so sure of it that you
would take your oath upon it?

Lord. These are foolish questions, and were never
asked in any school dispute.

Gent. Nor ought to be, if you had let them stay
there: but when you will bring them out of your
schools into your creed, and make them articles of
faith, you do as good as take your oath upon the
truth and certainty of them; and you guard them
with anathemas. And it is impossible you can be-
lieve transubstantiation, or know any thing of it,
unless you be perfectly skilled in the nature and dif-
ference of substance and accident, and how far their
powers do reach: you must distinguish between
substantiation, consubstantiation, and transubstan-
tiation, and determine whether the nature of acci-
dents will best agree with *sub*, *con*, or *trans*.

Lord. I trouble not my head with any of these
things; but I believe as the church believes, and there
is an end of it.

Gent. Can you believe as the church believes,
without knowing what she believes? This is be-
lieving nothing, it is implicit indeed! At this rate
you need but one article of your creed to believe the
holy catholic church; and all the rest may go off
implicitly, though you should know nothing of any
other of the articles: and what a man knows no-
thing of, he can give no reason for. But St. Peter
bids us *be ready always to give an answer to every* 1 Pet. iii. 15.
man that asketh us a reason of the hope (or faith)
that is in us: which supposes our understanding it

ourselves, and not an implicit faith in others of we know not what.

So that if you make transubstantiation an article of your faith, you are obliged to understand it aright.

But there is something yet more terrible behind, for if there be no transubstantiation, then you worship bread and wine with *latria*, by which you mean the supreme worship due to God alone.

Nay, though transubstantiation were granted, and fully understood, yet it is impossible for any man to know whether he worships plain bread and wine, or the body and blood of Christ: because in the rubric of the mass, *de defectibus circa missam*, there are several cases put wherein the consecration is void, and there is no sacrament made, and then there is nothing there but plain bread and wine: one of these cases is, if there be a greater mixture of any other grain than of wheat in the wafer; another is, if the wine be made of sour grapes, or grapes not ripe, *Si vinum fit ex uvis acerbis, vel non maturis*; which is pretty hard for the people to know, who never taste it, or the worshippers, who see or taste neither, but only a *pyxis* or a cup they look not into; and in both these cases (besides others) it is said, *non conficitur sacramentum*, "there is no sacrament made." And so it is said if the intention of the priest be wanting, which is impossible to know: upon which head they put a pleasant case; as suppose a priest intends to consecrate ten wafers, (for example,) and after consecration there be found eleven or more, then none of them are consecrated, because the intention going only to ten, it cannot be known which these ten are.

But if there be nine or fewer, they are all consecrated, because the intention going to ten, it includes all within that number. Besides you must take it wholly upon trust, whether there be any consecration at all; because your priests do not consecrate before the people when they administer the sacrament, but at set times they consecrate numbers of wafers together, which they reserve for occasions, and for daily worship. Again, it is said in some cases, *Dubium est an conficiatur sacramentum*, that it is doubtful whether the sacrament is made or not. And what shall we do in this case? Is it a doubt whether we worship God or a creature? or is it indifferent to which we give *latría*?

Lord. If there should be a mistake in any of these matters, and we worship mere creatures, not knowing it, for which we have been charged with idolatry, we have an answer ready, that this could amount to no more than material idolatry, but it could not be formally so, while our intention was right, and we meant our worship to God.

Gent. These school-distinctions are cobwebs, and will bear no weight; for material idolatry is idolatry, else it were not material idolatry. And if our intention will solve it, it will solve it also as to the heathen, who directed their worship, and referred it ultimately, to the true God, as has been shewn. But I hope you will not make Solomon so stupid as you have made the heathen, and to think that he believed Ashtaroth the goddess of the Zidonians, and ¹ Kings xi. Milcom the abomination of the Ammonites, and the ⁵ other gods of the nations whom he worshipped, to be every one of them the one only supreme God! Yet he is charged with idolatry; whether material

or formal is not the question, nor is there a word of it in the scriptures, for idolatry is idolatry, let it be of what sort it will. And these distinctions are only to excuse it, and let it loose among us. God has forbidden it generally, of every kind and sort. The Arians were charged with idolatry for worshipping Christ, supposing him but a creature; and they were so far from disowning the true God, that it was his honour they pretended in denying divinity to Christ. So of the Socinians, and our Unitarians among us, who give themselves that name for their supporting the unity of the Godhead: yet they are charged with idolatry for worshipping Christ as an inferior God: and they have the same distinction as you of *latria* and *dulia*, a higher and lower degree of worship; but all religious worship is forbidden to any but to God alone. These degrees of it are of human invention, to excuse our breach of the commands of God. But we are to keep far from the forbidden thing, not try how near we can come to it by distinctions of our own coining. We ought to *make a hedge about the law*, as the phrase of the Jews was, to guard against any approaches towards the breach of it; or, in the apostle's words, to *abstain from all appearance of evil*. And remember that we venture our souls upon these distinctions. Which then are in the safest way, we, who follow the direct rule of God's commandments, as they are plainly laid down to us in holy scripture, without *turning to the right hand or to the left; without either adding to them or diminishing from them*, as we are commanded; or you, who distinguish the plainest precepts, and make them speak metaphysics?

1 Thess. v.
22.

Deut. iv. 2.
v. 32.

By which the worship of the Devil may be justified; for it is plain that when he offered to our Saviour all the kingdoms of the world, he meant not that he was the supreme God and sovereign Disposer of them, but only as having received this power from the sovereign Disposer; for he said, *That is delivered unto me; and to whomsoever I will I give it.* Luke iv. 6. And it is as plain by the answer our Saviour gave Ver. 8. him, *Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve*, that all sort of religious worship was forbidden to be given to any but to God only. And St. Augustine makes all to be devils who require or accept it: *latria* and *dulia* signify both the same thing, that is, *service*; and here all religious service is reserved to God only. The distinction of the schools is vain, and meant only to elude the commands of God, and introduce all superstition.

There are other unworthy cases put in the rubric of the mass, which flow from hence; as if a dog or a mouse should eat the sacrament—if the priest should vomit it up again; in which case he is to lick it up reverently, unless it be nauseous, (that was well put in,) and then it is to be disposed of so and so. And again, if a fly should drop into the cup, how the fly was to be dealt with. And one reason given for taking the cup from the laity was, that the laity (at that time I suppose) wore long beards, and lest the blood of Christ should drop upon them, or stick to their whiskers! All these are the genuine effects of superstition, occasioned by the notion of transubstantiation.

And here, my lord, let me observe, that the natural effect of superstition is Atheism or Deism; as one

extreme runs into another, like east to west: for men of sense must find out the deceit that is in superstition, and then placing all religion on the same foot, (as in your communion upon the authority of your church,) they must think the whole to be a deceit, or, in the modish word, *priestcraft*, and the contrivance of those who gain by it. Whence it is that the holy scriptures and the legends have the same foundation in the church of Rome, that is, her authority; therefore the common people believe them both alike, and the men of sense believe neither. And this does so lead towards the general defection foretold, that in a great measure it is it; for it destroys the foundation of religion, and turns it all to superstition. And when the infidelity which that begets shall come to be publicly owned, then where shall *faith be found upon the earth*? It is now acted in the *opus operatum*. And instead of the two sacraments which Christ has appointed as a means of grace, the whole face of your religion is covered with ten thousand of your own invention. The unlimited power taken in your church of consecrating every thing into a means of grace, your worship of saints, (many of them legendary,) their relics and images, of crosses, and of the host, make up the bulk of your religion and devotions.

38. But not only the host, or body of Christ supposed to be corporally in the sacrament, but the cross of Christ, or any effigies of that cross, and the images of Christ, are worshipped in your church with the supreme, divine adoration of *latria*: as is told us by a great saint of your church, whom you call *the angelical doctor*, St. Thomas Aquinas, who

says that ^h*Crux Christi est adoranda adoratione latricæ.* And again, *Crucis effigies in aliqua alia materia—latricia adoranda est.* And in the Roman Pontifical it is ordered, that in the procession of the emperor, and a legate of the pope, the legate's cross shall be carried on the right hand of the emperor's sword, because ⁱ*latricia* is due to the cross.

And in the adoration of the cross upon Good Friday, (which is the principal part of the office for that day,) the cross, being veiled, is discovered to the people by degrees; first one arm of the cross, then another, and at last the whole cross is unveiled: and at each time the priest says, *Ecce lignum crucis!* "Behold the wood of the cross!" and the people answer, *Adoremus,* "Let us worship:" and then the priests first, and afterwards the people, come upon their knees, and pay their adoration to the cross; and remember that it is the adoration of *latricia* which they give to it.

Now for images; the same Aquinas before mentioned tells us the worship we pay them is ^k*religionis cultus*, "a religious worship," and that it is not a different *latricia* which is given to Christ and to his images, but says, that "^lwhen worship is "paid to the images of Christ, the reason of the "*latricia* is not different, nor the virtue of religion."

If then there be but one *latricia*, and the same that is paid to Christ and to his images, it will justify

^h Par. 3. Qu. 2. Art. 4. in cor. conclusio.

ⁱ Quia debetur ei (cruci) latricia.

^k 2da. 2dæ. Qu. 81. Art. 3. Resp. ad 3.

^l Quod imaginibus Christi exhibetur cultus, non diversificatur ratio latricæ, nec virtus religionis.

what James Naclantus, bishop of Clugium, writes in his Exposition of the Epistle to the Romans, chap. i. “^mThat the faithful ought not to worship “ before an image, (as some perhaps out of caution “ speak,) but to worship the image itself, without “ any scruple at all, and with the same sort of “ worship as the prototype, or whom it represents; “ and if that is to be worshipped with *latria*, so its “ image with *latria*; if with *dulia* or *hyperdulia*, “ so the image is to be worshipped with the same “ worship.”

39. There is another strange *latria* paid to the *præputium* of Christ, or the foreskin which was cut off at his circumcision. Your doctors are at great pains to know what is become of it: they might as well ask what is become of the parings of his nails! Whither will superstition run? They had it at Antwerp, but the heretics took it away: from thence it travelled by many miracles to the church of St. John Lateran at Rome; and how it was thence translated to the church of Cornelius and Cyprian at Calcata, about twenty miles from Rome, I have read the account at large in a book in folio, entitled, *De Basilica et Patriarchio Lateranensi, ad Alexand. VII. Pont. Max. Auctore Cesare Raspono, ejusdem Basilicæ Canonico.* Romæ, 1656, p. 364, &c. And of the miraculous difference it shewed when it was touched by virgins and by married women!

^m Ergo non solum fatendum est, fideles in ecclesia adorare coram imagine (ut nonnulla ad cautelam forte loquuntur) sed et adorare imaginem, sine quo volueris scrupulo, quin et eo illam venerentur cultu, quo et prototypon ejus; propter quod si illud habet adorari *latria*, et illa *latria*, si *dulia*, vel *hyperdulia*, et illa pariter ejusmodi cultu adoranda est. *Venetius.*

See the Devotions of the Roman Church, p. 31; where you will find other authors quoted, as Bollandus, *Act. Sanct. ad Jan. 1. de Præputio Christi*, and Rivet. *Apologia pro S. Maria Virgine*, lib. I. c. 17; cardinal Tolet, in cap. 2. *Luc. Annot.* 31; and Salmeron, in *Evang.* tom. III. tract. 36. And that though it is still at Calcata, yet it is carried about at Podium with great veneration upon the feast of the Ascension. Salmeron, in the place above quoted, tells, out of the legend of Jacobus de Voragine, that the blessed Virgin gave this *præputium* first to Mary Magdalen, and that it was brought afterwards by an angel to Charles the Great at Aken, and how after it came to be laid up in the Lateran. Whence these verses,

Circumcisa caro Christi, sandalia sacra,
Atque umbilici viget hic præcisio chara.

Put thus into English :

Christ's foreskin and blest sandals are kept here,
And what was cut from off his navel dear.

I suppose they meant the cutting of his navel-string. And his sandals (though it is not said that he wore any, he is always painted barefoot) will come in here too for *latria*, for the same reason which T. Aquinas gives for *latria* as due to the cross, ⁿ*propter membrorum Christi contactum*, because it touched the body of Christ. Then all his clothes must come in for the same reason, and the nails and spear that pierced him. And why not the spittle that was thrown in his face? for the cross was as much his enemy (as far as wood could be) as any of the other, or the spittle itself: and I know not why the cru-

ⁿ Par. 3. Qu. 2. Art. 4. in the conclusion.

cifiers should not be admitted too, though they touched him with a hostile mind, as some have sainted Judas, because he was an instrument in our redemption; for there is no stop in superstition, more than in other arts.

But I must not forget my friends the schoolmen upon this occasion; they dispute, that the foreskin being of the entireness of the body, it must have been reunited to the body of Christ upon his resurrection, else that the entire body did not arise. °Suarez therefore concludes, that the body of Christ at the resurrection had a foreskin, and has now in heaven: but what then will he do with that foreskin which is shewed in the church here below? He says, that the foreskin belongs to the entireness of the body, *non formaliter, sed materialiter*, “not formally, but only materially;” and so the business is made up! But he adds, that Innocent III. did call in question the truth of this foreskin upon earth: is it a question then? and do the people still pay *latria* to it? How comes this to be suffered in the church? in the church that is infallible!

But several parcels of the blood of Christ shed upon the cross are likewise shewed, and ^pCressy quotes Matth. Paris for a signal testimony of it.

To this says Aquinas, that “^q whatever belongs to the nature of an human body was wholly in the body of Christ when he arose, as his flesh and bones, and his blood, and that entirely without any diminution, otherwise (says he) it had not been a perfect resurrection.” And afterwards,

° Suar. in 3. Par. Qu. 54. Act. 4. Disp. 47. §. 1.

^p Ch. Hist. lib. II. c. 13.

^q Part. 3. Qu. 34. Artic. 2. *Respondet, Dicendum.*

“^r that all the blood which flowed from the body
“ of Christ rose again in his body. But as for
“ that blood (says he) which is preserved in some
“ churches for relics, it did not flow from Christ’s
“ side, but is said to have flowed miraculously from
“ a certain image of Christ that was pierced.” Yet
the people pay *latria* to it, grounded wholly upon a
legend! and Aquinas gives no further assurance of
it, than that *it was said*. Is not this worshipping
in faith? What blood was that which came out of
the image? was it Christ’s blood? and how was it
made so? was it transubstantiated? or was it blood
materially, though not formally? or had it only the
colour of blood, the accidents remaining without the
substance? Vasquez comes pretty near this when he
says, “^s that no portion of the blood of Christ did
“ remain on earth under the form of blood, but only
“ under its colour, *amissa forma sanguinis*, having
“ lost the form of blood.”

Lord. What is this matter and form with which
they keep such a stir?

Gent. They make three constituting principles in
every thing; these they call *materia, forma, et pri-
vatio*: that is, the matter of which any thing is
made; the form, which is wholly unknown to us;
and the want of that form; for you must know that
we must want a thing before we have it.

Lord. Trouble me no more with this jargon; I
pin not my faith upon schoolmen.

Gent. Yet this article of your faith, that is, tran-
substantiation, is nothing else, as I have (I hope)

^r Ibid. Act. tertium.

^s In 3 Par. Thomæ. Qu. 5. Artic. 2. Disp. 36. c. 8. See also
c. 4.

made it plain. And I will shew you another instance wherein you follow them too, and are grossly misled by them, that is, the distinction of concomitancy.

Lord. What is that? I know it not.

40. *Gent.* I have before told of several injuries done to our Lord Christ, in adding to his commandments, and making to ourselves means of grace which he has not instituted. What I am to speak of now is an error on the other hand, that is, of subtracting from his institutions, and the means of grace which he has appointed: I mean in taking away the cup from the laity in the holy sacrament. Christ instituted the sacrament of his body and blood as an effectual means of grace, calling it *the communion of his body and blood*: particularly of the cup it is said, *The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ?* And that we all partake of the cup, according to several manuscripts of your own vulgar Latin, *omnes de uno pane, et de uno calice participamus*. But that the laity might not think themselves deprived of this so beneficial a means of the greatest grace, the schools have invented a distinction they call *concomitancy*, which is, that in all flesh there is some blood goes along, or is concomitant with it; so that whoever eats the flesh partakes also of the blood.

1 Cor. x.
16, 17.

Lord. And is not that true?

Gent. Really, my lord, I know not; but I am sure it is a nicety: for flesh may be so dried that no blood shall appear in it; and in a wafer there can be none, without having recourse to miracle. I think it is making too bold to throw off the institution of Christ, upon such imaginations of our own;

which imply that there was no need of the institution of the cup; for if it be not necessary now, it was not so then. But, my lord, this sacrament was ordained, not only to express the death of Christ, but also the manner of it, that is, by the shedding of his blood, according to the bloody types of him under the law, as it is said, *without shedding of blood there is no remission.* Heb. ix. 22. *It was therefore necessary,* says the apostle. But whatever blood may be concomitant in the flesh, yet here is no shedding of it expressed in the wafer.

Lord. But the cup always goes along with the bread in our church, to complete the sacrifice, though the priest only who officiates partakes of the cup.

Gent. But when the *hostia* is carried in procession, as upon Corpus Christi day, or frequently to the sick, there is no cup, nor does the priest himself communicate. But however, if the people are to partake of the sacrifice, as it was under the law, here they are defrauded of half of it! and they are as much commanded to partake of the cup as of the bread: and the church may as well take away the bread, and leave only the cup, and say, that the flesh is contained in the blood, as well as the blood in the flesh. Strange power of church! what institution of God can stand at this rate? Suppose the Jews had neglected to pour out or sprinkle the blood of their sacrifices as commanded, and said it was sufficient that it was by concomitancy in the flesh; would this distinction have served in that case? and why not as well in this?

It is observable that Christ, as foreseeing this taking away of the cup from many, added the word *all* to the drinking of the cup, *Drink ye all of it;* Matt. xxvi. 27.

Mark xiv. 23. and it is said, *they all drank of it*: it is not said so of the bread.

Lord. There were none there but the apostles; so that this refers not to the laity.

Gent. So you may say of the bread, and take that too from the laity, by the same rule; and you take the cup from the priests who do not officiate. John vi. 53. But Christ said to the people, to the laity, *Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you*: and this is understood by all you of the church of Rome as spoken of the sacrament.

Lord. † Bellarmine says that the *and* there, *and drink*, is to be understood as an *or*; that is, *except ye either eat or drink*.

Gent. That is to say, I may understand all the *ands* in the Creed to be *ors*; and instead of, I believe this, *and* this, *and* this, I may say, I believe this, *or* this, *or* this; so that if I believe any one article it is sufficient, though I believe never another. If you send your servant to market, and bid him bring beef, and mutton, and pork, and he buys only beef, and says he understood all your *ands* for *ors*; and so if you bid him bring so much meat and so much drink, and he brings only the meat, for the same reason— Thus we may easily get over all the commands of God, and give the reverse to St. James, Jam. ii. 10. that *he who offends in one point is guilty of all*; no, but *he who keeps one point keeps the whole law*. This is bantering, instead of arguing; and it shews a cause to be very destitute, when so great a man as Bellarmine could content himself with giving such an answer.

† De Sacram. Eucharist. lib. IV. c. 25.

And the doctrine of concomitancy will not do here; for if I eat a piece of flesh, suppose some blood may be said to be concomitant there, yet I cannot be said to drink where there is not one drop; and the threatening is, *except ye drink there is no life in you.*

If it be but a man's testament, saith St. Paul, yet Gal. iii. 15. *if it be confirmed, no man disannulleth, or addeth thereto.* This holy sacrament was the last testament which Christ left to his church, instituted the evening before he entered upon his sacred passion. Therefore pope Gelasius had good reason to call it ^u *sacrilege* in any who should mutilate this sacrament, and commanded that they who would not drink of the cup should be denied the bread too.

Lord. This was only to discover the Manichæans, who would not drink of the cup, for other reasons than the church of Rome had to take it from the laity.

Gent. I never heard a tolerable reason for it, except because they were laity. But the dispute is not about the reasons for it, but the thing itself. To take away the cup is to mutilate the sacrament; and that is sacrilege by Gelasius's determination.

And this last testament of our Lord, which was confirmed by the practice of the church for fourteen hundred years, was mutilated by the ^x council of

^u Apud Gratian. can. Comperimus de Consecr. dist. 2.

^x Licet Christus—Administraverit sub utraque specie panis et vini—tamen hoc non obstante—Et similiter quod licet in primitiva ecclesia hujusmodi sacramentum reciperetur a fidelibus sub utraque specie; tamen—Præcipimus sub pœna excommunicationis quod nullus presbyter communicet populum sub utraque specie panis et vini. Sess. 13.

Constance, and the cup taken from the laity, with a *non obstante* as well to the institution of Christ as the practice of the primitive church. It was declared no sacrilege, and the priest was excommunicated who should communicate the laity under both kinds.

The council of Trent^y likewise puts in its caveat to the institution in both kinds, and that notwithstanding the laity must be excluded from the cup. And they make it a heresy to say that whole Christ is not under each species. Then the flesh is as much in the blood as the blood in the flesh: and it is all one which species we take. But since the body and blood of Christ were separated at his death, and he ordained them to be so separated in the sacrament of it, I see not how we can take away either part upon the account of their not being separated.

Lord. Our Catechism *ad Parochos* gives six reasons for taking away the cup: ^zfirst, the danger of spilling it; secondly, of its turning sour; thirdly and fourthly, for our health, because some could not bear the taste or smell of wine without being sick; fifthly, that wine was very dear in some places; and the sixth, that we might believe whole Christ to be under each species. Gerson's reason about the long beards of the laity, before mentioned, comes under the first of these heads, concerning spilling.

Gent. Now, my lord, I leave it to yourself whether these reasons be not very childish, or are of weight to maim the institution of Christ?

^y Sess. 21. can. 1, 2, 3.

^z De Eucharist. Sacrament. sect. 70.

There must no comparison be made betwixt the body and blood of Christ, as to preference, or which is most valuable; but our redemption is oftener attributed in holy scripture to his blood than to his body: *We are saved by his blood—propitiation through his blood—by the sprinkling of his blood—&c.*

Lord. There is mention made sometimes of the breaking of bread, when there is nothing said of the cup; and this we make use of as an argument that the cup is not necessary. This is mainly insisted upon in our Catechism, the chapter you just now named, sect. 70. And John vi. 51. is quoted, *I am the living bread—if any man eat of this bread—and the bread I will give is my flesh.*

Gent. We take not this to be spoke of the sacrament, but of faith in Christ, here expressed by eating, that is, spiritually, as himself explains it, ver. 63, *It is the spirit that quickeneth; the flesh profiteth nothing: the words that I speak unto you, they are spirit, and they are life.* But let it be taken of the sacrament, as you do, you will find the blood joined with the flesh in the next words, ver. 53, *Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood—as before quoted.* And again, ver. 54, *Whoso eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood—* And, ver. 55, *For my flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed.* And, ver. 56, *He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood—* Is not the blood here named with the flesh? But if it were not, there are a hundred places, as I now observed, where the blood of Christ is named as *cleansing*, as *redeeming* us, &c. without any mention of his flesh or body. Are they therefore ex-

cluded? This is such a sort of reasoning as if I invite you to eat with me, you must have no drink to your dinner, because it was not named. But if by eating we commonly mean the whole meal, and drinking is likewise included, this criticism upon the Lord's supper, of calling it eating, will appear what it is, and not be thought sufficient to exclude the cup in the sacrament; and other foundation you have none in scripture. But if I once call it eating the Lord's supper, and several times call it both eating and drinking, will not the latter explain the former? or will eating exclude drinking, though drinking be expressly named? To *eat* the Lord's supper is the only phrase we use; I never heard any body call it *drinking the supper*: and you may thence prove that we have not the cup in our sacrament, as well as that the apostles had it not, because it is said they eat bread, or broke bread. But I have over-laboured this point, because you lay so much stress upon it.

I will now shew you another restriction your church has made upon the institutions of God. As she has taken the cup from the laity, so has she taken another of your sacraments, that is, marriage, from the clergy. I pass by the politic views and advantages the court of Rome has in this, as giving the pope the more absolute command, and making him in effect heir of all the great possessions of the clergy; for the canon law obliges the regular bishops not to dispose of their estates by ^awill, and the other clergy not to be too liberal of their alms in their sickness: and what they leave, the pope

^a Decretal Gregor. lib. III. de Testam. tit. 26. cap. 7, 9.

disposes of, as grand treasurer of the church. But waving all this, I will insist now only upon what relates to conscience. You reckon it a defilement in your church for a clergyman to marry. No great compliment to the married state, which yet was instituted by God in paradise, while man was in his innocence. And the apostle says, *Marriage is honourable in all, and the bed undefiled: and forbidding to marry* is reckoned one of the *doctrines of devils*. And directions are given how a bishop should govern his wife and children; *for if a man know not how to rule his own house, how shall he take care of the church of God?* Yet your interpreters would have this wife and this house to be the church! St. Peter was a married man, and forsook not his wife after he was an apostle, but *led her about* with him, as other apostles did. And that in the primitive church the clergy did marry is plain from Socrates, *Eccles. Hist. lib. I. c. 11. and lib. V. c. 22.* The vow of single life was not imposed upon the clergy till pope Hildebrand. See *Matth. Westmon. ad an. 1074. Vincent. Spec. Hist. lib. XXIV. c. 45. Antonin. lib. XVI. c. 1. §. 21.* And it was “without precedent,” says Sigebert, (*Chron. ad an. 1074.*) “and, as many thought, out of an indiscreet zeal, contrary to the opinion of the holy fathers.” But Hildebrand was not obeyed in this in England for above a hundred years after; for our ancient records say, “^bAll those decrees availed nothing; for the priests, by the king’s consent, still had their wives as formerly.” And Gregory the Great said, “^cthat it was lawful for

^b *Histor. Petriburg. an. 1127. ap. Spelm. tom. II. p. 36.*

^c *Respons. ad Interrog. Secund. Aug. Cantuar.*

“such of the clergy as could not contain to marry.” And Pius the Second said the same, “^d that they “may be allowed to marry.” And your greatest canonist, Panormitan, says, “^e There is as great “reason to allow priests to marry now, as ever “there was to restrain it.” Let St. Bernard bear witness in his time what reason there was for allowing it; he says, “^f There are many, who cannot “be hid for their multitude, nor do seek to be concealed through their impudence, who, being restrained from the nuptial remedies, run into all “filthiness.” And another says, “^g that few in those “days were free from fornication.” And Matthew Paris tells that the pope thought it almost a miracle that a candidate for a bishopric was said to be a pure virgin. Whence the *Gloss. ad Gratian.*, in the place just before quoted, calls ^hfornication but *a venial sin*. And it is tolerated, if not allowed; ⁱ however, it was reckoned a less sin in a priest than marriage: for this reason *deadly sin* is added to fornication in our Litany. But why was celibacy enjoined to the priests? and why marriage a greater sin than fornication? Because the first is a breach of the command of the church, and the latter of the command of God! And the difference of the punishment of these in your church shews that she thinks so; for a priest committing fornication comes off

^d Pius II. in Gest. Concil. Basil. See also Platina, in his Life, p. 329.

^e De Clericis conjug. can. cum olim.

^f De Convers. ad Cleric. cap. 29.

^g Gloss. ad Gratian. dist. 82. c. 5.

^h Decret. P. Alex. lib. III. tit. 2. c. 3. Gloss. ad Gratian. dist. 82. c. 5.

ⁱ Ibid. dist. 34. can. 7. Costerus Enchirid. de Cœlibat. c. 17.

for a small penance, whereas if he marries he is degraded. May we not then say to the church of Rome, as Christ to the church of the Jews in a parallel case, *Full well ye reject the commandment of God, that ye may keep your own tradition?* Mark vii. 9.

But if marriage be such a defilement as is unworthy a priest, how came you to make a sacrament of it? I suppose you cannot mean less by a sacrament than *a means of grace*; you have made many less things so, as is shewed before. And would you deprive the clergy of any means of grace? or is it your modesty to put them upon the level with the laity, for depriving them of the cup in the sacrament of Christ's own institution?

Marriage is honourable and undefiled in all, says the apostle; "No," say you, "it is neither in a priest." He says, *If men cannot contain, let them marry: for it is better to marry than to burn;* "No," say you, "it is better to burn than to marry." And this you must say, unless you suppose that all the many thousands of your clergy, and many of them young men, are every one of them endowed with the gift of continency; which would be a miracle, if experience did not contradict it.

All sober Christians, and even the heathen, look upon marriage as a preserver, and not a breach, of chastity. St. Peter calls it a *chaste conversation*. 1 Pet. iii. 2. If it were not so, we may presume that Christ would not have honoured it with his own presence, and with his first miracle; nor made it, so frequently as he does, the type and representation of heaven, and of his union with the church, calling himself *the Bridegroom*, and her *his spouse*.

The apostle says, *To avoid fornication, let every* 1 Cor. vii. 2.

man have his own wife, and every woman her own husband: “No,” say you, “we except all the clergy, “the friers, and the nuns, whom we have put under “vows to the contrary; and we will find other “means for them to obtain the grace of continency!” Yes, and the world is full of the effects of those means! and know whether they are better than those of God’s appointment!

It is strange that you, who have so many means of grace of your own, should not let those very few which Christ has made stand as he left them!

41. But you extend yours further than he did his; for he appointed none to be used for those in the other world, but you have offices to deliver souls out of purgatory.

Lord. That seems a charitable office.

Gent. But it is a very dark one: we have not a word in scripture of any such state of the dead, where souls are put under pains equal to those of hell, except for the duration.

Lord. No unclean thing can enter into heaven.

¹ John i. 9. *Gent.* Is not the blood of Christ sufficient to cleanse us from all unrighteousness?

Lord. Yes, surely; but though God pardons the guilt of sin, yet his justice will punish in some degree.

Gent. Then the guilt is not fully forgiven.

² Sam. xii. *Lord.* Not so but that we may be punished for it, as when afflictions, diseases, &c. are sent to us here upon earth. God said to David, *I have put away thy sin, but the child shall die.*
13.

Gent. And the reason is given in the next words, *because by this deed thou hast given great occasion to the enemies of the Lord to blaspheme;* as if God

did countenance such wickedness: therefore David was punished so as his enemies might perceive it. God punishes here, either to vindicate his own honour before men; or for a trial of our faith, as in the case of Job, and to set forth such as examples to others; or for a proof and confirmation of our religion, as in the case of the prophets and apostles, confessors and martyrs; or to correct and recall obstinate sinners; many have been reformed by this means: but all these reasons respect this life only; for you say not that souls are made better in purgatory, since you suppose them to die in the love of God, and to be in his favour, before they go thither. And why then are they punished, since they are not purified by it?

Lord. To satisfy the vindicative justice of God.

Gent. That is satisfied before they are forgiven, and received into the favour of God; unless you mean by *vindicative* such a spite and revenge as is seen among the most ignoble part of mankind, to say, "I will forgive, but I will at the same time be revenged for what is past;" which indeed is not forgiveness, but a plain unwillingness to forgive. But a generous forgiveness, upon a sincere repentance, loves and embraces, and rejoices to comfort and heap favours, like the father of the returning prodigal. God says, he *will not remember our sins*; that *they shall not be mentioned unto us in the day when we turn from our wickedness*. And how is that consistent with enduring the pains of hell for a hundred, perhaps a thousand years, for ought we know? and how do we know what souls go to purgatory? how long they remain there? and which of them are released? Can prayers then for the

Isa. xliiii. 25.

Jer. xxxi.

34.

Ezek. xviii.

22. xxxiii.

12, 16.

releasement of such and such be made in faith? otherwise they are sin, by the apostle's determination.

Lord. But the intention is pious.

Gent. So it is in all superstition very pious, and that is it which deceives. But God has required
 Rom. x. 2. that our zeal to him should be *according to know-*
 Col. ii. 18. *ledge*; and that we *intrude not into things we have*
not seen. We have not seen any revelation for purgatory, or the state of souls there.

Lord. But we have the tradition of the church for it.

Gent. There are good and bad traditions: and they are much oftener taken in the bad sense
 Matt. xv. 6. throughout the New Testament; *Ye have made*
the commandment of God of none effect by your
 Mark vii. *tradition—Holding the tradition of the elders—*
 3, 8, 9. *Laying aside the commandment of God, ye hold*
the tradition of men—Ye reject the commandment
of God, that ye may keep your own tradition—
 Col. ii. 8. *Vain deceit, after the tradition of men—Your vain*
 1 Pct. i. 18. *conversation received by tradition from your fa-*
thers, &c.

Yet there is a tradition which (for the evidence of it) we are willing to admit; that is, according to the rule of Vincentius Lirinensis, *quod semper, ubique, et ab omnibus*, “that which was always received every where, and by all.” And we are willing to join issue with you upon this tradition as to purgatory: this is universal tradition: and you would not desire we should be concluded by any particular tradition of this or that church or place; for you know there are many deceits in such.

But Veron, in his Rule of Faith, (a book much

applauded in France, and put into English for the use of the Roman catholics here,) sets out in the beginning with a definition of the rule of faith; of which he makes the first requisite to be, for an article of faith, that it be clearly revealed in scripture (and by no pretended revelation since, to any whatsoever) in express words, or thence to be deduced by necessary consequence: which when made appear as to purgatory, (or any other of the doctrines in dispute,) we shall readily allow it; and till then we cannot be arraigned of heresy for not professing to believe it.

This *intruding into things we have not seen* proceeds, as the apostle observes, from a *fleshly mind*, measuring spiritual things by carnal. We see it takes time to purge the flesh of diseases and defilements it has contracted, and it takes a great deal of filing and scrubbing to cleanse iron that has been long rusted; hence we conjecture the same as to souls departed, that they must be purged by fire. But the work of God upon the soul, when he grants true faith and repentance, operates far otherwise; it effects the cure all at once, as with those who looked upon the brazen serpent. Our Saviour himself makes the comparison: and he gave us an example of it in the thief upon the cross, who was translated to paradise the same day he died; and yet he had been a grievous sinner, and suffered justly for his offences; his repentance was late, and he had made no restitution; yet he did no penance in purgatory.

Lord. That was an extraordinary case; his faith must be very strong to be converted upon the cross.

Gent. That is more than we know, whether he

might not have been converted before; but, however, it shews there is no necessity for purgatory, even for very great offenders.

Lord. No doubt God may excuse whom he pleases.

Gent. How then do we know whom he excuses, and whom not? And how can we pray in faith, that is, without sin, to deliver such a particular person from thence?

But if there be no necessity for it, as you have granted in the case of the thief, how is it to be imagined that God should keep so many thousand souls, for many years or ages, in the most extreme torments, when there was no necessity for it? And if the pope has power to release out of purgatory, he must be a very cruel father who keeps one soul there an hour longer.

Lord. We see the church imposing penance, and yet excusing some, shortening the time more than to others.

Gent. The church knows not the heart, and must judge by signs, which yet secure not from hypocrisy. But this is all foreign as to God, who searcheth the heart, and knoweth all that is in man. And though our physic of discipline works by degrees, and the issue is uncertain, yet God never cures imperfectly; Christ never half-healed any man. And

Luke v. 20. so it is when he pardons sinners, *Thy sins are forgiven thee.* It is not said, *shall be forgiven,* or when thou hast performed such and such penance; but the forgiveness of his sins was as immediately wrought as the cure of his body. And God gives us all the assurances that can be, in the strongest expressions, of our sins being absolutely and totally

forgiven; as being *all blotted out—all cast into the depths of the sea*—Never to be *remembered, or mentioned unto us* any more, as before quoted—*I will heal their backsliding, I will love them freely*—He is *ready to forgive*—He *waiteth to have mercy*—He *earnestly remembereth*—His *bowels are troubled* for sinners, that they may repent—and *in the day they turn from their wickedness he forgiveth*—*For he doth not afflict willingly, nor grieve the children of men*: it is for their repentance and reformation; but that consideration is not in purgatory.

Psalm li. 9.
 Isa. xlv. 22.
 Col. ii. 14.
 Mic. vii. 19.
 Hos. xiv. 4.
 Ps. lxxxvi.
 5.
 Isa. xxx.
 18.
 Jer. xxxi.
 20.
 Ezek.
 xxxiii. 12.
 Lam. iii.
 33.

But how will the poor souls there (if any are there) be deluded, if the stock of supererogation should fail them; that is, the merits of saints for their good works, which they have done over and above their duty, and what they were obliged to for their own salvation, and therefore are applied to others, who had come short of their duty, to supply their deficiencies; which is the fund provided for the discharge of the prisoners in purgatory? and this is dispensed by the pope to whom he thinks fit, as being the grand-treasurer of the church, and, consequently, of these superabundant merits of the saints. But we want a text where St. Peter was constituted such a treasurer; or that there is or can be any such treasury. For can a creature merit at the hands of God, for ever so great endowments bestowed upon him? Is it a merit to receive great gifts? and if we employ them to the best advantage, is it more than is our duty to do? and *we are* still *unprofitable servants*, as Christ himself has told us. But was there ever a man (Christ only excepted) who did all his duty? are not all sinners? and if

Luke xvii.
 10.

their repentance entitle them to pardon, yet this is far from merit: my doing my duty to-day makes no amends for my having neglected it yesterday. We find the greatest saints applying to the mercy of God, and not pleading their own merits. Jacob Gen. xxxii. 10. said, *I am not worthy of the least of all thy mercies.* And Job, who had none like him in the earth, a perfect and upright man, &c., said, *I abhor myself, and repent in dust and ashes.* And Job i. 8. Daniel, the man greatly beloved, confessed his own sins, as well as the sins of the people. And St. Dan. ix. 20, 23. Paul called himself *the chief of sinners*, not worthy 1 Tim. i. 15. to be an apostle, &c. And if the saints own no 1 Cor. xv. 9. merit in themselves, then surely they will disown all those who apply to their merits; and, as I said before, concerning the worship and invocation of them, by which you hope to gain them to be intercessors for you, they must become your accusers, by their denial of their acceptance of such worship from you; which if they should accept, it would make them evil spirits, as I have quoted out of St. Augustine.

But what creature dare plead purity before God? Job iv. 18. *Behold he chargeth his angels with folly — and xv. 15. he putteth no trust in his saints; yea, the heavens are not clean in his sight. How much more abominable and filthy is man, who drinketh iniquity like water? — And what is man, that he should be clean? and he that is born of a woman, that he Isa. lxiv. 6. should be righteous?* And if all our righteousness are as filthy rags; if there be iniquity in our holy Exod. xxviii. 38. things, in the holy sanctuary and altar; what then Lev. xvi. 33. is clean? And if the righteous themselves shall 1 Pet. iv. 18. scarcely be saved, what merits have they to spare

for others? especially when they are not saved even by their own works: *For by grace ye are saved—*^{Eph. ii. 8, 9.} *not of works, lest any man should boast.* Can any man then boast of his works, as not only sufficient for his own salvation, but over and above, as meritorious, to be applied to others, and to deliver souls out of purgatory? No, my lord, the saints make no such boasts; and will disown all those who make them in their name: for they know that *all have sinned, and come short of the glory of God; being justified freely by his grace, through the redemption that is in Jesus Christ—Where is boasting then? It is excluded. By what law? of works? Nay: but by the law of faith.* And every man is saved by his own faith, not by the faith of others: and God will *reward every man according to his works,* not the works of others. Miserable then is^{Matt. xvi. 27.} the condition of those souls supposed to be in purgatory, if they must not thence be delivered but by works of supererogation; when no man can be saved by his own works; for *we are saved—not*^{2 Tim. i. 9.} *according to our works, but according to the grace of God in Christ Jesus—Not by works of righteousness which we have done, but according to his mercy he saved us—through Jesus Christ our Saviour.* We have no other Saviour, nor can be saved by the merits of any other; none other can merit from God: the greatest saint that ever was is saved only by mercy, and the forgiveness of his sins. Let us therefore not trust to the supererogated works of those which were not able to save themselves: *That*^{Rom. iii. 19.} *every mouth may be stopped, and all the world may become guilty before God—For in his sight shall*^{Psal. cxliii. 2.}

no man living be justified. There is none righteous, no not one.

But besides all this, there are degrees of glory in heaven: so that if any could supererogate, yet has he nothing to spare to others, because he has received the full of his reward himself. This shuts up purgatory for ever, by exhausting every penny of that treasury reserved for redemption from thence.

And the expectation of having those many sins, called *venial* with you, remitted after death, does naturally make men more careless in their life; and trusting to the merits of others will abate their diligence in being nicely righteous themselves.

Lord. But we find some instances among the fathers of prayers for the dead.

Gent. Some few among the fathers you may, but none in scripture. But what were these prayers? they were for peace and rest to those who were supposed to be in peace, yet might receive increase of happiness even before the resurrection, as some suppose heaven itself to consist in an eternal increase of bliss: but without this we may pray for continuance of peace to those who are in peace, though we know it will surely be; as when we pray, *Thy kingdom come; thy will be done.* We know it must be; but this shews our assent and wishes for it. And in this sense we also pray for the dead, that it would please God “^k shortly to accomplish the number of his elect, and to hasten his kingdom; that we, with all those that are

^k Order for the Burial of the Dead.

“ departed in the true faith of his holy name, may
“ have our perfect consummation and bliss, both in
“ body and soul, in his eternal and everlasting
“ glory.” And we bless him “¹for all his servants
“ departed this life in his faith and fear; beseech-
“ ing him to give us grace so to follow their good
“ examples, that with them we may be partakers
“ of his heavenly kingdom.” So that we pray for
them as well as for ourselves, that we “ with them
“ may be partakers,” &c. But neither these prayers
of ours, nor those of the ancients, have any relation
to purgatory, or delivering souls from thence, as from
a place of torment.

Some of the ancients had an imagination of a
purging fire, through which sinners were to pass,
but they meant the general conflagration at the last
day: which comes not at all to your notion of pur-
gatory. But I would not trouble your lordship with
excursions, or debating every branch of these dis-
putes, only give you a summary view of the heart
of the cause, and to see where the matter pinches.
And indeed, my lord, my endeavour with your lord-
ship is rather to state the case than to argue upon
it; for truth needs no more than to be fairly shewn;
it convinces of itself, and best when it is naked, with-
out the *fucus* of philosophy and distinctions, which
are endless.

These will put a colour upon implicit itself, and
make you believe you understand what you know
nothing of! My lord, give me leave to say, your
whole religion is implicit, not only as to the parti-
cular points we have discoursed, but your whole

¹ Communion Office: Prayer for the Church Militant.

public worship is such, while your prayers are in a language not understood by the people. How then can they *pray with the understanding?* as the apostle requires; and *how can they say Amen, seeing they understand not what is said?*

1 Cor. xiv.
15, 16.

Lord. They have prayers of their own, and carry little prayer books with them, which they read while the priest is repeating the public offices.

Gent. But this is not joining with the priest, and they cannot say Amen to his prayers.

What then have they to do at church? This is not communion: it is purely implicit, and nothing else but *opus operatum*: it is an invention without precedent; for it never entered into the head of man or church since the creation, except only the church of Rome; and of which the apostle gives this character, *Will they not say ye are mad?*

1 Cor. xiv.
23.

What is it short of this which Suarez says, “^m that “it is not necessary to prayer that the person praying should think of what he speaks?” This is *opus operatum* with a witness! and a parrot may be taught thus to pray. And how do they pray with the priest who are talking of business, or chatting of news, while he is offering up their prayers to God in a language of which they understand not one word, and therefore cannot give attention to it? And these are the greatest number, viz. of the common people, who cannot read, and so cannot carry private books of devotion with them; though if they did, it would not be joining with the priest, nor could these be called common prayers, which are offered up with *one accord*, pursuant to St. Chrysos-

^m De Orat. lib. III. c. 14. and Salmeron, &c.

tom's prayer, with which our daily public prayers do conclude.

And now, my lord, upon the whole, if the advantage does not seem to your lordship to lie on our side in all the particulars before mentioned, yet can you have any doubt of the safety of your soul in our way? since all our danger is omitting some things that might be profitable, but cannot be called necessary: whereas, if the error lies on your side, you are involved in manifold superstitions, and of adding to, and subtracting from, the word of God.

Lord. I confess nothing sticks with me but the church, of being in the church, and preserving the unity of the church.

Gent. Therefore I began with that, and desire to close with it; for it is the *jugulum causæ*.

I have shewed wherein the unity of the church did consist, according to the institution of Christ, and as the primitive fathers understood it; that is, an unity in faith, and in the mutual love and good correspondence of Christians and sister churches; though one sister must be elder than another, and Rome was not the eldest: one might be greater or more powerful than another, and this did vary according to the course of this world: Jerusalem was at first the only church of Christ, then Antioch became the greatest of the Gentile church, where Christianity first received its name; afterwards Rome became the greatest, from being the seat of the Roman empire; but Constantinople was the first assumed an universal supremacy, when she became the head of that empire. And this was it which broke the unity of the sister churches, and filled them with schisms and divisions among them-

Matt. xx.
26.

selves, one affecting superiority over another, and increasing it to an absolute temporal dominion: of which Christ said to the apostles, *It shall not be so among you.* And again, (for they contended more than once for the superiority,) after the institution and celebration of the holy eucharist, just as he was going to enter upon his sacred passion, and to take his final leave of them, this dispute arose again, *which of them should be the greatest,* and that was the time to determine it, if ever; but he again checked their ambition, and the error of their thought, as if the church were to be governed with temporal sway and authority, like the grandeur of secular princes, but told them plainly, *Ye shall not be so.*

Luke xxii.
26.

And in his farewell sermon, continued upon the same occasion, and at the same time, he insisted much upon their unity, and placed it not upon the superiority of any one of them over the others, but in their mutual love and good agreement with each other, in their union with God and with himself, upon which he wonderfully expatiates in most exalted words, which take up four whole chapters in St. John, and begins, *Little children, yet a little while I am with you—A new commandment I give unto you, That ye love one another—By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another.* This is the unity of which Christ speaks in these his last words to the apostles:

John xiii.
33.

John xviii.
36.

he said, *My kingdom is not of this world: if my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight.* But he that calls himself *servus servorum*, the servant of his servants, has fought, and raised bloody wars in defence, as he says, of this his Mas-

ter's kingdom ! And he will have the government of it just the same as of other kingdoms of the world, and its unity to consist, like theirs, in being under one absolute and despotic head or king : but no kingdom of the earth will content him ; he will be universal monarch of the whole world. And why ? Because Christ is the head of all churches, and therefore must have an universal vicar. And from the same parity of reason, because *God is the King* Psal. xlvii. *of all the earth,* therefore he must have an universal vicar in temporals. And if England, France, Spain, &c. should contend which of them were this universal vicar, would not the answer be easy ? that the contest was foolish and vain ; for though one kingdom might be greater or more ancient than another, yet was it still but a part of the whole, that is, of the world : and that God had appointed no such universal vicar. The case is exactly parallel, unless it can be shewed that Christ has appointed such an universal vicar in the church, and told us plainly who it is, that we may obey him : which when done, we will own ourselves heretics, schismatics, and what you will, till we return, and pay our obedience to him.

But, on the other hand, if Christ has appointed no such universal vicar, then are you under a mortal mistake concerning the unity of the church, which you place wholly upon our being united in obedience to such an one : and your church is the great breaker of ecclesiastical unity, while she will bear no sister church, but will be the mother of all churches, though she be not the eldest.

This, my lord, is the very heart of the cause : and we are verily persuaded that there is not the least

ground for this universal supremacy, either in the holy scriptures, or in antiquity, or in the reason of the thing, or in fact since the first foundation of Christianity to this day, or that it was ever acknowledged, or is now, by the majority of Christian churches: and yet this is the foundation of all the disputes betwixt your church and ours, and all other Christian churches.

Christ foresaw the consequences of trusting an universal supremacy in the hands of fallible men: an universal king must ruin the world; for appeals to him must lie in all causes from all the parts of the earth, and men must attend with their witnesses, and all other things necessary to carry on a lawsuit. The oppression of this (beyond all other tyrannies) may appear by the appeals to Rome, in the times of popery, no further than from England thither, where causes lasted from age to age, loudly complained of in those times, and attempts made to restrain it in some measure by several of our acts of parliament, but not to purpose till the reformation: and this indeed made the reformation even necessary, for the preservation of the people, as well laity as clergy, who groaned under this burden, which neither they nor their fathers were able to bear. Dr. Parker, late lord bishop of Oxford, in his excellent Discourse sent to the late king James, when he was archdeacon of Canterbury, printed here in the year 1690, says upon this head, p. 29, " I myself enjoy a small
" office in this church, wherein my predecessors had
" a suit for a privilege belonging to it hanging in
" the court of Rome for some hundreds of years,
" till the very time of the dissolution of the pope's
" power." Hence we may judge how it would be

with the churches in the Indies, and the most remote places in the world, if it were all under his power, as he pretends! But the good providence of God has not suffered it to extend to half of the Christian churches, (as before is said,) and his wisdom and goodness has still preserved the major part true protestants against this usurpation; besides the great number he has rescued from it, and has never suffered any of these reformed churches or nations to return to it again, as before has been observed: and besides that the principle itself, and the pretensions of the pope to this universal and unlimited supremacy, are beat down and exploded by the Gallican church, and others the most learned, who still remain in his communion whether he will or not, and though he excommunicates them afresh every year!

And now, my lord, I cannot but think it made plain to a demonstration, that this universal supremacy is a thing impracticable; and that if it could be in fact, it would be the greatest ruin and oppression to the church that is possible. And if an universal king would be insupportable to the world, how much more an universal bishop to the church! For he must have an absolute dominion over our faith, over the holy scriptures, and over the church, which must suddenly fall, (as I before quoted Gregory the Great,) if it comes to depend upon one: and whoever should assume it, would be, as he prophesied, a Lucifer, and the forerunner of antichrist. And can he be less, if he has usurped so vast an authority, and infallibility itself, to support it?

I said before, that an universal king would make all wars to be rebellion, and so incurable but by

utter destruction. Thus it is with the universal bishop; opposing his supremacy is heresy, schism, and excommunication; and is the only article in your creed to be believed explicitly: as for the others, *implicite* will do for them all! that is, it is no matter whether you believe them or not, so the sovereignty of the universal bishop be maintained inviolably!

But though every king is not a bishop, yet the universal bishop must likewise be universal king, with power to depose all kings at his pleasure: of this I have spoke at large.

Luke xii.
14.

And though nothing need be said to this almighty claim, both in spirituals and temporals, but to put you to the proof of its institution by Christ, who disowned all civil power himself, and said, *Who made me a judge?* yet I have gone further, (that this cause might be put out of all dispute,) and shewed the inconsistency of your own claim to be the only catholic church, and to enjoy the true unity of it in these particulars following:

1. There never was a church called *catholic*, in the sense of Rome; that is, which was owned by all other churches as their head, at least since that of Jerusalem.

Lord. But we admit none other to be Christian churches but those who do own it.

Gent. That is to say, it must do one way or other; if the mountain will not come to Mahomet, Mahomet must go to the mountain. It is like the bed Procrustes made to fit all persons, by stretching those to the length of it who were shorter, and cutting off part of those who were longer than it. Thus the church of Rome becomes universal, by

stretching her communion to those who stand excommunicated by her, and cutting off all churches who will not own her supremacy: and thus she must still be universal, though she had no more left than the diocese of Rome; or suppose none but the pope himself, then he would be the universal church! And it may well be preserved in a pope, if it may in one laic, a woman, or an infant.

2. And then there will be perfect unity; and I am afraid not till then: for perfect unity is not only in outward communion, that is, being within the same walls together, or in subscribing a formula of articles of faith, half of which must be believed implicitly; but an unity likewise in saving or damning principles and practices, in love and charity, for which chiefly we shall be judged at the last day. If Matt. xxv. 31, &c. these are wanting, the unity will be very imperfect, and stand us in little stead.

3. There ought to be also an unity where to place your infallibility, (else it is none,) of which I have given four schemes, each one contradictory to all the rest, and not yet determined by your church: and this is an unity in faith among you: it is the foundation upon which your church is built.

4. There must be an unity and full agreement which of the articles of your creed are to be believed explicitly, and which implicitly; that is, indeed, which are necessary to be believed, and which not: without this, your faith is wholly uncertain.

And till these things be adjusted, you cannot be said to have unity even in faith.

And if you have not unity in faith, nor in those principles and practices which are no less necessary

John xiii.
35.

to salvation, nor in that love and charity which Christ has made the characteristic of Christians, and without which *no man can know who are his disciples*: but instead of that, if you have envyings and strife among you, among your several religious orders, betwixt national and national church, concerning the infallibility and supremacy of the pope, and of his power to depose princes, upon which the peace and unity of the world and our eternal salvation does depend; and, in short, if you have no unity concerning your rule of faith itself, or of your practice, what will the unity of outward communion do, upon which you lay the whole stress? It will not so much as denominate you Christians, far less to be the only Christians in the world, or the catholic church.

It is true that unity in communion is a desirable thing, and ought to be preserved among all churches; but it is still a part only of the unity of the church, as I have shewed; and that the supremacy of the pope has been the chief cause of the breach of it: but yet it is not such a breach as destroys all other parts of the unity of the church, their unity in *one Lord, one faith, one baptism*. It may be called an essential part of the perfect unity of the church; but, alas! what is perfect upon earth? and it is not so essential as that the want of it should quite unchurch; so that if there were not a church upon earth that did communicate with another, yet they would not all cease, for that cause only, to be Christian churches. As if all the nations in the world were at war with each other, yet it would be the same world still, and God's one kingdom upon earth, and each nation a part of it.

Lord. But the unity of the church ought to be more than that of the temporal world.

Gent. True; but we say, *magis et minus non variant speciem*, “that more or less alter not the “kind,” as a greater or less quantity of gold (for example) alters not the species of the gold; so unity is unity, be it more or less. And there is an unity among all nations, even though at war; the unity of blood and of reason, being all made of one blood, and all endowed with the same reason, which makes them all agree in some common principles, and all appeal to reason in the justice of their wars: but this unity is not perfect while they *bite and devour one another*.

And though the unity is greater where revelation is added to reason, and men agree in the same religion which we call *the church*; yet this unity is not perfect while there are disputes, animosities, and various opinions about it. And in the church of Rome herself there are great variety of opinions among those of her communion, and animosities thereupon raised, so great as gives her much trouble to compose, and sometimes finds it past her power, and is forced to be, what she cannot remedy.

Lord. What do you mean then by the holy catholic church in the Creed?

Gent. This article was but late put into the Creed, on occasion of divisions which arose among the churches, to mind them that they were all members of the same body, of the one catholic church. The next article explains this, and may be called a part of it, viz. “the communion of saints,” and these are only the elect, who are not visible upon earth; and therefore must be referred to heaven, where

2 Cor. vi.
14, 15.

only is the true communion of saints, without mixture of the reprobate, who are not members of Christ, and but in appearance of the church. We have no unity of the Spirit with these, and consequently are not one body with them: *for what fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness? and what communion hath light with darkness? and what concord hath Christ with Belial?* and what unity hath that church where these are mixed together? Therefore the archetypal and truly catholic church in heaven is that which is chiefly and principally meant by the holy catholic church, and the communion of saints, in the Creed: and there only is perfect unity.

There is the great body of the church; there are but few at a time upon earth, and of them we know not which belong to that truly catholic church or not; and who do not, cannot be truly catholics, though they bear that name with us: and of them, so called, you yourselves will not say that there is perfect unity among them in all the necessary and most essential parts of it before mentioned.

But if that article in the Creed had been meant in your sense, it must have been the holy Roman catholic church, and not left us to seek where to find this church, the infallible guide. And you yourselves have not found it, while you are in quite contrary opinions where to find it: but by leaving it in the general and indefinitely under the name of *the catholic church* only, it is rather exclusive of any particular church, and extends to all Christian churches which make up the catholic church upon earth, in such an unity as our fallen state will bear, where human passions are not sub-

dued, but mix themselves in our religious as well as temporal concerns. Therefore by the unity of the church you cannot mean a perfect unity; no, not even with your head, and in doctrines which are indispensable towards your eternal salvation, as in the deposing doctrine, upon which the apostle has pronounced damnation; and which, if not true, cardinal Perron, as before quoted, gives up the church of Rome, for many ages past, for the very synagogue of antichrist. See also the morals of the Jesuits, which though condemned by some, are defended by others. This is not perfect unity even in necessaries; and the *bullæ in cœna* breaks it to pieces, where whole churches and nations are excommunicated of those you say are in the unity of the church, and in his communion who has excommunicated them!

But if we will be content with no unity in the church but what is perfect in all things, the consequence must be that we have no unity at all; as our pretence to infallibility is the greatest instance of our fallibility. And if we will have no guide but who is infallible, we must have none upon earth. And so the church is rendered wholly useless to us, if we may not take their help as instructors and rational guides, or, in the apostle's words, as *helpers of our joy*, without giving them the *do-* 2 Cor. i. 24.
minion over our faith.

And, indeed, the security you demand, of an outward infallible guide, is altering the course of nature, or, as I called it, finding fault with the creation; for God has made us rational creatures, and given us no other guide but our own reason, with the assistance of his grace, to come at the knowledge of him-

self, and consequently of all other things. And to find fault with this is the clay saying to the potter, *Why hast thou made me thus?* To bid us divest ourselves wholly of our reason, or to believe implicitly, which is the same thing, and is not in our power, whatever we may think, because reason is our nature; and that we should not believe our outward senses, is indeed to make us other creatures than God has made us. And to refuse the assistance of a church, because she is not infallible, is depriving ourselves of a means which God has appointed; and is the same perverseness, as if we should refuse to consult a lawyer or physician, because it is possible they may err in their judgment. But though I allow their skill to be better than mine, in their several professions, yet we still keep to ourselves so much use of our reason, that if I knew it was poison the physician were going to give me, I would not take it: and there are some things so plain, that no lawyer could persuade me to. Much more ought we to be careful in our eternal concerns, and not to give ourselves up implicitly to any whatsoever, that if they should direct us against the most express commands in scripture, or the dictates of reason and common morality, or bid us deny all our senses, we must acquiesce without any examining! This is abandoning both sense and reason, which God gave us as a guide, and therefore will require it of us; and this only is that which will render us self-condemned, and bear witness against us at the last day: for, as I said, it is not in our power to extinguish reason in us; though we may blindfold it, and keep it down for a time, yet it will recoil upon us, and convict us, wherein

we have departed from it. Without this there could not be such a thing as a sting of conscience; for what is that but a check to our reason? what else is repentance, or returning from any error, or from any evil we have done? You endeavour to convert men to your church wholly upon their reason; for you can have no other topic whereby to lay hold of an adversary: in vain therefore would you persuade him to trust to that choice of his reason, in coming over to you, but never to trust any other choice his reason should make afterwards, because it is very fallible; I say this could not go down with any man, but it must make him doubt whether his reason has led him right in the first choice too, of going to your church; and from the same argument, because his reason is very fallible. God says to us, *Come now, and let us reason together.* We Isa. i. 18. ask no more of you: nay, you cannot refuse it us, whether you will or not; for your own reason will, as I said, one time or other return upon you, and convince you of obstinacy, in not hearkening to reason; for without this you cannot be said to have acted according to reason. This renders me inexcusable, whether I be right or wrong; for if my reason misleads me after due examination, the error is human, and will be more easily pardoned; but if I will not hear, if I will not open my eyes, it makes me guilty, though I were in the right, because that is by chance, and not my choice upon reasonable conviction, which I have refused. And truth is never afraid; for the more it is canvassed, it appears the brighter. It is strange to see those who pretend to such an assurance as is infallible, and yet seek to avoid the light of reason, as if afraid of

being detected! and to confess it in the very body of their ⁿ canon law, where they excommunicate any laic who shall publicly or privately dispute concerning the catholic faith!

This method will secure to them all that they have caught; but if observed by others, as well as by themselves, they would never catch another: and it is a plain indication that who are against reason, reason is against them.

For if reason could be heard, it would make it very obvious to you, that in all the particular points before mentioned, the certainty is on our side, and the doubt (at least) on yours. For example, none make a doubt but that we may lawfully pray to God, and not before any image of him; or without the worship or invocation of any saint joined with him; and so of all the rest. But on your part, if what I have said make them not appear unlawful to your lordship, yet they must remain at least doubtful, till some stronger evidence be produced for them than has hitherto been given. There is not a prayer in the public offices of our church to which you may not heartily say Amen, in full faith and assurance; which is impossible to say as to purgatory, invocation of saints, &c.; and then such prayers must be sinful, Rom. xiv. 23.

But you are pinned down in all these particular points by the authority of a supposed universal bishop, wherein likewise you place the unity of the church. And yet there never was such a bishop, or

ⁿ *Inhibemus quoque ne cuicumque laicæ personæ liceat publice vel privatim de fide catholica disputare. Qui vero contra fecerit, excommunicationis laqueo innodetur. Corp. Jur. Can. Sext. Decretal. lib. Quint. tit. II. cap. 2. §. 1. Paris. 1687.*

universal monarch, unless any prince calling himself so would make him such. What is an universal monarch who was never owned by half of those he calls his subjects, and whose authority is limited and restrained, and his excommunications despised, by those who pretend to own him, and to be subject to him? What is it to fancy oneself king of all the earth? and to place the unity of the world in such a monarch as never was in the world? and to call those rebels from him who never were in subjection to him? This, my lord, I have shewed to be the case of the greatest part of the Christian churches, and from the beginning. And consequently this universal supremacy is merely imaginary; it was never named by Christ, nor ever was in fact. And so far is it from being the centre of unity, that the pretence to it has been the great breach of unity among Christian churches, and is at this day: for this is it which stops the bishops in the communion of Rome from exercising the freedom of their own judgments, and that authority which Christ has given them over their own flocks, and will require an account of it from them; and which was freely exercised by the bishops in the primitive church; and which, if restored, would open the way to that catholic communion so greatly desired, and wherein the true unity of the church does consist: which never can be hoped while a negative is given to the pope in all the particular points disputed, and especially concerning his own supremacy. But if the bishops of his communion would think themselves at liberty, and under obligation, to act of themselves, as in the primitive church, and as ordained by Christ, the points we

have discoursed as to doctrine and worship seem to me so very plain, that there could be no dispute which were the safer side to take; at least, that it would not be thought a sin so to purge their public offices, as that other Christians might lawfully join in them; and let opinions remain as opinions, not made articles of faith, and conditions of communion. And to this nothing stands in the way of the bishops of France, at least, but the fear of that excommunication from the pope which is renewed against them every year, and which they pretend not to regard. But they are kept under by the shadow of the phantom of an universal supremacy, which never was in being; and if it were, would be insupportable, and ruin the church; and which they themselves have in effect already rejected, as inconsistent with the liberties of the Gallican or any other national church, and has bred all the dispute betwixt them and the church of Rome; and can never be healed in good earnest, if the pope be judge of the controversy. See then the cause of the breach of catholic unity.

And now, my lord, forgive me; for I am sensible that there is an uneasiness at first, and a prejudice to hear any thing contrary to those principles in which one has been educated from his infancy, and thinks most certain. But this must be overcome, so far as to hear reason, which will confirm us the more if we be in the truth, or otherwise convince us of our error; at least, make it so far excusable, that we have not refused the reasonable means of information: without this, no man could have been a Christian at first, nor has been since, but by accident, according to the place where he was born, or

received his education. But the prophet calls a due examination of these things *a shewing ourselves to be men*: and St. Luke gives it the character of a *nobleness of spirit* in those who *searched the scriptures daily, whether those things were so*; and *therefore*, says he, *many of them believed*, of the honourable both men and women: whilst those bigoted, who stuck to implicit faith in the church, it is said, they *believed not*, but were *moved with envy*, and stirred up persecution against those who disturbed them in their security, like waking one out of his sleep; though when it is done, he will thank those who have raised him from darkness to light, to seeing with his own eyes, instead of being led by others implicitly in the dark, and lulled into dreams of security from his blindness, in which he is persuaded there is less danger of stumbling than if his eyes were open, because every man's sight is not good, and has deceived many! Have I not taken a horse for a man at a distance? and does not a stick look crooked in the water? Why then should I trust my eyes any more? This is all the reason ever I could hear for not trusting to our reason! And what is the remedy proposed? If it were to give us rules whereby to judge of true reason, to help it, and to trim this lamp which God has lighted for us, this would be rational, like clearing our eyes, if they were dim: but the remedy you propose is, to shut reason quite out, to make no more use of it, to silence, to extinguish it, and take implicit faith in its room; like pulling out one's eyes, because they are not good, and choosing to be led by the hand, and never examine our way any more. But I

think the apostle recommends examining to us, and I will conclude with his advice,

Prove all things, and hold fast that which is good, 1 Thess. v. 21.

Books decisive, and not answered.

Dr. Barrow, of the Pope's Supremacy, and the Unity of the Church. 1680.

Dr. Cosin, (since bishop of Durham,) his Scholastical History of the Canon of the Holy Scripture. 1657.

This is concerning the apocryphal books.

His History of Transubstantiation, (the English translation.) 1676. Writ in Latin, 1657.

The Devotions of the Roman Church. 1674.

This is concerning the invocation of saints, of relics, and the legends.

The incurable Scepticism of the Church of Rome. 1688.

This is concerning the rule of faith.

APPENDIX. Numb. I.

EX BULLARIO LAERTII CHERUBINI,

ROMÆ 1638.

TOM. III. p. 183.

Constitutio Pauli V. 63.

*The sixty-third Constitution
of Paul V.*

EXCOMMUNICATIO et anathematizatio quorumcunque hæreticorum, eorumque fautorum ac schismaticorum, vel ecclesiasticam libertatem lædentium, aut quoquo modo dispositis in hac bulla, de more in die Cœnæ Domini publicari solita contravenientium.

Quoad omnia quasi capitula hujus bullæ (ultra extravagan. 3. Pauli II. et extravagan. 5. Sixti IV. in tit. de pœnitentia et remissionibus) habes supra constitut. 1. Urbani V. fol. 215. constitut. 25. Julii II. f. 482. constitut. 10. Pauli III. f. 522. necnon constitut. 81. Gregorii XIII. f. 348. l. 2. Aliorum autem bullas ejusmodi Cœnæ Domini nuncupantes volens prætermisi, his duntaxat contentus, ex quibus pro temporum conditione Romanos pontifices aliquid

THE excommunication and anathematization of all heretics whatsoever, and their favourers, and schismatics, or of those who violate the ecclesiastical liberty, or any ways infringe the contents of this bull, which is wont to be published on Maundy Thursday.

As for almost all the chapters of this bull, (besides the 3d extravagant of Paul II. and the 5th extravagant of Sixtus IV. in the title of penance and remissions,) you have them before ordained in the first constitution of Urban V. f. 215. in the 25th constitution of Julius II. f. 482. in the 10th constitution of Paul III. f. 522. and in the 81st constitution of Gregory XIII. f. 348. lib. 2. Other bulls of this nature, called bulls *in Cœna Domini*, I have purposely omit-

immutasse cognoscatur. Non tamen posthabui proxime indicandas, uti apprime necessarias, et super hujus bullæ capitibus specialiter editas.

Extat ergo in hoc opere specialis edita sanctio Nicolai III. circa §. primam hujus bullæ in ejus const. 2. sup. fol. 143. et circa §. 2. extat const. 5. Pii II. f. 290. l. 1. Circa §. 4. extat const. 7. Pii V. f. 137. l. 2. Circa §. 7. extat const. 3. Nicolai V. f. 283. l. 1. Circa §. 10. extat canon Callisti I. in c. 23. caus. 24. q. 3. Circa §. 11. respectu cardinalium extat const. 16. Leonis X. f. 420. l. 1. et alia 93. Pii V. f. 222. l. 2. Circa §. 12. extat const. 11. Alexandri VI. f. 352. Circa §. 14. extat const. 2. Martini V. f. 239. et alia 17. Innocentii VIII. f. 343. ac altera 30. Leonis IX. f. 440. necnon alia 39. Clementis VII. f. 505. l. 1. et altera 19. Gregorii XIII. f. 290. l. 2. Circa §. 15. multi sunt canones in corpore juris, et extat const. 10. Mar-

ted, being content with these; from which it may appear that the popes have made some variation in them, according to the exigency of the times. Yet I would not omit those which follow, as being especially necessary, and particularly published upon the several chapters of this bull.

There is extant therefore in this collection a particular edict of Nicholas III. about the 1st section of this bull in his 2d constitution, sup. fol. 143. Concerning §. 2. there is extant const. 5. of Pius II. f. 290. l. 1. Concerning §. 4. there is extant const. 7. of Pius V. f. 137. l. 2. Concerning §. 7. is extant const. 3. of Nicholas V. f. 283. l. 1. Concerning §. 10. is extant a canon of Callistus, in c. 23. const. 24. qu. 3. Concerning §. 11. in respect of the cardinals, is extant const. 16. of Leo X. f. 420. l. 1. and const. 93. of Pius V. f. 222. l. 2. Concerning §. 12. is extant const. 11. of Alexander VI. f. 352. Concerning §. 14. is extant const. 2. of Martin V. f. 239. and const. 17. of Innocent VIII. f. 343. and const. 30. of Leo X. f. 440. and const.

timi V. f. 247. Circa §. 19. extat const. 3. Urbani VI. f. 222. Et circa §. 20. extat const. 8. Joannis XXII. f. 174. et alia 3. Clementis VI. f. 212. alia 13. Leonis X. f. 314. et altera 11. Pauli IV. f. 595.

