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THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND
Defended against the Calumnies and False Reasonings,
OF THE CHURCH OF ROME.

In ANSWER to a late Sophistical, and Insolent, Popish Book; Entitled, ENGLAND's Conversion and Reformation compar'd, &c.

By JOSEPH TRAPP, M. A. Minister of the United Parishes of Christ-Church, and St. Leonard's Foster-Lane, London.

At which Boldness of Theirs we should much wonder; but that we consider that Bankrupts commonly do then most brag of their Ability, when their Estate is at the lowest: Perhaps also that Ignorance might be it, which did beget in them this Boldness. Bp. Usher's Answer to the Jesuite's Challenge. P. 31.

TO THE

KING.

SIR,

THIS Book, written to vindicate That Faith and Religion of which Your Majesty is Defender, That Church of which under God You are Head and Protector, happening to
DEDICATION.

to see the Light at the Time of Your auspicious Accession to the Throne of these Kingdoms; it was natural for its Author humbly to implore the Favour and Honour of laying It, and Himself, at Your Majesty's Feet.

Especially, considering that it is not only pointed against the Doctrines, and Practices of Those, some of whom at least would exempt a great and very considerable Part of the Christian World, the Clergy, from all Subjection to Sovereign Princes; but is particularly a Defence of Your Majesty's Supremacy in Ecclesiastical Affairs, as declar'd by the Laws of This Realm, and made an Essential
fential Part of the Constitution of our Government. Notwithstanding which, it is openly deny'd and rejected by Those against whom I write; who would wrest from Your Majesty This valuable Branch of Your Prerogative, one of the brightest Jewels in That Imperial Crown to which You happily succeed.

That it may long flourish upon your Head, in Peace, and Glory, for the Comfort and Benefit of This Church and Nation, and for the Maintenance and Encouragement of true Religion and Virtue; That God would pour all his Blessings in This World and the Next, upon Your sacred Majesty, Your Royal
DEDICATION.
Royal Confort our Gracious Queen, and all Your Royal Issue, is the sincere and hearty Prayer of,

May it please Your MAJESTY.
Your MAJESTY's most Loyal,
and Dutiful,
Subject, and Servant,

JOSEPH TRAPP
THE PREFACE

It has happen'd, as it usually does in these Cases: I promised Strictures upon a Book; and have been insensibly drawn in to give it a compleat Answer. For I pretend (to use our Author's Word) that This is such: There is not the Shadow of an Argument in his boasted Performance, which I have not fully consider'd; and, I think at least, confuted.

Boasted, I say: For besides the Brags which he himself makes of his strong Reasonings in several Parts of his Dialogue; the Party, I hear, has pronounced it absolutely unanswerable.
The Preface.

able. When, in truth, all the Matters of Fact it contains are either impertinent, or false; And in point of Argumentation, it is little more than a perpetual String of Sophisms, or Fallacies. All false Reasonings are fallacious in a wide Sense: But most of His are strictly Fallacies, as they are mark'd out in the common Books of Logick. I have ventur'd to be guilty of so much Pedantry, as to call two or three of them by their Scholastick Names: Which, I flatter my self, will be the more easily excused; in consideration that our Author tempted me to it, by his dealing so much in Syllogisms, and Dilemmas.

I take it for granted, because it is an objection always in the Mouths of Those who have nothing else to say, that I shall be accus'd by Him, and his Friends, of treating him with too little Ceremony. I acknowledge I have treated him with Freedom; but not with ill Manners. The roughest
The Preface.

Roughest words I have us'd were not made a Part of Language for no-
thing: And I appeal to the World, whether I have not apply'd them pro-
perly, not transgressing the Rules of Decency, Civility, or true Christian
Charity. I know not who my Anonymous Antagonist is; and therefore
may be allow'd to write, as if I wrote against no particular Person,
but against Popery, Sophistry, and Insolence. For his Behaviour to the
Church, and Clergy of England, is beyond measure insolent, and abu-
sive. Which, even if He had set his Name to his Book, would have justi-
fy'd much more Asperity than I have shewn towards him.

What I have any where said of
This Kind, I desire may be apply'd,
as it was intended to be, not to the
Roman Catholicks (as they are call'd)
in general; but only to the Factors
or Agents for Popery, the Priests,
and Missionaries. There are doubt-
less
The Preface.

less many worthy Gentlemen among us; so unfortunate as to be bred up in That corrupt Religion. Against the Behaviour of These I object nothing: I honour their Persons; pity their Errors; and heartily pray for their Conversion, and the Salvation of their Souls. So indeed I do for the Conversion and Salvation of their missionary Priests Themselves: But then These Last have not a Right to the same Treatment with Those Others. Besides the Reason already given, They are ravening Wolves, watching all Opportunities to devour our Flocks; and therefore must pardon us if we call them by their true Names, and cry aloud to our Flocks, when the Wolf is coming.

Especially if the Wolf, as upon These occasions, He generally does, comes in Sheep’s Cloathing. I have therefore detected the cunning Craftiness of my Adversary’s godly Talk, against Prejudice, Self-Interest, and Love
The Preface.

Love of the World. These are Baits to deceive the Unlearned; who do not consider, or it may be do not know, that no Falshood can insinuate itself, without the Mixture of some, tho' very impertinent, Truth: And in Religious matters, none will be swallow'd by Persons Religiously dispos'd, unless it be gilded with the Appearance of Sanctity.

Whenever I speak contemptuously, as I sometimes do, because the best Reason I have tells me it is in such Cases fit to do so; I desire to be understood not of my Adversary's Person, but of his Arguments. For besides that in general, I despise not the Person of the Meanest upon Earth; He in particular may be a Man of Learning, and Abilities, for any thing I know. Nay, I think in this very Performance he has shewn that he is: And so were Bellarmin, and Suarez before him. But the Cause is so indefensible; that it makes the greatest
The Preface.

Greatest men talk ridiculously. The best we can say of their reasonings is, that they are learned absurdities: and that is but slender praise. There may be much learning in them; but there's no common sense.

If I have misapprehended any facts, as I believe I have not; they are such, as, whether true, or false, no way affect the merits of the cause. For in all material ones I am certain I have made no material mistake. Should the Romanists therefore be able, as I am well assur'd they will not, to convict me of an historical error, relating, for instance, to Au
tin, or Dinoth, Cranmer, or the queen of Scots, in which the popish, and Protestant religion are not concern'd; They will have no manner of reason to triumph in that, or such like trifles: a weakness to which those are always extremely prone, who have nothing to triumph in, that is solid, or substantial.
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AN ANSWER TO A Popish BOOK, ENTITLED, ENGLAND'S Conversion and Reformation compar'd, &c.

Our Author's Preface (setting aside the Account of his Design and Method, which we have nothing to do with) being no more than a Supplement to his Third Dialogue; I shall postpone my Reflections upon it, till we come to the Examination of That Dialogue; in Conjunction with which, it shall be fully and particularly consider'd.

To
An Answer to a Popish Book,
To the First Dialogue, Sect. 1.

This First Dialogue (if we may believe the Title of it) contains the general Grounds of the Catholick Faith. All which, after much division and subdivision, explaining and distinguishing, saying and unsaying, giving with one hand, and taking away with the other, are resolv'd at last into This single Principle, "That the Church of Rome is to be implicitly believed, whatever she says. That I do not misrepresent the Matter, and that This, and nothing else, is the Result of Eight different Sections (whatever Titles they bear) must be very plain, to any Reader of no extraordinary Sagacity. This first Section, I confess, seems to promise the contrary: Because in the Front it carries these Words, as the Contents, or Summary of it; The Obligation of submitting our private Judgment does not exclude Examination. In the Discourse itself, the Young Gentleman and his Preceptor talk of searching diligently into the very bottom of the Cause; and the Former is charm'd to hear the Latter say, He may and ought to do so. But then we are told at the same time, That we ought to captivate our Understanding unto the Obedience of Faith, and pay an entire Submission.
Entitled, England's Conversion, &c.

Pray observe how prettily they are coupled; as if Captivating our Understanding to the Obedience of Faith, and paying an entire Submission to the Decisions of the Catholick Church, were all one. And, indeed, to confound these Two with each other, is the principal Design of his whole Book. Yet we are charg'd with wronging the Church of Rome, for saying that her Members are kept in the Dark * by their politick Guides, and bid to shut their Eyes against the Light of Reason; lest it should discover to them the Follies, and Errors of their Religion. Why, does not That Church require an absolute, implicit Submission to all her Dictates, be they what they will? Is it not the main Drift of This very Author's Performance, to prove that such a Submission is due? And is not This keeping us in the Dark? No, says the Gentleman, Submission does not exclude Examination; because we are at liberty to examine whether such a Submission be due to the Church, or not. Be it so then: If it shall appear that such a Submission is not due; and if yet the Church of Rome requires it, as All agree she does; it must be granted, that she keeps People in the Dark, and bids them shut their Eyes against the Light of Reason. That such a Submission then is due,

* Pag. 2.
This Author affirms, and I absolutely deny: To shew that Submitting and Examining may be join'd together (and that they may, I readily grant, in one Sense, though not in His) he very formally and mathematically lays down four Principles. I do not transcribe them; because (as he truly says) they are agreed to without Contradiction, by Protestants as well as Catholicks: except only one Expression in the second of them, [never so seemingly contrary to Reason] of which more hereafter.

But I cannot imagine what Use he makes of them; since they prove nothing, but what no Christian denies. The thing to be made out is, not that an implicit Submission is due to reveal'd Truths; but that it is due to the Church. In reference to these reveal'd Truths, the Trinity, &c. Reason (* says he) can have no other Part to act, than that of an entire Submission. Well, we grant it: Meaning, after the Person is satisfy'd that they are reveal'd. But what are the next Words? Whenever the Revelation of them is declared to us (pray mind it) by that Authority which Christ has appointed to be our Guide: And That Guide is the Church; and That Church is the Church of Rome. Here we have the whole Mystery of the Matter. This is the grand Point he drives at from the first Page
Entitled, England’s Conversion, &c. 5
to the last. As we shall meet with it very often in the Progress of This Controversy, and the several Parts of it shall hereafter be distinctly consider’d, I at present only define the Reader to take Notice, that there is a wide difference between a Revelation, and the Sense of a Thing reveal’d; between Declaring that a Point is reveal’d, and Interpreting the Sense of it; between modestly and soberly Interpreting a difficult Point, and arbitrarily and insolently Interpreting a plain one, contrary to common Reason; between Interpreting the old, true Word of God, and making a new, false Word of God; between Testimony, and Authority; or, if you please, between the Authority of Testimony, and Authority in general, or any other Species of Authority in particular; between a Guide, and a Witness; between the Church Universal, and the Church of Rome, or (in other Words) between the Whole, and a Part. Let the Reader (I say) take This Clue of plain Distinctions at his first Setting out; for we shall perpetually make Use of it, in the Labyrinth through which we are to travel.

For surely (continues he *) whoever gives his interior Assent to any thing above his Understanding, is properly said to submit his
Judgment to it. Questionless. And this is ALL the Submission we require of the Members of our Church. That I totally deny. You require Submission not only to Things above our Understanding; but to Things contrary to our Understanding, and our Senses; not only to Things reveal’d by God, but to Things which he has not reveal’d, nay, which are contrary to Those which he has reveal’d. So that we need not turn Atheists, and Deists; † and may yet refuse to turn Papists.

We do not say (as he affirms we do †) that the Doctrine of Submission is but in Effect a softer Term for blind Obedience, &c. ’Tis according as the Submission is, that we assert This, or not assert it. And This alone is a sufficient Answer to his Argument from those Texts, Heb. xiii. 17. and Matth. xviii. 17. They prove such a Submission as We grant, not such a one as our Romish Adversaries contend for. Does it follow, that because Ecclesiastical Rulers are to be Obey’d, and contumacious Persons to be Excommunicated, &c. therefore the Church is to be implicitly submitted to; though he affirms that a Triangle and a Circle are the same? But what is here wanting in Substance, is plentifully supply’d by Show, and false Appearances.

† P. 4. † Ibid.
Enthralled England's Conversion, &c. 7
pearance; by Noise and Bluster ing, to con-found weak Judgments. * It seems then St. Paul was a rank Impostor, when he wrote thus to the Hebrews; Obey them that have the Rule over you, &c. † Nay, all this Buffoonery will reach the Person of Christ him-self; who has declar'd, that he who will not hear the Church (i. e. submit to her Decisions) &c. || However, I should not wonder to hear an Atheist, or Deist, who makes a Mockery of Revelation, discourse in this Manner; but it sounds very absurdly in the Mouth of a Protestant, who makes professi-on of believing a reveal'd Religion. So that because we will not be convince'd by an Ar-gument, whose Premises have no more to do with the Conclusion, than empty Swagger-ing has with solid Reasoning; we must im-mediately be compar'd with Deists and Atheists. ** To own all this, I say, and at the same time ridicule an humble Submission to such Truths? Meaning, such as are above our Reason. How do We ridicule an hum-ble Submission to such Truths? Even because we ridicule an humble (i. e. an implicit) Sub-mission to the Church of Rome. We do, indeed; and notwithstanding all This Fanfa-ronade, these big Words thrown out to fright us, shall continue still to do so. Nor shall

* Ibid. † Ibid. || Ibid. ** P. 5.
any Church upon Earth, no not the Universal Church in all Ages, much less the present Church of Rome, extort from us such a Submission as is due to God only. Afterwards, if possible, he rises in his Ratling; and concludes thus. *Is not this sapping the very Foundations of Faith, and encouraging every Body to set up the proud Idol of his own private Judgment, against the Revelation of God, and believe no farther than his poor narrow Capacity can comprehend? No, 'tis not; nor any thing like it: And that for this plain Reason, because the Church is not God: Let Him prove that it is, and I will submit indeed.

Since, therefore, (says the young Gentleman †) Protestants themselves profess the belief of many incomprehensible Mysteries, they submit their Judgments just as we do. Not exactly, young Gentleman; because You, and your Tutor, and the rest of you, submit your Judgments, not only to incomprehensible Mysteries, but also to flat Contradictions; not only to the Scriptures, but to Things not contain'd in the Scriptures, nay, contrary to them. We submit implicitly to God only; You so submit to your own Church; which you shall never persuade us to do; unless your Preceptor, or some-body else, can bring

* P. 5. † Ibid.
better Arguments to convince us, than have been brought yet. We do not, therefore, as you say we do; act incoherently (a Word in which You, and your Tutor much rejoice; meaning by it, I suppose, inconsistently) in ridiculing in you, what we are oblig'd to practice ourselves.

What follows in the remaining Part of This Page, and in all the next, is true; though not to the Purpose.

P. 7. We are taught, that we have the greatest Authority upon Earth to assure us [that God has reveal'd This or That] to wit, the Catholick or Universal Church; founded by Christ Himself, and by Him appointed to be our Guide in all spiritual Matters. To which I answer, First, The Catholick or Universal Church is not the Church of Rome. Secondly, The Authority of the Catholick Church in This Case, is no more than the Authority of a Witness to a Matter of Fact; though Those Words, to be our Guide in all spiritual Matters, are plainly thrown in, to confound These two very distinct Ideas, Witness to a Fact, and Guide in all spiritual Matters: Intending too such a Guide, as must be absolutely and implicitly believ'd in every Thing, though never so contrary to Scripture, Reason, and our Senses. Thirdly, E-

* Ibid.
An Answer to a Popish Book,

ven in witnessing to this Fact, that God has reveal'd, &c. i.e. that the Scriptures are the Word of God, the Church does not act in her spiritual Capacity; or, more plainly, 'tis not the Church, as the Church, but the Body of Christians, consider'd too not as Christians, but as rational, honest Men, and not Christians only, much less the Clergy only, which is what our Adversaries mean by the Church in this Controversy, but other Men, even Enemies to Christianity, Jews, Turks, Pagans, who are, or have been, Witnesses to the Genuineness of the Scriptures, or Receivers of them as genuine, or Both; as I have elsewhere observ'd. St. Austin (he says*) declares that nothing but the most insolent Madness could hinder any Man from submitting to its [the Church's] Decisions. So say I; provided by submitting to, be meant acquiescing in, or not opposing; and provided those Decisions be in Matters of Discipline, or in obscure difficult Points of Religion; and St. Augustin meant no more. † And that he would not believe the Gospels themselves, unless the Authority of the Church compell'd him to it: That is, he would not believe the Gospels to be the Word of God, unless he had sufficient Authority of Testimonies to convince him that they were so:

* P. 7. † Ibid.

And
Entitled, England's Conversion, &c. 1

And no more would I. Which Authority of Testimonies he supposed to be in the Church, or Body of Christians: And so do I too, chiefly, though not solely; as I said before.

To pass over his strange Use of Words in That Clause, *the Truth or Nature of the Mysteries; as if the Truth of them, and the Nature of them were the same;* and his affirming that it is impossible we should examine the Truth of a Thing we cannot understand; (because These are Curiosities only by the Bye, and do not at all affect our present Controvery) I say, to pass over These, I go on to what must by no means be passed over, as it stands in the next Page. † The proper Subject of our Examination is, whether we have sufficient Motives to believe that such, or such a Point of Doctrine has been effectually revealed by God. That is one Subject of Examination, I grant, and a very great one; but 'tis not the only one. Another is, What is the true Sense and Meaning of such or such a Thing, after we are satisfy'd it is reveal'd by God. This, I know, our Popish Adversaries will deny: They insist, that for This we must absolutely submit to the Church, and make no use of our own private Reason. But they must prove this, as well as assert it; they must not take it for granted; for it is

* Ibd. † P. 5.
the main Point in Dispute. Nothing has been urg'd by our Author to prove it as yet; except the two Texts above-mentioned; and how they prove no such thing, has been shewn. But, perhaps, he is now proceeding to That Question: For after those Words, revealed by God, it follows thus: || That is to say, whether the Proofs and Inducements (commonly called the Motives of Credibility) are of sufficient Weight to convince a rational Man, that the Church's Authority declaring the Revelation of the Doctrine, may be securely depended upon in the important Concern of our Soul's Salvation. So that according to him, to believe that God has revealed a Thing, and to be convinced that the Church's Authority declaring the Revelation of that Doctrine, may be securely depended upon, is the same thing. To shew the complicated Sophistry of those Words, the Church's Authority, declaring the Revelation, I refer back to the Clue of Distinctions; as also to P. 9, 10. Motives of Credibility (for Motives of Faith) is only a Solecism; and therefore I do not insist upon it. 'Tis agree'd, however, that we are to examine whether the Church's Authority may be securely depended upon; i.e. whether we are oblig'd, absolutely and implicitly to submit to it. After which our
Author concludes the Section in these Triumphant Words: * And will any one, after this, have the Confidence to reproach Us, that We oblige our People to proceed blindly, and forbid them to examine the Grounds of their Faith? Nothing, surely, but a prejudic'd Heart can prompt them to imagine any such thing. And I ask, will the Papists, after all, suffer People to examine the Decisions of their Church, and contradict and reject any one of them, if they do not like it? Transubstantiation, for Instance? If they will not, (as in truth they will not) What do they less than require a blind Submission? Oh! but we are permitted to examine the Grounds of Faith; because we are permitted to examine, whether the Church ought to be thus implicitly submitted to, or no: And thus Examination and Submission are reconcil'd. I answer, First, This is an Afterthought; and the Reformation may be thank'd for it; as it may for many other Concessions from the Church of Rome, and in some Measure for the Reformation of the Church of Rome itself. Even now, 'tis well known that in Popish Countries People are told, they must implicitly submit to the Church's Authority; and This Point is no more suffer'd to be canvass'd than any other:

* Ibid.

*Tis
'Tis Heresy to deny it, or even question it. Secondly, This their Account of the Matter excludes the most material Part of Examination, viz. Whether the Church be right in deciding, and explaining each particular Article of Faith. It would, surely, be blind Obedience to a King, were we permitted only to enquire whether he had a Right in general to be absolutely obey'd; but not to enquire whether his Commands were in themselves just and lawful. Thirdly, If (as I said in the Beginning) That Church requires such an absolute Submission (as all the World grants she does) and yet it is not due, and the Arguments to prove it due, are to the last degree trifling and absurd, (as I have partly shewn already, and partly shall shew hereafter) then notwithstanding This pretended Liberty of Examination, she still groundlessly and unreasonably obliges People to proceed blindly, as This Gentlemam expresses himself. Fourthly, Were the Arguments to prove such a Submission as seemingly strong and cogent, as any of that nature can well be imagin'd; they could not convince any rational Man, however they might puzzle and confound Him. Should I find in the Bible itself such a Proposition as This, A Piece of Bread is really and truly a human Body; or, the same Body can be in Ten thousand Places at once: I could not believe it. Would I then deny what God affirms? No; but I should
Entitled, England's Conversion, &c. 15

should be true God did not affirm This. The Text could not be genuine; because God cannot assert a Contradiction. Nay, should I see a Man raise the Dead, and hear him declare the Propositions aforesaid to be true; I could not believe him: Because I know the Things to be impossible in Reason and Nature. And as for the Testimony of my Senses, That Argument would be set aside by the Person requiring my Assent; because he would require me to believe contrary to my Senses: Besides, upon the Evidence of Reason and my Senses put together, I cannot be so sure that a dead Man is really rais'd, as I am that those Propositions cannot be true.

To the Second Section.

Faith is not against Reason. That is the Title of This Section; but why it is, I know not. It might as well have been call'd A Continuation of the same Subject: Or if it must have a new Title, it should have been This: The Church of Rome superior to the Scriptures and the Apostles: For That is plainly the Scope of This Section, and, in truth, of the whole Book. Faith, however, is not against Reason. It is not, indeed; i.e. the Christian Faith is not; but the
the Popish Faith is against Reason, and our Senses too.

Pray, Sir (says * the young Gentleman) will you do me the favour to explain yourself by some particular Example. He means to explain himself upon the Church’s Authority, &c. as in the foregoing Section.

P. With all my Heart; and I cannot do it better, than by making the Application of what I have said to the Proceedings of the first Christians converted by the Apostles. The Fact is this; Twelve poor illiterate Men, &c. and so goes on for almost two Pages, giving us the History of the Conversion of Three thousand Jews and Gentiles, by the first Preaching of the Apostles. This is to puzzle and confound; to make poor ignorant People gape and stare, as if something extraordinary were coming. He draws his Argument (you see) from the Fountain Head; begins with the very Beginnings of Christianity; from whence you are to conclude, that Christianity and Popery are one and the same thing. Pray observe the Sound of the Words: The Fact is this; Twelve poor, illiterate Men in whom there appeared nothing to recommend them to the Eyes of the World, presented themselves on a sudden in

* Ibid.
Entitled, England's Conversion, &c. 17

the open Streets of Jerusalem, &c. They did so; and in short they converted Three thousand Souls: You have it in the Second Chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, and much better told than it is here. And Those who believed, he tells us, acted rationally in so doing*, though the Doctrine contain'd Mysteries surprizing to human Reason. Much might be said to shew that what was then preach'd was not so very Mysterious, especially to the Jews: † But waving That, doubtless they acted very rationally in believing; because of our Saviour's late Miracles, and That which was present before their Eyes, the Gift of Tongues in the Apostles; and because the Doctrine preach'd had nothing in it contrary to Reason, Scripture, or natural Religion, much less their Senses. And from hence is to be deduced a Train of Argumentation to prove the Church's Authority in declaring, &c. as aforesaid: Whereas it might as well have taken its Rise from the Creation of the World, as from the Conversion of the first Christians. But it looks solemnly and pompously, as I observed; 'Tis a grand Parade of Words, tho' most impertinent ones; It amuses injudicious People, and makes their Heads giddy; and then they are in an apt

* P. 9. † They were in Truth all Jews, either Natives or Proselytes.
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Disposition for the Reception of Popery: These first Converts to Christianity believ'd rationally; Ergo, the Church of Rome is to be believ'd implicitly. Nay, he proves it a fortiori: For after the young Gentleman has ask'd him (as well he might) what Consequence he draws from thence; * He answers, I infer that if these Motives were a sufficient and solid Ground of a rational Submission to the Church's Faith, even in her Infancy, when the Prophecies concerning her future Increase, Magnificence, and Splendor, were not yet verity'd, as they are now; those we have at present to convince us of the Reasonableness of our relying upon her Authority, are much more forcible, when Millions of Martyrs have seal'd her Faith with the last drop of their Blood; when she has peopled, &c. and so goes on describing the glorious State of the Church (meaning, as always, the Church of Rome) for near upon Seventeen hundred Years. I desire the Reader to take particular Notice of This Reasoning; for 'tis really a Rarity. A rational Submission to the Church's Faith! These three thousand Jews and Proselytes had then no Thoughts of a Church, as such; much less of her Authority, or of Faith, as Her Faith. Before their Conversion, the Apostles and Disciples of our Saviour were

* P. 10.
all the Church in Being: And did these Converts submit to Them, upon a Principle of Submission to Church-Authority? 'Tis plain they submitted to the Evidence of Miracles, seconded by God's Grace, and to nothing else; as our Author himself represents it in the Words immediately preceding. Why then a Submission to the Church's Faith; when Churchship had nothing to do in the Business; there being in truth no Church form'd, as the Word is now us'd. The Reason is plain: Because all his Writer labours at is establishing the Authority of the Church: And so That Word must be dragg'd in here, when a rational Submission is talk'd of; tho' there is not the least Connexion between the One and the Other.

What follows in the Passage cited is an Argument to prove, that the Church of Rome (for That is always meant here by the Church) is more to be credited, and is of greater Authority, than the Apostles. They, and the other Disciples of Jesus, when St. Peter preach'd This Sermon, were but the Church in her very Infancy; when the Prophecies, &c. But Those Motives we have at present to convince us of the Reasonableness of relying upon her Authority are much more forcible. Admitting that, all things considered, We have now more Evidence for the Truth of Christianity, than They had who liv'd in the Days of the Apostles, and saw their
their Miracles, as Some have affirm'd we have; and in one Sense it is undoubtedly true: Or more plainly to our present Purpose, admitting that we have now more forcible Motives to convince us of the Reasonableness of relying upon Their Authority, than They had who saw them; yet it by no means follows from hence, that We have more reason to rely upon the present Church's Authority, than They had to rely upon That of the Apostles: And upon another account we have not near so much; Because the Apostles were inspired, and the present Church is not.

Neither does our Author's Argument in the least prove his Point; but is egregiously trifling and sophistical. In the first Part of it by the Church is meant That in the Apostles' Days, and chiefly the Apostles themselves; in the other is meant the present Church: And yet He jumbles his Words together, as if in both Places it meant the same Thing: The Church even in her Infancy — At present to convince us — of her Authority. Every body knows, that the Same-ness of a flux, successor Body is not the same with That of a single Person, or Thing. There is a Quibble too in the Words Authority, and Relying upon it; which I have before taken notice of. Nor does it follow (to resume the Argument) that because we have at present more Evidence for the Truth of
Entitled, England's Conversion, &c. of Christianity, than Those had who liv'd in the Apostles' Days, (supposing the Fact to be true) therefore we have more Reason to rely upon the present Church's Authority, than They had upon That of the Church then in Being, i. e. chiefly the Apostles; tho' They were divinely inspir'd, and the present Church is not. For I desire the Reader to consider, tho' our Author does not, that the then Church (like the first created Man) tho' an Infant in Age, was adult in Wisdom, and Authority; and of far greater Authority, than any Church since could ever justly pretend to.

Looking back upon what I have written, I am both ashamed and amazed to have una-wares us'd so many Words in vindicating the Apostles against the Church of Rome. But let Those doubly blush, who urge such Arguments, that it is almost an Absurdity to answer them. And so I leave the odious Subject with This Reflection; that if Popery and Christianity were more consistent with each other, the Defenders of the Former would be forc'd to make use of less Blasphemy against the Latter.

P. ii. G. These Motives of Credibility, as you call them, (He might well say, as You call them, for sure they were never call'd so by any body else) are strong indeed; and must either suffice to render the Church's Testimony credible; or there is no Testimony up-
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on Earth to be securely depended upon.

P. Whoever examines them seriously, will most certainly find them so. Instead of the Church's Testimony read the Truth of Christianity; and there will be more Sense and Truth in it. And since (continues the Preceptor) they contain nothing but Historical Facts, which may easily be examined; the Case fairly stated between Protestants, and the Church of Rome may be decided by this one Principle; to wit, that it is an indispensable Duty, and by consequence most highly rational, to believe a Thing tho' never so seemingly contrary to Reason, when we have a moral Certainty that God has reveal'd it.

G. I think the Principle is self-evident.

Tho' This Principle, if true, would be of no Service to Him (since the Romanists, as I shall shew hereafter, have not a moral Certainty, nor any thing like it, that God has reveal'd the Doctrines they would obtrude upon us) yet I insist that it is so far from being self-evident, that it is utterly false. Never so seemingly contrary to Reason! Sure if a Thing be as seemingly contrary to Reason as possible, it is really contrary to it: At least as to Him, to whom it so seems. If then we have only a moral Certainty on the one hand that a thing is so or so, and infallible Demonstration, or self-evident Certainty on the other, that it is not, and cannot be so, (as it cannot, if it be contrary to Reason) the
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the Latter ought to preponderate; nay it will, and must, and it cannot be otherwise. A moral Certainty of any Fact (says he * speaking of Testimony and external Evidence) excludes all reasonable Doubt of it. Not so, say I, if in the nature of the Thing there be more than moral Certainty against it. Or (if you please) Things standing thus, I have not a moral Certainty of it: Take which you will. || And if I have no Doubt but God has reveal'd such, or such a thing; I must be an Athiest, or Madman, not to believe it. But in the Case supposed, I have more than a Doubt of it; I am very sure God did not reveal it: because God cannot reveal a Contradiction to Reason. † For my refusing to believe it in that Case is nothing less than rejecting, or setting at Nought the Testimony of God himself, whereof I am suppos'd to have a moral Certainty. I answer as before, in effect, that in the Case supposed I either have not such a moral Certainty, that God has reveal'd it: Or if I have, it is outrusth'd by something more than moral Certainty, that He has not revealed it. I put it both ways, to prevent Quarelling about Words. For the further clearing of this Matter, I beg the Reader to cast his Eye back to P. 14. I. 22. Fourthly, Were the Arguments, &c. to the End of the Section.

* Ibid.  || Ibid.  † Ibid.  

C 4  Having
Having shewn This weighty Principle to be false; I shall now shew, as I propos'd, that our Popish Adversaries can have no Advantage from it, supposing it were true. * But how do you prove (says the young Gentleman) that all controversial Points between Protestants and Us, may be decided by this one general Principle?

P. I prove it thus. Whatever Fact has the Testimony of the greatest Authority, &c. All contain'd in This Paragraph amounts to no more, than that if we have sufficient Evidence attesting any matter of Fact, we ought to believe it: Which is deny'd by no body, that I know of. And what follows to the End of the Section, is to prove that there is such a moral Certainty, (founded on the Church's Authority) for the Revelation of all the Points of Christian Doctrine held by Papists, and deny'd by Protestants. The Argument stands Thus. || Whatever Fact has the Testimony of the greatest Authority, &c. But the Revelation of all the Points of Christian Doctrine held by Romanists, and deny'd by Protestants, is attested by such an Authority. Ergo, &c. Not to insist at present that the Revelation (even when it is true) is not properly the matter of Fact; but the Miracles which are the Objects of Sense, are the

* P. 11, 12.  ** P. 12.  *** Ibid.
Entitled, England's Conversion, &c. 25

Facts to which the Witnesses give their Testimony, which Facts are Proofs of the Revelation: I say not to insist upon This; since our Author calls the Revelation of the Romish Doctrine, as opposed to ours, a Fact, and puts it (as to the Evidence of it) upon the same Foot with the best grounded Historical Facts; † I ask him, are we then to consider it as a plain historical Fact attested by the Church, or are we not? If we are not; Why does He talk in this manner? Why does he confound Matters of Fact with matters of Doctrine? The Testimony of a Witness, with the Authority of a Dictator? If we are; how does the Church (even their own Church, the Church of Rome) attest the Revelation of the Pope's Supremacy, the Infallibility of the Church, Transubstantiation, Communion in one kind, and twenty more? If she proves them from Scripture; I am answer'd as to the Truth of them: But This is not Witnessing. If she proceeds upon any other Foot; I ask, Does she tell us when, and where, God revealed them? Does she tell us by what Messengers or Prophets He revealed them; and what Miracles they wrought as Credentials of their Mission? Does she tell us whether they were revealed all in a lump, or at different times? Nil horum; verbo, & grandis, &c. Not one Syll-
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able of all This; but we are told in general, in a confus'd * Huddle of Words (which shall be taken to pieces in its proper place) that the Church has from Age to Age deliver'd down abundance of Truths as reveal'd by God, some in Writing, and some by word of Mouth, &c. i.e. in short, The Church of Rome says, That all the Church of Rome says is to be taken for Gospel. But This is not witnessing to an historical Fact, or Facts: 'Tis Dictating, not Witnessing; And so we are just where we were before.

But we proceed. The Thing to be proved is, that the Revelation of the distinguishing Romish Doctrines, has the Testimony of the greatest Authority upon Earth; and therefore has a moral Certainty on its side. But before our Author comes to prove this, he tells us once more that † the Principle, [Viz. That it is an indispensable Duty, and by consequence most highly rational, to believe a thing, tho' never so seemingly contrary to Reason, when we have a moral Certainty that God has revealed it] is certain: And the immediate Consequence that flows from it is a full Confutation of Atheists and

* The second Side of the unpag'd Leaf between p. 12, &c.
† 1st, side of the unpag'd Leaf, &c.
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Deists. I have shewn that it is not very certain; nay that it is utterly false and absurd. What the immediate Consequence which flows from it is, He does not tell us; but I am satisfy'd, that Nothing which flows from it can be any Confutation of Atheists and Deists. So far otherwise, that it would expose us to the Scorn of Those Infidels: The Atheists would call it Begging the question, as supposing the Being of a God, which He denies; and both He and the Deist would see the Absurdity of it, as I do; and yet I am sure, I am neither an Atheist, nor a Deist.

But to prevent (continues he †) your mistaking my meaning, when I told you that the Case fairly stated between Protestants and the Church of Rome may be decided by this one Principle; I pretended not that there is the same extensive Evidence, or Testimony, for every Article of Faith in which we differ from Protestants, as there is for Christianity in General. No, God knows; because every one of Their Articles of Faith, as distinct from Ours, depends entirely upon their own Authority: But the Truth of Christianity is proved by the Authority (meaning the Testimony) of the Church Universal, and of Others too; as well as by much inter-

† Ibid.
nal Evidence. He indeed gives another Reason for his Caution, and 'tis This; * Because it has happen'd more than once, that the Catholick Church has been silent for some time in reference to Articles of Faith, even allow'd of as such by Protestants. The Reason whereof is, because the Church never decides any Doctrine to be an Article of Faith; 'till after the most diligent Enquiry, and mature Deliberation, and generally upon Occasion of Disputes rais'd about it. If they are really Articles of Faith now; they were always so: tho' perhaps not so explicitly declar'd, nor so strongly guarded. I take notice of This; because by deciding a Doctrine to be an Article of Faith, the Papists mean making it to be so; whereas we utterly deny that the Church has Authority to make an Article of Faith.

To shew that, according to our own Principles, we Protestants ought to receive some Points, as Articles of Faith, which have not so extensive an Evidence, as the Truth of Christianity in general; He instances in Two, † which He says we ourselves allow to be Articles of Faith; which yet were not always receiv'd as such, and at last were receiv'd as such only upon the Authority of the Church's Decisions. These Points are,

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1st. That all the Books both of the Old and New Testament, as printed in our Bible, were written by Divine Inspiration. 2dly. That Baptism administ’rd by Hereticks is valid. I answer, 1st. It is absolutely falfe that we allow These Points (which, by the way, are strangely coupled) to be Articles of Faith. The First of them is indeed a Truth fundamental to Christianity, and previous to all our Faith; but it is not it self an Article of it. For how is This Point reveal’d to us? In Scripture? That’s Circular Arguing, or Proving a Thing by it self. By any other Revelation? We pretend to None; and it would be most irrational to expect any. Besides, This Author himself, (as the Tendency of his Argument necessarily requires) puts it upon the Authority of the Church: And He very well knows, that We do not acknowledge the Authority of the Church and the Authority of God to be equal; much less to be one and the same thing. As to what he says about the suppos’d Uncanonicalness of some Books for some Ages; tho’ a great deal might be said to it, yet I pass it over here; because it does not affect our present Argument. The other Point He mentions, was never declar’d by the Church to be an Article of Faith; nor do We receive it as such.

I answer, 2dly. If we did acknowledge These Points to be Articles of Faith, and
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That upon the Authority of the Catholick Church's Decisions; yet what our Author aims at, would by no means follow. He pursues his Arguments thus. * If therefore we can produce the Testimony and Authority of the same Catholick Church against them for the Articles disputed between us and them; our Belief of them is grounded upon the same Moral Evidence, or Certainty, as their Belief is of the two above-mention'd Articles. But we can produce the Testimony, &c. I deny the Minor: And let us see how it is proved. † Now this Church founded by Christ Himself to be our Guide to Heaven; this Church so venerable for her Antiquity, and the lineal Descent; &c. This Church, I say, &c. And I say, Which Church? For that the Church of Rome is the Church, I will never grant. To those Words, founded by Christ himself, to be our Guide to Heaven; I answer, 1st. We are now speaking of the Church as a Witness, not as a Guide. 2dly. The Scriptures are our Principal Guide to Heaven, the Church is only our Secondary; and the Last is no farther a true Guide, than as itself is guided by the First. || Well; but this Church hath always attested the following Historical Facts, to wit, that the twelve Apostles (the first

* 2d side &c. † Ibid. || P. 13.

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Planters of her Faith) were all inspired Men; that whatsoever they taught relating to the Christian Doctrine, either by Word of Mouth, or by Writing, were Truths revealed by God, and dictated by the Holy Ghost. The Apostles were undoubtedly inspired Men; and their Doctrines were Truths reveal'd by God: And so they would have been, whether the Church had attested it, or no. But 'tis the manner of Papists to talk as if the Church made the Apostles and Scriptures of Divine Authority. Whereas the Thing is not therefore true, because the Church attesteth; but the Church therefore attesteth, because the Thing is true: And Others, who never were of the Church, but mortal Enemies to it, attest the Truth of many Facts, which prove the Truth of Christianity. †That they committed these Truths, either in Writing, or by Word of Mouth, as a sacred Trust, to their Successors, the Bishops and Pastors ordain'd by them. But did they commit them to no body else? Did they preach and write to no body but Bishops and Pastors? Did not they commit them to all, who would hear or read them? According to This way of talking, one would think, at least, that the Apostles, immediately before their Death, very solemnly and

† Ibid.
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formally gave copies of all the Divine Truths they had written, to the Bishops and Pastors; and called to their remembrance all they had spoken; and that This precious depositum, This sacred trust (as our Author calls it) was committed to Them only. Whereas the Apostles (as all the World knows) preach'd the Gospel to every creature, that would hear them. And the four Gospels, and the Epistles, being written at different Times, and Places, and upon different Occasions, and to different Persons, (very few of whom were Bishops or Pastors) were received by the Church, as of Divine Authority, some sooner, and some later, according as the Evidence of their Authority appear'd: Which Evidence was not produced by Bishops and Pastors only. But This again was a Cast of our Author's skill, to amuse ignorant People, and bewilder their Understandings with strange Notions about the Church. And the next Words are in the same strain. * That these (Bishops and Pastors) were likewise commissioned to deliver them to those who were to succeed them in the sacred Ministry. Which supposes that the Bishops and Pastors only, in virtue of their Commission, or holy Orders, as Bishops and Pastors, had

* Ibid.
Entitled, England's Conversion, &c. 33

Authority to deliver down the revealed Truths, whether spoken or written: And That too only to their Successors in their holy Functions. Than which nothing can be more contrary to Reason, or Matter of Fact: The Scriptures were diffus'd all over the World, as other Books are, by innumerable Copies; and have in all Ages been the Property and Possession of private Persons, Laity as well as Clergy. Of unwritten Apostolical Traditions I say nothing; because I deny that there are any: Of which hereafter. * And that by these, and their Successors after them, They have thus been handed down to us for reveal'd Truths from Bishop to Bishop, from Pastor to Pastor, from Father to Son, and from Generation to Generation, throughout all Ages to this very time, as the Apostles' Creed has been. Those indefinite Words, they, and thus, leave us at a great Uncertainty. what Truths, as Heavenly Truths, are deliver'd, is the main Question between Us and Them; and That shall be discussed presently. thus handed down—

He must mean either by Writing, or by Word of Mouth, or by both. All Doctrines pretended to be revealed Truths, and to be handed down to us by Word of Mouth only, we utterly reject; because there is no

* Ibid.
Proof of their being revealed Truths, unless the Church of Rome's bare Word in her own Cause may pass for Evidence. As for the Apostles' Creed, it has been handed down (as every Body knows) both by Word of Mouth, and by Writing. And besides; we receive the Truths contained in it, as Articles of Faith, upon the Authority, not of the Church, but of Scripture.

We must here observe, that our Author, extends the Word Church to the present Church; For how can any but the present attest a Thing down to this very time? And that the Romanists acknowledge no Church but their own, is notorious to the World. The Force of his Argument therefore is, that the Church of Rome (for That, according to Him, is the Church) in all Ages has, and now does, attest that the Apostles were inspir'd, and that what they said, and writ, relating to the Christian Doctrine, were Truths revealed by God: And this gives us a moral Certainty, that those Facts were true. You see, all depends upon the Church of Rome; taking former Ages and the present in conjunction. This Church attests (observe the present Tense) and has always attested that the twelve Apostles, &c. * Now, what if the present

* As above.
Entitled, England's Conversion, &c. 35

Church of Rome should cease to attest these things? Why then (according to This Argumentation) there's an end of our Evidence for the Inspiration of the Apostles, and the Divine Authority of the Scriptures. The Apostles and the Scriptures therefore derive their Authority (as to Us, or any Use we can make of it) from the present Church of Rome. Let This be seriously consider'd by the Christian Reader. Let it be observed too, 2dly. That the Inspiration of the Apostles, and the Divine Authority of the Scriptures, are here put upon the same Foot with whatever the Church of Rome shall be pleased to obtrude upon us. And 3dly. That to establish all Her peculiar Doctrines, she is both Judge and Witness in her own Cause; producing no Evidence but this, That whatsoever she says is true, because she says it. This Church (i.e. the Church of Rome) attests, &c.

Our Author proceeds. * These, I say; are Facts which have the Testimony of the Church of Christ in all Ages; that is of the most credible, and illustrious Body or Society of Men upon Earth, to vouch for the Truth of them. Supposing he here understood the Universal Church in our Protestant Sense, as 'tis plain he does not; yet even

* Ibid.
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then his Reasoning would be most absurd.
The Church, when she appears as a Witness to Facts, proving that such and such Points are revealed Truths, must lay aside Her Character of most illustrious; and her Character of Churchship it self; because she receives it from Those revealed Truths. To say that the Scriptures, for instance, are divinely inspir'd, because the Church, which is the most illustrious Body, &c. says they are, when she can no way prove that She is so illustrious, nor that She is a Church, but from the Scriptures, is a mere Circle; a Figure in Logick, to which the Papists are extremely addicted; and of which our Author will presently give us such an Example, as, I believe, can hardly be equalled.

The young Gentleman answers, *I ownSir, they (the Facts, as above represented, and as attested by the Church, i.e. the Church of Rome) are an unanswerable Proof of the Truth of Christianity in general. No, but they are not: So far from it, that they undermine Christianity in general, set aside the real, irrefragable Proofs of it, and substitute false ones in their stead; as I have shewn. However, the young Gentleman's next Words are pertinent enough:

† P. 15.
Entitled, England's Conversion, &c. 37

* But what is this to the Point in Questi-
on?

