

## SERMON XXV. (VII.)

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POPERY IS A NOVELTY; AND THE PROTESTANTS' RELIGION WAS NOT ONLY BEFORE LUTHER, BUT THE SAME THAT WAS TAUGHT BY CHRIST AND HIS APOSTLES.

*Thus saith the Lord, Stand ye in the ways, and see, and ask for the old paths, where is the good way, and walk therein, and ye shall find rest for your souls. But they said, We will not walk therein.—Jeremiah vi. 16.*

ALL men in this world, having for their constituent parts a mortal body and an immortal soul,\* are passing out of this life into another: out of this, because of the mortality of the body; † into another, because of the immortality of the soul. And all, both good and bad, are daily and hourly travelling to an everlasting and unchangeable state; whose bodies shall be quickly turned into lifeless dust, and their souls enter into heaven or hell, and be with God or devil, in joy or torment, when they come to their journey's end: ‡ and according to the way they now walk in, so it will be with them for ever. Those that walk in the way chalked out by God, at the end of this life shall have "the end of their faith" and hope and holiness, "the salvation of their souls;" but those that walk after the flesh and in the ways of sin, shall find hell to be at the end of their walk. Therefore it is of infinite concernment to all to observe and do what is prescribed in the text; in which are contained these parts following:—

1. *The duties that are enjoined.*—And they are two.

(1.) *To ask and inquire after the right way that leads to rest and happiness.*—A metaphor taken from a man that is upon his journey; § and, not [being] well acquainted with the way to his intended place, stands still and asketh, "Which is my way to such a town? I am bound and bent for such a country; and if I mistake my way, I lose myself, my labour, and my business;" || and, being directed, doth heedfully observe what is said unto him, and carefully remembers the marks that are

\* *Ψυχῆς εἰς βαρύνον νεκρῶν.*—EPICETUS. "Thou art a little soul, carrying a dead body."—EDIT.

† *In terrā orimur, et in terrā morimur, revertentes in eam unde sumus assumpti.*—BERNARDUS in *Fest. S. Martin.* "In the earth is our origin, and in the earth do we die, returning thither whence we were derived."—EDIT.

‡ *Bona mors justī propter requiem, melior propter novitatem, optima propter securitatem. Mala peccatorum mors in mundi amissione, pejor in carnis separatione, pessima in vermis ignisque duplici contritione.*—IDEM, *Epist. cv.* "The death of the just is good on account of rest, better on account of novelty, best on account of security. The death of sinners is bad in the loss of the world, worse in the separation of the flesh, worst in the double pain and anguish induced by the worm that dieth not and the fire that is not quenched."—EDIT.

§ *Similitudine utitur.*—CALVINUS in *loc.* *Facite ut viatores solent, ubi dubitant quid eundum sit.*—GROTIUS in *loc.* || *Et interrogate, subintellige, alios sapientiores.*—

VATABLUS in *loc.* "'And ask,' understand, 'others who are wiser.'"—EDIT.

told him, by which he might conclude that he is in his direct and ready way. Sirs, this is your case: you are bound for heaven; you would all be happy when you die; and if you mistake your way, you lose yourselves, your souls and bodies too, and God and Christ and happiness and all, and that for ever. Stand, then, and "earnestly inquire which is your way," (וְשִׁאלוּ לְהַחֲבוּתוֹ) and diligently observe what are the marks whereby you might know that you are in the road to a blessed, glorious life. And these in the text are two.

(i.) It is "the old way" (עִוְלָה). Seek not out new paths to heaven: keep in the old way, that all the millions of saints, now happy in the enjoyment of their God, went in. If you would get to the place where they be, you must go the same way they did: "The old way that Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob went; the old way that Moses and David, Peter and Paul, and all the holy, humble, and believing, penitent people of God did go." \*

(ii.) It is "the good way," as well as "old." For though goodness was before wickedness, yet *every* way that is old is not good.† There is the old way of swearing and lying and drunkenness; there is the old way of hypocrisy, impenitency, and unbelief; the old way of whoredom and hating holiness. This hath been the old way, but a bad one, and [one] that leads to damnation. If you be in this way, and hold on in this way, and go forward, and do not turn, and that quickly too, you will be in everlasting torments, and that quickly too. Stand, then, and see that your way be the good and the old way.

(2.) The next duty in the text enjoined is, *to walk in this way* (וּלְהֵלֵךְ בָּהּ) *both old and good, † when you have found it.*—For if a man have the most exact knowledge of his way, and shall sit down or stand still, and not walk in it, he will never come to the place [which] that way doth lead unto. The way is pointed out by God himself unto you: get up, then; arise, and walk therein; and that with hastened speed. Your way is to a long eternity; the night of death is coming upon you: be daily jogging on; do not loiter in your way. Time goeth on; therefore so do you.

2. In the text there is, *by what authority you are thus strictly enjoined to ask for and walk in the good old ways.*—That is, by divine authority: § "Thus saith the Lord, Stand ye in the ways, and see, and ask," &c. It is the Lord that made thee, that doth thus command thee. It is that Lord that doth preserve thee, in whom thou dost live and move and hast thy being, that hath kept thee out of hell all this while [that] thou hast been going in the wrong way, and running in the paths that lead to destruction and damnation. It is *that* Lord that can damn thee when he will, and that can inflict the punishments and plagues upon thee

\* *Antiquis per quas ierunt Abraham, Jacob, &c.*—GROTIUS. † There is the old "way of Cain," (Jude 11; 1 John iii. 12; Gen. iv. 8,) and the old "way of Balaam;" (2 Peter ii. 15;) but the way of sin, though never so old, leads to hell. (Matt. vii. 13.)

† *Per metaphoram de vitâ, moribus, et actionibus.* "The metaphor of walking is here used with respect to life, manners, and actions."—EDIT.

§ *Hic docet propheta, non posse extenuari culpam populi, quasi errore peccasset; quoniam satis superque admonitus a Deo fuerat.*—CALVINUS. "The prophet here teaches that the guilt of the people cannot be extenuated, as if they had sinned by error; since they had been sufficiently, and more than sufficiently, admonished by God."—EDIT.

that are due unto thee for thy sin against him, that could this day and hour cast thy body to the dust and thy soul to devils, *that* doth command thee to stand, and see whither thou art going. He seeth the way wherein thou art walking; and, out of pity to thee, calleth after thee, saying, "Poor sinner! why art thou so swift, and makest such haste, in the way of sin? Why dost thou run with so much speed to a place of torment, as if thou couldest not get thither surely enough or soon enough? whereas the way [which] thou walkest in (except thou turn) will bring thee to eternal misery surely and quickly too. O stand, and see whither thou art going! stand, and see that at the end of this thy sinful walk thou wilt come unto a lake of burning brimstone, to a doleful dungeon, to a place of torment and of utter darkness! O stand, and see, and look about thee, if thou canst behold any that are going to eternal happiness walking in that way and road that thou art daily travelling in! I therefore charge thee, upon pain of everlasting torment, as thou lovest thy soul, or ever wouldest be received unto everlasting joy and happiness, go not on; turn back again: thou art out of thy way to rest and glory; stand, then, and ask for the good old way, and walk therein."

3. Here is the encouragement propounded, to stir you up to ask for and walk in the good old way.—And that is, "rest for your souls:" (וּמְצֹא מְנוּחָה לְנַפְשְׁכֶם) \* rest, in some measure and from some things, for the present; and rest, perfect and perpetual, in heaven hereafter, for ever. O what ails the sons of men to be so mad upon their lusts and ways of sin, that, though God doth threaten them with everlasting, restless, and (hereafter) remediless torments, [they] will yet go on in the way that leads them thither; and though God promiseth a place and state of rest and love and life, if they will turn their hearts and feet unto the ways that would bring them to it, will notwithstanding keep their sinful course? Which brings to the next part in the words.

4. The obstinacy and wilful rebellion of sinners, and their resolute purpose to the contrary.†—God commands you to walk in a good way, but you will not: he promiseth you rest and happiness if you will, but yet you will not; and doth threaten you with death and hell, and yet you will not. O the hardness of your hearts! O the stubbornness of your wills! How great is it, when [neither] the precepts, nor the promises, nor the threatenings of the great, eternal God, will make you bend, nor bow, nor buckle, to his revealed will! It is your own will that will undo you, if you perish. It is your will that is the great enemy and rebel against the blessed God, against his holy law and ways. Do not plead

\* רָנַע *subitò motus, concitatus, volutus fuit; transivè, movit, volutavit; per antiphrasin, quievit.* (Jer. xlix. 19; et xxxi. 2; Isai. li. 4.)—SCHINDLERUS. "The root from which the Hebrew word for 'rest' is derived signifies, 'He was suddenly moved, set in motion, revolved;' transitively, 'He moved, rolled;' by antiphrasis, 'He caused to rest.'"—EDIT.

† *Hic significat propheta tantum stetisse per Judeos quominus fruerentur rebus prosperis et tranquillo statu, et sponte fuisse miseros; quia Deus proposuerat illis felicem statum; sed contempnam fuisse hanc gratiam ab ipsis, idque pervicaciter: nam hoc sonant verba ubi dicunt, Non ambulabimus.*—CALVINUS. "The prophet here intimates that it was the fault only of the Jews themselves, that they did not enjoy prosperity and tranquillity, and that they were voluntarily miserable; because God had set before them a happy condition; but they had despised this favour, and that perversely: for this is the signification of the words, when they say, 'We will not walk.'"—EDIT.

and say [that] thou *canst* not walk in the good old way; when the reason is rather because thou *wilt* not. It is not so much your impotency, as your obstinacy, that you do not leave your sinful and your wicked ways. You can forbear to swear; but you will not. You can leave your drunkenness; who compels you? who doth constrain and force you? You can, but will not.\* Who puts the cup so often to thy mouth, but thine own hand, commanded so to do by thy own will? Who turns thy tongue to curse and to blaspheme the holy name of God, but thy own will? Who compels thy feet to carry thee to a whore-house? Dost thou not voluntarily move thitherward? and thou goest, not because thou *canst* not forbear, but because thou *wilt* not forbear, to go. Moreover: as thou *canst* leave many of thy wicked ways, if thou wilt, so thou *canst* set upon a better course of life, if thou wilt. Thou *canst* go to sermons, if thou wilt; and thou *canst* consider of what thou hearest, if thou wilt; and thou *canst* fall down upon thy knees and pray to God, if thou wilt: who doth hinder thee, but thine own will? And if thou wilt not do what thou *canst*, is it not a plain case that thou wouldest not do more, though thou couldest? Do not plead that thou *canst* not, till thou hast done the best that thou *canst* do, which yet unto this day thou never hast done. If thou wert now a-dying, *canst* thou say [that] thou hast done thy best, and the most that thou couldest do, to leave the way of sin, and to walk in a better way? Thy own conscience would condemn thee, and tell thee that thou hast not. The day is hastening when it shall be roundly told thee in thy ear, "Thou mightest have been holy, and so happy; but thou wouldest not. Thou wast called to come to Christ, that thou mightest have lived; but thou wouldest not. Thou wast exhorted to ask for and walk in the good old way; but the reason why thou didst not was, because thou wouldest not." And how deservedly are they damned, that are wilful in their ways, and are resolved that in the good way they will not walk!

The text, according to these parts contained in it, would afford so many doctrines; which would yield matter for many practical sermons; but must all be omitted, because I am limited to endeavour to make good this POSITION; namely,

#### POSITION.

• *That Popery is a novelty; and the Protestants' religion was not only before Luther, but the same that was taught by Christ and his apostles.*

For the more clear and distinct proceeding in the handling of this assertion, I shall cast what I have to say (and can bring into one sermon) into this method:—

I. *I shall premise some certain propositions for the better stating of the matter in hand.*

\* *Reprobatio Dei non subtrahit aliquid de potentia reprobati. Unde, licet aliquis non possit gratiam adipisci qui reprobatur a Deo, tamen quod in hoc peccatum vel illud labatur, ex ejus libero arbitrio contingit; unde et merito sibi imputatur in culpam.*—AQUINAS, *Part Prima*, quæst. xxiii. art. 3. "The reprobation of any one by God does not subtract any thing from the power of the reprobate. Whence, although any one who is reprobated by God cannot obtain grace, yet it happens by his own free will that he falls into this or that sin; wherefore it is also justly imputed to him for guilt."—EDIT.

II. *I will give you a parallel or comparison of the doctrines taught by the prophets, Christ, and his apostles; the doctrines of the Protestants, or Reformed churches; and the doctrines of the Papists; by which you may easily discern, that ours is the old and true, but theirs a new and false, religion.*

III. *I will show you that the same religion and doctrine professed and owned by the Protestants was, (after Christ and his apostles,) before Luther, taught and received by many.*

IV. *I will give you an account of some of the material, essential points of Popery, when they first sprang up in the church, and when first made articles of faith with such strictness that they should be accounted heretics that did not profess to believe them, but would oppose them; that, by their original and rise, you may rightly conclude that the charge of novelty laid upon the Popish religion is a just charge.*

V. *I will make some practical application of the whole.*

I. The first part of the method propounded contains these eight PROPOSITIONS:

#### FIRST PROPOSITION.

*That the ordinary way in which lost sinners since the fall of Adam have been recovered and restored to life and salvation, as to the essentials of the covenant of grace, in all ages hath been one and the same.\*—For though God hath “at sundry times and in divers manners,” πολυμερως και πολυτροπως, revealed his will unto his church, (Heb. i. 1,) yet the covenant of grace, (cast out to fallen man, as a plank after shipwreck,) under various external dispensations, hath been the same: under the law administered by promises, prophecies, sacrifices, and circumcision, the paschal lamb, and other types and ordinances delivered to the people of the Jews, all pointing at Christ to come; † under the gospel, by the preaching of the word, and administration of the sacraments, baptism and the Lord’s supper, which is done in commemoration of the death of Christ already past. This way hath been the same to heaven all along—through Christ—successively from Adam to our days, and will be the same to the end of the world; which we might learn from the excellent harmony, perfect agreement, betwixt the doctrine of Moses, the prophets, and Christ and his apostles. For these, “declaring the whole counsel of God,” (Acts xx. 27,) did yet preach no new doctrine concerning Christ and salvation by him, but what Moses and the prophets did say, and that also in reference to the Gentiles as well as to the Jews. (Acts xvi. 22, 23.) To believe on Christ, to love God above all, to repent, and mortify sin, to be sanctified and renewed after the image of God, to be obedient to the will of God, hath been the good way from of old. The*

\* *Ea quippe fides justos servavit antiquos quæ et nos; id est, Mediatoris Dei et hominis, Jesu Christi.*—AUGUSTINUS *De Nat. et Grat.* cap. 44. “That faith, certainly, saved the just men of old which now saves us; that is, the faith of the Mediator between God and man, Christ Je-us.”—EDIT.

† *Christi, veri Sacrificii, multiplicia variæque signa erant sacrificia prisca sanctorum, cum hoc unum per multa figuraretur; tanquam verbis multis res una diceretur, ut sine fastidio multum commendetur.*—AUGUSTINUS *De Civitate Dei*, lib. x. cap. 20. “The ancient sacrifices of the saints were manifold and various signs of Christ, the true Sacrifice; since this alone was set forth by divers figures; as if one thing should be expressed in many words, so as to be much commended without producing tedium.”—EDIT.

new change in outward administrations, made by Christ and the apostles, did not make a new way to heaven ; though the old dispensations then did cease, and give place to those appointed by Christ : which, with the doctrines of the apostles, are retained in the Reformed church ; but are depraved, corrupted, and departed from by the church of Rome ; as will appear by the parallel of doctrines.

SECOND PROPOSITION.

*Antiquity is not a mark of a true church.*—A church of a long standing and continuance successively from age to age might be a false church. The church of Rome, contrary to all reason, makes antiquity a mark whereby a true church might be known ; and, contrary to all history, brags of her own antiquity.\* But that which is a distinguishing mark, to difference one thing from another, must be found in one kind, in all of that kind, only in that kind, and yet always in it : † as, a man hath two feet ; but thereby cannot be distinguished from some other creatures, because this is common to birds as well as men. So, to be skilful in music is proper only to man, but not found in every man ; therefore no mark to know a man by ; for, one that is no musician is a true and real man, as well as he that is. So, also, there might be something proper to one kind of beings, and only to that kind, and to every one of that kind, but not always ; as laughter to mankind only, and to every one, but not always : for though no creature can laugh but man, yet one is as true and real man when he doth not use that action, as when he doth. Again : though man only is endued with learning of arts and sciences amongst living creatures, yet to say [that] this is a mark of a man, were to say that most men in the world were no men : for the most are not so learned ; and the men that are now learned were not always so, and yet had then the true and real nature of men. But if you say, “ A man hath a power or faculty to laugh,” you then give a plain mark to distinguish him from all others : because this power is proper to mankind only, to every one of mankind, only, and always ; and therefore, this being a property of mankind, and inseparable from any of that kind, a difference to distinguish man from all other living creatures might be taken from thence, beside the constitutive specific difference.

By this plain familiar instance the common and unlearned people (to whose capacity the design is to accommodate this sermon) might understand something of the nature of a mark whereby one thing might be known from another ; and, applying this to the business in hand, might

\* *Secunda nota ecclesie est antiquitas : nostra autem ecclesia, quam adversarii Papisticam vocant est illa ipsa quam Christus instituit, et proinde vetustior omnibus sectis hereticorum.*—BELLARMINUS *De Concil. et Eccles.* lib. iv. cap. 5. “ The second mark of the church is antiquity : but our church, which our adversaries term ‘ Popish,’ is the very same which Christ instituted, and therefore more ancient than all the sects of heretics.”—EDIT. † *Propprium convenit soli alicui speciei, omnibusque illius individuis, et semper. Tres notarum conditiones ponit Bellarminus : 1. Debet esse propria, non communes. 2. Debet esse notiores cū re cujus sunt notæ ; aliqui non sunt notæ, sed ignotæ. 3. Sunt inseparabiles a verâ ecclesiâ.*—*Ibid.* cap. 2. “ A distinguishing property belongs to any one kind alone, and to all the individuals of that kind, and always. Bellarmine lays down three conditions of marks : ‘ 1. They ought to be proper, not common. 2. They ought to be better known than the thing of which they are the marks : otherwise they are not notes or well known, but ignotes or unknown. 3. They are inseparable from the true church.’ ”—EDIT.

make a judgment that the Popish braggings of antiquity, alone considered, will fall short of a demonstration, or evidence, that the church of Rome is the only true church; that hereby she cannot prove herself to be a true church; and that upon these two grounds or reasons:—

REASON I. *Because antiquity is separable from a true church.*—As the church of God in Adam's days was a true church; and yet it was not then an ancient church, when it first began: and the Christian church in the apostles' days was a true Christian church; and yet it was not then an ancient Christian church, no more than an infant newly born might be said to be an old man; and yet it is a true man, though not old.

REASON II. *Because antiquity is not only separable from a true church, but is also common to other things now as well as to a true church.*—Yea, it might be spoken of the synagogue of Satan, forasmuch as Satan hath had his followers in the world for many thousand years; and there have been many wicked and ungodly societies of men far more ancient than the church of Rome, or any pope the head thereof. So that the antiquity that the church of Rome boasts of, (but hath not,) cannot prove it to be the true church of Christ, any more than the synagogue of Satan. And that antiquity that indeed she hath, together with her spiritual fornication, may evidence her to be an old harlot, but not the true church. For when she saith [that] she is so old as to be the mother of all other churches, we can name some churches, that she would have to be her daughters, to be more ancient than the church of Rome; but it is absurd to say, the mother is younger than any of the daughters.

### THIRD PROPOSITION.

*As antiquity is not a mark of a true church, so neither is antiquity a note of true doctrine.*—For although all truth is more ancient than error, (error being a corruption of truth,) yet every doctrine that is old or of many hundred years' standing is not therefore true: for there are old errors and old heresies; \* yea, such as are more ancient than those that are properly and formally Popish errors. There are the old errors and heresies of Cerinthus, Ebion, Arius, and many more, of a sooner and more early original than the main doctrines of Popery, that are essential to that religion; and if we judge of doctrines merely by antiquity, many heresies have the precedence before Popery. Since, then, wickedness and error can plead antiquity of many ages; it is plain that antiquity is a praise or dispraise, according to the nature of the thing of which it is spoken: if it be good, the older the better; if it be bad, the older the worse; continuance in sin being an aggravation of it; as an old swearer, an old drunkard or idolater, is worse than one that hath lately taken up such wicked practices. "Antiquity of doctrine and worship, without truth and purity, being but grey-headed error and sin," † it follows that, the longer the church of Rome hath embraced such worship and taught such doctrines, she is not so venerable for her antiquity as vile for her iniquity.

\* *Quodcumque adversus veritatem sapit, hoc erit hæresis, etiam vetus consuetudo.*—TERTULLIANUS *De Virg. Veland.* "Whatever savours of opposition to the truth, this is heresy, even though it be a custom of long standing."—EDIT. † *Consuetudo sine veritate vetustas erroris est.*—CYPRIANI *Epist. ad Pompeium.*

FOURTH PROPOSITION.

*Some of the Popish doctrines and some parts of Popish worship are older and of a longer standing than some other be.*—Rome was not built in one day; and the body and system of Popish doctrine, as now it is held, was not finished in one age. Popery came in by degrees; and Antichrist did rise to this height, as now he is in, step by step. The question propounded by the Papists to be resolved by the Protestants,—saying, Who was the first pope that brought-in their religion? and who was the first that made all the innovations [which] we complain of? \*—is ridiculous and absurd; supposing that to be introduced into the church by one man in one age, which was brought in gradually by many men in many ages.

FIFTH PROPOSITION.

*Those things that are essential to our religion are owned by the Papists themselves.*—For they do profess to own the scripture to be the word of God, and that it is certainly true; but do add their own traditions, things not contained in the scripture, yet “necessary to salvation,” which we cannot receive. They own Christ to be the Head of the church; and so do we: but they add and say that the pope is the head of the universal church also; but so do not we. They own baptism and the Lord’s supper; so do we: but they add five sacraments more; which we deny. They own that there is a heaven and a hell, as well as we; but they teach that there was a place distinct from both, in which the souls of believers were before Christ’s death; and that there is a purgatory, and a place for the souls of infants, distinct from heaven and hell; all which we do deny. They own the merits of Christ; and so do we: but they add their own merits; which we deny. And so in other points. So that the controversy betwixt us and them is *not* whether what we hold be true and old; for that is granted by the Papists themselves, as to the essential parts of our religion: † *but* about what they have invented and added to the true religion. All our religion is contained in the scripture; and what is there we own, and nothing else, as necessary to salvation. The sum of our religion is comprehended in the Ten Commandments, Creed, and Lord’s Prayer; which the Papists also do confess and own. So that our religion is past dispute, and is in a manner granted to us: but whether the Popish doctrines, as such, be true and old, is the very controversy betwixt us and them.

\* *In omni insigni mutatione religionis semper ista res demonstrari possunt: 1. Auctor ejus; 2. Dogma aliquod novum; 3. Tempus quo cepit; 4. Locus ubi cepit; 5. Quis eam oppugnaverit; 6. Eriguus aliquis cætus, unde, paulatim aliis accedentibus, creperit. Nihil autem horum de nobis ostendere possunt (subintellige, hæretici).—BELLARMINUS De Concil. et Eccles. lib. iv. cap. 5.* “In every remarkable change of religion these six things may always be shown: 1. Its author; 2. Some new dogma; 3. The time at which it began; 4. The place where it commenced; 5. Who opposed it; 6. Some small assembly, whence, by the gradual accession of others, it took its rise. But the heretics cannot manifest any of these things with regard to us.”—EDIT. † *Nota secundò ea quæ sunt simpliciter necessaria apostolos consuevisse omnibus prædicare. Dico, illa omnia scripta esse ab apostolis, quæ sunt omnibus necessaria, et quæ ipsi palam omnibus vulgò prædicaverunt.—BELLARMINUS De Verbo Dei, lib. iv. cap. 11.* “In the second place, observe that the apostles were accustomed to preach to all men those things which are simply necessary. I say that all those things were written by the apostles, which are necessary for all, and which they openly and publicly preached to all.”—EDIT.



## SIXTH PROPOSITION.

From the former follows this,—*that there are more things essential to the Popish religion, as such, than there are to our religion.*—They do own our essentials; but we deny theirs. Those in which we and they do agree, are acknowledged by both to be true and old; those in which we differ from them, we truly say, are new.

## SEVENTH PROPOSITION.

*The Reformation of the church doth not consist in bringing-in of new things, but in casting them out and paring them off.*—It is a gross mistake, that in the Reformation, in and since Luther's time, the church hath brought-in new doctrines, and rejected the old; but (which is the truth) [she] hath cast away the new, and retaineth the old. Gold and dross were mixed together; the jewel of truth was hid under the filth of corrupt doctrines: our Reformers kept the jewel and the gold, and cast the dross and filth away. The reception of the old doctrine, and the rejection of the new, is that which made the Reformation: and if the church of Rome would own what is in the scripture, and no more, as necessary to salvation; and would cut off the new, which they have added to the old; we and they should be of the same religion. Our religion was perfect and complete, before the doctrine and the worship of the church of Rome (as now it is) were in being: and if you give a coat to a man, and he afterward put some pieces to it long after it was a coat; if you ask a mendicant or a beggar in the street, he may tell you [that] *that* is the new part *which* was put to it after it was a perfect coat.

## EIGHTH PROPOSITION.

*To know which is the old religion and the new, we must keep to the word of God, as the rule and test thereof.\**—What is not in the word of God, no way, neither expressly nor by just, immediate, necessary consequence; and yet is made necessary to salvation; is certainly a new religion, though it hath been taught many hundred years. Thus all false gods, though long since served and worshipped, are called “new gods that came newly up.” (Deut. xxxii. 17.) The old religion, then, must be examined by the old rule,—the holy scriptures: so that, to determine this, we need not run to the canons of the church, the councils of men, to the decrees of the pope, to the writings of the fathers; which are all fallible, and of later standing than the word of God, as being before any such councils, canons, constitutions, and writings of men since the apostles' time. When, therefore, the Papists ask you, “Where was your religion before Luther?” you might confidently answer, Where their religion never was, nor will be, found: and that is, in the holy scriptures; which were long before Luther was, or the pope either. But if you ask them, Where was their religion in the apostles' times, and several hundred years after Christ? you will put them hard to it to show you; nay, they cannot do it.

\* *Si ad divinæ traditionis caput et originem revertamur, cessat error humanus.*—CYPRIANI *Epist. ad Pomp.* “If we turn our attention to the head and fountain of divine tradition, human error ceases.”—EDIT.

II. The second general head in the method proposed is, *to give you a parallel of doctrines taught by the prophets, Christ, and his apostles; by the Protestants, or Reformed church; by the Papists, or the church of Rome.*—The first shall be laid down in the very words of scripture; the second, out of the public Confessions of faith of the Reformed church in England and beyond the seas; the third, out of the writings and decretals of the popes, councils, cardinals, and other doctors approved by the church of Rome. By all which the three things contained in this position will be made manifest:—First. *That the doctrine of Protestants is the same that was taught by Christ and his apostles.* Secondly. *That therefore it was long before Luther.* Thirdly. *That the doctrine of the church of Rome, differing from, and being contrary to, the doctrine of Christ and his apostles, must be a very novelty.* But here I have not time nor room to make this comparison in all points of differing doctrine betwixt us and them; but shall make choice of some out of many, but enough to prove the thing asserted.

## A PARALLEL OF THE DOCTRINES OF PROPHETS, CHRIST, AND HIS APOSTLES; THE PROTESTANTS; AND PAPISTS.

### I. CONCERNING THE PERFECTION AND SUFFICIENCY OF THE SCRIPTURE UNTO SALVATION.

#### 1. *The doctrine of the prophets, Christ, and apostles, concerning this point.*

“What thing soever I command you, observe to do it: thou shalt not add thereto, nor diminish from it.” (Deut. xii. 32.) “The law of the Lord is perfect, converting the soul.” (Psalm xix. 7.) “But these are written, that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God; and that believing ye might have life through his name.” (John xx. 31.) “But though we, or an angel from heaven, preach any other gospel unto you than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed. As we said before, so say I now again, If any man preach any other gospel unto you than that ye have received, let him be accursed.” (Gal. i. 8, 9.) “And that from a child thou hast known the holy scriptures, which are able to make thee wise unto salvation through faith which is in Christ Jesus. All scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness: that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works.” (2 Tim. iii. 15—17.) “For I testify unto every man that heareth the words of the prophecy of this book, If any man shall add unto these things, God shall add unto him the plagues that are written in this book: and if any man shall take away from the words of the book of this prophecy, God shall take away his part out of the book of life, and out of the holy city, and from the things which are written in this book.” (Rev. xxii. 18, 19.)

#### 2. *The doctrine of the Reformed churches concerning the perfection and sufficiency of the scripture unto salvation.*

“The holy scripture containeth all things necessary for salvation; so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to

be required of any man, that it should be believed as an article of the faith, or be thought requisite and necessary to salvation." \*

"It is not lawful for the church to ordain any thing that is contrary to God's word. As it ought not to decree any thing against the same, so besides the same ought it not to enforce any thing to be believed for necessity of salvation." †

"The whole counsel of God concerning all things necessary for his own glory, man's salvation, faith, and life, is either expressly set down in scripture, or by good and necessary consequence may be deduced from scripture; unto which nothing at any time is to be added, whether by new revelations of the Spirit, or traditions of men." ‡

"The canonical scripture, or the word of God delivered by the Holy Ghost, and by the prophets and apostles propounded to the world, is the most perfect and ancient philosophy; doth alone perfectly contain all piety, all rule of life." §

The Reformed church in France thus: "Whereas the word of God is the sum of all truth, containing whatsoever is requisite to the worship of God and our salvation; we affirm that it is not lawful for men or angels either to add any thing to it or take away any thing from it, or to change any thing at all therein: from whence it follows, that it is not lawful to set either antiquity, or custom, or a multitude, or human wisdom, opinions, decrees, councils, or visions, or miracles, in opposition to divine scripture; but rather that all things ought to be examined and tried according to this rule, and what is prescribed therein." ||

The Belgic Confession thus: "We believe that the holy scripture doth perfectly contain the will of God; and that whatsoever is necessary to be believed by men for the obtaining of salvation, is sufficiently taught therein. For when it is forbidden that any should add to it or take away from it, thereby is abundantly demonstrated that the doctrine thereof is most perfect and every way complete." ¶

Wittemburgh Confession: "That all doctrine necessary to be known by us in order to true and eternal salvation is not contained in the scripture, is sooner said than proved." \*\*

To add no more, by these it is evident that in this point the Reformed churches do not only agree among themselves, but also with the prophets and apostles, teaching herein the same doctrine that Christ and they did; which was the thing to be proved.

\* Church of England, Article 6. † Article 20. ‡ "Assembly's Confession of Faith."

§ *Confessio Helvetica, Syntagma Confessionum*, p. 67. || *Quum verbum Dei sit omnis veritatis summa, complectens quicquid ad cultum Dei et salutem nostram requiritur, neque hominibus neque ipsis etiam angelis fas esse dicimus quicquam ei verbo adicere vel detrudere, vel quicquam prorsus in eo immutare. Ea hoc autem efficitur, neque antiquitatem, consuetudines, neque multitudinem, neque humanam sapientiam, neque iudicia, neque edicta vel decreta ulla, neque concilia, neque visiones, neque miracula, scripturæ illi divinæ opponere licere; sed potius omnia ad ejus regulam et præscriptum examinari et exigi oportere.*—Gallica Confessio, in *Syntag. Confess.* p. 78. ¶ *Credimus sacram hanc scripturam Dei voluntatem perfectè complecti; et quodcumque ab hominibus ut salutem consequantur credi necesse est, in illâ sufficienter edoceri. Quum enim vetitum sit ne quis Dei verbo quicquam addat aut detrahat, satis eo ipso demonstratur, doctrinam illius perfectissimam omnibusque modis consummatam esse.*—Belg. Eccles. Confess. *Syntag.* p. 131.

\*\* In hæc scripturâ non contineri omnem doctrinam nobis ad veram et perpetuam salutem cognitu necessariam, videtur facilius posse dici quàm probari.—*Wittemb. Confess.*, *Syntag.* p. 130.

3. *The doctrine of the Papists concerning the perfection and sufficiency of the scripture.*

The council of Trent declared, "that the doctrine of the gospel is contained in the written word and in unwritten traditions;" and that they did "receive and honour the unwritten traditions, whether appertaining to faith or manners, with the same reverence and holy affection as they did all the books of the Old and New Testament." \*

The canon law saith, that "men do with such reverence respect the apostolical seat of Rome, that they rather desire to know the ancient institution of Christian religion from the pope's mouth, than from the holy scripture: and they only inquire what is his pleasure; and according to it they order their life and conversation." † Again: that "the (popes') Decretal Epistles are to be numbered with canonical scripture." ‡

Dr. Standish, in his book against English Bibles, saith, "Take from them the English damnable translations; and let them learn to give as much credit to that which is not expressed, as to that which is expressed, in the scripture."

Melchior Canus writeth, "that many things belong to Christian faith and doctrine, which are neither plainly nor obscurely contained in holy scripture." And he doth give particular instances: "That the help of the holy martyrs should be craved by prayer, and their memories celebrated, and their images worshipped, and such-like, is not taught in the holy scripture; and yet the Catholic church doth as firmly hold these and many such-like doctrines as if they were written in holy scripture." § Again he says, "There is more efficacy for confutation of heretics in tradition than in scripture." Again: "Almost all disputations with heretics should be referred to the traditions received from our forefathers." ||

Cardinal Hosius speaks out, saying, "The greatest part of the gospel is come to us by tradition; very little of it is committed to writing." ¶

By this, reader, thou mayest plainly perceive that the doctrine of the Papists in this is expressly contrary to the doctrine of the prophets, Christ, and his apostles; and that the doctrine of the Protestants is the

\* *Sacrosancta Tridentina synodus, perspicuens hanc veritatem (evangelii) et disciplinam contineri in libris scriptis et sine scripto traditionibus, omnes libros tam Veteris quàm Novi Testamenti, necnon traditiones ipsas, tum ad fidem, tum ad mores pertinentes, pari pietatis affectu ac reverentiâ suscipit et veneratur.*—Concil. Trident. sess. iv. † Et reverè tantâ reverentiâ apicem præfatus apostolica sedis omnes suspiciunt, ut antiquam Christianæ religionis institutionem magis ab ore præcessoris ejus, quàm a sacris paginis et paternis traditionibus, expectant: illius velle, illius nolle, tantum explorant, ut ad ejus arbitrium suam conversationem et ipsi remittant aut intendant.—Corp. Juris Canon. dist. xl. Si Papa, in annot.

‡ *Inter canonicas scripturas Decretales Epistolæ connumerantur.*—Corp. Juris Canon. dist. xix. § *Mulla pertinere (docet) ad Christianorum fidem et doctrinam quæ nec apertè nec obscure in sacris literis continentur. Sanctorum martyrum auxilium precibus implorandum, eorumque memorias celebrandas, imagines venerandas esse; in sacrificio eucharistiæ simul cum corpore sanguinem sacerdotibus esse et conficiendum et sumendum, &c. sacra litera nusquam fortè tradiderunt.* At ejusmodi atque alia pleraque id genus ita firmiter ecclesia Catholica retinet, ut si sacris codicibus fuissent inscripta.—MELCHIOR CANUS *De Locis Theologicis*, lib. iii. cap. 3. || *Adde, quod ad confutandos hæreticos major vis in traditione quàm in scripturâ est.* Quorsum hæc tam longo sermone repetita? Nempe, ut intelligas, non modò adversum hæreticos plus habere traditionem quàm scripturam virum, sed etiam omnem ferè cum hæreticis disputationem ad traditiones a majoribus acceptas esse referendam.—Ibid.

