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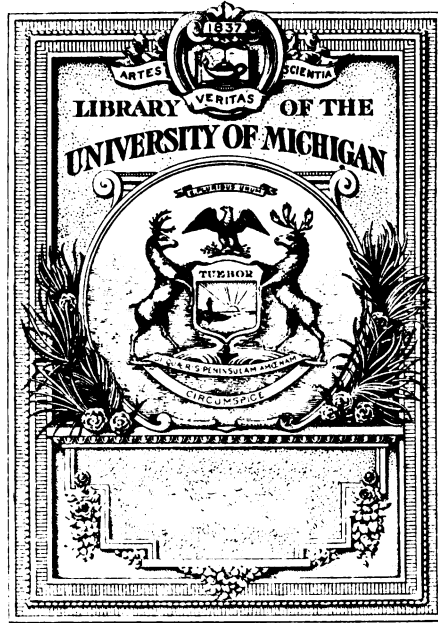
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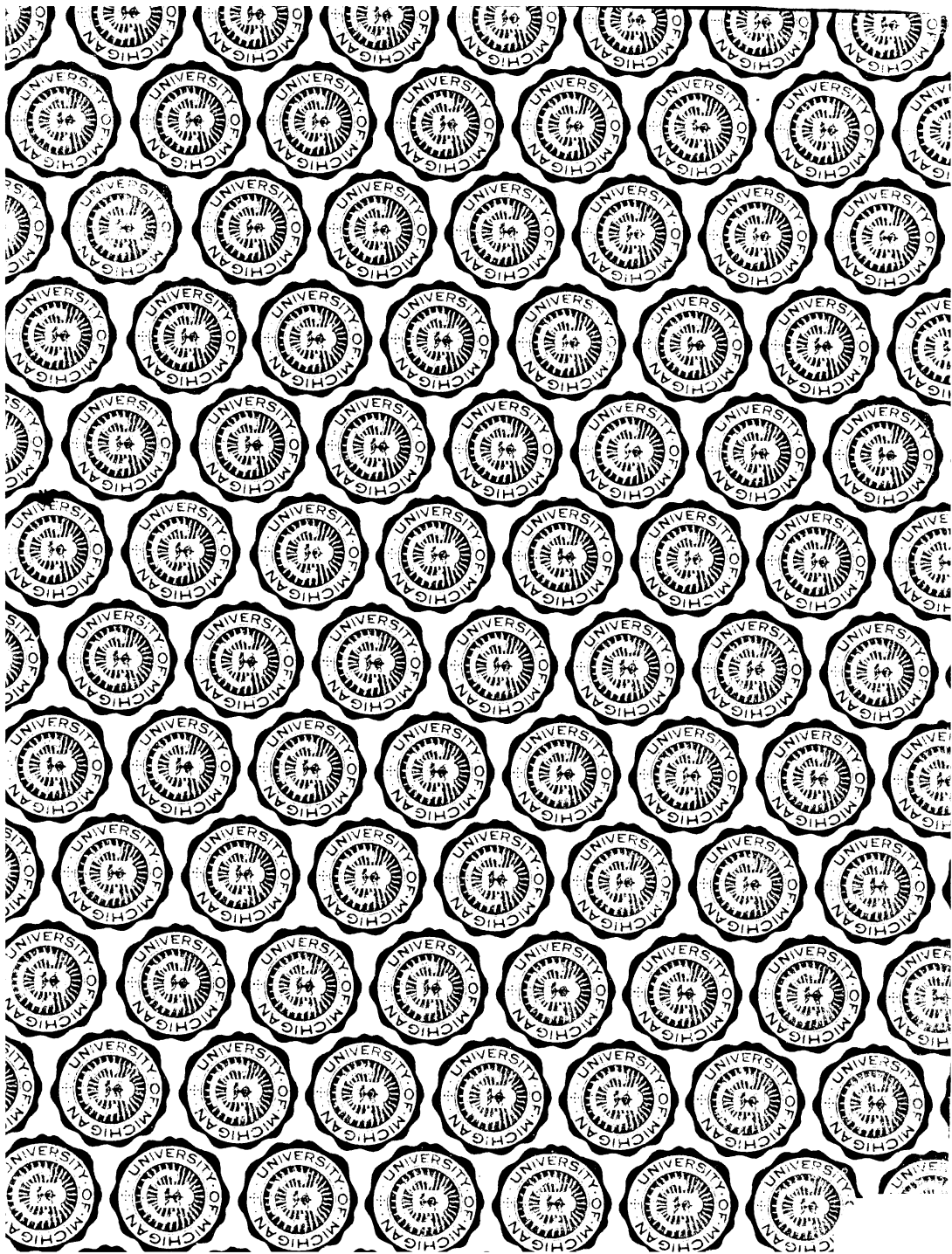
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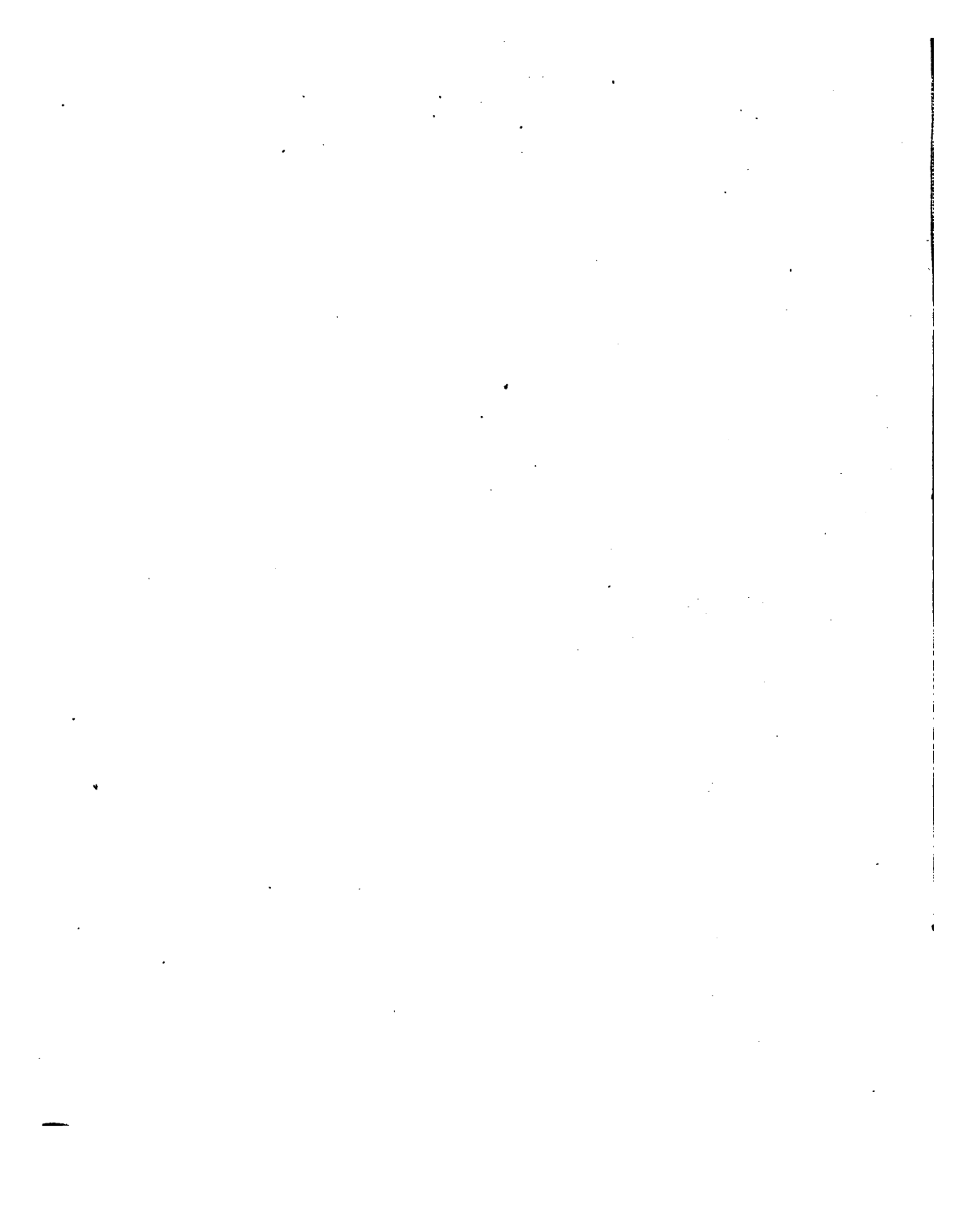
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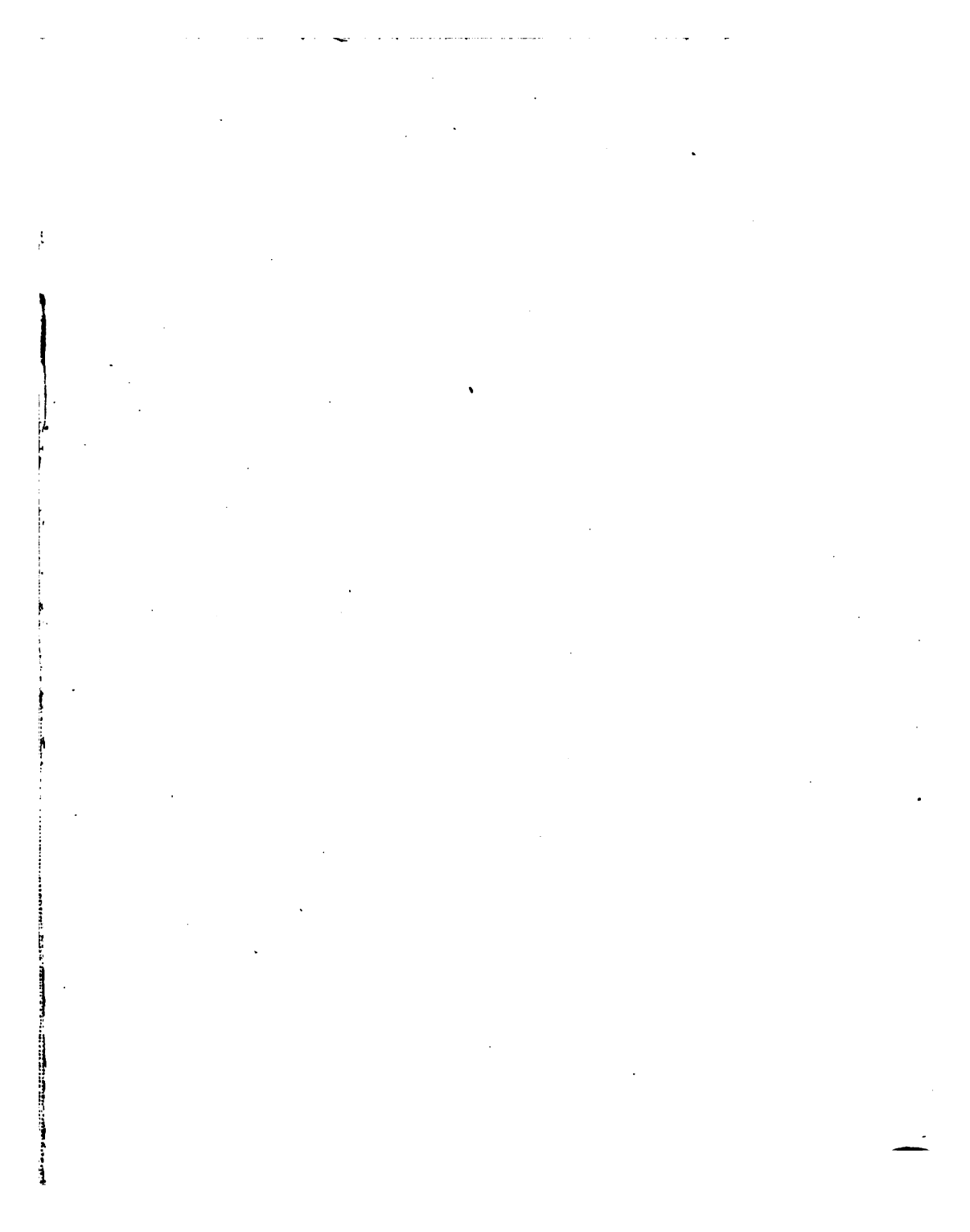
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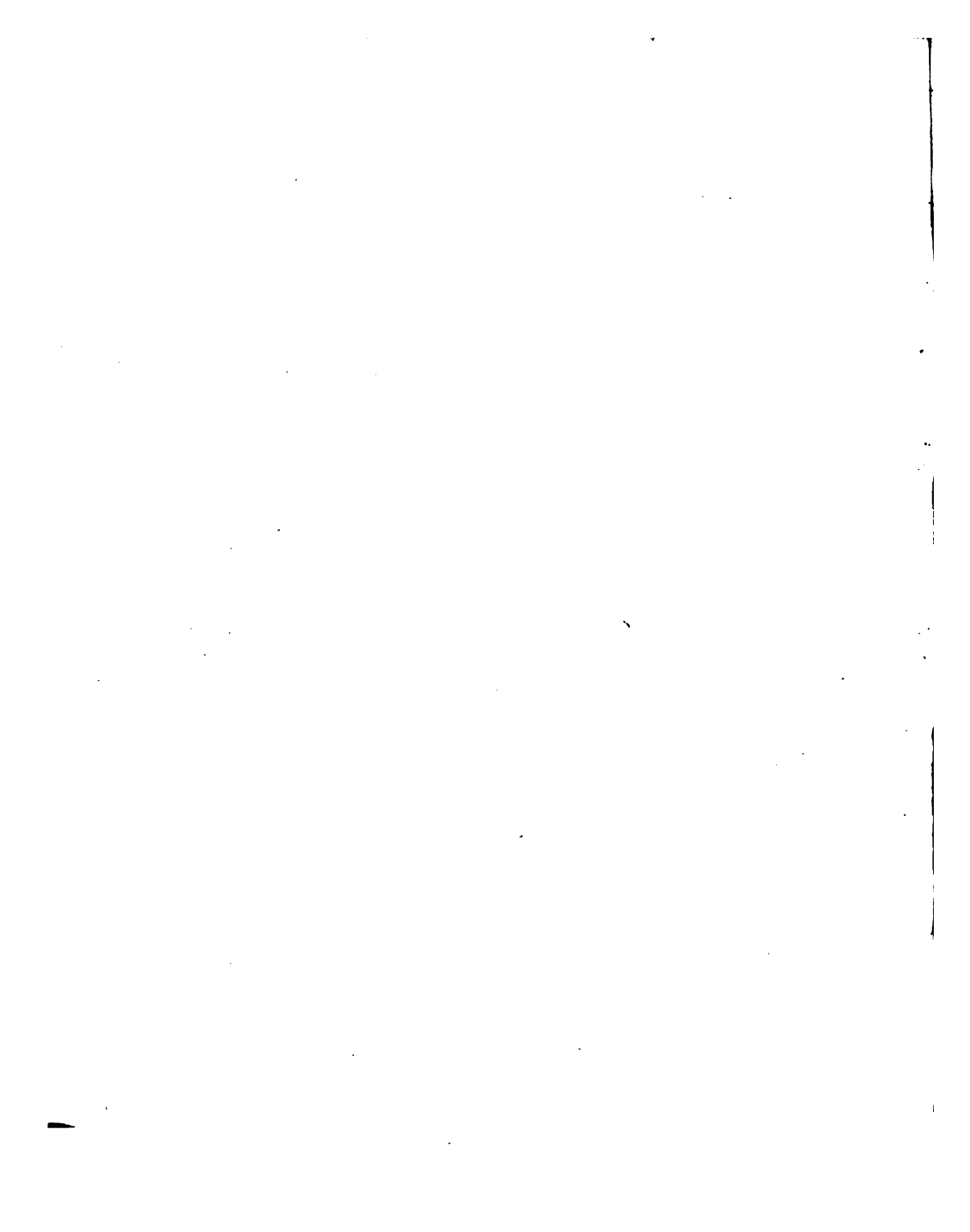
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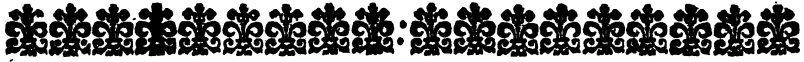
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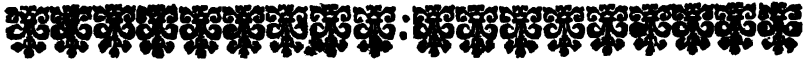
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Sept. 5.  
1687.

*Jo. Battely*





A N  
ANSWER

To a BOOK, Entitled,

Reason and Authority:

OR, THE

MOTIVES

OF A

Late Protestant's Reconciliation

TO THE

Catholick Church.

TOGETHER

With a brief Account of *Augustine* the  
Monk, and Conversion of the *English*.

*Thomas Bainbridge*

*In a Letter to a Friend.*

L O N D O N,

Printed by *J. H.* for *Brabazon Aylmer*, at the *Three Pigeons*  
over against the *Royal Exchange*, in *Cornhill*. 1687.

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# ANSWER

To a BOOK, Entituled,

## Reason & Authority, &c.

S I R,

**I** Have just now read over a late *Book*, entituled, *Reason and Authority*; I read it with an excess of pleasure, being surprized and amazed to find Reason so baffled, and a monstrous Authority advanced against all reason. Non-sense, I perceive, is in fashion; and if I and You have as little sense, and are as impertinent as others, I may be a *Writer*, and You a *Reader*.

I perceive by that *Book*, that a certain Man has left our Church without reason: He was advised to take reason, and make the best use of it in the choice of his Religion, and the settling of his life and practice in order to salvation; but he could find no reason to serve him. He narrowly escaped being an *Atheist* with reason, and had almost denied the Being of a God, or at least his Providence, with reason; and something that looked like to a demonstration against the immortality of the Soul had so confounded him, that he was up head and ears in the water all souped, and *plunged* in the doubt, and whether he is yet out of it, we know not.

P. 2, & 3.

P. 4, & 5.

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P. 5. The Man goes on and considers the grounds of Religion, the *Jewish* and the *Christian*; and finds little reason to think that the *five Books* commonly ascribed to *Moses*, were ever written by him; he finds so many mistakes, and so many errors in the beginning of *Genesis*, that he gives you to guess his meaning, though he will not speak it, to be, that the *Jewish* Religion is little else than a forgery, and that it has but small evidence of a Revelation from God Almighty.

P. 6. Thus leaving the *Jewish* Religion, the Man in all haste goes to the *Christian*, and considers the New Testament, as the Book which all Christians in all Ages have owned, to be the Records of the Christian Doctrine: He does not say by whom they were written, but at the reading of the first Chapter of *St. Matthew* he was hair'd out of his wits; He met with such difficulties, that his reason could not answer, if he brought any with him to the reading of it; for it is to be suspected that he used none, because a little reason in such a case as this, would at this time have lead him to have consulted his Authority. For if he, whom this Man calls God's *Viceroy*, and the great *Elias*, that is supposed to solve all doubts, can say no more to this difficulty, than he himself could, he might have kept his Reason still, as bad as it was, and have been content to be ignorant with Reason, as well as under Authority.

But, Dear Friend, look about you now; Thus far our Authour; booted, and spur'd, and whipping on, has gone without reason: just now reason comes in a most unlucky time, I think for no other purpose but to fool the Man, and set him to combat with an Adversary that will certainly be too strong for him; for instead of fighting us, he now attacks Christianity it self, and does all the mischief he can to that Common Faith, which he and we profess: To this end he revives old Controversies, and starts new ones, and makes Schemes of Christian Doctrine, and that to shew to the World

World that *Christianity* has as weak a Foundation as the *Jewish Religion* was declared before to have.

To this end, I suppose, he tells us the three next things.

1. That *some of the Orthodox did not receive into the Canon of the Scripture, some of the Books that are now in it, for near 200 years after the death of our Saviour.* 2. That every Christian is not able, by reading of the Scripture, to compose such a *Creed as that of Athanasius.* 3. That there are some *obscure Doctrines hard to be understood amongst Christians; and here he sets down the Trinity, Consubstantiality, Transubstantiation, Predestination, and Freewill: every one of these are altogether impertinent to this Man's purpose; they may be of some use to an Atheist, and serve him that is resolv'd to give a secret wound to Christianity; but they signify nothing to a Roman Catholick, or to him that would plead for Authority to determine Controversies in Christianity in opposition to Reason.*

P. 7.

P. 7.

P. 7.

For, *first*; All the Churches in the World are now agreed about the Books of the New Testament; and when the Orthodox in ancient times concurr'd in the acceptance of the Books that are now in the Canon, they came to this conclusion merely by the reason of the case, without the least interposition of any Authority of Pope, or Council: the last Book doubted of was the Revelations; and the reasons for receiving of that, any man may read in *Eusebius*, lib. 7. cap. 27. as he sets them down in the words of *Dionysius of Alexandria.*

Euseb. lib. 7.  
cap. 27.

Now I cannot imagine to what purpose this Gentleman puts us in mind of this old Controversie; if he has Authority for what he does, it may be something for his own satisfaction; I am sure he has no reason to offer in the case that can be allowed by any man else; for the Church of *Rome* is as zealous to preserve every one of these Books in their esteem and reverence, as Ours is: I guess

Irenæus, lib. 4.  
cap. 37.

that possibly he may be tempted to shew his skill in Controversie, and therefore he sets down with an appearance of accuracy, that such *Books were not received into the Canon by the Orthodox for near 200 years after the death of our Saviour*. But here the Man's skill fails him; for it is certain that *Irenæus* quotes the *Revelations* in several places, as a Book of like Authority with the rest of the *New Testament*; and he himself tells us, that he wrote in the time of *Eleutherius*; and *Bellarmino* sets him down as a Writer in the Year 180. after our Saviour's birth, and that will lessen the time mentioned of 200. after his death by fifty.

This mistake is not worth the noting, if it did not give us to see how ready some men are to lay aside not onely Reason, but the Sacred Records of the Christian Faith, not considering the true consequences of their own Action; since it is most certain, that if a full Authority be not allowed to the Books of the *New Testament*, there can be no pretence to any, either in *Pope* or *Council*, or in any thing that is called *Church*.

P. 7.

But our Authour goes on to a *second* thing, and proceeds with more than ordinary caution, and seems as wise as a certain *Spanish Don*: he treads out the ground, measures the length of his Weapon, makes a Speech, and would tempt a man to think he is resolved to fight; but he withdraws safely, and calls in two others to engage; a desire he has to see the *Holy Scriptures* and *Athanasius* his *Creed* to combat one another for his divertisement. Now which of these two he is for, he says not, nor yet seems to guess which would have the better in case of a Contrast: But alas! this man mistakes; those two are Friends; and if there were any difference between that *Creed* and the *Holy Scriptures*, *Athanasius* (if he were now alive) would be the first man to declare against that *Creed*: it is certain he learnt, and founded all his Doctrines upon those; no  
man

man read them with greater care and attention ; no man cites them oftner, or with greater veneration.