P. Very much, Sir; for they (the Facts) fully show the Weight of the Testimony and Authority of the illustrious Body, or Society of Men, which we call the Catholick Church in all Ages. "They show the weight of the Testimony of the Church? He has all along been proving that the Testimony of the Church shows the weight of Them; Some of it, at least; if their Truth be any part of their Weight. What follows is more plain. † In a Word, they shew her to be a Society so very sacred, that her Testimo-
ny in any Age is a sufficient Evidence, &c. they shew her? According to the whole Drift of his Argument, she shews them. To be a Society so very sacred? &c. Why, he has all along (as we have seen) suppos'd her to be a Society so very Sacred; and therefore of sufficient Authority to establish those Truths by her Testimony. Now it seems, Those very Truths attested by Her, and receiving their Authority from her, give Authority to her, as a Testifier. Observe too, by the Way, those remarkable Words in any Age: Here he speaks more plainly, con-
firming what I before took notice of concern-
ing the present Church. And admirable

* Pag. 15. and 14. † P. 14.
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Doctrine it is indeed. But to go on; repeating (as we are forc'd to do) some of the Words already cited. They shew her to be a Society so very sacred; that her Testimony in any Age is a sufficient Evidence to make us reasonably believe those things reveal'd which she proposes as reveal'd Truths. If this be not round, and round, in as true a Circle as ever was described; I never saw a Circle in my Life. But tho' by this thrifty and compendious way of Arguing, he proves the Facts by the Authority of the Church and the Authority of the Church by the Facts; yet Care is taken to set the Church's Authority in the strongest Light. It is mention'd last, and closes the whole Argument; that it may make the deeper Impression. A sufficient Evidence to make us reasonably believe those things reveal'd, which she proposes as reveal'd Truths. i.e. We must still remember, that all reveal'd Truths, whether in the Scriptures, or any where else, depend upon Her Testimony and Authority.

Whence, I infer (says He *) that We have the same Moral Certainty of the Revelation of Christ's real Presence, for example, in the Blessed Sacrament, of the Doctrine of Transubstantiation, Purgatory, Invocation of Saints, Honouring of Reliques, &c. as both We, and

* Ibid.
Entitled, England's Conversion, &c. 39

Protestants have of the divine Inspiration of Scriptures. Because We have the same Testimony or Authority to rely upon, for the Truth of Both: Nor can we reasonably reject the one without rejecting the other. And then we may bid Adieu to all reveal'd Religion. Christ's real Presence, as distinct from Transubstantiation, need not have been mention'd; because we do not deny a spiritual real Presence. To the rest I answer: We have not the same Testimony or Authority to rely upon for the Truth of Transubstantiation, Purgatory, &c. as we have for the Truth of the divine Inspiration of the Scriptures. For the Latter, we have the Testimony of the Church universal; and in some measure of Those, who are out of the Church. We have as much Proof of it, as the nature of the Thing will admit; and no Fact was ever better attested. For the Former, we have only the Church of Rome witnessing and judging in her own Cause; in direct opposition to the Testimony and Authority of all other Churches, and of the Holy Scriptures too, which she acknowledges to be divinely inspir'd: So that we may safely reject Pope-ry, without bidding adieu to all reveal'd Religion. Nay, we cannot acknowledge the Fust, without contradicting and undermining the Last. If the Testimony or Authority
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An AkS WER to a Popish Book, of the Church (He argues †) suffices to convince a Protestant's Judgment of the Inspiration of Scriptures, and to oblige him to venture his Soul's Salvation upon the Belief of it; why will not the same Testimony and Authority oblige him likewise to believe the Revelation of the other Articles just now mention'd? I answer, 1st. as before, I have not the same Testimony and Authority for Both. 2dly, If the Scriptures were not divinely inspir'd; my Belief that they are, would not hazard my Soul's Salvation. 3dly. I have not only not the same Evidence for the Truth of the Popish Tenets, as I have for That of the Inspiration of the Scriptures; but I have no Proof of it at all; nay, I have direct proof against it, both from Scripture, and the Testimony and Authority of the Church. Therefore 4thly. The Belief of them would indeed hazard my Soul's Salvation; because they are wicked as well as false, and directly contrary to the Word of God. But He goes on. * For either the Church, appointed by Christ to be our Guide, may be securely rely'd upon; or not. If not; a Protestant's Belief of the Inspiration of Scriptures is rash, and inconsiderate. But if it may be securely rely'd upon; he acts in-

† Ibid. P. 14. 15.

cobe-
Entitled, England's Conversion, &c. 41

coherenily in not believing the other Articles declar'd by her to be reveal'd Truths.

G. I confess I do not see by what Slight or Artifice Protestants can escape from the two Horns of this Dilemma. For whether they say Yes, or No; it gives their Church a mortal Blow. You are very complaisant to your Tutor, young Gentleman; but 'tis really more Your Goodness, than his Desert. If You, Sir, don't see how we can escape; I think, I do: Nor is so much Sleight, or Artifice requir'd, as You imagine: So far from it, that they are a Couple of the weakest Horns that ever push'd. But why must we needs say Yes, or No, without any more ado? Did your Tutor never tell You that, in some Cases, before we say Yes, or No, 'tis requisite to distinguish? If by the Church be meant the Church of Rome; I deny that She was appointed by Christ to be our Guide: and moreover to the first Horn I answer, No; She is not to be securely rely'd upon: So far otherwise, that She is the falsest Witness, the most corrupt Judge, and the blindest Guide, upon the Face of the Earth. Nor does it follow, that because She is not to be securely rely'd upon, therefore a Protestant's Belief of the Inspiration of the Scriptures is rash and inconsiderate; because He has other, and much better, Proof that the Scripture is inspired, than her Authority. This being so, the other Horn is of course uselefs. For
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For the Case standing, as I have said; the Protestant does not act incoherently in not believing the other Articles declar’d by Her (the Church of Rome) to be reveal’d Truths. If by the Church be meant the universal Church, or the Catholick Church truly so called; I answer, 1st. Even She is only a Guide in Subordination to the Scripture; and if She should teach any thing plainly contrary to the plainest Scripture, or to Reason, or to our Senses; it ought to be rejected. Therefore 2dly. She may be securely rely’d upon, when she attests a plain Fact; especially when the Fact is proved by other Evidence, both external and internal: but not if she should teach things plainly contrary &c. as aforesaid. 3dly. She neither does, nor ever did teach such things, tho’ the Church of Rome does; nor does She pretend that there are any reveal’d Truths, but what are in Scripture. 4thly. Therefore, as to the 1st Horn, a Protestant’s Belief of the Inspiration of Scripture is not rash and inconsiderate; because He believes it upon the Testimony of the Catholick Church, and upon other Evidence; all which put together amounts to a Demonstration, as far as any Fact is capable of it. As to the 2d, He does not act incoherently in not believing the other Articles declar’d by her, to be reveal’d Truths; because She declares not any to be so, but what are in Scripture; every
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Tittle of which the Protestant believes: Or if She did, He would not act incoherently in not believing them, especially if they were contrary to Scripture &c. because one may rationally rely upon a Person or number of Persons, when They affirm nothing but what is rational; and yet not rely upon them, when They affirm what is irrational, impious, or absurd. There is a shameful Sophism therefore in Those Words securely rely'd upon. You might have told Your Tutor, if he had tutor'd you as he ought to have done; that 'tis the Fallacy, call'd A dicto secundum quid ad dictum simpliciter. You may obverse (if You please) that I have given You more than I owed You: For to break one Horn of a Dilemma is sufficient at any time; But I think I have effectually broken Both.

To the next Paragraph (observing in a Word that Witnessing, and Deciding, Testimony, and Guide, are here confounded, as before) I answer; that God has undoubtedly given us sufficient means to know what Truths He has revealed, what not: But that the Church of Christ, as it signifies the Church of Rome, is not a sufficient means to convey down securely to us all revealed Truths, for the Reasons aforesaid. And the Protestant being desired, or rather challeng'd, to mark out some better and surer Guide, (it should be means of Conveyance) does with great Intrepidity mark out the Holy Scriptures, and the Arts of
of Writing and Printing them; together with the Testimony of the Universal Church, and Others, concerning them. If he means the Church truly universal in our Sense; the Argument will do him no service, for the Reasons above alledged.

Nor is This eluding the Difficulty, instead of clearing it; as He with sufficient Confidence is pleased to affirm. † To shew the Weakness of his Reasons for This Assertion, We will suppose at present (for Argument's sake, and for it's greater strength on our side) that the Church of Rome is the Catholic Church, or else that He means the Catholic Church as We do; That We have no Evidence for the Divine Authority of the Scriptures, but the Testimony of the Catholic Church; And lastly, that the Catholic Church (as we mean it) delivers down all the Popish Doctrines as reveal'd Truths. I say we will suppose all This on Their side, tho' not one Word of it is true; Even then let us see how his Argument will stand. For it remains still unanswered (says He ‖) how a Protestant, without relying upon the Church's Testimony, or Authority, can have a rational Motive to assure him of the divine Inspiration of the Scriptures. And if he be obliged to depend upon her Testimony in this capital

† P. 16. ‖ Ibid.
Entitled, England’s Conversion, &c. 45

Point; how can he reasonably refuse to pay the same Submission to her in other Articles, as positively declared by Her to be reveal’d Truths, as the divine Inspiration of the Scriptures? For surely all the Motives of Credibility are as strong on her side in her Testimony of the one as of the other. To pass over his Absurdity above-mention’d, in calling the Divine Inspiration of the Scriptures, a reveal’d Truth; I answer, (as I have, in effect, done ten times over already) It does not follow, that because a Man may be safely depended upon as a Witness, that such a one said, or writ so or so; therefore He has Authority to interpret it as he pleases; or that he is to be believed, tho’ his Interpretation be manifestly contrary to the plain Meaning of the Words, to common Reason, to Religion, and our Senses. A Man may produce good Proof, that certain Writings (concerning an Estate) in his Keeping, are true and genuine; and I may admit of his Testimony in This Case: Yet am not therefore oblig’d to admit the Sense which he puts upon the particular Expressions contain’d in them. It happens every Day in the Courts of Justice; One who allows Another to be a good Witness, that a Deed is genuine, does not think he acts inconsistently, if notwithstanding That he disputes the Sense of it with him.
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I have only to add, That there is a precious Sophism lurking in those Words, *this capital Point*; insinuating, belike, an Argument *a majori ad minus*. "If we must believe the Church asserting the Divine Inspiration of the Scriptures, upon which all Christian Truths depend; much more must we believe Her in other Articles &c." I answer; That *Point* may be the most *Capital*, and yet *witnessing* to it may not be, and in reality is not, an Act of so great Authority, (nay properly speaking, it is no Authority at all) as declaring, deciding, defining, i.e. in short, as They manage it, *making* other Articles, tho' less Capital. A Prince's Title to the Crown is a very capital Point; yet Witnessing to it, and proving it (which the meanest private Subject may do) is not near so capital an Act, as usurping an Authority to interpret his Laws, quite contrary to their plain Meaning; and to make Laws, not only *without* him, but in open Defiance of him. This, by the way, would, I doubt, be called a *Capital Crime*; and the Person, notwithstanding his good Service to the King in proving his Title, would have uncommon good Luck, if he did not meet with Capital Punishment.
Entitled, England's Conversion, &c. 47

To the Third Section:

Which has for its Title; * Faith depends in a different manner on the Testimony of God, and on the Testimony of Men. If He pleases, Faith is two-fold; Human and Divine. By Human, We believe the Scriptures to be the Word of God; and by Divine, We believe whatever is contained in them to be true.

All in This, and the next Page, I pass over; as being partly answer'd already, and partly nothing to the Purpose; (tho' had I a Mind to be Critical, I could easily point out some Inaccuracies, not to say Absurdities in it) 'till we come to These Words: † For this Reason, (Viz. because it is necessary to depend upon the Church's Testimony for reveal'd Truths) St. Paul faith, that Faith is by hearing, Rom. 10. v. 17. to wit, by hearing the Voice of the Church, appointed by God to be our Guide. For unless we hear the Voice of the Church speaking to us by the Mouths of her Bishops and Pastors; how shall we know what are reveal'd Truths and what not? No doubt, ordinarily speaking, Faith comes by Hearing; and by Read-
ing likewise: For I hope the Gentleman will not say, that the Apostle by mentioning one intended to exclude the other. The Church too, ordinarily speaking, that is, her Bishops, and Pastors, are to be heard: But it is possible that Faith may come without Hearing, i.e. by Reading only. And even when we do hear the Church; it is not proved from This Text, that we are to believe her, when we hear her teach Things directly contrary to what we read: I mean in the Holy Scripture. To That Question therefore, Unless We hear the Voice of the Church, &c. How shall We know what are revealed Truths, and what not? I answer, by reading the Bible; and considering the Evidence which proves it to be the Word of God. The next Paragraph, *The Voice of the Church is an Echo between the Word of God and us, &c. (setting aside the strange Fantasticalness, and indeed Nonsense, of the Expression) is nothing but the same over and over again; and has been answered over and over already.

† We are told in the next place, Why, tho' the Church is infallible, he has hitherto not considered Her as such; but barely as a creditable illustrious Society.

Reminding the Reader of my having shewn

* P. 18. † P. 18. & 19.
that to prove the Scripture by the Church, even as an illustrious, tho' not infallible Society, is a mere Circle; I shall consider the Reasons He alluded. * First, (says he) because her Testimony, barely as such, suffices alone to render our Belief of the Revelation even of the darkest and sublimest Mysteries perfectly rational: Which is the Point I just now undertook to prove. But I have fully shewn you have not proved it; whatever You undertook. If the Mysteries the Church puts upon us, are not in Scripture; they are not to be believed: as I shall shew, when we come to the Article of Tradition. If they are in Scripture; We believe them upon the Authority of God, not of the Church; tho' the Church's Testimony goes a great way to prove the Scripture in general to be God's Word. Besides; I tell you again and again, that if the Mysteries be not only dark and sublime, but downright Contradictions, as Yours are; they cannot be a part of God's Word, and no Body in his Wits can believe them.

His other Reason allned'd by Him, why He has not yet considered the Church as Infallible, tho' he insists that it really is so, † is to avoid the just reproach of supposing what He ought first to prove. For (says he) the

* P. 19. † P. 19.
Church's Infallibility is itself a revealed Truth; and if I should prove the Reasonableness of my Belief of it from the Church's Testimony consider'd as Infallible, my Argument would run Thus: 'Tis reasonable to believe that the Church's Infallibility is a revealed Truth, because the infallible Church declares it to be so; which is the same absurd way of Arguing, as if I should say, it is reasonable to believe a thing is so, because it is so. But since the Church's Testimony, tho' consider'd barely as the Testimony of Men, has the same Weight and Authority in declaring to us the divine Revelation of her own Infallibility as it has in declaring all other Revealed Truths; I act as rationally in suffering myself to be directed by her Judgment in this Point, as in any other. Here the Gentleman would fain avoid the famous Circle of the Romanists: But tho' He does not run into it so grossly as Some of them have done; and as He himself has done into some others, which I have taken notice of; Yet what He says amounts to much the same thing. He does not indeed argue, that 'tis reasonable to believe that the Church's Infallibility is a revealed Truth, because the infallible Church declares it to be so; but He argues that we must believe the Church to be Infallible, because the Church says so, tho' She be not considered as Infallible, while She says so. And where is the mighty difference? She still
Entitled, England's Conversion, &c. 51

still proves her own Authority by her own Authority: For Infallibility implys Authority in the highest degree. After all, therefore, is the Church's Authority (whether she be considered as Infallible, or no) to be absolutely and implicitly submitted to, when She declares reveal'd Truths, and among the rest her own Infallibility; or is it not? If it be not; there's an End of what our Author has been labouring all this while, and indeed of the whole Popish Cause. If it be; how can she be more submitted to, if She be consider'd as Infallible? Or what does it signify, whether She be considered as Infallible, or no? Can a greater Submission than an absolute and implicit one be yielded to God himself? If this Author should reply (for I would fain prevent all Wrangling about Sounds) that he has not us'd the Words absolute or implicit as join'd with Submission to the Church; I answer, 1st. The young Gentleman P. 2. says without any reproof from his Preceptor, and therefore we may suppose with his approbation, that He (the Preceptor) has often told him, we are bound to pay an entire Submission to the Decisions of the Catholick Church. What does entire mean, less than absolute and implicit? 2dly. By Submission to the Church, does he all along mean an absolute and implicit one (tho' he leaves out the Words) or does he not? If he does not; He has been beating

E 2 the
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the Air: For we acknowledge a Submission to the Church, so far as it is consistent with Reason and Scripture; we being allow'd the free use of Both. If he does; the Argument stands just as it did before: and so I leave it.

What follows to the End of the Section, except the last Paragraph, has nothing in it, but a Repetition of what has been even frequently repeated by him, and, to my great Trouble, by me likewise; and is, besides, little or nothing to the Matter in hand. I only observe that tho' he seems so carefully to distinguish between Divine and Human Faith; yet he in effect confounds them with each other. For, as I took notice above, his Doctrine is, that even human Faith (Faith in the Church) must be implicit; and what can divine be more?

The last Paragraph runs thus. * Now amongst many other Truths clearly deliver'd in holy Writ, That of the Church's Infallibility may justly claim an eminent place: tho' Protestants use their utmost Efforts to ridicule what they cannot solidly confute. That will soon be seen; viz. in the Examination of

* P. 30.
The Fourth SECTION;

ENTITULED,

The Church of Christ consider'd as Infallible.

*HERE we have, in a great deal of scurrilous Language, a tedious and most impertinent Declaration about Prejudice and Self-interest; by which alone (if we will believe This Writer) Protestants are hinder'd from acknowledging so clear and evident a Truth, forsooth, as the Infallibility of the Church; understanding (as always) the Church of Rome. It is easy for Them to say This; and full as easy for Us to say, that it may with great advantage be retorted upon Themelves; that We, as to This matter, are free from the Guilt here charg'd upon us, as They are deeply involv'd in it; and that nothing but the blindest Prejudice, or the strongest Attachment to worldly Interest, could prevail with them to maintain so senseless and ridiculous a Notion. As there is no Argument in Declaiming, and Railing, upon sup-

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position that a Thing is true, which is the very Point to be prov'd; in telling us, that Prejudice and Covetousness are very bad Things, and so forth; what I have now said in one Word, is a sufficient Answer to considerably above Half of This Section. For the rest, it will be more than sufficient to make some short Remarks upon our Author's more singular Sayings within That Division; and then to give a full Answer to his Arguments from the Texts of Scripture, which he urges as so many Proofs of the Church's Infallibility.

To run down the Church's Infallibility (He says *) is our All. Be it so: Is it not Their All to defend it? The Question is which Party maintains its All best; and of That let Mankind judge.

As idle is it, to tell us that † all the reformed Churches, tho' disagreeing among themselves in many other Doctrinal Points, join unanimously in opposing this. And Reason good; because 'tis so notoriously false. Was there ever such Trifling? But do all the reformed Churches agree in opposing no other Doctrine of the Papists but This? Sure they do, in opposing many more; not that it is in the least material, whether they do or no.

* P. 22. † P. 22.
Entitled, England's Conversion, &c. 55

His Reflection upon the thorough godly Reformation (as He Ironically speaks) with regard to the Ends and Views of Thofe who begun and promoted it, might have been spared here, were not Scandal so delicious a Morfel; because 'tis nothing to the present Point, as he himself in effect acknowledges:
And because he has said so much upon it in his Preface, and Third Dialogue, to which it properly belongs; and in the Examination of which, it shall not fail to be consider'd. At present I pass it over, as entirely foreign to the Point in hand.

Speaking of the barbarous Ufage the poor innocent Church of Rome receiv'd at the Reformation, He has these Words. * Tho' they had themselves acknowledg'd and repected her for feveral Years, as the beautiful Spouse of Jesus Christ, without Spot or Wrinkle in her Faith; They could, at that time, see no Remains in her of her former Beauty. That is, tho' they had been long in Ignorance and Error; yet now they open'd their Eyes, and were resolv'd to grow wiser and better. What a horrid Absurdity, and Wickedness, were they guilty of? He goes on. † The venerable Antiquity of her Doctrine, her Catholicity, the Lustre of her

† P. 23. * Ibid. † P. 23, 24.
Miracles, the Stateliness and Solemnity of her Hierarchy, derived from the Apostles themselves, the Celibacy of her Clergy, the austere Lives of her religious Orders, and the Majesty of her publick Service (all which had in former Ages render'd her the Admiration of Mankind) and with their powerful Attractives drawn multitudes of Infidels into her Fold, had then lost all their Charms in the Eyes of her own rebellious Children. This is a sad Lamentation indeed; but it supposes half a dozen Particulars to be true, which are utterly false. Her Doctrine, I own, was pretty ancient (as many other damnable Errors are) but not near so ancient as Christianity; with respect to which, it is a pure Novelty. Nor is everything venerable that is ancient: If it were, Original Sin would be more venerable than Popery it self. Her Catholicity (as He calls it, We say Catholicism) is a Chimæra; for she is Catholick in no sense of the Word. The Lustre of her Miracles is nothing; for she never worked any; but has made herself infamous and ridiculous, in pretending to That Power. The Hierarchy other Churches have, as well as She; and that too deriv'd from the Apostles themselves: And if they have it not so stately and solemn, as She has; 'tis because Their Clergy are not so rich, proud, and powerful, as Hers, and do not place so much Religion in outward
Entitled England’s Conversion, &c. 57

ward Pomp and Ostentation. Her injoining Celibacy upon the Clergy is unlawful, and attended with pernicious Consequences. The Lives of many of Her Religious Orders are not austere, but voluptuous; Others are more austere than they ought to be; are both the Effect and the Cause of much Superstition; or, at best, do more hurt to Religion than good. What He calls the Majesty of her publick Worship, is Foppery and Formality, contrary to the Genius of the Gospel, and does infinite Mischief to the Souls of Men. These things might in former Ages render Her the Admiration of Mankind, (i.e. a great part of it; for if he means more, it is not true) but Mankind was ignorant and wicked; and Mankind is often mistaken. And if Infidels were drawn into her Fold by these Attractives, they were drawn into it upon a wrong Principle. Nor were her Children, of whom he speaks, rebellious: Because it was their Duty to obey God, rather than men. If it be objected, that I have only said, but not prov’d; I say the fame of Him, and so we are even: Here, I mean; for upon the whole we are not so. Because I have elsewhere prov’d what I have here asserted; * Let Him disprove it, if He can.

* Poverry truly stated, &c.
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P. 24. As for the Fathers, They easily got rid of them, by saying they were all Parties, and avow'd Abetters of Popery. To what purpose (said the courageous Martin Luther) should any Man rely on the ancient Fathers? &c. Luther is but One, and so cannot answer to the Word They. And however contemptuously he spoke of the Fathers, or whatever other foolish or wicked things he is supposed to have said, or done, 'tis nothing to Us, or to our Cause: The same, and much more (We having, in truth, nothing to do with Him) being to be said with relation to Him, which shall be said with relation to some of our first Reformers here in England, in answer to the Preface, and Third Dialogue; whether I refer the Reader. For our selves; next to the Scriptures, we desire to be try'd by the Writings of the Fathers: Nor do any Writings, except the Former, give fuller Testimony against the Corruptions of the Church of Rome, than the Latter.

P. 25. As to the Faith of former Ages; besides that both Luther, and Calvin, confess'd without Hesitation, that they had separated themselves from all the pre-existing Churches in the World; the Book of Homilies, highly valued by the Church of England, declares positively that both Laity and Clergy, Learned and Unlearned, all Ages, Sects, and Degrees of Men, Women, and Children,
Children, of whole Christendom, have been, at once, drowned in abominable Idolatry; and that for the space of eight hundred years, and more. Which, tho' in very abusive Language, is a full Acknowledgment of a Fact which does no honour to the Reformation; to wit, that not one of the reformed Churches had a visible Being in the World for eight hundred Years, and more: And so the Faith of former Ages, stigmatiz'd indeed with the injurious Title of abominable Idolatry, was fairly given up to the Church of Rome, and acknowledged to have been wholly on the Popish side. Tho' whatever Luther and Calvin said, it affects not Us or our Cause; and the saying of some false things destroys not even their personal Reputation; so that supposing what our Author here affirms to be true, it is nothing to his purpose; yet it may well be answer'd:

First, Where do they confess this? Why does he not quote the Books and Pages? Secondly, Their Words, supposing them to be the same which are here set down, may be very well explain'd in a sound sense; so as not to prejudice Them, or their Reformation. For Example, They separated themselves from, &c. i.e. They were oblig'd in Conscience not to communicate externally with, &c. The Separation, properly speaking, being made by their Adversaries, not by Them. Not that This is matter of Faith, after
after all, but of Practice: And besides, the Word Former, as apply'd to Ages by This Writer, is very ambiguous; of which hereafter.

As to the Quotation out of the Book of Homilies; it shall be fully considered, partly here, and partly elsewhere: our Author laying great stress upon it, and twice repeating it; viz. P. 115 & 280. Reckoning (as indeed I think it ought to be reckoned) the Prevalency of the Idolatry here spoken of (viz. Image-Worship) from the establishing of it by the 2d Council of Nice in the Year 787 to the Year 1550, when it may be said to have been in These Parts of Europe pretty well abolisht; the Homilies is mistaken by 38 Years, supposing by 800 and more, he meant just one more. And let our Author make the most of This Concession: We do not pretend that the Homilies are Infallible: We subscribe only to the main Substance and Doctrine of them, not to every Word contain'd in them. But as He reckon'd a little higher; 'tis no more than an Hyperbolical Expression, at most, as to the Prevalency of the Corruption; and may very well be justify'd. For Those Words Laity and Clergy, Learned and Unlearned, all Ages, Sexes, and Degrees of Men, Women, and Children, of whole Christendom, have been drown'd, &c. do not import (as This Author in P. 280, most falla-
Entitled, England's Conversion, &c. 61

ciously takes it for granted) that there was not one single Clergyman or Layman, but was drowned in Idolatry; The plain Meaning is, that Persons of all Orders, Ages, Sects, &c. not that all Persons of all Orders, Ages, Sects, &c. were so corrupted: That Last is not said, nor any thing like it.

The pretended full acknowledgment of a Fact which does no honour to the Reformation, to wit, &c. Shall be fully considered, when we come to P. 115. where it is repeated, and to which it more properly belongs. Visibility shall likewise be consider'd in its proper place. At present we are upon Infallibility. Here therefore I only ask our Author, when he says The Faith of former Ages was given up to the Church of Rome; what former Ages He means? If He means the first and purest Ages, agreed to be so even by Themselves; for instance, the first 300 Years; I absolutely deny his Assertion. For 1st. We do not stigmatize the Faith (the Practice, it should be) of Those Ages with the Title of Idolatry. Nor 2dly do we give it up to the Church of Rome, nor acknowledge it to have been wholly, or at all, on the Popish side; but insist upon the direct contrary. 3dly. The Homily cannot mean Those Ages: For 801 Years from the Reformation backwards (reckoning the Reformation in the Year 1550) will not bring us up to the last Day of Them by 449 Years. If by former Ages He
He means *Popish* Ages; no doubt we fairly give up the Faith of Them to the Church of Rome, and acknowledge it to have been wholly on the Popish side.

However, if we will take things as This Writer represents them; He could produce abundant proof of the Church's *Infallibility* from the unanimous Testimony of the Antient Fathers, and from the constant Faith of former Ages; But waves it, because Protestants, he says, deny the Authority of Both.

But as to the Texts of Holy Scriptures (He adds†) which Protestants own to be divinely inspir'd, and by Consequence out of the Reach of a godly Reformation, &c. Certainly the Gentleman forgets Himself; otherwise He would not have given us This unlucky Hint, putting us in mind of the *Popish* godly Reformation of the Scriptures; which the Romanists have so reformed in several places, as to strike out some Words, and put in others. This is a godly Reformation which Protestants never attempted; It belongs wholly to Papists. And so That witty Irony upon us might have been let alone.

It seems, however, as to Texts of Scripture upon the Article of Infallibility, we are put to very hard shifts. For the Texts are clear, and strong; and must be tortur'd in

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* P. 24. † P. 25. ‡ P. 25.
the most unmerciful manner, or read backwards, to discover any thing in them but the Church's perpetual Infallibility, settled upon the most solid Foundations. These Words are introductory to his Scripture-Proofs of the Church's Infallibility; meaning too (as every where else) the Church of Rome. If Those Proofs be indeed irrefragable; let This big Talk pass off unreflected upon. But if, on the contrary, there be not the least Glimpse of an Argument in them; if the Texts alleged'd be alleged'd most impertinently, and have no more to do with the matter in Dispute, than the first Verse in Genesis has with the Doctrine of Transubstantiation; all which I undertake to prove immediately: then his Charge of torturing, and reading backwards, returns upon Himself; All This Apparatus is nothing but empty Swaggering, and the Perfection of Impudence; which deserves any other sort of Treatment almost that can be nam'd, rather than an Answer. Now then to the Business.

* G. Pray, Sir, do me the favour to let me hear those Texts. You have reason, Young Gentleman: For after a Preparation of five Pages, 'tis really high time to come
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to the Arguments themselves; which take
up just half That Quantity of Paper.

P. The first is Christ's positive Promise to
build his Church upon a Rock, and that the
Gates of Hell shall not prevail against it.
Mat. 6. c. 18. For if the Word of God
may be securely depended upon; nothing sure-
ly can be clearer, and stronger than this
Promise. Since it is manifest, that if the
Church of Christ were ever guilty of the
damnable Errors Protestants have charg'd
her with; the Gates of Hell would have ef-
fectually prevail'd against her, and her Di-
vine Founder prov'd false to his Word.

G. That's Blasphemy with a Witness.

So much Blunder, Inconsequence, Fallacy,
and Falshood, was, I believe, scarce ever
crowded into so few Words before. Sup-
pofing, at present, what he takes for
granted, to be true; which however (as I
shall shew hereafter) He ought not to have
taken for granted; Viz. That by the gates
of Hell is meant the same, as if it had been
said, the Devil: I answer, First, He is guil-
ty of a gross Falshood, in saying we have
charg'd the Church of Christ with being
guilty of damnable Errors; as if we allow'd
the Church of Christ and the Church of
Rome to be all one. Secondly, He takes it
for granted, tho' it ought to have been
prov'd, not suppos'd, that the Devil prevails
(according to the Sense in which our Savi-
Entitled, England's Conversion, &c. 65

our us'd the Word \( \text{κατακόπτω} \) against the Church, if it be guilty of \( \text{damnabfer} \) Errors. But how does he prove that our Saviour meant so by the Word? To \( \text{prevail against} \) it, according to almost all the Commentators and Translators, is to \( \text{destroy} \), at least to \( \text{conquer} \) it. But is it destroy'd, or so much as conquer'd, by being guilty of damnable Errors? Is a single \( \text{Man} \neccessarily destroy'd in This World, or damn'd in the Next; because he believes, and does, many \( \text{damnabfer} \) things? Can he not \( \text{repent} \), and \( \text{reform} \)? And cannot the same Question be ask'd of a \( \text{Church} \)? By the way, This Argument will as well (if not better) prove the Church to be \( \text{impeccable} \), as \( \text{infallible} \): For the Devil prevails by \( \text{Sin} \), as much as by \( \text{Error} \); or rather more. And yet that the Church is impeccable, No body affirms. If our Author proceeds upon the \( \text{English} \) Translation only, as he seems to do; by \( \text{prevailing against} \) is certainly meant \( \text{conquering} \): And a man, I hope, is not necessarily conquer'd because he is much wounded. This therefore is no better than a poor \( \text{Petitio Principii}, \) or \( \text{Begging the Question. As} \) \( \text{3dly. The next is no better than a sorry Ignoratio Elenchii, or mistaking the Question. If the Church of Christ were guilty of the damnabfer Errors, &c. the Gates of Hell would, &c. The Question is not whether the Church be secured from falling into} \) F dam-
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damnable Errors, but whether the Church be
Infallible? These are evidently distinct Things.
For the Church may neither be destroy'd, nor
permitted to fall into damnable Errors; and
yet not be Infallible: As on the other hand,
which has been before taken notice of, she may
fall into damnable Errors, and yet not be de-
stroy'd. Had his Argument, instead of [if the
Church were guilty of the damnable Errors,
&c.] ran Thus; If the Church were not in-
fallible, as Protestants pretend She is not, the
Gates of Hell would have prevail'd against
Her; it would have been to the Purpose:
Tho' 4thly altogether Inconclusive and Ab-
surd. For how does it follow that because
a Person, or Number of Persons, is not infa-
llible; therefore He, or They, must needs be
conquer'd and subdue'd by the Devil? Ac-
According to This, All but the Pope, and Bish-
ops, even of the Romish Church, and They
too (the Bishops) assembled in a Council, must
necessarily be damn'd. For I suppose they will
not say that by the Church they mean the Lai-
ty, or that any one of Them is infallible, nor
any of the inferior Clergy, nor the Prelates
themselves, unless assembled in a Council. It
seems then there is not so very certain a Pas-
fage from the Church of Rome's Bofom to A-
braham's: And 'tis scarce worth while to turn
Papist; unless one were sure to be Pope,
or at least a Bishop, and to have a general
Council always subsisting; besides many o-
ther
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er other Difficulties which I could mention. And yet the Argument, if it be any thing to our Subject, stands as I said: If the Church were not infallible, the Devil would have been too hard for her. The Dialogue proceeds. * But will not Protestants say, it is not the true Church of Christ, but the corrupt Church of Rome, they accuse of damnable Errors; and that These are as different as Light, and Darkness? They will be apt to say so indeed; and let us hear the Answer to it.

† P. Sir, The Dispute is precisely concerning the Church founded by Christ; which They maintain to be not only fallible, but that it has effectually fallen into the damnable Errors of Popish Idolatry and Superstition. I answer, 1st. It is absolutely false that the Dispute is precisely about the Church founded by Christ: 'Tis about the Church of Rome only; no other Church pretending to be Infallible: Tho' I own we, incidentally, deny that any Church, the universal Church itself, is so. 2dly. All the World knows that Papists by the Church mean the Church of Rome only; as our Author in particular all along does: And therefore upon his Principles, the Distinction He here makes, or rather seems to make, is impertinent. 3dly. 'Tis false to say we affirm, that It the Church

* P. 26. † Ibid. founded
founded by Christ) has fallen into the damnable Errors of Popish Idolatry and Superstition. All Churches, 'tis true, may have fallen into Errors: Several, besides the Romish, actually have into grievous Ones; nay, some, as the Greek Church, into the same with many of the Popish Ones: But they have not fallen into them as Popish; because they deny, first, the Pope's Supremacy; and secondly, the Doctrine of Infallibility, the Point now in Dispute. 'Tis therefore in vain (continues He *) to pretend to elude the force of the above-said Text, by saying it is not the true Church of Christ, but the corrupt Church of Rome, they accuse of damnable Errors; and there is an unanswerable Dilemma against them. For Christ either had a true Church upon Earth before the Reformation; or he had not. If not; then his Church was destroy'd; and by consequence the Gates of Hell prevail'd against it, contrary to his Promise. But if he had a true Church upon Earth, the Church of Rome was most certainly That Church: Since, according to the large Concession made in the Book of Homilies, it was in possession of whole Christendom for many Ages before the Reformation. And if that Church was in all that space of Time guilty of abominable Idolatry.

* P. 26. and 27.
latry, as is pretended; then the true Church of Christ was guilty of it; And so what Part ever of the Dilemma Protestants chuse, they charge Christ with a Breach of Promise in suffering the Gates of Hell to prevail against his Church: God forbid we should thus charge God foolishly: And the best of it is, we are not bound to stand or fall by your Dictates: We should be in a wretched Condition indeed, if we were. To avoid the danger of This horrid Blasphemy, I chuse the latter Part of the Dilemma; and say, our Saviour, before the Reformation, had a true Church upon Earth: Of which the Church of Rome was a true, tho' a most corrupt, Part. I say Part: For to his Argument, by which, upon our pretended Concession, he endeavours to prove that it was the Whole, I answer: 1st. The Homily says, I grant, that whole Christendom was drowned in Idolatry: But does That make whole Christendom the Church of Rome? Would That Church engross all the Idolatry of the World to Her self? 'Tis true all thorough Papists are Idolaters; but all Idolaters are not Papists. Nay, Image-worship (of which alone the Homily speaks) began, as every Body knows, in the Greek Church, not in the Church of Rome. Yet Thus stands This Argument: The Church of Rome was most certainly That Church; since according to the large Concession made in the
Book of Homilies, it was in possession of whole Christendom for many Ages, before the Reformation. The Church of Rome, it seems, is not only Idolatrous, but Idolatry it self. For because the Homily says Idolatry was in possession, &c. This Writer infers that it says the Church of Rome was so. 2dly. All the Churches upon Earth (or, if You please, the Church universal) may be guilty of Idolatry it self; and yet not be destroyed, or quite conquer'd by the Devil, nor the Gates of Hell entirely prevail against her. God own'd the Church of the Jews, as his Church; when it was over-run with Idolatry, and all other Corruptions.

I have hitherto been reasoning upon Supposition, that our Author's Supposition is true; viz. that by the Gates of Hell is meant the Power of the Devil: And even upon That foot have shewn the wretched Absurdity of his Arguing. But what if after all it should mean no such Thing? As 'tis evident, almost to a Demonstration, it does not: Then all he says about damnable Errors &c. and indeed the whole Stres of his Argument will be yet more roving and extravagant. The word *Admis, here render'd Hell, is not the Place of the Damned (Peter is the Name for That) but the Grave, or the Place of departed Souls: For sometimes it signifies the One, and sometimes the Other. The best Sense of the Passage therefore is this: The Church shall
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shall continue to the World's End, notwithstanding the Persecutions and violent Deaths of the Apostles, and multitudes of the first Christians, and the Mortality of its Teachers and Governors in all Ages. This, I own, is an Argument for the Perpetuity or Indefectibility of the Church in general, not That of Rome in particular; But what it has to do with Infallibility I cannot imagine: Unless they will argue that Perpetuity infers Infallibility. If they do; let the Argument be produced, and I am ready to answer it. Another Interpretation has been put upon This Text; which, it being immaterial to the present Debate, I need not mention. But be the Meaning of it what it will; any Body of common Reason may see what is not the Meaning of it. One may as well squeeze Water out of a Pumice, as the Church of Rome's Infallibility out of These Words: Thou art Peter; and upon this Rock I will build my Church; and the Gates of Hell shall not prevail against it. In short, the Case stands Thus: Our Saviour said He would always have a Church upon Earth; against which all the Power and Malice of Men, Devils, and Death, should not prevail; Therefore the Church of Rome is Infallible. Quod erat Demonstrandum. Was there ever such * clear and strong Reasoning? Who,

* P. 25, F 4 with
without torturing this text in the most unmerciful manner, or reading it backwards, can discover any thing in it but the church's perpetual infallibility?

p. 27. 2dly. Christ's promise to his apostles of abiding with them always even unto the end of the world. matth. 28. e. 20. establishes the church's perpetual infallibility as fully, and clearly, as the other. Just as fully and clearly, i confess. our author might have spared his learned confutation of the opinion of those, who confine this promise to the three or four first ages: for i know no body that ever so conlin'd it. or if there be any such; i agree with him that they are in the wrong. but then he himself is so, in saying that it comprehended equally the successors of the apostles with the apostles themselves: for sure it chiefly and principally regarded the last mentioned. our saviour was more with them, than with any of their successors. all he farther says worth our notice is this. * if therefore christ has kept his word, which no man can deny without blasphemy; one of these two things must be granted, to wit, that either he promised to remain with idolaters in order to be their guide even unto

* p. 27, 28.
Entitled, England’s Conversion, &c. 73

the end of the World (and that is most high-
ly absurd) or that his Church by being in
all Ages under the promised Direction, and
Assistance of her heavenly Guide, has al-
ways continued untainted in her Faith, and
will continue so to the World’s End. To
which I answer. 1st. Here is the same sort of
Blunder as before, in mistaking the Question:
The Church may continue untainted in her
Faith to the World’s End, without being
Infallible. Suppose a single Man never to
have fallen into any one Error, or com-
mitted any one grievous Sin all his Days;
Was He therefore Infallible? an Infallible
Judge of all Controversies? &c. Which suggests
to us 2dly. that This Argument, like the for-
mer, will as well prove the Church’s Impe-
cability, as Infallibility. 3dly. This too,
like That, is an Argument for the Church’s
Perpetuity, not Infallibility. I speak of the
Church in general; for as to the Church
of Rome, our Saviour never said one Word
about it. But 4thly. To come closer to our
Author’s Reasoning: I deny the Disjunc-
tion. For Christ may be with his Church to the
World’s End; and yet neither have promis’d
to remain with Idolaters &c. nor his Church
have always continued untainted in her Faith,
and so always continue. The Medium is
(One, I mean, for I shall afterwards assign
Another) his not suffering his Church totally
to fail, or cease to be a true Church. This
Writer
Writer never enquires into the Sense of the Words *am with You*, upon which All turns; but, according to his usual compendious way of Begging the Question, takes it for granted that his own Arbitrary Interpretation is the only true one. 2dly. Christ may, without any such mighty Absurdity, be with even Idolaters, in order to be their Guide and Teacher, tho' not as Idolaters; (He was so with the Jews, as we have seen before) and have promised to be with his Church to the end of the World, tho' it should in some places, and at some times, or even for some time in all places, more, or less, be Idolatrous. For besides that He might have thousands of true Worshippers among the false ones, as it happened in Elijah's time; Idolatry itself does not destroy the Church: As we have above observed.

But what if, after all, the Text should mean no more than This, as it very well may not, that Christ will tender his Grace and Assistance to the Church 'till the World's End? Must the Church therefore be Infallible? May it not on the contrary be overrun with all manner of Errors in Faith, and Vice in Practice? God's Grace is promised to all Christians; yet Millions reject it, and quench his Spirit. In like manner, Christ has promised to be with his Ministers in matters of Faith; and yet Those Ministers
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ters may reject his tender'd Influence, through Self-views, Ignorance, or Prejudice. While a Liberty of Choice is left in Men; any Assistance, That of God himself, may be rejected. The Sum of This clear and strong Argument, the Light of which we cannot resist without most unmercifully torturing the Scriptures, or reading them backwards, amounts to Thus much: Our Saviour promis'd to be with, i.e. to assist, chiefly his Apostles, and in some measure his Church in general, to the World's End, without the least Hint about the Church of Rome; Therefore the Church of Rome is Infallible. The Argument must needs be unanswerable; because there is not a Syllable in the Premises of what is contained in the Conclusion. The Conclusion joins Infallibility to the Church of Rome; whereas in the Premises there is no Mention either of the Church of Rome, or Infallibility.