¶ *Multitque maxima pars evangelii pervenit ad nos traditione; perexigua literis est mandata.*—HOSIUS *Confess. Fid. Cathol.* cap. 92, p. 133, fol.

very same with the doctrine of Christ and the apostles. Compare them together ; and thou wilt see the agreement of the one, and the contrariety of the other, to the doctrine of scripture ; and conclude that the doctrine of the Reformed church is the old and true, but the doctrine of the church of Rome is both new and false, doctrine ; and that what the Rhemists, on Gal. i. 8, say,—“ It is great pity and shame that so many follow Luther and Calvin, and such other lewd fellows, into a new gospel,”—is more true of, and better applied to, the followers of the Popish doctors, or of the Rhemists themselves : who, on 2 Tim. iii. 16, say, “ The heretics, upon this commendation of holy scriptures, pretend (very simply, in good sooth) that therefore nothing is necessary to justice and salvation but scriptures ; ” and, on John xxi. 25, “ Few things are written of Christ’s acts and doctrine in comparison of that which he did and spake ; and yet the heretics will needs have all in scripture : ” whereas the evangelist saith not that any thing is omitted of his doctrine, but of his acts ; for though he spake more words than be expressed, yet all the doctrines that he uttered in those words are contained in the scriptures of the Old and New Testament. The apostles preached nothing but that which was contained in the scriptures. (Acts xvii. 11 ; xxvi. 22 ; Rom. i. 2. FULKE *in loc.*)

## II. OF READING OF THE SCRIPTURE.

1. *The doctrine of the prophets, Christ, and apostles, concerning the common people’s reading and knowing of the scripture.*

“ Gather the people together, men, and women, and children, and thy stranger that is within thy gates, that they may hear, and that they may learn, and fear the Lord your God, and observe to do all the words of this law : and that their children, which have not known any thing, may hear, and learn to fear the Lord your God, as long as ye live in the land.” (Deut. xxxi. 12, 13.) “ There was not a word of all that Moses commanded, which Joshua read not before all the congregation of Israel, with the women, and the little ones, and the strangers that were conversant among them.” (Joshua viii. 35.) “ His delight is in the law of the Lord ; and in his law doth he meditate day and night.” (Psalm i. 2.) [The Ethiopian eunuch] “ was returning, and sitting in his chariot read Esaias the prophet.” (Acts viii. 28.) “ Search the scriptures ; for in them ye think ye have eternal life : and they are they which testify of me.” (John v. 39.) And “ these were more noble than those in Thessalonica, in that they received the word with all readiness of mind, and searched the scriptures daily, whether those things were so.” (Acts xvii. 11.) “ Whereby, when ye read, ye may understand my knowledge in the mystery of Christ.” (Eph. iii. 4.) “ Let the word of God dwell in you richly in all wisdom.” (Col. iii. 16.) “ I charge you by the Lord that this epistle be read unto all the holy brethren.” (1 Thess. v. 27.) “ And that from a child thou hast known the holy scriptures.” (2 Tim. iii. 15.) “ Blessed is he that readeth, and they that hear the words of this prophecy, and keep those things that are written therein.” (Rev. i. 3.)

2. *The doctrine of the Protestants and Reformed churches concerning the people’s reading and knowing of the scriptures.*

“Because the original tongues are not known to all the people of God, who have right unto and interest in the scriptures, and are commanded in the fear of God to read and search them; therefore they are to be translated.” “All sorts of people are bound to read it” (the word of God) “apart by themselves, and with their families.” “It is lawful for all men privately at home to read the holy scriptures, and by instructions to edify one another in the true religion.”\*

3. *The doctrine of the Papists concerning the people's having or reading of the scripture.*

“Whereas experience teacheth that, if the Bible be every where without difference permitted in the vulgar tongue, through men's unadvisedness, more hurt than good doth arise thereby; in this point let the judgment of the bishop or inquisitor be followed; that, with the advice of the parish-priest or confessor, they may grant the reading of the Bible, translated by Catholic authors, in the vulgar language, to such as, they shall understand, can take no hurt by such reading, but increase of faith and godliness: the which licence let them have in writing. And if any presume without such licence either to read or have it, unless they first deliver up their Bibles to the ordinary, they may not have the pardon of their sins. And the booksellers that [to one] without such licence shall sell or any way afford Bibles in the vulgar language, shall forfeit the price of the books, to be converted by the bishop to pious uses; and be liable to such other penalties, according to the quality of the offence, as the bishop shall think meet.”†

Though this is not agreeable to the doctrine of Christ and his apostles,—that men must not read the scripture without a licence from men; for so what is strictly commanded by God would be at the pleasure of others, whether God be obeyed or no: and some liberty by pope Pius IV. doth seem to be granted for the reading of the Bible to whom they please; yet it is taken away fully by pope Clement VIII., in his observation on this before-alleged rule, in these words:—

“It is to be observed concerning this rule of Pius IV., that by this impression and edition no new power is granted to bishops or inquisitors or superiors to license the buying, reading, or keeping the Bible in the vulgar tongue; seeing hitherto, by the command and practice of the holy Roman and universal Inquisition, the power of granting such licences to read or keep Bibles in the vulgar language, or any parts of the holy scripture, as well of the New as of the Old Testament, or any sums or historical abridgments of the same, in any vulgar

\* *Omnibus sacras literas privatim legere domi et instruendo edificare mutuum in verâ religione, liceat.*—*Confess. Helvet.* cap. 22.

† *Cum experimento manifestum sit, si sacra Biblia vulgari lingua passim sine discrimine permittantur, plus inde, ob hominum temeritatem, detrimenti quàm utilitatis oriri; hæc in parte iudicio episcopi aut inquisitoris stetur; ut, cum consilio parochi vel confessorii, Bibliorum, a Catholicis auctoribus versorum, lectionem in vulgari lingua eis concedere possint, quos intellexerint ex huiusmodi lectione non dumnum, sed fidei atque pietatis augmentum, capere posse: quam facultatem in scriptis habeant. Qui autem absque tali facultate ea legere aut habere presumpserint, nisi prius Bibliis ordinario redditis, peccatorum absolutionem percipere non possint. Bibliopola verò qui prædictam facultatem non habenti Biblia idiomate vulgari conscripta vendiderint, vel alio quovis modo concesserint, librorum pretium, in usus pios ab episcopo convertendum, amittant, aliisque pœnis pro delicti qualitate ejusdem episcopi arbitrio subiaceant.*—*Index Lib. prohib. regul.* 4.

language, hath been taken from them; which inviolably is to be observed.”\*

Cardinal Bellarmine to the same purpose teacheth, that “the people would get not only no good, but much hurt, from the scriptures; for they would easily take occasion of erring, both in doctrines of faith, and in precepts concerning life and manners.”†

Peresius (quoted by Dr. White) saith, “Shall no bounds be set to popular, rude, and carnal men? Shall old men before they have put off the filth of their mind, and young men that yet speak like children, be admitted to read the scripture? I suppose verily, (and my opinion fails me not,) this ordinance, under the pretence of piety, was invented by the devil.”

The Rhemist translators in their preface write in these words: “Which translation we do not publish upon erroneous opinion of necessity that the holy scriptures should always be in our mother-tongue; or that they ought, or were ordained of God, to be read indifferently of all; or that we generally and absolutely deemed it more convenient in itself, and more agreeable to God’s word and honour, or edification of the faith, to have them turned into vulgar tongues, than to be kept and studied only in the ecclesiastical learned languages.” “The wise will not regard what some wilful people do mutter,—that the scriptures are made for all men; and that it is of envy that the priests do keep the holy book from them: which suggestion cometh of the same serpent that seduced our first parents; who persuaded them that God had forbidden them that tree of knowledge lest they should be as cunning as himself and like unto the Highest. No, no; the church doth it to keep them from blind, ignorant presumption, and from that which the apostle calls ‘knowledge falsely so called;’ and not to bar them from the true knowledge of Christ.” “She knoweth how to do it, without casting the holy to dogs, or pearls to hogs.”

Bravely said! O the excellent art of the mother-church, that, by keeping of her sons and daughters ignorant of the word of God, (the means of knowledge,) keeps them from blindness and ignorance! Who ever thought that to keep people in ignorance had been the way to keep them from it? What pretty conceit is this,—that they bar the people from knowing the scripture, and yet do not bar them from the knowledge of Christ; when Christ bids us “search the scriptures; for they are they that testify of” him!

### III. OF RELIGIOUS WORSHIP IN A KNOWN TONGUE.

#### 1. *The doctrine of the scripture concerning this point.*

“He that speaketh in an unknown tongue speaketh not unto men,

\* *Animadvertendum est circa suprascriptam quartam regulam Indicis Pii Papæ IV., nullam per hanc impressionem et editionem de novo tribui facultatem episcopis vel inquisitoribus aut regularium superioribus concedendi licentiam emendi, legendi, aut retinendi Biblia vulgari lingvæ edita; cùm hactenus mandato et usu sanctæ Romanæ et universalis Inquisitionis sublatâ eis fuerit facultas concedendi hujusmodi licentias legendi vel retinendi Biblia vulgaria, aut alias sacræ scripturæ tam Novi quàm Vetus Testamenti partes quavis vulgari lingvæ editas, ac insuper summaria et compendia etiam historica eorundem Bibliorum, seu librorum sacræ scripturæ, quocunque vulgari idiomate conscripta; quod quidem inviolatè servandum est.—Index Lib. prohib. observatio circa reg. 4. † Populus non solum non caperet fructum ex scripturis, sed etiam caperet detrimentum; acciperet enim facillimè occasionem errandi, tum in doctrinâ fidei, tum in præceptis vitæ et morum.—BELLARMINUS De Verbo Dei, lib. II. cap. 15.*

out unto God : for no man understandeth him ; howbeit in the spirit he speaketh mysteries." (1 Cor. xiv. 2. Read verses 3—8.) "Só likewise ye, except ye utter by the tongue words easy to be understood, how shall it be known what is spoken? for ye shall speak into the air. If I know not the meaning of the voice, I shall be unto him that speaketh a barbarian, and he that speaketh shall be a barbarian unto me. For if I pray in an unknown tongue, my spirit prayeth, but my understanding is unfruitful. Else when thou shalt bless with the spirit, how shall he that occupieth the room of the unlearned say Amen at thy giving of thanks, seeing he understandeth not what thou sayest? I thank my God, I speak with tongues more than ye all : yet in the church I had rather speak five words with my understanding, that by my voice I might teach others also, than ten thousand words in an unknown tongue." (Verses 9, 11, 14, 16, 18, 19. Read also verses 22—28.)

2. *The doctrine of the Reformed churches concerning religious worship in a known tongue.*

"It is a thing plainly repugnant to the word of God and the custom of the primitive church, to have public prayer in the church, or to minister sacraments, in a tongue not understood by the people."\*

"Because the original tongues are not known to all the people, who have right unto and interest in the scriptures, and are commanded in the fear of God to read and search them ; therefore they are to be translated into the vulgar language of every nation unto which they come ; that, the word of God dwelling plentifully in all, they might worship him in an acceptable manner."†

" 'Let all things' in the church 'be done decently and in order ;' finally, 'let all things be done to edification :' therefore let all strange tongues keep silence in the holy assemblies ; let all things be uttered in the vulgar tongue, which is understood of all men in the company."‡

"Contrary to the express command of the Holy Ghost, in the church all things are said and sung in a language which the people do not understand."§

"What hath been already said concerning the use of a language known to the common people, is to be understood not only in singing of psalms, but also of all the parts of the ecclesiastical ministry ; for, as sermons and prayers ought to be in a tongue known unto the church, so also should the sacraments be dispensed in a known language. For though it be lawful for the sake of the learned sometimes to use a strange tongue, yet the consent of the universal church requires" (proves) "this,—that the necessary services of the church should be done in the mother-tongue."||

\* Church of England, Article 24. † "Assembly's Confession." ‡ *Omnia decenter et ordine fiant in ecclesiâ ; omnia denique fiant ad ædificationem : taceant ergo omnes peregrinæ linguæ in cultibus sacris ; omnia proponantur linguâ vulgari, quæ eo in loco ab hominibus in cœtu intelligatur.*—*Confess. Helvet.* cap. 23. § *Contra expressum Spiritûs Sancti præceptum, in eâ omnia dicuntur et canuntur linguâ quam populus non intelligit.*—*Confess. Argentinensis*, cap. 21. || *Quod jam dictum est de usu linguæ vulgus notæ, intelligendum est non tantum de cantu psalmorum, sed etiam de omnibus partibus ecclesiastici ministerii ; sicut enim conciones et precatîones linguâ ecclesiæ notâ habendæ sunt, ita et sacramenta noto sermone dispensanda sunt. Etsi enim licebit aliquoties peregrinâ linguâ propter studiosos uti, tamen consensus catholice ecclesiæ hoc exigit,—ut necessaria ministeria ecclesiæ fiant sermone vernaculo.*—*Confess. Wittenb.*, de Horis canon.



“Our” ministers “use all diligent endeavours, that they may teach in the church and preach the word of the gospel, without mixture of human traditions; do read the very gospels and other scriptures in the churches in the vulgar tongue, and after do interpret them to the people.”\*

3. *The doctrine of the Papists concerning public religious worship in a known tongue.*

“Although the Mass containeth much instruction of the people, yet the fathers thought it not expedient that it should be every where celebrated in the vulgar tongue.”†

“Experience teaching us, we have learned what hath been the fruit of this,—that divine service in many places translated into the mother-tongue is said. It is so far [from causing] that piety should be increased, that it is much diminished thereby.”‡

The Rhemist divines, on 1 Cor. xiv., thus: “We do not doubt but it is acceptable to God, and available in all necessities, and more agreeable to the use of all Christian people ever since their conversion, to pray in Latin, than in the vulgar; though every one in particular understandeth not what he saith. So it is plain that such pray with as great consolation of spirit, with as little tediousness, with as great devotion and affection, and sometimes more than the other,” (such of their own church that learn their Pater-noster in their vulgar tongue,) “and always more than any schismatic or heretic” (Protestants) “in his own language.” “There is a reverence and majesty in the church’s tongue dedicated in our Saviour’s cross; and [it] giveth more force and valour [weight] to them” (prayers) “said in the church’s obedience, than to others.” “The special use of them” (prayers) “is, to offer our hearts, desires, and wants to God, and to show that we hang on him in all things: and this every Catholic doth for his condition, whether he understand the words of his prayer or not.” “It is enough that they can tell this holy orison to be appointed to us,—to call upon God in all our desires: more than this is not necessary; and the translation of such holy things often breedeth manifold danger and irreverence in the vulgar, (as, to think [that] God is the author of sin, when they read, ‘Lead us not into temptation,’) and seldom any edification at all. To conclude: for praying either publicly or privately in Latin, which is the common sacred tongue of the greatest part of the Christian world, this is thought by the wisest and godliest to be most expedient, and is certainly seen to be nothing repugnant to St. Paul.”

Reader, view over again 1 Cor. xiv.; and wonder at this Popish insolvency,—to say, “This is nothing repugnant to St. Paul.”

#### IV. OF THE AUTHORITY OF THE SCRIPTURE.

1. *The doctrine of the apostles concerning the authority of the scripture*,—that it doth not depend upon the testimony of men.

\* *Nostri omnem operam navant, ut verbum evangelii, impermixtum humanis traditionibus, in Ecclesiâ doceant ac prædicent; proinde ipsa evangelia, necnon alias scripturas, lingvâ vulgari in templis legunt; ac ita demum populo interpretantur.*—*Confess. Bohemica*, artic. 10.

† *Etsi Missa magnam contineat populi fidelis eruditionem, non tamen expedire visum est patribus ut vulgari passim lingvâ celebraretur.*—*Concil. Trident.* sess. xxii.  
‡ *Experientia magistra didicimus quid fructus ea res attulerit, quod in plerisque locis officia divina in linguâ vernaculâ ad verbum translata decantentur. Tantum abest ut accesserit ad pietatem aliquid plus, ut etiam diminutum esse videatur.*—*Hobius De Sacro vernaculâ legendo.*

“We have also a more sure word of prophecy; whereunto ye do well that ye take heed, as unto a light that shineth in a dark place.” (2 Peter i. 19.) “Holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost.” (Verse 21.) “All scripture is given by inspiration from God.” (2 Tim. iii. 16.) “If we receive the witness of men, the witness of God is greater.” (1 John v. 9.) “Ye received the word of God which ye heard of us, not as the word of men, but as it is in truth, the word of God.” (1 Thess. ii. 13.)

2. *The doctrine of the Protestants or Reformed churches concerning the authority of the scripture.*

“The authority of holy scripture, for which it ought to be believed and obeyed, dependeth not upon the testimony of any man or church, but wholly upon God, (who is Truth itself,) the Author thereof; and therefore it is to be received, *because it is the word of God.*” \*

“We believe without wavering all things which are contained in the scriptures; not so much because the church alloweth and receiveth them for canonical, as for that the Holy Ghost beareth witness to our consciences that they come from God, and [they] have proof thereof in themselves.” †

“We believe and confess that the canonical scriptures of the prophets and apostles, of the Old and New Testament, be the true word of God; and have sufficient authority from themselves, and not from men: for God himself spake unto the fathers, prophets, and apostles; and doth yet speak unto us by the holy scriptures.” ‡

“We acknowledge these books to be canonical; that is, we receive them as the rule of our faith; and that not only from the common consent of the church, but much rather from the testimony and inward persuasion of the Holy Spirit.” §

“As we do believe and confess that the word of God doth sufficiently instruct, and make the man of God perfect; so we do affirm and freely profess that its authority is from God, and doth not depend upon men or angels. We therefore assert, that they who say, ‘The scripture hath no other authority but what it receiveth from the church,’ are blasphemers against God, and wrong the true church, which always heareth and obeyeth the voice of her Bridegroom and Pastor, but never challengeth to herself a power to be the mistress over it.” ||

“Forasmuch as the holy scriptures were given and inspired by God

\* “Assembly’s Confession.” † *Omnia quæ canonicis libris continentur abaque omni dubitatione credimus; idque non tam quodd ecclesia eos pro hujusmodi recipiat et approbet, quàm imprimis quodd Spiritus Sanctus in cordibus nostris testetur a Deo profectos esse, conprobationemque ejus in seipsis habeant.*—*Confess. Belg. artic. 6.* ‡ *Credimus et confitemur scripturas canonicas sanctorum prophetarum et apostolorum utriusque Testamenti ipsum verum esse verbum Dei; et auctoritatem sufficientem ex semetipsis, non ex hominibus, habere. Nam Deus ipse loquutus est patribus, prophetis et apostolis; et loquitur adhuc nobis per scripturas sanctas.*—*Confess. Helvet. cap. 1.* § *Hos libros agnoscimus esse canonicos; id est, ut fidei nostræ normam et regulam habemus; idque non tantum ex communi ecclesiæ consensu, sed etiam multò magis ex testimonio et intrinsicâ Spiritus Sancti persuasione.*—*Confess. Gallica, art. 4.* || *Sicut credimus et confitemur scripturas Dei sufficienter instruere, et hominem Dei perfectum reddere; ita ejus auctoritatem a Deo esse, et nec ab homine vel angelo pendere, affirmamus et profiteamur. Asserimus ilaque quodd qui dicunt scripturam non aliam habere auctoritatem sed eam quam ab ecclesiâ accepit, sunt in Deum blasphemæ, et veræ ecclesiæ injuriam faciunt; quæ semper audit et voci Sponsi et Pastoris sui obsequitur, nunquam autem magistratam agere sibi arrogat.*—*Confess. Scotchana, art. 19.*

himself for this cause especially,—that they might be understood of all ; they are read in our churches in the vulgar tongue.” \*

3. *The doctrine of the Papists concerning the authority of the scripture.*

Cardinal Hosius, president in the council of Trent, saith, “To ask whether more credit should be given to the scripture or the church, is to ask whether more credit should be given to the Holy Ghost speaking by the mouth of the church, or to the Holy Ghost speaking in the scripture by the writings of the prophets and apostles. The church is to be believed without the authority of the scriptures. If authority be not granted to the testimony of the church, the writings of the evangelists would be of no authority.” †

Hermannus speaks most contemptuously of the holy scriptures inspired by the glorious God ; saying, “When the authority of the church leaveth the scriptures, they then are of no more account than *Æsop's Fables*.”

Pighius treads in the steps of the rest ; concluding that “all the authority which the scripture hath with us, dependeth of necessity on the church.” ‡

And so doth Canus ; asserting that “we are not bound to take the scriptures for scripture without the authority of the church.” § And so do many more, whose sayings we have not room to insert.

V. OF THE JUDGE OF CONTROVERSIES AND EXPOUNDING SCRIPTURES.

1. *The doctrine of Christ and his apostles concerning the judge of controversies and expounding scriptures.*

“Jesus answered and said unto them,” (in the controversy about the resurrection,) “Ye do err, not knowing the scriptures, nor the power of God. But as touching the resurrection of the dead, have ye not read that which was spoken unto you by God, saying, I am the God of Abraham,” &c. (Matt. xxii. 29, 31, 32.) “For he mightily convinced the Jews, and that publicly, showing by the scriptures that Jesus was the Christ.” (Acts xviii. 28.) “And Paul, as his manner was, went in unto them, and three sabbath-days reasoned with them out of the scriptures, opening and alleging, that the Christ must needs have suffered, and risen again from the dead ; and that this Jesus, whom I preach unto you, is the Christ.” (Acts xvii. 2, 3. See Acts xxvi. 22 ; xiii. 33.)

The apostle teacheth that the scripture must not be expounded according to any private interpretation : (2 Peter i. 20 :) and such is any exposition that is not “according to the analogy of faith ;” which must be carefully heeded in scripture-interpretation, according to the apostle's doctrine. (Rom. xii. 6.)

2. *The doctrine of the Protestants and Reformed churches concerning the judge of controversies and expounding scripture.*

“The supreme judge by which all controversies of religion are to

\* *Quid a Deo ipso sacra scriptura tradita et inspirata, hancque ob causam potissimum, —ut ab omnibus intelligantur ; eas ecclesiis nostris lingua vulgari (nostris omnes) legunt et recitant. — Confess. Bohemica, art. 1. † Creditum est ecclesie sine omni scripturarum præsidio. Testimonio ecclesie si non sua tribuetur autoritas, nulla erit eorum quæ scripta sunt ab evangelistis autoritas. — Hosii Confess. Fid. Cath. cap. 15. ‡ Pighius De Hierarch. lib. 1. cap. 2. § Melchioris Cani Loc. Com. lib. II. cap. 8.*

be determined, and all decrees of councils, opinions of ancient writers, doctrines of men and private spirits, are to be examined, and in whose sentence we are to rest, can be no other but the Holy Spirit speaking in the scripture." \*

"We hold no other judge in matters of faith than God himself, declaring by the holy scriptures what is true and what is false, what ought to be embraced and what to be avoided." †

"The infallible rule of interpretation of scripture is the scripture itself; and therefore, when there is a question about the true and full sense of any scripture, it must be searched and known by other places of scripture that speak more clearly." ‡

"We acknowledge that interpretation of scripture only to be orthodox and genuine, which is fetched from the scriptures themselves." § So other churches in their Confessions. ||

3. *The doctrine of the Papists concerning the judge of controversies and expounding scripture.*

The council of Trent decreed that "none should interpret the holy scripture contrary to the meaning which the holy mother-church, to whom it doth belong to judge of the true sense and interpretation of scripture, hath held and doth hold." ¶

"Forasmuch as the holy church of Rome is set up to the whole world for a glass or example, whatsoever she determineth or ordaineth ought by all perpetually and invincibly to be observed." So their canon-law.\*\*

Others of them to the same purpose: "All power to interpret scripture, and reveal the hidden mysteries of our religion, is given from heaven to the popes and their councils. We are bound to stand to the judgment of the pope, rather than to the judgment of all the world besides."

"We do constantly avouch all the popes that are rightly elected to be Christ's vicars, and to have the highest power in the Catholic church; and that we are bound to obey him in all things pertaining to faith and religion. All Catholic men must necessarily submit their judgment and opinions, either in expounding the scripture or otherwise, to the censure of the apostolic seat; and God hath bound his church to hear the chief pastor in all points." Thus Andradius, Alvarus, Pelagius, Simanca. (WHITE's "Way to the Church," p. 37.)

Bellarmino sticks so close to the judgment of the pope, that he had as good say that if the pope say that black is white or white black, that darkness is light or that light is darkness, we must believe it because his infallible Holiness saith it, as say what he doth in these words:

"If the pope did err, commanding vices and forbidding virtues; the church should be bound to believe that vices are good and virtues evil, unless she would sin against conscience." †† Is not this a notable saying, spoken like a cardinal?

\* "Assembly's Confession."

† *Confess. Helvet. cap. 2.*

‡ "Assembly's

Confession." § *Confess. Scotiana, art. 18, de Notis Ecclesiæ.*

|| *Confess.*

*Helvet. cap. 2; Confess. Wittenberg., de sacrâ Scripturâ, et de Ecclesiâ.*

¶ *Nemo*

*sacras scripturas contra eum sensum quem tenuit et tenet sancta mater ecclesia, cujus est judicare de vero sensu et interpretatione scripturarum sanctarum, interpretari audeat.—*

*Concil. Trid. sess. iv.*

\*\* *Corpus Jur. Can. dist. xix. cap. Enimvero.*

†† *To*

prove [that] the pope cannot err, he useth this argument: *Si autem papa erraret præci-*

Stapleton, advancing the judgment of the church, speaks resolvedly : "I have said, and do say, that scripture in itself is not so much the rule of faith, as the faith of the church is the rule of scripture." \*

And Gregory of Valence puts in his saying for the pope's judgment : "In the Roman bishop resideth that full authority of the church, when he pleaseth, to determine matters of faith, whether he doth it with a council or without." †

Yea, the canon law sets him up for such an uncontrollable judge, that "if the pope, by his negligence or remissness in his work, be found unprofitable to himself or others ; or if he should draw with him innumerable souls by heaps or troops to hell ; yet might no mortal man be so bold or presumptuous [as] to reprove him ; because he is the judge of all, to be judged by none." ‡

#### VI. OF THE HEAD OF THE UNIVERSAL CHURCH.

1. *The doctrine of Christ and his apostles concerning the head of the universal church.*

"But be not ye called Rabbi : for one is your Master, even Christ ; and all ye are brethren." (Matt. xxiii. 8.) "And hath put all things under his feet, and gave him to be the Head over all things to the church, which is his body, the fulness of him that filleth all in all." (Eph. i. 22, 23.) "Christ is the Head of the church : and he is the Saviour of the body." (Eph. v. 23.) "And he" (Christ) "is the Head of the body, the church." (Col. i. 18.) "And God hath set some in the church, first apostles, secondarily prophets, thirdly teachers," &c. (1 Cor. xii. 28.) "And he gave some, apostles," &c. ; "and some, pastors and teachers." (Eph. iv. 11.)

Reader, observe, in these places where the apostle gives an enumeration of church-officers, here is no mention of a vicar of Christ, or of any mortal man being the head under Christ of all the churches of Christ in the world : and is it likely that he would have omitted the chiefest and most principal officer, that is essential to the church, if there had been any such ? I can find several officers mentioned, but no universal, though secondary, head. If I have overlooked him, and thou findest any such, do me the kindness to come, or send, and tell me that thou hast found him in the apostle's catalogue ; whom I could not see mentioned, neither expressly nor reductively : *not expressly* ; that is plain : *not reductively* ; for to which of these should he be reduced ? To the prophets ? Let me hear his prophecies, and when any of them have been fulfilled : besides, I know not that he pretends thereto. To be an apostle ? Apostles went up and down to preach the gospel, and were not fixed to any particular state ; which is not the case of the bishop of Rome. To the number of teachers and pastors ? This is below the pope, —to be ranked amongst such ; for he is the pastor of pastors. Besides,

*piendo vitio, prohibendo virtutes, tenebatur ecclesia credere vitia esse bona et virtutes malas, nisi vellet contra conscientiam peccare ; ac ne fortè contra conscientiam agat, tenebatur credere bonum esse quod ille præcipit, malum quod ille prohibet.*—BELLARMINUS *De Pont.* lib. iv. cap. 5.

\* STAPLETONUS *De Autorit. Scrip.* lib. ii. cap. 11.

*Analysis Fidei*, lib. viii. cap. 1.

† GREGORII DE VALENTIA

‡ *Corpus Juris Cun.* dist. xl. *Si papa, &c.*

in the catalogue there are many pastors ; but I see not one to be the chief and head of all the rest, and of the whole universal church. So that in the catalogue of the apostle there is no such thing ; but [it] is a *non-ens* [“non-entity”], a mere chimera, a fiction.

2. *The doctrine of the Protestants or Reformed churches concerning the head of the universal church.*

“There is no other head of the church but the Lord Jesus Christ ; nor can the pope of Rome in any sense be head thereof. All true pastors, in what place soever they be placed, have the same and equal authority among themselves, given unto them under Jesus Christ, the only Head, and the chief, and alone universal, Bishop. And therefore it is not lawful for any church to challenge unto itself dominion or sovereignty over any other church. The bishop of Rome hath no more jurisdiction over the church of God, than the rest of the patriarchs, either of Alexandria or Antioch, have.”

To this doctrine subscribe the churches of Helvetia, Scotland, Belgia, Wittemberg, Bohemia, &c.\*

3. *The doctrine of the Papists concerning the head of the church.*

The canon-law makes the church of Rome higher than all others by the head ; affirming the church of Rome to be “the head and prince of all nations, the mother of faith ;” that it “had this headship, not from the apostles, but from the Lord himself ; and hath the eminency of power over the universal church, and the whole flock of Christian people ; [and is] the hinge and head of all churches ; as the door doth turn upon the hinges, so all churches by God’s appointment” (but where, I wonder) “are governed by the authority of this holy seat ; the first of all other seats, without spot or blemish, or any such thing ;” (that is a loud one !) “the mistress of all other churches ; a glass and spectacle unto all men, to be followed in all things [which] she appointeth.” “Against which church of Rome whosoever speaketh any evil, or endeavours to take away her privilege, is forthwith a heretic ; and whoso shall refuse obedience to the apostolic seat, is an idolater, a witch, and Pagan.” †

Reader, these are high and swelling words ; but the best on [of] it is, [that] it is false doctrine.

The Roman Catechism propounds the question, “What are we to think of the bishop of Rome ?” and answereth, “The account and unanimous opinion of all the fathers” (O horrible falsehood !) “concerning him was, that this visible head was necessary to the constituting and preserving of the unity of the church.” ‡

Reader, thou shouldest know that this is a great cause of division, not of union ; for many churches have separated from them, and continue without communion with them, for this as well as for other reasons.

\* *Confess. Helvet. cap. 17 ; Confess. Scoticana, art. 16, de Ecclesiâ ; Confess. Belgica, art. 29 ; Confess. Wittemb., de summo Pontifice ; Confess. Bohemica, art. 8.* † *Corpus Juris Can., Decret. pars II. quest. VII. cap. Beati ; dist. XXII. cap. Romana Ecclesiâ cæterarum Primatum habet, et Gloss. ; dist. XXII. cap. Non, et Gloss., Sacrosancta ; dist. XXI. cap. Quamvis ; ibid. cap. Denique ; dist. XIX. cap. Enimvero ; dist. XXII. cap. Omnes ; dist. LXXXI. P. Greg. VII. cap. Si qui.* ‡ *Catechismus Tridentinus, in Expos. Symb. Apost.*

Bellarmino lays down this assertion: "The pope is immediately appointed by Christ" (but I wonder where) "the pastor and head, not only of all particular churches, but also of the whole universal church taken together."\* But this is their so well-known doctrine by all, that I need quote no more that do assert it.

#### VII. OF INFALLIBILITY.

##### 1. *The doctrine of the apostles concerning the fallibility of churches and pastors.*

"For now we see through a glass, darkly: now I know" but "in part." (1 Cor. xiii. 12.) "But when Peter was come to Antioch, I withstood him" (Peter, the pope's pretended predecessor): "to the face, because he was to be blamed." (And yet his successor must not be blamed, though through his negligence he should draw many to hell; as before is shown.) "For before that certain came from James, he" (Peter) "did eat with the Gentiles: but when they were come, he withdrew and separated himself, fearing them which were of the circumcision. But when I saw that they walked not uprightly according to the truth of the gospel, I said unto Peter before them all," &c. (Gal. ii. 11—14.) Reader, from hence thou mayest learn that the successor, so called, claimeth a greater privilege than his supposed predecessor had; for Peter did err, but the pope, forsooth, cannot. Yet Papists call this text "a rough scripture;" for it so puzzleth them, that they know not how to answer it. [See] Rom. xi. 18—21; turn to it,—verse 22: "Behold therefore the goodness and severity of God: on them" (the church of the Jews) "which fell, severity; but toward thee," (the Gentiles, and [the] church of Rome amongst them,) "goodness, if thou continue in his goodness:" (as she hath not:) "otherwise thou also shalt be cut off." Where then is her infallibility? "Babylon the great is fallen, is fallen, and is become the habitation of devils," (and yet cannot err; no more may devils,) "and the hold of every foul spirit," (and yet boasts [that] she is without spot,) "and a cage of every unclean and hateful bird," (Rev. xviii. 2,) and yet is the holy mother-church. All this is hard to be reconciled. Read also, [in] the second and third chapters of the Revelation, what is said of the seven churches; and then look for good proof that infallibility is settled by Christ upon the church of Rome above all other churches, before thou believest any such privilege to be granted to it.

##### 2. *The doctrine of the Protestants and Reformed churches concerning the fallibility of churches.*

"As the churches of Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Antioch have erred; so also the church of Rome hath erred; not only in their living and manner of ceremonies, but also in matters of faith."† "When general councils are gathered together, (forasmuch as they be an assembly of men, whereof all be not governed with the Spirit and word of God,) they may err, and sometime have erred, even in things pertaining unto God."‡ Hereunto agree many other churches in their Confessions. §

\* BELLARMINUS *De Concil. Autorit.* lib. ii. cap. 15. † Church of England, art. 19.  
 ‡ Article 21. § Confess. Helvet., de Ecclesiâ; Confess. Saxon., de Eccles.; Confess. Wittenberg., de Conciliis.

3. *The doctrine of the Papists concerning [the] infallibility of the church.*

They teach that "the visible church, whose rector is the pope of Rome, never hath erred, never can err." \*

Bellarmino affirmeth, (1.) "That the pope, when he teacheth the whole church, can in no case err in things appertaining to faith." † (2.) "Not only the pope of Rome, but the particular church of Rome, cannot err in faith." ‡ (3.) "The pope of Rome cannot err, not only in decrees of faith, but also not in precepts of manners which are prescribed to the whole church and are necessary to salvation, or in those things which in themselves are good or evil." § (4.) "It is probably and piously to be believed, that the pope not only as pope cannot err, but as a particular person cannot be a heretic," (this is a foul mistake; for several popes have been heretics in the judgments of some of their popes: so that some of them must needs err; either some of them in being heretics; or others of them in saying they were, if they were not,) "by pertinaciously believing any thing that is false, contrary to the faith." || (5.) Saith he, "Our opinion is, that the church cannot absolutely err; neither in things absolutely necessary, nor in other things which she propoundeth to be believed or done by us, whether they be expressly contained in the scriptures or not." ¶ (6.) "In these two things all the Catholics do agree: First. That the pope with his general council cannot err in making decrees of faith, or general precepts of manners. Secondly. That the pope, alone or with his particular council, determining any thing in a doubtful matter, whether he may err or not, ought to be obeyed by all the faithful." \*\* A goodly agreement!

Becanus gives the opinion of the Papists; saying, "(i.) That the church is the judge of controversies. (ii.) That the rule by which the church doth determine controversies, or give its definitive sentence, is not the scripture only, but the scripture and tradition together. (iii.) That the church according to the rule" (of scripture and tradition) "pronounceth sentence, either by the pope, the pastor of the church; or by a council approved by the pope; and both ways infallibly." ††

Pighius also puts in his judgment that "the pope cannot any way be a heretic, nor publicly teach heresy, though he alone determine any matter." ‡‡

But, reader, notwithstanding all this confidence of infallibility, whether of pope or councils or both, they are proved to have erred, from the historical narratives of their own writers. Baronius acknowledgeth that pope Honorius was counted a heretic, joining with the Monothelites, or those that denied two wills in Christ; §§ and [this is acknowledged] by their own Genebrard, ||| and by the Rhemists: though some of them go one way, and some another, to save the infallibility; yet in vain, when he was condemned by a general council, and anathematized, with six more,

\* *Catechismus Trident.*, in *Expos. Symb. Apost. de Eccles.* quæst. 15; "Test. Rhemist. Annot." on 1 Tim. i. 15; and Eph. v. 24. † *BELLARMINUS De Rom. Pontif.* lib. iv. cap. 3. ‡ *Ibid.* lib. iv. cap. 4. § *Ibid.* lib. iv. cap. 5. || *Ibid.* lib. iv. cap. 6. ¶ *Idem De Eccles. Milit.* lib. iii. cap. 14. \*\* *Idem De Rom. Pont.* lib. iv. cap. 2. †† *Catholici tria docent*, &c.—*BECANI Manuale*, lib. i. cap. 5.