Whether our Authour knew this or no, I cannot tell ; but after all his preparatory flourishes, he gives no more than this dry insipid request to the Fathers of our Church, that *they would not tell him that every Christian*, suppose every Baker, Shoemaker, or Cobler, upon a sincere perusal of this Holy Book, would certainly have composed the Creed of Athanasius. Now this is a thing which never was spoken, either by *Bishop, Presbyter, or Deacon, or Parish Clerk*. Can any Reverend *Bishop* be presumed to think, and say, that the great *Athanasius* had not more wit and reason, more art, more skill in Consequences than every Cobler and Tinker, or than this Man's two Friends, *Nailor and Muggleton* ? it is prodigious to think how men dote, that undertake to write Books against Reason.

But whatever this Man does, or can say, most certain it is, that if *Athanasius* was the Composer of this *Creed*, he did it upon a sincere perusal of the Holy Scriptures, by the power of a good Reason, and by the skill which he had in Consequence. As for Authority of *Pope or Council* he had none for this Composition ; this *Creed* lay in obscurity, and was unknown in the Church long after the days of *Athanasius* ; and as it was composed at first, so it was brought into the use of the Church afterwards for some time without any considerable Authority, merely by the private reason of some that were little more than private Men.

*Thirdly*, In the next place our *Authour* sets down some matters of Faith, great and necessary *Articles*, as he calls them ; and these are the *Mystery of the Incarnation, the Doctrines of the Trinity, Consubstantiality, Transubstantiation, Predestination and Free-will*. These he examined by his Reason, but he does not tell us what account his Reason gave of them. It is possible after a sincere perusal of  
the

*the Holy Scriptures*, that he might find great reason to believe the *Incarnation* of our Lord, and the *Doctrine* of the *Trinity*, and by consequence that of *Consubstantiality*, and something of a *Predestination*; and it is possible that from thence he found no reason to believe the *Doctrine* of *Transubstantiation*, for herein many other Mens Reasons would agree with His. This he does not tell us, but yet this I will presume in favour to him; that he does not think that the *Fathers* in the *Council of Nice*, and those in the after *Councils*, who fixed the *Doctrine* of the *Trinity* and *Consubstantiality*; I say, he does not think, but that they made their Determinations with highest reason; I will presume too that he thinks that the *Fathers* in the *Lateran* and *Tridentine Councils* had reason to determine the *Doctrine* of *Transubstantiation*; for though we think that in these two later *Councils*, the generality acted by false reasons, by prejudice, and by worldly interest; yet we do not doubt but they all, and every one of them, pretended to act with reason; for certain it is, that the private reason of any single man, is a much better guide than the private Spirit of a *Quaker*, or any other: for a Reason may be urged, and is upon information to be corrected, but the pretence to the Spirit is not. But if the *majority* of those *Fathers* at the *Council of Nice* were able by Scripture and Reason to establish those *Doctrines* of the *Trinity* and *Consubstantiality* to be Articles of the *Christian Faith*; I know not why our *Author*, since he has the same Scripture and like Reason, might not have done the same. Sure I am, that after this *Council*, *Athanasius* pleaded much in the defence of the truth of these *Doctrines*, and that not from the Authority of the *Council*, but from the true sense and meaning of the several Texts; the same way of arguing was used in the first *Constantinopolitan Council*, and so it continued, till *Theodosius*, by advice of *Nectarius*, which he received from *Sisinnius*, took another method.

Sozom. lib. 7.  
cap. 12.

After



After these doughty performances, our Authour comes in the next place a little more closely to Scripture, or the sacred Records of Christian Religion; and sets his reason to search, and examine them, and, if possible, to draw from thence a scheme of Christian Doctrine. But here, it seems, his Reason was jaded, and tyred out much more than in all the rest of his Disquisitions; perhaps he found not there any thing like to the Doctrines that make up the Apostles Creed: He does not tell this; though he ought to have done it, if he had compared his scheme with it. But he tells us that he disagreed from all Churches, the Church of *England in her 39 Articles, and all the Catechisms of Catholicks, Calvinists, Lutherans and Socinians*: I was pleased that in his opinion the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome* did no more agree with Scripture than that of the Church of *England*.

But though I was pleased in this, yet I was not very confident of any advantage from it, because our Authour oft queries, and seems to doubt, whether his Reason does not much differ from other Mens. I know that God Almighty has given different Talents to Men; for Heads, and Brains, and Wits, as well as Hearts, are not alike in every Man. I am sure the *Ancients*, by virtue of plain honest reason, were able to find the *Christian Doctrine* in the *Holy Scriptures*; so did *St. Irenaeus, St. Athanasius, St. Hierome, St. Chrysostome, St. Augustin*, and the rest. This was a light to their feet, and a lamp to their paths, sufficient to satisfy those good men in matters of Faith; and as this Man speaks, *in the great and necessary Articles,*

But though this Man could not find the Christian Doctrine there, yet it seems that he thought that he found something there that pretty well agreed with the dreams of *Ebion and Cerinthus*, and with those of his dear Friends, *Nailor and Muggleton*.

The *first* of these I am much enclined to believe; and if I were as impertinent as He is, perhaps I might give some evidence of the *second*.

As for *Ebion* and *Cerintbus* this *Gentleman* is too close, and will not give us the least intimation of their Dogm's, wherein his *schemes* did agree with theirs; yet I think it very probable that he might light upon some of the same thoughts with them, because I find a wonderfull agreement between the Followers of those two, and this *Gentleman*; For they had no reverence at all for Scripture, and very small regard to Reason; sometimes they would throw away, and easily reject a great part of *Scripture*, *Iren.* lib. 3. cap. 11. and at other times they would receive all; *Iren.* lib. 3. cap. 12 pag. 302. but upon this condition, that they might interpret it; they made novel Inventions to be great and necessary Articles of Faith; *Id.* lib. 3. cap. 11. p. 288. *In tantum processerunt audaciæ, uti quod ab his non olim conscriptum est, veritatis Evangelium titulent, in nihilo conveniens Apostolorum Evangelii;* they had a profound veneration for Authority, and entirely submitted themselves to the Doctrines of *Ebion* and *Cerintbus*; for they supposed that these men had a secret or mystery derived down by Tradition to them, which alone was able to fix the sense of Scriptures; and therefore whenever an Argument was directed against them out of Scriptures, they still brought it to this Tradition: without this they undervalued and slighted all the Scriptures, and were the Inventers of the chiefest Arguments against them that our Authour and his Friends at this day do use. All this will appear, if we look upon *Irenæus*, lib. 3. cap. 2. *Cum ex Scripturis arguuntur, in accusationem convertuntur ipsarum Scripturarum, quasi non rectè habeant, neque sunt ex Autoritate, & quia variè sunt dictæ, & quia non possit ex his inveniri veritas, ab his qui nesciunt Traditionem, non enim per literas traditam illam, sed per vivam vocem:* and then farther toward the latter end of that Chapter; they challenge

*Ed. Erasmi*  
*Basil. 8vo.*  
1571.

*Irenæus, lib. 3.*  
*cap. 2.*

lence something, that speaks the great confidence they had in their way, perhaps as much as the *Infallibility* of a *Guide*; *se indubitatè*, & *incontaminatè*, & *sincere absconditum scire Mysterium*.

The proceedings of those men are so like to the method, of our *Author*, that I do not in the least wonder, if he found in his Schemes something very agreeable to their Doctrines. Some mens brains, for all what that learned *Spaniard* teaches, may be exactly of the same temper, and consequently their wits of the same height. I have heard of a fool, who by thinking the very same thoughts with his Brother, could find him out, when all the wise men in the Town could not do it.

Thus far therefore I will be obliging to our Author, and give him more credit, than I will upon some other occasions: I will, though with some reluctancy of reason, believe that whilst he was reading the Scriptures, some thoughts might come into his mind agreeable enough with some of those that *Ebion* and *Cerintus* had.

But after this high civility allowed him, I hope he will not impose upon my Faith so far as to require me to believe that he found any thing in the *Holy Scriptures* that agreed with the idle whimsies, and mad dreams and blasphemous prate of his two other friends *Nailor* and *Muggleton*. This is such an impudence as *R. C's* as well as *Protestants* must abhor; all *Popes* and *Councils* that have ever been, with wrath and indignation would have detested any man that should have dared to put so profane and vile a scandal upon those sacred writings. What *Anathema's* would the *Council of Trent* have thundred out against *Luther*, if ever he had wrote or spoken any thing so base as this? It is certain that there is nothing in Scripture that can in the least seem to favour the blasphemies of those two wretches; and I am unwilling to think that there was any thing in our *Author's* schemes, that would deserve the punishment which they justly suffered.

It is possible that he might have been of their acquaintance, and have had very particular respects for their persons, and so he might be over-easie to think that some of his thoughts might be like unto theirs.

This I am willing to guess, because I can with confidence presume that he has kept very ill Company, for though his natural temper carries him to speak soft and smooth things, yet in spight of nature he is forced to be rude, and saucy. For why cannot he write a Book without pointing his discourse at the breasts of the *Right Reverend Fathers of our Church*; why does he treat them with contempt and scorn? why does he presume to daule 'em, to twitch 'em by the Nose, and pull 'em by the Beard, and stand over 'em with *Fescue* and *Ferula*; and tell 'em that here they were out, and there they were out, and that here, and there, and at every point he can instruct them? All this comes from want of manners and good converse; *Muggleton* would have done the same, and so would *Nailor*, and none but such as they.

For certainly a respect is due to them for their Character, and a respect is due upon their Personal accompt; they are men of excellent worth, and great learning, prudence, piety and integrity; and so conspicuously eminent in all these, that our *Authour* is not able to match them in any one Countrey, (though he take as large a view of *Bishops* as he does of *Conversions* in his 14<sup>th</sup>. page) through *Europe, Asia, Africa* and *America*.

But when *Reason*, and the *Holy Scriptures* are to be thrown down, it is no great wonder, if the *Bishops* of the Church of *England* fall with them.

I begin to be warm, and you my Friend, may be offended at it; yet allow a little to a just indignation; it may well move a man of a cold complexion to see a pert unknown come up so briskly to the heads of our Reverend Fathers, and Address to them in a formal speech, intimating thousands of mistakes, miscarriages and errors in them;

them; and yet in all that speech, the man says nothing but what is old, and dull, and flat insipid stuff; all and every thing in it has been answer'd five hundred times, since the Reformation, and at least twenty within these two years. This looks like perverse stupidity, for men to pretend to be writers, when they do not read; if our Authour had read the late *Books*, by this writing he gives plain proof, that his Reason serves as little in drawing up *Plea's* for *Authority*, as it did before in making *Schemes* of Christian Doctrine out of the Scriptures.

All that he says, is this, that he heartily wished that God would have pleased to *have left us some unerring Authority and Sovereign Guide*, p. 6. and then, that *God has not left the World without Government, and given us Laws without lawfull Judges and Interpreters*, p. 10. From thence he presumes that there is such a thing, and resolves to go in quest after it; he comes to the Church of *England*, and demands it there; they deny that they have any such Authority. Not content with that, he puts himself to the trouble to prove it, p. 11. he goes to the Church of *Rome*; they say, they have it, p. 12. and he presently believes them; and after a few rubs removed out of his way, he reviews *Bellarmino's* marks and signs of *a true Catholick Church*, and by them endeavours to shew that there is such an *unerring Authority, and Sovereign Guide* in the Church of *Rome*.

Now all this is nothing, but a plain begging of the Cause, or a discovery how little he knows in this Controversie; for certain it is that the Church of *England*, and all other *Protestant Churches* ever since the *Reformation*, have demanded, and most earnestly required one plain positive proof, that ever God Almighty, or our *Blessed Lord* did ever appoint any such *Sovereign Guide, and unerring Authority* in the *Church*: But they could never receive any plausible Answer to it; by all the ways whereby a *Negative* can be proved, they have shewed that

there is no such order or appointment in it: Nay lately some *Writers* have asserted with good reason, that such a thing is not agreeable to the methods that God has us'd in the Government of the World, and that it would not be of any considerable use to the advancement of piety, or any eminent vertue amongst men; and that the presence of it serves onely to support an unreasonable Usurpation over the Church of Christ. Great Volumes, and strong Arguments remain unanswer'd; and yet at this time of the day, the dull and stale old accounts of it, without any new ornaments or new force are sent abroad without any ground or hope of victory, to vindicate the interests of it.

This deserves a sharper Censure than I will give, but yet I would have our *Author* know, that a *New Convert* to his *Old Friends* the followers of *Ebion* and *Cerintus*, might have alledged in his behalf all that which our *Author* here does, and that to as much purpose; he might have said that, he had wished that *God had left an unerring Authority in his Church*; and that *God had not left the World without Government, and given us Laws without lawfull Judges and Interpreters*; and that therefore he presumed that such an Authority was somewhere to be found. As for *Irenæus* his Church and those in Communion with it, they did not in the least pretend to it; but the followers of *Ebion* and *Cerintus* did fully and loudly challenge it; and therefore his *Reverend Fathers, Irenæus* and the rest of the *Orthodox Bishops* must have him excused; for he will rather put himself under an *unerring Authority*, than trust to the *Guidance of Those*, that confess themselves to be no more than *fallible men*.

P. 13.

But to let that pass, the next thing we find in our *Author* is *Bellarmino's Notes of a true Church*; I suppose, he puts them down to encrease the bulk of his Book: He could not but know that they are of no Authority with us. And, Answers are given out to each of them in their Order:

Order : He might have added strength and force to them whilst they are so briskly attacked, but he has no pretence to build upon them, or defend himself by them. But besides, he of all men living has the least right to expect any advantage from them, because the chiefest of these *Notes* are grounded on sayings of the *Prophets*; and he that has so far depreciated the true value of the *Five Books of Moses*, p. 6. will hardly persuade another, that he gives any great credit to the writings of the *Prophets*.

He there gives us an objection against the *Pentateuch*, P. 6. from the supposed intermedlings of *Esdra*; but does not well reflect that he derives that objection by several *Meddium's* from the *Samaritans*, who were the first, and are at this day the chiefest Adversaries, and greatest Calumniators of *Esdra*. Now these very men keep close to the *Five Books of Moses*, and for this they offer some pretences of reason; but our *Author* without any reason at all would make advantage by the *Prophets*, and throw contempt upon *Moses*, and all this, by virtue of the credit which he seems to give to the objections made against *Esdra* by the *Samaritans*. But,

Most certainly in this he acts beyond his skill, and talks without book; for be it what it will, *Bellarmino's Notes* are of no use to him, and can do him as little service, as that formidable force of *Pagans* and *Turks*, and I know not how many Nations, which he brings in to his assistance, p. xi. where he himself says he has no Adversary. It is well for him, that that impertinency, and this did not come together into his head at the same time; for if he had thought but as much of the *Pagan* as he does of the *Atheist*, and *Theist*, perhaps his reason might have been as favourable to them, as it was to those others, p. 4. and then if *Bellarmino's Notes* had come into his way, who knows but that the man might have turn'd *Convert* again, and wrote another Book of the motives for his reconciliation to old *Paganism*? for methinks it is very probable;

bable, that our Authour might have found these amongst the *Pagans*: *Universality* and *Visibility*, *Uninterrupted* continuance, and *Succession*, till the days of *Constantine*; lastly, *Unity* and *Uniformity*: he might have seen there too that which they call a *Higb-Priest* and *Holy Altar*, and a *Holy Sacrifice*, *Miracles*, and *Religious Colleges*, and *Abstinence*, and vowed chastity, and a great many *Doctrines* *Authoritatively imposed*, and *universally received* throughout the World.

P. 14.

I will presume this *Gentleman* never read either *Pausanias*, or *Zozimus*, or the *Epistles* of *Symmachus*; and it is happy for him that he did not. I will venture the little skill that I have, that any impartial Reader shall find better flourishes, fairer turns of the Pen, and more appearance of Argument in that Speech which *Symmachus* makes to the Emperour *Valentinian*, *Theodosius* and *Arcadius* in the Name of *Rome Pagan*, than our *Authour* gives us here against the Church of *England* to our *Bishops*; Now if these little thoughts governed him in the change of one Religion, it is well for him, that he never engaged in the consideration of the other.

But our *Authour* has *Bellarmino's Notes*, and he will make something of them; by virtue of them he says he found what he was resolved to find before, the true *Catholick*, or one Church, that may be said to be true, in opposition to all others. Now upon this foundation he builds apace; 1. That this being *one Body*, must have *one Head* upon Earth, and he after our Saviour's Death was *St. Peter*; and after *St. Peter's*, his *Successours*; and they are the *Bishops* of *Rome*; and those are every one of them in their several times not only *Successours* to *St. Peter*, but *Christ's Vicegerents*. This their Authority he says has been owned by *General Councils*, and so by the *Catholick Church*; and they have been in *peaceable possession* of it for many hundred of years; and now they cannot be divested of it neither by themselves, nor by others; neither in whole, nor in part. All

P. 15.

P. 16.

P. 16, 17.



All these things he sets down, I suppose, as his own opinions and sentiments, and would have his Friends to judge him by them as *Orthodox* and a true *Convert*. He is not concerned whether they be true or false; for he knows, or may know, that every one of these pretences has been proved by *Dr. Barrow* to be gross falsities, and that almost to the evidence of *Demonstration*; and yet our *Authour* brings not the least proof for any one of them from any *Old Authour*.

Indeed he tells us that we have the *Succession of Bishops of Rome* delivered to us by *St. Augustine*, and that is true; but he was unlucky to put us in mind of that passage, and much more because he never read it himself, for had he seen the 165. *Epistle* of *St. Augustine* where that Succession is mentioned, and the very next to it; he might have found in that great *Father*, a full contradiction to all his thoughts concerning the *Scriptures*, and concerning *Authority*, and then perhaps he would have imployed his time to better purposes than in writing this *Book*. P. 15.

*St. Augustine* in that *Epistle* sets down the succession of the *Bishops of Rome* from *St. Peter*, and that for no other purpose, but to shew that none of all those Bishops was a *Donatist*. And that because a *Donatist* had set down the succession of their Bishops before; not that he thought any one of them, after *St. Peter*, was a *Sovereign Guide*, or had unerring authority in him, for he himself presently adds to this, that if any of them had been a *Donatist*, or worse, yet the *Christian Doctrine* would not have suffered the least by it. *In illum ordinem Episcoporum qui ducitur ab ipso Petro, usque ad Anastasium, qui nunc super eandem Cathedram sedet, etiamsi quisquam traditor per illa tempora subrepsisset, nihil præjudicaret Ecclesiæ, & innocensibus Christianis.* This I suppose our *Authour* is not willing to think, because he depends so much upon *Authority*, and so little upon the *Scriptures*; but *St. Augustine* did, because he relied upon the *Scriptures*, to teach us that *Doctrine* which.

*Augustinus*  
Epist. 165.

which *Jesus Christ*, and his *Apostles* had revealed to the World; and therefore in the same *Epistle* he slight's all his other Arguments, and fixes intirely upon the Scriptures, as those alone which could give us a full and solid evidence for the truth of a Christian Doctrine; these are his words. *Quamquam nos, non tam de istis documentis præsumamus, quam de Scripturis sanctis*, and then he cites a *Text*. But in the next *Epistle*, and that against the *Donatists*, after some other veltations, and general topicks, whereof Councils was one, as appears by those words, *Faciant mille concilia Episcopi*, he comes to the holy Scriptures and triumphs in his Arguments, and doubts not to defeat his Adversaries by the force of them. He begins with words frequent in his writings? *In Scripturis didicimus Christum, in Scripturis didicimus Ecclesiam, has Scripturas communiter habemus, quare non in eis, & Christum, & Ecclesiam communiter retinemus* Then he throws out near twenty Texts one after another, comments in short upon them, and never doubts, but that he and his Adversaries did sufficiently understand them, without the assistance of a *Sovereign Guide*, or an unerring Authority: if our Authour had considered this, it might have done him good; but because he is pleased to find the Succession of *Roman Bishops* in *St. Augustine*, I will shew him ( what he seems not to know ) two very considerable uses, which that great *Father* made of that topick; the First was to conciliate a most profound veneration to the *Holy Scriptures*; thus therefore he writes, *contra Faustum Manichæum*, lib. II. cap. 5. *Distincta est à posteriorum libris, excellentia canonice Authoritatis veteris, & novi Testamenti, quæ Apostolorum confirmata temporibus, per successiones Episcoporum, & propagationes Ecclesiarum, tanquam in sede quâdam sublimiter constituta est, cui serviat omnis fidelis & pius intellectus.* A Second use that he made of this consideration of the Succession of *Bishops* in their *Sees*, was ( in case of a dispute about a *Text* ) to evidence what was the first, and so the true

Augustinus  
Epist. 165.

Augustinus  
Epist. 166.

August. contra  
Faust. Manich.  
lib. II.  
cap. 5.

true Christian Doctrine. To this end he very frequently in his disputes with the *Donatists*, requires them to search what was taught in the Churches of *Corinth*, *Galatia*, *Ephesus*, *Philippi*, *Theſſalonica*, all the Churches that had the honour to receive *Apoſtolic* Epistles; Now if all theſe, having ſeveral Succeſſions of Biſhops, ſhould agree in any one point, that was controverted, *St. Auguſtine* took their conſent to be a good Argument, that ſuch a Doctrine was original and true; he ſends them indeed to *Rome* too, but upon no other accompt, and no higher reaſon, than he does to thoſe other *Apoſtolic* Churches: Now I think I may preſume in kindneſs to our *Authour* to give him one advice, and that is this; to have a care when he refers to *St. Auguſtine*, that he knows his mind, and that *St. Auguſtine* did write what he cites him for; for I can tell him, that a certain perſon, who was of his opinion concerning a *Sovereign Guide*, and *unerring Authority* to be found in the *Church of Rome*, came at length to believe (and that conſequentially to his opinion) that the *decretal Epistles* of the *Popes*, were of the ſame Authority with, and to be reckoned amongſt the *Canonical Scriptures*; and to confirm his opinion he cited *St. Auguſtine* for it, and this his citation had got into *Gratians Decretum*; but the laſt *Roman-Correctours* of *Gratian* found it to be either groſs forgery, or a groſs miſtake, and they have done *St. Auguſtine* right, and a favour to ſuch Perſons as our *Authour* is, to let them know, that *St. Auguſtine* is no great friend to ſuch fond and abſurd opinions. You may ſee *Gratiani Decreti prim. part. Diſtin. 19. Cap. 6.* But becauſe it may be ſome trouble to conſult that *Authour*, I will give you the truth, and the forgery together. *St. Auguſtine* in his *Book, De Doctrina Chriſtiana, lib. 2. cap. 8.* had given us theſe words. *In Canonicis Scripturis Eccleſiarum Catholicarum quam plurimum autoritatem ſequatur, inter quas ſane illæ ſunt, quæ Apoſtolicas ſedes habere & Epistoſ accipere, meruerunt, &c.* Now this was plain and good advice in the examination

of *Books*, that might be alledged to be *Canonical Scriptures*, to give a preference to the testimony of those Churches that were called *Apostolical Seats*, and such as had the honour to receive *Epistles* from the *Apostles*, as *Rome*, *Corinth*, *Philippi*, &c. But now a transcriber of this, I suppose more knave than fool, changes the words thus. *In Canonicis Scripturis Ecclesiarum Catholicarum quamplurium Divinarum Scripturarum solertissimus indagator auctoritatem sequatur, inter quas sane illæ sint quas Apostolica sedes habere, & ab ea alii meruerunt accipere Epistolas.* This speaks quite a different thing, that the *Epistles* of the *Apostolical Seat* are to be accounted *Canonical Scriptures*. This forgery or mistake came abroad, I suppose, at the same time with the counterfeit ware of *Riculphus*; and to this, with the *false Epistles* of the most early Bishops of *Rome*, were put into *Gratian*; and there it remained as a great Authority in the behalf of the *Sacredness* and *Canonicalness* of *Papal Epistles*, untill the last *Correctours* were pleased honestly to reject it, and prudently to tell the World that they dare not own such follies or knaveries.

