

I conclude all with that excellent advice : “ Ye therefore, beloved, seeing ye know these things before, beware lest ye also, being led away with the error of the wicked, fall from your own steadfastness. But grow in grace, and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.” (2 Peter iii. 17, 18.)

SERMON V. (II.)

BY THE REV. RICHARD BAXTER.

THERE IS NO SUCH CHURCH INSTITUTED BY CHRIST, AS ALL CHRISTIANS JOINED TO ONE MERE HUMAN HEAD, EITHER PERSONAL OR COLLECTIVE : BUT CHRIST IS THE ONLY UNIVERSAL HEAD.

CHRIST, AND NOT THE POPE, UNIVERSAL HEAD OF THE CHURCH.

Now ye are the body of Christ, and members in particular. And God hath set some in the church, first apostles, secondarily prophets, thirdly teachers, after that miracles, then gifts of healings, helps, governments, diversities of tongues.—1 Corinthians xii. 27, 28.

OUR appointed work at this time is to determine whether there be such a church of Christ's institution as consisteth of all Christians united or subjected to any one mere human head, personal or collective ; or, whether there be any universal head or governor of the whole church on earth beside and under Jesus Christ. Which I deny. And when I have fully opened the question, I shall prove the negative both from this text, and several other texts and arguments.

Of all the controversies between us and the Papists, this is the first and greatest : we, first, deny that there is any such head ; and, secondly, that the pope is such a head.

The Papists, as knowing the impossibility of finding any fair pretence of ascribing the internal acts of Christ's office to the pope, are forced to distinguish a mediatorial head of vital influx to the church regenerate, from a political governing head of the church visible or congregate. And they confess that Christ only is the first ; but say that, under Christ, the pope is, as his vicegerent, the second. But we maintain the negative as to both ; and if there be no such head, there is no church that is so headed. Two things in this word are meant in our denial :

First. There is no such *constitutive head*, who is to the universal church a constitutive, essential part : as is a king in a kingdom, a master in a family, and the *pars imperans* [“ the party that commands ”] in every political society.

Secondly. There is no such *governing head*, having power and obligation to make universal laws, and to judge and execute universally.

There are three ways of divine institution which we here exclude :

First. God hath instituted no such head or church by the law of nature.

Secondly. Nor by Christ himself, immediately determining it in his human nature on earth.

Thirdly. Nor by the revelation or determination of his Spirit in his apostles, or any other authorized and infallible, inspired persons.

And beside these three, we know no other sort of institution of God to come into question.

Our question meddled not with the heads or governors of kingdoms, nor of particular churches ; but only of the universal church.

ARGUMENT I. *From nature, common reason, and experience*, a non posse ad non esse [*“from its impossibility to its non-entity”*].—No mortal man, or collective body of men, is capable of being a constitutive and governing head of all the church on earth : Therefore there is no such head.

I. *No single person is capable of it.*—To prove which, consider but,

(I.) *What a man is.*

(II.) *What such a man would have to do.*

(I.) A man is a poor finite creature, confined to one place at once ; not able to compass the earth, nor know all its countries, much less inhabitants : not able to take notice of all the actions of the sons of men throughout the world ; nor to receive such satisfactory information concerning them, as may enable him to judge them justly. Nor is he capable of taking cognizance of one of many millions of causes that would belong to such a judge. And man is a poor worm, unable to procure any due execution of universal laws, and to repress the rebellion of resisters, and to defend the church against its enemies. And man is so bad a creature, that he that is tried in so great a work as the government of all the world, and tried by so great temptations as must needs arise in such an undertaking, will but become, according to the course of ordinary changes, the worst, and so the most odious, of men : so that it is a wonder that man should become so ignorant as to think that any one mortal man is capable of ruling all the world, or all the Christians in the world.

(II.) But *consider what such a head must have to do*, and there will remain no difficulty in the case.

1. He that undertaketh the universal government, undertaketh to make universal laws, and to exercise supreme power in judging and executing according to those laws. And he that maketh universal laws in things unchangeable, must suppose that Christ hath not done it himself already ; which is false. And in things changeable he must be sufficiently acquainted with the state of all the nations in the world, and the different cases which require diversification both as to time and place ; which a man at many thousand miles' distance is incapable of.

2. And as to judgment and execution :

(1.) As to persons, it is to be exercised upon individuals.

(2.) As to causes, it is, (i.) Either judging who is fit or unfit for the sacred ministry, as to ordination ; or, (ii.) Who is fit or unfit for Christian communion. And that in respect, (i.) To knowledge and faith, or ignorance, unbelief, or heresy ; or, (ii.) To a pious and honest, or a criminal, conversation.

(1.) Kingdoms or cities are not either to be taken into, or cast out of, that church of Christ for the faith or the faults of any part of them. Baptism belongeth to individuals ; and to cities and kingdoms no otherwise than as consisting of such individuals : it is the faithful and their seed that are to be baptized. God never authorized any to baptize kingdoms or cities because the king or magistrates believed.

And the same must be said of excommunications : kingdoms or cities are not to be unchurched, or interdicted God's worship, because of the sin of kings and magistrates ; though such inhuman and unchristian kind of discipline hath (upon the Venetians and many other countries) been exercised by the pope. God saith, that " the soul that sinneth shall die ; " and not the son for the father's sin, which he is not guilty of. (Ezek. xviii. 20.)