‡‡ *PIGHIUS De Hier. Eccl.* lib. iv. cap. 8. §§ *SPONDANI Epitome BARONII*, pars ii. p. 96. ||| *GENEBRARDI Chron.* lib. iii. p. 484.



holding the same heresy; and this when the legates of pope Agatho were present; whose epistles to Sergius, &c., were produced and read in the council, and judged heretical, destructive to men's souls, and condemned to be presently burned; and so they were.\*

Their own Baronius also gives an account of the barbarous actings of pope Stephen VII. (called "the sixth") toward the dead body of Formosus, his predecessor: for, taking it out of the sepulchre, [he] set it, clothed in its *pontificalibus*, ["pontificals,"] in the pontifical seat; and, after he had derided it, took off its vestments, and cut off three fingers, and cast it into the river Tiber: and all that Formosus had ordained, he degraded, and ordained them again.† "This pope," saith the author, "gathering a synod, approved his inhuman fact [deed]; which was condemned again by pope John IX., as he had made void the decrees of Formosus." And thus they can decree, and others rescind and decree the contrary, and act worse than Heathens; and yet not err, any of them, in faith or manners; which to any man's reason seemeth very strange.

Besides, Marcellinus was an idolater; ‡ Liberius, an Arian; § Siricius, Calixtus, Leo IX., and Paschalis condemned ministers' marriage. John XXII. held, that the souls of the wicked should not be punished till the day of judgment. John XXIII. denied the soul's immortality. John XI. kept for his paramour a famous strumpet, called Marozia. John XIII. at dice called to the devil for help, and drank a health to him; lay with his own mother and his father's concubine; ordained deacons in a stable; for money made boys bishops; committed incest with two of his sisters; at last being found in the act of adultery, was slain by the woman's husband.

Pope Sylvester II. was a conjuror. He, inquiring of the devil how long he should live, was answered, Till he should say Mass in Jerusalem. In the Lent after, as he was saying Mass in the chapel of St. Cross, he suddenly fell sick; and remembering that that chapel was called "Jerusalem," he perceived how he was cozened by the devil. Before he died, he bequeathed his soul to the devil, and commanded his cardinals that after his death they should cut his body in pieces, and so bury him. || Pope Hildebrand was a conjuror; and inquiring of the host (which, they say, is the body of Christ) for an answer against the emperor, because it would not speak, he threw it into the fire and burned it. ¶ For many

\* *Concil. Constantinop. VI. act. 13*; *SURIUS*, tom. II. p. 992; *CARANZÆ Summa Concil.* p. 591, 610, 612. † *Ita furore percitus homo, non quod jure liceret, sed quod exstans rabies suaderet, implens.*—*SPONDANI Epitome BARONII*, pars II. p. 247. "A man so

transported with rage, fulfilling, not what he lawfully might do, but whatever an overboiling frenzy prompted him."—*EDIT.* ‡ *Ipse Marcellinus ad sacrificium ductus est, ut sacrificaret; quod et fecit.*—*CARANZÆ Concil.* p. 72. § *Liberium tadio victum exitii in hæreticam pravilitatem subscripsisse, asserit Hieronymus: testantur idipsum alii quoque antiqui scriptores; ac denique ipse Liberius scriptis literis ad, &c.*—*SPONDANI Epitome BARONII*, in ann. 357.

|| *Sylvestrum II., Benedictum IX., Gregorium VI., Gregorium VII., fuisse magos, narrat BENNO cardinalis. Sylvester II. inter ipsas mortis angustias supplicat manus et linguam sibi abscindi, per quas sacrificando demonibus Deum inhonoravit.* "Cardinal Benno relates that Sylvester II., &c., were magicians. Sylvester II. in the very pangs of death begged that his own hands and tongue might be cut off; by sacrificing with which to devils, he had dishonoured God."—*EDIT.* ¶ *Hildebrandus (qui Gregorius VII.) consecratam eucharistiam in ignem projecit, consulens demones contra Henricum IV. imperatorem.*—*BENNO cardinalis, qui et plura de hoc et aliis Romanis pontificibus miranda narrat, quæ nullus historicorum, neque Platina nec quisquam alius, prodidit.*

"This account is taken from Cardinal Benno, who also relates several other wonderful

wickednesses he was deposed and banished. Pope Leo X., pleased with the great sums of money which he had got by indulgences, said to cardinal Bembo, "See what abundance of wealth we have gotten by this fable of Christ!" And when he lay upon his death-bed, the same cardinal rehearsing a text of scripture to him, he replied, "Away with these fables concerning Christ!" Pope Nicolas I. forbade marriage to the clergy; saying [that] it was more honest to have to do with many women privately, than openly to take one wife. John XXIV. was accused before the council of Constance for heresy, simony, murder, poisonings, adulteries, and sodomy; which being made good against him, he was deposed and imprisoned. Pope Eugenius IV. was deposed by the general council at Basil, for "being a simonist and guilty of perjury, being a schismatic and an obstinate heretic." \* It would make a large book, to give an account of the failings of popes in matters both of life and faith; but I have but little room allowed. Take two general expressions of their own authors, and then judge: "What then was the face of the holy Roman church? How exceeding filthy, when the most potent, and yet the most sordid, whores did rule at Rome, and their lovers [were] thrust in Peter's chair!" † Another, fixed enough to the Popish religion, acknowledged that "in this one thing that age was unhappy,—that, for near one hundred and fifty years, about fifty popes did wholly fall away from the virtue of their ancestors, being rather apotactical" (irregular) "and apostatical than apostolical." ‡

And as the church, if thereby [be] understood the pope, hath failed; so also, if taken for general councils, [it] hath also failed; as is plain by this infallible argument,—in that several general councils, ratified by popes, have decreed things contradictory, and that in matters of faith; and some of them must necessarily err; except contradictions can be reconciled, and both parts be true; which is impossible. For example: the general councils of Constance and of Basil have fully asserted that a general council is above the pope, and [that he] is to be judged by them, and by them may be deposed; in these words: "Not one of the skilful did ever doubt but that the pope was subject to the judgment of a general council in things that concern faith; and that he cannot without their consent dissolve or remove a general council; yea, and that this is an article of faith, which, without destruction of salvation, cannot be denied; and that the council is above the pope *de fide* ['in matter of faith']; and that it cannot be removed without their own consent; and

things respecting this and other Roman pontiffs, which no other historian, neither Platina nor any one else, has revealed."—EDIT. *Vide* ILLYRICI *Catalogum*, pp. 219—221, 223, &c.

\* LAURENTII SURII *Concilia*, tom. iv. p. 104. † *Vide* LUITPRANDUM, lib. II. cap. 13; et BARONII *Annales*, ad an. 912; vel SPONDANUM. *Ex quibus videas fedissimam hujus temporis ecclesiam Romanam faciem*, ad an. 912. "From whom you may see the most filthy appearance of the Roman church at this time."—EDIT. ‡ GENEBRARDUS *in seculum decimum: Infelix dicitur hoc seculum, exhaustum hominibus ingenio et doctrinâ claris, sine etiam claris principibus et pontificibus, in quo nihil ferè dignum memoriâ posteritatis gestum sit: hoc ipso infelicissimum, quòd ecclesia esset sine ullo bono ferè pontifice. —Hoc verò uno infelix, quòd per annos ferè 150 pontifices circiter 50—a Johanne, scilicet, VIII., qui Nicolao et Adriano II. sanctis successit, ad Leonem IX. usque—a virtute majorum prorsus defecerint, apotactici apostaticive potius quàm apostolici. Et tanto pontificum numero, quinque modò, et satis tenuiter, laudantur, &c.*—GENEBRARDI *Chronol.* lib. iv. pp. 552, 553.

that he is a heretic that is against these things." Thus the council of Basil, owned by pope Eugenius; and the council of Constance,\* confirmed by pope Martin V., being personally present in it. And yet another general council, at the Lateran, under Julius II. and Leo X., expressly decree on the contrary that the pope is above a general council.† Till these two can be true, both of them,—The pope is above a general council, and, The pope is not above a general council,—the infallibility of their church (and that even in a fundamental point thereof) is laid in the dust. Let them choose which side they will, one did err.

#### VIII. OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

##### 1. *The doctrine of the apostles concerning the catholic or universal church.*

"Unto the church of God which is at Corinth, with all that in every place call upon the name of Jesus Christ our Lord, both theirs and ours." (1 Cor. i. 2.) "For by one Spirit are we all baptized into one body, whether we be Jews or Gentiles, whether we be bond or free; and have been all made to drink into one Spirit." (1 Cor. xii. 13.) "After this I beheld, and, lo, a great multitude, which no man could number, of all nations, and kindreds, and people, and tongues, stood before the throne, and before the Lamb." (Rev. vii. 9.) See also Eph. i. 10, 22; Acts ii. 39; Eph. ii. 19; iii. 15; Acts ii. 47; Matt. xxviii. 19; Mark xvi. 15; Acts ii. 21; Rom. i. 16; Gal. iii. 28; Acts xiii. 39; Rom. x. 4; Luke xiii. 28, 29; Acts x. 35.

Reader, observe that these scriptures speak of the church under Christ, the Head thereof; (making no mention of owning of, or being joined to, any mortal man, as their visible head;) in which church (not limited or confined to the church of Rome) there is salvation.

##### 2. *The doctrine of the Protestants concerning the catholic or universal church.*

"The catholic or universal church, which is invisible, consists of the whole number of the elect, that have been, are, or shall be gathered into one, under Christ, the Head thereof; and is the spouse, the 'body, the fulness of Him that filleth all in all.'

"The visible church, which is also catholic or universal, under the gospel, (not confined to one nation, as before under the law,) consists of all those throughout the world that profess the true religion, together with their children; and is the kingdom of the Lord Jesus, the house

\* *Primò, definitur quòd generalis synodus, in Spiritu Sancto legitime congregata, generale concilium faciens, ecclesiam militantem representans, potestatem a Christo immediate habet, cui quilibet, cujuscunque status, etiamsi Papalis existat, obedire tenetur in his quæ pertinent ad fidem et ad extirpationem schismatum et ad generalem reformationem ecclesiæ in capite et in membris. Secundò, declarat quòd quicunque, cujuscunque dignitatis, et etiamsi Papalis existat, qui mandatis aut præceptis hujus sanctæ synodi, et cujuscunque alterius concilii generalis, obedire contumaciter contempserit, nisi resipuerit, condignæ penitentiae subjiciatur et debite puniatur. Tertiò, declarat quòd ipsum generale concilium pro præmissis eaque concernentibus congregatum, sine ipsius consensu, per nullum, quodvis autoritate, etiamsi Papali dignitate præfulgeat, dissolvi, transferri, aut ad aliud tempus prorogari potest. Hæc tria sunt veritales fidei Catholice, quibus pertinaciter repugnans est censendus hæreticus.*

† *Cum etiam solum Romanum pontificem, pro tempore existentem, tanquam authoritatem super omnia concilia habentem, conciliorum indicendorum, transferendorum, ac dissolvendorum plenum jus et potestatem habere, ex conciliorum confessione manifestè constet.*—LAURENTII SURII Concil. tom. iv. p. 683. There was but one in all the council but gave his placet hereunto, that would not recede from the determination of the council of Basil.—*Ibid.* p. 684.

and family of God, out of which there is no ordinary possibility of salvation."

This is the confession also of the churches of Helvetia, Bohemia, Belgia, Wittemburgh, &c.\*

3. *The doctrine of the Papists concerning the catholic or universal church.*

The Trent Catechism maketh *that* the only church, that is under the pope; excluding all others that submit not to him as the vicar of Christ.† The same in a general council made it necessary to salvation, to be subject to the pope of Rome,—by Leo X.‡ Pope Pius II. approved this doctrine: "I came to the fountain of truth, which—the holy doctors with one voice say that he cannot be saved that holdeth not the unity of the holy church of Rome; and that all those virtues are maimed to him that refuseth to obey the pope of Rome, though he lie in sackcloth and ashes, and fast and pray both day and night, and seem in other things to fulfil the law of God. We learned that the one Catholic and apostolical church" (of Rome) "is the mother of all the faithful, out of which there is no salvation."§

But, reader, dost thou think that God will damn any holy, humble, and believing persons, because they are not subject to the pope? Hath God any where made such subjection to him a condition of salvation? Let them show it, if they can. Or are there no such persons in the world that are holy and believing, that do not submit unto the pope? There are many thousands, that know themselves better than his infallible Holiness can know them, that know that to be a falsehood.

Neither doth Bellarmine vary from them in his definition of "the church:" "That it is a company of men knit together in the profession of the same Christian faith and communion of the same sacraments, under the government of lawful pastors, especially of the bishop of Rome, Christ's vicar upon earth. From whence it might be easily gathered," saith he, "who do belong to the church, and who do not. There are three parts," as he goeth on, "of this definition of the church: (1.) Profession of the true faith; (2.) Communion of the sacraments; (3.) Subjection to the pope of Rome, the lawful pastor. By the first, all infidels, Turks, Pagans, heretics, and apostates, are excluded from the church; by the second, catechumens and excommunicated persons be excluded; by the third, all schismatics, that have the word and sacraments, but do not submit to the lawful pastor:" (the pope:) "but all others, though they be reprobates, wicked, and ungodly, are included in the church."||

Mark this, good reader, whether this sounds like the apostles' doctrine before laid down:—if men be never so good and holy, though [they be] converted and believe, if they do not submit to the pope as the universal

\* *Confess. Gall.* art. 27, 28; *Conf. Helvet.* II. cap. 17; *Bohem.* cap. 8; *Belg.* art. 27; *Wittemb.* art. 32. † *Catechis. Rom.*, in *Symb.* pp. 139, 141. ‡ *Concil. Lateran.*

*Abrogat. Pragmat. Sanct. Bull.* § *Ad fontem veri perveni, quem sancti doctores,—* quorum una vox est, salvari non posse qui sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ non tenet unitatem; omnesque illas virtutes mancas esse ei qui summo pontifici obedire recusat, quâvis, in sacco et cinere jacens, dies et noctes jejundet et oret, et in cæteris videatur legem implere. Didicimus unam ecclesiam Catholicam et apostolicam (subaudi Romanam) esse matrem omnium fidelium, extra quam non invenitur salus.—Pii II. *Bulla Retractationum*, apud LAURENTII SURII *Concil.* tom. iv. p. 506. ¶ BELLARMINUS *De Eccles. Milit.* lib. iii. cap. 2.

head, they are no members of Christ's church, nor can be saved : and if they be wicked and ungodly, if they own the pope, they are included in the church. O what an odious religion is that, which damns all the Christians in the world beside themselves ! O what wretched dissembling is this,—to call their church “the most holy church, without spot or wrinkle or any such thing ;” when the worst might be, and are, owned as members thereof, if they profess subjection to the pope ! But, however, by this the head and members are conformable, and let them go together.

#### IX. OF JUSTIFICATION.

##### 1. *The doctrine of the apostles concerning justification.*

“Now to him that worketh not, but believeth on him that justifieth the ungodly, his faith is counted for righteousness. Even as David describeth the blessedness of the man, unto whom God imputeth righteousness without works, saying, Blessed are they whose iniquities are forgiven, and whose sins are covered. Blessed is the man to whom the Lord will not impute sin.” (Rom. iv. 5—8.) “Not imputing their trespasses unto them. For he hath made him to be sin for us, who knew no sin ; that we might be made the righteousness of God in him.” (2 Cor. v. 19, 21.) “Even the righteousness of God which is by faith of Jesus Christ unto all and upon all them that believe : being justified freely by his grace through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus.” (Rom. iii. 22, 24.) See Rom. iii. 25, 28 ; Titus iii. 5, 7 ; Rom. v. 17—19 ; Gal. ii. 16 ; Phil. iii. 9 ; Acts xiii. 38, 39 ; Eph. ii. 8, 9.

##### 2. *The doctrine of the Protestants concerning justification.*

“We are accounted righteous before God only for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ by faith, and not for our own works and deservings.”

“Those whom God effectually calleth, he also freely justifieth ; not by infusing righteousness into them, but by pardoning their sins, and by accounting and accepting their persons as righteous ; not for any thing wrought in them or done by them, but for Christ's sake alone ; imputing the obedience and satisfaction of Christ unto them ; they receiving and resting on him and his righteousness by faith : which faith they have not of themselves ; it is the gift of God.”

To this doctrine consent the Reformed churches in Helvetia, Bohemia, France, Belgia, &c.\*

##### 3. *The doctrine of the Papists concerning justification.*

“Justification is not only the forgiveness of sin, but also the sanctification and renovation of the inward man by a voluntary susception of grace and gifts ; whereby a man, of unjust, is made just, and, of an enemy, is made a friend, that he might be an heir according to the hope of eternal life. The only formal cause of justification is the righteousness of God ; not wherewith he himself is righteous, but whereby he makes us righteous ; namely, by which, being given to us by him, we are renewed in the spirit of our mind, and not only reputed, but are, and are truly called, ‘righteous ;’ receiving righteousness in ourselves, every one according to his measure, which the Holy Spirit imparteth to

\* *Confess. Helvet. l. cap. 4, 16 ; et II. cap. 15 ; Bohemica, cap. 6, 7 ; Gal. art. 12, 22 ; August. art. 4, 6, 26 ; Brlg. art. 22, 24 ; Wittenberg. art. 5 ; Basil. art. 8.*

each as he will, according to every one's own disposition and co-working. If any one shall say that a man is justified by the sole imputation of the righteousness of Christ, or in the sole remission of sin, excluding grace and charity, which is shed abroad in their hearts by the Holy Spirit, and is inherent in them; or that the grace whereby we are justified is only the favour of God; let him be accursed.\*

Reader, by this council thou mayest see how the Papists do confound justification and sanctification together, and place it in our inherent righteousness. Though these are not separated, [so] that any should be justified that are not sanctified, penitent, and believing; yet they are carefully to be distinguished.

X. OF MERIT OF GOOD WORKS.

1. *The doctrine of prophets, Christ, and his apostles.*

"All our righteousnesses are as filthy rags." (Isai. lxiv. 6.) "Can a man be profitable unto God? Is it any gain to him that thou makest thy ways perfect?" (Job xxii. 2, 3.) "If thou be righteous, what givest thou unto him? or what receiveth he of thine hand?" (Job xxxv. 7.) "We are unprofitable servants: we have done that which was our duty to do." (Luke xvii. 10.) "For I reckon that the sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed in us." (Rom. viii. 18.) [See] also Psalm cxxx. 3; cxliii. 2; Rom. iv. 2—6; 1 Cor. iv. 7; Eph. ii. 9.

2. *The doctrine of the Protestants.*

"We cannot by our best works merit pardon of sin or eternal life at the hand of God; by reason of the great disproportion that is between them and the glory to come, and the infinite distance that there is between us and God; whom by them we can neither profit, nor satisfy for the debt of our former sins; but when we have done all we can, we have done but our duty, and are unprofitable servants: and because, [though] as good, they proceed from his Spirit, yet, as they are wrought by us, they are defiled and mixed with so much weakness and imperfection, that they cannot endure the severity of God's judgment." To this doctrine the Reformed churches do subscribe.†

3. *The doctrine of the Papists.*

"If any one shall say that the good works of a justified person are so the gifts of God that they may not also be the good merits of him that is justified; or that he that is justified doth not, by the good works which he doeth, by the grace of God and merit of Christ, (of whom he is a living member,) truly merit increase of grace, eternal life, and (if he depart in a state of grace) the enjoyment thereof, and moreover also increase of glory; let him be accursed."‡

\* *Justificatio non est sola peccatorum remissio, sed et sanctificatio et renovatio interioris hominis per voluntariam susceptionem gratiæ et donorum, &c. Unica formalis causa ejus est justitia Dei, &c.; quæ, videlicet, ab eo donati, renovamur spiritus mentis nostræ, &c. Si quis dixerit homines justificari vel solum imputatione justitiæ Christi, vel solum peccatorum remissione, exclusâ gratiæ et charitatis, quæ in cordibus eorum per Spiritum Sanctum diffundatur, atque illis inhæret; aut etiam gratiam quæ justificamur esse tantum favorem Dei; anathema sit.*—Concil. Trident. sess. vi. † *Confess. Willemb., de bonis Operibus; Bohem. art. 7; Saxon. art. 3 et 8; August. art. 4 et 20; Helvet. II. cap. 16; Belg. art. 24; Argentinensis, cap. 10.* ‡ *Si quis dixerit hominis justificati bona opera ita esse dona Dei, ut non sint etiam bona ipsius justificati merita; aut ipsum justificatum bonis*

"Men's works, proceeding from grace, deserve or merit heaven. If the joy of heaven be retribution, repayment, hire-wages for works, then works can be no other but the value, desert, price, worth, and merit of the same." "The word 'reward' in Latin or Greek is the very stipend that the hired workman or journeyman covenanteth to have of him whose work he doeth, and is a thing equally and justly answering to the time and weight of his travails and works, rather than a free gift," &c.\* "It is most clear to all not blinded in pride and contention, that good works are meritorious and the very cause of salvation."†

"The heavenly blessedness which the scripture calls 'the reward of the just,' is not given of God *gratis* and freely, but is due to their works; yea, God hath set forth heaven to sale for our works."‡ "Far be it from us that the righteous should look for eternal life, as a poor man doth for his alms; for it is much more honour for them as victors and triumphers to possess it, as the garland which by their labour they have deserved."§ "Although the restoration of mankind be ascribed to the merits of Christ, yet it is not for Christ's merits that our works are rewarded with eternal life; neither doth God, when he gives the reward, look toward Christ's death, but only to the first institution of mankind; wherein by the law of nature it was appointed that, in the just judgment of God, obedience should be rewarded with life, as disobedience is with death."||

"A supernatural work, proceeding from grace, within itself and of its own nature, hath a proportion and condignity with the reward, and a sufficient value to be worth the same. The reward, therefore, is not given for Christ's merit. It must not be denied but our merits are true merits; so that the works of the godly, proceeding from grace, have of themselves an inward worthiness, and are proportionable to the reward," &c.¶

The Papists in this point are not all of a mind; but many of them swell with horrible pride, and think [that] themselves do deserve heaven as well as a journeyman doth his wages, and cannot be brought to stoop so low as to receive the highest happiness as the free gift of God.

#### XI. OF WORKS OF SUPER-EROGATION.

##### 1. *The doctrine of the scripture.*

"And I commanded the Levites that they should cleanse themselves. Remember me, O my God, concerning this also, and spare me according to the greatness of thy mercy." (Neh. xiii. 22.) [See] Luke xvii. 10; Gal. v. 17.

##### 2. *The doctrine of the Protestants.*

"Voluntary works, besides, over, and above God's commandments, which they call 'works of super-erogation,' cannot be taught without arrogancy and impiety: for by them men do declare that they do not

*operibus, &c., non verò mereri augmentum gratiæ, vitam æternam, et ipsius vite æternæ, &c., consecutionem, atque etiam gloriæ augmentum; anathema sit.—Concil. Trid. sess. vi.*

\* Rhemists on 1 Cor. iii. 8.

† Rhemists on Heb. vi. 10.

‡ ANDREAS ORTH.

*Explic. lib. vi.*

§ Dean of Louvain's *Explicat. Art. Lovan.* tom. ii. art. 9.

|| BAUUS *De Merit. Operum*, lib. i. cap. 9.

¶ SAUREZ in *Thomæ Tertiam*, tom. i. dist. xli. sect. 3, ss. *Secundo, et Oportet.*

only render unto God as much as they are bound to do, but that they do more for his sake than of bounden duty is required; whereas Christ saith plainly, ‘When ye have done all that are commanded you, say, We are unprofitable servants.’”

Against such works are the Reformed churches also in Helvetia, France, Saxony, &c.\*

### 3. *The doctrine of the Papists.*

“The fastings and satisfactory deeds of one man be available to others; yea, and holy saints and other virtuous persons may in measure and proportion of other men’s necessities and deservings allot unto them as well the super-erogation of their spiritual works, as those that do abound in worldly goods may give alms of their superfluities to them who are in necessity.”† Again: they expound 1 Cor. ix. 16, “But now, preaching not only as enjoined me, but also as of love and charity and freely, without putting any man to cost, and that voluntarily and of very desire to save my hearers, I shall have my reward of God; yea, and a reward of super-erogation, which is given to them that of abundant charity do more in the service of God than they be commanded.”

But, reader, though a man might have more money than he doth need, yet thou shalt not find a man that hath more grace than he doth need. And he that cannot satisfy for himself, cannot impart satisfaction to another; for none can give what they have not. And if we do what is no way commanded, we might hear, “Who hath required this at your hands?” And though Paul was not burdensome to the Corinthians, yet he received from other churches to do them service. So that all that is said falls short to prove works of super-erogation. Let proud Papists boast of doing more, while thou goest to thy knees to lament that, when thou hast done thy most and best, [thou] hast done less, than is commanded.

## XII. OF RELIGIOUS WORSHIP.

1. *The doctrine of Christ and his apostles*,—that religious worship is due only to God:

“Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve.” (Matt. iv. 10.) “Let no man beguile you of your reward in a voluntary humility and worshipping of angels.” (Col. ii. 18.) “And I fell at his feet to worship him. And he said unto me, See thou do it not: I am thy fellow-servant: worship God.” (Rev. xix. 10.) See also Rev. xxii. 8, 9. “As Peter was coming in, Cornelius met him, and fell down at his feet, and worshipped him. But Peter took him up, saying, Stand up; I myself also am a man.” (Acts x. 25, 26.) Read also Acts xiv. 13—15, 18; Rom. x. 14.

### 2. *The doctrine of the Protestants.*

“Religious worship is to be given to God, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and to him alone; and not to angels, saints, or any other creature. The acceptable way of worshipping the true God is instituted by himself, and so limited to his own revealed will; that he may not be worshipped, according to the imaginations and devices of men or the

\* *Confess. Helvet. II.* cap. 16; *August.* art. 20; *Gal.* art. 24; *Sax.* art. 3, 17; *Basil.* art. 10; *Belg.* art. 12.

† Rhemists on 2 Cor. ciii. 14.



suggestions of Satan, under any visible representations, or [in] any other way not prescribed in the holy scripture." In this the Reformed churches do agree in their public Confessions.\*

3. *The doctrine of the Papists concerning religious worship given to saints and their relics, and to images.*

"The holy synod of Trent doth command all bishops and others that have the office and care of teaching, that, according to the use of the Catholic and apostolical church," (that is false,) "received from the primitive times of the Christian religion, and according to the consent of the holy fathers" (this is false too) "and decrees of sacred councils," (which yet have decreed against it,) "they first of all diligently instruct the faithful concerning the intercession and invocation of saints, the honour of relics, and the lawful use of images: teaching them that the saints, reigning together with Christ, do offer their prayers to God for men: and that it is good and profitable, humbly kneeling, to call upon them; and to run to their prayers, help, and aid, for the benefits to be obtained from God, through his Son Jesus Christ our Lord, who is our only Redeemer and Saviour: and that *they* are of a wicked opinion *that* say that the saints, enjoying eternal happiness in heaven, are not to be called upon; or who do affirm, either that they do not pray for men; or that to pray to them, that they would pray for us, yea, each one particularly, is idolatry, or contrary to the word of God, or against the honour of Jesus, the one Mediator of God and men; or that it is a foolish thing to make humble request in words or in our minds to those that are reigning in heaven: moreover, that the sacred bodies of the holy martyrs and others living with Christ, which were living members of Christ, and the temple of the Holy Ghost, which shall be raised by him to eternal life and be glorified, are to be worshipped by believers, by which God bestoweth many benefits on men: so that, whosoever shall say that veneration and honour is not due to the relics of the saints, or that these and other sacred monuments are without profit honoured" (worshipped) "by the faithful, and that for the gaining of their help the memory of saints in vain is solemnized, are utterly to be condemned, even as the church hath long condemned them and doth now condemn them. Moreover the images of Christ, the Virgin Mary, and of other saints, are especially to be had and kept in churches, and due honour and veneration to be given to them."†

\* *Confess. Helvet. cap. 4, 5; Gall. art. 24; Belgica, art. 26; Argent. cap. 11; August. art. 21; Saxon., de Invocatione, &c.* † *Mandat sancta synodus omnibus episcopis*

*et ceteris docendi munus curamque sustinentibus, ut juxta Catholicæ et apostolicæ ecclesiæ usum, a primævis Christianæ religionis temporibus receptum, sanctorumque patrum consensum et sacrorum conciliorum decreta, imprimis de sanctorum intercessione, invocatione, reliquiarum honore et legitimo imaginum usu fideles diligenter instruant: docentes eos, sanctos, und cum Christo regnantes, orationes suas pro hominibus Deo offerre: bonum atque utile esse simpliciter eos invocare; et ob beneficia impetranda a Deo per Filium ejus, &c., ad eorum orationes, opem, auxiliumque confugere: illos verò qui negant sanctos, æternâ felicitate in cælo fruente, invocandos esse; aut qui asserunt, vel illos pro hominibus non orare, vel eorum, ut pro nobis, etiam singulis, orent, invocationem esse idololatriam, vel pugnare cum verbo Dei, adversariusque honori unius Mediatoris Dei et hominum Jesu Christi, vel stultum esse, in cælo regnantibus voce vel mente supplicare; impiè sentire: sanctorum quoque martyrum et aliorum cum Christo viventium sancta corpora, quæ viva membra Christi fuerint et templum Spiritûs Sancti, ab ipso ad æternam vitam suscitanda et glorificanda, a fidelibus veneranda esse, per quæ multa beneficia a Deo hominibus præstantur: ita et affirmantes sanctorum reliquiis venerationem atque honorem non deberi, vel eas aliquæ*

Again: "It is beyond all doubt that believers, according to the custom always received in the Catholic church, should give to the holy sacrament the worship of latria," (highest worship,) "which is due to the true God." (*Concil. Trident.* sess. xiii. cap. 5.)

The Popish doctors maintain of images in general, that they ought to be worshipped with the same adoration as the thing represented by the image. So Aquinas: "The same reverence is given to the image of Christ as to Christ himself. Since, therefore, Christ is worshipped with adoration of latria," (highest worship, due to God,) "it follows that his image ought to be worshipped with adoration of latria," or highest worship, due to God.

### XIII. OF TRANSUBSTANTIATION.

1. *The doctrine of Christ and his apostles*,—that after consecration in the Lord's supper there is real bread and wine.

[See] Matt. xxvi. 26, 27; Luke xxii. 19, 20. "The Lord Jesus the same night in which he was betrayed took bread: and when he had given thanks," &c. "He took the cup, saying, This cup is the new testament in my blood." Mark, reader: after the blessing it is called "bread:" "As often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup," &c. "Whosoever shall eat this bread," &c. "Examine, and eat of that bread." (1 Cor. xi. 23—28.) "The bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ?" (1 Cor. x. 16.) They "came together to break bread." (Acts xx. 7.) "And had broken bread." (Verse 11.)

2. *The doctrine of the Protestants.*

"Transubstantiation (or the change of the substance of bread and wine) in the supper of the Lord cannot be proved by holy writ; but is repugnant to the plain words of scripture, overthroweth the nature of a sacrament, and hath given occasions to many superstitions and idolatries, and is repugnant to very sense and reason." Which reasons have moved all the Reformed churches against the doctrine of transubstantiation.\*

3. *The doctrine of the Papists.*

"If any shall deny the body and blood, together with the soul and Divinity, of our Lord Jesus Christ, and so whole Christ, to be truly, really, and substantially contained in the most holy sacrament of the eucharist;" (Lord's supper;) "but shall say [that] it is there only as in a sign, either figuratively or virtually; let him be accursed. If any shall say that the substance of bread and wine, together with the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, doth remain in the sacrament of the holy eucharist; and shall deny that wonderful and singular conversion of the whole substance of the bread into his body and of the whole substance of the wine into his blood, (the figures of bread and wine only remaining,)

*sacra monumenta a fidelibus inutiliter honorari, atque eorum opis impetrandæ causâ sanctorum memorias frustra frequentari, damnandos esse, prout jampridem eos damnavit et nunc etiam damnat ecclesia: inagines porro Christi, Deiparæ Virginis, et aliorum sanctorum, in templis præsertim habendas et retinendas, eisque debitum honorem et venerationem impertiendam.*—*Concil. Trident.* sess. xxv.

\* *Conf. Helv. I. art. 22; et II. cap. 21; H'item. cap. 19, de Euchar. ; Basil. art. 6; Scoticana, art. 21.*

which conversion" (change) "the Catholic church doth most fitly call 'transubstantiation;' let him be accursed." \*

#### XIV. OF RECEIVING BOTH KINDS.

1. *The doctrine of Christ and his apostles*,—that those that have the bread should also have the cup.

[Read] Mark xiv. 22—24; Luke xxii. 19, 20; 1 Cor. x. 16. "Take, eat:" "As oft as ye drink it," &c.: "Eat this bread, and drink this cup," &c.: "Shall eat this bread, and drink this cup. So let him eat of that bread, and drink of that cup. For he that eateth and drinketh," &c. (1 Cor. xi. 24—29.)

2. *The doctrine of the Protestants.*

"The cup of the Lord is not to be denied to the lay-people; for both the parts of the Lord's sacrament, by Christ's ordinance and commandment, ought to be ministered to all Christian men alike." That the people are to receive the wine also, is the confession of [the] Reformed churches in Helvetia, Bohemia, France, &c.†

3. *The doctrine of the Papists.*

The council of Constance decreed that, "though Christ administered this sacrament in both kinds to his disciples, and in the primitive church it was also accordingly received by believers under both kinds;" (bread and wine;) *hoc tamen non obstante*, "notwithstanding" Christ's institution and the example of the primitive church, "the lay-people shall have the bread only. Others, that pertinaciously affirm otherwise, are to be expelled as heretics. Also we command, upon pain of excommunication, that no presbyter administer it to the people under both kinds of bread and wine."‡ The council of Trent to the same purpose did decree the taking away the cup from the people, notwithstanding Christ's institution and administration of it in both kinds; "having a power to alter and change, so that they keep the substance of the sacrament, as they judge most profitable for the receivers:" and though they confess the primitive church received both, yet the church of Rome "for grand and just reasons hath approved and decreed the people's taking of it in one kind only." §

#### XV. OF THE SACRIFICE OF THE MASS.

1. *The doctrine of the apostle Paul.*

"And almost all things are by the law purged with blood; and without shedding of blood is no remission. Nor yet that he [Christ] should offer himself often, as the high priest entereth into the holy place every year with blood of others; for then must he often have suffered since the foundation of the world: but now once in the end of the world hath he appeared to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself. So Christ was

\* *Si quis negaverit, in sanctissimæ eucharistiæ sacramento contineri, verè, realiter, et substantialiter, corpus et sanguinem, unà cum animâ et Divinitate Christi, &c. Si quis dixerit in sacrosancto eucharistiæ sacramento remanere substantiam panis et vini, &c.; negaveritque mirabilem illam et singularem conversionem totius substantiæ panis in corpus, et totius substantiæ vini in sanguinem, &c.*—*Concil. Trident. sess. xiii. can. 1, 2.* † *Confess. Helv. l. art. 22; et II. cap. 21; Bohem. cap. 13; Gal. art. 36, 38; Wittenb. cap. 19; Bely. art. 35; Saxon., de Censû Domin.; August., de Missâ, art. 1, 2.* ‡ *Concil. Constant. sess. xiii.*

§ *Concil. Trident. sess. xxi. cap. 1—3.*

once offered to bear the sins of many." (Heb. ix. 22, 25, 26, 28.) "And every priest standeth daily ministering and offering oftentimes the same sacrifices, which can never take away sins: but this man, after he had offered one sacrifice for sins, for ever sat down on the right hand of God. For by one offering he hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified. Now where remission of these [sins and iniquities] is, there is no more offering for sin." (Heb. x. 11, 12, 14, 18.) Read also Heb. vii. 24—27.

2. *The doctrine of the Protestants.*

"The offering of Christ once made is that perfect redemption, propitiation, and satisfaction for all the sins of the whole world, both original and actual; and there is no other satisfaction for sin, but that alone. Wherefore the sacrifices of Masses, in the which it was commonly said that the priest did offer Christ for the quick and dead to have remission of pain or guilt, were blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits." This is the doctrine of all Reformed churches against the sacrifice of the Mass.\*

3. *The doctrine of the Papists.*

"If any shall say that in the Mass a true and proper sacrifice is not offered to God, let him be accursed. If any shall say [that] in those words, 'Do this in remembrance of me,' Christ did not institute his apostles to be priests, or that he did not ordain that they and other priests should offer his body and blood; let him be accursed. If any shall say [that] the sacrifice of Mass is only of praise and thanksgiving, or a bare commemoration of the sacrifice of Christ upon the cross, and not a propitiatory sacrifice; or that it profits him alone that takes it, and ought not to be offered for quick and dead, for sins, punishments, and satisfactions, and other necessities; let him be accursed." †

So, in that part of the Mass called "the Offertory," the priest saith, "Holy Father, eternal and almighty God, receive this immaculate host, which I, thine unworthy servant, offer unto thee, my true and living God, for my innumerable sins and offences and neglects, and for all them that stand here about, and also for all faithful Christians both living and dead, that it may profit me and them unto salvation into eternal life. Amen."