But farther, because our *Authour* thinks to advantage himself of the Name of St. *Augustine*, I will acquaint him that this *Father* had no very extraordinary opinion of *Rome*, or the *Bishops* of it; when he was in quest of the true Religion, he left *Rome* and went to *Milan*, and submitted himself to the guidance of St. *Ambrose*, and received the true Christianity from him. He had all his days the highest reverence for him, and would have yielded to his *Authority*, when he would not have yielded to the *Pope's*: He tells us that when *Melchisedes* judged the cause of the *Donatists*, he was joyned with several other Bishops, in the same Commission by *Constantine*; when he names those two great men, *Julius Bishop of Rome*, and *Athanasius*, as orthodox Persons, and defenders of the right faith, he puts *Athanasius* in the first place: It is he that gives those hard words, *Quidam qui nomen habet Falcidii, duce Stultitiâ, & Civi-*

Augustinus  
Epist. 162.

Aug. Epist.  
163.

*Civitatis Romanæ jactanti, Levitas Sacerdotibus, & Diaconos Presbyteris cœquare contendit, he tells us what it was that rais'd his passion; the Deacons of Rome it seems would not yield to the Presbyters of other places; upon that he says, Quia Romanæ Ecclesiæ ministri sunt, idcirco honorabiliores putantur, quam apud cæteras Ecclesias, propter magnificentiam urbis Romanæ, quæ caput esse videtur omnium civitatum: Si itaque sic est, hoc debent, & Sacerdotibus suis vindicare. And a little after he gives a fuller accompt of it, Vides quid pariat vana præsumptio, immemores enim elatione mentis, eo quod videant Romanæ Ecclesiæ se esse ministros, non considerant, quid illis à Deo decretum sit, & quid debeant custodire, sed tollunt hæc de memoria assiduæ Stationes domesticæ, & officialitas; quæ per suggestiones malas, seu bonas nunc plurimum potest; aut timentur enim ne male suggerant, aut emuntur ut præstent.*

August. quæstiones ex utroque mixtim. p. 108. & 109. Edit. Lugdun. An. 1561.

But because this *Book* is accompted by several not to be *St. Augustine's*, though sent abroad by the Monks, and published in his Name.

I will add farther that *St. Augustine's* thoughts of *Rome*, and the *Bishops* of that *See*, were quite different from our *Author's*; for if he thought that the *Sovereign Guide*, and the *unerring Authority* had been there; and that God deposited those great supports and securities of the Christian Faith in the Succession of the *Roman Bishops*; then in all likelihood when *Rome* was taken by the *Goths*, he would have lamented and mourned, as a *Few* formerly would have done at the taking of *Jerusalem*, and the captivity of the *High-Priest*.

But alas there was nothing like it, when this news was brought to *St. Augustine*, all that he said of it was this, *Ibi multos fratres non habuimus, non adhuc habemus.*

Indeed for this expression he seems to apologize in his next *Sermon*, but that not as to the truth of his words, but as to the spirit of mind in which he spake them; that it was not out of any design to insult over the miseries

Serm. 29. de verbis Domini.

ries of others. Besides, he that remembers what labour he, and the rest of the *African* Bishops took, to get the concurrence of the Bishops of *Rome*, *Innocentius* and *Zostimus*, to the condemnation of the *Pelagian* Heresie, may well think, that *St. Augustine* could have no great reverence for them; and if we read *Erasmus* his Censure upon *Innocent's Epistles* which are printed with *St. Augustine's*, we may possibly be tempted to entertain mean thoughts of the *Bishop* of so great a *See*.

These are *Erasmus* his words before the 96<sup>th</sup>. *Ep.* which is *Innocent's. Innocentius superiori respondet suo more, sævus potius quàm eruditus, & ad dammandum quàm docendum instructor.* But I must leave this, and follow our *Author*. He goes on *p.* the 18<sup>th</sup>. leaping and skipping from one thing to another: He speaks first of *Victor*, what he did in casting out the *Asiatics*, and then what *Gregory* and *others*, whom he calls *Christ's Vicegerents*, did in bringing in converts; and wonders that so many *Profelytes* should be made to so little purpose. Then he fancies he had seen glorious and wonderfull Privileges in the *Church of Rome*; and knows not how they could be forfeited. After, he falls to his wonted work of whipping our *Bishops* for telling him that new *Doctrines* had been brought into the *Church*, which were not imposed upon the faithfull till the *Council of Trent*.

Now nothing of all this deserves an answer, because it hath been so often given before. But it may be expected by some.

As to *Victor*, he says he excommunicated the *Bishops* of *Asia* for keeping of *Easter*, contrary to the *Institutions* of *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*, though tolerated by *St. John*. Now this is fit to be said by a new Convert, who must venture farther, than any man of skill dare do. For first the matter of fact is doubted, and *Valesius* the last *Editor* of *Eusebius*, (who was all his days a *Roman Catholick*, thinks that *Victor* went no farther, than to high words and threat-

threatning. And then as to the right of the action, *Irenæus* (who wrote to *Victor* himself about it) fully shews, Eusebius. lib. 5 c. 24. that it would have been unreasonable, and against all the methods of his Predecessours. But then *thirdly*, the relation of our *Authour* is altogether groundless, that St. *Peter* and St. *Paul* did institute, and St. *John* onely tolerate. For this is a thing, that *Polycrates* the President of the *Council* of the *Asiatics* never knew, *Victor* himself never knew, *Irenæus* never knew, *Anicetus* Bishop of *Rome*, nor yet St. *Polycarp*, that contested this point with him, ( who too was St. *John's* own Disciple ) never knew. Euseb. lib. 5. c. 24. Certainly our *Authour* has some Pidgeon, that whispers to him Secrets and Mysteries, that no man knows. I beg his leave a little to acquaint him with the sense of his friend St. *Augustine* in a like case. The *Romans* challenged to have a command from St. *Peter* for keeping the *Saturday-Fast*; and those of the *Eastern Churches* quite contrarily asserted, that they were expressly forbidden, and that by St. *John*, to fast upon that day. A *Presbyter* of the Church of *Rome* writes to his friend, and most earnestly exhorts him, to do as they did, and pleads thus. *Petrus Apostolorum caput, cæli Janitor, & Ecclesiæ fundamentum id ipsum Romanos edocuit.* Now St. *Augustine* being consulted in the case, slights all that flaunting Plea of the *Romans*, allows the allegation of the *Easterns* to be as good as those of the *West*; and concludes thus, that the Apostles St. *Peter* and St. *John* did not vary. If they gave any rule, it was the same every where. And seeing there is a present difference, it must be said, that either the *Eastern Church* hath varied from the rule of St. *John*; or else the *Roman Church* has varied from the rule of St. *Peter*. Now which of these was the truth St. *Augustine* knew not: He himself gives his sense in these words. *Epistola 86 Casulano.* After the Plea for *Rome*, *E contrario refertur, occidentis potiùs aliqua loca, in quibus Roma est, non servasse quod Apostoli tradiderunt:* Augustinus Ep. 86. Casulano.

runt:

*runt: orientis verò terras, unde cœpit ipsum Evangelium ipsum prædicari, in eo quod ab omnibus simul cum ipso Petro Apostolis traditum est, ne Sabbato jejumetur, sine aliqua varietate mansisse.* Upon this he concludes thus, *interminabilis est ista contentio, generans lites non finiens questiones.*

Had this great *Father* known any thing of a *Sovereign Guide*, and *unerring Authority* seated at *Rome*; he could never have doted so far, as to have made this any matter of question. But he knew nothing of that, or of *Peter* commanding, and *John* onely tolerating, either in the one or the other case. And I will presume for once, that he knew a great deal more than our *Authour* does.

P. 18.

But the second skip our *Authour* takes is to *Conversions* and here he says *he perceives*, that according to the command, and institution of our *Saviour*, *his Vicegerent did send out his Disciples*. Here I want our *Authour's Spectacles*, for I can perceive nothing; I see no *Vicegerent* of our *Blessed Lord*: nor do I see any command, that he ever gave to such a *Person*: nor do I know whether he means the *Disciples of the Vicegerent*, or the *Disciples of our Lord*. It is certain our *Lord* gave a command to the *Apostles* to teach all *Nations*; and they and their *Successours the Bishops*, have acted according to that command. And if *Gregory Bishop of Rome*, or any other have been industrious in that work, we heartily thank and commend them.

But yet I wonder, that our *Authour* has of a sudden, grown so extremely blind, as not to see, that conversions may be made to what is bad, as well as to what is good. *Pagans* and *Mahometans* have been industrious to make converts: So have all *Hereticks*, his friends *Ebion* and *Cerintus*, *Nailor* and *Muggleton*. Nay this, if he had not despised, and too long laid aside the *Holy Scriptures*, he might have learn'd without the assistance of his *unerring Authority* from one saying of our *Blessed Lord*, *Math. 23. 15. Wo unto you Scribes and Pharisees, &c.*

After



After this gross piece of ignorance, which he is pleased to shew to advantage, with flourishes of his pen, comparing his reason with that of our Reverend Bishops; he may excuse me from telling him how *the great Privileges and Prerogatives of the Church of Rome could be forfeited*; untill he hath shown me in particular what they were, that he insists upon. For untill he has proved, that *Rome* did really enjoy such Prerogatives, as he challenges on her behalf; I will not undertake to shew, when and how *Rome* forfeited that which *Rome* never had. Our *Author* may be a Sophister, and how far he is beyond that himself best knows; and so he may think no farther in this Paragraph, than the old trite Cavil, *quod non perdidisti habes*. And his friends at *Rome* will con him but few thanks for that.

P. 19.

And now our *Author* begins to whip our *Bishops*, and wo be to them. He tells them what he had been told, that there were *some late Doctrines introduced into the Church, and such as were not imposed upon the faithfull, before the Council of Trent*. This he says he could answer by alledging, that the protesting against those Doctrines was in the same time. But this he waves, and chooseth rather to shew, that the Doctrines we oppose were established by *Councils* before. And here he begins with

1. *The Pope's Supremacy*; which he saith was confirmed in the Council of Chalcedon, (*one of the first four general Councils owned by Protestants*) above 1200 years since, 630 *Fathers present. Quid dignum tanto feret hic promissor. hiatu?* As for my part I wonder, who either licensed or allowed this *Book* to be printed. Will any man of skill think to advance a Plea for the *Pope's Supremacy* from the Council of Chalcedon? It is certain, that nothing was done there that might have any reference to this *Point*, which was not disclaimed by the *Legates* of the *Pope* upon the place; and afterwards highly resented by *Leo* the I. who was then *Pope*. It is true that *Anatolius* then *Patriarch* of *Constantinople*;

P. 20.

carried.

Du Pin de  
antiqua Eccl.  
Discip p. 53.

carried on a design to advance his *Seat*; and because he was *Bishop of New Rome*, would have the next place after the *Bishop of the Old*; and so would have the Pre-eminence of the *Patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch*. In order to this, in the absence of the *Pope's Legates, Anatolius* and his friends, got the 29 *Canon* of that *Council* to pass, which gives to the *Patriarch of Constantinople* *ἰσαπεσοβεία*, that is, as a learned *Roman Catholick* comments, *eadem & equalia privilegia tribuunt Episcopo novæ Romæ, ac veteris Romæ Episcopo*. Now as soon as the *Legates* of the *Pope* had heard of this they declared against it, and obtained another *Session*, wherein they might produce their *Plea* against the validity of this *Canon*; both as to the form and matter. But their objections were answered; and the *Canon* passed against their minds; though *Lucentius* one of the *Pope's Legates* protested against it, and desired that his *Protestation* might be entred into the *Acts* of the *Council*. And when *Leo the Great*, who was then *Pope*, heard of this, he declared against it, and wrote against it, with a great deal of vehemence and indignation, as any one may see, who will consult these *Epistles* of his, the 56, 57, 58, 63, 66. And *Leo* could never be brought to confirm that very *Canon* which our *Authour* tells us did confirm his *Supremacy*. Now in this case I will presume that *Pope* to be a better guide, and to have more Authority than our *Authour*. This is a blunder, and shews us, that new *Converts* are not men of the greatest skill, and that some of them have as little knowledge in *Councils*, as they have in the *Scriptures*. This man deserves a greater lash than I will give him, for bringing in his *Story* with that pomp and appearance of skill, telling us that this *Council* is owned by *Protestants*, the time of its celebration, the number of *Bishops* who were in it. And now at last it appears, that whatever *we Protestants* do, yet the *Pope* himself will not allow what this man challenges in his behalf.

But

But perhaps his case is piteous. For more may be required of *new Converts*, than they are able to perform. He that takes up a Religion by submitting to Authority without reason; may easily be confounded, when he seeks to give reasons for what he has done.

For once I will be kind, and make the best Apology for our *Author* I can, and I think a good one, and that is this.

He is not the first man of the Church of *Rome*, who has quoted *Councils* to little purpose. He follows great Examples, and the chiefest among them.

For thus did *Paschasius*, one of the *Pope's* own *Legats* in this very *Council* at *Chalcedon*, and that too in his opposition against this 28th *Canon*. After he had declared it was the *Pope's* pleasure, that nothing should be determin'd there, concerning his Power, or the Power of the other *Patriarchs*; he alledged in behalf of the *Pope's* Supremacy, that it was fixed beyond exception or doubt, by the *sixth Canon* of the great *Council* at *Nice*, wherein it was declared, that *Ecclesia Romana semper habuit primatum*. The Bishops wondered they should know nothing of this, and thereupon required the *Canon* to be read. *Paschasius* produced his *Copy*, and there those words were: But the *Fathers* not satisfied, called for *others*, and more attested *Copies*: and in them there was not the least word, intimating any such thing. Now this compare of the *Copies* made *Paschasius* blush, and the *Fathers* of that *Council* think what sort of men they had to deal with.

A *Roman Catholick* tells us this Passage in these words, *Primo refertur à Paschasino Leonis in Concilia Chalcedonensi Legato, Act. 16. quod Ecclesia Romana semper habuit primatum. At statim Chalcedonenses Patres eundem Canonem ex codice suo, sine additione istâ retulerunt. Quapropter consentiunt omnes eruditi, verba hæc non esse genuina sed assuta.*

Du Pin, p. 325.

Synodi Carth.  
Acta Edit. à  
Beveregio,  
p. 509.

Epist. ad Co-  
llettinum in fi-  
ne Canonum  
Carthag. à Be-  
vereg. Edit.  
p. 675.

Brietii Anna-  
les in An. 418.  
p. 402.

Thus too in the Council of *Carthage*, *Faustinus*, *Legate* of *Zosimus*, challenged a right for the *Pope* to receive *Appeals*, and that by right of a *Canon* of the *Council of Nice*. The *African Fathers* found no such thing in their *Copy*, brought thence by *Cæcilianus*, one of the *Fathers* of that *Council*. But because *Faustinus* insisted upon the skill, knowledge, or *infallibility* (if you will) of *Pope Zosimus*, and had shewed that the *Pope* himself, in his *Commo-*nitory directed to *him*, and the other *Legats*, did expressly assert that this was his right, and that according to the determination of the *Council of Nice*; the *African Fathers* resolved to send *Messengers* to the *three great Seats*, *Alexandria*, *Antioch*, and *Constantinople*, to get new *Copies*, one from each of them, attested under the hands of those *Patriarchs*, and compare them with their own and the *Roman Copy*. At the return of the *Messengers*, it manifestly appeared that their own *Copy* intirely agreed with every one of the others, and that the *Council of Nice* had not given the least advantage to the *Bishop of Rome* in the case of *Appeals*.

Thus it seems that *Councils* are different things in *Rome* from what they are in other places. A *Pope* or his *Legate*, can read that in them, which no man else can. The *Popes* seem extraordinarily wise in challenging a power to confirm *Councils*; but they had as good let it alone. For it will doe their business as well, if they follow these *Examples*, to take from them, and add to them what they please. Both these things (I know) are excused: and some tell how *Paschasius* was led into his mistake: others say it was a mere oversight of *Pope Zosimus* in quoting the *Nicene Council* instead of the *Sardican*. To avoid other difficulties; some are willing to allow, that a *Pope* may be deceived, and that too when he is enlarging his Power over the *Church Catholick* with all art and subtilty. Nor do I know what Article of Faith or Infidelity might not be established in the *Church* by such mistakes

mistakes and oversights as these. It's well for succeeding Christians, that the *Fathers at Carthage and Chalcedon* had eyes in their heads, and did use them too; without giving trust to *Pope*, or *Legate*, or *Roman Copy*. For had they been as much mistaken or overseen as others, there are enough at this day, that would make advantage of it, and declaim sufficiently against us pleading an oversight in the case. But these Senses of men are evil things, and most mischievous to the Interests of *Rome*. These tempt men, in spite of all their resolutions, doe they what they can, to misdoubt the Doctrine of *Transubstantiation*. These shewed of old what was, and what was not in the *Council of Nice*; and are every day telling tales, opening and disclosing some fine intrigue or other: so that I cannot but wonder that *Rome* has not yet taken a full revenge of them. For if they would oblige men to deny, or at least misdoubt their Senses in every thing as well as one; and require the Learned not to see what they do see in *Councils* and *old Records*, as well as they require all not to see what they do see in the consecrated Elements; then conversions would be easie, and they might soon find an intire submission, from all the World, to all the *Supremacy* they can wish.

But to let that pass, it is said in the defence of *Zosimus*, that he was overseen, and he easily might be; For the *Canon* that he quoted was a true Canon, made at *Sardica*, and not at *Nice*; and the *Council of Sardica*, as to Faith, intirely receiving and requiring all that which was concluded at *Nice*; made onely *Canons* concerning Discipline: and they were put into the same *Book*; or upon the same Roll with those of *Nice*. Which the *Pope* finding in the *Title* at the beginning, might easily refer all that followed to it.

This is said. But the *Fathers at Carthage* did not judge it an oversight; but intrigue, and design: and to withstand it to the utmost, made the 3<sup>rd</sup> *Canon*, which or-

ains most stoutly and resolutely; that *If any hereafter should appeal to a Foreign Power, or Transmarine Judicatory; he should never be received into Communion by any in Africa.* Upon which *Canon Zonaras* says, *ἐπέδωκε δὲ τὸ ἔθνος τῶν Ῥωμαίων Ἐκκλησίας ἐκβάλλει*, *the huffing insolence of the Roman Church is here thrown out*: and he adds that the reasons in the case, which were good in *Africa*, are good every-where else.

*Synod. Edit. à*  
*Beveregio,*  
*p. 675.*

But besides, it appears more evidently, that those *Fathers* took this to be art and contrivance. Because at the end of the *Council* they sent their new attested *Copies* to *Pope Celestine*, next Successour but one to *Zosimus*, with a *Letter* in the name of the *Council*: and therein they tell him roundly, that they knew their right, and that they would maintain it: that they had received wrong by the intermeddling of *Faustinus* in the name of *Zosimus*: that the *Council of Nice* had committed *Presbyters* and *Bishops* to the regulation of the *Metropolitans*; and according to wisdom and justice they had fixed, that all *Controversies* and *Pleas* ought to be determined and adjusted in the *Places* and *Countries* wherein they arose: that the grace of the *Spirit* is not wanting to the *Priests* of *Christ* in every place, whereby they may judge what is right; and in case of error or aggrievance, there might be an appeal to the next *Synod*. And as to judgments to be revoked by *Foreigners*, and a new revision to be made in *Places* beyond the *Seas*; they knew not how it could be well done. For in these *Revisions*, many necessary *Witnesses* could not be produced in such distant *Places*, by reason of sickness, weakness, and many casual, but yet reasonable impediments. At last they conclude, that all this action, which gave them so much trouble, tended to no good at all; but would bring into the *Church of Christ*, τὴν κενώσθαι τὸν τῆς κνσμυ. Whereupon they hope he will not follow the Example of his *Predecessor*.

Thus

Thus said these great *Fathers*, and thereby sufficiently intimate, what they thought of the Action of *Zosimus*.

And we, at this distance, may guess at some farther thoughts of theirs (which they have concealed) by taking a short review of the *History* of those times. Because that will shew us something more than an oversight in this business.

The *Council* of *Nice* had done nothing for the aggrandizing of *Rome*.

Two and twenty years after, another *Council* was convened at *Sardical*. The number of *Bishops* who came thither, (as *Athanasius* tells us) was an hundred and seventy. At the first meeting there happens to be a breach amongst them. Upon that the greatest part withdraw: some it may be to their own *Diocese*; others gathered together to *Philippopolis*, where they make *Canons*, and publish them with authority from the *Emperour*; and that in the name of the *Canons* of the *Sardican Council*. These for a time were the onely *Sardican Canons* that were known in other Countries. And because these favoured *Arianism*, *St. Augustin*, and *St. Hilary* declared highly against the *Sardican Council*, and the *Canons* of it. For they knew of no other but these. But whilst the *Eastern Bishops* were busy at *Philippopolis*, there remained at *Sardica* about eighty *Bishops*, as some guess. *Brietius* the Jesuite, says not above seventy. These, that they might seem to doe something, agree to make *Canons* about Discipline: And because there were none left there, but good confiding Friends of *Pope Julius* and *Athanasius*; *Hofius* leads, and they all without dispute or hesitancy follow. He says, let us doe something to honour the memory of *St. Peter*: and they all agree to doe what he would have them to doe. Therefore he proposes, and they conclude to give that to the *Pope* which he never had before, and yet that was not a power of judging and determining in a cause upon an Appeal; but of requiring of a review, or second

Aug. Ep. 163.  
p 856.

Briet. *Annales*.  
in an. 347.

Nota Bevere-  
gii in *Concil*.  
*Sardicente*, -  
p. 199.  
*Sardic. Concil*.  
*Canon*. 3.

cond judgment to be made in the Countries by the same Judges, with the addition of some few others. As soon as these *Canons* were made, *Julius* receives them, and tacks them to the end of the *Canons* of the *Nicene* Council, where they lay close for seventy years, and were never heard to speak a word in the *Western* Church for all that time. Nor yet dare they so much as shew their heads in the *Eastern* Church in any Judicatory to this day. But when *Apiarius* made his complaints to *Zosimus*, he was so hardy as to make trial of them; and in the name of the *Canons* of the *Nicene* Council, he sends them abroad to fight for him. *De Marca*, lib. 7. cap. 5. *Du Pin*, pag. 113.

*Du Pin, de Antiqua Eccl. Discip. p. 113.*

Now in all this Narration from first to last, I see no manner of oversight; but great appearance of prudence, design and craft. It was no oversight for the Friends of *Rome* at *Sardica*, to make *Canons* of Discipline; when all the *Eastern* Bishops, who might oppose, were out of the way.

