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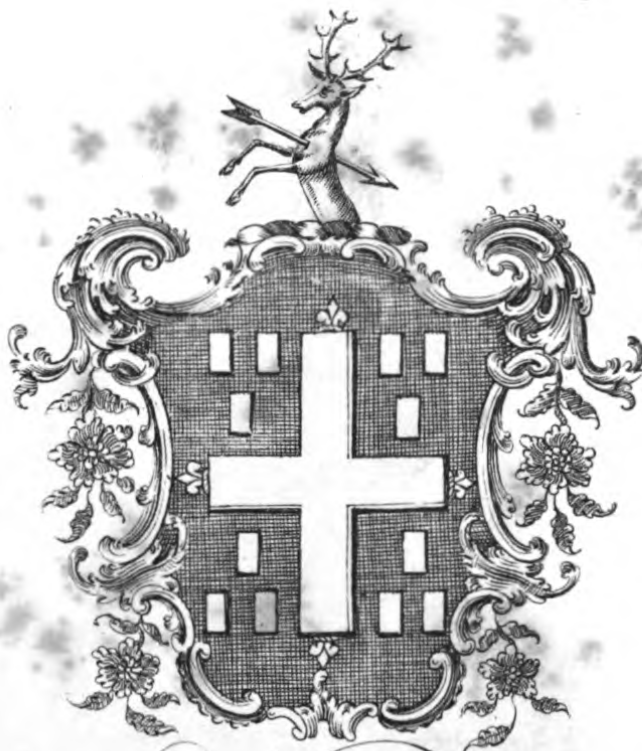
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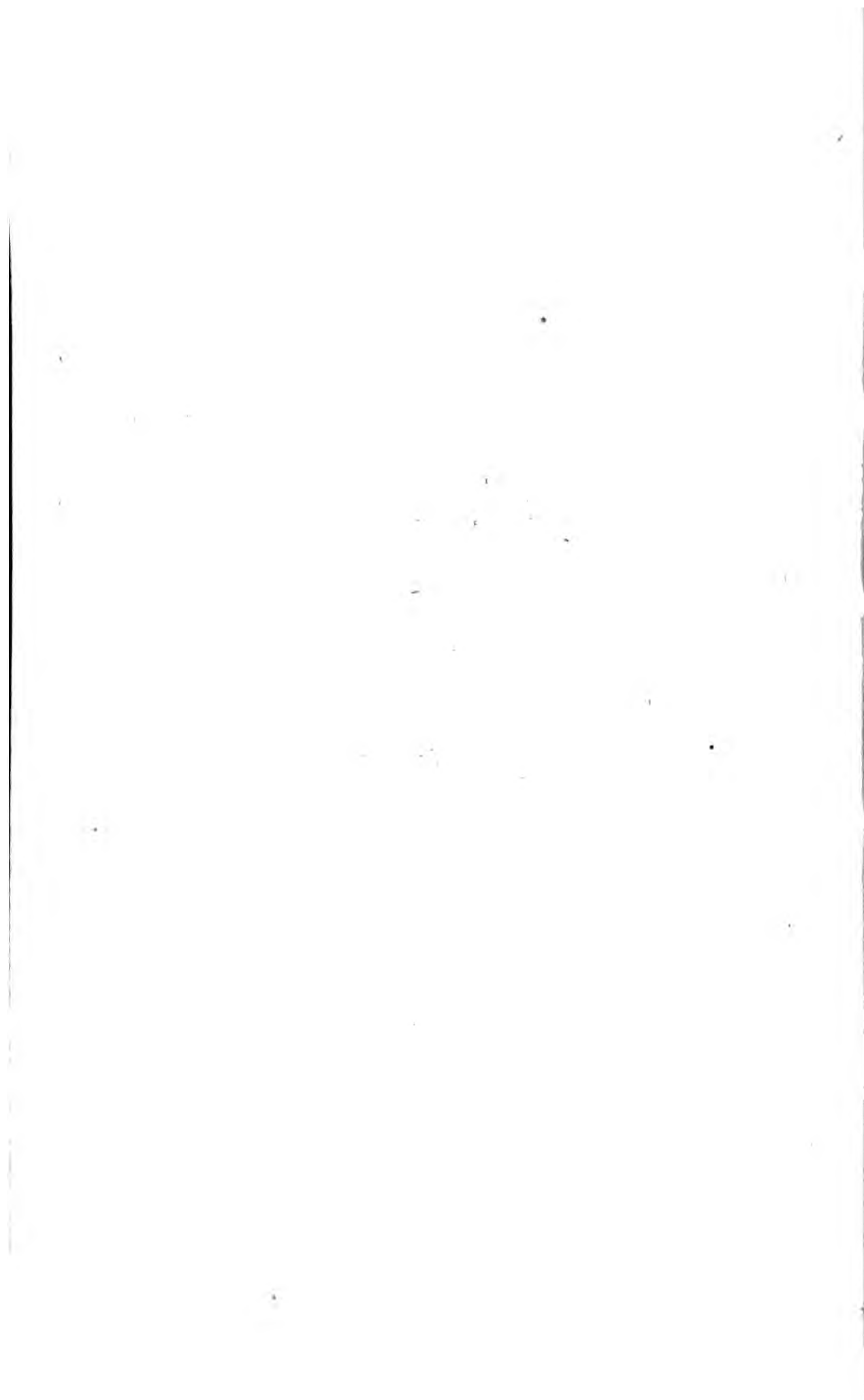
From the Editor



**ADVICE**

**TO THE**

**OMAN CATHOLICS.**



FRIENDLY AND SEASONABLE  
ADVICE  
TO THE  
ROMAN CATHOLICS  
OF ENGLAND.

FOURTH EDITION,

WITH AN APPENDIX AND NOTES

BY THE

REV. WALTER FARQUHAR HOOK, M.A.

CHAPLAIN IN ORDINARY TO THE KING, &c.

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H. C. LANGBRIDGE, BIRMINGHAM.

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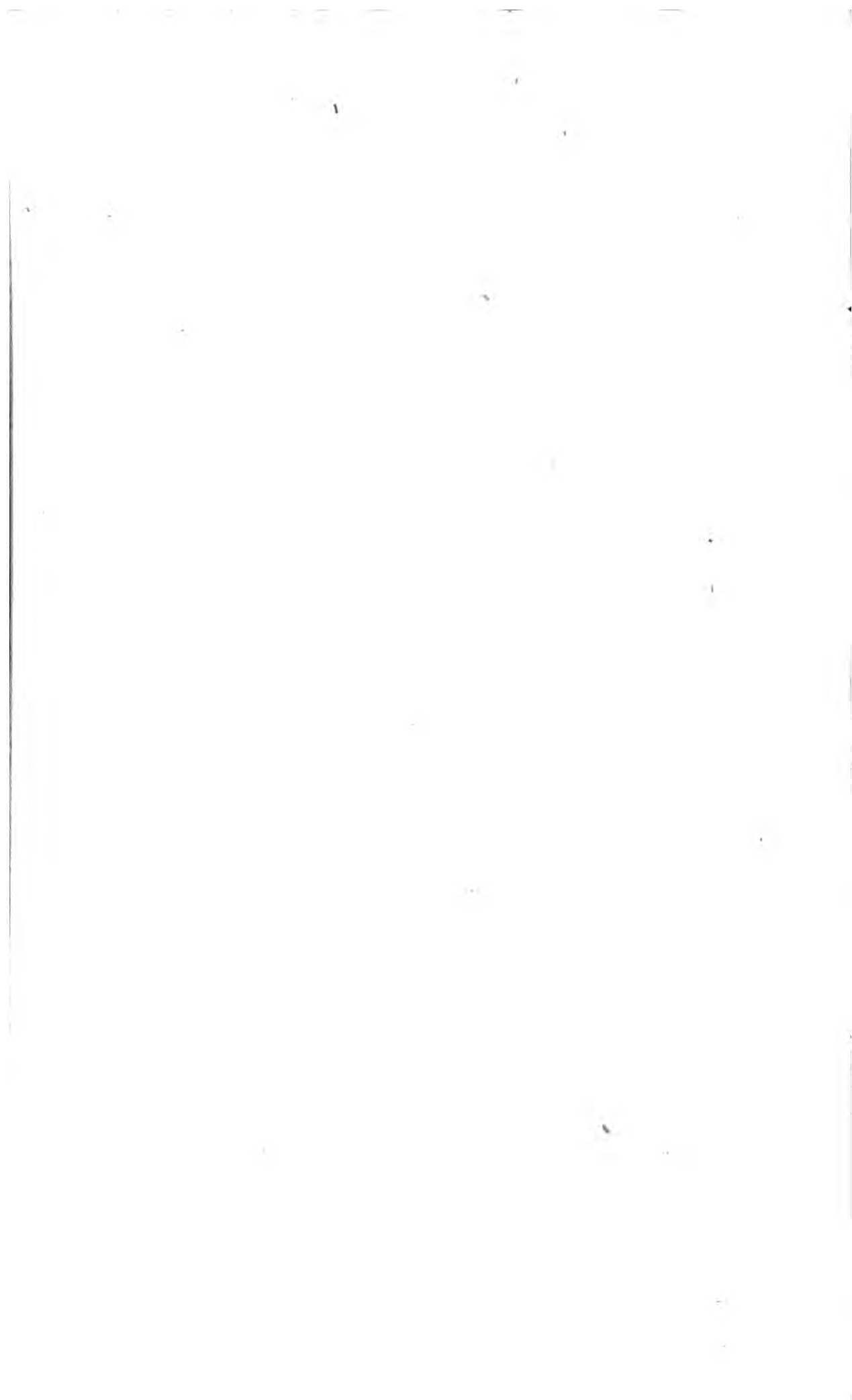




**BIRMINGHAM :**

**THOMAS KNOTT, JUN. PRINTER.**

AS A SMALL TOKEN  
OF GRATITUDE, AFFECTION, AND RESPECT,  
 THIS VOLUME  
IS DEDICATED TO  
THE CONGREGATION OF ST. PHILIP'S CHURCH,  
BIRMINGHAM,  
BY THEIR FAITHFUL LECTURER;  
AND TO THE  
INHABITANTS OF THE CHAPELRY OF MOSELEY,  
BY THEIR DEVOTED PASTOR.



## P R E F A C E.

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FOR the re-publication of the following little volume at such a period as the present, the Editor presumes that no apology can be necessary. His attention was originally attracted to the subject of which it treats, by the circumstance of his residing in the neighbourhood of a large Roman Catholic Establishment,\* by means of which, it may almost be said, whole parishes have been converted to the Romish faith. He at one time intended to

\* Oscot College.

prepare for the press a work similar to the present, but on a larger scale, and was collecting materials for that purpose, when, by an appointment to a more extensive sphere of parochial duty, he was compelled, from want of leisure, to abandon his design. But having found in the following little Tract those opinions and principles which Churchmen have ever held to be sound and correct, briefly stated and calmly maintained, he considered that he might be rendering some service to the cause of true religion by reprinting it.

He has been chiefly influenced by two considerations,—relating, first, to the Romanists themselves; and, secondly, to Protestants. With respect to the for-

mer, it may be impossible to convert such as are confirmed in their attachment to the Romish church and faith, since to them the perusal of a work like the present will be prohibited. He *does*, however, hope to excite a spirit of inquiry in the minds of those who, without having ascertained what the claims of the Church of England to their allegiance really are, have forsaken the communion of their native land to embrace the pomps and vanities of a foreign, and, comparatively speaking, of a *modern* religion.

In the next place, although in the volume he now submits to the public no allusion is made to the great question pending in Parliament on the subject of Roman Catholic Dissenters, he cannot

but conceive that a knowledge of the *manner* in which the Church of England differs from the Church of Rome must be highly desirable in those upon whom the discussion of that question will devolve. That, however, there is an unaccountable deficiency in this knowledge even among well educated persons, is a fact which may be lamented, but can scarcely be denied. Here, therefore, he also hopes to excite a spirit of inquiry.

From this statement it will appear that the present Treatise is not intended to convey fresh information to the scholar or divine, but merely to repeat, for the advantage of the general reader, what to all scholars and divines is already known. To render it more useful for this purpose,

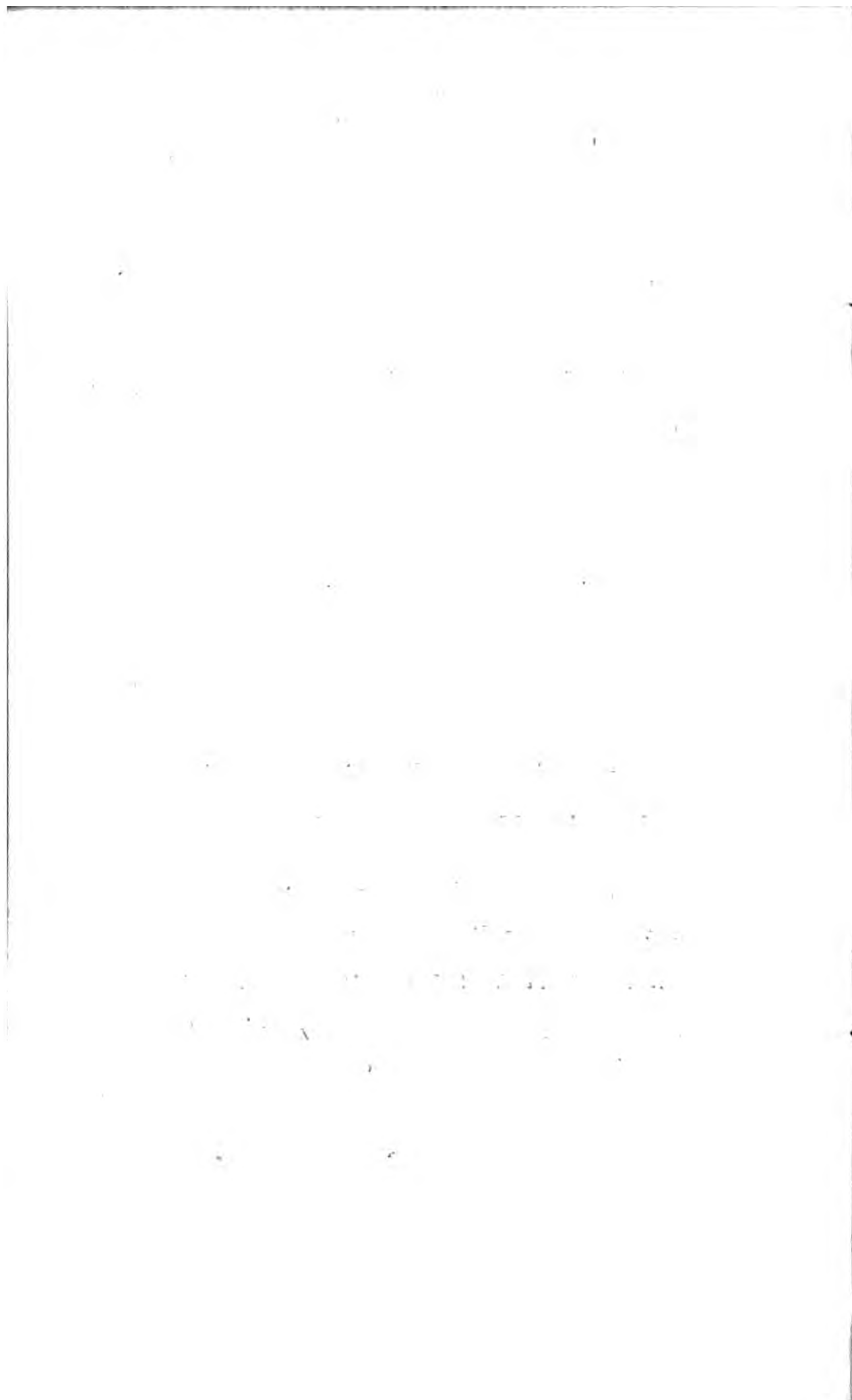
several Notes have been added by the Editor, in some of which the origin of the Romish innovations is pointed out, while in others the reader is referred to works that may be found in every respectable library, where the different subjects alluded to are more largely discussed.

The third edition, printed in 1677, is the basis of the present one. But since utility can be the sole object in such a work as this, the Editor has considered himself at liberty to omit some sentences and to insert others,—sometimes to re-model the greater part of a section, and throughout to make various alterations in the style,

W. F. H.

*Birmingham, December 13, 1828.*





FRIENDLY AND SEASONABLE

ADVICE, &c.

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INTRODUCTION.

*My Friends and Countrymen,*

IT is observed by others and complained of by yourselves, that you lie under many inconveniences by reason of your adherence to those opinions which Rome calls Religion. You tell us that you want many privileges which other subjects enjoy, and lie under many burthens from which other sectarians are free. You perceive that your actions are observed, your designs suspected, and your party accused as the cause of many public evils. How far some

of your own communion may have contributed to this I shall not take it upon myself to decide; since my object is not to account for the cause of that antipathy to your religion which prevails in England, but to suggest an expedient to release you from the sad effects of which you complain. While some, therefore, accuse your practices, and others deride your worship, I have such an affection for your persons, since you are my countrymen, and so much charity for your souls, since you bear the name of christians, as to present you with some useful advice. It is true that the common opinion concerning you might almost discourage such an attempt, since it is generally supposed that the prejudice of a Roman Catholic is like theirs in St. Austin, who (being descended from unbelieving ancestors) preferred their extraction before the truth, and like the resolution of Cotta, in Cicero, who says, that no discourse of either learned or unlearned

men, could ever remove him from the opinion received from his forefathers concerning the worship of the immortal gods.\* But I know that many of you are more reasonable than to ground your faith upon so uncertain a foundation, “ It is not the part of wise men—says a learned father—to be enslaved to received opinions, or rashly to give themselves up to the customs of their fathers, but to find out the truth.”† And it is the advice of the great Apostle “ to prove all things, and hold fast to that which is good.” For to be confident of what we never examined, is to have zeal without knowledge.

I can easily believe that your spiritual guides will esteem no sin more mortal than to enquire into those principles which you receive from them ; but their prohibitions ought only to make you the more suspicious and the more inquisitive, and thus

\* Cicero de Natur. Deor. Lib. 2.

† Theodoret de curand. Græc. affect. Sermon 1.

induce you to try that coin which shuns the touchstone, knowing that truth seeks no corners, and that which is real fears no test. The Church of England puts no restraints upon her adherents, nor is she unwilling to have her doctrine and discipline tried by Scripture and antiquity, since she has always found that those are her best sons who have enquired most narrowly. “ Every one, says our Saviour, that doth evil hateth the light, neither cometh to the light lest his deeds should be reprovèd ;— but he that doth truth cometh to the light.” *St. John* iii. 20, 21. If, therefore, you have only reflection enough to suspect, and courage enough to examine, I am not without hope, and I shall ask no more of you than to enquire impartially whether the doctrines in which you differ from the Church of England deserve so firm an assent as you give to them ;—while I am free to remark, that he who dares not do this, is not a disciple but a slave. It may be

that those counsellors will please the hot-headed bigots of your persuasion better, who advise them to redress their grievances by reproaching the laws and rebelling against the government of the country; but I am well convinced that among the wiser and more sober Romanists of England, there are many of too noble a disposition to give countenance to such proceedings as these.

It is the character of the stoics in Galen, that “they would rather betray their country than renounce their maxims,”—but I entertain a better opinion of the leading men of your party than to suppose them guilty of such folly, and inflamed with such madness as this; I hope, therefore, you will account it to be far more friendly and seasonable advice to try your principles strictly before you expose your country and yourselves to the dangers and miseries which seem to be impending. When once you understand the principles

of the Romish Faith, and the sandy foundation on which it is built, I trust you will perceive that they are not to be retained at so dear a rate. But even should this not be the case, yet this trial of your principles ought not to be declined; for I would advise you to examine the Romish doctrines, if it were merely to declare that your religion is not a blind and accidental choice, and to vindicate yourselves from the charge of the Samaritans of old—that they worshipped they knew not what.

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## SECTION I.

WHETHER THE ROMAN OPINIONS, WHICH DIFFER FROM THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND, BE THE OLD RELIGION?

IT is probable that those who have been educated in the Romish Religion, as well as those who have inconsiderately turned to it, please themselves in fancying that they are of the *old religion*.<sup>1</sup> They assume and appropriate to themselves the name of *Catholics*, upon this presumption,

<sup>1</sup> “ In addition to the Quinisextine Council, five other Synods of the Eastern and forty-six of the Western Church, among which are included five in different parts of England, were held in the seventh century. Their canons of discipline and local observances are too multifarious to detail. But one thing is observable, that not one of the novelties of the modern Church of Rome is to be discovered, viz.—1. Supremacy of the



that they entirely and in all things agree with the Ancient and Universal Church. But, my friends, if you have the patience to enquire, you will find that there is no good ground for this persuasion; it being evident that the Roman is *not* the old religion in any other articles except those only which are found in the Apostles' creed, or founded upon the plain words of Holy Scripture; for that is the old religion which

Pope—2. Infallibility of the Church—3. Half-communion—4. Transubstantiation—5. Adoration of the Host—6. Worship of Images—7. Invocation of Angels and Saints—8. Sale of Indulgences—9. Purgatory—10. Masses—11. Prayers in an unknown tongue. So far from it, that the continental churches did not as yet appear to depart from the faith and practice of the primitive ages, whatever may have been the superstitions of individuals. Celibacy was not by any means a general law, while communion in one kind seems not to have been acknowledged, as appears from the 18th canon of the fourth Council of Toledo, where it was ruled that the bread and wine should be mingled in the cup before they were distributed to *the people*."—Grier's Epitome of the General Councils.

God revealed at first, and which Christ and his Apostles taught. That is truest which was the first (says Tertullian) and that was first which was from the beginning.<sup>a</sup> So St. Cyprian: "We ought to regard not so much what some others before us have thought fit, as what Christ himself, who was before all, has done."<sup>b</sup> Now, if that be the old religion which is taught in the Holy Scripture and the Creed, herein the religion of Rome cannot pretend to be older than the religion of this church, because we hold all these articles as well as they; nay, if the case be rightly stated, the Church of England's faith is the old religion, and not that of Rome; for she professes to believe nothing as an article of faith, but what is read in Holy Scripture, or may be proved thereby. Art. vi. But the Roman church declares they receive traditions with the same veneration as

<sup>a</sup> Tertul. in Marcion. lib. 4.

<sup>b</sup> Cyprian. ad Cæcilian. Ep. 63.

they do the Scriptures. Concil. Trident. Sess. 4. So that we hold all the principles of the old religion, and no other: but they (under the pretence of traditions) have invented and added many points to the old religion which are not mentioned in the bible, or in the primitive fathers, and have decreed other articles contrary to the old religion recorded in scripture. Now these assuredly are a new religion; and yet these are the doctrines in which we differ. In all the principles which are truly the old religion we and they generally agree; but if you take the religion of the Roman church for the doctrines in which they differ from us, it may be justly said, they are of the new religion, and we of the old, since our religion was recorded in scripture and observed by the fathers sixteen hundred years ago; whereas all that *which is properly their religion is of much later date.* That I may not be thought to invent this charge, or to

accuse the Roman church wrongfully, I shall refer to the principal doctrines in which we differ, and quote your own doctors as witnesses of this truth.