Alia hujusmodi excommunicatio in die Cœnæ Domini promulgari solita est in S. D. N. Urbani VIII. const. 62. pastoralis infr. tom. IV.

Paulus episcopus, servus servorum Dei, ad perpetuam rei memoriam.

PASTORALIS Romani pontificis vigilantia et sollicitudo, cum in omni reipublicæ Christianæ pace et tranquillitate procuranda pro sui muneris officio assidue versatur, tum potissimum in catholicæ fidei sine qua impossibile est placere Deo unitate atque integritate retinenda, maxime elucet: nimirum ut fideles Christi non

39. of Clement VII. f. 505. l. 1. and const. 19. of Gregory XIII. f. 290. l. 2. Concerning §. 15. are many canons in the body of the law, and const. 10. of Martin V. f. 247. Concerning §. 19. is extant const. 3. of Urban VI. f. 222. Concerning §. 20. is extant const. 8. of John XXII. f. 174. and const. 3. of Clement VI. f. 212. and const. 13. of Leo X. f. 314. and const. 11. of Paul IV. f. 595.

Another like excommunication, usually published on Maundy-Thursday, is extant in the 62d constitution of our holy lord Urban VIII. inf. tom. IV.

Paul bishop, servant of the servants of God, in perpetual memory of the thing now decreed.

THE pastoral vigilance and care of the bishop of Rome, being by the duty of his office continually employed in procuring by all means the peace and tranquillity of Christendom, is more especially eminent in retaining and preserving the unity and integrity of catholic faith; without which it is impossible to please God: that so

sint parvuli fluctuantes, neque circumferantur omni vento doctrinæ in nequitia hominum ad circumventionem erroris, sed omnes occurrant in unitate fidei et agnitionis Filii Dei in virum perfectum, neque se in hujus vitæ societate et communi-
 one lædant, aut inter se alter alteri offensionem præbeant; sed potius in vinculo charitatis conjuncti, tanquam unius corporis membra sub Christo capite, ejusque in terris vicario Romano pontifice beatissimi Petri successore, a quo totius ecclesiæ unitas dimanat, augeantur in ædificatione, atque ita divina gratia adjutrice sic præsentis vitæ quiete gaudeant, ut futura quoque beatitudine perfuantur. Ob quas sane causas Romani pontifices prædecessores nostri hodierna die, quæ anniversaria Dominicæ cœnæ commemoratione solennis est, spiritualem ecclesiasticæ disciplinæ gladium, et salutaria justitiæ arma per ministerium summi apostolatus ad Dei gloriam et animarum salutem solenniter exercere consueverunt. Nos igitur, quibus nihil optabilius est, quam fidei inviolatam integritatem, publicam

the faithful of Christ may not be as children wavering, nor be carried about with every wind of doctrine by the cunning craft of men, whereby they lay in wait to deceive; but that all may meet in the unity of the faith, and the knowledge of the Son of God unto a perfect man: that in the communion and society of this life they may not injure nor offend one another; but rather being joined together with the bond of charity, as members of one body under Christ the head, and his vicar upon earth the bishop of Rome, St. Peter's successor, from whom the unity of the whole church doth flow, may be increased in edification, and by the assistance of the divine grace may so enjoy the tranquillity of this present life, that they may also attain eternal happiness. For which reasons the bishops of Rome, our predecessors, upon this day which is dedicated to the anniversary commemoration of our Lord's supper, have been wont solemnly to exercise the spiritual sword of ecclesiastical discipline, and wholesome weapons of justice, by the min-

pacem et justitiam, Deo auctore, tueri, vetustum et solemnem hunc morem sequentes,

§. 1. Excommunicamus et anathematizamus ex parte Dei Omnipotentis, Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, auctoritate quoque beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli, ac nostra, quosunque Hussitas, Vuichlephistas, Luterannos, Zuinglianos, Calvinistas, Ugonottos, Anabaptistas, Trinitarios, et a Christiana fide apostatas, ac omnes et singulos alios hæreticos, quocunque nomine censeantur, et cujuscunque sectæ existant: ac eis credentes, eorumque receptatores, fautores, et generaliter quoslibet illorum defensores; ac eorumdem libros hæresin continentes, vel de religione tractantes, sine auctoritate nostra et sedis apostolicæ scienter legentes aut retinentes, imprimentes, seu quomodolibet defendentes, ex quavis causa publice vel occulte, quovis ingenio vel colore; necnon schismaticos, et eos qui se a

istry of the supreme apostolate to the glory of God and salvation of souls. We therefore, desiring nothing more than by the guidance of God to preserve inviolable the integrity of faith, public peace and justice, following this ancient and solemn custom,

§. 1. We excommunicate and anathematize, in the name of God Almighty, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and by the authority of the blessed apostles, Peter and Paul, and by our own, all Hussites, Wiclephists, Lutherans, Zuinglians, Calvinists, Hugonots, Anabaptists, Trinitarians, and apostates from the Christian faith, and all other heretics, by whatsoever name they are called, and of whatsoever sect they be; as also their adherents, receivers, favourers, and generally any defenders of them; together with all who without our authority, or that of the apostolic see, knowingly read, keep, print, or any ways, for any cause whatsoever, publicly or privately, on any pretext or colour, defend their books containing heresy, or treating of religion; as also schismatics, and those who withdraw themselves, or re-

nostra et Romani pontificis pro tempore existentis obedientia pertinaciter subtrahunt vel recedunt.

§. 2. Item, excommunicamus et anathematizamus omnes et singulos, cujuscunque status, gradus, seu conditionis, fuerint universitates, collegia, et capitula, quocunque nomine nuncupentur, interdiciamus, ab ordinationibus seu mandatis nostris ac Romanorum pontificum pro tempore existentium ad universale futurum concilium appellantes; necnon eos quorum auxilio vel favore appellatum fuerit.

§. 3. Item, excommunicamus et anathematizamus omnes piratas, cursarios, ac latrunculos maritimos, discurrentes mare nostrum, præcipue a monte Argentario usque ad Terracinam, ac omnes eorum fautores, receptatores et defensores.

§. 4. Item, excommunicamus et anathematizamus omnes et singulos, qui Christianorum quorumcunque navibus tempestate, seu in transversum (ut dici solet) jactatis, vel quoquo modo naufragium passis, seu in ipsis navibus, sive ex eisdem ejecta in mare, vel in litore

cede obstinately from the obedience of us, or the bishop of Rome for the time being.

§. 2. Further, we excommunicate and anathematize all and singular, of whatsoever station, degree, or condition they be; and interdict all universities, colleges, and chapters, by whatsoever name they are called, who appeal from the orders or decrees of us, or the popes of Rome for the time being, to a future general council; and those by whose aid and favour the appeal was made.

§. 3. Further, we excommunicate and anathematize all pirates, corsairs, and robbers by sea, roving about our sea chiefly from mount Argentiere to Terracina, and all their abettors, receivers, and defenders.

§. 4. Further, we excommunicate and anathematize all and singular, who, when the ships of any Christians are either driven out of the way by tempest, or any way suffer shipwreck, convey away any goods of what kind soever, either in the ship themselves, or cast out

inventâ, cujuscunque generis bona, tam in nostris, Tyrreni et Adriatici, quam in cæteris cujusque maris regionibus et littoribus, surripuerint; ita ut nec ob quodcunque privilegium, consuetudinem, aut longissimi etiam immemorabilis temporis possessionem, seu alium quemcunque prætextum excusari possint.

§. 5. Item, excommunicamus et anathematizamus omnes qui in terris suis nova pedagîa seu gabellas, præterquam in casibus sibi a jure, seu ex speciali sedis apostolicæ licentia permissis, imponunt vel augent, seu imponi vel augeri prohibita exigunt.

§. 6. Item, excommunicamus et anathematizamus omnes falsarios literarum apostolicarum, etiam in forma brevis, ac supplicationum, gratiam vel justitiam concernentium, per Romanum pontificem, vel S. R. E. vicecancellarios seu gerentes vices eorum, aut de mandato ejusdem pontificis signatarum, necnon falso publicantes literas apostolicas, etiam in forma brevis, et etiam falso signantes supplicationes hujusmodi sub nomine Romani

of the ships into the sea, or found on the shore, as well in our Tyrrhenian and Adriatic seas, as in any other divisions of shores of all seas whatsoever; so that they shall not be excused by any privilege, custom, or possession of time immemorial, or any other pretext whatsoever.

§. 5. Further, we excommunicate and anathematize all who impose or augment any new tolls or gabells in their dominions, except in cases permitted to them by law, or by especial leave of the apostolic see; or who exact such taxes forbidden to be imposed or augmented.

§. 6. Further, we excommunicate and anathematize all forgers of apostolic letters, even in form of a brief, and of supplications respecting indulgence or justice, signed by the pope of Rome, or by the vice-chancellors of the holy see of Rome, or by their deputies, or by the command of the said pope; as also those who falsely publish the apostolic letters, even in form of a brief; and those who falsely sign such supplications in the name of the

pontificis seu vice-cancellarii, aut gerentium vices prædicatorum.

§. 7. Item, excommunicamus et anathematizamus omnes illos, qui ad Saracenos, Turcas, et alios Christiani nominis hostes, et inimicos, vel hæreticos per nostras vel hujus sanctæ sedis sententias expresse vel nominatim declaratos deferunt seu transmittunt equos, arma, ferrum, filum ferri, stannum, chalybem, omniaque metallorum genera atque bellica instrumenta, lignamina, canabem, funes, tam ex ipsa canabbe quam alia quacunque materia, et ipsam materiam, aliaque hujusmodi, quibus Christianos et catholicos impugnant; necnon illos qui per se vel per alios de rebus statum Christianæ reipublicæ concernentibus, in Christianorum perniciem et damnum ipsos Turcas et Christianæ religionis inimicos, necnon hæreticos, in damnum catholicæ religionis, certiores faciunt, illisque ad id auxilium, consilium, vel favorem quomodolibet præstant: non obstantibus quibuscunque privilegiis, quibusvis personis, principibus, rebuspublicis per nos et sedem præ-

pope of Rome, or the vice-chancellor, or their deputies.

§. 7. Further, we excommunicate and anathematize all those who carry or transmit to the Saracens, Turks, and other enemies and foes of the Christian religion, or to those who are expressly and by name declared heretics by the sentence of us, or of this holy see, horses, arms, iron, wire of iron, tin, steel, and all kind of metals, and warlike instruments, timber, hemp, ropes, made as well of hemp as of any other matter, and that matter whatsoever it be, and other things of this nature, which they make use of to the prejudice of Christians and catholics; as also those who, by themselves or others, give intelligence of matters relating to the state of Christendom to the Turks and enemies of the Christian religion, to the hurt and prejudice of Christians; or to heretics, to the prejudice of the catholic religion; or who any ways afford to them counsel, assistance, or favour; notwithstanding any privileges hitherto granted by us and the aforesaid see to any per-

dictam hactenus concessis, de hujusmodi prohibitione expressam mentionem non facientibus.

§. 8. Item, excommunicamus et anathematizamus omnes impediētes seu invadentes eos, qui victualia seu alia ad usum Romanæ curiæ necessaria adducunt, ac etiam eos qui ne ad Romanam curiam adducantur, vel afferantur, prohibent, impediunt seu perturbant, seu hæc facientes defendunt per se vel per alios, cujuscunque fuerint ordinis, præeminentiae, conditionis et status, etiamsi pontificali seu regali aut alia quavis ecclesiastica vel mundana præfulgeant dignitate.

§. 9. Item, excommunicamus et anathematizamus omnes illos, qui ad sedem apostolicam venientes, et recedentes ab eadem, sua vel aliorum opera interficiunt, mutilant, spoliant, capiunt, detinent; necnon illos omnes qui jurisdictionem ordinariam vel delegatam a nobis vel nostris iudicibus non habentes, illam sibi temere vendicantes similia contra morantes in eadem curia audent perpetrare.

sons, princes, or commonwealths; wherein express mention is not made of this prohibition.

§. 8. Further, we excommunicate and anathematize all hindering or invading those who bring provisions, or any other things necessary, for the use of the court of Rome; as also those who forbid, hinder, or obstruct the bringing or conducting of them to the court of Rome; or who abet the doers of these things either by themselves or by others; of whatsoever order, preeminence, condition, or quality they be, even although they be bishops or kings, or invested with any other ecclesiastical or secular dignity.

§. 9. Further, we excommunicate and anathematize all those who kill, maim, spoil, apprehend, or detain, by themselves or by others, those who come to the apostolic see, or return from it; as also all those, who, having no ordinary jurisdiction, nor any delegated by us or our judges, rashly challenging it to themselves, presume to commit any like actions against those who reside at the court of Rome.

§. 10. Item, excommunicamus et anathematizamus omnes interficientes, mutilantes, vulnerantes, detinentes, capientes seu deprædantes Romipetas seu peregrinos ad urbem causa devotionis accedentes, et in ea morantes, vel ab ipsa recedentes, et in his dantes auxilium, consilium, vel favorem.

§. 11. Item, excommunicamus et anathematizamus omnes interficientes, vulnerantes, mutilantes, percutientes, capientes, carcerantes, detinentes, vel hostiliter insequentes S. R. E. cardinales, ac patriarchas, archiepiscopos, episcopos, sedisque apostolicæ legatos vel nuncios, aut eos a suis diocesi- bus, territoriis, terris, seu dominiis ejicientes, necnon ea mandantes vel rata habentes, seu præstantes in eis auxilium, consilium, vel favorem.

§. 12. Item, excommunicamus et anathematizamus omnes illos, qui per se vel per alios, personas ecclesiasticas quascunque, vel seculares ad Romanam curiam super eorum causis et negotiis recurrentes, ac illa in eadem curia prosequentes aut procurantes negotiorumque

§. 10. Further, we excommunicate and anathematize all who kill, maim, wound, detain, apprehend, or rob travellers to Rome, or pilgrims for the sake of devotion or pilgrimage going to that city, staying in it, or returning from it, and those who give aid, counsel, or favour in these cases.

§. 11. Further, we excommunicate and anathematize all who slay, wound, maim, strike, apprehend, imprison, detain, or in hostile manner pursue the cardinals of the holy church of Rome, and patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, legates, or nuncios of the apostolic see; or those who drive them out of their territories, dioceses, lands, or dominions; or those who command or allow these things to be done, or give aid, counsel, and favour to them.

§. 12. Further, we excommunicate and anathematize all those who, by themselves or by others, slay, or any ways strike or despoil, any ecclesiastical or secular persons having recourse to the court of Rome for their causes and affairs, and prosecuting and managing them

gestores, advocatos, procuratores et agentes, seu etiam auditores vel iudices super dictis causis vel negotiis deputatos, occasione causarum vel negotiorum hujusmodi occidunt seu quoquo modo percutiunt, bonis spoliant; seu qui per se vel per alios, directe vel indirecte delicta hujusmodi committere, exequi vel procurare, aut in eisdem auxilium consilium vel favorem præstare non verentur, cujuscunque præ- eminentiæ et dignitatis fuerint.

§. 13. Item, excommunicamus et anathematizamus omnes tam ecclesiasticos quam seculares, cujuscunque dignitatis, qui prætexentes frivolam quandam appellationem a gravamine vel futura executione literarum apostolicarum etiam in forma brevis, tam gratiam quam justitiam concernentium, necnon citationum, inhibitionum, sequestrationum, monitoriorum, processuum, executorialium, et aliorum decretorum, a nobis et sede prædicta seu legatis, nunciis, præsentibus, palatii nostri et cameræ apostolicæ auditoribus, commissariis, aliisque iudicibus et delegatis apostolicis emanato-

in the said court, or even the auditors or judges deputed for the hearing and managing of the said causes and affairs, upon occasion of these causes and affairs; as also those who, by themselves or by others, directly or indirectly, presume to act or procure the said crimes, or to give aid, counsel, or favour to them, of whatsoever preeminence or dignity they be.

§. 13. Further, we excommunicate and anathematize all those, as well ecclesiastics as seculars, of whatsoever dignity they be, who under pretence of a certain frivolous appeal from the injustice or future execution of the apostolic letters, even in form of a brief, respecting as well indulgence as justice, as also from the injustice and future execution of citations, inhibitions, sequestrations, monitories, process- es, executorials, and other degrees, issuing out, or which shall at any time issue out from us and the aforesaid see, or our legates, nuncios, or presidents, from

rum, et quæ pro tempore emanaverint, aut alias ad curias seculares et laicam potestatem recurrent, et ab ea instante etiam fisci procuratore et avvocato, appellationes hujusmodi admitti, ac lites, citationes, inhibitiones, sequestra, monitoria, et alia prædicta, capi et retineri faciunt. Quive illa simpliciter, vel sine eorum beneplacito et consensu vel examine, executione, demandari, aut ne tabelliones et notarii super hujusmodi literarum et processuum executione, instrumenta vel acta conficere, aut confecta parti, cujus interest, tradere debeant, impediunt vel prohibent, ac etiam partes seu eorum agentes, consanguineos, affines, familiares, notarios, executores et sub-executores literarum, citationum, monitoriorum, et aliorum prædictorum capiunt, percutiunt, vulnerant, carcerant, detinent, ex civitatibus, locis, et regnis ejiciunt, bonis spoliant, perterrefaciunt, concutiunt et comminantur per se vel per alium seu alios, publice vel occulte; quive alias quibuscunque personis in genere vel in specie, ne pro quibusvis

the auditors of our palace and apostolic chamber, from our commissaries, and other apostolic judges and delegates; as also those who any other ways have recourse to secular courts and the lay power, and who cause such appeals to be admitted by the secular court, even although the procurator and advocate of the exchequer should require it; or who cause the aforesaid letters, citations, inhibitions, sequestrations, monitories, &c. to be seized or retained; or those who hinder or forbid the said letters to be put in execution, either simply or without their goodwill, consent, or examination; or who hinder or forbid scriveners or notaries from making or delivering, when made, to the parties concerned any instruments or acts concerning the execution of these letters and processes; or who apprehend, strike, wound, imprison, detain, drive out of cities, places, and kingdoms, despoil of their goods, terrify, vex, and threaten, either by themselves or by others, publicly or privately, the parties or their agents,

corum negotiis prosequendis seu gratiis vel literis impetrandis ad Romanam curiam accedant, aut recursum habeant, seu gratias ipsas vel literas a dicta sede impetrent seu impetratis utantur, directe vel indirecte prohibere, statuere seu mandare, vel eas apud se aut notarios seu tabelliones, vel alias quomodolibet retinere præsumunt.

§. 14. Item, excommunicamus et anathematizamus omnes et singulos, qui per se vel alios auctoritate propria ac de facto, quarumcunque exemptionum vel aliarum gratiarum et literarum apostolicarum prætextu, beneficiales, et decimarum, ac alias causas spirituales ac spiritualibus annexas, ab auditoribus et commissariis nostris, aliisque iudicibus ecclesiasticis avocant; illarumve

kindred on both sides, their friends, notaries, the executors or sub-executors of the said letters, citations, monitories, &c.; or who any other way presume, directly or indirectly, to forbid, ordain, and command any persons, in general or in particular, to betake themselves, or have recourse, to the see of Rome, to prosecute their affairs of any kind, or to obtain indulgences or letters; or who forbid them to obtain the said indulgences, or to make use of them when obtained of the said see; or who presume to retain the said indulgences in their own hands, or in the hands of a notary or a scrivener, or any other way.

§. 14. Further, we excommunicate and anathematize all and singular who by themselves or by others, by their own authority and *de facto*, under pretence of any exemptions, or any other apostolic indulgences and letters, take away the cognizance of benefices and tythes, and other spiritual causes, or annexed to spirituals from our auditors and commissaries, and other

cursum et audientiam; ac personas, capitula, conventus, collegia, causas ipsas prosequi volentes impediunt ac se de illarum cognitione tanquam iudices interponunt. Quive partes actrices, quæ illas committi fecerunt, et faciunt ad revocandum et revocari faciendum citationes vel inhibitiones aut alias literas in eis decretas, et ad faciendum vel consentiendum eos contra quos tales inhibitiones emanarunt, a censuris et pœnis in illis contentis absolvi, per statutum vel alias compellunt; vel executionem literarum apostolicarum seu executorialium, processuum ac decretorum prædictorum quomodolibet impediunt, vel suum ad id favorem, consilium aut assensum præstant, etiam prætextu violentiæ prohibendæ, vel aliarum prætensionum, seu etiam, donec ipsi ad nos informandos, ut dicunt, supplicaverint aut supplicari fecerint, nisi supplicationes hujusmodi coram nobis et sede apostolica legitime prosequantur, etiamsi talia committentes fuerint, præsidentes, cancelliarum, consiliorum, parlamentorum, cancellarii, vice-cancellarii,

ecclesiastical judges; and hinder the proceeding and audience of them, and the persons, chapters, convents, colleges, desiring to prosecute the said causes; or who intrude themselves as judges in the cognizance of them; or who, by order, or any other way, compel the plaintiffs to withdraw, or cause to be withdrawn, their citations or inhibitions, or any other letters decreed in the spiritual court; and the defendants against whom such inhibitions were issued out to procure, or consent, to be absolved from the censures or punishments contained in them; or who any ways hinder the execution of apostolic letters, executorial, processes, and decrees aforesaid; or give their allowance, counsel, or assent to it, even under pretence of hindering violence, or any other pretexts whatsoever, or even until they shall petition us, or cause us to be petitioned, for our better information, as is commonly pretended, unless they prosecute such petitions before us and the apostolic see in lawful form; even although those who commit such things should

consilarii, ordinarii vel extraordinarii quorumcunque principum secularium; etiamsi imperiali, regali, ducali, vel alia quacunquæ præfulgeant dignitate; aut archiepiscopi, episcopi, abbates, commendatarii seu vicarii fuerint.

§. 15. Quive ex eorum pretenso officio, vel ad instantiam partis aut aliorum quorumcunque personas ecclesiasticas, capitula, conventus, collegia ecclesiarum quarumcunque coram se ad suum tribunal, audientiam, cancellariam, concilium, vel parlamentum, præter juris canonici dispositionem, trahunt, vel trahi faciunt vel procurant, directe vel indirecte, quovis quæsito colore; necnon qui statuta, ordinationes, constitutiones, pragmaticas, seu quævis alia decreta in genere vel in specie, ex quavis causa et quovis quæsito colore, ac etiam prætextu cujusvis consuetudinis et privilegii, vel alias quomodolibet fecerint, ordinarint et publicaverint, vel factis et ordinatis usi fuerint, unde libertas ecclesiastica, tollitur, seu in aliquo læditur vel deprimitur, aut alio

be presidents of chanceries, councils, or parliaments, chancellors, vice-chancellors, ordinary or extraordinary counsellors of any secular princes, (whether they be emperors, kings, dukes, or any other dignity,) or archbishops, bishops, abbots, commendatories, or vicars.

§. 15. Also those who, under pretence of their office, or at the instance of any party, or of any others, draw, or cause and procure to be drawn, directly or indirectly, upon any pretext whatsoever, ecclesiastical persons, chapters, convents, colleges of any churches before them to their tribunal, audience, chancery, council, or parliament, against the rules of the canon law; as also those who for any cause, or under any pretext, or by pretence of any custom or privilege, or any other way, shall make, enact, and publish any statutes, orders, constitutions, pragmatics, or any other degrees, in general or in particular, or shall use them when made and enacted; whereby the ecclesiastical liberty is violated, or any ways injured or depressed, or by any other means

quovis modo restringitur, seu nostris et dictæ sedis, ac quarumcunque ecclesiarum iuribus quomodolibet directe vel indirecte, tacite vel expresse, præjudicantur.

§. 16. Necnon qui archiepiscopus, episcopus, aliosque superiores et inferiores prælatos, et omnes alios quoscunque iudices ecclesiasticos ordinarios quomodolibet hac de causa directe vel indirecte, carcerando vel molestando eorum agentes, procuratores, familiares, necnon consanguineos et affines, aut alias impediunt, quo minus jurisdictione sua ecclesiastica contra quoscunque utantur, secundum quod canones et sacræ constitutiones ecclesiasticæ, et decreta conciliorum generalium, et præsertim Tridentini, statuunt; ac etiam eos qui post ipsorum ordinarium ac etiam ab eis delegatorum quorumcunque sententias et decreta, aut alias fori ecclesiastici iudicium eludentes, ad cancellarias et alias curias seculares recurrunt, et ab illis prohibitiones et mandata etiam pœnalia, ordinariis aut delegatis prædictis decerni, et contra illos exequi procurant; eos quoque qui hæc decernunt et

restrained; or whereby the rights of us and of the said see, and of any other churches, are any way, directly or indirectly, tacitly or expressly, prejudged.

§. 16. Also those who upon this account, directly or indirectly, hinder archbishops, bishops, and other superior and inferior prelates, and all other ordinary ecclesiastical judges whatsoever by any means, either by imprisoning or molesting their agents, proctors, domestics, kindred on both sides, or by any other way, from exerting their ecclesiastical jurisdiction against any persons whatsoever, according as the canons and sacred ecclesiastical constitutions and decrees of general councils, and especially that of Trent, do appoint; as also those who after the sentence and decrees of the ordinaries themselves, or of those delegated by them, or by any other means eluding the judgment of the ecclesiastical court, have recourse to chanceries or other secular courts, and procure thence prohibitions and even penal mandates to be decreed against the said ordinaries and delegates, and executed

exequuntur, seu dant auxilium, concilium, patrocinium et favorem in eisdem.

§. 17. Quive jurisdictiones seu fructus, redditus et proventus ad nos et sedem apostolicam, et quascunque ecclesiasticas personas ratione ecclesiarum, monasteriorum, et aliorum beneficiorum ecclesiasticorum pertinentes usurpant, vel etiam quavis occasione vel causa sine Romani pontificis vel aliorum ad id legitimam facultatem habentium expressa licentia sequestrant.

§. 18. Quive collectas, decimas, talleas, præstantias et alia onera clericis, prælatis et aliis personis ecclesiasticis, ac eorum et ecclesiarum, monasteriorum et aliorum beneficiorum ecclesiasticorum bonis, illorumve fructibus, redditibus, et proventibus hujusmodi, absque simili Romani pontificis speciali et expressa licentia imponunt, et diversis etiam exquisitis modis exigunt, aut sic imposita a sponte dantibus et concedentibus recipiunt. Necnon qui per se vel alios directe vel indirecte prædicta facere, exequi vel procurare, aut in

against them; also those who make and execute these decrees, or who give aid, counsel, countenance, or favour to them.

§. 17. Also those who usurp any jurisdictions, fruits, revenues, and emoluments belonging to us and the apostolic see, and any ecclesiastical persons upon account of any churches, monasteries, or other ecclesiastical benefices; or who upon any occasion or cause sequester the said revenues without the express leave of the bishop of Rome, or others having lawful power to do it.

§. 18. Also those who, without the like special and express license of the pope of Rome, impose tributes, tenths, tallies, subsidies, and other charges, upon clergymen, prelates, and other ecclesiastical persons, and the goods, fruits, revenues, and emoluments of them and of the churches, monasteries, and other ecclesiastical benefices; and exact them by divers artifices, or even receive them so imposed from the clergy, although they should of their own accord grant and give them: also those who by themselves or others, directly or indirect-

cisdem auxilium, consilium vel favorem præstare non verentur, cujuscunque sint præeminentiae, dignitatis, ordinis, conditionis aut status, etiamsi imperiali aut regali fulgeant dignitate; seu principes, duces, comites, barones, et alii potentatus; quicumque etiam regnis, provinciis, civitatibus et terris quoquo modo præsidentes, consiliarii et senatores, aut quavis etiam pontificali dignitate insigniti. Innovantes decreta, super his per sacros canones, tam in Lateranensi novissime celebrato, quam aliis consiliis generalibus edita, etiam cum censuris et pœnis in eis contentis.

§. 19. Item, excommunicamus et anathematizamus omnes et quoscunque magistratus et judices, notarios, scribas, executores, sub-executores, quomodolibet se interponentes in causis capitalibus seu criminalibus contra personas ecclesiasticas, illas processando, banniendo, seu sententias contra illas proferendo vel exequendo sine speciali, specifica et expressa hujus sanctæ sedis apostolicæ licentia; quique ejusmodi li-

ly, fear not to do, execute, or procure the said things, or to give aid, counsel, or favour to them, of whatsoever preeminence, dignity, order, condition, or quality they be, although they be emperors, or kings, or princes, dukes, earls, barons, and other potentates whatsoever, even presidents of kingdoms, provinces, cities and territories, counsellors and senators, or invested even with any pontifical dignity: renewing the decrees set forth concerning these matters by the sacred canons, as well in the last council of Lateran, as in other general councils, together with the censures and punishments contained in them.

§. 19. Further, we excommunicate and anathematize all and every magistrates and judges, notaries, scribes, executors, sub-executors, any ways intruding themselves in capital or criminal causes against ecclesiastical persons by processing, banishing, or apprehending them, or pronouncing or executing any sentences against them, without the special, particular, and express license of this holy apostolical see; also

centiam ad personas et casus, non expressos extendunt, vel alias illa perperam abutuntur, etiamsi talia committentes fuerint consiliarii, senatores, præsidentes, cancellarii, vice-cancellarii, aut quovis alio nomine nuncupati.

§. 20. Item, excommunicamus et anathematizamus omnes illos, qui per se seu alios directe vel indirecte, sub quocunque titulo seu colore, invadere, destruere, occupare et detinere præsumserint, in totum vel in partem, almam urbem, regnum Siciliae, insulas Sardiniae et Corsicae, terras circa Pharum, patrimonium B. Petri in Tuscia, ducatum Spoletanum, comitatum Venaysinum, Sabinensem, Marchiae Anconitanæ, Massæ, Trebariæ, Romandiolæ, Campanæ, et maritimas provincias, illarumque terras et loca, ac terras specialis commissionis Arnulforum, civitatesque nostras Bononiam, Cæsenam, Ariminum, Beneventum, Perusium, Avenionem, civitatem Castelli, Tudertum, Ferrarium, Comaclum, et alias civitates, terras, et loca, vel jura ad ipsam Romanam ecclesiam pertinentia, dictæque

those who extend such licenses to persons or cases not expressed, or any other way unjustly abuse them; although the offenders should be counsellors, senators, presidents, chancellors, vice-chancellors, or entitled by any other name.

§. 20. Further, we excommunicate and anathematize all those who, by themselves or by others, directly or indirectly, under any title or colour whatsoever, shall presume to invade, destroy, seize, and detain, in whole or in part, the city of Rome, the kingdom of Sicily, the islands of Sardinia and Corsica, the territories about Faro, St. Peter's patrimony in Tuscany, the dukedom of Spoleto, the county of Venoso, and Sabinum, Marca di Ancona, Massa, Trebaria, Romandiola, Campania, and the maritime provinces, and their territories and places, and the lands held in special commission by the Arnulfi, and our cities of Bononia, Cæsena, Ariminum, Beneventum, Perusium, Avignon, Citta di Castello, Todi, Ferrara, Comaclo, and other cities, lands, and places, and rights belonging to the church

Romanæ ecclesiæ mediate vel immediate subjecta, necnon supremam jurisdictionem in illis, nobis et eidem Romanæ ecclesiæ competentem, de facto usurpare, perturbare, retinere et vexare variis modis præsumunt, necnon adhærentes, fautores, et defensores eorum, seu illis auxilium, consilium, vel favorem quomodolibet præstantes.

§. 21. Volentes præsentibus nostros processus, ac omnia et quæcunque his literis contenta, quousque alii hujusmodi processus a nobis aut Romano pontifice pro tempore existente fiant aut publicentur, durare, suosque effectus omnino sortiri.

§. 22. Cæterum a prædictis sententiis nullus per alium quam per Romanum pontificem, nisi in mortis articulo constitutus, nec etiam tunc, nisi de stando ecclesiæ mandatis et satisfaciendo cautione præstita, absolvi possit, etiam prætextu quarumvis facultatum et indulgentiarum quibuscunque personis ecclesiasticis, secularibus et quorumvis ordinum, etiam mendicantium et militarium regularibus, etiam episcopali vel alia majori dignitate præditis, ip-

of Rome, and subjected mediately or immediately to the said church of Rome; also those who presume by divers means to usurp, disturb, detain, and vex the supreme jurisdiction to the said dominions belonging to us and the church of Rome; also their adherents, favourers, and defenders, or those who any way give assistance, counsel, or favour to them.

§. 21. Willing that our present processes, and all and every thing contained in these letters, continue in force, and be put in execution, till other processes of this kind be made and published by us and the pope of Rome for the time being.

§. 22. In fine, none may be absolved from the aforesaid censures by any other than by the pope of Rome, unless he be at the point of death; nor even then, unless he giveth caution to stand to the commands of the church, and give satisfaction; in all other cases none shall be absolved, not even under pretence of any faculties or indulgences granted and renewed by us and the said see, and the decrees of any council, by words, letters, or

sisque ordinibus et eorum monasteriis, conventibus, et domibus ac capitulis, collegiis, confraternitatibus, congregationibus, hospitalibus, et locis piis, necnon laicis, etiamsi imperiali, regali, et alia, mundana excellentia fulgentibus per nos et dictam sedem ac cujusvis concilii decreta, verbo, literis, aut alia quacunque scriptura in genere et in specie concessorum et innovatorum, ac concedendorum et innovandorum.

§. 23. Quod si forte aliqui contra tenorem præsentium talibus excommunicatione et anathemate laqueatis, vel illorum alicui absolutionis beneficium impendere de facto præsumpserint, eos excommunicationis sententia inno- damus, gravius contra eos spiritualiter et temporaliter, prout expedire noverimus processuri.

§. 24. Declarantes ac protestantes quamcunque absolutionem, etiamsi solenniter per nos faciendam, prædictos excommunicatos sub præsentibus comprehensos, nisi prius a præmissis cum vero propo-

any other writing, in general or in particular, to any persons ecclesiastical, secular, and regular of any orders, even of the mendicant and military orders, or to any persons invested with episcopal or any greater dignity, and to orders themselves and their monasteries, convents, houses and chapters, to colleges, confraternities, congregations, hospitals, and pious places, as also to laymen, although they should be emperors, kings, or eminent in any other secular dignity.

§. 23. If by chance any should, against the tenor of these presents, *de facto*, presume to bestow the benefit of absolution upon any such involved in excommunication and anathema, or any of them; we include them in the sentence of excommunication, and shall afterwards proceed most severely against them, both by spiritual and temporal punishments, as we shall think most convenient.

§. 24. Declaring and protesting that no absolution, although solemnly made by us, shall comprehend, or any other way avail the afore-said excommunicated persons comprehended under these

sito similia ulterius non committendi, destiterint, ac quoad eos, qui contra ecclesiasticam libertatem, ut præmittitur, statuta fecerint, nisi prius statuta, ordinationes, constitutiones, pragmaticas, et decreta hujusmodi publice revocaverint et ex archivis seu capitularibus, locis aut libris, in quibus annotata reperiuntur, deleri et cassari, ac nos de revocatione hujusmodi certiores fecerint, eos non comprehendere, nec eis aliter suffragari; quin etiam per hujusmodi absolutionem, aut quoscunque alios actus contrarios, tacitos vel expressos, ac etiam per patientiam et tolerantiam nostram vel successorum nostrorum, quantumcunque tempore continuatam, præmissis omnibus et singulis, ac quibuscunque juribus sedis apostolicæ ac sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ undecunque et quandocunque quæsitis, vel quærendis nullatenus præjudicari posse aut debere.

§. 25. Non obstantibus privilegiis, indulgentiis, indultis, et literis apostolicis, generalibus vel specialibus supradictis vel eorum, alicui, seu aliquibus aliis cujuscunque ordinis, status vel

present letters, unless they desist from the premises with a firm purpose of never committing the like thing; nor those who, as was before said, have made statutes against the ecclesiastical liberty, unless they first publicly revoke these statutes, orders, constitutions, pragmatics and decrees, and cause them to be blotted and expunged out of the archives, rolls, and registers wherein they are preserved, and further certify us of this revocation: moreover, that by any such absolution, or any other contrary acts, tacit or express, or even by the connivance and toleration of us and our successors, for how long time soever continued, none nor any of the premises, nor any right of the apostolic see and holy church of Rome, howsoever and whensoever obtained, or to be obtained, can or ought to be prejudged or receive any prejudice.

§. 25. Notwithstanding any privileges, indulgences, grants, and apostolical letters, general or special, granted by the holy see to any of the aforesaid persons, or any one of them, or any others,

conditionis, dignitatis et præ-
 eminentiæ fuerint, etiamsi ut
 præmittitur, pontificali, im-
 periali, regali, seu quavis ec-
 clesiastica et mundana præ-
 fulgeant dignitate, vel eorum
 regnis, provinciis, civitatibus
 seu locis a prædicta sede ex
 quavis causa etiam per viam
 contractus aut remuneratio-
 nis, et sub quavis alia forma
 et tenore, ac cum quibusvis
 clausulis, etiam derogatoria-
 rum derogatoriis concessis,
 etiam continentibus quod ex-
 communicari, anathematizari,
 vel interdici non possint, per
 literas apostolicas non faci-
 entes plenam et expressam
 ac de verbo ad verbum de
 indulto hujusmodi, ac de or-
 dinibus, locis, nominibus pro-
 priis, cognominibus et dig-
 nitatibus eorum mentionem,
 necnon consuetudinibus, et-
 iam immemorabilibus, ac
 præscriptionibus quantum-
 cunque longissimis, et aliis
 quibuslibet observantiis scri-
 ptis vel non scriptis, per quæ
 contra hos nostros processus
 ac sententias, quo minus in-
 cludantur in eis, se juvare
 valeant ac tueri. Quæ om-
 nia quoad hoc, eorum om-
 nium tenores, ac si ad ver-
 bum, nihil penitus omisso,
 insererentur, præsentibus, pro

of whatsoever order, quality,
 or condition, dignity, and
 preeminence they be; al-
 though, as was before said,
 they should be bishops, em-
 perors, kings, eminent in any
 other ecclesiastic or secular
 dignity; or to their king-
 doms, provinces, cities, and
 dominions, for any cause
 whatsoever, even by way of
 contract or reward, and un-
 der any other form and ten-
 or, and with any clauses
 whatsoever, even derogatory
 of those which should dero-
 gate from them, or even con-
 taining that the said persons
 or places shall not be excom-
 municated, anathematized,
 or interdicted by any apo-
 stolic letters, which do not
 make full and express men-
 tion, and exact repetition of
 the said grant, and of the
 orders, places, proper names,
 surnames, and dignities of
 the said persons: as also,
 notwithstanding all customs,
 even immemorial, and pre-
 scriptions how long soever,
 and any other observances,
 written or not written, by
 which the said persons may
 help and defend themselves
 against these our processes
 and censures from being in-
 cluded in them. All which

expressis habentes, penitus tollimus, et omnino revocamus, cæterisque contrariis quibuscunque.

§. 26. Ut vero præsentis nostri processus ad publicam omnium notitiam facilius deducantur, chartas seu membranas processus ipsos continentes, valvis ecclesiæ S. Joannis Lateranensis, et Basilicæ principis apostolorum de urbe appendi faciemus, ut ii, quos processus hujusmodi concernunt, quod ad ipsos non pervenerint, aut quod ipsos ignoraverint nullam possint excusationem præterdere aut ignorantiam allegare; cum non sit verisimile, id remanere incognitum, quod tam patenter omnibus publicatur.

§. 27. Insuper ut processus ipsi et præsentis literæ, ac omnia et singula in eis contenta, eo fiant, notiora, quo in plerisque civitatibus et locis fuerint publicata; universis et singulis patri-

grants, as far as relates to this matter, and the whole tenor of them, accounting them expressed in these presents, as if they had been *verbatim* inserted, nothing omitted, we utterly abolish, and wholly revoke; and notwithstanding any other pleas which may be alleged to the contrary.

§. 26. But that these our present processes may more easily come to the knowledge of all persons, we have caused the papers and parchments, containing the processes themselves, to be affixed in the city, to the doors of the church of St. John Lateran, and of the church of the prince of the apostles, that those whom these processes concern may pretend no excuse, or allege ignorance, as if they had not come to their knowledge; since it is not probable that should remain unknown which is so openly published to all men.

§. 27. Moreover, that the processes themselves, and these present letters, and all and every thing contained in them, may become more manifest by being published in many cities and places;

archis, primatibus, archiepiscopis, episcopis, et locorum ordinariis, et prælatis ubilibet constitutis, per hæc scripta, committimus et in virtute sanctæ obedientiæ districte præcipiendo mandamus; ut per se vel per alium seu alios, præsentem litteras, postquam eas receperint, seu earum habuerint notitiam, semel in anno, aut si expedire viderint, etiam pluries, in ecclesiis suis, dum in eis major populi multitudo ad divina convenerit, solenniter publicent, et ad Christi fidelium mentes reducant, nuncient, et declarent.

§. 28. Cæterum patriarchæ, archiepiscopi, episcopi, alique locorum ordinarii, et ecclesiarum prælati, necnon rectores, cæterique curam animarum exercentes, ac presbyteri seculares et quorumvis ordinum regulares, ad audiendas peccatorum confessiones quavis autoritate deputati, transumptum præsentium litterarum penes se habeant, easque diligenter legere et percipere studeant.

§. 29. Volentes earundem præsentium transumptis et

we by these writings entrust, and in virtue of holy obedience strictly charge and command, all and singular patriarchs, primates, archbishops, bishops, ordinaries of places, and prelates, wheresoever constituted, that by themselves, or some other or others, after they shall have received these present letters, or have knowledge of them, they solemnly publish them in their churches once a year or oftener, if they see convenient, when the greater part of the people shall be met for celebration of divine service; put faithful Christians in mind of them, relate them, and declare them.

§. 28. Lastly, all patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, and other ordinaries of places, and prelates of churches, as also all rectors, and others having cure of souls, and priests, secular and regular, of whatsoever orders, deputed by any authority to hear confession of sins, shall have a transcript of these present letters by them, and shall diligently study to read and understand them.

§. 29. Our further pleasure is, that the same credit

iam impressis, notarii publici manu subscriptis, et sigillo judicis ordinarii Romanæ curiæ vel alterius personæ in dignitate ecclesiastica constitutæ munitis, eandem prorsus fidem in judicio, et extra illud ubique locorum adhibendam fore, quæ ipsis præsentibus adhiberetur, si essent exhibitæ vel ostensæ.

§. 30. Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam nostræ excommunicationis, anathematizationis, interdicti, innovationis, innodationis, declarationis, protestationis, sublacionis, revocationis, commissionis, mandati et voluntatis infringere, vel ei ausu temerario contraire: si quis autem hoc attentare præsumpserit, indignationem Omnipotentis Dei ac beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum ejus se noverit incursurum.

Datum Romæ apud S. Petrum, anno incarnationis Dominicæ millesimo sexcentesimo decimo, sexto idus Aprilis, pontificatus nostri anno quinto.

Anno a nativitate Domini nostri Jesu Christi millesimo sexcentesimo decimo tertio, indict. 11. die vero quarta

in judgment and out of judgment shall in all places be given to copies, although printed, of these presents, subscribed by any public notary, and sealed by the ordinary court of Rome, or any other person in ecclesiastical dignity, as would be given to these presents themselves, if they should be produced or shewn.

§. 30. Let no man therefore infringe, or boldly and rashly oppose, this our letter of excommunication, anathematization, interdict, innovation, innodation, declaration, protestation, abolition, revocation, commission, command, and pleasure: but if any one shall presume to attempt it, let him know that he shall incur the displeasure of Almighty God, and of his blessed apostles Peter and Paul.

Given at Rome, from St. Peter, in the year of our Lord's incarnation, one thousand six hundred and ten, the eighth of April, in the fifth year of our popedom.

In the year, from the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ, 1613, indict. 11, the fourth day of the month April, and

mensis Aprilis, pontificatus sanctiss. in Christo patris et D. N. D. Pauli divina providentia papæ V. anno octavo, supradictæ literæ affixæ et publicatæ fuerunt ad valvas basilicarum S. Joannis Lateranensis et Principis Apostolorum, et in acie campi Floræ per nos Baldassarrem Vacham et Brandimartem Latinum cursores.

the eighth year of the pope-dominion of our most holy father in Christ, and our lord Paul V. by divine providence pope, the aforesaid letters were affixed and published at the doors of the churches of St. John Lateran and the Prince of the Apostles, and in the field of Flora, by us Balthazar Vacha and Brandimars Latini, cursors.

JACOBUS BRAMBRILLA,
Mag. Curs.

JAMES BRAMBRILLA,
Mag. Curs.

NUMB. II.

The Proceedings of the Parliament of Paris upon the Pope's Bull concerning the Franchises in the City of Rome, and the following Ordinance of the 26th of December, 1687. Translated into English by order of his Excellency Monsieur Barillon, his most Christian Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary to the King of Great Britain.

[An extract out of the Registers of the Parliament of Paris.]

THIS day the parliament of Paris being assembled, the king's council appearing, Mr. Denys Talon, his majesty's advocate-general, made this following speech: That among the rest of the court of Rome's attempts upon several occasions, in prejudice of the liberties of the church of France, and of the rights and preeminences of the crown, there has been nothing observed in the history of late ages parallel to what was done in the month of December last, and which is nothing more but what the pope has been contriving many years, in declaring himself an enemy of France, &c.—

In the assembly held upon occasion of the affairs of the regalia, the bishops being informed that the Italian doctors, and the emissaries of the court of Rome, omitted not any means to spread about the kingdom the new opinions of the pope's infallibility, and the indirect power which Rome strives to usurp over the temporality of kings; that assembly, we say, did not pretend to frame a decision of a doubtful controversy, but give a public and authentic testimony of a certain truth, taught by all the fathers of the church, and determined by all the councils, and especially by those of Constance and Basil. And it is well known that the cardinal of Lorrain, assisting at the council of Trent, publicly declared that the faculty of divinity at Paris, the universities of the kingdom, and, in a word, all France, was persuaded that the pope, far from being infallible, ought to submit to the decisions of councils; and it does not appear that this assertion made him incur any reproach from the court of Rome.

Yet has the world with amazement seen that the pope looked upon this declaration as an injury done to his authority; insomuch that the king having nominated to the episcopacy some of those that assisted at that assembly, and who are as well recommendable for their piety and virtue as for their knowledge and learning; bulls were refused them, on pretence that they do not make profession of a sound doctrine.

If this foundation is solid, we are like to have no more bishops for the future; since all the ecclesiastics of the kingdom, and particularly those that in the universities take the necessary degrees to attain to prelacies, with an invincible steadiness maintain the propositions which the pope complains of.

Though this refusal has not the least glimmering of reason, yet does it nevertheless raise a very great scandal, and produce disorders beyond expression: and indeed the pope's obstinacy is the cause that thirty-five cathedral churches remain destitute of pastors, and this in a time when a vast number of newly-converted persons stand in need of instruction, for their being fortified and confirmed in the

orthodox belief, and when the presence of the bishops is very necessary in their dioceses.

Who could ever imagine that the pope, who is proposed to us as an image of holiness and virtue, should remain so wedded to his opinions, and so jealous of the shadow of an imaginary authority, that he should leave the third part of the churches of France vacant, because we will not own him to be infallible?

Those that inspire these thoughts into the pope, can they fancy they shall make us change our opinions? and are they so blind as not to know that those unhappy times are past, when a gross ignorance, joined to a faintness in the government, and false prepossessions, rendered the pope's decrees so very dreadful, however unjust they might be; and that those disputes and quarrels, far from augmenting their power, do only serve to cause inquiry to be made into the origin of their usurpations, and lessen the veneration of the people rather than increase it? &c.—

And to give some colour to so scandalous an innovation, he refers to that famous bull styled *in Cæna Domini*, because it is read at Rome every Thursday of the holy week. True it is, that if this decree, whereby the popes declare themselves sovereign monarchs of the world, be legitimate, the majesty-royal will then depend on their humour, all our liberties will be abolished, the secular judges will no longer have the power to try the possession of benefices, nor the civil and criminal causes of ecclesiastical persons; and we shall quickly see ourselves brought under the yoke of the inquisition.

Thus, however unjust and abusive this new decree may be, it is much less dangerous by the frivolous menaces it contains, than by its being built upon a title altogether void and vicious; and that in this conjuncture it looks as if Rome would at present follow the steps of Julius II, renew his animosity and rage against France, without making reflection how odious his memory is in the Christian commonwealth.

When pope Gregory IV, meaning to render himself ar-

bitrator of the dispute that arose between Lewis the Debonair and his children, threatened the bishops of France to excommunicate them, if they did not close with his designs; those prelates, being surprised at a procedure so contrary to the canons, courageously answered, that “they would not obey the pope’s will; and that if he come with a design to excommunicate them, he should himself re- turn excommunicated:” *Si excommunicaturus veniret, excommunicatus abiret*: as if they meant to say, that he who, without lawful cause, and through human motives, undertakes to suspend one of the members of Jesus Christ from the communion of the church, does separate himself from it by such an unjust attempt.

Let us further urge, that the ill use which the popes have on so many occasions made of the authority with which they are entrusted, in giving it no other bounds than those of their own will, has been the source of almost all the incurable mischiefs with which the church is afflicted, and the most specious pretences of the heretics and schismatics that the last age produced, so as the divines assembled by pope Paul III.’s order did sincerely own; and besides, at present, the bare idea of the infallibility and indirect power which the complaisance of the Italian doctors do attribute to the see of Rome, upon the temporality of princes, is one of the greatest obstacles that oppose the conversion, not only of individual persons, but of whole provinces; and people’s minds cannot be too thoroughly convinced that these new opinions do not make part of the doctrine of the universal church, &c.—

If he had been an envoy from the emperor of the Turks, from the king of Persia, or some other infidel prince, he would not have been so rigorously used. Is it that the pope means to have no more commerce with France? Is he persuaded that his power reaches no further than the diocese of Rome, and his patriarchship than the neighbouring provinces, styled *suburbicarial*? Does he intend to renounce the quality of *head of the church*, and *common father of the faithful*? &c.—

And in this occasion the thunders of the Vatican have nothing formidable; they are transitory fires, that exhale into smoke, and which do neither hurt nor prejudice, save to those who darted them.

And though this bull be neither published nor executed in the kingdom, it is not the less abusive. We do not doubt but that a more moderate pope, reflecting upon the disorders which such an innovation is capable of producing, would imitate the example of Clement V, who, by a solemn decree, did for ever abolish the memory of what his predecessor, Boniface VIII, had unjustly undertaken against king Philip the Fair: and this retractation, which proves that the popes are not infallible, since the one destroys what the other had built, among others, revokes the bull *Unam Sanctam*; wherein Boniface, whose proud conduct was blamed by the whole church, declares that the sword of sovereigns is subjected to the pope's spiritual falchion, &c.—

If then we put in an appeal to the future council against the censures contained in the bull, and against the interdict that is a consequence and accessory of it, it is because that not only the decisions of popes, but their very persons, when they fail in their duty in the government of the church, are to submit to the correction and reformation of the general council, in what regards as well faith as discipline: an indisputable truth, whence we shall never depart, whatever endeavours the partisans of the court of Rome may use.

The pope's denying to grant bulls to all the bishops nominated by the king, occasions a disorder that daily augments, and which requires a speedy and efficacious remedy. The councils of Constance and Basil having endeavoured to contrive some moderation to the court of Rome's usurpations, and to the confusion that was introduced in the distribution of benefices; the Pragmatic Sanction was afterwards composed of the decrees* of those councils: but the popes, perceiving their authority to diminish, made use of all sorts of artifices to abolish it; and by the concordate made be-

tween king Francis I. and pope Leo X. they regulated the manner of disposing of bishoprics and abbeys; to the pope was granted not only the devolution, but also the prevention, and the power of admitting the resignations in favour, and many other articles that are very burdensome to the ordinary collators, and absolutely contrary to the ancient canons.

And indeed our forefathers did for a long while complain against the concordate. The ordinance of Orleans did reestablish the elections; and it would be very advantageous that all ecclesiastical matters were transacted in the kingdom, without ever being obliged to have recourse to Rome.

In the sequel, nevertheless, the concordate was sincerely executed on our part; and it is inconceivable that the pope should now, through an invincible obstinacy, reduce us to deprive him of the profit which the court of Rome derives from a treaty which is so much to its advantage.

The king is most religious in nominating to the prelacies ecclesiastics of an exemplary integrity, and of conspicuous merit; and because that these ecclesiastics do not believe that the pope is infallible; that they do not, like the Italian doctors, attribute to him the title of *universal monarch*; that they are persuaded he has no power, either direct or indirect, over the temporality of kings; and that he is to all intents inferior to the councils, that have a right to correct him, and to reform his decisions; the pope, upon this imaginary pretence, refuses them bulls, and leaves the third part of the churches of the kingdom destitute of pastors. Is this imitating the care and lenity of the apostles in the government of the church?

After all, before the concordate, those that were elected by the clergy and the people, and afterwards by the chapters, in presence of one of the king's commissioners, were they not ordained by the metropolitan, assisted by the bishops of the province, after that the king had approved of their election? The right acquired to the king by the concordate, being authorized in this respect by the tacit con-

sent of the whole Gallican church, and confirmed by a possession of near two centuries, ought so much the less to receive any change and invasion, that during the first four ages of the monarchy they went not to Rome to demand institution and induction of benefices; the bishops disposed of all those that were vacant in their dioceses; and our kings did almost ever nominate to the bishoprics; and as they sometimes granted the clergy and the people the liberty of electing a pastor, they often reserved the choice of him to themselves; he they had chosen was immediately consecrated, without the pope's intermeddling in the matter. Who hinders us from following these examples, grounded upon this excellent reason, that the right which all the faithful had in the beginning, of appointing themselves a head, being no longer to be exercised in common, ought to pass into the power of the sovereign, on whom the subjects rely for the government of the state, of which the church is the noblest part?

But as to the pope, since he refuses to join the concurrence of his authority to the king's nomination, we may presume that he means to discharge himself of the painful burden which overwhelms him; and that his infirmities not permitting him to extend his pastoral diligence over all the parts of the universal church, the devolution that is made in case of negligence, sometimes even from the superior to the inferior, may authorize the bishops to lay their hands on those that shall be nominated by the king to the prelacies; his nomination having as much or more effect than the election of the people and the clergy, which ought, without difficulty, to be confirmed by the immediate superior, when an unworthy person was not chosen.

And if the like resolution requires the being accompanied with some temperament, if it requires the bishops' concurrence, the king may be besought to convene the provincial councils, or, if need be, a national council; therein to take resolutions suitable to the occasions of the Gallican church.

And as the evil seems urgent, and that there would be

possibly some danger in venturing upon the delays that are inseparable to the holding of a national council, his majesty may assemble such as he pleases of the principal officers, of the bishops, and considerable persons of all the orders of his realm, to take their advice in so important an affair.

But it is not just, that while that the pope refuses to execute the concordate in one of its principal articles, he does, nevertheless, enjoy the advantages that are granted him by that treaty, which contains conventions reciprocally obligatory; that people continue to go to Rome, and thither carry money, for the obtaining either the institutions of benefices or dispensations, that may be easily expediated in the kingdom.

Now if we purpose to bring off this traffick, it is only because it ceases to be reciprocal; and because that the pope by his obstinacy interposing an invincible impediment to the expedition of the bulls of a great number of bishoprics; it would be a shame to suffer that the Gallican church should remain burdened with the yoke of prevention of resignations in favour, and of all the other servitudes whereunto France was content to submit by the concordate.

And herein we do but faintly repel the injury that is done us; we oppose the buckler of our liberties against a new and unexampled enterprise, calamity, and anathema, to those that, out of interest or caprice, disturb the correspondence that ought to be between the priesthood and the royalty; who seem to have no other aim than to raise a schism in the church, and by fatal divisions disturb the peace which all Europe enjoys, and which was procured to it by the valour and wisdom of our invincible monarch.

But whatever endeavours those factious spirits may use that possess the pope, and abuse the power which his great age and infirmities oblige him to give them in the government of the church, we shall ever remain inseparably united to the holy see, we will acknowledge St. Peter's successor as the first and the chief of the bishops, we will most religiously maintain the communion and correspondence with the church of Rome, and we will defend ourselves with as

much moderation as vigour against the insults, invasions, and innovations contrary to the king's rights, to the dignity of his crown, to the decrees of the councils, to the general policy of our church, and to our liberties.

All these reasons, and a world of others which we omit, oblige us to require that it would please the court to admit us as appealing against the abuse of the bull, dated in the month of May last, and of the ordinance given in pursuance thereof: and, upon our appeal, to declare the said bull and ordinance void and abusive; making prohibition to all persons of vending them in the kingdom, on pain of being proceeded against according to the severity of the law; enjoining all those that have copies of them to bring them to the registrar of the court, in order to their being suppressed: as likewise to order that the act of appeal, made by the attorney-general to the future council, be registered in the register of the court; that the king shall be most humbly besought to employ his authority for the maintaining of the franchises, and the immunity of the quarters of his ambassadors at Rome, in the whole extent that they have hitherto had; moreover, that his majesty may be humbly desired to order the holding of provincial councils, nay, and of a national council, if need be, or the assembly of the nobles of his realm; and, after having heard their advice, to choose the means he shall reckon most fitting, for the hindering the disorders which the vacancy of so many archbishoprics and bishoprics in the kingdom do produce, and prevent the increase and progress of so dangerous an evil. We further require that the king be also most humbly besought to forbid his subjects to have any commerce in the meanwhile with Rome, and of sending any money thither; and in this to interpose his authority as far as he shall judge convenient; and that it be ordered by the court, that the arrest that shall intervene upon our present conclusions shall be affixed in the public places, and every where as shall be needful, in the wonted manner.

The king's counsel being withdrawn, a copy being perused, printed at Rome, of a bull concerning the franchises

of the quarters of the said town, and of the following ordinance of December 26 last, together with the act of appeal put into the future council by the king's attorney-general the 28th of this month, and the conclusions by him taken in writing, the matter being brought under debate.

The attorney-general's appealing from the abuse of the said bull, and of the following ordinance on the 26th of November last, the court admitted of the said appeal, and declares the said bull and ordinance as null and abusive; prohibits all persons whatsoever to vend them in the kingdom, on pain of being proceeded against according to the severity of the law; enjoining those that have copies of them to bring them to the registrar of the court, there to be suppressed; orders that the act of appeal put in by the king's attorney-general to the future council shall be registered in the register of the court, and that the king shall be most humbly desired to employ his authority for the maintaining the franchises and immunities of the quarters of his ambassadors in the court of Rome; in the whole extent they have hitherto had, to order the holding of provincial councils, or even of a national council, or an assembly of the nobles of his kingdom, so to advise about the most suitable means for the remedying the disorders which the long vacancy of several archbishoprics and bishoprics has therein introduced, and to prevent the progress and increase of them; and in the mean while to forbid his subjects in such manner as the said lord the king shall judge convenient, to have any commerce or remit any money into the court of Rome. And this present arrest to be affixed in the public and usual places of this town, and every where as shall be needful. Done in parliament on the 23d of Jan. 1688.

(Signed)

JACQUES.

Act of the appeal put in by the attorney-general to the council upon the subject of the pope's bull, concerning the franchises in the city of Rome, and of the following ordinance on the 26th of December last.

BEFORE the underwritten apostolical notary was present in his own person, Messire Achilles de Harlay, counsellor of the king in his council of state, and his majesty's attorney-general, who in the presence, and by the advice and counsel of Messire Denis Talon and of Messire François Criteau de la Moignon also, counsellors of the king in his council of state, and his advocates-general in his court of parliament, has declared that having some time since seen copies of a bull given on the 12th of May last past, by our holy father pope Innocent XI. concerning the franchises which certain persons are in possession of enjoying in the city of Rome; he could not have imagined that his holiness could have conceived the design of comprehending the ambassadors, which the king was willing to send to him, in the general menaces of excommunication which he judged convenient to insert therein, contrary to the use observed by other popes in the bulls made by them; and he hoped that if the remembrance of the sovereign power which the kings, his majesty's predecessors, exercised in Rome, of their liberalities to the holy see, and of the protection they gave to several popes, could not induce this pope to cause to be rendered to the king, in the persons of his ministers, honours and testimonies of acknowledgment proportionable to his bounties; at least his holiness, as visible head of the church, would not be insensible to the prodigies which the king had performed before his eyes for the reuniting in the bosom of this good mother so vast a number of children that were gone astray from her; that he would be affected with the piety of this prince, and the powerful protection he continually gives to prelates, though he was not with his victories and power; and that he would not enter into dispute with him about rights that had not suffered any invasion, even for several years under his popedom.

But being informed that his holiness had given order to the cardinal, that is his vicar in Rome, to declare the church of St. Lewis, of the said city, and the ecclesiastics that officiate in it, interdicted for having admitted to the participation of the holy mysteries and sacraments, on the night wherein is celebrated the solemnity of our Lord's nativity, Monsieur le marquis de Lavardin, the king's ambassador extraordinary to his holiness, and that it was supposed by the ordinance delivered upon this subject that he was notoriously excommunicated for pretended contraventions to this bull; the said attorney-general did not think that he could, without being wanting to his duty, remain any longer in the silence he had hitherto kept.

Now if the matter which has given an occasion to so great an excess did concern the ecclesiastical jurisdiction which belongs to the pope, he would easily shew the errors that have been committed by proceeding against a person that has not been particularly specified in that bull, to whom the state of matters has not been signified since his being at Rome; who might be ignorant of them in France, where it was not published; that the pope could not condemn him as an ambassador, though his character ought to secure him from those thunders, in regard of his functions; yet his holiness would not so much as hear or own him in that quality, whatever addresses he has caused to be made for that purpose; and that, in fine, the very rules of the canon law require that persons of so eminent a dignity, as is that of his, should be pointed out by name in bulls of that nature, before they can incur the penalties they utter.

But that the pope, in a matter purely temporal, as are these franchises of the king's ambassadors, having made use of the spiritual arms, which he is only entrusted withal for the conduct and edification of the church, and having constituted himself judge in his own cause, the excommunication which his holiness's cardinal vicar declares to have been incurred is so null, that there is no occasion for any proceedings to annihilate it; and those that are therein com-

prehended ought not to receive absolution, though it were even offered them at their own homes.

And indeed the said king's attorney-general does with all the French expect from his majesty's single power the reparation which these proceedings challenge, and the conservation of those franchises which only depend on the judgment of God, as all the rights of this crown; and which can admit of no diminution but such as the king's moderation and justice may give them.

But as nothing can contribute more to lessen in the minds of shallow persons and libertines the veneration which people ought to have for the power of the church, than the ill use which its ministers may make of it; the king's said attorney-general declares, that he is appealing, as indeed he appeals by the present act, from the abusive use that is made of it in the said bull and ordinance, not to our holy father pope Innocent XI, better informed, so as has been practised in respect of some of his predecessors; when that they had true ideas of their power, and their years allowed them to act of themselves; there might be hopes that in time they would be brought to know the justice and truth of the complaints that were brought before them; and that neither the preventions in favour of their country, nor the partialities of those they honoured with their trust, did not prevail over the obligations which the quality of common father of all Christians does impose.

Protesting to carry on this his said appeal upon this grievance, and upon the others, which he reserves to represent to the first general council that shall be held, as the tribunal truly sovereign and infallible of the church, to which its visible head must submit, as well as its other members; and therein to further among other things a regulation that shall prevent the employing so holy an authority in uses so far from those for which it was confided in the church in the person of St. Peter; this may make the pope be mindful, that God having separated the two powers of the priesthood and of empire, his holiness cannot make use of the authority of the first for the rights that depend on the se-

cond; that according to temporal laws he ought to possess those large territories which his predecessors have received from the liberality of temporal princes, and particularly from that of our kings; and that, in short, he would consider upon a truth which a great archbishop in France wrote to one of his predecessors, that a prelate that excommunicates a Christian contrary to the rules, and for rights of a kingdom of the earth, may, in such an occasion, well lose the power of binding and unbinding which his character gives him; but that he cannot deprive of eternal life him to whom he does this injustice, if his sins do not render him unworthy of the mercy of God. Of which the said attorney-general has required of us as an act. Done in the court, in the presence of the king's council, on the 22d day of January, in the year 1688.

MONSEIGNOR SIN. NOT.

Printed at Paris by Francis Muquets, the king and his parliament's chief printer, Street le Harp, 1688, with his majesty's privilege.

NUMB. III.

Cleri Gallicani de ecclesiastica potestate declaratio.
A. D. 1682.

I. BEATO Petro, ejusque successoribus Christi vicariis, ipsique ecclesiæ, rerum spiritualium et ad æternam salutem pertinentium non autem civilium ac temporalium a Deo traditam potestatem, dicente Domino, *Regnum meum non est de hoc mundo.*

The declaration of the Gallican clergy, concerning the ecclesiastical power, in the year 1682.

I. THAT God gave to St. Peter and his successors, vicars of Christ, and to the church herself, the power of spiritual things pertaining to eternal life, but not of civil and temporal matters. For the Lord said, *My kingdom is not of this world.* And

Et iterum, *Reddite quæ sunt Cæsaris Cæsari, et quæ sunt Dei Deo.* Ac proinde stare apostolicum illud: *Omnis anima potestatibus sublimioribus subdita sit. Non est enim potestas nisi a Deo. Quæ autem sunt, a Deo ordinatæ sunt. Itaque qui potestati resistit, Dei ordinationi resistit.* Reges ergo et principes in temporalibus nulli ecclesiasticæ potestati Dei ordinatione subjici, neque auctoritate clavium ecclesiæ directe vel indirecte deponi, aut illorum subditos eximi a fide, atque obedientia, ac præstito fidelitatis sacramento solvi posse: eamque sententiam publicæ tranquillitati necessariam, nec minus ecclesiæ quam imperio utilem, ut verbo Dei, patrum traditioni, et sanctorum exemplis consonam omnino retinendam.

II. Sic autem inesse apostolicæ sedi, ac Petri successoribus Christi vicariis rerum spiritualium plenam potestatem, ut simul valeant atque immota consistant sanctæ œcumenicæ synodi Constanti-

again, *Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's.* And therefore that of the apostle must stand: *Let every soul be subject to the higher powers. For there is no power but of God: the powers that be are ordained of God. Whosoever therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God.* Therefore kings and princes are not subject, in temporals, to any ecclesiastical power by the ordinance of God, neither can they, by authority of the keys of the church, directly or indirectly, be deposed, or their subjects absolved from their faith and obedience, and oath of allegiance which they have taken: and this is to be firmly retained, as necessary to the public peace, and not less useful to the church than to the state, as being consonant to the word of God, the tradition of the fathers, and practice of the saints.

II. But that the full power of spiritual things is so in the apostolical see, and the successors of Peter, the vicars of Christ, that the decrees of the holy and œcumenical council of Constance, con-

ensis a sede apostolica comprobata, ipsorumque Romanorum pontificum, ac totius ecclesiæ usu confirmata, atque ab ecclesia Gallicana perpetua religione custodita decreta de autoritate conciliorum generalium, quæ sess. 4 et 5, continentur: nec probari a Gallicana ecclesia, qui eorum decretorum, quasi dubiæ sint autoritatis, ac minus approbata, robur infringant; aut ad solum schismatis tempus concilii dicta detorqueant.

III. Hinc apostolicæ potestatis usum moderandum per canones, Spiritu Dei conditos et totius mundi reverentia consecratos; valere etiam regulas, mores et instituta a regno et ecclesia Gallicana recepta, patrumque terminos manere inconcussos; atque id pertinere ad amplitudinem apostolicæ sedis, ut statuta et consuetudines tantæ sedis, et ecclesiarum consensione firmatæ propriam stabilitatem obtineant.

cerning the authority of general councils, which are contained in the fourth and fifth sessions, approved by the apostolical see, and confirmed by the use of the popes of Rome themselves, and the whole church, and kept with perpetual veneration by the Gallican church, should likewise remain of force and unshaken: nor are they approved by the Gallican church, who would infringe the strength of these decrees, as if they were of doubtful authority, or less authentic; or who would wrest the words of the council only to the time of schism.

III. Hence the use of apostolical power is to be moderated by the canons, framed by the Spirit of God, and consecrated by the veneration of the whole world: and likewise the rules, customs, and institutions which have been received by the kingdom and Gallican church are to be in force, and the bounds of our fathers to remain unshaken: and that this is for the eminence of the apostolical see, that the statutes and usage of so great a see, and established by the consent of the churches, should obtain their proper stability.