It was no oversight in *Hosius* to preface his *Canons* in that glozing way of doing honour to the memory of Saint *Peter*.

It was no oversight in *Julius* to tack these new *Canons* (that were to give him and his Successours such new powers) to those of the *Council* of *Nice*.

It was no oversight in his Successours, to make no mention of these for seventy years.

It was no oversight in Pope *Zosimus*, when he resolved to make advantage of them; to bring them forth in the name and credit of *Nicene* *Canons*. (Thus did *Leo* the First after him. *De Marca*, lib. 7. cap. 7. par. 6.) For had he called them *Sardican* *Canons*, St. *Augustin* would have presently said, that they were the Acts of Hereticks, and in the next moment would have thundred against them, as Falsarians and Counterfeits. For those Men who made the *Sardican* *Canons*, which he had seen did condemn



denn both *Athanasius* and *Julius*; and then how is it possible to think, that they would ever have given such new and extraordinary powers to *Julius*? After that, the whole *Council* would have declared, that whether the *Canons* were counterfeit or not, yet no Act of any *Sardican Council* had any more authority in it (after the division of the *Fathers*) than an Act of one of their *Provincial Synods*.

August. Epist.  
163.

Upon the whole therefore, whatever men talk of an oversight in *Zosimus*, it is certain he did what was fit and necessary to be done in the case. If he would use those *Canons* to enlarge his power, he must call them *Nicene Canons*. For those onely could be presumed to have authority sufficient to doe his business. Thus his own next Predecessour *Innocentius* the *First* says in his *Epistle, ad Clerum Constantinopolitanum*, of the *Nicene Canons*, that they, and they onely were the *Canons*, which the *Roman Church* stood to. *Alios quippe Canones Romana non admittit Ecclesia*. Du Pin. 113. *Sozomen*, lib. 8. 26. *De Marca*, lib. 7. cap. 12. par. 1, & 2.

But, good Sir, pardon this digression. It has been too long. Our Authour forced me to it by his confident alledging the *Council* of *Chalcedon*, and the *Council* of *Nice* for the *Pope's Supremacy*. In charity I was bound to pity him, and tell him something which he did not know; and thereby (if possible) to move him to take more care, if ever he writes again. I pitied the World too, to see it in danger to be abused by such impertinencies at this time of day. Onely allow me the favour to acquaint you, that *Petrus de Marca*, speaking of those *Sardican Canons*, lib. 7. cap. 15. par. 4, & 5. expressly asserts that they were unknown in *Africa*, and other *Provinces* till *Zosimus* his days, and withall he shews how the *Africans* at last came to submit to them; and that was upon many, and those not commendable reasons; the first of which is this, *Cessere tandem ob pertinaciam sedis Apostolicæ Pontificum, qui nihil remittere*

*Petrus de Marca de concord. Imper. & Sacerdot.*

*remittere voluerunt ex jure sibi legitime quaesito in Concilio Generali Occidentis Sardicensi nimirum; praesertim cum possessioni eorum consensissent Africani Episcopi, qui ad certam tempus morem gesserant desideris Summorum Pontificum.* And the last is from the difficulties which the incursions of the Vandals brought upon them, who being Arians made it necessary for the Churches of Africa at any rate to purchase the favour and assistance of the Romans. --- *incurso Vandalorum, Ariani erant, & in Africa dominabantur, Africanos necessitate adigebat ad arctissimam unionem cum Ecclesia Romanâ.*

It seems then that the Popes after long contests prevailed not by the merits of their Cause, but by their *stiffness*, or *pertinacious insisting upon demands* right or wrong; And by making advantages of the necessities of others, when Vandals, and those too Arian Hereticks, had master'd them, and lay hard upon them; for then those Orthodox Christians were forced to yield up their rights to the Popes, before they could obtain necessary reliefs from them. Thus said that wise and learned Roman Catholick. And he himself in the writing of this gives us cause to believe the truth of this remark, for he then found in his own experience the same stiffness, and pertinacity, and therefore puts in words to please them quite contrary to the design of his Discourse. For he shews plainly that they had no right, and yet was forced to say they had, *ex jure legitime quaesito*. He shews that the Sardican Fathers, who made this Canon, after the secession of the others, could not make up any shew of a *general Council*, yet says that right was obtained *in Concilio generali, Sardicensi nimirum*.

Now, Sir, if you can think that the Roman Bishops have proceeded in these methods, I hope you will hereafter less puzzle your self, and your Friends, with your *Queries* concerning the prodigious Power of the *Papacy*; how it could get up at first by such slender pretences? and how it could stand with such weak props? how men could be so bold

as to challenge in behalf of the *Roman* Bishops so illustrious a *Supremacy*, so *unlimited Authority*, so glorious a *Vicegerency*, as the *Vicariats*hip of *Christ* himself must speak? All these will be much easier to you when you have considered these two things; first, the mighty effects of a *pertinacious stiffness* in demands right or wrong; and secondly, what it is to take all advantages upon the necessities of others, especially at such a time, when those barbarous People, *Goths*, and *Vandals*, and *Huns*, and *Saxons*, had overrun so many parts of the World.

2. A second point of Controversie between the Church of *Rome*, and the Church of *England*, which according to our Authour was determined by ancient Councils, is that about the Apocryphal Books; which he says were taken into the Canon of the Old Testament in the Third Council of Carthage, signed by *St. Augustine*, Baruch onely not named, Canon 47.

P. 20.

Now to this it is sufficient to say, that the Subject is exhausted, and there is nothing left for another Writer to add to it. The Learned *Dr. Cosens* in his Discourse of the Canon of the Scripture, *parag.* 82. has said more than enough, for the satisfaction of any learned *Roman Catholick*, as well as *Protestant*; and if our *Authour* would presume to reply, it will cost him more pains, than the writing of a dozen such Books as these. But some small return may be expected; He shall therefore have this: That the Canon he quotes out of the Council of Carthage, does not provide for the taking of Books into the Canon of Scripture; but for throwing of Books out of the Church. It says at first, that no Books should be read in Churches, but these; and then it says in the close, that they had received from the *Fathers*, that these were there to be read. Now our *Authour* knows, that though we call these Books *Apocryphal*, yet we read them in our Churches; and that as much, and more than they do in the Church of *Rome*; and that all of them, except the two Books of the *Maccabees*.

Canon. 47. a-  
pud Binnium,  
& Canon. 27.  
in Synodico  
Bevereg.

Dr. Cofin's  
Scholast. Hist.  
p. 112, & 113.

*bees*. Now as to these, they are not mentioned in any of the *Greek Copies* of this *Canon*; nor yet in *Cresconius* his Collection of the *African Canons*; and how they came to be inserted, we must remit him to *Dionysius Exiguus* for his satisfaction.

But if our *Authour* had any material doubt concerning the Church of *England's* Doctrine about *Canonical*, and *Apocryphal* Books, he would have done well to have considered the sentiments of the Doctours of the *Roman* Church, before he had concluded against us. Now, I believe, that Cardinal *Cajetan*, where he endeavours to reconcile the Council of *Carthage* with Saint *Augustine*, would have given him reason enough never to have used this objection against the Church of *England*. He says indeed against *Protestants*, but not those of the *English* Communion, in *fine Commentariorum ad Hist. V. & N. T. Ne turberis Novitie, si alicubi reperias libros istos inter Canonicos supputatos; vel in sacris Conciliis, vel in sacris Doctoribus; libri isti non sunt Canonici ad confirmanda ea quæ sunt fidei, possunt tamen dici Canonici ad ædificationem fidelium, utpote in Canone Biblii ad hoc recepti & autorati. Cum hæc distinctione discernere poteris scripta Augustini, & scripta in provinciali Synodo Carthaginensi.*

Now this agrees well enough with the Doctrine in the *Articles*, and practice prescribed in the *Rubrick*, of the Church of *England*.

Can. Apostol.  
85.

And besides, this distinction has its foundation in a very venerable Authority, for the *Apostolick Canons* make a great deal of difference, (and that upon the same ground) between some, and other Books; calling some of these *σεβαστα, ἡ ἀγια*, venerable, and holy; but then of the *Book*, called the *Wisdom of Solomon*, or the *Son of Sirach* (and that most certainly is the best of the *Apocrypha*) say, it is to be learnt by the Young Men, or the *Catechumens*, for the good rules and instructions that are in it: and for this end it is read in the Church of *England*.

It

It is something more, and to be hinted here; that the *Laodicean* Council expressly requires that no Books be read in the Church but those that we accompt in strict sense *Canonical*; Can. 60. And in the *Canon* 59. of that *Council* it is absolutely forbidden, that any private *Hymns* or *Psalms* (that is, such as have been made by private Persons, since the consignation of the *Canon* of Scripture) should be used in Churches. Now if our *Authour* knows his *Breviary*, and allows any Authority to these *Councils*; He may have more reason to object against the Church of *Rome*, for having so many private *Hymns* in their Service, than against the Church of *England*, for having so few Books in that which is properly called the *Canonical Scriptures*.

*Council. Laod.  
Can. 60.*

This bye-consideration might have given some stop to a man that was not resolved to run too fast from his Church.

3. But he mentions a *third* Doctrine determined in *ancient Councils* against us; and *that is concerning the unbloody Sacrifice*; now this is for want of matter to give words; it is certain that the Church of *England*, at the end of the *Communion-service*, in the last *Collect*, teaches us to pray to God, *that he would accept this our Sacrifice*; and our *Authour* knows that it never owned any Sacrifice, but an unbloody Sacrifice to be offered there.

P. 20.

I wish our *Authour* had told us whether the Sacrifice which the Church of *Rome* pretends to offer, be bloody or unbloody.

They tell us ordinarily that there is blood on the *Pat-ten*, and blood in the *Cup*, blood with the *Body concomitanter*, for the benefit of the *Laitie*; and blood in the *Cup* to the satisfaction of the *Priest*; I think both these are offered up according to their Doctrine, as a Sacrifice propitiatory for the dead and the living.

They that believe *Transubstantiation*, must believe that one part of the Sacrifice is really blood, and nothing else

but blood; and they may be concern'd to call it a bloody Sacrifice, but not at all to call it unbloody. Pope *Urban* the Fourth seems to have been of this mind when he instituted the great *Feast* of the *Body of Christ*, commonly called, *Festum Corporis Christi*: For he did it upon this occasion; that a certain Host being broken by the Priest, either bled, or shed drops of blood; they say miraculously, but how, or whether true or no, we know not. Now this, I presume, may be call'd a *bloody Host* or *Sacrifice*; *Brietius*, Ann. 1264. in these words tells us the story.

Briet. *Annal.*  
in An. 1264.

*Urbanus quartus ex occasione miraculi de Eucharistia. Hostià à Sacerdote fractà reddente sanguinem, Festum Corporis Christi instituit.*

The institution of this *Feast* was to give honour to the *Host*, and that not as *unbloody*, but as *bloody*; and it was to insinuate this Doctrine, that all the other Hosts have blood with them, as well as this; though the blood does not always appear. But, as they say, then it did; and if so, it came in seasonably to confirm the Doctrine of the *Late-ran* Council about *Transubstantiation*; and that which soon follow'd after it, the communicating of the Laity in one *Species*. So happy was the Church of *Rome* then, to have a Miracle, or the story of a Miracle to come in at the nick of time, to patronage that which old *Councils*, and old *Fathers*, and sense, and reason, and all that is in man, must have disclaim'd and oppos'd.

But now, after all this, our *Authour* is most unlucky, to put us in mind of the true, ancient, Catholick Doctrine; and to summon up old *Councils* in the defence of a word, which we accept, and use with submission, and that most properly; we believe the holy Eucharist to be a Sacrifice, and that in plain and strict sense, an *unbloody Sacrifice*; and so as the ancient *Councils*, and *Fathers* did, we call it. And though the Doctours of the Church of *Rome* use the same word, yet when they reflect upon the  
 Doctrine

Doctrine of their own Church, they must explain themselves by a much harder figure, than we use when we interpret the words of our Saviour's Institution.

But yet our *Authour* will have the *Councils* against us; and he tells us of a *Council* at *Constantinople*, which, he says, was a thousand years agoe, and that it seems used these words, and so do we; those *old Councils* are better Friends to the *Protestant* Doctrines, than he is aware of; for the *Protestants* studied them, and learnt of them, and took their rules and measures, in the Reformation, as near as they could, after the holy Scriptures, from them.

Then he cites the *ninth Council* of the *Apostles*; now I wish he had told us, whether this was a thousand, or fifteen hundred, or two thousand years agoe: I thought at first he meant the 15th Chapter of the *Acts of the Apostles*; But our *Authour* has declar'd so much against the Scriptures, that we can never hope to find his sense there; it is possible he means the ninth of the *Apostolick Canons*.

And that is as little to his purpose, as the *ninth Council* of the *Apostles*: to be sure it speaks nothing against the interest of the Church of *England*, and nothing to the advantage of the Church of *Rome*.

Thus it is, and will be, as often as men adventure to write *Books* without skill.

4. The *fourth* point our *Authour* gives us as determined in *Councils*, is that of the *veneration and worship of Saints Relicks, as also of Martyrs, and holy Images*; which, he says, was (according to *Apostolical Tradition*) established in the *second Council* of *Nice*, with the *general concurrences* of *ancient Fathers*. P. 20.

This *Council* indeed speaks to the point, for which it is alledged; but because our *Authour* is pleas'd to fortify it with *concurrences*; I'll give him account of some other *Councils*, that as to time, do almost concur with this; they treat upon the same subject, and determine as resolutely; and when he has ballanced all the *concurrences* together, perhaps

haps he may find as little pleasure in this allegation, as in all the rest.

The first *Council* that ever determined any thing about the *worship of Images* was at *Constantinople*, Anno 754. \* This called it self the *seventh general Council*, and so it was esteemed for thirty years after.

\* See the *Acts of the second Nicene Council* in Binnius, p. 621. Col. Edit. Ann. 1618.

This condemned the worship of Images, and declared that it was abominable, that Images were Idols, and the Worshipers of them Idolaters; and that all and every Image was to be thrown out of Christian Churches; and they spake as high in this way, as any have done since the Reformation. † This appears by the *Acts and Canons* of the *second Nicene Council* where those *Fathers* speak against it.

† See Binnius his *Collection*, as before; and Balsamus and Zonaras on the 7th and 9th *Canons of the second Nicene Council*.

A little more than thirty years after, another *Council* was convened at *Nice*; This cancelled the *Acts* of the former, and called it self the *seventh general Council*. This declared the *worship of Images to be lawfull*, but gave no requisite bounds and measures to it, nor yet taught the expediency of it.

This was done when *Irene*, an Imperious Woman, in the behalf of her young Son, swayed the Empire. But seven years after this, *Charles the Great* gets another *Council* to meet at *Francfort*; there met three hundred Bishops, who unanimously as much damned the *second Council* at *Nice*, as that had damned the former: *Walafridus Strabo*, & *Ado Viennensis*, & *Regino Prumiensis* tell us, that in this *Francfort Council*; *Pseudosynodus Græca pro adorandis Imaginibus habita, & falso septima vocata, ab Episcopis damnata est*. And *Hincmarus Rhemensis* tells us: *Tempore Caroli magni Imperatoris, jussione Apostolicæ sedis, generalis Synodus in Francia convocante præfato Imperatore, celebrata est, & secundum Scripturarum tramitem, traditionemque majorum, ipsa Græcorum Synodus destructa & penitus abdicata est*. And a little after he tells, that by the Authority of this *Synod*, the veneration of Images was somewhat repressed:



repressed : But yet Pope *Adrian* was of another mind, and his Successours, after the death of *Charles*, *Pupparum suarum cultum vehementius promoverunt*, stirred much to advance this worship; to which he gives a name which I shall not English: insomuch, that *Lewis*, the Son of *Charles*, was forced to write sharper against the worship of Images, than his *Father* had done. Now this is material, and it might in reason have stopt our *Authour* from laying any great stress upon the *second Nicene Council*. And all this he knew, or might have known; for *Dr. Beveredge*, in his learned *Notes* upon that *Council*, had laid all this before him.

—*Nota Beveregii in Concilio Nicenum secundum.*

But to add a little more; in the year 825. *Ludovicus Pius* called another *Council* at *Paris*, and this declared as much against the worship of Images, and the *second Council* at *Nice*, as that at *Francfort* had done before. The *Acts* of this *Council* lay in obscurity, unknown a great while; but they were printed in the year 1596. and since that time the Friends of the present Church of *Rome* have nothing to say against them, and nothing for themselves; but that *Jonas Aurelianensis* disputed in that *Council* for Images against *Claudius Taurinensis*. But yet for all his Arguments, the unanimous determinations of the rest of the Fathers was against them. And besides, this very *Jonas*, though he had something to say against *Claudius*, yet he said not enough to serve the Interest of the present Church of *Rome*; For *Bellarmino*, *de scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis*, tells us, that he wrote three Books *pro defensione sacrarum Imaginum*; But he advises men to reade them with caution; because (he says) that *he*, and *Agabardus*, and all the chief *Writers* of the *French Nation* in that age, are in one and the same errour; who, though they will allow some worship for Images, yet they deny that any religious worship is to be given to them.

—*Bellarminus de Script. Ecclesiast. An. 820. de Jona. Aurelianensi.*

Thus our *Authour* might have seen, that we have against them three *Councils* for one; One in the *East* before

fore that of *Nice*, most high and positive against Image-worship : and two in the *West* : and those not onely declaring against that Worship, but as positively cassating and annulling the *Acts* of that *second Nicene Council* which allowed it ; and these two convened by the direction of two great Princes, *Charles the Great*, and *Lewis the Pious*, who were the best Friends that ever the Church of *Rome* had. And with these *Councils* agree, or very near agree, all the chief Men of skill and learning, who were Writers in that age in the *West* : And then in the *East*, it is most certain that the *second Nicene Council* had no Credit, or Reputation, or Authority a great while after ; for all the *Historians* that write of the Times after the Deposition of *Irene the Empreß*, tell us of *three* or *four* Emperours immediately succeeding, who fully declar'd against Images, and their worship ; threw them out of Churches, and severely punished all those that pleaded in defence of them. And nothing is so common amongst them, as severe and bitter complaints against the Persecution of the *Iconoclasts*.

All this is true matter of fact, and it is enough to depreciate the credit of the *second Nicene Council*, and that perhaps with our *Authour* himself.

But yet, for all this, it may puzzle some others, to find that this *second Nicene Council* appears in the World, as the *seventh General Council* ; and that in ancient as well as modern Collections ; and not onely in the *West*, but in the *East*.

The consideration of this is beside my business ; but yet it is strange, and surprizing, and would tempt a man to venture at a guess, which perhaps may move others to speak something in the case that is more material.

I have heard of a *Proverb*, or *proverbial* saying ; that *three* things joined together will doe wonders ; and they are these, *A little good luck, and some Art, and a great deal of Face*.

Now

Now the *second Nicene Council* has had on its side all these three most remarkably. *First*, as to *good luck*, about the time of this *Council*, whilst *Irene* was Empress, there hapned a most prodigious strange Miracle at *Berytus* in *Phœnicia*.

An *Image* of our *Saviour* being wounded by a *Jew* in the breast gave out, as my *Author* says, so much blood, as being divided, would be sufficient to be kept, and shown in all the Churches of the *East* and *West*: This was soon carried abroad; and a little of it, as most sacred and venerable, was repositied in most of the famed Churches: Some of this we find was shown at *Mantua*; and great noise and talk there was about it; perhaps some were for the Miracle, and some against it: And it is likely that *Charles the Great* had not faith enough to believe it; for in the year 804. he got Pope *Leo the Third* to determine the Controversie, whether that blood came from the Image at *Berytus*, or no; and at that time he gave his judgment against the Image; but when he added, that the blood there shown came out of the side of our *Saviour*, an honest *Jesuit* dare not credit him.

*Brietius* says, *de hoc viderint eruditi*. Now when this blood was shown in Churches far and near, in the *East* and *West*, it could not but conciliate great veneration to *sacred Images* in the People. For they saw the blood, and it was shown with a great deal of devotion; and the Priests and Monks told the story no doubt with confidence enough; and it being told in so many places, and so oft, and after the same manner, How the *Jew* blasphemed our *Saviour*, and how he scoffed at his sacred *Image*; and then how impudently he pierced it; and then, how that very blood came from it; the People could not but believe the story; and believing that they could not but have a high opinion of their *Images*, and a great readiness to receive the Doctrine and Practice of giving worship to them.

This Miracle happening in *Irene's* time, or, as *Sigbert* says, a little before; but yet after the *Constantinopolitan* Council, that had condemned Image-worship, came in as seasonably to the assistance of *Images*, and *Image-worshippers*, as heart could wish; if it had been contrived with craft, and sleight, it could not have happened in a more convenient time.

This may be said to be *good luck*; most certainly this Miracle, or story of a Miracle, did great service to the *second Nicene Council*; it was a most powerfull mover to gain credit and authority for it.

2. But *secondly*, there was *Art* used to give credit to this *Council*; and that much more than it had, or could deserve; and yet not more than it wanted: For seeing that in the *West* the illustrious names of *Charles the Great*, and *Lewis the Pious*, were openly alledged, and every-where known against it. And the name of *Irene*, after her Deposition, would rather have blemished than honoured it. And no *Emperour* for a good while after her could be named a friend or favourer of it; therefore *Justinian* was fetched from his grave to ratify it.

Within less than a hundred years after this *Council*, a notorious piece of forgery was contrived to cheat them that were not unwilling to be couzened.

*Justinian's Novel*, wherein he confirmed the *first four General Councils*, was sent abroad; enlarged with the additions of three Councils more, whereof this was the last, and it was done for the sake of this.

But now, though this was a very impudent cheat, for *Justinian* was dead two hundred years before this *Council*; yet *Photius* and *Balsamon* (whether willingly or unwillingly, who knows) were caught with it. See *Dr. Beveridge's Notes* upon the *first Canon* of the *second Nicene Council*; where this trick is discovered, and a broad intimation given, that many more like unto it might be added.

Now such Arts as these, with success attending them, and so great, as to deceive such men as *Photinus*, and *Balsamon*, may easily be thought able enough to support the worst Cause in the World; and we need not wonder to see the *second Nicene Council* in credit, and authority, since it had such mighty forces, Miracles, and Forgery to fight for it. And both these unaccountably successfull; the one in amazing the Vulgar, and the other in blundering Men of the best skill: All the effect, which I know, that such a Story as this can have upon an indifferent Person, and such as hath not totally laid aside his *Bible*, is to move him to read twice or thrice that Passage of *St. Paul*, *2 Thess. 2. 9, 10.*

3. A *third* advantage that the *second Nicene Council* has had, is *Face*. Now perhaps our *Authour* may at first be at a little puzzle to find this word here; and willing to spell the meaning of it; but he may soon ease himself of farther thought, if he reflects but on himself, and his own carriage in this *Book*, towards the Reverend Fathers of our Church; How he heads, and beards them, and talks saucily to them: and seems to triumph in a conquest over them; when he has neither *Sense*, nor *Reason*, nor *Scripture*, nor *Council* for him. It's well he has *Face*; for if he had not that, all things else would fail him: so that he must owe all the agreeable effects of this *Book*, if perchance he finds any: But yet it must be said, that the same steps our *Authour* takes, others have trodden before him. For what *Petrus de Marca* says of the receiving of the *Sardinian Canons*, *Tom. 2. lib. 7. cap. 15. parag. 5.* that it was done *Ob pertinaciam sedis Apostolicæ Pontificum, qui nihil remittere voluerunt*, is likewise true in this case.