P. 28. 3dly. The Church's Charter of perpetual Infallibility is confirm'd to her by our Saviour's Promise of sending the Holy Ghost, not only to the Apostles, but to all their Successors. I will pray my Father, and He shall give you another Comforter, that he may abide with you for ever; the Spirit of Truth. John 14. v. 16, 17. But to what end was he to abide with them for ever? Let us hear Christ himself answer the Question. When the Spirit of Truth comes; he will guide you into all Truth.
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Truth. John 16. v. 13. And again. The Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in my Name, will teach you all things, and bring all things to your remembrance which I have said unto you. John 14. v. 26. Our Author, it seems, takes This Proof of the Church’s Infallibility to be self-evident; for he says nothing to enforce it. And the young Gentleman being without any more adoe convince’d by the irresistible force of This Argument, as well as of the Others, immediately answers; Really, Sir, I am astonish’d, &c. as I shall presently cite the whole Passage. Nevertheless; I shall add a few Words by way of Answer, tho’ it is more than I am oblig’d to: I having as good a Right to say, without any Proof, that these Texts are not to the Purpose; as He had to quote them, without any Proof that they are. Among many other Answers then which might be given; the same may be apply’d to the first of These Texts, which was given to the Argument from the foregoing one. The Spirit of Truth may abide for ever with the Teachers of the Gospel, so as to tender his Grace and Assistance to them; and yet they may resist his Motions, and so have no Benefit from such his abiding with them. Know Ye not, (says St. Paul) that Your Bodies are Temples of the Holy Ghost? 1 Cor. 6. 19. And yet He warns the Corinthians to flee Fornication, and not to sin against their...
own Bodies. So that the Abiding of the Holy Ghost in the Temples of their Bodies, was no Argument that they must necessarily be always unpolluted: And as little is his Abiding with the Church an Argument of its always being in the Right, much less of its being always, or ever, Infallible. The two other Texts subjoined to This, out of the same Discourse of our Saviour, plainly relate in their primary and principal Sense, at least, to the Persons of the Apostles; and all three of them may at least, which is sufficient to our present purpose, relate to Them only. For the Word for ever, as all the World knows, is in Scripture, in all Writings, and in common Discourse, often us'd in a restrain'd Signification; according to the Subject to which it is apply'd: Nay considering the Time, and Occasion, of our Saviour's Discourse, there is little less than Demonstration that they do relate to Them only. However to put it at the lowest, here is nothing about the Church of Rome in particular: Or if it were otherwise; To be guided into all Truth, does not imply that the Guidance must of necessity be effectually followed; nor does being taught all things, or having one's Memory refresh'd, imply Infallibility. For a man may be not only instructed in, but very learned in, all Languages, all Arts and Sciences, all Points of
of Morality and Divinity, without being absolute Master of all the Truths contain'd in them, or any thing like Infallible. I shall be a little more particular in summing up the Substance of the Argument from These Texts, upon the two different Suppositions concerning the Sense of them. Supposing our Saviour to speak this of the Apostles only, as 'tis ten thousand to one but He did; (yet I deny not but the Assistance of his Holy Spirit, tho' not Infallibility, is in other places, whether it be here or no, promis'd to his Church in general through all Ages) then the Argument stands Thus. Our Saviour, being just ready to leave the World, comforts his Apostles, who upon That account were in great Trouble and Perplexity, with the Promise of the Holy Ghost; who should not, as He had done, continue with them for a little while, but for ever; during their whole Lives; should guide them into all Truth, teach them all things, and bring all things to their remembrance: Therefore the Church of Rome is Infallible. If we interpret the Passage as relating to the Apostles and their Successors in Conjunction, (though certainly we cannot interpret it equally of Both; for then I cannot conceive what Superiority or Preeminence the Apostles would have over their Successors; and in reality 'tis scarce common Sense to interpret it of the Latter
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(then we shall have it.) Thus. Our Saviour promis'd, that the Holy Ghost should abide with, i. e. assist, not only the Apostles, but the Ministers of the Church (not a word about That of Rome in particular) to the World's End; teach them, and remind them of all Things, (necessary to their Salvation; for sure He speaks of nothing else) tho' Those, who are so taught and reminded may neither learn, nor remember, as they should do: Therefore the Church of Rome is Infallible. Q. E. D. How unmercifully must We torture These Texts, or read them backwards, not to discover in them the perpetual Infallibility aforesaid!

I might here very well conclude my Answer to This Section; all the Argumentation being over. But the Confidence and Insolence which succeeds it, is so ridiculous, (and, being so, it is to me not in the least provoking) that contrary to my Design, and almost Promise, in the Beginning, I cannot forbear diverting my Reader with it. A famous Critick tells us, that the Height of Impudence is perfectly Comical. I am of his Mind; It moves Laughter, rather than Indignation. Can any thing be more whimsically extravagant, than for a Man to introduce such Arguments as have not the least Shadow of Reason in them, with such formal Preparation, and blustering Language, as I have above recited; and after having produced
produced them, to triumph, and plume himself, as if he had made a Demonstration as plain, as any in Euclide; then to add a long Speech against Prejudice and Self-Interest, calumniating and vilifying his Adversaries, as if they had not common Honesty, for not believing against common Sense? You shall have it all at length in his own Words: And I need be at no further Trouble; For to transcribe it, is to answer it.

* G. Really, Sir, I am astonish'd that Persons who pretend to believe that the Scriptures are divinely inspir'd, and contain the pure Word of God; nay and profess to make them the only Rule of their Faith (as you have often told me) can read these repeated Promises express'd in Terms so strong and clear, so obvious, and easy, that even the most ordinary Capacities cannot well mistake their meaning, without studying to deceive themselves; yet at the same time have the confidence to oppose the Doctrine, thus plainly asserted by them, with the same positiveness, and obstinacy, as if they had the Alcoran, instead of the Word of God before them. The Pupil, 'tis to be hop'd, has done his Part. And what says the Tutor?

* 28, 29.

P. Sir,
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P. Sir, You have all the Reason in the World to be astonished at it: And I verily believe, that if a Friend should leave to any Protestant a considerable Legacy, or settle an Estate upon him and his Heirs for ever, in Terms as strong and clear as our blessed Saviour, by his last Will and Testament, bequeath'd to his Church the divine Legacy of his perpetual Direction and Assistance; he would be clear-sighted enough to understand the true Meaning of it; there would be no need of any Persuasive Arguments, or Reasons, to convince him of the Justice of his Title. If by perpetual Direction and Assistance He means such as bestows Infallibility, as He must if He means any thing to the purpose; I profess sincerely, I would not give a single Farthing for an Estate of Ten thousand a Year, upon no better a Title. The Will would Infallibly be set aside in Chancery; should I be Fool enough to stand a Suit there: And I should not only lose my Cause, and my Money in prosecuting it, but be laugh'd at into the bargain. He goes on, But alas to a Person whose Heart is insincere, and biass'd by an interest irreconcileable with the Gospel, to such a one, I say, the Word of God is a Seed that falls upon barren Ground, and remains without Fruit. The very clearest light is Darkness to him; and he can extract Falshood out
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out of Truth itself, when it chimes not with his interest.

G. 'Tis very certain that whoever has his Heart strongly set upon any worldly interest sees every thing through false Glasses. For it lessens or magnifies Things, and makes them appear beautiful, or deform'd, right or wrong, true, or false, just as they flatter, or thwart that interest. And we may with almost as much Hopes of Success, undertake to calm a Storm, or silence a Hurricane with Demonstrations, as make a Man yield to reason against an interest that lies near his Heart. Nay I have known Persons as sharp-sighted in their Temporal Concerns as the cunningest Sophisters upon Earth; yet at the same time as dull, and blind as Beetles, in all matters relating to the Concerns of another world. So true is it, that interest both opens, and shuts Men's Eyes; according as the Objects that present themselves, are agreeable, or disagreeable to it. I have set down This curious Passage at large; to shew These Gentlemen that we are not afraid of it: And also to give the Reader a Sample of This Reasoning; which our Author makes great use of, frequently repeating it in his Book. How often soever it occurs, I shall take no notice of it hereafter; having here answer'd it once for all, i. e. transcrib'd it. That Men, who are such Slaves to Prejudice and Self-Interest,
as to believe, or profess that they believe, contrary not only to the plainest Reason and Scripture, but to their Senses, that such I say, should accuse Us of Prejudice and Self-Interest, for not assenting to so gross an Absurdity, as the Romish Infallibility, upon the Evidence of Arguments as absurd as it self, would really be very surprizing; were we not acquainted with the Modesty of Popish Writers. They might consider, however, that We could make These Declaimations upon Them, as well as They upon Us; were we idle, and impertinent enough, to do so. But we scorn it; and only remind our weaker Readers, that there is no Argument in all This Outcry; which is only contrived to amuse and confound their Understandings: And that the Clamours of our Adversaries are, like their Reasonings, mere Cobweb-Snares; which as None but poisonous Insects will weave, so None but light, and silly ones will be catch'd by.
To the Fifth SECTION;

ENTITULED,

The Church's perpetual Indefectibility, and Infallibility, prov'd from the ninth Article of the Creed.

The Young Gentleman, in the last Words of the Last Section, having ask'd why the Church's Infallibility, since it is so important a Point, has not a place in the Apostles' Creed, is answer'd by his Preceptor at the Beginning of This; that many other Doctrines of great Importance are not in the Creed; but it does not follow, that therefore they are not to be believed. This I grant; but then by his Leave, their Church's Infallibility is an Article of such infinite Moment and Consequence (all the rest, in truth, depending upon This) that, if there be any such Thing, I cannot imagine how it comes to pass that we find not These Words in the Creed; I believe the Church of Rome to be Infallible. But the real Reason of it is This; There is nothing in the Creed, but what is in the Scriptures.

This Article, however, if we will take his word, is virtually in the Creed; and so are all
all other Popish Tenets. * Because, believing the Church implies Believing her whole Doctrine. To which I answer, and 'tis An-
swer sufficient, that We may believe the Holy Catholick Church, without believing all the Church of Rome says: Because 'tis one thing to believe there is a Holy Catholick Church, which is all This Article means; and another, to believe that whatever She says is certainly true. 2dly. The Church of Rome is not the Catholick Church. Nor 3dly. is the whole Doctrine of the Church of Rome agreeable to the Doctrine of the Catholick Church.

Tho' This Creed was certainly not compos'd by the Apostles, whatever † St. Leo &c. have said of it; yet our Author need not so formally have prov'd from the Eighth of our Thirty nine Articles, that We receive it as agreeable to Scripture; so that we have pinn'd our selves down, and cannot deny the Authority of it, after He shall have irrefragably prov'd the Church's Infallibility from it: Which is I believe, such a mixture of Absurdity, and Confidence, as is not easily to be match'd. I won-
der He did not, mutatis mutandis, preface his unanswerable Arguments from Scripture

* P. 30. † Ibid. || P. 30, 31.
in the same solemn Words. * But I desire you to take notice, that, according to their Sixth and Seventh Articles of Religion, the Scriptures cannot be false; 1st. Because &c. 2dly. Because &c. Now surely no falsehood &c. Nor can the Contradictory &c. This Popery is so silly on the one hand, and so saucy on the other; that it deserves much worse Words than I have given it, and ought not only to be detected, but exploded. His Arguments from the Creed, We are to understand, will be so Demonstrative; that We of the Church of England shall have no Resource, no Way to come off, but denying the Authority of it: Whereas they are just as Demonstrative, as Those from Scripture in the foregoing Section, which we have fully considered; i. e. not in the least to the Purpose, the Premises having no manner of Relation to the Conclusion. They are all reducible to This: There is one Holy, Catholic, Apostolick Church, and a Communion of Saints; Therefore the Church of Rome is Infallible.

In order to turn our own weapons against us, He is pleas'd to give us a long Quotation from Bishop Pearson. † His Words, says He, as far as relating to my Subject, are These.

* P. 31. † P. 31.
If He had cited nothing but what related to his Subject, He had cited nothing at all; for He might as well have transcribed the whole Book, as what He has transcribed. Yet, says the Young Gentleman, * It really appears to me, that if the Church of Rome had given this Protestant Bishop a Fee to plead her Cause, he could not have done it more effectually. And it puts me in mind of this celebrated Maxim, magna est veritas, et prævalit. The Force of Truth is great; and triumphs over Fallacy, even by the Judgment of its Enemies. One would think Bishop Pearson in the Passage quoted had either in Terms given up the Cause; or at least laid down such Positions, that one single Deduction from them must Demonstrate the Church of Rome’s Infallibility. Whereas he says not one Word about the Church of Rome, or Infallibility: And as for the Conclusion, which may be drawn from His Principles; He says the Church of Christ is One, Holy, and Catholick, and will continue to the end of the World: Is the Church of Rome therefore Infallible? Yes; if We believe This Writer; who, after some Trifling not worth our notice, † and confounding a True Church with an Orthodox one, which I
A}t AkSWE R to a Tofiflj Bofjhj have (hewn to be very different Ideas, has these Words. * But what are the essential, and unchangeable Properties of this Church, according to the same Creed? They consist in her being One, Holy, Apostolical, and the Communion of Saints. Now this is an unanswerable Proof, both of Her Indejectibility, and Infal-libility. Anfw. Indejectibility We have nothing to do with at present. Bishop Pearson I grant, aferts it, nor do I deny it: Tho', by the way, it does not follow from the Church's being One, Holy, Apostolick, and the Communion of Saints, that therefore it is Indejectible. Neither is the Word Aposto-lick in This Creed; tho' it be in Another, which we equally receive. Instead of Aposto-lick, I should have said Catholick; which is in This Creed, and which our Author omits. I might add moreover, that to be the Communion of Saints, tho' it is made a Part of the 9th Article, is not an Affectio of the Church, as Unity, Holiness, and Catholicism are; nor does Bishop Pearson make it so; nor can good Sense be made of it. But not to insist upon these Niceties; let us take it as it stands, and consider the force of this Argument. But before we can do so, We are interrupted by an Enquiry; † what is the Difference between the Church's Inde-
Entitled, England's Conversion, &c. 89

Fidelity and Infallibility? I thought the Young Gentleman had understood Latin; and if so, one would wonder he should ask so idle a Question. But 'tis not for nothing, we must think, that he is made to ask it: 'Tis to introduce the usual Piece of Sophisty which a Papist cannot live without, Con founding the Church Catholick with the Church of Rome. * Sir, by the former is meant, that she never will perish, &c. In like manner if she should teach Doctrines opposite to the Faith &c. As to the 1st. 'Tis true, that she, the Catholick Church, will never perish; but the Church of Rome may. As to the 2d. 'Tis false, that she, the Church of Rome, cannot teach Doctrines opposite to the true Faith. The Words Visible and Invisible, as apply'd to the Church, are here brought in again; But That matter shall be considered once for all, in our Examination of the Fourth Dialogue. At present our Author tells us, that if the Church should * impose abominable Errors, such as Idolatry and Superstitions, upon the Faithful, and demand of them Terms of Communion, which are inconsistent with Salvation; she would most certainly cease to be an unerring Guide. To which I add; but

* Ibid. † Ibid.
the Church of Rome long has impos'd, and still does impose, abominable Errors &c. and Terms of Communion inconsistent with Salvation; (I mean in their Nature and Tendency, however God may have Mercy upon Those, who ignorantly embrace them:) Therefore The Church of Rome ceases to be an unerring Guide, if ever she were so. The Argument is plain. The Major is his own; and the Minor is prov'd from their Worship of Images, and Reliques, Saints, and Angels; Communion in one Kind; Purgatory; their Doctrine of Attrition; Opus Operatum; and many other Corruptions. And, indeed, it is much clearer and stronger Reasoning to argue Thus; The Church of Rome actually errs, therefore She is not Infallible: Than Thus; the Church of Rome is Infallible, therefore She cannot err. Of which more hereafter. The pretended Promises of God, * upon which the Church's Infallibility is said to be founded, I have proved to be no such Promises; and so what is here alleged'd upon that Head, of course, falls to the Ground.

But now for the unanswerable Argument; proving the Church's Infallibility, from Her being One, Holy, Apostolick, and the Communion

* P. 36.
Entitled, England's Conversion, &c. 91

* If She should either fail entirely, or cease to be either One, or Holy, or Apostolical, or the Communion of Saints; the ninth Article of the Creed would then be false: And whosoever should at that time say it, would utter a downright Lye, in making Profession of the Christian Faith. Answ. Tho’ the Church should fail, This Article would not be false; because Indefectibility is not asserted in it. Unity is essential to every Being; so that as long as the Church is at all, She is certainly One. Holy, and Apostolick, She will likewise always be in some Sense or other, as long as She is at all: And She will be the Communion of Saints too, as long as She continues, if by That be meant the same as Her being Holy; Otherwise, I take Her being the Communion of Saints not to be Sense. A Communion of Saints, indeed, there is and ever will be; but ’tis absurd to say the Church is That Communion. Doubtless, whoever shall by professing the Faith of the Creed, say, there is a Holy Catholick Church, when at the same time there is none, will utter a downright Falshood; Falshood, I say; for it may not be a Lye: But I conceive there is no Danger of it; because if the

* Ibid.
Church should be lost, I imagine the Profession of That Faith would be lost too. * But since it is manifest Blasphemy to say, that the Creed, which may be proved by most certain Warrant of Holy Scripture, can ever be false, or that a Person can be guilty of Lying in professing the Christian Doctrine taught by the Apostles; it follows, that the above-said ninth Article of the Creed contains a demonstrative Proof, that the Church of Christ has always been, and will always be, an unerring Guide; that is, Infallible in all her Decisions of Faith. I deny the Consequence. It does not follow, that because the Church is One, Holy, Apostolical, and the Communion of Saints, add Indefectible, if You please, tho' that is not in the Article; therefore She ever was, is, will be, or can be, Infallible. This is so far from being a Demonstrative Proof; that it has not the least Shadow of any Proof. Our Author will presently endeavour to reinforce his Argument; and then I shall more fully shew the Weakness of it. † And that by Consequence, She never was guilty of the abominable Errors laid to her Charge by her rebellious Children. Beyond Controversy, if She was Infallible; She could not

* Ibid.      † Ibid.
be guilty of abominable Errors. But then She, not only the Church of Rome, but any Church, was never Infallible. And She, the Church of Rome, has been guilty of abominable, nay damnable, Errors; and therefore her Children were not rebellious in rejecting them. * That the Creed in the supposed Case would be false, is manifest to common Sense; because if the Church really fell into the damnable Errors, &c. Here is the old Blunder, so often repeated in the foregoing Section. The Church may not fall into damnable Errors; and yet not be Infallible: And whether She be Infallible or not, is the only Question. Our Author's Argument therefore should not have ran Thus, If the Church really fell into damnable Errors; but Thus, If the Church were not Infallible: † How can it be said; that She was then either One, or Holy, or Apostolical, or the Communion of Saints? However, I will take it just as it stands; and if we shew that the Church, even the Church in general, not to mention That of Rome in particular, may continue to be One, Holy, &c. and yet not only be capable of falling, but actually fall, into damnable Errors; understanding by damnable, tending in their own nature to the

* P. 37.  † Ibid.

Damnation
Damnation of Those who hold them, not necessarily causing their Damnation; It will follow a fortiori; that She may be One, Holy, &c. and yet not be Infallible. * This, says our Author, viz. [that the Church should be One, Holy, &c. and yet fall into damnable Errors,] implies a manifest Contradiction. For in the first place, She would then most certainly have forfeited her Unity, by falling from her former Faith. If She wholly fell from her former Faith; She would, indeed, forfeit her Unity: Because She would forfeit Her Being; just as a Man forfeits his Life, by dying of any Dis-temper. But She might fall into damnable Errors, and yet not wholly fall from Her former Faith: Nay, She might retain all Her former Faith, and yet hold damnable Errors in conjunction with it. For, tho’ such Errors are in reality repugnant to some Particulars of the true Faith, yet She may not be sensible of it; Consequences may really follow from Her Doctrine, which She sees not, but rejects and abhors. † For can a Church that changes her Faith be properly call’d one, and the same? Yes; if changing Her Faith means falling into damnable Errors; as it must mean, if it means any thing

* P. Ibid. † Ibid.
Entitled, England's Conversion, &c. 95

to the present Point; tho' even That is nothing to the main Point, which is the Infallibility of the Church. I say, She may fall into damnable Errors; and yet be one and the same Church. Cannot one and the same Man, and it holds as well of a Community, be in perfect Health at one time, and very sick at another? * On the contrary, instead of continuing what she was by her divine Establishment, viz. the True, and only Orthodox Church of Christ — she may be True, and not Orthodox; as before observed: She may hold damnable Errors; and yet be a True Church in one Sense, tho' not Orthodox. † She would have become an Heretical Communion, and the very Synagogue of Satan. 1st. All Errors, even damnable ones, are not Heresies. 2dly. She might hold some Heresies, and yet not be quite the Synagogue of Satan. Or 3dly. She might be so in some Respects, and not in others. 4thly. If by being the Synagogue of Satan, be meant being extremely corrupt; She may be even That, and still be one, and true, in the Sense above-mentioned; I add, good, metaphysically, tho' not morally. ‡ Nay, a source of Divisions, and Author of Schism. So that whatever Church holds

*Ibid. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid.
An Answer to a Popish Book,

damnable Errors, is the Author of Schism: But the Church of Rome holds damnable Errors: Ergo, &c. The Schism therefore, with regard to the Separation between Them and Us, is Theirs, not Ours. * In as much as her own Children would then have been bound to separate themselves from Her. Not from Her, but from Her Errors: But however, be That as it will; She, not They, would be answerable for the Separation, according to our Author's own Concession. † Nor could She then be Holy; unless Idolatry, or other gross Errors, be a holy Doctrine. She might then be Holy in some respects; tho' not near so Holy, as She should be: Holy, in the Faith which She might still retain; Holy, with respect to her Vocation, the Original End of Her Institution, &c. Let me have Leave to quote a Passage out of Bishop Pearson upon This very Article; which our Author seems to have overlooked. ‡ I conclude therefore, as the antient Catholicks did against the Donatists, that within the Church, in the publick Profession, and external Communion thereof, are contain'd Persons truly good, and sanctify'd, and hereafter sav'd; and, together with them, other Persons, void of all saving Grace, and here-

* Ibid. † Ibid. ‡ Exposition of the Creed. P. 344.
Entitled, England's Conversion, &c. 97
after to be damn'd: And that the Church containing These of both Kinds, may well be call'd Holy, as St. Matthew call'd Jerusalem, the holy City, even at that time, when our Saviour did but begin to preach, when we know there was in That City a general Corruption in Manners and Worship. The Church then, even holding damnable Errors, may in this Sense be Holy; and yet Idolatry, and other gross Errors, not be Holy Doctrines. He adds, Nor Apostolical; because the Apostles never taught Idolatry, nor any damnable Errors. The Answer is the same, as before; She might be Apostolical, as well as Holy, in some respects, tho' not in others. Nor finally, concludes he, the Communion of Saints; because They cannot be Saints, who communicate with an Idolatrous Church. 1st. It is not said, that She is the Communion of Saints; nor is it Sense to say so. 2dly. Those who communicate with an Idolatrous Church, in her Idolatry, or any other gross Errors, assuredly are not Saints, nor tolerably good Christians; at least as so communicating: But doing it ignorantly, they may be good in other respects. 3dly. The Church may be Idolatrous, and yet many of her Members refuse to communicate with Her in her Idolatry, or any other Corruptions: And They may be the Saints here on Earth; holding Communion, in some measure, even with the corrupt Church, tho' chiefly with
One another, with the Saints in Heaven, and with God himself. In short, the whole Church may be overspread with Corruptions, even with Idolatry, and yet not lose its Being; as the Jewish Church did not, when it was so overspread: And to say that it is One, Holy, Catholick, and Apostolical, so far as in the Sense in which I have explained it, and no farther, amounts to no more than to say, that It is in Being, and that These Properties are essential to it. Neither is it necessary that the Creed should intend any more, nor has our Author prov'd that it does; but on the contrary, His Arguments, as I have shewn, are utterly groundless and inconclusive.

But stay, not too fast; Here is more to come.

* G. Sir, If I have a true Understanding of your meaning; the Substance of what you have said may be summ'd up in this short Syllogism. If the Church, which in the Creed we profess to be One, Holy, Apostolical, &c. should ever fall into any Errors, destructive to the saving Faith, at first deliver'd to the Saints; then the Creed would be false: But the Creed cannot be false; therefore she can never fall into any such Errors. And is, by
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Consequence, infallible in all her Decisions of Faith.

P. You have taken my Meaning very exactly; and I dare presume to say, the Argument is conclusive against all such as pretend to believe the Creed. Tho' the Preceptor expresses himself strangely; yet, waving Criticism, I answer to the Major: 1st. If by destructive to, be meant actually destroying; even then the Sequel is not true. For, tho' I doubt not but the Church is Indefectible, yet the Creed does not assert it; nor does it follow that because, while She is at all, She is One, Holy, Apostolical, &c. therefore She must continue for ever. 2dly. If by those Words be meant directly tending to destroy, repugnant to, and the like; much less is the Sequel true. For, as I have shewn, the Church may be One, Holy, &c. and continue so for ever; and yet fall into Errors, in this last Sense, destructive to the Faith. The Young Gentleman's last Words, And is by consequence Infallible in all her Decisions of Faith, contain This Proposition; That Church which cannot fall into Errors destructive to the Faith, must be Infallible in all Her Decisions of Faith. I deny it, not only in the former Sense of the Words destructive to, but even in the latter. A Church may be preserv'd from falling into Errors, which are only repugnant to the Faith, without actually destroying it, or to speak,
as we have all along done, into Errors damnable in one Sense; and yet not be Infallible in all Her Decisions of Faith. For there are some Points of Faith, (at least as the Church may make them, and as the Church of Rome actually does make them) in a Decision of which, an Error, tho’ of dangerous Consequence, may not be in its Nature damnable. For instance; We cannot say, it would be a damnable Sin for the whole Christian World to submit to the Pope, as supreme over other Bishops, at least in a Patriarchal Sense; tho’ He has no manner of Right to such a Submission, and such a Submission would be of very dangerous Consequence. Therefore, to believe and to profess, that He is so supreme, may not be a damnable Error. Their Doctrine of the Seven Sacraments I take not to be damnable, tho’ dangerous. If then it be admitted, that the Church is so directed by the Holy Spirit; nay, is so far Infallible, if We must use That Word, that She cannot fall into damnable Errors; yet it does not follow that She is Infallible in all Her Decisions of Faith: Because there may be many Errors in Decisions of Faith, which may not be damnable, tho’ very dangerous. I say, very dangerous. To which therefore I add, that if I believe Her Infallible in all Her Decisions, when She is not; such a Belief may, and very probably will, draw me into damnable Errors, tho’ She Her
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Her self falls into none that are so. But in This Argument, The Church cannot fall into damnable Errors, therefore She is Infallible in all her Decisions; We need not insist upon the Falsity of the Consequence, tho', as I have shewn, it is most false; since, as I have more fully shewn, and That I chiefly insist upon, the Antecedent has not been made out. The Church may fall into damnable Errors, and yet be One, Holy, &c. nor has This Writer produc'd the glimmering of an Argument to the contrary. Here likewise, as always upon these Occasions, it must be remem-ber'd, that, if he had prov'd what he undertook concerning the Church, He had done nothing, unless He had likewise prov'd, that the Church of Rome is the Church; which, tho' I have here for the greater Strength of the Argument proceeded upon That Supposition, He will never be able to do: Nor has He yet attempted it. Hereafter indeed He will attempt it; and then He shall be sure to meet with an Answer.

At present he quotes 1 Tim. 3. 15. where He * says, St. Paul pronounces the Church of Christ to be the Pillar and Support of the Truth. And then asks several Questions. How can this be true; if the Church, esta-

* P. 38.
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bliss’d by Christ, ever proposes false Doctrines for reveal’d Truths? Or requires things inconsistent with Salvation for Conditions of Communion? Can She always be the Pillar and Support of the Truth, unless She be always an unerring Guide in matters of Faith? Answer. 1st. It is far from being certain that Those Words, the Pillar, &c relate to the Church: They may perhaps relate to Timothy; and it is the Opinion of very learned Men, that they do. 2dly. If St. Paul speaks of the Church; he speaks either of the Church in general, or the Church of Ephesus in particular, most certainly not of the Church of Rome. 3dly. By the Church’s being the Pillar and Ground of Truth, may very well be meant no more, than that according to the Intent of her Institution, She always ought to be so, not that She always actually will be so. Our Lord tells his Disciples, they are the Salt of the Earth; and yet supposes that the Salt may lose its Savour. Not that there is any such Word as always in the Text cited; tho’ our Author twice mentions it, and lays so much Stress upon it. But, 4thly, and chiefly. The Church may maintain all necessary Truth, and yet propose false Doctrines, and Terms of Communion inconsistent with Salvation; or, in other Words, as we have, in effect, often said already, hold the Truth, and build Falshood upon it; as the Church of
of Rome actually does. She may therefore be the Pillar and Support of the Truth, without being an unerring Guide, or so much as free from great and grievous Errors. * And if, concludes He, She be such a Guide; I ask one Question more, how can her Faith be reformed? How indeed? But if She, the Church of Rome, be not an unerring Guide; but, on the contrary, overrun with gross and damnable Errors, as well as with all manner of Wickedness and Vice, proceeding from Those Errors; which is the real Truth of the Case: then her Faith, and Practice too, may, and ought to be reformed.

† G. I see no other Answer to be made to This Question, but boldly asserting, that St. Paul's Epistles, ray, and the Gospels, as well as the Creed, all which give Evidence to the Doctrine of Infallibility, stand full as much in need of a thorough godly Reformation, as the Church of Rome it self. This is a continuation of the aforesaid II Modesty; and That is Answer sufficient. What he says to the Question, how a Society of Men can be Infallible, when all its particular Members are fallible, is nothing to the Purpose; because We utterly deny, and They can never prove,

* Ibid. † Ibid. || See P. 85, 86.
that any Society of Men is Infallible. The Church's Infallibility, says He, depends not upon any extraordinary inward Lights, &c. but upon the gratuitous Promises of God: And cannot He bestow This Privilege, &c. Ay; But I have prov'd that there are no such gratuitous Promises of God to the Church, any more than to private Persons; and that the Arguments to prove the Contrary, are beyond measure trifling and ridiculous. So all that follows upon a Supposition of such Promises is struck off; and I need say no more of it. Yet I cannot forbear taking notice of one Passage in it. * For, as Bishop Pearson has very judiciously observed, tho' the Providence of God has suffered even whole particular Churches to perish; yet the Promises of the same God will never permit that they all perish at once. I ask This Writer, whether He does not believe in his Conscience, that when Bishop Pearson wrote This, He thought the Church of Rome to be as much a particular Church as the Church of England? And as likely to perish, as any other particular Church? If so; I ask again, with what Conscience he could quote That excellent Prelate's Words, spoken of the Church in general, as

* P. 39. 
ferving the Cause of the Church of Rome; and affirm, that He talks as if He had taken a Fee to plead for her?

Before I conclude, I cannot but observe, that our old Objection stands good against what This Author discourses about Infallibility, viz. that he does not tell us where it is to be found. For the Church is too loose and general a Word. Does He mean Councils only? Must the Pope necessarily concur, or no? &c. But not to insist upon This, and that we may bring the matter to some Issue; I suppose it will be granted on all sides, that, according to the Romanists, the Definitions of the Council of Trent, ratify'd by the Pope, are the Definitions of the Church. Our Author, as we have seen, * instances in Transubstantiation, Purgatory, Invocation of Saints, and Honouring of Reliques, to which He might have added Image-Worship, Half-Communion, &c. as Doctrines of the Church. And We all know the Council of Trent makes them necessary to Salvation. Here then I fix: Every one of These Doctrines is grossly false; therefore the Church of Rome actually errs, and therefore is not Infallible. That They are false, I have elsewhere prov'd. † Image-Worship is contrary to the Second Command-

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* P. 38. † Popery truly stated, &c.
All Creature-Worship is contrary to many Texts of Scripture, particularly Deut. 6. 13. Matth. 4. 10. Communion in one Kind is contrary to the express Words of our Saviour's Institution; as They themselves acknowledge. Transubstantiation is contrary, 1st. To Scripture; which assures us, that the Bread and Wine continue Bread and Wine after Consecration. Matth. 26. 29. 1 Cor. x. 17. xi. 26, &c. 2dly. To Reason; because it implies an hundred Contradictions, * as well as many Blasphemous Impieties: That the same Body, for instance, is in Heaven and on Earth at the same time; that Man can make God, &c. 3dly. To our Senses; because what Papists tell us is the Body and Blood of Christ, We see, feel, smell, and taste, to be Bread and Wine. In vain therefore do they come upon us with their Sophistical, perplex'd, puzzling Heap of Stuff; (puzzling, to weak, ignorant People; for, to All who know any thing of the matter, nothing, as I have made it appear, can be more despicably foolish) endeavouring to prove, that their Church cannot err: When Common Sense, and our five Senses tell us She does err: Or if She does not err,

* Mr. Chillingworth reckons up thirty in a Breath. Religion of Protestants, &c. Chap. 4. § 46.

She
Entitled England's Conversion, &c. 107

She lies, which is worse: And can neither way be an Infallible Guide, or any true Guide at all. 'Tis much surer Reasoning, as I hinted before, to argue thus a posteriori, The Church of Rome actually errs, therefore She is not Infallible; than thus a priori, the Church of Rome is Infallible, therefore She cannot err. In the Former, the Arguments are demonstratively clear, and the most Illiterate may understand them: In the Latter, They are difficult and obscure at best; they may possibly puzzle, but can never convince. Had I, which no body ever will have, as much Evidence that their Church's Infallibility is true, as I have that Transubstantiation is false; even then I should be but in an Equilibrium, and could not assent to either. How necessarily then must my Assent be clearly determined; when I have Scripture, Common Reason, and my outward Senses, to convince me on the one Hand; and nothing but Dust and Darkness to blind and confound me, on the other? I speak This Last, in the Person of one of the Vulgar, and Unlearned: To Those of a different Character the Arguments for Infallibility have, as I said, no Difficulty in them; nothing but transparent Sophistry, shameful Inconsequence, and palpable Absurdities. This I may have Leave to affirm; because I have prov'd it, Suppose then a Person perfectly indifferent, and
and unprejudic'd, and a Stranger in These Parts of the World, to be concern'd in This Enquiry, whether the Church of Rome be Infallible, or no? and to be told, that there are the two different Schemes of Arguments above-mentioned: Would it not be Beginning at the wrong End, and Misemploying his time, for Him to pester himself with a long Train of perplex'd, and at least seeming-ly inconclusive Deductions, pretending to prove that She cannot err; when He may in six Minutes, the Arguments at first Sight looking easy and natural, demonstrate beyond all Contradiction, that She actually does err? But to conclude, by applying my self to the meanest Reader: Suppose You should hear a Man brag, and pretend to prove by unanswerable Arguments, that He is Incul-nerable, and Incapable of any Sickness or Disease whatsoever. Perhaps He might amuse you with Sophistry, which You would not be able to answer; but would you therefore believe him? when you should see him at that very time devoured with Ulcers, and scro-fulous Humours, cover'd Over from Head to Foot with Wounds, and Bruises, and putrifying Sores? He would tell you, it may be, that they are not Ulcers, Sores, &c. but Signs of Health, and in themselves Beauties. But I ask again; Would You believe Him? If You would; I know not which of the Two would be more extraor-
dinary,
To the Sixth SECTION:

The Rule of Faith.

THIS, says He, leads me to the Rule by which the Catholick Church directs it self in all its Decisions of Faith. What is it to Us what Rule She directs her self by? She is Infallible, it seems; and That's enough. If we must submit to Her Decisions, tho' contrary to the Word of God, our Reason, and our Senses; it signifies nothing to us, what Rule She goes by, or whether She goes by any Rule, or no. Or, in other Words, there is an End, as to these Matters, of all Enquiry, and Argumentation; of the Word of God, unless what She, by her own Authority, is pleas'd to call so; of common Sense, and Reason; of the Use of Seeing, Hearing, Smelling, Tasting, and Handling. According to This, She is, Her self, the Rule as well as Judge;

* P. 39.
An Answer to a Popish Book,

the Standard and Measure of Right, and Wrong, of Truth, and Falsehood. In the Controversy about the Rule of Faith, between Papists and Protestants, the Rule, as I apprehended, was suppos'd to be a Rule to all Christians; and the Question was, whether Scripture only, or Scripture and Tradition in Conjunction, were the Rule of Faith to You, and Me, and Every body? But This Author confines it to the Church, (as, in truth, he can hardly prevail with himself to talk about anything else) understanding by That Word the Teachers and Governors of the Church. Not but that the Question about the Rule of Faith, to whomsoever it relates, as usually stated, and as stated by This Author himself, if some other Doctrines of Popery be true, is superfluous, not to say ridiculous. If it be confin'd to the Church; what imports it, whether Scripture only, or Scripture and Tradition together, be the Rule of Faith to Her; since nothing, as She says, is either Scripture, or Tradition, but what She pleases to call so? Or to put it more strongly, how can the one, or the other, or both together, be any Rule to her at all? How can She guide her self by the Authority of That, which has no more Authority than She thinks fit to allow it? According to this Supposition, therefore, viz. her Infallibility, and her Right of declaring what is Scripture, and Tradition, and what not;
Entitled, England's Conversion, &c. not; She is a Rule, and Law, not only to Others, but to her Self likewise; and so to talk of any other Rule is superfluous, and irrational. If the Enquiry be, what is the Rule of Faith to all Christians to You, and Me, and Every body else in particular? the Absurdities are the same. What is it to me, whether Scripture only, or That and Tradition together, be my Rule; or rather how can Either be my Rule at all; if I am to take Both absolutely upon Trust from the Infallible Church; and must implicitly depend upon Her, not only as to the Sense and Meaning, but as to the Reality, and Being of them? According to This, She alone is my Rule of Faith; and I can have no other.

Nevertheless, since our Author is pleas'd to give us a Section upon This Question, What is the Rule of Faith; and since We, who deny, and have sufficiently disprov'd the Church's Infallibility, &c. may discuss it without Incongruity, tho' He cannot; I shall follow him as He leads, maintaining This Thesis, That Scripture only, without Tradition, is the Word of God, and the Rule of our Faith.

The Contrary, * he tells us, has been fully demonstrated in a Book, entitled, The

* P. 40.
Rule of Faith; printed Anno. 1721. I never saw the Book: but am so well acquainted with Popish Demonstrations, and Popish Modesty, and all the Papists have to say, upon This, or any other Argument; that I almost as well know the Substance of it, as if I had read it. Besides; our Author will undoubtedly give us the Flower of the Demonstration: And with Him therefore we proceed.

Having said, *it is plain Fact, 1st. That Christ himself laid the Foundation of the Church by preaching only; 2dly. That he never laid any Command upon the Apostles to write, but only to preach the Gospel to all Nations; (He seems to be angry with the Apostles for their over Officiousness in Writing at all: But how does he prove that our Saviour never laid his Commands upon them to write? Did He say nothing to his Apostles but what is recorded in Scripture? However, did they write purely of their own Heads? Were they not mov'd to it by the Holy Ghost?) and 3dly. That in effect they preached for several Years, before they wrote any of the Canonical Books of Scripture; He adds, and tho' they had never written at all, as the Papists, 'tis plain, are heartily vex'd

* P. 41*
Entitled, England's Conversion, &c. 113

they ever did, and would abolish their Writings from the Face of the Earth, if they were able; but deliver'd the whole Christian Doctrine by Word of Mouth to Those who succeeded them in their Apostolical Charge; we should have been oblig'd to receive it as the Word of God, and therefore with the same Respect as we now do the holy Scripture.

Tho' they had never written at all, &c! But They have written; and so the Case is alter'd. To Those who succeeded them in their Apostolical Charge! Strictly speaking, there were None who succeeded them in their Apostolical Charge; but let That pass. This is harping upon the old String; * as if the Apostles deliver'd the Gospel, both by Speaking and Writing, not to the whole World, but to Bishops and Pastors only. But not to insist upon That neither: Tho' They had deliver'd the Christian Doctrine only by Word of Mouth; We should have been oblig'd, He says, to receive it as the Word of God. True; if we could prove This or That Doctrine to have been deliver'd by Them, tho' by Word of Mouth only. But That is the grand Point of all: Tho' according to This Gentleman, 'tis a Circum-

* See P. 31, 32, 33.
An Answer to a Popish Book,

An answer not worth taking notice of; for he says nothing at all about it. His next Words are these. * Whence it follows, 1st. That the unwritten Word of God was the whole Rule of Faith to the primitive Christians, before the Scriptures could possibly be a Part of it. Without doubt, the Written Word was the whole Rule, before the Scriptures were Part of it; as surely as one Unit is the Whole, before another is added to it.

† And it might have continued so for ever, if Providence had pleased to order it so. It might so; Nay, (which is more) it certainly would, if Providence had so ordered it. But it has pleased Providence to order it otherwise, by giving the World a Written Gospel; which, no doubt, was for this plain Reason, because it was morally impossible that the Christian Doctrine should be delivered down thro' all Ages by Word of Mouth only.

|| It follows, 2dly. continues He, that Scriptures are so far from being the whole necessary Rule of the Christian Faith; that they are not (absolutely speaking) even a necessary Part of that Rule: as the above-said Author has fully prov'd. That is, because Christ laid the Foundation of the Church by Preaching only; and did not command

* P. 41. † Ibid. || Ibid.
his Apostles to write; and because They preach'd before they wrote; and if they had never written at all, but deliver'd their Doctrine only by Word of Mouth, we had been bound to receive it: therefore the Scriptures are so far, &c. This Consequence consists of two Branches. 1st. That the Scriptures are not the whole necessary Rule of Faith. 2dly. That they are not (absolutely speaking) so much as a necessary Part of it. As to the First; Does it follow, that because our Saviour and his Apostles did Thus or Thus, and might have done Thus or Thus, and if they had, we had been oblig'd to do Thus or Thus, as above recited; Therefore They have so proceeded, as that in Fact, the Scriptures are not the whole necessary Rule of Faith? We say, that tho' Christ founded the Gospel by preaching only; tho' we should grant, as we do not, that he never commanded his Apostles to write; tho' They preach'd before they wrote; and if they had deliver'd their Doctrine by Word of Mouth only, we should have been obliged to receive it as God's Word; provided we could prove This or That Doctrine to have been deliver'd by them: Yet Now, as Things stand, there is actually no Part of the Rule of Faith, but in the Scripture. Let our Adversaries prove there is any other; and shew us what it is, and where it is: And they will do their Business effectually.  

I 2. But
But it can never be made out by so inconsequent a Consequence as This is. The Second Branch of the Consequence is, That the Scriptures are not (absolutely speaking) even a necessary Part of the Rule of Faith. What means he by absolutely speaking? Are they so in fact, and as Things now stand; or are they not? He afterwards grants they are; and I will not cavil. The Meaning therefore seems to be, tho' 'tis strangely express'd, that it is not in the Reason, and Nature of Things, essentially, and absolutely necessary, that even a Part of the Rule of Faith should be committed to Writing; because it might have been, (tho' in fact he grants it is not) all deliver'd by Word of Mouth. It might indeed: But it would have been useless, if it had; for any considerable Time, I mean; or at any considerable distance of Place from the Speakers. It might be truly deliver'd to a few Persons by Word of Mouth only; but not to Millions of Millions; not for 1700 Years; not all the World over. Yet our Author insists, that * all necessary Points of reveal'd Faith could have been safely convey'd to Us, tho' the New Testament had never been writ. For This Assertion he gives no Reason; unless his own further Assertions of the same Thing

* P. 42.
Entitled, England’s Conversion, &c. 117

may pass for Reasons. † The Creed could have been remember’d in all Ages, &c. All necessary Points might have been reduced to so small a Compass, that they might have been transmitted to the most distant Ages, with the same Safety as the Creed itself, by Tradition only. And the faithful might have preserved them in their Hearts and Minds, tho’ they had never had those farther Lights which the New Testament now furnishes them with. All this is fairly said; but how is it prov’d? On the contrary, I appeal to the common Sense and Experience of Man-kind, whether the Thing be not morally impossible. I have just now given my Reasons; and shall not repeat them. But I have something to add here; which is, That I doubt our Author’s Doctrine borders upon Blasphemy; or rather is so. The Scriptures are dictated by God; and, according to his Account, are, as to all necessary Points, superfluous. Does not doing Things superfluous argue Weakness, and Want of Wisdom? Whatever therefore our Author’s above-said Author is pretended to have fully prov’d; it appears from what I have Here, tho’ very Briefly, alledg’d, that he neither has prov’d, nor can prove, the Point propos’d; unless he can shew that Nonsense is agreeable to hu-

† Ibid
man Reason, and Blasphemy to the Christian Religion.