1. That prayers to the Saints are not mentioned by Christ or his Apostles,<sup>2</sup> is

<sup>2</sup> It is remarkable that the Fathers contended that it was the second Person of the Trinity who appeared to Moses in the Bush, *because* they considered it impossible that a created Angel should permit himself to be worshipped. See Bp. Bull Defens. Fid. Nic. The following very striking passage occurs in the Martyrdom of Polycarp. The Jews advised the Governor under whom he was executed, not to deliver his body to his friends, "lest forsaking him that was crucified they should begin to worship this Polycarp, not considering," say the narrators, "that neither is it possible for us ever to forsake Christ, *nor to worship any other besides him.*" Tertullian Scorpiac. cap. 4. particularly shews that *no kind of worship whatever* is to be paid to the Saints. "Præscribitur mihi ne quem alium adorem aut *quomodo venerer* præter unicum illum qui ita mandat." The worship of saints did not generally prevail till the eighth century. The reader is referred to Bingham, book xiii. chap 3.

confessed by Salmeron, Lindan, and Bannes.<sup>c</sup> Etherianus says as much of prayers for the dead.<sup>d</sup> That indulgences<sup>3</sup> are not to be

<sup>3</sup> The discipline of the primitive Church was very severe, and the lapsed, as well as those who had fallen into great sins, were sometimes degraded to the order of the Flentes or Penitents for ten, fifteen, or twenty years. It was, however, in the power of the bishops to shorten the period and lessen the rigour of the penance according to circumstances, and this was called an Indulgence. “That the doctrine and use of Indulgences was never heard of in the Church of Christ for many hundreds of years (says Bp. Bull) is certain, and confessed too by divers learned men of the Roman communion. I shall cite only one of them, but he such a one as may be instar omnium. Our Roffensis, Luther’s great antagonist and Rome’s martyr, gives us this account of Indulgences:—“Many, perhaps, are tempted not to rely much upon Indulgences, upon this consideration—that the use of them appears to be new and very lately known among Christians. To whom, I answer, it is not very certain who was the first author of them. *The doctrine of Purgatory was rarely, if at all heard*

<sup>c</sup> Salmeron in 1 *Tim.* cap. 2. Lindan. *Panop.* l. 3. c. 5. Bannes 2. 2<sup>a</sup> qu. 1. *Art.* 10. *conclus.* 2.

<sup>d</sup> Hugo Etherian. *de regressu animæ.*

found in Scripture, or in the Ancient Doctors, is asserted by Durandus, Major, Cajetan, and Antoninus.<sup>f</sup> That transub-

*of among the ancients; and to this very day the Greeks believe it not. Nor was the belief, either of Purgatory or Indulgences, so necessary in the primitive Church as it is now. So long as men were unconcerned about Purgatory, nobody enquired after Indulgences; for upon that depends all the worth of Indulgences. Take away Purgatory and there is no more need of these. Seeing, therefore, that Purgatory was so lately known and received in the Universal Church, who will wonder, that in the first ages of Christianity Indulgences were not made use of.*—Art. 18, Cont. Lutherum, op. p. 496; ed. 1597; quoted by Bp. Bull; Corruptions of the Church of Rome, p. 284, ed. Burton. But as to Indulgences in the sense of the modern Church of Rome, they were never heard of; the sale of them was first introduced by Hildebrand in the eleventh century, and was again resorted to by Leo X. in the sixteenth, to cover his luxurious expences and to provide a dowry for his sister, as both Du Pin and Jurieu confess.

<sup>f</sup> Durand. 4. Sent. dist. 20. qu. 3. Major. 4. d. 2. qu. 2. Cajetan. Opusc. 15. cap. 1. Antonin. part. 1. sum. tit. 10. cap. 3.

stantiation<sup>4</sup> itself cannot be proved by Scripture, is admitted by three Cardinals.<sup>5</sup> And if our designed brevity would allow it, the like might be proved of all the rest.

<sup>4</sup> For the gradual introduction of the doctrine of Transubstantiation the reader will do well to consult Dr. Waterland's Charge on the Sacramental Part of the Eucharist. In Waterland, viii. 233, of Bp. Van Mildert's edit. ; in Bingham, xvi.-6, 27 ; in Leslie's Case stated ; and especially in Bp. Cosin's History of Transubstantiation, the strongest testimonies against it are produced from the Fathers. The truly learned Dr. Grabe, in his notes on Irenæus, p. 399, seems to think that traces of it are to be found in Gregory Nyssen and Cyril of Jerusalem. But the passage in Gregory is shewn to be corrupt by Waterland, and the arguments of Grabe are ably refuted by the not less learned Mr. Johnson, in "the Unbloody Sacrifice," p. 259. It appears that this heresy was, in fact, started at the beginning of the 8th century ; that it found an able advocate in Paschasius Radbert in the 9th ; but that, although avowed by the Popes and maintained by the Clergy, it was not authoritatively decreed till the fourth Lateran Council, A.D. 1215.

<sup>5</sup> Fisher *de Captiv. Babyl. c. 10. in 4. Sent. qu. 6. art. 1.* Cajetan. *ap. Suarez. Tom. 3. disp. 46.*

But we must proceed to shew that there are some new things in the Romish religion directly contrary to the Scripture. The taking the cup, for instance, from the laity, is contrary to our Saviour's institution, as that very Council of Constance confesses *which first enjoined it*; for they say, the sacrament shall be given in one kind only to the people, *Non obstante, &c. notwithstanding our Lord did appoint it in both*: Concil. Constant. sess. 13. And your own authentic vulgar translation (as if this innovation had been foreseen) where the Greek only has, "We are all partakers of one bread," adds (*& de uno calice*), "and of one cup:" 1 Cor. 10—17. The veneration which you give to images,<sup>5</sup> seems

<sup>5</sup> Patavius Dogmat. Theol. de Incarnat. c. 13, n. 3, confesses that, for the three or four first centuries, there was no use of images in Churches. See Proofs against them in Bingham viii. 8-7; in Burnet's Reformation pt. ii. book iii. p. 368; and in that soundest of divines and most impartial of historians,



to all impartial eyes directly contrary to the second commandment ; and though your priests will not directly confess it, yet their general practice of leaving out the second commandment in your catechisms, and cutting the tenth in two, to keep up the number and to conceal the omission from the vulgar, is a fair proof that they

Jeremy Collier, ii. 464.—The fact appears to be, that during the three first centuries images were entirely unknown in the church ; that towards the close of the fourth century they were introduced, and in the fifth were in common use ; that soon after, the worship of them partially commenced, but that it did not generally prevail till the eighth century, when, after having been condemned by a council at Constantinople A.D. 754, it was finally established by the influence, first of the infamous Empress Irene, and afterwards of Theodora. Women have been too often found to be the nursing mothers of heresy and schism. Against this abomination the Gallican and German churches long continued to struggle, and the Emperor Charlemagne wrote a book to condemn it. According to Spelman it was not admitted into England before the second Nicene Council A.D. 787. It is not alluded to by Bede.

themselves suspected that this commandment made against them, and that they feared others would apprehend so too. To these you may add, praying in an unknown tongue,<sup>6</sup> which St. Paul condemns in one

<sup>6</sup> Fleury, lib. 63, n. 7 (Confessor to the French King, and a very learned Romanist) acknowledges, that in the most enlightened ages divine offices were performed in the most known language of every country, and it is certain that he ascribes the abrogation of this ancient custom to Pope Gregory VII. It is equally certain that the Roman Liturgy was not admitted into Spain till Alfonsus, King of Castile, was intimidated to receive it A. D. 1074, by Pope Hildebrand. Fleury, lib. 63, n. 6, 7, relates, out of Pope Hildebrand's Epistles, the method and time of introducing the Romish Liturgy into Spain and other countries, by threatening depositions of kings, rebellions, and insurrections of the people.—Antecedently to the eighth century, says Dr. Grier, we can discover no nation which had not the Liturgy and Holy Scriptures in its own language, or in one known to it. Origen expressly states, that in his time every person prayed to God in his own tongue; the Greeks using the Greek, the Romans the Roman language. Orig. contra Celsum, lib. viii. p. 402.

whole chapter (1 Corinth. xiv.) as some of your own commentators on the place confess: as also the making saints and angels your mediators to God, when the same apostle positively says, There is but one mediator, viz. Christ Jesus. 1 Tim. ii. 5. All these, therefore, cannot rightly be accounted as any part of the old religion, properly so called; but if we descend lower, these, and many other points of your religion, are so far from being the old religion, that the writers of the Roman church acknowledge that they were not known to the primitive fathers; nay, they record the very time when most of them were imposed. The doctrine of Purgatory<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup> The origin and gradual introduction of the heretical Doctrine of Purgatory is traced by Bishop Bull, serm. iii.—The reasoning of the Council of Trent, session 25, upon this subject, is remarkable. Without any appeal to scripture, it determined, that since the mass taught that that sacrifice was expiatory for the dead, *nondum ad plenum purgatis*, the doctrine of Purgatory was sufficiently settled!

was first built upon the credit of those fabulous dialogues attributed to Gregory the First; or, if they were his (which many doubt) this was six hundred years after Christ, and it was not generally believed in the church five hundred years after that, as we learn from an old historian, Otto Frising. *Chronic.* An. 1146. As for the prayers made to deliver souls from thence (that gainful article of your church) we are told by your own authors that the first who caused them to be appointed by your church, was Odilo, Abbot of Clugny, An. 1000.<sup>h</sup> The worshipping of God by images was not allowed by the ancient fathers, as is admitted by your own authors, Cleman-gis, Polyd. Virgil, and Peresius Aiala.<sup>i</sup> And all men know this kind of use of images can be derived no higher (as to its being

<sup>h</sup> Ranul. Higden *Polychron*, l. 6. c. 15. Petrus Damian, *Vit.* Odilon.

<sup>i</sup> Clemangis *de nov. Celebr.* II. Polydor. Virgil *de Invent.* rer. l. 6. Aiala *de Tradit.* p. 2. c. de Imag.

decreed) than that despicable council<sup>k</sup> in the eighth century, but both the doctrine and the council also were rejected for many years after by the French, English, and German churches.<sup>l</sup> Indulgences are not ancient, as Bishop Fisher confesses.<sup>8 m</sup> Nor is there any good proof in your own authors for them before the time of Pope Alexander III. An. 1160, or the Council of Clermont, An. 1096.<sup>n</sup> The first who made money of them was Boniface 9th, An. 1390, as Platina and Polydore Virgil tell us.<sup>o</sup> And the first jubilee (the great market for them) was not an hundred years before.<sup>p</sup> The forcing all

<sup>s</sup> See the passage quoted at length in a preceding note.—Roffensis being J. Fisher, Bp. of Rochester.

<sup>k</sup> *Concil. secundum Nicæen. An. 787.*

<sup>l</sup> *Hoveden Annal. Par. 1. p. 405. Matth. Westmon. Anno. 753.*

<sup>m</sup> *Fish. in 18. Artic. Luther.*

<sup>n</sup> *Scioppius de Indulg. cap. 12.*

<sup>o</sup> *Platin. in Vit. Polyd. Virgil. de Invent. l. 8. cap. 1.*

<sup>p</sup> *Temp. Bonifac. 8. An. 1300. Polyd. Virg. ut supra, l. 8. c. 3.*

priests to vow single life,<sup>9</sup> and renounce their wives, was first obtruded upon the

<sup>9</sup> For proof that marriage was considered lawful to priests in the primitive ages, the reader is referred for facts to Bingham, iv. 5, 5; and to the Bishop of Lincoln's Tertullian, p. 356. By the tenth canon of Neo-Cæsarea, about the year 315, according to Dr. Grier, it was decreed, that "if deacons declared at the time of their ordination that they would marry, they *should not* be deprived of their function if *they did marry*." Whatever may be thought of the wisdom of this local canon, it is decisive as to the abstract question of the right. In the sixth century, the various regulations made in different synods for married clergy, prove that celibacy, though certainly much approved, was not a general rule. In the eleventh century the married clergy fell under the anathema of a council at Rome, where chastity was defined to be *abstinence from marriage*, although concubinage was tolerated. As far as our own country is concerned, we find in Spelman's Councils many instances of marriage among the clergy, tom. I, A.D. 964; at page 443, he informs us, that at that period all the clergy were married, except the Monks of Glastonbury and Abingdon. At page 494 he tells us, that king Alferus ejected the monks and introduced married clergy into the cathedrals. Mr.

church by Pope Hildebrand ;<sup>9</sup> without any precedent (says an old historian) and, as many thought, of an indiscreet zeal contrary to the holy fathers' opinion.<sup>7</sup> And yet, in this particular, he was not obeyed here in England for above a hundred years after ; for our ancient records say, all these

Johnson, the author of the well known *Vade Mecum*, states, vol. 2, pref. 113, that, to the reign of Edgar and the presidence of Dunstan in the archiepiscopal chair, it is certain that the clergy who lived in monasteries had their wives cohabiting with them. Even so late as the year 1175, a synod in London determined " that the *sons of priests* should be incapable of succeeding to churches *possessed by their Fathers*," as is stated by the excellent and impartial Roman Catholic historian Du Pin, vol. 2, p. 394. This proves either that marriage was lawful or concubinage permitted.

As we find mention made of tythes at a synod held in England A.D. 786, we perceive at once the absurdity of that statement which is sometimes made, that they were granted to an unmarried clergy.

<sup>9</sup> *An.* 1074. Matth. Westmon. *cod.* *An.* Vincent. *Spec. hist.* l. 24. c. 45. Antonin. *lib.* 16. *cap.* 1. § 21.

<sup>7</sup> Sigebert. *Chron. ad. A.* 1074.

decrees availed nothing, for the priests by the king's consent still had their wives, as formerly.<sup>1</sup> Auricular confession to a priest<sup>1</sup> was never imposed as necessary until the Lateran council ;<sup>2</sup> it being little above fifty

<sup>1</sup> On this point the reader may consult Bingham, xv. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Of this Council the reader may form some idea from the following statement :—“ In the plenitude of his assumed power, Pope Innocent addressed both princes and prelates on the grounds assigned for their assembling, and then presented them with canons to the number of seventy, which he had previously drawn up ; at the same time desiring that *no debate* should be held respecting them, but that the *silence* of the council should be regarded as a token of their approbation of them. By these means he not only extended and confirmed the authority of the Popes and the power of the clergy ; but imposed new articles of faith on the church, among which stood prominently conspicuous the monstrous and absurd doctrines of Transubstantiation and auricular confession, the latter of which he ranked among the duties prescribed to christians by the

<sup>1</sup> *Histor. Petroburg. Anno 1127. ap. Spelm. T. 2. p. 36.*

<sup>2</sup> *Concil. Later. Can. 21. An. 1215.*



years before, that we are informed by the famous Master of the Sentences, and by Gratian your great compiler of the decrees, that it was in our choice whether we would confess to God only, or to the priest also ;<sup>u</sup> and Thomas Aquinas confesses that this was the opinion at that time.<sup>w</sup> Transubstantiation (the discriminating doctrine of your present church) was not held by the fathers, as your own doctors acknowledge;<sup>x</sup> and one of the infallible heads of your church affirms, that the elements cease not

divine laws.” Grier’s Epitome, p. 186. It was this council which endeavoured to compel the secular powers to ENTIRPATE ALL HERETICS *marked by the Church of Rome* from their respective territories, under pain of excommunication, and decreed, that if they should persist for one year in refusing to fulfil their obligations, the Pope *may declare their Vassals absolved from their allegiance.*

<sup>u</sup> Peter Lomb. l. 4. *sentent. dist. 77.* Gracian *de Pœnit. dist. 1. c. 89. circ. An. 1150.*

<sup>w</sup> Tho. Aqu. in 4 *Sent. dist. 17.*

<sup>x</sup> Gregor. de Valent. *de Transub. lib. 2. cap. 7.*

Cardin. Cusan. *Exercit. l. 6.*

to be of the substance and nature of bread and wine.<sup>y</sup> The schoolmen confess that transubstantiation is not ancient;<sup>z</sup> and two of the most famous of them plainly deny it.<sup>a</sup> The administering the sacrament in one kind, is no older than the Council of Constance (as was observed before;)<sup>b</sup> the practice of the whole church, and of Rome itself being otherwise until that time;<sup>c</sup> finally, many things were never decreed and imposed as necessary to be believed till the late Council of Trent; such as the equalling of apocryphal books and traditions to the undoubted canon of scripture, justification by the merit of good works, &c. which Council of Trent was never fully owned by

<sup>y</sup> *Gelasius Pap. de secundis Naturis contra Eutych.*

<sup>z</sup> *Ap. Suarez. Tom. 1. in Euch. disp. 7.*

<sup>a</sup> *Scotus in 4. Sent. cap. II. qu. 3. Durand. in 4. Sent. dist. 10 qu. 1 n. 13.*

<sup>b</sup> *An. 1415.*

<sup>c</sup> *T. Aquin. in Johan. 6.*

*Alphons. à Castro adv. hæres. lib. 6.*

the Roman Catholics of France ;<sup>d</sup> nor was it ever received as a lawful council by this English nation.

It would be too tedious to run over all the rest of those points wherein the Roman differs from the English church, or else it might easily be shewn, that the Appeals to Rome, and the Pope's Universal Claim,<sup>2</sup> Veneration of Relics, Invocation of the Blessed Virgin, Pilgrimages, &c. were wholly unknown to the three first centuries, as every ingenuous Romanist will confess, and our own writers have clearly proved. By all which it appears, that the old religion of Rome for the first three hundred years, had no formal invocation of saints nor angels ;<sup>3</sup> no purgatory, nor prayers to be delivered thence ; no images, no tran-

<sup>2</sup> This subject is exhausted by Dr. Barrow.

<sup>3</sup> I cannot refrain from giving the following striking quotation from St. Austin :—" Oderunt martyres lagenas vestras, oderunt martyres sartigines vestras,

*d* Bohell. *de Decr. Eccles. Gallic. l. 5. tit. 20.*

substantiation, no half communion, no jubilees, no indulgences, no constrained celibate, no prayers in an unknown tongue, no customary auricular confession, no apocrypha in her canon of scripture.<sup>4</sup> Now if you strip your church of these doctrines, she retains scarcely any thing but the Protestant articles of the church of England; but if you take Rome *with* these additions, her religion is not so old by far as the religion of this country. Perhaps it will be pretended, that though these decrees were made in later ages, yet the determinations were made by virtue of

oderunt martyres ebrietates vestras; sine injuria eorum dico qui tales non sunt; illi ad se referant qui talia faciunt, oderunt ista martyres, non amant talia facientes. *Sed multo plus oderunt si colantur.*"

<sup>4</sup> "Canonici Sunt ad informandos mores non ad confermandam fidem." St. Jerome quoted by the Bp. of Winton in the Hampton Court Conference. For an examination of the apocryphal books and their authority, see Bishop Cosin's Scholastical History of the Canon.

apostolical traditions preserved in the Roman church from the very beginning ; and upon this pretence your late writers of controversy have generally laid aside all arguments from scripture and the ancient fathers, and resolve all into oral tradition and the infallibility of the Roman church ; but what is this but to confess, that the scriptures, the ancient fathers, and all written records (which are impartial witnesses) make against them ? only these *unknown* traditions,<sup>5</sup> which are in their own keeping (and may be of their own devising) these, they say, bear witness for them, which is

<sup>5</sup> The difference between the use made of genuine *recorded* tradition by the Church of England, and what is meant by tradition, when appealed to by the Romanists, is admirably pointed out in the Appendix to the Sermons of John, the present Bishop of Limerick,—one of the most learned and useful works of the age. And the reader will do well to refer to the very judicious Remarks upon the same subject, made by the deeply learned Bishop of Lincoln, at page 297 of his work upon Tertullian.

to make themselves judges in their own cause; and this may justly occasion your enquiry, whether the former Popes knew of these traditions or no. If they did not, how then came the later Popes to the knowledge of them? If they knew of them of old, why did they let them sleep so long, and suffer the church to err for so many years for want of them? Did they discharge their universal headship well in this concealment? But in very truth it is evident that the first popes knew of no such traditions, and the later popes have invented them to support their *new* designs; which appears by the fact that the ancient popes have declared directly contrary to these pretended apostolical traditions; of which take a few examples.

Pope Gaius writes, that the righteousness of the saints avails nothing to our pardon or justification.\* Pope Gelasius denies transubstantiation, as was observed

\* *Gaii Epist. Decret. ad Felicem, ap. Binium, T. 1. p. 173.*

just now.<sup>f</sup> The famous Gregory the Great says he himself was the emperor's servant, and owed him obedience;<sup>g</sup> and declares, that God had given the emperor power over priests as well as others.<sup>h</sup> The same pope disowns the title of *universal bishop*, as unfit for him or any other.<sup>i</sup> He also determines that it is lawful for priests who cannot contain to marry;<sup>k</sup> and he allows images for history and memory *only*.<sup>l</sup> A later than he also in the canon law decrees, that in those dioceses where there are people of divers languages, the bishop shall provide fit men to celebrate divine offices and minister the sacraments of the church according to the diversity of rites and variety of their languages: Decretal. Greg. 1. 1. Tit. 31. cap. 14. The afore-

<sup>f</sup> Gelas. *de secundis Nat. contr. Eutychn.*

<sup>g</sup> Grego, *Mag. Epist. ad Mauriti. lib. 2. Ep. 62.*

<sup>h</sup> *Idem ad Theod. lib. 2. Ep. 65.*

<sup>i</sup> *Idem ad Eulog. lib. 7. Epist. 30.*

<sup>k</sup> *Respons. ad Interrog. secundam Aug. Cantuariens.*

<sup>l</sup> *Ad Seren. lib. 7. Epist. 109.*

said Pope Gregory the First affirms, that the Book of Maccabees is *not canonical*.<sup>m</sup> and the Ordinary Gloss, as well as the old editions of the bibles which were allowed by the Roman bishops, and used in that church before the Council of Trent, all distinguish between the canonical books, and those which the Protestant church now calls Apocrypha.<sup>n</sup> Yet the contrary to all this was afterwards decreed upon pretence of being *apostolical traditions*: by which account you may see (if your prejudices interfere not) that the present Roman church (in all points in which it differs from the church of England) retains neither the old religion of the scriptures

<sup>m</sup> Greg. Mag. *Expos. in Job. l. 19. c. 17.*

<sup>n</sup> *Gloss. Ordin. An. 1200 in Præfat de libris Canon. & non Canon.*

*Biblia Complutens. in Præf. à Card. Ximénio approb. à Leone x. An. 1502.*

*Biblia Vulg. Edit. Basil. cum Gloss. Ord. An. 1506.*

*Biblia S. Pagnini & Birkmanni, & Vatabli per Rob. Stephan. A. 1541.*



nor that of the primitive church in general, nay, nor that of the ancient church of Rome; for they have omitted some points, added others, and altered so many, that though Rome keep the old name, it does not keep the old faith. We may now seek Rome in the midst of Rome (as Juvencus Vitalis said): “nor can it be denied (says another) but that the Roman church is not a little different from its ancient beauty and splendour.” There are not the faith, the manners, nor the worship of the primitive Roman church; and therefore, according to St. Ambrose, they that have not Peter’s faith cannot succeed to Peter’s inheritance;” and, as St. Jerome observes, they are not the sons of the saints who possess their places, but they which follow their works: and, that only, says Lactantius, is the Catholic church

• Cassander *de Officio boni Viri.*

‡ Ambros. *de Pœnitent. lib. 1. cap. 6.*

which retains the true worship of God.<sup>2</sup> You might have seen and heard in Rome of old, a bishop without a triple crown or the title of *universal*, churches without images, priests under no vows of single life, litanies without any names of saints or *ora pro nobis*, the mass celebrated in a known tongue, bibles calling divers books apocrypha, which are now reckoned canonical scripture; people not enslaved by auricular confession, not debarred of the cup, not frightened with purgatory, nor impoverished with purchasing prayers and indulgences to save them from thence, &c.