IV. In fidei quoque quæstionibus præcipuas summi pontificis esse partes, ejusque decreta ad omnes et singulas ecclesias pertinere; nec tamen irreformabile esse judicium, nisi ecclesiæ consensus accesserit.

IV. The pope likewise has the chief part in questions concerning the faith, and his decrees have respect to all and singular churches: but nevertheless his judgment is not irreformable, except the consent of the church go along with it.

THE
TRUE NOTION
OF THE
CATHOLIC CHURCH,
IN ANSWER TO
THE BISHOP OF MEAUX'S LETTER TO MR. NELSON.
TO WHICH IS PREFIXED THE LETTER ITSELF.

THE LETTER.

A Monsieur Nelson à Black-
heath.



A St. Germain en Laye,
24 Jul. 1700.

J'AY receu, monsieur, depuis quinze jours une lettre, dont vous m'honorez de Blackheath auprès de Londres, le 18 Juillet de l'année passée, en m'envoyant un livre du Docteur Bullus, intitulé, *Judicium Ecclesiæ Catholicæ*, &c. Je vous dirai d'abord, monsieur, que je ressentis beaucoup de joie à la veüe de vostre écriture et de vostre nom, et que je fus ravi de cette marque de vostre souvenir. Quant à l'ouvrage du Docteur Bullus, j'ay voulu le lire entier, avant que de vous en accuser la réception; afin de vous

To Mr. Nelson at Blackheath.



St. Germaine en Laye,
24 July, 1700.

I RECEIVED, sir, about a fortnight ago the honour of your letter from Blackheath near London, dated the 18th of July of the last year, when at the same time you sent me Dr. Bull's book, entitled, *Judicium Ecclesiæ Catholicæ*, &c. I must first, sir, acquaint you, that the sight of your hand and name gave me a great deal of joy, and that I was extremely pleased with this testimony of your remembrance. As to Dr. Bull's performance, I was willing to read it all over before I acknowledged the receipt of it, that I might be able to give

en de dire mon sentiment. Il est admirable, et la matiere qu'il traite ne pouvoit estre expliquée plus savamment et plus à fond. C'est ce que je vous supplie de vouloir bien luy faire savoir, et en mesme temps les sincerés congratulations de tout le clergé de France, assemblé en cette ville, pour le service qu'il rend à l'église catholique en défendant si bien le jugement qu'elle a porté sur la nécessité de croire la divinité du Fils de Dieu. Qu'il me soit permis de luy dire qu'il me reste un seul sujet d'étonnement : c'est qu'un si grand homme qui parle si bien de l'église, du salut que l'on ne trouve qu'en son unité, et de l'assistance infallible du St. Esprit dans le concile de Nicée, ce qui induit la mesme grace pour tous les autres assemblez dans la mesme église, puisse demeurer un seul moment sans la reconnoistre. Ou bien, monsieur, qu'il daigne me dire, comme à un zélé défenseur de la doctrine qu'il enseigne, ce que c'est donc qu'il entend par ce mot *église catholique* ? Est-ce l'église Romaine, et celles qui luy adhèrent ?

you my sense of it. It is admirable, and the matter he treats could not be explained with greater learning and greater judgment. This is what I desire you would be pleased to acquaint him with, and at the same time with the unfeigned congratulations of all the clergy of France, assembled in this place, for the service he does the catholic church in so well defending her determination of the necessity of believing the divinity of the Son of God. Give me leave to acquaint him, there is one thing I wonder at, which is, that so great a man, who speaks so advantageously of the church, of salvation which is obtained only in unity with her, and of the infallible assistance of the Holy Ghost in the council of Nice ; which infers the same assistance for all others assembled in the same church ; can continue a moment without acknowledging her. Or either, sir, let him vouchsafe to tell me, who am a zealous defender of the doctrine he teaches, what it is he means by the term *catholic church* ? Is it the church of Rome, and those who adhere to her ? Is it the church of England ?

Est-ce l'église Anglicane ? Est-ce un amas confus de sociétés séparées les unes des autres ? Et comment peuvent-elles estre ce royaume de J. C. non divisé en luy mesme, et qui aussi ne doit jamais périr ? Que je serai consolé d'avoir sur ce sujet un mot de response, qui m'explique le sentiment d'un si grave auteur. Je suis très aise, monsieur, d'attendre dans vostre lettre l'heureuses nouvelles de la santé de madame vostre femme, que je recommande de bon cœur à Dieu avec vous et vostre famille. Ceux qui vous ont raconté les rares talens de M. l'archevesque de Paris, aujourd'hui le cardinal de Noailles, vous ont dit la vérité : il y a long temps que la chaire de St. Denis n'a esté si dignement remplie. Si M. Collier dont vous me parlez a fait quelque écrit Latin sur la nouvelle spiritualité, vous m'obligerez de me l'envoyer. Mais sur tout n'oubliez jamais que je suis avec beaucoup de sincerité,

Monsieur,
 Vostre tres-humble et
 tres-obeissant serviteur,
 J. BENIGNE,
 E. de Meaux.

Is it a confused heap of societies separated the one from the other ? And how can they be that kingdom of Christ not divided against itself, and which never shall perish ? It would be a great satisfaction to me to receive some answer upon this subject, that might explain the opinion of so weighty and solid an author. I very much rejoice at the good news you send me of your lady's welfare, whom I heartily pray for, with you and your family. You have been rightly informed in the account you have received of the admirable qualifications of the archbishop of Paris, now cardinal de Noailles ; the see of St. Denis has not for a long time been so worthily filled. If Mr. Collier, whom you mention, has writ any thing in Latin concerning the modern mystical divinity, you will oblige me in conveying it to me. But above all remember, that I am with a great deal of sincerity,

Sir,
 Your most humble and
 most obedient servant,
 J. BENIGNE,
 Bishop of Meaux.

THE ANSWER.

MY LORD,

WE are ready, with great cheerfulness, to let your lordship know what we mean by *the catholic church*.

We do esteem every bishop, with his college of presbyters and deacons, and the laity of his district, to be a particular church, wherein the bishop presides, as representing the person of Christ, and to be the principle of unity in his church, as St. Ignatius speaks.

And we think with St. Cyprian, (in his 68th Epistle to pope Stephen, edit. Oxon.) *Iccirco enim, frater charissime, copiosum est corpus sacerdotum, concordiae mutuae glutino atque unitatis vinculo copulatum, ut si quis ex collegio nostro hæresin facere, et gregem Christi lacerare et vastare tentaverit; subveniant cæteri, et quasi pastores utiles et misericordes, oves Dominicas in gregem colligant:* “Therefore, most dear brother, there is a very large
“ body of bishops joined together in the cement of
“ mutual concord in the bond of unity, that if any
“ of our college attempt to make a schism, and rend
“ and destroy the flock of Christ, the rest should
“ assist, and, like good and merciful pastors, reduce
“ the Lord’s (wandering) sheep unto the flock.”

Hence all particular churches, that is, every bishop, with his proper flock, make up the whole, which is *the catholic church*.

And all these are one flock, one church to Christ, as St. Cyprian speaks, Ep. 55: *Cum sit a Christo una ecclesia per totum mundum in multa membra divisa; ita episcopatus unus, episcoporum multorum concordie numerositate diffusus*: “As there is one “church of Christ distinguished into many mem- “bers through the whole world, so there is one “episcopacy of a great united number of many bi- “shops diffused” through that one church. And again, *De Unit. Eccles.: Episcopatus unus, cujus a singulis, in solidum, pars tenetur*: “There is one “episcopacy, of which part is committed to every “bishop in full.” Your lordship knows *in solidum* is a law-phrase, and signifies that part of this one episcopacy is so committed to every single bishop, that he is nevertheless charged with taking care of the whole church.

To maintain and regulate this concord and correspondence of the bishops among themselves, they disposed of themselves into provinces, and chose one bishop of the province to preside in their councils when they met, with some particular jurisdictions in the intervals, such as they thought fit, for the better regulation of the whole; but without the infringement of the power of each bishop within his own diocese.

And as every province of bishops had such a metropolitan, so when the several provinces of one nation or kingdom met, they had a primate or metropolitan of the whole nation or kingdom; still saving the rights of the particular metropolitans.

And when there should be occasion for the bishops of several nations to meet, they had a patriarch; still saving the rights of the particular pri-

mates, metropolitans, and bishops, each in their own districts.

And if the bishops of several patriarchates met, the precedence of these patriarchs was adjusted, to avoid contests.

But this disposition was only among the bishops of the Roman empire, who might the more conveniently do it, as being all under one emperor; and therefore, with his allowance, might meet in any place of his empire.

This empire was called *οἰκουμένη*, whence a general council of the bishops of the empire took the style of *œcumenical*.

But there were many great and numerous churches in India, and afterwards in the vast empire of the Abyssins in Africa, which, not being under the Roman empire, never came to these councils, nor indeed could come: neither could they all meet together, having little or no correspondence together, because of the vast distance, and their not being under one emperor, who might give them safe conduct, and protect them when together.

The first place among the patriarchs of the Roman empire was given to the bishop of Rome, that being then the seat of the empire.

But sometime after the seat of the empire had been translated to Constantinople, the bishop of that see took the primacy to himself, pretending to be the universal bishop over the whole catholic church. This was the first time that the pretence was ever set up. And your lordship knows very well the opposition which was given to him in this by Gregory the Great, then bishop of Rome, who told him, that the see of Rome had the preference to his in

former councils, and yet that none of his predecessors, bishops of Rome, did ever assume to themselves such an arrogant title. He compares the bishops to the stars of God, and says, that whosoever sought to advance his throne above these, did in that imitate the pride of Lucifer, and was the forerunner of antichrist; and applies this to John, then bishop of Constantinople: *Cum se pene per orbem universum οἰκουµενικὸν patriarcham nominaret.* Here was a *pene*; so that it should seem as if he set himself up only as head over all the bishops in the Roman empire. We do believe that your lordship and the whole Gallican church will readily agree with this reasoning of the same Gregory, that *si unus episcopus vocatur universalis, universa ecclesia corrui, si unus universus cadet*: and he says, *Absit a cordibus Christianorum nomen istud blasphemiae, in quo omnium sacerdotum honor adimitur, dum ab uno sibi dementer arrogatur.* I refer your lordship for this, and much more to the same purpose, to his books of Epistles, lib. IV. Ep. 32, 33, 34, 36, 38. lib. VI. Ep. 24, 28, 30, 39. lib. VIII. Ep. 30. lib. XI. Ep. 45.

And now, my lord, when we saw such an universal supremacy set up at Rome, which Gregory the Great called *blasphemy* and *madness*; and that enforced upon us, as of faith, the *summa rei Christianae*, as cardinal Bellarmine calls it, *Præf. ad Lib. de Rom. Pont.*, and says, lib. I. 10, *Est enim revera non simplex error, sed perniciosa hæresis negare B. Petri primatum a Christo institutum*; and from thence this universal primacy of the pope, as successor to St. Peter; was it not time then, my lord, to stand up against it?

Your illustrious church has done it as well as we, in your memorable decrees made in your general assembly, an. 1682, with this difference, that you only limit his supremacy, whereas we have withdrawn ourselves from under it. You say there, *Hinc apostolicæ potestatis usum moderandum per canones—valere etiam regulas, mores, et instituta a regno et ecclesia Gallicana recepta, patrumque terminos manere inconcussos.*

Now we beseech your lordship to help us to understand who has power to limit a supremacy founded by Christ? Do you assert the liberties of the Gallican church only as concessions granted you by the pope? or as your original rights, and never justly under his power? The latter, I suppose, you stand upon. Then his supremacy is not absolute. And where shall we find the limitations? and who is judge of these limitations? If any other than the pope, they are superior to him, who is the supreme.

But then it may be said to us, Why do we not allow to the patriarch of Rome the dignity of that primacy which we own to have been affixed to his see by the canons, and consent of so many bishops?

1. Because he will not be content with it, but claims more, even an universal supremacy over the whole catholic church; and that not *jure ecclesiastico* only, from the agreement and consent of his fellow-bishops, but *jure divino*, from the immediate disposition of our Lord Christ; and to that end quotes several texts of scripture, which we think, with the ancient fathers, infers no such thing.

2. Because he pretends not only to a primacy of order, but to an absolute and unlimited sovereignty over all the bishops in the world, whom he would

have to be his subjects, instead of his colleagues ; and this, we think, does totally subvert that disposition and government of the church in which our Lord and his apostles left it, and as it was understood and practised in the first and purest ages : therefore we think we should be traditors of the sacred *depositum*, if we should give way to it, especially considering that,

3. From this sovereignty and supremacy an infallibility in his person has been inferred, as the only successor of St. Peter, and heir of all the promises and privileges given unto him ; superior to the authority of all councils, which derive their power from him ; and to determine of faith as well as of manners, as being the only living judge of controversy, always in being ; insomuch that cardinal Bellarmine is forced to affirm that it is impossible the pope should err ; for this absurdity, he says, would follow, *Si autem papa erraret præcipiendo vitia, vel prohibendo virtutes, teneretur ecclesia credere vitia esse bona, et virtutes malas, nisi vellet contra conscientiam peccare*, De Rom. Pont. lib. IV. c. 5 : and more could not be said of Christ.

4. From all this has been inferred an absolute and supreme temporal power in him, even to depose princes, and absolve their subjects from their allegiance, which is expressly vindicated to him in the fourth council of Lateran, c. 3.

We know, my lord, that in the Gallican decrees of 1682 this power of his to exauctorate kings is absolutely denied, as likewise his infallibility ; and he is there subjected to councils, even to be deposed and excommunicated by them : and his supremacy is limited, not only by the canons of coun-

cils, but by the rules and orders of every national church.

But, my lord, how can this bring us to own his supremacy, even in the limited sense of the Gallican church, when we know at the same time that he will not submit to it, nay that he stood out against it, till the necessity of affairs pressing your king, in the last confederacy against him, the bishops of France were forced to sign a retractation of these decrees; till which time the pope refused to preconize any of their bishops. And your lordship must know, better than we do, that it was the pope who set up the confederacy against France, chiefly upon the point of these decrees: and the first article of what was called the Resolution of the Princes, Allies, and Confederates, which was taken in the Assembly at the Hague, February 4, 1691, was in these words; "That no peace be made with Lewis XIV. till he has made reparation to the holy see for whatsoever he has acted against it, and till he annul and make void all those infamous proceedings against the holy father, Innocent XI."

And this was agreeable to the actings of his predecessors; particularly in France, whose learned church always contested their liberties against the plenitude of the papal supremacy, which sought to swallow them up. And it is very observable, that though the rebellion of the holy league in France lasted during the reigns of six popes, every one of these popes was for the league against the king: and cardinal Cajetan, legate there for the pope, in the year 1593, made this his main argument to justify that rebellion, that so many popes had concurred in it. This we are told by d'Avila, in his History of

the Civil Wars of France, lib. XIII. But I will trouble your lordship no further with instances of popes fomenting rebellions of subjects against their natural princes, and their deposing of kings, on pretence of this their universal supremacy; these things are well known to your lordship: and we do believe that the whole Gallican church does abhor and detest such doctrines.

But, my lord, we do thus judge, that if the pope will not be content with that supremacy of order which was given to him, *jure* only *ecclesiastico*, and as the first of the patriarchs within the Roman empire; but will assume a supremacy over the whole catholic church, even of all churches which never yet did own his supremacy over them:

And withal will turn this supremacy of order into an absolute and despotic sovereignty, temporal as well as spiritual; with an infallibility of decision in himself, in all matters of faith as well as morals: and having practised all this for many ages, and been supported in it by the learned writers of his side, as well as countenanced in it, at least, by several councils of his calling; and will not to this day be brought to disown any of these pretences, nor to acknowledge that he has received this his supremacy from any ecclesiastical establishment of his fellow-bishops; but asserts it as of divine right, and therefore unlimitable and indefeasible: my lord, we then judge that he has truly forfeited that ecclesiastical primacy given to him by the canons: as if a judge, the general of an army, or president of the king's council, should disown the king, or any authority from him, and set himself up as king, and assume the regal style, it would be treason in any

to adhere longer to him, or to obey him, on pretence of the commission he formerly had from the king.

My lord, we think it incumbent upon every bishop of the church to assert his own inherent power, given to him by our Lord, and to restore the discipline of the primitive church, which leaves him supreme in his own diocese, not hurt or infringed in the least by the regulations made among the bishops themselves, for their mutual correspondence and management of the affairs of the episcopal college. We consider with St. Cyprian, Ep. 73, *Quam periculosum sit in Divinis rebus, ut quis cedat jure suo et potestate.*

I am inclinable to believe, that if your lordship in particular, and other bishops in the Gallican church, were at liberty, each in his own district, to regulate such matters as you might do with a good conscience, things might be brought to bear so, from such a happy beginning of reformation, as that though men might differ in some particular opinions, as they always will, yet that terms of communion might be adjusted between us, upon catholic principles, to the honour of God, and peace of his church. And if such a communion were begun, though but with a few bishops, who would exert their just power, it might bring the church to that state, in time, in which all good men wish to see her. And if a catholic communion were restored, we should see again the primitive face of the church. But no step can be made towards this while the pope's supremacy ties up the power of all other bishops in their own respective churches: and we hardly expect that he will give way to any thing that will in the least infringe the plenitude of his

supremacy. You have made an experiment of it in your general assembly of 1682. And if he will not suffer his supremacy to be limited, and reduced to the standard of the ancient canons, we can see no remedy, my lord, but that it must be taken away. Why should we have any hesitation to take that out of the way, which is the visible *remora* to the uniting of all Christian churches, and the restoring of catholic communion all the world over? to take that out of the way, which your bishops of France, as well as those of the Greek church, and ours in England, are fully convinced is an usurpation? against which you have often struggled, and still do complain: but we have thrown it off, seeing no other way possible to get from under its usurpation.

My lord, I am satisfied that your church and ours are nearer to one another, as to this point of the supremacy, than you are with the church, at least with the court, of Rome.

We see, my lord, the peace of the world better consulted, by the divine Providence, in many independent kings, than in one universal monarch; whose deputies, in far distant regions, could never be kept from revolts, as we have seen in great monarchies, though none was ever yet universal. And betwixt a king and his rebels there is no interposing by his subjects; it would justly render such suspected, who should argue on the rebels' side: therefore the end must be extermination of the one or the other. Whereas in disputes betwixt kings, other kings may interpose their mediation, and become guarantees of peace.

And yet the whole world is one kingdom to God,

as it is written, Psalm xxi. 29, *Domini est regnum, et ipse dominabitur gentium.* How vain then would the dispute be betwixt any of these nations, suppose France, Spain, or England, which of them were this one kingdom, when each of them, though greater than any other kingdom of the earth, would still be but a part of this one kingdom !

Such, my lord, we esteem the dispute to be betwixt particular churches—which of them is the catholic church? we must say, none of them; though one be much greater and more potent than another, yet it is still but a part of the whole.

And as God has appointed no universal monarch, neither has he an universal bishop. And all the arguments which an universal bishop could use for unity and peace, and to end controversies, might be used by an universal monarch; and both prove equally fallacious, to the greater disturbance rather than settlement of that peace.

But as our faith is dearer to us than our lives, so the mischief would be greater if the whole church should be made to depend upon one; for then *universa ecclesia corrui, si unus universus cadit.* And if the church falls, the faith which is built upon it must fall with it. This obliged the popes, when they set up for universality, to assert infallibility to themselves likewise; because, indeed, less than that could not support so vast a charge, as that of the whole catholic church. But since their infallibility is fallen, at least in France, we think it strange that their universality should survive it; an universality which never yet was in fact! never owned by the catholic church, or any churches out of the bounds of the western empire; nor intended, when

first used in the western councils, to extend any further.

How much safer has Christ consulted for his church, than to put it all into the hands of one fallible man: *Iccirco copiosum fecit corpus sacerdotum, ut si unus lacerare et vastare tentaverit, cæteri subveniant*; as in the case of Paulus Samosatenus. Thus the peace of the world is preserved, and thus the peace of the church; and thus it is that God has disposed of both, whose *foolishness is wiser than men*.

But your lordship asks, how these several churches *can be that kingdom of Jesus Christ not divided in itself, and which can never fail*. My lord, our blessed Saviour has told us, that there will be divisions in his church; and the experience of all ages has made it good. But if the meaning be, that schismatics and heretics, who go out of the church, are no longer of it; and so the church, that is, those who remain, are not divided; in this sense no church can be divided, if but three or four were left. But is a church divided when there is a schism within her own bowels, and bishops and antibishops set up among those who are otherwise of the same communion, doctrine, and worship? Your lordship knows very well (without referring you to Platina) how many schisms of this sort have been in the church of Rome from the time of Cornelius and Novatian, popes and antipopes set up against one another, and some of them lasting for many years together.

But if schism does not divide a church, then, my lord, you have cleared us, as to any schisms among us, at the same time that you vindicate the

church of Rome; but with this difference, that where the whole authority of a church is centred in one, as the supreme head and principle of unity to all the bishops and churches which compose that one church, there is a schism concerning such an universal head; and when several such heads are set up together, in opposition to one another, the schism must be much more fatal to the unity of that church, than where such a dispute falls out amongst coordinate and independent bishops, united only in a metropolitan or primate of their own option, and subjected to such rules as are concerted among them for the better regulation of their common body. These two cases are as different as a division in our house of lords or commons, who should be their president or speaker, would differ from a division of the nation, who should be their king: to set up another king is treason; not so of a speaker, or the president of any court. A metropolitan is but president of the court of bishops, chosen by themselves: but the pope pretends to be king and supreme; and two popes are two kings of the church.

But now, my lord, if all the kingdoms in the world make one kingdom to God, without any universal vicar or monarch under him, why should it be difficult to apprehend how all the Christian churches make one church to Christ without any universal bishop?

The bishops, who are the stars of God, (Apoc. i. 20,) and princes of his church, are, by the rules of catholic communion, (observed in the primitive church, and which it is wished by all good Christians were restored,) *concordiæ mutuæ glutino atque*

unitatis vinculo copulati, more than the temporal princes of the world are: each of whose power and authority reaches no further than the extent of his own dominions; his sentence, whether of death, confiscation, &c. has no effect elsewhere. But by the rules of catholic discipline the sentence of every bishop in his own church has its effect all the Christian world over; and every bishop is obliged to maintain the rights and jurisdiction of every other bishop: so that any person, justly excommunicated by his proper bishops, stands excommunicated from all other bishops and churches, and consequently from the catholic church; and when absolved by his own bishop, is thereby restored to the peace and communion of the catholic church: because the whole catholic church is one flock, in the language of St. Cyprian, who says, Ep. 67, *Nam etsi pastores multi sumus, unum tamen gregem pascimus, et oves universas*: “For though we be many pastors, yet we feed one and the same flock; in general, all the sheep (of Christ).” And, Ep. 55, *Singulis pastoribus portio gregis adscripta est, quam regat unusquisque et gubernet*: “A share of the flock, which every one is to rule and govern, is committed severally to single pastors.” And the difference of discipline among bishops, each in his own diocese, does not at all break this unity; concerning which he says, Ep. 72, *Cæterum scimus quosdam quod semel imbiberint, nolle deponere, nec propositum suum facile mutare; sed salvo inter collegas pacis ac concordie vinculo, quædam propria, quæ apud se semel sint usurpata, retinere. Qua in re, nec nos vim cuiquam facimus, aut legem damus; cum habeat in ecclesie administratione, voluntatis suæ*

liberum arbitrium unusquisque præpositus, rationem sui actus Domino redditurus: “ But we know that
 “ some will never part with what they have once
 “ imbibed, nor change their opinion, but, keeping
 “ the bond of peace and concord among their col-
 “ leagues, will retain some of their own practices,
 “ which they have once used. In which case, nei-
 “ ther do we use unreasonable violence towards any,
 “ or give laws to others; because every bishop hath
 “ free liberty of acting according to his own will in
 “ the administration of the church, as one who is to
 “ give an account of his own acting to the Lord.”
 And therefore leaving every bishop to the full go-
 vernment of his own diocese, according to his own
 will, only *salvo inter collegas pacis ac concordie
 vinculo*, he imposed not any thing by way of any
 authority he had upon any of the bishops whom he
 called to council at Carthage, but said, *Neque enim
 quisquam nostrum episcopum se episcoporum con-
 stituit:* “ Neither doth any of us make himself a
 “ bishop of bishops.” He assumed no more than as
 president of that college of bishops, without think-
 ing he had power to interpose in the government of
 any bishop within his own diocese.

It is said in the history of your Henry the Great
 of France, that he had it in his thoughts to have
 erected a regal college of all the Christian kings in
 Europe, by the consent of all the kings, wherein all
 differences among them should be adjusted by com-
 mon consent; and whoso refused to stand to the
 decision of that college, should be compelled by the
 rest. But this was only to determine of differences
 among the several kings, not to prescribe laws for
 any king in his own dominions: nor did it give the

president (whatever king should be chosen president of that college) any power whatever in any of the other kings' dominions: and if he should assert it, and claim to be universal monarch over all these kingdoms, upon the account of his being president of the regal college, it would be a manifest usurpation, and ought to be opposed by all of these kings, who should no longer own him even as president; and his arguments for unity, and that all should submit to him for peace sake, would be very ridiculous.

That which your Henry the Great wished and endeavoured to bring to pass, as to the greater unity of kings, was in great measure effected in the general councils of the bishops, within the compass of the Roman empire in purer times; and might still be further, in councils more general, as the commerce of the world increases, if the supremacy of one did not hinder all others to attempt it.

Upon the whole, we think, that as all the kingdoms of the world are one kingdom to God, so, that the several churches, which, according to the primitive constitution, are much more united than the principalities of the earth, may be justly termed *one catholic church*; and that without one universal head or sovereign upon earth, which, as I have said, was never yet in fact; and if it were, would be of fatal consequence to the faith and unity of the church, and that frame in which our blessed Lord and his apostles left it.

And upon this pretended sovereignty of the pope, we charge the schism of those who have broke off from the subjection to their proper bishops: for Calvin himself says, *Talem si nobis hierarchiam exhi-*

beant, in qua sic emineant episcopi, ut Christo subesse non recusent, et ab illo tanquam unico capite pendeant—Tum vero nullo non anathemate dignos fatear si qui erunt qui non eam revereantur, summaque obedientia observent. (De Necessit. Eccles. reformand.) And Beza says, *Si qui sunt (quod sane mihi non facile persuaseris) qui omnem episcoporum ordinem rejiciant, absit ut quisquam satis sanæ mentis furoribus illorum assentiatur. (Bez. ad Tract. de Minister. Evang. ab Hadrian. Sarav. Belg. edit. c. 1.)* And says, as to the episcopacy of the church of England, (*Ibid. c. 18.*) *Fruatur sane ista singulari Dei providentia; et utinam sit illi perpetua.*

From hence others have proceeded to throw off episcopacy itself. But we see from what spring all these have flowed: and from the disease we discover the remedy, which is, to restore the *episcopatus vigorem*, the *sacerdotii sublime fastigium*, as St. Cyprian calls the power of every bishop in his own district: of which St. Ignatius and the first fathers spoke such great things, without so much as a hint of the sovereignty of one bishop over the rest; which was a notion not known in those ages

We think the divine and apostolic authority of the episcopate swallowed up at Rome in the sovereignty of the pontificate; as the learned archbishop of Spalato, Marc. Anton. de Dom. did observe, and in his *Concilium Protectionis* gave it as the reason of his leaving that communion, and joining himself to a church where episcopacy was free and primitive.

My lord, what we plead for is the restoration of the original rights of episcopacy in the Roman com-

munion; where, though the name is retained, yet the power is swallowed up in one; without whom, none of the other bishops have the freedom of their own judgments left to them, or dare not exert it.

We should then think the time for healing of schism and unity of the church approaching, if the bishops in her communion would think themselves at liberty, would be persuaded that it was their duty, as answerable to God, to exert the full of their apostolical authority, each in his own diocese; where, as St. Cyprian says, Ep. 59, *Judex vice Christi cogitatur*: “He is to be esteemed as judge in the “place of Christ.” And, Ep. 68, speaks of the bishops in general as *gubernandæ ecclesiæ libram tenentes*: “holding the balance of church-govern-“ment.” If we could treat with your lordship in this style, and say with him, Ep. 3, *Cum pro episcopatus vigore, et cathedræ autoritate, haberes potestatem*; if you would bear such language from us, we should hope a good effect: we might then come to understand one another better than we have done. But if your lordship think not yourself at liberty to make any reformation in your own diocese, even in things which you could not only allow, but might desire were done, and which might have so blessed an effect, as the beginning of a catholic communion; we must then say, with the great father before named, Ep. 59, *Si ita res est—actum est de episcopatus vigore*.

But leaving all this to the good time and disposition of Providence, I shall think myself happy, and my pains abundantly recompensed, if I may have afforded to a man of your lordship’s character, learning, and sagacity, any clearer view of our notions

of the catholic church, than from your unacquaintedness with our writings have come to your lordship's knowledge before.

I beg your lordship's patience for one word more as to what your lordship says concerning the infallible assistance of the Holy Ghost in the council of Nice, and consequently in all such assemblies of the same church. My lord, we know of no such promise applied to councils, nor to any particular church; several of whose candlesticks have been removed, and others may. We doubt not the assistance of God's holy Spirit to every man, and assemblies of men, who seek his glory with an unfeigned heart: but this grace may be resisted by assemblies as well as by private men: witness the second council of Ephesus, and, as we maintain, the second council of Nice.

My lord, neither you nor we think that councils can add any one article to the Creed, or take any away: but, upon the arising of any new heresy, a council is the best evidence of the faith received in those churches of which it is composed. Thus they are witnesses and guards of the faith, but neither the authors nor masters of it.

There never yet was, nor we believe ever will be, (and we think it not necessary that there should be,) a council composed of bishops deputed from all the Christian churches in the world; and none other can be called truly universal.

But, blessed be God, all retain the foundation and summary of our faith; that is, the Apostles' Creed, as explained by the council of Nice. And though some differ in the sense of some parts of it, yet they are not to be convinced by majority of votes in a

council, but by laying before them the primitive doctrine, built upon the holy scriptures, and sufficiently attested and witnessed in the first and after-ages of the church; and to shew the beginning and rise of heresies, and that they were not from the beginning. So Alexander, bishop of Alexandria, proceeded against Arius, by asking the bishops assembled in council, *Quis unquam talia audivit?* And all declaring that they had never heard of such a doctrine before, it was therefore novel, and so to be rejected; not from the authority of the council, but their undeniable testimony, witnessed by all their flocks, who constantly hear their doctrine.

Every bishop, as supreme in his own church, and a council of bishops assembled, may condemn such an heresy, and forbid communion with such and such, or not, as they shall find it most expedient for the saving of their own flocks, and the general good of the catholic church: for this is matter of discipline; and in this they have authority, to which their flocks ought to submit: and this they may alter, retain, or relax, according to the variation of times and circumstances: but the faith they cannot alter, only bear witness to it; therefore in matters of faith they have no authority, properly speaking: for example, they have no authority to determine whether there be a God or not; whether Christ is come in the flesh; whether he died for the sins of men; whether the holy scriptures are true; whether we ought to receive the Creed. Their negative in any of these points must be detested by all Christians. And these are the highest points of faith, wherein they have no authority, can determine nothing by their authority, cannot make use of that

topic to convince any gainsayer: for no bishop, or council of bishops, can have any authority but upon the supposition of a God, a Christ, of the truth of the holy scriptures, whence they prove their authority; and therefore none of these can stand upon their authority. But the church doth bear witness to the truth, and preaches and preserves that *faith which was once delivered to the saints*; and in this sense *is the pillar and ground of the truth*, as the supporters and propagators of it, not the authors of it, or having dominion over it: to convince us in which, it has pleased God to permit councils, even those who have called themselves *œcumenical*, to fall into gross errors; as the fourth of Lateran, that enacted the deposing doctrine, which both the Gallican and English church think to be damnable, according to Rom. xiii. 2. And not only so, but œcumenical councils have opposed and contradicted one another, have censured and condemned each other, as the second council of Ephesus was condemned by the fourth general council at Chalcedon.

Besides the dispute yet not determined in the church of Rome, where that infallibility of which your lordship speaks is placed; whether in the pope alone, as the only successor of St. Peter, and heir of the promises made to him, of *super hanc petram—tibi dabo claves*, &c. as Bellarmine and the canonists and schoolmen have contended; or whether in a council, as superior to the pope, according to the councils of Constance and Basil; or whether in neither of them separate, but only in both together; or, lastly, (because of many objections even in that scheme, some popes and councils having been against others,) whether this infallibility is to be looked for

only in the church diffusive, as some of their writers do assert. This uncertainty must render this infallibility utterly uncertain; seeing it is the same not to have a thing as not to know where to find it. And none can embrace any one of these schemes of infallibility, but he must oppose all the others, and consequently the greatest part (it may happen) of the church of Rome, because there are so many odds against him: for none can hold to more than one of these schemes, they being all so opposite to one another, that if any one of them be true, all the rest must be false; and, according to Bellarmine, (as before quoted,) heretical, as overthrowing the very *summa rei Christianæ*.

And now, my lord, you cannot think it strange that we should be at a loss about this infallibility, when there is so great variety and even contradiction among those who do assert it.

But though we think no church to be infallible, yet we have an infallible assurance of the faith, in its being delivered down to us by such an universal consent of all ages and churches, as that it was not in their power, though they should be supposed so wicked as to design it, at such vast distance, even where all correspondence was stopped, to have combined together and all agree in the selfsame doctrine, if it had not been the same which had been taught them from the beginning. And the rise of heresies does rather confirm the truth of this; because such were found to be novelties, and to go against this universal tradition: which whatever has, (according to the rule of Vincentius Lirinensis, *Quod semper, ubique, et ab omnibus,*) we willingly

receive; and what has not this evidence, we cannot admit as of faith.

We rest fully satisfied and assured of Christ's promise, that he will always preserve a church to himself upon earth, (though there is no promise to Rome, England, or any particular church,) against which the gates of hell shall not finally prevail. But we are told, that they will be permitted to make great inroads upon her, and she is represented to us as persecuted in the wilderness at some times.

God grant we may see her restoration: and I am confident your lordship will join with us in this prayer, that the *ὁ κατέχων* (whoever or whatever it is) *ἐκ μέσου γένηται*. Amen.

Sept. 26, 1703.

THE
CASE OF THE REGALE
AND OF
THE PONTIFICATE
STATED,
IN A CONFERENCE
CONCERNING THE
INDEPENDENCY OF THE CHURCH

UPON ANY POWER ON EARTH, IN THE EXERCISE OF HER PURELY
SPIRITUAL POWER AND AUTHORITY.

As likewise a Defence of it, (in a Supplement,) being a Reply
to an Answer lately published against it.

Also a Preface, wherein is shewed that there is no danger in
asserting the divine and inherent rights of the church; but,
on the other hand, that there is greater security, and an
indispensable obligation to insist upon them.



If the foundation be destroyed, what can the righteous do? Psalm xi. 3.

THE
P R E F A C E.

I. SINCE the first edition of this Conference, the present state of the controversy (which is the subject of sect. X.) has received some variation. There were then two hypotheses, one of Dr. Hody, and some who followed him, not to justify the regale in lay-deprivations; but containing precedents of submitting to it, when we could not help it; that is, when it was too strong for us, and so irresistible: provided only that the second bishops put into the room of the deprived were orthodox in the faith. The other way, taken by Dr. Wake, and which, I think, more generally obtained, was to keep more aloof from the cause, and go in the historical way of giving account of the progress and procedure of the regale in several countries, more especially here in England; still happening to keep the bias on the side of the regale, whereby one's own opinion is laid less open to objections, because it is not so expressly declared, and there is more room for defence; especially where some strictures are scattered up and down, looking towards the original and inherent rights of the church; which may serve, upon occasion, to explain other passages, when taken in the opposite sense.

II. Since that time Dr. Atterbury has appeared in opposition to Dr. Wake, and Dr. Kennet has replied in his defence: but this dispute is limited to the laws of the land, particularly as to convocations, their right to meet, sit, act, &c. which depends upon records, constitutions of acts of parliaments, and other law-points.

I intend not to interpose in this dispute; only this use I have to make of it, that both parties do now happily agree in the original and inherent rights of the church, derived

from Christ, as a society distinct from, and independent upon, the state, even when the state is Christian. This Dr. Kennet does frankly declare to be the chief end that moved him to write his book, viz. "to assert the nature of the Christian church, as a society endowed with fundamental rights to preserve its own being; and among these, a right for the governors to assemble, and agree upon the common measures of faith and unity, as at first independent on the heathen, so even now on the Christian magistrate, when the necessities of desertion or persecution so require," Pref. p. ix. "In such a case," says he, (in his book, p. 98.) "let the church be true to Christ, and to the powers she received from him. This is the original right which we assert." And, p. 109, "The bishop of each diocese had an original right to convene his own clergy, and with their advice and consent to ordain such rules and orders as were proper to declare the doctrine, and regulate the discipline of their own body." And, p. 197, "that the Christian church was endowed, as a society, with a divine right of preserving the faith, and securing the discipline that should be necessary to hinder the gates of hell from prevailing against her. In order to this end, the church governors had authority to meet and consult of all urgent affairs; and, when so assembled, their resolutions and decrees were thought declaratory of the sense of scripture, and of sound traditions; and were so far binding to the inferior priests and people." And, p. 201, that it was so in England as in other churches: that "from the time that church-government was here established, our bishops had a right of calling their own clergy to a synod, and to enter upon debates, and draw up rules and orders that should be binding within that special jurisdiction: that this power was apparently exercised for some ages, to the times of reformation, under Henry VIII, when the submission of the clergy made all diocesan meetings to be executive visitations, no longer legislative synods." And that as every bishop in England was thus supreme in his own diocese, so that the Eng-

lish provincial synods of Canterbury and York were called by their respective metropolitans. "And they both," says he, (p. 202.) "exercised this spiritual right without recourse to the civil magistrate, assembling their provincial bishops and clergy at their own time and place, and ordaining by their own ecclesiastical authority, even down to the reformation: but then the submission transferred all power of convening provincial synods from the metropolitans to the king; and likewise altered the legality of canons and constitutions, before valid in conscience and in Christian courts by the pure synodical authority, but now to be ratified and authorized by the regal supremacy."

Whether this authorizing by the regal supremacy is not to be understood only as to the civil authority, added to the ecclesiastical synods and canons, as hereafter explained, sect. 9, or whether Dr. K. does not extend that submission too far, in the legal sense; whether Dr. A.'s interpretation of it, or his, must stand, I will not here dispute: but sure the most Christian sense it will bear ought to be put upon it; for if it be meant, as here expressed by Dr. K., to alter the obligation of conscience, as to the canons of the church, from our ecclesiastical governors to the secular, it is most antichristian, and roots up at once the whole foundations of a Christian church. But we hope better things; for Dr. K. asserts, p. 83, 84, "that Dr. Wake and his friends are for the church having inherent right to convocations;" and names that passage of his quoted in the case, sect. 16, n. 3, to prove it, and says, "I like these principles extremely well, and sure my church of England brethren all approve them."

And he quarrels with Dr. A. for not asserting of these original and independent rights of the church, but standing wholly upon her legal establishment, by the constitution of our municipal laws. "He" (that is, Dr. A., says Dr. K., p. 107, 108.) "claims no divine right; he quotes not one text for the divine right of councils, or ecclesiastical assemblies; he proposes no one reason for the necessity of

“ such an inherent and original power in the church ; he
 “ does not labour to prove that Christian magistrates can-
 “ not retract, nor a national clergy recede from antecedent
 “ rights ; he waves the Christian, and acts only the Eng-
 “ lishman.”

He builds
 all upon
 the nature
 of our go-
 vernment,
 and the
 constitu-
 tion of our
 church and
 nation, as
 established
 by succes-
 sive laws,
 and con-
 firmed by
 perpetual
 practice.

I am sorry the church of England is come to that pass, that to assert only her rights is to wave the Christian.

Have not our laws confirmed to her all the rights belonging to a Christian church ? if not, sure they should be mended.

Here appears the necessity of maintaining and keeping up principles, without putting the extreme cases of persecution or desertion : those are invidious topics, and no Christian state will bear the reflection.

If the independence of the church, not only on heathen but Christian magistrates, be an original, inherent, and divine right, with which Christ has invested her, it ought always to be maintained ; good princes will be most willing to allow it : but if granted to them, others will not part with it ; nor will they endure to have their encroachments upon the rights of the church called either persecution or desertion : and they will always find timeservers and flatterers to support them in it : and those whose zeal would prompt them to oppose it may be called *hot men*, whose indiscretion might provoke the civil government to have an evil eye upon the church, and deprive them of the remainder of those civil rights which they enjoy.

Then it is hard to tell where we should stop, in case of such encroachments ; better bear this and the other, than hazard a breach with the state.

So that by this the church must bear on without end ; and perhaps all of the clergy themselves may not agree when a stop is fit to be made : this will make divisions and animosities amongst them.

Besides, how can rights that are divine be given up ? If they are divine, no human authority can either supersede or limit them.

If they are divine, it is sacrilege to invade them, or to

give them up; as it had been in Aaron, to have compounded for any part of that authority which God annexed to his priesthood: and it had been greater sacrilege (as in Korah, &c.) to have robbed Aaron of his authority, than of his holy vestments, or the temple or the altar of any of their utensils; for the consecration of persons is more than of things, and God is more nearly represented in his priests than in temples made with hands.

Again; how can rights that are inherent be given up? if they are inherent, they are inseparable. The right to meet, to consult, to make rules or canons for the regulation of the society, is essential to every society, as such; and consequently to the church, as she is a society. Can she then part with what is essential to her?

But, however, the province which Dr. A. did undertake was not the original or divine rights of the church, but only the constitution as now by law established; as he tells us in his Preface, p. 2, "A learned adversary indeed has taken him (Dr. Wake) to task upon the general principles of church discipline and government; but in the domestic part of the dispute, which relates to our own laws and usages, nothing has been said." And that is the reason he undertook it; therefore his not mentioning the other, which was not his subject, is no argument that he waved it, or gave it up; he referred to it, with an approbation of the author, and consequently of the subject.

But Dr. A. is accused for coming short even as to the legal rights of the church, and not desiring more than the laws at present will bear.

Well then, they who lay this to his charge should be sure to go further themselves than he has done, at least not to oppose him even in those smaller rights for which he contends.

III. But however they agree about these matters, I wish, with all my heart, they had put on more decency and moderation on both sides in the management, and forbore those personal reflections, which are a deformity in such learned tracts; wherein the latest is still most to

blame, especially where he takes upon him to reprehend the same fault in another.

Dr. A.'s work had been more perfect if he had left out that charge of ignorance against Dr. W.: his learned and former useful labours will clear him from this: ignorance will not be his excuse, and therefore ought not to be his accusation.

And if Dr. W. had been more sparing in his censures of the present English clergy, his Authority of Christian Princes had not been less acceptable.

Lastly, Dr. K. has, I believe, recommended himself but to a very few, by the maltreatment he has afforded to Dr. A., which I will not repeat, because I would have it die; it is only wit and passion, it fastens not upon him: and the marks of favour and approbation he has received for his work, not only from the convocation and university, but also from the honourable house of commons, shews that they had a different estimation of Dr. A. and his work from what Dr. K. does represent them.

The difference betwixt their performances seems to be this; that Dr. A. designed to retrieve some of those legal rights to the church which were lost, particularly her right of meeting in convocation, which had of late years been worn into disuse, and rendered wholly precarious; and has proved so successful in it, that to his book chiefly we owe the present convocation.

But in the managing of this he has dropped several expressions which are not tenable, as of "desiring no more," &c., perhaps to smooth the way towards obtaining of this that he asked, which will not justify, though it may in some sort mitigate, the excesses that were meant for a good end.

As where he says, (first edit. p. 112.) "The statute of submission is none of their (the clergy's) grievances, nor do they ask or wish a repeal of it." This must pass for a compliment.

As likewise what he says of the protestant clergy, p. 113: "Who have been more than once instrumental in shaking off yokes of every kind from the necks of Englishmen."

This is liable to misconstruction, as if they had countenanced former rebellions, in all of which the same pretences were made.

And, p. 362, he leans too much to popularity on their behalf, as to the present revolution, where he says, that "none had been more instrumental than they in promoting the common deliverance." The expression is general, and the generality of them have not a good title to so great a boast. If he means those who chose to comply and submit, rather than to suffer, their numbers are indeed great; but as for those who had a hand in the promoting, contriving, and bringing about the revolution, there are not, I believe, so many as a half dozen of the clergy who have the honour to be suspected in it, or who were intrusted with the secret.

For, not to reckon upon the archbishop, and eight other bishops with him, (who were near the half of the then bishops in the kingdom,) and betwixt three and four hundred of the inferior beneficed clergy, besides many others who are not known, who have stood their ground; this appears yet more in that reluctancy which many, and the most eminent of those who complied, did express in their swallowing the oaths, with declarations, in a higher and lower sense; some sticking out to the last day, and some even after: let justice be done, and let not posterity be imposed upon; let neither clergy nor laity share more, either of reproach or glory, than what they have deserved.

But, bating such popular and unguarded expressions as these; the design of Dr. A.'s book was clearly for the promoting the interest of the church, and retrieving some of her lost legal securities.

Whereas, on the other hand, Dr. K. has expressions very full for asserting original and independent rights of the church; but then he would not have them insisted upon, and gives them up. And the drift of his book is to oppose those legal rights of the church which Dr. A. has set himself to maintain: nor does Dr. K. set up other and better in the room of them; he only acts the part of an opponent.

And as to expressions of *giving up*, &c. and receding from rights, he seems to assert, Dr. K. needs excuse as well as Dr. A., and his reproaches do retort.

But I wish rather their disputes should turn upon the merit of the cause, than upon those personal advantages they think they may gain upon one another, as to expressions, and manner of management, which serves more to expose both, than to justify either.

Is it not possible for these great men to differ, without falling foul on one another?

But when men of parts encounter, let them undervalue one another's strength as they please, yet none can believe either of them. And undervaluing is not the heroical way: the more I give to my enemy, where he deserves it, it shews I am the less afraid of him, and renders my victory more manly, wherein I overcome him.

If I should draw the displeasure of either or both parties upon me, for this interposing, it is for what I thought a charitable office, and is capable of a good construction.

However, I willingly leave an unpleasing subject, personal contests and animosities; but I must take leave to reason freely upon the cause itself.

IV. There is one thing, therefore, which I would desire to be explained upon this head, which is, Dr. K.'s "request to his brethren, (at the end of his Preface, p. 12.) not to set up for independence, and another fatal separation, which none but our enemies," says he, "can project or wish." I beg his assistance to understand this; for I would not willingly mistake another, or be misunderstood myself. I take the meaning to be, that we ought not to put the church out of the protection of the state. That is agreed on all hands, if we can possibly help it by any lawful means; for protection is better than persecution. But why should independence do this? or why should that infer a separation betwixt the church and the state? Suppose the church were independent upon the state, as to her purely spiritual power and authority, as Dr. K. does allow she originally and inherently is; this would make a separa-

tion of her power from that of the state, but no separation of communion, it would cement the communion much more strictly; nor would it exempt the members of the church from being likewise members of the state, and answerable to the state in all civil matters: so that here is no separation on that side.

Therefore I suppose Dr. K.'s meaning to be, that if the church should set up for independency, the state would never bear it; and so withdraw their protection, and persecute the church.

If this be the meaning, it seems too severe a reflection upon any Christian state, to suppose that they will rather persecute the church of Christ, than suffer her to enjoy those original and inherent rights with which Christ our blessed Saviour did invest her; besides that (as shewed hereafter, sect. 5.) it is more for the security and interest of the state to have the church so independent than otherwise.

But what if the state will not be of this opinion, nor let go that dependence upon them, to which they have reduced the church, even in her spiritual capacity? Then the church must not set up her independency, (that, I suppose, is the meaning,) for fear of displeasing the state.

But the displeasure can only be as to the manner of setting it up: if by rebellion and arms, the state has reason to be displeased.

But will they be displeased at the very naming it, or thinking of it? Then Dr. K. and Dr. W. (as Dr. K. has given us his sense, and he says, of "all their brethren of the church of England") have incurred this displeasure, because they have positively asserted it in what is before quoted.

And since we find that the state does very well bear the asserting it, and Dr. K. saw no danger in that, would they be more displeased at the proving it, and if he bestowed a little pains in persuading them to it?

He complains in his book, as all other good men do, as our very office of Communion does, of the great failure of discipline amongst us, and wishes it were restored; that is,

the state wishes it; for our Liturgy is an act of parliament: and if the state does much wish it, as they have worded it in that office, where is the danger of persuading them to it?

They have granted a great deal to those who have not so good pretence as you. See what is granted to the very presbyterian kirk in Scotland. You cannot say they will not grant, till they have refused.

Dr. K. is angry with Dr. A. for not desiring more legal rights to be restored to the church; and will he not then desire the restoration of those which he himself acknowledges to be divine?

For which there is this further reason, that if Christ left no more inherent power in his church than he knew was necessary for that discipline which was requisite to secure her from the "gates of hell prevailing against her," (as Dr. K. has very well worded it, in what is above quoted,) then will follow what he reproves Dr. A. for not remembering, "that Christian magistrates cannot retract, nor a national clergy recede, from antecedent rights." Then if the Christian magistrate had a mind to retract, yet the national clergy ought not to recede from them; and if not to recede, surely much more have they a right to expostulate, to represent, to entreat, and to protest.

If the clergy must not so much as speak for their inherent rights, for what is but sufficient to enable them to execute the office which Christ has committed to them, how will they give up their lives for it?

How will they answer to the great Shepherd, for the effects of that want of discipline they seem to bemoan? for all that loose of atheism, heresies, and immoralities, which abound amongst us, and a little wholesome discipline might have restrained? What have they done towards the regaining of it? nay, who could have taken it from them? or can now keep it from them? The civil magistrate, it is true, may choose whether he will assist the censures of the church, by temporal penalties, and he must answer for this to God; but the censures are still in the power of the church, and she cannot recede from them; and would still have their

effect upon all truly conscientious, as in the primitive church: and this would make more to be conscientious, and restore the now well-nigh lost notion of a church, and of religion. Are these small things, not worth the contending for? not worth the attempt? no, not fit to be mentioned, for fear of the state!

Let not the fault be laid altogether upon the state; it cannot be laid there till due application has been made to them; till they are sufficiently apprised of the merits of the cause; till they are instructed by those whose office it is to instruct them; to whom Christ has given that command and charge, not to be forced or bribed out of their hands by all the powers or artifice of hell.

But if, alas! instead of this, pillows are sewed under the arms of the states; if they are made believe that they are still doing right, that the clergy desire no such thing, that it is better with them as it is, and that it is but a discontented party would set up original rights, &c; if the Erastian principles are inculcated into them; and what Dr. K. here justly calls *the divine rights of the church* are represented as odious and dangerous, at best not now necessary; how will the state be chargeable by that church which has misled them? No, the state will rather rise up in the judgment, and condemn that church which has instructed them no better! and all those vices and heresies, and schisms and rebellions too, destruction and bloodshed, which have defaced Christian churches, and ruined states, corrupted religion, and debauched men's lives and principles, for want of that discipline which Christ left inherent in his church, will be chiefly charged upon that church which did recede from that discipline, and so despoiled herself of the proper arms of her ministry, with which Christ her head had endowed her, and promised to stand by her, and protect her, *even unto the end of the world.*

But they who have not faith in this, soon grow weary of the theocracy, and dare not trust to it; no, but will have a king to reign over them, like the nations round about; when the Lord their God was their king: they

must have a king to be head of the church ; who else, say they, will defend the church ?

But if they would trust to Christ, and have faith in his promises, and not fear to execute the commission he has given to them, in all sobriety and modesty, yet with courage and constancy, for the good of the souls of men ; and without doing of which they know, they confess, that they cannot discharge that great trust as they ought to do, nor be true to their Master, nor to the souls committed to their charge ; many of whom they see run headlong every day to all destruction and perdition, for want of that discipline which they dare not execute ; only content themselves to wish, every Ash-Wednesday, that it were restored ; send one poor longing wish after it once a year, but move neither hand nor foot towards it, for fear of displeasing him whom they have chosen king and head of the church, not next, and immediately under, but in the stead of Christ ; for such they have made him, if they think he can dispense with, and overrule that discipline which Christ has left in his church, and which is absolutely necessary, which Christ our Lord thought so, for the good government of his church.

But, I say, if the church would trust to him more than to the arm of flesh, she need not fear the power of kings ; no, Christ would then give her kings, not as heads and spiritual fathers over her, but as nursing-fathers, to protect, love, and cherish her, to reverence and to serve her, as the spouse of Christ, instead of such fathers as she has made kings to be over herself, and of whom she now stands in awe, and dare not exert the power Christ has given her, without their good liking ; she should then have *children whom she might make princes in all the earth*, Psalm xlv. 16 ; kings would become her sons and her servants, instead of being her fathers.

V. My brethren, let me freely speak to you. These promises must be fulfilled, and in this world, for they are spoke of it, and belong not to the state of heaven, but to the condition of the church in all the earth. All the pro-

phets that have been since the world began have spoken of these days; therefore they will surely come: and *though ye have lien among the pots*, (in the most servile and abject condition,) *yet ye shall be as the wings of a dove that is covered with silver, and her feathers like gold*, Psalm lxxviii.

13. And those kings that oppose you shall flee before you; and they of the household shall divide the spoil: *For the nation and kingdom that will not serve thee shall perish; yea, those nations shall be utterly wasted*. This is not yet fulfilled, but must be in this world; for there are no nations or kingdoms (except that of God alone) in the other.

When this time will come is reserved with God; but before it comes, he will open the eyes of men, and stir up their zeal to bring it to pass, and he will prosper their endeavours; and blessed are those who shall contribute towards it.

If it be not near, yet we may now rejoice to see it, as Abraham did, afar off, and to testify to the world that it is not forgot, that we have still faith in what the holy scriptures have, in so many places, assured us of; and this may stir up the faith of others.

But because we know not the time, therefore we must always work, as if it were the time: it may not be brought to pass in a day; and there may be dispositions of men requisite to precede, may-be, some ages, to prepare the way for it. The old primitive principles, and notion of the church, and prerogative of the *peculium*, must certainly be revived; that secular spirit which the principles of Erastianism have begot in the clergy must be exorcised; and their poor fear of temporal powers: they must be brought to believe, at last, that God is stronger than the Devil, and Christ than all the kings upon earth: then they will begin to trust in him, and to venture something upon his protection: then the noble, the truly humble, but magnanimous spirit of the gospel will rise like the sun, and all those clouds of objections and fears, which now benumb our souls, will soon evaporate, and light and life will be restored to us: then *stronger will he be that is in us, than*

he that is in the world; we shall get the ascendant over him, and conquer him, as light does darkness; he will not be able to resist the Spirit, and the power by which we speak. *Amen, Lord Jesu, come quickly!*

VI. He is a coming! his way is preparing; and with that force and power that nothing can resist. He has begun to open the eyes of his church, and to break off her fetters: her original independence from all kings and states, whether Christian or other, is set up, *cum bono Deo!* and asserted to be divine by those who are afraid to set it up: but it is set up; and without pretending to prophesy, we may say, it will stand; it will go on and prosper, till this drop will become a river, and that river increase unto a sea, which may encompass other lands. None of our divines dare oppose it, without, at the same time, confessing to it: the truth is grown flagrant; none dare oppose it barefaced: the priestcraft men are silenced, for they must deny the Bible if they speak sense against it: and it is not come to that time of day yet. The people will not let go their Bibles, nor suffer it to be trampled upon, where they know it: this keeps in the Deists, who love to be always on the safest side. The same popularity will influence kings and states, who would not adventure, in a country so far Christian as England is still left, to make an act to burn the Bible: and it is as much out of their power to hinder the people from apprehending the true meaning of it, in a case which is made very plain to them, and sufficiently proved.

But, as I said, it is the greatest reflection that can be upon a Christian government, to suppose, that our governors would obstruct the truth of the gospel of Christ, or not let go any encroachments they had made upon it, when once they are made sensible of it; or that they would not rather thank than persecute those who should make them so sensible, especially those whose office it is so to do; whom they have protected and established by law for that very end, to instruct them in the whole counsel of God; without doing of which, if they leave any part undeclared

unto them, so far as they know it, they are not free from their blood, Acts xx. 26, 27: especially such a material part as the original, fundamental, and divine powers with which Christ has invested his church, and without which it is impossible she should effectually, and to the full purpose intended by Christ, discharge that great trust committed to her; or administer, as she ought to do, to the souls under her care, or give that account for them which will be required at her hands by Christ, according to those powers he left with her; and not as she has, out of fear, or whatever other consideration, given them up, or suffered them to be wrested from her, without her contending for them even to the death.

But to suppose our governors so averse and prejudiced against the truth, such Nabals and sons of Belial, that a man cannot speak to them, is, in the most effectual manner, to alienate the affections of the people from them; to make men think that they will not bear our reasoning with them out of the holy scriptures; but are resolved to keep what they have got, right or wrong, and will not restore to Christ, let them be never so much convinced!

Therefore I think it an argument of much greater deference towards them, to adventure not to think it any venture to reason with them, to represent to them freely, but with all decency, these important truths, which so nearly concern their own souls as well as others; and besides are the greatest security to their government, even upon politics, (as shewed hereafter,) and will draw them from under the wrath of God, and entitle them to his blessing and protection.

Moreover, to tell them, and not to fear they will be displeased at it, that Christ is above them, and his church too, and independent on them; that they themselves are part of her flock; and so subject to her discipline, in that capacity as well as any others, though entirely and without reserve subject to them in all temporals.

Nay more, that if they should take part with hell against her, they should not both prevail. They might pull down

vengeance upon their own heads; but the church will stand whether they will or not, even in England, unless the policy of the clergy give way so far as to provoke God to remove their candlestick: nothing else can ruin them, while they remain true to their God, and are *not ashamed of the gospel of Christ*, and to assert those powers he has committed unto them. No enchantment will prevail against our Israel; no, none, till themselves are first enchanted and bewitched, as the foolish Galatians, not to obey the truth, not to stand by it, *and contend earnestly for the faith which was once delivered unto the saints; not to speak, and exhort, and rebuke with all authority; and to let no man despise them*; for then God will despise them, and *make them contemptible and base before all the people, because ye have corrupted the covenant of Levi, saith the Lord of hosts.*

And now I have not the least apprehension that I have hereby given any offence either to the civil government or to the clergy, and true sons of the church of England: but I would warm, if I could, some frozen souls, who say, *There is a lion in the way, and are afraid where no fear is; they flee when no one pursueth!*

But if, after all, they will not take the apostle's advice, *quit you like men, be strong*; if they dare not come out to *stop the way against the persecutor*; if they will not *stand in the gap*, let them return home: let all that are afraid, or faint-hearted, depart out of this battle, lest they discourage their brethren: *By the men that lapped will I save you, saith the Lord.* Let the timorous, prudent, and wise stay with the baggage till the danger is over; they may come in for share of the spoil.

But let them beware that they look not towards the enemy; that they do not dodge, speak one word, but covertly, against them, and ten expressly for them, to labour the point, and take pains on their side; and only drop an expression here and there (to have it to say) that may be construed against them, and reconciled to them, if they prevail: to pick quarrels with those who are most zealous for

the church, and give intelligence to Erastus. It is easy to see to what side they incline, and from whom they expect their reward. This is not to be neuters, (if they will be such,) but traditors; but *God will not be mocked: what a man soweth that shall he reap: he that is not for us is against us.* Whose hands do I strengthen when I write? I belong to that side, however artificially I manage the argument. Men's actions are better demonstration than their words, which with a double-minded man are always unstable; and *let not, as the apostle says, such a man think that he shall receive any thing of the Lord,* whatever he may from men. *Woe be to fearful hearts, and faint hands, and the sinner that goeth two ways!*

Let no man value his own parts or learning, or undervalue those who stand for God and truth; for as God wants no man's help, so is no instrument insufficient in his hand; and he often chooses the meanest, that we may perceive it is his work; that the praise may be to God, and not to man. He destroyed Egypt by frogs and lice; and hornets, if armed with a divine commission, are an army sufficient to drive out the sons of Anak.

Glare not upon legal establishments (though make your best use of them) till your eyes are dazzled that you cannot see the sun; it will have more power than that glowworm. You have stayed long enough in this wilderness; turn the way towards Jordan, and take possession of Canaan: assert your divine rights in full tale; leave not a hoof of them behind. Who dare oppose what they acknowledge to be divine? The world will stand by you; they find that they cannot be well without it: you have God, and a greater than Moses, upon your head: think not scorn of that pleasant land: remember the fate of the cautious and wary spies, whose hearts failed them, and persuaded the people that they were not able to deal with the Canaanites! Remember the judgment upon all that were discouraged by them! It is no indifferent matter to be dispirited in the cause of God and of his Christ; it is a downright distrust of God, and choosing another for our God, whom we think

greater and stronger than he. But those helpless infants, whom we are afraid to make a prey to our enemies, these shall possess the land! and the carcasses of the faithless cowards shall fall in the wilderness, and be an abhorring to all flesh!

Faith is the life of a Christian; without it he is dead, quite dead: and where faith is but as big as a grain of mustard-seed, there must be assurance, and courage, and zeal: and the use of prudence is to direct this to the best manner of working, but not to make a dispute whether we should work or not: we must always work, and God will work with us: there is no discharge in this warfare, while any Canaanite is left in the land: we must cry aloud, and spare not; and that whether a stiffnecked people hear, or whether they will forbear, yet they shall know that there hath been a prophet among them: we cannot otherwise deliver our own souls; they shall die in their sins; but their blood will be required from those watchmen who gave them not warning.

Nor will their modesty excuse them, that they thought not themselves sufficient for these things. Why then did they undertake the employment?

But it is not modesty; it is a cowardly fear and pride. What are we poor worms, that we should think the work of God depends upon us? Do we put in for share of the glory? Let us do what we are commanded, and leave the issue to God. How do we know by what means or methods he will please to work? Such men are totally unconcerned for this work. We see souls a perishing, and the enemy sowing tares at noon-day: must the husbandmen then go to sleep? The nation is poisoned with pestilent and blasphemous books, ridiculing our religion, our holy scriptures, and our Christ! And must the bishops and shepherds of his flock be forced to go to counsel learned in the law to know how the case of *præmunire* stands, if they should presume to censure such books without first obtaining the king's license for it?

Now suppose (which I do not) that the act of submission,

in construction of law, should be found to extend even thus far; and suppose the king should not grant his license, or had not a mind to be asked; must then the bishops let this infernal poison spread, and take its full effect, without any remedy, or else incur a *præmunire*? If so, here is a picture of the regale would put any man in doubt of his Christianity: and he has not yet been christened, or has forgot it, who would have the least hesitation or scruple to damn the act (I mean if taken in this sense) to the place from whence it came, if there were ten thousand other acts of parliament pinned to the back of it! It is a maxim in our law, that an act of parliament contrary to the law of God is void: and if this be not contrary, then Christ left no church upon earth, appointed no shepherds to feed his flock, or gave them not sufficient authority to do it! But if any of those shepherds have pleaded for this act of submission, in this sense, they have undermined their own foundation: and till they return, and make restitution all that is in their power, they have not come up to the repentance of Judas: and I should be afraid to share their sin, if I were not thus plain upon this point; if I leaned not, with my whole strength, upon this main pillar of the temple of Dagon: and if God give the word, any honest man has the force of a Samson; for the strength was not his, but God's, which was shewed by placing it in his weakest part, in his hair: and the blast of a ram's horn, from the mouth of a priest asserting the truth of the gospel, is sufficient to level the walls of Jericho: *Perfect love casteth out fear*. Every true Christian has authority from Heb. xiii. 5, 6, to apply to himself, even in his private concerns, as to his support in this life, that especial promise made to Joshua, Deut. xxxi. 8. Josh. i. 5. *I will not leave thee nor forsake thee*. Nay more, what was spoke of Christ himself, *The Lord is my helper, and I will not fear what man can do unto me*, Psal. lvi. 4, 11. cxviii. 6. Then sure, if we have this strong assurance of faith, as to our own particulars, much more may we trust to it, in the cause of Christ and his church. David drew this argument from God's enabling him to kill a lion and a bear, in de-

fence of his own flock, that he ought not to be afraid of a Goliath, who defied the armies of Israel, which was the flock of God and his church, whose armies are therefore called *the armies of the living God*. An act of faith will open our eyes, as of the prophet's fearful servant, and shew us these encamping round about his church, like the hill on which Elisha sat, *full of horses and chariots of fire*. Then will we see that *they that be with us are more than they that be against us*; and we will have courage to say with the apostle, *I can do all things through Christ who strengtheneth me*.

And is not all this sufficient against one poor act of submission (I mean, as before, if taken in the full Erastian sense) made by a popish clergy, lying under the lash of a *pramunire*? Have we not shaken off popery yet? Are our bishops still bound by their submissions? Could they give away the rights of their successors the protestant bishops?

If they will not hear me, I hope they will give heed to Dr. Sherlock, the present dean of St. Paul's, who, in his Summary of the Controversies between the Church of England and the Church of Rome, p. 119, says very emphatically, "If bishops will not exercise that power which Christ has given them, they are accountable to their Lord for it: but they cannot give it away, neither from themselves nor from their successors; for it is theirs only to use, not to part with it: and therefore every bishop may assume such rights, though a general council should give them away, because the grant is void in itself." This makes short work with the submission: let lawyers therefore look to it, how they can reconcile it with this great and fundamental truth; if not, then down it must come. The bishops are no ways concerned: let them try whether any judge in Westminster-hall will hold up an act of parliament against the gospel! or say, that they are more proper judges of the gospel than the bishops! Let Erastus shew his face without a vizard; it is the only way to overthrow him effectually. You need not be afraid that any Christian will

fall in love with him! But if the bishops will submit themselves to his yoke, who can speak in their defence? Some would let them go, if religion did not go with them; and that is the reason why others would have them gone. They find the keys of their discipline hung at the belt of Erastus; and some would persuade them that it is best so, lest Pharaoh increase their burdens; and that to think of a deliverance, is to put a sword in his hand to slay us! If it were so, Christ is stronger than Moses; and his promises as sure of defending his church: but, blessed be God, our land is not Egypt yet; we all profess to be of Israel, and none dare say, (whatever they think,) Who is the God of the Hebrews? and, You shall not sacrifice unto him. They who are afraid upon this account, must think that they have a Pharaoh over them indeed! Therefore this will be no excuse to them, whether they be tried by God or their country: and it is come to that now, that if they stir not a little, shew some zeal for religion, and concern for the breaches of Sion, they may be in danger of losing, I will not say quitting, their country: but they will lose the hearts of the people, whose eyes are all now upon them, and expect something from them, not of giving back, but of asserting the cause of Christ and his church. This is more friendly advice than of those who would persuade them to sit still for fear of displeasing some, who, perhaps, may take this very occasion of ruining them, first with the people, in their good opinion, and then with their representatives. The Dissenters will play Toland against them: they have a good faculty at making outcries: and the Deists will not stand by them; they will laugh in their sleeve, and give them good words (they are men of breeding) for their prudence and moderation! They know how to turn the tables as the game alters; and their friends will be out of countenance, and mourn in secret. This is a sad truth, but it ought to be told by those who have seen all these effects of it, and can do no more than to pray God to disappoint their fears of the impending ruin of this once glorious church; and in

order to this, that he would detect all her false friends, and defeat her open enemies.

A prayer for the deliverance and victory of the church.

O Almighty God, King of all kings, and Governor of all things, whose power no creature is able to resist, who hast often mightily delivered the sons of Jacob and Joseph, and hast promised to rescue thy church from all her adversaries, and make her glorious upon earth; that it may please thee to stretch forth thy hand upon the furiousness of her enemies; abate their pride, assuage their malice, and confound their devices. Amend thou, Lord, what is amiss in us, and confirm the remainder that is about to perish. Stir up thy strength, O Lord, for us; stablish the thing, O God, that thou hast wrought in us. Let the glorious majesty of the Lord our God be upon us; prosper thou the work of our hands upon us; O prosper thou our handy work. Turn us again, O Lord of hosts, shew the light of thy countenance, and we shall be whole: that we, being armed with thy defence, may be preserved evermore from all persecution that the Devil or man worketh against us, to glorify thee, who art the only giver of all victory; that we may see the felicity of thy chosen, rejoice with thine inheritance, and triumph because of the truth. Awake, awake, put on strength, O arm of the Lord; awake, as in the ancient days, in the generations of old. Art not thou he that hath cut Rahab, and wounded the dragon? It is time for thee, Lord, to lay to thine hand, for they have made void thy law.

O God, we have heard with our ears, and our fathers have told us what mighty works thou didst in their days, and in the old time before them.