Again: in the Mass-book the priest prayeth, "We beseech thee, therefore, most merciful Father, through Jesus Christ thy Son our Lord, and do ask of thee, that thou wilt accept and bless these † gifts, these † presents, these ho†ly sacrifices immaculate; especially those which we offer unto thee for thy holy Catholic church, and all them that assist here, for themselves and for all theirs, for the redemption of their souls and for the hope of their salvation: which oblation thou, O God, vouchsafe in all things to make blessed, † ascript, † reasonable, † and acceptable; that it may be made unto us the bo†dy and blood † of thy most beloved

\* *Confess. Helvet. I. art. 22; et II. cap. 21; Basil. art. 6; Saxon. art. 14; Belg. art. 35; Wittemb. cap. 19; Bohem. cap. 13; Augustana de Missâ, art. 13.* † *Si quis dixerit in Missâ non offerri Deo verum et proprium sacrificium, anathema sit. Si quis dixerit illis verbis, Hoc facite in meam commemorationem, Christum non instituisse apostolos sacerdotes, aut non ordinasse ut ipsi aliquæ sacerdotes offerrent corpus et sanguinem æuum; anathema sit. Si quis dixerit Missæ sacrificium tantum esse laudis et gratiarum actionis, &c., non autem propitiatorium; vel soli prodesse sumenti, neque pro vivis et defunctis, pro peccatis, penis, satisfactionibus, et aliis necessitatibus, offerri debere; anathema sit.—Concil. Trident. sess. xxii. de Sacrificio Missæ, can. 1—3.*

Son. We present to thy excellent Majesty, of thy gifts and things given, a pure † host, a holy † host, an immaculate † host; the holy bread † of eternal life, and the cup † of eternal salvation. We humbly pray thee, Almighty God, command that these things be carried by the hands of thy holy angels on thy altar on high, into the presence of thy Divine Majesty; that we all who, of the participation of thine altar," (kisses here the altar,) "have taken the holy body and blood † of thy Son, may be filled with all heavenly blessings and grace." And then the priest for the dead prays, "Be mindful, also, O Lord, of thy men-servants and women-servants," (naming *their* names that are deceased, for *whom* friends or kindred would have Mass,) "who have preceded us with the sign of the faith, and who sleep in a sleep of peace."

View and consider this little piece which I have transcribed, reader, for thy sake, out of the Mass-book; and then judge whether there be any such thing concerning the Lord's supper in the scripture, and whether these be not new doctrines and devices.

#### XVI. OF WORSHIPPING THE HOST.

1. *The doctrine of the scripture concerning the Lord's supper*, where it is treated of, containeth nothing for the worshipping of it; as, Matt. xxvi. 26, 27; Mark xiv. 22—24; 1 Cor. xi. 24—29.

2. *The doctrine of the Protestants.*

"The worshipping the elements, the lifting them up or carrying them about for adoration, and the reserving of them for any pretended religious use, are all contrary to the nature of this sacrament and to the institution of Christ." So say other Reformed churches in their public Confessions of faith.\*

3. *The doctrine of the Papists.*

"It is beyond all doubt that the faithful, according to the custom always received in the Catholic church," (that is poorly begun of a learned council,) "may give in veneration the worship of latria," (highest worship,) "which is due to God, to this holy sacrament: for it is not the less to be adored, because it was appointed by the Lord to be received; for we believe that the same God is present in it, whom the eternal Father bringing into the world saith, 'And let all the angels of God worship him.'"<sup>†</sup>

Moreover the holy synod doth declare, that "with very great religion and piety of the church was this custom brought in,—that every year, upon some peculiar holy-day, this high and venerable sacrament with singular veneration and solemnity should be celebrated; and that it should in processions, reverently, with honour and worship, be carried about through the ways and public places."<sup>‡</sup>

#### XVII. OF AURICULAR CONFESSION.

1. *The doctrine of Christ and his apostles concerning confession of sin.* [See] Luke xvii. 3, 4; James v. 16; 1 John i. 9. See also Prov.

\* Confess. Helvet. II. cap. 21; Saxon., de Canō Dom.; Wittenb., de Eucharistia; Basil. art. 6.

† Nullus unque dubitandi locus relinquatur, quin omnes Christi fideles, pro more in Catholica ecclesia semper recepto, latriæ cultum, qui vero Deo debetur, huic sanctissimo sacramento in veneratione exhibeant, &c. 1 Concil. Trident. sess. xiii. cap. 5.

xxviii. 13; Psalm xxxii. 5, 6; li. 4, 5, 7, 9, 14. In all which places there is confession of sin to God, to the party wronged by us, and to one another; but not a word of secret confession of all our sins in the ears of the priest.

2. *The doctrine of the Protestants.*

"As every man is bound to make private confession of his sins to God, praying for the pardon thereof, upon which and the forsaking of them he shall find mercy; so he that scandalizeth his brother or the church of God, ought to be willing, by a private or public confession and sorrow for his sin, to declare his repentance to those that are offended, who are therefore to be reconciled and in love to receive him." So other Reformed churches.\*

3. *The doctrine of the Papists.*

"Let every one, both men and women, truly make confession of all their sins at least once a year to their own priest, or some other, having leave first from their own priest; else he can neither absolve nor bind him." †

"The universal church, to the great profit of souls, doth keep the custom of confession in that holy and most acceptable time of Lent; which also this holy synod doth most highly approve and receive, as piously and with good cause to be retained." ‡

"If any shall deny sacramental confession either to be instituted or to be necessary to salvation by divine right; or shall say [that] the manner of making secret confession to the priest alone is not instituted and commanded by Christ, but is a human invention; let him be accursed." §

"If any shall say that in the sacrament of penance it is not necessary to remission of sin, and that by divine right, to confess all and every mortal sin that one can by all due diligent premeditation call to remembrance, even those that are secret sins and against the last precept of the Decalogue, and the very circumstances which alter the kinds of sin; let him be accursed." ||

XVIII. OF PENITENTIAL SATISFACTION.

1. *The doctrine of the scripture.*

"Then shalt thou remember thy ways, and be ashamed. And I will establish my covenant with thee: that thou mayest remember, and be confounded, and never open thy mouth any more because of thy shame, when I am pacified toward thee for all that thou hast done, saith the Lord God." (Ezek. xvi. 61—63.) "Ye shall loathe yourselves in your own sight. Not for your sakes do I this: be ashamed and confounded for your own ways." (Ezek. xxxvi. 31, 32. See Hosea xiv. 2, 4.)

2. *The doctrine of the Protestants.*

"Although repentance be not to be rested in as any satisfaction for

\* *Confess. Helvet. II. cap. 14; Argentinensis, cap. 20; August., de Confess.; Saxon., de Penitentia; Wittenb., de Confessione.* † *Concil. Lateran. can. xxi.* ‡ *Unde*

*jam in universa ecclesia, cum ingenti animarum fidelium fructu, observatur mos ille salutis, sacro illo et maxime acceptabili tempore Quadragesimæ; quem morem, &c.—Concil. Trident. sess. xiv. cap. 5.* § *Si quis negaverit confessionem sacramentalem vel institutam vel ad salutem necessariam esse jure divino, &c.—Concil. Trident. sess. xiv. can. 6.*

|| *Si quis dixerit in sacramento penitentia ad remissionem peccatorum necessarium non esse jure divino confiteri omnia et singula peccata mortalia, &c.—Concil. Trid. sess. xiv. can. 7.*

sin or any cause of the pardon thereof, which is the act of God's free grace in Christ; yet is it of such necessity to all sinners, that none might expect pardon without it." So other churches.\*

### 3. *The doctrine of the Papists.*

"If any shall say that the whole punishment, together with the guilt, is always remitted by God, and that the satisfaction of the penitent is no other than the faith whereby he apprehendeth Christ to have satisfied for him; let him be accursed."†

"If any shall say that God is not satisfied for sins, as to temporal punishment, through the merits of Christ, by the punishments which he inflicts and we patiently bear, or by such as are enjoined by the priest, nor by those that we voluntarily put ourselves unto, nor by fastings, prayers, alms-deeds, and other works of piety; and that therefore the best repentance is only a new life; let him be accursed."‡

"If any shall say that the satisfactions whereby penitents through Jesus Christ do redeem sins, are not the worship of God, but the traditions of men, thwarting the doctrine of the grace and true worship of God and the benefits of the death of Christ; let him be accursed."§

## XIX. OF VENIAL SINS.

### 1. *The doctrine of Christ and his apostles.*

"I say unto you, That every idle word that men shall speak, they shall give account thereof in the day of judgment." (Matt. xii. 36.) "For the wages of sin is death." (Rom. vi. 23.) See Rom. v. 12; and Isai. lv. 7.

### 2. *The doctrine of the Protestants.*

"As there is no sin so small but it deserves damnation, so there is no sin so great that it can bring damnation upon those that truly repent." So other churches also.||

### 3. *The doctrine of the Papists.*

"Some sins are venial, neither offering injury to God, nor deserving hell, nor binding us to be sorry for them; but may be forgiven by knocking of the breast,¶ going into a church, receiving holy water, or the bishop's blessing, or crossing one's self, or by any work of charity, though we never think actually of them."\*\* "Those sins which in their own nature are not contrary to the love of God and our neighbour, as idle words, immoderate laughing; those sins that are not perfectly voluntary, as sudden motions of anger, &c.; and are in trivial things, as stealing of a halfpenny, &c.; are venial sins; that is, do not turn us from God, and are easily expiated; like unto a slight hurt, which doth not endanger life, and is easily cured."††

## XX. OF THE STATE OF MEN AFTER DEATH.

### 1. *The doctrine of the scripture concerning the state of men after death.*

\* *August., de Confessione; Saxon., in Præfatione, et artic. de Satisfactione; Wittemb., de Satisfactione.* † *Concil. Trident. sess. xiv. can. 12.* ‡ *Idem, sess. xiv. can. 13.* § *Idem, sess. xiv. can. 14.* || *Confess. Bohemica, art. 4; Saxon., de Discrimine Peccatorum.* ¶ *AQUINATIS Pars Tertia, quæst. 87, art. 3.* \*\* *Bellarmini Opera. tom. iii. De Amissione Gratiæ, lib. i. cap. 3.* †† *Idem, ibid. cap. 2.*

"Verily I say unto thee, This day shalt thou be with me in Paradise." (Luke xxiii. 43.) "And to the spirits of just men made perfect." (Heb. xii. 23.) "For we know that if our earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God." (2 Cor. v. 1.) "Willing rather to be absent from the body, and to be present with the Lord." (Verse 8.) "Having a desire to depart, and to be with Christ." (Phil. i. 23.) See also Matt. vii. 13, 14; John iii. 18; Luke xvi. 23, 24: where, and in other places, the scriptures speak of *two ways*: one leading to destruction; the other, to life: *two sorts of men*: some that do not believe, and they are damned; some that do, and they are saved: *no third*.

### 2. *The doctrine of the Protestants.*

"The bodies of men after death return to dust, and see corruption; but their souls, which neither die nor sleep, having an immortal subsistence, immediately return to God who gave them. The souls of the righteous, being then made perfect in holiness, are received into the highest heavens; where they behold the face of God in light and glory, waiting for the full redemption of their bodies: and the souls of the wicked are cast into hell; where they remain in torments and utter darkness, reserved to the judgment of the great day. Beside these two places for souls separated from their bodies, the scripture acknowledgeth none." So the Reformed churches also in Helvetia, France, Saxony, &c.\*

### 3. *The doctrine of the Papists.*

"If any shall say that, after the grace of justification received, the offence is so forgiven to every penitent sinner, and guilt of eternal punishment so removed, that there remains no guilt of temporal punishment to be suffered, either in this life, or [in] the life to come in purgatory; let him be accursed."†

By this parallel of doctrines you may easily judge that ours is the old religion, and the religion of the Papists (wherein they differ from us) is a new religion. For they that do own, profess, and hold to the same doctrines and worship that were taught by Christ himself and his apostles, and no other, (as to essentials at least,) are of the old religion; and those that, forsaking and corrupting the doctrine and worship taught by Christ and his apostles, maintain and hold doctrines not contained in the scripture, but risen up since and contrary to it, are of a new religion: But the Protestants do the first, and the Papists do the last; as appeareth by the parallel of doctrines: Therefore the Protestants are of the old religion, and the Papists of a new one. For that religion which doth agree with the oldest and the only rule, is the oldest and only religion: and if the Papists will keep to the first and ancient rule, the word of God, they must be of our religion; if they will not, but add or diminish, they will never answer to the charge of novelty laid upon them.

So that their insulting and ridiculous question, so often used, even till it is become odious and doth nauseate, "Where was your religion before Luther?" (which is the second part of my task,) is plainly and fully

\* *Confess. Helv.* II. cap. 26; *Gall.* art. 24; *Saxon.* art. 11; *August.* art. 11; *Wittenberg.* cap. 25. † *Concil. Trident.* sess. vi. can. 30; et *Decret. de Purgat.* sess. 25.



resolved in the scriptures and in the primitive churches. And, methinks, learned Papists should blush and be ashamed (that have or can read the writings of the fathers and determinations of ancient councils) to propound such a question: but they do it to amuse the common people, that cannot read Greek and Latin authors, and are not acquainted with the history of the church; whilst, I am persuaded, they themselves know better, and could resolve this question themselves, if they would read indifferently and judge impartially. But the people, that cannot read the fathers, councils, &c., might be abundantly satisfied that our religion is the old religion, because found in and founded upon the word of God; for all the books in the world must give place to the holy, sure, infallible word of the most true and faithful God.

III. But though we show our doctrines in the scripture, yet the question, Where was our religion before Luther? (who began the Reformation in the year 1517,) is put to beget jealousies in the people, that, for many hundred years before him, our doctrine and religion was not taught nor professed: and therefore [they] call for a catalogue of such as have taught our doctrines from the apostles' time successively to the time of Luther, as they pretend they can do theirs; and would bear the people in hand that the church as now Reformed, and the doctrines now received by them, are new and upstart things, and have not been since the apostles' times or before Luther. The contrary whereof—*that there have been such doctrines, and a church owning them, in all ages since they were preached by the apostles*—will appear by two heads of arguments: the one taken *a priori*; that such a church cannot, shall not, cease, but always be in some part or other of the world: the other, *a posteriori*; that it hath not ceased, but hath always actually been, and therefore before Luther.

1. The first,—*that it cannot, shall not, cease to be*,—taken *a priori*, stands firm upon these two grounds:—

(1.) *Upon the promise of Christ*.—That is of infallible verity. Christ hath promised that the true church which is built upon the doctrine of the scripture and is conformed thereunto, should continue always, and not fail. That the Reformed churches are built upon the doctrine of the scriptures, and are conformed thereunto, appeareth from the parallel of doctrines before laid down. So that there is evidence from the promise of Christ that the church holding such doctrines as the Reformed churches do, did continue, could not fail: and there our church and religion was before Luther.

(2.) *Upon the relation between Christ and his church*.—Christ is the only Head of the church; and the church, the body of Christ: Christ is the King of his church; and the church, subject to Christ: Christ is the Husband and Bridegroom of the church; and the church, the wife and spouse of Christ. Such a church, then, could not cease to be; else there would have been some time in which Christ would have been a Head without any body upon earth, a King without subjects, a Husband and Bridegroom without a wife or spouse; all which are [as] absurd as to say [that] a man is a father that hath no child. But in this the controversy doth not lie betwixt us; but *which* church is this body, subjects, and spouse of Christ, which, by virtue of Christ's promise and relation

to him, could not fail or cease to be; *theirs*, or *such as the Reformed churches are*. There is this ground (among others) on our side:—That church which owneth Christ to be her only Head, Husband, and King, and no other; which owneth and professeth subjection to the laws of Christ, and no other, as necessary to salvation; and worshippeth the true God according to the scripture, and no other; is the body, spouse, and subjects of Christ, that could not cease to be in any age: But such churches as the Reformed are, do own Christ to be their only Head, Husband, and King, and no other; and profess subjection to the laws of Christ, and no other, as necessary to salvation; and worship God according to the rules contained in the scripture, and no other: all which the Roman church, as Papal, doth not do; for they own another head, beside Christ, as necessary to salvation; and profess subjection to the laws of another, beside the laws of Christ, and that equally with them, yea, before them, though distinct from and contrary thereunto; and give religious worship to others beside the true God; and so play the whore and harlot: That we might conclude, that such churches as the Reformed are, and not as the Papal, are the body, subjects, and spouse of Christ, which could not cease in any age to be, since the apostles' times: and there our religion was, and church too, before Luther.

2. The second evidence that there have been the same doctrines, necessary to salvation, taught all along since the apostles' successively to Luther's times, is *a posteriori*,—from the writings of men and histories of the church; even such as are abundantly satisfactory to us, and undeniable by our adversaries, that our doctrines are not so late as Luther. I had here prepared several things to be inserted concerning the succession of the church from the primitive times to the age in which we live; but because I would not have this discourse to swell above the bounds of a sermon, and understanding that there is a reverend brother desired to treat of that particularly, (to whom I do refer you,) I here omit them. Yet the frequent demand of Papists, asking, “Where was your religion before Luther?” and that part of this present position,—*that it was before Luther*,—will not suffer a total silence herein. Though this is no real prejudice to the truth of our doctrine or religion, if we could not give a catalogue of names that did hold and profess them in all ages, so long as we find them in the scripture; nor could they for want thereof be justly charged either with falsity or novelty: for what is in the word of God is true and old; and what is not contained therein and made necessary to salvation, is false and new, though of many hundred years' standing. That this is unreasonably required by the Papists; no hurt to our religion, as to the verity and antiquity of it; nor no [any] cause of stumbling to the common people, familiarly assaulted in this point; and all because not necessary to be known; will appear by these things following:—

(1.) It is not necessary, [in order] to prove ourselves to be men, to give an account of all the names of all the men that have lived before us; no, nor of any of them. It is sufficient hereunto that we can prove [that] we have the same essential constitutive parts of men as our predecessors had. That we have such bodies and such souls as they had, is a proof [that] we are real men, as they were; though we know not the

names of all the intermediate persons successively by whom we have received our beings from them. Would not you laugh at one that would persuade you [that] you are no men, or that the human nature is a new thing, because you cannot give a catalogue of the names of men from Adam, or from Noah, from one age to another? Or would it not be sufficient proof of your manhood, that you have the same identity of nature as Adam, or Noah, and men of former ages, had? So here: so long as we can tell and are sure [that] we own and believe the same doctrines that the apostles did, we are sure [that] we are of the same religion as they were, though we could not give the names of the persons that have from time to time professed the same. This is as if one should say [that] Melchizedek did not succeed his progenitors, because his genealogy cannot be given. Ridiculous!

(2.) It is not necessary, [in order] to know the falseness of any doctrine, that we should know the names of the heretics that have handed them down from one age to another; but we know them to be false by their being contrary to the scripture.

(3.) We know that the dictates of the law of nature are good and true, and that we have such a law, though we cannot give an account of the name of our ancestors from whom we have received them.

(4.) A man might be an exact artificer, though he be not able to mention the names of those that have been in all ages that professed the same occupation from the times of those that did first invent them. So a man might be a good Christian and of the true religion, and be ignorant of the many thousands [of] Christians that have been before him.

(5.) Without this knowledge a man might love God, repent, believe, and be saved; therefore [it is] not necessary to true doctrine, religion, or salvation: else every unlearned believer must be acquainted with all the histories of the church and fathers and professors before him; which is impossible.

(6.) If a man did know this, yet he might be damned. If a man could tell all the writers, preachers, doctors, and councils, that have lived these sixteen hundred years, he might go to hell at last. God will condemn men for being ignorant of the essential points in Christianity contained in the scripture, and if they do not believe nor are converted; but not for being unacquainted with the histories of the church, and names of those that did profess the true religion in the ages before them.

(7.) The scripture never denieth that to be a true church, that cannot, and because it cannot, show the succession thereof by histories and human writings.

(8.) The scripture doth never send us to histories, councils, and fathers, to judge of true doctrine and religion by; but to the word of God. Where in scripture are professors, or ministers either, commanded to study and be so conversant in all histories, councils, and antiquities, as to be able to give a catalogue,—who have taught or owned the true doctrine in ages before them?

(9.) What deceitful dealing is this! to deny the people the reading of the scriptures and acquaintance with them, and in such things commend ignorance as the mother of devotion; and [they] will yet call upon them to say, “Who taught your doctrines before Luther?” as if it were more

material to know who taught them, than to know them; or to be more skilled in the writings of men, than in the word of God.

(10.) They call for that from us on our part, which they cannot give themselves for themselves on their part. You ask, "Who taught your doctrines from the apostles' times?" and we retort your question: "And who taught all your doctrines from the apostles' times?" We know, you can never show them. So that if we could not, yet we were even with you. I know, you pretend a large catalogue of popes; but yet you are greatly puzzled to give their succession, when there have been several popes together, and they that then lived could not know which was the right. But if you could give a succession of persons, it profits nothing without a succession of true doctrine: if you could show a succession *de facto*, you can show none *de jure*. That may be "actual" that may not be "lawful." A thief may actually succeed a true possessor; and a tyrant and usurper, a lawful prince; but not lawfully: this is usurpation, not legitimate succession. We might say therefore to your people, as you do to ours: "Is it safe for you to continue in that religion of which you can give no account, who have taught your doctrines from the apostles' times?" For, you cannot; no, nor your doctors neither; no, though they call a council, and search all records and writings of men; as shall be shown in the next general head of this sermon.

Yet this is not said as if we doubted of our cause, if it were to be tried by the writings of the ancient fathers; or as if we could not mention multitudes before Luther that have taught and owned our doctrines: for there are many great volumes and cart-loads of books in which our doctrines are to be found. To give a large rehearsal of their words on our side, would be an endless work, and not to be crowded into a piece of one sermon: yet a few shall be picked out of many, sufficient to show that our doctrines, in which we do oppose the doctrines of the church of Rome, have been taught of old.

What was the doctrine in the first hundredth year from the birth of Christ, is best understood from the holy scriptures; and this is that age, and the writings of the apostles are those writings, by which the writings of all other ages must be examined, as their surest rule: and that our doctrines are there contained, and not the doctrines of the Papists, as such, see the parallel before.

In the writings of the fathers that lived in the second hundredth year we have many testimonies.

In this age the bishop of Rome had not that power as now they challenge; as appears from a letter of Eleutherius, bishop of Rome, to Lucius, king of England; who had sent to the bishop for the Roman laws, as they were framed in religion; to whom is sent an answer by Eleutherius: "Ye require of us the Roman laws, and the emperor's, to be sent over to you. The Roman laws and the emperor's we may ever reprove; but the law of God we may not. Ye have received of late through God's mercy in the realm of Brittany the law and faith of Christ. Ye have with you, within the realm, both the parts of the scripture. Out of them by God's grace, with the council of your realm, take ye a law: and by that law (through God's sufferance) rule your kingdom

of Britain; for you be God's vicar in your kingdom." Afterwards: "Whose vicar you be in the realm." \* From whence is clear, that this bishop of Rome, (1.) Challenged not the supremacy over England; but acknowledged the king to be supreme governor in his own kingdom. (2.) That he acknowledged the perfection of scripture for life and manners, when laws should be taken from thence for the government of a kingdom. (3.) That England received the gospel early, and not so late from the church of Rome as some of them boast; nor at all first from them, but from the Grecians of the East-church, as some think.†

Particulars would be [in] abundance; but brevity is one part of my task in this present matter: I must therefore take up with a testimony or two of the doctrine taught in this age. Irenæus testifieth that the same truths of apostolical doctrine were in this age; ‡ and that the church that was planted through a great part of the world, even to the end of the earth, by the apostles and their disciples, received the same faith that is contained in that which is called "the Apostles' Creed:" and he gives a summary of doctrines to the same purpose as in that Creed is contained.§

Unto these times Hegesippus, that lived in this age, declareth that the church of God remained a pure and uncorrupted virgin. Moreover, the same witness gives a general testimony of the doctrine in this age. Coming to Rome, he met with many bishops, of one mind and doctrine; [and] saith, "The church of Corinth remains in the pure and right rule of doctrine;" and was comforted very much with their doctrine: "Being come to Rome, I stayed there till Anicetus was stalled bishop. In all the succession, and in every one of their cities, it is no otherwise than the law and prophets and the Lord himself did preach." ||

After the apostles, many taught our doctrines long before Luther. Having but little room, I must take up with the fewer heads of doctrine, and fewer testimonies under each doctrine. I had begun to give a catalogue in every hundredth year since Christ; but that being too large for this place, I laid it by, and give instances in these few following:—

#### I. THE PERFECTION AND SUFFICIENCY OF THE SCRIPTURE TO SALVATION, TAUGHT LONG BEFORE LUTHER.

Justin Martyr, who lived in the second hundredth year after Christ, writeth that "the true religion is contained in the writings of the prophets and apostles, who have taught all things necessary for us to know. We are not commanded to give credit to the traditions and doctrines of men, but those doctrines which were published by the prophets, and [which] Christ himself delivered. All things are to be brought to the scripture, and from thence are arguments and proofs to be fetched: for if a man be never so often asked, 'How many do two times two make?' he will still say, 'Four;': so a Christian, discoursing with others, will always allege the scripture." ¶ And Irenæus: "The scriptures are perfect, as spoken and dictated from the Word of God and his Spirit." \*\*

\* Fox's "Acts and Monuments," vol. i. p. 139. † Idem, *ibid.* p. 138.  
‡ IRENÆUS *Adversus Hæreses*, lib. iii. § Idem, lib. i. cap. 2; EUSEBIUS *Eccles. Hist.* lib. iii. cap. 24.

|| HEGESIPPUS apud EUSEBIUS *Eccles. Hist.* lib. iv. cap. 21.  
¶ JUSTINUS MARTYR in *Dial. cum Tryphone, et Parænesi.* \*\* *Scriptura perfecta sunt, quippe a Verbo Dei et Spiritu ejus dicta.*—IRENÆUS *Adversus Hæreses*, lib. ii. cap. 47.

So Tertullian, A.D. 200, &c., writes, "I adore the fulness of the scriptures. Let Hermogenes show that it is written; if it be not written, let him fear that woe appointed for those that add or diminish."\* In another place thus: "We have the apostles of the Lord for our authors: who never brought-in any thing at their own will; but what doctrine they had from Christ, they faithfully delivered to the nations. Wherefore, if an angel from heaven should preach otherwise to us, we would pronounce him accursed."† To this objection, "The apostles did not know all; or if they did, they did not deliver all," he replieth that "both ways such reproach Christ, as if he had sent apostles either unskilful or unfaithful." Again: "In matters of faith, men must argue no other way than from the scriptures."‡ In short, he lays down the doctrines of this age in a Confession of faith, agreeable to that which is called "the Apostles' Creed;" and saith, "They are not doubted of by any amongst us, but heretics."§ In the like manner speaketh Origen, that lived also in this age, of the perfection of the scripture: "In the two Testaments every word that appertaineth to God may be required and discussed, and all knowledge of things out of them may be understood; but if any thing do remain which the holy scripture doth not determine, no other third scripture ought to be received for to authorize any knowledge."|| And more in other places; ¶ and [see] a large Confession of faith also by him, and Gregory Neocæsariensis, containing the doctrines that we hold.\*\*

Jerome, that died A.D. 420, thus: "Whatsoever we affirm, we ought to prove out of the holy scriptures: the speaker's words have not so much authority as the Lord's command."††

Ambrose, also, who was born about the year 333, is of the same judgment: "We ought to add nothing, no not for caution, to God's command: for if thou dost add or diminish, it is a prevaricating of the command. The pure and simple form of the command is to be kept. Nothing, therefore, seem it never so good, ought to be added to it. Therefore we ought not to add to or take away from the commands of God."‡‡ And he is more large, which I cannot (for brevity) transcribe. Again: he saith, "Who shall speak, where the scripture is silent?"§§

Augustine, born A.D. 355, subscribes the same doctrine: "In those things which are laid down plainly in the scripture, all those things are

\* *Adoro scripturæ plenitudinem. Scriptum esse doceat Hermogenis Officina; si non est scriptum, timeat vè illud adjicientibus aut detrahentibus destinatum.*—TERTULLIANUS *Adversus Hermogenem.* † *Apostolos Domini habemus auctores: qui nec ipsi quicquam ex suo arbitrio, quod inducerent, elegerunt; sed acceptam a Christo disciplinam fideliter nationibus assignaverunt. Itaque etiamsi angelus de cælis aliter evangelizaret, anathema diceretur a nobis.*—Idem *De Præscript. Hæret.* ‡ *Solent dicere non omnia apostolos scisse; omnia quidem apostolos scisse, sed non omnia omnibus tradidisse: in utroque Christum reprehensionem subijcientes, qui aut minus instructos aut parum simplices apostolos miserit.*—Ibid. § *Aliunde suadere non possent de rebus fidei nisi ex literis fidei.*—Ibid.

¶ *Idem, ibid.* || *ORIGENIS Homil. v. in Levit. tom. i.* ¶ *Hom. ii. in Hieremiam.*

\*\* *Centurie Magdeburgenses, cent. iii. pp. 34, 35.* †† *HIERONYMUS in Psalmum xcvi.*

‡‡ *Nihil, vel cautionis gratiâ, jungere nos debemus mandato. Si quid enim vel addas vel detrahas, prævaricatio quædam videtur esse mandati: pura enim et simplex mandati forma servanda. Nihil, vel quod bonum videtur, addendum est. Docet igitur nos presentis lectionis series neque detrahere aliquid divinis debere mandatis neque addere.*—AMBROSIUS *Opera, tom. iv. De Paradiso, cap. 12.*

§§ *Sanctis scripturis non loquentibus, quis loquetur?*—Idem *De Voc. Gent. lib. ii. cap. 3.*

found which belong to faith or direction of life.”\* “Let us not hear, ‘This I say, this you say;’ but let us hear, ‘This saith the Lord.’ There is God’s book, to whose authority we on both sides consent, believe: there let us seek the church; there let us discuss our cause. Let those things be taken from amongst us which we quote or allege one against another, but not from the divine canonical books; for I will not that the holy church be demonstrated from the documents of men, but from the oracles of God.” Again: “Read us these things out of the law, out of the prophets, or Psalms, or gospel, or the apostles’ epistles; read ye, and we believe.” Again: “Our Lord Jesus himself did rather judge that his disciples should be confirmed by the testimony of the law and prophets. These be the proofs, foundation, and strength of our cause.” Again: “Let no man ask me my opinion; but let us hearken to the scripture, and submit our petty reasonings to the word of God.” “We walk much safer according to the scripture: controversies are to be determined by the scripture.” Again: “I insert the opinion of Ambrose, Jerome, &c., not for that thou shouldest think that the sense of any man is to be followed as the authority of canonical scripture.”† Augustine hath abundance more (in many places) of such-like doctrine; and he was above a thousand years before Luther.

Chrysostom, also, that lived in the same age, and died about the year 407, taught the same doctrine—so long before Luther—in this point as the Reformed churches now do. Thus he writes: “Would it not be an absurd and preposterous thing, that when we have to do with men in matters of money, we believe them not, but count it after them; but when we are to judge of things, we are simply drawn into their opinions; and *that* when we have the law of God for an exact rule, balance, and square of all things? Wherefore I beseech and entreat you all, that ye matter not what one or another thinks of these things, but that ye would consult the holy scriptures concerning them.”‡ In another place thus: “These things which are in the holy scripture are clear and right; whatsoever is necessary is manifest therein.”§ Many more testimonies

\* *In iis quæ aperte in scripturâ posita sunt, inveniuntur illa omnia quæ continent fidem moresque vivendi.*—AUGUSTINI Opera, tom. iii. *De Doct. Christ.* lib. ii. cap. 9. † *Non audiamus, hæc dico, hæc dicis; sed audiamus, hæc dicit Dominus. Sunt certè libri Domini, quorum auctoritati utrique consentimus, utrique credimus: ibi queramus ecclesiam; ibi discutiamus causam nostram. Auferantur illa de medio, quæ adversus nos invicem, non ex divinis canonicis libris, sed aliunde, recitamus; quia nolo humanis documentis, sed divinis oraculis, sanctam ecclesiam demonstrari.*—Idem *De Unitate Eccles.* cap. 3. *Legite nobis hæc de lege, de prophetis, de Psalms, de ipso evangelio, de apostolicis literis; legite, et credimus.*—Idem, *ibid.* cap. 6. *Ipse Dominus Jesus discipulos testimoniis legis et prophetarum confirmandos esse magis judicavit. Hæc sunt causæ nostræ documenta, hæc fundamenta, hæc firmamenta.*—Idem, *ibid.* cap. 16. *Nemo ex me querat sententiam meam; sed potius audiamus oracula, nostrasque ratiunculas divinis summittamus affutibus.*—Idem, tom. i. *De Moribus Eccles.* Cath. cap. 7. *Per scripturas divinas multo tutius ambulatur. Controversia ex eadem scripturâ terminetur.*—Idem *De Doct. Christ.* cap. 8. *Sententias Ambrosii, Hieronymi, &c., non ob hoc interponere volui, ut cujusquam hominis sensum tanquam scripturæ canonicæ auctoritatem sequendum arbitreris.*—Idem, *Epist. cxi.* ‡ *Πως γὰρ οὐκ ατοκον. ὑπερ μὲν χρημάτων μὴ ἑτέροις πιστεύειν, ἀλλ’ ἀριθμῶ καὶ ψήφῳ τούτο ἐπιτρέπειν· ὑπερ δὲ πραγμάτων ψηφίζομενος ἀπλῶς ταῖς ἑτέρων παρασυστῆσαι δοξαῖς· καὶ ταῦτα, ἀκριβῆς ὑγρον ἀπάντων ἔχοντας καὶ γνῶμονα καὶ κανόνα, τῶν θεῶν νομῶν τὴν ἀποφασιν; Διὸ παρακαλῶ καὶ δεομαι πάντων ὑμῶν, ἀφ’ ἑνὸς τι τῷ θεῷ καὶ τῷ θεῷ δοκεῖ περὶ τούτων, παρα τῶν γραφῶν ταῦτα πάντα συνδραμεσθε.*—CHRYSOSTOMI Homil. xiii. in 2 Cor. § *Ταῦτα σαφῆ καὶ εὐθεὰ τὰ παρα ταῖς θείαις γραφαῖς· πάντα τὰ ἀναγκάως ὁμῶς.*—Idem, Homil. iii. in 2 Thess. ii.

we might have from this author, and others quoted in the margin ; \* but brevity forbids the transcribing of their words. To conclude this particular : take the testimony of a council, wherein are many witnessing together that the scripture is so perfect that nothing is to be added to it.† Ambrose said, “Anathema to him that addeth any thing to the scripture, or taketh from it ;” and all the bishops said, “Let him be accursed.” And their own canon-law, reciting the words of Cyprian,—that the scripture must be followed, and not custom or traditions : “If Christ only is to be heard, we ought not to regard what any one before us thought was to be done ; but what Christ, that was before all, did : neither ought we to follow the custom of men, but the truth of God ; whenas the Lord hath said by the prophet Isaiah, ‘In vain do they worship me, teaching the commands and doctrine of men.’”‡ And again : “It is not lawful for the emperor, or any other person piously disposed, to presume any thing against the divine precepts, nor do any thing that is contrary to the rules of the evangelists, prophets, or apostles.”§ Then their writings must be perfect ; or we shall often be at a loss, for want of a rule to direct us. All these, and multitudes more, taught this long before Luther.

II. THAT THE PEOPLE OUGHT TO READ THE SCRIPTURE, AND THEREFORE OUGHT IT TO BE TRANSLATED INTO VULGAR TONGUES,—WAS A DOCTRINE TAUGHT LONG BEFORE LUTHER.