To conclude, therefore, why may you not justly desert them, who have in so many things departed from the old religion taught by Christ and his apostles, believed by the ancient fathers, and received by the first and best bishops of that same church? If you desire to be really of the old reli-

<sup>2</sup> Lactant. *Iustit. lib. 4. cap. ult.*

gion, nay, if you would hold the faith of the primitive Roman church, you may come much nearer to it, by embracing the religion of your own country, than by retaining the opinions of the modern church of Rome, which are most of them mere innovations: and though you have revered them while you supposed them ancient and apostolical, yet we hope you will now renounce them when they are evidently discovered to be *Gibeonites* disguised on purpose to deceive, and (notwithstanding their *mouldy* pretences, as if they had come from far, and were descended from ancient times) their true original is much later and nearer to this present age.

And now, Secondly, it will be easy to determine, that as the Roman is not the old religion, so neither ought the professors of it to appropriate to themselves the name of *Catholic*. For whether we take it in the primary and grammatical sense for *universal*, or in its common acceptance for

*true believers*,<sup>6</sup> the Romanists have no peculiar right to this venerable title: First, because their faith in those points wherein it differs from the church of England is not universal, for those christians who adhere to the faith of Rome do not form above a

<sup>6</sup> It was in this sense that the term Catholic was applied to the Church in the primitive ages. Literally signifying universal, it was used at first to distinguish the Christian from the Jewish Church,—the latter being confined to a single nation, the former open to all people and nations universally who chuse to comply with the conditions it requires. When various sects, heresies, and schisms arose, they each took the name of the founder; the Novatians from Novatian, the Arians from Arius, &c. But the true church, homo-ousian in its faith, and episcopal in its discipline, refused any other cognomen than that of Catholic (Pacian ep. 1, ad Sempronian) or of the nation in which it was established. Hence those doctrines, which were peculiar to the true church, were denominated *Catholic* doctrines. By the Catholic faith is meant that true homo-ousian faith in the Holy Trinity professed by the true episcopal apostolic church, wherever its several branches existed, in contradistinction to that *kind* of faith in the Trinity

fourth part of those who believe in Christ ; or Secondly, if, taking the word in its primitive sense, you say that you are *true* be-

acknowledged by the Arians, Sabellians, &c. This, therefore, is what our divines mean when they speak of a Catholic doctrine,—namely, a doctrine of the primitive Catholic church before it was corrupted by Popery, as distinguished from similar doctrines held by heretics.

The English churchman believes that the Catholic church, of which he considers himself a member, and to the existence of which the episcopal order is necessary, remained, during the first ages, holy and pure,—that in the dark ages it was corrupted by the innovations introduced,—in the *west*, through the influence of the Roman Pontiff,—in the *east*, through a variety of other circumstances ; and that thus, in England, although at first catholic and pure, it became, in process of time, *Roman Catholic*,—that is, the true Catholic church corrupted by the errors of Romanism ;—he also believes that, at the Reformation in England, through Divine Providence, these novel errors of Romanism were discarded by the clergy and the laity, and that the church was thus rendered once more truly Catholic by being restored to its primitive purity. Upon this point I shall quote two divines of very different schools. “ Be it known,” says the

lievers in all points, I would have you reflect whether, in a church where there are so many new articles of faith, it is not pro-

excellent Bishop Hall, “ be it known to all the world, that our church is only *reformed or repaired*, NOT MADE NEW. There is *not a stone of a new foundation laid by us*; yea, the old walls stood still, only the over-casting of those ancient stones with untempered mortar of *new inventions* displeaseth us,—plainly set aside the corruptions and the church is the same.”

“ I would have them remember,” says Archbishop Laud, “ that we live in a church *reformed*, not *made new*; now all Reformation that is good and orderly takes away nothing from the old but what is faulty and erroneous; if any thing be good, *that* it leaves standing.” Ahbp. Laud, his Hist. of his Trials and Troubles, p. 113.—Thus we may conclude with King James, “ For my part, I know not how to answer the objection of the Papists, when they charge us with novelties, but truly to tell them their abuses are *new*, but the things which they abused we retain in their *primitive use*, and forsake only the novel corruption.”—Hampton Court Conf.

That these principles were those upon which the English reformers acted, is clear from a variety of circumstances, but chiefly from these two:—first, from

bable that some of them are false. There is an axiom that in religion the oldest things are the truest and best.

the fact that neither Ridley nor Cranmer renounced Transubstantiation until the former discovered, by the perusal of Bertram or Ratramne, who flourished A.D. 840, that it was a *Popish*, not an ancient or *Catholic* doctrine; secondly, from the memorable challenge of Bishop Jewell, which being too long to quote here, is given in the Appendix.

In short, the principles of a true member of the Church of England were never better expressed than by good Bishop Ken on his death-bed. "As for my religion, I die in the holy Catholic and Apostolic Faith, professed by the whole church before the disunion of the east and west. More particularly I die in communion of the Church of England, as it stands distinguished from *papal* and *puritan* innovations, and as it adheres to the doctrine of the Cross."—Hawkins's Life of Bishop Ken, p. 27.

The Editor begs to apologize for the length of this note, which is occasioned by the importance he attaches to the subject, since he conceives that the encouragement given to schism in the present day by representing, in practice if not in words, the Episcopal Succession as a thing indifferent, and by regard-

Upon the whole enquiry, since the church of England, both as to doctrine and discipline, has adhered to all that is primitive as well as scriptural, and in her reformation only did away with the novelties introduced during the dark ages, you will belong more truly to the old religion, and be more properly styled catholic, by embracing the faith professed in your own country, than by remaining with those who consign to perdition all parties except their own, and have so materially changed their religion from what it was during the three first centuries.

ing Doctrine as the *only* thing to be attended to, arises from a misapprehension of the meaning of the term Catholic; and since he cannot but suspect that the tendency evinced in certain persons who have been advanced to high places in the establishment, to make a distinction between the Church of England and the Church of Christ, reducing the former to a mere sect, is to be traced to the same origin. For proof of his assertions he refers to his Sermon "on the Catholicism of the Church of England and other Branches of the Episcopal Church."

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## SECTION II.

WHETHER THE SAID OPINIONS WERE NOT INTRODUCED FOR EVIL ENDS?

ALTHOUGH all this be matter of fact, and acknowledged by your own writers, yet I must expect that the veneration you have so long had for the Roman church, will make you slow to believe that this charge of innovation is deserved; and perhaps you will wonder how so pure, so celebrated, and so orthodox a church as Rome primitive was, should vary so much from her first faith; yet since the change is so evident, and so well attested, I hope, at least, your curiosity will tempt you to enquire, first, for what ends she should bring in these new doctrines; secondly, by what means they became so generally believed; third-

ly, of what nature the things themselves are; fourthly, whether there be authority sufficient in the Roman church to impose them on the whole christian world; fifthly, whether the Roman Catholics of England ought to be swayed by that authority to embrace them: and if in examining these particulars any thing shall be advanced which sounds harshly to your ears (accustomed as you are to hear nothing but encomiums of Rome) I shall desire you to consider, that truth is seldom grateful to offenders; and I must say, with one of the writers of the Pope's lives, " We relate these things because they were done; and if the Popes would not have base or evil things reported of them, they must do no such things, or if they do them, not fancy they can be so concealed as that they shall not be known or related to posterity." Papyrius Masson. de Vit. Pont. For my own part, I profess I take no delight in accusations; nor shall I say any thing out of malice to that

church, but out of pity to the souls of those who, without reason, doat upon it. If you enquire, What ends the Roman church could have in introducing these new doctrines? I reply, The first decay of that church began in her manners. For after there were christian magistrates (says St. Jerome) the church became fuller of riches and emptier of virtue'. And for the Roman bishops, they began very early to affect a dominion beyond the bounds of priesthood, as Socrates observes," which made St. Basil declare, thirteen hundred years ago, "I hate the pride of that church,"" and which caused a heathen historian of that age to say, "The Roman bishops were richly clad, carried in litters,

<sup>t</sup> Hieronymn. *Vitâ Malach.*

<sup>u</sup> Socrat. *hist. lib. 7. c. 11.*

<sup>w</sup> Basil. *Epist. 10.* & Baronius *Tom. 4. An. 327. § 32.*<sup>\*</sup>

<sup>\*</sup> To what extent the corruptions of the Roman church are still carried, may be seen from the works of the Rev. Blanco White.

and profuse in their feasting.”\* But the faults of that age were small in respect of after-times, for as their wealth and power increased, their manners grew still worse and worse, as we find by the complaints of Salvian, and many others, till at length about the ninth age your own Baronius says, “The face of the Roman church was become most filthy, when lewd and potent courtesans swayed all there; at whose pleasure sees were changed, bishops placed, and which is horrid to pious ears, their paramours were thrust into St. Peter’s chair, false Popes which only serve to fill up so great a space of time in the catalogue of Roman bishops.”† A writer who lived in those times tells us, that the world was amazed at the manners of the Romans.‡ It is strange (says another historian) how far in that age they were degenerated from

\* Ammian. Marcellin. *hist. lib.* 27.

† Baron *Annales Tom.* 10, *An.* 912. § 8.

‡ Gerbert. *Epist.* 40, *ad Stephanum Rom. Eccl. Diacon.*

the piety of the old Popes.<sup>a</sup> This age (as another says) was especially unhappy in this, that for about an hundred and fifty years there were fifty Popes wholly fallen from the virtue of their predecessors, being disorderly and apostatical rather than apostolical.<sup>b</sup> If our brevity would permit it, we could shew out of Platina, Onuphrius, and others of your own writers, that there was no reformation in all those ages in which these new doctrines were coining. Now it is the great philosopher's observation, That wickedness is destructive of good principles.<sup>c</sup> So that it is no wonder, if in such decays of piety, and such a flood of iniquity, the Roman church should bring in many new articles suitable to her manners. When pride, luxury, and covetousness possess the chair, we can hardly expect any other laws but such as

<sup>a</sup> Sabellicus, *Ennead.* 9, l. 2.

<sup>b</sup> Genebrard. *Chronolog. lib.* 4. 10. *Secul. init.*

<sup>c</sup> Aristot. *Ethic.* lib. 6.

shall gratify these affections; and the practices as well as the decrees of Rome for many of the last centuries have so apparently tended this way, that it has been taken notice of by all those of her own communion, whose affection has not robbed them of their discerning powers. Even in Roman Catholic countries it has abated much of the reverence formerly paid to that see, on account of her designs being so apparently secular, and tending not to the salvation of souls, but the support of her own grandeur; which makes me wonder that our English Romanists should hug their chains, and adore those who abuse their well-meaning devotion with articles of faith, serving rather to carry on the designs of the imposers than the salvation of their over-credulous believers. It is easy to discover that the Roman guides govern you by principles that have more of Machiavel in them than of conscience or gospel simplicity, and a little consideration

will inform you, that those things which they teach you to call religion, are arts to enslave and impoverish you, and engines to advance themselves to the highest pitch of honour and abundance. St. Bernard (though a great friend to the Roman church) saw this, when he said, At Rome all regard is given to honour, but to holiness none at all.<sup>d</sup>

Were this to result from the evil management of particular men (from which no society is free) it were more excusable, but there are doctrines added to the old Catholic faith (even most of the tenets wherein the church of Rome differs from the church of England) which are plain artifices to increase the power and wealth of Rome. Doctrines for which they dispute with us upon Demetrius's principle, *because thereby they have their gain*, Act. xix. 25. And many think the guides of your church contend for some of

<sup>d</sup> Bernard. *de Consid.* l. 4. c. 2.

these principles, not because they believe them, but because it is their interest that the people should be persuaded by them; which makes them secretly laugh at the credulity of those who will be imposed on by them, as that great Cardinal did, when he gave the people who flocked about him his benediction in these words—*Qui vult decipi decipiatur*: and this becomes the more suspicious from that observation of Hospinian, “that in Italy the name of *Christian* is used for an idiot or fool.”<sup>e</sup> But to be more particular, let us look over some instances of such *new doctrines* as are taught in the Roman church for secular ends.

We begin with the doctrine of *implicit faith*, or believing as the church believes, a doctrine unknown in St. Cyril’s time, who, speaking to his young christians, bids them “not merely believe the things he spoke because he affirmed them, unless

<sup>e</sup> Hosp. *de orig. Monach.* l. 6, c. 66.



he did demonstrate them to be so out of the divine scripture.”<sup>f</sup> And truly this novel doctrine may agree with the *ipse dixit* of Pythagoras, and is a good shelter for paganism, the best argument for which, Balbus says, is this, that he had received it from his forefathers.<sup>g</sup> The Jewish rabbins told their disciples, they must believe whatever they taught them, though they should say that their right hand was their left. It was well enough in Apelles the heretic to charge his seduced scholars, not to examine his principles by reason:<sup>h</sup> but it is below the honour of true religion to desire to be taken upon trust. So that this doctrine is a policy of your priests to secure their evil principles from being enquired into, and a device to make you depend upon them as infallible oracles, who can by this means lead you blindfold whithersoever

<sup>f</sup> Cyril. *Cateches.* 4. p. 84.

<sup>g</sup> Cicero *de Natur. Deorum.* l. 3.

<sup>h</sup> Euseb. *hist. lib.* 5. c. 13.

they will, and impose any thing upon you which serves their interest, under the pretence of true religion. 2. *Auricular confession* to a priest was voluntary of old, and only used in case of a troubled conscience, or a strong temptation: but it is now made necessary at stated times, in all probability to make the priest master of every man's secrets, to discover the least inclination of their proselytes to leave them, to keep the laity in awe, and make them venerate and depend upon their spiritual guide, who hereby has them at his mercy: and their doctors affirm, that in some cases it is *lawful to discover what is revealed to them in confession*, especially if it concerns the Roman church.<sup>i</sup> Thus they have an intelligencer in the breast of every great man of their communion. The exemption of the regular clergy from the ju-

<sup>i</sup> Al. Hal. *Par. 4. q. 28. mem. 2. art. 2.*

Panorm. *c. Omnis de pæn. & rem. n. 24.*

D Soto *de rat. deteg. Secr. mem. 3. q. 4.*

isdiction of their lawful bishops (which St. Bernard complains of as an unjust thing)\*; und the freeing of ecclesiastics from the authority of their natural princes, is in order that the pope may have subjects numerous and potent to give intelligence and to abet his interest in the bowels of all kingdoms. The pope's supremacy, appeals to Rome, the collation of benefices and other preferments, the creating their Maker in the mass, with many others, all aim at the honour of the church of Rome, and the making its most inferior priests revered: but because the honour of the church of Rome cannot be maintained without *vast riches*, it is obvious to all, that many of their new doctrines and practices have been introduced with design to fill the treasury of the church: or if ignorance and superstition were the mother of these gainful devices, it is evident that

\* Bernard. *de Consid.* lib. 3. c. 4.

covetousness has been their nurse. As in the case of purgatory, and prayers to deliver souls from thence, a novel fancy, feared and suspected at first by some, but countenanced and decreed by that church, in order to oblige the people to give liberally for themselves or their deceased friends, to those who sell their prayers so commonly that they occasioned that proverb, "No penny no pater noster." It is impossible to reckon the vast sums that this opinion brings in, for so many masses, dirges, requiems, for those trentals, obits, and anniversaries, which the deluded Romanists purchase, with oblations of houses and lands, plate, vestments, jewels, images, and ready money. It is very remarkable, that the fear of losing this income was one main impediment to restrain the Pope from yielding to a reformation. To these may be added, the doctrines of images and invocation of saints, with the reports of miracles done

at certain places, and the device of canonization by the Pope (an honour that none of the saints for the first five or six centuries ever had) but certain it is, that people being persuaded of miracles wrought on earth, and the intercession made in heaven by these saints, undertake pilgrimages to these places, and make oblations there, or else send their offerings if they cannot go; and this to such an extent, that there have been, and are some shrines which outvie the treasuries of the greatest princes of Europe. We may refer to that of 'Thomas a Becket at Canterbury,' and the still famous Lady of Loretto.<sup>m</sup> The relics also of all other saints, nay, such even as are said to belong to Jesus himself, have been formerly carried about to collect money, and being sold for great sums are accounted marketable ware, and very gainful commodities in the Roman church.

<sup>l</sup> *Antiq. Canterb. fol. 247.*

<sup>m</sup> *Lassel's Voyage to Italy.*

The year of jubilee and distribution of indulgences is used as a device to get money, as your own writers complain." The Pope's pretences to a power of dispensing with vows and oaths, leagues and contracts, marriages in prohibited degrees, &c. fill his coffers with silver and his court with suitors. The taking money for penances, and granting absolution upon it for notorious sins, is so known an infamy, that we have the very book in our hands, copied out of the original in the apostolic chamber, setting down the rates and sums to be paid for absolution from the most horrid wickednesses; and to convince us that money is the only thing sought by the church in these absolutions, the said book tells us, that these acts of grace cannot be granted to the poor who have nothing, and therefore cannot be comforted.\* And though the priests and friars have these

\* Polydor. Virgil. *de Invent.* l. 8. c. 1.

† Vide, *Taxam Camerae Apostol. Impress. Parisiis,*

and many more ways to draw money from the people, yet the pope uses them only as sponges, to suck in wealth from others, that he may squeeze it into his own coffers afterwards ; for it is scarcely within the reach of arithmetic to calculate what sums the Roman church receives from the inferior clergy and bishops for institutions, confirmations, investitures, palls, first-fruits, tenths, &c. The very tenths and first-fruits formerly enjoyed by the Pope, amounting in this nation, as we now compute them, to above £20,000 per annum. In the time of the Roman jurisdiction here, the clergy paid him a fifth part of their livings, sometimes for two or three years. With respect to the English bishops, their subjection to Rome cost them dear, Walter le Grey, Ahbp. of York, paying ten thousand pounds sterling for his pall.<sup>p</sup> And it was complained of in 23d Hen. VIII. that the pa-

<sup>p</sup> Matth. Paris. pag. 274.

pany had received out of England in about forty years past, for investitures of bishops only, threescore thousand pounds.<sup>7</sup>—The doctrine of forcing all priests to renounce marriage, is maintained by the policy of the Roman court, that they may not only profit by them living, but be their heirs when they die, there being no other good reason to be given for this rigid imposition; for surely they will not say it is simply unlawful for priests to marry, since two Popes, St. Gregory the Great, and Pius the Second, affirm that they may be allowed to marry;<sup>r</sup> and their great Canon-

<sup>7</sup> This computed at the present value of money is equal to six hundred thousand pounds. Fuller says that the Pope's annual revenue from England and Ireland, under the different denominations of Peter's pence, taxes, and dispensations, was equal to £156,000 sterling.—Church History, p. 238.

<sup>q</sup> L. Herbert. *hist. Hen. VIII.* p. 230.

<sup>r</sup> Gregor. *Magn. Respons. ad Interrog. August. Cant.* 2. Pius II. in *Gestis Concil. Basil.*



ist says, there is as great reason to allow priests marriage now, as ever there was to restrain it.' What then! do they forbid it that priests may be more pure? That cannot be the reason, because St. Paul says, Marriage defileth not. Heb. xiii. 4. And fornication, which certainly does defile, is tolerated, if not allowed,<sup>8</sup> and called a venial sin,<sup>9</sup> reputed, at all times by their casuists, as a lesser sin in the priest than marriage.<sup>10</sup> How pure this doctrine makes your clergy let experience and your own writers teach you. There are many (says St. Bernard) who cannot be hid for their multitude, and who seek not to be concealed through their impudence, who being kept from nuptial remedies run into all filthiness.<sup>11</sup> There are few free (says

<sup>8</sup> Panormitan. *de Clericis conjug. Can. Cum Olim.*

<sup>9</sup> *Decret. P. Alex. l. 3. tit. 2. c. 3.*

<sup>10</sup> *Gloss. ad Gratian. dist. 82. c. 5.*

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid dist. 34. Can. 7. Costerus enchirid. de Celibut. cap. 17.*

<sup>12</sup> *Bern. de Convers. ad Cleric. cap. 29.*

another) in these days from the crime of fornication;<sup>b</sup> the Pope thinking it almost a miracle, some ages since, to hear a candidate for a bishopric attested to be a pure virgin.<sup>c</sup> The true reason, therefore, of this doctrine, which occasions so much wickedness, we may learn from the canon law, which allows not regular bishops to dispose of their estates by will, nor others of the clergy to be too free of their alms in their sickness,<sup>d</sup> (how earnestly soever they exhort the laity thereunto), and thus the church becomes their heir. These spoils of the clergy (as they very significantly term them) which fall to the church at their deaths, amount to a good round sum, as a judicious author observes.<sup>e</sup> I cannot express one half of those arts which the Roman church has adopted to drain both clergy

<sup>b</sup> *Gloss. ad Gratian. dist. 82. c. 5.*

<sup>c</sup> *Matth. Paris. hist. An. 1234.*

<sup>d</sup> *Decretal. Gregor. lib. 3. de Testam. tit. 26. cap. 7, 9.*

<sup>e</sup> *Europ. Specul. pag. 197.*

and laity; but certain it is they draw a mass of treasure annually from the countries under their yoke, insomuch that it was complained of to the council of Spain, that Pope Pius V. had got fourteen millions out of that kingdom in a short space.<sup>f</sup> In the time of Henry III. of England, it was computed that the Pope's revenue out of this nation exceeded the king's.<sup>g</sup> And another time complaint was made by the English, that there went three score thousand marks yearly out of this land to Rome.<sup>h</sup> I shall not mention the frauds and cruelties used in collecting this money only observing that Johan. Sarisburiensis, a great bigot of the Pope's (and a hot stickler in Becket's cause) assures us, that the legates of the apostolical seat tyrannised over the provinces, as if the devil (says he) were gone out from the presence of the

<sup>f</sup> *Europ. Specul. pag. 198.*

<sup>g</sup> *Antiquitat. Brittan p. 178.*

<sup>h</sup> *Matth. Paris. p. 667, & Epist. Anglor. ad Innocent.*

Lord to scourge the church;† yet to oppose these officers of the Pope is reckoned at Rome the most mortal sin.