* However, as Providence has order'd Things, the Holy Scriptures, he is pleas'd to grant, are without all Dispute a most inestimable Treasure, and an Infallible Rule of Faith; when rightly understood. That Last was well put in: To insinuate that they are so obscure as not to be intelligible to private Persons; that for the right Understanding of them, we are wholly obliged to the Church; and are to acquiesce in her Interpretations of them, tho' never so contrary to their plain Meaning. This is the known Doctrine of the Romanists; and, notwithstanding This forc'd Compliment upon the Scriptures, it quite evacuates Those sacred Writings, and makes them no Rule at all. † But that they are not the whole Rule of Faith, and that unwritten Apostolical Traditions have always been at least a necessary Part of this Rule, may, He affirms, be clearly made out. And he accordingly sets himself to make it out, both from Scripture, and the Writings of the Fathers.

His Proofs from Scripture are, according to Custom, quite beside the Question; prove nothing but what Nobody denies; and are nothing at all to the Purpose. He observes?

* Ibid. † Ibid.
Entitled, England's Conversion, &c. 119

First, that * It (the Scripture) nowhere declares that all the particular Points of the Christian Doctrine, which the Apostles taught by Word of Mouth, are express'd in their Canonical Writings. What if it does not declare so? Our own Reason tells us that nothing is to be receiv'd by us, as the Word of God, but what we can prove to be such: And That is sufficient. Does it anywhere declare that Itself is insufficient? Or that any thing unwritten is to be receiv'd as God's Word throughout all Ages? Yes; if we will take things as our Author represents them, without any Examination. For he proceeds thus. || It over and above recommends Apostolical Traditions, in the most express and positive Terms. Who denies Apostolical Traditions? He sets out with his usual stumbling, and mistakes the Question in the First Words. He himself, but five Lines before, propos'd to prove that Scripture is not the whole Rule, and that unwritten Apostolical Traditions have always been a necessary Part of it. Now he is proving that the Scripture recommends Apostolical Traditions; and in truth, his alleged Texts will prove no more. But what is This to the Point? Who doubts but that there were Apostolical Traditions, even by Word

* Ibid.  † Ibid.  || Ibid.
of Mouth, in the Times of the Apostles? There are some Apostolical Traditions Now; The Scriptures are such. There may now be some which are not in the Scriptures, relating to Discipline, and Order, tho' not to Points of Faith: And could it be prov'd to us, that there are any relating even to Points of Faith; we would certainly receive them. But is This the same Thing as to say, that the Scriptures are not now the whole Rule of Faith; but that unwritten Apostolical Traditions have been always a necessary Part of it? Or does the one follow from the other by any thing like a Consequence? To shew I do not wrong our Author, I will produce his Proofs at large; distinguishing the Emphatical Words, as He does. * Now I praise you Brethren, (says St. Paul, 1 Cor. xi. 2.) because you remember me in all things, and keep the Traditions as I have deliver'd them to you. And again, 2 Thes. ii. 15. Therefore, Brethren, stand fast, and hold the Traditions, which you have been taught, whether by word, or by our Epistle. * And soon after, 2 Thes. iii. 6. Now we command you, Brethren, in the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ, to withdraw yourselves from every Brother that walks disorderly, and not after the Tradition which ye receiv'd of

*Ibid. and P.*
Entitled, England's Conversion, &c. 121

Us. To These three Texts, the Answer is the same; and has been given already. It does not follow, that because the Apostles deliver'd their Doctrines by Speaking, as well as Writing, and it ought to be receiv'd either way, when known to be their Doctrine, which is all These Texts prove, and which Nobody denies; therefore the Scriptures are not Now sufficient, but Traditions are necessary. Our Author says nothing of his own, to reinforce his Argument; but quotes * a Protestant Author of a Book entitled Tradition necessary: Who says, Here we see plain Mention of St. Paul's Traditions, consequently of Apostolical Traditions deliver'd by Word of Mouth, as well as by Epistles, or in Writing; and a Condemnation of those who do not equally observe both. This Protestant Author, whoever he be, for I know him not, speaks a little inaccurately: But I see no Reason, why our Popish Author should cite These Words as favouring his Cause; or suppose the Writer of them to be, upon This Concession, in danger of falling under that Condemnation for continuing a Protestant in This, or any other Article. Because we do not reject any Apostolical Tradition: Had we liv'd in the Apostles' Times, we would have receiv'd the

* P. 43.  † Ibid.

oral
oral ones as of equal Authority with the written ones; and are now as ready to receive any of the former Kind as of the latter, if They are prov'd to be really Aposto-

clical. But He has more Proofs behind. *This

however is certain that the Apostles were ex-
tremely vigilant in giving full Instructions to Thos who ordain'd; that they might also be able to instruct others. Doubtless. But what

solemn Trifling is This? And whither tends it? Why, † These Instructions are the sacred depositum, of which St. Paul says to Timo-

thy, keep That which is committed to thy Trust. 1 Tim. vi. 20. Timothy was to keep That which was committed to his Trust; Therefore our Rule of Faith is both Scrip-
ture, and oral Tradition. Had there been any Mention of Tradition; even Then it had been nothing to the Purpose, for the Rea-

sons aforesaid: But here is really no Mention of it. And again; hold fast the Form of sound Words, which thou hast HEARD of me;

That good Trust which was committed to thee, keep by the holy Ghost, which dwelleth in us. 2 Tim. xiii. 14. And more fully,

(how much more fully, I desire the Reader to observe) the Things which thou hast HEARD from me, before many Witnesses, the same commit thou to faithful Men; who may

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* Ibid. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid.
Entitled, England's Conversion, &c. 123
be able to teach others also. 2 Tim. ii. 2.
In short, Timothy had heard Things from
St. Paul; and was to preserve inviolate,
and faithfully to deliver to other Teachers,
what he had heard, that they might be
able to teach others; Ergo, our Rule of
Faith is both Scripture, and oral Tradition.
And is not This an Admirable Consequence?
The form of sound Words, what Timothy
had heard, and all Points of Faith, which
at first were only spoken, were afterwards
written, and are now contain'd in Scripture.
Or, in another and perhaps plainer Way
of speaking, there is now no Word of God,
but what is in Scripture. If I am ask'd, how
We prove That: I answer, 1st. We are not
bound to prove it; but our Adversaries are
bound to prove the Contrary. We and They
agree in receiving the Scriptures as the Word
of God: But then They say, something
else is the Word of God, beside Scripture.
We reply, non constat: Let them prove any
Doctrine, or Tradition, not contain'd in Scrip-
ture, to be the Word of God; and We will
embrace it as such. Not but that, 2dly. We
can prove our Assertion from Scripture itself,
which They acknowledge to be the Word of
God. I mean from Those Texts which de-
clare the Sufficiency of Scripture: Particu-
larly, 2 Tim. iii. 15, 16, 17. For if the
Scripture be sufficient, it must contain the
whole Word of God; and if so, our Adver-
saries
faries themselves will acknowledge there is no Word of God any where else.

What our Author adds as from his *above-mention'd Protestant Writer*, (how truly he has quoted, *He best knows*) does indeed favour the Cause he is defending; and so I shall consider it, as if it were his own. *Thus it is evident from Scriptures themselves, that the whole of Christianity was at first deliver'd to the Bishops succeeding the Apostles by oral Tradition; and they were also commanded to keep it, and deliver it to their Successors in the same manner. Is there one Word about the whole of Christianity in the Texts alledg'd? Let the Reader look upon them again. Does oral Tradition *exclude* Writing? And because some things were deliver'd by Word of Mouth to the Bishops succeeding the Apostles, does it follow that all were so? Did not the Apostles *write* the Gospel, as well as *preach* it? And were not their *Writings* of at least as much Use, as their verbal Instructions? According to This Man's Account, one would think the Apostles had told their Successors, that though 'tis true They had written the Gospel; yet it was no Matter whether They took any Notice of it, or not. That These Successors were"
to deliver the whole of Christianity, or indeed any Part of it, to their Successors in the same manner, that is, by Word of Mouth, there is not the least Hint of Evidence: For does it follow, that because Timothy was to commit to others what he had heard, therefore he must needs do it by speaking? Could he not deliver down the Writings of the Apostles, in which were contain'd all Points of Faith, which he had heard; tho' they were not all written, when he heard them? But the Protestant, or Popish, Writer proceeds. **Nor is it any where found in Scripture by St. Paul, or any other of the Apostles, that they would either jointly, or separately, write down all that they had taught as necessary to Salvation; or that they would make such a compleat Canon of them, that nothing should be necessary to Salvation, but what should be found in those Writings.** Found in Scripture by St. Paul, &c? I suppose he would say, asserted; or some such Word. But what if it be not found in Scripture? 'Tis found in Common Sense, (which is the Gift of God as well as Scripture,) that nothing is necessary to Salvation but what God makes so; and that we ought to receive nothing as the Word of God, but what is proved to be such.

Our Author's Proofs from the † Fathers

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* P. Ibid. † P. 44, 45.
An Answer to a Popish Book,
were collected to his hand in their renowned Nubes Testium: And the Confutation of them is as ready made to Mine, in an Answer to That infamous Heap of false and impertinent Quotations, printed at London for Henry Mortlock in 1688. P. 36. Chap. iii. Concerning Tradition: To which I refer the Reader. * The pretended Proof from St. Chrysostom is answer'd, P. 41. That from St. Basil, P. 40. Those from Epiphanius, P. 41. That from Tertullian, P. 40. That from Irenaeus, P. 36, 38, 39, 40. As to the four First, the Sum is This: The Traditions They speak of, relate either to the Times of the Apostles, or to Matters of Practice, Rites, and Discipline in the Church, nor to Points of Faith; and therefore are nothing to our Purpose: Those very Fathers, in other Places, assering the Sufficiency and Fullness of the Scriptures for all things necessary to Salvation. Upon Irenaeus I shall be more particular; because what is said of the Quotation from Him by the Writer to whom I refer, may very well admit of a Supplement. † You may have Truth, says That Father, as he is quoted, and translated by our Author, from the

* See also a Book entitled The Primitive Fathers no Papists; in Answer to the Vindication of Nubes Testium. P. 31, &c.
† Ibid.
Entitled, England's Conversion, &c. 127

Church; with which the Apostles have deposited all Truth. But what has This to do with unwritten Tradition? The Apostles deposited the Scriptures with the Church; and the Creed, so far as it went: And in them are contained all Truth. * We must learn from Her the Tradition of Faith. I answer, 1st. This is wrong translated: In Irenæus 'tis † the Tradition of Truth. 2dly Supposing the Word Faith had been here us'd; We have it from the Church, by having it from the Scriptures, which are deposited with her: Those Scriptures being, moreover, interpreted, in doubtful and difficult Points, by truly Catholick Tradition; that is, by the Consent of the Universal Church in all Ages; or, by the Confession of all Parties, the purest Ages. And This We Protestants heartily Embrace. Besides; many things might be said of the Church, and Tradition, in Irenæus's Time, who liv'd in the next Age to That of the Apostles; which will by no means quadrat with our present Circumstances. || For if the Dispute were of any little Matter; should we not consult the most antient Churches, and derive our Evidence from Hence? Yes; But what is This to Points of Faith deli-

ver'd by oral Tradition only? when here is no Mention of Points of Faith (for sure they are not little Matters) or of oral Tradition. I observe too, that our Author leaves out a Material Clause: Irenæus says in antiquissimas recurrere Ecclesiâs, in quibus apostoli conversati sunt. By which last Words, which are here omitted, He lays the Stress of his Argument upon the Authority of the Apostles, not of the Church, or of her Traditions. * And what if the Apostles had left us no Scriptures; must we not follow the Rule of Tradition entrusted with them, to whom they left their Sees? Tho' several Words are here again wrong translated; yet to let That pafs, and take the Whole as our Author gives it us: I answer 1st. It makes against him: For it implies that since the Apostles have left us Scriptures, we ought to be guided by Them. And if he reply They have left us oral Traditions likewise; I answer, 2dly. Let him prove That now, as Irenæus supposes the Tradition He speaks of, could have been prov'd to be Theirs then; and he will say something to the Purpose, otherwise Not. † As many barbarous Nations, without any Books of Scripture, yet believing in Christ have Salvation written in their Hearts by the

* Ibid. † Ibid.

Holy
Entitled, England’s Conversion, &c. 129

Holy Ghost, and carefully preserve the old Traditions. I answer, 1st. We have over and over granted, that a People may be converted by Word of Mouth only; and preserve the Christian Doctrine, without Books, for a little time, but not for many Ages. 2dly. Here again, We answer as often Before: Those of whom This Father speaks, had sufficient Evidence that the Traditions were genuine: Let the Papists give us sufficient Evidence that Theirs are so, and we will receive them.

Upon the Whole, Irenæus (as the above-named Writer shews in the Places referr’d to) condemns Those Hereticks, who calumniated the Scriptures, and defended their Errors by oral Tradition. The Tradition he Himself speaks of, is what the Apostles had preach’d; and what they preach’d, he says they afterwards committed to writing. In the first Chapter of this very Book, from which our Author makes his Quotation, He has These Words. * We have the Knowledge of the Oeccnomy of our Salvation by no Others than Those, by whom the Gospel came to us. Which Gospel then indeed they

* Non enim per alios Dispositiorem Salvitatis nostræ cognovimus, quam per eos per quos Evangelium pervenit ad nos; Quod quidem tunc praæconiaverunt; posse a vero per Dei voluntatem in Scripturis nobis tradiderunt, fundamentum et columnam Fidei nostra futurum. Lib. 3. Chap. i. P. 198. Edit. Grab.

preached;
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preached; but afterwards by the Will of God, they deliver'd it to us in the scriptures, that it might be the foundation, and pillar of our faith. Irenæus therefore is so far from favouring the Popish Cause in this Point; that he is expressly, and directly against it.

* G. Sir, You have here produced the clear Testimonies both of Scriptures, and the ancient Fathers for Apostolical Traditions. How clear his Testimonies are both from Scripture, and Fathers, to prove the only Thing which he ought to prove, we have throughly consider'd: As for Apostolical Traditions, I know Nobody among Us that denies the Authority of them. † But can you give me any particular Instances of necessary Duties, or Articles of Christian Faith, allow'd for such by Protestants themselves, which cannot be prov'd from Scriptures, and are grounded wholly upon Apostolical Traditions? We tell them again, and again, We are ready to acknowledge any Duty as necessary, any Doctrine as an Article of Faith; if it be prov'd to be so by Apostolical Tradition truly such. And therefore the Argument contain'd in the Answer to This Question, tending to prove us incoherent with ourselves, for receiving some Apostolical Tra-

* Ibid. † P. 46.
Entitled, England's Conversion, &c. 131
ditions, and rejecting others, is impertinent, and goes upon a false Supposition. However, tho' 'tis more than I am oblig'd to, I will examine it particularly.

* P. I could produce a considerable Number; but to avoid being tedious, I shall make choice only of three; allow'd of, as you desire, by Protestants themselves. 1st. The Observance of the Christian Sabbath against Jews, and Sabbatarians. 2dly. The Validity of Infant-Baptism against Anabaptists. 3dly. The Validity of Baptism administered by Heretics against the Donatists, &c. I answer, 1st. 'Tis false, to say that Protestants acknowledge any one of These to be an Article of Faith. He is Here in the same Mistake, or Misrepresentation, before taken notice of P. 29. The last of Them is so far from being an Article of Faith; that 'tis not a certain Truth. This Author himself owns it was a Subject of Dispute between St. Cyprian, and Pope Stephen; And we all know St. Cyprian liv'd and dy'd in the Opinion that such Baptism was invalid. And did That eminent Saint, and Martyr, a Saint in the Church of Rome's Account, as well as Ours, live and dye in the Denial of an Article of Faith? If he did; he was the Strangest Saint, and Martyr I e-

* Ibid. † P. 47.
ver heard of. But of this more in its place. 2dly. The Observance of the Christian Sabbath, as a necessary Duty, is founded partly upon the Equity of the fourth Commandment, obliging us to keep holy one day out of seven; partly upon the Example of the Apostles recorded in Scripture, (and therefore upon Scripture itself) changing the seventh Day of the Week to the First. This therefore is a necessary Duty; but it is founded upon Scripture. And so, in the next place, is the Validity of Infant-Baptism; tho' there be not any plain Text for it, if by a plain one he means a Text directly, and expressly asserting it. But is nothing to be prov'd from Scripture, but what is expressly asserted in it? What will become of the Church of Rome's Infallibility? Our Saviour instituted Baptism in the Room of Circumcision; and Infants were circumcised. He commanded his Apostles to baptize all Nations; and in Them Children are included. The Apostles baptized whole Families; and of Families Children are a necessary Part. If it be said They could not be included, because they are not capable of Baptism; I answer, they are as capable of Baptism as of Circumcision. Our Saviour commanded Children to be brought to him, laid his hands upon them, blessed them, and declared that the Kingdom of Heaven belongs to them. And St. Paul pronounces them holy.
Entitled, England's Conversion, &c. 133

* It is evident from Scripture therefore that they are capable of Baptism; and consequently that if other Circumstances be right, which is here suppos'd on all Sides, their Baptism is valid. But 3dly. Suppose we had nothing but extra-scriptural Apostolical Tradition for These two Points; still it is true Apostolical Tradition: Let the Papists prove theirs to be so; as I have often said.

And the same I thus far say of the Validity of the Baptism administer'd by Heretics. If it be prov'd by true Apostolical Tradition; Well, and Good; We receive it: Nay, we will embrace it as an Article of Faith; if it be shewn, that the Apostles made it so. The Scripture indeed says nothing about it; nor Apostolical Tradition neither, as I know of. And yet it may be true, for all that. *It was, says our Author, the Subject of the Dispute between St. Cyprian, and Pope Stephen; and afterwards between the Donatists, and the Catholic Church. But St. Austin who drew his learned Pen in defence of the Catholic Cause against Those Hereticks, &c. The Donatists were not Hereticks, nor so accounted by the Catholic Church, for denying the Validity of those Baptisms; for St. Cyprian

* 1 Cor. 7. 14.  † P. 47.
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was of the same Opinion; and I hope He was no Heretick. But as the Novatians, with whom St. Cyprian himself had such a struggle, were not deem’d Hereticks and Schismaticks for their Opinion against restoring the Laps’d to the Communion of the Church; so neither were the Donatists afterwards for their Opinion above-mention’d: But Both were esteem’d Hereticks and Schismaticks by the Church, partly for being like the Papists; that is, for calling their own Faction the only Church, and making all the World Hereticks, and Schismaticks, except themselves. For my part, I wonder at the Confidence of a Papist in talking of the Herefy and Schism of the Donatists, or Novatians; Those Ancient Pefts of the Church so exactly resembling These modern ones in This particular. St. Austin, however, * frankly own’d, it seems, that It [the Validity of Heretical Baptifm] could not be decided by Scripture. But that after the Death of St. Cyprian, the Church had interpos’d her Authority in the Council of Arles, and determined the matter by the Infallible Rule of Apostolical Tradition. St. Austin’s Words are remarkable. Of this, says he, the Apostles have left us no Direction in Writing. But the Custom which was objected against St. Cyprian must be believed to have begun by Tradition from Them. As there are many Things

* Ibid.
Entitled, England's Conversion, &c. 135

which are held by the Whole Church, and are therefore rightly believ'd to have been or
der'd by the Apostles, ALTHO' THEY BE NOT FOUND IN SCRIPTURE. I. 5. de bapt. contra
Don. c. 23. I have transcrib'd all our Au-
thor's Capital Letters; that I might give every thing the full Stresses he lays upon it.
Tho' I cannot find in This Passage, or any Place near it, or any other part of St. Au-
gustin's Works, the Council of Arles men-
tioned by Name, or Those Words the In-
fallible Rule of Apostolical Tradition; tho'
St. Cyprian's Judgment, for ought I know,
may be as considerable as St. Augustin's,
and the Authority of the Council of Arles
not superior to That of two more ancient
ones at Carthage, which determin'd the Con-trary; and lastly, tho' 'tis a mere gratis
dictum of St. Augustin's, that the Custom
he speaks of MUST BE BELIEVED, &c. yet wa-
ving all This; St. Augustin here asserts no-
thing, to our present Purpose, but that A-
postolical Traditions are to be received, un-
doubtedly meaning true, not false ones;
and that we ought to acknowledge some
things not only as true, but as deriv'd from
the Apostles, tho' they be not found in Scrip-
ture. And who among Us denies either of
These Propositions? Do We reject either
the Traditions of the Apostles, or the Cus-
toms and Practices of the Primitive, and
Universal Church? Do we not prove Episco-
pacy,
pacry, for instance, to be of Apostolical Institution, by the Testimony and constant Practice of the Church, from the Days of the Apostles, down to our own? Sure This Author forgets he is writing against the Church of England; and thinks he has to do with Enthusiasts, and Fanaticks.

* He will needs have it, that our Doctrine is different from This of St. Augustin, because we declare in our 6th Article that Scripture contains all things necessary to Salvation, and that nothing is an Article of Faith, but what may be prov'd from thence.

But St. Augustin, as we have seen, says nothing Here about Articles of Faith; nor any thing else but what we acknowledge. Does it follow, that because innumerable things are true, and some Apostolical, which are not in Scripture; therefore there are Articles of Faith, which are not in Scripture?

The Young Gentleman goes farther; and is sure that the Church of England, by That Doctrine of the 6th Article is incoherent with herself. For does She not, says he, require of any man (I suppose it should be, every man) to believe the indispensible Obligation of the Christian Sabbath? And where is that read in Scripture, or how can it be prov'd thereby? I have shewn how it can be prov'd thereby. P. 132. * Again, does

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* Ibid. † Ibid. ‖ P. 48. ‡ Ibid.
Entitled, England's Conversion, &c. 137

She not require of all true Protestants to believe the Validity of Infant-Baptism? Not as I know of: She supposes it to be true, if he pleases; She asserts, that Infants may be, and ought to be baptiz'd; and requires that her Ministers (not all true Protestants) subscribe to this Assertion, among many others; not one in ten of which is, or is pretended to be, an Article of Faith. Not but that the Validity of Infant-Baptism is clearly, and plainly to be proved from Scripture; as I have shewn P. 132. &c.* And [does She not require all true Protestants to believe] that This Sacrament is validly administer'd by Hereticks? No, She does not; Nor did any Church upon Earth (unless the Church of Rome does) ever dream that it was an Article of Faith, or the Belief of it necessary to Salvation. † Or does She require of them to believe both the one, and the other, without judging the Belief of them necessary to Salvation? That would be strange indeed. She requires nothing, as to this Matter, but that (all her Members being suppos'd to believe all the Articles of the Christian Faith) her Ministers, for the Preservation of Unity, should subscribe not only to Them, but to many other Articles, which She believes to be true, tho' the Belief of them is not neces-

* Ibid. † Ibid.
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sary to Salvation, (for every thing that is true, is not an Article of Faith) and charitably hopes, that None admitted to her Ministry will profess them, unless They likewise believe them. And where is the mighty Strangeness of This? She does not, by her own Authority, require any body to believe any thing; tho' She requires certain particular Persons to profess their Belief of some Things, if they do believe them: Or, in plainer Words, She does not require any body to believe any thing, because She says it. That belongs to the Church of Rome, not to Her.

The Preceptor charges us with another remarkable Incoherency, (They are Both very liberal of their Incoherencies) in the same 6th Article. For, says he, it goes on thus. "By holy Scriptures we understand those "Canonical Books of the old and new Testament, of whose Authority was never any "Doubt in the Church." Now I presume the Belief of the Canonical Books, both of the Old and New Testament, is required by the Church of England, as an Article of Faith necessary to Salvation. Enough having been said of the Word require in the foregoing Paragraph; I answer, 1st. That the Scriptures are of divine Inspiration, is

* Ibid.
not an Article of Faith as I have shewn above; nor does the Church of England say it is: Tho', 2dly. To believe that the Old and New Testament are, in general, or in the main, the Word of God, is ordinarily, and statedly, necessary to Salvation, in a Christian Country; and the Church of England supposes so. Because, ordinarily speaking, it is previous and preparatory to all Articles of the Christian Faith, and all Duties of the Christian Religion: And the Fact itself, that they are the Word of God, is easy to be proved. Nor does This imply any thing incoherent with the sixth Article of our Church; Because That Article by its very Title [of the sufficiency of Holy Scriptures for Salvation] manifestly presupposes the Belief of their being the Word of God; and therefore when She says they contain all things necessary to Salvation, This Point is manifestly excepted: Especially considering that She joins those Words necessary to Salvation with Articles of Faith, which is remarkable: And This Point is not an Article of Faith; as Before observ'd. 3dly. Tho' the Church of England upon good Evidence receives all those Books, &c. as Canonical; yet She nowhere says, that it is necessary to Salvation, to receive every one of them as such. Indeed, according to our Author, She must say so; * Unless She will allow Salvation

* Ibid.
to Persons who deny any part of the Word of God, when it is declar’d to them that it is the Word of God by sufficient Authority. Instead of, when it is declar’d, &c. by sufficient Authority, put, when it is prov’d by sufficient Evidence, and the Persons themselves are, or ought to be, convinc’d by it; put it so, I say; and the Church of England will certainly not allow Salvation, in the ordinary Way, to such Persons: Yet Shemay, very consistently with herself, not absolutely damn all those, to whom, without their Fault, That Evidence may not appear, and who therefore are not convinced by it. * And yet (continues He) the above-said Article refers us to the Judgment of the Church, and not to Scriptures themselves (which indeed would be absurd) to learn what Books are Canonical. So it may, without any Inconsistency, as I have shewn. † And what is This, but making Tradition the only Rule of distinguishing betwixt inspir’d, and uninspir’d Writings? That is, the only Rule of a very important Article of Christian Faith. Not the only Rule; tho a Rule: because there is internal Evidence, as well as external. But not to insist upon That; I tell him once more, we own Tradition is a very good Rule in many Cases, and This is one of them: But this Point, tho’ a most important

* Ibid. and P. 49. † P. 49.
Entitled, England's Conversion, &c. 141

Truth, is not a most important Article of Faith, nor any Article of Faith at all.

* He says nothing (he tells us) of the gross Mistake imply'd in Those Words of the above-said Article; to wit, "of whose Authority was never any doubt in the Church; instancing in some Books of Scripture received by Us as Canonical, which he says were doubted of by eminent Men in the Church, even till the end of the fourth Century. For a full and satisfactory Answer to this Objection, I alledge the Words of a learned Writer of our Church. † "The Reason of our rejecting them (the Books which we account Apocryphal) is, because they were not receiv'd as Canonical by the ancient Church; whereas the ancient Church did unanimously receive those which we now receive. I do not say that there was never a Man, especially among the Hereticks, that doubted of, or even rejected, some of Those that we receive. But I say, that the main Body of Orthodox Christians did always receive Those Books which we receive; when once they became acquainted with them, and had Opportunity of examining into their Authority.

Now the far greater Part of These Books

* Ibid. † Dr. Bennet's Directions for Studying, &c. P. 60, 61, 62.
An Answer to a Popish Book,

were thus universally receiv'd in the first
and second Centuries; and Others that
were at first suspected by some considera-
ble Bodies of Christians, who were not as
yet acquainted with them, were, after
Examination made, receiv'd also by
Those very Bodies of Christians, and ne-
ever after either rejected, or even suspec-
ted by them. When therefore the Ar-
ticle afferts, that there never was any
Doubt in the Church of the Authority
of Those Books which we receive, and
approve as Canonical; it must be under-
stood in a limited Sense, not absolutely,
but respectively. There have been Doubts
concerning some of them; but so few, so
short, so small, so inconsiderable, that
comparatively, and with respect to the
Greatness of the Church's Extent, they
are nothing, and none at all. And in This
the Papists, as well as our first Reformers,
agreed. They well knew what Suspicions
had been entertain'd in some Churches for
a time concerning some Books which we re-
ceive, upon the Account before-mentioned;
and what Doubts some particular Men
have express'd in their Writings concern-
ing them. And yet both our Reformers,
and the Papists, did allow that Those Books
which we admit into the Canon were
never doubted of in the Church. But in
what Sense? Why, They were never
doubted
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doubted of, when once known, [i.e. when the Evidence of their Genuineness appear'd]
by the Church in general, or even by any considerable Part of That diffusive Body. This Therefore was infallibly the Meaning of the Compilers of our Articles; and They must be understood in This Sense. What is comparatively none they must be suppos'd here to call none at all; as we often do in common Conversation, and all sorts of Writings. And if This be the Sense of this Article (as it manifestly is) 'tis certainly a sound, and a true one.

Our Author concludes This Section by asserting, * that the Canon both of the old and new Testament was settled upon the same footing about the end of the fourth Century, as it has been since by the Council of Trent. This is a gross and notorious falsehood in Fact: The Council of Trent, as 'tis ridiculously call'd, (for it does not deserve the Name so much as of a Council, much less of a General one) with most audacious Impiety, added many Books to the Canon of Scripture, which were not receiv'd in the Church, as Canonical, about the End of the fourth Century, nor for twice four Centuries after, nor indeed

* P. 49:
at all, in any Age, by any Church, not the Church of Rome itself; * till That shameless Cabal, a few of the Pope's Creatures at Trent, about 250 Years ago, assuming to Themselves the Title of a General Council, † declared Those Books to be Part of God's Word; scattering their Firebrands, Arrows, and Death, like the Madman in the Proverbs, cursing, and sending to Hell, all who should dare to say otherwise.

I think I have given a full Answer to what our Author has advanc'd upon This great Article, the Rule of Faith. I conclude, by desiring the Reader ever to remem-ber, 1st. That what the Papists drive at under this Head (and indeed under almost all their general ones, as Infallibility, Catholicism, Church-Authority, &c.) is to make Their Church Judge in her own Cause.

* See This prov'd in Bishop Cosin’s Scholastical History of the Canon of Scripture; a Book (among many others) which no Papist ever pretended to answer.
† Whereas at first there were but twenty to make up This Assembly: never so many as fifty; Of These not one from the Greek Church; not one from England, (in a publick Character;) not one from the Helvetian, German, and Northern Churches; but two from France, five from Spain, one from Illyricum, all the rest Italians. Of whom again some were the Pope's Pensioners; some merely Titular, some wretchedly illiterate, &c. And This is Their Oecumenical or General Council, (for 'tis expressly fill'd) representative of all Christendom. This Impudence alone, if there were nothing else, is enough to ruin the Cause of Popery with all reasonable Persons.
Entitled, England's Conversion, &c. 145
adly. That supposing what They say about un writ ten Apostolical Traditions in general were true and to the purpose, as I have shewn it not to be; yet still Those in particular which They put upon us for Apostolical are not proved to be so: Nay, we can prove that most of them are not so. Because They are contrary to Scripture; which is allow'd on all Hands to be Apostolical.

To the Seventh Section;

Of Scriptures, and Church-Authority.

To the Young Gentleman's Question, * how comes it that Protestants are so zealous for the Scriptures, and yet so little regard Church-Authority, since without That Authority we should not even be sure of the Scriptures themselves; I answer, 1st. The Supposition is false; We have a due Regard for Church-Authority. 2dly. Here is the old Quibble upon the Word Authority, and the old Sophistry about Church and Scriptures; of which more than enough has

* P. 49.
been said already: Particularly, P. 9, 10, to which I refer.

His Preceptor indeed answers very differently. * 'Tis very hard (says He) to give a Reason for the Proceedings of Men, when they are once, &c. And so on, against Prejudice, and Self-Interest. Then it follows Thus. † The Reform'd Churches, as you observe, affect a wonderful Zeal for Scriptures, and pretend to make them the whole Rule of their Faith. And would not any one now imagine to find them the most zealous People in the World, for every thing the Scriptures recommend?

G. I should really think so.

P. But, Sir, it is not a Protestant Virtue to speak, or act coherently, in Religious Matters. You have already had some Specimens of their true Zeal for Scriptures in rejecting the Doctrines of Infallibility, and Oral Tradition, tho' established by such strong Scriptural Texts, &c. I shall now give you another Specimen of it, in their Opposition to Church-Authority; tho' it has likewise the plainest Testimonies of Scriptures to recommend it. I ask This Writer in the first Place, whether he does not from his Heart believe, that our Zeal for the Scriptures is more than affected, or pretended? nay, whe-

* † Ibid. P. 50.
Entitled, England’s Conversion, &c. 147

ther he is not satisfy’d that Ours for the
Scriptures is as sincere, as Theirs is for their
Church and Traditions? And if so; I ask him
another Question; with what Conscience
could he put Those Words upon us? But how
does it appear, that we are not zealous for
every thing the Scriptures recommend? Why
partly because we reject the Doctrines of In-
fallibility, and oral Tradition; for which
there are such strong Scriptural Texts. How
strong they are, we have seen; and the Rea-
der, if he does not remember it, is desir’d to
look back upon the Examination of the
three foregoing Sections. Now our Author
is giving another Specimen of our no Reg-
ard to Scripture: viz. in our opposition
to Church-Authority. And I take notice of
This, as another Specimen of his singular
Modesty; Concerning which see P. 79. The
Texts he produces * to prove the Authority,
we are said to oppose, are Matth. xvi. 16.
Matth. xxviii. 18, 19, 20. Matth. xviii.
Heb. xiii. 17. Eph. iv. 11, 12, 13, 14.
Most of These Texts have been produc’d
by him, and consider’d by me, already: Some
upon This fame Subject of Church-Authority;
Others upon That of Infallibility. What I
said Before † of two of them, I now say of
them all; That they prove no more than such an Authority in the Church, as we allow, not such a one as our Romish Adversaries contend for: There is not a Word about an Authority in it, which must be implicitly and absolutely submitted to. If our Author did not intend to prove such an Authority, he intended to prove nothing to the Purpose; If he did, he might as well have transcrib’d the whole Bible, as These Texts. Let the Reader consider them at his leisure; and remember that I insist upon This as a full Answer to the Argument drawn from them. Our Saviour gave Pastors, and Teachers, &c. Ephes. iv. 11. Ergo, The Church (the Church of Rome) must be implicitly believ’d, and obey’d; whatever She says, or commands. And so of all the rest.

* Speaking of the Pastors of the Church; and explaining Those Words, that we be no more like Children, carry’d to and fro, &c. it belongs to these Guides, says He, to fix the wavering Judgments of the People, &c. True; to fix them, if they can; or to do what they can towards it: But what if some wavering Judgments will not be fix’d by them? The Infallible Church her self has not yet fix’d them all. If She had; there

* P. 52.
Entitled, England's Conversion, &c. 149
would not be such a Variety of Opinions, so many Disputes, so many Self-Contradictions, among her Members, as there ever have been, and still are. But whatever belongs to These Guides; it does not belong to them (at least it ought not) to impose Lies, false Doctrine, and Nonsense upon Mankind, as the Papists do, even in order to the fixing of their waverings Judgments.

From what has been said may be collected, that his Assertion in the next Paragraph * is a Calumny upon the first Reformers: They did not reject the Authority which the Scripture expressly recommends, by rejecting such an Authority as the Church of Rome arrogates to herself. The Railing, and malicious Reflections which follow, I pass over, as immaterial.

P. 53. G. But are not the first Reformers, and their Followers, as positively condemn'd by their own Rule, I mean the Scriptures, as by the Authority of the Catholick Church? Yes; much at one. We put the whole Issue of our Cause upon Scripture, and the Catholick Church; and have proved a thousand times that They, not We, are condemn'd by Both. † And why then have they so great a Spleen against the one, and shew so great a Respect for the other?

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* Ibid. † Ibid.
P. The Reason in short is, because the Church is somewhat harder to be manage'd than the Scripture: And so on, to the Middle of the next Page. The Substance of what is here alledg'd by This Writer, and the Author of the Rule of Faith quoted by him, is This: That the dead Letter of the Scripture cannot speak for it self, nor explain its own Meaning, and so any body may safely torture, and abuse it; but 'tis quite otherwise with the Church, who is a living Judge. And This is the Reason, why Protestants have such a Spleen against Church-Authority, &c. Protesting, once more, that the Fact is not true, and absolutely denying that we have such a Spleen, as is here suppos'd; upon those Words, * an Infallible Rule (as Scriptures doubtless are, when rightly understood) without an Infallible Interpreter, puts little or no Restraint, &c. but an Infallible Interpreter, &c. I observe, 1st. The Supposition is groundless; the Church is not Infallible, and there is no Infallible Interpreter; as We have prov'd. 2dly. To affirm that the Scriptures, tho' complimented with the Name of an Infallible Rule when rightly understood, cannot be rightly understood without an Infallible Interpreter, is to make them utterly useless, and good for nothing. If This be the Case; to what pur-

* Ibid.
Entitled, England's Conversion, &c. 151

pose were they written? Why could not God from time to time reveal his Will to his Infallible Church without Writing, as well as make it Infallible in explaining what is Written? Is it not as easy (or rather much easier) to reveal a Thing once for all, than to reveal the Sense of what was written by Revelation, and yet cannot be understood without another Revelation? But we have more of This Blasphemy afterwards. The dead Letter of the Scriptures, That profane Cant of Papists and Quakers, is an Expression twice made use of in the Compass of a few Lines. And what is meant by it? That the Ink and Characters are not alive, cannot speak, or do not understand the Sense contain'd in them? This is Childish, and Trifling. Or, that the Holy Ghost could not, or would not, have his Meaning express'd intelligibly? This is Blasphemy. If They say, the Latter [he would not] is no Blasphemy; because he has appointed an Infallible Expounder, to make it intelligible: I answer, 1st. The above-mentioned Inconvenience recurs. According to This, the Scripture is useless; God does That per plura, which may much better be done per pauciora; He acts superfluously, by consequence absurdly: And to say That is flaming Blasphemy. 2dly. This their Account of the matter supposes, that the divinely inspired Writings would be unintelligible.
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telligible, without an Infallible Interpreter; and that there is none, We have prov'd: Therefore the Blasphemy remains. The same, in effect, may be said of That fine Stroke of His; *

Tho' It (the dead Letter of Scripture) be never so much put to the Torture; it cannot complain, nor make any farther Discoveries, nor give us any farther Lights, than The sacred penmen thought fit to communicate to us in their writings. As if Those were not enough; nay, as if they were next to nothing, or rather nothing at all: For that is the real Case; as This Author and his Brethren represent it. And supposing it were true; how does their Church enlighten us in the understanding of the Scriptures? Do not They dispute about the Sense of them altogether as much as We? Are there not many Texts which They do not so much as pretend to understand? Or if it be otherwise; why does not This Infallible Church, once for all, publish to the World an entire Comment upon the Bible, so as to fix the Sense of every Word in it, and prevent all Disputes for the future? But alas! it has been always her Way not to explain what is obscure, but to obscure what is plain: This is the Use She has always made of her Infallibility.

* Rid.
Entitled, England's Conversion, &c. 153

* But the Infallible Interpreter, the Church, he says, is not so tame. The Church which pretends to be Infallible, is, I confess, not very tame: Witness Smithfield. He goes on. † So that if her Decrees be call'd in Question; She can exert her Power, and stand up in Defence of them. Power indeed is a material Point; and the Church of Rome has made a thorough use of it; but it is not always accompanied with Truth, Right, and a good Cause. This sort of Power, I grant, the Scriptures have not; tho' they are in another sense very powerful. To shew, farther, the great Superiority of their Church over the Scriptures (for we are still upon the same Blasphemy as Before) She, we are told, ‖ is a living Interpreter; and, if her Words be misinterpreted, can do herself Justice, by explaining her own true Meaning: Whereas the poor helpless Scriptures are not able to explain Theirs. The Bible, it is true, is not alive; And if it be tortur'd, as He wisely observes, it cannot cry out. But notwithstanding These, and such like Sayings, it is a very good and sufficient Rule; since (God having given common Reason to the Bulk of Mankind) it is in the main capable of being understood by ordinary Capacities: And as it may

* Ibid. † Ibid. ‖ P. 54.
be tortur'd, and misapply'd, by Some; so it
may be, and actually is, well us'd, and
duly apply'd, by Others. Nor can we infer
that because it is capable of being misap-
ply'd, therefore it is no true Rule; if That
were a Consequence, there would be no true
Rule in the World.

Neither has the living, and pretended
Infallible Church, any Advantage over the
dead Scriptures (as the Quakers and Papists
call them; κυρια ἐνων, living Oracles, St. Ste-
phen and We Protestants call them) even
in respect of explaining, and vindicating its
own Meaning. For, 1st. Is a General Coun-
cil to be summon'd upon every perverse, or
ignorant Creature's misrepresenting, or mis-
understanding the Church's Sense? Or even
upon occasion of the Ignorance, or Perverse-
ness of great Numbers? The Thing is mani-
festly impossible. At this rate, We must have
a General Council at least once a Quarter:
For no Council less than a General one is
pretended to be Infallible; or to deserve
the Name of the Church. Besides; 2dly.
As Those who believe not Moses and the
Prophets, will not be persuad'd, tho' one
rose from the Dead; so Those who cannot,
or will not, understand the necessary Doc-
trines of Scripture, which are sufficiently in-
telligible to the meanest Capacity, cannot,
or will not, in the same perverse Humour,
understand any thing else. The Church then
then defines This, or That; These People misinterpret her Words: She explains her Meaning; Those who were ignorant, or obstinate Before, continue to still; wanting an Explanation of the Explanation; and so on in Infinitum. Is not This a palpable Absurdity? Cannot a living Man's Sense be misrepresented, or misapply'd, as well as a dead one's? Or Man's as well as God's? The Truth is, the Vanity of That Notion, an Infallible Judge to determine Controversies, will appear in any Light; or on whatever Side it be consider'd. Supposing there were such a one, as there is Not; He would not certainly determine Controversies, and quash Heresies. 1st. Because he might be Infallible; and yet by Many not believ'd so. For, I hope, our Adversaries themselves will not affirm, that the Arguments to prove him so are self-evident, and irresistible. Or if they will; I think I have at least shewn the Contrary to That. 2dly. He might be believ'd Infallible; and yet not obey'd. How many believe the Scriptures to be God's Word; and, notwithstanding, act contrary to them? 3dly. They might either ignorantly, or wilfully, misunderstand his Decisions; which is what we are now considering. Upon the Whole; the Apostles, and among the Rest St. Peter Himself, could not, in their own time, hinder or suppress all Heresies: And I suppose None of their Successors are more Infallible Guides.
Guides than They. It may perhaps be objected, that this Reasoning will as well prove that the Scriptures are not an Infallible Guide. I answer, They are not indeed; nor was it ever intended they should be; so as to necessitate Men to be de facto infallibly guided by them: Tho' they are in themselves infallibly true, and a sufficient Rule to Those who make a true Use of them.

The Leaders of the Reformation (He adds *) hated the Church; and appealed from her Authority to the dead Letter of Scripture. They hated the Church, as Criminals hate the Judge, by whom they are sure to be condemned. Doubtless, They had no great Love for the Church of Rome, as corrupted; and were sure enough to be condemned by Her. For the Rest, I say; just so, and for That very Reason Papists hate the Scriptures. But then there is a mighty Disparity between the two Assertions. To say We hate the Church (the truly Catholick Church) or are condemned by her Judgment, is false, and scandalous; as I have often been forced to plead. That Papists are condemned by Scripture, we have abundantly prov'd: And that They hate it, is evident; Because, even while they are endeavouring to save Appearances by pretend-

* Ibid.
Entitled, England's Conversion, &c. 157

ing to honour it, in spight of Dissimulation. They cannot forbear blaspheming it. He adds, * And their appealing to Scriptures was, ineffect, appealing to their own private Judgment. Sir, there must be private Judgment; or there can be no Judgment at all. Common Reason necessarily requires it; Christ and his Apostles appeal to it, and not only permit, but command, the Exercise of it; You yourselves make use of it, and force Us to make use of it, even by your arguing, and disputing against it. But why was their Appealing to Scripture in effect appealing to their own private Judgment? Because of their private Interpretations, no Doubt; that is, They were so absurd, and so wicked, as to make use of their Reason, in reading the Scriptures. But tho' they us'd their own private Judgment; yet they appeal'd not to That only, but to the private Judgment and common Sense of Every-body, and to the publick Judgment of the truly Catholick Church likewise. Where (continues He †) i. e. in their own private Judgment, they were as safe, as they could wish. For what Criminal would fear to appear before a Tribunal, where Himself sits as Judge and Interpreter of the Law, by which he is to be try'd? He cannot, I imagine, be conve-

* Ibid. † Ibid.
niently at the Bar, and upon the Bench, at the same time: But however, I grant it is possible that a Man may be Judge in his own Cause; and Nothing can be more contrary to Reason, and Equity. But then This is the Case of Papists, not of Protestants. They are both Judges, and Witnesses in Their own Cause, as I have often shewn: But I have just now shewn that by appealing to the Scriptures, and employing our Reason in reading them, We are not so in Ours.