(2.) And if this be so, it is easy to discern whether one man can so govern all the world. (i.) He that ordaineth ministers must try them, that he may truly judge of their sufficiency. (ii.) He that baptizeth the adult must try their knowledge and faith, that he may truly judge of their capacity. (iii.) He that will justly judge any accused of heresy or wicked living, must hear the witnesses, and hear the person, and understand the circumstances of the cause : and before he excommunicate any, he must not only know him to be criminal, but also impenitent ; and therefore must with evidence, love, and patience, endeavour first to bring him to repentance. The like knowledge is necessary to a just absolution. And what can one man do, in any of this, for all the world ?

OBJECTION. " He can do it *per alios* [' by others '], though not *per se* [' by himself '] : he can send forth men to do it. The king cannot govern his kingdom by himself only, without officers ; but by them he can. "

ANSWER 1. What other men do he doeth not. To say he doeth it *per alios*, is but a deceitful phrase, and maketh not their work to be his. That which he doeth is not to preach, and baptize, and excommunicate, and absolve, by them ; but to bid them do it, or license them. Yet if he sent them all to do it as his servants, authorized by him to do it in his name and stead, it might be called morally his act ; but it is not so. The office of a bishop or presbyter is of divine institution, and their work described by the word of God ; and the office and work is their own ; and they themselves are accountable for it to their Chief Pastor, Jesus Christ.

2. The work of an ecclesiastic pastor is personal, even the exercise of his own skill, and not only the commanding of another to do it. If setting others on the work were all that is necessary, there needed

no bishop or pastor to be such a head ; a prince were fitter. David and Solomon could command the priests and Levites to do their office, and could place and displace them ; and so, many Christian kings. But as it is not the proper office of a physician, surgeon, printer, architect, &c., to license physicians, surgeons, printers, &c., or to set them on work ; so neither of a bishop or pastor to license or command such. And for ordination, it may be done without a pope ; or else how is the pope ordained or consecrated himself ?

3. The office of the apostles was not only to send other men to convert the world, and settle the churches and govern them ; but, first, to labour in all this themselves, and then to ordain others to go along with them as their helpers, and to govern the particular churches ; which is not the same thing as only to set other men on work.

4. A king's office consisteth so much in power to appoint officers under him to do their several provinces and works, as that therein it greatly differeth from a pastor's ; which is like to a physician's, or a philosopher's ; and more consisteth in the exercise of personal skill and oversight.

5. But if all this hitherto said were nothing, it is most certain that no king is capable of governing all the world. And if the pastoral office required no more personal skill and exercise thereof than the regal, yet all that would follow were but this,—that as a king, by himself and his officers, can govern a kingdom, but not all the world ; so is it to be said of any pastor ; though indeed the latter is much less possible.

The impossibilities are notorious at this day.

1. The pope doth not so much as know a very great part of the world, what inhabitants it hath, or of what religion.

2. Much of the world is so remote from him, that his messengers must be many years in going, and all informations as long in being sent to him.

3. The passage is so hazardous and difficult, that they are not likely by sea and land to escape all the dangers in the way.

4. Many princes' countries must be passed through that are enemies to Christians, and in frequent wars with us and one another ; and therefore will not suffer such passage and intercourse as the government of the remotest parts requires.

5. There are many countries that understand no language which the pope's emissaries can speak.

6. There are many Christian countries at this day which the pope lately was not known to, nor ever so much as required their subjection to him, by reason of their incapacity of converse. When Oviedo would have made the Abassines believe that subjection to the pope was necessary to their salvation, the emperor's mother posed him by that question, Why God nor the pope ever told them so till now, and why they never before heard of the pope's claim. To which the poor man had no better an answer to give, than that inaccessibleness and distance hindered it ; as Godignus himself reciteth the discourse.

Which is no less than a plain confession of what I am proving,—that no one man is capable of governing all the world. When so great an empire as that of Abassia, especially in its former grandeur, was so far out of the Papal reach, as that for so many hundred years he could never so much as know them, and send a governor to them, nor any messengers to claim their obedience; no wonder if much more of the world be further out of the reach of his notice and jurisdiction.

II. And as no single natural person, so much more *no collective person or company, is capable to be an universal governor.*—For all the foresaid difficulties will be yet greater to them than to one. There is none but an universal council that can be supposed to make such a claim; which council must be one civil person, or collective, and therefore be in one place, and manage this government by consent. But, 1. That place where they meet will be as distant from the antipodes as Rome is, and they will have as far to send and receive information. 2. The collecting of a true universal council, as I shall show anon, is not only difficult, but never to be done. 3. One man may do more in a day, than a parliament, much more a council of all the Christian world, can do in many days or weeks; there are so many to speak, debate, and to receive satisfaction. 4. And feuds and disagreements will be yet a greater hinderance. So that where there is a natural incapacity, there can be no universal governor: But both pope and council have a natural incapacity: Therefore neither of them can be an universal governor.

ARGUMENT II. *From the silence of the Creed and scriptures concerning such an universal head.*—If Christ had instituted any vicarious universal governor, and consequently a church so constituted, it would have been plainly revealed in the Creed or sacred scriptures: But there is no such thing plainly revealed (nor darkly, neither) in the Creed or sacred scriptures: Therefore there was no such instituted by Christ.

The major is proved, in that they commonly confess that all fundamentals, or points of common necessity, are plainly revealed in the Creed or sacred scriptures: And they assert that an universal governor, and a church so constituted, is a fundamental, and a point of common necessity to be believed: Therefore if Christ had instituted any such, it must needs have been in the Creed or scriptures. No man can imagine, that, if the rest of the matters of divine faith must themselves be received from the believed authority of such a head or church, Christ would not plainly make known the authority of such a head and church: but this is the foundation of the Papists' faith.