By Chrysostom : “‘Let the word of God dwell in you richly :’ he doth not say only, ‘Let it dwell in you ;’ but, ‘in great abundance.’ Hear this, ye worldly men, that have wives and children,—how he commandeth you to read the scriptures ; and that not slightly, but with all diligence. Hear this, I pray you, all ye that are careful about the things of this life ; and get you Bibles, which are the medicines of your souls. Ignorance of the scriptures is the cause of all evils. We go to war without our weapons ; how then can we be safe ?” &c.¶ In another place he instructed the people that, when they went from the congregation to their houses, they should take their Bibles, and call their wives and children to participate of the discourse of the things that were said. And

\* CYPRIANUS, lib. ii. epist. 3, et ad Quintinum, et ad Pomperium, et ad Subianum. *Ανταρκεις εισιν αι άγια και θεοπνευστοι γραφαι προς την της αληθειας επαγγελιαν.*—ATHANASIUS, tom. i. p. 1. “The holy and divinely inspired scriptures are perfectly sufficient to the exposition of the truth.”—EDIT. *Η μεν αληθης και ευσεβης εις τον Κυριον πιστις παντα πασι καθεστηκεν, εκ των θειων γραφων γνωσκομενη τε και αναγνωσκομενη.*—Idem. tom. i. p. 398. “True and pious faith in the Lord has now become manifest unto all, being known from and read in the sacred writings.”—EDIT. *Η θεια γραφη παντων εστιν ικανωτερα.*—Idem, p. 114. Vide etiam pp. 217, 428. “The divine scripture is of all things the most useful.”—EDIT. *Τα μεν συμφωνα ταις γραφαις δεχεσθαι, τα δε αλλοτρια αποβαλλειν.*—BASILIUS MAGNUS in *Moralium Libro*, sum. lxxii cap. 1. Vide etiam eundem, sum. lxxx. cap. 22, et *Homil. de Confess. Fidei*, et passim. “We must receive those things that are consonant to the scriptures, but reject whatsoever is foreign to them.”—EDIT. † *Concil. Aquileiense* ; SERIUS *De Concil.* tom. i. p. 477. ‡ *Corp. Jur. Can.* dist. viii. cap. Si solus. § *Ibid.* dist. x. cap. Non licet. ¶ *Ακουσατε, οσοι εστε κοσμηκοι, και γυναικος και παιδων προιστασθε, πως και υμιν επιτρεπει μαλιστα τα γραφας αναγνωσκειν* και ουχ άλλως ουδε ως ετυχεν, αλλα μετα πολλης της σπουδης. Ακουσατε, παρακαλω, παντες οι βιωτικοι και κτασθε Βιβλια, φαρμακα της ψυχης. Τουτο παντων αιτιον των κακων, το μη ειδεναι τας γραφας. Χωρις οπλων εις πολεμον βαδιζομεν, και πως εδει σωθηναι ; &c.—CHRYSTOSTOMI *Homil. ix. in Coloss.* ; item, *Hom. ii. v., in Matt.* To this purpose, also, *Hom. iii. de Lazaro* ; *Hom. xix. in Genes.* ; *Hom. i. in Johan.*



in another place he exhorts them diligently to attend the reading of the holy scripture; not only when they came to the assembly; but at home to take the sacred scriptures into their hands: and this he doth by an argument drawn from the great profit that they may receive thereby. Elsewhere he also mentioneth that the Syrians, Egyptians, Indians, Persians, Ethiopians, and multitudes more, had the doctrines of the scripture translated into their own tongues.

The like also by St. Augustine: "It is come to pass that the scripture—wherewith so many diseases of men's wills are holpen, proceeding from one tongue, which fitly might be dispersed through the world, being spread far and wide by means of the divers languages whereinto it is translated—is thus made known to nations for their salvation; the which when they read, they desire nothing else but to attain to the mind of Him that wrote it, and so to the will of God, according to which we believe [that] such men spake."\*

To the new doctrine of Hosius, president at the council of Trent, "That a distaff was fitter for women than a Bible,"† we will oppose the testimony of Theodoret of the old practice in the church in this point: "You shall every where see these points of our faith to be known and understood, not only by such as are teachers in the church, but even of cobblers and smiths and websters and all kind of artificers: yea, all our women—not they only who are book-learned, but they also that get their living with their needle, yea, maid-servants and waiting-women; and not citizens only, but husbandmen of the country—are very skilful in these things: yea, you may hear among our ditchers and neatherds and wood-setters discoursing of the Trinity and creation," &c.‡

### III. THAT RELIGIOUS WORSHIP WAS NOT TO BE GIVEN TO IMAGES OR RELICS OF SAINTS, WAS TAUGHT LONG BEFORE LUTHER.

When Polycarpus suffered, the envious persecutors not willing that his body should be honourably buried, as the Christians were desirous to do, they moved the proconsul not to deliver to the Christians the body of Polycarp, lest they, leaving Christ, fall a-worshipping of him: concerning which the church of Smyrna (for I have not room for citations of particular persons) in their Epistle to the Church at Philomilium, &c., said, "This they said, being ignorant of this,—that we can never forsake Christ, and that we can worship no other: for we worship Christ as the Son of God; the martyrs we love as disciples and followers of the Lord."§

About the time of Sylvester I., who was [pope] A. D. 314, a council was so far from worshipping of images, that they would not have any pictures in the churches, "lest that which is worshipped or adored should be painted on walls."|| Also, about the year 700, a synod at Constantinople (which the Greeks call "the seventh") did not only condemn the worship of images, but also images themselves; and [decreed] that they should be cast out of churches. Gregory, bishop of Neocæsarea,

\* AUGUSTINUS *De Doct. Christ.* lib. ii. cap. 5.

† HORIUS *De Express. Dei Verb.*

‡ THEODORETUS *De curand. Græc. Affect.* lib. v.

§ EUSEBIUS *Eccles. Hist.* lib. iv. cap. 15.

|| *Placuit picturas in ecclesiâ esse non debere; ne quod colitur aut adoratur, in parietibus depingatur.* Concil. Elibert. can. 36.

(not the ancient of that title, but another since him,) wrote a book against images; \* which was read and approved by this council, and inserted into the synodical acts as a common decree: in which book there are testimonies of scripture and fathers against the idolatry of images; and that they would not allow any image or picture of Christ, but anathematized them that should draw his effigies in material colours; (can. 8—13;) and determined that there was one only image appointed by Christ; to wit, the blessed bread and wine in the eucharist, (Lord's supper,) which represent to us the body and blood of Christ. The second Nicene synod was against this and for images; and a synod at Francfort, against the second Nicene council and their images.

Pezelius gives us this account:—That Leo III., emperor, called a synod about the year 730; in which it was controverted, whether images were to be worshipped, &c.: the issue whereof was, that the fathers then present (except only Germanus; and [he] therefore resigned, and one Anastasius was chosen in his room) condemned and subscribed, that worshipping of images and relics was mere idolatry, contrary to the scripture; and the intercession of saints, a fable. The emperor put the decrees of the synod into execution; commanded the images to be brought into the midst of the city, and burned; and the pictures on walls to be whited over, and so defaced; and did write to pope Gregory III., (according to some, II.,) and commanded him, as he would keep in his favour, to do the like. After him his son Constantinus, called Copronymus, out of his zeal called a synod at Byzantium, A. D. 754; which is called “the seventh general council;” where were present three hundred and thirty-eight fathers: where the question being discussed, Whether it were lawful that images should (so much as) be in churches; who, receiving the decrees of the first and second councils of Constantinople, Ephesus, Nice, Chalcedon, did determine with one consent, that all images should, as abominations, be cast away. †

IV. THAT INVOCATION OF ANGELS AND SAINTS IS UNLAWFUL, WAS TAUGHT LONG BEFORE LUTHER.

By the council of Laodicea, which was about the year 364, according to Caranza; who, relating the canon I am to produce, for *angelos* [“angels”] reads twice *angulos*, [“corners,”] to evade the force of the council's canon, which he could not stand before; for which tricks of legerdemain their translations are little to be trusted to. Let us take it in the Greek text:—

‘Ὅτι οὐ δεῖ Χριστιανούς. εγκαταλείπειν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ ἀπίνειν καὶ ἀγγέλους ὀνομαζεῖν καὶ συναγεῖς ποιεῖν, ἅπερ ἀπηγορεύεται. Εἰ τις οὖν εὗρεθῇ ταύτῃ τῇ κεκρυμμένῃ εἰδωλολατρεῖα σχολάζων, ἐστω ἀναθεμα· ὅτι εγκατέλειπεν τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ εἰδωλολατρεῖα προσήλθεν.† “Christians ought not to forsake the church of God, and go and call upon angels and gather assemblies, which are forbidden. If therefore any shall be found giving himself to this secret idolatry, let him be accursed; because he hath

\* ILLYRICI *Catalogus Testium Veritatis*, pp. 73, 74.

† PEZELIUS, et LAMPADII *Mel-*

*ificium Historicum*, pars iii. pp. 37, 41.

† *Concil. Laodic.* can. 35; *Codice Canonum*

*Eccles. univers.* can. 139.

forsaken our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, and hath approached to idolatry."

The Papists are so humble, that they will go to God by having recourse to saints to intercede for them: this we dislike. "Who taught the contrary before Luther?" Multitudes: one of which, because it is so pat, I will transcribe. Ambrose, above a thousand years ago, condemned such "that used such a miserable excuse, in that they think to go to God by these, as men go to a king by his nobles. Go to; is any man so mad or so unmindful of his salvation as to give the king's honour to a courtier? Which if any do, are they not righteously condemned as guilty of treason? And yet these do not think themselves to be guilty, who give the honour of the name of God unto a creature, and, forsaking the Lord, they adore their fellow-servants. For therefore do men go to the king by tribunes or officers, because the king is but a man, and knoweth not to whom to commit the state of the commonwealth: but to procure the favour of God, (from whom nothing is hid; for he knoweth the works of all men,) we need no spokesman, but a devout mind; for whosoever such an one shall speak unto Him, He will answer him."\*

V. THAT THERE ARE BUT TWO PLACES FOR THE SOULS OF MEN AFTER DEATH, AND CONSEQUENTLY NO PURGATORY, WAS TAUGHT LONG BEFORE LUTHER.

Augustine, born above a thousand years before Luther, taught, that "there is no middle place for any; *he* must needs be with the devil, *that* is not with Christ."† Again: "The catholic faith, resting upon divine authority, believes the first place the kingdom of heaven; and the second, hell: a third we are wholly ignorant of."‡ Again: "What Abraham saith to the rich man in Luke,—that the righteous, though they would, cannot go to the place where the wicked are tormented,—what doth it mean, but that the godly can afford no help of mercy, though they would, to those that be shut up in prison after this life, that they should come out from thence; and that through the unchangeableness of God's judgment?" Again: "There is no place for the amending of our ways but in this life; for after this life every one shall receive according to what he seeketh after in this: therefore the love of mankind doth constrain us to intercede for sinners, lest by punishment they so end this life, that, their life being ended, their punishment never end."§ Another: "Whatsoever state or condition, whether good or bad, a man is taken in when he dieth, so must he abide for ever; for he shall either rest in eternal happiness with the saints and the Lord Christ, or shall be tormented in darkness with the wicked and

\* Solent tamen, pudore passi neglecti Dei, miserâ uti excusatione; dicentes per istos posse ire ad Deum, sicuti per comites pervenitur ad regem. Age, nunquid tam demens est aliquis aut salutis suæ immemor, ut honorificentiam regis vendicat comiti; cum, de hac re si qui etiam tractare fuerint inventi, jure ut rei damnentur majestatis? Est isti se non putant reos, qui honorem nominis Dei deferunt creaturæ, et relicto Domino conservos adorant. Num ideo ad regem per tribunos aut comites itur, quia homo utique est rex, et nescit quibus debeat rempublicam credere. Ad Deum autem (quem utique nihil laet; omnium enim merita novit) promerendum suffragatore non opus est, sed mente devotâ: ubicunque enim talis loquutus fuerit ei, respondebit illi.—AMBROSIIUS in Rom. i. † AUGUSTINUS De Pec. Merit. et Remis. lib. i. cap. 28. ‡ Idem, Quæst. Evang. lib. ii. cap. 38. § Idem, Epist. liv. ad Maced.

the devil.”\* This cannot be purgatory ; for the Papists do not say that the wicked or the devils be in purgatory, but in hell.

VI. THAT THE MARRIAGE OF MINISTERS WAS LAWFUL, WAS TAUGHT LONG BEFORE LUTHER.

*Long before*, indeed ! for it is the sixth of the (supposed) apostolical canons, owned by the church of Rome ; in these words : “ Let not a bishop or a presbyter, upon pretence of religion, put away his wife : but if he do, let him be excommunicated ; if he shall persist therein, let him be deposed.” †

The council at Ancyra also did decree that such as in their ordination did declare their purpose for to marry, if they did so, should continue in their ministry. ‡ Another council, about the year 300, decreed that, “ if any should judge that he ought not to partake of the oblation from a married presbyter, let him be accursed.” § And the first general council at Nice, that had this under debate, after Paphnutius had delivered his judgment about it, did leave it at every minister’s liberty to marry or not marry, as they should see cause ; which the Romanists’ canon law doth also set down. || Likewise this is fully stated in the sixth general council :—that “ the lawful marriages of holy men should be valid ; but whosoever is found diligent, should no way be hindered from that office because of living with his lawful wife. Therefore if any shall presume, contrary to the apostles’ rules, to deprive any presbyters or deacons of communion with their lawful wives ; let him be deposed.” Well said, council ! and if this could have been put into execution, the pope would have been down long before now, or mended his tyrannical dealings. And yet this stands in their canon law ; ¶ and they act quite contrary to it. Here being so many councils, and so many ancient fathers in all these councils, I need not look for more, to tell you who taught this doctrine before Luther.

VII. COMMUNION IN BOTH KINDS WAS TAUGHT LONG BEFORE LUTHER.

[By] Ignatius : “ One bread is broken to all, and one cup distributed to all.” \*\* And by Justin Martyr : “ They give to every one that is present of the consecrated bread and wine, as Christ commanded them.” †† And by Cyprian : “ How do we invite them to shed their blood for Christ in the confession of his name, if, when they set forth to fight for him, we deny them his blood ? How shall we fit them for the cup of martyrdom, if, before, we admit them not by right of communion to drink of the Lord’s cup in his church ?” ‡‡ In another place thus : “ Because some men, out of ignorance or simplicity, in sanctifying the cup of the Lord and ministering it to the people, do not that which Christ, the Institutor thereof, did and taught ; I thought it both matter

\* OLYMPIODORUS in *Eccles. xi.* † CARANZE *Sum. Concil.* p. 14. ‡ *Concil. Ancyran.* can. 10 ; *Codice verò Can. Eccles. univers.* can. 30. § *Codex Can. Eccles. univers.* can. 63 ; *Concil. Gangrense.* can. 4. || *Corp. Jur. Canon.* dist. xxxi. cap. *Nicæna Synodus.* ¶ *Jus Canon.* pars prima, dist. xxxi. cap. *Quoniam in Romæ.* \*\* *Εἰς καὶ ἄρτος τοῖς πᾶσι ἐβρώθη, καὶ ἐν ποτηρίῳ τοῖς ὅλοις διενεμήθη.*—IGNATIUS *ad Philadelphenos.* †† *Διδοσθὲν ἑκάστῳ τῶν παρόντων μεταλαβεῖν ἀπο εὐχαριστήματος ἁγίου καὶ οἴνου καὶ ὕδατος, καθὼς παρέδωκαν ἐντεταλῆαι αὐτοῖς Ἰησοῦν.*—JUSTINI MARTYRIS *Apolog. 11.* in fine. ‡‡ CYPRIANI *Epist. liv.*

of religion and necessity to acquaint you herewith by letters ; that if any be held in that error, the light of truth being now discovered to him, he might return unto the root and beginning of our Lord's institution," &c.\* Fully and plainly by Chrysostom,—that the people have as good a title to the cup, as the minister : " Sometimes and in some things there is no difference between the people and the priest ; as in the participation of the dreadful mysteries ; for all are equally admitted unto them. In the time of the old law it was not lawful for the people to eat of those things of which the priests did eat : but it is not so now ; for one body is offered to all, and one cup."†

I must thrust-in the doctrine of Leo the Great ; who was a bishop of Rome, A. D. 440, and yet did count it sacrilege not to have the cup received by the people. He saith thus, speaking of the Manichees : " And when, to cover their infidelity, they dare be present at our mysteries, they so carry themselves at the communion of the sacrament, that they may the more safely lie hid. They take the body of Christ with their unworthy mouths ; but they altogether decline the drinking of the blood of our redemption : which I would have you to know, that these kind of men by this mark being [may be] made manifest ; whose sacrilegious simulation when discovered, let them be marked, and by priestly authority be driven from the society of the saints," &c.‡

Because in councils there are many witnesses at once, let us hear them. The council at Ancyra, (though but provincial, yet, as Caranza saith, [it] was confirmed by the general council at Nice,) [which] was, according to Caranza's computation, in the year of our Lord 308, did decree that deacons that had sacrificed to idols, should not deliver the bread nor the cup in the sacrament. (Can. 2.) Whence it appears that in that age the cup was given, as well as the bread. And the council at Neocæsarea, confirmed also by the Nicene council, (so Caranza,) did decree that the country-priests, in the presence of the bishop or presbyters of the city, should not give the bread, nor reach the cup ; but if they were absent, they alone should do it. (Can. 13.) At the general council at Chalcedon, consisting of six hundred and thirty fathers, the seventh accusation brought against Iba, bishop of Edessa, was, " That there was not sufficient quantity of wine provided ; that those that did administer were constrained to go to the taverns for more." § But what need this complaint, if the people were not to drink, as well as to eat ? This being a general council, it seems that through the whole church the cup was given to the laity. This was about the year 451, in the time of Leo I. In the third Toletan council it was decreed that, through all the churches of Spain and Gallicia, the Creed should be repeated with a loud voice, and the people make profession of their faith, before they receive the body and blood of Christ. At the council of Ilerda it was decreed that

\* CYPRIANI *Epist.* lxiiii.

† Καὶ θεμὸς οὐκ ἦν τῷ λαῷ μετεχειν ὡς μετεχειν ὁ ἱερεὺς ἀλλ' οὐ μόνον ἀλλὰ πᾶσιν ἐν σῶμα προκεταί, καὶ ποτήριον ἐν.—CHRYSOSTOMI *Homil.* xliiii. in 2 Cor.

‡ Cumque, ad legendum infidelitatem suam, nostris audent interesse mysteriis, ita in sacramentorum communione se temperant, ut interdum tutius latent. Ore indigno Christi corpus accipiunt ; sanguinem autem redemptionis nostre haurire omnino declinant : quod ideo vestram volumus scire Sanctitatem, ut vobis hujusmodi homines et his manifestentur indicia ; et quorum deprehensa fuerit sacrilega simulatio, notati et prodiiti, a sanctorum societate sacerdotali auctoritate priuantur, &c.—LEONIS I. *Serm.* iv. de Quadragesimâ.

§ Concil. Chalced. act. 10, apud SURIUM, tom. ii.

the clergy, that deliver Christ's body and blood, should abstain from all men's blood, even of their enemies.\* One more testimony of one of their bishops of Rome, full and good Protestant doctrine, which I find in their Decretals; the doctrine of Gelasius, who was bishop of Rome (for as yet there were no popes properly, as now they use the word) A. D. 492, thus: "We have found that certain, having received a portion of the sacred body, abstain from the cup of his sacred blood, being entangled with I know not what superstition: let them either receive the whole sacrament, or else let them be wholly excluded from receiving; because the division of one and the self-same mystery cannot be without grievous sacrilege."† Well said, Gelasius! Ye Papists, that ask, Who preached our doctrine before Luther? in this point, I say, Gelasius, bishop of Rome: and he taught of old that the not partaking in both kinds is, (i.) Superstition; (ii.) A maiming or halving of the sacrament. (iii.) That it is grand sacrilege. Was your bishop in his chair when he did thus determine? And yet will ye neither believe that he did err, nor yet give the cup to the people, though he did infallibly dictate this to be a duty? Surely he did err in saying so, or you do err in not doing so.

VIII. THAT IN THE LORD'S SUPPER AFTER CONSECRATION THERE IS TRUE AND REAL BREAD AND TRUE AND REAL WINE, WAS A DOCTRINE TAUGHT BY MANY LONG BEFORE LUTHER.

By Tertullian: "Christ, taking the bread and distributing it to his disciples, made it his body; saying, 'This is my body;' that is," (mark this,) "'a figure of my body.'"‡ By Augustine, who bringeth-in our Saviour speaking after this manner: "Ye shall not eat this body which ye see, nor drink that blood which *they* shall shed *that* will crucify me: I have commended a certain sacrament unto you, that, being spiritually understood, will quicken you."§ By Gelasius, saying, "The sacraments which we receive of the body and blood of Christ, are a divine thing, by means whereof we are made partakers of the divine nature: and yet the substance or nature of bread and wine doth not cease to be; and, indeed, the image and the similitude of the body and blood of Christ are celebrated in the action of the mysteries."||

By Ambrose: "'How can that which is bread by consecration be the body of Christ?' By the words of Christ. 'What words of Christ?' By which all things were made: the Lord commanded, and the heaven was made; the Lord commanded, and the earth and the sea were made. Seest thou, then, how powerful is the word of Christ? If, therefore,

\* Concil. Ilerd. can. 1, apud Magdeburg. Centur. cent. vi. p. 467. † *Comperimus autem quod quidam, sumptis tantummodo corporis sacri portione, a calice sacri cruoris absterneant: qui proculdubio (quoniam nescio quid superstitione docentur obstringi) aut integra sacramenta percipiant, aut ab integris arceantur; quia divisio unitus ejusdemque mysterii sine grandi sacrilegio non potest provenire.—Corpus Jur. Can. Decret. pars iii. dist. iii. cap. Comperimus autem. ‡ Hoc est corpus meum; id est, figura corporis mei.—TERTULLIANUS Advers. Marc. lib. iv. § Non hoc corpus quod videtis manducaturi estis, et bibaturi illum sanguinem quem fusuri sunt qui me crucifigunt: sacramentum aliquod vobis commendavi; spiritualiter intellectum, vivificabit vos.—AUGUSTINUS in Psalmum xciii. || Certa sacramenta quæ sumimus corporis et sanguinis Christi divina res est; et tamen esse non desinit substantia vel natura panis et vini.—GELASIUS De duabus Naturis in Christo contra Eutychen.*

there be such virtue in the words of our Lord, to make those things that were not to begin to be; how much more powerful is his word, that they remain the same they were, and yet be changed into another thing!" This author doth acknowledge a change, but not a transubstantiating change; for he expressly saith, "They be what they were." It was bread and wine before; and therefore, though set apart for holy use, yet [is] not changed into another nature, so as, [with regard] to substance, to cease to be what they were. And he giveth instance in ourselves: when converted, there is a change; of old [we] are made new creatures; but not by being changed into a new substance, but [by having] our souls set upon right objects, &c. And when the objection is made, "But I do not see blood in kind;" he replieth, "But it hath the likeness or similitude of it; and thou drinkest that which hath the resemblance of the precious blood of Christ." \* This was taught, then, above a thousand years before Luther by this father. And so it was by Chrysostom also; who saith, "If it be perilous to put these hallowed vessels to private use, in which is not the true body of Christ, but the mystery of his body is contained therein; how much more," &c. †

IX. THAT THE BISHOP OF ROME WAS NOT THE UNIVERSAL HEAD OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH, NOR THE JUDGE IN WHOSE DEFINITIVE SENTENCE ALL WERE BOUND TO ACQUIESCE, WAS TAUGHT LONG BEFORE LUTHER.

In the second hundredth year after Christ, there were six councils, provincial only; the cause whereof was the difference about the feast of Easter. Irenæus, president of the synod in France, did write to Victor, then bishop of Rome; and sharply reprehended him for going about to sever from the unity in communion all the churches of Asia: which pleased not all the bishops. So Eusebius.‡ In the year 418 was the sixth council of Carthage, which resisted three popes one after another. About the year 450 the council of Chalcedon withstood Leo, then bishop of Rome, in the question of supremacy.

Illyricus upon his word affirmeth that he saw an epistle of the bishops of France and Germany (written by Aventinus's own hand) to Anastasius, bishop of Rome, and others of his complices; the sum whereof was, to admonish the pope, and those bishops of Italy that sided with him, to let them alone, and not proceed to exercise their tyranny over them. The whole epistle is to be found in Illyricus. (*Catal. Test. Verit.* p. 41.)

The bishops also of Belgia, about the year 860, did contest with the pope; whose epistle to pope Nicolas I. is taken by Illyricus out of Aventinus; in the close of which epistle they declare that, for the causes before mentioned, they would "not stand to his decrees, nor hear his voice, nor fear his thundering Bulls. Thou condemnest them that

\* *Si ergo tanta vis est in sermone Domini Jesu, ut inciperent esse quæ nunc erant; quanto magis operatorius est, ut sint quæ erant, et in aliud commutentur! Tu ipse eras; sed eras vetus creatura: posteaquam consecratus es, nova creatura esse coepisti. Sed fortis dicis, Speciem sanguinis non video. Sed habet similitudinem: similitudinem preciosi sanguinis bibis.*—AMBRASIUS *De Sacram.* lib. iv. cap. 4, edit. (mihi) Paris. 1529.

† CHRYSOSTOMI *Homil. xi. in Matt.* tom. posttr. ii.

1 EUSEBII *Hist. Eccles.* lib. v. cap. 23, 26; et lib. vii. cap. 5.

obey not the decrees of the senate. We assault thee with thine own weapon, that despisest the decree of our Lord God. The Holy Spirit is the Author of all the churches which are spread both far and near. The city of our God, whose free denizens we are, is greater than that city which by the holy prophets is called Babylon; which exalts herself to heaven, and doth falsely glory that she never hath erred nor can err." \*

Ludovicus the emperor, son of Charles the Great, and the nobles and clergy in his time, did not own the bishop of Rome to have that headship and power as now they claim and usurp, when by his authority, without any mention of the pope, he assembled several councils. Beside others, he called four several synods for the reformation of the church of France; namely, at Mentz, at Paris, at Lyons, and at Tholouse [Toulouse]; to inquire what was held answerable or contrary to the revealed will of God, and wherein they departed from the holy scripture. He was so famous for the church's good procured by him, that Platina, bewailing the most horrible wickedness of the popes and their clergy in his days,—that he crieth out, *O Ludovice, utinam nunc viveres*: "O Ludovicus, I wish thou wert now alive." †

Hincmar, archbishop of Rhemes [Rheims], openly published that it was not lawful for the inferior bishops upon any public or general occasion to consult the pope, unless they had first advised thereof with their own archbishops; that it was needless for archbishops to expect resolutions from the see of Rome concerning such things that are already sentenced in holy scripture, in the councils, canons, and decrees of the church: and expounded those words, *Tu es Petrus*, "Thou art Peter," thus: "Upon this sure and solid confession of faith which thou hast made, will I build my church." And as touching the power of binding and loosing, he did write to the pope himself, Leo IV., that that power was passed and derived from St. Peter and from the rest of the apostles to all the chief heads of the church; and that St. Peter's privilege took place only where men judge according to the equity of St. Peter, and is of force wheresoever that equity is used.‡ If Luther had now been born,

\* *Hicse de causis, cum fratribus nostris et collegis, neque edictis tuis stamus, neque vocem tuam agnoscimus, neque tuas Bullas tonitruaque tua timemus. Tu eos qui senatus consultis non parent, impietatis condemnas. Nos tuo te ense jugulamur, qui edictum Domini Dei nostri conspuis. Spiritus Sanctus Autor est omnium ecclesiarum, quod longissime et latissime terrarum orbis porrigitur. Civitas Dei nostri, cujus municipes sumus, major est urbe quæ Babyloniam a sacris vatibus appellatur; quæ cælo se æquat, neque unquam se errasse aut errare posse mendaciter gloriatur.*—ILLYRICI Catal. Test. Verit. (ex AVENTINO) p. 80. † Idem, *Ibid.* p. 86. ‡ *Magdeb. Centur.* cent. ix. p. 338. *Proceres regni affirmare, inquit, illa nova et inaudita esse, quod papa velit sibi de jure regnorum judicia sumere; non posse eum simul episcopum et regem esse, &c.*—HINC MARCUS *opud Magd. Cent.* cent. ix. p. 356. "The nobles of the kingdom affirm, he says, that it is a new and unheard-of thing, for the pope to wish to assume to himself decisions concerning the law of kingdoms; that he cannot be both bishop and king at one and the same time," &c.—EDIT. *Monet pontificem ne tam temere excommunicationes præcipiat; sed putiatur causas diligentius in suis provinciis cognosci, et juxta canones dijudicari.*—Idem, *ibid.* p. 524. "He admonishes the pope not to issue excommunications so rashly; but to suffer causes to be inquired into more diligently in their own provinces, and to be decided according to the canons."—EDIT. *Luithpertus Otgaricus, Guntherus Coloniensis, Thetgondus Treverensis, et alii episcopi Belgici, graviter tyrannidem Romani pontificis redarguunt.*—*Ibid.* p. 338. *Item ecclesiæ Græcorum et imperatores contra papam.*—*Ibid.* *Magdeb. Cent.* cent. ix. pp. 340, 341. "Luithpert of Ottingen, Gunther of Cologne, Thetgond of Treves, and other Belgic bishops, inveigh bitterly against the tyranny of the Roman pontiff. The Grecian churches and emperors were also hostile to the pope."—EDIT.



(as he was not for many hundred years after,) this would have been called "Luther's doctrine."

Likewise, when Leo IV. encroached upon the church of Germany, Luithpert, archbishop of Mence [Mentz], writing to Lewis, king of Germany, speaks much against the pope; saying that the church's head did ache; and if speedy remedy were not taken, it would quickly distil upon the members.

About this time, (854,) the church of Rome had a sore miscarriage; when pope John, *alias* —, not being like to other males, was great with child by his, rather her, servant; and, going to the Lateran, fell in pieces: a good device to provide for succession!—the pope brings forth a child. But since that time they have made a hole in St. Peter's chair, that when a new pope sits down, the puny deacon might search of what —. Before, the one body of the Romish church had two heads; the one visible, the other invisible: but now the head of that church had two bodies, and both visible.

Arnulphus, in a synod held at Rhemes [Rheims], noted the pope to be Antichrist; saying, "What, O reverend fathers, what, I say, think you him to be, who sitteth thus in a lofty throne, in purple robes and glittering gold? Certainly, if he be void of charity, lifted and puffed up only with knowledge, he is Antichrist, sitting in the temple of God: but if he want both charity and knowledge, then he is an idol; and to seek to him for answer, is to inquire of marble stones." \*

Theophylact, archbishop of the Bulgarians, expounding these words, "Upon this rock will I build my church," made no mention of the pope of Rome; saying, "That confession that Peter made should become the foundation of the faithful; in such sort that every man that would build the house, must necessarily put this confession for his foundation. Of the power of the keys he said, "Though it were only said to Peter, 'To thee will I give,' &c.; yet that power was once given to all the apostles, when He said, 'Whose sins ye remit, shall be remitted.'" †

Famous is the history of Otho, ‡ who assembled a great synod, in the church of St. Peter at Rome, of archbishops and bishops in Rome from Millain [Milan], Ravenna, Germany, and France; to which pope John XIII. would not come: to whom a letter was sent by the emperor, that he would make his appearance to answer to the things of which he was accused; (and they were very many and very heinous; §) to which letter he returned this answer: "I hear say you mean to create another pope; which if you do, I excommunicate you by the omnipotent God, that you have no power to ordain any, nor to celebrate the Mass." When this letter was reading, come-in the archbishop of Trevers [Treves], and other bishops—of Lorrain, Liguria, and Æmilia; with whose advice and coun-

\* For ARNULPHUS'S Oration at large, see the Magdeburgh Centuriators, cent. xvi. pp. 486—489. † THEOPHYLACTUS in *Matt. xvi. et Johan. xx.* ‡ *Magd. Cent.*

cent. x. de *Synod.* p. 433, &c. § *Johannes XIII. venationibus magis quàm orationibus vacabat; et multa alia auditu indigna de eo dicuntur.*—CARANZÆ *Sum. Concil.* p. 787.

"John XIII. spent his time in hunting rather than praying; and many other things are reported of him which are unfit to be heard."—EDIT. In hoc concilio, objectis in Johannem criminibus homicidii, perjurii, sacrilegii, incestus, aliorumque nefandorum scelerum, &c.—LUITPRANDUS apud BARONIUM in SPONDANI *Epitome*, in annum 963. "In this council, John was accused of the crimes of murder, perjury, sacrilege, incest, and other abominable offences," &c.—EDIT.

sel the emperor and synod sent this answer:—that they made light of his excommunication, and they would return it upon himself; for when Judas had become a murderer, he could tie none but himself, strangling himself with a halter. Otho deposed pope John, and took into his hands the nominating and making of popes afterwards. As yet emperors were not come to wait bare-foot at the pope's palace, nor to hold their stirrups.

When the pope, A.D. 996, sent a cardinal into France to consecrate a church there, the prelates of France, hearing of it, "judged it to be sacrilegious presumption, proceeding from blind ambition, that he should transgress apostolical and canonical orders, especially being confirmed by many authorities." \*

Gregory VII., strictly forbidding priests to marry, writeth to the princes of Germany that they would not frequent the Masses of married priests. But yet the bishops in Germany did refuse to yield to this decree, or to depose those priests that were married; defending themselves by the authority of the scripture, ancient councils, and the primitive church; adding thereunto that the commandment of God and human necessity did directly oppugn the pope's decree.† They long continued to defend their liberty; insomuch that, seeing neither reason nor prayer nor disputation would serve the turn, the clergy consulting together what to do, some advised not to return again to the synod; others, to return and thrust out the archbishop from his seat, and give him due punishment of death for his deservings, that by the example of him others might be warned hereafter never to attempt that thing any more to the prejudice of the church and the rightful liberty of ministers. The archbishop spake them fair, and bid them be of good hope; he would send again to Hildebrand, (the pope,) and they should have what would content their minds; willing them in the mean time to continue as they had done in their cure and ministry. The next year the pope sent bishop Curiensis as legate to the archbishop of Mentz; and assembled again a council, where the clergy were commanded, under pain of the pope's curse, to renounce their wives or their livings. The clergy still defended their cause with great constancy. In the end it brake forth into a tumult; [so] that the legate and archbishop hardly escaped with their lives. After this the churches would choose their ministers themselves; and not send them to the bishops (the enemies of ministers' marriage) to be con-

\* GLABRI *Historiarum*, lib. II. cap. 4; BARONII *Annales*, ad ann. 996. † *Adversus Hildebrandi decretum (quo magnâ severitate sacerdotum conjugium damnabat per universum Christianum orbem) infrenatâ tota factio clericorum, hominem planè hæreticum et vesani dogmatis esse clamitans.*—NAUCLERUS, vol. II. generat. 36, apud *Magd. Centur.* cent. XI. p. 389. "Against Hildebrand's decree (in which he with great severity condemned the marriage of priests throughout the Christian world) the whole faction of clergymen roared out, exclaiming that he was plainly a heretic and entertained unsound opinions."—EDIT. *Quòd sacerdotibus connubiis interdixit Hildebrandus pontifex, plerisque episcopis novum dogma, omnium maxime pestifera hæresis quæ unquam Christianum perturbasset regnum, visa est. Quamobrem Italia, Germaniæ, Galliæ, pontifices, Hildebrandum contra pietatem Christianam verbis, factis agere, facere, decernunt; eundem ambûs, hærescos, impietatis, sacrilegii condemnant.*—AVENTINI *Annales*, lib. V.; ILLYRICI *Catal;* et *Mag. Cent.* cent. XI. p. 389. "Pope Hildebrand's interdiction of the clergy from marrying seemed to most of the bishops a new dogma, a heresy the most pestiferous of all those which had ever disturbed Christendom. Wherefore the bishops of Italy, Germany, and Gaul, decreed that Hildebrand did and acted contrary to Christian piety, both in word and deed; and condemned him of ambition, heresy, impiety, sacrilege."—EDIT.

firmed and inducted, but put them to their office without knowledge or leave of the bishop.

The pope did write also about this matter to Otho, bishop of Constance; but this bishop would neither separate those that were married from their wives, nor yet forbid them to marry that were unmarried.

The clergy of France did stoutly oppose the pope's Bull for the excommunicating of married priests that would not divorce their wives; declaring their reasons from the word of God, from councils, from the necessity of nature; and [that they were] resolved to lose their benefices, rather than put away their wives; saying moreover [that] if married priests would not please the pope, he must call to angels from heaven to serve the churches.\* But if these clergymen would not be at the pope's beck, neither would the angels in heaven: I know not what other angels may be.

In the pope's proceeding against Henry the emperor, he was opposed by the council at Worms; in which were the bishops, not only of Saxony, but of all the whole empire of the Germans: who did agree and conclude upon the deposing of Hildebrand; and Roulandus was sent to Rome, who, in the name of the council, commanded the pope to yield up his seat.†

This same pope was again judged and condemned by another council held at Brixia, where were divers bishops of Italy, Lombardy, and Germany; in which condemnation is recited, amongst other things, his usurping authority over the emperor, and taking away and forbidding the marriage of priests.