The *Council* was condemned, and all the *Acts* of it null and cassated, with full authority in two *Councils*; so far as *Image-worship* was allowed and approved in it. And then as to the matter of it, the worship of Images; no man has yet taught any considerable good or expediency that

that can come to Christians by it. The Objections against it are pressing and strong, a danger, at least, of a great Sin; and that Sin suspected to be Idolatry, and so alleged to be by the Councils at *Constantinople*, and *Paris*. All the seeming Answers made to those Objections were retorted, and fully replied to with briskness and smartness by *Claudius Taurinensis* in *Ludovicus Pius* his times: And the rejoinder of *Jonas Aurelianensis* does not satisfy *Bellarmino* himself. And nothing has appeared since in the World but the same things over and over again; or a hasty rallying up of the broken and shattered remains of those Ancient Controvertists.

Vide Appendi-  
cem figur. 1.

This, I think, is enough to persuade an indifferent By-stander, that Force, or Confidence, or Pertinacity has had a great influence in giving that Authority to the *Second Nicene Council* which is challenged for it at this day.

I beg pardon for this digression; it may seem impertinent to some, and not altogether so to others. It may perhaps give occasion to the more Learned to examine more strictly the Authority that is commonly allowed with no very good reason to some other Councils.

I will onely add this one thing, for the consideration of my Countrey-men; that when the *Decree* of this *Council* was first brought into *Britain*, it gave infinite displeasure and discontent to our Predecessours, the old *Britains*: The Learned Dr. *Beveridge* gives us this in his Notes upon this *Council*: *Quantà offensione, quantoque odio Ecclesia nostra Britannica Decretum presentis Synodi de adorandis imaginibus, tunc temporis, excipiebat, Historici nostri Rogerus Hovedenus, Simeon Dunelmensis; aliqua, ubertim tradiderunt.*

Beveregii An-  
notat. in Ca-  
nones Concil.  
Nicen. secundi,  
p. 165.

P. 20.

5. The next thing that our *Author* gives us, as determined in Ancient Councils, is that of Communion under one Kind; which, he says, was determined to be sufficient by the *Council of Constance*: Now here I will dispatch in short by telling this one thing to our *Author*; That in my

my opinion he might as well have told me of a *Council* of *Jews* met together to condemn our Saviour, as of a *Council* of *Christians* that have presumed to alter, and change the most sacred Institution of our Lord.

The blessed Sacrament is most venerable, as it came from him; It receives its being, nature, virtue, grace, from his good-will and pleasure, from his institution. Without this institution it is nothing: For there is no reason for Christians to communicate in the Lord's Supper; to eat his Body, and to drink his Blood; but onely this, that it pleased the Lord to give that Rule and Order to them.

Had he pleased, he might have given us the Bread without the Cup, or the Cup without the Bread; and if he had pleased, he might have omitted both. But since he has given the same order for both; Christians are under the same obligation, and have the same right to both, as to one; and that all Christians, as well Laity, as Priests, for there is but one order given; and a Council may as well debar the Priests from the Cup, as the Laity; and they may as well null the whole Sacrament, as halve it.

But since our *Authour* has mentioned the Council of *Constance*, I will presume to recommend unto him a late ingenious, and discreet Discourse, published by a *Person of quality*, of the *Authority of Councils; and Rule of Faith*. He may there find some remarks concerning this Council of *Constance*, that may doe him more good than all the Councils that ever he read.

6. The next thing our *Authour* mentions is *Purgatory*, and the *Council of Florence*, *establishing the truth of the Doctrine concerning it*. Now as to this; enough has been written already, I'll be kind to our *Authour*, and for his sake say nothing against it. And that because I know not what profit or advantage to himself a *New Convert* may expect from it: For it is the trade of *Indulgences* and *Masses*.

*Masse* that keeps up the talk of it; as it is a point of speculation, *Rome* is no more concerned to defend it than we. The Doctrine derives from *Heathens*, especially the *Poets*; and it may give fine entertain to Wits, and idle Persons. He that has nothing to doe, may transcribe half a score *Legends*, which may possibly make our *Authour* blush; and be wiser than to alledge *Councils* in defence of *Purgatory*.

P. 21.

7. The last Point which our *Authour* gives us, is the Doctrine of *Transubstantiation*, which he says was confirmed in the great Council of *Lateran*; in which near thirteen hundred *Fathers* assisted: and in seven or eight other Councils before that of *Trent*; and all the controverted Points particularly, and by name, declared by some of your selves, to have been brought into *England* by *Augustine* the Monk, above a thousand years since.

Here our *Authour* is unhappy in every thing he says.

First, He calls the *Lateran* Council *Great*; He means *General*, for that is the name which must guide its Authority, and make it considerable; and so some have called it, but with the meanest appearance of reason that ever was offered; For the *Saracens* then gave too much business to the *Eastern* Bishops, for them to leave their Houses, and their Flocks, to come to *Rome* to make Speeches in Councils there.

And then secondly, He says there were near thirteen hundred *Fathers* assisting in this Council; now if he had looked upon *Binnius*, or *Labbe*, he would have found not above four hundred *Bishops* there, and they are the only Persons that were ever reckoned for *Fathers* in a Council.

Thirdly, To the end of this he tacks a Story of *Augustine* the Monk, as if he thought, or would persuade others, that he brought into *England* the Doctrine of *Transubstantiation*, and the Decree of the *Lateran* Council for it: Now *Transubstantiation*, name, and thing, can derive no higher than this *Lateran* Council; and this Council was  
not



not in being for more than six hundred years after the Death of *Augustine*; *Bede* tells us, *Lib. 2. cap. 5.* that he was dead before the year 613. and this *Council* met not till the year 1215. Thus miserably unhappy is our *Author* in his impertinent Sallies. But he must hear more of *Augustine* hereafter. At present our *Author's* business is to gain credit and belief to the Doctrine of *Transubstantiation* from the Authority of the *fourth Lateran Council*, under *Innocent* the Third. Now to this I answer,

*First*, That no *Lateran Council* can be presumed to have any considerable Authority in it; especially not that which is challenged in the behalf of Great, or General Councils: which is a submission of Judgment, and an intire resignation of Faith to the Decrees of it.

*Secondly*, This particular *fourth Lateran Council* is liable to more Objections than all the rest; and some of them such as are so sharp and pungent to the sense of an *English-man*, that he can scarce hear them without disgust and hatred; and therefore it may be presumed, that whatever credit and authority that *Council* can give to *Transubstantiation* abroad, yet it can give little or none to it in *England*.

I. No *Lateran Council* can be presumed to have any considerable Authority in it; and that for these reasons.

1. Because these *Lateran Councils* come too near to the *indoctum seculum*; that is, to an Age wherein good Learning was hushed asleep; and Ignorance and Darkness had overspread the World. This *Romanists*, as well as *Protestants* complain of, and tell us, that neither Learned Man, nor Writer, was known to have lived in it. Now before Learning was got up and dressed, Ambition and Interest had done a great deal of business in the World; and when it is known that they have been acting, all Men usually are so suspicious, as not to be over ready to give any great credit.

Bellarmin. in  
Chronologia.  
in An. 970.

2. Those

2. Those *Lateran* Councils came too thick, for we have five of them in less than one hundred years: Since that under *Paschal* the Second generally omitted; is certainly a *Lateran* Council, as *Baluzius*, in the Edition of *Petrus de Marca*, has evidently shown, *Tom. 2. pag. 431*. To these might be added at least three more, and all alike *Oecumenical*; for all the distinction that *Labbe* makes without any reason, is but to save the credit of the former Collectours.

3. The matter of some of them was of no great concern; this may be presumed, because the best Copies of their *Acts* and *Canons* lay by the walls so long; For they were not well understood, till the curiosity and industry of *Baluzius*, and some others, lately brought them to light: this appears by *Baluzius* in the Book of *Petrus de Marca*; and by comparing of *Binnius* his *Councils* with those of *Labbe*.

4. Most of them were convened for ill purposes, to advance the *Papal* Power, and to lessen the rights of *Princes*: To this end convened, or at least aimed the *Councils* under *Paschal* II. *Callistus* II. *Alexander* III. and that under *Innocent* III.

But the last is our business, where the Second thing is to be spoken to. I say therefore

II. This *Lateran* Council, under *Innocent* III. is liable to so many objections, that no man, especially an *Englishman*, can have any great regard for the Doctrine of *Transubstantiation* upon the Authority of it. This will appear if we consider,

1. That the 70 *Acts* or *Canons* of this Council were never heard of for full three hundred years after the *Council*; and they were first brought to light by *Cochlaeus*, *Luther's* Adversary; who, about 20 years after *Luther's* opposition against the Church of *Rome*, either found them, or pretended to find them in some *German* Library, and sent

*Petrus de Marca de concordia Sacerdotii, & Imperii, Tom. 2. p. 431, & 433, & 437.*

sent them to *Peter Crabb*, who printed them in the Year 1537. and annexed them to the rest of the *Councils*, as if they had been the true *Acts* of that *Lateran Council*; for which he had no Authority, but what he received from *Cochläus*.

2. They are so ill put together, that every man who reads them, must misdoubt them. For some of them are in the style of *Conciliary Acts*, and others speak after the manner of a *Narrator*, who tells what was done in a *Council*. Thus speaks the 11th, 33d, 39th, 51st, 61st. In the 11th we find these words; *In Lateranensi Concilio piä fuit institutione provisum. 33. Evectionum & personarum mediocritatem observent in Lateranensi Concilio definitum. 39. De multä Providentiä fuit in Lateranensi Concilio prohibitum.* See the rest, and you will find that these and those words there used, speak plainly that these are not *Canons* of a *Council*. From these and other Arguments *Peter Walsh* has well-guessed, That the words of *Matthew Paris*, who says that *Innocent* propos'd 70 *capitula* to the *Fathers* of this *Council*, which to some did seem easie, and to others burthensome, gave occasion to some *Collector* to put together what he found in the *Decretals* under the name of *Innocentius in Concilio Lateranensi*; and give to his Collection the Name of the *Acts* of the *Lateran Council*; it is plain that *Gregory IX.* who put out the *Decretals*, did allow the same Authority to the *Acts* of a *Pope*, and especially his *Uncle*, this *Innocent III.* as if they had been the *Acts* of a *Council*. And his Propositions in the *Lateran Council*, though never accepted or agreed to by the *Council*, would have as much Authority as the rest of the *Decretals* have.

*Hist. of the  
Irish Remonst.  
pag. 66.*

III. But then *thirdly* it is to be observed farther; That whether these reputed *Canons* were Propositions of *Pope Innocent*, or real *Acts* of the *Council*, yet no great stress can be laid upon them, because all things were then done in

Briet. *Annales*  
in An. 1215.

extraordinary haste. We cannot at this day learn from any man, that in this Council there was any such thing as deliberation, or consultation; no argument was used, either *pro*, or *con*; no reason offered, no objection removed; not a word is mentioned what this, or that, or the other man said; All things past in a huddle, after a quite different manner from what was used by the Apostles in their Council, *Acts* 15. But more closely to our present business as to *Transubstantiation*, the Doctrine of which our *Author* says was here confirm'd, and *Brietius* says, that the Name of it was here admitted, *in eo Nomine Transubstantiationis admissum fuit*; it is to be observed, that if we speak strictly, the very Name of *Transubstantiation* is not to be found in all the Council; and there is but one Passage in it that refers either to the Name, or Doctrine. *Cabassutius*, a Roman Catholick, in his last *Collection* of Councils found so little of it, that in his *Notes* upon this Council, he has not one remark upon this Point. Nor yet has *Labbe* any thing considerable of it, though he takes in the *Notes* of *Binnius*, and gives us the *Errours* of *Almaric*, which gave occasion to this Doctrine: yet the truth is, something of it is in this Council, in the first *Canon* of it: But it comes in so sneakingly, and so unlike to a *Conciliary Act* determining a Doctrine *de fide*; that an easie Reader might not observe it, and the more accurate would have no great regard for it. It seems to be slurr'd upon the World, or design'd to pass like a whisper thorough artificial conveniences, where they that are near shall perceive little of it, but at distance, it will be noise and loud. The words in the first *Capitulum* are these. *Una vero est fidelium universalis Ecclesia, extra quam nullus omnino salvatur. In qua idem ipse Sacerdos, & Sacrificium Jesus Christus: cujus corpus & sanguis in Sacramento Altaris sub speciebus panis & vini veraciter continentur, Transubstantiatis, pane in corpus, & vino in sanguinem patellate divini, ut ad perficiendum mysterium unitatis accipia-*

*accipiamus ipsi de suo, quod accepit ipse de nostro.* These are the words, and besides these we have nothing that refers to this matter in the whole *Council*; and all that we have is no more than one barbarous word hooked in by a *Parentthesis*, without any explicit and determinate sense.

Now this is surprizing, and amazing, that Christians should be obliged, and that with peril of damnation, to believe a Doctrine so difficult, and so incredible, as that of *Transubstantiation*, and that onely by virtue of a word that seems to be slurred upon them; must we for this deny our Senses, and our Reasons, and forget our selves to be Men? must this be accounted Authority sufficient to awe Consciences, and subjugate Faith, and captivate Understandings? God Almighty never did this, and the Blessed *Jesus* spake plainly, and fully, whenever he required obedience under such severe penalties.

If *Transubstantiation* be *de fide*, necessary to be believed in order to Salvation, certainly we ought to have better grounds for it, than the *Lateran-Council* can give. For any indifferent Person would require, in such a case as this, that the *Fathers* of the *Council* should have used all application of mind, care, and industry, and hearty humble prayer to God for his direction, before they had determin'd such a Point, and laid such a burthen upon *Christians*; but of this kind there was nothing done there.

IV. I add farther, that as there appears but little ground for any man to believe *Transubstantiation* by virtue of the *Lateran Council*, so there is much less for an *English-man* to receive either that, or any other Doctrine in the Name, and by the Authority of it. An *English-man* can scarce think of it without wrath and indignation: For this was called in the Year 1215. about two years after the great mortification of our *King John* by this *Pope Innocent III.* one of the great reasons for it was to shew to the World the *Pope's* Victory, and *England's* Slavery. From thence it

*In additionibus ad Concilium Lateran. quartum in Editione Labbeanâ.*  
*Annales Monast. Burton. Edit. Oxon. pag. 263.*

*Annales Monast. Burton. p. 270.*

*Vide Addis. ad Concil. Lateran. quartum in Edit. Labb.*

was that he wrote his *Letter* to tell the *Barons*, that *England* was his, and the *King* his *Vassal*. Here it was that he expanded his *Plumes*, and shewed his pride and his glory; Here he made known to the *World* that *Pandolphus* did not go beyond commission, when he told *King John* that he ought to obey his *Lord the Pope*, *tam in terrenis quàm in spiritualibus*, as well in earthly matters as in spiritual; nor yet acted beyond commission, when he stressed this unhappy Prince so far, that he was forced to resign up his *Kingdoms* to the *Pope*; and could not be resettled in his Rights, till he had submitted to become *tributary*, *Vassal* and *Liege-man* to this *Pope*, and his *Succeffours*, and untill he had taken that slavish base *Oath*, which was framed in the same words wherewith *Vassals* and *Villains* were wont to bind themselves to their proper *Lords*; which may be seen with many other strange Clauses contained in it, in the *Annals* of *Burton Monastery*, p. 270. *Oxford Edition*.

That all these things were done by command, appears by the *Acts* or *Propositions* of *Pope Innocent* in this *Lateran Council*.

Here he breathes in the Spirit of a Conquerour, and speaks as *Universal Monarch* of the *World*; he gives and takes away at pleasure, and makes *Laws* for the keeping, or forfeiting *Estates*. He tells what *Princes* shall be deposed, and when, and how far their *Subjects* shall be free to make head against them; and upon occasion not onely to depose, but to kill them. There he actually determined of the Rights to the *Empire* in the Cause depending between *Otho* and *Frederick*; and there he gave away the *Estate*, *Lands* and *Possessions* of *Raimundus Count* of *Tholouz* to *Simon Mountford*.

And as he dealt with *Princes*, so he did with private *Persons*; for there be adjudged the *Estates* of all *Persons* to be liable to forfeiture, and confiscation, upon such faults committed; and not onely theirs, but those of their *Abettors*, *Harbourers*, or *Receivers* of them; as appears not onely

only in the *Council*, but in the *Decretals*, *lib. 5. tit. 7. cap. 13.* All this he did, and it will be no wonder that he did all this, if we consider how much his mind was elevated by his victory over *King John*; and to what a degree of pride and haughtiness he was grown; indeed it was so much, that no words can express it, except his own: And whoever consults that remarkable *Rescript* of his to *King John*, and his *Heirs*, wherein he sets down his *Title to England, in perpetuam rei memoriam*; may see a sufficient foundation to expect all the rest of those *Actions* which ensued afterwards.

In Bibliotheca  
Cottoniana  
sub Effigie  
Cleopatraz,  
E. 1.

This may be said of him, that he was so far just, that he was not partial to any, but he treated all alike; for as he trampled upon Princes, and Laity; so he most tyrannically, and insolently treated the Clergy too. For in the Year 1216. as we see in the *Chronicle de Mailros*, pag. 194. *Oxford Edition*; we have a strange complaint of the Religious against him, that he went beyond all Rule and Order, Law and Canon. *Inauditam & inusitatam Dominus Papa Legato concesserat autoritatem, faciendi videlicet, ut ita dicam, quicquid animo ipsius sederet; in Clero, & Populo per Angliam, Scotiam, & Wales, constituto, transponendi & deponendi, & alios ponendi, suspendendi, & excommunicandi, & absolvendi, Episcopos & Abbates, & alios Ecclesiarum Prælatos, & Clericos.* This I presume made *Matthew Paris* give him that Character, f. 245. as a thing well known by the experience of Prince and People; *Noverat Rex, & multiplici didicerat experientia, quod Papa super omnes mortales ambitiosus erat, & superbus, pecuniæque fititor insatiabilis, & ad omnia scelera pro præmiis datus, vel promissis cereus & proclivus.*

Chronica de  
Mailros, p. 194.  
Edit. Oxon.

Now such a Man, as this is, wants a great deal of advantage, which another in his place might have had, in order to the giving credit or authority to his *Actions*: And if a Council under him be intirely enslaved to him,  
and

and so much at his dispose, that it does not appear to posterity that any one man in it, did upon the place speak a word either for or against the presumed *Acts* of it; and if yet it be at least probable, that all those *Acts* were not *Conciliarly* past, but mere Propositions of the *Pope* himself; without any consent, approbation, or regular determination of the Council, I think no man living can look upon himself as concluded by them, or under an obligation from them.

But an *English-man* must have an inward reluctancy and abhorrence to see his *Faith* increased, and his *Creed* enlarged; and himself put into a new danger of being adjudged a *Heretick*, by a sleight and trick of that Man, who with intolerable pride and insolence trampled upon the Crown and Dignity of a *King of England*; and as soon as he had done that, with an unheard-of confidence challenges to make Laws about Kingdoms, Estates, and Patrimonies, wherein he subjects them to forfeiture and confiscation upon the account of Heresie. And at the same time he slurs in a word to a pretended Canon, that requires a Doctrine to be believed against all sense and reason, and such as will indanger all men that are willing to act rationally, and discreetly, according to their best wits that God hath given them, to be adjudged and condemned for *Hereticks*. This certainly must appear hard to *English-men* to have their Estates brought into such perils and hazards, especially since they learn from one of their own Countrey, *Mat. Paris*, who was a *Monk*, and so bound to great regards for a *Pope*; and wrote in the Year 1254. that this *Innocent* was not onely intolerably ambitious, but infinitely covetous, and so may be presumed really to design and aim at forfeitures, and not near so much to regard the clearing and setting the Christian Faith, as to make a gin and a trap to catch People, and seise upon their Estates under the name of *Hereticks*: He that observes how sneakingly that *Word* comes into the first *Capitulum* of the  
reputed



reputed *Lateran Council*, may easily persuade himself of the likelihood of some of these thoughts. And if any one shall rub up his memory, and add to these the fineness, and great management of *Rome*, when they made the *Canons* of the *Sardican Council* to pass in the World under the name of the *Nicene*; And in opposition to a plain manifest discovery of the Errour, yet to this day to bear up so high, as to challenge some great Authority unto them; whereas in their own nature they can deserve but very little, being made by the broken remains of a *Council*, when the greatest numbers were gone, and none remained, but the fast Friends and Dependants upon *Rome*. And to this let him add the Remarks that *Father Paul* gives upon the first *Act* of the *Council of Trent*, wherein those words, *Proponentibus Legatis*, were so closely couched, and so supinely passed, that few heard them, and fewer apprehended the consequences of them, yet all the ensuing Determinations of that *Council* were intirely guided and governed by the fatal Powers of them.

He that thinks of these, and many other such like things, may apprehend, that there is such a thing as art and sleight in the World: and if he does that, he will not be over forward to give any extraordinary Authority to such a *Lateran Council*, intirely governed by such a Man, as *Pope Imocent III.* especially in such a Doctrine, which it self durst scarcely speak out, but imposeth upon you in it, by giving you onely one *Word*, and that a *barbarous* one, in all the presumed *Acts* of it. And that comes in, as it were, by surprize, and most amazing, without any deliberation, or consultation; but you have it there, before you in the reading of it can be aware; and perhaps too, before the *Fathers*, who were convened in that *Council*, themselves could be.

These Considerations I think sufficient to persuade any man to think himself under no great obligation to believe *Transubstantiation* by virtue of the Authority of this *Council*,  
and

and I presume it will least of all affect the Faith of an *English-man*.

I shall onely add one thing more concerning this *Lateran Council*, which some perhaps may think worthy of a remark; and that is this :

*Addit. ad  
Concil. Later.  
quartum,  
Edit. Labb.*

This *Lateran Council* was not onely famous for *new Doctrine*, but *new Doctours*. For here we find not onely *Transubstantiation*, but *St. Dominick*. He was at this *Council*; And he and that *Doctrine* were in one and the same condition there, in a like obscurity; something perhaps, but not much taken notice of; but he and that went on from thence to be most conspicuous and remarkable: They for some time after gave the great noise and talk to the World; wherever *Transubstantiation* came, the *Fathers* of the *Inquisition*, who were the Order of *Dominicans*, soon followed after; and those Persons that were not subdued under the power of that *Doctrine*, were sufficiently awed by the Terrour of these *Fathers*. For whereas the Senses of Men were obstinate and refractory against their espoused *Doctrine*; those Men made use of one Sense to oppose all the rest; for by Rods, and Scourges, and Burnings, they so affected the Sense of feeling, that this in a most compendious way stilled and silenced all the others. Thus *Transubstantiation* grew great; And he that would argue for it from the Authority of the *Lateran Council*, does but trifle; it is, and must, and can be no otherwise prevalent, than by the Authority of these *Dominican Fathers*.