And that there is no such thing contained in the Creed or sacred scriptures, the impartial reading of them is enough to prove. The Creed mentioneth the holy catholic and apostolic church as one; but saith not a word of Rome, or the pope, or a council, or any universal governor of this church, beside Jesus Christ.

The sacred scriptures mention no such, neither; it is only Peter that is pretended by the Papists to be there endued with such a power. But,

1. There is no word that speaks such a thing. The confutation of their vain collections, from *Tu es Petrus, &c.*, [“Thou art Peter,”] and *Pasce oves meas, &c.*, [“Feed my sheep,”] I have made elsewhere, and in this short exercitation neither need nor may recite it.

2. It belongeth to the universal governor to make universal laws for the church; but no scripture tells us of any more that Peter did in this legislation, than James, or Paul, or other apostles.

3. It belongeth to the universal governor to give authority to all the rest, and to settle all inferior orders and officers; but no scripture mentioneth any such thing of Peter; but the contrary; namely, deacons were instituted by the apostles jointly. None of the rest of the twelve received his power from Peter: Paul took Silas, and Barnabas took Mark with him, and Paul made Timothy, Titus, and others evangelists, without Peter, or any authority received from him: and the apostles ordained elders in every church which they planted without Peter. (Acts xiv. 23; Titus i. 5, &c.)

OBJECTION. “They had their power from Christ before he ascended, and so needed not receive it from Peter.”

ANSWER. Either Peter was made the universal governor before Christ’s ascension, or not. If not, then Christ personally settled no such monarchy; yea, then he settled contrarily an aristocracy, or equality of power in many, that is, in all the apostles. And is it credible that he settled one form of government at first, and changed it so quickly after? And then the churches were, after Christ’s ascension, planted and settled by such as had no power from Peter; and so the succession is not from him as the head. And then all the texts pretended by them (as, *Pasce oves*, [“Feed my sheep,”] &c.) are by them forsaken. But if Peter was made monarch before Christ’s ascension, then the other apostles must before be under Christ and him; and as the church had two heads at once, a prime and a vicarious, so the rest must have their power from both. At least, after Christ’s ascension, all the apostles would fall under the government of Peter, and so from thence must hold their power from him: which they never did.

4. It belongeth to the universal governor to be the known, declared centre of the church’s common unity; to whom accordingly, in case of divisions, they should have recourse throughout all the world. But it was not so concerning Peter. We read of many sad contentions in the churches of Corinth, Galatia, Colosse, &c., yea, of Rome itself; (Rom. xiv., xv. ;) and many sad heresies, crimes, and breaches in the seven Asian churches; (Rev. ii., iii. ;) and yet not a word to refer them to Peter for their healing, nor one reproof for their rebellion against him as universal governor, nor one persuasion to unite all in him! Nay, he himself, who (2 Peter ii.) doth write sharply against heresies, never mentioneth any such remedy.

5. And it belongeth to the universal head and governor to rebuke all culpable inferiors, and to receive appeals in cases of difficulty. But none of all this is said of Peter; but, contrarily, that Paul “withstood him to the face, because he walked not uprightly, and was

to be blamed." (Gal. ii. 11, 14.) So that the case in scripture is plain against them.

ARGUMENT III. *From the contrary assertions in the holy scriptures.*—The scriptures are not only silent as to the institution of any such universal governor or church, but they speak against it: therefore there was no such institution of Christ.

And here I must come up to my text, and from it and others bring in several scripture-arguments.

Note here, 1. That the unity of the church, and the nature and reasons of it, are most largely and expressly handled in this chapter. 2. That this church is called "the body of Christ," but not of Peter or the pope; and that its unity is placed in one Spirit, one Lord, and one God, (1 Cor. xii. 5—7, 11—13,) and not in one vicarious head. 3. That all believers are numbered with the members, even apostles themselves expressly, as contradistinct from the head in whom they are united. Apostles are called here "members in particular," set by God in the church; even the first rank of members, and prophets next. If Peter then was the universal head, it was not as an apostle; for the apostles were but the noblest "members in particular."

ARGUMENT (I.) If Christ be here described as the only Head, and apostles but as particular members, then no apostle was an universal governor or head: But the antecedent is plain in the text, &c.

And indeed Bellarmine is forced to maintain that the pope succeedeth not Peter as an apostle, but as the vicarious head of the church; by which he confesseth that Peter was not such a head, as an apostle. But Paul here, describing the whole body, mentioneth no part but Christ the Head, and apostles and others variously gifted and placed, as particular members. So that here is no office above apostolical in which the pope can succeed Peter.

ARG. (II.) The same evidence is visible in Eph. iv., where Paul, vehemently endeavouring the Ephesians' unity, reckoneth up only these seven necessaries in which it must be founded: 1. "One body" (of Christ). 2. "One Spirit." 3. "One hope of our calling" (grace and glory). 4. "One Lord" (Jesus Christ). 5. "One faith" (the belief of the gospel). 6. "One baptism" (and baptismal covenant). 7. "One God and Father of all, above all, through all, and in all." (Verses 3—6.) And in all the members, who must in these seven be united, he placeth diversity; and numbereth apostles, prophets, and pastors with the rest, as being but particular members of the body. And then he describeth the body that is thus to be united, the ends and benefits of their concord, and the subordinate means, to verse 16; in which he calleth them "the body of Christ" only, and not of the pope, which must come to "a perfect man in the unity of faith and knowledge of Christ;" and not be "tossed with every wind of doctrine, but grow up in him in all things which is the Head, even Christ: from whom the whole body fitly conjoined together and compacted" (not by another head, but) "by that which every joint supplieth, according to the effectual working in the measure of every part, maketh increase of the body unto the edifying of

itself in love." There could never have been an opener door for Paul to have brought-in the mention of an universal vicarious governor at, if he had known of any such, than the occasions and subject here in hand. But here is still none but Christ the Head, and apostles and others as the particular members.