O Lord, arise, help us, and deliver us for thy name's sake, for Christ Jesus' sake, the Captain of our salvation, who will tread down every enemy that hath evil-will at Sion.

Lord, hasten it in thy time. Thy kingdom come in earth as it is in heaven. Remember thy church, which thou hast purchased and redeemed of old. It is time that thou have mercy upon her, yea, the time is come.

Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost.

As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end. Amen.

THE
CASE OF THE REGALE,
&c.

SIR,

ACCORDING to your desire, I here give you a short and clear state of the case you heard lately discoursed, concerning the regale, or power of the state over the church, as to her purely spiritual authority.

1. It was agreed on all hands, that the state cannot deprive bishops of their episcopal character; but that they remain bishops still; and their ordinations, confirmations, and other episcopal acts are valid; except such acts of jurisdiction as respect that particular diocese out of which they are ejected by the state; as visiting and censuring the clergy and others, conferring benefices, &c.: but because the word *bishop* is a relative word, and implies a flock; and that no bishop is made, nor hath been since the days of the apostles, but with relation to a particular flock or diocese: of which more hereafter, in the case of Abiathar. The case stated.

2. Therefore the question was resolved into this point, whether the state can dissolve the relation betwixt a bishop and his particular flock or diocese; and deprive him of the exercise of his jurisdiction within his own proper district; and substitute another bishop in his place: that is, whether the state

can stop the execution of the episcopal commission, in the hands of the proper bishops, within their own dominions. Against which it was urged,

I.
As to kings
in the ge-
neral.

1. That to stop the execution of a commission is to render it ineffectual; for what signifies a commission that cannot be executed?

2. That no authority, less than that which gives any commission, can stop the execution of it.

3. That therefore the same authority which can stop the execution of any commission, may likewise vacate it; as episcopacy is vacated by the state in Scotland.

4. That all states have equal authority within their own dominions; and by this rule, the apostolical commission may not only be suspended, but superseded, all the world over.

5. That all the states in the world did, for three hundred years together, forbid the execution of the apostolical commission; and, as much as in them lay, did vacate it: which if they had power from God to do, then it was vacated, and Christianity must have perished in its birth, or have been all that time an unjustifiable rebellion.

6. That there is a spiritual relation or marriage instituted by Christ betwixt the bishop and his flock or subjects; that, as St. Ignatius speaks, the bishop does represent the person of Christ to us, and does his *vices gerere*, is his deputy or vicar, and the principle of unity in the church which he governs: that who keep outward communion with their bishop do thereby partake of the inward communion with Christ the head: that who unjustly break off from the outward communion of their bishop do thereby forfeit the inward communion with

Christ: that nothing ought to be done in the church, nor even marriages made, without the bishop's consent: that the very prayers and sacraments, out of the communion of the bishop, are (like the offerings of Korah) rebellion against the Lord.

That this relation, this marriage of the bishop to his flock, so deeply founded by Christ himself; whom Christ does empower, as his ambassador, to marry the church, in his stead, and in his name, promising to ratify and consummate it, in his own person, for ever in heaven, where the eternal marriage-feast will be celebrated; that this marriage to our bishop, whereby we are, by proxy, married to Christ, cannot be dissolved, nor we divorced from him, and married to another bishop, by any other means than those which Christ has appointed; otherwise the marriage still remains: and a second bishop is a second husband, that is, an adulterer, while the first husband still lives, and is not divorced for a just cause, and by an authority that is competent.

That if the authority of secular princes be competent for this, then may they divorce all the churches in the world from their bishops; and either give them no more bishops, or set over them the basest of men for their bishops: then it is in the power of infidel kings to appoint proxies for Christ, and oblige him to consummate the marriage they have made for him, by such proxies whom they please to name!

This turned the question to the authority of Christian princes; whether they had not more authority over the church than kings that were infidels. And to this it was said,

II.
As to Christian kings.

1. That the right of the crown does not alter for the qualifications of those who wear it; and that dominion is not founded in grace: that therefore if Christian kings claim authority over the church, as a right inherent in the crown, they must allow it to all who have a right to the crown. And if they hold it not as a right of their crowns, then they must shew how otherwise they came by it; and as they got it, they may lose it.

2. That the church had suffered more under Constantius, Valens, and other Arian and heretical kings, than even from heathens. That it is in the power of an Arian, a Socinian, popish, or presbyterian king to corrupt the doctrine of the church, more than a king who is a professed heathen and open persecutor.

3. That an orthodox and a good king (for a time, as Nero) may turn heretic, or apostate, as Julian. And how can he be head of any church who denies the faith of it? Or, indeed, how can a king be the head of different communions? or of any other communion than that to which he keeps? for how can he be head of any church, who is not so much as a member of it? He may be head of it, or of a hundred different churches, if there were so many in his dominions; that is, to be the civil head or governor, and to exercise the power of the civil sword, in all causes, and over all persons, as well ecclesiastical as temporal: but to be the ecclesiastical head or governor, and to have any sort of ecclesiastical power or authority, is utterly inconsistent, and as great a contradiction, as that all these different communions can be one; that not only episcopal and presbyterian, popish and pro-

testant, but Christian and Jew, Mahometan and heathen, are all one and the same church and body; for so they must be, if they have all one head: and some kings have been, and may be again, governors over these several sorts of churches. They are all one body, in the temporal sense, that is, are all subjects, and so have one head, or temporal governor; but they cannot all have one ecclesiastical head or governor, more than they are one ecclesiastical body, or more than one man can be, at once, of all these different and opposite churches or communions; more than our king, for example, can be episcopal in England, and presbyterian in Scotland, and popish in France, if he had the possession, as well as title, of it.

Then, again, if either infidelity, apostasy, or heresy does destroy the regale, it must be destroyed as to some of these communions, who do lay these charges upon one another: and then the regale extends not to all subjects or churches.

Again, who shall be judge of the king's apostasy, heresy, &c. if the church, his regale, lies at her mercy? But if the king himself be the judge, it is not to be supposed that he will condemn himself; and so neither infidelity, apostasy, nor any thing else, can hurt his regale.

But, once more, a king may return from his apostasy or heresy; and if he lost his regale for that, he may recover it again. So that, by this, the regale is not fixed and inherent in the crown, but fleeting and casual, may be gained and lost.

And then the former question will occur, who shall be judge of the reality and sincerity of his conversion, and pretences to religion? for it is not

impossible that a king may counterfeit, on purpose to secure himself in the possession of the regale; and that for a good end, as he may think; that is, to undermine that church which he could not batter down by main force. And by this means he may do ten times more mischief to the church, than if he were an open and professed enemy.

Indeed, said one, we have found it to our cost. And the professions of princes, when a crown is the bait, are a slender security. It is like the sacramental test to the dissenters, which keeps them not from places of profit, but increases their indignation against that communion which imposes such hard terms upon them, as not to let them get wealth and power but at the expense of their conscience! That we may probably shipwreck the conscience of a prince, by forcing him into our communion; and so undo the greatest security we can have from him for our religion, and bribe him to betray, instead of protecting us. That therefore we can have no security to our religion, at least none equal, in all human appearance, to the settling of the church upon her own primitive bottom, whereon Christ did place her; independent, as to her whole spiritual authority, upon any earthly power; though with sufficient guard for their obedience to the state in all civil matters, even upon the penalty of damnation. That if the church were once thus settled, we need then be in less pain for the religion of our prince, except for the good of his own soul; for he could then hurt our religion no otherwise than by open persecution, which in England would not be in his power, and it is not likely that ever he would attempt it. But he could no longer betray

and undermine it; he could not then put in bishops that would be his tools, and give up the rights of the church to purchase his favour; nor would they hire underworkmen to employ their parts and learning to disarm their mother of all, even legal, defence against her ravisher, in hopes that they too may come, in their turns, to be in his good graces! they will have their reward!

4. That besides all these cases, there is that of lewd, atheistical, and debauched princes, who will prefer men in the church of their own complexion, that will serve their lusts and ambition; at least, such mealy-mouthed ones, as will not dare to reprove them: and by this means it will be in the power of their vilest favourites, and instruments in sins not fit to be named, to sell bishoprics, and render religion what it is now come to among too many, especially in courts; not only an empty name, but a cheat and imposition upon mankind, while they see it so prostituted, and made a pretence to the basest purposes.

5. That during the minority of kings, the election of bishops, and other affairs of the church, must be left in the hands of their governors and courtiers; and the church must take her chance, as to their religion. Under this head comes in likewise the personal indisposition of princes, by sickness, phrensy, or other accidents; and their necessary absence sometimes, on their important affairs: their being made prisoners in the land of their enemies, as some of ours have been; and many other casualties: to all of which the church is made liable, while it depends upon the regale. But there is one which too often occurs, and therefore chiefly to be considered; which is,

6. Revolutions and rebellions in any nation. Here the church must either change sides and principles, according to the various success of the contending parties; or undergo as various a persecution: for while the regale is made part of the church constitution, it thereby necessarily brings in the church to be concerned in all state revolutions; not only as to the immoralities, or defection from Christian principles, wherein she ought to advise and direct in this, as in all other cases; but she is hereby involved as a party in all state disputes; and her even spiritual authority must, like secular commissions, take out a new charter under every new head.

Upon all these considerations, the inconveniences, the snares, the scandals, that hereby arise to the Christian religion; besides the apparent absurdities and contradictions that flow in on all sides upon this blending of the sacred and the civil powers; it did appear to all the company, that the limiting of the regale only to Christian princes did rather involve and perplex the cause, than any ways solve it; that it raised much more and greater difficulties than allowing it, as a right of the crown, to all princes, without regard to their religion: that therefore it must either be granted even to infidel kings, or no other kings whatsoever can have any pretence to it, upon the right of their crowns.

III.
Of the incorporation of the church with the state.

Then it was said, that kings hold not their right over the church *jure coronæ*, because then infidel, and all other sort of kings must have it; but that upon the conversion of kings and states to Christianity there was a compromise made betwixt them and the church; and the church, being incorporated into the state, made such and such concessions to

the state, in lieu of the protection of the state, and other honours and advantages received from them. To this it was answered,

1. That no such compromise does appear; nor is there any record extant of it, or any authentic instrument or deed of conveyance to be found.

2. That kings claim not by it, but do utterly disown it; and stand upon it as the right of their crowns, and to have been given them by God, and attested in holy scripture; as you may see in 37 Hen. VIII. c. 17. and several other statutes. And they make it consequently the right of all princes, and to have been always so: but if it was by compromise, then it was not always so; and some kings would have more, and some less power in ecclesiastical matters; for we cannot suppose the same compromise to have been made with all kings, and in all countries.

And those acts of parliament which establish the regale in England do it by way of recognition, and restoring the ancient right of the crown in ecclesiastical matters, and over ecclesiastical persons.

What the power is we shall see by and by; but, whatever it is, kings do not claim it by way of compromise, or grant from the church.

3. That such grant, if made, would be void, because it is a maxim, as well in law as reason, that no trust can be transferred, especially such a trust as Christ has committed to his church, in which the souls of men are concerned: and the church is answerable for the discharge of this trust. And if no executor, or other trustee whatsoever, can delegate the trust committed to them in temporals, much less can the church in spirituals.

That the power of a nurse is limited ; she cannot send the child into other countries, or give it to any other nurse, without consent of the parent : that therefore the bishops, whom Christ has commanded to feed his flock, cannot commit this charge to any other. No man would allow it to a keeper of his sheep ; much less can the pastors of Christ's sheep have any such power.

One bishop may desire the assistance of another bishop in his absence, indisposition of body, imprisonment, or other temporary incapacity : so there may be coadjutor-bishops, and *chore-episcopi* : because all bishops are pastors of one common flock, *cujus a singulis in solidum pars tenetur*, which is distributed, rather than divided, into several districts, for the better regimen of the whole. And the discipline of the church will not allow ἀλλοτρισεπισκοπεῖν, that one bishop should interfere and intrude into the government of another bishop's diocese, without his permission ; that would bring all confusion and contests. Yet nothing hinders their mutual assistance of one another, in their several charges, by agreement, as occasion shall require. But they cannot delegate their power to those who are no pastors, to whom Christ has given no such authority. They must first make men pastors, and give them ordination, before they can commit the flock to their charge. They cannot delegate the episcopal power (properly so called) to presbyters, without giving them episcopal consecration : much less can they do it to laymen. No compromise or bargain can do this ; no temporal advantages or honours can be taken in exchange for this, nor indeed can make compensation for such an infrac-

tion upon the very foundation and constitution of the church.

4. That the church in England, and in other places, has been much reduced in honour, wealth, and power, from which she formerly enjoyed. Therefore, that if for these she gave up her power to the state, the bargain is broke; since covenants must be kept on both sides, else neither side is obliged: and either side may take the advantage when they think fit.

5. That the church upon earth is described in the scripture as *militant*, as *a city besieged*: kings Isa. i. 8. have been the besiegers, and may be again: and to raise the siege, we suppose one of the articles to be, that kings shall ever thereafter have the nomination of the bishops, the governors of the city, and placing of the guards. This is a total giving up of the city, and a betraying of their trust in the bishops, whom Christ left the governors.

That the unreasonableness of this will appear if we put the case *e contra*, (which is the truest way to judge,) and suppose that the church required it as an article, lest the state might prejudice the church, that the church should have the power of nomination and deposing of kings; that no parliament should meet, or transact any thing relating to the civil government of the nation, without license obtained from the bishops; nor enact any thing but in the bishops' name, and by their authority.

Either of these cases is not a compromise, or an incorporation; but a dissolution of the one power, and giving it up to the other,

For that as the well-being of any society does consist mainly in the governors of the society, be-

cause they have the greatest power to do good or hurt ; and therefore, where the choice of the governors of one society is in the hands of another society, that society must be dependent and subject to the other : so, if the power of one society extend likewise to the making of laws for another society, (as if the church could make laws for the state in temporals, or the state make laws binding the church relating to spirituals,) then is that society entirely subject to the other.

But whereas no society can subsist without meeting, and consulting of their affairs, and giving orders, as occasion shall require ; if one society cannot meet or convene together, without the leave and license of the other society ; nor treat or enact any thing relating to their own society, without the leave and authority of the other ; then is that society, in a manner, dissolved, and subsists precariously upon the mere will and pleasure of the other.

This is a degree of subjection to which the Romans did not reduce the church of the Jews, when they had entirely conquered them ; for their high priests and elders, their council or sanhedrin, met whenever they pleased ; as we find frequently in the Gospels, and Acts of the Apostles.

IV.
Obs. Of
imperium
in imperio.

Then the discourse turned to the common objection of *imperium in imperio*, that a church independent on the state would be setting up one government within another, and so breed nothing but confusion. And the contrasts betwixt popes and emperors, betwixt the popish clergy and the kings of England, as well as of other countries, were largely insisted on. To all which it was answered,

1. That the sacred and civil powers were like

two parallel lines, which could never meet or interfere; for these two authorities lie in two distinct channels: as, for instance, in the case of murder, or any other crime, the criminal may be excommunicated, and absolved upon his repentance, and satisfaction made to the church; but this hinders nothing the proceedings of the civil courts, which respect the temporal punishment upon body or goods. Thus the same criminal may be absolved by the church, and condemned by the state; absolved or pardoned by the state, yet censured by the church: so that each act independently upon the other, without any confusion or interfering. But,

2. That the confusion arises when the one will put their sickle into the other's harvest; when the civil power will take upon them to control or give laws to the church, in the exercise of her spiritual authority; or the church do the like to the state, in their temporal authority.

That all the contests and wars betwixt popes and emperors were upon this foot: the emperors claimed the investiture of bishops; and the popes, to be even with them, assumed the power of deposing the emperors from their temporal authority. Here was wrong done on both sides; and what could follow but confusion? The sacred and the civil powers were let in upon one another, and then there could be no issue but the one to subdue and conquer the other.

That the same was to be said as to the contests betwixt the bishops, in the popish times, and their own natural kings; for these bishops asserted the power of the pope over the kings, even in temporals; and, by the pope's command, refused to pay

taxes, or contribute towards the support of the government; which was indeed setting up *imperium in imperio*, a dissolving of their allegiance, and owning a superior sovereign to their king in his own dominions, and that in temporals.

That our blessed Saviour, in his all-wise providence, foreseeing the consequences on both sides, as he set up his church independent of all the powers upon the earth, so he gave her no authority that could possibly interfere with the civil powers: he altered nothing of the civil powers, but left them as he found them; he gave to Cæsar all that was Cæsar's; but the things of God, and the administration of the spiritual kingdom of heaven upon earth, that he left in the hands of his church, and accountable to none but himself: that as it is rebellion and usurpation in the church to extend her commission to civil power, so is it the highest sacrilege and rebellion against Christ for the civil power to extend their commission into the spiritual kingdom, and usurp upon the sacred office: it is confounding of heaven and earth; these agree best at the distance God has placed them: to bring them together would be a new chaos, and contradiction irreconcilable. Such is the attempt of blending the sacred and the civil powers together: while each move in their own sphere, there is concord and harmony.

And each may and ought to assist the other, without encroaching upon one another's province: the state may protect and honour the church, without invading any part of her office; as the church ought to enforce obedience to the civil magistrate in all lawful things, without assuming any temporal power over him. This is the concordate and agreement

betwixt the church and the state, upon what we call their incorporation; and there is no other incorporation but this. It is not their giving up their powers to one another; that would be confusion, and an eternal seed of debate and jealousy of each other: the best way to maintain and keep up the agreement is, to preserve their powers distinct and independent of each other.

Then it was said, that bishops being made lords of parliament, of the council, &c. it was but reasonable, for the security of the state, that the king should have the choice of them.

Ans. That it was very reasonable in those cases the king should have full security as to their loyalty; and not only for them, but for all who were to be admitted into any offices or degrees of the church: that such reasonable tests should be put to them as ought to be required from all other his majesty's subjects, for the security of the government: and that they should renounce all civil power in the church, to coerce or limit by the sword the authority of the civil magistrate, in any exercise of his authority, though it were in sacred things, or over sacred persons, or even though exercised unjustly: which one would think is going as far as can reasonably be expected.

But that this ought not to extend the regale to the choice of the persons, because that is an encroachment upon the divine commission granted by Christ to his church; and does carry along with it all the consequences of Erastianism.

That as kings do promise to protect and defend the church, so does the church to support and defend the crown; yet she has no title from hence to

have the choice of the king in her hands, on pretence of security to the church, though her bishops set the crown upon his head: as little reason is there for the king to have the nomination of the bishops of the church on pretence of security to the state.

That there is more pretence on the church's side, because the king, at his coronation, surrenders his regalia, his crown, sceptre, and sword, upon the altar, and receives them thence again by the hands of the bishops, as the ministers of Christ, and representing his person; from whom all Christian kings do derive their authority, as their King and God: and swear, upon thus accepting their crowns from the hands of his authorized ambassadors, to maintain and defend his church in all her liberties and freedoms.

That the state has the same returns from the lords spiritual, in council, parliament, &c. for their honours and estates, as from the temporal lords: besides the spiritual advantages the state receives from the church, which are infinitely greater than all that the church can receive from the state.

That in all ages and religions those who served at the altar were reckoned a distinct, and the chief of the estates of the nation.

That if Christian kings intend to do honour to the commission of Christ, they should do it freely, without encroaching upon any part of it. They would not have their beneficence and protection to the church of Christ understood as a bribe to her, to betray and deliver up into their hands the powers committed unto her charge by Christ: that would be to invade Christ himself; and to act the part of

the greatest enemy to his spouse the church, to tempt her to unfaithfulness, and render her obnoxious to his heavy displeasure! And will she be true to them whom they have corrupted to be false to Christ?

Nor will they escape; for he is a jealous God, and will not give his honour to another; he alone will be head of his church: it is an honour and a trust he has not communicated to any angel of heaven, much less to any king upon earth.

And he lets them taste their folly, in suffering them to destroy the greatest security of their government, while they think to preserve it.

For we find by experience that the state, particularly in England, have been out in their politics, in reducing the church to so low an ebb of credit and authority with the people; for we have seen that laws and constitutions have proved too weak to restrain the unruly passions and ambition of designing men. The state have no security so great as the principles of the people, when they are taught to obey for conscience sake, and to believe that rebellion is a damning sin; which the church cannot inculcate into them, further than her credit reaches with them. And when they see bishops made by the court, they are apt to imagine that they speak to them the court language; and lay no further stress upon it than the charge of a judge at an assizes, who has received his instructions beforehand from the court: and by this means the state has lost the greatest security of their government.

V.
Prejudice
to the state
in having
the church
depend
upon them.

Besides, that this does insensibly draw men into a disesteem and suspicion of religion in the general; whose foundation they cannot think to be divine,

while they see the church deposable by the state. Hence they are inclined, and easily imposed upon by Deists and Atheists, to resolve all into priest-craft, managed by a superior state-craft. This looses all bonds, sacred and civil; dissolves all relations, as well natural as political; and gives full reins to all lewdness, immoralities, rebellion, and whatever wickedness, where there is prospect of success, or that can be acted *impunè*.

That the state can never find their security in such a frame of things: that if religion were a state-craft, it were not such, unless they can make the people believe it not to be so; which they cannot do while they see the governors of the church exercising almost no ecclesiastical power but what is dependent upon the state: that the heathen governments understood this so well, as to preserve their religion most sacred, and the priests inviolable, and superior to all others in what related to their function; that God himself did so ordain it among the Jews; that it were a greater security to the state to have a false religion, so it were believed by the people, than to have no religion at all: that nothing can be believed to be religion by any people, but what they think to be divine, that is, sent immediately from God; and they think nothing to be so that is in the power of man to alter or transverse.

Then it was urged, that the Erastian principle has had two visible effects in England: that it had turned the gentry Deists, and the common people dissenters: for the dissenters, one and all, from presbyterians down to Muggletonians, pretend to divine commission, independent of all the powers upon the

earth; therefore the people run to them, and look upon the church of England as a parliamentary religion, and establishment of the state; and the Deists, when they find themselves in committees of religion, can never think that there is any thing divine in that which they see stand and fall by their vote.

That next to the obligation of conscience, before spoke of, there is no security so great to any government as that mutual trust and confidence which ought to be betwixt a prince and his people. Where that is once broken, it is the hardest thing in the world to cement it again: the best actions are misconstrued on both sides; no promises or oaths are longer believed or trusted.

Now this of the regale is so far from promoting of these good ends, that it is almost unavoidable but it must dissolve them. It is a perpetual seed of jealousy and discontent on both sides: for a king may look upon those who are zealous for religion and the church of Christ as enemies to his crown and dignity, and seeking to impair his prerogative: and, on the other hand, the friends of the church may be tempted to think his regale an encroachment upon her original and inherent rights; and consequently that instead of being a defender of the faith, and nursing father to her, he is her greatest invader and enemy.

This consequence is so natural, that in every place almost where the regale has obtained, the effects of it have been seen; not only in the great increase of dissenters, for the reason before mentioned, but even in contests betwixt the church and the king, especially where he happens to be of a different communion from that of the established

church; and yet must have the disposal of bishoprics, and other affairs of the church in his power, can set up ecclesiastical commissions in what hands he thinks fit, hinder convocations to sit or act, &c.: of this we have seen instances at home.

And likewise abroad, in France, where the regale prevails most of any popish country, as in the case of Henry IV.

Nor does kings being of the same communion with the church established in their dominions, and truly and zealously so, hinder always the jealousies that may arise: witness the holy league against Henry III. of France; and the solemn league and covenant (which was thence transcribed almost verbatim, with the change only of names and circumstances) against our king Charles I; and the contests with him, by those that called themselves of the church of England, about the high commission court, and other exercises of his ecclesiastical regale, though strictly pursuant to the act of parliament which did set it up, 1 Eliz. Yet that was so far abrogated by act of parliament, 17 Car. They could not endure the exercise of that regale which themselves had established!

Under this head may come in the several contests and wars betwixt popes and the secular princes, for the maintenance of their opposite regales: as likewise the oppositions of the ecclesiastics, at the council of Trent, in France, an. 1682: (hereafter mentioned:) and many other instances against the pontificate or regale of the pope.

But now (said one) let us see if we can find an instance of a Christian church, here amongst ourselves in Europe, (for we have little knowledge of

further parts, as to church affairs,) where neither of these regales do obtain, neither of the pope or of the king.

And it was found in Sweden, ever since the reformation there; which was made (as others should have been) upon the foot of the primitive episcopate, and not of the regale. The king there is perfectly absolute as to all civil affairs, yet leaves the church entirely free as to the choice of her bishops, and all other ecclesiastical matters whatsoever; he intermeddles not at all.

Nor is he offended, that in their liturgy they pray not only for the church in the general, but for the clergy, the governing part of it, before the king and his ministers in the state. Thus it is in the Greek liturgies, and all others, except ours. They think it no solecism to pray for their bishops before the king, and to be more concerned for the faith and welfare of the church than of the state. They let the church stand all together, with her bishops at the head. But the king, in our Litany, is thrust in betwixt the church (which for decency sake they would have named before the state, as being the language of all the world) and the bishops, upon the notion, I suppose, of his being head of the church: and the whole royal family are drawn in with him, as being heads in reversion: and the nobility too, in the Office, 5th November. We improve! and seem to take care, in the first place, for our bodies before our souls, and for this world more than eternity! But they retain the primitive form and constitution in Sweden: they reform not backwards.

And the effects of this are very remarkable; for, first, they have no dissenters there, popish or other;

they are all uniform: and this contributes not a little to the peace and security of the civil government. In the next place, there has been nowhere so good agreement betwixt the church and the state: no jealousies, no discontents, no murmuring at all; for indeed the ground and foundation of them is out of the way, that is, the regale. The powers, sacred and civil, are kept, as they are in their own nature, distinct, and independent on each other, and so can never interfere: and where there is not interfering and clashing, there must needs be, in this case, the greatest love and tenderest concern for one another; while both daily experiment the mutual benefits received on both sides, spiritual and temporal. Then they will both watch over one another for good; for it is their own. The church will make it her utmost care to inculcate the principles of loyalty and obedience to the civil government; and such a church will have a credit and authority over the conscience of the people: and the king, on the other hand, finding the benefit of this to his government, (besides more spiritual considerations,) will protect and cherish the church, without any fear or jealousy, as being the greatest support to his crown; and will be, in a true sense, a nursing father to her.

VI.
Of kings
being nurs-
ing fathers
to the
church.

But, said one, can the king be a nursing father to the church, and yet have no authority over her? *If he be a father, where is his honour?* I have heard this, said he, much insisted upon, to prove the king's authority over the church: and it should seem to infer some spiritual authority or other over her as a church; for, as they are subjects, they are in the same class with laymen, all equally liable to the temporal government: but if the king have no

authority at all in her constitution as a church, how is he a father to the church? or, is he a father, and yet has no authority?

This turned the company to the consideration of that text, Isaiah xlix. 23, whence the authority of kings over the church had been so often inferred. But that objection soon vanished, when the whole verse was read out: *Kings shall be thy nursing fathers, and queens thy nursing mothers: they shall bow down to thee with their face towards the earth, and lick up the dust of thy feet.*

These, said one, are strange marks of fatherly authority! Therefore it was concluded, that the office here ascribed to kings and queens must be an office of service and the most profound reverence, and withal of the greatest love and affection, such as nurses have for the children committed to their care; as likewise of protection, and provision for them: and the children, here said to be committed to the care of kings and queens, are the sons and daughters of God; therefore their protection of them, and provision for them, their love, reverence, and service to them, must be proportionable.

Then the word *nursing father* was inquired into, and it was found to be an old English word, and to mean the same as *foster-father*, that is, a nurse's husband, whose office is to protect and defend the child, and to carry it when there is occasion. Thus the comparison is used, Num. xi. 12, *As a nursing father beareth the sucking child.* And in this text of Isaiah it is taken in the same sense as is expressed ver. 22, *They shall bring thy sons in their arms, and thy daughters shall be carried upon their shoulders: and kings shall be thy nursing fa-*

thers, &c. Our margin reads it *nourishers*; and the Latin renders it *nutritii*: for neither in the original or any one translation is there such a word as *father*; only this old English word of *nursing father* stands in our translation, which yet it explains upon the margin. But the prophet repeats the same again in other words, chap. lx. 16, which fully explain his meaning; where, speaking of the future glories of the church, he says, *Thou shalt suck the milk of the Gentiles, and shalt suck the breast of kings.* And to shew that this was not an office of authority, but of service, he says, ver. 10, *The sons of strangers shall build up thy walls, and their kings shall minister unto thee: therefore thy gates shall be open continually; they shall not be shut day nor night; that men may bring unto thee the forces of the Gentiles, and that their kings may be brought. For the nation and kingdom that will not serve thee shall perish; yea, those nations shall be utterly wasted.* And, ver. 14, *The sons also of them that afflicted thee shall come bending unto thee; and all they that despised thee shall bow themselves down at the soles of thy feet.* These are the same expressions with those, chap. xlix. 23, which plainly shew the meaning of that prophecy, that it is applied to kings and queens.

This turned the stream of the discourse another way; and some did urge, from this vast submission which is mentioned of kings, that the person to whom it must be paid could not be the church, but Christ himself; of whom they would have all these texts understood.

But then (replied another) you must give up your argument of any sort of authority being implied in

the word *nursing father* in this text: for otherwise, if Christ, and not the church, be here meant, you will give to kings a fatherly authority over Christ.

And suppose that Christ wanted such a glorious revolution of the church as was there foretold, to confirm him that there was a God, and an all-governing Providence; for this is the conclusion of the verse, Isa. xlix. 23, *Kings shall be thy nursing fathers, and queens thy nursing mothers: they shall bow down to thee with their face toward the earth, and lick up the dust of thy feet; and thou shalt know that I am the Lord: for they shall not be ashamed that wait for me.*

Besides that from ver. 13. to the end of this chapter, all is spoken of Zion, of the Lord's people, as it is expressed, ver. 13, 14, and concludes ver. 26, thus; *And all flesh shall know that I the Lord am thy Saviour and thy Redeemer, the mighty One of Jacob.* Christ is the Saviour and Redeemer of Jacob, which is his church: but if this were spoken of Christ, then it makes Christ to be the redeemed, and not the Redeemer.

Again, ver. 16, it is said, *Thy walls are continually before me:* and, ver. 19, *Thy waste and desolate places, and the land of thy destruction, &c.* Now, what walls has Christ but those of his church? what other *waste and desolate places*? Is he a captive, and *removing to and fro*? As it is expressed, ver. 21, *Then shalt thou say in thine heart, Who hath begotten me these, seeing I have lost my children, and am desolate, a captive, and removing to and fro? and who hath brought up these? Behold, I was left alone; these, where had they been?* This

was spoke of the flowing in of the Gentiles to the church, as it is expressed in the next verse, *I will lift up my hand to the Gentiles—And kings shall be thy nursing fathers, &c.* as before quoted. This was to answer the great astonishment of the church for the new and unexpected access of so many children, after those of Israel had been carried captive, and destroyed. But did not Christ know this? did he not know *these, where they had been?* did he say, *Who hath begotten me these?* or are these the words of his spouse the church?

And in the parallel place before quoted out of chap. lx. after what has been repeated of *strangers building thy walls, and their kings ministering unto thee; nations and kingdoms serving thee; and all they that despised thee shall bow themselves down at the soles of thy feet;* the next words are in the same ver. 14, *And they shall call thee, The city of the Lord, The Zion of the Holy One of Israel.* This is certainly the church, and not Christ; as the prophet goes on, ver. 15, *Whereas thou hast been forsaken, so that no man went through thee:* still of Zion, and not of Christ. And, ver. 16, *Thou shalt suck the breast of kings: and thou shalt know that I the Lord am thy Saviour.* Did not Christ know this before? was not he himself the Saviour of his church? Again, ver. 17, *I will also make thy officers peace, and thy exactors righteousness;* or, as the LXX. renders it, and St. Clem. Rom. (*Ep. ad Corinth, N. 42.*) and others of the primitive fathers, quoted it, (following herein the example of Christ and the apostles, who generally quoted the Old Testament according to the translation of the LXX.) *I will give thee thy princes in peace, and*

thy bishops in righteousness. The bishops were to be the princes of the church; but not of Christ, as this forced interpretation for the regale would turn all these texts in favour of kings: who must, by these texts brought in their defence, either become sons and servants to the church, or otherwise set themselves up as fathers and kings over Christ! unless they can make us believe that by *Zion*, and *the city of the Lord*, not the church, but Christ is meant; for what is said in these texts, themselves do say, is spoken of *Zion*, &c.

Add to this, that the contents of both these chapters do apply them to the church, and not to Christ; which shews what the sense of our church is of these texts.

Then David's ordering the courses of the priests and Levites, and Solomon's thrusting out Abiathar, were objected. To this it was said,

1. That David and Solomon were extraordinarily inspired men; the one a prophet, the other a preacher; and that what they did, by an extraordinary commission from God, is not to be brought in precedent for the ordinary power of kings: otherwise that kings may take upon them to preach, to consecrate churches, (according to Hobbes,) because Solomon did consecrate the temple, and calls himself a preacher; and to consecrate bishops, because Moses consecrated Aaron; nay, to write scripture for us, because all these did so.

2. That David and Solomon were as extraordinarily raised up by God, and by him empowered, and particularly instructed, to build the temple, and institute a new temple-service and economy, as Moses was to make the tabernacle, and institute the taber-

VII.
Of David's
ordering
the courses
of the
priests and
Levites, &c.

nacle-service: and that as Moses was commanded to make every thing of the tabernacle after the pattern that was shewed to him in the mount, Exod. xxv. 40; so was every thing of the temple, even to the weight of a flesh-hook, given to David, as you may see, 1 Chron. xxviii. from ver. 2; and that in writing, ver. 19: *All this, said David, the Lord made me understand in writing by his hand upon me, even all the works of this pattern:* or, as it is better rendered in the Vul. Lat. nearer to the original, and other translations, *All these things (said David) came to me written with the hand of the Lord, that I might understand all the works of this pattern.* And the LXX. says, that *David gave all this to Solomon, written with the hand of the Lord.* So that this bears the same authority as the Decalogue, which was wrote with the finger of God upon the mount: and this was not only as to the temple itself, and all the utensils of it, but likewise as to the service and economy, then new made, of the priests and their ministration, as it is written, ver. 13, *Also for the courses of the priests and the Levites, and for all the work of the service of the house of the Lord.* And these things were not only given to David himself, *by the Spirit*, as it is said, ver. 12, but they were likewise commanded by Gad and Nathan, as it is written, 2 Chron. xxix. 25, *And he (Hezekiah) set the Levites in the house of the Lord with cymbals, with psalteries, and with harps, according to the commandment of David, and of Gad the king's seer, and Nathan the prophet: for so was the commandment of the Lord by his prophets.* Therefore these things cannot be brought in precedent for the ordinary power of kings. Hezekiah

here disowns it, and shews by what authority he did it, *for so was the commandment of the Lord by his prophets*: and this needed not, if Hezekiah could have done it *jure regio*, by his own power as king.

If kings had had this power, then had not the great and victorious Uzziah been smitten with leprosy to the day of his death, and Saul dethroned by God for invading the priest's office: then had not Jeroboam and his house been cursed with so severe a curse, even *to cut it off, and destroy it from off the face of the earth*, for depriving the priests of Levi, and setting up new priests of his own choosing, 2 Chron. xiii. 9: and yet he had as great reason to do it as state considerations could afford: for these priests of Levi not only joined with Rehoboam against him, and forsook their possessions in his kingdom, and came themselves to Jerusalem to strengthen the hands of Rehoboam, but they brought over with them as many as they could from Jeroboam, as it is told 2 Chron. xi. 13—18.

Here one interposed, and said, that he could not oppose these authorities of holy scripture, which he had not so well considered before; but that otherwise he did not see so great inconvenience in the king's nomination of bishops; because, said he, I have observed that very excellent men have been advanced in the church, particularly by king Charles II, as by former princes; and that lay patrons generally put in as good men as where the collation was in the bishop.

To this it was replied, that the comparison would be invidious, therefore we would not enter upon it. And moreover, said this gentleman, I am not so

sanguine as to promise myself, that if the election of bishops were restored to themselves to-morrow, there would not be found among some of them corrupt practices: they are men; and there is no perfection in this world: the apostles themselves had their contests, and were men of like passions as we.

But still, said he, there is a necessity for the good government of the world, and of every society, (and the church is one,) that all things should go in their proper channels. Perhaps, said he, you or I might name as good a man to be lord chancellor, treasurer, or lord mayor of London, as some that are chosen into those places: but if, for that reason, we should take this upon us, we should be justly chargeable with a great offence, and in some cases of treason, for assuming to ourselves the office and prerogative of the king.

Besides, that they ought to have the administration of any office who are accountable for the discharge of it: and the bishops being answerable to Christ, the chief Shepherd, for the discharge of their under-stewardships, ought therefore to have the administration in their own hands.

And if this was not trusted to a David, a Solomon, or a Hezekiah, no other king, for his opinion of his own virtue, wisdom, or godliness, ought to encroach upon the sacred office.

VIII.
Of Solomon and Abiathar.

Then it was desired that something more particularly should be spoken concerning the deprivation of Abiathar by Solomon.

1. And you remember it was denied that Solomon did deprive him: and this was called a vulgar error. Then the sentence which Solomon passed

upon Abiathar was read, 1 Kings ii. 26, *And unto Abiathar the priest said the king, Get thee to Anathoth, unto thine own fields; for thou art worthy of death: but I will not at this time put thee to death, because thou barest the ark of the Lord God before David my father, and because thou hast been afflicted in all wherein my father was afflicted.* This was the sentence. Solomon here was giving judgment upon the several rebels who had conspired against him: and he passed sentence of death against Adonijah, Joab, &c. But this was the sentence of Abiathar, which was totally a civil, and not any ecclesiastical sentence: it was banishment from Jerusalem to Anathoth: it was a reprieve as to his life, which he had forfeited by his treason; but not a full pardon—*I will not at this time put thee to death:* he kept him upon his good behaviour.

It was like the sentence he passed upon Shimei, at the same time, of confinement to Jerusalem, the breach of which afterwards cost him his life.

But it was urged, *e contra*, that this was an ecclesiastical sentence of deprivation; because it is said, as a consequence of this sentence, ver. 27, *So Solomon thrust out Abiathar from being priest unto the Lord.* How was that? Because the proper office of the priesthood was limited to the temple at Jerusalem, and could not be performed any where else. And so Abiathar's banishment from Jerusalem was a consequential hindering of him from the execution of his office during that time; but it was no deprivation: and if the king pleased to relax his sentence of banishment, there was no incapacity upon Abiathar of exercising his office as

before ; for, after this sentence, he was still reckoned priest, as before ; 1 Kings iv. 4, *Zadok and Abiathar were the priests*. This was in the account of the chief officers in church and state in Solomon's reign.

It was said, that if this text be understood to imply a deprivation, it will also prove a degradation ; because it is said, he *thrust out Abiathar from being priest* : and then it will prove too much ; because our kings do not pretend to such a power as to degrade bishops from their character : and therefore they will be forced to solve this text, by Solomon's having an extraordinary commission to do this ; seeing they pretend not to succeed him in such a power, which they grant to exceed theirs.

But if, said one, the thrusting Abiathar from the temple ; and that his office was confined to that place ; and that this was reckoned not only a deprivation, but a degrading of him from the office of priesthood ; it would seem as if, by a parallel from this, the office of a bishop in the Christian church were to be understood always with relation to a particular church or flock ; and that where a bishop has no particular church, of which he is head, he is, as it were, no bishop of the catholic church, that consisting only of several particular churches.

To which it was added, that the apostles, wherever they went, did always make bishops of particular districts or churches ; and never did make any such thing as a bishop at large, without relation to some particular flock : nay, that they were so careful in this, that, as Clem. Rom. tells us, in his first *Ep. ad Corinth.* n. 42, they made bishops

τῶν μελλόντων πιστεύειν, leaving bishops in places, to be heads of those who should afterwards be converted.

That from that time to this there have been no bishops in the catholic church but of particular districts.

That the word *bishop*, like that of *king*, is a word of government and relation; and as there cannot be a king without people, so neither a bishop without a flock.

That, therefore, though a king or a bishop being deprived hinders not their right of being restored, yet it is, for the time, an unkinging or unbishoping of such an one; and in that sense may be called, not only a deprivation, but a degradation, of him, and taking of his character from him, which remains then only *in potentia*, as the schools speak, in a capacity to be afterwards reduced into act.

That therefore, as said in the beginning of this Discourse, whoever has a power to dissolve the relation betwixt a bishop and his diocese, has power over his character; as it is said here of Abiathar, that he was *thrust out from being priest unto the Lord*; that being implied in the disabling a man from executing his office in the place whereto he is appointed: for he has more right to that place, to that particular flock, over which he is appointed, and to exercise his office there, than in any other place, or to any other flock; for every flock have their own bishop or pastor; and one bishop must not thrust himself into the charge of another bishop, without his leave: and therefore a bishop justly deprived is for the time degraded, and thrust out of the priesthood, and is not to be reckoned as one of the episcopal college. And if the secular

magistrate can put another bishop in his place, then may the state alter and model the whole episcopal college, at their pleasure, and consequently the whole authority of the church of Christ.

Here one said, that Solomon did not only *thrust out or deprive Abiathar*, but did substitute another in his place; therefore it was desired that something should be said to explain 1 Kings ii. 35, *Zadok the priest did the king put in the room of Abiathar.* *Ans.* Abiathar was chief or high priest of the second order of priests, which was the eight families of the house of Ithamar, the second son of Aaron, from whom Abiathar descended. And Zadok, as the chief or supreme metropolitan, was over the sixteen families of the house of Eleazar, the eldest son of Aaron, from whom he descended. You may see the distribution, 1 Chron. xxiv. Therefore Zadok is all along, even in David's time, put before Abiathar, wherever they are named together. And the succession of the high priesthood *κατ' ἐξοχήν*, or properly so called, was reckoned only in the sons of Eleazar, as you may see, 1 Chron. vi. 1—15. and ver. 50—54. and Ezra vii. 1—6. where none of the family of Ithamar are reckoned, neither Eli, nor Ahitub, nor Ahimelech, nor Abiathar, but Zadok is. And Zadok, and not Abiathar, was prince or ruler of the Aaronites, 1 Chron. xxvii. 17, where the princes of the twelve tribes are reckoned up in David's time. And Zadok only, and not Abiathar, was anointed with Solomon in the lifetime of king David, 1 Chron. xxix. 22, *to be priest*; that is, the chief or supreme high priest; or, as Josephus says, (*Antiq. lib. VII. c. 9.*) "high priest of all the people:" as the archbishop of Canterbury is called

primate of all England, in contradistinction to the archbishop of York, who is styled *primate of England*. But when Abiathar was banished, and therefore could not administer his high priesthood over the second order of the eight families of the house of Ithamar, they were all put under the charge of Zadok. And thus the putting Zadok in the room of Abiathar was not advancing Zadok above Abiathar, for so he was always; but as if the primate of Canterbury had the rule and government given him over the province of York, during an incapacity of the primate of York: which incapacity arising from a civil sentence, as of imprisonment or banishment, (for such, and no other, was the sentence of Solomon against Abiathar,) it was no deprivation, but he remained, notwithstanding, still primate of York, or second metropolitan, as Abiathar was still reckoned the second priest after Zadok in the court of Solomon, notwithstanding of that sentence of banishment passed against him.

Who was made second priest, or high priest of the second order, after the death of Abiathar, or if he was restored, by being released from his banishment, does not appear, nor is it material to our present purpose. But this we find, that there were two such priests from the time of Aaron, Numb. iii. 4. 1 Chron. xxiv. 2; and continued to the captivity, 2 Kings xxv. 18. Jer. lii. 24; and in our Saviour's time, Luke iii. 2; and that, after the new establishment of the temple-service and economy, the succession of the high priesthood was reckoned from Zadok, who was the first high priest of the temple, as formerly it was from Aaron; and instead of *the sons of Aaron*, the priests were afterwards

called *the sons of Zadok*, Ezek. xl. 46, xliii. 19, xliv. 15, xlviii. 11; and instead of *the house of Aaron*, it was said, *the house of Zadok*, 2 Chron. xxxi. 10.

As instead of *the house of the Lord*, and *the temple of the Lord, in Shiloh*, 1 Sam. i. 3, 7, 9, it was afterwards said, *the house and the temple of the Lord in Jerusalem*. This was a mighty revolution in the Jewish church; and all expressly ordered by God himself, and most particularly set down in holy scripture.

From the Jews' first possession of Canaan the temple was set up in Shiloh, Josh. xviii. 1; and there continued all the time of the Judges, which was about four hundred and fifty years, (Acts xiii. 20.) to the days of Samuel. The tabernacle of Shiloh was then called *the tent which God had placed among men*, Psalm lxxviii. 60. Then the ark was taken, Eli and his sons slain; and great reproach came upon Israel. After this the ark returned no more to Shiloh, but was long in a wandering condition, being twenty years in the house of Abinadab, 1 Sam. vii. 1, 2, and removed to several other places. At length God himself pitched upon the place, where he shewed himself, by a great miracle, to David, 2 Chron. iii. 1; or, as the vulgar reads it, *which place God shewed to David*. It was first consecrated by David's being commanded to rear an altar there, for staying the plague from the people. And it was the same place where Abraham was commanded to sacrifice Isaac, Gen. xxii. 2; which is observed by Josephus, Antiq. lib. VII. c. 10, "God chose not only the tribe, but the mountain where he would have his temple built;" having rejected the tribe and tabernacle where it was built before,

Psalm lxxviii. 67, 68. It was not in man's power to determine the tribe or the place; no, nor was the least circumstance, the measure of a chamber, or the weight of a flesh-hook, (as before said,) left to the discretion either of David or Solomon, but all most minutely set down to them in writing. And, as all other things, so the person who should build the temple was particularly pitched upon by God himself. David was rejected for this work, though he had a great mind to it. And God foretold by prophecy whom he would have to do it, and named his name before he was born, 1 Chron. xxii. 8, 9, 10: so that in all things the temple economy was wholly divine, and not established by an ordinary regal or human power or authority.

2. Hence it was argued, that though the sentence of Solomon against Abiathar had been an ecclesiastical sentence, and that not only of deprivation, but degradation, yet it could not be brought in precedent for the ordinary power of kings; that it must, in that case, be reckoned as a part, and a principal part, of the new ordering of the courses of the priests, which was particularly commanded by God to David. And according to which it is written that Solomon did execute it, 2 Chron. viii. 14; *And he appointed, according to the order of David his father, the courses of the priests to their service—for so had David the man of God commanded.*

3. That if the kingly power extend to the depriving of priests, and putting others, whom they think fit, in their room; then Solomon might have put any other whom he pleased, and not Zadok, in the room of Abiathar; which I have not yet heard any adventure to say: for at this rate, Solomon, or any

after-king, might have quite overthrown and altered the whole temple-economy, and made what new distribution of the courses of the priests he thought fit, *and for all the work of the service of the house of the Lord*; for both are joined together, and alike commanded, 1 Chron. xxviii. 13. And, by ver. 21, it appears to be an injunction laid upon Solomon, particularly as to the courses of the priests, that even he could not alter: for this is there put as part of David's charge to him; *And, behold, the courses of the priests and the Levites are for all the service of the house of the Lord.*

4. That if Abiathar, or Eli before him, of the house of Ithamar, had usurped the supreme high priesthood, from Zadok and his predecessors of the house of Eleazar, as Josephus (*Antiq. lib. VIII. c. 1.*) seems to suppose, and reckons there five of the family of Eleazar, who had led a private life, while the high priesthood was in the family of Ithamar, which was during the succession of four, viz. Eli, Ahitub, Ahimelech, and Abiathar; and therefore he says, that Zadok was the first high priest under David; he means, I suppose, of the house of Eleazar: then, if so, Solomon's depriving Abiathar, and putting Zadok in his room, was only restoring the right line; and comes within the ordinary power of kings, who are, by their places, *custodes utriusque tabulæ*, keepers and protectors of both the tables of the Decalogue; as well of the first, which respects the worship of God, as of the second, that respects justice betwixt man and man; that is, in their own sphere, not to take upon them in any part of the sacerdotal office, but to coerce, by the secular arm, the intruders and offenders. Thus a

king may, and ought, justly, by force, expel an intruding bishop, and restore the rightful bishop.

But it was offered, as an objection to Josephus, that those five of the house of Eleazar, who, he says, led private lives while the high priesthood was in the house of Ithamar, viz. Bockias the son of Joseph, Joathan the son of Bockias, Mareoth the son of Joathan, Aropha the son of Mareoth, and Achitob the son of Aropha, who was father to Zadok, are not the names of the high priests which are recorded in their genealogies, 1 Chron vi. and Ezra vii; for Josephus makes Achitob to be the son of Aropha, who in the scripture genealogy is called Amariah; and he calls Mareoth the son of Joathan, but the holy scripture calls him the son of Zerariah: he makes Bockias, or Bukki, the son of Joseph, who, the holy scripture says, was the son of Abishua. If he means the same persons, it is hard to suppose so great variation in their names; for there is nothing in the scripture genealogy like Joseph, Joathan, or Aropha.

And if these were high priests *de jure*, though not *de facto*, as being put out of possession by the house of Ithamar, then either their names must be put into the genealogy of the high priests, or else the names of those of the house of Ithamar, who filled the pontifical chair, while the others led private lives, as Josephus says: but, as observed before, none of the line of Ithamar are reckoned in the genealogy. And therefore, though they were high priests of the second order, that is, over the house of Ithamar, yet they were not the chief or supreme high priests: or otherwise, if they usurped it, they were not so esteemed by God, though in

possession; but the succession was reckoned by the priests who had the right, though turned out of possession; and that for four generations; for so many were the high priests that are reckoned of the house of Ithamar.

Selden tells us, (*de Succ. in Pontiff.* lib. I. c. 2.) from some Jewish authors, that they did believe the high priesthood was translated from Phinehas, of the house of Eleazar, to Eli, the first high priest reckoned of the house of Ithamar, by the express command of God, *ex jussu Numinis*; as supposing it could not be done by man. And he sets down some of the rabbies' reasons for it; as, that Phinehas and his family were so much to blame for the many wickednesses of the Israelites under their judges; and particularly that he, being consulted about Jephthah's vow, refused to absolve him from it: and therefore, that the *Numinis majestas seu præsentia*, the "Divine presence or influence," departed from him. But this looks like the rest of the Jewish fables and traditions: for if the high priesthood had been translated to Eli by the command of God, it is hard to give a reason why neither he nor any of his posterity should be reckoned by God amongst the high priests.

Therefore, if Eli was high priest, properly so called, and had it not from God, it is most probable that he usurped it when he was judge, that is, the supreme civil magistrate. And then he will stand the first example of the civil magistrate's encroachment upon the church: for he was then in a double capacity, as the bishops of Rome are now, having the supreme civil government in his hands; and by that might have exalted himself above his station in

the church; which will come in under the notion of Erastianism, as being carried on by a civil power, though in an ecclesiastical person. This has begot the distinction (first broached by the Roman catholics themselves) betwixt *the church* and *the court of Rome*.

Then it was observed, that if this matter of fact was so, this first example of the secular power encroaching upon the church was attended (as most other beginnings of nefarious wickedness, as of schism in Korah, &c., usually have been) with very remarkable judgments: for within seven months after Eli's entering upon his government the whole nation of Israel was conquered by the Philistines, and remained in subjection to them all his life; (the longest of any of their captivities before that of Babylon;) and, which was much more terrible, the ark of God was (then only) taken, and led away in triumph by these cursed Philistines, and set up as a trophy in the temple of their Dagon; the wicked sons of Eli, who attended the ark, were slain; the armies of Israel routed; Eli broke his neck; and *the glory departed from Israel*. And, as if the government of Eli had been the cause of all these judgments, within seven months after his death the ark was miraculously restored, and Israel recovered their freedom.

It was desired by one of the company to shew how this calculation was made, that the conquest of Israel by the Philistines was within seven months after Eli's entering upon his government, and the restoration within seven months after his death; which was thus shewn: the government of Eli was forty years, 1 Sam. iv. 18; the captivity of Israel to

the Philistines was forty years, Judges xiii. 1; and the restoration of the ark was seven months after its being taken, 1 Sam. vi. 1, and the death of Eli, which was the same day, 1 Sam. iv. 18: therefore the captivity must begin seven months after Eli's entering upon his government, to complete the forty years of the captivity.

Then it was further observed, that this was the time and the occasion why God forsook his tabernacle at Shiloh, where it had remained ever since Israel's first possession of Canaan, about four hundred and fifty years, as before mentioned.

And, moreover, how judgments pursued the house of Eli: his sons Hophni and Phinehas, *sons of Be-lial*, the most wicked that ever was heard of in any history; they robbed the men who came to sacrifice, and *lay with the women who assembled at the door of the tabernacle*; and thus corrupted Israel, and made them *abhor the offerings of the Lord*; 1 Sam. ii. 12, 16, 17, 22: these were slain by the Philistines, when the ark was taken. Ahimelech was massacred by Saul, and the whole city of the priests for his sake. His son Abiathar fell into treason, and was the last high priest of the line of Ithamar. And there was a prophecy of these terrible judgments upon the house of Eli, and of their being removed from the priesthood, 1 Sam. ii. 35. And Solomon, being an extraordinarily inspired person, and raised up by God immediately, and commissioned by him in manner before mentioned, we cannot doubt, had instruction likewise as to this case of Abiathar, and for the fulfilling of that prophecy; which, we are told, was the design of Solomon in what he did: *So Solomon thrust out Abia-*

thar from being priest unto the Lord; that he might fulfil the word of the Lord, which he spake concerning the house of Eli in Shiloh, 1 Kings ii. 27.

Therefore it was said, that though Abiathar had been the high priest, properly so called; and that his family had not usurped upon the family of Eleazar, but that the priesthood had been translated to the house of Ithamar by divine commission; here was the divine commission to oust them, and reinstate the family of Eleazar; and that neither the one nor the other was within the ordinary, regal, no, nor human power.

But the first hypothesis did please best, and seemed to render all this matter more easy, that the high priesthood, properly so called, was not translated to the house of Ithamar, though it is probable that Eli, the second high priest, being also judge of Israel, might take more upon him as to the priesthood than he ought, and withdraw his subjection to the first high priest; whom, by the addition of his civil authority, he did so overshadow, that no mention is made, in the reign of Eli, of any other high priest than himself. But in the reign of David we find that Zadok gained the ascendant over Abiathar, as shewn above, even before his being thrust out by Solomon; which it was thought might be, nay that it must be, reckoned among the regulations of the courses of the priests; and so that it was by immediate divine commandment.

5. It was considered how dangerous and uncertain an argument mere example is, especially in holy scripture, where many things are told very short, and the reasons of them not always set down:

that the least variation of a circumstance may make that lawful in one, which would be a sin in another. And many unwarrantable actions are barely related in holy scripture, without any mark put upon them. And many extraordinary actions of prophets and others are told, for which we do not doubt they had divine commission, yet no such commission mentioned; and wherein if we should imitate them, we should greatly sin. That examples are encouragements to our duty in things that are commanded, but no rule of themselves; that following the example of Phinehas gave rise to that desperate and bloody sect of the Zealots among the Jews, and many the like amongst ourselves; who govern themselves chiefly by examples, and brought mostly out of the Old Testament, as, *Curse ye Meroz*, &c. The like mistaken zeal possessed the two fiery disciples to imitate Elias, Luke ix. 54.

That there being but this one example of Solomon, in all the holy scripture, of a king's thrusting out a priest, except where it is severely reprehended by God, as in Jeroboam; it is a very dangerous method to take no notice of those examples where God has condemned it, and to build only upon one instance, from this single encouragement, that God has not in that place condemned it: that condemning it in some kings shews it not to be within the regal commission; and therefore the example of it in another king must be likewise condemnable, though it be not there expressed; or otherwise that king must have had some extraordinary commission from God for the doing of it; as it must be supposed that Solomon here had; else, no doubt, it had been a sin in him as well as in another; that is, if

it was any more than a civil sentence of banishment, as before has been discoursed.

6. That it is certain the Levitical priesthood was set up by God four hundred years before there was a king in Israel; as the evangelical priesthood was three hundred years before there was a Christian king in the world: and therefore that neither the one nor the other could be made dependent upon kings. That since Christian kings do build the regale upon the precedent of the Jewish kings, it must go against them; seeing they must grant that it was not in the power of the Jewish kings to alter the Aaronical priesthood, and set up other priests in their place; and that as well the king as all the people were to be directed by the high priest, as it is written, Numb. xxvii. 21, *At his word shall they go out, and at his word they shall come in, both he, (the king or chief governor,) and all the children of Israel with him, even all the congregation.*

Here one interposed, and desired to know how all this would agree with our present laws, and since the reformation; and instanced the statutes 25 Henry VIII. c. 19. and 37 Henry VIII. c. 17, &c. with the commission that archbishop Cranmer took out for his bishopric from Edward VI, which is inserted in bishop Burnet's History of the Reformation, part II. Collect. of Records to book I. n. 2. p. 90: and the like done by other bishops, whereby they held their bishoprics during pleasure of the king, and owned to derive all their power, even ecclesiastical, from the crown, *Velut a supremo capite, et omnium infra regnum nostrum magistratum, fonte et scaturigine*, as from the fountain and original of it, &c. To this it was said,

IX.
Concern-
ing our
laws at
present,
and since
the re-
formation.

1. That all this is to be understood only of the civil power and authority, which by the laws of the land were annexed to the sacred office; as the civil jurisdiction that is granted to the bishops' courts, to the bishops themselves, as lords of parliament, &c.; to the civil penalties which follow their excommunications; and the legal protection to their ordinations, and other acts of their office: and these are derived only and solely from the king. Nothing of this was granted to the apostles or the bishops their successors by Christ. And as the state granted these, they may recall them, if there be sufficient reason for it.

That in that very commission before mentioned, which was given to Cranmer for his bishopric, there is an exception; *Per et ultra ea quæ tibi ex sacris literis divinitus commissa esse dignoscuntur*; i. e. "Over and above those powers and authorities "which the holy scriptures do testify are given to "thee by God." These the king did not take upon him to grant; but only what was over and above these, that is, the protection and civil privileges granted by the state, which were annexed to fortify and encourage these. And take notice, that that of which the king is here called *the head and fountain* is *omnium magistratum*, of all the magistracy within his dominions, as well ecclesiastical as temporal; for there is a civil magistracy annexed by the laws to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction: and of this only ought these expressions to be meant; because we see the other, the spiritual authority which in holy scripture is granted to the church, is expressly excepted: and that ecclesiastical authority, which in this commission is said to flow from the king, is

juris dicendi autoritas, et quæcunque ad forum ecclesiasticum pertinent; that is, “the episcopal jurisdiction, considered as a forum, a court established by the secular power, and part of the laws of the land.”

That in the said History of the Reformation, part I. in the Addenda, n. 5. p. 321, there is “a declaration made of the function and divine institution of bishops and priests,” subscribed by the lord Cromwell, then vicegerent to king Henry VIII. in ecclesiastical matters, by archbishop Cranmer, with the archbishop of York, eleven other bishops, and twenty divines and canonists, declaring that the power of the keys, and other church functions, is formally distinct from the civil power, &c. And, *ibid.* Collect. Records, n. 10. p. 177, there is the judgment of eight bishops concerning the king’s supremacy, whereof Cranmer is the first, asserting that the commission which Christ gave to his church had “no respect to kings’ or princes’ power;” but that the church had it by the “word of God, to which Christian princes knowledge themselves subject.” They deny that the commission Christ gave to his church did extend to civil power over kings and princes: and they own that the civil power was over bishops and priests, as well as other subjects; that is, in civil matters, which the church of Rome did deny: but they assert that “bishops and priests have the charge of souls, are the messengers of Christ, to teach the truth of his gospel, and to loose and bind sin, &c. as Christ was the messenger of his Father:” which sure was independent of all kings and powers upon earth.

Here one desired it might not be forgot, that Bon-

ner took out the same commission for his bishopric from Henry VIII. as that before mentioned of Cranmer from Edward VI. which is verbatim inserted in the said History of the Reformation, part I. Collect. of Records to book III. p. 184.

And that the convocation who made that submission of the clergy, 25 Henry VIII, were all Roman catholics; for it was before the beginning of the reformation, before the king's supremacy was enacted, which, when enacted afterwards, was grounded upon this submission of the popish clergy, and the acknowledgment of both convocations before that time, (22 Henry VIII,) who owned the king as supreme head of the church within his own dominions. This was the first time; and these popish bishops and clergy were the first who bestowed that title upon the king, with which they have ever since upbraided the reformation.

2. It was further said, that, as our laws stand at present, the church is left wholly independent on the state as to her purely spiritual power and authority.

Because our kings claim no other ecclesiastical authority than was granted by God to the kings in holy scripture: and what that was we have seen before to have nothing in it but mere civil power; though it might be exercised over ecclesiastical persons, (who are subject, as all others, as Christ himself was, to the civil powers in all civil things,) and in ecclesiastical causes too, to punish with temporal pains as well blasphemers, idolaters, and heretics, as thieves, robbers, &c.; as well the transgressors against the first as second table. Thus the godly kings in holy scripture did; thus they were empow-

ered by God: and this, and no more, is attributed to our kings, as it is fully expressed in our 37th Article; viz. "That only prerogative which we see
" to have been given always to all godly princes in
" holy scripture by God himself: that is, to rule all
" estates and degrees committed to their charge by
" God, whether they be ecclesiastical or temporal;
" and to restrain with the civil sword the stubborn
" and evil doers." These are the words of the Article.

And hence it was urged, that the precedents drawn from any extraordinary acts of Moses, David, or Solomon, are hereby excluded; because it is said, such prerogative, and such only, as was always given, and to all godly princes; and that is explained, viz. "to
" restrain with the civil sword."

That therefore, by this, all ecclesiastical power whatsoever is utterly disowned and disclaimed; though the civil power, as said before, may be exercised upon ecclesiastical persons and in ecclesiastical causes.

That this was made in explanation of the oath of supremacy; and therefore does oblige us to understand those words in that oath, where the king is said to be "supreme governor, as well in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things or causes, as temporal," to extend only to civil government, and the power of the civil sword.

That this explanation was made necessarily; for, as bishop Burnet tells us, (*Hist. Reform. part II. p. 386.*) the bishops opposed the queen's supremacy, as set forth in that oath; and many others were offended at it. And the same bishop, in his *Travels, Letter I. from Zurich, p. 52,* of the Dutch edition at

Rotterdam, an. 1686, quotes a letter of bishop Jewel's to Bullinger, dated May 22, 1559, wherein he writes, that "the queen refused to be called *head of the church*;" and adds, that "that title could not be justly given to any mortal." Therefore queen Elizabeth laid aside the title of *head of the church*, and instead thereof the word *governor* was put into the oath, as it stands to this day; the king being now styled therein only *supreme governor*, which is a more secular word than *head*, (though it may mean the same thing,) and, as here explained, means only supreme civil governor.

That this Article mentions queen Elizabeth's Injunctions, which explain and limit the regal supremacy, as it has done; and desires that none should take the oath in any other sense.

That primate Usher gave the same explanation of it in a speech at the council-table in Dublin, upon occasion of some magistrates there who refused the said oath; and king James I. sent him a letter of thanks and approbation of his speech; both which are in print.

And that none of our succeeding kings or parliaments have given any other explanation of it, or required that it should be taken in any other sense; but all along refer to these.

That the Thirty-nine Articles are incorporated into our laws, and required to be subscribed by act of parliament.

That, therefore, if any think the former acts of parliament, 25 Hen. VIII. c. 19, the 37 Hen. VIII. c. 17, &c. and the commissions for bishoprics, taken out by Cranmer, Bonner, &c. cannot be reconciled by the means before mentioned with that exposition

in the 37th Article, &c. and with several practices formerly, or at this day; yet this they must grant, that not only former customs, but acts of parliament, are superseded and annulled by latter acts of parliament: and therefore, if those former acts cannot be so construed as to agree with the latter, the latter must take place; and so on all hands it is plain, that, as our laws stand at present, the church is left wholly independent on the state as to her purely spiritual power and authority, *quod erat demonstrandum*. And if there is or has been any practices contrary to these laws, yet that annuls not the laws.

And as the original rights of the church are here asserted, independent of the civil power; so likewise her authority is not left undetermined, in her spiritual capacity, even over the king himself; not only to debar him the prayers and sacraments, but to proceed to excommunication, if other methods prevail not to bring him to penance for open scandals. Thus it is expressed in the Second Part of the Homily of the right Use of the Church, where, after having spoke of Christ's scourging the buyers and sellers out of the temple, these words follow: "And according to this example of our Saviour Christ in the primitive church, which was most holy and godly, and in the which due discipline with severity was used against the wicked, open offenders were not suffered once to enter into the house of the Lord, nor admitted to common prayer, and the use of the holy sacraments, with other true Christians, until they had done open penance before the whole church. And this was practised, not only upon mean persons, but also upon the rich, noble,

“ and mighty persons, yea, upon Theodosius, that
 “ puissant and mighty emperor, whom, for commit-
 “ ting a grievous and wilful murder, St. Ambrose,
 “ bishop of Milan, reprov'd sharply, and did also
 “ excommunicate the said emperor, and brought him
 “ to open penance.” Some have bestowed a mar-
 ginal note upon this place, and say, “ He was only
 “ dehorted from receiving the sacrament, until by
 “ repentance he might be better prepared.” But
 there was something more in it, or else both the
 history of it and the Homily have been foully mis-
 taken. The homily says, he was excommunicated,
 and brought to open penance. Let who will com-
 ment upon these words, they are confirmed, and
 every clergyman in the nation oblig'd by act of
 parliament to subscribe them: they are part of our
 Thirty-nine Articles of religion, and stand to this
 day unrepeal'd; and therefore are a sufficient ex-
 planation of the sense both of church and state in
 this matter: and if some of our divines would ex-
 plain the doctrine of our church more by her Articles,
 Homilies, and Canons, than the sense of private doc-
 tors, they would go upon surer grounds, and have
 better success.

Though there want not doctors, even modern, and
 of no small reputation, who have given sufficient
 testimony against the Erastian construction of our
 laws, or obligation of them, if so construed.

That of Dr. Sherlock is full and express, which is
 quoted at the end of the preface, ^athat bishops have
 no right to give away those powers which Christ
 has given them; and if granted by them, that the

^a Summary of the Controv. p. 119.

grant is void, and they ought to reassume them; much more, if taken from them by any whatsoever.

And Dr. Burnet, now bishop of Salisbury, whose History of the Reformation is before quoted as to the sense of the laws then made, is fuller upon that point, in a treatise wrote since, when the popish controversy was a-foot, and he was in Holland; it is entitled, Reflexions on the Relation of the English Reformation lately printed at Oxford. This was printed at Amsterdam for J.S. 1688. There, in the first part, speaking of the acts of parliament that concern the king's supremacy, he says, p. 18, "When
" our author doth, &c. then may we undertake to
" justify all the flourishes that may be in any act
" of parliament—It is a very unreasonable thing to
" urge some general expressions, or some stretches
" of the royal supremacy, and not to consider that
" more strict explanation that was made of it, both
" in king Henry VIII's time and under queen Eli-
" zabeth." And, p. 19, he says, "Upon the defini-
" tion of the king's supremacy, in the Necessary
" Erudition of a Christian Man, all people were
" obliged to take their measures, and not upon some
" expressions either in acts of parliament or acts of
" convocation, nor upon some stretches of the king's
" jurisdiction. In this (Erudition of a Christian
" Man) it is plainly said, that bishops and priests
" are bound to obey all the king's laws, not being
" contrary to the laws of God: so that here is ex-
" pressed that necessary reserve upon their obe-
" dience, it being provided that they were only
" bound to obey when the laws were not contrary
" to the laws of God. The other reserve is also

“ made, of all that authority which was committed
“ by Christ and his apostles to the bishops and
“ priests; and we are not ashamed to own it freely,
“ that we see no other reserves in our obedience to
“ the king besides these.” He goes on to queen
Elizabeth’s explanation, and says, p. 20, “ That
“ since this sense was not only given by queen Eli-
“ zabeth, who allowed such as took the oath to de-
“ clare that they took it in that sense; but it was
“ afterwards enacted both in convocation and in
“ parliament, and put into the body of our confes-
“ sion of faith, this explanation must be considered
“ as the true measure of the king’s supremacy: and
“ the wide expressions in the former laws must be
“ understood to be restrained by this; since poste-
“ rior laws derogate from those that were at first
“ made, &c.” And quoting the queen’s Injunctions,
he says, “ This is all the supremacy which we are
“ bound in conscience to own: and if the letter of
“ the law, or the stretches of that in the administra-
“ tion of it, have carried this further, we are not at
“ all concerned in it. But in case any such thing
“ were made out, it could amount to no more than
“ this, that the civil authority had made some en-
“ croachments on ecclesiastical authority. But the
“ submitting to an oppression, and bearing it till
“ some better times may deliver us from it, is no
“ argument against our church,” &c. And, p. 21,
he says, “ We may see in Godeau, and many other
“ modern writers, how much they complain of this,
“ as a servitude under which their church (the
“ French) is brought, and an infraction of all the
“ ancient canons.” Again, p. 23, “ If the great and
“ unmeasured extent of the papal authority made

“ our princes judge it necessary to secure themselves
“ from those innovations, by stretching their juris-
“ diction a little too much, &c. And if in the time
“ of our reformation, some of our bishops, or other
“ writers, have carried the royal supremacy too far,
“ either in acts of convocation, or in their writings;
“ as those things are personal matters, in which we
“ are not at all concerned, who do not pretend to
“ assert an infallibility in our church; so their ex-
“ cess in this was a thing so natural, that we have
“ all possible reason to excuse it, or at least to cen-
“ sure it very gently,” &c. And, p. 28, “ It is cer-
“ tain no clergy in the world can make such a depu-
“ tation,” &c. This is agreeable to what is before
quoted of Dr. Sherlock, that the clergy cannot give
up their powers, nor depute a convocation so to do.
Again, p. 54, speaking of the act of submission, he
says, “ The clergy did not bind themselves never to
“ meet without the king’s writ. They only said,
“ that the convocation had ever been, and ought
“ always to be, assembled by the king’s writ: yet
“ it doth not bind them up from meeting, in case
“ the necessities of the church require it, and that
“ the king refuses his writ.” This supports Dr.
Atterbury’s exposition of it. Lastly, for what I
shall quote at this time, he says, p. 92, “ The civil
“ supremacy that we ascribe to our kings,” &c.
Here he gives the king only a civil supremacy,
though, as said before, this civil power may be ex-
ercised over ecclesiastical persons, and in ecclesias-
tical causes. And this is fully agreeable to the 37th
Article, and that exposition of it, and of our laws,
which has been given; and now carries more force
with it, having the concurrence of so learned a per-

son, and so particularly skilled in the history of our reformation, who owns it as part of our confession of faith.