The Order of these was confirmed the year after this *Lateran Council*, and that by *Innocent III*. Thus effectually did this *Pope* doe his business, when he made a *new Doctrine*, and a *new Law*, he provided a *new Order* of Men, and a *new Office* to promote it; and it is no wonder if by so doing he brought a new face of Christianity into the World: This *Monseur Briet* says in his *Annals* in his remark upon the Order of *Dominicans* and the *Franciscans*,

*Briet. Annales  
in An. 1216.*

An. 1216.

AN. 1216. *Aliam Christianitati faciem induxit.* And I easily believe him, that the *Christianity* which began to appear, and was most visible in the World soon after this *Lateran Council*, was as different from the *Primitive Christianity*, as *St. Dominick* was distant in time from *St. Peter*; or as his Rules were different from those in *St. Peter's Epistles*.

Now I have done with our Authour's Allegations from Councils. And here according to fashion I might be tempted to talk a little of victory, and tell my Reader what I think I have done. But here I am stopped, for our *Authour* has possess'd himself of this Post: He has given us in the next *Paragraph*, p. 21. such a *Jargon* of words that are designed to speak a victory, but most certainly shew an intolerable vanity, that I cannot imitate him.

For after he had reflected upon his doughty performances; How he had found the Pope's Supremacy in the *Council of Chalcedon*: and the *Books* called *Apocrypha*, put into a higher rank than we place them, as he thought by the *Council of Carthage*; And the *unbloudy Sacrifice* decreed by the *ninth Council of the Apostles*; And the *adoration of Images* established in the *second Council at Nice*, with the *general concurrences of Ancient Fathers*; And *Transubstantiation* owned and confirmed by *1300 Fathers in the great Lateran Council*; and he might as well have said *13000*, and all to like purpose; whilst never a man amongst them spake one word, either to prove, or disprove, or approve that, or any other Doctrine in the *Council*, as far as it appears. And after that he had remarked, that all these *Doctrines*, and I presume he means the *Lateran Council* too, were brought into *England* by *Augustine the Monk*, which *Council* was not in being till more than *six hundred years* were past after the death of *Augustine*.

When, I say, our *Authour* had seen that he had done all this, he smiled, and cockt his Beaver, and admired his *Atchievements*, and then forthwith speaks his glories in  
I these

these words, which I will set down here *in perpetuam rei memoriam*, that all such Conquerors, as he is, may never want words wherein to express their glories, or their follies: Thus he says.

P. 21.

*Indeed, Fathers; when I had diligently examin'd this truth, and found it most evident; beyond the possibility of any just, or reasonable contradiction; I was much scandaliz'd at the dissingenuity of your Writers; who whilst they accuse others of fallacy, imposture, and impudence, dare advance so great, and demonstrable a falshood in matter of fact, that nothing but ignorance can excuse them; so they expose themselves to the greatest censure of rashness and indiscretion, as uncharitable, and unjust to those whom they call their Enemies, as also unsafe, and abusing the credulity of their Friends.*

I admired to see these words in this place, and am yet puzzled to think, what could just now inspire him with all this puffiness; He knew that he had never read one of these *Councils*; and that he had transcribed from others, without skill, or care: and he could not but know that some of his *Allegations* are most trite, and common, and answer'd most fully, and largely, by numberless numbers. Why then does he seem here thus to admire his Acts, and put down such an extravagant rant? I cannot but think that the spirit of his old Friends, *Nator* and *Aluggleton*, came in to his assistance at the Writing of this. Perhaps it is a Flower borrowed from some of that sort of Persons, to adorn and imbellish a Book. It is here, I am sure, out of its place; altogether groundless, and schefeless; and gives us one Argument more of the mighty powers of *Face*; and what great expectanees there are from it; I do much believe that our *Authour* may hope for more success from that one *Paragraph*, than from all his *Allegations* out of *Councils*.

Our

Our *Author* in the next Paragraph tells us he designs to be brief, and therefore laying aside other Controversies, he will insist only upon *two*, and they are these.

I. The Authority and Infallibility of the *Roman Catholic Church*.

P. 22.

H. The Doctrine of *Transubstantiation*.

The First of these I shall consider, and leave the Second to others, who both have, and will give full satisfaction, in that Point, if he were but capable of receiving it. And I presume I have given him more than he can answer in the Reflexions upon the *Lateran Council*.

I. The Authority and Infallibility of the *Roman Catholic Church*: This he undertakes to consider how far it may bear, and appear reasonable to an impartial Reader. These words are not worth the notice, but that they tempt out a little suspicion; that they are here set for a reserve, in case of opposition; for if it be said, as most truly it may, that there is not one plain proof, either of the supreme Authority, or Infallibility of the *Roman Church* in all this Discourse; Our *Author* may reply that he never undertook to give it: All that he engaged for was *appearances*, and that he has performed, by using the words oft; tumbling and tossing them as Hay-makers do their mown Grass; one while Authority is uppermost, and soon after Infallibility; Authority must lead in Infallibility, and Infallibility must vindicate Authority; but where either of these is to be found; the Man neither proves, nor knows; and plainly says, that he is not concerned, whether there be any such thing as Infallibility or no: p. 24. he says; *Were there no Infallibility (as I believe there is) I would still submit my Reason, and regulate my Conscience, according to the Decrees of the supreme, lawfull Ecclesiastical Authority; This is my belief, pray blame me not.* All this is nothing else but *appearances*; for neither is the Church of *England*, nor the Church of *Rome* concerned in his belief,

P. 21.

P. 23.

P. 24.

or his fancy, or his opinion, for these may be wise, or may be foolish; may be well, or may be ill grounded. But yet it is admirable to see what great command he has over *his Reason* and *his Conscience*, that he can make them turn which way he pleases; and if he does but suppose a *Supreme lawfull Authority* to be in *Ebion*, or *Cerintbus*, *Nailor*, or *Muggleton*, or the *Church of Rome*; He can be a *Convert* to any of them, to day to this, and to morrow to the quite contrary; and that with as *much reason*, and as *good conscience*, to the one, as to the other: For which way soever he turns, he may still say, *this is my belief, pray blame me not.*

His last Conversion was to the *Church of Rome*, and he intimates that he changed upon this belief, that there was a *Supreme lawfull Ecclesiastical Authority* to be found there: but he has not the least reason to prove it; though it must be confest that he has some *appearances*; which I will impartially consider in their order.

1. He gives us some Citations from Protestants, *Pag. 22*, 23. from *Luther* one, and from *Melancthon* another, (whom he calls the *Phoenix of Learning*; a fine word, I wonder from whence he borrowed it) another from *Somaifius*, or *Salmassius*; Another he would give from *Grotius*; but what it is, he has forgot, he thinks it is somewhere in his *Annotations upon the New Testament*. And then, to make weight, he throws in the Names of *Jacob Cartwright*, *Huß*, and *Beza*. And from hence he argues in these words; *These eminent Protestants were men of great learning; and they had searcht, and understood Scripture, and History, and if my judgment concurs with theirs in this point (as I profess it doth) then have I found that lawfull Supreme Authority.*

Now these are dangerous words from the mouth of a new Convert; it is well for him that he is not now in *Spain*; for if he should make such a declaration there, That his judgment concurs with the judgment of *Luther*, *Melancthon*, *Huß*, and *Beza*, in the Point of the *Pope's Supremacy*,

*Supremacy*, or the *Supremacy of the Church of Rome*; he might perhaps be in danger of the *Inquisition*. All the World knows the judgment of those men in this point; and if he were before the *Fathers of the Inquisition*, they would not be put off with a small Citation found they know not where; and perhaps inserted by they know not whom: He had done much better to have mistrusted his Copy, than to depend upon such an Allegation.

Sure I am, that if he made any use of those mens judgments, or laid any great stress upon the words, which he cites under their Names, in his search or presumed discovery of a Supreme Authority of the Church of *Rome*; he used both his *Reason* and his *Conscience* very hardly.

It is certain that *Luther* did speak variously of the Pope's Power; sometimes higher and sometimes lower, as appears to any one that reads either his *Works*, or *Cassander's* Citations from him: And as to *Melancthon* the *Phoenix of Learning*, I am not concerned to search what he wrote to the *Cardinal Belay*. And it may be, I am civil in doing it. He was a Wit that once charged it as an incivility upon his Acquaintance, that he should take so much pains to prove him a Liar. It is certain that *Melancthon* in his *Loci Communes*, where he treats professedly upon this Subject, declares fully and roundly against all this that is cited from him: And therefore I presume that his judgment does not concur with *Melancthon's*; for if it does, he is no *new Convert*; for he has found nothing that can call for a submission of *Reason*, and *Conscience*: nothing like to that *Authority* and *Infallibility* of the *Roman Catholick Church*, which a *new Convert* is bound to defend.

But because our *Authour*, in defence of the *Authority* and *Infallibility* of the *Roman Church*, has given such Citations from *Protestants*, I'll endeavour to requite him by one from a very good *Roman Catholick*; and that is *Cassander*. He in his *Book, de Officio pii hominis*, speaks to this purpose; *That there are some, who because they see yet*  
*remaining*

remaining amongst them not a few things, that have descended down from Antiquity, or the first Christians, will keep up the present state of the Church just as it is; though it be corrupt; and you'll be stunn'd by abuses, that have crept in by little and little. Nor will they suffer anything to be alter'd, though it may be done agreeable enough to the

— Pontificem vero Romanum, quem Papam dicimus, eam non Deum faciunt: ejusque Autoritatem non modo supra totam Ecclesiam, sed supra ipsam Scripturam Divinam referunt, & sententiam ejus Divinis Oraculis parem, imo infallibilem fidei regulam constituunt: hos non videntur minus Pseudocatholicos & Papistas appellare possis.

Decrees or Canons of the Ancients. The Roman Bishop, whom we call Pope, they make little less than God: They set up his Authority not only over the whole Church, but over the holy Scripture it self; and make his determination equal to the Divine Oracles, and no less than an infallible rule of faith! I see no cause but that you may give to these the name of false Catholicks and Papiſts.

Thus said that good man concerning the Sticklers for Roman Authority, and Infallibility; and that in a time when he contended most earnestly to bring in peace, and good temper amongst Christians; and had endeavour'd passionately to persuade men to lay aside ill Language, and odious Names, such as one Party threw at another; all which he says were cast up out of Hell: such as these; Papiſts, Antichristians, Ministers of Satan; and on the other side, Hereticks, Schismaticks, Apostates. Though he heartily wish'd these Names out of the World, yet he could be content that two or three of them were always ready to be thrown in the teeth of such Persons as our *Author* would seem to be.

This remark I give to shew our *Author* that I do not set down the Sayings and Opinions of others; without considering first what weight and stress is to be laid upon them.

For I must confess that it is to me a scandal and matter of offence to find this Set of Authorities, which our *Author* uses, in the same order, and in the same words, in another late *Book* intitl'd *Pax vobis*; this seems to speak that  
the



the *Authours* of both these transcribed, and never considered what force was in their Citations. Is this fair dealing with a Man's own Conscience, or with his Readers? when he is weighing of Religions, and offering motives of Reconciliation, either to himself, or to others, to act thus supinely? This is worse than to take a journey to *Edinburgh* upon the next Hackney, and never consider whether he be a Jade or no. A journey to Heaven is long, to be sure of greatest importance; He that takes up a new Religion to carry him thither, had need use eyes, and ears, and heart, and head too; *St. Paul* had reason when he advised us to *work out our Salvation with fear and trembling*; but all men will not do this: they are in too much haste.

They that take Satisfaction without reason, and in spite of reason change their Religion, cannot act with that caution which the great *Apostle* requires.

If I am not much out in my guess (which I must leave to the Reader's judgment, when he has compared this Set of Citations with those in *Pax vobis*, Pag. 70, 71.) we have here one of the most wretched Pleas that ever was used by a *Warrior*. It is not more than this. I have met with some sayings of Men, whom I care not for; when, or where, or to what end they were spoken, I never considered; nor yet whether upon second thoughts they did not retract them; *my judgement concurs with them, therefore I have found that lawfull Supreme Authority I searched for; and where this Authority is, there is Infalibility.*

That is the first Motive to persuade that the *Roman Catholick Church* has Supreme Authority over all, and Infalibility in the exercise of it.

He should now proceed to a second.

But instead of that we have, *Pag. 24, 25, 26, 27.* a discourse upon a new Subject; so far is our *Authour* from making these *Doctrines* to appear reasonable; that for so long together he'll endeavour them stiff for themselves: His present business is to talk, and talk he will of Separation,

or

or how the Church of *Rome* can be said to have separated either from her self, or from the Catholick Church, either whole, or part; and where that whole or part remained from whence the Church of *Rome* separated? and then again where she remained, and where she may be found; and here he is urgent and importunate, and will have an answer, and that from the Bishops themselves; for he comes up closely to the beards of them, and tells them, *In good faith, Fathers, my Salvation is highly concern'd in this question, and I must be satisfied.* He prevents them from giving such and such answers, and swaggers it bravely out in these words. *I'll sooner suffer my self to be knockt down with a true Protestant Flayl, than with such a Protestant Answer;* and at last he adds, *from this reasonable and important request, you shall never beat me whilst I live.*

The Man grows warm, and it is well for some, that they are out of his way; who knows what he may doe?

The occasion of all this noise and clamour he gives us, in the 24th Page, in these words; *Tou had often told me, that She (the Church of Rome) had fallen from her primitive purity, and separated her self from the one holy Catholick and Apostolick Church.* Answer to Protestant Queries, p. 19. *declared also to be Antichristian; and the true Church latent and invisible, by that famous Napper to King James, Brocard, Fulk, Sebast. Francus, Hospinian, and many others.*

Now what is all this to the Bishops of the Church of *England*? must they answer for every thing that has been said by *Fulk*, and *Brocard*, and *Napper*, or as you call him, *that famous Napper*? I pray how famous is he? has any of the Bishops of *England* cited him these forty years? does any of this Church reade him, or depend upon him? if your studies have been upon such Authours, the Church of *Rome* have no great prize of you; and these *Motives*, as bad as they are, were good enough to make you a *Convert*.

But

But yet there remains one Expression cited out of a little *Book*, which it may be few of the Bishops of *England* ever saw; but yet they must give an accompt of it, and all the consequences he can gather from it; for he says, *p. 26. his Salvation is highly concerned in it; And it is a reasonable and important request.*

And must the *Bishops of England* be accomptable for every little writing, which they know nothing of? would the *Bishops of Rome* think it fair, that all the impertinences of our *Author* should be charged upon them? certainly no.

*But he argues, that if the Church of Rome was once a pure and uncorrupted Church, she remains so still, for she can neither separate from her self, nor from the Catholick Church.*

Now if this Argument be good, he himself is bound to answer for all the consequences that can come from a presumed separation, either from it self, or from the Catholick Church; for we have oft proved, and are always ready to prove that the Church of *Rome* is not the same, as to *purity and incorruption*, which it was. It is changed; it is altered, multitudes of Innovations have overspread it, and great numbers of Errours by little and little (as *Cassander* says) have crept in, and prevailed over it.

But yet for all that, we own and assert that there is a *Church of Rome, as well as a Church of Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Antioch, and that, though this, as well as they have erred, not onely in their living, and manner of Ceremonies, but also in matters of Faith.* So speaks the Church of *England* in her 19th *Article*. And if she be a Church, she must be a Member of the Catholick Church, for every part must be contained in the whole.

None of us doubt but that the Church of *Rome* receives all the *Canonical Scriptures*, that we do, and has the same *Creed*, and the same *Sacraments* that we have: And so she must be a Church. But yet she is corrupt, and foully

stained, by the many additions that have been made to her Faith, to her Sacraments, to her Worship, to her Government, and to her primitive rule of Faith; and all this in virtue of an usurped *Authority*, and vainly pretended *Infallibility*.

All these things we charge upon *Rome*, and we think the Charge high enough; and if our *Authour* could have distinguished betwixt Errour and Schism, he might have spared all his impertinent *Queries* concerning Separation from her self, or Separation from the Catholick Church; and where that Catholick Church is to be found; for all this is but trifling in an over eager pursuit of Consequences from a possible sense of a word. If *Rome* has thus erred, she may be said to have left, and gone from, or be separated from that first, holy, Catholick and Apostolick Church, without the making of an open Schism, or Schismatical Separation. For seeing particular Churches are called Catholick, as the *Catholick Church in Smyrna*, *Euseb. lib. 4. cap. 15.* and the *Catholick Church of Alexandria* upon the accompt of their continuance in the true Faith with the rest of the Church of God, or from their coherence with that Church, which was properly and originally called so; upon which accompt *Clemens Alexandrinus, Stro. 7.* joins those two words together, τὴν ἀρχαίαν καὶ καθολικὴν Ἑκκλησίαν, *the Ancient and Catholick Church.* So far then as any Church now in being shall depart from the Doctrine of that Ancient Catholick Church, and profess great and many Errours, and broach new Doctrines unknown to the Primitive Churches, and lay mighty stresses upon them, so as to make them necessary for Communion here, and to Salvation hereafter: Such a Church may be said to depart or separate it self, from that *ancient, one, holy, Catholick, and Apostolick Church.*

And now our *Authour* may have that satisfaction, which he says he must have, and I agree with him that his Salvation is highly concerned in it. He would know where  
that

that Catholick Church, from which she (*Rome*) separated, remained, and where she may be found; I am sorry he knows it not, but he may easily be taught that she was, and is in Heaven.

There are all *the glorious Company of the Apostles, the goodly fellowship of the Prophets, the noble Army of Martyrs*; There are all the *Servants and Saints of Jesus Christ*, who have lived and died in the true faith of him; and thither all the faithfull Members of the true, holy Catholick Church now living, hope by the grace of *Jesus Christ*, in the methods of the Gospel, by keeping close to *the Faith that was once delivered to the Saints*, in their due times to come, and be received into that most happy and everlasting Communion. *This is my opinion*, and for once I will pray our *Aubour not to blame me for it*.

I know he may bring against me *Supreme lawfull Authority*, in the name of *Pope John XXII.* who really designed, and heartily indeavoured to make the contrary Doctrine to pass for an *Article of Faith*; and if he had lived a little longer, would have declared *ex Cathedra*, that the Souls of the Saints do not come to blis and happines untill the general Resurrection. I beseech him not to meddle with this; but if he does, I'll promise to defend my Opinion from *Scripture*, and *Fathers*, and *Councils*, and doubt not by my little Reason sufficiently to repell him and his Authority too.

But if he can think with me, that the Members of the first Churches, the holy Apostles and blessed Servants of our Lord, are in blis and happines, and is willing to find them, and be with them; He ought then to think again of the change of his Religion, and of this accompt that he has given of the Motives to it; for if he seriously reflects upon his own Salvation, and is heartily concerned for it, he will be ashamed, and repent of all his rude and unseemly treatment of the Reverend Fathers of this Church. It is not huffing and braving that speaks a religious Mind;

it is not saying, *In good faith, Fathers, my Salvation is concerned in it*, that speaks a pious and hearty sense of that great blessing of God. He that with humility and reverence studies the mind and good pleasure of his Saviour, cannot rant; where he is ignorant, despise his betters; trample upon those whom he calls Reverend Fathers: Such actions may be agreeable to a Man that has no sense of Salvation. He that has thrown off one Religion, and forgot to take up another; He that can easily say, *and so good night to Christianity*, may doe this: But a Convert to any Sect or Party of Christians (or such as are willing to be reputed Christians.) should not doe it. Because such actions speak a Man to be proud and ambitious, and designing upon this World, and something worse than I am willing to say.

I must stop, onely in requital for some Texts of Scripture, which, p. 25. he advises us to consider: I request him to reade these. *Rev. 2. 5. Remember from whence thou art fallen, and repent, and doe the first works.* *Eph. 4. 14. That we henceforth be no more Children, tossed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of Doctrine, by the sleight of men, and cunning craftines, whereby they lie in wait to deceive.* *2 Cor. 2. 17. We are not as many, which corrupt the word of God; but as of sincerity, but as of God, in the sight of God speak we in Christ.* Our Authour goes on, p. 27. But I must not follow him in all his Impertinencies, I shall speak of *Augustine the Monk* afterwards. And shall at present onely teach him one thing, which he there says he does not understand. And that he gives us in these words. *How you should rise a pure Church after you had been buried so many hundred years in a corrupt Church, I do not easily understand.*

Thus he says, but yet certainly he may understand it; for the same way that I advise him to take, that he may become a good man, was taken by our *Predecessours*, and by virtue of that proceeding they ceased to be a corrupt Church,

Church, and became a pure one; and that was by remembering from whence they were fallen, and by repentance, and by reformation; they saw the Errours which *Rome* had taught, and proudly imposed; they were sorry to have been so long abused; they withdrew themselves from Slavery, and knockt off the chains and fetters, that an unjust Power had laid upon them; they studied and learnt their true Rites and Liberties, their duties to God, and to their Saviour, and to their Prince; and when they knew these, they practised them. And so they did their first works; that which *Christ* and his *Apostles* taught, and so became a *pure Church*.

This was then done, but such an answer as this will not satisfy our *Author*; for he inquires in the next Paragraph by what Authority this could be done, and would not have us to *pretend to derive Authority from the Church of Rome, when she was in her purity and perfection*.

Now this is wonderfully wise, to inquire by what Authority we presume to obey God, to amend our ways, to throw off Errours, to follow Truth.

Let him be assured, that we shall not pretend to have derived Authority from *Rome*, neither in her corruption, nor in her purity to doe this. And our *Author* in the next Paragraph owns that we need not, in case the one be an Errour, and the other be a Truth. But he adds, *we are now seeking for that Authority which shall declare this Truth; and set forth this Errour*.

Now this is honestly said, that he is *seeking for that Authority*. I am sure he has made no discovery of it as yet. He undertook, *pag. 21, 22.* to shew that and the Infallibility of the Church of *Rome*; and has talkt out eight Pages, and has not given us the least Argument for either of them, now, he says, he is *seeking* for it; and he may seek all his days at this rate; for he seeks, just as one did for the Hare, in the top of the Steeple.

If there were any such Authority and Infallibility as he pretends, it must be as apparent, and as visible, as the Church it self, there would need no long seeking for it.

He must be blind, or fool, or mad, that did not see it, or know it.

I rather think that our *Authour* is seeking for Arguments to prove it; and in this he is unhappy, for he finds none.

P. 30. But *Pag.* 28, 29, 30. he endeavours for one, and that is to this purpose; that there are Errours and Heresies in the World. He tells us of *Socinians*, of *Luther*, and *Calvin*, and *Beza*, and I know not how many more of late days. And from thence, *p.* 30. he talks in these words; *Fathers, if these instances be not sufficient to require a Supreme Judge to determine the right Faith, and silence the wrong, then, and then, and I know not what; but at last, then pray excuse me, if my reason, and piety, and the reverent notion which I have of a Just God, and a mercifull Saviour, totally force my Judgment, and Conscience to dissent from you in this particular.*

Now this is no Argument, that there is such an Authority in the Church, (either *Eastern* or *Western*, *Roman* or *Græcian*) but a wheedling Discourse to persuade weak Persons, that there may be such an one; because in our *Authour's* Opinion it would be fit or requisite, or proper for God Almighty, in this method to direct the interests of his Church. And to bring People on to this belief, here is an audacious and presumptuous intimation, that God would neither be wise, nor good, in case he did it not.