What follows in the next Words, And indeed the World soon saw the Fruits, &c. to the End of the first Paragraph in P. 56. is a Declamation upon the Abuse of Scripture by Protestants, and the various Sects, and Divisions among them, occasion’d by their being permitted to read Those sacred Writings. As he often repeats This doughty Argument; I shall choose to pass it over Here, and consider it once for all, when I come to That Part of his Book, where he lays out his chief Strength upon it; viz. Dial. iv. Sect. 4. At present, I only observe, 1st. That to argue from the Abuse of a Thing against the Use of it, is That silly Sophism, call’d Fallacia Accidentis: According to which Argumentation, there is no good

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Thing in the World; and Religion itself ought to be banished out of it. Must not a Man drink Wine, because drinking too much of it will make him drunk? Must he not use a Knife, because by playing the fool with it he may happen to cut his fingers? 2dly. Those Words of His, * The written Word of God being wrested out of the Hands of its own lawful Interpreter the Catholick Church (or, in other Words, the Church of Rome) and seiz'd on by These usurping Intruders, &c. contain a shameful and notorious Untruth, contrary to That very Word of God, to the Practice of the Primitive and truly Catholick Church, and to the first Principles of Reason. According to all which, every Christian has a Right to read the Scriptures, and interpret them too, according to the best of his Skill, suppling the Defects of it, as well as he can, by the Assistance of others. 3dly. I do not understand how the Church of England sent their Representatives to the Synod of Dort. † The Kings Commission did not, I think, make Those who went thither the Church's Representatives.

His next Assertion is a round one. || I conclude in the Whole, that Scriptures alone are so far from being a full, and compleat

* Ibid. † P. 55. || P. 56.
Rule of Christian Faith; that they are no Rule at all: at least in any doubtful or disputed Case; unless they be interpreted by that Authority which Christ has established upon Earth, to be our Guide, and to which he has promised his perpetual Assistance. If That be the Case; they are in, and of Themselves, good for nothing: And yet the Romanists acknowledge them to be divinely inspir'd. This is the so often repeated Blasphemy in yet stronger Expressions. It is directly exploding the Scriptures, and making them a pure Nullity without Their Church; For She, and She only, is the Guide they talk of. Without Her, according to This, They are a dead Letter indeed; mere unsens'd Characters (another profane Expression of Theirs) having no Life, nor Soul, any farther than as She is pleas'd to breathe into them; no Sense, or Meaning, any farther than as She is pleas'd to put one upon them: At least in doubtful, and disputed Cases; and every Case shall be so, which She thinks fit to make so. If This be not setting Themselves above Scripture, which they own to be the Word of God, and making it absolutely subject to them; Their Language is as unintelligible, as they represent the Scriptures to be.

* The Scriptures, He says, read without the Submission and Deference which is due

* Ibid.
Entitled, England's Conversion, &c. 161

the Guides appointed by Providence, to lead us into the true Meaning of them, have been the Cause of all the Disputes that have divided whole Christendom these two hundred last Years; but never put an End to any. Are there no Disputes then among the Members of Their Church? It is well known there are a great Number. Is there no Cause of Disputes, but Reading the Scriptures without That Deference which He supposes should be paid to their Church? May not Ignorance, Pride, even human Infirmity, and the Imperfection of our present State, have a considerable share in them; whether the Scriptures are read with the aforesaid Deference, or not? And is He very sure that the Scriptures, among us, never put an End to any Dispute? I believe I could give him several Instances to the Contrary; but I will mention only one; if it may be call'd One, it being, in Truth, a Cluster of many. The Quinquarticular Controversy has long been quite extinct among us: And it was owing to Scripture, interpreted according to Scripture, and good Sense, by several learned Church of England Divines, the great Bishop Bull especially.

* For how, He adds, can That be a proper Means to end Disputes, which, in all

* ibid.
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Controversies that are to be decided by Scriptures, is itself the Principal Subject of the Dispute? Not so: It is not the principal Subject of the Dispute; it is only the secondary; and may very well be decided, if Men will be wise, and honest. If they will not; it is their own Fault, and They must answer for it. But as bad as the World is, there are some Men both Wise, and Honest; and Disputes have by Scripture duly apply'd been actually finish'd, and determin'd.

*Tis impossible, He subjoins, the contending Parties should come to an Agreement [about the Sense of Scripture] unless they sacrifice their own private Judgments, and submit to a Tribunal from which there is no Appeal. By sacrificing their private Judgments, it is evident, he means implicitly resigning up their Judgments, and making no Use of them. That they ought to do so, I deny; for the Reasons so often mention'd. An external Tribunal in These matters, from which there ought to be no Appeal, in any Case whatsoever, is not yet found; nor do they tell us where we may find it: The Church being a Word too indeterminate, and of too great Latitude; and They themselves not agreeing in what Part of the Church This Tribunal is plac'd. An internal one

* P. 57: there
Entitled, England's Conversion, &c. 163;

there is; and That is the Tribunal of right, unprejudic'd, well-inform'd Reason, and Con-
sience; To which if we will not appeal, and from which if we will appeal; 'tis our own Fault, and Folly: and we must give an Account for it at the supreme Tribunal in another World. What the young Gentle-
man answers is the same, in other Words, which his Preceptor said just Before. Speak-
ing of Disputes about the Sense of Scripture, and from thence inferring the Necessity of a Judge to determine them, They Both seem to forget that there are great Disputes about That Judge even among the Romanists Themselves; about the Pope, the Church, and the Infallibility of Both. And therefore why the Scripture should be so uncertain a Rule, (if it were at all an uncertain one, as I have shewn it is Not) and Their Church so cer-
tain a Judge; or why the Last mention'd may not be call'd * the very Apple of Discord, and a Source of endless Disputes, at least as well as the Other, I can by no means understand.

He concludes Thus. † Suppose there were a Nation that should give full Liberty to e-
evry one to interpret its Laws by his own private Judgment; would it be possible in that Case, to condemn any Criminal, or put

* P. 56. † P. 57.
an end to any Law-suit? Nay, would not Anarchy and Confusion be the unavoidable Consequence of it? The matter will not bear a Dispute. And therefore there is not a civilized Nation in the World, but has a supreme Tribunal established from which there is no Appeal. Premising This Observation that We deny not, nay we expressly assert, and contend for, an Authority in the Church, in every National Church, as to Articles of Faith, and the Interpretation of Scripture, which Authority must be in a great measure submitted to, tho' not absolutely, and without Appeal, in any Case whatsoever: i.e. She must not be submitted to, if her Decisions be manifestly erroneous, and impious: I say, premising This, I answer, if. Every one may, without Absurdity, barely interpret even human Laws, as far as he is able, by his own private Judgment; nor is it in the Power of his Governours to hinder him. But if by interpreting them be meant (as it must, if any thing to the purpose be meant) interpreting them in his own Cause, or expecting that his Judges should abide by his Interpretation; there never was, nor ever will be, one single private Person, foolish enough to think of any such thing. To make a Supposition therefore that a Nation should grant to every one, what no one can be conceiv'd to desire, is extremely weak, and trifling. And the same, by the Bye, may be
Entitled, England's Conversion, &c. 165

be said of private Judgment in Religious matters. 2dly. From the Necessity of an external supreme Tribunal, to which an absolute Submission is due, as to temporal Affairs, cannot be inferr'd the Necessity of such a one in this World, as to matters of Religion, and Conscience. 'Tis necessary that there should be such a Tribunal in This World, with respect to the Things of it: With regard to Those of the Next, God has given us an Internal supreme Tribunal, even in This World, as above-observ'd; and there is another, an external one, in the Next, before which we shall be condemn'd, if we do not make a right Use of That just now mention'd, which he has given us in This.

3dly. This Reasoning supposes that 'tis as necessary there should be an absolute judicial Determination of Controversies in Religion, as that Civil Crimes should be punish'd, and Law-suits determin'd; than which nothing can be more groundless. Human Society cannot subsist without the Latter, but it very well may without the Former. A Man may at any time hold his own private Opinion, without Prejudice, or Injustice to Another who differs from him; but the same cannot be said of holding an Estate: And as to Criminal Cases, the Matter is plain of itself. Or if Disputes in Religion come to disturb the Peace of the State, as I grant they may, tho' it is not necessary they should; the
the Civil Powers may, and ought to restrain Those Disorders which are the Consequences of them; There is no occasion of recurring to any other Tribunal; Or rather there is no other, before which such Disorders are cognizable. 4thly. As the supreme Tribunal in the State does not put an end to Robbery, Murder, and going to Law; so neither would such a one in the Church, if there were one, put an end to Errors, and Controversies: Unless it could first put an End to all human Corruption, and Infirmity. As one Dispute should be determin'd; another, or perhaps the same in another Shape, would start up: and the universal infallible Judge in Spirituals would have as much Business upon his Hands, as the fallible ones in Temporals. 5thly. There is in Fact such a supreme Tribunal in all Civil States; but not in the Church, as We have prov'd. And since God has not appointed one, it is not necessary there should be one. To which we may add from Mr. Chillingworth. 6thly. In civil Controversies we are obliged only to external, passive Obedience; but not to internal and active. But in matters of Religion such a Judge is required [according to Papists] whom we should be obliged to believe to have judged right. And to

* Chap. 2: v 17. 19.
be oblig’d to believe a thing, I add, is neither reasonable, nor possible. 7thly. In civil Controversies the Case cannot be put so, but there may be a Judge to end it, who is not a Party: In Controversies of Religion, it is in a manner impossible to be avoided but the Judge must be a Party. For this must be the First, whether he be a Judge, or no; and in That he must be a Party. The Pope (and the same may be said of the Church of Rome) is manifestly a Party in This very Case.

In short, God has furnish’d us with Means sufficient to know, and do our Duty, both in Faith and Practice, without an Infallible Judge, or any Judge, from whom, whatever he determines, there can be no Appeal; For That is what our Adversaries aim at: Some Church-Authority in These Matters, and a great deal too, We acknowledge, as well as They. Or if there were such an Authority, such a Tribunal, as They contend for; it would not bring That Peace upon Earth, which They imagine. Neither has God any more provided Means which shall necessarily put an end to all Errors, and Disputes, than to all Vice. Nor is it fit he shou’d. The Will is left free; our Understandings are imperfect: And as long as so many Men are weak, and wicked; there will be a Possibility of Heresies, and Schisms, as well as of other Sins.
An Answer to a Popish Book,

To the Eighth Section.

THIS, to my great Refreshment, is Entitled A Recapitulation of the foregoing Sections. It is therefore answer'd already: And let Him recapitulate what he pleases, I will recapitulate Nothing; having been long since sufficiently tired with Tautology. I shall only remark upon two, or three Sentences, which are not included in the aforesaid Recapitulation.

P. 58. Some time after his Resurrection he committed the Charge of his whole Flock in a special manner to St. Peter. John xxii. v. 15. &c. That my Sheep implies all my Sheep, He supposes; and I deny: And That's Answer enough. Nor did our Saviour commit any Sheep in an especial manner to St. Peter, more than to the rest of the Apostles; Tho' He particularly applies himself to Him, Lovest thou me, &c? because St. Peter had deny'd Him, which no other Apostle had done.

P. 59. — As is attested by St. Paul, in his Epistle to the Romans, Chap. i. v. 8. which was written but fifteen Years after St. Peter's coming to Rome. In all probability, and according to the best Accounts, it was written many Years before St. Peter came to
Entitled, England's Conversion, &c. 169
to Rome. * Not that This is, either way, material to our present Controversy.

P. 65. G. Sir, You have given me a full and clear Idea of the Authority of the Church, &c. In short, the young Gentleman is ready to burst with Conviction, and Satisfaction; upon Evidence, which I hope I have prov'd to be no Evidence at all. But since, says He, there are a great number of Churches—all pretending to be the true Church—how is This Church to be found? &c. This is repeated in the next Dialogue; In the Examination of which, and elsewhere, it shall be thoroughly consider'd.

* See Dr. Cave's Life of St. Peter, and St. Paul.
AN ANSWER TO A Popish BOOK, ENTITLED, ENGLAND's Conversion and Reformation compar'd, &c.

To The Second DIALOGUE: Containing (as it's Title sets forth) A brief Historical Account of the Conversion of the Britons, and Saxons; with Proofs of their Agreement in Faith; and some Remarks upon Circumstances relating to the Conversion of the Saxons.

What our Author attempts in This Second Dialogue, is to shew that the Religion of the present Church of Rome is the very same with That to which King Ethelbert and his Saxons were converted by
by Austin the Monk, and the other Missionaries of Pope Gregory the Great, at the End of the 6th Century: Which was the same with That to which King Lucius, and his Britons were converted by the Missionaries of Pope Eleutherius, in the 2d Century: Which must needs be the true genuine Christianity; the Church of Rome being on all hands confess'd to have been Then uncorrupt: From whence it follows, that what is at present injuriously traduced by the Nickname of Popery, is indeed the true genuine Christianity. I think I have collected the scatter'd Parts of his Argument, and put it all together, in a stronger, and clearer Light, than He himself has anywhere done: And a clear Answer shall be given to it in the Sequel. But before he comes to the main Point, He gives us two Sections by Way of Introduction.
To The first SECTION:

ENTITULED,

The Importance of Enquiring into the Marks of the True Church of Christ, in which alone Salvation is prov'd to be possible.

According to his Custom, he sets out upon a false Supposition; taking it for granted that * the great Number of Churches in the World, tho' differing from one another, pretend all to be the true Church of Christ. I hope all is used distributively, for Everyone; Otherwise, I doubt, 'tis neither good Sense, nor Grammar. However it be, the Proposition is notoriously untrue; No Church upon Earth, but That of Rome, pretends to be the true Church: All the rest consider the Difference between A and The; and are neither so stupid, nor so fraudulent, as to confound them with each other.

That which follows about † Christian Church, true Church, Catholick Church, and a particular Church's being united with,

* P. 66. † P. 67.
or separated from, the Catholick Church, &c. is very dark and confus'd, to my Appre-
hension. Were it well look'd into; I believe there would be found but little Sense, or little Truth in it: But as it affects not the Main of our Cause, nor do I understand what Use our Author makes of it, I pass it over: Only observing Thus much, that Catholick Church, and the Church of Rome, seem to be confounded; and that there seems to be an Equivoque in the Word true as apply'd to Church; Both which Pieces of Chicane try we have often noted.

What he says * concerning the great Importance of enquiring into the Marks of the true Church, &c. and People's Negli-
gence in not enquiring into them, as they should do, amounts to Thus much. Exa-
mine yourselves, whether ye be in the Faith, 2 Cor. xiii. 5. And what is a man profited, if he shall gain the whole World, and lose his own Soul? Matth. xvi. 26. Doctrine, I acknowledge, of the utmost Importance; and, in requital of our Author's Kindness, I return them to him, heartily recommend-
ing the serious Consideration of them to Himself, and the Roman Catholicks in ge-
neral; for None want it more; and earnest-

* P.68 &c. to 72.
Entitled, England's Conversion, &c. 175

ly beseeching God, that both We, and They, may have Grace to practise them.

This Gentleman would not have been at so much Pains to prove that there can be *no Salvation but in the true Church; did he not take it for granted, that the Church of Rome only is That Church: Which he must needs know We do not acknowledge. For the rest, what he discourses about the Impossibility of Salvation to Those who are not Members of the true Church, and our allowing a Possibility of their being sav'd, is partly Calumny, and partly Mistake, or Misrepresentation. The Church of England is no Latitudinarian upon This Subject; as sufficiently appears from her 18th Article. But we may very consistently with That Article, with Reason, and with Scripture, allow a Possibility of Salvation, (Salvation in the strictest Sense, and according to the Covenant of Grace) to Christians, † whatever Church, or Communion they are of, so they live moral Lives, &c. according to the best of their Knowledge; and provided their Knowledge be the best they can obtain. Nay, we may very consistently with all three, ‡ extend our Charity even to Heathens, and Mahometans; so far as to allow that They may be sav'd by an uncovenanted

* P. 68 71, 72. † P. 69. ‡ Ibid.  

Mercy:
Mercy: Meaning by sa"d, in some measure rewarded, tho' they have certainly no Right to the Christian Salvation. Most of what our Author urges to the contrary from Scriptures, Fathers, and Bishop Pearson, may be solv'd by applying the Distinction just now mention'd, between Covenanted, and Uncovenant ed, being sa"d according to the Christian Dispensation, and being in some Degree rewarded. But his Argument from Gal. i. 8. is very singular. * St. Paul lays his Curse even upon an Angel from Heaven, if he should preach any other Gospel, or Faith, than That which he himself had preach'd. That is, Because no Faith, but the true, is to be preach'd; therefore Nobody can, in any Sense, be possibly sa"d without having it preach'd to him. An admirable Consequence!

In the next Paragraph, from Heathens and Mahometans he returns to Christians. † The same Apostle tells us, that as we are call'd to one Hope, one Lord, and one Baptism, so to one Faith. Eph. 4: v. 5. And he assures us likewise, that without Faith it is impossible to please God, Heb. 11. v. 6. Now these two Texts join'd together make up a demonstrative Proof that there is but one Church, or Communion, in which Sal-

* Ibid. † Ibid.
Entitled, England's Conversion, &c. 177

eation is possible. Not so very demonstrative; because the Word Faith does not signify the same thing in both Texts. In the former, it means by a Metonymy, the Object of our Faith, the Doctrine of the Gospel; in the latter, it means the Belief of, or more properly the Assent to, These Truths, that God is, and that he is a Rewarder of Those who diligently seek him. He pursues his Argument Thus. * For if there be but one Faith (and who can doubt it?) it follows that among the many Churches, which all teach different Faiths, there can be but one which teaches the Faith St. Paul speaks of; which is undoubtedly the true one. Undoubtedly it is: But then You talk, as if there were as many Faiths in the World as there are Churches; or as if every different Church had a different Gospel. A most vain, and groundless Supposition! Those who differ from one another in many things, may have, and actually have, the one true Faith in the main: Even 'Papists have it, tho' with spurious Additions; as We have it, without any. The Remainder of the Paragraph is answer'd of course, by what has been said.

His abusing Bishop Pearson † for adhering to the Church of England, out of Interest.

* Ibid.

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and
An Answer to a Popish Book,

and Prejudice, I pass over; because I have promised to make no more Remarks upon his Declamations of That Kind. But his malicious Slanders, and insolent Reflections, upon all our Bishops in general, shall be taken notice of in a more proper Place: I mean in the Examination of his Third Dialogue, which is made up of Scandal, and little else.

* He concludes by inferring, that it behoves us, as we tender our Salvation, to examine—by what Marks we may clearly know This one true Church. Very well then; Let us have your Marks: We have had Bellarmine's long ago; And such a Mark has been set upon them by several Learned Divines of our Church as will not easily be wip'd off.

* P. 72
To The Second SECTION:

ENTITLED,

Neither Education, nor Interest, are to be consulted in the choice of our Religion.

In this Section (to what end it was made a Section, or at all inserted, I no more understand, than I do how the Title of it came to be false Grammar) we have little more than a Repetition of the so often repeated Harangue, upon the noble Subject of Interest, and Prejudice.

This continues for * several Pages; and, it being more than once answer'd already, I shall only remark upon a few Sentences in Those Pages, with a view to something else.

P. 73. But This [viz. To be satisfy'd with any Religion, only because we were educated in it] is as irrational, as if any one should argue Thus: I have got the Le-prosy, or King's Evil of my Parents, therefore I ought to rest content with it, and not
give my Self the trouble of seeking after Remedies for my Cure. So say I too: And would to God the Papists would duly consider it, and practically apply it to Themselves. If They did; the Leprosy, or King's Evil of Popery would not be so reigning, and epidemical, as it is.

P. 74. To prove the Impossibility of Salvation to Those who have not the true Faith, he alledges, Mark xvi. 16. He that believeth not shall be condemn'd. That is, if it be his own Fault that he believeth not: Which was the Case of Those Unbelievers, to whom the Apostles working Miracles preach'd; and of whom our Saviour here speaks; as appears from the Context both Before, and After.

Ibid. But is their Desire to find the Truth as hearty, and sincere, &c. Are they ready to imitate the courageous Virtue of Toby, who, when all flock'd to the Golden Calces set up by Jeroboam, separated himself from the Communion of his Fellow-Citizens and went alone up to the Temple at Jerusalem, &c? This was exactly the Case of our first Reformers: But the Church of England has no golden Calces; nor any other golden Images to worship, as the Church of Rome has; nor any abominable Corruption whatsoever, as the Church of Rome has a thousand.
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P. 75. His Reflection upon our persecuting Laws, as He calls them, might well have been omitted; for a Reason, which shall be consider'd in due time, and place.

Having done with Self-Interest, and Prejudice, for the present, He advances to something which looks like something to the Purpose. * If You can fully convince me, says the Young Gentleman, that all the Marks of the true Church of Christ belong so wholly, and solely to the Church of Rome, [Ay, prove That, say I] that they cannot with any Appearance of Truth be appropriated to the Church of England —— The Church of England does not pretend to appropriate them to herself; but owns they belong to other Churches, as well as to Her. Besides; —— Belong so solely to one, that they cannot be appropriated, i. e. belong solely to another, is very odd Sense: If they belong solely to one, they cannot at all belong to another. If This Writer, as He is not very exact in his Language, by appropriated means apply'd; I absolutely deny his Assertion, and let him prove it if he can. After the Words Church of England, the young Gentleman adds; † nor by Consequence to any other of the reform'd Churches, as be-

* P. 77. † Ibid.
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ing all upon the same Bottom. If the Marks of a true Church do not belong to the Church of England; it will indeed not only follow, but follow a fortiori, that they do not belong to any other Church, whether reform'd, or un改革'd. But, by his Leave, all the reform'd Churches are not quite upon the same Bottom with the Church of England; for a very material Reason: Which if our Author does not know, he is very ignorant; if he does, he is very unjust.

Were not Tautology as delightful to Him, as it is nauseous to Me; i. e. as much as possible: He would not here so formally, with 1st. 2dly. and 3dly. have repeated * his Texts about the Pillar of Truth; Christ's being always with his Church; the Gates of Hell, &c. to prove That there is true Faith in the true Church: Which Nobody denies that I know of.

If, † says he, the reform'd Church of England can effectually prove that she has on her Side the necessary, and essential Marks of that Apostolical Church which Christ establish'd upon Earth, and to which he made the Promises of a perpetual Assistance; I will then own her to be a Part of the true Church of Christ. That is to say, if She (tho' She pretends to no such thing) can

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* Ibid  † P. 78.
Entitled, England’s Conversion, &c. 183
prove herself to be the Whole; He will own her to be a Part. Very indulgent indeed! But the Favour would have been so much the greater; if it had not been founded upon Nonsense, and Contradiction. He adds, * But if, on the contrary, I make it appear manifestly that they belong entirely to the Church in Communion with the See of Rome, exclusively of all the reform’d Churches; then the Church of England must own that She is engag’d in a defenceless Cause. I grant the Consequence; but deny the Antecedent: And desire the Reader carefully to observe how he proves it, here, or any where else. † And can have no Title to the Promises, ’till she returns to her old Mother Church; whereof she was a Part for the space of no less than nine hundred Years. The Church of Rome is not Mother to the Church of England; There was a Church in Britain, as soon as at Rome, if not sooner. And if They argue from the Conversion of the Saxons; The Church of Rome is no more the Mother of Ours upon That Account, than one Man becomes the Father or Master of another Man by converting him to Christianity. Neither did the English Church upon That Account, become a Part of the Romish, as shall be

* Ibid. † Ibid.
shewn in our Examination of the Fourth Dialogue: In which our Author discourses of
This matter more at large.

We are to form a Judgment, He says, * 1st. Whether the Conversion, or Reformation
of England, was properly the Work of God. For He could not be the Author of Both. Why
so? Because, as He attempts to prove, the Religion to which England was converted
was the same as Popery: Which I totally deny; and than which nothing, as it will
appear, can be a more gross and notorious Falshood.† 2dly. Whether the essential Marks
of the true Church, to wit, her perpetual Vis-
fibility, her uninterrupted Succession of Bishops
and Pastors in the same Communion from
the Apostles down to This time, and her
Catholicity, or Universality both of Time,
and Place, are applicable to the Church of
England, or to the Churches in Communion
with the See of Rome. These then are his three
essential Marks of the true Church: Let the
Reader carefully attend to them; For the
whole Issue of the Cause, it seems, is to turn
upon them. Perpetual Visibility, of one fort,
or other, belongs to the Church in general;
but neither to the Church of Rome, nor the
Church of England, in particular. An un-
interrupted Succession of Bishops, and Pastors

* P. 79. † Ibid.
Entitled, England's Conversion, &c. 185

from the Apostles down to this time, the Church of England has, as much as the Church of Rome. But what is the Meaning of Those Words, in the same Communion? Cardinal Bellarmine speaks out, and says the fifth Note of the Church is the Succession of Bishops, &c. in the Church of Rome. Which, tho' it be proving a thing by itself, the constant Way of Popish Arguing, is however speaking so as to be plainly understood. But our Author has a more delicate, and most useful Fallacy in Those Words, the same Communion; implying that the Church of England is not the same Communion she was before the Reformation. And why so, I pray? Even because She is not now in Communion with the Church of Rome; and has thrown off all Those Doctrines, and Practices, which We call Romish Corruptions. The Sophistry of This (not to mention the odd Use of the Word Communion) I have elsewhere detected, by distinguishing between what is essential, and what is accidental, and observing that the same Man may be sick at one time, and sound at another. Catholicity of Time I take not to be Sense: What he would say, if I rightly understand him, falls in with Perpetuity, and so should not have been nam'd as another Mark. If Catholicity of Place means possessing the whole World; it is no Mark even of the Church in general, much less of any particular
cular one. If it means being the Whole, or including all the Parts; no doubt it belongs to the Church in general; that is to say, no doubt the Whole is the Whole: But for the same Reason, 'tis a Contradiction to apply it to any Church, or Churches in particular. But more of This in our Examination of the last Section of the last Dialogue; where our Author makes his Assumption, and enforces his whole Argument. At present I make the following Observations.

1st. Here again, as above, We must distinguish, tho' they do not, between Those material Particles A, and The. Doubtless, there ought to be, and actually are, Marks, or Notes, by which a Church, meaning This, or That particular Church, may be prov'd a true Church. But the Papists will needs find out such Marks as prove Their Church to be The Church; that is, either prove a Part to be the Whole, which all the Marks in the World will never be able to do: Or prove Their Church to be the only true one, which the particular Marks by Them assign'd will never be able to do; Nor indeed any other. 2dly. We grant that Theirs is a true Church in one Sense; meaning a real Church: And they do but vainly endeavour to prove that Ours is not so. But 3dly. The great Question is, or ought to be, what makes a true Church in the
the other Sense, i.e. a sound, and good one: And This Question the Papists, for a very plain Reason, carefully avoid. Truth, Soundness, and Purity of Faith, and Doctrine, according to the only true Rule, the Word of God, are undoubted essentinal Properties, and absolutely necessary Marks or Notes of a true Church in This signification: And These are Marks which our Author takes no notice of. According to These, Ours is in This Sense a true Church, and Theirs a false one. 4thly. The Marks or Notes of a false Church, Thus understood, i.e. an unsound, corrupt Church, are plain, and obvious to every body that can read the Bible with the common Understanding of a rational Creature; not such dark and blind ones at best (for many of them are evidently no Marks at all) as the Papists lay down to distinguish the true Church; which require much more Explanation than the Thing they are pretended to explain. That Church is certainly and manifestly unsound, and corrupt, which evidently contradicts the Scriptures in some of the most material Points; imposes Terms of Communion, a Complyance with which the Law of God forbids; teaches Doctrines which encourage all manner of Wickedness, and utterly evacuate the whole Design of the Gospel. It may, notwithstanding all This, be a true Church in the other Sense; i.e. really a Church: But
But we may be damn'd for communicating with it, for all That. Nay, we certainly shall be so; unless involuntary Ignorance excuse us, or (which we have not the least Reason to hope for) uncovenanted Mercy be extended to us.

To the Third Section;

Of the first Entrance of Christianity into Britain; its Progress, and Establishment there, in the Reign of King Lucius.

A very few Words will be sufficient to dispatch This Section; because it contains nothing but a Recital of Facts, which, whether true, or false, do not affect our present Controversy. For what is it either to Us, or our Romish Adversaries, that St. Peter went to Rome at such a time; that Claudius came into Britain; that Britain was reduced into a Roman Province under Domitian; that Lucius was the Son of Coilus King of Britain, in the Reign of Trajan; that He sent to Pope Eleutherius, who sent Damianus, and Fugatius, &c. in short, that at last Britain was converted to Christianity? I know no Use our Author could make
make of This, and indeed the greatest Part of what follows in This Dialogue; unless it were to display his great Reading, or to amuse weak Minds with the Solennity and Formality of so much History.

Here therefore, and wherever else I meet with the same Sort of Learning, I shall be very brief; only taking notice of some few Particulars which seem the most considerable.

* When he tells us that St. Peter went to Rome in the 2d Year of Claudius; he agrees indeed with Baronius, and Bellarmin, from whom he had it; but not with St. Luke in his Acts of the Apostles, from which the Contrary is demonstrable. And in That Passage, ——† According to Eusebius, who writes Thus of him; Peter the Apostle of the Country of Galilee, the first chief Bishop of Christians —— remain'd Bishop of That City for 25 Years together. Euf. in Chron. An. Christi 44. He puts a false Quotation upon us; there being no such Words as first chief Bishop of Christians ||; nor remain'd Bishop &c. in the Place referr'd to. Nor does Eusebius either there, or any where else, say that St. Peter was Bishop of Rome 25 Years;

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* P. 80. † Ibid. || Unless ἐνθελθέντος may be so render'd.
An Answer to a Popish Book,
or that he was ever Bishop of Rome at all. *

† He says, King Lucius resol'd seriously, and promis'd, to embrace openly the Christian Faith; tho' he did not judge it seasonable till some Years after, to put this good Purpose effectually in Execution. There were two main Obstacles, (both of them from worldly Interest) which tho' he was a Convert in his Heart, kept him back, &c. That is, He continued a Heathen in outward Practice for some Years after he was a Christian in his Heart. This, it seems, our Author does not blame in Him; but in his Third Dialogue, he is very severe upon Cranmer for a Prevarication of the same Nature. In him it was a heinous Crime, that in King Henry's Reign || He was a Lutheran in his Heart, —and did not throw off the Mask, till the next Reign. And the Bishop of Meaux, as quoted in the Preface, † is perfectly transported against him upon That Account. If Cranmer was guilty of Dissimulation, so was Lucius: And thus the chief Instruments of England's Conversion, and Reformation, were upon an equal Foot in That respect. Why should the same Thing be so strong an Argument against the One, and none at

* See Dr. ave's Life of St. Peter. See xi. throughout.
† P. 85. || P. 175, 176. † Pref. P. xiii, xiv. &c.
all against the Other? If our Author insists upon This Topick, He condemns the Conversion; If he gives it up, he so far acquits the Reformation. It is in truth no Argument against Either: If it were; it would go much farther, than the Romanists would have it: For St. Peter himself, even while he was making Converts, was guilty of Cowardise, and Dissimulation. *

Tho' with regard to the Point we are now considering, 'tis no Business of mine to reflect upon the Memory of Pope Eleutherius; The Church of Rome in his time being undoubtedly pure, whatever He was; yet I think he deserves not the Title of Saint, which our Author bestows upon him: † Unless Saintship be consistent with Montanism. || Which latter, by the way, is certainly inconsistent with Infallibility.

Speaking of our owing our second Conversion to the Bishop of Rome, He concludes the Section in These Words. ‡ In recompence whereof, his holy See has since been distinguished here by the honourable Title of the Whore of Babylon, and his sacred Person by that of Antichrist. The Church of England does not call Names in This manner; however some particular Persons may:

and even They, considering the Provocation given them, may well enough be excus'd. She insists, if he pleases, that both the See, and the Bishop, are damnably corrupt: And if This be true, as We have prov'd it is; where is the Ingratitude, or Injustice in saying so? We should be guilty of neither; even if We were the first converted, and the present Pope, and Church of Rome our Converters: Because it would be our indispensable Duty to protest against, and avoid such Corruptions. If a Man converts me to the true Faith, afterwards revolts from it Himself, and would per swade me to do the like; does Gratitude oblige me to follow him, or even not to declare against him? How much stronger then is our Answer; when it is consider'd how many Centuries have pass'd since England's Conversion; and that the Church of Rome consists not Now of the same Individuals it did Then? This Author, and his Friends, when their Turn is serv'd by it, can coin a thousand nice Distinctions without a difference. And on the other hand, when their Turn is serv'd by it too, cannot distinguish between the Whole, and a Part; between Past, and Present; between Persons now living, and Persons dead eleven hundred Years ago. *

* See backwards, P. 22:
To The Fourth SECTION:

Of the Conversion of the English Saxons from Paganism to Christianity.

IN This, likewise, and the two following Sections, we meet with little to our Purpose. The Conversion of the Saxons by Austin the Monk under Pope Gregory I. at the End of the sixth Century is well known to the World: And what Occasion our Author had to give us such a formal History of it in This Place, I cannot imagine; unless it were for the two Reasons I Before assign'd. P. 189. I therefore pursue the Method then propos'd.

Tho' it be no very material Circumstance, what Pope it was, whom * Gregory, when a private Priest, solicited to send some able Ministers to Britain; This Writer is perhaps too positive in saying it was Benedict: Because I find another very good Author † telling us it was Palagius II.

* P. 83, † Verstegan. Restitution, &c. P. 141.
He acquaints us from Bede, that Austin and his Fellow-Missionaries, being upon their Journey for England, were seized with a slothful fear, and humbly desir'd Pope Gregory that they might be permitted to drop their Design of converting the Saxons, and return home: Austin Himself being sent back to make That Request. Sure This Cowardise, and Tergiversation of Theirs was almost as bad as Cranmer's: And the One almost as good an Argument against This Second Conversion; as the Other against the Reformation.

His Reflection upon pulling down the Cross in Edward VI's Time; with his saying, that to the everlasting Shame of Christianity it was treated as an Image of some infamous Traitor, by the blessed Reformation; is fraudulent, and flam'drous. It was pull'd down only to prevent Idolatry in Worshipping the Cross, not as a Mark of Ignominy upon the Cross itself: Which latter is always the Case, when the Statue of a Traitor is defac'd. The Image of the Cross is still us'd among us, tho' not ador'd: It stands upon our Churches; and our Foreheads are sign'd with it in our Baptism.

* P. 90.  † P. 93.
Entitled, England's Conversion, &c. 195

The following Passage is remarkable enough. * For He [King Ethelbert] had learned from his InstrucIors, and Leaders to Salvation, that the Service of Christ ought to be voluntary, not by Compulsion. So We Protestants say. And We add that Papists now adays have not learned the same Doctrine: Witness the Inquisition; and their Laws about the Burning of Heretics. We have Proof therefore, and 'tis confess'd, that Those Instructors then taught one Doctrine at least different from what the Church of Rome teaches now. So that the Religion of Rome was not exactly the same Then as it is Now; tho' our Author assurs us it was: Of which hereafter. I very well know what was his Design in quoting Those Words, and laying an Emphasis upon them by printing them in a different Character; It was to reflect upon the persecuting Spirit of our Church, and the Force us'd at the Reformation: Of which too in a more proper Place. To a more proper Place, likewise, we refer our Remarks upon what is contain'd in Those Words of His, † All the Bishops of Britain were by Pope Gregory put under St. Augustin's Jurisdiction; as also upon saying Mass, the Use of Holy Water, and Relicks in Austin's Time: Which our

* P. 95. † Ibid.
Author, for some important Reason we must think, has taken Care to have printed in Capital Letters.

To The Fifth SECTION:

ENTITULED,

A Relation of St. Augustin's Conference with the British Bishops.

It is no wonder that This Gentleman is so angry with the British Bishops, and takes so much pains to blacken them: The Reason is plain; They were refractory, insisted upon their own Rights, and would not submit to the Papal Jurisdiction; however he afterwards pretends to set another Face upon That matter.

Of the Conference † at Austin's Oke, as related both by Cambden, and Bede, I have nothing to say at present; farther than to observe, 1st. That Austin's Miracle in opening the Eyes of the Blind, being intended to convince the Britons; it would have been less liable to suspicion, had the Man, upon

* P. 97, 98, &c Passim. † P. 99, 100, 101.
whom the Miracle was to be wrought, been of the British Race, not of the English. 

That the Story of the silly Advice given by the Hermit to the British Bishops, concerning the Judgment they were to make of Austin, from his rising up, or not rising up, when they came to him, is in my Judgment a very strange one, and scarce credible; tho' related by Bede himself. Not that it signifies any thing, either way. Of the three Points said to be propos'd by Austin to the Britons, notice enough will be taken; when we come to the Examination of the Ninth Section.

To The Sixth SECTION:

ENTITULED,

St. Augustin Vindicated.

LET St. Austin, in God's name, be vindicated from any unjust Aspersions, which have been cast upon him: As some, no doubt, there have been; Tho' after all, much might be said to prove him not so great a Saint as the Romanists make him. And since I have mention'd This; I cannot forbear adding, that the same may be with truth observ'd of the great St. Gregory himself.
To pass over other Instances, his fulsom, and little less than blasphemous Letter to That Miscreant Phocas, when he had got Possession of the Empire, his shameful Ingratitude in rejoicing over the Murder of his great Benefactor the Emperor Mauritius, and shamefully flattering his Murderer, will for ever be enough to shew that it is not altogether * so impertinent, as our Author supposers, to accuse That eminent Saint of Baseness. And moreover, that among the Qualifications for which he was so † deservedly surnam'd the Great, Holiness was not the most considerable. I just touch upon This Subject, not that I take Delight in making such Reflections, tho' never so true; but to put our Adversaries in mind that it is no great Wonder, if St. Gregory, and St. Austin, tho' they converted Part of our Island, yet made unjust Encroachments upon it; and if some few Corruptions crept into the Church even in Their Days. I say some few; For that Their Religion was not the same as the present Popery, we shall see in due time. Those who have affirm'd that it was, have indeed aspers'd them; As our Author, among others, has done. For done it He has, (tho' I confess with a quite different Design)as well as † Holinshed, and ho-

* P. 102. † P. 88.
Entitled, England’s Conversion, &c. 199

neft John Bale, as he merrily expresses himself. In the main, we honour the Memory of both Those eminent Persons, St. Gregory, and St. Austin, as the Instruments of our Conversion; and bless God for the inestimable Benefits which by Their Means were convey’d to us.

The famous Controversy about the * Hermit’s wise Advice, together with the Character given of him; as also the Discussion of That important Question concerning St. † Austin’s Behaviour, whether he were found sitting, or standing; I wholly give up to our Author, to be by Him made the most of, and determin’d either way, as He shall think proper. I only observe, that considering how much Pains he takes, and how many Pages he spends, in clearing St. Austin from the Imputation of Pride laid to his Charge by the British Bishops, He seems hard press’d in his Defence of him: And if Austin were a proud Man, he was certainly no great Saint.

How blameablesoever the Britons might be, in not † celebrating Easter according to the Determination of the first Nicene Council; That Fact at least shews that they receiv’d their Customs from the East, not from Rome: And the same Argument may

* P. 103, 104. † P. 105, 106, 107. ‡ P. 105.
be drawn from their Disagreeing with the Roman Church in the Administration of Baptism. From whence it appears that before St. Austin's Coming, Rome had no Dominion over them. It may here too be very properly ask'd, since our Author so confidently appeals in this Case to the first Nicene Council; how it comes to pass, that the Church of Rome flips over another Canon of the same Council? I mean the Sixth; the famous Ἦχος ἐν πρεσβυτείᾳ. A Canon, which alone, if there were no other Argument, as there are a thousand, would be enough to strike the Pope's Supremacy dead forever.

St. Austin's * thinking himself Metropolitan, and Primate, over the British Prelates, shall be fully spoken to in our Examination of the Ninth Section.

Tho' we are not oblig'd to vindicate every thing written by Holingshead, Bale, and Fox; not one of whom is by Us esteem'd any great Champion of the Reformation: † yet our Author had little Reason to be so very gay, and witty, in triumphing over them.—‡ John Bale, and his most faithful Dorothy. ‡‡ Have a little Patience; I have a Brace more of Protestant Historians, not at all inferior, &c. honest John Bale,
Entitled, England's Conversion, &c. 201

and his Namesake John Fox. Let him have as many Brace of them, as he pleases; Let Those he here mentions be never so wrong in some things, they were right in reforming from the Errors and Abominations of Popery. Whatever Mistakes have been committed by Fox in his Acts, and Monuments; He has said Truth enough in them to make the Church of Rome blush as red as the Blood she has spilt: Were it in her Nature to be capable of blushing at any thing.

That Fox is so * vile an Author, as This Author represents him; That there are modestly speaking at least ten thousand notorious Lies either expressly asserted, or insinuated by him; that to call a Man one of Fox's Saints, is proverbially become the same as to call him a great Rogue, unless it be among Papists; are themselves so many scandalous and malicious Falshoods: And That is as much Answer, as These unprov'd, and ungrounded Assertions deserve.

We have likewise his bare Word for it; and nothing else, that † the Slaughter of the 1200 Monks [at Bangor] happen'd above a Year after St. Austin's Death; and was order'd by a Pagan King of the Northumbers, with whom St. Austin never had the

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* P. 110; † Ibid.
An Answer to a Popish Book, least Communication. The contrary Assertion is much better supported by the most learned Primate Bramhall (a Name that will for ever be the Terror of Rome) who in his Just Vindication, &c. P. 84. Edit. Dublin. writes Thus. They refus'd indeed to their own cost; Twelve hundred innocent Monks of Bangor afterwards lost their Lives for it. Rome was ever builded in Blood. Howsoever these Words (quamvis Augustino prius Mortuo) have since been forg'd, and inserted into venerable Bede, to palliate the matter, which are wanting in the Saxon Copy. To which we may add the Testimony of Geoffrey of Monmouth; * who agrees with the other as to the Main of the Fact: An Historian whom our Author afterwards † quotes, and That in the Words immediately preceding This Narration; without the least Reflection upon his Ability, or Veracity.

The young Gentleman at the Conclusion need not have given himself the Trouble of so many Deductions to prove + that Mr. Collier, was convinced in his Heart that St. Austin and his Followers preach'd the true Faith in This Island. He might have said the same of Protestants in general, if he had pleas'd: We all acknowledge it as an undoubted Truth. And so I proceed.

* Book xi. Chap. 13;
† P. 139.
‡ P. 114.
To The Seventh SECTION:

ENTITULED,

Roman Catholicks profess to this Day the Faith which St. Augustin preach'd.

We acknowledge This too: But then They profess much more than That Faith, and what is in its Nature inconsistent with it. But we go on with our Author. That * it is impossible the same Christian Faith should be true in one Age, and false in another, I grant; and sagely observ'd it was. But those Words, † The Faith and Religion profess'd at This time by the English Roman Catholicks, cannot but be the true one, if it be the same as was taught by St Augustin, require some Animadversion. If by the same as was taught be meant what was taught; I grant the Argument is so far conclusive, that their Religion is so far true as it agrees with what St. Austin taught in the Main. I add those last Words, for a Reason which will appear immediately. But if it means nothing

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*Ibid.* †Ibid.
An Answer to a Popish Book,

but what was taught; I deny that in This Sense the present Roman Catholicks profess the same Faith and Religion that was taught by St. Austin. That we may proceed the more clearly I here lay down three Propositions, as the Foundation of what I have to offer upon this Head; and to which Reference may be had, as occasion shall require.