More might be brought from the same judicious author, and others of as great name in the church of England, to balance the authorities that are produced out of her writers on the other side; for whom the bishop here has made an excuse, that the torrent and prejudices of those times ought at least to make our censure of them very easy: to which we are very willing, and would hide them; but the continual quoting of them by the regale men, and heaping up catalogues of them, does expose them, and the church of England with them: and then laying the whole stress of their cause upon such precedents renders it very precarious, and forces the churchmen to produce some contrary precedents; but they not laying their issue barely upon precedents, these may suffice for this time; though they say more are ready when called for, and when it can be to any purpose: for having vindicated the sense of our laws by our Articles and Homilies, which are confirmed both by convocation and parliament, what need is there of the suffrage of private persons?

X.
The present
state of the
controversy.

From that of the laws the discourse turned to the present state of the controversy concerning the independency of the church, occasioned by the now unhappy schism which has arisen in the church of England upon that single point: for though the deprived bishops and clergy went out upon account of the oaths, yet this made no schism, no not even when they were actually deprived and ousted by act of parliament: that the schism did not commence till the day of the consecration of new bishops into

the sees of the bishops who were ejected; for then, and not till then, there were bishops and anti-bishops, and opposite altars set up.

The company did not meddle at all with the state point, as to the oaths; but kept themselves entirely to the church point, of her independency, as to her purely spiritual authority from the state; and that not only here in England, with relation either to past or present occurrences, but all the world over, upon the intrinsical and original rights of the church; though the present occasion has started the dispute amongst us: and therefore the company desired to follow that as far as it has gone, that we might see the true state of it on all sides.

I. Dr. Hody, and those who write on his side, do not take upon them to justify lay deprivations, but only to comply with them, though supposing them to be not only unjust but invalid, if imposed by an irresistible power, and that the bishops whom the lay power does put into the sees of the ejected are orthodox in the faith.

They support this hypothesis upon the authority of precedents; which they would improve to be the practice of the whole catholic church in all ages, and therefore a sufficient rule to determine conscience.

But whereas several precedents are given on the contrary side in the *Vindication of the deprived Bishops*, and the *Historical Collections concerning Church Affairs*, &c. of those who adhered to their bishops when unjustly, but most of all if invalidly deprived, though the successor was orthodox in the faith; therefore they add^b, that “these successors

^b Reflexions on the Remarks upon the eighth occasional Paper, &c. p. 27.

“ were rejected for other reasons, either because
 “ they were accounted heretics, or because their
 “ orders were looked upon to be null and invalid,
 “ as being derived (either immediately or mediately)
 “ from some who were accounted heretics; or be-
 “ cause they communicated with heretics; or, lastly,
 “ because they were for some other crime excom-
 “ municated.”

And it was said, that it would be hard indeed to find a bishop against whom some of these objections might not lie: for example, all the bishops of the reformation, as well in England as elsewhere, are struck off at one blow; for they all derived their orders from those whom they now account to be, and then to have been, heretics: and for this reason their orders are accounted to be null and invalid by many of our dissenters.

And the ordinations of the church of Rome must go off too, especially since the council of Constance, that turned out all the popes who were then in the world, which were three opposite or anti-popes, contending one against another: and they cannot say of any of their ordinations at this day, that they are not derived from some of these anti-popes.

Nay all the churches, as far as the Arian heresy reached, may come under this objection: for many of their ordinations were derived from some or other who were Arians, Semiarrians, &c. or suspected so to be: and the scene of these precedents alleged, being chiefly in those ages wherein this controversy was most hotly debated, pretences of this sort could hardly be wanting against any whom they otherwise disliked.

Besides that, as shewn in the Vindication of the

deprived Bishops, p. 24, &c. the notion of heresy was then taken in a much more large sense than it is understood now with us; that it was then applied to any separation that was made upon any principle.

So that if it could be alleged that such a bishop did but once communicate, or join so much as in prayer, or any holy office, at a marriage or a christening, with any so accounted; or lastly, if any other crime can be charged upon him—Now some of these excuses will never be wanting where men will fish for them; and under the terror of an irresistible power it is very natural to think, that most men would be inclined to put the cause of their non-compliance with that power upon any thing rather than to dispute the authority of such a power.

Especially considering that Dr. Hody himself, from his Baroccian MSS., makes some of the second bishops, who came in the room of St. John Chrysostom when he was deprived, to be saints; and so free from all these exceptions: and yet tells of those numbers of Christians, who therefore were called Joannites, because they adhered to John their deprived bishop, and could not be charmed with the saintship of any second bishop during his life, nor frightened with the irresistible power of the emperor, which was let loose upon them, to make them own the second bishops he had set up. Hence that bold challenge was thought very strange, which is given in most peremptory terms, p. 27. of Reflexions before quoted, “to shew as much as one single person throughout all the fourth age (in which St. Chrysostom lived) that actually stood out on that account.”

But in former ages their standing out upon that account was shewn to have been much more universal: which Dr. Hody excuses only because there was not then an irresistible power to compel them. And upon this alone he does resolve the whole cause: for when the practice not only of single persons but churches, nay of the whole catholic church, was produced against submitting to second bishops during the lives of the first lawful bishops, if invalidly deprived, Dr. Hody concludes his case of sees vacant by unjust or uncanonical deprivations, with an answer to this, in these words, p. 195.

“ It is alleged by one of our adversaries^c, that
 “ the Novatians, the Donatists, and the Meletians
 “ of Egypt were schismatics in the opinion of the
 “ church, because the bishops who first headed them
 “ were second bishops. But this is easily answered:
 “ for the bishops whom they followed were not set
 “ up by any sovereign coercive power, in the room
 “ of others deposed, but were set up by inferior
 “ persons against others possessed of the sees. I
 “ have already said, that it is not every one, whom
 “ a small tumultuous party shall get to be ordained,
 “ that ought to be received as a bishop; but that
 “ which we maintain is this, that where the lawful
 “ bishop is deposed by an irresistible party, there
 “ the successor may be acknowledged.”

It was said to this, that though the Novatians, Donatists, &c. were not irresistible, yet they were very powerful parties, and kept up long and great schisms in the church; and in some places they were irresistible, that is, had the greater force.

That by this rule they were not schismatics in

^c The Unity of Priesthood, &c. p. 58, 59.

those places, but those who opposed them were the schismatics; though in other places, where they were less powerful, there they were the schismatics, and those who opposed them preserved the unity of the church: and if they had been set up by any sovereign coercive power, by the Roman emperor, then had there never been such schismatics in the church as the Novatians, Donatists, or Meletians; but they had been the church, and the church had been the schismatics.

So that by this the notions of a church and of schism are very uncertain things, and may change sides with every wind of persecution, or of power, or of fright! and that may appear irresistible to one which is not to another. But can we oppose irresistible force? said one. No, said another; for if we oppose it, it is not irresistible. But what sort of opposition do you mean? for lawful powers are not to be resisted by arms, though we had strength to do it, under penalty of damnation, Rom. xiii. 2. Therefore they are always irresistible in that sense. But if you mean by resistance not complying with their unjust commands, then no power upon earth can be irresistible; because the resistance is by suffering, by prayers and tears, which are the arms of the church.

That if it be lawful to support the faith of the church against an irresistible party, why not the government and discipline of the church? since without these the church cannot stand, nor exert that commission which was given to her by Christ.

That wherever the government of the church is placed, all appeals, even as to matters of faith, must determine there.

Suppose that not long ago the king had got a majority of popish bishops in the convocation, whether should we have appealed from that convocation?

To whom shall all the bishops, shall episcopacy itself, now appeal in Scotland?

And if the government of the church be put into the hands of papists or presbyterians, &c. how shall we secure the faith?

Therefore it was wished, that Dr. Hody, &c. would let us know where they intend to stop, upon this their principle of complying, though in unjust things, with irresistible force. Will they stop at episcopacy? If so, then is it not the cause of episcopacy which they oppose? since the same irresistible power that could deprive nine bishops in England may deprive them all, and episcopacy itself, as in Scotland. That if the state cannot deprive twenty-six bishops, they cannot deprive one; and if one, they may twenty-six. So that it is not the cause of the deprived, but of all bishops, of episcopacy itself, which is here concerned: and yielding it in one instance is giving up the whole.

It was observed how very jealous our parliaments have been of allowing any precedent, whereby the life or estate of the meanest subject should be at the arbitrary disposal of the king; because, by the same rule, the life and liberty of every subject must lie at his mercy.

That encroachments are made by degrees, from one step to another; and the best time to stop is at the beginning, before we have given precedents against ourselves, have yielded the cause, and are entirely subdued: then it will be too late, and the

power will be more irresistible, and men's courage will grow less.

That it was a common and a just judgment for men to fall from one wickedness to another; that to consent, or comply with the wickedness of another, is to make myself guilty of it; as it is written, Psalm l. 18, *When thou sawest a thief, thou consentedst with him, and hast been partaker with adulterers.*

That no examples are sufficient to justify this, of no church, at no age, no, not of the apostles themselves; of whom one betrayed his Master, another forsook him, all forsook him.

That insisting upon such topics may expose the infirmities of human nature, and the failings of the best of men, but can never justify our imitation of them; for we must not *follow a multitude to do evil; nor decline after many* (if it were the whole world) *to wrest judgment*, Exod. xxiii. 2. For the nature of things does not alter for our opinion or practice of them; truth is truth, and injustice is injustice, if all the world should say the contrary: and, by the same necessity, evil is to be avoided, and good to be followed.

That therefore to yield lay-deprivations to be unjust and invalid, and yet to argue for our compliance with them, is to do evil that good may come of it; and to make it right to comply with wrong.

That it is indeed destroying all notion of right and wrong: for if it be right to comply with the wrong, then it is wrong to comply with the right; as these say of those who comply with the deprived bishops, (allowing these bishops to have the right;)

for they accuse them of being guilty of the schism, and of all the evils that follow.

We are commanded by the apostle to *eschew evil, and do good*, 1 Pet. iii. 11: but these command us to comply with the evil, and eschew the good, if so bidden by an irresistible party!

That this justifies all prosperous schisms and usurpations: for they would not be prosperous if the major number did not go in to them; and the major is the irresistible party.

That by this rule the ten tribes had not been the schismatics, though they threw off the priesthood of Levi; but the two tribes who stuck to it were the schismatics, because the fewest in number: and those of the ten tribes, who (as Tobit) would not own the priesthood set up by the civil power, but brought their tithes to Jerusalem, and gave them to the priests of Levi, were in so doing guilty of schism.

That whatever schisms have been amongst the churches within the Roman empire, were nothing so much, in respect to the catholic church, as the ten tribes were in proportion to the two tribes in the church of Israel, the then only visible church of God in the world.

That many of our schisms in the west were never heard of by the numerous Christian churches in the east of Asia, among the Abyssines in Africa, and other far distant churches: which, because not well known to us, we must by no means cast off from the body of the catholic church.

That therefore we must not make a computation of the catholic church from that part of it which

was within the compass of the Roman empire, though called œcumenical.

No; nor can we know the principles even of that part of it merely by the practice, though of the generality, when under an irresistible force; for then men do not speak their judgments freely: and many will be silent for fear, whose principles are contrary to the proceedings of the irresistible party.

That therefore the principles of those ages are better to be gathered from their writings than their practices.

And that all those fathers and councils who speak against the regale, or power of the civil government over the ecclesiastical hierarchy, either to elect or deprive the bishops, to obstruct or overawe their synods, &c. must be supposed likewise to forbid complying with what they thought evil: and so great an evil, as they made this usurpation of the regale over the church to be, even the reign of Antichrist, and setting up the king in the place of Christ; as we shall see hereafter.

Against which the actual compliance, though of the generality, was not to be urged; for that these commonly run down the stream: and our blessed Saviour has cautioned us against the broad way, wherein there is always most company.

Therefore this topic was dismissed, of justifying compliance with lay-deprivations, supposing them to be both unjust and invalid: it was looked upon as a betraying of the cause; and all desired to turn to those who take upon them to maintain the validity of lay-deprivations, as being the only thing that could determine this controversy.

II. The first produced upon this head was Dr.

Wake his Authority of Christian Princes asserted, &c. printed an. 1697: wherein he sets up the regale to the very height. But though he and those who take his part seem to go upon another topic than the former, yet it comes all into one; because they support the right of the regale merely upon precedents; which is the same as to say that it has no other right; and that is indeed a perfect yielding up of the right; only pleading for compliance with it upon the authority of precedents; which is the same topic with the former. One says it is right, because there are precedents for it; the other says that it is right to comply with it for the same reason: so that precedents are the top and bottom, the whole that is alleged for this cause of the regale on both sides.

Several of these precedents were touched upon: some were shewn to be modern, and of no authority; others that were not truly related, with the circumstances necessary; and others which are truly related, to make nothing to the purpose intended; and several which made directly against it: but none that were of authority sufficient to establish or justify the regale: besides contrary precedents, which were of greater authority, and not answered by any of the regalists; and that Dr. Wake himself, when he comes a little to the reasoning part, overthrows all that power of the regale which he had built upon the authority of precedents.

Which is shewed among the consequences of this principle of the regale; sect. xvi. no. 3. And not to interrupt the thread of this discourse, it was desired that we should proceed to inquire into the original of the regale: for this was thought the

clearest method to let us see into the bottom of this cause.

The first instance of the regale, in a king's depriving priests, was Jeroboam, of which we have spoke before, p. 307, and of the provocations he had to do it. As to that of Solomon and Abiathar, it was no more insisted upon.

But to come to the Christian church, and follow the authors before named, who of late have handled this controversy. The Historical Collections, c. 2. §. 1. p. 69, 70, 71, give an account that the Donatists were the first who appeal to the secular power in any ecclesiastical cause, which was to decide the dispute they had raised concerning the election of Cæcilianus into the see of Carthage. But Constantine refused to accept their appeal, as not belonging to him; and owned that the power of elections of bishops, and the judging of them, was only in the bishops: that he himself was to be subject to their judgment; that it was a work of the Devil, and an outrageous, daring fury in these Donatists, whom he therefore calls *proditors*, to refuse the judgment of the bishops, which he calls *the heavenly judgment*; and "to appeal to me," says he, "for my judgment:" and he calls this *insulting upon God*; and a great deal more of such vehemence which he uses against the first rise of submitting the sacred to the civil power in ecclesiastical causes. Which Epistle of that godly and first Christian emperor is, *Inter gesta purgationis Cæciliani et Felicis, in fine Op. Optati*, ed. Paris. And great part of it is quoted in the Hist. Collect. p. 70, 71. The emperor says, "that " it is as clear as the sun at noonday, that God had " ordained his church only to judge in such cases ;"

XI.
Original of
the regale.

and would not be joined in commission with them, as if he had any act or part in it. “What madness,” says he, “is it which possesseth them, that, with an incredible arrogance, they think they may do that which may be lawfully neither spoke nor heard! And departing from the rightful judgment, which God hath appointed, they require my judgment, together with the church’s. What force of malignity dwells in their breasts! How often have they been justly reprov’d by myself for these wicked additions to God’s word in these cases! for I speak (as the truth is) that the judgments of the priests ought to be accounted as when the Lord himself, residing, judgeth.” So far was that emperor, at that time, from having any thoughts of such a regale over the church as has been since set up! He calls it *an addition to the word of God*: he could find no ground for it there; he understood not the forementioned texts in favour of the regale.

As the Donatists were the first who set up the regale, and pleaded for it; so it is shewn, in the *Hist. Collect.*, that the after-heretics carried on the same cause. The Eusebians appealed to Constantius; and, as shewn, *ibid.* p. 95, that first heretical Arian emperor was the first who assumed the regale, and by it had well nigh overthrown the Christian faith: but St. Athanasius, Hosius, and others, did with great zeal oppose and protest against the regale, saying, that those who appealed to Constantius in ecclesiastical matters did set him up instead of Christ: that this made him an antichrist: that “to make himself a prince of bishops, and to pre- side in ecclesiastical judicatures, made him the

“ very same *abomination of desolation* foretold by “ Daniel the prophet.” Athanas. *Epist. ad Solitar.* p. 861, 862. “ Do not,” says Hosius to him, “ concern thyself in ecclesiastical affairs, nor command us in these matters ; but rather learn those things of us. God hath committed to thee the empire ; and he hath intrusted us with those things that belong to the church. And as he who with malignant eyes reproacheth thy empire, opposeth the divine ordinance ; so do thou beware, lest, drawing to thee those things that belong to the church, thou becomest thereby liable to a great guilt. It is written, *Give unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar’s, and unto God the things that are God’s.* “ It is not lawful for us, O emperor, to hold the earthly empire ; neither hast thou the power of holy things.” Athan. *ibid.* p. 639. And that his usurping this power over the church was without precedent, *ibid.* p. 831 ; he was the first who took it upon him. Other quotations, more at large, were read out of the same place of the *Hist. Collect.* p. 96, 97.

Then it was read out of bishop Burnet’s *Hist. of the Regale*, p. 30, that Constantine did renounce the power of electing bishops ; of which he gives several instances : that writing to the bishops assembled at Antioch for the election of a bishop, he leaves the choice freely to them, desiring them, “ that the election should be made according to the rule of the church and the tradition of the apostles.” And, p. 31, he names Constantius depriving the orthodox bishops, and putting Arian bishops in their room, by his own authority ; and quotes Hilary writing to these court-bishops, put in by the regale, and

saying, "O ye bishops, I pray you, what suffrages did the apostles make use of? did they receive their dignity from the palace?"— This was the beginning of the regale.

XII.
Princes
who re-
nounced
the regale.

But then he shews, that it was not kept up constantly from that time; though some boisterous emperors followed the example of Constantius, to enlarge their prerogative; but others would not make use of it. He tells, p. 37, 38, how the emperor Valentinian, about the year 347, upon the death of Auxentius, bishop of Milan, who was an Arian, called the bishops together, "and desired them to choose such a bishop as might, both by his life and doctrine, instruct those whom he was to govern; and that he might see such a person set up, to whom he that held the empire might cheerfully submit himself." For which he quotes Theod. lib. IV. c. 6, 7.

He afterwards gives several instances of emperors, kings, and princes, who, purely out of conscience, being struck with the horror of so great a wickedness, threw up the regale, which had descended to them from their ancestors. He says, p. 93, that the emperor John Comnenus, about the year of Christ 1130, did condemn the use of the regale, under very severe pains; and he mentions a memorable law which Manuel Comnenus made against it, A. C. 1150, wherein he calls it *a wicked custom*. "So here," says the bishop, "the regale is most severely condemned." Again, p. 97, 98, a later instance is given, (which was in the fourteenth century,) of John Cantacuzenus the emperor: and part of his speech is set down which he made to the bishops, who were met for the election of a patri-

arch: he said, "They ought to follow the steps of
" the apostles and fathers, who, being met together,
" invoked the Holy Ghost, and implored the grace
" of God to direct them in the choice of one that
" should govern the church according to his will:
" but he acknowledged, that in elections great er-
" rors had been committed, which men were apt to
" excuse, as they did all their other sins that were
" dear to them: for it was certainly a mocking of
" God, first to resolve who shall be patriarch, and
" then to meet and hypocritically to pray for the
" divine direction or assistance. This he confessed
" he had done by himself, and he did not doubt but
" his predecessors had been guilty of it likewise:
" wherefore he ingenuously confessed his sin, and
" declared he would be guilty of it no more."

Then in France, (which is the chief scene of this history,) we are told, p. 190, 191, that when pope Lucius the Second, to court the favour of Lewis the Seventh, about the year 1148, sent him a bull with a privilege, that in all his cathedrals he should dispose of the first vacancy, and enjoy the mean profits; he burnt the bull with indignation, and said, " he had rather burn a thousand such grants, than " have his soul tormented in hell-fire."

And, p. 209, Alphonsus, count of Thoulouse, did, about the year 1138, not only renounce, but condemn the regale, which his predecessors had enjoyed in their dominions; and calls it, " that most " wicked custom of his ancestors, by which they " seized violently on the goods of the deceased bi- " shops." One branch of this regale was the presentation to bishoprics and other church-livings; the other was the seizing of the revenues during

the vacancy: and this was a temptation to keep them long vacant. And both of these were condemned and given up by these and several other religious princes, in several ages, after the regale had obtained; though some of their successors took it up again, as they were otherwise inclined. But it was urged, that one precedent of a king who recedes from what the law or custom has made his right, out of conscience, is of more weight than many precedents of those who, out of interest and politics, do grasp at all, stretch the regale to the utmost, and extend their conquest over the church.

Here one desired, that to the examples of princes who have renounced their regale might be added the present constitution of Sweden, before mentioned, where the regale is kept out; and the many advantages thereby accruing both to church and state, in a perfect uniformity both in religion and government: for the one seldom remains entire when the other is broken, as the example of our own and neighbour nations has too often informed us. And this instance of Sweden, on the other side, ever since the reformation, shews the truth of this observation, and what has been the great source of our civil wars and confusions.

And that crown has had most signal instances of the favour and protection of Heaven since that time; so great, that in the last age some thought it was raised up to the fulfilling of prophecies and opening of the millennium.

And the deliverance and victory which God has lately afforded to this present young, magnanimous, and most religious king, is the most observable of any in this age. May the Divine Mercy continue to

preserve him. The particulars of his victory set forth a conduct and bravery above his years: but the air of religion in it exceeded all the rest, and is a rare example in this age; he receiving the holy sacrament with his army, before they began their attack against ten times their number, in their trenches; and when, after a miraculous victory, he entered the tent of the czar, falling down on his knees, and giving thanks and the glory to God.

Let me give another instance of it to our present purpose, continued this gentleman. His father, the late king of Sweden, had recommended to him, upon his death-bed, that when the archbishop of Upsal (the only archbishopric in the kingdom) died, (he being then an old man,) he should endeavour to procure Dr. Speggel, bishop of Lincopin, (whom he much esteemed for his learning and piety,) to be promoted to it. Accordingly the young king did use all his interest for him: but the bishops chose Dr. Benzelius, bishop of Stragness, who is now archbishop. And the king was so far from taking it ill, that he excused himself, upon account of his father's last directions, for meddling in it at all, as being a matter within their province, and not his. Perhaps those bishops were aware of letting in kings' recommendations, knowing what a few precedents of that kind would amount to. They are a temptation, but no respect, to a good king; and if enjoyed by him, a bad king will not give them up.

However it was concluded, that bare precedents on either side do not determine the right, without entering into the merits of the cause, which alone can be sufficient ground to guide our conscience.

And it was agreed, that this History of the Re-

XIII.
Effects of
the regale.

gale was a full answer to both the books before mentioned of Dr. Hody and Dr. Wake ; because it shewed how very little stress is to be laid upon the precedents they bring ; and by what scandalous methods the regale obtained its ecclesiastical authority ; and what were the dismal effects of it, even the total overthrow of the Greek church, where it prevailed, as the learned bishop before mentioned observes, p. 75 : “ The emperors,” says he, “ took the nomination of them (the bishops) into their own hands ; and then gave them either to such illiterate monks as were much esteemed of for the strictness of their lives, but were tools for any designs on which they set them ; or to such of their courtiers or soldiers that had merited best at their hands : and by these means were the Greek churches brought to that pass, for ignorance and corruption, that it is no wonder they were given up by God to such terrible calamities as were brought upon them, first by the Saracens, and then by the Othoman family.”

And, p. 97, he goes on thus : “ In Andronicus’s long reign many (bishops) were put in and out, to the great scandal of the church : of which the historian^a makes this remark ; ‘ Princes choose such men to their charge who may be their slaves, and in all things obsequious to what they shall prescribe, and may lie at their feet, and not so much as have a thought contrary to their commands.’ No wonder,” continues the bishop, “ he broke out into so severe a censure, when many were raised to that dignity that could neither read nor write.” Thus that learned author.

^a Niceph. Greg. lib. VII.

I am sorry, said one, that we have to add to this sad prospect the present lamentable condition of the protestant interest in Germany, where those churches did run generally into Erastianism, for facilitating the reformation, and to incline princes to be on their side: and they now suffer for it; for the princes they depended on are like to be their ruin; they have either gone over to popery, or given way to it, in their countries, as best serves their interest; they took no care of the protestant concerns at Reswick, but have left them in a much worse condition since that peace than before, even to give the French king cause to boast, in his Letter to the archbishop of Paris for singing *Te Deum* upon the peace, (which was printed here,) that the chief glory he had in that peace was the advancement of the catholic religion in other countries, with the consent of sovereigns of a different persuasion. To whom though he restored many and great countries that had been protestant before he took them, yet by the fourth article of that treaty it is expressly provided, that their religion should not be restored to them, but remain as he then left it established; that is, popery.

And, continued this gentleman, an eminent professor told a friend of mine in Amsterdam, whose letter he shewed, "that the protestant interest there " was visibly declining, because either there were " no bishops, or bishops that had no power, but the " whole clergy in a state of absolute subjection, and " entirely secluded from interposing, where even " their concerns require it." And, added my friend, said he, "this was much from one bred here." It was not so much, answered another, when we con-

sider, that though the governing part in Holland are what they call protestant, by excluding all dissenters from having any share in the government, or bearing any places of public trust, whereby they are preserved in peace and quietness ; yet that much the major number of the subjects are popish, which one time or other will probably cast the balance ; for the general inclination of the people, like trade, is observed to force its way. However, where that is against the religion established, it cannot be said to be out of danger : and the increase of the popish interest, both there and in Germany, (I wish I could not add England,) is, by the opinion of the learned there, to be chiefly accounted as a natural effect of the regale that prevails there.

Now, said one, here are more precedents ; and from such precedents Dr. Hody and Dr. Wake defend their cause, and say that this is sufficient, and that no other argument is needful to be produced for it !

XIV.
Concerning
the sup-
posed con-
sent of the
church to
the regale.

It was argued on their behalf, that the force of their argument lay in the supposed consent of the church to all this ; for that none then did oppose this power in the emperors : to which it was said,

1. What opposition could be expected from such bishops as before described ? and the emperors would take care to put in such bishops as should not oppose them.

2. That the body of the church here spoke of being then within the emperors' dominions, none durst oppose them, without the apparent hazard of their lives, the power of these emperors being absolute ; and that such a forced silence will not argue consent : but that if this cause had been brought

before a free national church, out of the reach of these emperors, and if the bishops of such a church had then asserted the regale of those emperors over the church, as the doctrine of the Christian church, their testimony had been to the purpose. And if this had been universally so declared, freely and without compulsion, by the whole catholic church, then could it not have been denied to have been the doctrine of the catholic church.

But it was so far from that, that besides a multitude of quotations out of particular fathers, in several ages, such as Athanasius, Hosius, Ambrose, Augustine, &c. several canons were produced, and that of councils called *general*, as well as others, for the independency of the church and against the regale, particularly as to the election of bishops, and the sitting of synods: for instance, Can. Apost. c. 30, 31. 1 Conc. Nice. A. D. 325. c. 4. Constant. 2 Gen. Conc. A. D. 380. c. 6. Chalced. 4 Gen. Conc. A. D. 451. c. 9. 2. Nice. 7 Gen. Conc. A. D. 786. c. 3. Constant. 8 Gen. Conc. A. D. 871. c. 22. besides Concil. Eliber. A. D. 308. c. 56. Concil. Antioch. A. D. 341. c. 11, 12, 16, 20. Concil. Carthag. A. D. 419. c. 13, 15, 21, 65, 107. In which, and in several others, synods are appointed to sit frequently for the necessities of the church. It is made excommunication and deprivation to appeal from the bishop to the king, or any secular power, in ecclesiastical causes; or for any bishop to be made, not only by the king's command, but if he make use of the interest or recommendation of secular princes, or obtain his bishopric by their means; and that all election of bishop, presbyter, or deacon, by the secular magistrate shall be void; and the method of

their election is set down, viz. of presbyters and deacons by the bishop; and of the bishop by the comprovincial bishops; and that the civil magistrate should, upon some occasions, be debarred from coming to the church. Therefore that the argument can never be made good from the compliance or silence of some bishops put in by some emperors, and hewed down under them, or who turned sycophants to them, to infer that this of the regale was the constant and universal doctrine of the catholic church; to which the direct contrary is the truth.

XV.
Original of
the regale
in England.

Then there were precedents shewn against the regale, in the most primitive times of Christianity in Britain, as of St. Oudoceus, bishop of Landaff, who excommunicated three of his own kings after one another, viz. Mouricus, Morcant, and Guidnert, for several crimes; and put them under severe penances, which he obliged them to perform before he admitted them to the peace and communion of the church by absolution. This is told in Sir Henry Spelman's History of the English Councils, tom. I. p. 62, &c.; which book Dr. Wake quotes, in his Authority of Christian Princes, for later instances, which he thought favoured the regale; but takes no notice at all of these and other more ancient and contrary examples.

And these are more considerable, because they were about the years of Christ 560 and 565, among the British bishops, before Austin the monk came into England, and consequently before there could be the least umbrage that this was any part of popery.

Then it was shewed how that after this, in times of popery, the regale began to obtain in England; that it is an effect of popery, though at first sight it

seems contrary to it, as being a restriction to that universal supremacy which the popes claim over all churches: but (as will be shewn hereafter) the popes found that they could not maintain their usurpations over all the other bishops in the world, who would be too many for them, without the assistance of the kings of the earth; with whom, therefore, they were content to divide the prey, and bribe them with the nomination of some bishops, and disposal of the revenues of some churches during the vacancies, and some peculiars exempt from the jurisdiction of the bishops; that the kings might maintain the usurpations of the popes over all the rest; both enlarging their powers upon the ruins of episcopacy.

That episcopacy, thus grinded to powder betwixt these upper and nether millstones, yet did struggle sometimes, and assert its right. Mr. Prynne, in his Records, gives many instances, both in England and Ireland, of bishops chosen by the clergy without the king's license or his recommendation of the person; which afterwards grew by custom, as is usual in such cases, into a right absolutely to dispose of bishops and churches at their pleasure, as it is at this day, though under the mockery of a *congé d'élire*, as it is called in the statute 1 Edward VI. c. 2; and therefore is taken away and quite abolished by that act of parliament; and so continues in Ireland, where the king disposes of bishoprics merely by his letters patent, without any *congé d'élire*, which is still kept up in England, though to no other purpose than to shew the ancient right of the church to elect her own bishops, and may one day prove a handle to recover it.

But it was said that the present practice is contrary to our thirty-seventh Article, wherein our kings do renounce any other power over the church than such as was “always given to all godly princes “in holy scripture by God himself;” which was not to have the election of priests under the law, as before is shewn; much less of the priests under the gospel, wherein nothing at all is said of this power being in kings, but was given into other hands.

That therefore if the said statute 1 Edward VI. c. 2. may not be construed of the temporal jurisdiction only which bishops derive from the king, as before has been explained, sect. IX, then it is superseded by this subsequent act of parliament; which, being made in explanation of the former, obliges us rather to take the former in this sense, than to think them abrogated by the later; and so to make our laws all consonant, rather than repugnant, to one another. However, that the later must stand, and cannot be abrogated by any contrary practice; but, on the other side, our practice is to be regulated by the laws; at least the laws are hereby justified, though our practice should be contrary.

Now these instances which Mr. Prynne has collected, of bishops chosen by the clergy without the king, were in the popish times. And he tells us likewise that the kings took this ill, and sometimes proceeded to punish these bishops, by seizing their temporalities, and making them compound, &c. However, it shews that the bishops and clergy were then sensible of their right, and thought that the king's interposing in their elections, by nomination or recommendation, was an encroachment upon the charter of the church.

There is another record I have met with, that is, an inscription now to be seen in the parlour of the hospital at Ledbury in Herefordshire, (which, for the satisfaction of the reader, I have hereunto annexed,) wherein is told, that Hugh Foliot, bishop of Hereford, the founder of that hospital, “ was elected “ by the presbytery of the cathedral church of Hereford in October, an. Dom. 1219. without letters “ from the king, written to the prejudice of their “ free election, (even as it is testified of Robert Foliot, to have been chosen before him, in the year “ of our Lord 1173.) He lived bishop in the reign “ of king Henry III. &c.”

Mr. Prynne, in his Records, vol. II. p. 355, shews that this same Hugh Foliot was archdeacon of Shrewsbury, and then recommended by king John to the bishopric of St. David's; which, it seems, was rejected; for his name stands not in the list of the bishops of St. David's, but is amongst the bishops of Hereford: so that he was refused by the clergy of St. David's, to whom he had the king's recommendation; and chosen by those of Hereford without it; which, as before shewn, they thought a prejudice to their free election.

It was here taken notice of, that the form of the *cong e d' lire* in those days (as in the records produced by Prynne) was not by way of command to the clergy, as now, but of request and desire only. The king called it his petition to the clergy, and besought them to lend a favourable and benign ear to it: *Ut huic petitioni me  favorem pr beant benignum* was the form then in use, and shews plainly where the right of election lay.

And likewise the force of prescriptions, which in

time grow up to create a right, and construe *petition* to mean *command*.

And the recommendations of men in power are commonly so understood; which makes every petty corporation, jealous of their liberties, seek by all means to avoid them; lest they have as little left them at the last as that share of the prey which the lion left to the ass.

But to the subject in hand, the original of the regale in England; it was concluded,

That before the coming of Austin the monk into England, that is, before the times of popery, the regale was not known, as by the instances before mentioned of St. Oudoceus, &c. is very plain.

Therefore, that we must date the original of the regale in England from the times of popery; and that it must not pass as a novelty of the reformation, which did pretend but to restore the ancient regale, free from the usurpations of the pope, who had got an overshare in the division which he and the king had made of the episcopal power and authority. But there was no restoring to the episcopate on either side; all the choice left to it was, who should be its executioner.

XVI.
The consequences of the principle of the regale.

After this it was said, that the principle of the regale did carry with it such consequences as were totally inconsistent with the notion of a Christian church, and involved those who hold it in many contradictions and absurdities.

1. Here was called to mind what was before said of the topic set up by Dr. Hody, &c. to make it right to comply with wrong; which was further improved.

One said, that right and wrong were old oppo-

sites, but that these authors had set up a distinction betwixt right and truth; for in the *Reflexions*, before quoted, p. 14, they tell us, that Anastasius, being invalidly deprived, was still the rightful bishop, “and yet at the same time his successor, Gregory, “was true bishop of the same see:” by which they were either both bishops of the same see at the same time, and so that church had two bishops, and then Anastasius was not deprived, for he remained bishop still; or otherwise bishops have no right or title but possession; and then Anastasius, when deprived, though invalidly, could not be rightful bishop: nay, a bishop cannot be deprived invalidly if he has no right but possession; for then deprivation, no matter how, does his business; and he has no right to seek to be restored; and his cession, or giving up his right to his successor, is a jest: yet Dr. Hody bestows a passionate exhortation upon our deprived bishops, to give up their right (which he does not dispute) for the peace of the church. But, notwithstanding, *Reflex.* p. 24, tells how Liberius, bishop of Rome, when he was deprived, refused to submit to Felix, who was put in his place; and finds no fault with him for this, but improves it to an argument for his hypothesis, that “though “there was no cession, yet they that knew Felix to “be orthodox very freely recognised him.”

And where was the harm? said one, (smiling!) they only recognised Felix as the true bishop, but they acknowledged Liberius as still the rightful bishop!

But it was thought strange, how a bishop, when deprived, if invalidly, should have a right to claim the obedience of his subjects, and yet that there

should be no manner of obligation upon his subjects to pay it to him, or so much as to concern themselves for what or by whom he was deprived, whether justly or unjustly, whether validly or invalidly!

Some said, that this did destroy all right of bishops, even when in possession; for that he who has no right but possession has no right by his possession: mere possession can never give right, else all robbers would have it; but possession may continue so long, till those who have a better title are all extinguished, and then a right may follow that possession, when there are none who claim a better right.

It was said, that this was the case of the high priesthood of the Jews under the Romans, when our blessed Saviour came into the world. The Romans, then their conquerors, had changed the order of their high priesthood, made it annual and arbitrary, put out and put in whom they pleased; as the grand seignior does now with the patriarchs of Constantinople: and under that extreme servitude there were none who set up their claim against the high priest or patriarch in possession, but all agreed to submit and obey them; so that there was no competition: and if any had a better right, they were content to wave it, and recognise the right of the other: there were no priests and antipriests in opposition to one another, and therefore there could be no schism.

Hence it was that our blessed Saviour and his apostles did own the high priests of the Jews, for there were then no other. And the Greek churches under the dominion of the Turk do own

the patriarch of Constantinople, for they have none other.

But that this has no relation to the case of bishops and antibishops in the same sees ; of whom one must be right, and the other wrong ; not one rightful, and the other true ! as this pleasant distinction, without a difference, has reconciled them !

These difficulties and absurdities they labour under who dare not oppose the irresistible regale, and yet want courage sufficient to stand by the necessary consequences of it !

And yet, said one, see how soundly they sleep in this their security ! “^bTo what purpose,” say they, “should we, who were not concerned in the deprivation of the bishops, concern ourselves so much about the question, whether it be lawful for the civil magistrate to deprive a bishop or not?—Whether it were the doctrine of the church that bishops may be deprived by the lay-power for political crimes, or not, we are not obliged to know : ’tis enough for us that we know that this, at least, was the doctrine of the church, (and we know it from its constant and uniform practice throughout all ages,) that when once they are deprived, (though never so unjustly,) and we cannot avoid it, it is lawful, for peace sake, to own the possessor. Dr. Hody may publish, if he please, his *Vindication of the Authority of the Civil Power*,” [which he promised so long ago, that he has forgot it,] “for the sake and satisfaction of those who concurred in the deprivation of the bishops ; but we in the lower form, who were not at all concerned in the matter, we want no

^b Reflex. p. 19.

“ such treatise to justify our practice ; our practice
 “ is sufficiently justified by what he has already
 “ written. I will read it, if it comes out, as a mat-
 “ ter of speculation.”—At this the company held up
 their hands ! that the rights of the church, and de-
 privation of her bishops, should concern the clergy
 no more (however unjustly, or even invalidly done)
 than as a matter of mere speculation ! Can they see
 no consequence in allowing such precedents ? they
 who insist so much upon precedents ! and what is
 done now will be as good a precedent to after-ages
 as some of former ages are to us. But is our case
 the better, that it will be a precedent ? or will their
 case be the better, who shall have ours for such a
 precedent ? Will it be ever the better or the worse
 for that ? But if we give a bad precedent, which
 may mislead after-ages, their blood, and the ruin of
 the church, will lie upon our heads. This is a con-
 sideration not to be neglected, or thought an indif-
 ferent matter, of mere speculation ! What would
 become of the church, if there were none more con-
 cerned for her rights than this ? who would stand
 in the gap ?

As to what is said in the above quotation of the
 constant and uniform practice of the church in this
 case, it is spoke to before ; and for saying, “ when
 “ we cannot avoid it,” they should have added,
 “ without some inconvenience ;” for otherwise they
 might choose whether they would concur in it ; at
 least, whether they should write in defence of it,
 and endeavour to make that look right which they
 thought to be wrong : but perhaps they thought
 that they could not avoid this neither, without some
 other inconvenience !

And, said one, Dr. Hody knows whether a proposal has not been made, and to whom, in order to put an end to the present schism, by the voluntary resignation of the deprived bishops; on condition that the bishops in possession should own the principle of the independency of the church upon the secular magistrate, as to her purely spiritual authority; lest otherwise the deprived bishops should be looked upon as traditors; and their resignation, who have stood so long confessors to the rights of the church, should be turned to an argument against it; as if they too had given up the cause, after all the debate that has been about it. One would think, said he, that Dr. Hody should be concerned at the answer that was made to this, "that it was not practicable;" that is, I suppose, not now, at this time, because of some inconveniences! Then we see on whose side the obstruction does not lie. Dr. Hody does not so much as pretend to justify the principle of lay-deprivation. And if the deprived bishops will be persuaded to give up their rights for peace sake, as he has most earnestly exhorted them, upon what easier terms would he desire it, than to secure that principle from hurting the church for the future? And will he not then bestow one word of advice upon those who have done the wrong, if any wrong be done to the deprived bishops, and to the church in them? and he does not deny their deprivations to be not only unjust, but invalid. Now suppose, said another, that Dr. Hody's principle were allowed, and that we might safely comply with, own, and join in what is unjust, against that which is just and right; yet that which is unjust is unjust still, at least in the actors, though

not in the compliers with it. And ought not such actors to be admonished to repent and return from the injustice they have committed? or rather, are they to be supported in it, and our rage spent against those who are not so clearsighted as we, to comply with it without any doubt or scruple at all?

These seem to be difficulties which follow this principle of the regale in those who would preserve any notion or foundation of a church, as consistent with it; therefore,

2. There are those who, to make way for it, deny all priesthood in the Christian church; which, by the apostle's argument, Heb. vii. 2, infers also *of necessity a change*, or rather a disannulling, of the law of that church, and of the church itself, which has no priesthood: for *church* and *priesthood* seem to be convertible terms; otherwise a change of the priesthood would not have inferred, of necessity, a change also of the law of that church: and if a change of the priesthood changes the church, disannulling of the priesthood disannuls the church.

Therefore it behoves us to consider well of that position which, to support the regale, is advanced in the Second Defence of the Church of England from Schism, &c. printed an. 1698, p. 8; where it is positively denied there are any priests or priesthood now in the church of England: (not being aware that the very word *priest* is retained in our book of ordination:) so that, by this, we must either part with our priesthood or with the regale: they are made inconsistent; and the reason is, because otherwise the regale cannot be advanced above the priesthood. But there are greater straits than these, to

which this principle of the regale does reduce its clients.

3. Dr. Wake cannot stop the current of the regale short of matters of faith, which, as well as discipline, he brings under it; for in his *Authority of Christian Princes*, p. 75, speaking of the extent of the power of the prince, he says it reaches, "not only in matters of discipline, but in matters of faith too;" and that the prince may confirm or rescind the decisions of a synod, as he pleases, even in matters of faith. And this he proves, p. 138, by the example of Henry VIII, in his modelling the Articles, which, says the doctor, "relate to doctrines of faith, and that in the most necessary points of it: and yet see what liberty the king took, in judging, as well as correcting, of what they (the synod) had done." And, p. 335, he makes the law the standard of heresy, and says, "there is no such mighty danger in this, unless for those who would make more to be heresy than the law declared so to be: and if that be the danger, I believe all wise and charitable men will desire that they may be always liable to it." And, p. 125, 126, he says, that the king may suspend or annul the sentence of heresy (for that is the subject treated of from p. 116.) passed against any person by the church.

But he comes round about again, and overturns every stone that he had laid. For putting an objection he knew could not be missed, there were so many instances of it, he repeats it in these words, p. 43, "that princes may abuse this power to the detriment of the church." And answers, "that whenever the civil magistrate shall so far abuse his authority, as to render it necessary for the

“ clergy, by some extraordinary methods, to provide
 “ for the church’s welfare, that necessity will war-
 “ rant their taking of them.”

1. This makes the clergy judge of the necessity ;
 and then they may take to these methods when they
 see cause.

2. No necessity can create any authority, though
 it may excuse sometimes the exercise of an authority
 in an extraordinary manner, which would not be
 justifiable but upon the account of such necessity :
 therefore it follows, that the clergy have such an
 authority (against which he disputes) independent
 of the state, and a right to execute it whenever they
 think fit.

3. If Christ left no more authority with his church
 than he thought necessary for the carrying on of
 those ends for which he did institute a church, then
 a less authority will not be sufficient for those ends.
 Upon this it was queried, whether the church could
 give up any part of her authority, and is not obliged
 to resume it ? otherwise it was said, that she disables
 herself from the effectual discharge of her duty, as
 to those ends for which she was instituted. And
 how then shall she give an account to the great
 Shepherd, who invested her with such authority for
 those ends ?

And this was urged from the example of civil
 government, which it is necessary should be absolute
 and uncontrollable, as the supreme power is in all
 governments, wherever it is lodged, whether in one
 or in many : and therefore no government can do
 any act to limit itself. The supreme legislative
 power cannot make itself not to be absolute ; if it
 could, it must dissolve itself, and cease to be su-

preme; for whatever is limited cannot be supreme: therefore it is a maxim in our law, *Suprema potestas seipsam dissolvere potest, ligare non potest*; that “the supreme power may dissolve itself, but “cannot limit itself.” And the reason is plain, because all limitation comes from a superior; it must be a superior power that can limit another.

Therefore the limitation here spoke of does not extend to oaths or other obligations to God, such as the king’s coronation oath, &c.; for an oath is a promise made to God; and God is our superior, superior to kings; and he is also the guarantee and avenger of all breach of faith and injustice: but the limitation here spoke of is as to man. And if the king should give to any a coercive power over him, upon any account whatsoever, he would, *ipso facto*, cease to be king, and become subject to such, and that upon all accounts whatsoever; because whoever has a power is judge when and how to make use of it. And this could not be called such a king’s limiting of his own power; but it is a dissolving it, and transferring it to another; it makes that other to be supreme, and him that was king before to be subject: for there is no medium betwixt supremacy and subjection; every man must be one or the other. And this makes it necessary that every supreme power must be absolute.

Upon this it was moved, whether the church, by limiting her authority, or suffering it to be limited by the state, had not dissolved herself, and given up her charter? To which it was said,

1. That there is a difference betwixt limiting oneself, and being limited by another; and again, betwixt submitting freely, and by force: that the

latter is the case of the church. It was the *præmunire* that squeezed out the submission of the clergy, 25 Hen. VIII. c. 19. *et sic de cæteris*.

2. When any constitution of civil government dissolves itself, another immediately succeeds, as if a monarchy be turned into a commonwealth, or a commonwealth into a monarchy; and consequently that which was dissolved is no more: but we cannot say that the church is no more; there is still a church, though in servitude, and nothing succeeds to it; if it were dissolved, there would be no church; but nothing would come in its room, unless you will say a privation, that is, the want of a church.

That therefore, since no power can limit itself, and that the church is not dissolved, the consequence must turn, that she is not limited by any thing that she has done, past the power of her recalling, more than a parliament is by any preceding act of parliament, which it may alter or rescind at its pleasure, as is done every day.

3. The church is a society spread over the earth; and therefore cannot be dissolved in any one kingdom or state; nor can the concession of any national church oblige the church catholic; no, nor oblige that national church herself, otherwise than according to the rules of the catholic church; more than a committee of the house of lords or commons can oblige the whole house, or govern themselves by any other rules than those which are prescribed by the house.

From hence was argued the impossibility and contradiction that any kingdom or state should have authority over the church within their dominions in ecclesiastical matters; because, at that rate,

the church would be broke to pieces; one sort of church set up in one kingdom, and another in another; and churches must go to war as oft as kingdoms: nothing would remain uniform in the church, either as to church-government, doctrine, or worship; and the church of Christ, and all the holy institutions of his religion, must become subservient to worldly politics, and made to answer every turn of state.

And it was said, that the plain consequence of this must be to root up all religion from off the face of the earth; for that no king or state can believe any religion that depends upon their authority; because then they must know that the original of it is not divine, at least they can never believe Christianity, which only is a revealed religion, and therefore must come directly from heaven.

And that if they believe Christ did institute a church upon earth, and gave her any commission, they must believe such commission to be divine; which they cannot believe, if they think it in their power to limit it at their pleasure, and to make it dependent upon them: they cannot think that Christ gave any such spiritual commission, unless they believe it to be superior to them in spirituals; more than any subject could believe that God had given to kings a temporal commission, and yet not think the king to be superior to him in temporals.

Here an observation was made to explain what seems a mystery to many people in England, that notwithstanding the deposing doctrine is taught at Rome, and has been practised by their popes even in England, as well before as since the reformation, and none of them could ever yet be brought to dis-

own it; yet it should prove so hard a task as we have found it, to keep our kings from running over to popery.

And the reason was given, because they could not believe that church to have any divine commission, and consequently to be a church which had laid herself so low under their feet, with respect to her spiritual commission. That therefore they had rather submit themselves, though with the hazard of their crowns, to a foreign bishop, who had asserted a superiority over them both in spirituals and temporals, than to have no bishop at all to be subject unto, even in spirituals, which is indeed to be quite out of the church.

That surely they would not have chosen this desperate remedy, if they could have found bishops in their own dominions; who, though subject to them in temporals even to death, yet would not have submitted their spiritual commission, derived from Christ alone.

That kings would have believed such bishops to be what they call them, *their fathers in God*: and king Charles II. would not have had reason for that sharp sarcasm, when, upon discourse of the comparison betwixt the church of Rome and the church of England, he said, “the one seemed to be in earnest, the other in jest.”

And it is not one of the least evil consequences of this principle of the regale, that it does beget a secular spirit in the clergy: those of them who are possessed with it look no further than to the place whence their preferments come, and to which they are accountable, even for the administration of their spiritual office; and that whereon they so absolutely

depend they come in time to think the original and fountain of their power, and that they are obliged to defend it as such. This makes them turn courtiers, (those at least who have a mind to rise,) and to acquaint themselves with all the pretty arts there, of insinuation, flattery, and address. This soon eats out the evangelical spirit of Christian simplicity, the *παρρησία*, the open and fearless, but modest zeal and courage in asserting the truths of the gospel against all opposition, which first planted the church of Christ, and must always support her. This and the court air are two elements: and though some are so happy as to live well in both, that is not common; and the evangelical spirit must be very deeply rooted, if the secular do not get the ascendant over it, where the chief administration and *dernier resort* of all ecclesiastical affairs is in the hands of the secular magistrate.

From the king's supremacy our discourse turned naturally to the pope's supremacy. And it was said, that the pope's stretching his supremacy so universally and absolutely as he had done was the great cause of schism in the western church.

For that he, not being content with that primacy which by the constitution of the western church had been affixed to his see, for the better and more easy regulation and carrying on the commerce and correspondence, and managing the jurisdiction of the episcopal college, and which was granted to him only *jure ecclesiastico*, did set up for an universal and unlimited supremacy, and that *jure divino*, over all his colleagues, the bishops of the whole catholic church; making all their authority depend upon him alone; and thereby resolving the power

of the whole episcopal college into the single see of Rome. That this is one of the new doctrines of Rome. It was not known there in the days of Gregory the Great, bishop of Rome, who died in the seventh century. Then it first began to be set up by John, bishop of Constantinople, after the seat of the empire was translated thither. And Gregory the Great wrote severely against it; he calls it *a novel doctrine*, which had never been known at Rome, or pretended to by any of her bishops; that it was against the doctrine of the gospel, against the decrees of the canons, against the rights of all other bishops and of all churches; a horrible injury and scandal to the whole universal church: that the bishops were the stars of God, and whoever sought to advance his throne above them, did in that imitate the pride of Lucifer, and was the forerunner of antichrist; whose times, he said, he then saw approaching, by this most wicked and tyrannical usurpation of one bishop above all the rest of his colleagues, and to style himself *patriarch* of almost the whole œcumenical church: *Se pene per orbem universum ἀκουμηνικὸν patriarcham nominaret*. But if Gregory had returned to earth some years after his death, he had seen that arrogant style taken up by his own successors, the bishops of Rome, without a *pene* or *almost*, and to have made themselves patriarchs of the whole œcumenical church without exception. And Gregory does not only thus severely inveigh against this usurpation, but gives excellent reasons against it: he says, *Si unus episcopus vocatur universalis, universa ecclesia corrui, si unus universus cadit*; i. e. that “if one bishop be called “*universal*, the universal church falls, if that uni-

“ versal bishop falls.” But, says he, *Absit a cordibus Christianorum nomen istud blasphemice, in quo omnium sacerdotum honor adimitur, dum ab uno sibi dementer arrogatur*; i. e. “ But let that blasphemous name be abhorrent to the hearts of all Christians, by which the honour of all bishops is taken away, while it is madly arrogated by one to himself.” Here that is called *blasphemy* and *madness* which is now made the plenitude of the apostolical authority! This, and much more to the same purpose, is to be seen in Gregory’s book of Epistles, lib. IV. ep. 32, 33, 34, 36, 38. lib. VI. ep. 24, 28, 30, 39. lib. VIII. ep. 30. lib. XI. ep. 45. and several others.

Let me here, as a further strengthening of this authority of St. Gregory, give you the only salvo which the church of Rome can find against it, which is this supposition, that the claim which John of Constantinople did set up, and consequently which was all that St. Gregory did oppose, was, not to be chief or universal bishop, but to be the only bishop in the whole world, and that there should be no other bishop but himself.

This we are told in the latest apology upon this head that I know of, which has come from that side, entitled, *The Prodigal returned Home*, printed an. 1684. for our instruction. There, p. 289, is set down a quotation out of St. Gregory, as an objection of the protestants, where he says, “ that though St. Peter was the prince of the apostles, yet he was not called *universal apostle*.” To which the answer is, “ As if there were no other apostle but he.” And the application is, that the pope of Rome did not so pretend to be universal bishop, as

if there were no other bishop but himself; which they suppose John of Constantinople did, and fortify it with these words of St. Gregory, in the same book, epist. 34: *Triste tamen valde est ut patienter feratur, quatenus despectis omnibus prædictus frater et co-episcopus meus, solus conetur appellari episcopus*; i. e. "It is too grievous to be borne, that " our foresaid brother and fellow-bishop, despising " all others, should attempt that he alone should be " called *bishop*."

Here is playing upon an expression against plain matter of fact; for, as before quoted, St. Gregory did accuse him only for making himself patriarch of almost the whole œcumenical church. So that,

1. In this *almost* there are other bishops excepted, over whom he did not extend his supremacy, as the after-bishops of Rome have done.

2. The notion of a *patriarch* is, to preside over the other bishops within his patriarchate; so that this supposes other bishops besides the patriarch.

3. John did never deny Gregory to be bishop of Rome, but contended with him for the supremacy.

4. Gregory, in several places of his Epistles, gives John the character of a learned and pious man, bating his ambition in this point. Does he then charge him with such gross ignorance as not to know there were twelve apostles? to think that there was ne'er another apostle but only St. Peter? Was that all the meaning of his argument, that Peter was not called *universal apostle*?

Or was it not plainly, that though Peter was the first or chief apostle, and so the prime or prince of them, yet this gave him not a jurisdiction over them all, so as to be called *the universal apostle*,

and all the others entirely subject to him? And this was a strong argument against the pretensions of John, who sought to be esteemed the universal bishop over all the other bishops in the world, *almost*.

5. St. Gregory calls the bishops *the stars of God*, and accuses John for seeking, like Lucifer, to exalt his throne above them all. But how above them, if he would have none but himself? when things are taken quite away, they are neither above nor below.

And now as to the expression upon which this poor cavil is founded, that he only should be esteemed bishop. How common is it in ordinary conversation! If a man set himself up for dictator in a company, and to rule the whole discourse, it is said that he would make himself the only man in the company: so in a committee, if one should take upon him to overrule all the rest: in justices upon the bench, &c. where, though one be chief-justice, he is not the only justice. When the prophet said, *Woe to them that join house to house, that lay field to field, till there be no place, that they may be placed alone in the midst of the earth*, Isa. v. 8; did he mean that such a covetous man, who could put no bounds to his avarice or ambition, designed there should be ne'er a man left in the world but himself, and in that sense to be left alone in the earth? or was it that he desired to bring all others under him, and to depend upon him?

When the duke of York was called *the duke*, was the meaning that there was not another duke in the kingdom? or was it only by way of eminence, that there was not another of like quality as he? Is not

that the meaning of the pope now writing himself *episcopus*, without any limitation? Does he mean that there is no other bishop in the world but himself? How comes he to appropriate the style of *apostolical* to the see of Rome? did they make no other bishop? Behold then, even literally, the ambition of John of Constantinople! this is what he would have been at! that he alone might have the style of *episcopus*, and his see of *apostolic*; that is, by way only of eminence, as if there were no such bishop as he the universal one.

There is nothing now left to the church of Rome but to give us up St. Gregory too among the protestant popes, before there was any popery in the world!

And we may lay good claim to others of them, after that time, before popes had arrived at their full height. I will instance at this time but in one, though he names several others, that is, Æneas Sylvius. It is indeed in what he wrote before he was pope. And though afterwards he assumed the grandeur of the then papal strain, as men that take great places must accept of the style with them; yet he then only asserted, whereas before he proved: and he neither recanted or took upon him to answer his own arguments and the authorities which he had brought against the then exorbitant pretensions of the papacy.

He ascended the pontifical throne by the name of Pius the Second in the year 1458; and, in his *De Gest. Concil. Basil.* lib. I. edit. Basil. 1551. p. 11, 12, he says, *Opinio omnium mortuorum est, si opinio vocari debet quæ idoneis confirmatur autoribus, quia Ro. pontifex universali ecclesiæ subjectus existit: neque hoc viventes negare audent; audent*

illud autem, apud aliquos revocatur in dubium, an id quoque de generali concilio credi oporteat. Sunt enim aliqui, sive avidi gloriæ sive quod adulando præmia expectant, qui peregrinas quasdam et omnino novas prædicare doctrinas cœperunt, ipsumque summum pontificem ex jurisdictione sacri concilii demere non verentur. Excæcarit namque illos ambitio, a qua non solum hoc modernum, sed omnia usque ad hanc diem schismata, suborta reperiuntur—Hodiernam hæresim illi præcipue nutriunt, quos jam mendicare suppudet, quorum alius clamat, subditorum facta judicari a papa, Romanum vero pontificem solius Dei reservari arbitrio. Alius dicit, quia primam sedem nemo judicabit, quod neque ab Augusto, neque ad omni clero, neque a regibus, neque a populo valeat judicari—Nec considerant miseri, quia quæ prædicant tantopere verba, aut summorum pontificum sunt suas fimbrias extendentium, aut illorum qui eis adulabantur. Et quia hujusmodi dicta solutionem habent, recurrunt statim ad evangelium, et verba Christi non prout Spiritus Sancti sensus exposcit, sed suoapte ingenio interpretantur. Plurimumque illud extollunt, quia Petro sit dictum, Tu vocaberis Cephas, per quod illum caput ecclesiæ faciunt: Tibi dabo claves regni cœlorum: et, Quodcunque ligaveris super terram: et, Rogavi pro te, Petre, ut non deficiat fides tua: et, Pasce oves meas: et, Duc in altum rete: et, Noli timere, jam ex hoc eris homines capiens: quodque soli Petro, tanquam apostolorum principi, Christus mandaverit, pro se et pro illo staterem dare: et, quia Petrus traxit ad terram rete plenum piscibus magnis: et, quod solus Petrus ad Christi defensionem gladium evaginavit. Quæ omnia hi homines

miro modo sublimant, expositionibus sanctorum doctorum omnino posthabitis. Which, for the sake of the common reader, is thus in English: “It is the
 “opinion of all that are dead, if that can be called
 “an opinion which is fortified with sufficient au-
 “thorities, that the pope of Rome is subject to the
 “universal church; neither dare those living deny
 “it. But it is made a doubt among some whether
 “he be subject also to a general council: for there
 “are some, whether out of singularity, or that they
 “expect the rewards of their flattery, have begun
 “to spread new and strange doctrines, and are not
 “afraid to exempt the pope from the jurisdiction of
 “the holy council; for ambition has blinded them;
 “from whence not only this modern, but all schisms
 “to this day have arisen—This modern heresy is
 “chiefly supported by a company of beggarly ex-
 “pectants, of whom one cries, that the actions of
 “subjects are to be judged by the pope, but he by
 “God alone. Another says, that the chief seat is
 “to be judged by none, neither by all the clergy,
 “nor kings, nor people—These wretched men do
 “not consider that these things they say are but
 “the words either of popes, who would extend their
 “power, or of their flatterers: and because such
 “sayings are easily answered, they straight run to
 “the gospel, and interpret the words of Christ, not
 “according to the meaning of the Holy Ghost, but
 “of their own brains. And they make much of
 “that which was said to Peter; *Thou shalt be*
 “*called Cephias*, by which they make him head of
 “the church; *To thee I will give the keys of the*
 “*kingdom of heaven*; and, *Whatsoever thou bindest*
 “*upon earth*; and, *I have prayed for thee, Peter,*

“ that thy faith fail not ; and, *Fear not, thou shalt*
 “ *henceforth catch men* : and that Christ commanded
 “ Peter alone, as prince of the apostles, to pay tri-
 “ bute for himself and for him : and because Peter
 “ drew the net to shore full of great fishes : and
 “ that Peter alone drew his sword in defence of
 “ Christ. All which things these men after a
 “ strange manner do refine upon, wholly neglect-
 “ ing the expositions of the holy doctors.” And he
 solves these texts in the same manner as the pro-
 testants have done ; shewing that, though spoke to
 Peter, they were meant, not to him personally, but
 to the church ; and that by that text, *Dic ecclesiæ*,
 Peter himself was made subject to the censures of
 the church, and all his successors ; to which if they
 refused to submit, they were to be reputed as hea-
 thens and publicans. And he quotes Gregory the
 Great and pope Nicholas, &c. for the same. And
 says of those who would set up the pope’s authority
 above all, p. 14, *Qui dum unius hominis libidinem*
sustinere conantur, dumque privatum bonum com-
muni anteverunt, incredibile est, quantas errorum
nebulas excitent ; i. e. “ Who, while they endeavour
 “ to support the ambition of one man, while they
 “ prefer the private to the public good, it is incredi-
 “ ble what clouds of errors they have raised.” And
 quotes pope Zosimus, saying, *Contra statuta patrum*
condere aliquid vel mutare, nec hujus quidem sedis
potest autoritas ; i. e. “ The authority even of this
 “ see (of Rome) cannot establish or change any
 “ thing against the decrees of the fathers :” and
 pope Damasus making it *blasphemare Spiritum*
Sanctum, “ to blaspheme the Holy Ghost.” And
 supports this by the authority of St. Ambrose mani-

festly reproving those, *qui summum pontificem concilii principem dicunt*, “who call the pope *the prince* “or *head of the council*.”

And of St. Augustine, who says, that appeals may be made from the popes to the church, and their decrees reversed. And after several other authorities, and instancing the church contending with Peter, Acts xi, and Paul resisting him to the face, Gal. ii, he concludes with these words of Marcian the emperor; *Vere impius atque sacrilegus est, qui post sacerdotum sententiam, opinioni suæ aliquid retractandum relinquit; extremæ quippe dementiæ est, in meridie et perspicuo die commentitium lumen quærere: quisquis enim post veritatem repertam aliquid ulterius discutit, mendacium quærit; i. e.* “He is impious and sacrilegious who will oppose “his judgment to the determination of the priests: “for it is extreme madness in the clear noonday to “seek for a false, feigned light; for he who after “the truth found out will yet still search further, “seeketh a lie.”

Then he goes on, p. 15, 16, to shew that the pope may be deposed: and having answered those texts, *Tibi dabo claves, Pasce oves*, &c. according to the doctrine of the primitive fathers, particularly St. Ambrose and St. Augustine, whose words he quotes, that they did belong to the other apostles, and the succeeding bishops of the church, as well as to St. Peter; and then coming to answer the objection, that the pope was head of the church, and that the head must not be cut off for whatever disease, because it inferred the death of the body; he denies the pope to be head of the church, unless you will say ministerially, that is, to serve and assist the

body under the head, which is Christ alone. And he asserts it as without all doubt, that the pope is more truly the vicar of the church than of Christ; and, therefore, that as a lord may at his pleasure depose his vicar, so the church may the pope: *Quia cum sit papa vicarius ecclesiæ, nemo dubitat quin dominus vicarios suos possit ad nutum suum destituere: nec dubium est, verius dici papam, ecclesiæ vicarium, quam Christi.* And before he says, *Quicquid tamen dicant aliqui, ego cum illis non sentio, qui Romanum pontificem caput ecclesiæ dicunt, nisi forsitan ministeriale; legimus enim, quia Christus est ecclesiæ caput non papa—Ecclesia vero ipsius Christi corpus, cujus etiam ipse papa est membrum.* Therefore that he may be cut off and deposed, if *inutile* or scandalous, *nec, ut aliqui delirant, propter solam hæresim.*

I. e. “ For seeing the pope is vicar of the church, “ none doubts but a lord may, at his pleasure, turn “ off his vicars: nor is it a doubt to say, that the “ pope is more truly the vicar of the church than of “ Christ. And whatever some men do say, I can- “ not agree with those who call the pope *the head* “ *of the church*; unless, perhaps, a ministerial head; “ for we read that Christ is head of the church, and “ not the pope—For the church is the body of Christ “ himself, of which the pope himself is but a mem- “ ber.”

Then he tells, p. 17, 18, what is meant by *the church*, viz. the whole body of believers, both pastors and people: but that the authority and governing part lay only in the pastors, who therefore are called *the church* virtually, as including the whole. Let me make a comparison familiar to us: it is as

the house of commons are called *the commons of England*, and their acts *the acts of all the commons of England*. This he shews, first, as it was under the law, where, Deut. xvii, the priests were to be the judges of the people. And that the same was the state under the gospel, as shewn, Matt. xxiii. 1, 2. the Jewish church being a type of the Christian. And that Christ compares the apostles, and in them the clergy, to fishers, and the people to the fish. He calls the clergy likewise *the husbandmen* and *labourers in the vineyard*, which was the church, and says, *He that heareth you heareth me*, &c.; and, *Go and teach all nations*; and, *Whatever ye bind on earth*, &c.; and, *To thee I will give the keys*, &c.; which, as St. Augustine says upon the place, *Per illa verba datam esse judicariam potestatem, non solum Petro, sed toti ecclesiæ in episcopis et presbyteris*; i. e. "By these words "there is judicial power given, not only to Peter, "but to the whole church, in the bishops and the "presbyters." And, as Æneas Sylvius goes on, *Sciendum est enim (ut Clemens asserit in Epistola supradicta) episcopos vicem apostolorum gerere, et reliquorum discipulorum vicem tenere presbyteros, sic enim prædicasse Petrum, qui a Domino didicisse, ait: unde apparet ecclesiæ potestatem omnimodam in sacerdotibus consistere*; i. e. "For we "must know (as Clemens says in his Epistle before "quoted) that the bishops are in the place of the "apostles, and the presbyters of the other disciples; "for so, he says, Peter did teach, who learned it "from the Lord: whence it appears, that all the "power of the church is lodged in the priests." And having thus resolved the power of the church

universal into the bishops and clergy, he makes the conclusion, *Dicimus ergo universali ecclesiæ, quæ omnes Christi fideles amplectitur, potestatem omnimodam fore concessam, Romanumque pontificem illi subjectum, posse per ipsam, non bene regentem, deponi, abjici, excommunicari. Rursus adjicimus, quia quæcunque illa universalis ecclesia potest, hæc etiam clericorum potest, et in hac potestatis supremæ exercitium inveniri*; i. e. "Therefore we say, " that all power is given to the universal church, " which contains all the faithful of Christ; and that " the pope of Rome is subject to her, and, if he " govern not well, may be deposed by her, thrown " off, and excommunicated. And we further say, " that whatever that universal church can do, the " clergy may do, and that in them the exercise of " the supreme power is to be found." Here the pope is entirely submitted to the college of bishops: and though he may be president, for order sake, when they are assembled in council, yet he is denied to be prince of the council, to have power to dissolve or prorogue them without their own consent: and that they may call themselves without him, if he consent not, as is asserted in the same place, p. 19, 20; and " if he separate himself from them, " he thereby separates himself from the unity of the " church, and makes himself a schismatic." He is here denied to be head of the church, or vicar of Christ, but rather vicar and servant to the church, that is, to the episcopal college. And to set him above them is called *wickedness* and *sacrilege*, and *blasphemy against the Holy Ghost*, and *the root both of ancient and modern schisms*; and this from the mouths of several popes themselves, as well as

in other ancient and godly fathers : and this not only asserted, but put in practice, by the councils of Constance and Basil, who deposed several popes, as other councils had done : and these councils are vindicated and reasserted in the decrees of the Gallican clergy an. 1682. Then he shews, that the popes of Rome were prohibited by the councils of Africa from receiving any appeals from their synods, which totally overthrows the pretence of the pope's universal supremacy ; as he says, p. 15, *Ex conciliis etiam Africanis prohibiti sunt Romani pontifices, ne appellationes illorum audirent, qui a synodo appellabant* ; i. e. “ The popes of Rome were prohibited by the African councils from hearing the appeals of those who appealed to them from the synod ;” that is, from the African synod ; which made the church of Africa as free and independent as that of Rome, and consequently every other national church ; though Rome was then more eminent, as one nation is more than another, yet independent.