ARG. (III.) Yet more expressly, in 1 Cor. i. 12, 13, when the Corinthians were inclined to factions : some would have united in Paul, and some in Apollos, and some in Cephas or Peter ; and some would have appropriated Christ to themselves. And how doth Paul seek to heal this schism ? Not by telling them, that indeed they must all unite in Peter, as the universal head or monarch : but that Christ is not divided, and therefore he must be their common centre ; and that the rest were but his ministers by whom they believed, and were not crucified for them, nor were they baptized into their name ; and that they showed themselves carnal by these contentions, in setting up one above another, when Paul, Apollos, and Cephas, were alike theirs, and "ministers of Christ, and stewards of his mysteries." (1 Cor. iii. 22 ; iv. 1.) So that here Peter is not only not mentioned as the head and centre of church-unity, when his name was in question, and the case required it, had it been true ; but also expressly and by name excluded from any such office, and those sharply taxed that would so have thought of him ; nay, that thought yet lower of him. For indeed there is no probability that any of the Corinthians dreamt of his universal government ; but only some preferred him as a more excellent teacher before all others, in a siding way.

ARG. (IV.) When Peter himself instructeth the pastors of the church in their duty, 1. He taketh no higher title to himself than "an apostle and servant of Jesus Christ," and "an elder," and "a witness of his sufferings, and a partaker of the glory that shall be revealed." (1 Peter i. 1 ; v. 1 ; 2 Peter i. 1.) 2. And he tells them that they must not oversee the flock as "lords," but as "examples ;" (1 Peter v. 2 ;) which is inconsistent with *their* opinion, *who* take his universal government to be essential to the church, and necessary to salvation to be believed.

ARG. (V.) In Matt. xx., we find it put by way of petition to Christ, to determine who should be greatest ; namely, that James and John might be next him in his kingdom. And Peter with the rest of the ten were offended at it. Yet Christ is so far from telling them that either they or Peter shall have such honour, that he contrarily concludeth : "Ye know that the princes of the Gentiles exercise dominion over them, and they that are great exercise authority upon them. But it shall not be so among you : but whosoever will be great among you, let him be your minister ; and whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your servant : " (verses 25—27 :) even in this, not telling them who shall be the man, but leaving it to them by humility and service to merit all that pre-eminence which he alloweth of.

ARGUMENT IV. The fourth chief argument is fetched from the non-consistence of such an universal head with the office and prerogative of Christ.—To have instituted an universal head and governor, would

have been the making of another Christ, or at least the communicating of part of the essence of Christ's office and prerogative : But Christ did never make another Christ, nor communicate any part of the essence of his office or prerogative : Therefore Christ did never institute an universal head and governor.

The first proposition is proved by the true definition or description of Christ's office, which containeth his universal kingdom, as well as his universal propriety and priesthood. That Christ is the Owner and the Ruler of all, is believed by all that believe him to be the Christ : " For this end he both died, and rose, and revived, that he might be Lord both of the dead and of the living." (Rom. xiv. 9.) And the universality of some parts of his priestly office are acknowledged ; and of the rest, as to those who are capable of the benefits. He is the Owner of all the world ; and he is the Ruler of all, *de jure et de facto*, [" by right and actually,"] in divers manners and degrees, though only the faithful obey him to salvation. And his sacrifice had not only a sufficiency for all, but also effectually procured the common grace and benefits which are actually given to all. And it is confessed by all sober persons, that Christ hath not given to any under him an universal propriety. If any parasite of the pope so talk, the rest dare not own it. To be the Lord or Owner of all things and persons is proper to Christ. If the pope be his vicarious proprietary, kings and persons are at his will and mercy ; and he need not to be beholden to any prince for tribute ; for all lands and moneys in the world are his. But this is the proper prerogative of Christ. And there is no mediator that offereth himself a sacrifice for the sins of the world, or meriteth for all men, or all believers, but Jesus Christ.

The minor is undeniable : Christ, by virtue of his universal power, hath communicated a ministerial limited subordinate power to men over several parts of his church or kingdom, but not universal over all : which needeth no other proof, than to know that authority and obligation concur in constituting every such office. And if any one apostle had been obliged to rule, yea, or to teach, all the world, he had been obliged to an impossibility. Therefore even the apostles all together had but an indefinite obligation, and not an universal, as to all the world ; no, nor to all the churches. For if, for example, Philip, their deacon, or his converted eunuch, or Joseph, or Nathanael, or any other preacher, did convert any country, or gather any churches, far off from the reach of any apostle, no apostle was bound to teach or rule that church ; much less any one of them to teach and rule all the world.

And, 1. If Christ have not made an universal sub-proprietor, it is not likely that he hath made an universal rector. 2. If Christ have not made an universal teacher, 3. Nor an universal priest ; by the same reason we may conclude, that the universal kingdom is incommunicable. 4. And as to the kingdom itself,

(1.) The universal *legislation* is already performed by Christ, and therefore not left to man.