I. Were it true that the Religion which St. Austin brought into England was altogether the same as that which Papists profess; yet we might very consistently with Reason, and with ourselves, retain so much of it as is pure and genuine, and reject so much of it as is false and spurious; tho' we were taught Both at the same time, and equally adher'd to Both for nine hundred Years and upwards.

Suppose a Man gives me a quantity of Wheat and Tares mix'd together; and I, without knowing the difference between them, for a long time make use of Both promiscuously; Am I therefore either foolish, or wicked, if upon better Information I keep the Wheat, and throw the Tares away? Even upon this Supposition we should have been oblig'd to St. Austin, who from Heathens made us Christians: But does it therefore follow that we are not at all oblig'd to Those who from bad Christians in Faith and Doctrine made us good ones?

II. Some
II. Some Corruptions of Popery were indeed creeping into the Church, when St. Austin came hither; tho' but very few. For This Reason I added the Words in the Main, above-mentioned. He himself might possibly teach something erroneous, besides the Papal Jurisdiction; tho' it does not appear that He did. For tho' Gregory who sent him was superstitious enough, and asserted the Doctrine of Purgatory; yet the Church of Rome in general embrac'd not That, nor any other Doctrine which We now call Popish. And therefore

III. To affirm that the Religion of the Romish Church was entirely the same Then as it is Now, is a most gross, and shameful Untruth: As will appear from what I shall discourse, and even from our Author's own Account of This Matter.

If all the Roman Catholick * Historians affirm This; I am sure many Roman Catholick Writers declare the Contrary. Tho' do, for Instance, † who place Transubstantiation some hundred Years lower than Austin's time; as all the World knows it ought to be plac'd. But what need I refer to particular Writers, or Persons? Do not all the Papists acknowledge that Communion in one

* Ibid. † See them quoted by Tillotson against Transubstantiation. P. 306.
An Answer to a Popish Book,

Kind was first establish'd by the Council of Constance; and the five Sacraments, which We do not receive, first invented by Peter Lombard? As for Protestants; Holingshead, Bale, and Fox, have been spoken of already. But to say that * all Protestant Witnesses agree in Substance that Augustin and his Fellow-Missioners brought Popery into England, is an Assertion worthy of our Author's Modesty. He himself cannot but know, as all the World does, that the whole Body of the Church of England, and all Protestant Churches, insist upon it that there was scarce any thing of Popery for the first 600 Years: It was within the sixth Century that Austin came into This Island; How then can They acknowledge that He brought Popery into it? Popery, in all its Parts: For That is what This Writer all along means.

Here he resumes his beloved Argument from our Homily, declaring that before the Reformation whole Christendom was drown'd in abominable Idolatry, and that for the space of eight hundred Years, and more. I shall repeat nothing of what I have already answer'd; but refer the Reader to P. 59. 60. &c. What he says now upon the Argument is in These Words. † Which in true Protestant Language brings

* P. 114, 115. † P. 115.
Entitled, England's Conversion, &c. 207

Popery not only in Great Britain, but in whole Christendom, up to the very Time of England's Conversion. Supposing Popery and Idolatry, in true Protestant Language, to be all one; tho' it is a Papist, not a Protestant, that talks at That foolish rate, concerning which see P. 69. This does not bring it up to the very time of England's Conversion, by 153 Years: Reckoning the Reformation in 1550; England's Conversion by Austin's Coming in 596, as All agree it was; and meaning by 800 and more, just 801, as we very well may. Take it how you will; It does not bring it up to England's Conversion, by about 150 Years, as we usually, and properly speak. Yet This Account in the Homily, He positively asserts, brings Popery up to the very Time of England's Conversion. The very Time exactly! It only wants 150 Years: And That is so inconsiderable; that it may very well pass for Nothing. The Subject we are upon is the State of a Nation, or Nations, with respect to Religion. In 150 Years, in half That Time, in half a quarter of That Time, the Constitutions of Nations both in Church, and State, may be, and actually have been, utterly chang'd: Old Empires may be subverted, and new ones erected; Whole Kingdoms from Heathen become Christian, from Christian Mahometan, or Heathen again. Yet such a Tract of Years, in our Author's Chronology,
nology, while he is speaking of These Matters, goes for just Nothing. Did he imagine we could not tell Twenty? What an Opinion must That Man have of our Understandings; who could think of imposing so clumsily a Falsehood upon us?

His positive Assertion that *the Belief of the Mass was unquestionably a Term of Communion in the Time of Gregory the Great, had need be well supported; especially since it is back'd by these strong Expressions: † The Thing is notoriously known; and Mr. Collier cannot have the Confidence to deny it. Yet he produces nothing to prove it, but the weakest Kind of Arguing, Arguing from a Word. It is related by Bede, that Austin and his Fellows said Mass. But was Mass the same Thing Then as it is Now? For a full Answer to This powerful Argument, I refer to the Word Missa in Littleton's Dictionary. If using That Word be a Proof of a Man's being a Papist; I confess, not only St. Gregory, but St. Augustin, St. Ambrose, and St. Cyprian were Papists: And did the Church of England retain it at This Day, I should have no Quarrel with her for it: As I should Now have none with the Church of Rome, were there Nothing to be objected

* F. 116. † Ibid.
against her, but That. In short, Mass signify'd Divine Service, especially the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper: But not a Word or Thought, in those Days, of the real Body and Blood of Christ in it, of its being a propitiatory, expiatory Sacrifice, of the Elevation, and Adoration of the Host. When therefore our Author accuses Mr. Collier of Insincerity and Unfair Dealing, for translating Bede's Words, by perform'd all the Offices of Religion instead of by said Mass; He is extremely guilty of it himself. They may as well be render'd the former Way, as the latter; or rather much better, considering how the Word Mass is now us'd. Not that the Argument would be of any Force, were the Translation as He would have it; for the Reason I have now given.

* He affirms that the Use of sacred Vessels, Ornaments for Altars, Vestments for Priests, Reliques of the holy Apostles, and Martyrs, as also Sprinkling Churches with holy Water, all practis'd in St. Gregory's Time, is as plain Popery as ever was practis'd. Indeed? Has the Church of England at present no sacred Vessels, Ornaments for Altars, or Vestments for Priests? As for Reliques; an innocent and pious Use

* P. 116, 117.
was made of them at first: But it began to
degenerate into Superftition long before Greg-
ory's Time; and in his Time, That Super-
ftition was come to a considerable Height:
Concerning which I refer to the 1st and 2d
Propositions. But of Worship, or Adoration,
paid to them even in his Time, there is no
Appearance; nor has This Author given
us the least Proof of any such Thing.

The Use of Water, to sprinkle Churches at
their Confeeration, if there was any such Thing,
might be innocent even Then: It might be
a pure Ceremony, for Decency and Solemnity;
Or perhaps there might be some Superftition
mix'd with it: If there was; I refer to the first
and second Propositions, as before. Certain
it is, there was no such Holy Water in Those
Days, as there is in Ours: No such Vertue,
or Efficacy, ascrib'd to any Water Then, as
there is Now. Here again therefore our
Author only plays with a Word; 'Tis Quib-
bling, not Arguing. It is further to be no-
ted upon the Words Mass, Holy-Water,
&c. as us'd by Bede, that He wrote his His-
tory 100 Years after Gregory's, and Austin's
Time; when Superftition had made greater
Advances: And therefore it does not follow
that he us'd such Words in the same Sense
as They did, if ever They us'd them at all.
Calling Churches by the Names of Saints,
is not the same as Confecrating, or Dedica-
ting Churches to them: Nor is placing Re-
liques
liques in Churches, the same as adoring them. Which may serve as a full Answer to what our Author says * about Those Matters. Of Images and Pictures, more at large presently. † Purgatory, and a Middle State of Souls, are not all one; as He fallaciously supposes. However, We grant Pope Gregory believ’d a Purgatory; and insist, as we well may, because we have often prov’d it, that He was erroneous in such his Belief. Prop. II. And it is to be observ’d (says He ‡) that Acríus, and Vigilantius, were condemn’d by the Church as Hereticks, in the 4th Age, about 200 Years before St. Gregory; the one for opposing the Doctrine of Purgatory; and the other for holding that all Prayers made to Saints deceas’d were fruitless and vain, that no honour was to be paid to them, and that to give any respect to their Relicks was downright Idolatry. ’Tis therefore plain that these three Articles concerning Purgatory, invoking the Saints, and paying a religious Respect to their Reliques, were Terms of Communion in St. Gregory’s Time; since the Tenets contrary to them had been condemn’d as Heresies long before. How were Those Men condemn’d by the Church as Hereticks? Were they condemn’d, and declar’d Hereticks by any Council? One of

* P. 117. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid.
them, Aerius, is said indeed to have taught Heretical, as well as Schismatical, Doctrines; but I never heard that his Denial of Purgatory was one of Them. He condemn'd praying for the Dead, I confess; and, by the way, I do not find that even This was deem'd Heresy; tho' it was Contradicting one general Opinion and Practice of the Church: But Prayers for the Dead as Then us'd had no Relation to Purgatory. Of Vigilantius's Opinion we know nothing, but what St. Jerom has told us. * About praying to Saints he says not one Word: He says indeed, in Answer to Vigilantius, that the Saints pray for us; but This does not prove that We are to pray to them. And if our Author can prove that to condemn such Praying was esteem'd Heresy by the Church about St. Jerom's time, or any Time before it; I will yield the Cause to him. The Truth of the Matter is; Vigilantius condemn'd such Honour as was then generally paid to the Reliques, and Tombs, of the Martyrs. Upon which St. Jerom, in his vehement Way, falls upon him with as much Zeal, and Severity, as if he had deny'd the Resurrection. Yet in all That Sharpness, and

* St. Auguf. de Hæresibus. Hær. 53. † Epift. ad Riparium; una cum Tractatu proximè sequenti adversus Vigilantium. Tom. 2. P. 120. Edit. Froben.

Fervency
Entitled, England's Conversation, &c. 213

Fervency of Contradiction, which is apt to carry Men into the other Extreme, He is so far from favouring any Worship, or Adoration of Saints, or their Reliques; that He protests against it in the clearest, and strongest Expressions. * We are are so far from "worshipping, or adoring the Reliques of "the Martyrs; that we do not worship the "Sun, nor the Moon, nor Angels, nor "Archangels, &c. We honour the Reliques "of the Martyrs; that we may adore "Him, whose Martyrs they are." I know our Author will tell us, This is the very Respect They pay to Reliques; They only honour them, but do not worship them. And This shall be answer'd, when we come to Images, and Pictures. It may here be further observ'd, that St. Jerom in This Epistle takes notice of Vigilantius's not being so much as censur'd by his own Bishop: Much less was He then condemn'd by the Church, is an Heretick. From what has been said it appears that Those Words of our Author, 'Tis therefore plain that these three Articles, &c. to the End of the Passage last cited, either

* Nos autem non dico Martyrum reliquias, sed ne solem quidem, et lunam, non Angelos, non Archangelas --- colimus, et adoramus. Honoramus autem reliquias Martyrum; ut cum, cujus sunt Martyres, adoremus. Hieron. adversus Vigilant. ubi supra.
proceeded from shameful Ignorance, or are shamefully fraudulent, and collusive. Purgatory was not deny'd by Acrius; nor Invoking the Saints, nor worshipping Reliques, or (if you please) Paying such a religious Respect to them as the present Papists do, condemn'd by Vigilantius: Because there were no such Doctrines, and Practices, in Their time. Nor could our Author have urg'd a more unlucky Evidence than This of Vigilantius: Because while St Jerom inveighs against Him, for decrying such an Honour as was then paid to the dead Bodies, and Tombs, of the Martyrs; He declares that the Church in his Time did not worship them: And so This Instance turns directly against the Popish Cause. Farther; According to our Author's own Account, Vigilantius maintain'd that no Honour, no Respect, should be paid to Saints, and their Reliques: And from the Church's condemning This Doctrine as Heretical [tho' it never did so] infers that Paying a religious Respect was a Term of Communion, &c. Is there no Respect, but religious Respect? What a Consequence is This?

In the next Page * two Instances are given, as quoted from Baronius by Mr. Collier, of our Departure from the Religion

* P. 118.
Entitled, England's Conversion, &c. 215

which Austin introduced: The one is, our abolishing the Monastick Life; for Austin was a Monk, and now we have no Monks: The Other is our not making the same Use of the Cross, and of our Saviour's Picture, as was made in his Time. Supposing Both were true; I hope Monkery is not essential to Christianity, or Churchship: And if Austin, and his Followers, made an Idolatrous or even Superstitious Use of the Cross, and our Saviour's Picture; we are not bound to do so. But 2dly. Our Author says nothing to Mr. Collier's Observation that the Church of England has not declar'd against the Monastick Life in any of her Articles. To his Observation, * that the Dissolution of Abbies here was an Act of the State, not of the Church; that it was prior to the Reformation, &c. He answers, that it was more properly an Act of the Church than of the State. Because Visiting, Reforming, and Dissolving Religious Houses, is most certainly an Exercise of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction. What if it be? Cannot Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction be usurp'd? But besides; It is not an Act of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction strictly so call'd: Of which we shall have Occasion to say a great deal, when the Third Dialogue comes under Consideration. Then likewise will of

* Ibid.
course be answer'd what He here adds in the next Words; * Besides that the Dissolution of them was commanded by K. Henry not as temporal Sovereign in his Dominions, but as supreme Head of the Church, &c. At present I only observe, 1st. That whatever he did of This Kind, He did by Act of Parliament; which I think belongs to the State, not to the Church. 2dly. Supposing all This had been done by the Church; still 'twas a Popish Church: Popish in all Respects, except That of acknowledging the Pope's Supremacy. Our Author's saying that † This Exception spoils all, is extremely Trifling. For no Man (adds He) was ever acknowledged to be a Member of the Church of Rome, who deny'd the Pope's Supremacy. Well, be it so: We do not say They were Members of the Church of Rome; but They profes'd the Religion of the Church of Rome in all other Respects. They were not Protestants therefore: They were Papists in every Instance, but one; and not only so, but zealous for That Religion. ‡ Neither (says He) was the Dissolution of Abbies wholly prior to the Reformation, as Mr. Collier is pleas'd to tell us: Unless he means that it was prior to the Reformation in the Reign of Edward VI. and Queen Elizabeth.

* P. 119.  † Ibid.  ‡ Ibid.
Entitled, England's Conversion, &c. 217

So he might very well mean; and You yourself in effect own he might. P. 251, 252.

Of which hereafter, in the Third Dialogue. There also, in Answer to what the Bishop of Meaux discourses, shall be consider'd what our Author Here lays down, as a Position of undoubted Truth; That discarding the Pope, and vesting the spiritual Supremacy in the Crown, was not only a Part, but the very capital Branch, of the Reformation.

His whole Discourse about the Cross, Images, and the Picture of Christ, is Nothing but a Repetition of the well known Popish Shuffling upon the Words Honour, Respect, Worship, Idolatry, &c. * I am glad (says the Young Gentleman) — that the Church of England has a great Regard to the Cross, and Picture of our Saviour.—However the Nakedness of Protestant Churches seems to speak another Language. For I have seen indeed the Pictures of Moses, and Aaron in some of them; but never found a Crucifix, or Picture of our Saviour in any. So have I found Both: They are Both to be seen in some Protestant Churches; if the Picture of our Saviour upon the Cross may be call'd a Crucifix. Not that it would be any great Reflection upon us, if all he says were true:

* P. 120.
and if some of our Churches were in this respect more naked than they are. He takes it for granted, that the innumerable Images, Pictures, Crucifixes, and other Religious Furniture, with which Popish Churches are crowded, tend very much to the Honour of God and Christianity: But that is a point, which it would become them rather to prove, than to suppose. * No better supported is the Preceptor's Assertion, That it was the Practice of Christians above 1400 Years ago to bless themselves, upon all occasions, with the Sign of the Cross. Nor does the Passage so often cited from Tertullian, de Corona, C. 3. in the least prove it. From thence indeed it appears that they us'd the Sign of the Cross very much; even upon the most common Occasions of Life: But they us'd it as a Badge or Token of their Profession, as a Mark of Distinction, to shew that they glory'd in the Cross, while they liv'd among Heathens who despis'd it; Not a Word about blessing themselves with it, or their placing so much Vertue, and Efficacy in it, as Papists do at present.

But now for the Worship of the Cross, our Saviour's Picture, and other Images: To which I add Reliques; the Evasions of our Adversaries being the same as to all of

* Ibid.
Entitled, England's Conversion, &c. 219

them. * If (says the Preceptor) he means to intimate that We pay Idolatrous Worship to Images, and Pictures; He wrongs us most grievously, and I fear his own Conscience into the Bargain. For a Man of his Learning cannot be ignorant, what our true, and real Doctrine is, in reference to the Matter before us. He might be a Man of the greatest Learning in the World, and yet be ignorant of This: For they Themselves are so; and could never yet agree in any one Meaning about it. Our Author, to be sure, understands his own Meaning; and other particular Persons understand Theirs: But what is This to the Doctrine of the Generality? If This Gentleman, and Others, be not for Worshipping, but only Honouring; many of their greatest Men have declar'd themselves on the contrary Side. Thomas Aquinas determines positively, that the same Reverence is to be paid to the Image of Christ as to Christ himself; and that the Image is to be ador'd with Latria; which, according to their own Account, is the highest Sort of Worshipping; and greater cannot be paid to God. The same he says of the Cross, in the very next Article. To omit

* P. 121. † Sequitur quod eadem reverentia exhibeatur imaginii Christi et ipsi Christo. Cum ergo Christus adoretur adoratione latriæ, consequens est quod ejus imago sit adoratione latriæ adoranda. 3. Q. 25. Artic 3.
An Answer to a Popish Book.

Bonaventure, Capreolus, Castro, Canisius, Turriianus, and many more (*Vasquez reck- ons thirty, and adds himself to the Number) the great Bellarmine † will have Images worshipped not only upon Account of the Prototype, or Thing signify’d, but for their own Sakes; so that the Worship may be terminated in the Image. Nay, the Cross itself is invok’d, and pray’d to in the Passion-Hymn. *Thomas Aquinas makes This a Medium to prove that the Worship of Latria is due to it. † He argues. "To That in which "we place the Hope of our Salvation We "pay the Worship of Latria: But We place "the Hope of our Salvation in the Cross; "For Thus the Church sings; O Cross, "our only Hope, hail, in This Time of the "Passion, increase the righteousness of the "Just, and give Pardon to the Accus’d, or "Guilty. Therefore the Cross is to be a- ""dor’d with Latria." An admirable Argument! And I shall not go about to disprove it. I only ask, does not the Church sing the same Song still? I never heard she had left

it off: Or if she will say she has; We have as good an Answer to give her upon That Supposition, as upon the Other. To which we may add, that to prepare the Way for This precious Hymn, the Priest, uncovering the Cross, says; * Behold the Wood of the Cross: The Quire answers; Come, let us adore. This is the Good-Friday Hymn. And lest we should imagine that by the Cross is metonymically meant Christ crucify'd upon it; Care is taken to prevent That Construction: For the One is expressly distinguish'd from the Other. † Thou only wert worthy to bear the Purchase of the World: i.e. Christ.

Not but that take it how you will, the Practice we are considering is totally and absolutely forbidden. Call it Worship, Honour, Respect, what you please; nay, declare in the most solemn manner that it is not Worship, but Respect; still it is a Religious Respect: Our Author himself several times stiles it so. And all Religious Respects, directed to, or towards, Images, are utterly unlawful. We are forbidden to bow down to, or before, them. || Do not Papists bow down to, or before, them? We are forbidden to serve them: so even Dulia is cut

* Ecce lignum Crucis. Chor. Venite, adoremus. Turret. ubi supra † Sola digna fuisti ferre pretium seculi. Ibid. || For to them, and before them, signify the same. See Exod. 20. 5 compar'd with 2 Chron. 25. 14. In the original Hebrew it is more plain.
off. We are forbidden even to make them, or have them; *i.e.* for any Religious Purpose. They will say, This is not Idolatry: Admit it; For tho' I am far from granting it, I will not cavil about That Word neither: All this while 'tis forbidden; 'Tis a Sin, whether you call it Idolatry, or not. Tho' We must here remember that we could justly lay the Charge much heavier, than according to This softer Sense; and That too not only against particular Persons, as above, but against the Church of Rome her self. For besides her publick Devotions just now cited, to which might be added a Multitude more, containing rank Idolatry, and Blasphemy, if there be such Things in Nature; our Author, as well he may, refers us, for her true Sense, to Pope Pius's Creed, and the Council of Trent. That Council refers us to the 2d Council of Nice, * which injoins Adoration of Images, in the strongest Terms; and anathematizes Those who so much as doubt concerning it. And when Some de- sir'd that the Word Adore, which seem'd too harsh, might be changed for Venerate, which founded softer, the Council pronounced Them Hypocrites who would profess to venerate Images, yet not adore them; and declared them guilty of reviling the Saints. Now

* See Turret. P. 58: the
Entitled, England's Conversion, &c. 223
the Council of Trent appealing to This of Nice, and explaining its own Meaning by it, manifestly declares, and enacts the very same Thing. Or to return, and put it upon the other Supposition, the lower, and softer Sense; If the Religious Respect, as our Author calls it, which even He, and Those of his Opinion, pay to Images, be not Worshipping them, there is no such Thing as Worshipping them at all; (for Nobody was ever fottish enough to worship any Image as God.) And This makes Nonsense of the second Commandment; and That is Blasphemy. The Main of what has been now said about Images may be apply'd to Reliques. They bow, and kneel down to them; They kiss them in a religious way; They pray before them; Nay, they swear by them; which is flat Idolatry. Or if they reply, it is not; Let them for Argument's fake, as Before about Images, enjoy their Saying: It is unlawful, and a damnable Sin, whatever Name it is call'd by.

At best; their most learned Men are divided in their Opinions concerning the Sense of this Religious Respect. What shall the Ignorant, and Illiterate do? 'Tis plain They give all the outward Signs of Adoration to these Things, that they can give to God himself. Can they, when they outwardly do what God has forbidden, be secur'd from inward Idolatry, or some Sin
Sin of That Kind; by vertue of those Refine-
ments, Niceties, and Distinctions, which
they never heard of; or, if they did, can no
more understand, than they do the Coptic
Language; and concerning which their pro-
foundest Doctors are not agreed?

I think I have taken effectual Care to bring
This Matter to a plain Issue; avoiding That
Pest of Arguing, and almost of Common
Sense, Wrangling about Words. If, when we
see these Men kneel, bow, kiss, and the like,
They will tell us we are mistaken, and that
it is not properly, Kneeling, Bowing, and
Kissing; then, I confess, a new, and noble
Scene of Controversy is open'd: And 'twill
be time enough to discuss it, when it comes
before us. In the mean while; let them call
This Bowing, Kneeling, and Kissing, in a
religious way too, (for so they all agree it
is) let them call it, I say, by the Name of
Worship, Adoration, Veneration, Honour,
Cult, Respect, or whatever else they please:
Still it is contrary to the express Commands
of God, and his Vengeance is denounc'd up-
on Those who break them.

But, as Papists manage the Dispute, the
Question is not, whether They worship Im-
ages; but whether there can be any Image-
Worship at all: Or, if there be, whether
there be any Crime in it, or no. Another
Instance of their great Honour and Respect
for the holy Scriptures! The same may be
said
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said of their Distinctions (for they are in effect the same) about the Worship of Saints, and Angels. According to which Method of Proceeding, i.e. interpreting the plainest Words contrary to their plainest Meaning, one may distinguish away all the Ten Commandments, all the Precepts of the old, and new Testament, all the Laws of God, and Man.

And as it is thus stated (says He) It has been a Term of Communion ever since the Manichees began to shew themselves profess’d Enemies of holy Pictures; that is, some Ages before St. Gregory’s time. This is to teach us two Things. 1st. That to deny Image-Worship is a Part of the Manichaean Heresy. 2dly. That Image-Worship obtain’d in the Church some Ages before St. Gregory’s Time. Both which are grofs and most impudent Falshoods. I add, the first of them is a most impious, as well as impudent one. Good God! That to oppose a Practice which the divine Law forbids in the plainest Words that can be devis’d, should by any Christian be call’d a Part of the most filthy, detestable, diabolical Complication of Heresies that ever appear’d in the World! What if the Manichees were Enemies to such Pictures as he calls holy? The Devil himself may speak some Truth. The Jews, we grant, are at this Day adverse from Image-Worship; but we will ne-
ver grant that therefore it is Judaism to be so. They acknowledge the Old Testament, must We therefore deny it? This Author surely will not say that every thing is Protestantism which Protestants hold; any more than We say that every thing is Popery which Papists hold. But I am ashamed of having said so much about Nothing. Nothing, I mean, in Point of Reason; For in Point of Fact, a more wicked, and profane Calumny was never invented. I ask our Author, after all, where He met with this Piece of History, that the Manichees, in any Age, were profess'd Enemies to holy Pictures, as He calls them. And if He says I wrong him, because he does not affirm that 'tis Manichaism to oppose them; I ask 1st. Whether he does not affirm that the Manichees were profess'd Enemies to them? 2dly. Whether he does not consider the Manichees as Manichees; or reckon This as one of their Errors? And 3dly. Whether every Error of the Manichees, as such, be not Manichaism? If to the second Question he answers, No; I ask once more, to what purpose all This was brought in, unless it were ad confundam Invidiam, and to insinuate at least the ungodly Scandal aforesaid?

He proceeds. * I dare therefore confidently assure Mr. Collier, that he may with the

* P. 121, 122.
same safety of Conscience carry his Respects for Those pious Objects [Images] to the Lengths of the Church of Rome, as he kiss-"fes the Bible, or bows to the Communion-Table, or to the venerable Name of Jesus: Or finally, as he keeps holy Days in Honour of Saints departed. I answer; Neither the Bible, nor the Communion-Table, nor the Name of Jesus, nor a Holy-Day, is an Image: Bowing to Images is forbidden in Scripture; and was ever by all Mankind, in all Ages, deem'd worshipping them, or paying religious Honour to them. Bowing to the Communion-Table is not forbidden; nor can it in the common Language, and Sense of Mankind, be call'd worshipping it: Tho', by the Way, we do not so properly bow to the Communion-Table, as towards the East; which is founded upon an antient Custom, universally practis'd in the primitive Church: Not that 'tis enjoin'd by our Church; Or if it were, 'tis a Ceremony, and nothing else. Bowing to, or rather at, the Name of Jesus is not only not forbidden, but in effect commanded. Kissing the Bible is only the Form of taking an Oath, and a mere Ceremony. By keeping holy days of Saints, We pay no religious Honour to the Persons of Those Saints, but only a grateful one to their Memories: And that we worship the Days themselves, I hope Nobody will affirm; Our religious Ho-
nor upon Those Days, as well as others, is paid to God only. * All which (continues He) are undoubtedly religious Respects, as being paid upon a religious Motive, and ultimately referred to God himself. If by religious Respects he means Circumstances having some relation to Religion, as every Ceremony in Divine Worship has; I grant it: If he means religious Honours to any Being but God, as by the Word paid he seems to do; I deny it, for the Reasons just mention'd. Those Words ultimately referred to God himself, are fallacious and delusive, and manifestly design'd to insinuate an Untruth in Fact, viz. That they are by Us at all referred, as Religious Honours, to any other Being. † And of This nature, He adds, was the Religious Devotion which St. Austin, and his Company paid to the Cross, and Picture of our Saviour; when it was carry'd as a Banner before them. I answer; there is no Hint that they paid it any religious Devotion at all. They did not bow to it, or prostrate themselves before it, as Papists do now. But of This more in what follows. || Tis very true indeed, there is not the least Intimation in Bede that they worshipped it. And God forbid there should be any such Intimation; if by

* Ibid. † Ibid. || Ibid.
the Word Worship (the ambiguous signification whereof is of wonderful use to Protestants in This Controversy) be meant paying divine Honours to it: This indeed is not intimated by Bede. This I have abundantly answer'd already; and shewn that the ambiguous signification of the Word Worship is of singular Use to Papists, not Protestants. But That Parenthesis is another Specimen of our Author's Modesty. Who proceeds Thus. * But the Relation of the very Fact before us, is more than a bare Intimation that they paid a Religious Devotion to it: This being wholly inseparable from their carrying it in a religious Procession, as a Banner before them. Ift. I observe that our Author is for paying not only religious Respect to the Crosses, Pictures, and Images, but religious Devotion: For Devotion is something more than Respect. 2dly. Why must their walking up to King Ethelbert in a solemn manner, with the Crosses before them, be call'd a religious Procession, as That Phrase is now us'd? He may as well say that, among Us Protestants, a Dean and Chapter of a Cathedral, walking with the Virge carry'd before them, make a religious Procession. For 3dly. If carrying the Crosses as a Banner gave it the Nature of a Religious Procession; then Con-

* Ibid.
stantine the Great, whenever He march'd his Army, after He became a Christian, made a religious Procession likewise. But He en-
forces his Argument. * For I presume Mr. Collier will not deny that when in our so-
lemn Processions abroad, we have the Cross, and the Reliques, and Pictures of Saints carry'd before us, we intend to pay a religious Honour to'em by so doing. And so did without all Dispute St. Austin and his Company, who by their own Example introduced That Form of Devotion into This Island. I grant the First, and deny the Second. Papists cer-
tainly pay religious Honour to those Things; and would therefore own they worship them, were not the ambiguous Signification of That Word of great Use to them. This I not only grant, but have above insisted upon, to shew the vile Shuffling of This Writer in playing with the ambiguous Signification of Words, and by vertue of That sometimes affirming, and sometimes denying the very same thing; according as his Turn is best ser'd by either. But that St. Austin and his Company paid such Honour to the Cross and Picture, we have not the least Evidence; unless it be our Author's without all Dispute, and so forth.

* Ibid.

* But
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* But suppose they had prostrated themselves before the Cross, or Picture of Christ, or bow'd down to it, and kiss'd it, as we do, &c. It seems then They did not: Which, if we consider what has been discours'd, is somewhat material. The Remainder of the Paragraph is a Repetition of his Quirks about the Bible, and the Communion-Table; with the Addition of something concerning our Sacramental Bread, and Wine: * To which we do not pay any religious Honour, or Respect, by kneeling down before them; As he very well knows, or may know if he pleases; Our Church having sufficiently declar'd herself upon That Subject.

Pope Gregory I. was so far from sending Image-Worship into England, that he expressly condemns it, in his two Letters to Serenus, Bishop of Marseilles. For notwithstanding the shameful Evasions of our Author, the plain Fact was This. Images and Pictures having some time before been introduced into Churches, the People of Marseilles began to worship them; I mean, to kneel, bow, and prostrate themselves, before them. Upon which, the good Bishop pull'd them down, and broke them to pieces. Gregory commends his Zeal for hindering the Worship of them; but disapproves of his

* Bid.  † P. 123.
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breaking them; because he thought they might in some measure supply the Want of Books to the poor People who could not read. His Disapprobation even Thus far is in very gentle Terms: * But as for the Adoration of them, he frequently declares against it in the strongest Expressions. To This what says our Author?

† P. Sir, Pope Gregory writes nothing in That Letter but what every Roman Catholic in the World will subscribe to. That is, They will double, and prevaricate, and quibble upon the Words Worship, Honour, and Respect as Before; and interpret Pope Gregory, as They do the Scriptures. || The People at Marfeilles had effectually carry'd their Devotion to the Pictures hung up in their Churches even to a criminal Excess, as St. Gregory calls it. Which, by the by, is at least an unanswerable Proof, that holy Images and Pictures were not only kept in Churches; but a religious Honour was paid to them long before that Time. For People do not usually come to Excesses all on a sudden; but pass gradually, and by Steps, from the moderate Use of Things to an Abuse of them, when that happens to be

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* Sed frangere easdem imagines non debuisse judicamus. ———Tua igitur fraternitas et illas servare, et ab earum adoratu populum prohibere, debuit. Lib. VII. Epist. 102. † Ibid. || Ibid.
the Case. Would not one think now, by
This formal Argumentation, that Gregory
really says, what he is here represented to
say? A criminal Excess, as St. Gregory
calls it! People do not usually come to Exces-
ses——Whereas there is not one Word in
Gregory, about criminal Excess, or any
thing like it. He supposes Prostration to
imply Adoration, and the Adoration of a
Picture to be a Sin: * Absolutely forbids all
sorts of Worship to Images, and Pictures;
† all Sorts of Creature-Worship whatsoever:
‡ In another Quotation, † Those Words
** And our Worship at the same time be all
** of it REFER'D to God, and DIRECTED to
** the Holy Trinity,** are wrong translated.
Gregory says, ‡ and that they may prostrate
themselves in adoring the holy omnipotent
Trinity only. Everybody knows the Use
which Papists make of the Word refer'd
upon the Subject of Image-Worship: The
Distinction of direct and indirect, ultimate

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* In adoratione prostrantur. Lib. ix. Epift. 9. Et po-
109. † Adorare vero imagines omnibus modis devitai.
Ibid. Frangi vero non debuit, quod non ad adorandum, sed ad
instruendas solvitur Mentes nescientium fuit collocatum.
Ibid. ‡ Quia omne Manufactum adorare non liceat; quo-
niam scriptum est, Dominum tuum Deum adorabis, et illi soli
servies. Ibid. † P. 124. ‡ Et in adoratione solius omni-
potentis Sanctae Trinitatis humiliter prostrantur. Lib.
ix. Epift. 9.
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and subordinate, turns upon it. Whereas St. Gregory says positively that the Trinity only is to be ador'd; not a Syllable about reference, or any such thing. In the same Passage, the Translation has it; Take care that nothing made by them [Statuaries, and Painters] may be honour'd to Adoration. As if They might be honour'd short of Adoration; meaning by the Latter such Adoration, as is due only to God: For so our Author explains himself. But in the Original the Words are, as I have above cited them; Avoid the Adoration of Images by all Means, or Ways. And I hope those Words, which I have above cited too in the Original Language, Plac'd in Churches not for Adoration, but only for Instruction, are utterly exclusive of all Adoration, Honour, Respect, or what You please; of all Sorts, and Degrees, of Religious Regard whatsoever; in short, of every thing, but Instruction only. Our Author therefore might have been asham'd to reproach Mr. Collier, and Others, for applying what Gregory says of the People of Marseilles to the present Church of Rome. I heartily pray God (* says He) to forgive Him, and his Brethren, the Injustice they continually do us in their Misrepresentations of our Doctrine.

* P. 124.
What? Are we to have the old Story over again, about *A Papist misrepresented, and represented*? * Or do we want a new Monfieur de Meaux, to oblige us with another *Exposition of the Doctrine of the Catholick Church*? † Such an Account has been long since given of That matter; as to shew, to the everlasting Infamy of These Men, that no Persons upon Earth can be more guilty of Misrepresentation, than Papists when they complain of being misrepresented.

To give the Reader a thorough Notion of their Sincerity and Modesty upon This Article; I will produce a remarkable Passage from the Learned Answerer of their *Nubes Testium*; to whom I have elsewhere refer'd. If the Romanists do not worship Creatures, as they declare they do not, tho' we see they do; one would "wonder at the Index *Expurgatorius* of the present Church of Rome, † which commands *Solus Deus Adorandus* (*God only is to be ador'd*) to be struck out of the Marginal Notes of *Humphreus's Latin Translation and Edition*

* See several Pamphlets with that Title, and the several Answers to them, in the Years 1685, and 1686.
1667:
of St. Cyril of Alexandria's Comment
upon Esaia; * and out of the Marginal Notes in Robert Stephens's Bible printed 1557. Serviendum Soli Deo; † (that we must serve God only:) whereas both these Passages are the very Words of our Saviour himself, Matthew 4. 10. I would fain know of any Romanist, how this is not virtually and in effect to command that that Verse in the Gospel should be struck out; though it contains our Saviour's own expressions, who should surely be allowed to understand his own Religion as well as the Managers of the Index Expurgatorius.

And for what relates to the Cross itself, they have ‡ ordered that non ut Adoremus (not that we should adore it) should be struck out of Masius his Learned Commentary upon Joshua 22. 28. These are things so very notorious; that my wonder increases, and my admiration at those People, who (notwithstanding all this) would fain have us believe, that they do not worship the Cross itself: When not only their Pontifical, and their Service on Good-friday, teach and shew that they of the Church of Rome


" adore
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"adore the Cross; but their Index Expurgatorius is so careful to strike out of the Indexes to the Fathers Works any thing that doth but appear to thwart or contradict such worship.

"If the Church of Rome doth not worship Images; why is she so careful to strike out * of the Index to St. Hierome such innocent passages as these, Adorare Statuas vel Imagines, Cultores Dei non debent; the Worshippers of God ought not to ADORE Statues or Images; Imago una tantum veneranda, One only Image, [to wit, God the Son, the express Image of his Father] is to be worshipped?

"Why doth the poor Index suffer here, and not St. Hierome in whom † these very Expressions are?

"If the Church of Rome give no Adoration to Saints or Angels; why doth her Index Expurgatorius command such Passages as these following to be struck out of ‡ the Index to St. Athanasius's Works?

"Adorari solius Dei est, nullius autem creature; Adoration is to be paid to God alone, and to no Creature with him; Angeli non sunt Adorandi, Angels are not

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* Index Expurg. p. 311. † Nos autem unum habemus virum, &c. U N A M venerarum Imaginem, quae est invisibilis & omnipotentis Dei. D. Hier. in Ezek. l. 4. c. 16. ‡ Index Expurg. p. 52.
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to be adored; Creatura nulla adoranda,
nulla invocanda, immo cam adorare Ari-
orum & Ethniformum sit; No Creature
is to be adored or invoked, to adore
which would be to play the Arian
or the Pagan. I would fain know why
the Index to his Works must be dealt so
severely with, while Athanasius himself
is guilty (if there be any Crime in them)
of every Expression in the passages which
are condemn'd by the Index Expurgato-

Let any one look into St. Anathasius's
third Oration against the Arians, and
He may there find this Great Father
( upon occasion of his mentioning St. John's
offer to worship the Angel) speaking out
* plainly enough, that God alone is to be
adored, and that the Angels (since they
are but Creatures) notwithstanding their
Excellencies are in the number of Wor-
shipers, not of the worshipped. In his
Epistle to Bishop Adelphius He himself
says, (what the Index to him did but
transcribe,) That we do not adore any
Creature; God forbid (says the Good Fa-

* Οὐκ ὁ Θεὸς ὁ Μονος τῷ Παράκλησιν ὑπὲρ οὗ ἐστιν
καὶ αὐτοῖς Ἀγγεῖοι ὃν καὶ ἀλλήλας ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἐν τῷ
καὶ ἀλλάξατε παντα ἐν ὑμῖν ἐν ἑαυτῶν ἡ θεοκομία ἡ ἀλλα
και ἡ θεοκομία ἡ τοῖς ἐν τῇ ἄνθρωποι. D. Athanas. Orat. 3. contra Arian,
p. 204. Edit. Commel, 1600.

**Thor**
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that we should, since this would be the same sin that the Arians and Pagans are guilty of; but we do adore the Lord of the Creation, the incarnate Word of God.

If the Church of Rome doth not adore the Martyrs and their Reliques, why doth her Index Expurgatorius strike out of the Index to St. Hierome, Non adorantur Martyres, Martyrs are not to be adored; Adoramus Solum Deum, honoramus Reliquias Martyrum; We adore God alone, and honour only the Reliques of the Martyrs? The Managers of the Index Expurgatorius ought to have consider'd, that if there be any crime in these Passages, St. Hierome himself ought to answer for them; since it was He that said, Christians did not adore the Martyrs, much less their Reliques.

Either the present Writers of the Church of Rome are not serious and in earnest with us, or they think our eyes shut, and that we do not see some of their Books: It is very vain to talk (as our Compiler doth) of respect only and honour to Saints


and
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and their Reliques and Images, when we see that any thing which offers to deny Adoration to all these is condemned by their Authentick earthly Purgatory, the Roman Index.

I will insist no farther on these scandalous things, but hope I may, under the Protection and after the Example of Gregory the Great, conclude, not only against Images, (as † He did,) but against every Creature animate or inanimate, that NO RELIGIOUS WORSHIP is or can be due or given to any of them, because of that saying of our blessed Saviour: Thou shalt WORSHIP THE LORD THY GOD, and HIM ONLY shalt thou SERVE.

To This give me Leave to add another Quotation from a very great Man. Answer to a Papist misrepresented &c. P. 11. and 16. "To perform these Acts [Kneeling, Burning Incense &c.] before Images without a Design to worship them, is declared by Great Divines of the Church of Rome to be next to Heresy. Suarez says this Way of Durandus (who was against directly worshipping them) isdangerous, rash, and favours of Heresy. He adds, that his own Opinion, that Ima-

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ges were truly and properly to be wor-
shipped, was generally receiv'd by their
Divines. And therefore I need name no
more.——— Dares he deny Veneration to
Images; when the Council of Trent says,
eisqur Venerationem impertiendam? Bel-
larminé has a Chapter on purpose to
prove that true and proper worship is to
be given to Images. And was He a Mis-
reprenter?

Let every Christian, as he tenders his e-
ternal Salvation, abhor the Principles, and
Practices, and avoid the Tenets of these wicked
Men; who will contradict One another, Them-
selves, the plainest Facts, Reason, Scripture,
our Senses; affirm, or deny, say, or do, any
thing, to deceive Souls, and increase their
own Faction; who, while they are labour-
ing That Point, proceed upon a Maxim di-
rectly counter to those Words of the A-
potle, Let God be true, and every Man a
Liar: On the contrary, say These in Effect,
let all Mankind besides, let Reason, and
our Senses, and God himself, be Liars;
so the Church of Rome be but believed to
speak Truth, while she is telling the most
Monstrous and Impudent Lies in Nature.
The Pope's Supremacy is the next Point.
And here our Author comes with That emp-
ty Distinction † between the Church of Rome

† Ibid. and P. 125.
and the Court of Rome; declaring himself Zealous for the One, but not desirous of having any thing to do with the Other: That is, he declares for French Popery; which we all know the English Papists generally profess. But notwithstanding this Distinction, I do not see how a Man can be a Clergyman at least of the Church of Rome, without declaring for the Court of Rome in the strongest Terms imaginable; if Asserting the Fullness of the Pope's Power, and Jurisdiction, may be so accounted. For does not every Ecclesiastic, even in France, swear to the Creed of Pope Pius IV? Of which Creed This is one Article: * "I do acknowledge the holy Catholick and Apostolick Roman Church, to be the Mother and Mistress of all Churches; and I do promise and swear true Obedience to the Bishop of Rome, the Successor of St. Peter, the Prince of the Apostles, and Vicar of Jesus Christ." And this is part of That Faith, which is afterwards declared necessary to Salvation †. Nay, I do not see how a Man can be so much as a Member of the Romish Church without assenting to this Doctrine. For besides that the Ecclesiastics swear to teach it, and preach it to all un-

* Art 23. † Hanc veram Catholicam Fidem, extra quam nemo salvis esse potest.
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der their Care; “To make a Man a Mem-
ber of That Church (says a † learned
Writer) he must declare that he holds the
same Faith which the Church of Rome
holds: And this is as much the Faith of
the Roman Church, as the Pope and the
Council of Trent can make it. And it
is now printed in the Roman Ritual at
Paris, set forth by Paul the 5th as the
Confession of Faith own’d by the Church
of Rome.” I am sensible the Gallican
Clergy strenuously oppose this Doctrine; but
if they are inconsistent with themselves, We
cannot help That.