Here we beg our *Authour's* pardon; we will believe God to be wise, and good, and mercifull, whether he sets up such an Authority or no: He knows what is fit, and requisite, and proper, much better than such pert confident men. He permits sins great, and most enormous in the World, though he could as easily give a stop to them as to Errours and Heresies.

There



There are Errours amongst *Protestants*, and there are Errours amongst *Romanists*; and if the Temporal Authority did not doe more than the Spiritual, they themselves would complain of many more, than now they do.

There are Errours and Heresies of late days, and there were so from the first beginnings of Christianity, in all times and places; *St. Paul* tells of some in his days, and *Ignatius* of others, and *Irenæus* of others, and those most gross, and vile, and filthy.

Now if God had made provision of the pretended Authority and Infallibility to give stop to them; it were most improbable, if not impossible that ever these should have been.

Their existence therefore is plain argument and demonstration, that there are no such powerfull means set up, and appointed by God, to prevent, hinder, stop, or silence them. He has done enough against them, as he has done against all sins; it is presumption not to acquiesce in his Wisdom, or to challenge that he must doe that which we cannot prove that he has done.

But our *Author* leaves this, and says he must proceed, p. 30. and that he does, yet not to evidence the *Authority* and *Infallibility* of the *Roman Church* by better Arguments; but to plead the interest of it, in general, from the performances of *Augustine* the Monk.

P. 30.

This is an Argument that pleases him; he had been nibbling at it three times before, p. 18. p. 21. p. 27. There he intimates that this *Augustine* first taught the *English Nation* Christianity; and that he taught them those very Doctrines as Christian Truths which we at this day oppose: He says, p. 21. *That all the Controverted Points, particularly, and by name, were declared by some of your selves to have been brought into England by Augustine the Monk above a thousand years since.*

I suppose he means that his Friend the famous *Napper*, or some of his *Apocryphical Acquaintance*, had declared this. But after

after all, he comes to treat more closely upon this Argument, pag. 30, 31, 32. I shall consider what he says, and then give a full account of the whole matter. But, before I begin, I must complain, (for it is a grief) that I have an Adversary so weak, and yet so confident.

For those two learned Men, their Mr. *Cressy*, and our Reverend Dean of St. Paul's have accurately considered and weighed all the particulars of this Dispute, and made the best advantages of it. But the man knows nothing of their Writings. *Pope Gregory* he names, and *Bede* he names, but gives us not any ground to think that ever he has read over *Bede's* History, or consulted *Pope Gregory's Epistles*; and both these ought to have been well studied by a Writer upon this Subject, if he had due regard for Truth, or his own Credit.

1. First, he says, *If you tell me a Story of the Abbat of Bangor; I answer, that the particular ground of it is evidently false and forged.* Now *Bede* is the man that tells us a Story of the *Abbat of Bangor*, and the numbers of *Monks* in that *Abbey*. And the Story, as it lies in *Bede*, gives all the advantage to Protestants that they can wish, *lib. 2. cap. 2.* And if there be something added to that Story from an Ancient *Record* found and published by Sir *Henry Spelman*; the skill and integrity of that excellent Person would persuade an indifferent man not presently to damn it for a forgery; for he was not likely, either to contrive one, or to be cheated with one. But be this what it will, the Story that *Bede* gives is sufficient for our uses, and that, I hope, he will not say is false or forged.

P. 30.

2. He says, that *the Britains received the Christian Faith in the Apostles days; but being persecuted by Romans, Picts and Saxons, Religion fled to the Mountains, and bordering parts of Wales, at the same time the Church of Rome was no less afflicted by the Heathen Emperours.* This is gross ignorance to talk of *Saxons* persecuting the *Britains*, and Religion

ligion flying into *Wales* in the time of the *Heathen Emperours*. Did the Man never hear of the name of *Constantine*, and of the names of those glorious Christian Emperours that succeeded him in the *East and West* for more than two hundred years before the flying into *Wales*? I hope he will not call them *persecuting Heathen Emperours*, who brought the Empire into the Church.

The famous *Council* at *Nice* was celebrated in the Year 325. and the coming of the *Saxons* under *Hengist* into *Britain* was not till the Year 450, and it was near a hundred years after that, before the *Britains* were dispossessed of the rest of their Countrey, and forc'd to secure themselves amongst the Mountains of *Wales*.

This our *Author* might easily have known, if he had read *Bede*, but he knew it not; therefore he adds, *No wonder if in these days and circumstances there was but little correspondence between Rome and Wales.*

This now is worse and worse; what! a little correspondence between *Rome* and *Britain*, when *Constantius* was in *Britain*, and *Constantine*, and *Theodosius*, and *Maximus*, and the most of the chief *Roman* Commanders, in their distinct times. What! little correspondence between them; though three of the *British* Bishops were at the *Council* of *Arles*; and as many very probably at *Nice*; and as many certainly at the *Council* of *Ariminum*; and of *Sardica*. Did this Man never hear of the names of *Pelagius*, and *Cælestius*; or of *Palladius*, and *Patricius*, and hundreds of others who came from *Rome* to *Britain*, or went from *Britain* to *Rome* in all this long tract of time?

I would be willing to think that I mistake a little, rather than judge that he mistakes so grossly.

But he will not allow it, for he will have all the World to see how ignorant he is: He adds to this these words; *But when the Church (brought from her subterraneous recesses, and set upon a Hill) began to enlarge her self, and propagate the Gospel, Gregory the Great sent Augustine the*

P. 31.

*Monk into England to see how matters went there in this long interval of silence.*

Certainly he does think that *Gregory the Great* was the first *Roman Bishop* that ever saw good days; and that all his *Predecessours* were under the persecuting *Heathen Emperours*; for now he says that the *Church* was brought from her *subterraneous refuges*, and now she was set upon the *Hill*, and now began to enlarge her self. I wonder where he learnt this; I hope it was from his Friend the famous *Nasser*. What is become of two and thirty *Bishops of Rome*, so many there were between *Sylvester* (who is said to have baptized the *Emperour Constantine*) and this *Gregory the Great*, did they all sleep? did they do nothing for the *Church*, that she must be said now to enlarge her self? There was near three hundred years past from *Constantine's* possession of the *Empire*, to this mission of *Augustine the Monk*; and was the *Church* all that time in *subterraneous refuges*?

Where were these *subterraneous refuges*, from whence the *Church* came? and where was the *Hill*, upon which the *Church* was set, in this *Gregory's* days? I know that *John of Constantinople* was then most ambitious, and endeavoured to mount up his *Seat* to higher power and dignity, than that of *Rome*: it self. He challenged all the proud *Titles* that the *Popes* afterwards usurpt; and designed to set his *Church* upon the *Hill*. But *Gregory the First* wrote against him, and charged him with pride and arrogancy; and said plainly, that whatever *Bishop* (whether *Roman* or *Constantinopolitan*) should assume those *Titles*, he would be *Antichristian*; or at least the *Forerunner of Antichrist*. It is certain that *Gregory the Great* was content to keep things as he found them; he did not set the *Church* upon a *Hill*, or enlarge its power. The *Romanists* can scarce pardon him for this great submission and deference which he yielded to the *Emperour*, and the large expressions which he used in his Contest against *John of Constantinople*;

*stantinople*; for the *Protestants* strongly argue from them against the pretences of the *Popes* themselves.

But our *Author* adds, that *Gregory* sent *Augustine* the *Monk* into *England* to see how matters went here in this long interval of silence.

He seems to think that *Augustine* came as a *Spy*, or to make a discovery of an unknown Land; but in this he is like himself, still mistaken.

For *Gregory* knew how matters went here; He knew that *Bertha*, *Queen* to *King Ethelbert*, was a *Christian*; and that *Luibhard*, *Bishop* of *Sarum*, was her *Chaplain*; and that he performed to her, and her *Attendants*, all *Christian Offices* in the *Church* of *St. Martin's*, near *Cantebury*, which was formerly built by the *Romans*.

Bede, lib. 1. cap. 26.

And *Gregory* himself says in a *Letter*, which he sent by this *Augustine* to the *King* of *France*, and was delivered by him in his passage hither, That the *English* Nation were desirous to become *Christians*. His words are these;

*Pervenit ad nos, Anglorum gentem ad fidem Christianam desiderantes, velle conventi, sed Sacerdotes vestros e vicino negligere; Et desideria vestra cessare sua adhortatione succendere. Ob hoc igitur Augustinum Servum Dei presentium partitorem, cuius zelus et studium bene nobis est cognitum, tam aliis servis Dei praevidimus illuc dirigendum. Quibus etiam injunximus, ut aliquos secum e vicino debeant. Eref-  
(Hyteris danda, cum quibus eorum possent mentes agitare, et voluntatem ad monitione sua, quantum Deus duxerit adjuvare; and to the same purpose he writes in the next *Epistle*.*

Greg. Epist. lib. 5. Ep. 58.

If our *Author* had seen this, he would not have said that *Gregory* sent *Augustine* to see how matters went here in this long interval of silence.

Greg. Ep. 59.

But he goes on, and tells us, that the *Britains* knew him not (that is *Augustine*) until he had confirmed his *Commission* by *Miracles*.

Bede, lib. 1.  
cap. 23.

Now what had he to doe with them, or they with him? his Commission was to convert the *Saxons*, or the *English* from their *Paganism* to *Christianity*, as *Gregory* says in the forementioned *Epistle*, and *Bede* in these words. *Misit Servum Dei Augustinum, & alios complures predicare Verbum Dei genti Anglorum.* *Bede* calls him *Anglorum Apostolus*, to them he was sent, to them he came; and he had more work to doe amongst them than he was able to perform: The *Britains* were not in the least concerned in his Commission; for they were *Christians*, and very good *Christians*, according to our *Author's* account. For he tells us, that the great *Errours*, which *Augustine* found among them, were chiefly two; Their *Asiatick* *Errour*, concerning the keeping of *Easter*; and dissent from the *Roman Church* in the administering of *Baptism*.

As to the first of these, their *Asiatick* *Errour*, about keeping of *Easter*: The *Britains* observed the Rule which they had received with their *Christianity*; and they received that, as our *Author* says, in the days of the *Apostles*. The *Asiatics* received the same Rule, and the famous *Martyr Polycarp* defended it stoutly as an *Apostolical* *Tradition*; a whole *Council* under *Polycrates*, in the Year 197. declared it to be the Rule of *St. John*, taught and practis'd by him. Upon this account, if we suppose it an *Errour*, it can be no great one. For there is no *Tradition* or *Doctrine* (either in *Rome*, or any other *Church*) which solely stands upon the credit of *Tradition*, and has no support from *Scripture*, that can be better evidenced to come from an *Apostle*, and with the first *Christianity*, than this *Tradition* which the *Britains*, *Saets*, *Asiatics*, *Greeks*, alledged in very early times to have received in one and the same way. For if this be so great an *Errour*, though it be so well attested, and so strongly urged to be an *Apostolical* *Tradition*; what security can we have for the truth of any other *Tradition* whatsoever?

The great St. *Augustine* shews us in his *Epistle Casulano*, S. August. Ep. 86. that the name of St. *Peter* can give no more Authority to a Tradition, than the name of St. *John*; nor has any Tradition more grounds of credit, because it comes to us by the way of *Rome*, than if it came by the way of *Ephesus*; the *Eastern* Church is as creditable a Conveyancer of Tradition, as the *Western*. Therefore if the *Britains* must be accus'd of any great error for following of this Tradition, the *Roman* Church must be highly condemn'd for requiring the observance of so many things, by virtue of Tradition, when they have not the least appearance of such Arguments, as the *Britains* had, to prove their Traditions Apostolical. The *Britains* kept close to their first Rule, never in the least varied from it. The *Roman* Church oft changed and altered; and that before this *Augustine* the *Monk's* days, as the Learned Dean of St. *Paul's* has accurately shown in his Discourse against Mr. *Cressley*. And when those of the *Roman* Communion argued against the *Asiatics*, and *Britains*; they could not disprove the Tradition, or shew that this practice was an Innovation; but they alledged Reasons, and external Arguments, to shew the inconveniency of it, from the miſchiefs that might come by such a compliance with the *Jews*. Thus the Tables were changed, *Romanists* were for Reason against Tradition; and so they ever will be, when it is for their Interest.

2. The second Error charged upon the *Britains*, is dissent from the Church of *Rome* in the administering of *Baptism*. Now this, I suppose, is put in to make weight in the Accusation: for though *Bede* has those words, yet he tells not wherein their practice differ'd from the *Romans*, nor yet wherein they were to be blamed; and has not one word in all his *History* besides, wherein he blames either the *Britains*, or the *Irish*, whom he calls (in the language of those times) *Scots*, for any error in the administration of *Baptism*. He says, *lib. 2. cap. 4.* of the *Scots* that they had

Bede, lib. 2.  
cap. 4.

had the same ways and methods that the *Britains* had, *similem vitam ac professionem egisse*; and there having been, according to *Bede*, several Disputes between the *Romanists*, and the *Scots*, in lesser matters; had this been their fault, this would have been charged too upon them.

P. 31.

Our *Authour* adds, *Although in some other matters they differ'd from the Church of Rome, yet Augustine promised to tolerate them, provided they would rectify these, which the British Bishops consented to.*

Bede, lib. 2.  
cap. 2.

This is the worst Passage in all our *Authour's* Book: for it is manifestly false, point-blank against *Bede's* words, who expressly says, that they would not consent; and then in the manner of citing the Passage, there is that shuffling and juggle, that plainly shews he designed falsehood. The words in *Bede* are these; *Si in tribus his mihi obtemperare vultis, ut Pascha suo tempore celebretis, ut ministerium Baptizandi, quo Deo renascimur, juxta morem Romanæ sanctæ Ecclesiæ, & Apostolicæ Ecclesiæ compleatis; ut genti Anglorum una nobiscum prædicetis verbum Domini, cætera quæ agitis, quamvis moribus nostris contraria æquanimiter cuncta tolerabimus. At illi nihil horam se facturos, neque illum pro Archiepiscopo habituros esse respondebant.*

There cannot be a more plain denial than this. How then comes our *Authour* to say that they consented; The truth is, he seems resolved to say it, true, or false, and therefore he leaves the last words, wherein *Bede* declares the *Britains* dissent; and adds to them these. *Cum Britones confitentur intellexisse se veram esse viam justitiæ, quam prædicaret Augustinus; Bede, lib. 2. cap. 2.* And from thence would infer, that the *Britains* did consent. But these words belong to another matter; they are part of *Bede's* Narration of the first meeting that *Augustine* had with the *Britains*; then it seems *Augustine* did a Miracle, and the *Britains* had a great sense of it, and did confess that *Augustine's* way was the right way: But yet for all this stound, and hasty words, they immediately recollected themselves,

Bede, lib. 2.  
cap. 2.  
P. 31.

and



and in the next moment, tell him, as Bede says; *Nom se* Bede, lib. 2. *posse, absque suorum consensu, ac licentia, priscis abdicare* cap. 2. *moribus. That without the leave and consent of their own Clergy and Laity, or a Synod, (which was upon it forthwith called) they could not depart from their ancient Customs.*

Thus we see that the *Britains* who confessed, as our *Author* says, yet would not consent, till they had the Opinion, and Judgment of a *Synod*: and when *Augustine* proposed his Matters to the *Synod*, they flatly denied either to receive his Doctrine, or himself as their *Archbishop*. So then it is plainly false, that the *Britains* consented. But yet our *Author* puts down that Confession first in *English*; and after another quite different discourse he puts it down in *Latine*; and that on purpose to prove a consent. Now this must be designed to cheat, and couzen some; I hope he meant it for the *Roman Catholicks*; I do not fear that any *Protestant* can be gulled by such a sleight.

But from this Discourse our *Author* observes that it may be inferred that *Augustine*, and the *Britains* agreed in Substantials: this may be allowed, if he means onely those things which are necessarily to be held by every one that is a Member of the true, Catholick, Apostolick Church. They agreed in the same *Saviour*, in the same *Scriptures*, in the same *Creeds*, and in all the Doctrine that was maintained and declared in the *first four General Councils*.

But this will not suffice, for our *Author* imagines that they agreed in all the Doctrines which the *Church of Rome* at this day indeavours to impose upon others. In order to this, pag. 32. he discourses: *After all this, can we believe that the Britains, who earnestly contradicted Augustine in these smaller matters, and were so tenacious of their own Customs, would have silently received so many, and incomparably greater points of Faith, had they in like manner disagreed from him therein? credat Judæus Apella.*

Here our *Author* is much to be blamed, because he will not permit us to give him civil Language; he does not onely betray his ignorance, but what is much worse; in this *Paragraph* he challenges to have skill in *Bede*, and *Bede* is the man that contradicts him in every thing he says. For *Bede* tells us, that the *Britains* neither received greater points of Faith, nor lesser, from *Augustine* the Monk, nor his Companions. But for more than one hundred years after *Augustine's* arrival, they esteemed all his teachings to be vain, and trifling, and little better than *Paganism*. He concluded his *History* in the Year 725. as appears, *lib. 5. cap. 24.* and he himself tells us in his *Epitome*, that *Augustine* came into *England* in the Year 597.

*Lib. 2. cap. 20.* Yet he says, *Cum usque hodie moris sit Britonum, Fidem Religionemque Anglorum pro nihilo habere; neque in aliquo eis magis communicare, quam Paganis.* That the *Britains*, according to their usual way, had no esteem at all for the Faith and Religion of the *English*; and that they would no more communicate with them, than with the *Pagans*.

*Lib. 2. cap. 4.* And *Bede* does not onely say that the *Britains* had so mean an opinion of the *Romans*, and their Disciples; but likewise that the *Scots* (or *Irish*) had the same. For where he gives us part of the Letter that *Laurentius*, *Melitus*, and *Iustus* sent to the *Scots*; He says, that when they had tried the *Britains*, they thought the *Scots* might be better. *Cognoscentes Brittones, Scottos meliores putavimus*, but yet they found both alike. For *Dagamus* their Bishop would neither eat at the same Table, nor in the same House with them. *Dagamus Episcopus ad nos veniens non solum cibum nobiscum, sed nec in eodem Hospitio, quo vescabamur, sumere voluit.*

In the same page he says that *Laurentius*, and the rest, wrote to the *Britains* too; *Sed quantum hæc agendo profecerit adhuc præsentia tempora declarant.* That is, that the present opposition, which the *Britains* made against the *Romanists* in *Bede's* days, sufficiently sheweth that *Laurentius*

*rentius* his Letter had no effect upon them: and that is the same thing which we had before, *usque hodie*, that from *Augustine* the Monk down to *Bede's* days, the *Britains* had no regard for the *Romans* teaching of Faith, or Religion, so far as it differ'd from their own.

From these two Passages *Henry of Huntingdon* made the remark which he has, *lib. 3. Hist. Nec Britannos, nec Scotos velle communicare cum Anglis, & eorum Episcopo sancto Augustino, magis quam Paganis.*

Henr. Huntingd. Hist. lib. 3.

This is sufficient to shew our *Authour's* presumption in alledging *Bede* to patronize his vain Opinions concerning the *Britains*; if we give credit to him, the *Britains* did not receive, either so many, or so great points of Faith from *Augustine* the Monk; for they received none at all. And therefore his Consequence which he draws from thence, is like his Premises, good for nought. That is this; *That the Doctrines (these two Points excepted, their Apostick Eldour, and the difference about Baptism) which Augustine taught the Saxons, had been delivered to the Britains from the Apostles.*

For seeing we have an acknowledged difference in these two Points in *Augustine's* days, and other differences (as I shall shew) brake out afterwards, and we find no manner of agreement between *Augustine* and the *Britains*; and no communication between his Followers and them for an hundred years after, but an extreme aversion and abhorrence of them, and their ways; he can no more argue for the truth of *Augustine's* Doctrines from the consent of the *Britains*, than he may for the truth of all the Doctrines which the present Church of *Rome* teaches, from the consent of the present Church of *England*; we oppose them, and so did they; we, and they too, reject their Novelties, their unjust Usurpations, their unreasonable Impositions; And though the terms of Communion which they would lay upon us, are much harder than those which *Augustine* offered to the *Britains*, yet we thank God our charity

continues towards them ; we call them Christians, and treat them as Christians, (which the old *Britains* would not do) and with meekness and humility we endeavour to shew them their Errours.

This is enough to the Case of *Augustine*, and of *Bede's* Relation of it. And enough to the First Part of this *Author*.

*Sir,*

*July 26<sup>th</sup>*  
*1687.*

*I am Yours.*

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*A brief*

*A brief Account of Augustine, and the  
Conversion of the English, taken out  
of Bede's Ecclesiastical History.*

**A**ugustine after he had been received graciously by King Ethelbert, knew not what he had to do. He was sent to preach plain Christianity to those that were willing to learn it: But he had a mind to do something else, and therefore soon sent to Pope Gregory for his resolution of certain Questions; most of which our modern Bede, lib. 1. cap. 27. Historians censure as Legal and Levitical; and think them all, excepting three, to be of little use. Two of these are remarkable, the first concerning his own power, which he would have extended not onely over Britain, but to France; in this latter he was repressed, and told that the Pope could not, nor ought to grant it, because his Predecessours had before settled it on the Bishop of Arles; yet over the Bishops of Britain he gives him all the power which he could wish. *Omnes Episcopos Britanniarum tuæ fraternitati committimus, ut indocti doceantur, infirmi persuasione roborentur, perversi autoritate corrigantur.* Bede, lib. 1. cap. 27. Resp. 9. Now it was unreasonable in Augustine to ask this, and injustice in Gregory to grant it: For both must needs know, that this was an invasion of the Rights of Bishops against the Canons of the Church; against the Sixth of the Nicene Council, and the Eighth of the Ephesine, which says expressly, that if the Rites of Churches are taken away, and that by any Patriarch whatsoever, that Fact should be null and invalid. This (Father Barnes says) gave Barnesius, Cath-Rom. Pacif. p. 60. just cause and reason to the British Bishops to withhold Austin; *quia videbatur Augustinus ἀναβνῶς agere cum iis, cogendo eos ut reciperent eum pro Archiepiscopo, & mandatis exterorum se subderent. Cum antiqui mores Ecclesiæ suæ postularent, ut omnia inter se Synodicè agerent, tum pro Episcoporum*

*porum ordinationibus, tum pro aliis negotiis Ecclesiasticis.*

Bede, lib. 1.  
cap. 27.  
Inter. 3.