(2.) Universal, forcible *government* is committed to no man : " All

power in heaven and earth is given" to Christ; and he committeth the sword to kings and magistrates, and the word to ministers, with the keys of the church: But Christ never made an universal king or magistrate under him, to govern all the world by the sword: Therefore we as well may conclude, that he never made an universal pastor, or church-monarch; one part of his proper kingdom being no more communicable than the other.

(3.) And universal *protection*, which is another kind of kingly office, is not communicated to any. The pope cannot protect all the world, or all the church; so that, all the rest of Christ's office being, as to the universality, confessed incommunicable, it will follow that government must be so also: I say, as to *universality*, as foreseeing that they will object, that it is incommunicable as to primacy of power, but not as to universality; which therefore I have proved, though in this strait I must not stand to answer their frivolous objections.

And here you may perceive why Protestants say that the pope is Antichrist; even because he traitorously usurpeth and arrogateth that which is essential to Christ's own office, by making himself an universal head to Christ's body, and governor of his kingdom, on a false pretence of Christ's delegation.

OBJECTION. "A king may make a vice-king or lieutenant, without parting with any of his royalty or prerogatives."

ANSWER 1. It is not the name of a viceroy, but the thing, that is in question. A king may call a subject his viceroy, and may make him his chief magistrate over some part of his empire that is distant from him, yea, or over the whole; but if he give him the absolute legislative and judicial power over all his kingdom, he parteth with his royalty, and maketh that man king.

2. But suppose it were otherwise, the reason of the difference in the case is evident:—a king is but a man, and so is his viceroy, and one is as capable of ruling as the other: but universal government is somewhat above the capacity of any mere man, and none but God and our Redeemer is capable of it; therefore, if Christ will make an universal Head and Governor of the world or church, he must make him another Christ or a God, or else he doth not make him capable.

ARGUMENT V. *A negatione effectus ad negationem effectonis*.*—There never was such an universal vicarious head of Christ's body: Therefore he never instituted such.

Nothing but the antecedent here needs proof.

I shall consider, for the proof of the antecedent,

1. *Of the church in the time when the scripture was written.*
2. *And of the church till the days of Constantine.*
3. *And of the church till the usurpation of the title of "universal head."*
4. *And of the church since then to this day.*

1. *In scripture-times*, I have proved already, that neither Peter nor any other did govern the universal church, in ordination, legislation, judgment, appeals, &c.

* "From a denial of the effect to a denial of the efficiency."—EDIT.

2. *Till Constantine's time*, there is not the least probability of any such thing in church-history; which I will not be beholden to any man to grant me who is acquainted with the records of antiquity; nor do I fear a denial from any thing but faction, or blind partiality, such as Baronius and other flatterers of the pope were biassed by. For whereas the chief claim of the pope is from his presidency in councils, till Constantine's days there never was such a thing as a general council in the world, unless you will call Christ's family and apostles such. And he that can prove the pope to have been till then the governor of all the world, or all the Christians in the world, will fetch his proofs neither from scripture nor true history, but from somewhat unknown to other mortals.

3. And were men but impartial in the studying of church-history, I would not be beholden to any man readily to acknowledge all that follows:—

(1.) That Constantine and his successors were far from being rulers of all the world; having but one empire, which, though great, the maps will tell you was small in comparison of all the earth.

(2.) That the bishop of Rome was to the empire but as the arch-bishop of Canterbury is to England; a bishop who by that emperor had a primacy given him in his empire. For what power had he to settle a head to the rest of the world?

(3.) That whereas his presidency in general councils was his chief pretence for his universal power, even that presidency was unconstant, and varied as the emperor pleased.

(4.) That those general councils were called "general" but in reference to one principality or empire, (as the Scots called their assemblies "general") and were no universal councils representing all the churches in the world. For,

(i.) They were called long by the emperor. And what power had the Roman emperor to call together the bishops of all the world?

(ii.) The subscriptions of the bishops, as recorded even in Binius, Surius, Nicolinus, Crab, will satisfy any man that doth not by faction hinder his own satisfaction. And though the name of one Johannes Persidis in the council of Nice, and some such instances in others, seem great objections to some men, I let them go, as knowing that there is no end of disputing with those men that can make a mountain of an atom. There was a city called Persis; and it was then usual to place a bishop at the borders of Persia, Scythia, &c., and to call him by the title of the neighbour-country which he was desired to take care of. I have oft enough in other writings proved, that the councils were but imperial; (supposing that some few under Pagans, that affected the countenance of the Roman greatness, who were neighbours, did rarely join themselves;) and that Reynerius confesseth, that the Armenians and other churches converted by the apostles were not under the bishop of Rome; and that Theodoret giveth the reason why the bishop of Nisibis was at the council of Nice,—because Nisibis was then under the Roman empire; and that the Abassines, the Persians, Indians, outer Armenians, and many other countries of

Christians without the empire, were not represented in the councils, nor ever subjected themselves to the pope of Rome.

4. And even since the days of Boniface, who obtained of Phocas the name of "universal bishop," the Christian world was never under him. For,

(1.) The Greek church hath ever since resisted the claim.

(2.) The said Abassines, Armenians, Indians, and many others, never subjected themselves to him.

(3.) He hath captivated his professed subjects by so much cruel force, as that he is incapable of knowing who are his real subjects by consent. And we have by experience reason to think, that in all Popish countries it is not one of many that is a Papist understandingly, and at the heart; but most either know not what Popery is, or silently go on with their neighbours, to avoid the obloquy and suffering which else they must undergo.