* His limiting the Pope, and giving him
so much Power, as he thinks fit, both here,
and in other Parts of his Book, ‡ is purely
Arbitrary; and so is his declaring that ‖ Inf-
sallibility [of the Pope] and the Deposing
Power neither are now, nor ever were, Terms
of Communion. If He is for a limited Su-
premacy; The Council of Trent is Not;
Bellarmine is Not; the Generality of Ro-
manists are Not. So it was just now about
Image-Worship: He takes it in This, or That
Senfe; but the main Body of Papists, and
the Church of Rome, as a Church, take it
otherwise. What Authority has He to im-

† Answer to Papist misrepresented, &c. p. 7.
* P. 125. ‡ P 127. 141. ‖ P. 125.

R 2 pose
pose his own Popery upon us? Nay, why are we bound to take Popery as France gives it us; when the Popery of Spain, Portugal, Italy, and Germany, is different? Had any Pope (says he) ever declared himself so as to regard all other Bishops as his Deputies, and Vicars;—he had reckoned without his Host. And he denies that the Pope has an Authority to send over a foreign Archbishop with a Commission to exercise ordinary Jurisdiction over another Archbishop. But did he never hear of those innumerable Writers, many Popes, and various Councils, which have given the Pope an absolute, unlimited Monarchy; making the Bishops, as well as others, his absolute Subjects and Vassals, which is something more than his Deputies, and Vicars? But now the Pope's Supremacy, it seems, is become as difficult a Point as the Infallibility; the Reformation having puzzled the Cause, and made it more difficult than it was before, tho' it was never fully agreed upon. I would only ask our Author, what He himself means by the Pope's Supremacy; or how much Supremacy he is pleased to allow him. In one place * he calls it Superintendency: But how are we the wiser for That? Or what does This Superintendency imply? He only tells

* P. 127.
** P. 141.
† P. 127.
us of some Power which he does not yield to him; but what Power he does yield to him, he nowhere informs us. However, would his French Doctrine of the Pope’s Supremacy have pass’d before the Council of Trent? Or at it? Or is it Now generally receiv’d in Popish Countries?

If the Pope’s Infallibility was never a Term of Communion; it is at least asserted, and Zealously contended for, by great Men of the Romish Church. But is our Author very sure that the Depositing Doctrine neither is, nor ever was, a Term of Communion? How then comes it to pass, that Those are excommunicated who deny it? As they are by the Bull in Cæna Domini. For in That, under more Articles than one, the Pope exercises an absolute Authority over temporal Princes in their own Dominions: And if He be thus King of Kings, He has certainly a Right to depose them, for their Disobedience.

His Assertion, That St. Gregory maintain’d the divine Right of his Supremacy over the whole Church as vigorously as any Pope ever did, is just as true as the rest. I grant several Popes had made their Encroachments, and grasp’d at more Power than was their due, before his time; particularly Leo I. at the Council of Chalcedon: Where,

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* Ibid.
by the Bye, it was decreed that the Bishop of Constantinople should enjoy the same Privileges as the Bishop of Rome. Nor is there any doubt but Gregory himself had Ambition enough; which appears, to omit other Proofs, from That Instance relating to ourselves, which has been before hinted at, and will hereafter be considered more at large, his assuming an Authority over the British Bishops. See Prop. II. But as for Supremacy over the whole Church, and by divine Right too; it was not come to That in his Days. And how does our Author prove it was? * 1st. From Gregory's saying (Lib. II. Epift. 56.) If it is pretended that the Bishop has neither a Metropolitan nor Patriarch; I answer that his Cause is to be heard and decided by the See Apostolick; Which is the Head of all Churches. But may not Sedes Apostolica as well signify any other See Apostolick as That of Rome? For were there not more Apostolical Sees than One? What thinks our Author of Antioch particularly; of which St. Peter himself was Bishop? And then why may not the Words all Churches be restrain'd to all Churches in That District? He proves it, 2dly. From Lib. 9. Epift. 59. written, as He says, to the Bishop of Syracuse. As to what they write of the Church of Constantinople, who doubts but that it is subject to the See Apostolick?
I have look'd into two Editions, (whether our Author's Edit. vet. be one of them, I know not) and cannot find this Passage; nor is Epist. 59. Lib. 9. written to the Bishop of Syracuse. But we will take it for granted that the Words are Gregory's. If Constantinople was subject to any Apostolick See, one would think it shoud be rather Antioch than Rome; because Constantinople belong'd to the Eastern Church, and Empire, not to the Western; being, as Antioch was, when the Empire was divided by Constantine, under the Praefectus-Prætorio of the East, not as Rome was, under That of Italy. Then here is nothing of divine Right so much as hinted at, in either of our Author's Proofs; yet That is Part of what he undertook to prove. And if he objects that I strain Gregory's Words, and put an arbitrary Interpretation upon them; I Answer, 1st. Let any indifferent Person judge, whether, consider'd alone, or by themselves, they do not bear my Sense, at least as well as his; if not better. 2dly If they are consider'd in Conjunction with what Gregory elsewhere says; they cannot bear his Sense, unless we will make That eminent Saint contradict himself. For declaring against the Title of Oecumenical Bishop assum'd by John Patriarch of Constantinople, he at the fame time, and in the strongest Expressions, declares against any such Power, in any Person whatsoever, as the Popes have since arrogated to themselves.

This
This he does in several Letters to the Emperor Mauritius, Eulogius Bishop of Alexandria, John the Patriarch of Constantinople Himself, and Others.

But this our Author tells us * is a threadbare Argument; a hundred times repeated, and as often answer'd. 'Tis as easy for him to say the same of all our Arguments; and as easy for Us to say the same of all Theirs. But to the Point. † As that Saint understood it, he says, the Title was unjustifiable on several Accounts. First, because it seem'd to import Jurisdiction over the whole Church. Very well: Pray let it be remember'd, that, according to our Author's Concession, Gregory oppos'd it under That Notion. ‡ Which [Jurisdiction over the whole Church] did not belong to the Bishop of Constantinople, nor was indeed challeng'd by him. According to Gregory, it did not belong to the Bishop of Constantinople, nor to any body else: For he absolutely condemns the Title which it is acknowledged he took to imply Jurisdiction over the whole Church; as such pronouncing it superstitious, profane, blasphemous, diabolical, and the Fore-runner of Antichrist. It is indeed probable enough that it was not challeng'd by the Bishop of Constantinople in That Sense; but 'tis plain Gregory oppos'd it in That Sense; and our

* P. 126. † P. 127. ‡ Ibid.

Author
Entitled, England's Conversion, &c. 249

Author owns he did: Which, together with his opposing it absolutely, or as apply'd to any Person whatsoever, is the very thing we assert, and all we want in this Argument. * And 2dly. (continues He) because it seemed to import that he was the only Bishop in the World; or at least that all other Bishops were but his Deputies, and Vicars. I answer, 1st. Admitting This; 'Tis no more Power than Popes have assum'd, and the Jesuits and others allow them. 2dly. 'Tis evident that Gregory, in the place cited by our Author, did not use the Word only in an absolute, but comparative Signification. Because he explains himself, in very many Passages, to mean no more than a Paramount Authority, or Prebeminence, usurp'd over all other Bishops. He says, for Instance, the Patriarch of Constantinople imitated the Devil; who would have exalted himself above the other Angels, ad culmen Singularitatis, to the Height of Singularity. Did the Devil think That would have made Him the only Angle, and the other Angels no Angels at all, but only his Vicars, or Deputies? It would have made Him Monarch, if you please, and Them his Subjects; which is the Case of the Pope's Pretensions, as to other Bishops. But as our Author follows Bellarmine in this Piece of Chicane; for a full and parti-

* Ibid.

ecular
An Answer to a Popish Book,
cular Answer to it, I refer the Reader to
the most learned Dr. Forbes * of Scotland:
who in eight Anti-Theses, as He calls them,
has largely expos'd the Sophistry of That
Cardinal upon this Argument. † You would
wonder (says he) at the Defence which our
Adversaries here make for themselves. He
might well say so; for 'tis shameful Shu-
fling indeed.

Observe then, with how much Truth our
Author asserts that † no Pope in any Age
ever took upon him the Title of Universal
Bishop, in the Sense that it was inveigh'd
against, and rejected by St. Gregory. No?
Not as importing a Jurisdiction over the
whole Church? For in That Sense he owns
Gregory inveigh'd against it; and He inveigh'd
against it, as I said, absolutely, or as apply'd
to any Person. Let our Author's Concession
therefore, and That Pope's general Invective
be put together; and see what will be the
Issue. Indeed, had Gregory intended to have
apply'd this Title to himself in this Sense, as
well as to have deny'd it to every body else;
it is not to be conceiv'd but that He would
have said so. In short; does the Pope assume
a Jurisdiction over the whole Church; or
not? If he does not; Where is his Suprema-

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* Forbesi à Corfe Instruct. Histor-Theolog. P. 784, &c.
ad finem. † Miseris qua hic defensione se Adversarii
tueantur † P. 127.
Entitled, England's Conversion, &c. 251

Or in what does it consist? If he does, as all the World knows he does; He assumes a Power and Authority which St. Gregory condemn'd. To which I add that Gregory is so far from applying this Title to himself; that he expressly disclaims it. * None of the Roman Bishops (says he) did ever assume That Name of Singularity.

Let it be observ'd too, with what Modesty our Author affirms that the Belief of the Pope's † Supremacy over the whole Church was a Term of Communion in Pope Gregory's Time, as well as now. Supposing there were then such a Thing pretended to, as I have shewn there was Not; how does it appear that the Belief of it was a Term of Communion? Why, our Author positively asserts it was: We have no other Proof; nor was there ever a grosser Falshood utter'd by Man.

† And so he will always insist upon it as an uncontestable Truth, that Roman-Catholicks profess to this Day the Faith which St. Augustin preach'd. This Assertion, I hope, I have fully consider'd. ‡ Because it is impossible to prove from any Authentick History that there happen'd any Change, &c.

* Ad Maurit. Epift. 32. Nullus Romanorum Pontificum, unquam hoc Singularitatis vocabulum assumit. As to himself he speaks more plainly, ad Eulog. Epift. 30. L. 7. † P. 125. ‡ P. 128. || Ibid.
This fine Argumentation shall not fail to have Justice done it in our Examination of the next Section; in which it is unfolded at large. * In all which space of time [from England's Conversion to the Reformation] our Ancestors, says a Protestant Writer, were all Papists with a Vengeance; Unless sometimes a few Lollards started up, &c. Why does not he name his Protestant Writer? And shew us that he truly represents his Meaning? Or if a Protestant Writer did say this; he said what was false: Which is an Answer at least as good as the Argument.

To the Eighth Section:

Entitled,

The same Faith was preach'd to the Saxons, as had been preach'd four hundred Years before to the Britons.

Almost the same, undoubtedly; tho' perhaps not quite. But we will admit that it was altogether the same: And

* Ibid.
Entitled, England's Conversion, &c. 253

our Author's setting himself so formally to prove it, is the most solemn Piece of Impertinence we have had yet. Could he but shew that present Popery is the same Religion as Austin taught, without tracing it any higher; he would, as to Antiquity, do his Business effectually. He might therefore have spar'd his Pains in shewing that there was no Change in the Religion of Rome between Eleutherius's and Gregory's time. He knows we grant there was none; at least none considerable: Tho' he has taken a strange Way to prove even This; and his Arguments are utterly trifling, and inconclusive. What occasion had he to misplace the good old Sophistry, so useful to Papists, and so much us'd by them, about Changes in Religion, and our being oblig'd to shew when, and how, and by whom they were made? Why does he transfer it from it's proper Periods to a Time in which no body pretends there were any such Changes? He himself places it right in the foregoing Section *. It is impossible (says he) to prove from any Authentick History that there happened any Change in the publick Faith of the English Church, from it's Conversion under the Saxon Kings, till the pretended Reformation. This is to the Purpose; tho

* Ibid.

there's
there's no Truth in it. But to take it as a Thing demonstrated, by Arguments which I have shewn to be groundless and absurd, that present Popery and the Religion of Rome in Austin's time are all one, than which nothing can be more notoriously false; and, upon this Supposition, to go so gravely to Work, proving that there were no Innovations between Eleutherius's time and Gregory's, (which Nobody denies) and consequently that Popery, as it now is, was the Religion of the second Century; is, if possible, more pompously ridiculous than any thing we have hitherto met with. The Reader shall have a Taste of it. Taking it for prov'd (how well it is so, we have seen) that * Gregory was a Massing Pope, and that all the other Popish Articles mention'd in the foregoing Section were current in his Time, He proceeds Thus. If therefore all these were Innovations brought in betwixt the Second and Sixth Century; if there was no Mass said at Rome in the Days of Eleutherius; If that Pope was not acknowledg'd Supreme Head of the Church; If in his time there was no Invocation of Saints, no Honour paid to their Reliques, no praying for the Dead &c. I must make bold to demand a particular Account taken from good Records, and Authentick History, &c. And

* P. 131
Entitled, England’s Conversion, &c. 255

so goes on with the Argumentation which I shall presently examine, tho’ as it will be more properly apply’d. Here I only ask our Author; will He then really and with a serious Face affirm, that there were such things as Mass in the Sense of the present Church of Rome, as the Pope’s Supremacy, Invocation of Saints, such an Honour paid to their Reliques as is now paid, and praying for the Dead with a View to Purgatory, in any Part of the Second Century? If he will; I appeal to all knowing and unprejudic’d Persons, even among the Romanists themselves, whether there ever was a greater Instance of Ignorance, or Insincerity.

A Church, he grants, may change it’s Religion; * but then, says He, it must be proceed from unquestionable Historical Facts, that Rome chang’d its Faith in the Interval of Time, between the Conversion of the Britons and that of the Saxons. For the Reasons just now given, instead of the last Clause read, between the Conversion of the Saxons and the Reformation: And I answer, 1st. We can give an Historical Account of some Romish Corruptions. For Example, and to pass by several other Particulars Image-Worship was establish’d by the second Council of Nice, at the latter end of the

* P. 129.
8th Century, under Irene; as it was condemned about seven Years after, by the Council of Frankford, under Charles the Great. Several Popes particularly Leo the First, had made some Encroachments upon the Church; but Universal Supremacy was first pretended to by Boniface III. at the Beginning of the 7th Century. The Number of seven Sacraments was first started by Peter Lombard in the 12th Century, and established by the Council of Trent about 150 Years ago. Transubstantiation, and the Half-Communion, are own'd to be New by Papists themselves. But 2dly, and chiefly, We cannot indeed give an Historical Account of the Rise, and Growth, of many Popish Corruptions; But then it is not in the least incumbent upon us to do so, nor has the Church of Rome any manner of Right to demand it. That they are in Being we know, because we see them: That they really are Corruptions, We prove from their Repugnancy to the plainest Scripture, to primitive Antiquity, to Natural Religion, and Common Honesty, to Themselves, to Reason, and our Senses. And should I see a Man covered over with Leprosy, or eaten up with the King's Evil; would not his Arguments and his Modesty be very singular, should he discourse Thus? If you pretend that I have the Leprosy, or the King's Evil
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Evil; * to make good this bold Assertion, you must produce plain, and undeniable Facts to prove that there was a Change in my State of Health between the 6th. and 36th. Year of my Age: † And to render this credible, you must descend to Particularities, and specify the most remarkable Circumstances of it; As in what Year, what Month, and what Day of the Month, I began to be ill: What Disturbance it caused in the Family; What Doctors and Surgeons were sent for, and what they said pro, and con, about it. For these are the constant and natural effects of Changes in one’s Health: And if any such Changes had really been in mine, in the Interval of Time above named; it is as incredible as the most palpable of Fictions that no Notice should be taken of it”. Just so, and in these very Words, mutatis mutandis, our Author argues about Changes in Religion. ‡ They must produce plain and undeniable historical Facts; As in what Age, and under what Popes, and Emperors it happen’d; who were the chief Promoters, and Opposers of it; what Disturbances it caused; what Books were writ for, or against it; and what Synods were call’d to approve, or condemn it. O! absolutely necessary it must needs be to have every one

* P 130 † Ibid. ‡ Ibid.
of these Evidences: Otherwise there can be no Corruptions, tho' we see there are a thousand. As if Corruptions could not begin, and creep on insensibly, and at last swell to a prodigious Bulk; yet Nobody be able to trace out the Original, and Progress of them. Some indeed may be so traced; but others may not. And therefore our Author gains nothing to his Cause, when he tells us that were the *Primacy of the See of Canterbury pretended to be an Innovation; He who should so pretend must produce undeniable historical Facts to prove it. For besides that the Pope's Supremacy is not near so plain and undisputed a Point as the Archbishop of Canterbury's Primacy; Changes and Innovations of This Kind are of such a Nature, that they are more likely to make a Noise than Others: Not but that even These may be so gradual, as not to be taken notice of in History. And in Fact, as Changes in Government are sometimes sudden; so they are sometimes gradual, and made by imperceptible Yieldances and Encroachments: Yet that they are Changes we may be very certain, by comparing the present State of Things with the former: And here indeed History comes in very properly. To as little Purpose he cites the † Arian, Ma-

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* P 129, 130. † P 134.
Entitled, England's Conversion, &c. 259

cedonian, Nestorian, and Eutychian Heresies condemn'd by General Councils. Who doubts but that some Errors may be so sudden and flagrant, as to alarm the whole World at their first Appearance? And yet the Case may be quite different with others. We may be sure to a Day when a Man fell sick of a Fever, or the Small-Pox: And yet does it follow, that Another monstrously swollen with the Dropsey, has not the Dropsey; because neither He himself, nor any body else, can tell when the Distemper first began, and by what Advances it grew upon him? There is no Necessity therefore, as our Author pretends there is, that * We should inform them very particularly who was the first Pope that laid claim to the Supremacy; (tho' we can do, and have done even That :) Who it was that introduc'd the Invocation of Saints, the Veneration of their Reliques; the Honouring of pious Images (as he calls them) and Pictures; and praying for the Souls departed. Why we must Above All let them know who was the first Pope that said Mass; And why This was an Innovation, if it was one, of so Extraordinary a Nature, that no Historian could Possibly be ignorant either of it's Beginning, Progress, or full Esta-

* P. 131
An Answer to a Popish Book,

Establishment in the Church of Rome, I can by no means understand. What is there so very particular in this instance? And why does he not give us some reason for so positive an assertion? The word Mass, as I have above observ'd, did not always signify the same as it does now in the Church of Rome: And why could not Corruptions, by insensible degrees, one after another, creep into the Doctrine, and Service of the Eucharist, till they swell'd at last to that frightful size of Superstition, Idolatry, and Blasphemy, which we now behold?

P. 133. Here the Preceptor so batters the Protestant Cause with questions and dilemmas; that by the noise of his cannon, you would think it impossible for us to hold out an hour longer. Especially considering how He and his pupil triumph over us, after the formidable interrogatories are put. * When these few questions are clearly answered; I shall have double the number ready for any one that is dispos'd to undertake that task. Dreadful! What will become of us?

G. I fear indeed there will not be many pretenders to it. For I perceive there lie objections in ambuscade, to what side soever the answerer shall turn himself.
P. I believe indeed he will meet with some Rubs in his Way. Well; unfortunately for me, it seems, I have undertaken That desperate Task: And I must go on, whatever happens.

* But This wonderful Change——is either recorded in some ancient History; or it is not. Answer. Part of it is, and Part is not. † If not; by what means have the bold Assertors of it come fairly and honestly to the Knowledge of it?" That Part which is recorded in History, we came fairly and honestly to the Knowledge of, according to his own Supposition: And we come fairly and honestly to the Knowledge of the rest; because we see it. † For I should be apt to suspect that they had dealt in the black Art, and conjur'd up some Spirit to inform them of what had pass'd in reference to the pretended Innovations"—— One may be Conjurer enough to believe what one sees, without dealing with the Devil; And so there was no occasion for That Rant. † But if it be recorded in any ancient History (as it must undoubtedly be, if it happen'd at all; which I, to make use of the same Parenthesis, have (hewn to be undoubtedly false, and ridiculous) I desire to know when and by what Methods this stupendious Revolution was

* Ibid. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid.

S 3 brought
An Answer to a Popish Book, brought to pass? Tho' for the Reasons above assign'd, He has no Right to ask That Question, nor are we bound to answer it; yet that I may here, as almost every where else, give him more than I owe him, I will follow as he leads. * As whether it was done clandestinely, or openly? Whether by Violence, or Fraud? Part of it clandestinely; and Part openly: Some by Violence, some by Fraud, and some by Both. † Whether England, (for, according to my Method, I put That instead of whole Christendom) was brib'd, or bully'd, into This strange Apostacy? It might be in some measure brib'd by the Pope's Money, tho' That See was always more addicted to receive than to give; but it was chiefly bully'd into it by the Pope's Bulls. † Whether it was compass'd all at once, or by Degrees? Most certainly by degrees. And if the Querist had well consider'd the true Answer to That Question; he need not have been at the Trouble of asking the rest. * And whether it met with any Opposition, or not? Several Parts of it, as the Pope's Supremacy, and Image-Worship, met with much Opposition: Some met with but little; Others sneaking in by Moonlight, or in the Dark, or by insensible Degrees, might meet with none. I
think our Cause remains unhurt by all These terrible Interrogatories, notwithstanding the loud Blustering above recited; Which proves to be Powder without Ball, Noise and nothing else.

In This and the four next Pages, * he may, without any disturbance from Me, as he has done in the foregoing Page, † and Part of the next preceding it, proceed manfully fighting with his own Shadow; proving, and demonstrating, that there was no Change in the Faith of Rome, between Eleutherius's, and Gregory's 'Time: Of which I have said enough, perhaps more than enough, already.

There is, however, in the last of these Pages one Assertion which is very material, and must by no means be neglected. — St. Augustin (says he) who brought from Rome, and preach'd to the Saxons, All the Papistical Doctrines we now profess. To which I answer; He himself has mention'd but six: to wit, 1. The Pope's Supremacy. 2. Saying Mafs. 3. The Use of holy Water. 4. The Worship of the Crofs, Images, and Reliques. 5. Invocation of Saints. 6. Purgatory. The first five of These six were not held by the Church of Rome, nor by Pope Gregory himself; Nor has our Author (as I have

* P. 154, 155, 136, 137. † P. 132. 

S 4

shewn
brought any more than the Shadow of an Argument at most, to prove that any one of them was; Nay I have prov'd that two of them, The Pope's Supremacy, and Worshipping the Cross, &c. were not. The last of them, Purgatory, was indeed held by Pope Gregory, but not by the Church of Rome; Nor does it appear that Austin in particular either preach'd, or believ'd it. But suppose every one of These Points was then maintain'd by the Church of Rome in general, and brought into England by Austin: Are These All the Papistical Points which Papists now profess? Where are the Seven Sacraments; Communion in one Kind; Denying the Laity the Use of the Scriptures; Prayers in an unknown Tongue; Exempting the Clergy from Civil Jurisdiction; The Doctrine of excommunicating and deposing Kings; Their innumerable Ceremonies and Superstitious Fopperies; Their Doctrines entirely calculated for the Damnation of Souls, as Attrition without Contrition, Auricular Confession, and Opus operatum: Lastly, and to omit a multitude more, Their Doctrine of Indulgencies, and the Sale of them, consequent of it; as appears from That filthy Book call'd the Tax of the Apostolical Chamber, or Chancery, in “which (as one of

* Episcopius in Epist. ad Tit. C. 1. P. 479.
Entitled, England's Conversion, &c. 265

"of their own Writers assures us) may be "learn'd more sorts of Wickedness than "from all the Summaries of all Vices; and "a Licence for some, but Absolution for "all (many of them are so horrid and un- "natural that they are not to be named "without Immodesty) is offered to those who "desire to buy them"? In this precious Book of Rates, the several Prices of the Indulgencies, and Pardons, are annexed to them, according to the magnitude of the several Sins; As for Murder, so much; For Adultery, so much; For Perjury so much. Our Author therefore was a little Forgetful, or guilty of a wilful imperfect Enumeration; when, even according to his own Account, he affirm'd that St. Augustin brought All the Papistical Doctrines into England.

To the Ninth Section:

Entitled

The same Subject continued.

HOW far our Author does and does not agree with Mr. Collier, is nothing to Me, or to our Cause. He elsewhere produces a Quotation † from That Historian,

* P. 138. † Of which hereafter in The 3d. Dialogue.

with
An ANSWER to a Popish Book,
with reference to which I differ from Mr. Collier, as well as from Him: But in This neither the Church of England, nor the Church of Rome, is concern'd. Here, however, he is unjust in accusing Mr. Collier of Insincerity, for telling his Reader that of the Articles propos'd by Austin to the British Bishops, Owning the Pope's Authority was one: *Whereas (says our Author) There is not a Word of this Article in Bede. But can nothing be true, but what is in Bede? Besides; our Author afterwards acknowledges that Mr. C. endeavours at least to prove his Assertion from Bede himself; and takes a great deal of Pains to answer the Argument: With what success we shall see presently.

In the mean time † he owns that Geoffrey of Monmouth an antient Historian—speaks of Dinoth the Abbot of Bangor, as Prolocutor of the Assembly on the British Side; and tells us that the Answer he gave to St. Austin's Proposals was, that the Britons ow'd no Subjection to him, as having an Archbishop of their own. In This Answer, our Author is positive, there is not ‡ the least Insinuation that St Austin had insisted on their owning the Pope's Supremacy. Supremacy, universal Supremacy, We do not say Pope Gregory pretended to;

* Ibid.  † Ibid.  ‡ P. 139.
Entitled, England's Conversion, &c. 267
nay We have shewn that he disclaim'd it: But as to Authority, or Jurisdiction in Britain; to my Apprehension, there is in This Answer of Dinoth's a little Insinuation that Austin had mention'd some such Thing. But let That pass; together with our Author's Reasonings in all this Paragraph: Which I leave him to enjoy without Disturbance.

But the Welsh Manuscript cited by Sir Henry Spelman is express for Dinoth's absolutely rejecting the Pope's Authority. And how Mr. C. * gives Bede the slip, in quoting This Manuscript, I do not understand; Or if it must be call'd by That Name, I am as much at a Loss to know what harm there is in it. Because I quote one Historian, as far as he goes; is there any thing absurd, or unfair, in my quoting another, to supply his defects? For the Authority of this Manuscript, about which the Preceptor is not satisfy'd, I refer to Sir Henry Spelman, who lays no more Weight upon it than it will bear: Whether it be true, or false, matters not much: Sir Henry, however, produces another Manuscript to the same Purpose; which seems of more undoubted Authority.

But it is most probable, at least, from Bede himself, that the British Bishops refus'd all manner of Submission to the Pope: And that They did, is confirm'd by the

* Ibid.

Testimony
Testimony of other Historians. From Bede himself, I say, it is at least highly probable: because he assures us that Those Prelates refus'd to acknowledge Austin as their Archbishop. * But This Argument, our Author tells us, will not hold Water. For tho' it be true indeed that the Britons refus'd to receive St. Augustin for their Archbishop; it does not follow from it that therefore they disown'd the Pope's Supremacy. And the Reason of This is, because they might own his Supremacy, without owning that † his Authority extended to the placing one as an ordinary Superior over their own Archbishop. That is to say, This Writer gives us his own Arbitrary Notion of the Supremacy, enlarges it, or contracts it, as he thinks fit; of which I have above taken notice; and is for a limited Pope's Supremacy, which I have elsewhere ‡ shewn to be absurd. What Thanks he will receive for this from other Romanists, is not difficult to guess. But 'tis pleasant enough to hear any Papist use These Words: || Because they might think that the Pope had carried his Pretensions too high; in degrading, as it were, their own Archbishop, and subjecting both Him, and Them to a Foreign Jurisdiction. Is the Pope a Native of Great Britain? Or the

* P. 141. † Ibid. ‡ Pop. truly stated. || P. 141. See
Entitled, England's Conversion, &c. 269

See of Rome a British See? Is not the Papal Jurisdiction then as to Us, if it be any thing at all, a foreign Jurisdiction? But be That as it will; All the World knows, that, since What we call Popery was fully establish'd, the Papal Supremacy was both by those who claim'd it, and by those who acknowledg'd it, esteem'd absolute and unlimited: And 'tis no less certain that Austin thought the Pope had Authority to place an ordinary Superior, and that a foreign one too, over an Archbishop. This Writer himself acknowledges as much. St. Augustin (says He*) doubtless thought himself their Metropolitan, and Primate; speaking of the British Bishops: And that he claim'd under the Pope, is most certain, and this Writer himself again once † expressly affirms, and all along supposes. 'Tis true he twice tells us ‡ be will not presume to decide whether his Title were good, or not. And yet he seems to decide it; when he says, || should He (the Pope) take upon him to send over a foreign Archbishop with a Commission to exercise an ordinary Jurisdiction over the Archbishop of Prague, Toledo, or Paris, for example; he would be as vigorously opposed now, as St. Augustin was by the British Clergy; and in all

* P. 107. † P. 95. ‡ P. 107. and 144. || P. 141.

Likelihood
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Likelihood be sent back with the same Answer as that Prelate was, to wit, That they would not receive him as their Archbishop. It seems then Bohemia, Spain, and France, would not acknowledge such a Power in the Pope; And our Author, one would think, is of Opinion that they have Reason. Else, why does he allege their Authority? At least he grants that such is their Opinion: And even according to That, Popery is not in all respects the same now as the Doctrine which Austin taught; tho' This Writer strenuously insists that it is. I say again, St. Austin (according to our Author himself) thought the Pope had a Right to make him ordinary Superior to the British Archbishop; For he claim'd under That supposed Right. And considering, as I observ'd, that the Pope's Supremacy was, after the thorough Establishment of Popery, ever accounted absolutely Monarchical; it follows that by rejecting any of his Authority, They rejected such a Supremacy as the Popish Church of Rome has generally ascrib'd to the Pope, and Popes to themselves; whether Gregory I. laid Claim to it, or no.

* I only add, says He, that there are innumerable Instances in Ecclesiastical History of particular Churches, maintaining

* P. 142.
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their Privileges against the See of Rome: There are indeed: and this is a frank Confession. * And That without derogating any more from the divine Right of the Pope's Supremacy, than a Subject is supposed to derogate from the just Prerogative of the Crown when he goes to Law with his Sovereign. I tell him again, the Pope's Supremacy is by the Popes and the Church of Rome maintain'd to be an absolute Monarchy; and therefore This is no Parallel. In England a Man may go to Law with his Sovereign; because the English Monarchy is a limited one. But is it so in Turkey or Muscovy? As for the Authority of † a Father over his Son, it is more limited than any Monarchy. Not that I am of this Writer's Opinion, that a Son may lawfully refuse to obey a Command of his Father, which only Appears Unreasonable to him: I think a Father's Authority extends a great deal farther than That comes to. If the Son acts thus, he really ‡ disowns the Authority his Father has by Nature over him.

Upon the Whole of This Matter, concerning Austin, Dinoth, and the British Prelates; I refer the Reader to Sir Henry Spelman, Counc. Anno 601. Bede, Hist.

* Ibid. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid.
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Lib 1, 2. Geof. of Monm. Lib. 11. Bramhall, Just Vindication, &c. P. 84. Schism Guarded P. 269. Stillingfleet, Antiq. of Brit. Churches, Chap. 5. &c. Adding only this Observation, that were what our Author says of it really true; it would but invalidate one single Argument of Ours, among very many others which are unanswerable; or at most would amount to no more than that one Point of Popery, among a hundred, is a little older than We affirm: Which will never be a Ballance even in Behalf of That single Point the Pope's Supremacy, against Those innumerable demonstrative Arguments which utterly overturn and destroy it.

His saying that * perhaps neither St. Gregory, not the British Bishops were in the Wrong, as to this Notion of the extent of the Papal Power; because Both might think they had Reason on their Side; when they are supposed to have been of directly contrary Opinions; is what I can by no means account for, and so I leave it.

Nor does it follow, † that because Mr. C. says, If Gregory's Successors had mov'd within the Compass of his Pretensions, the Divisions of Christendom might have been prevented: Therefore it was his Judgment

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* P. 43. † Ibid.

that
that St. Gregory did not carry his Pre-
tensions to any excess, when he constituted
St. Augustin Superior over the British Bi-
shop. For, tho' Mr. C. expresses himself
somewhat loosely; Those Pretensions in
Gregory might be excessive, as they cer-
tainly were, and yet if his Successors had
not proceeded to greater Excesses, such
Divisions in Christendom, as have since actual-
ly happen'd, might have been prevented.
* And as to the Doctrine taught by That
Saint (continues He) I appeal to Mr. C's
own Conscience, whether Roman Catholicks,
or Protestants keep closer to it. And I won-
der at Thy Conscience, whoever thou art, for
making such an Appeal to another Man's:
Which is as much as I need say of it, after
what I have largely discours'd upon That
Subject.
† His affirming, that Gregory had the pas-
torial Care of all Churches incumbent upon
him; Calling the British Church an an-
tient part of His Flock; And talking of pla-
cing a Superior over it, with Full Powers
to reform it; is all reducible to the old Po-
pish Way of Argumentation, Begging the
Question, which I have often taken notice
of.

* Ibid. † Ibid.
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From P. 144, to P. 148. He is upon the old wrong Scent, proving what Nobody denies (meaning always in the main) that the same Faith was preach'd to the Britons, and Saxons: Of which more than enough already. It were indeed very easy to shew what trifling Arguments he produces to prove even This; and how many ridiculous things he says upon it. But I have something else to do with my Time than to expose Him, and his Reasonings; unless when it is necessary, or at least highly expedient.

I only observe therefore, that tho' what he tells us from Bede, of St. German, and St. Lupus, about the Year 440, working a Miracle by a Box of Reliques &c. is a Fact which I do not believe, for we are not bound to believe every thing Bede says; yet admitting it were true, This does not favour so rank of modern Popery, as he supposes: Because God may work a Miracle upon a Person, when a Box of Reliques is apply'd to him; and yet it does not follow that Reliques may be ador'd. As for the Story of St. Alban's Blood &c. tho' here again we are not obliged to believe the Fact; I have already granted that the Superstitious Use of Reliques was pretty early in the Church; and let our Author make

* P. 147.  † Ibid.  † Ibid.
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the most of it. The Worship of them, concerning which nothing is here said is much later. Not but that it would be unlawful, tho' it were never so early.

P. 148. To Conclude, I argue thus from the Premises I have established. The English Roman Catholicks profess the same Faith now, as was preach'd by St. Augustin — But the Faith preach'd by St. Augustin was — the same that St. Fugatius and Damianus preach'd — Therefore, &c. In short, he sums up his Argument as I have done in the Beginning of my Answer to This Section. P. 171, 172. And then adds; If This argument be not conclusive; I desire to know where the Defect of it lies. I tell him where it lies: It lies chiefly, tho' not solely, in the first Proposition. The English Roman Catholicks do not profess the same Faith now, as was preach'd by St. Austin above eleven hundred Years ago. This I have largely, and fully prov'd: And let him answer it, if he is able. Nor is the second Proposition altogether true; tho' upon That we do not insist. He subjoins, But if it be conclusive, as I conceive it is; the Reform'd Churches are in a defenceless Condition; as being convicted of teaching, in every Article wherein they differ from the Church of Rome, a Doctrine directly contrary to That of the primitive Church. I answer; But if it be not conclusive, as I have
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prov'd it is not; and if the direct Contry be true, as I have prov'd it is; Then "the Popish Churches are in a defenceless Con-
tion, as being convicted of teaching, in every Article wherein they differ from the Reform'd Churches, a Doctrine di-
rectly contrary to That of the Primitive Church".

To the Tenth SECTION:

ENTITULED,

Some Observations upon the Conversion of England under Pope Gregory.

THIS, like several Others of our Au-
thor's Sections, is soon dispatch'd; because it contains nothing but what is else-
where more largely insisted upon: He only repeats what is past, and threatens us with what is to come. His main Drift is to set the Means of England's Conversion and Those of it's Reformation against each other, as if they were directly opposite; in order to blacken and calumniate the Latter. This Slander shall be fully considered in our Exa-
mination of the Next Dialogue; to which the
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the Conclusion of This is a Kind of Preparation or Introduction. Here therefore I have nothing to do, but to make a few cursory Strictures upon particular Passages; without repeating what has been said already, or forestalling what shall be said hereafter.

That Pope Gregory, or any other Pope, * was the undoubted Successor of St. Peter, in the Sense which Papists usually mean, is false; as I have prov'd in another Treatise. That he had his Authority, as Bishop, from the Apostles, and fo from Christ, and that the Missionaries he sent were legally ordain'd, and authoriz'd, I readily grant: But that the Protestant Bishops were not, and are not fo, which is what our Author would insinuate, I absolutely and totally deny. It has been often demonstrated that Our Orders are as good as Theirs.

His Declamation † upon Pope Gregory's Character is immaterial to the Controversy, and not all together true, as I have shewn. His asking whether it be better || to venture one's Soul with St. Gregory, or with our Reformers, is fallacious, as I have likewise shewn; because there is not That Opposition between them, which He supposes. After what I have abundantly made out in my

* P. 149.  † P. 150.  ‖ Ibid.  Answer
An Answer to a Popish Book.  

Answer to this Dialogue; let the Reader observe what a mixture of Truth, and Charity there is in These Words, which our Author puts into the Mouth of his young Gentlemen. * For if true Faith be necessary to Salvation, as you have prov'd it to be; I really believe the Company of those Gentlemen [meaning the Protestants] who apostatised from the Faith taught by St. Gregory, and is faithful Disciple St. Augustin, is not much to be coveted in another World. They, not We, corrupted the Religion taught by Gregory and Austin; and God give them Grace to reform it.

The Protestant Churches in general did not † by their pretended Reformation divide themselves from all the pre-existing Churches in Christendom, as to Faith and Doctrine; nor the Church of England in particular, either as to Doctrine, or Discipline: Of which, when we come to the Fourth Dialogue.

Our pretended Breach ‡ of the Unity of Faith shall there too be consider'd.

He enlarges upon || St. Austin's Miracles, by way of Reflection upon Us for the want of them at the Reformation: Of which likewise in the Fourth Dialogue. Here I only take notice that his Harangue for a whole **

* P. 151. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid. || Ibid. and P. 152.
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Page together upon the Usefulness, and Necessity of Miracles to establish newly revealed Truths is extremely impertinent; And his saying that Austin’s Miracles, tho’ suppos’d to be true, and genuine, * have not the divine Authority of Scriptural Miracles, is flat Nonsense.

† It is the distinguishing Character, He says, of Falshood to establish itself by Violence and Imposture. Nothing more certain: And so Popery, not Protestantism, establisht’d it self. The Confidence, and Folly of the Man is prodigious. With the same Blindness and Infatuation, as if he had owed himself a Shame, he reflects upon the Reformation, for domineering, and tyrannizing over Men’s Faith. This to Us! And from a Papist! The main Design of his Book is to defend such Tyrannizing; And of mine, to destroy it.

His redoubted Dilemma || Either therefore, the Church whereof England became a Part, was then the true Church, &c. tho’ it has, in effect, been more than once answered before, shall not fail to be taken in pieces, in a more proper place; For (so great is this Writer’s Love of Tautology) it is, to my no small Mortification, more than once repeated.

* P. 153. † Ibid. ‡ P. 157. || P. 155, 156. T 4 His
†His Rhetorication against the Rapine and Violence of Those he calls Reformers, (for all of them were not really such) and then asking whether the Holy Ghost could have a Part in such Councils, meaning indiscriminately Those of the Reformation, is That stupid Fallacy by which several Questions which ought to be separated, are jumbled together in One. As This is often repeated by Him, and his trusty Ally the Bishop of Meaux; I will here give a short Answer to it, for good and all. What was ill either about, or at, the time of the Reformation, the Holy Ghost had no part in: What was good He had a part in. * God was not in the great Wind, the Earthquake, and the Fire, which demolish'd all Religious Houses without Distinction, and strip'd the Church of its Revenues; which was the Work of Papists, not of Protestants: All in a manner, I mean; all the Former, and at least nineteen parts in twenty of the Latter: But He was in the still small Voice of the Scriptures, dictating, and prescribing a Reformation of Religion: And had the Whole English Nation then listen'd to the Last, as it ought to have done; all the Mischiefs, and Confusions occasion'd by the Other Three would most certainly have been prevented.

† P. 159  * 1 Kings 19.
AN ANSWER TO A Popish BOOK: ENTITULED, ENGLAND'S Conversion and Reformation compar'd, &c.

To the Third DIALOGUE: And The PREFACE.

INCE the Subject of our Author's Preface, and of his Third Dialogue is the same; I chose to consider them together, that I might avoid Repetition as much as possible. For this Reason, and moreover because a very great Part of what He advances, even several
several long Sections entire, may as well be answer'd in ten Lines, as in ten thousand; I here depart from the Method I have hitherto observ'd, which was to follow him Section by Section. But I shall, notwithstanding, be so far from dissembling or avoiding, the Force of any one of his Arguments; that I shall, if possible, be more particular here, than any where else.

The Substance of all the Facts contain'd in his Preface, and in 'This Dialogue, may be reduc'd to the two following Heads.

I. That the Agents in our Reformation were Persons of wicked and scandalous Lives.

II. That it was begun, and carry'd on, by unlawful Means, and an incompetent Authority; by Force, and Violence; and the Encroachments of the Civil State, invading the Spiritual Rights of the Church and Clergy.

And all This is aver'd to be taken from our own Writers, from Protestant Historians; * Upon which our Author, and his young Gentleman, triumph exceedingly. But besides, that there is a much worse Account given of wicked Popes, and the Wickedness of the Romish Church in general, both Clergy, and Laity, by Their own Writers, by Roman Catholick Histor-
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rians; Among the many Facts pretended to be quoted by our Author, and the Bishop of Meaux, from Heylin, Burnet, and the rest, there is scarce one but is either false quoted, or mistaken, or wilfully misrepresented, or made the Foundation of an inconclusive Argument: Few of them are to the Purpose; and one general wrong Consequence is drawn from them All.

I. For the First of these Heads; our Author, assisted by the Bishop of Meaux, revives the old personal Scandals, which have so long been made use of to cast an Odium upon the Reformation. Some of the Allegations are true in the Gross; tho' most, if not all, of them highly aggravated and misrepresented by our Adversaries. If, on the Contrary, Bishop Burnet, or any other Writer, has been too lavish in his * Praises, (or Boasts, if you will call them so) of Persons acting, and Measures taken at That Time; Let the Romanists animadvert upon it, and much good may it do them. What is all This to the Point? How does it prove Our Religion to be False, or Theirs to be true? I shall shew in due time that it is foreign to the Cause, and that the Consequence they draw from it is ground-

* Pref. P. 11. and 54. Third Dial. passim.
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The Falsity of the Consequence drawn from the Facts is what I chiefly insist upon: Yet I shall first touch upon the Facts themselves.

The Bishop of Meaux, speaking of Henry VIII. has these Words. *Whatever Mr. Burnet is pleased to say, we are not disposed to accept of the Communion which he seems to offer us of that Prince. And since he throws him out of his own; the immediate Consequence is, that the first Author of the English Reformation, who in reality laid the Foundation of it, by the Hatred he instilled into his Subjects against the Pope, and the Church of Rome, is a Person equally rejected, and anathematized by both Parties." Not anathematized by Us, tho’ by the Church of Rome: But let That pass. We have † elsewhere a Reason given us (and I have ‡ elsewhere consider’d it) why he was not of Their Communion; namely, because he cast off the Pope’s Supremacy, the Acknowledgment of which is necessary to make a Member of their Church. We do not say he was in Communion with the Romish Church; He was excommunicated, tho’ he never intended to separate, from it. But we do say, and insist, that he was chiefly of the Romish Religion; and our Author

* Pref. P. 10. † P. 119. ‡ P. 216.
himself affirms that * he continued in most things a Zealous Papist to the last. And so far was he from intending the Reformation which follow'd; that he liv'd and dy'd a fiery Bigot to the worst of Popish Corruptions, and a Persecutor to Death of Those who declar'd against them. He was, it is true, an Instrument of the Reformation in God's Hand, but not by any Design of his own. He was not therefore in any Propriety of Speech the Author, however he might be the Occasion of it: And his laying the Foundation of it was owing not to his Intention, but to Divine Providence. When the Bishop of Meaux therefore couples the Pope and the Church of Rome together, as if King Henry instill'd into his Subjects an equal Hatred of both; He is guilty of a great Fallacy, or under a great Mistake.