No wonder, then, can it be, that Pope Sixtus V. in five years' time got together five millions of crowns (as Ciracella informs us); four millions of which his successor, Gregory 14th, wasted in pomp and riot in less than ten months' time: *Europ. Spec.* p. 263. Indeed they spend these sacred treasures as badly as they get them;‡ the very popes themselves of late designing only to swallow all the little neighbouring

‡ Perhaps no stronger illustration of the depravity of the Popes can be brought than the conduct of Alexander VI. who conspired with his natural son, the infamous Cæsar Borgia, to poison nine newly-created cardinals at once, in order that he might seize their wealth. By mistake, however, these monsters drank the poison themselves, and the pope died, but the son escaped through the strength of his constitution — *Gordon's Life of Alex. VI.*

† *Sarisb. Polycraticon. lib. 5. cap. 16.*

principalities, and to make themselves temporal princes, to raise their nephews and nieces (if not sons and daughters) and advance their families to the highest dignities and fortunes. So that there is little of holiness left in them except in an empty title, it being little above a hundred years since that it was said, "No man at this day looks for holiness in the popes; they are accounted excellent, if they be tolerably good, or less wicked than other men are:" Papyr. Masson. in Vit. Julii 3. An. 1550: and the rest of his clergy and people are suitable; for it cannot be dissembled (says a late exact observer) that the whole country is strangely overflowed with wickedness, with filthiness of speech, with beastliness of actions; both governors and subjects, both priests and friars, each striving as it were with the other in an impudence therein: Europ. Spec. p. 27. But I will not pursue this most ungrateful subject, which I do not refer to out of any envy,

or delight in telling such sad stories, but to rescue your souls from those who serve the ends of their ambition and covetousness out of your devotion; from those who persuade you to consider that to be religion which maintains them in the highest plenty and luxury; from those who decree that good works merit salvation, not because they believe this doctrine (for if they did, they would do more good works themselves) but because this persuasion among the people fills the church's treasures, and has made the old, pious, and poor priests and deacons of Rome, illustrious cardinals, who in magnificence and pomp dare vie with the greatest estates of Christendom; while their great master scorns to have kings and emperors thought his equals. Wherefore, when you have duly weighed all this, and considered the *pride and insatiable avarice* of the Roman church, and withal observed how all the doctrines in which they *differ* from us

tend merely to advance these ends, you cannot think it unlikely that such men with such designs should alter and add to their old faith, especially when you hear St. Paul say, “the love of money is the root of all evil, which while some coveted after, they have erred from the faith:” 1 Tim. vi. 10. It is nothing that is truly ancient or really good that we persuade you to renounce; but *novel* policies and devices which minister to secular designs: and you ought to account him your friend who would rescue you from this abuse, and persuade you into that church whose principles are *primitive, plain, and honest*, whose clergy are content with the revenues which the laws of the land allow them, having none of these unchristian artifices of extraordinary gains, and no design to teach you any doctrines but such as will make you good and direct you in the way to heaven.

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## SECTION III.

WHETHER THE SAID OPINIONS WERE NOT ESTABLISHED  
BY EVIL MEANS.

THE next enquiry is, *by what means these new doctrines became so generally believed?* And here we may first observe that your church has good reason to use this proverb, “Ignorance is the mother of devotion,” because the wretched blindness of those ages in which these opinions were propagated, so greatly contributed to their reception. For it is not to be denied, that from the time of the decay of the western empire and the irruptions of the Goths and Vandals into Europe, there began to be a great decay of learning, and that barbarism crept in by degrees, which is evident by



the different style and way of writing which the later fathers adopt in comparison with those who lived in the first four or five centuries. At length this ignorance<sup>9</sup> became so universal that the study of the liberal arts was generally laid aside (as an old historian complains);<sup>k</sup> and that age which bred many of these errors is commonly by your own writers called *the obscure age,*<sup>l</sup> being wholly without any per-

<sup>9</sup> In these times it is difficult to conceive the depth of ignorance into which the dark ages were sunk. One fact will exemplify it. At a council held 992, it was stated, that scarcely a person in Rome knew his letters; and at this period Rome was, without question, the most learned city in Christendom. In 872 our own Alfred could not find a priest south of the Thames who could translate Latin. It was during the prevalence of such ignorance as this that the Romish church imposed its gainful superstitions on a well-intentioned laity.

<sup>k</sup> Sabellic. *Enne. 9. lib. 1.*

<sup>l</sup> Baron. *Annal. Tom. x. An. 900. § 1.*

sons eminent for wit or learning," the very inferior priests being not able to translate an epistle into Latin;" which Egyptian darkness continued in all the western world till a few years before the reformation, as your own Espencæus confesses.\* Now this gross stupidity must needs have made the world apt and easy to be abused with the most absurd and monstrous doctrines, for ignorance is the mother of all error (as an old council<sup>p</sup> affirms), and not of true devotion (as you now pretend). This made way for the politic guides of Rome to impose such opinions on the church as might best serve their own ends. These tares were sown while men slept, Matth. xiii. 25, and there were many circumstances concurring in those unlucky ages which contributed to the furthering

Genebrard. *Chron. lib. 4.*

\* *Præfatio R. Aluredi ad Pastoral. Gregorii.*

• *Claud. Espen. Com. ad 2 Tim. 3.*

† *Concil. Toletan. 4. c. 24. A. 633.*

the Roman designs ; the withdrawing, for instance, of the emperors into the east, and first the decay of the western empire, then the destruction of the eastern, and the desolation of all the famous Oriental churches by the spreading inundation of Turks and Saracens. So that the pope had neither emperor nor patriarch for a long time that could oppose him, the miseries of all Christendom giving him opportunity to make himself the *sole governor* of these parts of the world, while none were able to contend with him, though many complained of his *usurpation* ; Johan. Sarisburiensis telling Adrian IV. (who asked him what men thought of the Roman church) “ that they esteemed it a step-mother, not a mother — and the Pope of Rome himself was grievous to all, and almost intolerable.”<sup>q</sup> I shall not now be so tedious to you as to relate how this church by force, and by taking

<sup>q</sup> Sarisbur. *Polycraticon*. lib. 6. cap. 24.

all advantages, attempted to suppress all that opposed her impositions and grandeur; what wars the Popes raised against the German emperors, what occasions they took to enslave the Greek church, when they petitioned for relief against the conquering and cruel Turks; what persecutions they raised against the Albigenses, Bohemians, and Wicklevists; and how they destroyed all that resisted their innovations with fire and sword, only desiring you to remark, that the Roman church was the first author of putting men to death for that which they call heresy—a practice wholly differing from the rules of christianity,<sup>r</sup> from the opinion and practice of the ancient church;<sup>s</sup> it being a new and unheard of way of preaching (says your St. Gregory) to force men by stripes

<sup>r</sup> 2 *Tim.* ii. 24, 25.

<sup>s</sup> *Tertul. ad Scap. c. 2.*

*Concil. Toletan. 4. cap. 56.*

to believe ;<sup>†</sup> yet by fire and fagot the modern church of Rome affrighted the world into the reception of these articles, or by inquisitions and racks, awed them into silence, not daring to question them. Her greatness, riches, interest, and severity to opposers, has been one method of obtruding the belief of her gainful articles upon men ; and her policies and frauds have been another, for you cannot think it unlikely that they (who have so little piety as to turn religion into policy) should have so little honesty as to equivocate for the defence of their politic religion ; and verily, the ignorance and credulity of those blind ages were such, that your church never sought for solid arguments to confirm their new decrees, but built them usually upon fictions, proved them by notorious forgeries, and accounted this way

<sup>†</sup> *Gregorius M., Epist. ad Episc. Constantinop.*

of proceeding not only lawful but pious, so that whoever reads those discourses of your Jesuits in defence of these deceits, called by them, *piæ fraudes*, will conclude the high priests of Rome-christian as well as of Rome-heathen to have been of opinion, that it was expedient the people should be deceived in their religion, as Scævola the Pagan, Pontifex M. in St. Augustine says;” and no doubt your church agrees with the heathen Varro in the same author, where he declares, “There are many truths in religion which it is not expedient for the people to know, and though divers things therein be false, yet the people ought to think them true.” The instances of some particulars will make this more evident:—1. Miracles were the foundation and most authentic proofs for invocation of saints, veneration of images and relics, pilgrimages, purgatory, monastical

<sup>u</sup> August. *de Civit. Dei*. l. 4. c. 27.

<sup>w</sup> *Idem, ibid. cap. 31.*

vows, and most of the gainful articles of the Roman church ; and yet St. Chrysostome says, “ that there were no footsteps of the power of miracles left in the church in his time.”<sup>x</sup> And your St. Gregory thinks them unnecessary among believers,<sup>y</sup> and so do many others ;<sup>z</sup> yet in the dark ages nothing was more frequently pretended than miracles wrought by saints living and dead, as appears by the stories of their lives, and the legends of your church, which relations are so senseless and so ridiculous, so impossible and unlikely, so little agreeing with chronology, history, or geography, that the modern writers of the Roman party are ashamed of them. Hence your own Canus complains that these authors, with false and counterfeit fables, have blemished the lives of saints.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>x</sup> Chrysost. *de Sacerdotio*, l. 4.

<sup>y</sup> Gregor. *Mag. hom.* 4.

<sup>z</sup> Augustin *de ver. Relig. cap.* 24. *Ferus Commentar. in lib. Judic.*

<sup>a</sup> Canus, *Loc. Commun. lib. II. cap.* 6.

And the same writer says in the same place,<sup>b</sup> that the author of your far-famed Golden Legend was a man of an iron forehead and a leaden soul. Harding also affirms,<sup>c</sup> “ that there be many vain fables in it.” Simeon Metaphrastes is another of these miracle writers, and is so eminent that he is read in the modern Roman Breviaries;<sup>d</sup> and yet Cardinal Bellarmine blames him for incredible stories and relations not agreeing with ancient writers. He adds (says he) “ many things out of his own wit, not as they were *really* done, but as they *might* have been done.”<sup>e</sup> And is not this a notorious forgery? Nay, the Popes themselves, in the later Breviaries, have left out many of these fabulous miracles. Since they have now done the work for which they were in-

<sup>b</sup> Canus, *Loc. Commun. lib. II. cap. 6.*

<sup>c</sup> Harding *against Jewels Apol.*

<sup>d</sup> *Breviar. Rom. Fest. Nicol. 6. Dec.*

*Fest. S. Blasii, Feb. 13.*

*Fest. S. Alexii, Julii 17.*

<sup>e</sup> Bellarmin. *de Scriptor. Eccles.*



vented; since the doctrines supported by these lies are now generally embraced; when the arch is completed, the props on which it was raised are laid aside. Yet still you ought to ask, If these stories were false, how came the infallible church to put them into her offices? if they were true, why does she now reject them? It is observable, that the Roman church at present pretends but to very few miracles, and the doctors thereof (in this enlightened age) are very shy of believing any at all, as one of your own priests proves at large.<sup>f</sup> The reason of which must needs be, because they fear lest this inquisitive and learned generation should discover the fraud of them. For since miracles are especially necessary to convince unbelievers, there is far more need of them since the Reformation, when so many disbelieve the religion of your church than before, when all the

<sup>f</sup> Rog. Widringt. *de Juram. Fidelitatis*, c. x. p. 402.

nations of the west were at the devotion thereof. Yet then many miracles are recorded, and now few or none, an argument sufficient to make a wary man believe there were few real miracles at any time since the settlement of christianity; only the superstitious and ignorant credulity of the former ages was fit to be abused with such pretences; and now, why are you so pertinacious in maintaining those opinions which were believed at first upon so slight and false inducements, as these legends and miracles are confessed to be? But this subject is so ably discussed by two excellent writers,<sup>s</sup> that I may dimiss it with my hearty wish that you would read their tracts without prejudice, since they are not written to abuse real religion (as some tell you) but to undeceive you, and unmask that hypocrisy which has long walked in the venerable mantle of truth.

<sup>s</sup> Dr. Stillingfleet *of Miracles. Author of the Reflections on the Romish Devotions.*

It is not at the relators, but at the inventors of such falsehoods that you ought to be angry, since they have obtained many fair houses and lands, vast sums of money and innumerable costly oblations by these fictions, to the scandal of Christianity itself.

My second instance shall be of the artifice of *forging records* to attest their novel doctrines, especially that of the *pope's supremacy*. They have published divers spurious tracts under illustrious names, which served to wheedle an illiterate age into a reverence for the Roman church and her opinions; whereas now the cheat is so palpable that your modern doctors (though they adhere to the conclusions) disown those feigned books that were the premises from whence they were inferred. Of this nature are the Decretal Epistles of all the Popes from Clemens down to Pope Syricius, An. 385, formerly cited as good authorities, and transcribed,

in part, into your canon law, although now the most learned Romanists confess a great part of them to be mere forgeries.<sup>h</sup> Baronius styles several of them *apocryphal*<sup>i</sup>; and Cardinal Cusanus says, “that being applied to the times of those holy men they betray themselves.”<sup>k</sup> Indeed, these epistles were never cited by any good old author, but were first brought into France by one Riculfus, Archbishop of Mentz, five hundred years after those popes were dead, as Hincmarus, Archbishop of Rheims, a writer of that age, affirms,<sup>l</sup> and Baronius also confesses.<sup>m</sup>

Nor did the Roman See blush some centuries ago to allege for its *supremacy*

<sup>h</sup> Jo. de Turrecrem. *de Eccl.* l. 2. c. 101.

Jo. Driedo *de Dogm. & Scrip. Ecc.* l. 1. c. 2.

Cl. Espenscæus *de Contin.* l. 1. c. 2.

Bellarmin. *de Rom. Pontif.* l. 2. c. 14.

<sup>i</sup> Baron. *Annal.* T. 2. An. 102. § 6, 7.

<sup>k</sup> Cusanus *de Concord. Cathol.* l. 2. c. 34.

<sup>l</sup> Hincm. *Rhem. lib. Contr. Hincm. Laudunens.*

<sup>m</sup> Baron. *Annal.* T. 9. An. 865. § 5, 6, 7.

the most fabulous donation of Constantine the Great, wherein he is pretended to make the pope head over the whole church, and superior to all the patriarchs of the east (*naming Constantinople for one, which city was not yet built*) giving him in fee the city of Rome, and all Italy, with all the provinces of the western empire (though he gave all these to one of his sons afterwards). This senseless edict was pleaded by several of the popes in former times to countenance their ambitious pretences," and of old was received without suspicion by the gravest and most learned doctors (as Binius says<sup>o</sup>), who nevertheless confesses that it was a mere forgery, devised (he thinks) by the Greeks, and in the present age all Romanists generally disown it, since, in truth, it is as ridiculous a forgery as ever the world saw. My brevity will not al-

<sup>n</sup> Adrian. *Ep. ad Constant. & Iren, Act. Concil. Nicen. 2. An. 794.* Leo. 9. *Epist. ad Michael. Const. An. 1054.*

<sup>o</sup> *Not. in Edict. Constant. Concil. Tom. 1 p. 154.*

low me to enlarge upon this subject, otherwise I could add innumerable examples of like dealing. The absurd Council of Sinuessa, the monstrous recognitions of Clement, the threescore new canons fathered by Turian and others upon the famous General Council of Nice, the pontifical ascribed to Pope Damasus; with innumerable other tracts of the same kind, being all apparent *forgeries*, and yet long countenanced by Rome to support her unjust supremacy and other innovations.

My third instance shall be of *suppressing or corrupting true records*,<sup>1</sup> of which take a few examples:—the legates of

<sup>1</sup> On this subject the reader may obtain much useful and interesting information from “A Treatise of the Corruption of Scripture, Councils, and Fathers, by the Prelates, Pastors, and Pillars of the Church of Rome for the Maintenance of Popery, by Thomas James, printed in 1688;” from “Roman Forgeries in the Councils during the first Four Centuries, by Dr. Comber;” and from Howell’s “History of the Pontificate.” The principle upon which the Romanist acts is

Rome, within less than a hundred years after the general Council of Nice, produced two canons (to prove the pope's right to receive *appeals*) in a famous Council of Carthage, An. 419, which canons they pretended were made in the aforesaid Nicene Council; but these canons wholly differed from all the best manuscripts of that council then extant, particularly from two eminent ones, which the African fathers sent for from Constantinople and Alexandria; nor do they agree with those genuine editions of the Nicene Council

this:—That the Roman Church is *now* pure and uncorrupt; consequently, what contradicts its *present* doctrine is impure and corrupt, and therefore where any passages make against them in any of the primitive Fathers or Councils, they are to be so altered as to accord with the Tenets now received. It becomes, then, a point of serious importance to obtain genuine and unadulterated editions of the Fathers, and much is it to be desired that our English universities would commission some of their learned members to collate and examine the ancient MSS. for this purpose.

now extant. Indeed the Council of Carthage received not these pretended canons of Nice, but esteemed them to have been corrupted, as we do at this day. Not long after (to abet the Roman supremacy) Pope Leo writing to Theodosius the Emperor, cites a canon of a particular and dubious Council at Sardica, of later date and less authority, affirming it to be a canon of the general Council at Nice.<sup>p</sup> The edition of the Councils published by Dionysius Exiguus about An. 520, being for a long time the sole approved copy extant in these parts of the world in favour of the pope's supremacy, omits several canons even of general councils, which seem to make against it,<sup>q</sup> though the said canons are recorded in Zonaras and Balsamon, and in this age confessed to have been

<sup>p</sup> *Leo. Pap. Epist. ad. Theodos. Concil. Tom. 2.*

<sup>q</sup> *Exempli gr. Tres Canon. Concil. 1. Constantinop.*

*Omnes Can. Concil. Ephes. Oecum. 3. Canon. 28. Concil. Chalcedon. Oecum. 4.*



made in those councils by the Romanists themselves; but in the time when the supremacy was hatching, it was not thought expedient that those canons should be known. It were endless to reckon up all the *additions, diminutions, and alterations* which all the Roman editions of the councils since are guilty of, but because an ingenious Essay has been made that way by a late author, I shall refer my reader to it,<sup>r</sup> and out of infinite examples conclude with one evident piece of falsification: the xxxvth canon of the Council of Laodicea *forbids the faithful to call on the name of angels*, which being a condemnation of the doctrine and practice of Rome in praying to angels, the later editions of this council have impudently put in *angulas* (angles or corners), instead of *angelos* (angels<sup>s</sup>);

<sup>r</sup> *Roman Forgeries print.* Lond. 1673.

<sup>s</sup> *Angulos, legunt.* Merlin. *Tom. 1. Concil. Edit. An. 1530.* Colon.

Crabbe *p. 226. ed. A. 1538.* Colon. Carrenza *sum Concil. pag. 82.* Lugd. 1568.

though all the Greek copies<sup>t</sup> and fathers read *Ἀγγέλως*,<sup>u</sup> and all the old Latin exemplars have *angelos*.<sup>w</sup> Nay, Pope Adrian himself (before this worship of angels arose) read it *angelos* in that epitome of canons which he sent to Charles the Great, An. 773. Thus they corrupt the councils to suit them to their own opinions; nor have single fathers and ancient authors fared better. St. Cyprian published by Pamelius, is altered in many places contrary to the ancient copies; for example, where that father says “the church is founded, *super petram*,”<sup>x</sup> Pamelius changes it into *super Petrum*, upon Peter, instead of upon

<sup>t</sup> *ap.* Zonar. Balsam. & Harmenopulum.

<sup>u</sup> Theodor. *in Colos.* 3.

Photius *Nomo-Canon. Tit.* 12. *c.* 9.

<sup>w</sup> Dionys. *Exig. Cod. Can. n.* 138.

Crescon. *breviar. Can.* § 90.

Fulgent. Ferrand. *Brev. Can.* § 184.

<sup>x</sup> Cyprian. *Ep.* 40. *Edit.*

Gryphii *p.* 52. Morellii 124.

a rock.<sup>y</sup> And Ludovicus Vives (*a Romanist*) assures us, that there are ten or twelve lines positively asserting *purgatory*, put into the printed copies of S. Aug. de Civitate Dei lib. 21. cap. 24. contrary to the ancient manuscripts.<sup>z</sup> Fulbertus Carnotensis quotes St. August. as saying of the sacramental bread, “this then is a figure,” but the Roman editions insert *as a heretic will say*, when, in truth, it is St. Augustus himself who says so, and speaks his own sense.<sup>a</sup> Aimonius speaking of the eighth council says, “they determined about images otherwise than the orthodox fathers had decreed;” and so Baronius reads;<sup>b</sup> but the modern printed copies, quite contrary, insert—*according as the orthodox fathers had decreed.*<sup>c</sup> But why do I stand

<sup>y</sup> *Editio. Pamel. Ep. 40. p. 7.*

<sup>z</sup> Ludov. Vives *Comment. in Aug. de Civ. Dei, l. 21. c. 24.*

<sup>a</sup> Fulbertus Carnot. *edit. An. 1608. p. 168.*

<sup>b</sup> Baron. *Annal. Tom. x. an. 869.*

<sup>c</sup> Aimonius *de Gestis Franc. l. 5. c. 8.*

upon particular instances? This wickedness, which all other men account the same villainy with suborning false witnesses, stopping the mouths of the true, and counterfeiting hands and seals, is owned by the present church of Rome; and Sixtus Senensis highly extols Pope Pius V. for his “most holy decree to burn all books which were *accounted* heretical, to purge and cleanse all Catholic authors, and especially the writings of the fathers.”<sup>d</sup> Now in what manner they effect this most holy work, the Belgic Inquisitors (appointed by the Roman see) shall tell you, “We strike out (say they) many errors, in other of the ancients we extenuate and excuse them, or, by feigning a commentitious gloss, either deny or fix a commodious sense to their words.”<sup>e</sup> Thus they served the works of St. Ambrose, cancelling and altering whole pages together,

<sup>d</sup> *Epistol. Nuncup. ante Bibliothecam Sixti Senens.*

<sup>e</sup> *Censores Belg. de libro Bertrami.*

contrary to all the old manuscripts, as appeared by the original papers which Sava-rius the stationer shewed to Francis Junius, according to which the inquisitors had ordered him to print that edition, Lugdun, An. 1559.<sup>f</sup> I might fill a volume with instances of similar unjust dealings, but I will only add the memorable account which Boxhornius, one of your divinity professors at Lovain, gives of himself, viz. “ that he having been employed by the inquisitors to strike out at least six hundred places of the ancients, which seemed to make against the Roman doctrines, was so troubled in mind upon it, that it was an occasion of his turning Protestant, and made him resolve to quit that religion which could not defend itself without such manifest impostures.”<sup>h</sup> I wish the consideration thereof may have the same effect upon you; for the matter of fact is so eyi-

<sup>f</sup> Junii *Præf. ad Indicem Expurg. Cens. Belg.*

<sup>h</sup> Henr. Boxhorn. *de Eucharistiâ l. 3. initio.*

dent; that the *Index Expurgatorius*, the book which directs these falsifications, is now come into Protestant hands, to the eternal infamy of the Roman church, whose people cannot rationally trust to any author which comes through their priests' dishonest hands. Since, then, *false* books are invented, true and genuine writers altered and corrupted, or else wholly prohibited if they seem to make against them (for which cause Clement VIII. puts the *Bible* into his index of *prohibited* books) and all editions but their own condemned and burnt by the Roman church—the people must needs be deluded into a persuasion that all these *new doctrines* are *primitive truths*, when, in truth, this abominable system of forgery evidently shews that the pope and his conclave think that both scripture and antiquity make against these innovations, and would discover the imposture if they were suffered to speak out: to whom I may justly apply the words of

Arnobius, “to intercept what is written, and to design to smother published records, is not to defend the gods, but to fear the testimony of the truth.”<sup>†</sup> And because “good men (as St. Augustine says) will not deceive, while neither good nor evil men would willingly be deceived,”<sup>‡</sup> I may suppose that the most devoted Romanists cannot but discern how unsafe they are in believing as those men teach them, who make no conscience to invent, impose, and pretend things never so false, provided they may thereby advance the interest of their church, or their own private ends.

They who dare write lies will not be afraid to speak them, and they who corrupt the remains of the holy saints deceased, are not to be trusted with the souls of the living. Whoever, therefore, gives himself up to such guides, unnaturally chuses

<sup>†</sup> Arno. *advers. Gent.* lib. 1.