(4.) Dr. Field, "Of the Church," and bishop Morton, in his "Apology," have fully proved, that till Luther's time abundance of the doctors of each age, though they renounced not the Roman communion, were against their opinions; and that there is scarcely any doctrine of the Protestants which men of their own communion held not. All which fully show that the universal church did never acknowledge or receive this pretended universal head.

(5.) To all which I may add, that all the Greek church, when far larger than the Latin, did ever hold the primacy in the empire to be *jure humano* ["by human right"] only; which is notorious in the express words of the council at Chalcedon; and in that the patriarch of Constantinople contended for the primacy: which he could never have done, had he taken it to be of God's institution; for Constantinople, being comparatively a novel church, had no pretence to a primacy as *jure divino* ["by divine right"]. All which I have further proved elsewhere.

Of all the arguments brought for the pope's universal government, I know but two that to a considering man are worthy a confutation.

The First is from pretended possession: "Christ ruleth his church not only preceptively, but 'eventually,' *de facto* according to the great design of his office; else he should be but a nominal king himself: But Christ hath 'eventually,' or *de facto*, ruled his church by the pope and his prelates these thousand years at least, if not from the beginning: Therefore he instituted this sort of government, or else his own regimen and design is frustrate."

ANSWER 1. As to the major: (1.) The church of Christ hath obedient and disobedient professors; good and bad, piety and sin, are in the church-visible. The goodness, and piety, and obedience is according to his decree and purpose; but so is not the sin. And Christ's own government obtaineth its ends in the salvation of his elect, and in so much restraint and order as he keepeth up among the rest. (2.) Else this argument would prove as much that idolatry and Heathenism were better than the Jews' religion before Christ's incarnation; for Judæa was a very little spot of the world, and, *de facto*,

Heathenism did possess most of the rest. (3.) Yea, it would prove all sin to be of God's appointment, if we might argue a *facto ad jus* ["from fact to right"].

2. But the minor is not true. It is accounted by the best geographers to be but about a third or fourth part of the Christian world that are Papists at this day, when the decay of the Eastern churches, and the loss of Nubia and a great part of the Abassine empire, &c., hath much diminished it. I may therefore turn this argument better against them, and say that Christ never did *de facto* rule his church, or the greatest part of it, by an universal governor, nor permit it so to be ruled; therefore this never was his design; though indeed his will *de debito* ["concerning what is due to him"] must be known by his laws, and not by events.

The Second argument is: "Though an universal head be not of divine institution, why may not the bishops of the churches set up such an one over them all by consent, or princes at least? And why may not an universal church be instituted by man, as well as a national or provincial church?"

ANSWER 1. Is the government of Christ's church a matter of so small moment? and is the Sovereign Head no more concerned in it, but to leave it to men to set up what government they will? Undoubtedly it is the prerogative of the sovereign to appoint his own officers; and he that doeth it, usurpeth his prerogative.

2. What men are they that pretend to such power? Were they themselves the officers of Christ, in any state of instituted government?

If not, then, (1.) Christ hath made no subordinate government. (2.) Then he made no apostles, &c. (3.) Then he did not the part of a sovereign. (4.) Then these men that made the new government were no ministers of his, nor had any power from him to do it.

But if they themselves be Christ's instituted officers; then, (1.) Christ did institute certain officers, and consequently a state of government. (2.) Then let these ministers of his prove, if they can, that ever he commissioned them to alter that state of government which he first instituted. (3.) If they cannot, let them confess that it is a traitorous usurpation. (4.) Either it is a government universally needful to the church, or not. If not, why talk you of it? If yea, who made you either greater, or wiser, or better than Christ, that you can find out and settle an universal government, which he had not the power, the wisdom, or the goodness to institute? (5.) By his instituting particular churches, and their overseers or elders, and worship and discipline, he showed us that he took such a church-settlement for his own work. And if so, what made him do it imperfectly? and how come you to be able to do it better? (6.) The world hath had lamentable experience these thirteen hundred years and more, to how ill effects men have altered Christ's institutions, and to what proud contentions, schisms, persecutions, and other calamities, their alterations have tended. (7.) But, to speak fully to the case, we grant that as Christ's ordinances, doctrine, worship, and discipline, are distinguished from the mere "circumstances of them;" (called the *circa sacra*;) so

when Christ hath instituted officers for his own work, men may for edification make officers for their work; that is, these circumstances (such as are churchwardens, sextons, door-keepers, and many the like). But will any man of brains and Christianity hence conclude, that men may set up an officer for Christ, above all the officers of his own institution, and empowered to over-rule them all, yea, and to silence them, suspend them, excommunicate them, and be a monarch over them all? If Christ would have had such an one, he was as wise and able to do it himself as any of his ministers are. (8.) And it is God that must bless the labours of his officers; and he hath nowhere promised to bless any but his own. (9.) And if men may make the Papacy, men may pull it down again when reason requireth it. And it will go harder with the pope, than either pious Gerson, (*De Aufferibilitate Papæ*,) or learned Cardinal Nicolaus Cusanus, (*De Concordiâ*,) do affirm it may. (10.) But if it be but by men's consent that we must have a pope, let those have none that do not consent; and then most of the Christian world will be without him.

This controversy about an universal vicarious head and governor, being the true sum of the difference between the Papists and Protestants, were we not now restrained, should be much largelier handled, and fuller proofs of all that we assert annexed. But our necessitated brevity shall conclude with these few

USES.