From this supereminence or supremacy of Rome it was that those great appellations were given to her of *plenitude of power*, and being *chief of bishops*, &c. of which this same pope gives this account, p. 19 : *Quoniam sacerdotes per orbem dispersi nec statuunt canones, nec judicant, nisi quilibet plebem suam ; tuncque papa omnibus major est—in eoque plenitudo potestatis existit* ; i. e. “ Because the bishops dispersed over the world do not make canons, nor judge, except every one his own flock ; in this sense the pope is greater than they all—and in this the plenitude of his power does consist ;” that is, he was greater than any single

bishop, but not than the college of bishops, when they were met together; as it may be said at this day of the bishop of Canterbury, with respect to England.

And when Æneas Sylvius came to be pope, and took these high titles upon him, we ought to understand them in that sense which he himself has thus explained: nor has the church of Rome any other way to save him from contradicting himself in those expressions they produce of him, after he came to the pontificate, of his greatness and power, which they would have overthrow his authority in what he had so strenuously argued before.

And as this pope thus zealously asserted the rights of the episcopate against the then growing encroachments of the pontificate, he likewise saw, on the other hand, and for the same reasons, what humble servants men would prove to those who could give them rewards, even to set up the regale of temporal princes above the authority of the church. Thus he prophesies, p. 42: *Episcopos vero aliquos, ne quid temporalitatis amitterent, libertatem ecclesiæ principibus vendituros, eosque judices et dominos supra concilium erecturos*; i. e. "That some bishops, lest they should lose any thing of their temporalities, would sell the liberties of the church to princes, and set them up as judges and governors of councils."

But we need not the testimony of popes against the regale, they are produced on the other side, as of most force against the pontificate, that being their own concern; and men are not apt to be partial against themselves.

More of this sort might be produced: I am afraid

some readers may think this too much ; therefore, to return to more ancient authorities, which will bear the weight we lay upon them, this notion which Gregory the Great, Pius II, and other popes quoted by him, had of the church, opposite to that of an universal head upon earth, but governed by the episcopal college, is what in the earliest time had prevailed in the catholic church.

This is the language of the great St. Cyprian, ep. 68. p. 178: that “ therefore the episcopal college is large, and there are many bishops joined together in the bond of unity ; that if any bishop of the college should propagate heresy, and so seek to tear and waste the flock of Christ, the rest might mercifully interpose for the saving of the flock, and gather again the sheep of the Lord into the fold. For though we are many pastors,” says he, “ yet we all feed the same flock.” And, ep. 55, p. 112, he says, “ That as there is but one church through the whole world, divided into many members ; so there is but one episcopate, diffused in the numerous agreement of many bishops.”

Among these the bishop of Rome held the first place, as being bishop of the most eminent city in the world, it being then the seat of the empire ; and therefore applications were made principally to him in affairs of the church.

But for any such universal supremacy as is now pretended, on account of his being the ultimate and infallible judge of controversy, it was totally unknown to these early ages ; in which, though there were many and great controversies, yet no such appeal to the bishop of Rome does appear from any body : and it could not have been missed if that

had been the principle of those times; for it had been a summary way, and the only true way, of ending all their controversies.

But, on the contrary, we find, that St. Cyprian and others did oppose the bishop of Rome, argue against him, and reprove him sharply, where they thought he deserved it.

And St. Cyprian and other bishops give him no other title than that of *fellow-bishop* and *joint-brother*; and take leave to differ as freely from him as from other bishops.

St. Cyprian, when archbishop of Carthage, would not take upon him to be bishop of bishops, even over those bishops of his own province whom he called together in council, and wherein he presided; nor required that any of them should be determined by his authority upon any point; but allowed that they might differ from his judgment, seeing they were not accountable to him or any other, but to Christ the chief Shepherd, who had intrusted them with his flock under their charge. *Cyp. in Concil. Carth.* p. 129, &c. And as he assumed no such supremacy to himself, as little did he allow it to any other.

The notion of an universal vicar was not then invented. St. Cyprian says of every bishop, that he does *vice Pastoris custodire gregem*, ep. 8. p. 16, "keep the flock in the place of Christ the chief Shepherd."

And the canons after made to regulate the precedence and jurisdiction of the patriarchs, of whom Rome was one.

And the council of Carthage, A. D. 419. Can. 126, forbidding appeals to any transmarine jurisdiction,

under pain of excommunication, are absolutely inconsistent with such an universal supremacy as Rome did afterwards claim, and that *jure divino*.

That this usurpation of the bishops of Rome upon the episcopate made the famous archbishop of Spalatro, M. Anton. de Dom., quit their communion, and come over into England, in the reign of king James I, to seek for a more pure and primitive episcopacy here, as himself gives the reason in his *Consilium Protectionis*.

But finding here a more heterogeneous Erastianism in the regale, he returned; but whether into their communion again, or not, is not certain.

I. But the bishop of Rome, having thus grasped the power of the whole episcopal college into his own hand, took upon him not only to tyrannize himself, but, out of the plenitude of his power, he sold the right and authority of other bishops to kings and secular princes, on condition that they would aggrandize his see, and maintain him in his usurpation over the rest of his colleagues the bishops: thus sharing the spoils of the church with those who were able by their power to keep his robbery from being questioned; as bishop Burnet says in his *History of the Regale*, p. 241; “The king and the pope agreed to divide the promotions to all prelacies between them.”

It was the pope who first thoroughly settled the regale into an ecclesiastical establishment, as Gro-tius tells (*de Imper. Summar. Potest. circa Sacra*, c. 10. §. 24.) from Onuphrius and others, that the custom of the emperors choosing bishops prevailed from the time of Charles the Great; and that it was established by the authority of pope Adrian I, who

ordained that the ring and pastoral staff of a deceased bishop or abbot should be carried to the emperor, and that he might invest whom he pleased therewith, and command them to be consecrated accordingly. And from hence this custom prevailed through France, Germany, and Italy, which was then called *the Latin world*; and other kings, as Spain, Hungary, &c. imitated their example: so that, says Onuphrius, this became the custom of the Latin world; and kings did, at last, extend it even over Rome itself; (it is no new thing to see partners fall out in dividing the spoil, and to rob one another;) several of whose bishops he there instances were chosen by the Roman emperors, who, he says, did not only choose all bishops, abbots, deans, and prebends, and all inferior orders of the church, but the bishop of Rome himself.

This continued in the church of Rome three hundred years, during the reigns of sixty popes, till pope Hildebrand set himself against it, and others after him, and have brought it to what we now see: they have bent the bow as much the contrary way, and assumed the power of deposing kings to beat down their pretence to the investiture of bishops, when they found that it stretched itself even to the bishops of Rome themselves. But when they had got free themselves, they were content that the other bishops should be kept still under the yoke; and made a new dividend of the spoil, allowing to kings, by concordates, the presentation of some bishoprics and other church preferments, that they might securely enjoy all the rest. This was the effect of resolving the whole power of the episcopal college into one, as Gregory the Great foretold.

This bargain the pope has made for them, as supreme head and governor of the church.

2. But not content with this, and to humble the episcopate more effectually, he, as the sovereign disposer of all other bishops and their authority, has set up vast swarms of regulars in all countries subject to his supremacy, and has exempted them (contrary to the ancient canons) from the jurisdiction of their respective bishops, and made them accountable only to the superiors of their respective orders, and ultimately to himself: therefore they are justly called *the pope's life-guard*, as depending wholly and solely upon him, and serve him to purpose in battling, upon all occasions, his great foe Episcopacy, as Lainez, the general of the Jesuits, did at the council of Trent, by the same arguments which the protestant presbyterians have since borrowed against the episcopal authority.

But the stout opposition then given by the bishops of France, Spain, Germany, Hungary, and all the popish dominions, except some of Italy, who were the pope's creatures, to this pretended supremacy of the pope over all other bishops, and in defence of the primitive divine right of the episcopate, insomuch that they forced the pope to use all his arts to have that question dropped, which he had brought into the council against the divine right of episcopacy, (excepting only that of the see of Rome,) and to keep the unanimous opinion of the bishops, for the divine right of every bishop, as well as of the bishop of Rome, from being passed into a decree of that council; I say, this shews us plainly that the bishops of the Roman communion are kept under the usurpations of the papal supremacy by

art and power; and in all probability would have delivered themselves before this time, but for fear of falling more absolutely under the power of the regale, which, by the artifice of the popes, is kept over their heads, that they may not think of steering off from Scylla, for fear of falling into Charybdis. But the channel lies betwixt these two; which is the primitive episcopate, free from the encroachments of the pontificate and the regale, that have agreed to support and maintain each other.

3. Another artifice to break the episcopal authority is, the many peculiarities which the pope has made, exempt from the jurisdiction of the bishops; and the regale thinks fit, for the same reason, to keep them up: the pontificate and the regale quarrel sometimes about them, to get them from one another; but both agree to keep them from the bishops.

4. Again, the pope, as supreme treasurer of the church, has sweetly disposed of her patrimony; he has appropriated to the regulars, and sold and in-feodated to other laymen, (for all the regulars are not clergy,) all the tithes in Italy, and most in other popish countries; and the regale, where pretending to reform, has seized upon all these, but returned nothing to the church, from which they were taken.

This still the effect of letting the whole depend upon one, whether king or bishop; but with this difference, that there is none who pretends to be universal king; and therefore what every king may do in his own dominions, the universal bishop may do all the Christian world over.

Then the grand pretence of the pope's universal supremacy was discoursed, viz. to preserve unity in

the church, as being one society, which could not be without a visible head. To this it was said,

1. That there is one world. That this whole world is one kingdom to God. As it is written, *His kingdom ruleth over all*, Psal. ciii. 19. *They shall speak of the glory of thy kingdom*, Psal. cxlv. 11.

That God has appointed no universal deputy or monarch under him, over the whole world; and that the peace and unity of the world is best so consulted by his all-wise providence: for that no mortal man's abilities are sufficient to govern the whole earth. It would occasion infinity of defections and rebellions, and bring the world to greater wars and confusions, than as it is now cantoned into many independent kingdoms and states.

That appeals could not be made from all parts of the earth to a king in any one place: besides many other insuperable difficulties, which are obvious to any who will consider of such a scheme.

2. That the same do occur in the notion of an universal bishop, to whom appeals from all parts of the earth must come.

That therefore many and independent churches are no more an objection against the unity of the church, than many kingdoms against the unity of God's universal kingdom.

That there is a general law, called *the law of nations*, by which all kingdoms and states think themselves obliged, and by which the peace and commerce of the world is maintained.

That there is a yet stricter and more firm bond of unity betwixt the several churches of Christ: for whereas any civil sentence, as of death, confiscation, &c. passed by any king has no effect out of his own

dominions: the sentence of excommunication, or other spiritual censures, when passed justly by any bishop of the catholic church, have, by the rules of the catholic communion, their effect in all other churches through the world. And when those censures are released by the proper bishop, the criminal is absolved, and restored to communion not only of his own bishop, but of all the bishops of the catholic church.

So that the power of every bishop extends all over the whole Christian church; whereas the power of any king is limited within his own dominions. And the church is cemented in a stricter bond of unity than the secular world; the communion of saints being a more sacred and stricter tie than the commerce of nations; and extends itself to the other world, takes in the saints and angels of heaven, as making one family, one body with the church upon earth, all united under one head, Christ, the Lord and Father of all.

3. That God has made Christ his only universal Deputy over the world and of the church; he is the only universal King and Bishop; and it is as great blasphemy for any one to arrogate to himself the one as the other.

For the kingdom is the Lord's, and he is the ^{Psal. xxii.} *Governor among the nations, and the churches of* ^{28.} *those nations who turn to the Lord, ver. 27. Hence the gospel is called, the kingdom, in all the world: Matt. xxiv.* and no particular kingdom is *the kingdom*, more ^{14.} *than it is the world: and the kingdom of the gospel means nothing other than the church: but Rome would be not only the chief or principal of the churches or kingdoms, but it would be the church,*

the kingdom, that is, *the world*; and her bishop will be content with nothing than an universal kingship.

4. That the whole catholic church must depend absolutely upon the universal bishop, in matters of faith as well as discipline; and therefore as his power is infinite, so must he be infallible; else, as Gregory said, “The church must suddenly fall, if it “come to depend upon one.” Hence the popes, when they had set up for universal supremacy, assumed likewise infallibility to themselves.

But then the confusion they are in to find where this infallibility lies, has rendered their pretence to it contradictory to itself; the necessity they pretend for it being to reduce things to a certainty and infallible judgment, they are in nothing more uncertain than in this.

Bellarmin and the Italian friars, who writ at the pope's feet, place this infallibility in the person of the pope, as successor to Peter, and consequently heir of all the promises made to Peter; and extend it not only to matters of faith, but of practice; for they rightly say, that this argument, the necessity of an infallible guide from the goodness of God not to suffer mankind to be at a loss for want of means to know his duty, will reach to matters of practice as well as faith; since men will be judged at the last day for the one as well as the other.

And then how shall we believe such to be our infallible guides, even in practice, whose lives, as wrote by their own historians, are full of enormities, neither few nor little?

Nay more, who are erroneous in their principles as well as practice: who have established the de-

posing doctrine by authority of what they call a general council^c, and sanctified it by indulgences to those subjects who shall take arms against their king, and depose him upon account of religion. And the popes have often put this in practice^d, in several kingdoms.

There were six popes who succeeded one another during what was called *the holy league* in France, of whom every one joined with the league against the king; and this was made an invincible argument by the pope's legate to justify that rebellion, A. D. 1593.

Some writers of late years have made distinctions to mollify this principle and practice of the popes: but however the popes will not give it up, nor can they be brought to disclaim it.

This was no objection to Bellarmin, who wrote in defence of the deposing doctrine, and of the council of Lateran which enacted it: he thought the pope was an infallible guide in this, as in all other things.

And pursuing the consequence of this hypothesis to the utmost, could not stop short of this monstrous position, that if the pope should command the practice of vice, and forbid virtue, the church were bound to believe vice to be good, and virtue to be wicked, *de Rom. Pont.* lib. IV. c. 5.

We must suppose that he thought it impossible the pope should do so, (though there are too many instances of it,) and that the universal bishop must also be universal guide, and consequently arbitrary

^c Great Council. of Later. c. 3. A. D. 1215.

^d D'Avila's Hist. Civ. Wars in France, Lond. 1678. lib. XIII. p. 598.

and infallible, since the whole catholic church must depend upon him.

The same reasoning makes these men place the pope far superior and paramount to all councils, even general, composed of all the bishops in the earth. They may advise, but the decision lies in him alone.

Others, whose sense or courage fail them to run to this excess of madness, place the infallibility indeed in the pope; but then they say it is only when he is in *cathedra*.

Here again they break into different parties: some say he is in *cathedra* in the conclave; others deny that, and say that he is only so in a general council.

Some say that the infallibility is not in the pope, but in the council: that therefore the council is above the pope, and may depose him, as the council of Constance deposed three contending popes, who were all then in the world; which council the general assembly of the Gallican clergy, A. D. 1682, do quote, in the second of their decrees then published; and stand upon the authority of a council as superior to that of the pope.

Others like none of these ways; and place the infallibility neither in pope nor council separately, but only in both together.

Lastly, because even so they cannot hold up their infallibility: for there are several instances given, where pope and council have opposed former popes and councils, and rescinded their acts as erroneous: therefore there are some who place the infallibility in the church diffusive; which if they had not limited to those only of the Roman communion, they had come nearer to the truth; if they would con-

sider themselves only as a part of the catholic church, and see what it is which they hold in common with all the other Christian churches, they might in such a faith find an infallible assurance, though not from any or all of the persons who hold it: yet from the nature of such an universal testimony, and in such public and notorious matters of fact, as it is impossible for mankind to be imposed upon; which is demonstrated, even to our senses, in the *Method with the Deists*, &c. lately published.

But the church of Rome, grounding all those things wherein she differs from other churches upon her own infallibility, and not knowing where to find it, being divided into so many different and opposite hypotheses concerning it, whereof if any one be true, all the rest must be false, will be forced at least to suspend whatever she builds upon her own authority, different from the common sentiments of other churches and of mankind, till she can reconcile herself with herself, and agree where her infallibility lies, and to what things it extends, whether only to matters of faith, as some, or also to matters of practice, as others of as great name as any in her communion have contended, and have the better of the argument upon their principles.

But till these things can be adjusted, her bishop must lay aside his pretences to universal supremacy, which includes omnipotency and infallibility; and their vain boast of unity must cease till they can agree among themselves upon this foundation principle of the pope's supremacy, whereon all the rest of their new doctrines do depend.

5. And besides all this, it was further urged, that a local infallibility or supremacy fixed to any one

place, would render the Christian religion as narrow and precarious as the Jewish, which was confined to the temple in Jerusalem, and therefore was never designed for the universal religion; and it becomes impracticable, whenever that place is in the hands of enemies, as Jerusalem now for many hundred years has been; and therefore the Jews can have no sacrifices, nor have had these almost one thousand seven hundred years, in any part of the world.

Now suppose that Rome were conquered by infidels, as Constantinople has been; or that a Christian prince should seize Rome, as has been done; then could not appeals be brought to the bishop of Rome, without the king of Rome's leave; who it is not like would permit so vast a concourse from all parts of the world to a power more universal than his own.

Nor would Christian princes, especially if in war, think him an equal judge amongst them all, who were in the power of any one of them.

The church of Russia did submit to the patriarchate of Constantinople, while it was in the hands of Christian emperors who were at peace with them; but have, with good reason, and even of necessity, broke off from it, since it has been conquered by the Turk.

When the pontifical chair was translated from Rome to Avignon in France, where it remained about seventy years, what disputes did it create? Popes and anti-popes set up against one another; and that church torn to pieces with many and long schisms, which all the wit of man can never reconcile with her pretended supremacy and infallibility.

Then a remedy was thought on for all these things. And it was said, that the western church was (like her Master) crucified betwixt the usurpations of the pontificate on one side, and the regale on the other.

XVIII.
A remedy
proposed.

That if the king's supremacy, and power of the state over the church, were reduced to what our laws before-mentioned have limited and explained, viz. to extend only to a civil power, though in ecclesiastical causes and over ecclesiastical persons :

And if the pope's supremacy were brought back to the limits of his first patriarchate, *jure only ecclesiastico*, for the better regulation of the episcopal college, and exerting of its authority :

Then the primitive episcopacy would again flourish and shine forth in full vigour.

Then the correspondence of bishops by communicatory letters would be revived ; and when they could freely speak their minds, without dread of the inquisition on the one hand, or the *præmunire* on the other, there is no doubt but our differences would lessen as to other particulars, which are now heightened, on purpose to serve parties and support supremacies.

Then those many and pious men in the church of Rome, who do wish and have laboured for a reformation there, but dare not push it on, for fear of falling in with the regale Erastianism ; they, seeing no other shore to row to, would gladly avow what they now secretly approve in our reformation.

And we should find no scruple to own and amend what we found amiss on our side.

And on all sides such a temper would be put on, as to give us a prospect of a more glorious reforma-

tion than ever the church saw since Constantine first turned Christian.

Then kings and Christian states being freed from the just fears which the deposing doctrine (taught rather by the court than church of Rome, merely to support the papal usurpation) had given them, would not think it their interest to encroach upon the sacred office; but leave it in its full vigour and authority, as being the greatest support and assurance upon earth to their government, as well as towards the salvation of their souls.

They would not then seek to bring any *quo warranto* against the divine charter of the church, granted to her by Christ our Lord; but they would highly honour it, and rejoice in it, that it was independent and superior to all the powers upon earth: without which it could not be divine; nor could we have any assurance in the celebration of the sacred offices, or any thing of religion:

Which cannot stand upon a less foundation than Christ has laid for it: and he gave to his church no more authority than was necessary to the carrying on of those ends for which he did institute it: and therefore to lessen that, must certainly so far deprive us of those benefits which Christ designed to the world in the erecting of his church among men.

That therefore the restoring of her authority is necessary towards our obtaining of these benefits, which is the salvation of our souls, as well as temporal blessings.

That then, and not till then, religion will be restored to its ancient lustre, will be venerable and glorious; which can never be while those who ad-

minister it are rendered precarious, which is contemptible.

Then religion with its beauty will recover its force and influence upon the minds of men, and be able to look vice out of countenance, and restore a lasting peace and security to kings and states: *For* ^{Tim. iv.} *godliness is profitable unto all things, having promise of the life that now is, and of that which is to come.*^{8.}

Then will not our kings be tempted to look abroad for an independent bishop, since they cannot believe any other to have divine commission. For it is a contradiction to call such an one my bishop, and not to think him my superior, and that I am obliged to obey him in all things relating to his office; as much as to call a man my king, and yet pay him no duty in temporals.

Then bishops will transact with one another as colleagues; as temporal princes do, each independent and supreme within his own dominions, yet digested into superior and inferior classes of emperors, kings, sovereign princes, and states.

Thus some bishops might be metropolitans, some primates, and some patriarchs, for the better regulation of the episcopal college, without any infringement upon the episcopate and the supremacy of every bishop over his own subjects. For example,

The princes electors of the empire pay a duty to the emperor, and do him personal services; yet are they sovereign and independent princes; and the emperor has no authority without their leave, in their dominions: and he treats with them, and they with him, by their ministers and ambassadors, as other sovereign princes do.

Then would every bishop have full authority within himself to regulate and direct his clergy; to correct vice and reform error: and all bishops would stand by and assert the discipline of each bishop duly exercised within his own district; and the example would encourage others; and the reformation would become universal. Then bishops would be justly chargeable with any scandals in the clergy, or what was notorious in any other of their subjects, and with the growth of heresies and errors. And mere shame would bring matters to a decency, though every one had not the pure zeal of Christianity; for which they have now too apparent an excuse, viz. that discipline is lost, and will not be permitted by the state; which, by virtue of *cong e d' lires, quare impedit*, prohibitions, &c. have made themselves the sole and ultimate judges, not only of all bishops and churches, but of their excommunications, and every exercise of their spiritual jurisdiction. Here any bishop who is negligent or fearful, and wants an excuse for letting religion go to wrack, has one ready to his hand; and his fellow bishops cannot convene themselves in synod to judge of him, or to consult of any other affairs of the church, without the king's license; and therefore they easily put it off themselves, and lay all the miscarriages at his door. On the other hand, the state are as willing to clear themselves, and say, that the bishops and clergy might do more than they do; that they are idle, they are idle, and complain for want of straw, of more power and authority, without which they pretend that they cannot make bricks; and desire ease from their burdens, that they may sacrifice to the Lord.

Thus while each put it upon the other, it is neglected on both sides ; as the saying is, What is every body's business is nobody's business.

In order to apprehend these things the better, the company were desirous to consider what was the proper office of the priesthood, and for what it was ordained ; that we might thereby know how far it was to be dispensed with, and when encroachments were made upon it.

XIX.
The proper
office of the
priesthood.

The office of a priest is described, Heb. v. 1. viz. *He is ordained for men in things pertaining to God.* As to offer up the prayers of the people to God, and make intercession for them ; so on God's part, to sign and seal the pardon of their sins to them, and in his name to bless them.

That priests in this do represent the person of Christ, who is the supreme High Priest, Mediator, and Intercessor with God for men.

That therefore, as no man can be a lawful attorney for another, to sign and seal covenants in his name, which shall oblige him to the performance, without a letter of attorney expressly empowering him so to do, and whereby that person does oblige himself to stand by and perform such covenants, as if he himself had signed them :

Much less can any man take upon him to be God's attorney or representative ; and, as such, to sign and seal covenants in his name, without his express commission for that purpose.

No ; Christ himself could not do it, as it is inferred from the office of a priest before described : *No man taketh this honour unto himself, but he that is called of God, as was Aaron. So also Christ glorified not himself to be an High Priest ; but he*

that said unto him, Thou art my Son——Thou art a Priest for ever after the order of Melchisedec.

And as this was an honour too great even for Christ to take upon himself without an express commission from God, it must needs follow that no other man whatsoever can take this honour to himself without the like commission.

We find the same commission given to the apostles, and with the greatest solemnity that Christ did any thing while he was upon the earth. The same day on which he rose from the dead, having opened the prison doors, to shew that he had paid the full debt, as our surety, and made satisfaction for all our sins, for which he was cast into the prison of death, and had for ever been there detained, if he had not paid the uttermost farthing; on the same day, having now triumphed over the powers of sin and hell, he, as the first act of his mediatorial kingdom, whereby *all power in heaven and earth was given unto him*, did invest his apostles with the same commission which his Father had given unto him, and with circumstances greatly to be noticed, and which shewed something extraordinary then to be done. *The same day at evening, being the first day of the week, when the doors were shut where the disciples were assembled for fear of the Jews, came Jesus, and stood in the midst, and saith unto them, Peace be unto you. And when he had so said, he shewed unto them his hands and his side. Then were the disciples glad when they saw the Lord. Then said Jesus to them again, Peace be unto you: as my Father hath sent me, even so send I you. And when he had said this, he breathed on them, and saith unto them, Receive ye the Holy*

Ghost. Whose soever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them: and whose soever sins ye retain, they are retained.

And as he gave this commission unto them, so he gave them power to transfer it upon others, and those upon others to the end of the world; to which time he promised to be with them, and these their successors, in the execution of this commission, Matt. xxviii. 20.

That in all ages since the beginning of the world, God had such representatives empowered by him to bless or curse in his name.

Before the law in the patriarchal dispensation, as we find in the instance of Abraham and Abimelech, Gen. vii. 19. where, though Abimelech king of Gerar is recorded for so good a man that God vouchsafed to appear to him, and spoke with him, and withheld him from sinning, because of the integrity of his heart; yet commanded him, for the saving of his life, to procure Abraham to pray for him: *For, said God, he is a prophet, and he shall pray for thee, and thou shalt live—So Abraham prayed unto God, and God healed Abimelech.*

And thus said God to the three friends of Job, *Take unto you now seven bullocks and seven rams,* Job xlii. 8. *and go to my servant Job, and offer up for yourselves a burnt offering; and my servant Job shall pray for you, for him will I accept.*

Thus Noah blessed Shem and cursed Canaan, Gen. ix.

Isaac blessed Jacob and rejected Esau, Gen. xxvii.

And Jacob blessed Pharaoh, but more particularly the twelve patriarchs, Gen. xlix, as Moses afterwards did to the twelve tribes, Deut. xxxiii.

Thus God dispensed his blessings and his curses by the ministry of men, whom he had thereunto empowered.

As he did by David and the prophets, whose example if we should imitate herein without the like commission, we should greatly sin.

That God empowered the Levitical priesthood under the law to bless and curse in his name: the Levites were to pronounce the curses and blessings, Deut. xxvii. 28. as it is ordered, chap. xxvii. 14.

For them the Lord thy God hath chosen to minister unto him, and to bless in the name of the Lord, Deut. xxi. 5.

Every man may bless another in one sense, that is, to pray for the blessing of God upon him; but to pronounce a blessing in the name of the Lord is an act of authority, and cannot be done without a commission from God. Hence the apostle argues the greatness of Melchisedec above Abraham, because Melchisedec blessed him: *And without all contradiction, says he, the less is blessed of the better.*

The seals which the Levitical priesthood were empowered to put to the covenant which they administered to the people in the name of God, were circumcision and the sacrifices, which were appointed as types of Christ, for the remission of their sins.

The seals of the new covenant are baptism and the Lord's supper, as commemorations and exhibitions of the sacrifice of Christ already past, and a true real conveyance of all the benefits of it to the worthy receivers, for the remission of their sins, and a pledge to assure them of heaven.

Now surely these are greater and more glorious,

and at least as efficacious, as the seals of the law; and therefore the priests of the gospel, to whom Christ has committed the administration of these, are as truly and properly priests, empowered by Christ to seal covenants in his name with the people, as the priests under the law.

Here it was discoursed how the notion of priesthood has been dwindled, and indeed quite taken away, in our late times of schism and rebellion, to make way for those who had no commission to shew for their usurping that sacred office. Therefore they reduced it all to preaching, and loved the name of preachers better than that of priests, which they would have rejected under the gospel dispensation: and then, whoever thought himself a gifted man, that is, able to speak with assurance, applied himself to the good liking of the people; and if he got a call from them, they thought this sufficient to qualify him for their teacher; and the poor people were very fond of having this authority put into their hands; as if they could choose commissioners to sign and seal the covenants of the gospel to them on the part of Christ, and oblige him, by virtue of his promise to the apostles and their successors, to ratify and confirm in heaven whatever had been transacted with them in his name, by whomsoever they pleased to choose into that office, without deriving any succession from the apostles, or thinking that there was any need of it.

They said, that other men could read the gospel and the absolution or retaining of sins therein contained, as well as any bishop or priest ordained by him.

So they might a patent, a pardon, or declaration

of war, as well as any judge or herald; but with this difference, that their doing of it who are not legally empowered signifies just nothing: and no act done in any man's name has any force, or does oblige him, unless it be done by those who are thereunto commissioned by him.

And as it is high treason to do such acts in the king's name without his commission, or to grant such a commission in his name without his authority:

It is no less blasphemy against God to act in his name, or give commission to others so to do, without his express warrant.

And they who knowingly do abet such, and follow them as commissioned by God, render themselves guilty of their sin, and partakers of their blasphemy and treason against God.

And such commission from God must be outwardly given, for that only is visible to us; and God never made a priest but by an outward commission: Christ took not upon him the office of a preacher till he was outwardly commissioned by the voice from heaven at his baptism; for it is said, *From that time Jesus began to preach*, Matt. iv. 17. and he was then *about thirty years of age*, Luke iii. 23. and none can doubt of his inward call or qualifications before.

And as Christ did not take this honour unto himself till he was outwardly called, as was Aaron; so did he not leave it to the inward call of any of his disciples to make themselves apostles; but he chose twelve by name, whom he ordained into that office, and after chose seventy others into an inferior degree of preachers; and from that time to this, the

same commission has descended by outward ordination, given by those to whom Christ left that authority.

Then it was said, that the honour of the priesthood must needs be very high when it is reckoned a glory even to Christ; and that he could not glorify himself to be a priest without an express commission from his Father: and the reason is plain, because none can make an attorney, a representative, or commissioner, that is, a priest of God, to transact or seal covenants with mankind in his name, but he himself.

How dreadful then did it appear to all the company to consider the lamentable state of those communities amongst us who think that any three or four of them can set up a church by their own authority! and where every mechanic, boy, or girl, may take this honour to themselves, of standing in God's stead to the people, and transacting with them in his tremendous name, and by his authority!

The apostle says, *How shall they preach, except they be sent?* Rom. x. 15. But these think they can send themselves. And the people like these best who come in their own name, that is, by their own impulses, without commission derived from any body. They think these to be enlightened and gifted men; but that those cannot have the Spirit who deduce their authority by any commission granted to them from others: they look upon that to be a formal and low dispensation; and it is no wonder that they take these measures with the ministers of Christ, when they made the same objection against himself, as he said, *I am come in my Father's name, and ye receive me not: if another shall come in his own name,* John v. 43.

him ye will receive. This has been the humour of giddy and unstable people from the beginning, not
 Rom. xii. 3. to be wise unto sobriety, but to think of themselves
 2 Tim. iv. 3, 4. more highly than they ought to think; and to heap
 to themselves teachers, having itching ears; and they shall turn away their ears from the truth, and shall be turned unto fables.

Of toleration.

Then a discourse arose concerning toleration, how far these were to be suffered; and it was said, that there was a great difference betwixt bare sufferance, and a toleration by law. The Jews are now with us upon sufferance, and they have free liberty of their religion; but they have no toleration or authority of the government for their synagogues, &c.

That Christ did suffer the buyers and sellers in the temple for a time; but he gave them no license (nor would, if they had asked him before he drove them out) to profane the house of God.

That God suffers all the sins in the world, and bears long with them, to give men space of repentance; but he gives no man license to sin nor promise of impunity, no, not for an hour.

That when diseases have taken deep root, and the infection become universal, so that many simple and well-meaning persons are drawn in, and others have sucked it in with their milk, and are carried away by their education, there may be prudential reasons for a sufferance of such errors for a time, till all the milder methods of persuasion and conviction shall be used, which are the best and most agreeable to the spirit of Christianity.

But that in no case can any license or authority be given for error to propagate itself; because that

makes those who grant it partakers with it, and answerable for it. It becomes their act and deed.

That the kings of Judah and Israel were blamed and severely punished by God for suffering, much more for encouraging, of idolatry and other profanations in their kingdoms; which they ought to have restrained with the civil sword.

That the churches of Pergamos and Thyatira Rev. ii. 14, 15, 20. were censured and terribly threatened for suffering false prophets to teach and seduce the servants of Christ; and for having those among them *who held the doctrines of Balaam, and of the Nicolaitanes: which thing, said God, I hate.*

Here the universal toleration in Holland came under consideration; and it was thought a sacrificing of God to Mammon.

And yet such a toleration as the Dutch do allow would cure nonconformity in other places, that is, not where men shall be bribed to profane the holy sacrament for an office, and an action lie against the minister who shall refuse it to them, though he knows, sees, and hears them, in their conversations and principles, to be never so much unqualified; but where all that go to meetings are rendered incapable of any place of trust or profit in the government; which cannot be called any sort of persecution, unless to those whose conscience will not rest satisfied till they are in power; rather than miss of which they can dispense with kneeling at the sacrament, (though they made it no less than idolatry,) and conforming, as oft as the law makes it necessary for an employment, to the whole common prayer, against which they rail, as being the mass in English, and give it as a reason of their nonconformity;

and all their objections against the whole office of matrimony, the superstition of the ring, &c. give way to a good settlement upon marriage, lest it might be liable to a dispute in law.

Which makes it plain, that they can accept of an equivalent for their conscience; or otherwise, that it is not conscience of which they are sick.

And the same reason that makes them submit to the sacramental test would keep them out of meetings, if that were required as a condition of preferment. But this was a digression.

Contempt
of the clergy.

It was said, that the indulging the liberty of preaching and other offices of the priesthood to all, whether in orders or out of orders, had rendered it so contemptible, as that this office, which was counted a glory to Christ, was now fallen so low with us, as to be thought beneath a gentleman!

And whereas in the primitive church, to reduce a priest to lay communion was thought a degrading him from the honour of the priesthood, and a punishment equal to the excommunication of a layman, both being inflicted for the same crimes; now it is so far from that, that the lay communion, as of princes and other great men, is counted more honourable than the sacerdotal: and if any man of estate or quality takes upon him the priesthood, it is thought a mighty condescension, and an adorning of the priesthood, rather than any addition of honour to the layman.

And no wonder, when, instead of the priests of God, they are now called the laymen's priest, such a man's priest or chaplain, and reckoned as his menial servant belonging to his family, and part of his equipage: otherwise the expression is proper enough, to

say, my chaplain, as I say my parish priest, my bishop, my king, or my God; which argues my being under their care and direction, and that I belong to them, not they to me.

The priests under the law had their habitation in and about the temple, and in their cities and suburbs, which by God's express order were assigned them in the country; and though they went circuits, and taught the people, yet they lived in no family, no, not in the king's, as chaplains, that is, as chaplains are now reckoned, under the notion of servants. To be *a sacris* in any lay family is to preside over and administer the offices of religion, as to his cure and flock under him: they are his cure, and he, not their servant, but their pastor, and ought to be placed over them by the bishop, and not left to every one's fancy (and some very unable to judge) to take in and turn out at their pleasure, as they do to their footmen, that they may be wholly subservient to their humour and their frolics, sometimes to their vices; and to play upon the chaplain is often the best part of the entertainment; and religion suffers with it. There is none who consider the office, and upon that account desires a chaplain, but would be content to receive him from the bishop, as he does (or ought to do) the minister of his parish. If any will not have chaplains upon these terms, let them want them; so much the better; and let them frequent the parish communion, from which private chapels, as they are too frequently used, are a sort of exemption and breach of the parochial communion: they are, when so used, a relic of popery, and infraction upon the discipline of the church, which ought to admit of none into

her communion that are not under the visitation and direction of the bishop, who is the principle of unity in his church: otherwise they are separatists, and if set up in opposition to the bishop, are formal schismatics, like the regulars in the church of Rome, who are exempted from the jurisdiction of their respective bishops; but they have the plenitude of the pope's power to plead, which will not serve in our case.

Let me here (said one) give an instance I have heard of the late king of Sweden, (and I suppose it is the same with all their kings,) that when he travelled, though he had his chaplains with him, yet he always had the minister of the parish where he came to officiate to him, when he could be had, as being then, both himself and his chaplains, under his cure.

But let us go up as high as we can, and see what we can find like this office of an household chaplain in very early times, and what it was.

Judges xvii. The nearest instance we find of it was in Micah, which was in the times of confusion, when *there was no king in Israel*, and the stated worship of God was thrown loose and neglected; the Levites left to wander, and *sojourn where they could find a place*; and *every man did that which was right in his own eyes*: then Micah set up idolatry, and made him *an house of gods*; and though he agreed with a young man, a Levite, and allowed him *ten shekels of silver by the year*, besides meat, drink, and clothes, or an *order of garments*, as our margin reads it; if this was to be his chaplain, yet it was far from the notion of being his servant, but, as Micah expresses it, *Dwell with me*, said he to the

Levite, though a young man, *and be unto me a father and a priest*. And, under the same notion, he became afterwards a father and a priest to the tribe of Dan, Judges xviii. 19. So that in those days a priest (if he was a chaplain) was reckoned as a father, and not as a servant, even though he was hired to live in the house, and be a *sacris*, or chaplain to the family; for in that case such a family was his cure, and he was their pastor or father, and they were all under his direction and government, and not he under theirs, as to what concerned religion.

And his receiving hire or reward for his office did not infer his subjection as to what related to his office, more than our paying tribute does infer that the king is inferior to us, and that we hire him, or pay him wages to govern us. The apostle argues Heb. vii. 4. the greatness of Melchisedec above Abraham, from Abraham's paying tithe to Melchisedec, as unto a priest of God. Who feedeth a flock, and eateth not of the milk of the flock? Yet this argues not the superiority of the flock above the pastor.

That there can be but one pastor (unless in subordination to superior pastors) to one flock; as no man can serve two masters, yet one master may have many servants: and the reason is, because he is not under their charge and government, but they are under his: so where one man has many priests or chaplains, he is not their charge, but they are his.

That as we find nothing in the law of kings being allowed household priests or chaplains, kings themselves were not then thought too good to attend the public service of God in the temple.

So among the heathens, no mortal man, none of their emperors, ever assumed to himself to have priests dedicated to his service, till he arrived at the blasphemous vanity of being made a god; for priests belong to none but gods: a priest, as a priest, cannot be a servant to men: *God* and *priest* are relative terms, and therefore a priest can belong to none but a God. Thus thought the heathen: but so much is the Christian priesthood with us fallen below even theirs!

Now the office of the priesthood being thus totally inverted, the honour must fall with it, and of religion too, with the use and benefit of it, being administered by hands rendered so contemptible.

And it is thus, by a natural consequence, in all sorts of offices and employments whatsoever. The office of a king, a general, or a judge, are no further regarded by us than as we find them useful to us, and that we stand in need of them; and the reverence we have for these must bear proportion to the value we have for those ends to which they are ordained. Therefore, whoever bring these offices into contempt are justly reputed wicked men and profligate, who love not the peace of the world or good of mankind; but would introduce confusion and destruction, to satisfy their own ambition, or other self-ends.

And the argument will carry the same as to religion; there needs no application: we cannot pretend any reverence for it while we hold the priesthood, by which it is administered, in the last contempt; and the dishonour redounds to God himself.

This was the reason it was reckoned so grievous

a sin in Jeroboam, that he made priests of the lowest of the people; though it was to his calves, to the idols he had set up: for the worship being referred to God, though in an idolatrous manner, which he had forbidden, the dishonour referred likewise to him, in the contempt that was put upon those priests by whom they worshipped what they called God, as being what they had set up and dedicated to represent him, and bear his name.

This was the reason that God did bestow such a distinguishing dignity upon the tribe of Levi beyond all the rest of the tribes, and counted it no small honour to them that he had *separated them from the congregation of Israel, and brought them near to himself to do the service of the tabernacle of the Lord*. It was death for any other to approach to the altar; for which presumption a great and a good king was smitten with leprosy to his death. And God put so much of his own honour upon his priests, that any dishonour done to them was called *a profanation*. The daughter of a priest that played the whore was to be burnt with fire, because she profaned her father. A priest was not to marry a widow, except the widow of a priest: to marry the relict of any layman was called *a profaning of his seed among his people*. And the reason is given; *for I the Lord do sanctify him*. And they were not to communicate this sanctification to the people: they were not to appear before the people in the holy garments in which they ministered, but to put on other garments when they went out to the utter court to the people; and it is said, *They shall not sanctify the people with their garments*.

1 Kings
xiii. 33, 34

Num. xvi.

Num. i. 51.
iii. 38.

2 Chr. xxvi.

Lev. xxi. 9.

Ezek. xlvi.
22.

Lev. xxi.

15.

Ezek. xlvi.
19.

Lev. xxi. 4. 5, 6, 8. A priest was not to mourn for the dead as the laity were; and the reason is given, *He shall not defile himself, being a chief man among his people, to profane himself. They shall not make baldness upon their head, &c. They shall be holy unto their God, and not profane the name of their God.* The profanation of the priests is called *a profaning of God.* And so, on the other hand, as we are commanded to sanctify God, and to esteem him holy, the same is communicated to the priests, who represent him, and officiate in his name; ver. 8. *Thou shalt sanctify him therefore; for he offereth the bread of thy God: he shall be holy unto thee; for I the Lord, who sanctify you, am holy.* The meaning of which is, that if God be holy, so must his priests be esteemed by us; not upon a personal account, as God is holy in himself, and none but he, and some priests, as Hophni and Phinehas, are sons of Belial, and know not the Lord, and there was a Judas among the apostles; but upon account of their office, which is holy, and that they offer the bread of our God, which is holy.

Now can the shew bread in the temple be called the bread of our God so properly, so strictly, so eminently, as the bread in the holy sacrament, which is the body of Christ? And *we being many are one bread, and one body: for we are all partakers of that one bread,* 1 Cor. x. 17. And does not then holiness and honour belong as much, at least, to the evangelical priesthood, who offer this bread of our God, as to the priests under the law, who set the shew bread upon the holy table in the temple? And is not the one as properly the office of a priest as the other?

Whence then came this direful contempt that is cast upon the evangelical priesthood amongst us, and is run down through all orders and degrees of men, till it is denied by some who call themselves *clergymen* to be any priesthood at all? And then what is it? Something without a name, without a meaning, fit to be trampled upon, and made a tool of state to cajole the people! Only a privilege of haranguing, to be silenced by every nod of those in power!

But if the people's dishonouring the priests of God be a profaning of God himself, and the mark of so desperate a state as to be reckoned past remedy, according to the prophet, *Let no man strive, Hos. iv. 4. or reprove another: for thy people are as they that strive with the priest:*

What then must the condition of those priests be, who prostitute and profane their own character! If an ambassador suffering any indignity is justly reputed his dishonouring of the prince whose person he sustains; how much more is it a dishonour done to his majesty, if the ambassador himself shall vilify and disgrace his own character, and how much more severely would it be resented by his master!

The Lord says of his priests, *I will be sanctified Lev. x. 3, in them that come nigh me;* and gives that as a ^{17.} reason why he devoured Nadab and Abihu by fire; and says, that the priests are *to bear the iniquity of the congregation.* And as others are forbidden to profane the priest, so is he commanded not to pro-^{Lev. xxi. 4,} fane himself. And it is called a *profaning of the* ^{12, 15.} *sanctuary of his God; for the crown of the anointing oil of his God is upon him:* and a profaning of God himself; *That they profane not my holy name: Lev. xxii. 2.*

- Num. xviii. *I am the Lord.* And the priest was to *bear the iniquity of the holy things; and the iniquity of the sanctuary; and the iniquity of your priesthood,* says
1.
- Mal. ii. 7, 8, 9. God to them: and because *ye have corrupted the covenant of Levi, saith the Lord of hosts. Therefore have I also made you contemptible and base before all the people: for the priest is the messenger of the Lord of hosts.* And according to this high dignity of his office, St. Paul commanded the
Tit. ii. 15. first bishop of Crete to support it to the full; *These things speak and exhort, and rebuke with all authority. Let no man despise thee.*

Then it was said, that all this is come to pass; that the root and bottom of all this was the bringing the priesthood at first under the regale, as to those things that appertain to its office.

Whence it became subject to every body else, even to the beasts of the people: for there is nothing can set it out of the reach of the people, that will not likewise put it above the power of kings: for if it be divine, it is independent of them all; and if not, it must be a cheat, and ought to be treated accordingly by every body.

But, on the contrary, it was insisted upon, that all the kings and powers upon the earth, nay all the angels of heaven, have not authority to constitute any to transact with men in the stead of God, and in his name; that is, have not power to make a priest.

And that the commission before mentioned which Christ gave to his apostles, John xx, to the angels of the churches, is more than he has granted to his angels of heaven; to whom *he hath not put in subjection the world to come,* (Heb. ii. 5.) the admin-

istration of the kingdom of heaven to men, otherwise than as being all of them *ministering spirits, sent forth to minister unto them who shall be heirs of salvation*, (Heb. i. 14.) They have been sent to the world with messages, and upon particular errands, and have a charge given them over us to keep us in all our ways: but none of them, without a special commission, could consecrate or administer the holy sacrament, could confer holy orders, or other acts of the priestly office; and no such commission was ever granted to any of them: nay, the apostle argues, (Heb. viii. 4.) that if Christ himself *were upon the earth, he should not be a Priest*, that is, *according to the law*, because he was not of the tribe of Levi, (chap. vii. 14.) to which the priesthood under the law was annexed; so strict and inviolable was the office of the priesthood then kept. Therefore that Christ might make no infraction upon the Levitical priesthood, he was called of a prior and superior order of priesthood, that of Melchisedec: and the same he deduced to his apostles and their successors to the end of the world; the same commission, the same glory, which his Father gave unto him, John xvi. 22. He *sent them, as his Father had sent him*, chap. xx. 21.

Which is now so far forgot, that men, women, and children do press into the evangelical priesthood (far superior to that of Levi) without any ordination, or pretence of succession from the apostles. And the reason is, because they mind not the commission before mentioned which Christ gave to his apostles, John xx. 23, but have reduced it all to preaching; of which whosoever thinks himself ca-

pable, imagines that by that alone he has obtained the commission.

But it was observed, that there is no word of preaching in that commission, John xx. 23; that preaching was not mentioned till forty days after, upon the ascension of Christ, Matt. xxviii. 19. Mark xvi. 15; but that after-commission did not vacate this first commission given by Christ on the day of his resurrection; it was only a further explanation of it, with power and authority to preach it to all the world. So that preaching, though a part of the apostolical commission, and consequently of the priesthood, is not the chief part, far less the only thing, contained in that commission.

And the notion, that there is nothing in it but the liberty of preaching or haranguing to the people, which every body may take up at their own hand, has rendered it so precarious, and these common preachers so contemptible, that not only kings and states, but the meanest of the people, think they have authority to command them silence, like any other common criers whom they hire to cry lost goods or stray sheep, or what else they please to impose upon them; at least that none shall cry in their streets, or preach to them, without their leave, and by their commission: and kings claim this by a power paramount.

Amos vii.
12, 13.

As the court bishops said to Amos, *O thou seer, go, flee thee away into the land of Judah, and there eat bread, and prophesy there: but prophesy not again any more at Beth-el: for it is the king's chapel, and it is the king's court.* Here is an early precedent for exemptions; and others besides kings

have taken this privilege to themselves, as many as have power to maintain it. Leaving a staff and a pair of shoes at any minister's door in Holland, is a sufficient discharge from his office without any trial; he is to ask no questions, the will and pleasure of the magistrates is sufficient. How then can such be the ministers of Christ, or have any commission from him? or what authority is given by his commission, that can be thus blown away by burghers? and why not by them as well as kings, since kings are as much subjects to Christ and to his kingdom as they are?

It was said, that by these means the true notion of a church and of priesthood had been utterly lost amongst those where Erastianism has prevailed; and consequently the reverence due to religion and to God had sunk with it, and also the benefits annexed to the holy offices of the church, as means of grace appointed by Christ our Lord, on which are grounded our hopes of glory.

That it is blasphemy as well as folly to think God did thus dignify his priesthood on purpose to make the priests proud, or for that reason to refuse them the honour which God has given them: we may by the same rule refuse honour to kings, or to any other to whom it is due: but God did put so much of his own honour upon his priests, because without that he knew that neither he himself nor his institutions would be honoured and valued as they ought to be; and consequently men would thereby lose the benefit of them, and ruin their own souls by despising the means he had ordained for their salvation.

Here one interposed with a caution, that we

should have a great care not to carry these matters too high; that to overstrain any thing is to ruin it, and lose all its just force; that it is easy and natural for a heated imagination to magnify any beloved object, and thereby to render that hated and despised which otherwise in its due proportion would be honoured and esteemed; that therefore we should contain ourselves within the sobriety of religion, and not to exceed the plain rule of holy scripture; that if the priesthood be of such mighty dignity indeed, then it would be expected that the style of scripture should bear up to it, and speak of the priesthood in an elevation proportionable.

To which it was answered, that the caution was just and necessary: but that as we are not to overrate things, neither must we underrate them; for that by so doing we likewise lose the benefit and advantage of them, especially in matters of religion, and which concern our souls; that it is not easy to overrate these; that the common disease of the world is to undervalue and neglect these; that the rule proposed is the best and safest, to govern ourselves by the holy scriptures, and turn neither to the right hand nor to the left; not to exceed what is there said of the priesthood out of any intemperate zeal, nor to abate any thing of it for fear of man, or to court their favour.

Therefore we were desired to turn our eyes to the holy scriptures, and see there what sort of titles and discriminations were given to those who were dignified with the holy priesthood.

They are there called *kings and priests unto God*, Rev. v. 10.

The stars in the right hand of Christ, Rev. i. 20.

The angels of the churches, chap. ii. iii. &c.

And the glory of Christ, 2 Cor. viii. 23.

Ministers of Christ, and stewards of the mysteries of God, 1 Cor. iv. 1.

To whom he hath committed the word of reconciliation, 2 Cor. v. 19.

Ambassadors for Christ, in Christ's stead, co-workers with him, 2 Cor. v. 20. vi. 1.

Henceforth not servants, but friends of Christ, John xv. 15.

Brethren of Christ, John xx. 17.

As my Father hath sent me, even so send I you. Whose soever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whose soever sins ye retain, they are retained, John xx. 21, 23.

Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven: and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven, Matt. xviii. 18.

He that heareth you heareth me; and he that despiseth you despiseth me, Luke x. 16.

It shall be more tolerable for Sodom and Gomorrah in the day of judgment, than for those who will not receive you, Matt. x. 15.

Obey them that have the rule over you, and submit yourselves: for they watch for your souls, Heb. xiii. 17.

Esteem them very highly for their works' sake, 1 Thess. v. 13.

Hold such in reputation, Phil. ii. 29.

Worthy of double honour, 1 Tim. v. 17.

He remembereth the obedience of you all, how with fear and trembling ye received him, 2 Cor. vii. 15.

Ye received me as an angel of God, even as Christ Jesus, Gal. iv. 14.

Ye know what commandments we gave you by the Lord Jesus.

He therefore that despiseth, despiseth not man, but God, 1 Thess. iv. 2, 8.

Of the rest durst no man join himself to them: but the people magnified them, Acts v. 13.

No man taketh this honour unto himself, but he that is called of God, as was Aaron. So also Christ glorified not himself to be made an High Priest; but he that said unto him, Thou art my Son—— Thou art a Priest, &c. Heb. v. 4.

They are not afraid to speak evil of dignities, 2 Pet. ii. 10. Jude 8.

They respected not the persons of the priests, Lam. iv. 16.

Let no man strive, or reprove another: for thy people are as they that strive with the priest, Hos. iv. 4.

Rebuke with all authority. Let no man despise thee, Tit. ii. 15. 1 Tim. iv. 11, 12.

For God hath not given us the spirit of fear, but of power, 2 Tim. i. 7.

I magnify mine office, Rom. xi. 13.

In the name, and with the power, in the person of our Lord Jesus Christ, (2 Cor. ii. 10.) to deliver unto Satan, 1 Cor. v. 4, 5.

We are the savour of death unto death, and of life unto life. And who is sufficient for these things? 2 Cor. ii. 16.

Many other texts were produced, which shew the office and dignity of the priesthood.

And then, as a conclusion to the whole discourse, it was thought proper to inquire into the original of these two societies, the church and the state: for

that by this the nature and tendency of each would better appear, and their dependence or independence upon one another.

I. As to the original of the state, or of political government amongst men.

XX.
Original of
the church
and state.

The government here called *political* is distinguished from the paternal or natural government of fathers over their families, and means that of nations, under kings or states, as the word *political* is now understood.

1. And some, to support their notion of the original of this sort of government in the world, would have it supposed, though without any ground, that there was no such government till after the flood; and that it had its beginning by very wicked means, by the usurpation and tyranny of Nimrod, the beginning of whose kingdom was Babylon, who gave rise to the first Assyrian monarchy, so called from his son Ashur, who built Nineveh.

Gen. x. 10,
11.

And they thought that this was so far from being an advantage or benefit to mankind, that it was an encroachment upon their liberties and freedom, and was a pattern to all the after and succeeding despotical governments which have prevailed ever since.

They thought that the world was better before in the paternal governments of families only.

2. Others said, that this was not the original of political government; which they supposed began by the common vote or election of the people: and though they cannot find the original contract, yet they take it for granted that there is no other just foundation of political government amongst men, who they think were all born equal.

3. Others, thinking all this to be precarious, and

plainly against matter of fact, took to sir Robert Filmer's way of the patriarchate; supposing that from the original right of Adam over his children (which was the whole world) that authority descended to the eldest, as his heir; and that thus it continued in the ten patriarchs before the flood; and that after the flood, when the world was sufficiently peopled, in order to their dispersion over the earth, then Noah, the universal father and monarch, sent of his sons and their issue into several countries, and emancipated them, by which they became distinct and independent kingdoms and nations.

4. But because this would have been a disinheriting of his eldest son and heir, and so an alteration of the right of the patriarchate, which it is supposed instituted at first by God, and to have obtained without interruption from the beginning of the world, when it was largely peopled before the flood; and that it might be made a question, whether Noah without a particular command from God (which does not appear) could have altered the original institution of government; and whether that could have precluded his eldest son of his right of succession, and his heirs: therefore others thought that the division of the world into nations, which is recorded in Gen. x. to be done at one time, whence Peleg had his name, must have been the immediate act of God himself, and was performed by a great and stupendous miracle, the division of tongues, whereby it was determined who and who should go to compose each nation, all they of the same language sorting together, and God appointing the governor over each of them; as it is written, Ecclus. xvii. 17, *For in the division of the nations of*

the whole earth he set a ruler over every people.

That the names of all these and of their countries are distinctly set down, Gen. x; of the sons of Japhet, fourteen; of Ham, thirty; and of Shem, twenty-six; in all, seventy: into so many languages and nations was the world then divided.

And as God does all things with respect to his church, so in this most remarkable revolution there was a particular regard had by God, as to this number of seventy, to the number of the children of Israel that went down long after into Egypt, which are all recorded Gen. xlvi; the sons of Leah, thirty-three; of Zilpah, sixteen; of Rachel, fourteen; and of Bilhah, seven; in all, seventy. And this is particularly insisted upon in the song of Moses, as a remarkable instance of God's having always an eye to his church, his *peculium*, in his ordering of the world: the whole creation was made for her sake, and partakes with her whether in her adversity or glory, Rom. viii. 19 to 24. *All things are hers*, 1 Cor. iii. 22, 23. Moses begins his song with this respect God had to his church, (then the nation of Israel,) in that number of the seventy nations into which he divided the world after the flood; *Remember the days of old*, says he to them, *consider the years of many generations: ask thy father, and he will shew thee; thy elders, and they will tell thee. When the Most High divided to the nations their inheritance, when he separated the sons of Adam, he set the bounds of the people according to the number of the children of Israel.* These were the seventy children of Israel that went down to Egypt, answering to the seventy nations after the flood; and some of these kingdoms and cities retain the

same name to this day, as Babylon, the beginning of Nimrod's kingdom, and Assyria from Ashur, &c.

That from Nimrod, who in profane history is called Belus, every king's name and their succession stand upon record through the Assyrian, Persian, Grecian, and Roman monarchies; and from the division of the last into the east and western empires, to the present emperor of Germany, and sultan at Constantinople.

That the same is to be said of other nations, though being less famous, the records may not be kept, nor their memory preserved in history.

That though there has been many convulsions and revolutions in these states, yet the power was always taken up by the strongest of the contending parties, and never let fall so low as the free and equal vote of all the people; no, nor of all the fathers of families; to which no conqueror ever did submit his title.

But, however, notwithstanding these different opinions concerning the original of the political government, yet all agreed in this, that the commission and extent of it did reach only to this world; for that in the other there are no distinctions or representatives of nations, and every man's death dissolves his relation to an earthly kingdom; and therefore political government is called *earthly*, *secular*, or *temporal government*, because it operates only in this world.

II.
Of the
church.

Then the discourse turned to consider the original, end, and design of the other society, called *the church*.

And it was found that this lasts for ever; that it is the same church which is in heaven and upon

earth: they are not two churches, only two parts of the same church; the one militant, the other triumphant; for they have both the same Head and King; and those upon earth are called *fellow citizens with the saints, and of the household of God*, Eph. ii. 19; of the same family with those in heaven, chap. iii. 15. And thus the communion of saints (which is one of the articles of our Creed) extends not only to the saints upon earth, but to those in heaven, who have communion with us, and we with them; we bless God for them, and pray, “that with them we may be partakers of the heavenly kingdom.” And they pray for us, for our consummation and bliss, and rejoice with us at our conversion. There is the same sympathy as betwixt members of the same body, which have one head, that is, Christ.

Hence the church, even upon earth, is called *the kingdom of God*; and her government is dignified with the same name as that of the heavenly host, which is a hierarchy, an holy or sacred government: it is part of the same hierarchy which is in heaven, as being all of the same family or society.

And to shew that it is the same, Christ has promised to ratify in heaven the sentence of the church, when justly inflicted upon earth: and the chief effect of the power of the church extends to the other world, and will be there exercised even over the angels as well as over all this world, 1 Cor. vi. 2, 3.

The saints shall sit there as judges; the angels only as ministers of the court, and executioners.

So that the church is more strictly a part of the heavenly hierarchy than the different orders of cherubim and seraphim, angels and archangels, &c.

And with great reason; because her head, her flesh and blood, is made Lord of all these. These
 Eph. v. 30. are not *members of his body, of his flesh, and of his*
 Heb. ii. 16. *bone.* For *he took not on him the nature of angels;*
but he took upon him the seed of Abraham.

Gen. xxviii. This is the ladder which was shewn unto Jacob,
 12. whose foot stood upon the earth, but the top reached up to heaven.

Thus the foot of the hierarchy stands upon the earth, exercised by men who are ministers of Christ's kingdom here below, but the top reaches to Christ himself, who is the head of it; and the angels of God ascend and descend upon it, to execute his supreme commands, and to minister to the meanest member of it.

So that who are not subjects to this hierarchy upon earth cannot be in heaven: we must go up the ladder by degrees, from the lower to the higher steps.

And the attempt of those who go about to lessen the authority and undermine the foundation of this hierarchy, is like his who cut the bough whereon himself was standing: it is a pulling out the steps, and disjuncting of that ladder by which we must climb to heaven; unless we can find a new way of our own thither, which God has not appointed.

That God by his infinite power may not bring any to heaven without going up this ladder, we must not determine, nor tie God to those rules to which he has tied us: *His mercy is over all his*
 Rom. ii. 12. *works:* and *he will not judge those by the law who have not the law.*

But this we must say, that he has shewn to us no other way, and has made no promise in the gos-

pel to any who are not in that way ; that therefore none other are within the covenant of the gospel, nor have right to claim the privileges of those who are within the pale of the church ; that therefore we must leave these who are without to the uncovenanted mercies of God ; which what they are, or how far they will extend, we know not ; but this we are sure of, that the privileges of being within the covenant of grace are inestimable, else Christ had not taken upon him our flesh, suffered, died, and descended into hell to purchase them for us.

And this we must say further, that whatever the condition be of those who know not the gospel, and so were never within the pale of the church ; the case is not the same with those who reject the gospel when preached to them, who seem to be the only persons meant, Mark xvi. 15, 16. The case is not the same with those who are justly cast out of the church, or who wilfully cast themselves out by departing from the church.

Christ has given power to the terrestrial hierarchy to exclude from the celestial : for indeed they are the same, as has been said, of which he himself, and none other, is the Head ; and whoever is head of the one must also be so of the other, since both are the same.

Here was recollected what was before spoken of the pope's assuming to be head of the whole terrestrial hierarchy ; and Gregory the Great was vindicated, who compared this to the pride of Lucifer, and made it a mark of Antichrist.

But how much more abhorrent and heterogeneous did it look for those who had no share at all in the hierarchy, for the political or civil government to

take upon them the supremacy over the hierarchy of the church, in the exercise of her purely spiritual power and authority !

The civil government, whose constitution and authority is temporary and transient, which must end and be extinguished for ever, while the church shall reign and be triumphant to all eternity.

And so long shall her censures, when justly passed, have their effect : how then can they be altered or transversed, suspended or superseded, by a temporal government, that must vanish and come to nothing ? By such governors, who are themselves subject to her censures as much as any other, (but without any infraction upon their civil authority,) who are admitted members of her society, as others are, by baptism, and no otherwise, and may fall from thence by apostasy, heresy, and such crimes as cut others off ?

And it was said, that as the church was ordained to last for ever, so its foundations were laid from eternity. It is said to have been given us, and *ordained before the world began*, 1 Cor. ii. 7. 2 Tim. i. 9. Tit. i. 2. 1 Pet. i. 20 ; and that God hath *chosen us from the beginning*, 2 Thess. ii. 13 ; and the gospel is called *the everlasting covenant*, Heb. xiii. 20.

Therefore the church is not only the chief part of the creation ; but all the whole creation, as well in heaven as on earth, seems to be particularly designed with respect to the church, and for her service and advantage, and to sympathise with her, as well in her state of humiliation as exaltation ; the angels of heaven were given unto her for ministering spirits, and are said to be our *fellow servants*, and

brethren that have the testimony of Jesus, Rev. xix. 10. And it is said, Rom. viii. 19, &c. that *the whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together, waiting for the manifestation of the sons of God. Because (then) the creature itself also shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the children of God.* And this is called *the earnest expectation of the creature*: that as the earth was cursed for the sin of man, so in the redemption by Christ it should be delivered from that curse. Therefore the prophet Isaiah, describing the restoration of the church, speaks of *new heavens and a new earth*, Isa. lxv. 17; and the apostle says, that upon the final consummation of the church there will be a restauration, or further reconciliation, of *things in heaven* as well as *upon earth*, Eph. i. 10. Col. i. 20; and that in the mean time, even now, as the angels do minister unto the church, so they do learn many things of *the wisdom of God* from the church, Eph. iii. 10.

That God, from the beginning of the creation, did erect his church, and preserved her, as a visible distinct society, (though a small one, in its infancy,) from all the rest of the world, in the patriarchal dispensation before the flood, and to Moses.

Afterwards in the nation of the Jews under the law.

Till the heir did come, our blessed Lord Jesus Christ, who brought in the fulness of the Gentiles, opening the pale of his church to the believers of all countries, nations, and people.

That God expressed the great regard he had for his church, and which we ought to have for her power and authority, by that wondrous name which

Gen. xxxii. 28. he himself did bestow upon her, the name of *Israel*, that is, a prince of God, or one that prevails over God; as God himself enlarges upon it, and gives the reason, *For as a prince hast thou power with God and with men, and hast prevailed.* Christ condescended to wrestle, and suffer himself to be overcome by him after whom he named his church.

That to purchase this church, and gather her as a distinct society from amongst all the other societies and nations of the earth, Christ was content to take our nature upon him, and suffer death for her redemption. She is called *his body, the fulness of him who filleth all in all; the pillar and ground of the truth.* All the worthy members of this society are *heirs of God, and joint-heirs with Christ*; and Christ has promised to give them *power over the nations, to rule them with a rod of iron; even as I, says he, received of my Father: and to sit with me in my throne, even as I also overcame, and am set down with my Father in his throne.* Nay more, which none durst express, or so much as imagine, if he had not said it, that *he will gird himself, and make them to sit down to meat, and will come forth and serve them.*

Eph. i. 23. That *they are members of his body, of his flesh, and of his bones.* 1 Tim. iii. 15. That *they all, said he, may be one; as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be one in us: that the world may believe that thou hast sent me. And the glory which thou gavest me I have given them; that they may be one, even as we are one: I in them, and thou in me, that they may be made perfect in one; and that the world may know that thou hast sent me, and hast loved them, as thou hast loved me.*

Rom. viii. 17. Rev. ii. 26, 27. Chap. iii. 21. Luke xii. 37. Eph. v. 30. John xvii. 21, 22, 23.

That they are a *chosen generation, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a peculiar people.* 1 Pet. ii. 9.

Whom God keepeth as the apple of his eye. And their death is precious in his sight, Psalm cxvi. 15. Though they fall, they shall not be cast away: for God upholdeth them with his hand, Psal. xxxvii. 24.

There shall not an hair of their heads perish, Luke xxi. 18.

They are God's jewels, Mal. iii. 17.

They shall judge the world. They shall judge angels, 1 Cor. vi. 2, 3.

Then as to the authority of the church in this world.

If he neglect to hear the church, let him be unto thee as an heathen man and a publican, Matt. xviii. 17.

Of the church with relation to the state.

He reproved kings for their sakes; saying, Touch not my anointed, and do my prophets no harm, Psalm cv. 14, 15.

For he that toucheth you toucheth the apple of his eye, Zech. ii. 8.

Kings shall be thy nourishers, and queens thy nurses: they shall bow down to thee with their face towards the earth, and lick up the dust of thy feet, Isa. xlix. 23.

The sons of strangers shall build up thy walls, and their kings shall minister unto thee, chap. lx. 10.

Thou shalt suck the milk of the Gentiles, and shalt suck the breast of kings, ver. 16.

The sons also of them that afflicted thee shall come bending unto thee; and all they that despised thee shall bow themselves down at the soles of thy

feet; and they shall call thee, The city of the Lord, The Zion of the Holy One of Israel, Isa. lx. 14.

Therefore thy gates shall be open continually; they shall not be shut day nor night; that men may bring unto thee the forces of the Gentiles, and that their kings may be brought. For the nation and kingdom that will not serve thee shall perish; yea, those nations shall be utterly wasted, ver. 11, 12.

Glorious things are spoken of thee, O city of God, Psalm lxxxvii. 3.

This is the church which in all things, in its original, constitution, frame, and end for which it was designed, does far excel that society called *the state*.

And all states do in words give the preeminence to the church. It is not said *state and church*, but always *church and state*.

And the style (that is all) of *spiritual and temporal* remains still, though I have seen it wrote, *lords temporal and spiritual*, particularly in the printed lists of the convention, in the beginning of this revolution; and in all the lists since, the spiritual estate, though it is the first of the three estates in our as in every other constitution, yet is put behind all the lay lords; and the mitre comes after their coronets: as if a parchment from an earthly king, which he may bestow upon his footman, may have been worse bestowed upon more ignoble creatures, dukes and duchesses in abundance, who, instead of ermine, should have been dressed in sackcloth, had there been any discipline in the church; yet were received by their fellow nobility as their peers, whereas they were unworthy of the conversation of the meanest Christian, and ought not to

be admitted to it till they had begged for it in the stool of repentance; I say, that such patents of honour should be thought more estimable and of higher dignity, even when worn by those who were worthy of it, than the commission which Christ purchased with his blood, and gave to those he sent into all the world, as his Father had sent him!