<sup>‡</sup> Aug. *de verb. Apost.* Ser. 32.

his own delusion, and desperately hazards his own salvation. St. Ambrose advises us, if we choose a guide, to be careful he be endued with two properties, honesty and prudence; for his honesty will be a security that he will not deceive us, and his prudence will prevent our suspicion of his being deceived himself;<sup>1</sup> which wise counsel, if you follow, you must no longer adhere to these unfaithful leaders; nor ought you to fear to forsake them, either because your forefathers relied on them, or because the doctrines that they teach were once so generally received here, since your forefathers lived in an age wherein there were few means of detecting these forgeries, whereas you are by providence fallen into those times, wherein all the dishonest arts of that church are discovered so plainly, that if your forefathers had seen as much as you may see, they would have forsaken

<sup>1</sup> *Ambros. de Offic. l. 2. c. 8.*



Rome long since, and not have left you this objection to make. Nor are the doctrines the better for being generally received, since they were imposed on the world by such evil means as force and fraud; which being thus made evident, you can no longer wonder how these innovations came to be so generally believed, being propagated by as wicked means as they were invented for evil ends. So that now what the Roman church thought would secure her opinions, if it could have been kept close, must needs make them odious, being once laid open, and the impostures which they designed should bind men to their church, will (as some of their own doctors have prophesied) be an occasion to make all discerning men turn from it; for religion is to be defended (says Lactantius) not with wickedness, but fidelity, since if you attempt to defend religion by evil arts, you do not defend, but pollute and violate it.<sup>m</sup>

<sup>m</sup> Lactant. *Instit.* lib. 6. c. 19.

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## SECTION IV.

WHETHER THE SAID OPINIONS TEND TO ADVANCE  
THE ENDS OF TRUE RELIGION ?

Now although it be altogether unlikely that those principles should be either true or good, which stand in need of such arts to propagate and defend them, yet because you have been so long accustomed to call these things religion, and it is not easy to lay aside our rooted prepossessions, we will pass to the third enquiry, viz. Whether the things themselves be good in their own nature, and parts of true religion? Now we may try this by considering what are the ends of true religion, and whether these principles serve to advance those

ends? True religion, therefore, has three principal ends:—1. To advance the honour of God;—2. To assist us in worshipping him devoutly;—3. To teach us to imitate him by a holy life and conversation. Let us here, therefore, examine whether the peculiar articles of the Roman church do not hinder rather than promote these ends; for if it appear that these principles are dishonourable to God, impediments to devotion, and hinderances to a holy life, then those doctrines are also evil in their own nature, and they can be no real parts of a good or true religion. Nor must you retain them because you have once judged them good, if upon trial they prove to be otherwise. We must be firm to our principles (says Epictetus) yet not to all of them, but only to those which are right; we must begin at the right end, and first lay the foundation by considering whether our principles be good or evil, and afterwards

build upon that by constancy and firmness of resolution," Wherefore let me desire you patiently and impartially to enquire,

*First.* If there be not some of your principles and practices which tend not to the honour of God. If it be a dishonour to the Divine Majesty for a mortal man to contradict his laws by contrary constitutions, I fear your church will hardly be found innocent. For do they not command things which God has forbidden in as plain words as can be spoken, as in the case of images, Exod. xx. 4? and prayer in an unknown tongue, 1 Cor. xiv. 28. Do they not forbid things which God has allowed, as in the case of priests' marriage? Heb. xiii. 4.; 1 Cor. vii. 2. chap. ix. 5; 1 Tim. iii. 2, 12? and in taking the cup from the people? which they have decreed with a *non obstante*, that is, notwithstanding Lord Jesus appointed the contrary.

\* Arrianus in *Epictet. lib. 2. cap. 15.*

Do they not presume to dispense with the very laws of God, in many cases of matrimony and divorce, of vows, oaths, leagues, and contracts? So that, laying aside the commandment of God, ye hold the tradition of men, as our Saviour speaks, Mark vii. 8. Your holy Father who does all this may think himself the greatest upon earth, but if our Lord Jesus tells the truth, “ he shall be called least in the kingdom of heaven.” Matth. v. 19.

2dly. Is it not a great derogation to an infinite and invisible Being to be represented by an image, and worshipped under such representations, agreeably to the worship which heathens gave to their false gods,<sup>a</sup> and some heretics to our Saviour,<sup>p</sup> but contrary to the decrees and practice of the primitive christians,<sup>q</sup> and to

<sup>a</sup> Lactant. *Instit. lib. 2. cap. 2.*

<sup>p</sup> Irenæus *adv. heres. l. 1. c. 24.*

<sup>q</sup> *Concil. Eliber. Can. 36.*

Origen *in Cels. lib. 7.*

Tertul. *Apol. c. 30.*

the great scandal of modern Jews, who on this account call your churches *houses of idols*.<sup>r</sup>

3dly. Does not the doctrine of merits cast a palpable dishonour upon the glorious redemption wrought by Jesus Christ? Sure I am, many of the ancients, as well as of your later writers, think so.<sup>s</sup> Nor can we think it to be less than blasphemy which Bellarmine affirms, viz. “that a man may be said to be his own redeemer without any injury to Christ.”<sup>t</sup> Doubtless those who fancy they can redeem themselves and make satisfaction for their own sins, cannot but have a low estimation of Christ’s merits and satisfaction.

4thly. Your praying to angels and saints, especially the blessed Virgin, mak-

<sup>r</sup> Cornel. Agrip. *de Vanit. Scien. cap. 57.*

<sup>s</sup> August. *de Verb. Apos. Serm. 15.*

Bern. *de Annun. serm. 1. p. 123.*

Durand. *in Sent. lib. 2. dist. 8. qu. 1.*

Walden *de Sac. Rit. Tom. 3. Tit. 1. cap. 7.*

<sup>t</sup> Bellarm. *de Purgat. l. 1. c. 14.*



ing them your mediators and patrons,<sup>2</sup> and asking the greatest things of them, has made prayers to God by Jesus Christ to be generally neglected by the vulgar people, who say ten times as many ave-marias as pater-nosters, and wickedly fancy the blessed Virgin and holy saints are more compassionate than our Lord Jesus. “ This doctrine (says a very wise man) has wrought that general effect in all countries subject to the papacy ; that men have more affiance, and assume to themselves a greater conceit of comfort in the patronage of the creatures and servants of God, than of God himself, the Prince and the Creator.” A fault which St. Paul lays to the charge of the heathens, Rom. i. 25. How dishonourable must it needs be to

<sup>2</sup> Upon this subject the learned reader will do well to peruse the whole of the ninth book of St. Augustin de civitate Dei.

<sup>u</sup> *Sand. Europæ Spec. pag. 5, 6, 7.*

leave Jesus that *one mediator*, 1 Tim. ii. 5, who always is ready to hear us, and most apt to pity us, and best able to help us, to pray to God by those concerning whom your own doctors doubt whether they know any thing done here?<sup>w</sup> and the scripture plainly says they do not.\* Reason shews it is impossible they should hear many prayers in different places at the same time. To have the worship paid to the Master and the servants, the same in all outward expressions, only differing in a nice school-distinction, must needs be an affront to the King of saints. If you have any tenderness or zeal for the honour of Jesus, it cannot but be offensive to you to observe how your legends tell of greater miracles wrought by some of their fabulous

<sup>w</sup> Gratian. *caus.* 13. *qu.* 2. *c.* 19. 2 *Decret. Gloss. Interlin.* in Isa. 63.

\* Job. xiv. 21, 22.

Eccles. ix. 5.

Isa. lxiii. 13.



saints, than ever were performed by Jesus. To hear one of your church say, “that Christ did nothing which St. Francis did not do, yea, that he did more than Christ himself.”<sup>y</sup> What is more injurious to the honour of the Divine Majesty than your St. Bonaventure’s putting the name of the Virgin Mary into David’s Psalms, instead of the name of God? To have her adored by the heathenish title of the *Queen of Heaven*,<sup>z</sup> and invocated by the impious name of *Mother of the whole Trinity*!!<sup>a</sup> These things are rather *blasphemy* than *devotion*, and as dishonourable to God as they are dissonant from antiquity. “Let none (says Epiphanius) adore Mary; but why do I mention a woman? nay, not any man: this reverence is due only to God, nor are the angels capable of such glorification.”<sup>b</sup>

<sup>y</sup> *Lib. Conform. fol. 1149.*

<sup>z</sup> *Jer. vii. 18. ubi videtur esse nomen Junonis Olympiæ.*

<sup>a</sup> *Missal. Polon. fol. 237.*

<sup>b</sup> *Epiphan. adv. Collyridianos Panar hæc. 79.*

5thly. The supposing a necessity of superadding the saint's merits and the daily sacrifice of the mass,<sup>3</sup> to the merit of that "one offering for sin which Jesus made on the Cross," Heb. ix. 28, is an evident diminution from the value and sufficiency of the death of Christ.

<sup>3</sup> The word Mass was originally used to signify—not as the Romanists now employ it, the sacrifice of the altar, but *every part of divine service*. Missa or Mass is the same as Missio, and it was the form adopted in the Latin church, *Ite missa est*, which answers to the Greek *κπολυεσθε* and *προελθετε*, the solemn words used at the Dismission of the Catechumens first, and then of the whole assembly afterwards, at the end of their respective services. Whence the services themselves at last took their names from these solemn dismissions, the one being called Missa Catechumenorum, the other Missa Fidelium, neither of which ever signify more than the divine service at which the one or the other attended.—See the subject fully discussed in Bingham, book xiii. ch. i. § 4.—The word first occurs in St. Ambrose, A D. 374, and certainly was not in use much before his time.

6thly. The calling of the holy scripture a nose of wax, a leaden rule, and an inky gospel;<sup>c</sup> the placing of the apochryphal books in an equal rank with the word of God indited by the spirit; and the making their own traditions to be equal in value to it,<sup>d</sup> are palpable dishonours to God who wrote the holy scripture. These things, my friends, can hardly be reckoned matters tending to the honour God, unless you can suppose the cancelling his laws, disparaging his nature, undervaluing the merits, the mercies, and the miracles of Jesus by cheap and odious comparisons, the diminution of his worship, and making him sharer with his servants therein, and vilifying of his divine word, be no dishonour to him you pretend to serve.

<sup>c</sup> Pighius *Hierarch. lib. 3.*

Canus *lib. 3. c. 2.*

Turrian. *in Sadeel. pag. 99.*

<sup>d</sup> Concil. Trident. *Sess. 4.*

*Secondly.* Let us examine whether these doctrines assist you in the devout worshipping of God? It is very suspicious that that church does not teach a right way of serving God, which deceives you in the first principle of religion, viz. That God alone is to be worshipped—a sentence so odious to the Roman doctors, that the Index Expurgatorius blots it out of the indices of St. Athanasius and St. Augustine's works,<sup>e</sup> and if they could do it undiscovered, they would blot it out of the bible also, Matth. iv. 10. But there it shall stand for ever to reprove those who divide religious worship between God and his creatures, thereby diminishing that devotion which entirely belongs to the Divine Majesty, since affections are most vigorous when placed upon one object, and if they be dispersed among many, grow weak and

<sup>e</sup> *Adorari solius Dei est. Deleatur ex Ind. operum Athanasii. Indice libr. prohib. & Expurg. p. 52.*

*Madrid. Anno 1627. item ex. Ind. Op. St. Aug. bd. p. 56.*

trifling; whence we may conclude, that the Protestant who worships none but God is the greater lover of him, and worships with a more united and fervent devotion. As for your public worship, it is attended with so many ceremonies that they meet to disturb the devotion as well of the priests as the people; there is such frequent bowing, crossing, prostration, sprinkling with holy water, beating the breast, smoking with incense, &c. that the mind is taken off from a steady intention upon the inward and main part of the duty, while it is entertained with such variety of outward rites. “For our mind (says Quintilian) cannot sincerely intend its whole self upon many things at once, whatever new object it looks upon, it gives over the thoughts of that which is first propounded to itself;” and this is most evident where the objects are so different as sensible and intellectual things are. “For where the senses and their perceptions are

vigorously employed, there the intellectual powers cease to act" (as a great philosopher observes).<sup>f</sup> So that, in fact, your passions and your fancies are wrought upon, not the mind nor the higher faculties of your soul, by these numerous ceremonies ; and therefore that which you think devotion, I fear is but a fantastical and false fire, neither kindled by the love of God, nor warming your nobler powers at all. And to those steady, rational, and spiritual desires, which flow from an undisturbed contemplation of the divine goodness, and form the very life of prayer, I fear you are strangers, being so often taken off and diverted by variety of sensible representations. Again, the making all your public prayers in an unknown tongue, destroys all true devotion in the people. St. Clement, of Alexandria, tells us of some heathens who thought those prayers most ef-

<sup>f</sup> Porphyr. *de Abstin.* lib. 1, § 41.

fectual which were uttered in a barbarous language.<sup>ε</sup> But Christians know that prayer is the desiring something of God; and if the mind be not exercised in this desire, it avails nothing; but where the words are not understood, the mind cannot desire the things mentioned, so that none can properly pray in an unknown tongue, nor so much as rationally say amen, 1 Cor. xiv. 16. By this absurd practice, therefore, you (who are unlearned) spend the time of the public offices in admiring and gazing, not in joining with the priest or praying. And because the people have no employment while the mass lasts, they spend the whole time usually in talking and laughing privately, as those who travel in Roman Catholic countries inform us.<sup>4</sup> It may, indeed, excite your wonder why the Roman church should so obstinately refuse to reform so irrational a

<sup>ε</sup> Clem. Alex. *Stromat.* 1.

<sup>4</sup> Europ. *Spec.* pag. 10.

custom, which St. Paul has written a whole chapter to condemn, 1 Cor. xiv. The force of whose arguments and authority has made your wisest doctors declare against it. By St. Paul's doctrine (says Card. Cajetan) "it is better for the edifying of the church that public prayers were made in the vulgar tongue than in Latin." To the same purpose Lyra.<sup>k</sup> And your Rhemish annotators say, "When a man prayeth in a strange tongue, which himself understandeth not, it is not so fruitful for instruction to him, as if he knew particularly what he prayed." <sup>l</sup> Gabriel Biel also gives several reasons why prayers should be in a known tongue, saying, "It is better—1, for stirring up devotion; 2, for enlightening the mind; 3, for retaining the things in memory; 4, for keeping the

<sup>i</sup> Cajet. *com. in* 1 Corinth. 14. 17.

<sup>k</sup> Lyr. *in Loc.*

<sup>l</sup> Rhem. *Test. Annot.* 1 Cor. 14.



thoughts from wandering.”<sup>m</sup> Yet your admired church will oppose reason and scripture, and deprive all the common people that are of her communion, of the exercise of their devotion in her offices, rather than so far seem to confess a fault, as to amend it; chusing rather to let you lose the benefit of worshipping God, than to reform the most unjust customs which she has once espoused; but, if you be wise, if that church will not pray in such a language as you can join in, you will go over to the church of England, where you may pray with the spirit and with the understanding also. In the next place, your private prayers are not so good a way of worshipping God as that of other Christians. The images and pictures which the heathens first taught your doctors to call the books of the unlearned,<sup>n</sup> and which are placed before you in time of prayer, are no help,

<sup>m</sup> Gab. Biel. *in Can. Miss. Lect.* 62.

<sup>n</sup> Porphyr. *ap. Euseb. Præpar. Evang. lib.* 3.

but an hinderance to all true devotion; for while your lips are repeating your orisons, your mind is taken up with the beauty, colour, lineaments, and workmanship of the image; so that your own conscience will tell you, by these diversions you often “ draw near to God with your lips, when your hearts are far from him, which is a vain worship.” Matthew xv. 8. The Casuists of your church, foreseeing that images would take off the attention, have determined most impiously, “ that it is not necessary to prayer that the person praying should think of what he speaks.”<sup>o</sup> A doctrine suitable enough to that slight and formal worship which your church appoints; and the generality of people among you think they have prayed sufficiently when they have pattered over so many little orisons as agree to the number of their

<sup>o</sup> Suarez. *de Orat. lib. 3. cap. 14.* & Salmeron.

beads;<sup>4</sup>—a new invention, which came not into the church till all serious devotion had ceased,<sup>p</sup> it being a sign he minds his prayers but little, that needs a string of beads by which to reckon them; yet these beads (says one of your own authors) are now the chief instruments of the hypocrite's counterfeit devotion.<sup>q</sup> I shall not ravel into the body of your prayers, since the author of the *Reflections on the Romish Devotions* has sufficiently done this; but I cannot but remark, that the repeating ave maria and the name of Jesus so many times over, as in those fifteen little prayers in the psalter of Jesus, where the name of Jesus is thrice mentioned in each prayer, and

<sup>4</sup> The use of beads can be traced no higher than to the days of Dominic of Guzman, commonly called St. Dominic, A. D. 1210.

<sup>p</sup> *An. Dom.* 1090.

<sup>q</sup> Polyd. Virgil. *de invent. rer.* l. 5. c. 9.

each prayer is ordered to be said ten times over; and those numerous names of saints repeated in your Litanies, with no petition annexed but *ora pro nobis*, is so far from agreeing with the primitive worship of God among the Christians, that it is evidently derived from that heathenish superstition of praying by repeating a hundred names of their deities together, interposing nothing but O hear us.<sup>r</sup> In this manner Baal's priests are supposed to pray, 1 Kings xviii. 26. But to Christians Jesus says, "When ye pray use not vain repetitions as the heathens do, for they think that they shall be heard for their much speaking," Matth. vi. 7. Wherefore, though you have admired this trifling way of worship when you knew no better, yet if you would acquaint yourselves with the solid and rational way of praying prescribed in the church of England, wherein great

<sup>r</sup> Selden *de Diis Syris*, p. 52. Saubertus *de Sacrific. cap. 13. pag. 296.*

things, in an exact method, in plain and proper phrases, and in a *known language*, are asked of *God alone* in the name of *Jesus Christ*, you would easily leave off those formal, vain, and superficial devotions which can neither be acceptable to God nor profitable unto yourselves.

*Thirdly.* Let us pass to the last of these particulars, and enquire if the *doctrines of Rome*, differing from those of England, tend to promote our imitating God by a holy life and conversation, without which all our worship is in vain; “for it is a folly and miserable error (says St. Augustine) to humble yourself before him in adoration to whom you chuse to be unlike in conversation, and to give him religious worship whose example you will not follow; since the sum of all religion is to imitate him you worship.”\* Now there are several principles of the Roman church

\* Aug. de Civ. Dei, lib. 8. c. 17.

which seem to hinder a *holy life*,—as, 1st. The custom of confessing to a priest weekly or monthly, together with the absolution following as a matter of course, is, I fear, a great hinderance to that amendment of life at which it pretends to aim; for while men rely on this remedy, they go on without fear in those sins for which they have so easy a *cure* at hand, like those who venture without scruple on dangerous viands, because they have their *physicians* beside them. It is true there is a penance enjoined sometimes, but it is such a one as the *rich* may *buy off*, and the *poor* may *undergo*, and yet both retain the sin, because the penance is not its proper cure; the going in pilgrimages, giving money, saying or reading over such proportions of legends or little chiming prayers, with others far more impertinent, tend not to rectify a vicious habit—and a plaister on the toe may as soon cure the head-ache, as these penances effect a refor-

mation, or obtain a pardon at God's hands. And yet all men see, when the day of confession is over and the penance past, that you are generally confident of a pardon, and fancy you begin upon a new score. It is not easy to enumerate all the devices which your church has invented to convey pardon of sins—holy water, relics of saints, visiting some certain churches, saying some certain prayers, making oblations of money to such and such uses, indulgences, and other such things; so that he that has *money* need never want *pardon* from Rome; but alas, these things can never really take away the guilt of *one* sin, although they embolden men to commit *many*; “for the multitude of sinners increaseth when hope is given that sin may be bought off, and men easily fall into those sins for which money will purchase their pardon,” as Arnobius said to the heathens, who relied on such like fantastical means of remission.”

<sup>w</sup> Arnob. *adv. Gentes*, lib. 7. p. 216.

We may, indeed, say of the guides of your church, as Seneca in a like case, "they sin more in such absolutions than the offender doth in the crime." For by persuading men they can have remission on so easy terms, they make them secure before they are safe, because Almighty God, who only finally can remit, never promised pardon on these terms, and it is only those who *forsake* as well as *confess* their sins to whom he will shew mercy, Prov. xxviii. 13. If either the pope or any of his substitutes pretend to have power to forgive sins on any other terms, they abuse those who are so weak as to believe them. For St. Basil says truly, "the power of absolving was not absolutely given but upon condition of the penitent's reformation."<sup>y</sup> And we tell our people more sincerely that if a priest absolve them a thousand times over, and if they give ever so much money

<sup>x</sup> Senec. Ep. 97.

<sup>y</sup> Basil. reg. brev. qu. 15.



without amendment of life, they can have no pardon, according as scripture itself teaches,<sup>z</sup> and the holy fathers also; “if thou givest all that thou hast, and dost not forsake thy sins, thou art twice deceived, both in losing thy money and thy pardon also.”<sup>a</sup> Again, as if the Roman church designed to make men think their own actual holiness were never necessary, they have other devices to persuade you into a belief of coming off well at the end of your life, howsoever ill you have spent it. The heretics in Tertullian’s time said, “it was a meritorious thing to be of their party.”<sup>b</sup> You are told it is a ready way of salvation to die in the communion of the Roman church; if you can but receive the sacraments of that church, and be absolved by one of their priests, you scarcely doubt of obtaining heaven at last;

<sup>z</sup> Mich. vi. 7.

<sup>a</sup> Augustin. *homil.* 2. *ex* 50. *hom.*

<sup>b</sup> Tertul. *de Præscrip. adv. hæret.* c. 41.

and if you have no good works of your own, they persuade you the church can sell you the merits of the saints ; or if you should drop into purgatory by the way, the pains of that (they say) are not endless, and if you give liberally on your death-beds, or if any others afterwards give for you, to purchase so many masses and other prayers for your soul, you will ere long be delivered from thence. All which notorious delusions miserably deceive poor men, and most mischievously encourage them to put off their repentance, and to resolve not to be troubled with holiness in the way, since they fancy they shall come off so easily in the end. And alas ! they are as *false* as they are *mischievous* ! for the ancient fathers unanimately affirm no man's estate can be altered after this life, “ but as the last day of a man's life finds him, so the last day of the world finds him.”<sup>c</sup> “ Nor will

<sup>c</sup> Augustin. *Epist.* 80.

any thing help thee (says St. Augustine) but what is done while thou art here."<sup>d</sup> Out of innumerable such testimonies that of St. Salvian may serve—" although a man should have so pious a son who, for alleviating his father's punishment, would desire to give all the goods he left behind him, it would do him no good; for the piety of the son can do nothing to procure that rest to a man after death which his own impiety and infidelity has denied him."<sup>e</sup>

I grant there are some persons in your church who live better than on these principles they are obliged to do, who do not draw those conclusions into their practice which naturally follow from these doctrines; but this is only an evidence of the pre-eminent virtue of such persons, and no proof of the goodness of these doctrines. If these men be holy in a religion which

<sup>d</sup> *Idem de Verb. Apost. Ser. 21.*

<sup>e</sup> *Salvian. ad Eccles. Cath. lib. 3.*

gives such encouragement to evil, doubtless they would be more holy by far, if they were taught better things. I shall only add, that as the Roman church is too loose in matters pertaining to God's laws, so she is too strict in matters pertaining to her own constitutions, like the old Pharisees who tithed mint and annise, and neglected the weightier matters of the law, Matth. xxiii. It is a great obstruction to real holiness, when men place religion in ceremonies and slight things, for while they are curious in these matters, they neglect greater, and think, by observing the rules of the church, they compensate for passing by the laws of God; your own ordinary gloss says, "that is superstition, when religion is placed in observing the ordinances of men.<sup>f</sup> And if so, then your wonderful strictness in crossing, bowing, using holy water, abstinence on

*f* Gloss. Ordin. ad Colos. 2.

certain days, wearing crosses, &c. in which you have placed so much religion, are no better than superstition. It cannot be denied that most Roman Catholics are more afraid to eat flesh on a fasting-day than to curse or swear; they will be drunk on a holy-day, which God forbids, but not work on it because the church forbids it. Many of them dare to commit debauchery, who dare not neglect confession, or read a book written by a supposed heretic. And generally, they are punctual in crossing, sprinkling, bowing, and observing all orders of the church, even such as live in the open breach of God's commandments, and yet fancy themselves more sure of heaven than the most pious and holy Protestant. Thus this religion is too strict where God gives us more liberty, and too remiss where his holy law has bound us with eternal and indispensable bonds. It is designed to promote obedience to the Roman church, rather than inward holiness towards God.