Toward the end of the thousandth year (when there were again two popes at once,—Urban and Clement III.) William Rufus, king of England, would suffer no appeal from England to the pope of Rome; as it was not lawful to do from the time of William the Conqueror.‡ And when Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, appealed to Rome, the king charged him with treason for so doing. All the bishops of the realm stood on the king's side against Anselm; though Anselm pleaded hard, saying, "Should I forswear St. Peter, I should deny Christ." But all the rest of the bishops disowned any appeal from England to Rome.

About the year 1105, two famous bishops of Mentz, recorded to be very virtuous and well-disposed, were cruelly and tyrannously dealt with by the pope. Their names were Henry and Christian. Henry would make no appeal to the pope; but said, "I appeal to the Lord Jesus Christ, as to the most high and just Judge; and cite you" (the two cardinals that had done him wrong) "before his judgment, there to answer me before the high Judge." Whereunto they scoffingly said, "Go you

\* So the clergy of France.—Fox's "Acts and Monuments," vol. i. p. 227. † *Roulandus sacerdos, literas imperatoris deferens, absque omni salutationis honore, Tibi, Hildebrandum compellans inquit, imperator, et Italiae, Galliae, Germaniaeque episcopi, praecipunt, ut te munere quod astu, pecuniâ, gratiâ occupasti, abdicēs. Non enim verus pastor neque pater neque pontifex es; sed fur, lupus, latro, et tyrannus.* (Brave, courageous Rouland!)—AVENTINI *Annales*, lib. v.; *Magdeb. Centur.* cent. xi. p. 425. "Rouland, the priest who carried the emperor's letters, addressing Hildebrand without any salutation of respect, said, 'The emperor, and the bishops of Italy, Gaul, and Germany, command thee to abdicate the office which thou hast seized by craft, money, and influence. For thou art neither a true pastor nor pope; but a thief, wolf, robber, and tyrant.'"—EDIT. ‡ Fox's "Acts and Monuments," vol. i. p. 242.

before first, and we will follow after." Not long after, the same Henry died ; whereof the two persecuting cardinals having intelligence, said one to another jestingly, " Behold, he is gone before, and we must follow after according to our promise." A little after, they both died in one day : the one voided out all his entrails into the draught ; the other, gnawing off the fingers off his hands, and spitting them out of his mouth, (all deformed in devouring himself,) died.\*

How the clergy were against the pope's decrees that they should put away their wives or lose their livings, we might learn from a large copy of verses made by an English author, concerning pope Calixtus, for this :—

*O bone Calixte, nunc omnis clerus odit te.  
Quondam presbyteri poterant uxoribus uti :  
Hoc destruxisti, postquam tu papa fuisti, &c.†*

About this time the bishop of Florence did teach and preach that Antichrist was now manifest ; for which pope Paschalis did burn his books.‡

At this time, also, historians mention two more famous preachers,—Gerhardus and Dulcinus Navarensis,—who did earnestly labour and preach against the church of Rome ; defending and maintaining that prayer was not more holy in one place than in another ; that the pope was Antichrist ; that the clergy and prelates of Rome were rejects ; and she, the very whore of Babylon spoken of in the Revelation.§ These two brought thirty more with them into England ; who by the king and prelates were all burned in the forehead, and so driven out of the realm ; and after that were slain by the pope.

At this time, also, in the city of Tholouse [Toulouse], there were a great multitude of men and women whom the pope's commissioners did persecute and condemn for heretics ; of whom some were scourged naked, some chased away. One of the articles [which] they maintained was, that the bread in the sacrament after consecration was not the very body of the Lord.||

In Germany, also, Robert, abbot of Duis, preached against the pope's jurisdiction as to temporal dominion ; interpreted that place, " Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my church," to be understood concerning Christ, &c.¶

Beside these there was Peter Bruis, A.D. 1126 ; and after him his disciple Henry, A.D. 1147 ; [who] in France drew many provinces from the church of Rome ; preached against transubstantiation, the sacrifice of the Mass, suffrages and oblations for the dead, purgatory, worshipping of images, invocation of saints, single life of priests, pilgrimages, superfluous holy-days, consecration of water, oil, frankincense, &c. The pope and his prelates they called " princes of Sodom ;" the church of Rome they termed " Babylon, the mother of fornication and confusion." This Peter Bruis preached the word of God among the people of Tholouse [Toulouse] for the space of twenty years with great commendation, and at last was burned.\*\*

\* Fox's " Acts and Monuments," vol. i. p. 254. † *Ibid.* p. 256. " O good Calixtus, now all the clergy hate thee. Formerly the presbyters might marry wives : but thou hast put an end to this, since thou camest to be pope "—EDIT. ‡ *Ibid.* p. 254. § ILLYRICI *Catalogus*. || Fox's " Acts and Monuments," vol. i. p. 299. ¶ ILLYRICI *Catalogus*. \*\* PETRUS CLUNIACENSIS, lib. i. epist. 1 et 2.

I must but name Honorius, bishop of Augusta; who set out the iniquity and wickedness of the church of Rome to the life; recited largely by du Plessis: \* and Nordbertus, A.D. 1125; that protested to Bernard that Antichrist, he knew certainly, would be revealed in this present generation: and John of Salisbury; who, visiting the pope, was asked by him, what men thought of the pope and of the Roman church; who told him to his face, "They say, the pope is a burden to all, and almost intolerable," and much more.†

Did the Papists never hear of the Waldenses, or have they not been vexed with their doctrine before Luther was born, that they ask, Where was our doctrine and religion before Luther? Did the council of Constance condemn the doctrines of Wickliffe and Huss as erroneous, and was there such a noise about them, and yet did not the church of Rome hear of our doctrines (then owned by them) before Luther? They can never make us believe it.

Let Raynerius, a friar, writing of the Waldenses, or *pauperes de Lugduno*, ["poor men of Lyons,"] satisfy them; who saith, "Among all the sects that are or ever will be, none can be more pernicious to the church of God" (he means the church of Rome) "than that of Lyons." And he giveth these three reasons: "(1.) Because it hath continued a longer time than any: some say that it hath been ever since the time of Sylvester; others say, from the times of the apostles. (2.) Because it is more general; for there is not almost any country whereinto this sect hath not crept. (3.) Because, [whilst] others procure horror by their blasphemies against God, this of the Lyonists hath a great appearance of piety; inasmuch as they live uprightly before men, and put their trust in God in all things, and observe all the articles of the Creed: only they blaspheme the church of Rome, and hold it in contempt; and therein they are easily believed by the people."‡ A fair confession of a Papist! So that, you see, they can tell, if they list, where and when and by whom our doctrines were taught before Luther; but they use this question to beguile the ignorant people: "Where was your religion before Luther?"

And Jacobus of Riberia acknowledgeth that the Waldenses had continued a long time. "The first place," saith he, "[that] they lived in was in Narbonne in France, and in the diocess of Albie, Rhodes, Cahors, &c.: and at that time there was little or no estimation of such as were called priests, bishops, and ministers of the church. For, being very simple and ignorant almost of all things, it was very easy for them, through the excellency of their learning and doctrine, to get unto themselves the greatest credit among the people: and forasmuch as the Waldenses disputed more subtilly than all others, [they] were often admitted by the priests to teach openly; not for that they approved their

\* "Mystery of Iniquity," p. 294.

† JOHANNES SARISBURIENSIS in his *Poly-*

*craticon*, lib. vi. cap. 24; DU PLESSIS, p. 319.

‡ *Inter omnes has sectas quæ adhuc sunt vel fuerunt, non est perniciosior ecclesiæ quàm Leonistarum; et hoc tribus de causis. Prima est, quia est diuturnior: aliqui enim dicunt quòd duravit a tempore Sylvestri; aliqui, a tempore apostolorum. Secunda, quia est generalior; ferè enim nulla est terra in quâ hæc secta non sit. Tertia, quia, cum aliæ omnes sectæ immanitate blasphemiarum in Deum audientibus horrorem inducunt, hæc magnam habet speciem pietatis; eò quòd coram hominibus justè vivant, et bene omnia de Deo credant, et omnes articulos qui in Symbolo continentur: solummodò Romanam ecclesiam blasphemant et clerum, cui multitudo laicorum faciliùs est ad credendum.*—RAYNERIUS *Cont. Hæres.* cap. 4.

opinions, but because they were not comparable to them in wit. In so great honour was the sect of these men, that they were both exempted from all charges and impositions, and obtained more benefits by the wills and testaments of the dead than the priests."

Raynerius saith of them, that they had translated the Old and New Testament into the vulgar tongue. "They teach and learn it so well, that I have seen and heard," saith he, "a country clown recite Job word by word, and divers others that could perfectly deliver all the New Testament."

The doctrines that these Waldenses taught before Luther, are the same that the Reformed churches do now hold; (1.) As that only the holy scripture is to be believed in matters of salvation. (2.) That all things are contained in holy scripture necessary to salvation, and nothing [is] to be admitted in religion but what only is commanded in the word of God. (3.) That there is one only Mediator; other saints in no wise [are] to be made mediators, or to be invoked. (4.) That there is no purgatory. (5.) That Masses sung for the dead are wicked. (6.) All men's traditions [are] to be rejected; at least, not to be reputed as necessary to salvation. (7.) That differences of meats, (8.) Variety of degrees and orders of priests, friars, monks, and nuns, (9.) And superfluous holy-days, (10.) And peregrinations, with all the rabblement of rites and ceremonies brought in by man, are to be abolished. (11.) That the supremacy of the pope, usurping above all churches and kings and emperors, is to be denied. (12.) That the communion in both kinds is necessary to all people. (13.) That the church of Rome is very Babylon; and the pope, Antichrist, and the fountain of all other. (14.) That the pope's pardons and indulgences are to be rejected. (15.) That the marriage of ministers is lawful; and such-like. Their doctrines are related by Æneas Sylvius, afterwards pope, none of their best friends.\* But the English reader might find them in the "Book of Martyrs." Luther lived and began the Reformation after the year 1500; these preached this doctrine before the year 1200: look, and see [that] our doctrine was before Luther.

In the year 1200, &c., it would be endless to give an account of particular doctors that did oppose the doctrine of the church of Rome, and did maintain the doctrines [which] we receive.

I might mention Almaricus, a doctor of Paris, that suffered martyrdom for withstanding altars, images, invocation of saints, and transubstantiation.

Also Everard, an archbishop in Germany, in an assembly of bishops at Regensperg, gave his judgment of the bishop of Rome. "Hildebrand," said he, "under colour of religion, laid the foundation of the kingdom of Antichrist. These priests of Babylon will reign alone; they can bear no equal: they will never rest, till they have trampled all things under their feet, and sit in the temple of God, and be exalted above all that is worshipped. He who is 'the servant of servants' coveteth to be lord of lords, as if he were God: his brethren's counsels, yea, and the counsel of his Master, he despiseth. He speaks great things, as if he were God.

\* ÆNEAS SYLVII *Bohemica Historia de Waldensium Dogmatibus*; Fox's "Acts and Monuments," vol. i. pp. 299, 300.

In his 'breast he casteth new devices, whereby to raise a kingdom to himself. He changeth laws, and confirms his own : he defileth, plucketh down, spoileth, deceiveth, murdereth. Thus that child of perdition, (whom they use to call 'Antichrist,') in whose forehead is written the name of blasphemy, 'I am God ; I cannot err,' sitteth in the temple of God, and beareth rule far and near." \* Was this Luther, that speaks so like him against the pope ? No, one born long before him ; or else the Papists would go too nigh to say, "This doctor had learned this from Luther."

The preachers in Sweden publicly taught that the pope and his bishops were heretics. It would be too long to give account how the pope was opposed by Frederick II., and by John, king of England, a great while ; though at last he delivered the kingdom of England and Ireland to the pope, and farmed them of him for a thousand marks *per annum* ; and afterward was poisoned by a monk. And though he made this resignation of these kingdoms for himself and his heirs for ever to the pope, yet his son and successor, Henry III., made great opposition against [it] ; as did the lords and nobles in his father's days, and have left a lamentation upon record of that fact of king John.†

But the history of the Waldenses, now spread far and near, stands like a beacon on a hill, [so] that all that do not shut their eyes have clear light to see that our doctrines were taught in abundance of places before Luther. These continued in Dauphiny, Languedoc, and Guienne, and in all those mountains which reach from the Alps to the Pyrenæan. They had spread themselves into Germany ; where were a great many of their preachers, who, at the sound of a bell, preached in a public place, that the pope was a heretic ; his prelates, seducers ; that they had no power to bind and loose, or to interdict the use of sacraments ; and told them that though *they* had not come, God would have raised up others, even of the very stones, for to enlighten the church by their preaching, rather than he would have suffered faith utterly to have perished.

By this time they ordained preachers in Spain, who preached the same doctrine with them ; and in Lombardy much multiplied. Yea, in one only valley, called Canonica, they had ten schools. Another saith, that their little rivers streamed so far as to the kingdom of Sicily ; and the only reason of their sufferings is said to be, because they withdrew the sheep from the keeping of St. Peter, and departed from the Roman church. Do not you yet see where any were that owned and preached our doctrines before Luther ? Go, then, to "Jack Upland," written by

\* AVENTINUS, lib.vii. p. 546.

† FOX'S "Acts and Monuments," vol. i. GULIELMUS PARIENSIS, circa annum Domini 1220, acerrimè insatatur sacerdotes sui temporis ; dicens, in eis nihil pietatis ac eruditionis comparere, sed potius diabolicas turpitudines, omnium spurcitiarum ac vitiorum monstruositatem ; eorum peccata non simpliciter peccata esse, sed peccatorum monstra terribilissima ; eos non ecclesiam, sed Babylonem, Ægyptum, ac Sodomam, esse ; prelatos non ædificare ecclesiam, sed destruere, ac Deo illudere : eos cum aliis sacerdotibus profanare ac polluere corpus Christi, &c. — Liber de Collatione Beneficiorum. "William of Paris, about the year 1220, inveighs most bitterly against the priests of his time ; saying that nothing of piety and erudition was apparent in them, but rather diabolical turpitude, the monstrosity of all filthiness and vice ; that their sins were not merely sins, but most terrible monsters of sins ; that they were not the church, but Babylon, Egypt, and Sodom ; that the prelates did not build up the church, but destroy it, and mock God ; that they, with other priests, profaned and polluted the body of Christ," &c. — EDIT.

SERMON XXV. POPERY A NOVELTY.

Geoffrey Chaucer; \* and answer his questions; and ask this question no more for shame.

From the year 1300, the bloody persecutions and the great sufferings of multitudes for the true doctrine and opposition to the church of Rome do prove what is sought after; except they imprisoned and burned so many they know not for what. For Satan, (according to some,) being bound at the end of the first ten persecutions, and remaining bound a thousand years, was now let loose again. Do they ask still, Where was our doctrine before Luther? Why, where persecution was raised by Papists before Luther. For why were so many imprisoned, banished, and burned, if they did not look upon them as heretics? and whom they so call is notoriously known. Was not Conradus Hager imprisoned for preaching against the Mass? Johannes de Castilone and Franciscus de Arcatura,—were they not burned, and Haybulus martyred, and Johannes de Rupescissa imprisoned, for certain prophecies against the pope? Did not Militrius, a Bohemian, preach that Antichrist was come? and was he not excommunicated for the same? Was not Occam excommunicated, and his books prohibited, because they displeased the pope?

Brushius relates that six-and-thirty citizens of Moguntia were burned for following the doctrine of the Waldenses, affirming the pope to be the great Antichrist. † Also Massæus recordeth of one hundred and forty in the province of Narbonne, [that they] were put to the fire for not receiving the decretals of Rome; beside them that suffered at Paris to the number of twenty-four, and after them four hundred burned for heretics. ‡ Was not Matthias Parisiensis before Luther, that writ that the pope was Antichrist? And was there not an old ancient writing, called “The Prayer and Complaint of the Plowman,” containing many things against the church of Rome? And Nicolas Orem, before the pope, preached against them.

Was not John Wickliffe before Luther? and did not he maintain the doctrines that the Reformed church now holdeth, and a great company of valiant defenders of the same truths? Twenty-five articles of Wickliffe you may read in the “Book of Martyrs.” § And may we not learn something by the laws then made in England,—that many here did oppose the church of Rome? || as *anno 5 Richardi II.* In the year 1380, we read of a great number, called “evil persons,” going about from town to town preaching to the people divers sermons, containing heresy and notorious errors, (so Papists call our doctrines,) to the emblemishing of the holy church.

And were there not many witnesses against Popish doctrines, and asserters of ours, from the year 1400? as John Badby, Nicolas Tayler, Richard Wagstaff, Michael Scrivener, William Smith, &c., John Huss, Jerome of Prague. But why do I mention particular names, when there were a great number of faithful Bohemians, not to be reckoned; and

\* Fox's “Acts and Monuments,” vol. i. † *Ibid.* p. 550. ‡ *Ibid.* pp. 521—532. § *Ibid.* pp. 568, 569. Yea, forty-five articles of Wickliffe, condemned in the council of Constance.—*SURIUS in Concil.* tom. iii. p. 790. || “Acts and Monuments,” vol. i., beginning in “the Protestation to the Church of England.” Had the council of Constance so much ado with the articles of Huss and Jerome, who were charged with articles against the church of Rome, and condemned and burned by the council? and yet do Papists know none that taught our doctrine before Luther?



many other places? The Bohemians in this age, near to Tabour castle, assembled themselves together to the number of thirty thousand; and having three hundred tables erected in the fields for that purpose, they received the sacrament in both kinds.\*

In the statute *anno 2 Henrici IV.*, in the year 1402, in England, there were many preachers of true doctrine; † which those times called “new doctrines and heretical, contrary to the faith and determination of the holy church,” Rome, forsooth. It is recorded in the year 1422, that Henry Chichely, archbishop of Canterbury, did write to pope Martin V. that there were so many in England infected with the heresy of Wickliffe and Huss, that without force of an army they could not be suppressed.

Beside all these that have preached and owned our doctrine long ago, we might send such Papists as ask, “Where was your doctrine before Luther?” to the churches in other parts of the world; as to the Greeks, the Muscovites, the Melchites or Syrians, the Armenians, the Jacobites, the Cophti [Copts] or Egyptian Christians, the Abassines, and others; who, though too corrupt in many things, yet do agree with the Reformed churches in many points, wherein they with us differ from the church of Rome: as is witnessed by David Chytræus, who travelled amongst many of them, and, from his personal knowledge and conversing with many that were amongst them, and by letters from others, gives an account of the state of several churches; and by the “Confession of Faith in the Eastern Churches,” composed by Critopulus, patriarch of Constantinople, and others; as also by the confession of Papists themselves.

(1.) These churches do deny the pope’s supremacy,—that he is head of the church; and never did submit unto him as universal head. Their words are: “It was never heard in the catholic church, that a mortal man, subject to a thousand sins, should be called ‘the head of the church;’ but the Head of the catholic church is Jesus Christ.” And much more they in their Confession say.‡

The Grecians account Christ’s vicar, the pope, and the Latins, excommunicate persons. (PRATEOLUS.) Of this opinion are the Muscovites, the Armenians, &c.

(2.) These churches agree with us in rejecting the apocryphal books from the number of canonical scriptures.§

(3.) They give the sacrament in both kinds. They say, of necessity they must communicate in both kinds; so that if any take it under one kind, although a layman, he is said to sin, because, they say, he doeth against Christ’s command. So Prateolus: “All partake of both kinds,—the bread and the cup,—whether ecclesiastical or lay-persons, men and women.”||

(4.) They turn not the sacrament into a sacrifice offered for the quick and dead.

\* COCHLÆUS, lib. iv. ex BIRCKBEK’S “Protestants’ Evidence,” p. 386.

† “Acts and Monuments,” vol. i. “Protestation to the Church of England.” ‡

Ουδε γαρ ηκουσθη παρα καθολικη εκκλησια ανθρωπον διηγον και μυριας αμαρτιας εροχον κεφαλην λεγεσθαι της εκκλησιας, &c.—*Confessio Fidei Eccles. Orient. per CRITOPULUM*, cap. 23. Item DAVID CHYTRÆUS *De Statu Ecclesia*, p. 21; PRATEOLI *Elench. Hæret.* lib. vii. pp. 202, 228.

§ *Confess. Fidei Eccles. Orient. per CRITOPULUM*, cap. 7. || PRATEOLI *Elench. Hæret.* p. 202. Μετεχουσι δε παντες εκατερου ειδους των εν τη δεσποτικη τραπεζη, τουτε αρτον και του ποτηριου· εκκλησιαστικοι τε και λαϊκοι, ανδρες και γυναικες.—*Confess. Fid. Eccles. Orient.* cap. 9.

(5.) They have no private Masses. These both are testified by Chytræus.\*

(6.) The doctrine of transubstantiation is not received amongst them: they “confess a true and real presence in the Lord’s supper; but such an one as faith offereth, not such as the devised transubstantiation vainly teacheth.” †

(7.) They admit not the seven Popish sacraments: they own properly but three,—baptism, the Lord’s supper, and penance. ‡

(8.) They admit ministers’ marriage.§

(9.) They deny purgatory. It is true, the Greek church do believe that there is a place distinct from heaven and hell, where some departed souls are lodged for a while. Their opinion is, that those that lived holily, and died in the Lord, go immediately to heaven; and the wicked, that die without repentance, go presently to hell; but such as are converted at the end of their life are in another place, in a middle condition; and for these they pray: but yet they do not call this “purgatory.” So Chytræus. And in their Confession they utterly deny Popish purgatory; for they affirm [that] the punishment of such departed souls that are neither in heaven nor in hell “is not material, neither by fire nor by any other matter; but only from the affliction and anguish of their own consciences, remembering then what they did amiss while they were in this world.”|| However they be far from the truth, yet they be far also from purgatory-fire. For Alphonsus saith, that “it is one of the most known errors of the Grecians and Armenians that they teach no place of purgatory,” &c.¶

(10.) Though the Greeks dote too much upon images of saints, yet they differ much from Papists in this point: for they are against making any image of God, which the Papists do in the likeness of an old man; and to other images they give τιμην, “honour,” but neither the worship of latria nor dulia. “No,” say they, “God forbid; for these are only to be given to God.”\*\*

(11.) They carry not the sacrament in procession about the streets, (as the Papists do, to be worshipped by them that meet it,) except they send it to the sick: “For,” say they, “it was not given to be carried about the streets; but religiously to be received for the remission of sins, according to the word of God.” ††

\* *Ex liturgiis Græcorum et narrationibus hominum fide dignorum constat, nec Missas privatas absque communicantibus ab eis celebrari solere, nec ullam in eorum canone, sacrificii corporis et sanguinis Christi pro redemptione vivorum et mortuorum oblatis, mentionem fieri, &c.*—DAVID CHYTRÆUS, *De Statu Eccles.* p. 14.

† Την αληθή και βεβαιαν παρουσιαν του Κυριου ημων Ιησου Χριστου ομολογουμεν και πιστευομεν, πλην ην η πιστις ημιν παριστηται και προσφερει, ουκ ην η εφευρηθεισα εικη διδασκει μετουσιωσις, &c.—CYRILLUS, *Patriarcha Constant.* cap. 17, p. 60.

‡ Ως ειναι τα προς σωτηριαν αναγκαια μυστηρια τρια,—βαπτισμα, κοινωνια, μετανοια.—*Confess. Fid. Eccles. Orient. per CRITOPULUM*, cap. 5.

§ *Eadem*, cap. xi. et DAVID CHYTRÆUS *De Statu Eccles.* p. 14.

|| Λεγει τουναν η εκκλησια την εκεινων ποινην μη δλικην ειναι, εστ’ ουν οργανικην, μη δια πυρος, μητε δι’ αλλης οποιας ουν υλης, αλλα δια θληψως και ανιας της απο συνειδσεως συμβαινουσης τουτοις εκ του μνησκεισθαι των δσα εν τω κοσμω μη κατα λογον μηδε οσιως επραξαν.—*Confess. eadem*, cap. 20.

¶ *Unus ex notissimis erroribus Græcorum et Armeniorum est, quo docent nullum esse purgatorium locum, &c.*—ALPHONSUS DE CASTRO, *Advers. Hæres.* lib. xii. p. 188.

\*\* Ου γαρ δεμιν τον απεργραπτον Θεον περιγραπτη εικονι παρεικαζειν.—Αις αγιαις εικοσι και τιμην την προσηκουσαν απενεμεν· ου λατρευτικην η δουλικην· απαγε· αιται γαρ Θεω μονω προσηκουσιν.—*Confess. Fid. Eccles. Orient. per CRITOPULUM*, cap. 15.

†† Ου περιφερομεν δε τουτο το αγιον μυστηριον δια των πλατειων, αλλ’ η μονον οταν κοιμζεται εις οικον νοσούντος·

(12.) They hold the perfection and sufficiency of the scripture; that it is sacrilege to add any thing to it, or take away from it; and contradict those that do.\*

(13.) Concerning the marks of the true catholic and apostolical church, they greatly differ from the church of Rome. The Confession mentions four: and the last they lay most stress upon, wherein they teach the same with us; namely, "That it faithfully and sincerely keep the word of God, which God hath given to us by his prophets and apostles." †

(14.) They do not define the catholic church as the Romanists do, by making it essential to submit to any one man as the head of the whole; but the whole company of such as are found in the doctrine of Christ, every where dispersed, but knit together by the bond of the Spirit, is the catholic church. (*Confessio eadem*, cap. 7.)

By all this, reader, laid down in as little room as I could, thou mayest see the harsh and uncharitable spirit of the Romanists,—to unchurch all these who do profess that they keep to all the doctrines of the first general councils in which essential doctrines were ratified; ‡ as appears by their Creeds, containing the articles of the Christian faith. (But the Muscovites condemn and curse the Romans, as forsakers of the primitive church, and breaking of the seven general synods.) As also thou mayest see their impudence in asking where our church and doctrines were before Luther; when there have been so many churches ever since the apostles' times that have (though not without many corruptions in many things, yet) held to the essential doctrines of Christian religion, and have not received these doctrines of the church of Rome, which is but a little church in comparison of all the rest, amongst whom our religion was before Luther.

IV. Having made appear that the doctrines of the Reformed churches are the same that were taught by Christ and his apostles, and that by many after them long before Luther; the next thing is, to demonstrate that *Popery is a novelty*.—This follows, indeed, by just and good consequence from what hath hitherto been said in the former parts of the method first proposed to speak of this position in: for two such doctrines as are so contrary, yea, so contradictory, cannot both be true and equally old; for truth must be before error. But yet [to prove more clearly] that Popery had not its being till many hundred years (as now framed) after Christ, I shall pick out some of the chief and most mate-

δις ου διδοται ἡμιν τουτο ἵνα περιφερῆται δια των πλᾶτειων, ἀλλ' ἵνα εὐλαβῶς μετεχηται εἰς ἀρεῶν ἀμαρτιῶν, κατὰ τὰ θεσποτικὰ ῥήματα.—*Confess. eadem*, cap. 9.

\* Ἦτις ἅγια γραφὴ ἐνεπιστευθὴ ἐκκλησίᾳ ὑπο Θεοῦ,—οὐχ ὥπως αὕτη μὴδεν προστίθεισα, ἢ ἀφαιρουσα ἐκείθεν, (τουτο γὰρ ἀντικρὺς ἱεροσουλᾶ), ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς τοιοῦτον τι τολμῶντας ἐλεγχῇ καὶ καταφαιρῇ.—*Confess. eadem*, cap. 7.

† Τετάρτον καὶ σαφέστατον ἐκκλησίας γνώρισμα, τὸ πιστῶς καὶ ἀδολῶς παρακατεχεῖν τὸ θεῖον ῥῆμα, ὃ ὁ Θεὸς ἐξέθετο δια προφητῶν καὶ ἀποστόλων.—*Confess. eadem*, cap. 7.

‡ Ἐπτα γὰρ καὶ μῶνος οἰκουμένικας συνόδους ἡμεῖς ἀποδεχομεθα, καὶ ὅσα αἱ οἰκουμένικαι ἑπτα ἐδεξάντο τε καὶ ἐβεβαίωσαν.—*Confess. eadem*, cap. 15. *Acta septem synodorum Græcarum, scripta Basilii, Chrysostomi, Damasceni, eorumque traditiones, tanquam divina oracula amplectuntur, ad eque de fide et religione ipsorum sciscitantes remittunt: ex literis Constantin. ad DAVID CHYTRÆUM De Statu Eccles. p. 71.* "The acts of the seven Greek synods, the writings of Basil, Chrysostom, and Damascene, and their traditions, are embraced by the Greek church as divine oracles; and to them are referred all who seek information concerning its creed and religion; as appears from the letters of the patriarch of Constantinople to David Chytræus."—*EDIT.*

rial points of Popery, (and if these fall, the other cannot stand,) and give an account of the time when they first came in. The rest—whose rise and original as to the particular time is more uncertain, though clear enough that they were not from the beginning, nor long, long after—will not need such large insisting on : and yet in all I must endeavour brevity ; which is a task that lieth upon me and pincheth me hard all along in such a copious subject as this position is.

1. I shall begin at the head ; (which is indeed the head and heart of Popery ;) which though by that age [which] it hath, gray hairs are upon it, yet, *in comparison of true antiquity indeed, it will appear that their head is both raw and green.*—And if the head be young, the whole body cannot be old. And the witnesses to give in their testimony of the minority of the pope as head of the church as now claimed, are at hand ; even six several councils ; which have so polled this head and clipped his beard, that it looketh very young, and beareth his age marvellously well : for, look upon him in the glass of true history, and no man will believe that he is so old as he brags to be.

(1.) My first catalogue of witnesses consists of three hundred and eighteen grave ancient fathers assembled in the first general council that ever was since the apostles' times, at Nice, in the year of our Lord 325. In reading over the canons of this council, I fix upon two, which are fully and directly against the pope's universal sovereignty and dominion above all other churches.

The one is against excommunicate persons' appeal in any diocess unto remote churches, or being harboured or received by them ; in these words : “ Concerning persons excommunicated, whether they be of the clergy or the laity, let this sentence be observed by the bishops of every province, according to the canon which saith, that those which are cast out by some shall not be admitted by others.” \* This canon clips the power of the pope, and takes away his jurisdiction over other churches : and [that it] was so understood of old, is plain ; because, when some were excommunicated in Afric, and did run to and were entertained by the bishop of Rome, the council in Afric did hold [it] irregular, and did write to the pope so too, and alleged this canon of the council of Nice, that he ought not to admit them whom they had excommunicated. Of which more when I come to that council.

The other canon in this council runs, “ Let the ancient customs obtain ” (continue in force) “ which are in Egypt, Libya, and Pentapolis, —that the bishop of Alexandria have power ” (authority, the government) “ of all these ; because also the bishop of Rome hath the same custom. Likewise also in Antioch, and in other provinces, let the churches have their dignities ” (privileges, prerogatives) “ preserved ” (secured) “ to them.” † From thus much of this canon we easily learn, First, That the bishop of Rome had not universal jurisdiction over all the churches,

\* Περι των ακοινωνητων γενομενων, ειτε των εν κληρω ειτε των εν λαϊκω ταγματι τεταγμενων, υπο των καθ' εαστην επαρχιαν επισκοπων κρατειτω η γνωμη κατα τον κανονα του διαγορευοντα, τους υφ' ετερων αποκληθεντας υφ' ετερων μη προσιεσθαι.—*Codes Can. Eccles. Univers. can. 6.* † Τα αρχαια εθη κρατειτω τα εν Αιγυπτω και Λιβυη και Πενταπολει, ωστε τον εν Αλεξανδρεια επισκοπον παντων τούτων εχειν την εξουσιαν· επειδη και τω εν τρι Ρωμη επισκοπω τούτο συνηθες εστιν. Όμοιως δε και κατα την Αντιοχειαν, και εν ταις αλλαις επαρχiais, τα πρεσβεια σωζεσθαι ταις εκκλησιαis.—*Ibid. can. vi.*

because the bishop of Alexandria was to have the same "power," ἐξουσίαν, "authority," over those parts, and the bishop of Antioch in those parts, and others in other provinces, as the bishop of Rome had in those parts: which could not be, if the bishop of Rome were universal, and they provincial underlings; for there is not like power, authority, or equality, in an universal and provincial bishop, according to their own doctrine. Secondly. We as easily see that what power the pope had, is not by this council bottomed upon and derived from the holy scriptures or succession from Peter, but grounded only upon custom. Not a word is here of any divine right to that power or place in which he then was, which was far inferior to what he claimeth and usurpeth now. For the first three hundred years, then, an universal head was a *non-ens*, ["non-entity,"] not risen nor acknowledged in the church of God. Very good.

(2.) The next catalogue of witnesses against the universal sovereignty of the bishop of Rome hath in it one hundred and fifty fathers, assembled at Constantinople, (which, Caranza saith, is one of the four principal councils, and next after the council of Nice,\* whose authority is already alleged,) about the year 383. (So *Codex Canonum*.) These in their first canon did ratify and confirm what was done in the Nicene council, and would have it to be observed without violation. Moreover they did decree "that no bishop of any diocese should go to any churches beyond their own bounds, to meddle with them, nor con-found or mingle churches: but, according to the canons, the bishop of Alexandria should govern what belongs to Egypt; and the bishops of the east, only the east, reserving the privileges" (dignities) "by the canons of the council of Nice to the church of Antioch; and the bishops of the Asian diocese should govern the Asian diocese only; and the bishops of the diocese of Pontus, what appertaineth to that diocese only; and so the bishops of Thrace should in Thrace: and that no bishop of any diocese should go, except he be called, to ordination or any other church-dispensations. This canon above-written, concerning dioceses, being kept, it is manifest that those things which appertain to each province should be ordered by the synod of that province," (if they had said, "All by the bishop of Rome, the universal head," it would have made their hearts to leap within them, and made his Holiness smile; but, alas! they carried it quite another way,— "by the synod of that province,") "according to the determinations of the Nicene council."† And in the next canon they decreed "that the bishop of Constantinople, forasmuch as it is New Rome, should have the badges of honour next to the bishop of Rome."‡ From this general council we learn, First, That they vote against any one being universal head; because, Secondly, Every bishop was to

\* CARANZA, p. 200.

† Τους ὑπὲρ διοικήσιν ἐπισκόπους τὰς ὑπεριόμιας ἐκκλησίας μὴ ἐπιτείνειν, μὴδὲ συγχέειν τὰς ἐκκλησίας· ἀλλὰ, κατὰ τοὺς κανόνας, τὸν μὲν Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπισκόπον τὰ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ μόνον οἰκονομεῖν· τοὺς δὲ τῆς ἀνατολῆς ἐπισκόπους τὴν ἀνατολὴν μόνον διοικεῖν, φυλαττομένων τῶν ἐν τοῖς κανόσι τοῖς κατὰ Νίκαιαν πρεσβείων τῇ Ἀντιοχείᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ· καὶ τοὺς τῆς Ἀσιανῆς διοικήσεως ἐπισκόπους τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσιανὴν μόνον οἰκονομεῖν, &c. φυλαττομένου δὲ τοῦ προγεγραμμένου περὶ τῶν διοικήσεων κανόνος, εὐδὴλον ὡς τὰ καθ' ἑκάστην ἐπαρχίαν ἢ τῆς ἐπαρχίας συνόδος διοικῇ, κατὰ τὰ Νίκαια ὁρισμένα.—*Codex Can. Eccles. univers.* can. 163; sed *Concilio Lib.* can. 2.

‡ Τὸν μὲν τοῖς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἐπισκόπον εἶναι τὰ πρεσβεία τῆς τιμῆς μετὰ τὸν τῆς Ῥώμης ἐπισκόπον, διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτὴν Νεὰν Ῥώμην.—*Codex Can.* can. 166; aliter, can. 3.

govern in his own diocese, and no other was to meddle, except desired, with any ecclesiastical matters in another's province. Thirdly. That the bishop of Constantinople is made equal with the bishop of Rome, save that his worship (I should have said "lordship," but *that* they will not think high enough: but I cannot help it; these two councils forbid me to say "head") should sit in the first place, or before the other; which yet he might have done, without universal jurisdiction. Fourthly. We learn that this honour that they either had was not bottomed upon divine right, but because they were bishops in the imperial cities; but here is not a word [of], "Thou art Peter," &c., "Peter's successor," &c., "apostolical seat," &c. All this is very good evidence that the pope is not so old as to reach to the times of this council neither.