The second considerable Query of *Augustine* was concerning *Rituals, Forms of Worship, Missals or Liturgies*; in this he propos'd how it comes to pass, seeing the Faith is the same every-where, that there is a difference in *Missals, one form or usage in Rome, and another in France.* Now to this, the *Pope* gave him a wise and good answer, if he made use of it; That he should gather from every place, whatever he found best, and most pleasing to Almighty God; not having respect to places, but to things; and if the Forms and Usages of *France* were better than those of *Rome*, he might freely take them, without giving any partial respect to the place where he had been bred; *Non enim pro locis res, sed pro bonis rebus, loca sunt amanda.* This was a most worthy direction of *Gregory the Great*; and if *Augustine* had followed it, no doubt his Rules and Orders had been venerable and good: But it is more probable he did it not. Because he was over busie in faulting the *British Churches*; He charges them with some things as intolerable; and other things, which he intimates to be many, as contrary to *Roman Usages.* *Cætera quæ agitis, quamvis moribus nostris contraria equanimiter cuncta tolerabimus.* Now the *British* and *French Churches*, as they had the same Faith, so they had much the same *Rituals, Missals and Liturgies.* They had frequent Communications one with another; and in difficulties about Religion, they were most friendly, and ready to give mutual aids and assistances; Three *British Bishops* were at the Council at *Arles* in *France*; and two *French Bishops, St. German, and St. Lupus,* by order of a Council, at the request of the *Britains,* came into *Britain* to stop the *Pelagian Heresse,* to reform Errours, and compose Differences there. *Agilbertus* who was afterwards *Bishop of Paris,* came from *France* into *Ireland,* and staid a considerable time there to study Divinity, and improve his skill in the Holy Scriptures. *Agilbertus natione Gallus legendarum gratiâ Scripturarum in Hyberniâ non parvo tempore demo-*

Bede, lib. 1.  
cap. 27. in  
Resp. 3.

Bede, lib. 2.  
cap. 2.

Bede, lib. 1.  
cap. 17.

Bede, lib. 3.  
cap. 7.

demo-

*demoratus*; And others went from *Britain* into *France* upon the same account.

From hence we may easily presume, that the *British, Irish* and *French* Churches had in most things the same *Rules* and *Orders* amongst them; *St. Jerome* says, *Epist. 58. Gal. Jerome, Ep. 58. lia & Britannia Ecclesiae unum Christum, unam observant regulam Fidei.* Upon this accompt it seems not unlikely, that *Augustine* might think he had as many exceptions against the *French* Churches, as against the *British*. As he faults the ways and methods of the *Britains*, because they were different from the Customs of the *Romans*, *moribus nostris contraria.* So he offers it to the *Pope*, as a thing *Bede, lib. 2. worthy of consideration, that the French Missals were not cap. 2. the same with the Romish.*

In both cases he seems to govern himself by one and the same reason, and that is this; that the *Forms, Usages* and *Missals* of *Rome* were the best, and therefore *all other Churches* ought to be brought into the same methods with that. From hence it appears that there was a difference amongst the *Romans* themselves. *Pope Gregory* was of one mind, and *Augustine* of another. *Pope Gregory* thought there were pious and usefull Institutions in other Places, as well as at *Rome*; some as good, and some better. And therefore he gave advice to *Augustine* to pick and choose in every Countrey whatever he thought to be best, or most suitable to the People, whom he should convert to the Christian Faith. *Ex singulis ergo quibusque Ecclesiis, quæ pia, quæ Religiosa, Bede, lib. 1. quæ recta sunt elige, & hæc quasi in fasciculum collecta, apud cap. 27. Anglorum mentes in consuetudinem deponere. Whatever you find in any Church wheresoever, that is pious, religious and right, take it, and teach it to the English, and bring it into use and custome amongst them.* Herein he shewed himself to be great, and wise, as well as Christian; but *Augustine* was altogether *Roman*, he would take nothing, and scarcely allow of any thing, that he himself had not been used to at *Rome*. He acted quite contrary to the *Pope's* directions. He gave himself.

himself up to that fondness and partiality, which *Gregory* above all things hated. He was for Places, and not for Things; and instead of teaching the plain Christianity to *Saxons*, he busied himself to bring the Fashions of *Rome* into *Wales*: hereby he lost the advantages which the prudence of *Gregory* had laid out for him. He exasperated and disgusted both the *British*, and *Scotish* (or *Irish* Churches) and had but small success amongst the *English*; for the Christianity he planted amongst them was but short liv'd. As soon as *Ethelbert* was dead, *Augustine's* new Converts turned Renegadoes to their old Paganism; his Companions, *Mellitus* and *Iustus*, were forced to fly; and *Laurentius* (who miraculously was stopped, as *Bede* says) began a new work, and with much pains and labour, after the return of *Mellitus* and *Iustus*, effected but little.

*Bede, lib. 2.  
cap. 5.*

*Paulinus*, and other *Missionaries*, came after, and did something. But if we believe *Bede*, the *Saxons* were as much obliged for their Conversion to the *Scots*, and to the *French*, as to the *Romans*; He commends the Labours of *Columba*, of *Aidan*, of *Ced*, and *Ceadda*, and *Finan*, and *Colman*, and *Trumhere*, and *Agilbertus*, and *Felix*, as highly as any of the *Romans*. By the unwearied labours of these Men, Christianity found a resurrection, and after death was restored to life again; it lived and flourished, and spread it self to most parts of this *Island*.

Here it must be observed, that in the times of these Men, Christianity had one advantage which it wanted before; and that is this. That a Man of a quite different temper from *Augustine* was then *Archbishop* of *Canterbury*: For *Honorius*, who was *third* Successour to *Augustine*, did as industriously avoid all needless Contests, as *Augustine* did precipitately run upon them. He seems to be a Man intirely of *Gregory's* spirit and temper; He was for goodness, and piety, and sincere Christianity, and would not stand upon *Rituals*, and *Usages* of *Rome*; upon nicety and punctilio; so as for their sakes to give disturbance to such as were  
faithfull



faithfull in teaching plain Christian Doctrines. That which *Augustine* accompted intolerable, and did what he could to extirpate, and must be thought to be too much imbittered against the Professours of it, if he outliv'd the slaughter of the *Monks of Bangor*, *Honorius* could tolerate; for he kept communion and fair correspondence with *Aidan* and the *Scots*; though they continued in the *Asiatick Error*, as our *Authour* calls it; or observed their *Easter Feast* at a different time from what the *Romans* would have them to keep it; and that according to the same rule which *Augustine* so highly faulted in the *British Church*, *Bede* tells us. Lib. 3. cap. 25.

*Hæc dissonantia Paschalis vivente Aidano patienter ab omnibus tolerabatur; quia etsi Pascha contra morem eorum, qui ipsum miserant, facere non potuit: opera tamen fidei, pietatis, & dilectionis juxta morem omnibus Sanctis consuetum diligenter exequi curavit; unde ab omnibus, etiam his qui de Paschâ aliter sentiebant, merito diligebatur, nec solum à mediocribus verum ab ipsis quoque Episcopis, Honorio Cantuariorum, & Felice Orientalium Anglorum, venerationi habitus est.*

By this it appears, that *Honorius*, and *Felix* too, the *Bishop* of the *East Angles*, were Men of a different temper from *Augustine*, of a higher and more enlarged Spirit; they looked upon Christianity as a thing much different, and infinitely preferable before *Roman Usages*, Customs and Determinations.

Whilst this Spirit governed, much was done in the propagation of Christianity amongst the *Saxons*, by *Aidan*, *Finan*, and *Colman*, all *Scots*, and successively *Bishops* of *Lindisfarn*. *Finan* ordained *Diuna* *Bishop* of the *Mercians*, and *Ced* *Bishop* of the *East Saxons*, by whose Labours they received again the Christian Faith; which they had cast off ever since the Expulsion of *Mellitus*, that is for near fifty years. Bede, lib. 3. cap. 21.

And he went on with great success in his Diocese, raising up Churches, and ordaining Priests and Deacons; *majorè auctoritate inceptum opus explens. Fecit per loca Ecclesiâs,*

Bede, ut prim. *fi. 15. Presbyteros & Diaconos ordinavit, qui sibi in verbo fides, & ministerio baptizandi adjurarent.*

And Bede tells us, that at the death of *Deusdedit*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, there was in all *Britain* but one Bishop ordained by the *Romans*; which he calls Canonically ordained, and that was *Wini*; and that he was so little concerned for *Augustine's* opinion in the *Paschal Controversie*, that he joined to himself two *British* Bishops in the Ordination of *Ceadda*, to be Archbishop of *York*. *Wini assumptis in societatem Ordinationis, duobus de Britonum gente Episcopis, qui Dominicum Paschæ diem secus morem Canonicum celebrant. Non enim erat tunc ullus, excepto illo Wini in totâ Britannia Canonice Ordinatus.*

Bede, lib. 3.  
cap. 28.

Thus things went on easily, with great success, and great delight; the Gospel was preached among the *Saxons* by these *Scots*, till *Wilfrid* his return from *Rome*; He it seems was a sprightfull Young-man, and desirous to raise himself to some greater eminency than others, upon that account he travelled abroad to *France*, and *Rome*: and made it his business to inform himself of the Usages and Practices that were there. At *Rome* he studied the Controversie about *Easter*, and there under *Boniface* he learnt the new Circle, and many other things that concerned Ecclesiastical Discipline, as Bede says. *Computum Paschæ rationabilem, & alia multa, quæ in patriâ nequiverat, Ecclesiasticis Disciplinis accommodata, eodem Magistro tradente percepit*; at his return from thence, he stayed in *France* with *Dalsinus*, Bishop of *Lyon*; and there had his Crown shaven, *Ab eo tonsus est*; or as it is, lib. 3. 25. *à quo tonsuræ Ecclesiasticæ coronam suscepit*; and was designed to be the Bishop's Heir; & in tanto habitus amore, ut hæredem sibi illum facere cogitaret. So Bede says; though we know not how he comes to join those two together, unless he thought that *Dalsinus*, and *Wilfrid* too had a great deal more of designs upon the World, than the *Scottish* Bishops and Monks had.

Bede, lib. 5.  
cap. 20.

Bede, lib. 5.  
cap. 20.

He returns home, and young *Alchfrid* was committed

to his tuition; him he entertains with Discourses about Rome, and France, about *Ecclesiastical Discipline, Easter and Tonsure*; and gains so far upon his Pupil, that he thought *Wilfrid's* skill in Ecclesiastical Affairs infinitely beyond that of the Scots. *Hujus Doctrinam omnibus Scotorum traditionibus jure præferendam sciebat.* And now began the old Question to stir again, *Bede* says; *Defuncto Finano, cum Colmanus in Episcopatu succederet, & ipse missus à Scotia, Gravior de observatione Paschæ, necnon & de aliis Ecclesiasticæ vitæ disciplinis, controversia nata est.* *Colman, Bishop of Lindisfarn,* was for keeping up the Customs of his Ancestours, and *Wilfrid* was for bringing in the Usages of Rome.

The particular matters in question were about *Easter and Tonsure*, or the time when that *Feast* was to be kept, and the right way of shaving Priests Crowns. *Motà ergo questione de Paschâ vel Tonsura, vel aliis rebus Ecclesiasticis.* Upon these a Synod was called, King *Oswi* and his Son *Alfrid* was there, and the King made a Speech at first, wherein he talks, as if he thought the most important Affairs of Christian Religion were then to be determined; *quod oporteret eos qui uni Deo servirent, unam vivendi regulam tenere, nec discrepare in celebratione Sacramentorum Cœlestium; That they who served the same God, should have the same rule of living, and have no difference in the use of the Heavenly Sacraments.*

In this Synod *Colman* and *Wilfrid* disputed in the behalf of their several ways of calculating the time of *Easter*; the one alledging a Tradition from *St. John*, and the other from *St. Peter*: And King *Oswi* at last, who little understood the force of either Argument, determined for *Wilfrid's* Opinion; and that because he would not lose the favour of *St. Peter*: for seeing both the Disputants agreed that *Christ* had said unto *St. Peter*; I will give unto thee the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven; The King said, *If he be the Door-keeper, I will not offend him, lest there be none to open when I come there;* so *Bede* tells us in the end of the 25th Chapter, Lib. 3.

Immediately after this, *Colman* finding himself and his Doctrine in contempt, leaves his Bishoprick, and goes over into *Ireland*, tractaturus cum suis, quid de his facere debebat; and there went along with him all such as would not receive this new Reform in the Points of *Easter* and *Tonsure*.

Bede, lib. 3.  
cap. 26.

*Affumptis his qui sequi voluerunt, id est qui Pascha Catholicam, & Tonsuram coronæ (Nam & de hoc quæstio non minima erat) recipere volebant.* And a very little while after, all the rest of the *Scots* throughout all *England*, either submitted to the new Orders, or returned to their own Countrey: *ut Scotti omnes, qui inter Anglos morabantur, aut his manus darent, aut redirent in patriam.*

Bede, lib. 3.  
cap. 28.

Here the *English* Christians suffered a great loss, who of a-suddain were deprived of the Ministeries of so many excellent Persons, (who had taught them, converted them, baptized them, and oft communicated the Holy Sacrament to them) and that onely for the sake of two Usages brought from *Rome*; the one of which is certainly impertinent, and such as deserves not in the least to be contested; and the other was thought tolerable by *Honorius* and *Felix*, and the best of those that were busied in the conversion of the *English*. It is deplorable to think, that for the sake of these, the *English* Christians should lose their Teachers; who, if we believe *Bede's* accompt, were most extraordinary Persons, of great piety, severe vertue, and most sincere goodness. *Bede* says: *Quantæ parcimoniæ, cujusque continentiæ fuerit ipse (Colmannus) cum Prædecessoribus suis, testatur etiam locus ille, quem regēbat; ubi abeuntibus eis exceptâ Ecclesiâ paucissimæ domus repertæ sunt, &c.* They were Men of great self-denial, they had a good Church for the service of God, but very few Houses for themselves, and those onely such, as necessity of living did require; they had no money or stock but in Beasts: what money the rich gave unto them, they presently distributed to the poor; and they had no need of any, for the great ones, who came to their Church, came thither for no other cause but to say their Prayers, and to  
hear

Bede, lib. 3.  
cap. 26.

hear the Word of God; and if the King himself came thither, he said his Prayers, and away he went; or if he wanted a reflection, he and his Attendants were content to partake of the daily Provision for the fraternity of their House. The whole care of these Teachers was to serve God, and not the World; to provide for the Heart, and not for the Belly: from whence it came to pass, that Religion was then in great veneration; wherever a Clerk or a Monk came, he was received by the People as the Servant of God. If they saw him on the road, they ran to him, and rejoiced in the humblest posture to receive his blessing. They attended to his Instructions, and Exhortations; and every Lord's Day they came in crowds, either to the Church, or to their Monastery, to learn the Word of God. If a Priest came by chance into a Village, the People gathered together, and took care that they might hear the Word of Life from him: For upon no other account did the Priests, or Clerks go abroad, but to preach, to baptize, to visit the Sick, and to take care of Souls; and so far were they from designs of worldly greatness, that they would not accept of Estates, and Lands, to build Monasteries upon them, where they were not constrained by more than ordinary instance from the Secular Powers.

This account Bede, no Friend to them, but to the adverse Party, gives of them; and therefore it must be presumed to be true. Those Scots (or Irish) then were most admirable Persons; great Examples of Vertue and Piety, a blessing of God, and an honour to a Nation. But such was the weakness, or the humour of those times, that all these were to be thrown out, to make way for the reception of a few Romish Usages. *Wilfrid* had the ascendant, Bede, lib. 3. cap. 20. and he would have it so. And good *St. Chad* amongst the rest was forced to leave the *Bishoprick* of *York*, that *Wilfrid*, by virtue of the Power and Authority of that Seat, might be better enabled to carry on his Reformation according to his new Designs and Projects.

This Story deserves some Remarks and Considerations;

and if the present *Romanists* would reflect upon it, they will find cause to cease their boasts of the performances of their Predecessours in the conversion of the *English Nation*.

I will add one thing, that as *Augustine* had no great success in his business, so neither had *Wilfrid* in his; For he was twice thrown out of his *Bishoprick*; and twice went to *Rome* to make Complaints; and though he was a Man of Parts, and had a zeal for that which he thought good, yet the effects of his tumultuousness followed him; and he that gave troubles to others, had troubles himself.

One Passage farther there is in *Bede* that must not be omitted, that is, concerning *Theodore*, his election to be *Archbishop of Canterbury*, and his mission hither; it seems *Egbert*, King of *Kent*, and *Oswi*, King of the *North-Humbrians*, had agreed, after the death of *Deusdedit*, to send *Wigbart* to *Rome* to be consecrated there; and that some considerable time after the *Bishoprick* had been void. *Cessante non pauco tempore Episcopatu: Wigbart* dyed of the Plague at *Rome*. *Vitalian*, then *Pope*, considers whom to send over in his stead; he thought first of one *Adrian*, who refused the *Archbishoprick*, and commended one *Andrew*, who likewise refused; then *Theodore* was thought of, and approved; yet *Theodore* could not be consecrated till he had received a new *Tonsure*. *Bede* says he was born at *Tharsus* in *Cilicia*, and had the *Tonsure* of *St. Paul*, after the manner of the *Orientals*; *Habuerat Tonsuram more Orientalium Sancti Pauli Apostoli*. And therefore he was stayed at *Rome* (though the *English Nation* much wanted their *Archbishop*) four months, till his Hair was grown, that the *Crown* of *St. Peter* might be rightly shorn on his Head; *quatuor expectavit menses, donec illi coma cresceret; quo in coronam tonderi posset*. It seems the same temper that *Wilfrid* brought into *England* was then regnant at *Rome*; and a great stress was laid upon the right Cut, and wonderfully accurate they were in distinguishing the *Tonsure* of *St. Peter* from that of *St. Paul*, and of *Simon Magus*, as

*Bede*

*Bede* shews. And Mr. *Cressley* in his *Church-history*, after a punctual relation of the state of this worthy Controversie, expressly says, *That the Popes of this age took care, that St. Peter's Tonsure should onely be received in Britain.* *Bede, lib. 3. cap. 22. Cressley's Hist. lib. 16. cap. 18. n. 17.*

This speaks how vain and trifling the *Romans* then were; and it is amazing to compare the thoughts and designs of these, with the accompt that *Bede* gives of those excellent *Scots*, who were forced to leave *England* for their sakes.

But *Theodore*, as he had been used himself, so he was forced to treat others; his first great business was to secure the two *Points* of *Easter* and *Tonsure*, and he durst not but doe it; for he had a Spy over him, to watch his motions; and to urge him to keep close to the present humour of *Rome*. *Bede* tells us that *Adrian* came over with him, *ut ei Doctrinæ Cooperator existens diligenter attenderet, ne quid ille contrarium veritati fidei, Græcorum more, in Ecclesiam cui præfesset introduceret.* *Bede, lib. 4. cap. 1.* Here we may observe the vast difference between the Counsels and Designments of *Gregory the Great*, and those of *Pope Vitalian*. *Gregory* encourages and exhorts his *Missionary Augustine*, to gather and take up in every Countrey any Usage, or Practice, or Mode, or Form, that is pious, and religious, and to the glory of God; and to have no regard for Places, but Things; no more for the Usages of *Rome*, than for those of *France*. But *Vitalian* ties his *Missionary Theodore* to keep close to all the ways and methods of *Rome*. He would have him shew *Rome* in every thing he did, and to be intirely of the *Roman* cut. He was altogether for place, and not for thing: He had no concern for what was pious, and what religious, and what of good use in other Places. He was for that onely which was done at home. And though Christianity was once most pure, and most gloriously had flourished in the *Eastern* Churches, yet he particularly cautioned and provided, that *Theodore* should lay aside his first.

first Works, and the Institutions of his *Fathers*, and the Traditions of the *East*, and intirely govern himself according to the Usages of *Rome*.

Now the effect of this is most remarkable; though *Theodore* submitted to all this, and came with resolution to please them, whose Creatures he was; yet being a learned, stout, and most reverend *Prelate*, he was forced in a little time to run into open opposition against *Rome*. For *Wilfrid*, the great Stickler for *Roman* Fashions, indeavoured to outdoe him, and would always be one step beyond him in the way of *Romanizing*. He could not consecrate a *Bishop*, but *Wilfrid* had something to say against it; nor make a *Synodal Constitution*; but he had much to fault in it. And so troublesome he was, that *Theodore* was forced to throw him out of his *Bishoprick*: upon this *Wilfrid* appealed to *Rome*, and got the *Pope's Bull* for his resettlement; yet *Theodore* would not reverse his Sentence; and King *Egbert* added a second of Banishment against him: And neither would obey, although the *Pope* threatened deprivation and excommunication to all those that would not receive him.

Indeed in the second year of *Alfrid* he returned again, but soon was banished again; and then again he appealed to *Rome*: and though he had favour there, yet he received no benefit from it here. For *Wilfrid* himself being summoned to appear at a *Synod*, upbraided the *English Bishops*; That they had opposed the *Pope's Command* for two and twenty years; and wondered that they durst prefer the *Constitutions of Theodore*, before the *Bull of the Pope*.

But for all his talk, the *Synod* had no more regard for the *Bull*, than the *King*, or the *Archbishop* had; for they added a third Sentence of Excommunication against him and his Adherents. And as long as *Theodore* lived, this *Papal Bull* was not in the least regarded; but *Wilfrid* the great *Romanizer*, Innovator and Reformer, who had vanquished



quished the good and truly Christian Scots (or Irish) and thought he merited much in his Contests about *Easter* and *Tonsure*, found himself sufficiently beaten by one who was a mere Creature of *Rome*.

All this may be seen in *Bede*, and in the Life of *Wilfrid*, written by *Stephen Heddius*. Bede, lib. 5.  
cap. 20.

This short Narration may deserve some few thoughts from any candid Reader; whether he be *Papist* or *Protestant*, *Romanizer* or *Catholick*, and what is more than all those names, *plain Christian*. Here any one may see something of the first Christianity, and something of that which was superadded to it; the first most venerable and good, the other vain and trifling. In the Advices of *Gregory* to *Augustine*, and in the Lives and Practices of *Aidan*, *Finan* and *Colman*; we have a most generous sense of Piety and Religion, and noble Designments most agreeable to those of our *Saviour* and his *Apostles*. In the Aims of *Augustine*, *Wilfrid* and *Vitalian*, we have that which is low and mean; great values put upon little things; The Name of *St. Peter* oft used, and nothing else; the Soul and Temper of him seems totally to be laid aside. Great noise, and stir, and confidence employed to advance that which was of no use: And the same Arts engaged in the Service which the great *St. Augustine* and *St. Ambrose* despised and trampled upon, when they found them formerly appearing in like cases. Aug. Ep. 86.  
Castulano.

Besides, we may here see what mischiefs have come from those Men, who have made it their business to subject the Faith and Worship of Christians to the Determinations and Usages of one City. *Wilfrid* certainly gave much trouble, and great disturbance to *Theodore*, to *King Egbert*, to *King Alfrid*; to *England*, to *Rome*; and all this to very little purpose.

If any one now has a mind to satisfy himself in the difference between the old *Catholick*, and the old *Romanizer*,

Bede, lib. 3.  
cap. 26.

Bede, lib. 5.  
cap. 21.

zer, he may compare the accompt which Bede gives of Colman and his Predecessours, with the Elogium which he gives of Acca, Wilfrid's Successour; the first of these I have translated, and the other our Adverſaries may doe, when they think good.

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