USE I. *Learn hence to hate the devilish sin of pride, and fear it in yourselves, lest there should be more of it than you have yet observed.*—For the pope and his prelates are naturally such sons of Adam as ourselves: and if pride in them may rise to such a height, as to make them in this so mad, as to think poor man hath capacity, and right, and obligation to govern all the world, or all the Christians in the world, and thereby to become the plagues of the earth, and the troublers of all Christian states and churches; have not we all cause to fear it in ourselves? Though it have not temptation or advantage to work so publicly and mischievously as theirs, alas! it is the same sin which causeth men to overvalue their own understandings, their goodness, or their greatness: it is the same sin which setteth some preachers on contriving and hunting for preferment, and others for popular applause; and which maketh men write, and preach, and talk against things which they understand not, and against men better than themselves; and to destroy love and concord, and tear the churches, and harden the ungodly in the contempt of all religion; yea, and to proceed impenitently in all this, while some think that their zeal for order and obedience, and others, that their zeal for truth and godliness, will warrant them in all this. It is an old proverb, that all men are born with a pope in their bellies. And he is a conqueror and a saint indeed, that hath truly overcome his pride, which conquereth many that can preach and talk against it. And many that cry out of Popery and Papal pride, do too little detest, and fear, and mortify, the same pernicious evil in themselves.

USE II. *Learn hence to understand the grand difference between the Protestants and the Papists.*—It is not first, Whether the pope be the man that Christ hath made his universal vicar, and governor of all the world ; but first, Whether there be any such instituted by Christ or not. For if they once prove that there is any such, we will confess that no other can put-in so fair a claim for it as the pope. The question is not first, Whether the church of Rome be the true catholic church ; but first, Whether there be any such thing of Christ's institution as an universal church, headed by a vicarious head, under Christ. We deny the being of such a head, and such a church.

USE III. *Therefore take heed of those disputers that cry up the catholic church, as supposing it to have an universal head beside Christ, either pope or council ; as if this must be a granted thing, and then all that we have to do with the pope is but to bound and moderate him in his government.*—These men say, “We are against the abuses of the court of Rome, but not against the church of Rome.” But that which a Protestant justly denieth is, that there is any such universal head and church at all as the Papists do assert.

USE IV. *And hence observe in what sense it is that divines say, that Rome is not a true church, nor Papists, as such, members of the church of Christ.*—We all confess that those called Papists, who practically hold the essentials of Christianity, and truly believe in Christ the true Head, are all parts of the true catholic church, which hath no head indeed but Christ. But we maintain that the pope was never made by Christ the governor of the universal church ; and that their pretended Catholic church, consisting of the pope as such a head, and of his subjects as such, is a traitorous combination, and no true church of Jesus Christ : that policy was never instituted by him. And in this sense all Protestants are agreed, while some say that Rome is a true church, and others say that it is not : they mean thus the same thing.

USE V. *And hence you may perceive why they take the pope to be Antichrist.*—Because he usurpeth part of the prerogative and kingdom of Christ, without his institution, and against his laws : by making himself the governor of all the world or church, he maketh him as another Christ : as he would be a traitor to the king, who would usurp the universal government of his kingdoms, as to legislation, judgment, and executions, though he should falsely pretend the king's commission for it.

USE VI. *Take heed of a fleshly and worldly religion.*—A fleshly and worldly heart and life lieth under shame and remorse of conscience, till the devil bring in the defensative of a fleshly and worldly religion. For nature, reason, and experience tell men, that all things below are vanity, in comparison of everlasting things ; and therefore the devil hath no such way to keep his possession of such souls in peace, as by making them a religion suitable to their worldly minds and interests. And then they will sin against God as by his own authority, and vilify his servants, yea, and burn them, as by his own command, and fight against Christ as by his own commission ; *et in nomine Domini incipit*

omne malum; * as the old proverb is, taken from the Papal style. Religion is so excellent and necessary, that nothing can so successfully prevail in the minds of men against it, as that which cometh in its own garb and name. What men on earth do Satan more service than men of a fleshly and worldly religion? who, by the power of carnality, first make themselves, and next would make others, believe, that their own worldly interest is the true interest of Christ and the catholic church; and when they have made their own carnal wills and interest the means of the church's peace and concord, (such as they will allow it,) then cry up the great names of "government, obedience, order, unity, concord, and peace," and cry down all that is against them as "confusion, rebellion, or schism;" when all signifieth no more but that they are proud and worldly, and have got the upper ground, and so may name things to their own advantage. When sin becometh a religion, it conquereth the light, and quieteth conscience, in the most odious actions, and most malignant oppositions of the truth. I cannot more significantly speak my sense, than in the words of our serious poet, Mr. George Herbert, in his "Church-Militant," pp. 188—190:

"Sin, being not able to extirpate quite
The churches here, bravely resolved one night
To be a churchman too, and wear a mitre," &c.

But it is too long to be transcribed.

If the archbishop of Canterbury should tell all the world, that no man can be a true Christian, or be saved, that believeth not in him, and becometh not his obedient subject, and should send out men to preach this on the pretence of unity, obedience, and peace; would not all the world deride this, as a worldly, presumptuous kind of religion? Just such is Popery, which saith the same of one that the Roman emperor made the chief bishop in his own principality; and now, when that empire is dissolved, claimeth the government of all Christian kings and people in the whole world. Is it not a wonder of stupidity, that such a religion is not derided and despised by all mankind that have the use of reason?