(3.) The next catalogue of witnesses that yet the bishop of Rome was not universal head, consists of two hundred fathers, assembled in a general council at Ephesus, in the year 431, (so *Codex Canonum*,) or (as others) 434, or thereabouts. This council is so full, that I wonder how the Papists, so many of them as have set forth so many volumes of councils, could with patience write what so much made against them; and yet go on in their error, challenging headship from the apostles' times. The canon declareth the occasion of its constitution in this manner: "Reginus, our fellow-bishop and beloved of God, together with the holy bishops of the province of Cyprus, Zenon and Evagrius, have declared to us a new thing, contrary to ecclesiastical laws and canons of the holy fathers, and that which reacheth" (concerneth) "the liberty of all. Wherefore, since common diseases need the greater medicine, forasmuch as they do the more harm, the ancient custom not being followed; to wit," (this new thing was,) "that the bishop of Antioch had ordained some in Cyprus, as some eminent for religion coming to the holy synod have both by writing and by their own words informed:" (wherefore it is decreed that) "the presidents of the holy churches in Cyprus shall have this, without detriment and violation of their right, according to the canons of the holy fathers and the ancient custom,—themselves to ordain godly bishops; and this also shall be observed in other diocesses and provinces every where; that no bishop draw under his subjection any other province which was not his from the beginning, or his predecessors'; and if any bishop hath made such invasion, and by violation" (or wrong) "made it subject to him, he shall again restore it; that the canons of the fathers be not transgressed; lest, under pretence of priesthood, the arrogance" (or swelling pride) "of worldly power creep in unawares, and we insensibly and by little and little lose that liberty which Jesus Christ our Lord, the Redeemer of mankind, hath purchased for us with his own blood and given freely to us. It seemeth good, therefore, to this holy and general synod, that the rights which they have had from the beginning be secured to every province, pure and inviolable, according to the ancient custom; every metropolitan having liberty to take a copy of the acts for his own security. And if any one shall take a copy contrary in any thing to what is now determined, it pleased all the holy and universal synod that it should be void." \* Thus far this general council

\* Πράγμα παρὰ τοὺς ἐκκλησιαστικοὺς δεσμούς καὶ τοὺς κανόνας τῶν ἁγίων καὶνοτομοῦμενον, καὶ τῆς πάντων ἐλευθερίας ἀπτομενον, προσηγγεῖλεν, &c.; ὥστε τὸν ἐπισκοπὸν τῆς Αν-

unanimously voted against one bishop's meddling with, encroaching upon, the provinces of others; calling it "a new thing," &c. How, then, was one bishop owned as head over all the rest?

(4.) Another catalogue of six hundred and thirty, (so Caranza,) assembled in a general council at Chalcedon, in the year 451. Therein their first canon ratifies and confirms all the canons of the former councils; so that, by the vote of these, they to this year are against the primacy and sovereignty of any one bishop. In another canon they determined that "if any clergyman had any difference with his own or another bishop, it should be tried by the synod of the province; but if there were any controversy betwixt a bishop or clergyman and the metropolitan of the province, he or they should go to the diocesan, or to the seat of the royal city of Constantinople, and there have it tried." \* So, then, appeals to Rome hereby are cut off: and the same is ratified again in another canon of the same council. Again: they "decreed that the church of Constantinople should have equal privileges with Rome; that, as the fathers before them had given the privilege to elder Rome, because it had the empire, so, being moved by the same reason, they gave the same privileges to Constantinople, New Rome; thinking it reason that the city which is honoured with the empire and senate should be alike advanced with old Rome in all ecclesiastical matters." † From whence it plainly follows, First. That what privilege or precedence was given to Rome, was not by reason of Peter's supposed chair, but because it was honoured with empire; so that, in the judgment of the ancients, he had no divine right. Secondly. That the bishop of Constantinople was equal with the bishop of Rome in all things; as also were the metropolitans of the Asian-Thracian diocese, and of Pontus: then at this time he was not yet universal bishop.

(5.) Another evidence in this cause is the council held at Antioch in the year 341; (so *Codex Canonum*;) the occasion whereof was this:—in the time of Julius I., bishop of Rome, in the eastern church several bishops were deposed for divers causes by their synods; ‡ which bishops went to Rome, acquainted Julius with their whole estate and trouble. Julius writeth to the bishops of the east, telling them [that] they had done very ill, to determine and conclude any thing against those bishops without his privy. Which when they received, [they] took the correction of

τιωσεων πολως τις εν Κυπρω ποιεισθαι χειροτονιας, &c. 'Εξουσι το ανεπηρεαστον και αβιαστον οι των αγιων εκκλησιων κατα την Κυπρον προεστωτες κατα τους κανονας των δσιων πατερων και την αρχαιαν συνθηβαιν, δι' αυτων τις χειροτονιας των ευλαβεστων επισκοπων ποιουμενοι· το δε αυτο και επι των αλλων διοικησεων και των απασταχου επαρχιων παραφυλαχθησεται· ωστε μηδενα των θεοφιλεστων επισκοπων επαρχιαν ετεραν, ουκ ουσαν ανωθεν και εξαρχεις υπο την αυτου, ηγουν των προ αυτου, χειρα, καταλαμβανειν· αλλ' ει και τις κατελαβεν, και υφ' αυτω πεποιηται βιασαμενος, τουτον αποδιδου· ισα μη των πατερων οι κανονες παραβαινουνται, μηδε, εν ιερουργιας προσχηματι, εξουσιας κοσμικης τυφως παρεισθηται, &c.—*Codex Can. Eccles. univers.* can. 178; aliter, *Council Ephes.* can. 8.

\* Ει δε και κληρικός παρρημα έχει προς τον ιδιον η και προς ετερον επισκοπον, παρὰ τη συνοδῳ της επαρχιας δικαζεσθω· ει δε προς τον της αυτης επαρχιας μητροπολιτην επισκοπον η κληρικός αμφισβητη, καταλαμβανετω η τον εξαρχον της διοικησεως, η τον της βασιλευσεως Κωνσταντινουπολεως θρονον, και επ' αυτω δικαζεσθαι.—*Codex Can. Eccles. univers.* can. 187; item, can. 195.

† Τα ισα πρεσβεια απενειμαν τῳ της Νεας Ῥωμης ἀγιωτατῳ θρονῳ· ευλογως κρινοντες την βασιλειαν και των ισων απολαουσιν πρεσβειαν τη πρεσβυτερα βασιλιδι Ῥωμῃ και εν τοις εκκλησιαστικοις τε ὡς εκεινη μεγαλυνοσθαι παρρημασι, &c.—*Idem*, can. 206.

‡ *EUSEBIUS Eccles. Hist.* lib. vii. cap. 23, &c., et 36; *SOCRATES*, lib. ii. cap. 11.

Julius for a contumely or slander : they summon a council at Antioch. There as soon as they had assembled together, [they] devised an epistle by uniform consent of them all ; wherein they bitterly inveigh against Julius, and signify withal that if any were banished the church and excommunicated by their decree and censure, it were not his part to intermeddle nor to sit in judgment upon their sentence : and did then decree “ that if any bishop should be accused, and the matter could not be determined by the bishops of the province, some pronouncing the accused to be innocent, others [pronouncing him] to be guilty ; for the taking up of the whole controversy, the metropolitan should call others to judge from the neighbouring province ; and what should be so determined, should stand firm.” \* And in the next canon they did ratify that “ if any bishop was accused and condemned by all the bishops of the province, and all should with one consent pronounce sentence against him, he should no more be tried by any other ; but the sentence of the bishops of the province should be to all purposes valid.” † Clearly do they take away all appeals to Rome ; as the matter of the canons, and the occasion of making of them, do fully demonstrate. And this council was confirmed in the sixth general Constantinopolitan synod held in Trul [Trullo], and by pope Dionysius ; and so hath the authority of a general council and pope too ; therefore with the Papists themselves should be authentic.‡

(6.) Another full evidence that the bishop of Rome was not owned as universal head is the stout opposition made against it, in their early aspiring after it, by two hundred and seventeen fathers, assembled (Augustine being one, and Aurelius president) in the year 419. (So *Codex Canonum Ecclesiae Africanae*.) The controversy then was this :— Apiarius, a priest in Africa, was for his scandalous life excommunicated in an African synod. Hereupon he fled to the bishop of Rome ; who absolved him, and commanded him to be restored to his place : and Sozimus, bishop of Rome, to justify this, claimed a right to receive appeals from all parts of the world ; and, for proof thereof, pretended a certain canon of the Nicene council that did give it him. The council, not finding any such canon in the decrees of the fathers at Nice, sent away letters and messengers to the bishops of Constantinople, Alexandria, and Antioch, that they would send to them the acts of the Nicene council, fast closed and sealed up, because they could not find a canon which was alleged by the legates of the bishop of Rome. From these they received several copies, all agreeing ; but in none of them [was] what Sozimus had affirmed to be in them : [so] that he was shamefully by all the council convinced [convicted] of forgery ; that he did greatly err, they all proved ;

\* Εἰ τις ἐπίσκοπος ἐπὶ τισὶν ἐγκλημασὶ κρινεῖτο, σκεῖται σύμψαλι περὶ αὐτοῦ διαφώνειν τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἐπαρχίᾳ ἐπισκοποὺς, τῶν μὲν ἀδων τὸν κρινόμενον ἀποφαίνοντων, τῶν δὲ ἐνοχόν· ὑπερ ἀπαλλαγῆς πάσης ἀμφισβήτησεως ἐδοξε τῇ ἁγίᾳ συνόδῳ τῶν τῆς μητροπόλεως ἐπισκοπῶν ἀπὸ τῆς πλεσιχώρου ἐπαρχίας μετακαλεῖσθαι ἑτέρους τινὰς ἐπικρινούντας καὶ τὴν ἀμφισβήτησιν διαλύσαντας, τοὺς βεβαιῶσαι σὺν τοῖς τῆς ἐπαρχίας τοῦ παριστάμενον.— *Codex Can. Eccles. univ. can. 93.*

† Εἰ τις ἐπίσκοπος, ἐπὶ τισὶν ἐγκλημασὶ κατηγορηθεὶς, κριθεὶς ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐπαρχίᾳ ἐπισκοπῶν, πάντες τε σύμφωνοι μίαν κατ’ αὐτοῦ ἐξενέγκωσιν ψήφον, τούτου μηκέτι παρ’ ἑτέροις δικάζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ μένειν βεβαίαν τὴν συμφωνίαν τῶν ἐπὶ τῇ ἐπαρχίᾳ ἐπισκοπῶν ἀποφασίῃ.— *Ibid. can. 94 ; apud CARANZAN et SURIUM, Concil. Antioch. can. 14, 15.* ‡ CARANZAN *Sum. Concil. p. 165 ; EUSEBIUS, lib. vii. cap. 24 et 25 ; SURII Concil. tom. i. p. 399.*



for the copies taken out of the originals by Cyril of Alexandria, and by Atticus of Constantinople, &c., had no such thing in them. And the whole council, writing to Boniface, (in which letter they call Sozimus "a man of unhappy memory,") desired him to repel those that made him their refuge; "both because there is no such constitution of the fathers which hath at any time so much derogated from the authority of their churches; as also because the Nicene council hath apparently left the ordering of all inferiors to the judgment of their metropolitan, and had determined that all matters of controversy should receive their final decision in the place where they began. For how can a judgment given beyond the seas be good, where witnesses, necessarily required in such cases, cannot be present, either in regard of their sex or age or some other impediment?—Because it is granted to every one to appeal to the councils of their own provinces, or to an universal council: unless there should be any one that can think that our God can inspire a justice of trial into any one man, and deny it to innumerable priests that are assembled in council;" and much more. These letters of the council to Boniface, of Cyril of Alexandria to the council, and of Atticus of Constantinople to the same, and the copies of the Nicene council sent to them, and the epistle of the council to pope Celestine, are in the end of *Codex Canonum Ecclesiæ Africanæ*, and in Surius, tom. i. p. 588, &c. Thus much for their letters: now for the canons of the African church against the headship of the bishop of Rome. In canon 19: "If any bishop be accused, the accuser should bring his cause before the primate of the province." Canon 23: "That no bishop should go beyond the sea, unless he had the consent of the bishop of the first seat of every province." Canon 28: "That presbyters, deacons, and others, if they have complaint against their bishops, the neighbouring bishops should hear them; and if they would appeal from them, it should not be to the judgments of any beyond the sea, but to the primates of their own provinces or to a general council, as was decreed before concerning bishops. As for those that shall appeal beyond the sea, none shall receive them into communion in Afric."\* So also canon 125.

So far we see that the church of God did curb and restrain the ambition of the bishop of Rome, and stoutly stood against the invading endeavours of aspiring Antichrist. Yet will I add one more: (and so let the councils pass for this head; that is, against the universal head:) and that is of a council at Constantinople, in the time of Agatho, bishop of Rome, which was about the year 673, or (as others) 681; who did smartly snub the pretended mother, that is to give laws to all others, by making a law to reach as far, and to bind the church of Rome; saying, "Forasmuch as we understand that in the city of Rome, in time of Lent, they fast upon the sabbath-days, contrary to the custom of the church;

\* Όμοιως ηρεσεν ινα οι πρεσβυτεροι και οι διακονοι και οι λοιποι κατωτεροι κληρικοι, εν αις εχωσιν αιτιας, εαν τα δικαστηρια μεμφωνται των ιδιων επισκοπων, οι γειτονες επισκοποι ακροασωνται αυτων, και, μετα συναρεσεως του ιδιου επισκοπου, τα μεταξυ αυτων διαβωσιν οι προσκαλουμενοι δι' αυτων επισκοποι: διο, ει και περι αυτων εκκλητων παρεχειν νομισωσιν, μη εκκαλεσωνται εις τα περαν της θαλασσης δικαστηρια, αλλα προς τους πρωτευοντας των ιδιων επαρχιων, ως και περι των επισκοπων πολλakis ωρισται. Οι δε προς περαματικα δικαστηρια δι' εκκαλουμενοι, παρα ουδενος εν τη Αφρικη δεχθωσιν εις κοινωνιαν.—*Codex Can. Eccles. Afric.* can. 28.

it is decreed in this synod that also in the church of Rome that canon shall be of force without violation, which saith, 'If any of the clergy shall be found fasting on the Lord's-day or sabbath, except one and that only, let him be deposed; but if he be of the laity, let him be excommunicated.'" \* This the church of Rome in the height of their pride would hardly brook; but you see, as far as this time reacheth, many councils knew no such thing as an universal head, but opposed the first appearance of it.

To these evidences fetched from councils, I shall add further the expressed judgment of two of their own bishops, predecessors of him that first got the title of "universal head,"—Pelagius and Gregory the Great; which two did so exceedingly inveigh against this title; God in his providence so ordering it, that the following popes might be condemned out of the mouths of their predecessors. Whose sharpness of speech against this usurpation was occasioned by John, bishop of Constantinople, surnamed "the Faster;" who did assume to himself the title of "universal bishop" about the year 580: about which time Pelagius II., being bishop of Rome, did write to all the bishops assembled at Constantinople in a synod called by John, the bishop of that seat; saying that they ought not to acknowledge John as universal bishop, unless they purposed to depart away from the communion of all other bishops; moreover saying, "Let no patriarch use so profane a title; for if the chief patriarch should be called 'universal,' the name of a patriarch should be taken away thereby from all others; but God forbid it should ever enter into the heart of a Christian to assume any thing unto himself whereby the honour of his brethren should be debased! For this cause I in my epistles never call any by that name, for fear lest, by giving him more than is his due, I might seem to take away that which of right belongeth to him. For the devil, our adversary, goeth about like a roaring lion, exercising his rage upon the humble and meek-hearted, and seeking to devour now, not the sheep-cots, but the very principal members of the church. For he" (of whom he writes) "cometh near unto him of whom it is written, 'This is he who is king over all the children of pride.' Which words I speak with grief of mind, seeing our brother and fellow-bishop John, in despite" (mark his reasons against this head) "of the commandment of our Saviour, the precepts of the apostles, and canons of the church, by this haughty name, to make himself his" (Antichrist's) "forerunner: and hereby John goeth about" (mark, reader) "to attribute to himself all those things which belong properly to the Head himself, that is, Christ; and, by the usurpation of this pompous title, to bring under his subjection all the members of Christ.—And that they ought to beware lest this temptation of Satan prevail over them; and that they neither give nor take this title of 'universal bishop.'" †

\* *Quoniam intelleximus in Romanorum civitate in sanctis Quadragesimæ jejuniis in ejus sabbatis jejunare, præter ecclesiasticam consuetudinem traditam; sanctæ synodo visum est, ut in Romanorum quoque ecclesiâ inconcussè vires habeat canon qui dicit. Si quis clericus inventus fuerit in sancto Dominico vel sabbatho jejunans, præter unum et solum, deponatur; min autem laicus, segregetur.*—*SURIUS in Concil. tom. ii. p. 1048, Concil. VI. Constant. can. 55. Refertur autem ad Canon. Apostol. 66.* † *Nullus patriarcharum universalitatis vocabulo unquam utatur; quia, si unus patriarcha universalis dicitur, patriarcha-*

This is a large testimony against, and a full condemnation of, both name and office of "universal bishop;" and this by a bishop of Rome, before his successor had usurped the same. And I might infer, either that the following bishops of Rome do greatly err in taking to themselves this name and office, or else this bishop of Rome was fallible and did err in a matter of faith, made now by them necessary to salvation. Let them choose which they will, (for one they must,) their principles are wounded by it.

After this Pelagius (for the usurper was not immediately after him) succeeded Gregory, called "the Great," about the year 590; at which time John IV. of Constantinople did still persist in claiming and maintaining his title of "universal bishop." At which Gregory being much grieved and offended writes to Constantia the empress against it; calling the exaltation of one man "a defiling of that time;" (mark his reasons also;) saying, "Far be it that your time should be defiled by the exaltation of one man!" [He] termeth it "the crooked name of 'universal,' and an unsufferable thing; and [saith] that by this arrogancy and pride is portended that the time of Antichrist is now at hand; and that John imitated him" (Lucifer) "who, making light of that happiness which he had in common with the other angels, would needs aspire to a singularity above all the rest."\* And, to the emperor writing, [he] saith that "all those who have read the gospel know well that Peter" (mark, reader) "is not called 'the universal apostle;' and yet, behold! my fellow-priest John seeketh to be called 'the universal bishop.' I am now forced to cry out, 'O the times! and O the manners of men!' Europe is now exposed for a prey to the barbarian; and yet the priests, who should lie along in the dust upon the pavement, weeping and rolling themselves in ashes, do seek after names of vanity, and boast themselves of their new-found" (this is a novelty in the judgment of a bishop of Rome) "and profane titles." And in opposition to this pride of John, he was the first bishop of Rome that took this title, "the servant of servants:" which title his successors in feigned humility still use; though they usurp the title of "universal bishop," in opposition to which he did so style himself, and in excessive pride have added to themselves since many pompous appellations. Again, saith the same Roman bishop, "Now the king of pride is at the gates; and, which I dread to speak, an army of priests and bishops stands ready to receive him:" [he] calls it "a superstitious and haughty name of 'universal bishop.'" "Never may such foolery befall us: call an universal bishop" (very true) "an universal enemy." And again: "I speak it boldly, that whosoever calleth himself, or desireth to be called by others, 'the universal bishop,' is in his elation of mind the forerunner of Antichrist, because that in like pride he pre-

*rum nomen cæteris derogatur: sed absit hoc, absit a fidelis cujusquam mente, hoc sibi vel velle quempiam arripere, unde honorem fratrum suorum imminuere ex quantalacunque parte videatur, &c.—Jus. Can. dist. xcix. cap. Nullus patriarcharum; Gloss.*

\* Triste tamen valde est, ut patienter feratur, quatenus, despectis omnibus, prædictus frater et co-episcopus meus solus conetur appellari episcopus. Sed in hæc ejus superbi quid aliud, nisi propinqua jam Antichristi tempora, designatur? Quia illum videlicet imitatur qui, spreto in sociali gaudio angelorum legionibus, ad culmen conatus est singularitatis erumpere. Unde per Omnipotentem Dominum rogo, ne pietatis vestra tempora permittatis unius hominis elatione maculari, neque tam perverso vocabulo ullum quoquo modo præbeat assensum, &c.—GREGORIUS MAGNUS *Ad Constantiam, Epist. lib. iv. epist. 34.*

ferreth himself before others : *like*, I say ; for as that wicked one would seem as God above all men, so will this man exalt himself above all bishops." He plainly saith, that "none of the bishops of Rome did ever assume that word of singularity," &c.\*

And this same Gregory, writing to John of Constantinople, deals roundly and plainly with him ; saying, "When thou wast called to the office of a bishop, thou saidest that thou wert not worthy to be called a bishop ; and now thou wouldest have none a bishop but thyself. What wilt thou answer unto Christ, who is the true Head of the universal church, in that day of judgment ; seeing that, by this name of 'universal,' thou seekest to enthrall all the members of his body unto thyself ? Whom dost thou imitate herein, save only him who, in contempt of those legions of angels which were his fellows, sought to mount aloft to the top of singularity, where he might be subject to none, and all others subject unto him ?"†

But did not he raise all this stir and make all this opposition because John had prevented him,—because he had not this name and title himself ; ‡ since, as he is said to be "the best of all the bishops of Rome that came after him," so "the worst of all that were before him ?" Let alone what his heart and end was ; and hear what he saith, writing to Eulogius, bishop of Alexandria : "You have been careful to advertise me that you forbear now to write unto any by those proud names which do spring merely from the root of vanity ; and yet, speaking to me, you say, 'As you commanded.' Let me, I pray you, hear no more of this word 'command ;' for I know well enough what I am and what you are. In degree you are my brethren, and in manners you are my fathers : wherefore I commanded you nothing ; only I advised you what I thought fittest to be done. And yet I do not find that you have perfectly observed that which I desired to leave deepest graven in your remembrance : for I told you that you should not write in any such manner either to me or to any other ; and yet, in the very preface of your epistle, you call me by that name of pride and vanity, 'universal pope ;' which I would entreat you to forbear hereafter, seeing that yourselves

\* *Cunctis evangelium scientibus liquet, quòd Petrus universalis apostolus non vocatur ; et vir sanctissimus, consacerdos meus, Johannes, vocari universalis episcopus conatur. Exclamare compellor ac dicere, O tempora ! O mores !—Et tamen sacerdotes vanitatis sibi nomina expetunt, et novis ac profanis vocabulis gloriantur, &c. Nullus Romanorum pontificum unquam hoc singularitatis vocabulum assumpsit, nec uti consensit, &c. Quis est iste qui, contra statuta evangelica, contra canonum decreta, novum sibi usurpare nomen præsumit ?—Idem *Ad Mauritiu*, lib. iv. epist. 32. "Who is he that presumes, contrary to the precepts of the gospel, and contrary to the canonical decrees, to assume to himself a new name ?"—EDIT. † *Qui enim indignum te esse fatebaris, &c. Nec stulto ac superbo vocabulo appellari consentias. Ut cuncta brevi cingulo locutionis astringam : sancti ante legem, sancti sub lege, sancti sub gratiâ, omnes hi, perficientes corpus Domini, in membris sunt ecclesiæ constituti ; et nemo se unquam universalem vocare voluit, &c.—Idem *Ad Johan. Constantinop.* lib. iv. epist. 38. "Nor shouldst thou consent to be called by that foolish and haughty name. To sum up all in a brief form of speech : The saints before the law, the saints under the law, the saints under the dispensation of grace,—all these, perfecting the Lord's body, were constituted members of the church ; and yet no one of them ever desired to claim for himself the appellation of 'universal.'"—EDIT. ‡ *Nunquid ego hâc in re, piissime domine, propriam causam defendo ? nunquid specialem injuriam vindico ? et non magis causam Omnipotentis Dei et causam universalis ecclesiæ ?—Idem, *Ad Mauritiu*, epist. 32. "Do I, in this matter, O most pious lord, defend my own cause ?—do I resent a special injury to myself ?—and not rather the cause of Almighty God and the cause of the church universal ?"—EDIT.***

lose whatsoever you give unduly to another. For my part, I seek to increase in virtues, and not in vanity of titles: *that* addeth nothing to my honour *which* I see taken from my brethren: my honour is the honour of the universal church, and the sound vigour of my brethren. For if you call me 'universal pope,' you deny yourselves to be that which indeed you are, in that you call me 'universal.' But God forbid! Let us rather put far from us these words, which do puff up to pride and vanity, and wound charity to the death." \*

This is that Gregory, bishop of Rome, that was so vehement in his writing against the name and office of "universal bishop," that after his death the Romanists would have burned his works, had not one Peter, a deacon, restrained them, by affirming to them that he often saw the Holy Ghost in the form of a dove sitting upon the head of Gregory, while he was writing of them. This is that Gregory that so earnestly cried down an universal bishop, that pope Gregory XIII. could not answer but by giving this Gregory the flat lie. (PLESSÆUS.)

But what follows from that learned, authoritative confutation, but that the bishop of Rome is fallible and may err? For if Gregory the Great did speak truth, then Gregory XIII. did speak false in saying [that] his doctrine was a lie. If Gregory XIII. did speak true in saying [that] the other did lie, and that in a matter of faith made necessary to salvation; then did Gregory the Great greatly err in a matter that concerned the universal church. Let them take which they will, their infallibility lieth in the dust; for it will much puzzle his Holiness to reconcile the parts of a contradiction. Let him try his skill, that both Gregories might in this be found true.

I have borrowed some paper, to be a little the larger in this, both from councils, and in transcribing the words of these two, (1.) Because this is the main *head* and hinge of our controversies. (2.) Because these two were their own, and yet against them. (3.) Because it makes it plain, that to six hundred years the bishop of Rome was not universal head; for at that time it was disclaimed by themselves, as you see. (4.) Because the English reader, that understandeth not Latin authors, might be satisfied from their own mouths that universal sovereignty of the bishop of Rome is not so old as to come up so high as six hundred years after Christ.

But when was this title first assumed? and by whom was it first conferred upon the bishop of Rome, to be called "universal?" that you might know when and how he got up into the chair.

You have been told before, that Gregory the Great did write letters to Maurice the emperor in the controversy betwixt him and John of Constantinople about the name "universal." This emperor Maurice falling into dislike among the soldiers, one Phocas, a centurion, made himself captain of those that did mutiny, and was afterward by them proclaimed emperor. Maurice, seeing this, fled away with his wife and children.

\* *Indicare vestra Beatitudo studuit, &c. Nam dixi nec mihi vos nec cuiquam alteri tale aliquid scribere debere; et ecce, in præfatione epistola quam ad meipsum qui prohibui direxistis, superbæ appellationis verbum, universalem me papam dicentes, imprimere curastis: quod, peto, dulcissima mihi Sanctitas vestra ultra non faciat, &c.*—Idem, *Epist. lib. vii. epist. 30. Lege etiam ejusdem de eodem Epistolarum, lib. iv. epist. 36; et lib. vi. epist. 5, 24, 28, 30, 31.*

Phocas was crowned, and pursueth after his own master Maurice; overtakes him, slew his wife and children, or some of them, before his eyes, and afterward caused him to be murdered also. Mark that this Phocas was a vile traitor, and a murderer of such an excellent emperor and virtuous man as historians say that Maurice was. A while after that Phocas was emperor, Gregory, that was bishop of Rome and opposed the title of "universal head," departed out of this life; and Sabinian, a malicious detractor of Gregory and his works, succeeded him, and continued bishop of Rome scarcely two years. After whom succeeded Boniface III. about the year 605; who lived not, as some say, above eight months—or, as others, but a year—after he was bishop of Rome; but in that time he obtained what he aimed at. For the murder committed by Phocas upon the emperor Maurice being not approved of by the bishop of Constantinople, he [Phocas] seeking to establish himself in the empire (gotten by blood) by the friendship of the bishop of Rome, Boniface, making great offers of his service to Phocas, took this opportunity to desire of him that he and his successors after him should be called "universal head of all the churches of Christ;" and that the church of Rome thenceforward should have the pre-eminence, and be head of all other churches. This murdering Phocas and this aspiring Boniface agreeing to help one another; the bishop [having consented] to strengthen him in his empire got by rebellion, the emperor Phocas quickly grants that he should be the universal and head-bishop over all Christian churches. And this is acknowledged by their own historians.\*

From all which you clearly see, First, That it was not till after the six-hundredth year from Christ, that the bishop of Rome had this title conferred upon him. Secondly. That he came not to it by divine right, [was] not made so by God, nor called and chosen to it by a general council of fathers; but by a traitor and a murderer. The pope giving his help to keep the usurper in the saddle, by way of requital this wicked and tyrannical emperor lifts the pope up into the chair. A couple well (O no! mischievously) met to do offices for each other; but both eminently injurious to others by their usurpations,—the one in the state, the other in the church!

As his name and office of "universal bishop" is new, so are those other accumulative, pompous, and some of them blasphemous, titles, not fit to be given to any mortal man. For of old it was not so; for Peter, whose successor he pretends to be, had no such names nor titles, but styled himself "a fellow-presbyter." (1 Peter v. 1.) And the canons of the African church of old were, "that the bishop of the first seat" (that was Rome) "should not be called 'prince of priests,' or 'head-priest,' or any such-like name; but only 'the bishop of the first seat.'"<sup>†</sup> Caranza,

\* *Quo tempore intercesserunt quadam odiorum fomenta inter eundem Phocam imperatorem atque Cyriacum Constantinopolitanum. Hinc igitur in Cyriacum Phocas exacerbatus in ejus odium imperiali edicto sancivit, nomen universalis decere Romanam tantummodò ecclesiam, tanquam quæ caput est omnium ecclesiarum, solique convenire Romano pontifici; non autem episcopo Constantinopolitano; qui sibi illud usurpare præsumeret. Quod quidem hunc Bonifacium papam Tertium ab imperatore Phoca obtinuisse, cùm Anastasius Bibliothecarius, tum Paulus Diaconus, tradunt.—SPONDANI Epitome BARONII Annal. in annum 606.*

<sup>†</sup> Ὅστε τὸν τῆς πρώτης καθέδρας ἐπισκοπὸν μὴ λεγέσθαι ἐξάρχον τῶν ἱερῶν ἢ ἀκρὸν ἱερεῖα ἢ τοιοῦτο τρόπον τι ποτε, ἀλλὰ μόνον ἐπισκοπὸν τῆς πρώτης καθέδρας.—*Codes Can. Eccles. Afric. can. 39.*

in his annotation upon this canon, saith that the African church could not give laws to the universal church, and therefore by this canon neither did nor could forbid the calling of the bishop of Rome "prince of priests," &c.\* But they could decree that they would never call him so, nor own him for such; which shows that by them he was not so advanced. But their own canon law forbids that the bishop of Rome should be called "universal."† And the sixth council at Constantinople, ratifying the decree of the hundred and fifty fathers formerly assembled in that city, and of the six hundred and thirty fathers assembled at Chalcedon, did also agree with them, and decree that the bishop of Constantinople should have equal privilege with the bishop of Rome, and have equal power in all ecclesiastical matters with him; only that he be the second to the bishop of Rome; and, after the bishop of Constantinople, the bishop of Alexandria should have the next seat; and next to him, the bishop of Antioch; and next to him, the bishop of Jerusalem.‡ By all which [it] appears that the bishop of Rome was not head of all the rest, the prince of priests; but that all the respect that he had above the rest was, to sit down in the first seat, which is nothing at all to his universal jurisdiction; and then he had not those titles that now are given to him: (1.) As "head over all priests, as a king is over his judges." § (2.) "The vicar of St. Peter:" though now they say not, "the vicar of Peter properly;" but, "vicar of Christ properly, and successor of Peter." || (3.) "Most mighty priest." ¶ (4.) That "he hath all laws in the chest of his breast." \*\* (5.) "Chief magistrate of the whole world." †† (6.) That "his sacerdotal dignity as far excelleth kings and emperors, as gold excelleth lead." ‡‡ (7.) That "all the earth is his diocess; and he, the ordinary of all men; having the authority of the King of all kings upon subjects:" that "he is all in all, and above all." §§ (8.) "If those things that I do be said to be done, not of man, but of God; what can you make of me, but a God? And the prelates of the church being accounted of Constantine for gods, I, being above all prelates, by this reason am above all gods." |||

Likewise the power of the pope over general councils is a new power. It was not so of old: he had not the power of calling councils; but it did belong to and was done by civil magistrates. The first general council of Nice was assembled by the authority of Constantine the Great; the second at Constantinople was called by Theodosius the Elder; the third at Ephesus, by Theodosius the Younger; the fourth at Chalcedon, by Valentinian and Martian, &c. Historians tell us that, when once the emperors began to be Christians, from that time forward the church-affairs depended upon them, and the greatest councils were assembled, and so still are, at their appointment. So Socrates.¶¶ And [in] the council of Constance, (which, Caranza saith,\*\*\* was general, and in the time of pope

\* CARANZÆ *Sum. Concil., Conc. Carthag. III. can. 26.*

† *Nec etiam Romanus*

*pontifex universalis est appellandus.*—Distinct. xcix. cap. *Nec etiam.*

‡ *SURIUS in*

*Concil. tom. ii. p. 1046, Concil. Constantinop. can. 36.*

§ *Jus Canon. dist. xcvi. cap.*

*Ego.* || *Dist. lxiil. cap. Constantinus.*

¶ *Juris Canon. pars ii. caus. xxv. quest. 1,*

*cap. Null.*

\*\* *Romanus pontifex, qui jura omnia in*

*scrinio pectoris sui censetur*

*habere.*—*Sext. Decret. P. BONIFACII VIII. cap. Licet.*

†† *Decret. lib. vi. BONIFACII*

*VIII. in proœmio.*

‡‡ *Dist. xcvi. cap. Duo.*

§§ *Gloss. in caus. xi. quest. 3. Si*

*mimicus.* ||| *Decret. de Translat. Episc. cap. Quanto.*

¶¶ *Eccles. Hist. lib. v.*

*proœm.*

\*\*\* *CARANZÆ Sum. Concil. pp. 824, 825.*

John XXIV., which was after the year 1400,—mark how lately,—and did depose three popes,—Gregory XII., Alexander V., John XXIV.,) and again in the council of Basil, which began in the year 1431, (mark still how lately,)—in both these it was decreed “that a synod hath its power immediately from Christ, [to] which every one, of what state soever or dignity he be, yea, even the pope himself, ought to be obedient; which if they be not, but shall contumaciously contemn the decrees, statutes, and ordinances of the council, except he repent, [he] shall suffer condign punishment, though it be the pope himself.”\* And this council of Constance was confirmed by pope Martin V.; (sess. 45;) and the other at Basil, by pope Nicolas V.

By all this it doth appear that the main essential point of Popery is a mere novelty; having not its original till after the six-hundredth year after Christ, and not got up to its full power till several hundred years after this. So that I may (as Voetius doth) confidently affirm that, IN THE FIRST SIX HUNDRED YEARS, THERE WAS NO CHURCH, NO ONE DOCTOR, NO ONE MARTYR, NO CONFESSOR, NO ONE FAMILY, NO, NOR ONE MEMBER OF THE CHURCH, NEITHER IN THE WEST NOR IN ANY OTHER PART OF THE WORLD, THAT WAS PROPERLY AND FORMALLY A PAPIST. What is then become of *the antiquity of Popery*? And this I bottom upon this foundation:—Because there cannot be so much as one (formal) Papist, where the essentials of Popery are not; as, where the essentials of a man are not, there is no man actually existent: But the pope as universal head is the essential part of the Popish religion, without which (according to their doctrine) the church is no church, nor any one a member thereof that doth not own him and submit unto him: Therefore, the pope not being till after the six-hundredth year, so long there was not one Papist (formally and properly) in the whole world.

This being the main pillar of Popery, I have insisted the longer to prove [the] novelty of it; for, this falling, the whole fabric tumbleth down: as therefore it is not necessary that I should be so large in the rest, so for want of more room and paper I must be constrained to contract and but name what follows.

2. *The forbidding of ministers' marriage is a mere novelty.*—For, as their own authors say, Siricius, bishop of Rome, that lived about the year 388, was the first that did forbid it. Yet it was not then received and practised as a duty for them to abstain from marriage; but liberty of marrying was never denied them till Gregory VII. came to be pope in the [year] 1074; † who yet was resisted, as one that brought-in a new custom, never received before. And the bishops of Italy, Germany, and France, met together; and for this decreed that he had done against Christian piety; and deposed him, for that, among other things, he had divorced men and their wives, denying such as had their lawful wives to be priests; when yet, at the same time, he admitted to the altars whoremongers, adulterers, and incestuous persons. ‡

\* *Primò declarat synodus, quòd ipsa potestatem a Christo immediatè habet, cui quilibet cujuscunque status vel dignitatis, etiam si Papalis existat, obedire tenetur, &c.*—*Conc. Constan.* sess. 4, 5; et *Conc. Basil.* sess. 2, 16, 18. † *Siricius primus sacerdotibus et diaconis, circiter annum salutis 388, conjugio interdixit. Non ante pontificatum Gregorii VII., anno 1074, concubium adimi sacerdotibus occidentalibus potuit.*—POLYDORUS VIRGILIUS *De Invent. Rerum*, lib. v. cap. 4. ‡ *Magdeb. Centur.* cent. xi. p. 389.