But this is one of our modern improvements! for in our forefathers' time, and in all countries and ages, the mitre stood next to the crown, even in the civil constitution, and that not only upon the head of one archbishop, but of every bishop.

Now because it would look so preposterous, and against the common sentiments of mankind, especially of Christians, not to give the church the preference to the state; therefore kings have taken upon them to be heads of the church within their own dominions: and because this looked heterogeneous in the hands of a mere layman, who might not be a member of that church, therefore kings were made of an amphibious nature, and complimented with the title of *mixta persona*, an *hermaphrodite*, half lay and half clergy: and the nobility got in too under the new invention of lay elders, as now in Scotland, and govern all the affairs of the church.

And considering how they have by these means reduced her commission and authority, it can be attributed to nothing but the wonderful and overruling Providence, that there is so much left as that shadow of a church that is left! or any, though but outward and seeming reverence paid to sacraments, or other institutions of religion, that are administered by her hands! or that the administration of

them should be still left in her hands! though that is not done by all. That our churches should be frequented or kept in repair, where the major and more prevailing number would wish them underground! But in such instances as these God is wont to shew his power; as he placed the sand for a bound to the sea, that though it rage and swell, yet is limited by the decree, *Hitherto shalt thou come, but no further; and here shall thy proud waves be stayed.*

Nothing but this could have restrained that spirit of atheism, deism, fanaticism, and profaneness, that rages without human control.

And the church is laid as low and fenceless as the sand under their storms, which had long since overwhelmed the city of God (after the change of her governors) if the almighty promise, Matt. xvi. 18. xxviii. 20, had not interposed to preserve some embers alive in the midst of these torrents: and they will be preserved till the time appointed by God shall come, when his breath shall put new life in them, to lick up that sea that now covers but cannot drown them.

Psal. xlvii.
3, 4, 5.

Though the waters thereof roar and be troubled, and the mountains shake at the tempest of the same: the rivers of the flood thereof shall make glad the city of God. The persecutors and oppressors of the church shall be converted, and their rage, like that of the sea, against her, shall turn into humility and love to her, like smooth gentle streams, to refresh and nourish her: *for God is in the midst of her; she shall not be moved: God shall help her when the morning appeareth.*

This is the city, the society over which the temporal governments of the earth have assumed the

dominion! And have said, *Let us break their bands asunder, and cast away their cords from us*, Psalm ii. 3.

Be wise now therefore, O ye kings, and consider, lest, while nothing less will serve you than to be heads of this society, you cease to be members; for what is that member that will be head?

And let not so weak a thought arise in your minds, as if all this were only the self-seeking of the clergy, out of pride to advance themselves. Alas! it must have the quite contrary effect with any of them who consider what an heavy charge they have undertaken, and what account will be exacted from them for their faithful discharge of it! That the blood of all those souls who perish through their negligence or default will be required at their hands! That they have to *wrestle not only against* Eph. vi. 12. *flesh and blood, but against principalities and powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against* wicked spirits that are set up *in high places*: and whoever opposes these with that truth and freedom that is necessary, instead of honour, must expect reproach and persecution; of which it is not the least, that they cannot vindicate the honour of Christ's commission without being thought to seek their own glory: yet that must not hinder; the successors of the holy apostles must be content to pass, as they did, through *evil report and good report; as deceivers, and yet true*.

They must not, to save themselves from reproach, let religion go to wreck, expose the commission of Christ to be trampled upon, divest themselves of the proper arms of their ministry, and suffer the Devil, without opposition, to ravish out of their hands

those souls for which their souls must answer. If they must resist even unto blood, they ought not to shrink for a little shame: such a modesty would be pride, a poor impotent pride; a more guilty and shameful pride than that (whereof they are very unjustly accused) of asserting their authority, and not laying it under the feet of great men, for popularity sake! No pride so dangerous, so hateful, as a proud humility: such a sneaking, treacherous humility does not become the ministers of the gospel; but such a humility as with the greatest modesty can set its face as a flint for the truth of the gospel, and shew the utmost courage without any degree of impudence; can keep up its zeal without rage, preserve its sweetness in the midst of its reproofs, and either suffer or overcome with decency; that can support the honour and authority which Christ has annexed to his priesthood, so as to make it evident that it is more for the good of others, and out of a true concern for their souls, than any vainglory to themselves; that it is only to enable them to serve their flocks the more effectually towards their eternal salvation; without which they will not be able to do it, but render religion contemptible, and make you despise those means of grace to which are annexed the promises of God and our hopes of glory.

Christ left no more power with his church than he knew was necessary: and for her or you to make it less, will be but to defraud yourselves, and render it ineffectual to you; as St. Cyprian said, ep. 73. p. 209. "It is a most dangerous thing in divine matters for any to recede from his full power and authority." Therefore be not afraid of this power which is made so great by God that it may do you

the more good : you ought rather to wish it greater ; for if the church have not this power, what good can you receive from her administrations ? You ought to rejoice to serve the church, the spouse of Christ, that she may serve you in your eternal concerns : and the honour is done to Christ, and not to her, for whose sake you yourselves are honoured ; who has given you all the power that you have ; therefore grudge not what he has given to others for your good.

When angels are content, nay, glory to be made ministering spirits, to minister to the church, do not you think it below your dignity !

Nor to learn of those, *by whom the manifold wisdom of God is made known to the principalities and powers in heavenly places*, Eph. iii. 10.

You yourselves and all things were ordained for the church ; for God has given Christ *to be the head over all things to the church*, Eph. i. 22.

Christ himself, your King and God, will not think it below his infinite majesty to gird himself and come forth and serve them upon whom you now trample, and count them as the dung of the earth.

They are willing to be your servants, that they may do you good : it is not their own honour, but that of Christ which they seek ; as the apostle speaks, *For we preach not ourselves, but Christ Jesus the Lord ; and ourselves your servants for Jesus' sake.* 2 Cor. iv. 5.

Here one desired that we would take notice what steps have already been made on both sides by the secret and all-ruling providence of God, leading and inclining men by degrees insensibly nearer and nearer towards such a glorious reformation as has been before proposed.

XXI.
Steps that
have been
made to-
wards the
reforma-
tion pro-
posed.

1. On our side. First, on our side. The regale among us has much varied and lessened from the height in which it was set up by Henry VIII. In which very time, while they were stretching the regale to the utmost, yet they could not refrain to confess to the truth, and assert the spiritual rights of the church, as shewn, sect. IX. till at last they have come fully and truly to explain it in our 37th Article of religion. But to name some particulars.

1. Regal commissions. As to those regal commissions before mentioned, p. 323, whereby bishops then held their bishoprics and ecclesiastical authority during the king's pleasure only; these are long since worn out of date, and are now detested by all the clergy of England, and no more insisted upon by the state.

2. The king's vicegerent in ecclesiastical. The office of the king's vicegerent in ecclesiastical affairs survived not the person to whom it was first granted, but was beheaded with him. Such a novel, monstrous composition was not long-lived; once shewn, then hated and despised.

3. Congé d'élire. Then again, the writ of *congé d'élire* was taken away by act of parliament, 1 Edward VI. c. 2, as too great an encroachment upon the regale. But our kings are grown ashamed of that, and still continue the method of the *congé d'élire*, though let loose from it by the law.

4. Title of head of the church taken away. Then, in the beginning of the reign of queen Elizabeth, the title of *head of the church* was taken from the crown, as is shewed before, sect. IX.

5. Ecclesiastical commission. The ecclesiastical commission which the king was empowered to set up, 1 Elizabeth, was taken away by act of parliament, 17 Car. c. xi, and remains exploded to this day.

6. King James. King James I. (as Dr. Guthry, bishop of Dunkell,

tells us in his MS. History of the Rebellion and Covenant) used this method in Scotland, that when any bishop died, the archbishop convened his fellow bishops, and they gave in to the king the names of three persons whom they judged most fit, out of whom the king chose one into the vacant see. But his son, king Charles I, did not observe this, but resumed the regale in its full extent, and kept the election solely in himself; which the bishop takes notice of as one great cause that brought on his troubles, and the confusion first begun in that kingdom. He came young to the crown, and was not proof against flatterers who would aggrandize his prerogative; besides that this point was not so fully considered in those times, Erastianism having run down like a torrent from the reformation; and they were but few who could recover themselves to reflect impartially against the prejudice of education and popularity; the regale being then made (though very unjustly) the characteristic against popery and fanaticism; that being supposed the only barrier against both; not imagining, in their honey-moon, that ever they should have a king in either of these interests, or that their canon could be turned upon themselves.

Therefore it was no great wonder that a young and unexperienced prince should at the first be carried down a popular stream.

But he made great amends afterwards: he set himself for the rescue of the church from the encroachments of the secular courts and Erastian laws, which was made a handle by designing men to stir up the rebellion against him; and he is justly enrolled among the noble army of martyrs: his mercy

1. in Scotland.

7.
King Charles I.

was his ruin, for which he was called *a tyrant*. All whom the people overcome are so, because they never lay the fault upon themselves. Thus they charged upon this pious prince all the blood that themselves had shed, and the war which they began against him, and not he against them, which appears by the dates of their respective commissions for levying their armies.

The spirit of those times, and the disposition of that prince, seem fitted to shew the world how far a gracious king can condescend to a mutinous and rebellious party; and how impossible it is by such lenity to overcome them: it is like giving passage to the water, which thereby increases to a deluge; the prevention is easy at the beginning, before a drop grow to be a river, and that river become a sea.

But the methods by which this king's mildness suffered that rebellion to grow upon him was not the subject of our discourse: it sufficed us to know that God's time was not then come for the deliverance of his church; but that glory is reserved for another.

Though David designed and made preparation for the building of the temple, yet that was determined for another and more peaceable reign.

8.
King
Charles II. Then it was observed by some in the company, that even in the reign of king Charles II. a commission was granted to some bishops, and others, to dispose of such church-livings as were in the king's gift, which were above the value of those that are committed to the disposal of whoever carries the great seal: there was something of consciousness, at least decency in the case.

But there was a much more remarkable instance

in his reign, in Scotland. In the year 1669, an act of parliament was made there, called *the assertory act*, which asserted the regale very high; and by virtue of which the archbishop of Glasgow, Dr. Burnet, was deprived; but I am told no other put into his place, but the bishopric kept *in commendam*, and Dr. Leighton, to whom the king gave it, only styled *commendator of Glasgow*, till by some means or other a resignation was procured from archbishop Burnet: however, the then archbishop of Canterbury, and other bishops of England, considering how far such precedents might extend, interposed with their full might, nor did they leave it till they had the archbishop restored.

But that which I am coming to is this. After this assertory act, a test was put to the Scots episcopal clergy, which tied them to maintain all the king's privileges, &c. granted by act of parliament; by this means seeking to draw them in to the acknowledgment of this assertory act, which set up the king's supremacy over the church: but they were aware of the snare, and had the Christian courage to refuse that test, for which some of them were deprived.

But they persisted, and prepared themselves to suffer the last extremities rather than betray the rights of Christ's church: they rid out the storm, and they prevailed; as others would do, if they tried it. The inherent rights of the church are so flagrant, that a Christian state will hardly invade them but where they are tamely given up. The king, seeing the clergy resolute to suffer, and to assert their rights, found he could not bear the odium, nor was able to maintain his claim; therefore a declaration was published by king and council, (which in the intervals

of parliament has there the force of a law,) wherein they renounced all pretences to the intrinsic power of the church, and left entirely to her “all the ecclesiastical power, authority, and jurisdiction exercised by the church for the three first centuries.” Which being the whole that could be asked, the breach was made up, and the deprived clergy were restored; and by this, all the Erastian teeth of that assertory act were drawn out.

At present. But that it might never bite more, it was formally repealed by the present parliament there, sess. 2, lord Melvil commissioner. Which shews what others might do who have greater power and advantages than they: for it is not to be supposed but that the same justice and right to the church would be done where the bishops and clergy are more considerable, are nearer to the court, and of more use to it; if that has not corrupted their principles, or abated their zeal; like St. Peter, whose courage left him when he had once warmed himself at the fire of the palace. There are some who will profess with as much assurance as he, that they are ready to go, not only to prison, but to death, for asserting the truth of the gospel, and the divine rights of the pillar and ground of it, without which it cannot stand, that is, the church: but if a servant at court ask them, Are you for setting up that full authority which Christ left with his church? will be ready to tremble, and cry, *I know not the man; we have no king but Cæsar.* He that would set up divine rights is no friend to prerogative! But to proceed.

The commission before mentioned of king Charles II, for the disposal of church preferments, is much improved since; particularly in this, that now, none

but bishops are in that commission: none of the lay lords or others mixed with them, as it was in the time of king Charles II; and moreover, the recommendation even to bishoprics is likewise committed to these bishops: this indeed is a step further; these are some of the advances as have been made on our side towards the freedom of the church, which plainly shew where the right does lie.

Then the company were desirous to turn and see what advances had been made on the other side, on the part of the church of Rome, for reducing the pontificate as much as we have done the regale; and it was found, that they have gone further in this than we have done in the other.

II.
Advances
made on
the part of
the church
of Rome.

Here was called to mind what was said before concerning the opposition given at the council of Trent by the bishops and secular clergy in communion with the church of Rome, as well as those in Spain, Germany, Hungary, and all the popish countries, not excepting Italy itself, as of those in France, who have been most remarkably zealous in this matter.

1.
As to the
bishops
and secular
clergy.

And from hence we may suppose it was, that even in that council there is a fair door opened for restoring the ancient rights of provincial councils, where power is given to them, or rather recognised to be in them, and in every bishop in his own diocese, to regulate "all matters that shall be necessary," as well over "all ministers in the church," as to "pre-
scribe such forms in worship and manners" as they shall judge "necessary for the benefit of each province." Take the words more at large, as you will find them in that council. Sess. 23. c. 12: *Cætera quæ ad debitum in divinis officiis regimen spectant,*

deque congrua in canendi seu modulandi ratione, de certa lege in choro conveniendi, et permanendi, simulque de omnibus ecclesiæ ministris, quæque necessaria erunt, et si qua hujusmodi, synodus provincialis pro cujusque provinciæ utilitate et moribus certam cuique formulam præscribet: interea vero episcopus non minus quam cum duobus canonicis, quorum unus ab episcopo, alter a capitulo eligatur, in iis quæ expedire videbuntur, providere.

2.
Particu-
larly in
France.

Pursuant to this right of provincial councils here so far recognised, the church of France have all along acted more vigorously and independently upon Rome than any other of the churches in her communion; and from the first encroachments of the patriarchate of Rome gave battle to it, and kept it within some moderate bounds; as appears by the several pragmatistical sanctions and concordates made betwixt their kings and the popes.

But that which came most under our observation (as being the latest) was the decrees of the Gallican clergy met in a national synod, anno 1682, which are hereunto annexed.

In the preamble they assert liberties of the Gallican church, yet acknowledge a primacy in the pope; but how limited and circumscribed, appears in the decrees.

Of which the first quite takes away his power in temporals, especially that which the popes have so often practised even in France, (as before mentioned in the rebellion of the holy league,) and by which chiefly they have secured their encroachments of several sorts; and which they cannot be brought by any means to disclaim, that is, the power to depose kings, and absolve their subjects from their allegiance.

The second subjects the pope to a general council, even to be deposed by it; as in the 4th and 5th session of the council of Constance is enacted, which is quoted and confirmed in the said decree.

In the third, the pope's power is limited by the canons of the church, and even by the constitutions and rules of the Gallican church.

In the fourth, his infallibility, even in matters of faith, is totally taken away and disowned.

And in the fifth, the bishops assert the divine right of their episcopate, and derive their power from none but the Holy Ghost: by virtue of which they establish these decrees, and command them to be received in all the churches of France.

Then the discourse turned to the fierce opposition made by the pope to these decrees, and how ill they were resented at Rome: and it was said, that a French papist would be burned at Rome for an heretic; and were there but few of them, or inconsiderable, no doubt they would be excommunicated with *Maran-atha*; for all that properly can be called popery in the pope's supremacy is hereby plucked up by the roots.

It was said, that this was as far almost as our Henry VIII. ever went: for he threw off nothing of popery but only the pope's supremacy; in all other things he lived and died a papist; he burnt those who denied transubstantiation, and left money in his will for praying his soul out of purgatory.

To this was added, how much the doctrine of the pope's infallibility, and even the height and abso-

3.
The modern popish writers.

popish countries, even Spain and Italy itself, have found out a lower sense in which to take the high-flights of those before them; and if they are coming down, we may meet in time.

XXII.
A prospect,
how the
schism,
though not
all differ-
ences, may
be ended.

Oh, said one, that this were the time! when that terrible schism which has so long torn the western church might be healed! And though we could not in a short time reconcile our differences upon particular points, as of transubstantiation, invocation of saints, purgatory, &c. yet that matters could be so adjusted that these should cause no schism, that is, that we might join together in outward communion.

And this (said the gentleman who proposed it) would not seem to me impracticable, if this one point were first gained, viz. that every bishop making himself free from the encroachments both of the pontificate and the regale, thought himself at liberty to act according to his own conscience, and as he must give an account to Christ the chief Shepherd, in his own church, of which he is head next and immediately under Christ; though in that subordination to metropolitans, primates, or patriarchs, established by the episcopal college (in manner before discoursed) for the better regulation and commerce of the whole, yet without any infraction upon the plenitude of every bishop's power within his own church.

Then continued the proposer: Measuring others by myself, if I were a bishop in France, and as zealous for the particular doctrines of Rome as any; yet for so great a work as healing of this schism, I would open my communion as wide as I could, without what I thought a sin; for example, no Roman

catholic thinks it any sin to worship God without an image of him ; or to pray in a tongue I understand ; or to forbear, at least in public and in some places, the invocation of the saints, and the adoration of the host ; or to give the cup to the laity : I say, barring the order of the church in such matters, I am confident there is no understanding Roman catholic in France, or any where else, that would think any of these things to be a sin ; or who would say, but that if the church commanded such things to be done, he would obey.

Well then, supposing a particular bishop, knowing his own authority, should in his church remove the images, forbear the elevation of the host, and invocation of saints, give the cup to the laity, and have the service in the vulgar tongue : the proposer asked, What should hinder our communion with such a bishop? As to his belief of transubstantiation, or purgatory, &c. so it be not imposed upon me, neither as to the profession or practice of it, shall the difference of opinion break communion? And how shall I know his opinion? There are many in the communion of Rome who believe as little of these things as we do ; and no man is bound to tell, or I to ask, his private opinion : besides, if I knew it, how does it affect me? Shall I refuse the communion of a church, because there are wicked or erroneous men in it? Then must we needs go out of the world.

And on the other hand, said he, the Roman catholics will have far less scruple to communicate with us, because there is nothing in our liturgy in which they are to join, but what they approve of : they may think it deficient, but not in any necessary point ; for such they do not make the invocation of

saints, the elevation of the host, or the Latin of their prayers, or images to be; and sure the laity will not be displeas'd to be restored to the blessing of receiving the cup in the holy sacrament.

He fortified this, by shewing that the Roman catholics in England came without scruple to our churches in the beginning of queen Elizabeth's reign, till they were afterwards forbid by a bull from the pope; who by this means did open the breach, to strengthen his party; for otherwise the distinction of protestant and papist had soon ceased when they came to be of one communion.

That in queen Mary's time they did not reordain those bishops who had been ordained by our book of Ordination in the reign of Edward VI.

And that the pope offered to queen Elizabeth prayers in the vulgar tongue, the cup to the laity, or any thing, if she would but own his supremacy.

So that the supremacy is the only point at Rome: and were it not for that, other matters would be sooner adjusted, so far at least as not to hinder communion.

That in this most tender point of the supremacy the Gallican church are heretics as well as we; yet this breaks no communion; and what is the reason? There is but one, that is, a politic, because the Gallican church are too great a body to disoblige; and the fate of England has taught the court of Rome more caution, and to consider the power and quality of those heretics whom they adventure to excommunicate.

There is little doubt, but that if England would return again to own the supremacy of Rome to the height that the popes do demand, they would, to re-

gain such a limb to their empire, dispense with giving the cup to the laity, and marriage to our clergy, and our prayers in the vulgar tongue, as they offered to queen Elizabeth. They would excuse the elevation of the host, and invocation of saints, and pictures of God in the churches, and whatever else stands in the way to hinder our joining in communion.

But while we stand out against that plenitude of the papal supremacy which they claim, it is not their worldly interest to heal the breach of communion; because that, and that only, keeps up the distinction of parties amongst us. Few would trouble their heads with mere speculations, when their differences were not brought into practice; and especially considering that they are such differences which the church of Rome herself cannot say—none that are moderate among them will say—that they are necessary to salvation.

And therefore the whole and only difference betwixt us, I mean that hinders communion, is, that extent of the pope's supremacy which the Gallican church have thrown off as well as we; and if a politic can keep this from making a breach of communion with them, as much charity in the court of Rome (if they had it) would heal the separation here, and bring the Roman catholics back again to our churches which they forsook, not for any fault they found in our liturgy or worship, but merely in obedience to a bull from pope Pius V. which had no other end than to keep up his supremacy.

That therefore it is not to be expected we can persuade the pope to move towards a reconciliation

which he alone obstructs, and that wholly upon secular interests.

And this the English Roman catholics will grant, that if the pope gave them commandment, they would return to our communion to-morrow, notwithstanding all other differences upon particular points; which they could not in conscience do, if they thought any part of our public worship was unlawful in itself.

And none will say that a separation can be justified upon less grounds than to avoid joining in what is unlawful in itself.

This makes it plain, that the only cause of their separation from us is that single point of the pope's supremacy.

There are more causes of our separation from their public offices; as, images of the invisible God in their churches, adoration of the host, the cup taken from the laity, prayers in an unknown tongue, and invocation of saints and angels, which compose great part of their liturgy; and we think to be contrary to the holy scriptures, and the sense and practice of the primitive church; and therefore cannot join in what, if so, is unlawful in itself.

But, as said before, the Roman catholics think it not unlawful to omit these things in the public offices; and therefore it is lawful for them to heal the separation.

And if it be lawful, then it is necessary, and consequently a sin not to do it: for it would be a great sin not to do any thing that could be done without sin, to remove so horrid a scandal to the Christian church; to save so many souls and nations, with their posterities, from so great a sin as schism, which

produces many more, not only unchristian animosities, but bloodshed and destruction, even of kingdoms and whole countries; to restore so much peace and welfare to the nations of the earth, and to the churches of God, as the healing of this schism betwixt Rome and the reformed would produce; who would not only bestow his pains, but sacrifice his life to contribute towards it!

Here one interposed, and asked, whether all this gentleman's kindness was reserved for Rome? That he seemed much more zealous for a reconciliation with her, than with our protestant brethren the dissenters.

I.
Concerning
the schism
of the dis-
senter
against
episcopacy
among us.

That we grant it lawful for the church of England to dispense with our rites and ceremonies; and if lawful, then necessary, by the argument above, to heal this schism of the dissenters.

The gentleman answered for himself thus:

First, That the schism betwixt Rome and the reformed is of much greater consequence to the Christian church, and takes in even that of our dissenters, which is but one branch of it; and therefore, if healed, would cure the whole; and consequently, that this deserves our chief care: but, said he, I give not this for my answer, because whatever lawfully may be done ought to be done for the healing of any schism.

Secondly, Therefore he objected, that the case was not right stated, as if our rites, ceremonies, and other indifferent things were the cause of this schism: no, said he, these were only a pretence; but episcopacy was the heir which they said, *Come, let us kill him, that the inheritance may be ours*: for we must know, that was an involved cause, like that,

Num. xvi, Dathan and Abiram, the heads of the lay rebels; they mutinied against Moses the civil magistrate for their fields and their vineyards, and would not have him to be prince over them, ver. 13, 14.

But Korah and the schismatical Levites, they rose up against Aaron, and would have usurped the high priesthood, ver. 10, 11.

So was it in the latter covenant and conspiracy, an. 1638. The laity framed a rebellion against the king, and the Levites made a schism against the bishops; both joined in the same solemn league and covenant.

Towards which all things being now ready, and the necessary orders given, it was resolved to pick a quarrel. And no pretence being to be found in the doctrine of our church, or in any substantial matter, that could pass upon the common people, whom it was necessary to gain to their party, they began to find fault with the colour of our clothes, either white or black, and the length or shape of them. They inveighed against our gowns, as well as surplices. Then they quarrelled with our singing: why should we sing better than they did, with quiristers and organs? and why should we pray better too, with a liturgy? which every body that was acquainted with it liked much better than their extempore effusions.

These and such like were their first quarrels with us.

And calling these indifferent things, and thence thinking to load our church for not yielding to them in these, does in the first place lay the schism wholly at their own door.

For how faulty soever the church may be in not yielding in indifferent things, yet all agree that these cannot be a sufficient cause for separation, and making of a schism in the church of Christ; because, that being a most grievous sin, allowed on all hands, nothing can be sufficient to justify a separation, or to save it from becoming a schism, but the avoiding something that is put upon us, which is a sin: for no man can be obliged to sin; and in that case the schism lies at their door who force others to separate from them: but this can never be in the case of indifferent things, because such are no sins, else they were not indifferent.

And here it is to be cautioned, that it is not enough for any man to say that his conscience tells him this or the other is a sin; for so he may say of what he pleases, the colour of our clothes, the length of our beards, &c. Nay some men's conscience (as our blessed Saviour has foretold) may bid them cut our throats.

But that the rule to determine this is the word of God; and in case of doubtful or perverse interpretation, the doctrine and current practice of the primitive church, who lived next to the age of the apostles, is the best expositor.

And according to this rule, if the dissenters can shew any one thing of what they except against in our liturgy, rites, or ceremonies, to have been forbidden, we are willing to submit, and amend.

How far otherwise is it betwixt us and the church of Rome? whose council of Constance, A. D. 1415, sess. 13, does confess, that Christ did institute the holy sacrament in both kinds, and likewise that it was practised in the primitive church; and yet, with

a *non obstante* to both, they, out of the plenitude of their power, take away the cup from the laity, and excommunicate any priest who shall give it to them.

Now, as the apostle says, Gal. iii. 15, *Though it be but a man's testament, yet if it be confirmed, no man disannulleth or addeth thereto.* Therefore we say, that much less has any man power to disannull that part of Christ our blessed Lord his last testament, the cup, which, as the last act of his life, immediately before his entering upon his holy passion, he bequeathed to all the faithful till his coming again; and that this was the sense and practice of the primitive church the council of Constance does allow, and thereby yields both the holy scriptures and antiquity to be on our side.

I must not (said the gentleman) launch out into this and the other points before mentioned, for which we separate from the communion of the church of Rome; for that is not the business of our present meeting. I only name them now, to shew the difference of those things, and their importance, upon which we separate from the church of Rome, and of those things upon which our dissenters do separate from us; which makes our separation from Rome to be necessary, and therefore no schism in us, but in them; but the separation of the dissenters from us to be wholly for causes no ways sufficient, even themselves being judges, that is, if their separation be only upon account of our rites and ceremonies, as the case is put by the objector.

Thirdly, Having thus therefore (continued the first proposer) shewn, that if the case of the dissenters is truly stated in this popular objection, then, in the

first place, it lays the schism unanswerably upon them: I will, in the next place, proceed to shew, that this was not the true cause of their separation; and that the true cause makes the obstruction which hinders our reunion to lie wholly on their side, and not at all on the part of the church of England.

That this was not the true cause, I offer the following reasons.

1. That the covenant lays the stress of their separation upon episcopacy, which it vows to extirpate root and branch, and never to cease till that be done.

2. When all the rites and ceremonies, and the Common Prayer too was taken out of their way, and episcopacy itself modelled as near the presbyterian form as could be, which was done in Scotland ever since the restoration of episcopacy there in the year 1661; yet they were so far from being satisfied with all this, that they grew more outrageous than ever before: they raised two open rebellions, and fought it out at Pentland-hills and Bothwell-bridge; they assassinated the archbishop of St. Andrew's in the highway, shot another bishop in his coach in the streets of Edinburgh, and by public declaration, fixed up upon the *mercat* crosses, made it not only lawful, but an obligation upon every true presbyterian, to kill the bishops, and all that took their part; and upon this account declared that the king had forfeited his crown, because he set up episcopacy, and therefore that it was lawful to kill, not only his majesty, but all that served him or owned him as king; and merely for this reason, and no other, they have murdered the soldiers who were

travelling the road, because they saw the king's livery upon their backs.

^{2.}
In England.

They were not indeed so quite out of purpose in England: for they were governed with a straiter rein; and it has been observed, that as stones move swifter the nearer they come to their centre, so men are generally more fierce the nearer view they have of their game.

That even the English dissenters declare against episcopacy, which we take not to be an indifferent thing, but instituted by Christ, and confirmed by the constant practice of the universal church of Christ in all ages.

That if the dissenters were gratified in all other things, yet would they not comply in this.

That there are several sorts and sizes of dissenters amongst us, of whom some like well what others will not allow in our liturgy, rites, and ceremonies.

That therefore it is impossible to please them all.

That if they would all agree which of our indifferent things would purchase their reconciliation, the church would readily grant it for so good an end.

Nay, if any one sort of them would name for themselves, without respect to the rest, what would gain them to our communion, there are none of those things we call indifferent should hinder it.

That they have been invited to make the experiment to my knowledge, said he, but will not do it.

And while they cannot, or will not ask, how knows the church what to grant?

Nay, it is plain that the reason why they will not tell what would be sufficient to reconcile them, is,

because their leaders have no mind to it; for then they would lose their subsistence. I speak not, said he, of all; for no doubt there are conscientious and well-meaning men misled amongst them: but the governing part will not tell what would please them, because they dare not tell all; that is, that they will not be pleased till episcopacy be given up, and themselves made bishops under other names.

And hence, said he, it is evident, that as our rites and ceremonies were not the true cause of the separation which the dissenters made from our church; so that the true cause, which is episcopacy, and their ambition, do still keep up the separation, and hinder our reunion: to which we invite them upon any terms that are in our power, or that we can in conscience comply with.

And therefore, said he, their case can be no parallel or objection to that reconciliation proposed with those bishops of any of those churches that are in communion with Rome, who shall think it incumbent upon them to comply with us in such particulars as are justly in their power, and which they can in conscience allow.

For the dissenters, who have other ends to serve, and therefore will neither take nor give quarter, will neither propose nor accept any terms of reconciliation, cannot for that (unless only for that) reason be angry at our seeking or offering a reconciliation with others who may be better disposed.

Therefore, enough having been said upon this point, leave was given to the gentleman to proceed with his first proposal; who said, that by the best of his observation the generality of the Roman catholics in England were of the same sentiments with

H.
Of the Roman catholics in England.

the Gallican church concerning the supremacy and infallibility of the papal see: and thence inferred how unreasonable it was for them to keep off from our communion, and continue the schism, merely upon the account of that supremacy which they pretend to disown.

Especially considering that they have no bishops of their communion in England, and therefore are left to the guidance of their own conscience here.

At least they have no bishops of particular dioceses; and bishops at large have none who are properly their subjects.

Or that if they had, then the same considerations ought to weigh with them which are offered to the bishops of the same communion in other countries: and these seem to be more free and independent than the other.

And if these should dispense with the particulars before mentioned to those of their own communion in England, it might be a great beginning, and example to others abroad.

I know (said the gentleman that was speaking) an English Roman catholic, a man of very good sense, and now in a considerable station, who, before this revolution, came over to the communion of the church of England, and told me, the thing which swayed him was, that it is allowed among most learned Roman catholics that every national church has power to reform within herself in matters of discipline and order in the church, or whatever hurts not the Christian faith. And, said he, the best and most understanding of the English Roman catholics that I could converse with would not say that any of the points in dispute betwixt the churches

of Rome and England were matters of faith: they would not say it of purgatory, of the invocation of saints, of half communion, of prayers in an unknown tongue, of images, no, not of transubstantiation itself, at least not of the adoration of the host; and far less would they say it of the pope's supremacy, especially in that exaltation which he would be at.

Therefore, said he, why should I make a schism from any national church for exerting those powers which all agree she has? Whether she makes use of them for good or bad ends, for sufficient cause or not, is not the question; she is judge of that, and must answer it to God; but I am not her judge: and such causes are not sufficient (all do agree) to make a schism, else they would never want cause; every man's jealousies, fears, or suspicion, would be a sufficient cause to make a schism at any time.

And if this be true, even upon Roman catholic principles, then we must lay it upon the consciences of our English Roman catholics, why they keep up a schism from us contrary to their own principles?

And these principles are yet more strongly maintained in the Gallican church. They have limited the supremacy of the pope in France to the constitutions of their own national church, as before has been shewn; otherwise they must give up whatever they call the liberties of the Gallican church: they cannot be both free from the pope's supremacy and subject to it.

III.
Of the Gal-
lican
church.

Therefore if the Gallican church should make the reformation before mentioned, it could not be called any schism in her by her own principles; and if no

schism, then sure no crime; for what other crime can it be?

And if so great a good as the restoring peace to the western now divided church, by opening our communions to one another, can be procured without any crime at all, will it not be a great crime not to lay hold of the opportunity?

IV.
Of the
eastern
churches.

The same method and the same principles, continued he, would likewise open the communion betwixt the western and eastern churches, betwixt all the churches of the whole Christian world; whose liturgies and public worship might soon be so adjusted as to give no cause for breach of communion.

Then would the church be truly catholic and one, though of different, yet not of opposite communions.

Then would the communicatory letters go abroad of one bishop to another, even to the ends of the earth; and the ancient discipline would revive of itself.

Then would bishops (not only of one church or nation) salute one another, as in the primitive purer ages, by the name of *brethren* and *colleagues*.

And though distributed among themselves into different classes of metropolitans, primates, or patriarchs, for the better regulation and commerce of the episcopal college of the whole catholic church; yet without any infraction upon the rights and authority of each particular bishop within his own church, or divesting him of any part of the episcopal commission granted by Christ; (as the papal supremacy has done, and of which Gregory the Great complained;) for that would be to unbishop him in effect; and consequently all the bishops in

the world, except the one universal one, which the church of Rome would have.

That it is this papal supremacy alone which stands in the way to oppose such a glorious reunion of all the Christian churches; the pope either excommunicating, or denying communion to, and refusing communion with, all churches whatsoever upon the face of the earth, who will not own his universal supremacy.

His supremacy! now worn out and exploded, limited and circumscribed into a cipher by the best and most learned of the Roman catholics themselves, and not believed in that height it was set up and maintained in the last ages, perhaps, by one Roman catholic now in the world.

And that this ghost of a supremacy (said the gentleman, not with an unbecoming zeal) should continue to disturb the earth, and hinder the happy union of all Christian churches! Must all be sacrificed to an idol, which none remain to worship, which all do despise? Is it not time to bury it when it is dead?

I cannot but hope, said he, the time is come: then it will come, it is then come, when every bishop shall think it within his commission and his duty to govern his own church most to the benefit of the catholic church that he can; to the restoring the peace and unity of all Christian churches; and to exert the utmost of his authority to that end.

If but one bishop, said he, would begin it, and open his communion, as has been proposed, others surely would do the like, and it would soon become universal.

And it is not to be despaired that such bishops

will be found in all communions: many wish it: God will stir up some to act in it.

At least that they would venture so far as to begin a correspondence, and understand one another's minds, and then they would see what could be done.

That to keep off communion till all the particular points betwixt us are adjusted, is beginning at the wrong end; for these are kept up and heightened, on purpose to hinder us from communion together.

But if the terms of communion were once so modelled as to heal our separation, the disputes about the particular points would soon dwindle, when there was no interest to be served by them.

And though many particular points are put into the list of our differences on purpose to inflame the reckoning, yet, as said before, there is really at the bottom but one which stops the way to heal the breach of our communion, and that is, such an excess of the pope's supremacy as is disowned and thrown off by the whole Gallican church.

If they ask why we will not allow so much of the pope's supremacy as they have left to him:

We answer, because he will not be content with it. Let them prevail with the pope to confirm the decrees of their national council, an. 1682, and I dare say we shall not long quarrel about his supremacy: but till he does that, I am sure the English and Gallican churches are nearer one another upon this point than the churches of France and Rome. And why then should we not rather take part with one another against Rome, than by our differences in other and smaller matters to let him triumph over us both in his supremacy; and through our default,

in not joining together over so great a part of Christendom?

This and all other our differences are so far reconcilable as not to hinder communion. Let us try: enter upon a treaty, not only of particular bishops, that may be done now and at all times, but of our national councils, our convocation, and the general assembly of the Gallican bishops and clergy: which being to meet now again this ^fMay MDCC. I cannot (said the gentleman) but hope that God has a blessing in store, to open their eyes, and let them see the way of peace, which is fully pursuant to their own principles.

And it has been the principle of all sober and judicious Christians, that the public offices of the church should be kept as free as possible from disputes and controverted points, to hinder the breach of communion, which turns mere opinions into principles, and adds heresy to schism.

That if the Gallican church would thus purge their public offices of things which themselves say are not necessary, they might find a more Christian way with their new converts than has hitherto been taken; at least free themselves much more from the blame.

And then, since they and we are near at one upon the grand point of the pope's supremacy, and have jointly thrown off his infallibility, if they would

^f The English convocation not being suffered to sit while that of France lasted, rendered any treaty betwixt them impracticable. But the censure of the Jesuits by that Gallican assembly (reprinted here) is the sorest blow ever those top of the regulars sustained, and has shook the main pillar of the papal throne; so that the issue of that assembly has exceeded expectation.

communicate with us when they come to England in what they approve of, and can heartily join with in our public offices; and that their public offices were so modelled as that we might join with them when we went to France; they might then make this to be a grand jubilee indeed! the most glorious that many centuries have seen!

Here the gentleman stopt, and said he knew proposals of this nature would meet with misconstruction: that there is a party among us who would not wish our breaches were healed, because they subsist by the division; and sometimes cry "Halloo" on the one side, and sometimes on the other: their word is, "No peace with Rome." But I hope, said he, they are not against a peace with France, or afraid that the French are too much protestants against the usurpation of the pontificate.

If they keep as clear of the regale, their reformation will exceed ours; which God grant: and let them not take it ill (*fas est ab hoste doceri*) that we warn them of the rock upon which we have split.

Our concern is for the holy catholic church, which consists in the rights of the members of it, and not in the encroachment of any one upon the rest; that will prove (as we have sadly seen) the corruption of the whole: and we envy not, but pray that others may go before us in the restitution of the rights of the catholic church, and of every one in particular; and by that, of the true Christian faith and doctrine.

In this great work there is a most glorious step to be made (said one) by that king whom God should so inspire to take his regale out of the way from obstructing such mighty ends as these pro-

V.
The glory
of the first
Christian
king who
shall re-
store the
church.

posed: he would truly deserve the titles of *most Christian, most catholic*, and would be in good earnest *the defender of the faith*. The benefits that would thereby accrue to the church would far surpass all the glories of Constantine: no age since Christianity ever afforded such an opportunity for any king to aggrandize his name and memory to posterity, in the truly heroical and Christian sense, as is to be had this day; after-ages would call him blessed, and his place would be high in heaven, who by this should bring a heaven upon earth, restore the gospel and the kingdom of Christ, far shining in its native purity, from under the clouds of regal and pontifical usurpations; for the pontificate can last no longer than it is supported by the regale; all the bishops in the world are in arms against it, and are restrained only by the secular power of popes and kings.

Here the whole company wished and prayed to God that they might see the example of such a religious Christian king in our days, who would begin to set the church free, and give up his regale as former godly kings and emperors have done.

That they would follow their examples, and of Constantine and Lewis VII. of France, who refused to accept of it when offered, but rejected it with horror and indignation; rather than the examples of Jeroboam, Saul, Uzziah, Constantius, and others who usurped upon the sacred office, and stand branded for it to all posterities.

That kings would not desire to increase their account at the day of judgment; wherein, besides the errors of their civil administration, they will stand chargeable with all the miscarriages in the church.

occasioned by those bishops and clergy whom they advance: the cure of souls will be required at their hands, since they have taken it upon themselves; and likewise the sacrilege of taking it, when it was not committed to them by God.

They have taken upon themselves the discharge of that commission given to Timothy to make choice of *faithful men, who shall be able to teach others also*, 2 Tim. ii. 2; and to Titus, to *set in order the things that are wanting* (in the church), and to *ordain elders in every city*, Tit. i. 5. They now appoint the bishops for every city. And to them now belongs that severe charge of St. Paul to Timothy, *I charge thee before God, and the Lord Jesus Christ, and the elect angels, that thou observe these things without preferring one before another, doing nothing by partiality. Lay hands suddenly on no man, neither be partaker of other men's sins.* But now kings command hands to be laid upon whom they think fit; and so have made themselves partakers of their sins.

Then it was observed, that kings not only do the office, but exact the tribute due to the chief pastor: they take those first-fruits and tenths from the clergy which they paid to the pope, under the notion of universal pastor; as the Levites paid the tenth of their tenth to the high priest under the law.

Thus making themselves the high priests of the church of Christ, each in their dominions: and if they who profess themselves to be the subjects and servants of Christ do thus usurp upon him, should they not reflect when he permits their subjects or others to usurp upon them? And how can they expect that Christ would restore and protect them,

while they refuse to restore to him? If they will still prefer human politics, or not judge this to be the truest policy, to make God their friend, it is but just in him to infatuate their councils and disappoint their designs; for he will in the end prove stronger than men, and his folly exceed their wisdom.

He has promised a most glorious revolution and deliverance of his church, and setting her on high above all her enemies; who shall bow down to her with their faces to the earth, and lick up the dust of her feet. The holy scriptures are full of it. And glorious things are spoken of this city of God by Moses, the Psalms, and all the prophets who have been since the world began; by Christ also and his apostles: and it is easier for heaven and earth to fail than one iota of it not to be fulfilled.

But when God's time will be for these things, or whom he will bless as his instruments in it, are secrets of Providence which we know not.

As for the particular proposals before made, the company passed no judgment upon them; and he that offered them said, he did not take upon him so much as even proposals in this case, he thought himself not so qualified. He rather called what he suggested a prospect of such a glorious reformation as he wished: but for the particulars, the ways and means by which it was to be attempted, he did submit them to his superiors, and asked pardon from the company if he had exceeded in any thing; who took time to the next opportunity to consider of it; and so we parted; after he had said this one word,

Concors Romanæ et reformatæ ecclesiæ fides,
Neutrius opinio, mihi religio est.

AN APPENDIX

OF

PAPERS REFERRED TO IN THE FOREGOING DISCOURSE.

NUMBER I.

The declaration of the Gallican clergy concerning the ecclesiastical power in the year 1682.

Cleri Gallicani de ecclesiastica potestate declaratio, A. D. 1682.

WHEREAS many do endeavour to overthrow the decrees and liberties of the Gallican church, which have been maintained with so great care by our ancestors, and are founded upon the authority of the holy canons, and the tradition of the fathers: and whereas, on the other hand, there are not wanting those who, under pretence of this, are not afraid to lessen the primacy of St. Peter, and his successors the bishops of Rome, instituted by Christ, and the obedience which is due to them from all Christians, and the majesty of the apostolical see, which is venerable to all nations, in which the faith is preached, and the

ECCLESIE Gallicanæ decreta et libertates a majoribus nostris tanto studio propugnatas, earumque fundamenta sacris canonibus et patrum traditione nixa multi diruere moliantur; nec desunt qui earum obtentu primatum B. Petri, ejusque successorum Romanorum pontificum a Christo institutum, iisque debitam ab omnibus Christianis obedientiam, sedisque apostolicæ, in qua fides prædicatur, et unitas servatur ecclesiæ, reverendam omnibus gentibus majestatem imminuere non vereantur: hæretici quoque nihil præmittunt, quo eam potestatem, qua pax ecclesiæ continetur, invidiosam et gravem regibus, et populis

unity of the church preserved: and whereas the heretics likewise omit nothing whereby they may render that power in which the peace of the church is contained to be hateful and grievous to kings and people; and by these deceits do seduce the minds of the simple from the communion of the church, their mother, and so of Christ: to suppress which evils, we, the archbishops and bishops assembled together, by the king's command, at Paris, together with others of the clergy deputed with us, after diligent consideration had, have thought fit to decree and establish as follows. "I. That God gave "to St. Peter, &c."

ostentent, iisque fraudibus simplices animas ab ecclesie matris, Christique adeo communionem dissociant, quæ ut incommoda propulsemus, nos archiepiscopi et episcopi Parisiis, mandato regio, congregati, ecclesiam Gallicanam representantes, una cum ecclesiasticis viris nobiscum deputatis, diligenti tractatu habito, hæc sancienda et declaranda esse duximus.

See before in the Appendix to the Case stated between the Churches of Rome and England, Numb. III. p. 222 of this volume.

NUMBER II.

Inscription in the parlour of the hospital of Ledbury in the county of Hereford, which is mentioned p. 359 of this volume.

Hugh Foliot was elected by the presbytery of the cathedral church of Hereford in October, A. D. 1219, without letters from the king, written to the prejudice of their free election, (even as it is testified of Robert Foliot to have been chosen before him in the year of our Lord 1173.) He lived

bishop in the reign of king Henry III, Fredericus II being then emperor, and Honorius III pope when he was elected, and Gregorius IX when he died, viz. July 26, 1234. So he lived bishop fourteen years, eight months, and odd days.

Though as well the doctrine as the government of the church were in the time of this bishop greatly corrupted, and bishops were called *capita diœcesew̄n suarum*, as the pope would be called *caput universalis ecclesiæ* even over kings and emperors, claiming power to excommunicate and depose them; yet presbyteries were not (here in England especially) then called *capitula*, nor their bishop and they divided into two bodies: for Gregorius IX had not yet published his decretal epistles, wherein these two titles were first established: 1. *De iis, quæ fiunt a pralato sine consensu capituli*; 2. *De iis quæ fiunt a majore parte capituli*: from which decretals the presbyteries began generally to be called *capitula*, and the government ecclesiastical in every province and diocese grew to be severed; the bishop as the head doing many things of himself without consent of the chapter and *capitulum*; the little head or chapter doing many things by a greater part among themselves without the bishop.

In the time of this bishop the court of Rome was charged with much avarice and oppression; for that causes were there delayed, and could not be ended without gifts and bribery. To take away this offence, as it was pretended, Honorius III sent Gwalo, and Gregorius IX sent Pandulphus, the legates, into England, requiring of every cathedral church two prebends, for the better maintenance of their pontifical estate, thereby to remove the scandal of bribery and extortion, said there to be then used, in delay of justice; but the king, with the general consent of the clergy, denied those requests strictly urged by both these popes in their several times: whereupon these verses were made; which howsoever they bewray much ignorance and decay of good literature in that time, yet do they sufficiently declare a sound judgment against the covetousness of both the popes, which was indeed the only cause that

moved them to send so far, and make such unreasonable and ungodly requests.

Quod virtus reddit, non copia, sufficientem,
Et non paupertas, sed mentis hiatus, egentem.

Which may be Englished thus :

It is not store sufficiency that brings,
But well contentedness with present things ;
It is not slender wealth that makes one poor,
But greediness, and still desire of more.

This bishop never shewed himself to favour the exactions of these popes in whose time he lived ; neither did he exact any thing of the church wherein he was bishop. He did erect this hospital for the relief of the aged and impotent people dwelling chiefly in this town or borough, which then was his manor ; he committed the oversight and care of the same to the trust and charge of the presbytery, as to a religious and judicious senate, most likely to preserve so godly a foundation : and thereunto the rather to incite them, he endowed them with an annual pension of xls. to be paid out of the revenues of this hospital. He gave also to the library many books, the names whereof do not remain to be seen.

Last of all, (that we may see how Christian and true devotion was then linked with human and fond superstition,) he gave many ornaments to the church, to adorn the sacrificing priesthood withal, Innocentius III, next predecessor to Honorius III, having established transubstantiation, in the Lateran council, not long before ; and he bequeathed two marks yearly to the presbyters' prebendaries that should be present at his exequies, the 7th day of the ides of July, yearly to be celebrated ; and to the choir half a mark, then also to be given.

A SUPPLEMENT,

IN ANSWER TO A BOOK ENTITLED,

The Regal Supremacy in Ecclesiastical Affairs asserted,
in a Discourse occasioned by *the Case of the Regale and Pontificate.*



THIS book was sent to me the 15th of this month: I have given it a hasty examination, not finding much trouble in it; and thought it best to let it go as a Supplement to this edition of the Case of the Regale, &c. that the whole matter may lie together.

As to the preface, it is angry and superficial; therefore I let it pass: it might have been spared, especially considering how obvious it is to retort it.

Only I join with him as a preliminary, which is observed all along in the Case, that by *kings and princes* we mean the supreme civil power in any nation, be it in one or many: for I would not intermix the dispute of monarchy and commonwealths, that is another subject.

Let it be also observed, that by the word *regale* is not meant any part of the civil power or supremacy, let it be exercised how it will, either in ecclesiastical causes, or over ecclesiastical persons; but only the ecclesiastical power or supremacy that is claimed by Christian civil governments over the church in their dominions.

This is sufficiently explained and cautioned in the Case; and if it had been attended to, might have

prevented great part of this answer to it, which does not at all distinguish betwixt the ecclesiastical and the civil regale; and therefore forces me to repeat it oftener than needful.

He runs all along upon the king's supremacy in the general: which, if it be understood of his civil regale or supremacy, is not denied, but asserted in the Case; and is allowed to extend to all whatsoever causes, and over all persons, as well ecclesiastical as temporal. But the first only is denied, that is, his ecclesiastical regale or supremacy. If this distinction seem obscure to any, it is explained in what follows, particularly in sect. II.

If protestations signified any thing in disputes, I could truly say that I am wholly unprejudiced, and an equal judge (if I were a judge) in the cause here controverted; except that the bias of worldly interest carries considerably for the assertor against the Case. However, I hope it shall not so blind my judgment as not to reason impartially and fairly: of which the reader will best judge by what follows.

I. To begin therefore; I agree with this assertor of the regal supremacy in all his theses, i. ii. iii. except his mistaking the meaning of the author of the Case in his p. 218, (it is p. 432 of this volume,) where he gives the reason of civil governments being called *earthly, secular, or temporal*; because "the end and design of them had respect only to this world; for that in the other there are no distinctions or representatives of nations; and every man's death dissolves his relation to an earthly kingdom." Hence the assertor infers it as the meaning of that author, that the "civil government

“ does regard the temporal welfare only of their people; and so long as that was secured, it did not concern them” (the temporal governors) “ whether God or Baal were worshipped in their dominions,” p. 3. But it was far from that author’s meaning, that temporal governments, though only for this world, even a mayor or a constable, though but for a year, should not exercise the civil sword for the good of men’s souls as well as their bodies, and restrain irreligion as well as immorality. This he insisted upon in several places, one taken notice of by the assertor, p. 2. But this makes them not to be called spiritual governments, or entitles them to any place in the hierarchy; which, though it respects this world as well as the other, having *promise of this life, and that which is to come*; yet it respects that to come chiefly; and from thence receives its denomination of a holy and spiritual government, in contradistinction to that which is only secular and earthly, for the outward peace and temporal happiness of men; which yet in its proper sphere, that is, in the use of the civil sword, is obliged to further and promote, all that in it lies, the spiritual intendments and purposes; as all things whatsoever are: thus it is written, *Whether ye eat or drink, or whatever ye do, do all to the glory of God*. But the extent of the civil power is only as to this world; and the sentence of any king or state has no effect out of their own dominions: whereas the spiritual censures have their effect in the other world: and the censure of every bishop is valid, not only in his own diocese, but through the whole catholic church. This is insisted upon in the Case, p. 402 of this volume, and in several other places, so that it could hardly be

mistaken but through inadvertence. However, if the words "end and design of temporal government" have really led the assertor into this mistake, they are altered in this edition to "commission and extent:" and that author shall shew how willing he is to stand corrected, not only when he is in any error, but where words may be mended more clearly to express his meaning: so there is an end as to that. And it will answer several other places in the assertor, where he runs upon the same mistake, even to the end of his book, which concludes with the same. Therefore let me answer it in this place, and we shall have the less to do with all that is between.

II. He concludes from p. 89, with exceptions against the exposition of the 37th article in the Case, p. 327; and yet I cannot find one exception, having read it over and over; so that I am in a puzzle to know what he means. I desire the reader to compare the two together, and see if he be sharper sighted than I am. He asks, p. 90, why these words, "That they should rule all estates and degrees committed to their charge by God, whether they be ecclesiastical or temporal," were left out? Whereas they are expressly quoted in the Case, with other words of the 37th article, and so repeated in this same page of the assertor. Ay, but, says he, "what was this part of the explanation left out for? Was our memory so weak——." And so he goes on for some lines rejoicing! Why, sir, I will tell you, this was no part of the explanation; it had nothing to do with it; for how far the regal supremacy extended, to what persons or causes, was not the point, for that was freely granted to extend to all persons and

causes, as well ecclesiastical as temporal; but the question is only, of what nature the regal supremacy is, and what its power is, whether only a civil power, (though that may be exercised upon ecclesiastical causes and persons,) or an ecclesiastical power? And those words of the article are repeated in the explanation, which do expressly limit this regal supremacy to that of a civil power: and there was no more needful. All you say against this is in p. 89, “ That all authority receives its denomination from “ the persons and causes about which it is conversant; what then can any man make of this power “ but an ecclesiastical power?” Now, sir, this is only asserting, not proving; and I think the assertion is totally wrong; for that from which any power receives its denomination is not the persons and causes about which it is conversant, but from the nature of the power itself. The subject upon which I exercise my skill or power, and the skill itself or the power, are two things; and many and different powers may be exercised upon the same thing. For example, a divine, a physician, a lawyer, a king, a judge, or general, and a bishop too, may all exercise their several skills and powers upon the same person: are their powers therefore all the same? or do they take their denomination from the person about which they are conversant? In a Christian country every man is a member both of the church and of the state: are church and state therefore the same thing? Then indeed all our dispute is at an end; for there can be no longer a comparison or dispute betwixt the same thing and itself. And as every person, so every cause, is twofold, that is, both spiritual and temporal: thus murder or adultery are

civil causes, and punishable by the temporal laws; they are likewise ecclesiastical causes, and censurable by the church. Again, heresy or idolatry are called *ecclesiastical causes*; they are likewise civil, and as Job says, chap. xxxi. 28, *punishable by the judge*. Some have run themselves into the mistake of there being two sets of causes, one spiritual, the other temporal; and they have taken pains to distinguish these, and lay the one sort to the church, the other to the power of the state; and by this means to rid the marches betwixt these two powers. But they have involved themselves inextricably, as it could not be otherwise: instead of reconciling, they set the church and state to dispute every cause to which of their powers it does belong; and neither side can want good arguments, because indeed every cause belongs to both. This comes from denominating and distinguishing of powers by the persons or causes about which they are conversant, and not from the different nature of the powers. If the assertor understood all this before, (it is so very plain,) and only bantered upon this point, I ask his pardon for not understanding him; and I have taken needless pains, as to him; but it may serve others, who know not so much.

By the way, I desire the reader to look into the Case, p. 326 above, the words just going before what is here quoted by the assertor, and see whether this be not plainly expressed there; “That the civil
 “ power may be exercised over ecclesiastical persons,
 “ and in ecclesiastical causes too, to punish with
 “ temporal pains as well blasphemers, idolaters, and
 “ heretics, as thieves, robbers, &c. as well the trans-
 “ gressors against the first as second table. Thus the

“godly kings in holy scripture did; thus they were “empowered by God,” &c. How then could the assertor so far mistake the meaning of the Case, as to urge the Jewish kings’ abolishing “idolatry” and “setting up the worship of the true God,” as an argument against it, or to think that the author must have recourse for this to extraordinary commissions given to those kings? as he does, p. 3. and p. 91.

What has been said will answer the question with which the assertor concludes, p. 92, as the summing up of the whole cause. Thus he presses the author of the Case; “He therefore would do “well to give us an account of such acts as ordinarily lie within the prince’s power.” And the answer shall be as short and full: All manner of acts whatsoever, spiritual or temporal; but so far only as the exercise of civil power reaches, in any of these acts: if he exercise this power unjustly, he must answer it to God: but that is another case: we are now only upon the inquiry, how far his power extends? And I think I have given it extent enough, without any sort of exception: I put the limitation only as to the nature of his power, the same as the 37th article has put it, that is, to extend only to a civil power, though over ecclesiastical persons, and in ecclesiastical causes. And now have I spoke plain enough? Reader, forgive me for repeating this so often, over and over, as if I called either your memory or judgment in question. It is much more often repeated in the Case, upon every occasion that it could come in, till the author was afraid of offending the reader: but he was resolved this point should not be forgot, because the whole did indeed depend upon it; the whole of that invidious objection of

seeking to pull down the prerogative, whether of kings or states, and to set the church above them, even in temporals, as the church of Rome has done : and therefore the principle of the independence of the church upon the state in spirituals ought to be well guarded, lest some that desire occasion might take occasion to represent this to be only *in ordine ad temporalia* ; and that the bottom of it was popery ! But it seems all the pains that has been taken—and repeating it over an hundred times will not do—is not sufficient to open the eyes of those who will not see. To all others it is done to an excess, for which I am obliged to ask pardon. They will give it me, upon account of the necessity lies upon me from these different sorts of men : I hope it is done sufficiently now : shall I be obliged to repeat it any more ? I mean, after I have done with this answer ; for that must be the reply to every thesis in it ; and if the reader will have patience, I will shew it to him.

III. This must be the reply to thesis iv. “ That kings have supreme authority in matters of religion.” It is granted in all matters of religion, as well the essentials as circumstantial, in the difference betwixt which the assertor spends several pages ; lest advantages might be taken, and he be misunderstood to extend the regale even to the essentials of religion, which he carefully denies ; but he needed not have done it for fear of me, for I go further in his way than he would have me. I freely grant, that the regale extends to every thing without exception ; even to all the very essentials of religion, to the very being of a God ; that is, it is in the power of any state, king and parliament, of every

supreme civil power, whether they will draw the civil sword (which only is committed to them) against even those who shall acknowledge a God. I speak not of the sin of this, and their answering it to God; that, you know, is not the point we are now upon; but of the extent of the civil power, or of the power of the sword: and would any have me carry it further? Yes, even those who are angry with me for carrying it so far! It is further than all this to give them any ecclesiastical power, or let them into the hierarchy, which is a government ordained by God for the conduct of men's souls, to whom he has committed the keys of heaven and hell, to remit and retain sin; whose censures (when justly inflicted) he has promised to ratify in heaven, and by their ministrations to convey his Holy Spirit. In their hands he has left the administration of the means of grace, whereby we are entitled to the future glory: these! these! are far greater things than the utmost extent of the civil sword; which, when it has killed the body, has no more that it can do. And so far power was given to it from above, over Christ himself: who then, or what, is excepted from it?

Nothing can limit any power but a power that is superior to it in the same kind: therefore whatever can limit any civil power has a superior civil power; and so of the ecclesiastical.

By *limiting* here is not meant encroaching upon one another; as one king or state may conquer or oppress another; and the church may encroach upon the state in its civil capacity; and so again may the state upon the church in her spiritual.

But by *limiting* here is meant a regular and just power to restrain, to command, and to enact.

And as to the distinction of essentials and circumstantialia, it is altogether vain in this case: for it is essential to every government and society to have the ordering of their own circumstantialia; without which they cannot meet or do any act of government.

The assertor tells, p. 19, what he means by the circumstantialia of religion, viz. the determining of “the persons, times, places, and ceremonies appointed for religious worship.” Now no act of public worship can be performed but by some persons, at some time, in some place, and with some ceremonies: therefore whoever has the command of these has the whole public worship in his power, and all that belongs to it; as the sole and absolute nomination of bishops and other clergymen, the prescribing the measures of their duty, the nature of their doctrine, the way of their worship, and the manner of their discipline: you see how one thing follows another! this is what they call wire-drawing!

Put the case *e contra*, as the Case advises, p. 289 of this vol. and is the truest way to judge. Suppose the bishops should prescribe thus to the state, and desire for the security of the church to have the appointment of the circumstantialia of the state, but not to meddle with the essentials of the civil government: O no, by no means; only as to the persons, times, places, and ceremonies of the meeting of parliaments, councils, assizes, &c. I doubt the civil government would think this a little touching their essentials.

A little of this leaven will soon go through the whole lump: let in the state upon the circumstantialia of the church, or the church upon those of the state; they will soon draw the essentials with them.

Therefore, in order to their good agreement, it is necessary that they be kept wholly independent and unlimitable by one another in their several spheres. This is the argument carried on in the Case, to shew that the regale, which justly belongs to kings, is wholly a civil power, though it may be exercised upon ecclesiastical persons, and in ecclesiastical causes, and that this is equally the right of all kings and states, whether infidel or other, because it is of the nature of government itself; but that this is no ecclesiastical regale, or infers any sort of ecclesiastical power or authority, because that is wholly of another and a different kind, and therefore must be as independent of the other in its kind, as the other is of that in its kind.

2. How widely then has the assertor mistaken the Case, when he thinks that the original of the regale there given, p. 345, was this sort of regale, of the civil regale. No, that was as ancient as government in the world: but it was the ecclesiastical regale of secular princes which is there spoke of, and the original of it placed (not in Eli, as he afterwards mistakes this author, who spoke of that merely on a supposition which he did not aver, and therefore built not on it, as not here for the original of this regale, but in a later and plain instance) in Jeroboam's depriving the priests in his kingdom; which the assertor quotes, p. 11, 12, and waves, but promises to answer it afterwards, which we find, p. 67, where all he says, as to this of Jeroboam, is, "When we allow princes to rake dung-hills to fill episcopal sees, it will be time enough to consider of these instances, and not before." This is spoke with relation to his making priests

of the lowest of the people, of which the Case takes not the least notice, (though it might,) but mentions only his depriving the priests, and that upon a state point, for not joining with him against their former king, who was yet alive: and this is all the answer it has received.

3. Having thus easily despatched that instance of Jeroboam, the first of the regale in the Jewish, he comes next, p. 12, to that of Constantius, the first in the Christian church; where he gives a long quotation out of bishop Bilson, of Constantine's concerning himself in the disputed election of Cecilianus, bishop of Carthage, first referring it to the bishops to decide; but when the Donatists would not acquiesce in their decision once and again, the emperor at last interposed his civil power in justification of the sentence of the bishops. Now what advantage can be made of this? All this is regular and well, and exactly pursuant to the principles of the Case. O but the emperor then at last heard their cause himself; "and exactly weighing
 " what either party could say, gave sentence with
 " Cecilianus against Donatus; making withal a
 " sharp law to punish the Donatists, if they per-
 " sisted in their wilfulness, as dissentious schisma-
 " tics from the church of Christ; which rigour the
 " Christian emperors that followed did rather in-
 " crease than diminish." And they did very well, and as they ought to do, to support and defend the church against violent and turbulent schismatics. And where they thought it necessary to interpose their *brachium seculare*, why should they not, as in justice ought, to hear what both parties could say, to examine witnesses, and all other acts of judica-

ture? For they are the only and the absolute judges when to make use of their civil power, and how far, in all religious matters.

But what is all this to that which is urged in the Case, of Constantine's refusing the appeal of the Donatists from the bishops to him, as to a superior judge in ecclesiastical matters, and denying even to join himself with the bishops, as if he were a co-judge with them, or had any thing to do in it; but asserting their judgment to be, "as when the lord himself, residing, judgeth;" and much more to the same purpose, which is there quoted? Why to all this says the assertor, p. 15, "Certainly those men must be utterly blinded with prejudice, who, against so notorious matter of fact, can believe that Constantine absolutely refused to concern himself in this case upon no better grounds than a few warm expressions he made use of merely to divert an invidious business, and in which, being then but a young Christian, he distrusted his own skill." This is all the answer: to which I say, first, that Constantine did concern himself; but it was only as a civil, not an ecclesiastical judge. Secondly, that he himself must know best his own meaning, and he tells us that it was so, that he renounced all ecclesiastical judicature. Thirdly, that to put off what he says so emphatically, and with so great sense of Christianity, in a deriding jest of warm expressions, and his being but a young Christian, is a total yielding up of this instance which you contend about, and savours of a light spirit, and as one who is resolved not to be convinced. And, fourthly, to usher in such a guilty plea with all that assurance of—"Certainly those men must be utterly

“blinded with prejudice—” looks like hectoring instead of arguing. And another name I will forbear: but it shews where the prejudice lies, and who are blinded with it.

4. Not being able to deny that the Donatists were the first who appealed to the regale as to an ecclesiastical judge, he says, p. 16, that they too opposed it afterwards. Let him make his advantage of that.

But he says, “That by this opposition to the regale they distinguished themselves from the catholics as much as by any other of their tenets.” But this he was not at leisure to prove; till when we must let it rest.

5. He throws away what is quoted in the Case, above, p. 346, 347, of St. Athanasius and Hosius, as he did that of Constantine, with an impossibility to believe them: and when they speak in words most express against the regale, and argue against the thing, he would have us believe that they spoke for it; that is, that they spoke only against the mal-administration of it; which supposes the thing, and does establish it. Let the reader look upon their words in the Case, and there needs no more to be said.

He says, p. 17, that “of all men living Athanasius could not do what he did do;” that is, upbraid Constantius for acting without a precedent, in “making himself a prince of bishops, and to preside in ecclesiastical judicatures;” which St. Athanasius likewise calls making of him antichrist, that is, setting himself up in the place of Christ. Did St. Athanasius say so? Yes. The assertor does not deny it, but says, that “of all men living he could not do it.” I suppose he means, ought not to have done it. But

why so? Because “ he himself appealed to the emperor Constantine from the synod of Tyre, and “ caused them all to be convened before him; and “ afterwards resumed his episcopal chair by virtue “ of an imperial rescript, though he had been deprived by a synod.” Here I must repeat some words of this assertor, with which he begins his answer to what was objected from Constantine, and this of St. Athanasius, p. 12; “ It is a pity the story “ was not told quite out, that we might have understood the whole proceeding from the beginning to “ the end; for then we might have formed a better “ judgment of it. But thus to take and tell things “ by halves is a certain way to be deceived one’s self, “ and to deceive others.” We cannot therefore suppose but that the assertor knew very well the incessant malice and persecutions with which the Arians, Meletians, and Eusebians pursued this great champion of the Christian faith, the holy Athanasius, even to take away his life; for nothing but his death they thought could secure them or their cause: therefore having got a packed synod of their own party at Tyre, and the emperor’s authority to force Athanasius thither, they allowed him not to sit as a bishop in the council, but put him as a criminal to the bar, and preferred monstrous accusations against him, as of rape and murder, whereof the emperor had taken cognizance. The civil officers of the emperor took part with the Eusebians against Athanasius; and though he had fully and evidently acquitted himself of these false accusations laid to his charge, yet he could have no justice; but on the contrary he was forced to fly out of Tyre to save his life from mob and assassination, and went to the

emperor, desiring to be heard before himself, or a lawful and fair synod; for he had not gone to that of Tyre, if not forced by the emperor's command: and lest these accusations might take place against him, he desired that his accusers at Tyre might be brought face to face with him before the emperor; whereupon he sent not for the whole synod, for all of them, as the assertor words it, but for those of them that had acted against Athanasius. And they did not all come, but Eusebius's chief prosecutor, and five more with him; who, going off from what Athanasius was accused of at the synod, which they could not prove, laid a fresh charge against him of treasonable practices against the emperor: and their cry, as of the high priest, &c. against his Master, prevailed so far, that he was banished to Triers; which had not been the sentence, if the emperor had fully believed them; but, as his son Constantine the younger tells in his letter to the church at Alexandria, it was done in kindness to Athanasius, and to secure his life against these his implacable enemies, who thirsted after it; for he lived there under the protection of this Constantine during his father's life, and in high esteem and veneration with him, as his said letter does at large express: and moreover, that his father was fully resolved to have recalled him from his banishment, but was prevented by death, which he makes the ground of his doing it afterwards. And his letter to Alexandria is no ways imposing or commanding, but a recommending of Athanasius in the kindest manner; and they received him most gladly; and a synod of near an hundred bishops at Alexandria did vindicate him against what had been done in the synod at Tyre,

as did most other bishops of the catholic church, to whom they sent circular letters to acquaint them with it, they being upon the place where the accusations were laid against him; and his opposers not being catholic bishops, but Meletian schismatics.