The conclusion of the whole matter is this, That whosoever sincerely desires to glorify God, and worship him with a rational devotion, and whoever would imitate him by a holy life, ought not to chuse or retain such a religion, the principles of which tend so evidently to the dishonour of God's name, the hinderance of true devotion, and to the rendering a holy life unnecessary. And as it was proved before, that the articles peculiar to the Roman faith were not ancient, that they were not introduced for pious ends, or propagated by honest means ; so now it is proved that the articles are not good in their own nature, and that therefore there is no reason why you should not renounce them, unless you retain them in mere reverence to the authority of the Pope who imposes them, which now will become the subject of our enquiry.

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## SECTION V.

WHETHER THE ROMAN BISHOP HAVE SUFFICIENT AUTHORITY TO IMPOSE THE SAID OPINIONS UPON ALL CHRISTIAN CHURCHES?

THE last and almost the only shelter that your doctors have recourse to at this day for the defence of your principles, is, that the Bishop of Rome is the sole vicar of Christ, the infallible<sup>s</sup> and only judge of controversies, and the supreme head of the

<sup>s</sup> How the most devoted Romanist can believe in the Papal Infallibility it is difficult to conceive. A Romanist holds that heretical Baptism is invalid, yet in the third century, Stephen, the Bishop of Rome, pronounced sentence in favour of it; a Romanist considers Arianism to be heresy, yet the Arian doctrine was sanctioned by Pope Liberius in the fourth century; a

universal church ; and hereby their adherents are awed into the retaining all his decrees of what nature soever they be ; but Romanist condemns Pelagianism, yet it was indirectly countenanced by Pope Zosimus in the fifth century ; a Romanist abjures Monothelitism, yet in the seventh century Pope Honorius was denounced as a Monothelite ; a Romanist cannot approve of offering incense to an heathen idol, yet by Pope Marcellinus this was done.

Again, Infallibility cannot contradict itself, yet Pope Boniface reversed the decision of Pope Zosimus with respect to the Bishops of Arles and Vincennes ; which of the two was infallible ? *Both* could not be ; yet *both* were Popes. In the sixth century Pope Vigilius three times changed his decision on the subject of the three chapters. In which decision was he infallible ? In all he could not be. Even in the fourteenth century Pope Gregory XI. cancelled the excommunication denounced by John XXII. against the disciples of Peter de Oliva ; and here again, which of the two was infallible ?

If they would apply the Infallibility to a Papal Council ;—even in the Council of Trent a most glaring contradiction occurs. In one Session it is stated that



let me beg leave to advise you not to lay so much stress upon these titles and authority, until you have seriously examined by what right the Pope lays claim to them. For his power ought to be very great, and his proofs very good, upon the credit of which you receive so many new and suspicious articles of religion, some of which we ought not to receive though preached by an angel, Gal. i. 8, 9. And first, though we stand not much upon titles, you may observe that the name of Vicar of Christ was never given to the Pope in the first ages, and when this title came into use it was not appropriated to the Bishop of Rome, but other bishops and priests are styled Vicars of Christ also, even by a Pope

the Bread in the Sacrament contains the Body, and the Wine the Blood of Christ, yet in another, in order to authorize the Decree of Half-Communion, it is affirmed that *both* Body and Blood are contained under *either* the Bread *or* the Wine.

of Rome,<sup>g</sup> as also by the old French emperors,<sup>h</sup> and by our own Saxon law.<sup>i</sup> So that there is no reason for the Roman bishop to challenge any exclusive claim to this title, or any special privilege by virtue of it. Secondly, as to his being an infallible judge and the supreme head of the Catholic church throughout the world, you may remember we have proved that there are more Christians in the world who deny this supremacy of Rome, than there are who acknowledge it; and if the belief of this infallible headship be the reason why you receive other articles of faith, this then is the most fundamental article of all others, and ought to be the best attested. If our Lord Jesus had designed to make St. Peter and his successors at Rome (not at Antioch) such supreme infallible judges, we may expect he would have set down

<sup>g</sup> Euseb. *Pap. Decret. Ep.* 3.

<sup>h</sup> *Capitol. Carol. & Lud. l. 5. c. 163.*

<sup>i</sup> *Legibus Hydens. ap. Spelm. tom. 1. p. 440.*

this article plainly in holy scripture, and not have left his sole visible vicegerent to the suspicion of bearing witness to himself. As for that passage in Matth. xvi. “Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my church;” it is indeed by the Popes, in their forged decretals, expounded as a confirmation of their pretences to supremacy; but the fathers take this rock, not for St. Peter’s person, but for his faith which he confessed, and for Christ himself, the object thereof. So St. Augustine,<sup>k</sup> Nazianzen,<sup>l</sup> St. Cyril,<sup>m</sup> St. Chrysostome,<sup>n</sup> St. Ambrose,<sup>o</sup> and Hilary,<sup>p</sup> expound the place; and if so, this belongs no more to St. Peter than to the rest of the apostles, who confess the same faith, and belongs no otherwise to the Pope, than as he varies not from St. Pe-

<sup>k</sup> Aug. *de verb. Dom. Serm. 13.*

<sup>l</sup> Nazianz. *Test. de Vet. Testam.*

<sup>m</sup> Cyril. *de Trin. lib. 4.*

<sup>n</sup> Chrysost. *hom. 55. in Matth.*

<sup>o</sup> Ambros. *Com. in Ephes. 2.*

<sup>p</sup> Hilar. *de Prin. lib. 2. cap. 6.*

ter's faith, and so far it belongs to all orthodox bishops with respect to their several churches.

As for the keys of the kingdom of heaven, ver. 19, they were given as much to the other apostles as to St. Peter, Matth. xviii. 18 (as also the aforesaid fathers observe) being all equally sharers in the power of the keys, and all foundations, as well as St. Peter,<sup>9</sup> so that St. Cyprian plainly tells us, "The rest of the apostles were as great as Peter, endowed with an equal share of honour and power."<sup>r</sup> Nor do we find that St. Peter ever pretended to any power over the other apostles. "Peter, James, and John, though preferred by Christ (says Eusebius) before the rest, challenged not to themselves the glory of primacy, but

<sup>9</sup> Aug. *in Johan. Tract.* 118.

Ambros. *in Psal.* 38.

Origen. *in Matth. Tract.* 1.

Hilarius *de Trinit.* l. 6.

Hieron. *in Jovin, lib.* 1.

<sup>r</sup> Cypr. *de unit. Eccles.*

chose James the Just, Bishop of Jerusalem.”’ If any were greatest it was St. James, who was then president in that first council at Jerusalem, and determined the question there,<sup>6</sup> though St. Peter was present.<sup>7</sup> Nay, Clemens, Bishop of Rome, in the first Decretal epistle (a good evidence against the inventors thereof) styles this very St. James bishop of bishops, governing the holy church of the Hebrews at Jerusalem and also all the churches, which were everywhere founded by the provi-

<sup>6</sup> While the other apostles were *bishops at large*, and had the superintendence of those churches which they established among the gentiles, until particular bishops were appointed to them, to St. James was appropriated a single diocese or province; and accordingly, though other apostles were present at the council referred to, they yielded that precedence to him at Jerusalem which any modern bishop *ought* to do when sojourning in the diocese of another.

<sup>7</sup> Euseb. *Eccles. hist.* l. 2. c. 1.

<sup>t</sup> Acts xv. 13.

dence of God." And an ancient council calls Jerusalem the mother of all churches; but as for the primacy of Rome, there is no genuine author for the first three centuries who takes any notice of it, and Æneas Sylvius,\* afterwards Pope, confesses, there was little respect paid to Rome before the Nicene council. If Polycrates and the Asian bishops had known of this infallibility and supremacy they would not have opposed Pope Victor's opinion, or have despised his excommunication so boldly as they did; neither would Irenæus have presumed to reprove the same Victor for his arrogance and indiscretion, as we find he did.' St. Cyprian surely never heard of this power of the Roman bishop, who calls Cornelius, bishop of that see, no more than brother and colleague, and gives to Pope Stephen,

\* *Decret. Epist. Clement. I. in Titul. Epist.*

• *Concil. Constant. I. Ep. ad Dam.*

• *Æne. Sylv. Ep. 288.*

• *Euseb. Eccles. hist. lib. 5. c. 24.*

his successor at Rome, the titles of false apostle, schismatic, a friend to heretics, and an enemy to christians; utterly despising his judgment, and not regarding his determinations.<sup>y</sup> Besides, if this supremacy had been believed in the first ages of the church, the opinion of the Roman bishops would have been sought for concerning all controverted places of scripture, his decrees cited to silence heretics, and all appeals have been made finally to him. He also would have called and presided in all eminent councils, whereas Cardinal Cusanus affirms, that the emperors or their deputies were presidents in eight general councils.<sup>z</sup> Nor did the fourth general council at Chalcedon suppose that the Roman bishop had any supremacy given him from Christ, when that council says, "Rome hath justly had the privileges given unto it by the fathers, because it was

<sup>y</sup> Cyprian. *ad Pompei. Ep.* 74.

<sup>z</sup> Cusan. *de Concor. Cath. lib.* 3, c. 6.

the seat of the empire; and for the same reason they grant equal privileges to the bishop of Constantinople.”<sup>a</sup> Nay, St. Gregory, bishop of Rome, says, “The fathers of the council of Chalcedon were they who offered his predecessors the title of universal bishop, which they refused to accept.”<sup>b</sup> To convince us that this universal supremacy is a late device, it is evident, that it was not only unknown to others in the first age, but to the very Popes themselves, as these few instances will shew; Liberius, Bishop of Rome, An. 350, sending the confession of his faith to Athanasius desires his approbation of it, “That I may know (says he) whether I am of the same judgment with you in matters of faith, and that I may be more certain, and readily obey your commands.”<sup>c</sup> When the bishop of Constantinople began to call himself universal bishop,

<sup>a</sup> *Concil. Chal. Can. 28. An. 451.*

<sup>b</sup> *Greg. Epist. lib. 7. Ep. 30.*

<sup>c</sup> *Athanas. Ep. ad Epictet.*



Pope Gregory, in his epistle to Mauritius, the emperor, says, “He wonders at the arrogance of assuming this new title, which none of the bishops of Rome had ever accepted of, a title blasphemous to Christian ears;” and with many other words he inveighs against this title, as unfit for any Christian bishop, as may be seen at large in his epistles.<sup>d</sup> In his epistle to Eulogius, Patriarch of Alexandria, he is displeased that Eulogius writes to him by the proud title of universal bishop, desiring him wholly to forbear that language, “for (says he) that is a diminution to you, which is afforded to another beyond what reason doth require;” and he there tells Eulogius, “that the council of Chalcedon had offered this title to the old bishops of Rome, but they would not accept it.”<sup>e</sup> Of which he gives this reason in another epistle:—

<sup>d</sup> *Gregor. Epist. lib. 2. ad Maurit. Epist. 32, 36, 38.*

<sup>e</sup> *Gregor. Epist. lib. 7. Ept. 30.*

<sup>f</sup> *Idem lib. 7. Epist. 36.*

“ Because if one patriarch be called universal, the name of patriarch is taken from the rest.”<sup>f</sup>

So little did Pope Boniface think of deriving his supremacy from Christ, that with much intreaty he obtained from the Emperor Phocas a decree, “ that the Roman church should be head of all churches,”<sup>g</sup> as the ancient historians bear witness.<sup>h</sup> But this imperial constitution will scarcely justify the ~~supremacy and~~ jurisdiction which the pope now claims over all the world, and it utterly destroys the pretences of a divine right to it.

It would be too tedious to relate at large all the steps by which the bishops of Rome attained to their present grandeur ;

<sup>g</sup> Beda *de 6. ætat. Mundi.*

<sup>h</sup> Paul. Diacon. *rer. Rom. lib. 18. Histor. Longob. lib. 4. c. 11. Anastast. Bibl. Vit. Bonif. Tertii.*

*Ado. ætat. Sext. Reg. Chron. l. 1.*

*Aiman. de gest Franc. l. 4. c. 4.*

I shall therefore only observe, that the first ages began early to complain of his encroachments and ambition;<sup>i</sup> and all succeeding times frequently opposed the pope's pretences herein. The sixth council of Carthage, for instance, allowed not his claim of appeals.<sup>k</sup> The bishops of France complain of his sending a legate to dedicate a church there, as an undue act, contrary to the ancient canons and all primitive constitutions, “ for though (says the historian) the bishop of Rome for the dignity of his apostolical seat, be more venerable than other bishops, yet it is not lawful for him in any thing to transgress the tenor of canonical rules; and as every bishop of the orthodox church is the spouse of his own See, and represents the person of our Saviour, so it cannot agree to any bishop boldly to act any thing in

<sup>i</sup> Firmilianus *ad Cypr. Ep.* 75.

<sup>k</sup> *Concil. 6. Carthag. An.* 419.

the diocese of another."<sup>7</sup> The like checks the popes frequently received for meddling in France, from the princes of that nation.<sup>m</sup> About that time also, the bishops of Italy complained of the Roman usurpation to the patriarch of Constantinople, as appears by Photius's Letter in answer to that complaint, extant in Cardinal Baronius.<sup>n</sup> There are many similar examples in the historians of those ages in which this bold jurisdiction began first to be exercised in this western part of Europe.<sup>o</sup>

And now, why should you be awed into the belief of evil and inconvenient

<sup>7</sup> Whether this rule is always observed by the Right Reverend Prelates of England it becomes not the Editor to say.

<sup>7</sup> Glaber Rodolph. *hist. lib. 2. c. 4.*

<sup>m</sup> *Vita Ludov. Pii à P. Pithæo edit. An. 863.*

*Annal. Fran. à P. Pithæo cod. An.*

<sup>n</sup> Photius Constant. *Ep. Encycl. ap. Baron An. 863. § 42.*

<sup>o</sup> *Constit. Imper. à Godalsto, Tom. 1. pag. 24, 25.*

Luitprand. *Ticin. histor. lib. 6. c. 9 & 10.*

doctrines by a pretended supremacy, not given by Christ, not challenged by the best popes, and not acknowledged by the first christians? Why should you be enslaved by an authority gained by fraud and policy, confirmed by force and cruelty, enlarged by dividing christian princes, by the undermining the empire and oppressing many ecclesiastical and temporal persons in their just rights? Why should you fear to renounce an usurped jurisdiction, since “ what is unjustly seized on at first can never be legally enjoyed, nor is it confirmed by the longest prescription of time,”<sup>q</sup> as the civil law speaks? I must confess I cannot see that any christians without the pale of his own diocese, are obliged to own him further than by the respect due to a bishop of an ancient patriarchal See, nor even so far, if he be not content with his own, and keep not close to the primitive faith.

<sup>q</sup> *LL. Basilic. lib. 10. tit. 1. & Balsamon not. in Concil. An-cyran. p. 378.*

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## SECTION VI.

WHETHER THE POPE HAS ANY RIGHT TO EXERCISE  
A JURISDICTION OVER ENGLAND.

BUT since my discourse is directed particularly to the Roman Catholics of England, it will be most important to enquire *Whether the Roman bishop can justly claim any authority over them?* and (if prejudices were laid aside) I doubt not but to make it evident *that the pope neither has nor ought to have any authority over this nation.* For, first, let it be considered that Britain was the first of the provinces which publicly professed the *Faith of Christ*, as is observed by Sabellicus,<sup>r</sup> and as is also attested

<sup>r</sup> Sabellic. *Enn.* 7. *lib.* 5.

by other more ancient writers.' So that it is agreed on all hands, here was a true and perfect Church of Christ nearly five hundred years before they had any communication with the bishop of Rome, or knew one syllable of this foundation-article of the modern faith of that church, viz. of the pope's *universal supremacy*. It is also certain the church of Britain was not subject to Rome at the time of the first general council at Nice. In the sixth canon of that council it is decreed concerning the three patriarchs' jurisdictions, " that the ancient custom should be established, that Egypt, Lybia, and Pentapolis should be subject to the bishop of Alexandria, because the bishop of Rome had the like custom, and likewise so it was at Antioch, and in other provinces the privileges should be preserved to their churches," &c.'

\* Tertul. *adv. Jud.* c. 7.

Theodoret. *de Cur. Græc. aff. Ser.* 9.

† *Can. 6. Concil. Nicæn. juxt. Dionys. Exig.*

Now the ancient custom and privilege of this church of Britain was to govern itself without subjection to any foreign patriarch, and the pope could not usurp any dominion here afterwards without transgressing this canon of the most famous general council ; especially if we consider how this canon was expounded in Ruffinus's days, viz. " that Rome should have the government of the suburbicarian churches."<sup>u</sup> The ancient survey of the Imperial provinces will tell you what the suburbicarian region was, viz. three islands, Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica, and part of Italy, from the east end to the border of Tuscany westward. And this was all the ancient extent of the Roman bishop's jurisdiction, the rest of Italy being under the metropolis of Milan, which church of old paid no subjection to Rome, much less could any be due to him

<sup>u</sup> *Histor. Eccles. lib. 1. c. 6.*



from Britain. Again, in the third general council of Ephesus, An. 431, it was decreed, “ that in all dioceses and provinces it should hereafter be observed, that no bishop should henceforward lay hold of another province, which had not formerly and from the beginning been under the power of their predecessors,”<sup>w</sup> which canon the pope must break also before he can assume a power over the church of Britain, which, with the island of Cyprus and some other places, was its own head (in the language of those times) and subject to no patriarch. So that when Augustine the monk (coming over to convert the Pagan Saxons) required the British bishops to profess subjection to the See of Rome, they did, by virtue of these canons, refuse it, telling him, “ they had a patriarch of their own, to whom alone they were subject in spiritual things under

<sup>w</sup> *Concil. Ephes. can. 8.*

God ;” and Dionothus, Abbot of Bangor, by various arguments shewed they owed no subjection to the Roman bishop (as an old historian informs us).<sup>x</sup> Accordingly the British bishops retained their old rites different from Rome, and kept their old privileges, being consecrated by the Archbishop of St. David’s, and he by his own suffragans, making no profession of subjection to any other church,<sup>y</sup> which custom continued till the time of King Henry the First. The Saxons, indeed, shewed more respect to Rome, because it had assisted in their conversion ; hence they sometimes asked advice of the pope, as of an eminent neighbour patriarch, but their bishops never professed subjection to Rome, nor did they own his supremacy, or look upon him as an infallible judge, as appears by their not obeying the pope’s decree made in a Roman council, about restoring Wil-

<sup>x</sup> Geofr. *Monm. de Aug. vers. fin.*

<sup>y</sup> Gyrald, *Camb. Itin.* l. 2, c. 1.

frid to his Archbishoprick of York, An. 680.<sup>5</sup> And though the pope had confirmed and recommended the canons of the second Nicene council about images, the English church rejected and despised them, writing a book to condemn image worship, in the name of all the princes and bishops of England, and sending it to Charles the Great of France, by the learned Alcuinus, as our histories attest.<sup>6</sup> Moreover it is evident that all ecclesiastical laws were then made by the Saxon kings and bishops, in their provincial councils, by their own authority, without ever acquainting the pope therewith, without desiring his consent thereto, or his confirmation thereof. The popes, indeed, about the latter end of the

<sup>5</sup> Augustine himself, though sent as a missionary from Rome to convert the Saxons, just as we now send missionaries to India, was not consecrated at Rome, but by the bishops of France.

<sup>6</sup> Hoved. *Annal. part. 1. pag. 405.*

*Matth. Westm. An. 793.*

Saxon times, began to degenerate in manners, and aim at high things in all the western world; but his pride was checked here, even as (as we shewed before) it was in other places; for when that insolent Pope Hildebrand, who first presumed to depose an emperor,<sup>a</sup> was bold enough to require fealty of King William the Conqueror, he answered him in this manner,—“ Fealty I neither have acknowledged, nor will I do it, because neither did I promise it, nor do I find that *my* predecessors ever did it to *your* predecessors,” as appears by the Conqueror’s letters still extant.<sup>b</sup>

When by policy and evil arts<sup>9</sup> he had made some encroachments here, yet still

<sup>9</sup> That the bishop of Rome exercised no temporal authority over princes in the primitive ages is clear from the following fact, that when the Emperor Mauritius made an order that no soldier should be admitted into any monastery, and enjoined the publication of

<sup>a</sup> Onuphrius in *Vit. Greg.* 7.

<sup>b</sup> Baron. *Annal. An.* 1076. § 25.

his power was esteemed no other than a temporal power, permitted by the favour

this edict upon Gregory the Great, that pope, on the ground of his being the *emperor's subject*, dispersed the order, although he considered it an unlawful command. Greg. Mag. Epist 61. By "policy and evil arts," however, the popes gradually raised themselves above all christian sovereigns, until Gregory VII. who determined that all princes should kiss the pope's foot, decided in one of his councils held at Rome, that the pope has power to depose emperors and kings, and to absolve the subjects of wicked sovereigns from their allegiance. We may date, therefore, from his time, the odious doctrine asserted by Cardinal Bellarmine, who maintains "that the pope has full power over the whole world, both in ecclesiastical and *civil* affairs, and that to question it is a detestable heresy." It is needless to refer to the many instances in which this power has been exercised, but it is certainly remarkable that to the very last hour of papal influence in England, this authority was assumed. For on the ground that it belonged to the pope alone to dispose of crowns and to erect or convert states into kingdoms, Ireland was erected into a kingdom by Paul IV. and by him conferred on the bloody Mary, in order that it might not appear that she inherited it from her father. The same pope rebuked

of our kings, not due by any original right. Hence the historian says, "That King Henry the First having subdued all his enemies, feared none but the pope, and that not for his spiritual but his temporal power."<sup>c</sup> And an old record affirms that King Henry the Second smartly asked the Bishop of Chichester, "How he dare argue for the pope's authority which was granted by men, against his royal power derived from God?"<sup>d</sup> The turbulent and seditious attempts of Thomas Becket and his

Elizabeth, in no gentle terms, for assuming the crown without his permission, and a similar course was pursued by his successor, Pius V. in the bull which he published for her excommunication, which may be seen in the Appendix. Thus what is stated in the text, that this authority was never recognized in England, is no proof that it was never claimed by the pope, but merely that even in the darkest ages the high spirit of Englishmen was such as to prevent their being genuine and faithful papists.