Bellarmino himself and other Popish doctors do grant,\* yea, he proves by arguments, that by the law of God it is not forbidden that ministers should marry, and that for many hundred years the church of Rome permitted Greek priests to have and dwell with their wives.

3. *That religious worshipping of images hath not been of old in the church of God, nor received and owned by councils, (for, what particular persons and heretics in this point have done, is not in this controversy so much to be minded,) nor practised in the church, for some hundred years after Christ, there is sufficient evidence.*—Bishop Usher, in his “Answer to the Jesuit’s Challenge,” saith, “It might well be concluded that images were brought into the church partly by lewd heretics, partly by simple Christians newly converted from Paganism.” The Gnostic heretics had images, some painted in colours, others framed of gold and silver and other matter, which they said were the representations of Christ, made under Pontius Pilate, when he was conversant here among men: and though Eusebius makes mention of the images of Paul and Peter and of Christ, yet there he calls it “a heathenish custom.” † But they were so far from worshipping them in the primitive times, that a council of ancient fathers did decree, about the year 325, that “pictures ought not to be in the church, lest that which is worshipped or adored should be painted on walls.” ‡ Which law, made by this council, set Melchior Canus, the Papist, in such a heat, that he alone would condemn all them, not only of imprudency, but impiety, for so doing; § for the poor man could not otherwise answer it.

In the first four general councils there is nothing for the worshipping of images, which reached to the year 451; and yet if they had been of that opinion, they had had occasion from what was done in the Elibertine council, being about the same time that the Nicene council was, and before the other three.

And it should seem that they were not worshipped in the church of Rome itself for six hundred years after Christ, by the epistle of Gregory the Great to Serenus, bishop of Marseilles; who had broken down images, and cast them out of his church, when he perceived some to begin to dote upon them too much: whom though he [Gregory] reproves for breaking of them, yet him he commends for his zeal that nothing made with hands should be worshipped: “You ought to restrain the people from worshipping of them; that though the people might have had them, whereby to gather the knowledge of the history; but might not sin in worshipping the picture.” || Judge if it were likely that at that time religious worship was given to images at Rome, when the bishop thereof condemned it for a sinful thing, and commends others for being against it. And though cardinal Bellarmine was of opinion that it is

\* AQUINATIS *Secunda Secundæ*, quæst. lxxxviii. art. 11; CAJETANI *Opuscula*, tom. i. tract. 27; DOMINICUS A SOTO *De Justitiâ*, lib. vii. quæst. vi. art. 2; in BELLARMINO *De Cleric.* lib. i. cap. 18. † EUSEBII *Eccles. Hist.* lib. vii. cap. 18. ‡ *Concilium Elibertinum.* § *Illâ lex non imprudenter modò, verùm etiâ impie, a concilio Elibertino lata est de tollendis imaginibus.*—CANUS *De Locis Theol.* lib. v. cap. 4. conclus. 4. || *Indico dudum ad nos pervenisse quòd Fraternalitas vestra, quosdam imaginum adoratores aspiciens, easdem ecclesiæ imagines confregit atque projecit: et quidem zelum vos, ne quid manu factum adorari possit, habuisse laudavimus. Tua Fraternalitas ad earum adorationem populum prohibere debuit, ut populus in picturæ adoratione minimè peccaret.*—GREGORII MAGNI *Epist.* lib. vii. epist. 109.

lawful to picture God in the church in the shape of a man, and the Holy Ghost in the form of a dove; yet a greater and one more ancient than he was against it; namely, pope Gregory II.; whose epistle is related by Baronius upon the year 726: whence it seems there was no such picture in the church of Rome at that time; for, saith that pope, "In the church God is not represented before men's eyes, and that the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ is not drawn in colours, because God's nature cannot be painted out or put in sight." \*

Moreover, at a council of three hundred and thirty-eight fathers held at Constantinople in the year 754, they were solemnly condemned; and, when they were set up by the second council at Nice in the year 787, were degraded again of their honour by the council of Francfort in the year 794.

Durant purposely sets himself to give us all the councils that have approved the use and veneration of images; and saith [that] the first that did [so] was the sixth council at Constantinople; (which was in the time of pope Agatho, about the year 673;) and quotes the eighty-third—but it is the eighty-second—canon, where the picture of Christ is commanded to be made in the shape of a man.† But, turning to the place, I find plainly that this canon doth not at all command any worship to be given to it; but only as historical: ‡ that is nothing to the Popish cause of worshipping of them. "Another," saith he, "is a [the] second Nicene council;" which yet was seven hundred and eighty-seven years after Christ; so that this might pass for a novelty.

4. *The doctrine of purgatory, by the confession of Papists themselves, is ranked among the novelties brought into the church.*—For one of them saith, "No true believer now doubts of purgatory; whereof, notwithstanding, among the ancients there is very little or no mention at all. The Greeks, also, to this day do not believe that there is a purgatory: let who will read the commentaries of the ancient Greeks; and, so far as I see, he shall find very rare speech of purgatory, or none at all. And the Latins did not all of them together receive the truth of this matter, but by little and little. Neither, indeed, was the faith either of purgatory or pardons so needful in the primitive church as now it is." § Thus far a Papist, and an ingenuous one too; which is rare to find; [one] that will without partiality speak the truth: which Bellarmine doth not use to do; for he saith quite contrary,—that "all the fathers, both Greek and Latin, have constantly taught from the apostles' times that there is a purgatory." And this cardinal is in such a heat for purgatory-fire that

\* *Cur tandem Patrem Domini Jesu non oculis subjicimus ac pingimus? Quoniam quis sit non novimus, Deique natura spectanti proponi non potest ac pingi.* † DURANTIUS *De Ritibus Eccles.* p. 31. ‡ *Christi Dei nostri instar hominis characterem etiam in imaginibus deinceps pro veteri agno statui jubemus; ut per ipsum Verbi Dei humiliationem mente comprehendentes, ad memoriam quoque ejus in carne conversationis, ejusque passionis et salutaris mortis, deducamus, ejusque quæ ex eo facta est mundo redemptionis.*—*Conc. Constant. VI. can. 82.* "We command the representation of Christ our God henceforth to be made in the resemblance of a man, even in images, instead of the ancient form of a lamb; that, comprehending in our minds by means of it the humiliation of the Word of God, we may be led also to the contemplation of his conversation in the flesh, his passion and saving death, and that redemption which arose to the world through him."—*EDIT.* § *Nemo certe dubitat orthodoxus, an purgatorium sit, de quo tamen apud priscos nulla, vel quædam rarissima, fiebat mentio: sed et Græcis ad hunc usque diem non est creditum esse, &c.* —*JOHANNES ROFFENSIS apud POLYDORUM VIRGILIUM De Invent. Rerum, lib. viii. cap. 1.*

he saith, that "it is a doctrine of faith ; so that he that doth not believe it, shall never come to it," (no harm, if he do not : I suppose, it is no desirable thing to be in pains no less than the pains of hell, though shorter,) "but shall be always tormented in the flames of hell." \* But the best of it is, that it is but a cardinal, not the scripture, that saith so. But I will set another Papist upon Bellarmine's back ; and, standing betwixt the two, let him shift for himself, and get out as well as he can. They are the words of Alphonsus : "Concerning purgatory there is almost no mention made by the ancients, especially the Greek writers ; for which reason to this very day the Greeks do not believe that there is a purgatory." †

It is true that many of the fathers speak of a purging fire, both in this life and after ; but by the purging fire in this life they understand afflictions. So Augustine : "We confess that in this life there are purgatory pains ; as loss of friends, and the calamities of this life." ‡ So also of a purging-fire after this life, through which they make all saints to pass ; by which fire they understand the last day of judgment. But the Popish purgatory is another thing, not invented in the days of Gregory I. ; who did write in the end of the sixth age, saying, "Because we are redeemed by the grace of our Creator, so much we have of heavenly gift, that when we are withdrawn from the habitation of our flesh, we are presently brought to the heavenly recompence." § And though in the writing of this pope there is some mention of purgatory for smaller sins, yet it is not the same that the Papists now assert ; for in his "Dialogues" he speaks of the purgation of souls in baths, in rivers, and wind. And it was first bottomed upon visions and revelations and feigned stories of departed souls appearing to others in this life ; two of which I had translated, but I find they are too large (for want of room) to be inserted. The one is to be found in Gregory's works ; the other, in Bede's "History," in the year 671 ; and both in the *Magdeburgenses*. ||

But above two hundred years after these pretended visions, the council of Aquisgran do show that this was not a generally received doctrine ; who show how men are punished after this life. For they sum up all the punishments inflicted by God for sin in this life ; and they mention two ways : but "the third," say they, "after this life, is very fearful and terrible ; which by the most just judgment of God shall be executed, when he shall say, 'Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels.'" ¶ And yet further to discover the novelty of purgatory : that it was above a thousand years but the opinion of some particular men, and not an article of faith generally received, the saying of Otho Frisingensis, writing in the year of our Lord 1146, giveth evidence. His words be these : "That there is in hell a place of purgatory, wherein such as are to be saved are either only

\* BELLARMINUS *De Purgat.* lib. 1. cap. 15.

† ALPHONSUS DE CASTRO *Advers.*

*Hæres.* lib. viii. titul. *Indulgentia.*

‡ AUGUSTINUS *De Civitate Dei*, lib. xxii. cap. 13.

§ *Quia Authoris nostri gratiâ redempti sumus, hoc jam cœlestis munus habemus, ut cum a carnis nostræ habitatione subtrahimur, mox ad cœlestia præmia ducamur.*—GREGORIUS I. in Job xx.

¶ *Idem, Dialogi*, lib. iv. cap. 55 ; BEDÆ *Eccles. Hist.* lib. v. cap. 13 ;

*Magdeb. Centur.* cent. vi. p. 693 ; cent. vii. pp. 573, 574.

¶ *Capit. Aquisgran. Conc.*

*ad Papinum miss.* lib. i. cap. 1, quoted by bishop USHER, "Answer to a Jesuit's Challenge," p. 177.

troubled with darkness or decocted with the fire of expiation, *some do affirm.*" Mark, reader, *all* did not teach so, nor *the most*, nor, saith he, *many*; but *some* only.\*

5. *That the pope's indulgences are a mere novelty that the church of God for many hundred years knew nothing of, we need look no further [for] evidence than the plain confession of Papists themselves.*—Amongst whom I find Alphonsus making plain and full confession about these indulgences and popes' pardons; saying that, "of all the matters treated of in his whole book, there is not one that the scripture is more silent in, not one that the ancient writers speak less of:" though he would not have them "therefore to be slighted, because the use of them hath been but lately received; because" (mark what he saith) "many things are known to posterity which the ancient writers were altogether ignorant of. What need we wonder, then, if this be so in the matter of indulgences,—that among the ancients there is no mention of them at all?"

Really this did me good to read; for I love and like that men should be ingenuous, and speak the plain truth. Yet when I read further, and saw that he doth acknowledge nothing for it in the scripture nor in the ancient fathers, yet that those that set light by them or despise them should be judged heretics, † I thought it was too much heat in him. This Papist makes no attempt at all to go higher than pope Gregory I. in the latter end of the sixth age, when, he saith, "it is said that he granted some indulgences;" and from thence he slides as far as the Lateran council, which was in the year of our Lord 1215; (so Caranza;) and from thence to the council of Constance under pope John XXIV., which was after the year of our Lord 1400: so late. And this is all the antiquity that he doth pretend unto; from whose confession we might safely place this among the young doctrines and practices held and used in the church of Rome.

But let us try another of them, whose business in his book is to give "the first rise and beginning of things." He also attempts not to rise higher than the six-hundredth year, to the former Gregory. But there he finds little to fasten upon; and therefore steps presently back to Boniface VIII.; who, he saith, "was the first that brought-in the Popish jubilee, when he gave pardons to those that visited the apostles' temples, in the year 1300; which jubilee he commanded should be observed every hundredth year. But when fifty years were almost expired, pope Clement VI. ordained [that] this jubilee should be every fiftieth year, forasmuch as man's age would not reach the hundredth year. Lastly, "pope Sixtus IV., (about" 1471, or, as my present author, "1475,) brought it to every twenty-fifth year: and then" (I pray thee, reader, mark) "the use of pardons, which they call 'indulgences,' began to be

\* *Esse apud inferos locum purgatorium, in quo salvandi vel tenebris tantum afficiantur vel expiationis igne decoquantur, QUIDAM asserunt.*—OTHONIS FRISINGENSIS Chron. lib. viii. cap. 26, apud eundem.

† *Inter omnes res de quibus in hoc opere disputamus, nulla est quam minus aperte sacræ literæ prodiderint, et de quâ minus vetusti scriptores diserint. Neque tamen hæc occasione sunt condemnandæ (indulgentiæ), quod earum usus in ecclesiâ videatur serò receptus; quoniam multa sunt posterioribus nota quæ vetusti illi scriptores prorsus ignoraverunt. Quid ergo mirum si ad hunc modum contigerit de indulgentiâ, ut apud præcitos nulla sit de eis mentio? Etsi pro indulgentiarum approbatione sacræ scripturæ testimonium apertum desit, tamen qui contemnit hereticus meritò censatur, &c.*—ALPHONSUS DE CASTRO *Advers. Hæres.* lib. viii. titul. *Indulgentia*.

famous; which pardons, for what cause or by what authority they were brought in, or what they be good for, doth much trouble our modern divines to show.\* Reader, is not this a plain case? Can we desire clearer evidence of the novelty of the pope's pardons, by which he beguiles so many souls, and gets so much money into his treasure?

And [Polydore Virgil] being so much in the dark himself, he consults another, to seek relief. And the third saith, "It may be, many will put no great trust in these indulgences, because their use is but lately come into the church, and is so found but a little while ago; to whom I say, It is not certain who first began them." And he can, doth, go no higher than the six-hundredth year; and then he speaks *sparingly*: "There was some use of them:" and *doubtingly*; for he gathers it only by consequence.† But this Popish author, whom before we cited confessing the novelty of purgatory, doth also himself conclude [that] from thence follows the novelty of Popish pardons; for, saith he, "As long as there was no fear of purgatory, no man sought indulgences; for all the account of indulgences depends on purgatory. If you deny purgatory, what need of indulgences? Indulgences began after men were frightened with the pains of purgatory."‡

Thus, out of the mouths of these three witnesses of their own, we might let this pass for one of the younger sort, and set it amongst its fellows.

6. *The like I may conclude of prayer for the dead.*—For if purgatory be but a late device, and indulgences granted for their deliverance be but late, prayer for them to be delivered out of purgatory (which is supposed in the manner of the Papists' prayers for departed souls) cannot be of a longer standing; as their bishop before-quoted did rightly argue.

What might be alleged for the antiquity of praying for the dead, used indeed in the church formerly, is nothing to the Popish prayers used now. For it is most evident that they did not pray in relation to their being in purgatory, which they understood not: nor do their prayers express any such thing; but rather the contrary—of their being at rest, which they could not have in purgatory. Therefore, whatsoever prayers they were, or to what end, is not my work at present to inquire: till they be proved to be such as Popish prayers for the dead be, their

\* Bonifacius Octavus primus omnium jubileum retulit, anno qui fuit mccc. salutis humane, quo penarum remissionem iis præstabat qui limina apostolorum visitassent. Idem autem pontifex jubileum centesimo quoque anno servari mandavit. Quinquagesimo post instanti anno Clemens Sextus sanxit jubileum quinquagesimo quoque anno, cum ætas hominis vis jubileum illum centum annorum attingere possit. Postremo Sixtus, ejus appellationis Quartus, jubileum ad vigesimum quemque annum reduxit, primusque celebravit, qui fuit annus MCDLXXV. salutis: ac ita veniarum quas indulgentias vocant, jam tum usus celebris esse cepit; quæ quid de causâ quodve ex auctoritate introductæ fuerint, aut quantum valere videantur, nostri recentiores theologi ed de re egregie laborant. Ego verò originem, quod mei est munus, queritans, non reperio ante fuisse, quod sciam, quàm divus Gregorius ad suas stationes id præmii proposuerit.—POLYDORUS VIRGILIUS *De Inventoribus Rerum*, lib. viii. cap. 1.

† Multos fortasse movet indulgentiis istis non usque adeo fidere, quod earum usus in ecclesiâ videatur recentior, et admodum serò apud Christianos repertus; quibus ego respondeo, non certò constare a quo primum tradi coperint. Fuit tamen nonnullus earum usus, ut aiunt, apud Romanos vetustissimus; quod ex stationibus intelligi potest. ‡ Quamdiu nulla fuerat de purgatorio cura, nemo quæsiuit indulgentias; nam ex illo pendet omnis indulgentiarum existimatio. Si tollas purgatorium, quorsum indulgentiis opus erit? Cæperunt igitur indulgentiæ postquam ad purgatorii cruciatus aliquandiu trepidatum est.—JOHANNES RUFFENSIS in *Lutherum*, ibid.

praying in this sort for them will stand still among the younger practices of the church of Rome.

7. *As for the novelty of praying to saints.*—Cardinal Du Perron (a man that would have found it, if there had been any such practice in the primitive churches) doth freely acknowledge, (as Molinæus, that traced him in his book, affirmeth,)\* that, “as in the holy scriptures there is neither command nor example for the invocation of saints, so likewise in the writings of the fathers, that have written before the first four councils,” (which brings us to the year 451,) “no trace is to be found of that invocation.” The distinction betwixt the saints’ intercession and the invocation of saints should be carefully heeded; for whether the saints in heaven pray for the church on earth, and whether the church on earth might pray to the saints in heaven, are widely differing. That in the first ages it was accounted idolatry to invoke angels, was determined in the thirty-fifth canon of the Laodicean council before quoted.

8. *To show the novelty of transubstantiation, that the substance of the bread is not turned into the substance of the flesh of Christ, I need not stand long.*—For Scotus doth it for me; who saith that “this was not a doctrine of faith before the Lateran council, which was in the year 1215.” Which Bellarmine taketh notice of and is offended at, and helps the matter as well as he can, in mentioning one council; (and he names no more; which he would have done, doubtless, if any had been;) and that is a council at Rome under Gregory VII., who was pope in the year 1073:† so that, with Bellarmine’s grave admonition of Scotus, it was above a thousand years before that was made a doctrine of faith in the Roman church itself. But Alphonsus as to councils rises no higher than the Lateran, according as Scotus did.‡

9. *The denying of the cup to the people might be reckoned with the rest for a mere novelty.*—Having its rise in the council of Constance, which began in the year 1414. And there needs no other evidence that this is an innovation, than the very words of the canon whereby it is denied to the people; which are, “Although Christ did administer this sacrament in both kinds, and though in the primitive church the people did receive it in both kinds; yet this custom is rationally introduced,—that the people shall only take the bread; and we command, under pain of excommunication, that no presbyter give it to the people under both kinds, of bread and wine.”§ See, reader: though Christ appointed both, though the primitive times observed both, yet these say they shall have but one, any thing in Christ’s command and the church’s practice for so many hundred years to the contrary notwithstanding. For this it was called deservedly by one *concilium Non-obstantiense* [“the ‘Notwithstanding’ council,”] instead of *Constantiense*.

The practice of the church of Rome decreed by this council is but

\* DU MOULIN’S “Novelty of Popery,” p. 388.  
Hb. III. cap. 23.

† BELLARMINUS *De Euchar.*  
‡ ALPHONSUS DE CASTRO *Advers. Hæres. tit. Euchar. Hæres.*  
§ *Licet Christus post cœnam instituerit et suis discipulis administraverit sub utraq[ue] specie panis et vini hoc venerabile sacramentum, et similiter licet in primitivâ ecclesiâ hujusmodi sacramentum reciperetur a fidelibus sub utraq[ue] specie; tamen hæc consuetudo, ad evitandum aliqua pericula et scandala, est rationabiliter introducta, quod a laicis tantummodò sub specie panis suscipiatur, &c.*—*Concil. Constantiense, sess. xiii.*

[of] two hundred and odd years' standing : and yet after this the council of Basil granted the use of the cup to the Bohemians ; and again the council of Trent denied it : so that Popish councils can say and unsay, do and undo, and that in matters of faith, where dissenters must be heretics ; and yet cannot err ; and that is pity.

10. *The adoration of the sacrament was after the doctrine of transubstantiation.*—For the reason of their worshipping of it is, because it is changed into Christ's body and blood. The first, then, being new, the other cannot be old. The first [was] brought in as an article of faith in the time of Innocent III., 1215 ; the worshipping of it, in the time of Honorius III., in the year 1216.\* Behold its antiquity !

11. *The practice of the pope's canonizing of saints is a new invention, by the confession of Bellarmine himself.*—Who acknowledges that the first pope that he ever read of [who performed that act] was Leo III., eight hundred years after Christ.† And the same cardinal saith that no saints might be publicly invoked that are not canonized by the pope. Put both together, and it will make a clear consequence, that invocation of saints, at least publicly, was not for eight hundred years after Christ, the Papists themselves being confessors.

But whither do I tend ? To run over all particulars controverted betwixt us and them, would sooner swell into a volume, than be contained in a sermon. I can therefore but name some other points ; and let it be shown that, for five, six, seven hundred, yea, some for a thousand, years after Christ, they were generally owned or received in the church of Christ ; such as these, added to the former :—

12. The infallibility of the bishop of Rome.

13. That the church of Rome is the only church, founded by God himself ; or that the church of Rome is the catholic church.

14. That there is no salvation out of the Roman church.

15. That all that the church of Rome delivers is to be believed, whether it be written in the word of God or no.

16. That the pope or church of Rome hath power and authority to make doctrines of faith necessary to salvation, that are not contained in the scripture.

17. That the pope of Rome alone, or his council alone, or pope and council together, are the judge of controversies, to whom appeals from all the churches must be made ; and all [are] bound to acquiesce in their or his determinations.

18. That the pope of Rome might judge all, but be judged by none ; nor be blamed, though he leads souls by troops to hell.

19. That the pope of Rome hath temporal jurisdiction over princes, kings, and emperors ; to depose them from their thrones, dispose of their crowns, and absolve their subjects from their oaths of allegiance to their lawful princes.

20. That the pope of Rome hath authority to dispense with the law of God ; to make that lawful which God forbids, and that evil which God commands.

\* *Decret.* GREGORIUS IX. lib. iiii. tit. xli. cap. 10. † *Primus pontifex (ni forte fallor) qui sanctos legatur canonizasse videtur fuisse Leo papa III. Antequam fortasse fuerunt alii, sed non nihi constat.* —BELLARMINE *De Sancti. Beat.* lib. i. cap. 8.

21. That the power of calling general councils is inherent in the pope.

22. That the pope, by himself or legates, ought to be president in such councils.

23. That all that general councils do determine without his authoritative ratification, is of no force, but void.

24. That the scripture is imperfect and insufficient ; containing in it not all things necessary to salvation, nor for the refuting of all heresies.

25. That it is not lawful to interpret scripture contrary to the sense of the church of Rome.

26. That the church doth not depend upon the scripture ; but the authority of the scripture, even *quoad nos*, [“with regard to us,”] upon the testimony of the church of Rome.

27. That the scripture ought not to be translated into the vulgar tongue.

28. That the common people are to be debarred from reading of the scriptures, except they have a licence from the bishop.

29. That the public service and prayers in the church ought to be in an unknown tongue.

30. That there are seven proper sacraments,—baptism, confirmation, Lord's supper, penance, extreme unction, matrimony, ordination : or that there are eight sacraments of order ; as the order of porters, readers, exorcists, servitors, sub-deacons, deacons, presbyters, and bishops : to make, indeed, fourteen or fifteen sacraments.

31. That the sacrament of confirmation is more worthy than the sacrament of baptism, and is to be had in greater reverence ; and accordingly to be done only by a bishop, when baptism [may be done] by a presbyter.

32. That private Masses are lawful ; and in them both clergy and laity [are] to be deprived both of the bread and wine, except the priest that makes it ; by the rest only to be seen.

33. That the eucharist, when it is sent unto the sick, is to be adored by all that meet it ; and those that do not are to be accounted heretics, and to be persecuted with fire and sword.

34. That it is a sacrifice for the quick and dead, for obtaining, not only spiritual, but temporal, blessings ; to be offered to God for health, success in battles, for their horses and their hogs.

35. That a justified person may truly and properly make satisfaction to God for the guilt of punishment, which remains to be expiated after the fault is remitted.

36. That the satisfactory works of the saints may be communicated and applied to others, or that there are works of super-erogation.

37. That absolution by a priest is so necessary to salvation, that persons believing in Christ are damned if they die before they be absolved by a priest.

38. That the confirmation of bishops and institution of archbishops by the pall is to be sought by the pope of Rome from all parts and quarters of the world ; without which they are no such officers, and cannot without sacrilege execute their office.

39. That in baptism there is an implicit vow of obedience to the pope of Rome.



40. That the Decretal Epistles are to be reckoned amongst canonical scripture.

41. That the bishop of Rome, if he be canonically ordained, whatsoever he were, is undoubtedly made holy by the merits of St. Peter.

42. That every transgression of the law deserveth not death; but that there are many sins of themselves and in their own nature venial and deserving pardon; that the blood of Christ is not necessary to wash them away; but [they] may be done away with holy water, knocking the breast, and by the bishop's blessing.

43. That clergymen are exempted from the jurisdiction of temporal lords in things civil and criminal, and that the civil judge cannot punish ecclesiastical persons.

44. That the rebellion of a clergyman against the king is not treason; or that it is meritorious to kill princes excommunicated by the pope.

45. That good works in themselves have a proportion and condignity with the reward, and are meritorious from their inward worthiness to be worth the reward, as a journeyman is of his wages for his labour.

Papists themselves do acknowledge that the first beginning of some of their doctrines they cannot tell: and to search for the year when every novelty was introduced, is needless. All these that are named are not in scripture, nor in the primitive church; some not for four, five,—some not for six, seven, eight, nine, twelve,—hundred years: [so] that I might conclude that *Popery is a very novelty, and doth vainly and falsely boast of its antiquity.*

#### USES.

USE I. 1. *Is Popery a new way, and the religion of Protestants the old religion taught by Christ and his apostles? Then this is a safe way and a safe religion.*—In it you may be justified, sanctified, and surely saved. It is the old way, that Paul and Peter and believers in the primitive times obtained an everlasting kingdom and crown [in]. Be not frightened with the uncharitable and groundless doctrine of the Papists,—that out of their church there is no salvation.

2. *Then it is the wisest way.*—The folly of men shows itself in the new ways of Popery; and wherein they profess themselves to be wise, they are become fools: but in the old way is manifest the manifold wisdom of God.

3. *Then it is the purest way.*—The nearer the fountain, the purer the streams; the nearer the copy, the fairer is the writing. The church of Rome doth vainly glory in titles of holiness: "The most holy pope; the holy church; the multitude of holy days, holy rites and ceremonies," &c. That is holy and pure that is consonant to the holy and pure word of God. If you are to travel, you would go the cleanest way: you are travelling to an everlasting state; the old way of faith in Christ, repentance for sin, inward holiness, and new obedience, taught in the Reformed churches, agreeable to the doctrine of Christ and his apostles, is the cleanest way that you can go in,—to keep a clean and pure heart, a clean and pure conscience, to have a clean and pure conversation.

4. *It is the nearest way.*—If you leave this way, the further you go, the more you are out of your way. You go about; you must back

again : or you go on to a place where there is no rest night nor day, but the smoke of their torment ascendeth for ever and ever.

5. *Then it is the most comfortable and most pleasant way.*—All the ways of wisdom are “ways of pleasantness, and all her paths are peace.” It might be strowed with outward troubles ; briars and thorns may be in this way : but there is inward peace, and inward joy, and solid, sure, and lasting comfort, to be found in it.

6. *Then it is the only way.*—The way of faith in Christ, the way of regeneration and holiness, the way of new obedience, and perseverance therein, is the old way to heaven, and there is no other. If you will choose new ways yourselves, or walk in new ways chalked out by others, contrary to the good old way ; you will lose God and Christ and your souls for ever.

USE II. 1. *Get a right understanding of the greatness of your mercy.*—That you were not born in times and places of Popery ; that you have ministers to teach you the good old way, and magistrates to defend you therein ; that you are not burned at a stake for not receiving new Popish doctrines ; that you have Bibles, and [are] not burned for having of them. Know your mercy.

2. *Bless God for this mercy, when you understand how great it is.*—Indeed, when you rightly know it, and duly weigh it, you will bless God that you were not brought up in Popish darkness and idolatry ; that you were not brought up to worship images, pray to saints, &c., but God alone.

3. *Pray to God for the continuance of this mercy to you and to your children after you.*—That Popery might never return, but the generations to come might be taught the Protestant religion, that is, the good old way to heaven ; that your children and children’s children might enjoy the Bible, and have the old truths of God preached to them. For their sakes pray much.

4. *Then walk in this good old way.*—If you see the way to happiness, and [do] not walk in it, you will fall short of it. You might be Protestants in opinion, and yet be for ever damned. A drunken Protestant, a whoring Protestant, a swearing, impenitent, unbelieving Protestant, shall not be saved because in opinion he is a Protestant. You might refuse to commit idolatry in bowing to and worshipping of images ; and yet go to hell for making an idol of your money, and over-loving of the world. You might renounce the pope as head, and in judgment own Christ as only Head of his church ; and yet be damned for not believing on him, choosing of him before all, nor loving him above all.

Let all old corrupt things be done away ; as, (1.) Your old ignorance, (2.) Your old false hopes, (3.) Your old self-love, (4.) Your old false peace, (5.) Your old enmity against God and holiness. (6.) You must be cut off from the old stock. In a word : (for I can but name a few of many [things] that might be said for the practical improvement of this text :) crucify the old man, destroy the body of sin. For, to keep your old hearts, and yet think to go to heaven, is to look for a new way of salvation.

Let all things be new. None can walk in the old way but [those] who are new creatures. (1.) Your understandings must be new ; new

valuations of Christ. (2.) Your wills new; new elections of Christ. (3.) Your affections new. (i.) New love to God, to Christ, his ways, his people, his precepts. (ii.) New desires: "O that I had God for my Father, Christ for my Lord and Saviour, grace as a pledge of glory!" (iii.) New sorrows for walking in a way of sin so long, neglecting Christ so long, swearing so much, praying so little. (iv.) New delights. (v.) New hatred. (4.) As affections new, so your ends must be new; God's glory. (5.) New cares to get, keep, a good conscience, to live holy, die happily, and to be saved eternally.

Except you be thus made new, you might know the good old way, but you cannot walk in it; which if you do not, woe! woe! a thousand woes to you for ever! A damned Protestant! How? A damned Protestant! that was told which was the good old and only way; that lived under the constant, plain, and powerful preaching of the same doctrines that Christ himself and his apostles did deliver! I profess, your case will be worse, and your torments will be greater, than the Heathens'; who might say, "Lord, we never had a Bible; never heard of Christ, nor of the way of salvation: no Ministers were sent to us, no gospel preached to us." Yea, worse will be your case and greater will be your damnation than [that] of many amongst the Papists, that have not been so plainly taught, so frequently instructed, so faithfully warned, so earnestly entreated, as you have been. You are not told that "ignorance is the mother of devotion," as they be: you are not kept from reading of the scripture, as they be; but are pressed, urged, and exhorted to it. You have not public worship in an unknown tongue; but by plain language are you warned of hell, commanded in the name of God to forsake your old wicked ways. How oft have you been persuaded to come to Christ, who is "the Way, the Truth, and the Life!" How long hath God waited! And will you on in your wicked ways still; in your old course of profaneness and lying and sabbath-breaking; in your old course of careless neglect of God and Christ and your own immortal souls? That is an old way, indeed; but it is not the good old way. If you will go on, take your course; if you will not turn to the good path, take what falls. But know that the way of sin leadeth directly unto hell. Proceed a little further, go on a little longer, and thou wilt drop into a bottomless pit, and be a damned wretch, and take up thy everlasting lodgings with the old dragon, with the old serpent: and canst thou there have rest? *Rest!* how canst thou, under the heavy load of God's wrath? *Rest!* how canst thou, under the strokes of an angry, provoked, and revenging God? Thou canst not rest upon a bed of down, when thy conscience is seared, and God afflicts thee with the stone or plague or burning fever, though all thy friends be round about thee, administering cordials and comforts to thee: and canst thou rest in a bed of flames, in a burning fiery furnace, in a place more dreadful and more hot than is a vessel full of boiling lead and burning brimstone; when thy conscience shall be awakened, the worm gnawing within thee, the devils round about thee, and an angry God above thee, and not one nigh thee to pity or relieve thee? For God's sake, sirs, and for your souls' sake, as ever you would avoid endless and easeless and remediless torments hereafter, walk in the good old way of faith and holiness, repentance and new obedience, now!

And if you would now walk in this good old way, you shall, (1.) Be taken into a new covenant; (2.) And have new employment, better, more noble, more profitable, more pleasant, than ever yet you were engaged in. (3.) You shall be taken into new relations; to be the sons of God, the daughters of God, the servants, people, and friends of God. (4.) You shall become a new habitation for Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. (5.) You will have ground of comfort when you come to die. Death is the old way into another world; and if you walk in the good old way while you live, you may be comforted, if you can appeal to God, having the witness of a good conscience, and say, "Now, Lord, remember how I have walked before thee in the good path with an upright heart." And then, (6.) You shall enter into the New Jerusalem; where you shall have, (i.) Universal, total rest; (ii.) Seasonable rest; (iii.) Eternal and, (iv.) Delightful rest: and that,

(i.) *Rest from sin*.—From the reigning and conflicting power of sin, from the guilt and indwelling of sin.

(ii.) *Rest from the temptations of Satan*.—He shall never trouble nor disquiet you more. Commission of sin is now a burden to you, and temptation to sin is now a burden to you; but the good old way will bring to rest from both.

(iii.) *Rest from all afflictions from God upon your bodies*.—Now sickness is a burden that makes you to be restless. But then you shall have an aching head no more; pained bowels, a sick heart, no more for ever.

(iv.) *Rest from all troubles from men*.—No more imprisoned, persecuted; rest from all their slanders and reproaches, &c.

(v.) *Rest from all those holy duties that are now as a means to bring you to this rest*.—You shall rest from repentings and mournings for sin, from all the pains that now you are at to mortify corruption; though not from loving of God, delighting in God, and admiring of his love: nay, this your love shall be one part of your rest.

(vi.) *Rest from all doubts and fears and jealousies of heart*.—Now you doubt, "Doth God love me? Do I love God? Is Christ mine? and am I his? Will God save me? pardon me? Sometimes," thou sayest, "I hope he will; and that doth lighten my heart: sometimes I fear he will not; and that is a burden, O it is a heavy burden, to my soul, under which I cannot rest!" But this good old way will bring thee to a rest where thou shalt doubt no more and fear no more. Canst thou doubt whether it be day, when thou seest [that] the sun doth shine? or that fire is hot, when thou seest it burn, and feelest [that] it doth warm thy hand? No more shalt thou doubt, when thou comest to the end of thy walk in the good old way, whether God doth love thee, when thou shalt be filled with his love, and feel that he doth love thee, and see to what a blessed place of rest and peace, of life, of light and joy, his love hath brought thee.

(vii.) *Rest from all desertions*.—God shall no more frown, no more depart or withdraw from thee for ever.

(viii.) *Rest from all thy worldly labours and employments*.—When thou hast now wearied thyself in thy calling all the day, thou takest thy rest at night; and O how sweet is rest when thou art weary! But when the day returns, thy labour also doth return; and thy noble

soul [is occupied] by mean and low employment : (yet thy duty while thou art here :) one, in making bricks ; another, pins : one, in working in wood ; another, in silk or silver and gold : poor employment for a rational soul ! by reason whereof God hath few of thy thoughts, little of thy delight and love ; and [it] doth distract thee often in thy holy duties. But this way will bring thee to a rest from all these, when God shall have all thy thoughts, delight, and love.

Stand, then, and see which is the good old way. Nay, you do see which is it. God hath showed it unto you ; it is chalked, marked out, before you. Rest you are promised, and rest you shall find, in walking in it. But let none of you say in words or heart, [or] by your practice, "We will not walk therein ;" lest you come unto a place of torment, where you never shall have rest.

END OF THE MORNING EXERCISES.