Now to sum up the evidence. Here is a bishop forced to a packed synod, accused there of civil crimes, particularly of murder, and overruled. He appeals to the king, who had before taken cognizance of this same fact, and examined into it. Afterwards, upon accusations of treason, he is banished, then recalled, and sent back to his church, from which he had been unjustly deposed by a synod packed up of schismatics, not imposed upon his church by the king, but barely recommended. His church receive him, and a synod of his own country vindicates him against that of a foreign nation, which had condemned him. I think there will need little pleading; the true stating of the case does it: the emperor went no further than the power of the civil sword; and St. Athanasius hurt no right of the church in appealing to him so far; though if one or the other, or both of them, had gone too far, what then? All men have failings. Does this determine the right or the wrong of the cause? Did this make it impossible for Constantine or St. Athanasius to say those words which they did say? And it is not denied but that they did say them, and that the quotations are true—only it is impossible!

6. I shall not be so long upon the quotation brought out of Hosius, which not only asserts against the regale, but argues against it; against the thing, and not the maladministration. I refer the reader to it. All the reason the assertor gives

why this could not be, is, because Hosius, he says, “sat as president in two several councils, called by “the emperor’s authority.” And what then? Who denies the emperor’s power to call a council? or that his subjects, as well clergy as the laity, are obliged to obey him in all lawful things?

But the question is, whether the church have not a right, nay a divine and inherent right, to meet in council, when they think it necessary, either without or against the king’s command; and run the hazard of his displeasure, or the penalties of the laws, if they judge the case so extreme as to require it; and this not only in the case of an heathen, but of a Christian king or state.

The affirmative is now the current doctrine of the church of England, as shewn in the preface.

7. He makes much (p. 18.) of St. David’s translating the archiepiscopal see from Caerleon to his own Menew, (now St. David’s,) and that he did it with the assistance and leave of the renowned king Arthur.

To be sure he had his leave if he had his assistance; and that might be requisite upon many accounts: and the concordate or good agreement that ought to be kept up betwixt the church and the state, should make all things be done by mutual consent where it can be had.

This is brought as an instance that the regale obtained before the times of popery; but it is not altogether so strong an instance as that produced against it in the Case, sect. XV, of another saint, St. Oudoceus’s excommunicating his own kings, and bringing them under penance. To which the assertor answers, thesis VI, and makes short work with it;

he calls it in ridicule, p. 69, “ a worthy precedent
“ to be recommended to the imitation of posterity;
“ which, (says he,) as princes have more wit, so I
“ hope bishops have more grace than to allow of.”
But we were not asking his opinion, we would have
some of his reasons. However, the business here
was matter of fact, not whether such things were
well or ill done, but what was done; whether the
regale did obtain in England before the times of
popery.

“ This author hath, I perceive, a peculiar happi-
“ ness in writing, beyond that of other men: if he
“ produce any precedents, they must needs be of
“ weight; but let others produce never so many,
“ they must be all so light as to be blown away with
“ a puff of breath.” *The Regal Supremacy*, p. 34.

8. He spends from p. 19 to p. 24. in distinguish-
ing betwixt the essentials and circumstantial of re-
ligion, excluding the regale from the first, and cir-
cumsccribing it to the last: of which before. But he
keeps not constant to his theme, for he asserts, p. 20,
the right of princes to judge in matters of faith:
that is sure in essentials. But he says, “ It is no
“ more than what every man doth, and what every
“ man must do.” Then indeed it is unreasonable to
deny it to princes! Every private man has a judg-
ment of discretion, to judge of all things as to him-
self, even of the being of a God, that is, whether he
will believe or profess it. But is that the judgment
here spoke of, here contended for, as a prerogative of
the regale? Was that the judgment mentioned in the
Case, p. 367 of this vol. put here upon the margin, to
shew that it is answered in this place? There an
authoritative power of judging, so as to oblige the

subjects, was the point in hand, and particular instances condescended upon, as to confirm or rescind the decisions of a synod, even in matters of faith; to “regulate the doctrines of faith, and that in the “most necessary points of it.” And has every man a power to judge in this manner? The former, that of private judgment or opinion, is all the judgment here attributed to kings. Is this then an answer to that part of the Case which it quotes? I will not say this mistake of the assertor was wilful, because I would rather the fault should be laid upon his haste or inadvertence than upon his integrity.

But to give a positive answer to what I suppose the assertor would be at, I will repeat it here again, that kings or states having the whole power of the civil sword committed unto them, they are the sole and absolute judges when and how to make use of it. They may set up and establish by their laws what religion they please, and root out or persecute the true religion, if they think it otherwise; and the church cannot defend herself nor her religion in such case by arms against a lawful civil authority.

But this is no obligation upon the conscience of the subjects; they are to follow and obey the church in persecution, and submit themselves to her authority in ecclesiastical matters, and the regimen of the church, and of religion; for which they must not rebel against the civil power, though their religion had been formerly established by law, and so made part of their property. Will the assertor go so far with me? If not, then he, and not I, oppose the regal supremacy in ecclesiastical affairs.

9. I come next to consider of his answer to the Case,

p. 372, above, which he puts upon the margin of his refutation of it, p. 24; and the assertor has varied the Case as much here as in the last instance: there, the king having a superior or ecclesiastical power in the church is given as a tentation to him to think her original not to be divine, when he finds her discipline at his disposal.

The assertor turns it, that his having "authority and charge to see that the true religion be established in his dominions" is no such tentation. No, far from it; but quite the contrary, as contrary as this is to the argument it pretends to answer.

10. All that is said to sect. VII. of the Case, concerning David's ordering the courses of the priests, &c. is in part of p. 26. of Reg. Suprem. which is, "that though David, Solomon, Hezekiah, &c. were inspired, and had particular instructions from God about those matters," yet, "how does it follow thence that they acted herein merely by virtue of their inspiration?" Because such instructions were given them merely for that purpose. What is the end of giving instructions to any body? is it not that they should be observed? Besides that, these instructions were of things which they could not know otherwise; they were arbitrary, and depended not upon any rules of morality or justice, as the utensils of the temple, their exact weight and measure, &c. and also concerning the courses of the priests, &c.

Again consider, this was only answering an objection. These texts of David's ordering the courses of the priests, and Hezekiah's setting the Levites in the house of the Lord, &c. were brought as proofs, and the chief proofs, of the regale; the Christian

princes having no other precedent for their regale but that of the Jewish kings. So that if these texts are but rendered uncertain, as to this purpose, the foundation of the regale is shaken; and as this assertor says, "how do we know that they acted upon "inspiration or these particular instructions which "they had given to them?" It may be retorted, How do we know they did not? That sure is impossible; therefore, by the assertor's own confession, the regale is disarmed of the force of these texts.

But besides what is before said, there are other reasons given in that sect. VII. of the Case, why these kings did act purely upon these instructions given to them, and not by virtue of their ordinary regal power. As, first, that other kings were blamed and severely punished by God for attempting the like, as Jeroboam, for depriving the priests in his kingdom, who would not own him as king: to which you have heard all the answer that has been made. Secondly, it is said, that if these examples be sufficient to establish the regale, then kings may take upon them to preach, to consecrate bishops and churches, and to dictate scriptures for us; they having examples for all these things. To this nothing is replied: so it is to be supposed these men think, whatever noise they make with examples, that there must be something else necessary to make a good foundation for the regale.

But the assertor adds, "That Gad and Nathan, "and other prophets, were inspired likewise and instructed immediately by God concerning the same "things, and yet we do not find that the doing of "them is any where attributed to them, but only

“ to the kings : a strong argument that they were
“ regal acts, and done by the kings in that capa-
“ city.”

The answer to this is very easy, that these commandments were given to kings by the prophets, as it is quoted in the Case from 2 Chron. xxix. 25 ; *For so was the commandment of the Lord by his prophets.* And it was the ordinary office of the prophets to be sent with commandments to the kings, as well as to others.

IV. In the fifth thesis he comes close to the point, and descends to the particulars, as the king's power in the nomination and deprivation of bishops.

1. He says, p. 30, “ that kings cannot otherwise
“ take care of religion.” *Answ.* They may do it by the exercise of the civil sword ; that is their province : and there is a great deal in it ; it is a mighty power ; we all feel the influence and effects of it. But could the assertor pass this over without thinking of the other side of the case—how the bishops, to whom Christ has committed the care of his flock, and from whom he will require an account of their souls ; how they shall effectually discharge this great trust, if they have not the choice of those whom they employ, especially of their fellow-bishops, the governors of the church ; if the discipline intrusted with them, for the necessary government of their body, must be wholly dependent upon another power, who may not be always their friends ? If these two powers were kept independent of each other, they might each exert their full power, and the one assist the other : but when they are made dependent upon one another, the one must get the ascendant over the other ; there must be contests

till the one is dead, that is, quite subdued under the other, so as to make no more opposition; as the church in Holland, and the state in Rome: and till it is come to that pass, the one must hinder and retard the other, and encroach upon one another; instead of joining and encouraging each other in the common good for which they were both ordained.

2. He says, that “in the primitive church the choice of bishops was by the whole body of the church, both clergy and laity.” But from the beginning it was not so, not in the first ages of the church: and afterwards the testimony and consent of the people is by many mistaken for their election. But there was a time when popular elections did too much prevail, and occasioned great tumults and bloodshed; and might give occasion for the emperors to take the elections into their own hands; they were better there than in the mob. But this matter is not taken to consideration in the Case, it is another subject; and I will not digress here.

3. The assertor works himself up to a passion, p. 31, 33, against p. 143 (it is wrong printed in Reg. Supremacy, p. 31, and called 123. of the Case, [in this vol. p. 390.] and gives the worst words to the author that he does in all his book; he says, “Whether out of his own ignorance, or, what is worse, presumption upon that of his reader, I know not.” What was the fault? He tells, p. 33, “With what face then can any man assert, that the emperor’s authority in the election of bishops began in Charles the Great?” To this I have two things to say in behalf of that author: first, that he did not say so: he did not say it began then; but that it prevailed from that time: there might have been

some instances of it before ; but from that time it came to be a general custom in the Latin world, as is there said, that is, the Roman empire. And it is not said that pope Adrian I. did first give way to this ; but that he “settled it by an ecclesiastical establishment ;” and that “it was the pope who first thoroughly settled the regale.” Now the asserter knows (at least if I know him) that there is a difference betwixt a *settlement* and a *thorough settlement*.

But the second thing I have to say for the author of the Case is, that it is very lucky these hard words fell upon him in this place ; for, as it happened, he was there only quoting of Grotius, who therefore is answerable for the ignorance or presumption here charged upon an innocent man : and so we pass on to the next, which is,

4. His answer to the several instances of princes who, out of conscience, have renounced their regale. To this he gives two queries, p. 34, 35: 1. How do we know it was out of conscience they did it? 2. If their conscience was rightly informed? For the last, it was not the business of bringing these instances to shew any thing of that : that depends upon the arguments and reasons brought for it in the Case : these instances are only for confirmation, to shew that princes themselves, who were chiefly concerned, who had all the baits of worldly ambition and temporal security (as it is thought by some) to persuade them on the side of the regale ; yet, out of conscience, as being a most wicked thing, did renounce it, and give it up. And for the first query, we know they did it out of conscience, because they said so, and called it *most wicked*, and thought that

the accepting it (even when offered, and by those who had, in their estimation, power to grant it, if any such power was upon earth, as of the pope to king Lewis VII. of France) would endanger their souls burning in hell-fire.

5. But leaving that of precedents, he comes now to the reason of the thing, p. 37, and says, "It is certain that the nomination and investiture of bishops was their [kings] right." And gives no other reason, only refers to Mason *de Minist. Angl.* lib. IV. c. 13; of which he gives this account, viz. that it belongs to kings upon a double account: 1. of their supremacy; 2. their right of patronage. For the first, he brings Solomon and Abiathar, as a standing rule for princes to act by: and from Isa. xlix. 23, of kings being *nursing fathers*, he, says the assertor, proves it to be the duty of princes to furnish the church with bishops and pastors: but how he proves it the assertor does not tell us. Then for the second, the king's right of patronage, he says, p. 38, it comes from their founding and endowing of bishoprics; from whence a right of presentation must accrue by the imperial laws and canons of the church. "And this," says he, "I think may be sufficient to prove the right of princes to the nomination of bishops." And this is all he says to it.

But he could not be ignorant that the Case of the Regale did not proceed upon the imperial laws or canons, especially those of later date, since the regale has obtained; and therefore that this was no answer at all to the arguments there brought of original right. And from hence suppose (though no ways granting it) that a king's founding a bishopric gave him the presentation to it; yet what shall we

say to all those bishoprics which were not founded by kings? not one in the world for the first three hundred years; and the greatest part of those continue to this day; nor were all since founded by kings: so that the regale by this will be somewhat curtailed.

6. He comes next to the deprivation of bishops, p. 39, and gives the same reason as before for the nomination of them—how shall the king otherwise take care of religion? To which the answer before given may serve. But he adds an objection, How otherwise had the reformation gone on in the time of the popish bishops? To which I say, first, that objections are no answers. And I might reply, How might the reformation have gone out again, fourteen years ago, by the same rule? But, secondly, will he allow me that there is any heresy in popery? If so, then by the fifteenth canon of the synod of Constantinople, (which Dr. Hody has omitted in his edition of the Baroccian manuscript, but is added at the end of the Vindication of the deprived Bishops,) not only the king, but every man in England, might have left those popish bishops, even before synodical condemnation; because they not only held such heresies, but did publicly preach and teach the same barefaced in the church: in which case the council says, “that whoever separate from them, even before synodical condemnation, are not guilty of schism, but have endeavoured to preserve the unity of the church from schisms and divisions, by condemning, not a bishop, but a false bishop, and a false teacher.”

If you say that a popish king may think the doctrines which we publicly preach and teach to be

heresy, I answer, 1. That the church of Rome does charge us with not holding so much as they do, as purgatory, invocation of saints, &c. But they hold all to be of faith that we do. So that they think us to be defective Christians. I know no sober Roman catholic in England will call us heretics for denying the pope's infallibility, or for not worshipping of God by images of him, or not praying to saints, though we charge them with idolatry for some of these things. Therefore there is a great difference betwixt the negatives with which they charge us, and the affirmative heresies we charge upon them. There is nothing in our Liturgy with which they cannot join; but there is a great deal in their mass in which we cannot join.

However, I answer, 2, That suppose a popish king do think us heretics, and make use of the civil sword against us; this is only the old case of persecution, of which St. John saith unto the churches, *Here is the faith and patience of the saints.* But this does not determine conscience; and of that only is our dispute. And though I think even upon the argument of convenience the balance lies against the regale, yet the only thing that can determine us in this point is the right, and where Christ has placed the nomination or deprivation of bishops, whether in the church or the state.

7. We come now to the great refuge of the regale, the case of Solomon and Abiathar; wherein the asserter has taken much pains, from p. 39 to p. 49, and all the way has missed the mark, one would think, studiously; for he insists upon passages that were not brought as any proofs, but only as digressions of curiosity which that subject afforded; as that of

Eli's usurping the high priesthood when he was chief governor, where suppositions are given on both sides; that of Abiathar being no more than the second high priest, which I think much more evident. But it is all one to our case, because Solomon had no more power to deprive the second than the first high priest, or any priest at all. There are several things in the assertor's descants upon these and other out-lying passages (he loves coasting) with which I could entertain the reader; but I cannot stay now: I will only press the point in hand.

It is said in the Case, beginning of sect. VIII, that the sentence of Solomon against Abiathar was purely a civil sentence, and for a civil crime. The sentence is there set down verbatim, and no man can find any thing else in it. But then it is said, as a consequence of this sentence, that Abiathar was thrust out from being priest, that is, from executing the priest's office at Jerusalem, which was a necessary consequent of his banishment; and the assertor does urge it no further, not to imply a degrading him from his office. Well, when he was gone, who should supply his place? for some place he had in the temple service, in the courses of the priests, 1 Chron. xxiv. 3, 6, no matter now whether first, second, or third. That was put upon Zadok, who, if not always superior to Abiathar, (as I still believe he was,) yet surely was the next to him, and so had right of course to supply his place during his absence. It is asked, therefore, whether Solomon could have put any other than Zadok in the room of Abiathar? could he make any whom he had pleased high priest? To this the assertor gives no answer.

Then again it is said, that Abiathar was not so much as deprived, because, 1 Kings iv. 4, he is, in Solomon's reign, and after the sentence of banishment passed upon him, still reckoned priest jointly with Zadok, in the same manner as always before, even in the reign of David; and to this nothing is answered; so that there appears no more in his mighty case but a civil sentence passed upon Abiathar; and during his necessary absence from the temple, his place or course supplied by Zadok, who had the right so to do. Other conjectures may be discoursed of, and other circumstances which are not told in the text: but this was the answer given, and to this the assertor has made no reply. One would have thought that this had been plain enough expressed: but when men are loth to understand, it is very hard to persuade them. Therefore let me trespass upon the more judicious readers, to make this yet plainer by a late and familiar example. After Dr. Sancroft was deprived, and Dr. Tillotson put into his place, would the Present State of England, giving an account of the great officers in church and state, in the reign of king William, name Dr. Sancroft as still archbishop of Canterbury? Therefore since Abiathar, after his being thrust out, and Zadok put in his room, was still reckoned priest, or high priest, in the reign of Solomon, as formerly in the reign of David, it must follow that he was not deprived; which further appears by what we have from the Jewish rabbies, that Abiathar had the revenues and possessions belonging to his priesthood still continued to him after his banishment and during his life, and was still owned high priest as before. This appears agreeable to the sentence passed

upon him, 1 Kings ii. 26, *Get thee to Anathoth unto thy own fields*; which we find, Josh. xxi. 18, was part of the possessions given to the sons of Aaron the priests, and to his still being reckoned high priest in the reign of Solomon, 1 Kings iv. 4; here is both his dignity and possessions continued to him. This will not answer our notion of deprivation!

The difference betwixt the way of argumentation used in the Case and by this assertor is, that the Case goes upon plain matter of fact, which is undeniable, and the surest method of coming at the truth, especially when the dispute is only about matter of fact, as in this case: but the whole stress of the assertor is in criticising upon an expression, and the wording of an historical relation, which may be capable of different meanings; and he would set up this to overthrow the plain matter of fact delivered in the history; whereas the matter of fact is the only sure way to determine the meaning of the expressions.

And it is so sure a way, that though the very word *deprived* had been in the text, that Solomon had *deprived* Abiathar, yet it must have been understood according to the current of the history, and no otherwise: it is said, Judges xvii. 12, that *Micah consecrated the Levite*; and, 1 Kings xiii. 33, that *Jeroboam made and consecrated the priests*. Here are texts not only for kings but every master of a family to consecrate priests, more positive than Solomon's depriving Abiathar, because it is not so expressly said, only that he *thrust him out*, which the assertor will have to mean *deprived*, and that in the ecclesiastical sense; whereas it is only an expression to shew the consequence of that sentence

passed upon Abiathar, and therefore can never be extended further than the sentence itself, and must be construed in a sense agreeable to the sentence: but that would not serve the assertor's purpose; therefore though nothing ecclesiastical, but purely civil, can be found in the sentence passed upon Abiathar, and that he was still reckoned high priest as much as before, yet, all this notwithstanding, it must not be so! Why? Because of the manner in which it was expressed, that he was *thrust out from being priest*. Yet the assertor allows that he was priest still, and was not degraded by this, though the word is, *from being priest*; but that it must infer he was deprived, that is, from the exercise of his office, and the word *being* must there mean not *being* a priest, but only *exercising*; but his banishment did *thrust him out from exercising* his office: so that even upon the nicety of the word, as expounded by the assertor, there is no necessity of supposing this to be so much as a deprivation; and if the word must stand literally, without any exposition, then it must infer a degradation, which the assertor will not allow. So that the assertor will not have the word taken literally and strictly, that Abiathar was *thrust out from being a priest*, as if he were no more a priest; and the exposition he gives of *being*, that it signifies in this place only *exercising*, is solved by the banishment of Abiathar, as well as by his deprivation; but with this difference, that if it was only banishment, he would be still reckoned high priest, as before, because banishment being only a civil punishment, it did not at all respect his ecclesiastical character; but if he was deprived from his ecclesiastical dignity, and his right to it vacated, then he

would no longer, especially after another being put in his place, be called by the name of such a dignity wherein he was superseded. Now the history tells us, that he was still reckoned high priest as much as before; therefore it must follow, that he was not deprived, only banished, instead of being put to death, as others were for the same crime, that is, treason: and why should not a civil crime be punished by a civil sentence rather than by an ecclesiastical? It is most natural: so that on all sides this passage is cleared up. And to return the smartness of the assertor upon this very instance, p. 46, which he thinks, at least boasts, he has made so clear; "it is he, and the some few on his side," (or if they are never so many,) who "have taken incredible pains" (by playing with words against the current of the history) "to find a knot in a bulrush." And there is no need to have recourse to inspiration or extraordinary commissions to solve what Solomon did to Abiathar; for as the assertor says truly, (ibid.) "What signified inspiration in this case? "The punishment of a traitor belongs to the regal office."

Though at the same time Solomon being inspired in so extraordinary a manner, it is much more probable that he had respect to that prophecy there mentioned, 1 Kings ii. 27, than the soldiers in casting lots for the garments of our blessed Saviour, which the assertor brings, p. 47, as a parallel case. But the difference of expression is remarkable; for in that of the soldiers it is said, *That it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet*; the prophecy was thus fulfilled, though the soldiers knew nothing of it: but in the case of Solomon it is not

said, *that it might be fulfilled*, but *that he might fulfill*, which argues something more of intention in Solomon than in the soldiers. But I insist not upon this, or the nicety of expressions; I rather choose to follow the clew of the history, and matter of fact, which is much more certain: therefore, whether Solomon did this by inspiration or not, is not material to the point in hand, since in the tract of the story he did no more than what was within the ordinary regal power; though the assertor can bring no argument so strong against it being done by inspiration, as there is for its being so done.

He dallies likewise with that expression, 1 Kings ii. 35, that *the king put Zadok in the room of Abiathar*, and makes it as much an act of the ordinary regal power, as his putting Benaiah in the room of Joab, who was general of the army, p. 45. And he insults too much upon this, before he had put off his armour. For,

(1.) Whether Abiathar was the first or second high priest, it was the right of Zadok to succeed him, supposing him deprived. And it was asked, whether Solomon could have put any other in his room? To which the assertor has not adventured to answer: whereas I suppose he will make no difficulty to say, that Solomon might have put whom he pleased in the room of Joab.

(2.) Suppose Abiathar not deprived, only hindered, by his banishment, from executing his part of the courses of the priests in the temple, (and he had the precedence of eight of the twenty-four courses, 1 Chron. xxiv. 4,) then the king's putting Zadok over these eight courses, (as he was over the other sixteen before,) during the absence of Abiathar,

as it was regular, and only executing the canons of the church, which is the right and duty of all Christian kings; so does it come naturally under the head of ordering the courses of the priests, which by an express and extraordinary commission was given by God to David and Solomon, and that in writing, 1 Chron. xxviii. 13, 19. But the assertor would have had this of Abiathar particularly named there, though none of the other priests, or their regulations in their courses, are named in that chapter: and besides this was in the reign of David, before Abiathar had committed that treason for which he was afterwards banished by Solomon; yet the assertor is very angry it was not named before it came to pass, and makes this omission a nullity of the whole cause. For "how then comes it to pass," says he, p. 47, "that in the account we have of these courses, 1 Chron. xxiv, where, as the author of the Case himself observes, every thing is most particularly set down, we find not so much as one word concerning this part? The omission of this part, this principal part, had it been really such, was very gross: but no more need be said of this; the silence of the scripture in this case is a sufficient refutation of so groundless a surmise." Here let me observe the dexterity of this assertor; that most minute and particular description of the temple and its utensils, and *also for the courses of the priests*, which is set down in the Case, is from 1 Chron. xxviii. But the assertor here turns the reader for it to chap. xxiv, as if the Case had placed it there; and the reader not finding it there, there is a full confutation of the Case!

But in the next place, those divisions of the courses

mentioned 1 Chron. xxiv, were distributed by David, as it is expressly said, ver. 3, which was before this case of Abiathar happened.

And is all this to be said in the case of Solomon's putting Benaiah in the room of Joab? Is there no more in one case than in the other? in the case of distributing the courses of the priests, than of marshalling the army? Were particular instructions given to David or Solomon in the one case as in the other?

(3.) What prophecy was fulfilled in the case of Benaiah? or did Solomon do it for any such end? Though, as I said, I insist not on this.

But here, though the cause be determined, yet I must take notice of the assertor, in p. 44, giving up his chief strength, whereupon he lays most stress, though, as I said, it concerns not the cause at all, that is, that Abiathar, and not Zadok, was the supreme high priest, till Zadok was anointed with Solomon, 1 Chron. xxix. 22; and that from that time (which was before the death of David) he became the supreme high priest: for by this Zadok, and not Abiathar, was the supreme high priest before the deprivation (as he would have it) of Abiathar: which is all in which this cause is concerned.

But how does he prove that Zadok was not high priest before? He supposes it in the same place, p. 44, because Zadok was then anointed, that is, with Solomon, when he was anointed to be king; and thence he only supposes that Zadok was not high priest before. But in the same verse which he there quotes, 1 Chron. xxix. 22, it is said, that they made Solomon king the second time, which the assertor, repeating the verse, leaves out. There was

a reason; for why may not a priest be made, that is, recognised the second or third time, as well as a king? Saul was twice made king, 1 Sam. x. 1. xi. 15; and hands were laid upon Barnabas and Saul after their being apostles, upon that particular occasion for which they were sent at that time, Acts xiii. 3.

In the next place, he should have proved that anointing was necessary for every high priest: it is not to a king; for he is king, and may be a long time, even all his life, without being crowned; and he may be crowned several times, if there be occasion. Zadok was called *priest*, and always put before Abiathar, wherever they are named together, long before this anointing; and he being chosen, and not Abiathar, to be anointed with Solomon in the time of David, shews that he was then reckoned the chief of the two: therefore his being put afterwards in the room of Abiathar, was only to supply those courses which belonged to Abiathar, and not any new advancement of him above Abiathar: for, as the assertor will have it, he was above Abiathar, and was the supreme high priest before that, that is, ever since his being anointed with Solomon.

But the assertor asks, p. 45, "Whoever called the banishment of a priest a thrusting him from the priesthood?" Was not the banishment of David, when he fled out of the land for Absalom, a thrusting him from the throne? Was not the banishment of king Charles II. (to name no more) of the same kind? And it might have been called, and was called, a depriving them of their kingdoms; yet they did not understand it to be such a deprivation as destroyed their right. When St. Athanasius was

banished by Constantine to Triers, might he not be said to be deprived of his church at Alexandria? Yet it is not so much as pretended that the sentence of Constantine was an ecclesiastical, or any other than a civil punishment.

This it is to trifle with words, and oppose such children's play to solid history and matter of fact.

I think we need not pursue the assertor any further upon this point. I shall only desire the reader to look back to p. 322, and see the reasons there against making this example of Solomon a precedent, if taken in the sense of these assertors of the regale.

Let me mind them but of one text now come in my way. It is said of Solomon, 1 Kings ix. 25, *And he burnt incense upon the altar that was before the Lord. So he finished the house.* Yet for attempting the same thing king Uzziah was stricken with leprosy to the day of his death. It seems the example of Solomon was no safe precedent for him! though the assertor recommends it to all Christian kings, and says, "it is safe arguing from this precedent." Which is for more notoriety put thus in his contents. Perhaps Jeroboam too understood Solomon's thrusting out Abiathar as the assertor has done! and tried to imitate him, in depriving of his priests, who were guilty of the same crime, that is, treason against him: but the thanks he got for it is no great encouragement for any other king to follow him in the like; and Christian kings are obliged to the assertor for his love in persuading them to try the experiment over again! Moreover let them remember, (though it will provoke the priestcraft men,) that it was reckoned pride in the

king to assume to himself the office of a priest, 2 Chron. xxvi. 16.

But the Case concludes this sect. VIII. of Solomon and Abiathar, with an argument, No. 6, to which the assertor has thought fit to say—nothing!

And it is the most material of all, and sums up the whole, that is, that the Jewish kings could not “alter the Aaronical priesthood, and set up other “priests in their place.” That they could do it, the assertor durst not assert; and yet what he advances upon this case of Abiathar does infer that they could do it: for by the same right that a king can deprive one priest, he may another, and another, and so to the end, seeing, as the assertor owns, p. 50, they all hold “by one and the same tenure, and are subject “to the same power that one is.”

How he comes off of this is the next thing I present you with.

8. We are now arrived at something material, that is, the answer given to what is laid down in the beginning of the Case, p. 279, as a foundation for what follows, and which is applied, p. 340, that the power of deprivation being lodged in the state, they may deprive all the bishops in the kingdom, and even vacate the apostolic commission in the hands of the bishops their successors. To this says the assertor, p. 49, 50, that the king may deprive some but not all in the kingdom, unless he put others in their room: “and,” says he, “should a “prince be so profane as to abolish by an act the “whole college of bishops, nobody would be obliged “to take any notice of it.” It was said in the same paragraph which he quotes of the Case, p. 280, that episcopacy was vacated in Scotland: and again, in

p. 340, which he likewise quotes in this same place. I will not presume to guess whom he means by *profane*, only to let him see into what inconvenience his hypothesis runs him unawares. It will not be stinted: prerogative must have all or none.

9. Against that position, That no authority less than that which gives any commission can stop the execution of it, he says, p. 51, that “an archbishop alone may suspend a bishop, whereas he cannot “consecrate” (he should have said *deprive*, to make it come up to the case) “without the assistance of “two more at least.” *Ans.* The power of an archbishop to suspend, and the limitation not to consecrate or deprive alone, is all from the canons, which is the authority of the episcopal college; and this the archbishop does but execute.

10. He falls into a merry vein, and laughs it out for several pages together, from p. 51 to p. 59, at an advantage he thinks he has got, for the relation betwixt a bishop and his flock being called a *marriage*. Then he applies it literally to marriage; and, being cunning, has found out several things wherein they do not exactly agree, and that the simile does not go upon all four. He makes every translation of a bishop from one see to another an adultery; and then, if there be several translations, “the bishop,” says he, “must be an intolerable fornicator.” This was witty, or profane! But in good earnest did this assertor never hear before of a marriage betwixt a bishop and his flock? Did he think this a new invention of the author of the Case, that he has paid him so unmercifully for it? Did he never hear of a ring, as well as a pastoral staff, used in the investiture of bishops; and that the ring was

used as an emblem of the marriage betwixt the bishop and his flock? Did he no where read, or has heard, that among the primitive fathers, particularly in St. Cyprian's time, an anti-bishop, who usurped upon the rightful bishop, was called *an adulterer*?

But he objects that the marriage is betwixt Christ and the church: that had been materially observed, if it had not been expressly so declared, in the Case, in the very place he quotes; where the bishop is only called *an ambassador of Christ*, who marries the church to Christ by proxy, and in his name. And then our bishop representing immediately the person of Christ to us, and standing in his stead, according to the language of St. Ignatius, and other the most primitive fathers, is very good ground to call this a marriage, though but in the secondary sense, betwixt a bishop and his flock, and the invader of the bishop's right an adulterer. And thus the style of the primitive fathers, more than of the author of the Case, is justified.

But then why is not the translation of a bishop from one see to another an adultery, as well as an anti-bishop thrusting out the lawful bishop?

Because here are two husbands, or bishops, and one must be an adulterer; which in the other case is not.

But can a bishop, once married to a flock, leave that, and be succeeded by another bishop in his lifetime? Yes, as an ambassador who beds a queen may be succeeded by another, and another, sent from the same prince, who may likewise perform the same ceremony, if there be occasion for it; and the same ambassador may marry several queens in the name

of several princes : but an anti-ambassador, who sets up in opposition to him, and pretends to be delegated from the same prince, and would rival him in his office, is sure a different case.

He objects again, p. 56, that our union with Christ is immediate ; he does not mean as to his person. And are the influences of his Holy Spirit less immediate, that they are conveyed to us by outward administrations, as of prayers, sacraments, preaching, &c. and by proper hands whom he has separated for that office ? If there be any thing in this objection, it will throw down all priesthood, sacraments, and other means of grace, as well as bishops : and to keep nearer to the comparison, is a man's marriage with his wife the less immediate, that it is solemnized by a priest ?

But it is a strange objection, and which I confess I never dreamed of, that he makes, p. 55, and so runs on with it till he meets with what I named last, and afterwards to p. 58 : as if all must be damned without retrieve who die in the vacancy of a bishopric ; because then they have no marriage with Christ, for want of marriage to a bishop. This is perfect teasing and schooling the author, to see if he had learned his catechism. However, I will be in earnest with him, and desire him to consider of the difference betwixt living or dying in the vacancy of a bishopric, (since he will have it so,) and in open opposition to and separation from the whole order of episcopacy which Christ has established in the earth : or, secondly, to subject that whole order to the arbitrary will and pleasure of secular powers, by admitting it in one case, which includes all the rest : and, thirdly, in affiance of such secular power, to join with an anti-

bishop against the rightful bishop; whether this be the same case as that of a vacancy?

More especially in this assertor and others who are for episcopacy, and press it as far as the author of the Case, even when they oppose him. For example, in this very place, p. 56, he says, "It is a very false and dangerous position, that who keep outward communion with the bishop do thereby partake of the inward communion with Christ. Indeed," says he, "the reverse of this position is true, viz. that whosoever will partake of an inward communion with Christ must keep outward communion with their bishop; for schism is as damning a sin as murder or adultery, and if obstinately persisted in to the last, destroys all hope of salvation." In the first place, I desire the assertor to consider here over again his objections of our immediate communion with Christ, and the vacancy of a bishopric, and see if he can get loose any way that will not likewise release the author of the Case. But in the next place, I appeal to the reader, if he can find out the reverse to that position which is here called *false* and *dangerous*, in that other position which is set up for the *truth*; and whether they do not both seem to be the very same, only that which is called the *reverse* is worded more positively and strongly. The difference the assertor would make is, as if by the first position it were meant that keeping outward communion with the bishop were of itself alone sufficient to give the inward communion with Christ, though to atheists and infidels; (as he words it;) but that he makes indeed, by the reverse position, keeping outward communion with the bishop, a *causa sine qua non*, with-

out which there is no hope of salvation, while obstinately persisted in. Now can he, can any man upon the earth imagine, that when it was said, “ He that “ keeps outward communion with his bishop does “ partake of the inward communion with Christ,” it was meant, though he did it hypocritically, even though an atheist or infidel? Did St. Ignatius mean so, who says in his Epistle to St. Polycarp, Ἀντίψυχον ἐγὼ—“ My soul for theirs who are in obedience “ to their bishop—Let my lot be with them?” If a man says that grace is conferred by the sacraments, prayer, or other means appointed of God, must he in every such expression add all the preparation requisite, or else must the position be false and dangerous? or is it rather to be supposed, will not every body suppose, that it be done sincerely and with a good heart? I will say no more upon this point, because I believe the assessor will insist no more upon it.

But in p. 58 there is something has more the face of an answer, that is, to the objection of putting it in the power of the regale either to give us no more bishops, or very bad ones. He says the dean and chapter ought not to choose an unworthy man, though commanded by the *congé d'élire*, nor the bishops to consecrate him, “ though their refusal “ cost them, not only their estates and liberties, but “ even their lives too.” That is very true: but first, what if no *congé d'élire* be sent, and the king designs (but does not tell you so) to let your bishops drop off one after another, and to give you no more? will you stay to the very last bishop, or trust your own jealousies and surmises, and provide for yourselves in time? which yet you cannot do, without

incurring a *præmunire*. Would not men, in such a case, be apt to put the evil day far off, and keep out of a prison as long as they could? They would say, It may do well enough yet; there are so many bishops left: and when they were come to a few, then it is too late; what can these few do?

And secondly, as to keeping out unworthy men. A man may be very much unqualified for a bishop or a curate, and yet we may not be able to assign such immoralities or insufficiencies as would stand the trial of a jury, which it must come to in this case; for it is now a point of law. And a man would be much more apt to say in this than in the former case, Come, come, we must not break with the state for such a matter, and, may be, have the whole church ruined, and presbytery or something else set up, as in Scotland: it is true, I wish a better man were presented; but he may do well enough, and there are other good men to balance him; he may become better in good company; we must let him pass. Whether there be any grounds for such suppositions as these, let matter of fact determine. Can there one instance be given of a *congé d'élire* refused since the reformation? and we have complained of bad bishops since that time. If a bribe blinds the eyes of the wise, and he is not to be a judge, no nor an evidence, or upon a jury, if he either gain or lose by the cause; is not a man's whole estate, his liberty, and his life, and all his hopes of future preferment, too great a bias to corrupt his judgment? and must the well-being of the church depend only upon men who can be unconcerned for all these?

Besides, in Ireland there are no *congés d'élires*;

the king makes bishops there only by his letters : and the *congé d'élire* is taken away here by act of parliament, 1 Edw. VI. c. 2, which was repealed, 1 Mar. c. 2 ; but that of Mar. was repealed 1 Jac. c. 25. n. 48. Whether that does not revive the statute of Edw. VI. is, I suppose, in the breast of the judges, when the king has a mind to it ; and how the *congé d'élire* came to be dropped in Ireland may be inquired. But I think they are as secure there as we are here ; for there are as many instances of the king's letters refused there, as his *congé d'élires* in England. Whatever it should be, it is evident, that *de facto* all depends absolutely upon the regale. If you will say, it is best it should be so, that is another point ; then stand to it, and justify it ; but pretend not, when pinched hard with the consequences, to come off of it, and set up such poor reserves against it.

11. The next that follows in the Reg. Suprem. is a long dispute about the meaning of the word *priest*, which begins p. 59, and lasts to p. 65. This does, though not immediately, concern our subject of the regale ; therefore I must say something to it. He says, p. 59, that there are priests and a priesthood in the church of England, “ in all senses of “ the words ; ” but says afterwards in the same page, “ not in the proper sense of the word.” How ! in *all senses*, and not in the *proper sense* ! This seems hard to understand. One would think the proper sense of any word had been the chief, if not the only sense : words may be taken metaphorically, and applied to several things, as *fire* may signify *anger* and *love*, and many other things ; but the proper sense is still fire.

But what is his reason why not in the proper sense? He tells, p. 61; he makes the *ratio formalis* of the priesthood to consist in offering both gifts and sacrifices for sins: and for fear of the sacrifice of the mass, he, as others, will allow no proper sacrifice under the gospel ministration, and consequently no proper priesthood. And I think Dr. Outram's observation (upon which he chiefly insists) is not just, that the "Aaronical priesthood was ordained chiefly (which he has left out in the translation, but I take no advantage) for God, in things pertaining to men; but the evangelical for men, in things pertaining to God." For was not Christ's sacrifice for sins, and the sacrament of his body and blood for the remission of sins, (as he expressed it in the words of the institution,) as much at least, "in things pertaining to men," as the sacrifices under the law? I know not the meaning of Dr. Outram's distinction; for in all transactions betwixt two parties, both parties are concerned: and I take the proper notion of a priest to be a person authorized by God to transact with men in his name, to seal the covenants betwixt them, and to administer them on both sides; to present the prayers and offerings of the people to God; and on God's part to bless them, absolve them from their sins, and seal it to them, in giving them to partake of his holy table, thereby admitting them as guests to the marriage-feast, which is the proper office of these stewards of God's household, whom he has commissioned for that very purpose. The methods and manner of this may alter, but the office is still the same; as St. Irenæus says, (*advers. Hæres.* l. IV. c. 34.) *Sacrificia in populo*, (i. e. of the Jews,) *sacrificia et in*

ecclesia, sed species immutata est tantum: that is, “There were sacrifices in the temple, there are also “sacrifices in the church, only the kind of them is “altered.” Though an office may be expressed by any part of that office, yet that is not a proper definition of the office: the definition must be a general, which includes all the particulars, as that I have before given of the priesthood. A receiver of tithe is made synonymous to the word *priest*, Heb. vii. 8, 23, because it was part of the priest’s office: so the offering of sacrifice is a part, and but a part, of the same office, but no proper definition of the office, more than that of a receiver of tithe, which now would make the king and all our impropiators to be priests.

There may be many things in a letter of attorney, or a commission, and these may be altered or changed: but it is the general words of the commission that constitute any man my attorney or representative, so as to oblige me by what he does in my name. A priest is God’s attorney or representative to mankind; and the methods of his entering them into covenant with God have been varied, yet the office and his commission still the same. Under the law, eating of the sacrifice was entering into or renewing of their federal covenant with God; as it is said, Psalm 1. 5, *Those that have made a covenant with me by sacrifice*. And thus it was understood among the heathen: therefore it is said, 1 Cor. x. 21, *Ye cannot drink the cup of the Lord, and the cup of devils: ye cannot be partakers of the Lord’s table, and of the table of devils*. And the reason is given, ver. 20, *That the things which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to devils, and not to*

God: and I would not that ye should have fellowship with devils. That is, eating part of what was sacrificed to them was having fellowship, entering into covenant with them. Thus argues the apostle against the Jews, Heb. xiii. 10: *We have an altar, whereof they have no right to eat who serve the tabernacle.* To eat of the altar, is, of those things which were offered upon the altar, that is, our Christian sacrifice of the holy eucharist. We offer the elements before consecration, upon the holy table; so it is directed in the rubric immediately before the prayer for the whole state of Christ's church; then they are to be placed upon the table; after which done, the priest shall say, "Lord, accept these "our alms and oblations." *Alms* refer to the money given at the offertory; and *oblations*, I take it, to the elements then offered; and for the margin, "when there is no alms or oblations," that is, neither offertory nor sacrament. But, however, the very placing them upon God's holy table in a solemn act of worship, upon his altar, is a solemn dedication of them to him; and then eating of them from thence is a partaking of his table, and eating of his altar: and *altar* and *priest* are relative terms. It is said, Psalm xcvi. 8, *Bring offerings, and come into his courts.* These were offered by the hands of his priests; and it was the proper office of the priesthood. These offerings were sacrifices; there were other sacrifices besides the bloody ones: the prayers and praises of the people, which were offered by the priests, were truly and properly a sacrifice; the incense was but a type of them, and ascended with them, Rev. viii. 3, 4. And for invading this part of the priest's office, the great and other-

wise good king Uzziah was smitten, 2 Chron. xxvi. 16.

For the bloody sacrifices were not the only, no, nor otherwise an essential part of the priest's office, than as they were made an essential part of the Jewish worship: yet not so essential as the sacrifices before mentioned of prayers and praises; for these were obligatory upon all, at all times; whereas the others were confined to Jerusalem, because the great and true sacrifice was to be offered there: but there were priests properly so called in all the rest of Israel, and who truly executed the priest's office to the people. It may please God to alter the institutions by which he will be worshipped; but this alters not the nature of the priesthood whom he ordains to administer them: it is like an ambassador receiving new instructions; it makes no alteration in his commission. A general commission to act on the part of God implies all the particulars that shall be given in command. See the commission first given to the Levites, Deut. x. 8; *At that time the Lord separated the tribe of Levi, to bear the ark of the covenant of the Lord, to stand before the Lord to minister unto him, and to bless in his name, unto this day.* Here is nothing of bloody sacrifice, yet the whole office is here included: the bearing of the ark ceased, yet the priesthood did not alter, though that be the first thing here named in the office; but the last is the whole thing, *to minister to the Lord, and to bless in his name.* This is the whole and proper office of the priesthood. In what manner and by what means this ministration is performed, alters nothing of the office. And our blessed Saviour's commission, which he gave to his apostles,

As my Father sent me, I send you; and, *Whose sins ye remit, &c.* is surely as emphatical as that given to the Levites: yet the fright, as I said, of the sacrifice of the mass would make some deny priesthood in the proper sense to the church of England. Why? The church of Rome herself calls that *an unbloody sacrifice*. Such then are our oblations, both of the money we offer, and the elements before consecration; and after, we may be said to offer the body and blood of Christ, while through the merits of his passion we intercede for mercy, and offer them to interpose betwixt the justice of God and our sins.

It is in this manner that Christ does now offer them in heaven, and is for ever a Priest, though he is not to be sacrificed again.

Thus his priests do execute the same office and priesthood upon earth which he does in heaven; and this makes them to be priests in the most strict and proper sense, even beyond the offering of the typical sacrifices before his coming in the flesh.

Besides, our priests in the church of England do offer another sacrifice, pursuant to Rom. xii. 1, which the church of Rome has forgot, and is not to be found in all her canon of the mass, but in our office of communion. The priest at the altar does in our names “offer and present unto God ourselves, our souls and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy, and lively sacrifice unto him.” These are unbloody sacrifices; and the church of Rome pretends to no other: why then should we deny our priests to be such, in the proper sense, because we have no sacrifice to offer? I have been the longer upon this, because it is a mistake runs among too many; and this assertor, p. 60,

squints an insinuation of popery at those who think there is a proper priesthood in the church of England. "And, for my own part," says he, "I cannot conceive to what purpose a proper priesthood is thus drawn in by head and ears, unless it be to make way for a proper sacrifice too: and if that be his reason, it is easy to guess what men would be at." If what is said be of any weight, then it appears to what purpose it is more largely insisted upon in the Case.

12. Here follows a bitter exclamation, p. 65, for saying, that if the commission of the church be divine, it sets it above the power of kings, as well as of the people: upon which, says he, "Where, I wonder, had this man his education? Certainly no son of the church of England ever vilified princes at this rate: have not princes a divine character as well as priests? Are they not as much the Lord's anointed as priests? Are they not as much the ministers of God as priests? And are the same things to be said of the beasts of the people?"

Soft and fair, good sir! when your passion is abated I will speak to you. Kings have a divine commission, and are the ministers of God; which you are apt to forget sometimes, and set the "beasts of the people" above them, to judge of their government, and even depose them: therefore think again of the great things said of kings, that they have a divine commission, are the Lord's anointed, his ministers, &c. "And are the same things said of the beasts of the people?" But, sir, they are of priests, and greater things than these, as you may see in the Case, p. 426, &c. of which you have taken no notice. And yet there is no interfering: the priests

have nothing to do with the king's divine commission of the civil sword, but are subject to it even to death; but then their equally divine commission in spirituals is as independent upon the civil sword. Will that satisfy you? Is this plain enough?

But he goes on, p. 66, and separates the person from the office; says, that the priests may be deprived, but the office cannot be abolished. But what becomes of the office when the priests are gone? Where is the priesthood when there are no priests? Now to keep on the comparison betwixt kings and priests, I would have the assertor call to mind, that it is made treason to separate the king's person from his authority; which was the distinction of forty-one, (we have lived to see it revived,) by which they cut off the head of Charles Stuart without hurting of the king! To obviate this very pretence, it is told in the Case, p. 419, how great honour was commanded by God to be paid, not only to the priesthood, but to the persons of the priests: but this too has slipt the observation of the assertor. If we could see an office execute itself without any body to administer it, there might be room for this distinction; till when, as the assertor concludes this thesis, p. 67, "it will be time enough to consider of it, and not "before."

But as to the instances of Uzziah, Saul, and Jeroboam, he puts all easily off thus, that "when we "allow princes to administer sacraments, to commission laymen to do the office of priests, and to "rake dunghills to fill episcopal sees, it will be time "enough——" As to the first, there were other parts of the priest's office besides burning of incense, and which it had been as unlawful to invade; wit-

ness Jeroboam's depriving of the priests of the Lord. The second falls foul upon the act of toleration, which qualifies all, whether in orders or out of orders, to do the office of priests, that is, to preach and administer the sacraments. To the third I have spoke already what is needful.

V. We are come now to his VIth thesis, p. 68, that "kings have supreme authority in the external discipline of the church." For which every word of proof he brings are these following; viz. "For all forensic jurisdiction does depend upon the king: nor can any person be cited into, or proceeded against, in any ecclesiastical court, without his license and permission." This is giving the king a negative (with a witness) against the power of the keys; and the church cannot now deliver unto Satan without my lord chief justice's warrant! But this has been spoke to before, sect. III. n. 1. And the assertor here does barely assert, and offers not one word of proof more than I have repeated, for this most magnificently scandalous part of the regale; which submits even Christ to the king! for he cannot by this ratify the censures of his church in heaven without his majesty's license; because without that they cannot be inflicted upon earth! or if inflicted, the regale can give a prohibition, not only as to the temporal penalties annexed by law, but can order the excommunication itself to be taken off! which is the sentence given in the secular courts in such cases. And I have heard of an excommunication during the king's pleasure; which is committing the keys of heaven to him! But the assertor goes on, according to wont, to expose and triumph over the Case: he says, "We are told indeed that

“kings themselves have been excommunicated;” and quotes the Case, p. 356, where the instance is given of St. Oudoceus, which he does not deny, but rejects with scorn. They have put their whole cause upon precedents; yet when precedents are given on the contrary side, what care they for precedents! When Constantine speaks against them, he was but a young Christian, and meant not what he said! they were only some warm words! And it was impossible that St. Athanasius, or Hosius, or any other, should say what they did! They can (that is, they fain would) prove contrary practices in them: they could write a history of passive obedience against them. And those godly kings and princes who gave up their regale, and said it was a most wicked thing, and would send their souls to hell-fire, yet did not do it out of conscience! They had some fetch or other in it! they were afraid of the ecclesiastics perhaps! or it was through bigotry to the see of Rome! (as the assertor suggests, p. 36, 37.) though they refused the pope’s grant for it when freely offered and pressed upon them, and ventured his displeasure in rejecting and burning his bulls with indignation! as is told in the Case, from Bishop Burnet’s History of the Regale. And when, to get out of the objection of popery, this instance of St. Oudoceus is given here in England before popery set foot in it, then princes have now more wit, and bishops more grace! which is the answer here given to it, p. 69.

And yet in the same page (this book is full of wonders!) the principle is asserted, that “this power may and ought, upon just occasions, to be exercised even over the prince himself, as St. Ambrose

“ exercised it upon Theodosius the emperor.” The same instance is given in confirmation of the same principle, in the second Homily, of the Right Use of the Church, which (as hereafter quoted) says plainly that St. Ambrose did “ excommunicate the emperor, “ and brought him to open penance.”

Now why so angry at St. Oudoceus, and yet approve so much of St. Ambrose? Because St. Oudoceus is an instance here in England, and brings it nearer home!

The rest of this thesis is spent against giving the holy sacrament to unqualified persons, to fit them for places; wherein I have nothing to oppose.

VI. His VIIth thesis is, “ Kings have supreme “ power over synods, to call them when they see “ convenient, to preside over their debates, and to “ give their canons the force of laws.”

1. To which I have already said, that kings may call synods; and they may preside in them, for this end, to see that they assume not to themselves the civil power: and to give canons the force of civil laws is wholly in the state. But the question is, whether the clergy may not meet in council, when they see necessity for it, without the king’s leave, or even against his command, if the case so require? And to do the assessor justice, he grants it in many places, but in as many he denies it: he says here, p. 71, “ Were it in the power of the clergy to meet “ in synods when they please, and to make what “ laws they please, they might corrupt religion as “ they pleased, and there would be no remedy.” But he presently saw the consequence of this, that religion must be trusted in some hands or other, and that this would put it as absolutely in the power of

the state to corrupt religion as they pleased. And then the question would come naturally, in whose hands Christ left his religion, whether of the church or of the state? And he quotes the Case, p. 289, that this would dissolve the church, or make her subsist precariously, at the mere will and pleasure of the state. In answer to which, he throws at the author the 12th canon, 1603, where I take the word *ecclesiastical* in the law sense, for such ecclesiastical causes as have their foundation from the laws of the land, as the probate of wills, certificate of bastardy, legal divorce, &c.; or such causes, which, though in their own nature purely spiritual, yet have temporal penalties annexed to them, as excommunication, heresy, &c.; and therefore, so far as the law is concerned, must be cognizable by the law. In short, this canon must be construed in the same method as those called *Erastian acts of parliament*, in the Case, sect. IX. But if it cannot be saved from being Erastian, nor those acts of parliament, if the assertor thinks so, it lies upon him, or those that so think, to defend them: truth will not alter for them; and if they be wrong, they ought to be set right.

But this canon may be easily turned upon the assertor; for in the very next page, p. 73, he allows the church to meet in synod, without leave of the state, that is, in cases of necessity. Now ware canon! for who is judge of this necessity? If the Church, she may meet when she will; and if the State, she can never meet without their leave.

I would here, it being in my way, return the assertor's civility in the next page, p. 74, where he takes occasion to give an obliging character of the other works of him whom he supposes to be the

author of the Case, and even of that part of the Case which touches not the regale, but speaks of the pontificate; and (kindly to him) supposes that it must be the badness of the cause which made his performance come so far short in that of the regale.

But might not another consideration have come in his way? That since he liked every thing else of whom he supposed the author, there might be a reason why he found himself obliged to oppose him in this only! Did this cause touch no concern, no expectation? It did none of that author, unless to expose him to more displeasure: and that does not usually bias a man's judgment to his prejudice.

Others think this the best thing he has done: and the papists except only against that part of the pontificate, as the assertor does of the regale.

The Quakers except only against what concerns them: which the assertor approves of.

And other Dissenters say all had been well enough, if he had not meddled with them.

Thus you see every man to his mind.

I believe that author had no design to displease any body.

Yet would rather venture that, than be false to what he thought to be truth.

And he thinks himself obliged to any who have but a moderate opinion of his endeavours.

Therefore, in return for that author, I will own, that the assertor has just thoughts of the church, and of episcopacy; and that those turns and shifts which look so like contradictions, were the effects of his cause, which could afford no better: or, if he was put upon it, the excuse may be accordingly:

what is done against one's will has seldom the air of the parent: and if I guess right at the man, it is the slightest thing has come from him, except one.

2. He answers the instances given of the dismal effects of the regale by bishop Burnet, from whom the Case takes it, by laying it only upon the mal-administration of those princes; which answer may be given to the judgments that have followed all usurpations. But then, p. 76, he makes a comparison betwixt the effects of the regale in the hands of kings and of ecclesiastics; but instances only in the regale of the pope. And indeed there may be work for a comparison there: but to draw the conclusion from thence to ecclesiastics in the general, is at best not good logic. The primitive government of the church was in the hands of ecclesiastics before the regale either of popes or kings were in fashion; and we used to call those the purest ages of the church.

3. He repeats an objection already spoke to, of the state's oppressing too much, or suppressing the church; and then gives her leave to fly to her own power. I need not repeat what has been said to that; but I only take notice here of a long quotation he brings from king Charles I, and thinks his authority must not be questioned: whereas it is told in the very pages, p. 251, 252, of the Case, [here p. 447,], which he quotes, p. 80, that the principle of Erastianism did prevail too much at that time; and the king himself might be tainted with it in some measure; which yet is no argument against his sincerity, no, nor his martyrdom, for those rights of the church, in defence of which he laid his head upon the block. To this the assertor *nihil dicit*; but he falls foul

upon the Case for naming Erastian laws, when before that author had endeavoured to clear our laws from being Erastian. But have they not been so understood and practised, especially in that rebellion of forty-one, of which he then spoke? And if he could clear them, in their true sense and meaning, from that odious objection, I think there is none ought to be angry with him: at least they may be favourable to so good an intention, whatever the performance may prove.

4. We are now near an end. He begins, p. 82, with his answer to several councils that are quoted in the Case, p. 355. But what are they quoted for? It was to answer an objection, that the regale was all along the constant and uniform doctrine of the church: and provocations were given in most peremptory terms to shew but one instance to the contrary. But, in answer to the councils here produced, the assertor falls a battling the authority of this and the other: "For the seventh and eighth general councils," saith he, p. 87, "as they are called, they deserve no more notice than the council of Trent." But call them what you will, they are good evidence in this case. The point is a matter of fact, whether the regale was generally and universally, even without any exception, the doctrine of those ages? And what better evidence would you have than what those ages called *general councils*? We are not now saying whether the doctrine be good or bad, but whether there was such a doctrine: and the council of Trent itself is the best evidence in the world what was the doctrine of those that composed that council.

Well then, we come to some councils against

which the assertor has no objections. 1. Council. Constant. A. D. 380. c. 6; this was the second general council; there it says, "That if any have a complaint against a bishop, he must bring it before the synod of all the bishops of the province or diocese. And if any shall despise this decree, and presume to trouble either the emperor or the civil courts, or an œcumenical council with it, he shall, &c." And, says the assertor, p. 84, "That if the prince have no power to sit judge upon a bishop, neither has an œcumenical council." But, by his leave, the case is different: an œcumenical or general council is not always in being, sometimes not one in many ages; and if appeals thither were admitted from all ordinary synods of bishops, it would be perfectly an eluding of justice. But kings and civil courts never die; they are always forthcoming: therefore this could not be the reason of forbidding appeals to them: and for what other reason, let the assertor study against next time.

But there is an elder council than this there quoted, to the same purpose, which clears this subterfuge, the council of Antioch, A. D. 341, c. 12, which the assertor is not at the pains to give us, as he does the rest, for a certain reason; which he would not have you inquire, when he says of that of Constant. "This is the most pertinent of all his quotations;" and passes over that of Antioch, c. 12, only thus; "It is to the same effect with that of the council of Constant. above." It is so; but if he had set down the words, as he did that of Constant., it would have spoiled his criticism (by which he thinks to escape) about œcumenical councils: for they are not named in this canon of Antioch, which

says, “ If any presbyter or deacon being deposed by
 “ his own proper bishop, or a bishop by the synod,
 “ dare appeal to the king, seeing his appeal lies to
 “ a greater synod of more bishops, where he is to
 “ wait the examination of his cause, and to refer
 “ the decision to them : but if, making light of these,
 “ he go to the king with it, such an one deserves no
 “ pardon, nor ought to be admitted to make any
 “ sort of apology, or to have hopes of his being ever
 “ restored any more.” What was the reason of this
 great severity? What, not to be heard! not to be
 admitted to make any sort of apology! How could
 they tell what reason he might give for it? No;
 there could be no reason; it was making the civil
 power judge in an ecclesiastical cause, which they
 looked upon as a total giving up the charter of the
 church. They understood not to say to the sea of
 civil power, *Hitherto shalt thou come, and no fur-*
ther: to make king or parliament judge of the
 deprivation of presbyters or deacons, much more of
 bishops; to divest themselves of their own proper
 authority; and, when disarmed, to think to capitulate!

Now, instead of the assertor's saying, this was to
 the same effect with that of Constant., he should
 have said, that of Constant. was to the same effect
 with this, for this was elder: and perhaps some
 after this, being thus barred from appeals to the
 civil power, found out this method of eluding the
 justice that was ready to overtake them, by appeal-
 ing to an œcumenical council, which might not be
 till after they were dead; and therefore that the
 council of Constant. did add this of appealing to
 œcumenical councils, to that canon of Antioch; but

without the least umbrage of their altering any thing of the rest of the canon, which by repeating, they confirmed.

The assertor after this gives a short account of several canons of other councils quoted, which he thinks not pertinent to the cause in hand. They are about settling the times of the sitting of the synods, the methods of prosecution against bishops and other clergymen, in ecclesiastical causes, and other points of ecclesiastical discipline; which being by these canons wholly preserved in the hands of the church, I think, with his leave, are very pertinent to shew, that she had no recourse to the regale in managing the affairs of her own body, but acted therein wholly independent to the civil power.

But he comes, p. 86, to the council of Eliberis, which, says he, can. 56, “requires a magistrate to “absent from church during the year of his du- “umvirate.” And adds, “Here’s a magistrate ex- “communicated, and that is something to the pur- “pose: but it ought to have been considered withal, “that the duumvirate was but an inferior office; “and which moreover in those unhappy times was “not to be innocently executed.” This is all he says to it. As to the first, the title of this canon is, *de magistratibus et dominantibus*; “of magistrates “and rulers or governors,” which includes all, where there is no exception.

For the second excuse, that the office of the duumvirate was not to be innocently executed, he should have given us some reason for it. Was it an ecclesiastical commission from the regale? That objection lay against the very nature of it: but if it was wholly a civil office, and that it could not be

innocently executed, then it will operate more strongly against the assertor and the regale; for here is the church interposing her authority most independently upon the regale, and excommunicating, not only a single magistrate, but all who durst presume to take upon them a civil office, established by the state, which the church thought was not to be innocently executed. The assertor must throw us in this council too, with the seventh and eighth general councils, which he hath discarded before; and I suppose had done it, but that it is a very ancient one: it was A. D. 308.

Next follows, *ibid.* p. 86, his answer to the 30th apostolical canon, (thirty-one is added in the Case, only because in some editions of the councils this canon is made the 30th, in others the 31st,) which forbids bishops to be promoted by means of secular princes, under pain of deprivation.

To which says the assertor, p. 86, 87, there were no secular magistrates then but heathen: therefore that this will not reach the case of Christian princes. This is *gratis dictum*; if they are not excepted, they are included. But, secondly, the before-mentioned councils were in the reigns of Christian princes; and they are the best expositors we can have of the apostolical canons; and by the way, these councils are received in the church of England. Thirdly, the assertor, p. 6 to 11, argues the inherent right of all princes, even heathen, to this power: he says, "All
" princes have the same right to the regale or su-
" premacy in ecclesiastical affairs; for that they hold
" in *jure coronæ*, in right of their crowns. And
" could it indeed be supposed," says he, p. 10, "that
" a pagan prince would exercise this authority to

“ the ends for which God hath entrusted him with
“ it, there is no question to be made, but that it
“ ought to be submitted to; as the decrees of Ne-
“ buchadnezzar and Darius for the honour of the
“ true God,” Dan. iii. 29. vi. 26. But if God has
entrusted them with this authority, it is not in the
power of man to take it from them; no, nor to hin-
der their exercise of it: for, what was it given for?
And how do we know but they will exercise it well,
till they are tried? They may do well at one time,
and ill another; they may mend like other folks:
but it seems the apostolical canon had no mind to
trust them. They might speak fair, like Nebuchad-
nezzar, sometimes; and, in another mood, throw
them into the fiery furnace.

However, this we have gained, that now by con-
fession on all hands, Christian princes have no other
foundation for their regale than heathens; and if
we may stop the exercise of it, and the church take
it into her own hands, for her own preservation, in
case of an infidel king, (I suppose he will give us a
papist too into the bargain, and then why not a
presbyterian, &c.) who may be a virtuous, good,
moral man, and love to see his subjects prosper,
though of a different religion, and make good de-
crees, like Nebuchadnezzar and Darius, even to
build our temple too, as Cyrus; and would desire
to see sober and virtuous bishops, rather than wicked,
who might debauch the people in their very morals:
I say, if, even in this case, we must stop the exer-
cise of the regale in the hands of such a wise, sober,
and virtuous prince, how much more reason is there
to take it from a young, foolish, profligate, and de-
bauched prince, who may be an atheist too, though

he was christened in his infancy? Yet he must have the style of *most serene* and *august*; aye, and be prayed for too, as our *most religious* and *gracious* king! for these are only titles to his office! And he will be less apt to part with his regale, or the least punctilio of his prerogative, than a better man; and, like Saul, to cut off the whole city of the priests, if a Doeg do but whisper him in the ear. Therefore if we will not endeavour to settle the regale in the time of a good prince, a bad one will not let us.

5. He concludes with a threat of excommunication against the author of the Case, from the second canon of our church, A. D. 1603, for denying “the same authority, in causes ecclesiastical,” to our kings, “that the godly kings had amongst the Jews, and Christian emperors of the primitive church.”

By *Christian emperors* here I suppose is meant the good ones, as Constantine, who disowned any right he had to the regale, and other godly kings and princes, who, when possessed of it by the laws of their country and prescription from their ancestors, yet gave it up, and renounced it as a most wicked and damnable thing, that would send their souls to hell-fire for such an encroachment and usurpation upon Christ and his church.

We will not suppose that the heretical emperor Constantius is here meant, who first usurped the regale, or others after him who continued and improved it.

Or if contrary practices of the same emperor can be found, sometimes disowning the regale, and at other times pretending to it; I hope we are at liberty to choose which side of such precedents shall

be found most agreeable to the laws of Christ, to the frame and foundation upon which he built his church.

And for the godly kings amongst the Jews, it is the express argument of the Case to allow the same (but no more) authority to our Christian kings: and by this that author hopes that the cause is determined; since without criticising upon particular expressions, as what the thrusting out of Abiathar means, whether it is to be taken in the civil or ecclesiastical sense, &c. the matter of fact is evident, past all dispute or denial of this or any other assertors, that it was not within the ordinary and allowed regale of the Jewish kings to exauctorate the priests of Levi, or to put others in their room: for doing of which one of their kings was severely cursed of God.

Therefore if allowing less to our kings than the canon requires does incur an excommunication, what is it to allow them more? From the first, the author of the Case is free; but the assertor is manifestly under the second: and the consequence is not only against a canon of our church, but of holy scriptures, and of the primitive catholic and apostolic church, which we profess in our creed.

And now I think we have quite done; for what follows, from p. 89, concerning the 37th article, is spoke to before.

If I have taken needless pains, and been too minute in reply to this answer, I have only to say,

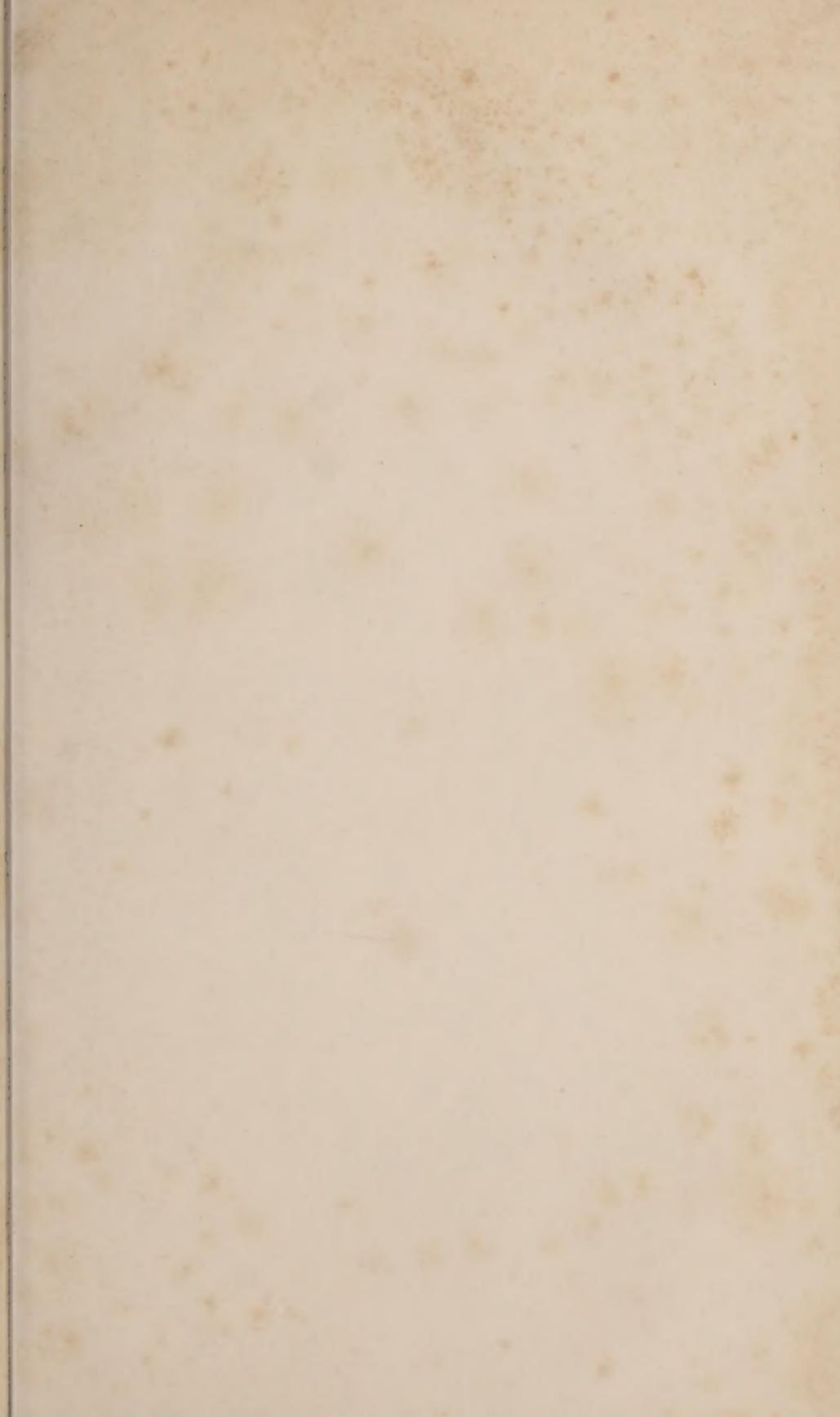
First, That it is the only one has yet appeared, and perhaps may be the last.

Secondly, It argues more respect to the author, to leave nothing he has said unconsidered.

Thirdly, It may serve to set this matter in a clearer light, and remove those popular prejudices which carry away unthinking people without examining.

21st April, 1701.

END OF VOL. III.



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