USE VII. Lastly. *Take heed of hasty trusting fair pretences, when so absurd a thing, and great a mischief, as the Papal universal government, may have such good words to promote it, as "unity, concord, obedience," &c., and so many deceived persons to entertain it.*

QUESTION. "What is the mischief of this pretended headship?"

ANSWER. First. It constituteth a human universal church, whose name deceiveth men; and keepeth the divine catholic church to many unknown.

Secondly. This human church is set up above and against the true universal church of Christ; and arrogateth power to depress, abuse, and persecute the churches that Christ hath instituted.

Thirdly. Hereupon it introduceth a human religion, which is as injurious to the religion instituted by Christ.

Fourthly. It cheateth millions of souls, by making them believe

* "In the name of the Lord all evil has its commencement."—EDIT.

that they are good Christians, because they are subjects to the bishop of Rome, which they call "being of the right church."

Fifthly. It becometh the grand engine of dividing Christians, and destroying love, and raising bloody persecutions, and hindering unity, which they cry up. For when Christ hath made the terms of Christian concord to be few and easy, and such as all Christians are agreed in, concord is hereby accordingly made easy. But when an usurper will come and add his forgeries, and impossible terms, which Christians neither do, nor ever did, agree in, what more effectual and pernicious art could have been used to divide the churches? If nothing but allegiance to the king be required to the concord of his kingdoms, all loyal subjects would be as one: but if a subject will step up and say, "You shall also swear to me, as the universal viceroy, or have no peace," when he proveth no such power, and the subjects take it to be treason to be sworn to him without the king's command, would not this set all the kingdom together by the ears?

Sixthly. And then, when men are possessed with this false opinion, that all Christians must be united in subjection to the pope, it will pervert the minds of the very lovers of unity and peace, and harden them in the guilt of wicked persecution, as if it were their duty, as the friends of unity, to root out all those as enemies to it who refuse their false and traitorous means.

Seventhly. And I may add that the poor pope himself is hereby made the most miserable of mortal men, while he undertaketh the pastoral charge of millions and myriads, even of many kingdoms and empires, which he never can nor will perform, and so must answer for betraying and deceiving all these souls.

QUESTION. "But if there be no such thing as an universal church, headed and governed by a vicarious head under Christ, what is the true universal church, and what is its true government?"

ANSWER. First. The universal church on earth is all Christians, headed only by Christ, as having the sole power and capacity of universal legislation, judgment, execution, and protection.

Secondly. The true government is this:—

1. All forcible government by the sword, even about matters in religion, belongeth to kings and magistrates only, in their several dominions.

2. The power of the word and church-keys (to judge who shall be in the communion of the church) belongeth to the bishops or pastors of the particular churches respectively.

3. These bishops or pastors, being obliged to as much concord as they can attain, are bound to hold correspondence with one another by delegates, letters, or synods, as far as the end, church-concord, doth make necessary.

4. If they offend and abuse their office, they are under the government of the magistrate, who may chastise them.

5. If the pastor be an infidel, or enemy, and will not do his duty, Cyprian long ago told us, that the people must obey God before a wicked pastor; and as he hath no power to force them, so they are

not bound to consent, to sin against God, or betray the church and their own souls, for the will or interest of unfaithful pastors.

6. And when all is done, we must never dream of attaining in this world a perfect unity and peace, nor till we come where knowledge, love, and holiness are all perfect: of which, see more in my small popular treatise called "Catholic Unity."

SERMON VI. (III.)

BY THE REV. HENRY HURST, A.M.

FORMERLY FELLOW OF MERTON COLLEGE, OXFORD.

KINGS AND EMPERORS ARE NOT RIGHTFUL SUBJECTS TO THE POPE; NEITHER HATH HE POWER, FOR PRETENDED OR REAL HERESY, TO EXCOMMUNICATE AND DEPOSE THEM, NOR TO ABSOLVE THEIR SUBJECTS FROM THEIR OATHS OF ALLEGIANCE: BUT EVEN THE CLERGY ARE SUBJECT TO SECULAR PRINCES, AND THEIR BODIES AND ESTATES UNDER THEIR GOVERNMENT.

KINGS AND EMPERORS NOT RIGHTFUL SUBJECTS TO THE POPE.

I think myself happy, king Agrippa, because I shall answer for myself this day before thee touching all the things whereof I am accused of the Jews.—Acts xxvi. 2.

THOUGH I cannot this day assume to myself that happiness [which] the apostle did,—that he did apologize before a king who was "expert in all the customs of the Jews;" (verse 3;) yet, I do suppose, I may account myself happy, that I am to apologize for kings and emperors, who do know and have assumed to themselves their royal prerogatives, granted to them from the King of kings "by whom they reign," (Prov. viii. 15,) confirmed to them by Him who is set upon the "holy hill of Zion," (Psalm ii. 6,) and infringed, eluded, or usurped by a pretended vicegerent, whose right and reason in his pretences are no greater than his humility or modesty in the claim and exercise of his power. Whilst I treat of this important affair, I hope you that are my auditors will do me reason to hear me patiently; and I humbly submit the discourse to those sacred persons whose cause needeth no more or greater advocates than have already appeared in it: and if the immodest restlessness of encroachers do occasion a necessary apology for this cause, it deserveth a much better than now is by others' desire, not his own choice, put upon it. If there be any thing less becoming the greatness of the cause and the excellency of the persons, and (as I foresee it will be) not worthy the favourable acceptance of the meanest prince; yet I humbly pray the