<sup>c</sup> *Matth. Paris. An. 1107.*

<sup>d</sup> *Record. An. tertio Hen. II.*

faction about that time, to subject the English clergy to the pope's universal supremacy, are sufficiently known; but if our ancestors (whom you call Roman Catholics) had been of your opinion in this great article of faith, they would not have made so stout an opposition against the Pope's supremacy as they did; it being apparent that the whole body of the nation then looked on it as an encroachment and an usurpation; for in the famous statutes of Clarendon they condemn it, decreeing, among other things, "That all the clergy should, *bona fide*, swear to the king, and none should appeal but unto the archbishop, or from him finally to the king, without particular licence."\* And to restrain his meddling here, the kings of England declared they had a right to forbid the Pope's legates from entering into this land, and often

\* Matth. Paris. An. 1164.

did prohibit them (even Queen Mary herself exercising this power); nay, it was adjudged in a parliament, 25 Ed. III. “to be treason to bring in the pope’s bulls here without the king’s consent,” Stat. de Provisor; though the sending these be an act of spiritual jurisdiction; but it is plain they would not allow the Pope in those days to exercise spiritual jurisdiction here without the king’s leave, for his very excommunicating certain English bishops in a parliament, 16 Rich. II. is declared to tend “to the open disherison of the crown, and the destruction of the king, his law; and all his realms, and a little after it is affirmed there, that the pope’s attempts be clearly against the king’s crown and regality, used and approved in the time of all his progenitors; finally, therefore, they all promise to stand with the king against all such encroachments with their very lives.

*f Stat. 16. Ric. 2di Statute Book, pag. 238.*



If you be as well versed as it becomes Englishmen to be in the histories and statutes of your own country, you must needs know that the authority which the Pope once exercised here, was obtained by taking advantages of the necessities of our kings, and the divisions among the people. In those times which are accounted most popish, it was checked by laws, complained of in parliament, and thought an oppression by the wisest and greatest subjects, so that the most noble Henry de Lacey, Earl of Lincoln, in his dying speech (to his son-in-law, Thomas, Earl of Lancaster) said, among other things, “ that the church of England, heretofore honourable and free, was now enslaved by Romish oppressions;” charging him “ to stand up like a man for the honour of God and the church, and the redemption of his country.”<sup>ε</sup> The same author tells us, that it

<sup>ε</sup> Tho. of Walsing. An. 1312. pag. 74, num. 20.

was debated in a council at London, An. 1408, “ Whether all payments and obedience to the Pope should not be taken away ?”<sup>h</sup> Which shews they thought it in the power of this nation to take away his authority here when they pleased : and they retained it, not as being necessarily or originally due to him, but only in respect of his being a bishop of an ancient apostolical seat, as it evident from those instructions which king Henry the Fifth gave to his ambassadors, sent to Pope Martin the Fifth, bidding them (if they perceived any delay in their affair) to tell the Pope, “ That their master the king, if he yielded not to his demands, would use his own power in these particulars, for he did not apply himself to Rome out of necessity, but for respect sake.”<sup>i</sup> When therefore this permissive authority grew

<sup>h</sup> Tho. Walsing. *An.* 1408. *pag.* 420.

<sup>i</sup> *Vitá* Henr. Chicely, *p.* 56 & 57.

uneasy to those who had endured it for some time, it was rejected much more legally than ever it was introduced, viz. by the regal power, with the advice and consent of the Lords and Commons in parliament.\* And this is to be observed, that the clergy and laity of this parliament did hold most of the opinions of the Roman church in other things, and yet consented to the abolishing the pope's usurped power over England, as believing it to be an unjust encroachment. Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester (a great persecutor of the Protestants) made a learned oration *de verâ obedientiâ*, shewing that the king was by right and by God's law the supreme head of this church of England.

Now, that I may not only confute a false opinion, but establish the true, let me intreat you impartially to consider, that as it appears the pope is not *de jure*

\* An. 26. Hen. VIII.

supreme head of this church of England, so it is as evident that the king of England is the supreme head of the churches in his own dominions ;<sup>9</sup> for indeed all christian princes are, or ought to be so, in their own dominions ; whence it was that Constantine the Great retained the title of *Pontifex Maximus* “ without any blot to his christianity,” says Baronius.<sup>k</sup> The highest appeals in all controversies ecclesiastical, even in matters of faith, were made to him, though he used the assistance and counsel of his

<sup>9</sup> Upon the royal supremacy the following assertion of Constantine is most striking—addressing his bishops he says, *ΤΜΕΙΣ ΜΕΝ ΤΩΝ ΕΙΣΩ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΣ, ΕΓΩ ΔΕ ΤΩΝ ΕΚΛΟΣ ΑΠΟ ΘΕΟΥ ΚΑΘΕΣΤΛΑΜΕΝΟΣ ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΣ.* Euseb. in Vit. Const. lib. iv. c. 24. “ Pope Agatho, in 680, in the Acts of the 6th General Council, doth call Constantine Pogonatus ‘ his Lord,’ doth avow himself, with all presidents of the churches, servants to the emperor, doth say that his See and his Synod was subject unto him, and did own obedience to him.”—Barrow.

<sup>k</sup> *Annal. Tom. 3 An. 312.*

bishops in determining them. And it is evident that he and his successors (as Cusanus before confesses) convened and presided in all general councils, and ratified their decrees, which were no laws till they were stamped with the imperial authority; nay, the Imperial Code sufficiently witnesses that the emperors made laws concerning religion, the whole third book of Justinian's Basilics being nothing else but Imperial Constitutions, *de Episcopis, Clericis, et Sacris*. They also erected *Patriarchates*, and gave them supreme ecclesiastical jurisdiction over such provinces as they pleased, as at Justinianopolis in Dacia,<sup>l</sup> and at Ravenna in Italy itself,<sup>m</sup> which had no dependence on Rome till the time of Constantinus Pogonatus; and "all ecclesiastical affairs depended on the emperors," says Socrates,<sup>n</sup> so that Pope Anastasius

<sup>l</sup> *Imperial. Const. Novel. II. & Nov. 131. c. 3.*

<sup>m</sup> *Rescript. Valent. 31. An. 432.*

<sup>n</sup> *Socrat. hist. Proœm. ad lib. 5.*

calls the Emperor Anastatius “ the Vicar of God by the Divine command presiding over the earth.”<sup>o</sup> An authority like this also was exercised by the western emperors of the French line, being styled “ the rulers of the true religion,” a title given to Charles the Great and to Ludovicus by two several councils which they had called.<sup>p</sup> And why may not the King of England, being a free and independent sovereign, be allowed as great a privilege in his own dominions? Do you not tell us that Pope Eleutherius called King Lucius by the title of “ Vicar of Christ;”<sup>r</sup> and does not King Edgar call him “ Christ’s Vicar,”<sup>s</sup> and no one at that time taxed this title?

<sup>o</sup> *Anastas. Pap. Epist. ad Anastas. Imp. ap Binium T. 2. par. 1. p. 507.*

<sup>p</sup> *Concil. I. Mogun. An. 813. & Concil. II. Mogun. An. 847. ap. Bin. T. 3. pag. 1. sec. 2.*

<sup>r</sup> *Epist. Eleuth. ad R. Lucium. ap. Spelm.*

<sup>s</sup> *Leg. Hydens. cap. 8. Spelm. Tom. 1. p. 438.*

Did not the Saxon Kings preside in all national councils, and make laws for religion by the advice of their own bishops by their own authority? Did they not erect new Sees for bishops, and change them as they saw fit? Did they not invest all bishops by delivering the ring and pastoral staff? The same power was still exercised by King William the Conqueror, for "all things, both divine and human, depended on his order," says an old historian." And when the pope began to encroach upon the king's supremacy here in England, he was generally opposed, as we shewed before. In the aforesaid parliament of Richard the Second, the Nation declared, "that they would not endure that the crown of England should be submitted to the pope, and the laws and statutes of this realm by him defeated and

<sup>t</sup> Ingulph. *hist.* p. 902.

<sup>u</sup> Eadmer. *histor.* p. 6.

avoided at his pleasure;"<sup>w</sup> for Bracton, our most famous lawyer, affirms, that "the kings of England have no supreme on earth but God;" and, accordingly, the kings and parliaments of this nation made laws in reference to religion as they saw expedient, and among the rest they enacted many laws in a direct opposition to the pope's spiritual as well as temporal jurisdiction, declaring thereby, that "they esteemed him no head of this church, but an ambitious and dangerous encroacher upon the rights of the crown," as you will find by perusal of those several statutes cited below,<sup>z</sup> which laws were, nevertheless, so openly and daringly transgressed

<sup>w</sup> *Stat. 16 Rich. II. c. 5.*

<sup>z</sup> *Stat. 25 Edw. III. de Provisor.*

*Stat. 27, 28 Ed. III. c. 1, 2.*

*Stat. 28, Ed. III. cap. 3.*

*Stat. 2 Hen. IV. cap. 3.*

*Stat. 6 Hen. IV. cap. 1.*

*Stat. 7 Hen. IV. cap. 6.*

*Stat. 3 Hen. V. cap. 4.*



by the clergy, terrified by the thunders of the Vatican and enslaved by the papal power, that in the reign of Henry VIII. they had all incurred the penalties of a premunire. By which laws long since enacted, it is declared to be *treason* to receive or harbour any agents or emissaries from Rome against the king's proclamations, and without his special licence: upon all which considerations the judges have declared, that the Act of parliament for "restoring the supremacy over the church unto the crown, was not the introducing a new law, but a declaration of the old;"<sup>y</sup> for it was many hundred years before, that King Henry the Second declared "that he would account it high treason in any man that should affirm the pope's authority was above his." Even before that, Anselm was told, "that it was impossible for him to keep the faith

<sup>y</sup> Coke 5. *Rep. Cawdry's Case. fol. 8.*

<sup>\* Spelm. *Concil. T. 2, p. 58.*</sup>

which he owed to the king, and to pay obedience to the pope contrary to his royal pleasure :”<sup>a</sup> which may fitly admonish you who own the pope’s supremacy over England, and yet glory much in your *loyalty* to the king, to enquire how these two can stand together ?

Our Saviour saith, “ No man can serve two masters,” Matth. vi. 24. There are not two supreme lords, neither can there be two highest powers in one kingdom, nor can any subjects obey both, since they will sometimes command contrary things. It is true, that if the Roman bishop would profess to our king, as his predecessor Leo the Fourth did to Lotharius of France, “ concerning your *capitulars* or *imperial precepts*, we, through the affiance of Christ, promise as much as we are able, to keep and conserve the same for ever,”<sup>b</sup> if he would acknowledge himself subject to our

<sup>a</sup> *Rex. ad Anselm. ap Eadmerum, pag. 62.*

<sup>b</sup> *Leon. Epist. ad Lothar. & Lud. Aug. ap. Grat. dist. 10. c. 9.*

king in his dominions, as his predecessors were to the emperors of old; if he would behave himself towards his Majesty, as St. Gregory did to Mauritius, who calls that emperor “his lord,” and himself “his servant,” declaring, that “he was subject to the emperor’s commands, and accordingly had done his duty in publishing a law (which the emperor ordered him to promulge) though for his own part he thought it not agreeable to the laws of God;”<sup>e</sup> and if he would claim no more than a primacy of order and precedency among other bishops, then the case might easily be determined: but you know of later times the pretences of Rome are much higher, for she challenges a supremacy over all christian princes, a power to depose them, an authority to abrogate or dispense with their laws, and absolve their subjects from their allegiance, a privilege to be appealed

<sup>e</sup> *Grego. Epist. lib. 2. ad Maurit. Ep. 62.*

to as to the last and highest tribunal on earth; so that Clement the Fifth is recorded in the Acts of the Council of Vienna to have said, “that all the right of kings depended on him alone;”<sup>d</sup> and Boniface the Eighth owned himself not only lord of France, but of all the world,<sup>e</sup> for “so great was the impudence of this Boniface (says the French chronologer) that he presumed to affirm the kingdom of France was a fee of the papal majesty.”<sup>f</sup> And as to this kingdom, Pope Innocent the Fourth said, “That the King of England was his vassal and his slave,”<sup>g</sup> and they esteem England also a fee of the papacy, and so is Ireland too it seems. Whereupon the pope has dared to nominate a king of Ireland, and has given away the kingdom of England to those who attempted to conquer it; he

<sup>d</sup> *Concil. Vienn. sub. Clem. V.*

<sup>e</sup> *Papyr. Masson. Vit. Bonif. VIII.*

<sup>f</sup> *Tilius Episc. Meld. Chronic. de Reg. Fran. An. 1302.*

<sup>g</sup> *Matth. Paris. ad An. 1253.*

has condemned our laws, and absolved the subjects of England from their allegiance, upon which many of your party have entered into conspiracies and rebellion; so that now it appears the pope claims an absolute supremacy over our king and his realms. How therefore he can be a good subject of the King of England, who professes obedience to this foreign princely prelate, it is very hard to understand. If you believe this claim, and own the pope to be above the king, you must then obey him, even when his orders contradict those of your lawful sovereign, and so you are the pope's subjects, not the king's; nor can his majesty have any security of your allegiance, any longer than he pleases the Roman bishop, so that he reigns over you at the pope's mercy. I know many of you English Roman Catholics have so loyal an affection for the king, that your churchmen are forced to invent many plausible pretences to persuade you, that the supre-

macy claimed by the pope does not entrench upon the king's supremacy, telling you, "that you need not obey the pope if he commanded you to fight against your king;" wherein they put a fallacy upon you, for they know the pope can excommunicate and depose him, and that too for a very small matter, as your canonists say,<sup>i</sup> and then he is no longer your king. They pretend further, that this supremacy over kings in temporals is not the doctrine of your church, but only of some jesuits, upon whom they lay all those foul doctrines of deposing and murdering kings, so wickedly maintained by many eminent writers of your church.<sup>k</sup> But this is a delusion also, for when or where did the pope, or the heads of the Roman church, condemn these opinions, or suppress these seditious books; nay, on the contrary, the books are

<sup>i</sup> *Gloss. in Decret. dist. 40. cap. 6. St. Papa.*

<sup>k</sup> *Mariana, lib. de Rege.*

*Suarez. defens. Fidei, & lib. contr. Regem Magn. Brittan.*

approved, and the authors preferred at Rome, even when France condemns them.<sup>l</sup> Those honest and loyal secular English priests, who have ventured to write against this usurped power of the popes over kings in temporals (though they held his supremacy here in spirituals) have been persecuted almost to death by the Roman bishop; they have been suspended, and their books condemned, and their persons so odiously represented, that no English Roman Catholics dared to harbour them; witness the learned F. Preston, under the name of Roger Widrington, in King James's days, with his fellow priests, and Peter Walsh, author of the letter to the Roman Catholics, who is at this day\* a great sufferer by the pope's means, merely for writing, that you of the Roman church ought to be loyal to the king in all matters

\* 1677.

<sup>l</sup> *Answer to Philanax Anglicus*, 125.

of temporal cognizance; a clear evidence that (whatever your church may pretend) they will not endure that any of you Roman Catholics shall hold the king's power to be above the pope's in any thing; and consequently they will not allow you to be good subjects. Now to sum up all these particulars, how grievous an abuse is it for a foreign prelate, whose predecessors had no authority here at all, to usurp such a power over you as to impose new and inexpedient articles upon you? Why should you enslave yourselves to him that cannot have so much as a spiritual jurisdiction here without breaking the canons of the most famous general councils? Why may you not take the same liberty to oppose his decrees, that your ancestors in all ages have done?—they whom you as well as we account good Catholics, at one time rejected his doctrines, despised his bulls, and scorned his excommunications, and they always opposed his pretended claim



of a supremacy over this nation ; why, then, should you call that an article of faith, and account it the principal point of religion, viz.—that England ought to be subject to Rome ; which even in those which you call Catholic times, was declared to be no less than treason, and no other than an opinion that destroyed the prerogative of the king, the privileges and liberties of this church, the freedom and quiet of all English subjects ? They were Catholics in other points who condemned appeals to Rome, and maintained that the crown of England was in no earthly subjection, and that the king had no supreme but God only ; who counted all the power which the pope ever had here, merely permissive, tolerated by this nation so long as they pleased, and such as might be curbed, lessened, hindered, or taken away by the supreme authority of this nation whenever they saw expedient. It was a king and parliament of your religion in most

points that restored the king to his just supremacy, and took away the precarious or usurped and much abused power of the Roman bishop here ; they thought a supremacy in spirituals, as to this kingdom, was more than he had any right to, but he and his agents expect to be allowed to over-rule the temporal laws also. If you have the nobleness and gallantry of true English spirits, your affection for the Roman church should not rob you of your love to your native country, nor suffer you to endure those pretences which dishonour the king, and despoil him of his ancient rights, and enslave this free church and nation to one that only seeks his own ends in claiming this subjection. For though the holding the pope's supremacy contributes to the support of his own grandeur, yet it cannot further any man's salvation ; and it is so far from doing any good in those nations where it is allowed him, that it might be made appear that the set-

ting up and abetting of this supremacy, has occasioned the murder of many princes, stirred up the complaints of all sorts of people, and filled Christendom for many ages with massacres, treasons, war, and bloodshed," all which was so notorious in the German empire, that it came to be a proverb, says Guiccardine, "It is the property of the church to hate the Cæsars." And the mischief it has done in England (by rifling the nation's wealth before the Reformation, and disturbing its quiet since) is so well remembered, and so deeply resented by the generality of the people, that they will never endure that heavy yoke any more, nor can they be persuaded ever to esteem them loyal subjects, or true to their country's interest, who do not renounce this unjust and odious jurisdiction. Why, therefore, O my friends, will you be so imprudent, to oppose the rights and

<sup>m</sup> See the *Answer to Philanax* Angl. chap. 4. p. 72.

prerogative of your lawful sovereign, the privileges of that church wherein you were born, the freedom and interest of your beloved country, the desire of your fellow-subjects and best friends, and your own privileges also? Why will you oppose, I say, all these, merely to support an unjust and groundless power which no ecclesiastic ought to have any where, much less in so remote and so free a monarchy? to support a power which is inconsistent with the security of the crown, the peace of the kingdom, and the welfare of private persons? St. Peter never bade us to honour the pope thus; but his opinion was, "that you must submit to the king as supreme." 1 Pet. ii. 13, and his counsel follows thereupon, viz. that you should "fear God and honour the King," ver. 17. St. Paul commands "every soul to be subject to the higher powers," Rom. xiii. 1. "Neither bishops nor apostles themselves are excepted," says Chrysostome. And St. Ber-

nard tells Pope Eugenius, "that the apostles were forbidden to exercise dominion," Luke xxii. 25, 26, and therefore he adds, "If you would have apostolical and royal power together, you lose both." Finally, therefore, it is unreasonable for the Roman bishop to challenge that authority here, which the laws of God and man forbid, so that I may expect you shall be so far from receiving any articles for the sake of this authority, that you shall not scruple to renounce the authority itself, which was so ill-gotten at first, so wretchedly abused while it obtained, and so legally taken away at last. In so doing you will demonstrate yourselves to be loyal to your king, faithful to your country, friends to your own privileges, and men of an unslaved understanding.

*m Bern. ad Eugen. Pap. de consid. l. 2.*

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## SECTION VII.

ADVICE TO THE ENGLISH ROMAN CATHOLICS TO FORSAKE THE OPINIONS OF ROME, AND EMBRACE THE RELIGION OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND, WHICH IS A PURE AND REFORMED BRANCH OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

To conclude, as my pity to see you so miserably imposed upon has moved me to endeavour, by these plain and cogent arguments, to rescue you from that yoke which neither we nor our fathers were able to bear; so my desire of your perfect freedom, and my unfeigned wishes for your temporal, spiritual, and eternal welfare, prompt me to advise you to comply with the religion of the church of England; and this advice is not only grounded upon the

foregoing considerations, but may be further pressed upon these motives :—

I. In the first place, I would have you to consider the excellent method of our Reformation—a Reformation so necessary at that time, that for some ages before, the wisest and best men of the Roman church had not only confessed there was great need of it, but had complained of the want of it, and pressed the pope earnestly thereunto. You may consult on this point the judicious epistle of Robert Grosthead, the pious Bishop of Lincoln, to Pope Innocent the Fourth, yet to be seen in our historians;<sup>n</sup> the public complaint of the English church in the council of Lyons;<sup>o</sup> the private writings of John Gerson, Nicholas Clemangis, Æneas Sylvius (afterwards pope) and many others. More than one hundred years before Cranmer's time a reformation was urged in the Pisane coun-

<sup>n</sup> Matth. Paris. *An.* 1253.

<sup>o</sup> *Ap Binium Concit.* Tom. 3. p. 2. fol. 729, &c.

cil,<sup>p</sup> and that so strongly, that before the election of a pope, the cardinals solemnly promised, “Whoever of them should be chosen pope, that he would, before the dissolution of that council, reform the Catholic church as well in the head as the members.”<sup>q</sup> And when Alexander the Fifth was chosen, “He promised to take care of a general reformation, and that pious and learned men should be chosen in every nation to treat with the cardinals about it.”<sup>r</sup> But after all, neither he nor his successors would ever reform either their doctrines or practices, being more intent upon their private advantage than the general good, and more moved with Cardinal Scomberg’s counsel than by all the former complaints, who told the pope, “That by the reformation it would be confessed, that the things provided against were deserved.”

<sup>p</sup> *Concil. Pisanum An. 1411.*

<sup>q</sup> *Concil. Pisan. Sess. 16.*

<sup>r</sup> *Et Sess. 20. ap Binium, Tom. 3. p. 2. p. 836.*



ly reprov'd by the Lutherans, which would be a great abetting to their whole doctrine," Hist. Counc. Tr. l. 1, p. 83; which is to resolve to err always, rather than to be thought to have erred once; and herein the Roman church is of the same opinion with those gentiles to whom Arnobius speaks, "What you have once done without reason ye defend, lest you should seem formerly to have been ignorant, and you account it better not to be overcome than to yield to plain and confessed truth." Wherefore, since Rome resolved not to reform, England (having first restored her king to his ancient and just supremacy) resolved to reform itself, without the pope's leave or consent, knowing full well that she had authority sufficient to order the affairs of religion, which had been regulated many hundred years in this land by the king and his own bishops, without any dependence

\* Arnob. *adv. gentes*, l. 6. p. 197.

on the pope at all. Thus the kings of Judah reformed their kingdoms of old. Thus the King of Spain, with Leander, Bishop of Seville, reformed that kingdom from Arianism without the pope;† and thus King Edgar intended to proceed in the reformation of the English church of old, when he told his own clergy, “I have Constantine’s sword in my hands, and you have Peter’s in your’s.”‡ That is, we need no further authority or power to reform, than what we have within ourselves. The kings of this nation, with the advice and consent of their bishops, barons, and commons, had been always wont to order ecclesiastical affairs as they thought meet, not heeding whether the pope were pleased or displeased thereat. And accordingly this happy reformation was made by the supreme power of this kingdom, upon mature deliberation, in a regular, orderly, and

† *Concil. Tolet. 3. An. 589.*

‡ *Edgar ap Ailred. ol. 361.*

legal way; and it was managed with so much moderation and prudence, that the Romanists in England said little against it, but communicated with this church (after the reformation) till the pope, for his own ends, forbid them so to do.<sup>1</sup> I hope, however, that his prohibition, without any just reason, will not outweigh the supreme authority of your own nation, with you, who profess yourselves to be loyal subjects, and zeslous for the interest of England. Since, then, there was such need of reformation, such obstinacy in Rome, such authority here, and such orderly proceedings in this

<sup>1</sup> During the first years of the reign of Elizabeth the Romanists conformed to the reformed Church of England. But about the tenth year of that reign, by a Bull of Pope Pius V. they left the church, and from that date became in England *Dissenters*. It was not, however, till about the year 1624 that they had an English Bishop to govern them; at that time Matthew Kellison and Richard Smith were presented to the Court of Rome, and the latter was consecrated by Pope Urban.—Collier II. 729.

reformation, I think all good Christians and sober men, being natives of this land, ought to submit to it.

II. You will be further persuaded by considering the doctrine of this church. For it agrees with primitive christianity in that it obliges you to believe nothing as necessary to salvation, but what may be plainly proved out of holy scripture; and for this reason you must still hold the three creeds of the Apostles, of Nice, and of St. Athanasius, all which the church of England entirely believes. “And he only is a heretic which follows not this holy rule, (say the constitutions of Theodosius and Gratian) but they are catholics that embrace it.” In this church we *give as much honour to, and obey more canons of the first four general councils, than the church of Rome does.*<sup>2</sup> We approve of that ex-

<sup>2</sup> “All persons not absolutely strangers to our history, are aware that so far as it was practicable, and the age allowed, our Reformation was in all respects

position of scripture which *has the consent of the fathers of the first three or four cen-*

conformed to the example of the ancient Catholic church. Hence was the order of bishops retained in England, and that new form of ecclesiastical government rejected which, by the advice of Calvin, was adopted in other churches (sects.) Hence were certain ancient doctrines, though most abhorrent from the sentiments of Calvin, established and confirmed by our church. Hence, almost at the commencement of our reformation in the year 1571, was that remarkable canon respecting preachers sanctioned by the consent of a full provincial synod, and further confirmed by the royal authority of Queen Elizabeth :—“ Let preachers, above all things, be careful that they never teach aught in a sermon to be religiously held and believed by the people, except that which is agreeable to the doctrine of the old or new testament, and which the *Catholic Fathers and ancient Bishops have collected from that very doctrine.*”—Coll. Case. Lond. 1691, p. 238. Bp. Bull Harm. Apostol.

On these principles Bishop Bull, in another place, makes the following admirable remarks upon Calvin :—“ I dread to repeat what Calvin has said, and seriously exhort the pious and studious youth to beware of that spirit from which these things proceed. We have, in-

*turies*, nay, we hold all that the church of Rome itself held as necessary to salvation

deed, great obligations to that person for his good service in the popish controversy; but far be it from us to take him for our master, to swear by what he thinks fit to say, or lastly, to be afraid upon all occasions freely to censure his manifest errors, his novel and uncatholic Tenets. Whosoever he is, or, in other respects, how great soever, *who despises the authority of the ancient Catholic church, so far we shall give him no credit or authority.*"

It is earnestly to be wished that these principles were more frequently reverted to by those who, to make common cause against the Romanists, are willing to combine with all sects and parties; and who, while thus resisting error on one side, indirectly encourage it on the other. That the principles here laid down are the principles which were authorised at the reformation, and have since been maintained by all the great divines of the English church, is satisfactorily shewn by the Bishop of Limerick in the appendix to his sermons, which, in this *seculum schismaticum*, is again earnestly recommended to the attention of the reader. To the remarks of the present Bishop of Lincoln upon the subject of tradition, reference has already been made, but they appear to be so just and so impor-

for five or six hundred years together, and it is very remarkable that a Romanist may

tant that I cannot refrain from presenting them to the reader. “ If (says his lordship) we mistake not the signs of the times, the period is not far distant when the whole controversy between the English and Romish churches will be revived, and all the points in dispute again brought in review. Of these points none is more important than the question respecting tradition; and it is therefore most essential that they who stand forth as the defenders of the Church of England should take a correct and rational view of the subject,—the view, in short, which was taken by our divines at the reformation. Nothing was more remote from their intention than indiscriminately to condemn all tradition. They knew that, in strictness of speech, scripture is tradition—written tradition. They knew that as far as external evidence is concerned, the tradition preserved in the church is the only ground on which the genuineness of the books of scripture can be established. For though we are not, upon the authority of the church, bound to receive as scripture any book which contains internal evidence of its own spuriousness,—such as discrepancies, contradictions of other portions of scripture, idle fables, or precepts at variance with the great principles of morality,—yet no internal evidence is suf-

turn Protestant *without adding any one article to his faith*, but a Protestant cannot

be sufficient to prove a book to be scripture, of which the reception, by a portion at least of the church, cannot be traced from the earliest period of its history to the present time. What our reformers opposed, was the notion that men must, upon the mere authority of tradition, receive, as necessary, doctrines not contained in scripture. Against this notion in general they urged the incredibility of the supposition that the apostles, when unfolding *in their writings* the principles of the gospel, should have entirely omitted any doctrines essential to man's salvation. The whole tenor, indeed, of our blessed Lord's discourses runs counter to the supposition that any truths of fundamental importance would be suffered long to rest upon so precarious a foundation as that of oral tradition. With respect to the particular doctrines, in defence of which the Roman Catholics appeal to tradition, our reformers contended that some were directly at variance with scripture; and that others, far from being supported by an unbroken chain of tradition from the apostolic age, were of very recent origin, and utterly unknown to the early Fathers. Such was the view of this important question taken by our reformers. In this, as in other instances, they wisely adopted a middle course; they neither bowed



turn to Rome *unless he embrace many new articles.* For our doctrines are gene-

submissively to the authority of tradition, nor yet rejected it altogether. We, in the present day, must tread in their footsteps and imitate their moderation, if we intend to combat our Roman Catholic adversaries with success. *We must be careful that in our anxiety to avoid one extreme we run not into the other;* and adopt the extravagant language of those who, not content with ascribing a paramount authority to the written word in all points pertaining to eternal salvation, talk, as if the bible—and that too the bible in our English translation—were, independently of all external aids and evidence, sufficient to prove its own genuineness and inspiration, and to be its own interpreter.”—pp. 297, 298, 299.

In short, the whole matter is well expressed by Dr. Waterland, where he says, that “if what appears but *probably* to be taught in scripture itself—appears to have been taught in the primitive and Catholic church; such probability, so confirmed and strengthened, carries with it the force of demonstration.”—Waterland’s Pref. to Moy. Lec. Van Mildert’s edit. p. 8.

How strongly this reasoning bears in favour of Episcopacy, must be at once perceived.

rally confessed by both sides to be true, but those of the Roman church are rejected by our reformers as *novel additions*, and which have no good foundation either in scripture or in *genuine antiquity*. The Protestant doctrines, therefore, are the surer and safer, as those in which both sides agree. For example, we and they both hold that there are two states after this life, heaven and hell, but they add a third, which is purgatory, and this we deny; we and they both say that sins are to be remitted by the merits of Christ's death, but they add the merits of the saints, and their own satisfactions with the merit of their own good works, which we deny to be expiatory, or such as can merit remission; we hold that there are two sacraments, baptism and the eucharist, these they confess are the chief, but add five more, to which we affirm the name of sacraments does not properly belong; we say that God alone is to be worshipped;

they confess he is chiefly to be worshipped ; but then they say the blessed Virgin Mary,<sup>3</sup> Angels, and Saints are to be worshipped also, which additions we deny. We say Christ is our only mediator and advocate ; they confess he is principally so, but add that saints and angels are so in an inferior manner, which we utterly deny. We say Christ is really present in the sacrament of the altar, this they confess, but add, he is corporally there, by the transubstantiation of the bread, &c. and this we deny. We say that the scriptures are the rule of faith, and they will not abso-

<sup>3</sup> Epiphanius, A. D. 367, reckons the worship of the Virgin Mary among the Heresies (Hær. 78, 79) under the name of the Collyridians, and observes, that our Blessed Lord foreseeing the superstition which would come into the world, treated her always at a distance, and that she is consequently named as little as possible in the Gospels. At the marriage feast, while he treats her with filial respect, he expressly prohibits her interference in the duties of his mediatorial office.

lutely deny it, but add their own traditions, or rather their modern inventions, which we reject. We say there are xxii books of the old testament canonical, and they confess these all to be so, but they add divers, and call them canonical, which we affirm to be apocryphal. I could give more instances, but these may suffice to shew that the Protestant doctrines look like the most ancient, as being received by both parties, but the Roman opinions are novel enlargements of old Catholic truths, so that a Protestant becoming a Romanist must take up many articles barely upon the credit of that church, and begin to believe many things anew questioned by the greater part of Christendom now and utterly unknown to the primitive church; but a Romanist turning Protestant retains all the old essentials of his former faith, and only becomes a primitive Catholic.

III. The discipline and government of the church of England are more agree-

able to primitive patterns than those of the present Roman church are. Our king has the same power that the religious kings of Judah had; the same which the great Constantine and the succeeding emperors for many years enjoyed; the same power which the ancient kings of this nation exercised, viz. a power to convene his clergy and advise with them about affairs of the church; a power to ratify that which the bishops and clergy agree upon, and give it the force of a law; a power to chuse fit persons to govern the church: a power to correct all offenders against faith or manners, be they clergy or laymen; and finally, a power to determine all causes and controversies, ecclesiastical and civil, among his own subjects (by the advice of fit counsellors), so that there lies no appeal from his determination; and this is what we mean when we call him *supreme governor of this church*, which our king must needs be, or else he cannot keep his kingdoms

in peace. Besides, for spiritual jurisdiction and sacred administrations, we have a patriarch of our own, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, whom Urban the Second called “the pope of the other world.”<sup>w</sup> His See was usually styled *the Chair of the English Patriarch*,<sup>x</sup> and it is reckoned among the patriarchates by a foreign writer.<sup>y</sup> And now his privileges and liberties are restored by law, and his title and authority confirmed, so that there lies no appeal from him but to the king; we have also right reverend bishops, together with other inferior priests and deacons (the only primitive and proper orders of the clergy) who can prove their ordination to be as good as any of the Romish priests can do,<sup>z</sup> who are now consecrated

<sup>w</sup> Malmesbury *de Pontif. L. 1. de Anselmo.*

<sup>x</sup> Eadmer. *Cant. p. 113.*

<sup>y</sup> Duaren. *de benef. lib. 1. c. 9.*

<sup>z</sup> Mason *de Ministerio Anglicano.*

and ordained by a more excellent form, and more agreeable to the primitive times than Rome itself can shew; and if you will judge impartially, it must be confessed that the clergy of England are altogether as learned, and generally more painful and pious than in any Roman Catholic country whatsoever. Our canons for ecclesiastical government are all founded on the canons of ancient councils (as I could shew by particular induction, if time would permit), and for the exercise of our discipline, it is managed with more moderation and ease to the people than that of the Roman church.

IV. You may consider our *divine service* and *sacred administrations*, which (as far as ever God made them necessary to salvation) may be had in this church. We have the holy scriptures plainly translated, learnedly interpreted, and practically preached. We have daily prayers by a form so grave and so agreeable to the un-

doubted parts of ancient liturgies, that it may challenge all Christendom to produce any thing so consonant to the purest primitive devotions—a form which has all those parts of the Roman offices which were known and used in the first three centuries, but wants all the innovations and corruptions of the present Mass—which is used in *English*, for the benefit of the meanest christian in our assemblies. We have also those two sacraments which Christ ordained (and many of the elder and later doctors own no more).<sup>a</sup> As for the other five rites, falsely called sacraments, viz. confirmation, matrimony, holy orders, visiting of the sick, repentance and satisfaction for wrongs done—we retain these, but not by the name of sacraments, keeping the

<sup>a</sup> *Ambros. lib. de Sacram.*

*Aug. Doctrin. Christ. l. 3. c. 9.*

*Paschusius de Cæst. Dom.*

*Bessarion. de Sacram. Euchar.*



primitive and main part of them, only attended with fewer ceremonies.<sup>4</sup> We press and practise also charity and good works as much as the Roman church, and it may be demonstrated that more and greater gifts have been given in England to pious uses, by private persons since the Reformation, than in two centuries before; and though we dare not say we shall merit eternal life by them (because that is the gift of God), yet we believe none can come to heaven without good works. In a word, the Church of England worships God as he has prescribed in Holy Scripture; she commands all that he enjoins, and forbids all that he prohibits, and therefore wants nothing that is necessary to salvation.

V. You may look upon our ceremonies, which are few and easy, ancient and significant, and though we do not place so

<sup>4</sup> They were at one time called sacramentals.

much religion in externals as the church of Rome does, yet here is prescribed all that is needful for decency and order, viz. that the clergy always wear grave and distinct habits, and have peculiar garments in divine administrations ; that churches be adorned and neat ; that the people be reverent in God's house ; that the memory of our Saviour's chief acts, and the festivals of the holy apostles be religiously observed ; that Lent, with the vigils of great feasts, the Ember weeks, and all the Fridays in the year, be kept as days of fasting or abstinence, and if some Protestants do not observe them, yet others do, and are commended for it—and you may follow the best, and not the most.

You will have more liberty (by turning to the English church) as to the circumstantials, and greater helps as to the essentials of religion ; so that it is upon all accounts your wisest and safest course to

embrace so true, so primitive, so pious, and so rational a religion. Let me, therefore, close my *Charitable and Friendly Advice* by requesting you to consider all these things without prejudice and without passion, and then I hope that you will perceive how much the religion of this church excels that of Rome in antiquity, integrity, and usefulness—and that you will no longer suffer yourselves to be so sadly imposed upon to serve the ends of avarice and ambition. If you have taken such prudent and pious resolutions, you will not only be freed from the inconveniences you complain of here, but also have better assurances of your salvation hereafter than the Roman church can give you; for there you have only the words of your priests for it, whose interest and whose practice it has been to deceive you; but here you will have all the assurances which the Word of God can give you, provided you become

reformed in your lives as well as in your religion, and will leave off your old vices as well as your old opinions; for unless we can persuade you to become proselytes of righteousness, we shall not much value the gaining you over to our profession; because we know it is neither the being Papist nor Protestant, that will save those that live in their sins. But this religion is the better chiefly in this, that it is most likely to bring you to unfeigned repentance and the practice of real holiness.

If you desire further information in these particulars, let me advise you to consult the late eminent Protestant writers, together with some of the most able and ingenuous of the English clergy, whom you will find very willing and ready to give you more full satisfaction, and to be men that have no designs upon you, but to direct you in the best way to heaven; and doubtless, if you would but try the differ-

ence a while, a little experience would teach you how happy and advantageous a change he makes who forsakes the religion of Rome and embraces the communion of the Church of England.

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## APPENDIX.

### I.

THE memorable Challenge of Bishop Jewell was too long to quote in a note, but as it points out our pretensions to our adversaries, and shews to our friends the course pursued by the Reformers of the English Church, it is thought proper to give it in the Appendix.

“ If any learned man of our adversaries, or all the learned men that be alive, be able to bring any one sufficient sentence out of any old Catholic doctor, or father, or general council, or holy scripture, or any example in the primitive church, whereby it may be plainly or clearly proved, during the first six hundred years, (1) that there was at any time any private masses in the world; (2) or that there was any communion ministered to the people under one kind; (3) or that the people had their common prayer in a strange tongue that the people understood not; (4) or that the Bishop of Rome was there called an universal bishop, or the head of the univer-

sal church; (5) or that the people were then taught to believe that Christ's body is really, substantially, corporeally, casually, or naturally in the sacrament; (6) or that the body is or may be in a thousand places or more at one time; (7) or that the priest did then hold up the sacrament over his head; (8) or that the people did then fall down and worship it with godly honours; (9) or that the sacrament was then or ought now to be hanged up under a canopy; (10) or that in the sacrament, after the words of consecration, there remained only the accidents and shews without the substance of the bread and wine; (11) or that the priest divided the sacrament into three parts, and afterwards received them himself alone; (12) or that whosoever said the sacrament is a figure, a pledge, a token, or a remembrance of Christ's body, had therefore been adjudged an heretic; (13) or that it was lawful then to have 30, 20, 15, 10, or 5 masses said in the same church in one day; (14) or that images were then set up in the churches to the intent that people might worship them; (15) or that lay people were then forbidden to read the word of God in their own tongue; (16) or that it was then lawful for the priest to pronounce the words of consecration closely or in private by himself; (17) or that the priest had then authority to offer up Christ unto his Father; (18) or to communicate and re-

ceive the sacrament for another, as they do ; (19) or to apply the virtue of Christ's death and passion to any man by means of the mass ; (20) or that it was there thought a sound doctrine to teach people that mass, *ex opere operato* (that is even for that it is said or done), is able to remove any part of our sin ; (21) or that any Christian man called the Sacrament of the Lord his God ; (22) or that the people were then taught to believe that the body of Christ remaineth in the sacrament so long as the bread and wine were without corruption ; (23) or that a mouse, or any other worm or beast, may eat the body of Christ, for so some of our adversaries have said and taught ; (24) or that ever Christ said *hoc est corpus meum*, the word *hoc* pointed not to the bread but to an *individuum vagum*, as some of them say ; (25) or that the accidents, or forms, or shews of the bread and wine be the sacraments of Christ's body and blood, and not rather the very bread and wine itself ; (26) or that the sacrament is a sign or token of the body of Christ, that lyeth hidden underneath it ; or that ignorance is the mother and cause of true devotion. The conclusion is,—that I shall be content to yield and subscribe."

An attempt to answer this Challenge was made by Harding. To his answer the Bishop published "A Reply to M. Harding's Answer ; by perusing whereof



the discreet and diligent reader may easily see the weak and unstable grounds of the Roman religion; which of late has been accounted Catholike.”

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## II.

THE following is the Bull of Excommunication issued against Queen Elizabeth by Pope Pius V. as given by the Roman Catholic historian, Sanders, and translated by Jeremy Collier. Another Bull of similar tendency had been thundered against Henry VIII. the substance of which may also be seen in Collier.

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A Declaratory Sentence of our Holy Pope Pius the Vth. against Elizabeth, pretended Queen of England, and all heretics adhering to her; by virtue of which sentence all *Her subjects are absolved from their oaths of allegiance, and all other engagements whatsoever*; and those who for the future shall obey Her are pronounced excommunicated.

*Pius, Bishop, Servant to the Servants of God,  
for a memorial of the matter,*

He that reigns above, to whom all power in heaven and earth is given, has consigned his one Holy Ca-

tholic Church, *out of which there's no salvation*, to the sole government of St. Peter, the Prince of the Apostles, and his successor the Bishop of Rome. This successor he has *constituted supreme over all kingdoms and nations, to root out and pull down, to destroy, to build, and to plant*; to the end, that the faithful being incorporated by mutual charity, may be preserved in the unity of the spirit, and presented unblemished and acceptable to their Saviour. The goodness of God having pleased to set us at the Helm, and intrust us with the presidency of his church, we have omitted no opportunities, but exerted ourselves to the utmost that unity and Catholic religion might be inviolably maintained, which God, for the trial of integrity, and for the punishment of misbehaviour, has suffered to labour under so great a calamity.

But now the ungodly are grown up to such a degree of power, that there is no part of Christendom in which they have not endeavoured to scatter their infection and poison with their heterodoxies; and *that vassal of iniquity, the pretended Queen Elizabeth of England*, being particularly active, and affording shelter and sanctuary to the most criminal of this kind—*this woman* having seized the crown, and by a monstrous usurpation challenging the authority and jurisdiction of supreme head of the church of

England, has brought the kingdom, lately recovered to the Catholic religion to a lamentable condition ; and thus having by force prohibited the profession of the true religion, formerly suppressed by that Revolter King Henry VIII. and with the assistance of this See, restored by the lawful Queen Mary, of famous memory, she has given in to the misbelief of the hereticks, dismissed the nobility from the council board, and furnishing it with people who have neither birth nor principles to recommend them, has discountenanced the Catholics, and restored the scandalous preachers and ministers of iniquity to their former posts. The sacrifices of the mass, the stated prayers and fasts, the distinctions of diet, celibacy, and other Catholick ceremonies, are thrown out of use ; and instead of these she has ordered books, stuffed with downright heresy, to be publickly recommended to the kingdom, and commanded her subjects to comply with ungodly mysteries, practis'd by herself upon Calvin's directions. She has farther presumed to deprive the Bishops, Rectors of Churches, and other Catholick priests, of their Churches and Benefices, and barr'd them the exercise of their function, disposed of their preferments to hereticks, undertaken the cognizance of ecclesiastical causes, forbid the prelates, clergy, and laity the acknowledgement of the superiority of the Church of Rome, or to obey the precepts and

canonical sanctions of that Communion, brought a great many to a compliance with her scandalous laws, to a renunciation of the Bishop of Rome, to fore-swear all obedience to him, and by the same solemn engagement of an oath, to acknowledge her sole sovereign both in temporal and spiritual matters; executing the penalties of her statutes upon those who continue in the unity of the Catholick faith, pay their customary obedience to us, and refuse to submit to her innovations. To which may be added, her imprisoning the Catholick Bishops and Priests; in which durance a great many, after a long hardship, have ended their days.

All these things being so notorious over all Europe, and proved by so much unquestionable evidence as not to admit of any excuse, apology, or color of evasion: Considering wicked and intolerable practice has been multiplied to so many instances, that the persecution of the faithful grows worse and worse, and the batteries are played with more force upon religion, and all by the means and instigation of the said Elizabeth; considering her mind is so far hardened as not only to despise the wholesome advice and solicitations of Catholic princes for her conversion, but likewise to refuse admitting the Nuncio sent to her from the See; These things considered, we are constrained to have

recourse to those remedies which justice suggests, being extremely troubled at the necessity of such an application, and that we should be driven to the use of rugged expedients against a lady whose ancestors have been so serviceable to the interest of Christianity.

In virtue thereof, his authority, who has been pleased to advance us to the supreme seat of justice, tho' under-proportioned to support so great a weight, we, out of the plenitude of our apostolical authority, declare the aforesaid Elizabeth an heretick, and an encourager of hereticks ; and that those who adhere to her in the practices above-mentioned, lie under the censure of an anathema, and are cut off from the unity of the body of Christ. We likewise declare the said Elizabeth *deprived of the pretended right to the kingdom above-mentioned, and of all dominion, dignity, and privilege whatsoever* ; and that all the nobility and subjects of the said realm, *who have sworn to her in any manner whatsoever*, ARE FOR EVER ABSOLVED FROM ANY SUCH OATHS *and from all obligations of fidelity and allegiance* ; and by virtue of these presents we ACTUALLY ABSOLVE THEM, and DEPRIVE the said Elizabeth of the pretended right to the crown, and all other pre-eminences and privileges above-mentioned. We likewise *command* all the nobility, subjects, and others above-mentioned, *that*

*they do not presume to obey her orders, commands, or laws for the future*; and those who act otherwise are involved in the same sentence of excommunication. And because the conveying this original instrument to all places requisite, may be impracticable, our pleasure is, that a transcript, attested by a public Notary, and sealed with the seal of a Prelate, or that of his Court, shall have the same credit everywhere, both judicially and extra judicially, as if the original itself was exhibited. Dated at Rome, at St. Peter's, in the year of the incarnation of our Lord, one thousand five hundred and sixty-nine, and the fifth year of our Popedom.

CÆ. GLORIERIUS,  
H. CUMYN.

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FINIS.