Archbishop Cranmer, I grant, was more than a bare Instrument in That Work: He heartily wish'd well to it, and industriously labour'd in it. And if he has been too much extoll'd by Bishop Burnet, and Others; He has been too much blacken'd by this Writer, and his Party. Be That as it will; he at last laid down his Life for his Religion; which, it is hop'd, may be some Answer to the Charge of Hypocrisy, and Insincerity † so heavily laid against him.

* P. 215. † Pref. and 3d. Dial. passim.
An Answer to a Popish Book,
Upon the Subject of Cranmer's Sincerity, our Author gives us a remarkable Specimen of his Own. From the Incident of That Martyr's Heart not being burnt when his Body was consum'd to Ashes, † he tells us Bishop Burnet CONCLUDES, that tho' his Hand err'd yet his Heart had continued true. For this he quotes P. 335 of Burnet's History; and the young Gentleman is very sharp in exposing the Nonsense, and Contradiction of it. Now Bishop Burnet's Words are These. Which tho' the Reform'd would not carry so far, as to make a Miracle of it, and a clear Proof that his Heart had continued true, tho' his Hand err'd; yet they objec'ted it to the Papists that it was certainly such a Thing, that if it had fallen out in any of their Church, they had made it a Miracle. So that he makes no such Conclusion as our Author pretends; He only says that the Reform'd would not make it. This is the Gentleman who so loudly complains of our Insincerity, and Unfair Dealing.

Nor do I see in P. 92. of the same History quoted by our Author ‖ that Bishop Burnet says "Cranmer was a Lutheran in his Heart even when He was a private Fellow in the University of Cambridge." It is said indeed P. 79. Vol. I. that, "He marry'd when he was Fellow of Jesus-

† P. 181. ‖ P. 175, 176.
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College in Cambridge, and lost his Fellowship upon it." But if this prov'd him a Lutheran, he was one openly: And He openly oppos'd the Six Articles in King Henry's Reign; which I think was a Proof of some Sincerity. As for his Recanting, when he was under the Sentence of Condemnation, which our Author basely calls * twice perjuring himself, and inhumanly triumphs over; common Charity would ascribe it to human Infirmitv wrought upon by the Fear of Death; since he recanted his Recantation, voluntarily burnt off the Hand that sign'd it, and sealed his former Profession with his Blood.

Under the same Article of Sincerity we may remark, that as our Author, and the Bishop of Meaux, take notice from Bishop Burnet † of Cranmer's extravagant Doctrine touching Church Government; it would have become them to have taken notice from the same Writer, of his formally retracting it; without Those little fallacious Reasonings they make use of, to invalidate the Force and Credit of That Retraction.

But suppose Cranmer to have been as false, and hypocritical, in carrying on the Reformation, as They would have him; These Objections come with an ill Grace from the Mouths of Papists; whose Doctrine it is that

* P. 180. † Pref. P. 23, 24.
the Interest of Holy Church, and the true Religion, should be supported by any Means, and at any Rate. Cranmer, it may be, might for some time retain so much Popery, as to proceed upon this Principle.

As for the long Story about † K. Harry's Divorce; I answer in short (tho' 'tis as full an Answer, as if it took up a large Folio) that he was a Papist all the while. And if He ‡ gave Bribes to Divines and Universities upon That occasion; They were Papists who took them.

The Plunder of the Church likewise in That Reign, which was fifty times more than in all other Reigns, was the Work of Papists.

The Dissolution of Monasteries was solely in That Reign; set on foot by Cardinal Woolsey, carry'd on, and finish'd by a Popish King, and Parliament. Not but that the Action in the main was good, tho' accompany'd with many Abuses. The Number and over-grown Wealth of Those Religious Houses as they were call'd (tho' some few of them perhaps might well enough have been spare'd) was grown a Burthen insupportable to the Nation; They were mischievous both to the Civil State, and to Religion;

† 3d. Dial, 1st, 2d, and 3d. Sections throughout. Pref. passim.  ‡ P. 28.
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and still are so in Popish Countries. And notwithstanding our Author's long Quotation from * Sir William Dugdale; it were easy to prove from good Authors, even from Sir William Dugdale Himself, that the Inhabitants of them were not generally so chaste, and unblameable in their Lives and Conversations, as they are by Some represented.

† The frequent and promiscuous Executions of Protestants as well as Catholicks under this Sanguinary Prince are, I confess, known to all Mankind. But it is as well known that This Sanguinary Prince executed Protestants for being Protestants; Catholicks, as They are call'd, not for being Catholicks, but for denying his Supremacy, and asserting the Pope's. He hang'd Papists for Crimes against himself; but burnt Protestants for being Protestants.

‡ In Edward the Sixth's Reign, they tell us that the Duke of Somerset, Lord Protector, was a very wicked Man; and carry'd on the Reformation with no View, but to advance his own Worldly Interest; That the Revenues of the Church were further retrench'd, and Churches spoil'd of their rich Ornaments, to furnish the Houses of Cour-
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tiers, and great Men: That † Queen E-
Elizabeth was a perfidious, hypocritical, cruel
Woman, not without many a Reflection up-
on her Chastity; that she strip'd the Church
yet further; that she had the most wicked
Ministry that ever liv'd; that she somented
the Rebellion of the Scots against their So-
vereign; and that the Death of the Queen
of Scots is an indelible Stain upon her Cha-
racter. Here we have a mixture of Truth
and Falsity. The Duke of Somerset, I
believe, was no very good Man; and the
Principle upon which he acted in the Refor-
mation might, for ought I know, be none
of the best. Tho', as I may here very well
observe, (and the Observation is applicable
to other Agents in This great Work, as
well as to the Duke of Somerset) it by
no means follows that because such or
such a Thing is the natural and certain Con-
sequence of This, or That Action, there-
fore a Man must necessarily propose That
Thing as the end of That Action. The Duke
of Somerset's Power, and Fortune, might be
increased by the Reformation; and yet he
might promote it upon a quite different, and
far better Principle. And this Reasoning
will hold much stronger, when it is apply'd
to Persons of an unblemish'd Character, or of

† Sect. 9. and passim, Pref. P. 42, 43. &c.
whose
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whose Characters we know nothing: Of which more hereafter. Whoever apply'd the Materials, Utensils, or Ornaments of Churches to private and common Uses, as particularly in the famous Case of Building Somerset-House † so much insisted upon, was guilty of Profaneness, and Sacrilege. But let Those who did it answer for it: What is it to Us, or our Religion? Those who alienated the Revenues of the Church, pursued the Path which the Papists had mark'd out for them; and did very ill, I think. Queen Elizabeth was certainly not all Perfection, as some Protestants perhaps have represented her; but it is as certain that She was not so black as the Papists have painted her; according to whom the Devil himself cannot well be blacker. The Death of the Queen of Scots, in particular, is too much aggravated. For after all, tho' she had hard Measure; she was not entirely innocent: And the restless Attempts, Plots, and Treasons, of the Popish Faction may at least in some Degree excuse Queen Elizabeth's extorted Consent to the Death of That unhappy Princess. But to put it at the Worst, we can prove, and have prov'd, both from Reason, and Scripture, that she did well as a Reformer; but are not bound to justify all her Actions as a Queen and a Politician.

† P. 221.
But supposing Her, and all the rest of the Reformers particularly nam'd by our Author, to have been as bad as he makes them: There were very many other great Men who acted in it; and were they all alike? This charitable Gentleman would have it believ'd that they were. * And what is most remarkable (says He) we have not found one single Person of Note concern'd in the promoting of his so much boasted Work of Light, whose Character would not at any time be a Scandal to a Cause of far less Moment, &c. What if we had not found one such, that is, upon Record, in History, and mention'd by Name? Both Houses of Parliament, and Convocation, the Judges, and great Officers of State, were deeply concern'd in promoting This Work; and was there not one single Person of Note among them? Sure, to speak modestly, there could not be less than Fifty, in the three Reforming Reigns put together: And was not there one among them, but would have been a Scandal to any Cause? (For 'tis Begging the Question to say they were Prosligates because they were Reformers.) Is such a Thing to be supposed in common Charity, or even to be conceived in common Reason? But besides; as it happens, we have found several Righteous Persons in the City which our Author repre-

* Pref. P. 55.
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fents to have been worse than Sodom. The Compilers of the Common Prayer, whose Names are upon Record, were Men of Note, and of Piety too: Dr. Heylin, whom This Writer often quotes, tells us they were * Men famous in their Generation, and the honour of the Age they liv'd in. So were many who promoted the Reformation, by suffering Martyrdom for it. All These were not a Scandal to their Cause. What thinks our Author of Edward VI. and the Lady Jane Grey? The last, I suppose, He will say was a Rebel and Usurper: But it is well known how she may be at least excus'd as to That Matter: In other respects, she was a Prodigy of Wisdom, Learning, and Piety. And so was Edward VI. Who, that I may here observe it once for all, was not so very a Child, as our Author all along represents him. Even when he came to the Crown, he was much more than just of an Age to begin to learn his Catechism: He was between ten and eleven Years old; and could not only say his Catechism, but in a great measure understood it. He was between sixteen and seventeen when he dy'd; and considering that he was a Prince of amazing Parts, and Learning above his Years; and of a manly Genius in every thing, as the

* Reformation Justify'd. P. 15.
Journal he wrote, which is now extant, sufficiently testifies: I leave it to all equal Judges, whether our Author be not injurious to Truth in making a mere Child of him. But to return to the Reformers in general: The main Body of the Clergy was equivalent to several Persons of Note; and they promoted the Reformation by embracing it: I hope there were some good Men among them. If we will believe the Bishop of Meaux indeed, they embrac’d it upon a vicious Principle. It will be worth While to transcribe one Paragraph upon That Subject; to give you a Sample of the Rest.

"* In the Mystery of the Holy Eucharist the Senses were flatter’d, and deliver’d from their Subjection to the Obedience of Faith. Priests were discharg’d from their Celibacy, Monks from their solemn Vows, and all in general from the Yoke of Confeffion: Which, tho’ a wholesome Preservative against Vice, is a Burthen to Nature. A more commodious Morality was therefore preach’d up; which Mr. Burnet says mark’d out a plain and easy Way to Heaven. Now such good-natur’d Injunctions could not but meet with an easy Compliance. So that of 16000 Ecclesiasts, 12000, if Mr. Burnet may be be-
liev'd, renounc'd their Celibacy in the short Reign of Edward VI. and all those rotten Members of the Church of Rome, became good Protestants by becoming unfaithful to their Vows.

'Twas thus the Clergy was gain'd.' Was it thus only; as the whole Discourse manifestly tends to persuade us? Did they change their Religion upon no other Motive? Is Monsieur de Meaux sure they did not? If not; can any thing be more Unchristian, than to say they did not? They were, like the Jews upon the Reformation by Christianity, deliver'd from an intolerable Yoke of Ceremonies, and outward Observances, (only with This Difference, Those of the Jews were impos'd by God himself, Those of the Papists were impos'd partly without any Law of God, partly contrary to one) but does it therefore follow that they acted with no View but to be so deliver'd? Nay, does it follow, that they acted with That View at all? Some temporal Ease, and Advantage to them was a Consequence of their being Reform'd: But it is no Consequence that they were Reform'd for That Reason. Or if they were, partly for That Reason, tho' chiefly for Another; That is no Argument against them. With regard to a good Life in general, a Man may very lawfully make the Temporal Advantages of Vertue one End of his being Vertuous, tho' not the
the chief. All this Representation of the Matter therefore by Monsieur de Meaux is by no means for the Honour of so great a Man. As for the Particulars he mentions, it will be sufficient to speak one Word to each of them. In the Eucharist, as well as every where else, it was and is fit that the Senses should be so far flattered, if We must call it by That Name, as to be allow'd competent Judges between a human Body, and a Wafer. What those Vows were which the Monks made, whether in Themseives they ought to have been broken or kept, and whether Those who made them were by sufficient Authority discharg'd from them, it is no Business of Ours to enquire: Monasteries were dissolv'd before the Reformation, as we have observ'd. But the Bishop is mistaken in saying that the Clergy at the Reformation broke their Vows of Celibacy; Because they made none, as * Bishop Burnet has shewn. Confession we have not set aside; We not only grant, but insist, that in general it is highly expedient, and in some Cases little less than necessary: Its being absolutely necessary to Salvation, and that the Belief of such Necessity is so, is all we deny concerning it. With respect to bodily Exercise, and Things uncommanded by God, which in truth have

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no Morality in them, our Church indeed has made out a more easy Way to Heaven than the Romish has done: But Popery, as I have shewn in another Treatise, has with respect to Morality in general mark'd out a more easy Way, than Christianity. We had Authority to cancel the Laws of Men, but They had None to cancel the Laws of God.

Thus then, says the Bishop, the Clergy was gain'd. As to the Laity, the Riches, and Revenues of the Church laid open to Rapine was become their Bait. The Plate belonging to Churches fill'd the King's Coffers &c. This has been answer'd already. And what I have just now said of the Clergy may, with due Alterations, be apply'd to many at least of the Laity. The Zeal which the Bishop shews for the Memory of † Becket, That Holy Martyr, as He calls him, (and it is as easy for Us, tho' we detest the Murther of him, which was perpetrated by Papists, not Protestants, to give him a quite different Title) is no more an Argument for him, than our Abhorrence of his Principles, and Practices is an Argument against him: And in his || Comparison of Becket and Craumer, he all along supposes what we shall never grant. I just observe, that one may not only question, but deny the Miracles

† Popery truly stated. ‡ Pref. P. 37. || Pref. P 40, 41.

said
said to be wrought at That Prelate's Tomb, without turning all History into Scepticism; as Monsieur de Meaux, pretty odly in my Opinion, is pleased to express himself.

† But amidst all These Reformations (says He) there was one that made no Progress; to wit the Reformation of Manners. I have already taken notice of the Decay of Piety which follow'd Luther's Reformation in Germany. And we need but read Mr. Burnet's History to be convinced that the English Reformation produc'd the very same Effects. Henry VIII. was the first, &c. And so proceeds with That King, and the Duke of Somerset, of whom enough already; without giving any other Instance of the Decay of Piety upon the Reformation here in England: And nothing is more certain than that true Christian Piety increas'd, not decay'd, upon the Discarding of Popish Tyranny, and Superstition. And so it did in Germany too; Notwithstanding Those accidental Corruptions which follow'd the Reformation there, but were not the genuine Effects of it, as Monsieur de Meaux sophistically supposes. It ill becomes a Papist to talk of the Reformation of Manners; I have elsewhere shewn that in fact, as bad as We are, They are a great deal worse; that

† P. 37.  * Pop. truly stated.
Their Religion in, and of itself naturally tends to make Men vicious, and that Ours as naturally tends to the Contrary.

Which puts me in mind of what I chiefly insist upon; viz. That the Question between Us and Them is, or at least ought to be, of Things rather than of Persons. Supposing not only some, but all the Reformers to have been as wicked as the Romanists would make them, than which, as we have seen, nothing can be more false; what would They infer from it? That therefore the Reformation is null, and void? Or the reform'd Religion vicious, and corrupt? I deny the Consequence. A very ill Man may have lawful Authority: And a very ill Man may do a good Thing; and that too with a good Design: Nay tho’ he does it with an ill Design, That does not make the Thing cease to be good; in itself I mean, tho’ it does as to Him. Farther, the worst Actions of the worst Men may be, and often have been, so turn’d and dispos’d by the Providence of God, as to produce Effects quite contrary to the Intention of the Agents.

But here the Bishop of Meaux comes upon us with an Answer. † Mr. Burnet (says He) takes a great deal of Pains to heap Examples upon Examples of vicious Princes.

† Pref. P. 24. 25.
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whom God has made use of to bring about great Designs. And who doubts it? But can be bring a single Example to prove that Almighty God intending to reveal to Men some important Truth Unknown Before, has chosen so wicked a Prince as Henry, and so scandalous a Bishop as Cranmer, to be the immediate Instruments of such a Mercy? If the English Reformation be a divine Work, nothing is more divine in it than the King's Ecclesiastical Supremacy.

Now then it seems, forsooth, that God chose Henry as a proper Person to reveal this new Article of Faith to &c. I answer 1st. Neither K. Henry, nor Cranmer, pretend to any new Revelation; nor do we in the least pretend They had any. 2dly. The King's Supremacy was not unknown Before, was no new Article of Faith, nor any Article of Faith at all: It was, and is, true; but not an Article of Faith. It was not first broach'd at the Reformation; but was the ancient, known, fundamental Doctrine of the English Constitution. So there was no need of a new Revelation in its favour.

3dly. What does the Bishop mean by a divine Work? A Work brought about by the Assistance of immediate Inspiration? We do not say the Reformation was a divine Work in That Sense. Or a Work relating to divine Things, and effected by the extraordinary Providence of God? In That Sense the Re-
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formation was a divine Work. This Distinction is very true, and material; tho' the Bishop's Arguing from either Sense of the Words is strangely singular. If the English Reformation be a divine Work; nothing can be more divine in it than the King's Ecclesiastical Supremacy; since it not only was the first Cause of a Separation from the Church of Rome, which, as Protestants generally Maintain, is a necessary Condition with which every good and solid Reformation ought to begin, &c. That is, If This be a beautiful House; nothing can be more beautiful in it than the Foundation: If That be an excellent Discourse; nothing can be more excellent in it, than the first Sentence: Not to insist upon his confounding the Doctrine itself with the Maintaining and Asserting of That Doctrine. Besides; the Reformation (meaning here the reform'd Religion, for of That he speaks, tho' he does not speak clearly) may be a divine Work even in the highest Sense, and yet every thing in it not be divine. I hope it will be allow'd that St. Paul's Epistles are divinely inspir'd; and yet every thing in them is not so, as He himself assures us. The reform'd Religion therefore may be divine; notwithstanding which, the King's Supremacy, destructive of the Pope's, may be one of it's Doctrines, and a very true one too, and yet not be divine. Nay the Asserting of That Doctrine might occasion the Reformation in Religion; and
and yet That Doctrine be a very little Part of the Religion so reform’d, or no Part of it at all. When he says Protestants maintain that Separation from the Church of Rome is a necessary Condition, with which every good and solid Reformation ought to begin; He puts a Piece of false Doctrine, and Nonsense upon us, of which we are wholly innocent. Churches may want to be reform’d, and many actually do, which were never in Subject to the See of Rome; and other Corruptions ought to be reform’d besides Those of Popery. Even They who wisely and discreetly throw off the Popish Corruptions separate from the Church of Rome only in her Corruptions, or (if you would have it in other Words) only as she is corrupt, not as she is the Church of Rome: And such a Separation, if those Churches had no Corruptions but Popish ones, is not only the Beginning of a true and solid Reformation; but the Beginning, Middle, and End of it too. Let it be observ’d here, as always upon This Subject, that when Communion is broken off between two Churches upon the Score of real Corruptions in one of them; That corrupt Church, not the other, is properly the Separatist.

But the Bishop of Meaux says, This Point [the King’s Supremacy] * is to this Day the only Point in which Protestants never vary’d since the Beginning of the Schism:

* Ibid.
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And from thence likewise infers, that if the Reformation be a divine Work; This Point is as divine as any thing in it. The Argument then, upon Supposition that the Reformation is a divine Work, stands Thus. Whatsoever is the only Point in which Protestants never vary'd, is as divine as any thing in the Reformation; [more so, one would think, if there be any thing at all in the Argument;] But the King's Supremacy is the only Point in which Protestants never vary'd: Therefore the King's Supremacy is as divine as any thing in the Reformation. I deny both Propositions: The Major is false in Reason; and the Minor in Fact. The Former proceeds upon This erroneous Principle, that a Doctrine's being more, or less vary'd, makes it more, or less divine; at least that it's being divine has a dependance upon it's being unvary'd. Whereas a certain Point in a System (which is Divine in the gross) may be unvary'd, undisputed, without being divine at all; and the others contain'd in it may be vary'd, or disputed, and be divine notwithstanding. The Latter is a most notorious Untruth in Fact: For have Protestants maintain'd no Doctrine without Variation, but That of the King's Supremacy? How have they vary'd in the Rejection of Infallibility, the Condemnation of Image-Worship, Invocation of Saints, Indulgencies, and
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and Prayers in an unknown Tongue? How have they vary'd in asserting that Scripture is the only Rule of Faith, that Contrition is necessary to Salvation, &c? By the way, the Bishop takes it for granted that they all agree in the King's Ecclesiastical Supremacy; Which cannot be true of Protestant Countries that have not Kings; nor is it true of all that have. What he says about God's Judgments upon Henry VIII. is nothing to the Merits of our Cause: He was an ill Man no doubt; and we are now arguing upon a Supposition, tho' a false one, that all the Reformers were so; tho' That Prince was not one of them. Of This Passage therefore I only observe, that as it is not pertinent to our Subject, so I am afraid it is not very good Sense in itself. I know of but one Sort of God's Judgments by which Men can be made * an Example: And That is the Infliction of some signal, distinguishing Punishment; not their being barely † deliver'd up to their own Passions, and the Flatteries of Those that are about them; which is not so much, if at all, taken notice of by the World.

The Question then is not, whether the Reformers were good Men; but whether the Reform'd Religion be a good Religion.

* Ibid. † P. 303.
Entitled, England's Conversion, &c. 305

Our Author Himself, after having been at the Expence of so many Sections in this Third Dialogue, upon personal Scandal, forgets himself in the Fourth, knocks it all on the Head, and gives up the whole Topick.

G. * But pray, Sir, may not a good Cause be undertaken, and forwarded upon bad Motives? If so; as it cannot be question'd but it may; why may not the Reformation be perfectly good and justifiable in it self, tho' it was set on foot, and manag'd by Persons of corrupt Morals, and upon interested Views?

P. Sir, I don't pretend that espousing a Cause upon interested or wicked Motives either supposes it to be bad, or renders it so. Because the very best Cause may possibly be espoused with the most corrupt Intentions, and by Persons void in reality of all Sense of Religion. But I think we ought to be very circumspect, and wary in trusting such corrupt and mercenary Wretches in matters of Religion; let them profess as much Zeal for it as they please.

So, We have it at last; He has been talking impertinently all this while, according to his own Account. Not so, he will say; We must be very circumpect, and wary in trusting such Wretches. Is That all? Has

* P. 303.
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so much Pains been taken for no more? Tho’ he could not forbear throwing the Dirt; hoping it would stick, notwithstanding This Concession, which the unwary Reader very likely might not observe: Yet Prudence in providing for a Retreat, or, it may be, the irresistible Force of Truth, oblig’d him to make This Acknowledgement. He could not therefore avoid taking notice of the Objection: But what an Answer has he given to it? We must be very wary, and circumspect; So we are, and He knows it: More wary than they desire we should be. To Trust any Persons whatsoever, not only such Wretches as those of whom he speaks, without examining their Proceedings and Pretensions, by Reason and Scripture, is Their Way, not Ours. So all this Scandal has been rak’d together, merely for the sake of Scandal; and that according to his own extorted, tho’ unwary, Confession.

That from the Corruption of the Reformers then, supposing them to have been all very wicked, cannot be truly inferr’d the Corruption of the Reformation, appears from what been discours’d; or rather is evident of itself. What then? Is the Consideration of Persons to be wholly set aside in Cases of This nature? Not so neither. If the Things be doubtful, and difficult; the Characters of Persons ought to have some Weight. But when
when the First are plain, and self-evident; the Last are to be disregarded. Now the Corruptions of Popery were so flagrant; that it was necessary to cashier them, whatever were the Personal Characters, and Views of Those by whom they were to be cashier'd. Admitting therefore Henry VIII. to have been a Reformer; to his objected Morals I oppose the insufferable Usurpation, and Tyranny of the Pope. Against Cramner, (supposing him to have been as bad, as they would make him, tho' nothing can be more false) I set Image-Worship, Communion in one Kind, with about a Dozen more: And Transubstantiation will at any time be a Match for the Duke of Somerset. Purgatory, the Doctrine of Merit, Indulgencies, and the Destruction of all Morality and common Honesty by Opus Operatum, will at least be a Ballance to the profligate Principles and Practice of Queen Elizabeth, and her Ministr y; (I speak in the Language of a Papist) And the Fact of the Death, call it Murther, if you will, of Mary Queen of Scots, was not near so great a Blemish upon That Protestant Reign, as the Doctrine of Depositing and Murthering Princes is upon the Popish Religion. The Argument of our Adversaries therefore from the present suppos'd Wickedness of the Reformers would be much stronger than it is, were That the only Consideration. But it
happens to be quite otherwise. Besides; Were all This Arguing from Facts to Do-
trines, from Persons to Things, really con-
cclusive; it may be retorted upon the Roma-
nists, and holds full as strongly against Them, as against Us. To pass over That Monster
Phocas, who first encouraged the Pope's Su-
premacy; as also the flagitious Lives of very
many Popes themselves; let us confine our
Remarks to the Times of which we are
speaking, when the Struggle was made
about the English Reformation. Queen
Mary promised the Norfolk and Suffolk Men,
and her Council, that she would make
no Alteration in Religion. Did She mean
that She would continue the Reformation,
as it was in her Brother's Reign? If so; She
broke her solemn Royal Promise, in a Thing
of the most important and sacred Nature.
Did She mean that She would restore Po-
pery? If so; She equivocated, and was guil-
ty of infamous Prevarication in the same
momentous and sacred Affair. Then was
the barbarous Cruelty of Herself, or her Mi-
nisters, or Both, no Fault? Do the Fires
of Smithfield, and Baliol, and many other
Places, cast no Slur upon That Reign? With
what Front can a Papist, as ThisAuthor does,
talk of Queen Elizabeth's Cruelty; who
only considers that She had an elder Sister?
But of this we shall have Occasion to speak
more in another Place. Did not Gardiner
promote
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promote and subscribe K. Henry's Divorce, assert his Supremacy, and disclaim the Pope's, as well as Cranmer? and prevaricate in Edward the Sixth's Time, as the Other did in Henry the Eighth's? And cannot the same, and more, be said of Bonner? Concerning which Latter it may be added that he is said to have favour'd the Lutherans in Henry VIII's Reign; tho' he was so cruel a Persecutor in Queen Mary's.

To sum up the whole Evidence under This Head. 1st. All those whom our Adversaries call Reformers were not so. 2dly. The worst Things done in those Times which They object against, were done by Papists, not by Protestants. 3dly. Some of the Reformers might indeed be bad Men. Tho' 4thly. They were not so bad as our Adversaries represent them. 5thly. Many of them were excellently good Men. 6thly. Suppose all This were quite otherwise, and all the Facts were exactly such, as the Papists have deliver'd them to us; yet the Consequence is utterly false: 'The Reformers might be all vicious; and yet the Reform'd Religion may be pure and holy. And we have prov'd from Reason, and Scripture, that it is so. 7. Lastly, the Argument may be retorted upon our Adversaries; and proves as strongly against Them as against Us.
The next Objection is about the Means by which the Reformation was effected. To which I answer, 1st. That tho' a good End does not excuse, much less sanctify, bad Means (to say it does, is Popish, not Protestant Doctrine) yet a good End may be brought about by bad Means; and the Badness of the Last-mention'd destroys not the Goodness of the Other; I mean as to the Thing itself, tho' it does as to the Agent. But 2dly. We will consider the Facts alledged. And the first is Force and Compulsion. By what our Author says upon This, one would think the Reformation was carry'd on with Fire, and Sword: A more frightful Outcry could not well be made against Nero, or Dioclesian. Whereas, in truth, there was no Force us'd by our Protestant Reformers, but what was necessary to guard the Laws of the Land; No Papist was burnt for Religion in Edward VI. and Queen Elizabeth's Time, as Many Protestants were in Q. Mary's. With what face can Papists say, as some do, that She put People to Death only for Political Crimes, not upon the Score of Religion? This is true of K. Edward VI. and Q. Elizabeth; but most false of Q. Mary. But no Wonder that Those who deny the Powder-Plot, should affirm This; or indeed affirm, or deny, any thing else. Let the Reader upon This Article look into Primate Bramhall's Just Vindication, P. 65, 66. And
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And this leads me to our Author's curious Reasoning upon the Statute whereby, as he affirms, saying Mass is made High Treason, and being present at it Felony.

No doubt penal Laws can never change the Nature, or Essence of Things, in Morality, and Divinity. Murder, for example, is as much Murder, without such a Law as with it; nor can any Law turn Virtue into Vice, or one Virtue, or Vice into another. This is true, but not to the Purpose. For 1st. Treason, properly and strictly speaking, is a Political Crime. "High Treason is an Offence committed against the Security of the King or Kingdom." If it be considered as a Sin, or an Offence against the Law of God; it is call'd Undutifulness, Resistance, or Disobedience to the Higher Powers, Rebellion, &c. not Treason. Treason is a Law Term; not an Ethical, or Theological one. 2dly. Human Laws may change the Nature of Crimes in a Civil tho' not in a Theological Sense. Murder itself is one Thing in Divinity, and another in Law: And the Law may make That to be Murder, politically speaking, which was not so before. For Instance, What is now barely Man slaughter may be made Murder; and perhaps in some Cases,

* P. 270, to 273.  † P. 270. † Wood's Institut P. 587.
it would not be amiss, if it were, 3dly. The Laws, after all, making (as 'tis call'd) This, or That, High Treason, may not change the specific Nature of the Thing, but only add a Penalty to it. The Words in such Acts of Parliament, are, shall be taken, deem'd, adjudg'd to be High Treason; which may mean no more than treated as if it were so: And more plainly, The Persons Convict shall suffer Pains &c. as in Cases of High Treason. But This I do not insist upon: I stand to what I said Before, That Human Laws may change the Nature of Crimes in a Civil, tho' not a in Theological, Sense. And this shews the Inconsequence of our Author's Arguing. *Hence it follows, says He, that if Q. Elizabeth's Law was just, saying Mass both is, and has always been, a Sin of as black a Dye in The Sight of God, as High Treason. That it is so may be true, for any thing he has said to the Contrary; But however, the Consequence is not true. It may not be so black in the Sight of God, and yet be so pernicious, Politically speaking, as to be fitly and justly punish'd as High Treason, after Human Laws have enacted and declar'd that it shall be so. What † He here offers in Justification of saying Mass, in Point of

* Ibid.  † Ibid.
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Religion, from the Example of St. Gregory, and Others, has been elsewhere sufficiently consider'd; and is nothing to the present Purpose. I should not have been so particular upon This; but that our Author raises such Tragedies about it. And therefore, says He, † I cannot but regard that Sanguinary Statute of Q. Elizabeth, which, during her long Reign, was executed with the utmost Violence, and Rigor, as one of the blackest Stains in her Character. That it was executed with the utmost Violence, and Rigour, is utterly untruth: If ever there was such a Statute at all; As it is pretty plain to Me, there never was. But That is a Circumstance, which we wave at present. The next Words are These.

But, Sir, Protestants will say, that Q. Elizabeth regarded the Doctrine of the Mass as an execrable Heresy. And when she made Laws against it, and executed those Laws; She only followed the Examples of her Father Henry, and Sister Mary; who had put several Persons to Death, upon the Score of Heresy. Before the Preceptor speaks, let me put in one Word by way of Answer to the young Gentleman. Q. Elizabeth might, and that very justly, regard the Do-

† P. 171. || Ibid.
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Drine of the Mass as an execrable Herefy; but that She therefore made Sanguinary Laws against it, following the Example of &c. No Protestant will say. We abhor the thoughts of putting any Person to Death for Herefy. But now, begging Pardon for this Interruption, let us hear the Preceptor.

* Sir, It cannot be questioned but that Herefy is not only a most grievous Sin, but many times of pernicious Consequence to the State; and may therefore in certain Circumstances be justly punish'd with Death. I am glad he puts it upon That Foot: Their Laws about burning Hereticks, make Herefy as Herefy punishable with Death.

† But whether both Henry and Mary had always a due regard to Those Circumstances, I will not undertake to determine. One may without any Presumption undertake to determine, that they regarded Those whom they call'd Hereticks as Hereticks, and punish'd them with Death for being such: And in so proceeding they acted according to the Principles of their Religion.

‡ This however I am sure of, That their Case was very different from that of Q. E- lizaboth." It was indeed: and I have above taken notice how it was. || Because they only punish'd Herefy which had been con-

* Ibid  † P. 272.  ‡ Ibid.  || Ibid.  

\ddemn'd
Entitled, England's Conversion, &c. 315

den'm'd many Ages before by the Universal Church. No such matter: And I have fully shewn the Fall'hood of This confident Assertion. * Whereas if Q. Elizabeth thought fit (as supreme Head of the Church) to regard the Doctrine of the Mass as a Heresy; it was a Heresy form'd in her own Imagination, never thought, nor heard of, at least before the Reformation, in any Christian Nation under the Sun. I answer, first. Q. Elizabeth alone neither did, nor could, make This, or any other Statute: She made it, if it was made at all, in Conjunction with her two Houses of Parliament. 2dly. She did not act in That matter, as supreme Head of the Church, but in her Civil Capacity. 3dly. She and her Parliament did not Herregard the Doctrine of the Mass as Heresy; but the Saying and Hearing of Mass as prejudicial and pernicious to the Kingdom. 4thly. If They did regard the Doctrine of it as Heresy, They were in the Right; as it were easy to Shew. Therefore, 5thly. It was not a Heresy form'd in Q. Elizabeth's own Imagination. 6thly. This Heresy was indeed never thought, nor heard of, for the first 800 Years after Christ; because in That Time there was no such thing at all. 7thly. It might not be heard

* Ibid.
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of as a Heresy, before the Reformation; and yet be one from its Birth. * Nay She her-
self at her first Coming to the Crown, or-
der'd a solemn Mass to be said for the Soul
of her Sister Mary, and another for Charles
V. * Where did he pick up This History? I
never heard of it Before. Why does he
not quote his Author? The Reason is plain;
'Tis a Piece of Popish secret History, and
there is no Truth in it. Or if it were true;
it would be nothing to the Purpose. † But
after all, Sir, the Priests that suffer'd in
her Reign did not suffer for Heresy, but
for Treason. Very well; And all Papists
that suffer'd in her Reign, suffer'd for Po-
litical Crimes, not for Religion; as Pro-
testants did in Q. Mary's. After all; what
single Priest did suffer, as a Traytor, in Q.
Elizabeth's Reign, for saying Mafs; or what
single Person as a Felon, for being present
at it? After all too, what Statute is This,
of which our Author speaks? When was
it made? and how is it worded? Why
there is no such Statute in Being; nor e-
ver was; as I can perceive. I suppose he
means (for there is no other Statute now
subsisting that comes near such a one as
He imagines) That of 5 Eliz. Ch. 1. But
1st. Here is nothing about Felony for being
at Mass. And 2dly. as to the Treason, 'tis
not saying Mafs that is made so: But it is

* Ibid. † Ibid.
entailed that whoever shall say, or hear private Mass, and refuse the Oaths of Supremacy, &c. after they are twice tender'd, shall be guilty of Treason. 'Tis therefore refusing the Oaths in Them who shall say, or hear Mass, not saying, or hearing it, which is made Treason. And all Persons who have any Cure or Preferment in the Church, or Office in an Ecclesiastical Court, are upon the like Refusal involv'd in the same Crime. If there ever was such a Law; as he speaks of, it is now repeal'd; which I hope may be some Answer to This terrible Objection.

To our Author's positive Assertion, * that it was not so much as pretended that the Priests, who thus suffer'd, were guilty of any Endeavours to subvert the Government, or of any treasonable Practises, except That of saying Mass; I answer 1st. Whatever is to be said of Them in particular, if there were any such; it is pretty plain from the Preamble to 27 Eliz. Cap. 2. That some Popish Priests were pretended at least to be guilty of such Practises in That Reign. * Whereas divers Persons call'd or profess'd Jesuits, Seminary Priests, and other Priests —— have of late Years come, and been sent, and daily do come, and are sent in-

* Ibid.
the Queen's Majesty's Dominions, of Purpose (as it hath appear'd as well by sundry of their own Examinations, and Confessions, as divers other manifest Means, and Proofs) not only to Withdraw her Highness's Subjects from their due Obedience to her Majesty, but also to stir up and move Sedition, Rebellion, and open Hostility within the same her Highness's Realms and Dominions, to the great endangering of the Safety of her most Royal Person, and to the utter Ruin and Defolation of the whole Realm, if the same be not the sooner by some good Means foreseen, and prevented: Be it enacted &c." I answer 2dly. By asking this Writer; are not the Laws in Popish Countries full as severe against Priests of the Church of England, as Ours are against Those of the Church of Rome? and at least as severely and rigorously executed?

To the Force, and Violence us'd at the Reformation, they reduce the * Deprivation of Bishops, and some of the Inferior Clergy, who would not comply with it. But is This so great a Hardship? Such mighty Force and Violence? Is it fitting, or agreeable to Common Sense, that a Pro-

* 240, 254. and elsewhere.

testant
Entitled, England's Conversion, &c. 319

testant Government should suffer a Popish Prelacy and Clergy? Would any Popish Government suffer Bishopricks, or other Ecclesiastical Preferments, to be held by Protestants? If they say the Deprivation was illegal, and made by an incompetent Authority: I reply, 1st. by referring to Dr. Hammond, whose Words upon this Subject I shall have occasion to cite hereafter. 2dly. By asking, whether it be not known to all the World that Bishops were depriv'd by the Regal Authority only, in Q. Mary's Reign, as well as in Q. Elizabeth's?

And This brings us to their grand Objection of all, concerning the Usurpations, and Encroachments of the State upon the Church. And here is a heavy Accusation indeed. If we will take Things as * This Author and the Bishop of Meaux represent them; the Clergy, at the Reformation, gave up the Power of the Keys, and all Authority purely Spiritual, into the Hands of the Laity: The Bishops were totally enslav'd by the Court, and absolutely quitted to the Crown all the Commission they had receiv'd from Christ: It was, and is, the Doctrine of the Reform'd Church of England, that all Ecclesiastical Powers are deriv'd from the Civil, and the Church is a mere Creature.

* Pref. and 3d. Dial. passim.
of the State: The Reformation was made entirely, or very near entirely, by the Laity; and the Clergy had no Hand, or next to none, in That great Change. This, I say, is a dreadful Outcry; but 'tis without Truth, or Reason.

The King's Supremacy over the Church is exclam'd against as a Monster unheard of Before; as a Thing to the last degree absurd, and impious. To which I answer, 1st. King Henry VIII. who, as They say, first assum'd This Supremacy, and Those who yeilded it to him, both Laity, and Clergy, were Papists. 2dly, Such a Supremacy as We maintain, whatever King Henry meant, is agreeable to Reason, and Scripture, and to the constant Practice of God's Church, both Jewish, and Christian. Here in England particularly, the King's Supremacy in Ecclesiastical Causes was held fundamental to our Constitution many hundred Years before the Reformation; nay, from the Beginning: As it has been very largely and fully prov'd, by many learned Men, the great Primate Bramhall particularly. And therefore when our Author affirms * that King Henry VIII. was made Supreme Head of the Church by the Parliament, he is doubly mistaken; He was not Made

* Pref. P. 16.
Entitled, England's Conversion, &c. 321

so, but Declar'd so; and not by the Parliament only, but by the Clergy in Convocation also: Of which latter more in another place. That there should be such a Supremacy as We contend for, is necessary to the Well-being at least of Civil Government, if not the very Being of it. There would otherwise be really Imperium in Imperio, or rather the greatest Danger of Imperium contra Imperium, in the same Nation. If the Sovereign Prince had not a Right to take Cognizance of all Causes, Ecclesiastical, as well as Civil, and some Authority over them; He would be but a Piece of a King in his own Dominions, and his Government would be manifestly precarious. The Church by Vertue of Those Words in ordine ad Spiritualia, might (as Popes have actually done) exercise temporal Authority, and destroy the Regal Power. Such a Supremacy therefore is "a Right due to all Christian Princes by the Laws of God and Nature," as Primate Bramhall speaks *.

I say, such a Supremacy as We contend for. If then we are ask'd, what Supremacy? I own, the right Question is, what is the Prince's Power over the Church, and how far does it extend? Our Adversaries

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* Schism guarded P. 360.
An Answer to a Popish Book, &c.

will have it that we mean This, or That by it; whether We will, no. They take notice of our Explanations, but will not admit of them; that is, they will not suffer us to understand our own Meaning, but are resolv'd to understand it better than we Ourselves. I say but little of This Matter, as it stood in the Reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. because all that is incumbent upon Us Now, is to justify the Reformation as it Now is. This we may be allow'd to plead, upon our Author's own Concession. † Thus then, says He, speaking of Queen Elizabeth's Reign, was laid the Foundation of the Reform'd English Church, as it Now stands. For all former Acts relating to the Supremacy having been repeal'd in Q. Mary's Reign; the Reformation began entirely upon a new Footing in the Year 1558, which was the first of Queen Elizabeth's Reign. And tho' it commonly takes it's Date from the Year wherein King Henry assum'd the Spiritual Supremacy, and thereby open'd the way to the several Reformations that follow'd; yet To Speak Properly, the Reform'd Church of England, as to it's present Establishment, and Constitution, can trace it's Original no higher, than the Year 1558; when it's Founda-

† P. 251.
Entitled, England's Conversion, &c. 323

... was first laid upon Queen Elizabeth's Spiritual Supremacy, as it's chief Groundwork. Tho' something may be here liable to just Exception, as to the Date of the Reformation, with respect to many Points; yet taking the Whole as our Author gives it us, it follows that to charge the present Reformation with Faults, either as to Things, or Persons, or Both, upon the Account of what was done before That time he speaks of, is to speak improperly: And therefore, had it not been for the sake of Scandal, a very great Part of his boasted Performance might have been spared. I shall, notwithstanding, both here, and hereafter, as Occasion offers, make a few cursory Observations upon what is objected, even as relating to those two former Reigns: Tho' it is ex abundanti, and more than I am oblig'd to.

He asserts † that the Act of Supremacy bestowed upon King Henry VIII. That same Supreme Spiritual Jurisdiction and Authority of which they had dispossess'd the Pope: And That differs as much from the Temporal Jurisdiction and Authority of Kings, as the Regal and Episcopal Characters differ from one another. I answer, 1st, The Thing itself is not true: There are no such Words in the Act, which he just before recites, as

† P. 189.
the supreme Spiritual Jurisdiction of which the Pope was dispossessed: Nor can such a Power be infered from the Words of That, or any other Act, join'd with the Practice which explains them. 2dly, He supposes that the Pope, in vertue of his Supremacy, acted as a Bishop; Which is most false: He acted as a Monarch; a Monarch not only in Spirituals, but in Temporals; and That too not only in his own Dominions, but in Those of other Princes. But let us consider the spiritual Part only: How comes This Writer to give the Pope no more than an Episcopal Character? Did He claim no more? Or if he did, does the Episcopal Character import a supreme Spiritual Monarchy over all Bishops? And did not Popes pretend to such a Monarchy? What I further observe upon This Head, shall be apply'd as an Answer to the Bishop of Meaux's Assertions. "† To prepare the Way, says He, for their intended Reformation in the King's Name (Edward the Sixth's) He was immediately declared, as his Father had been before him, supreme Head in Spirituals, as well as Temporals, of the Church of England. For from the Time that Henry took upon him the Spiritual Supremacy, it became a Maxim, that the King was Pope in England. But greater Prerogatives were bestow'd upon

† Pref. P. 31.
Entitled, England's Conversion, &c. 325

This new Pope, than the Popes of Rome had ever claim'd. For the Bishops were oblig'd to receive new Commissions from King Edward revocable at Pleasure; as King Henry had before, &c.' Notwithstanding the Case of the Commissions revocable at Pleasure (which is the worst they can say, and which I confess is bad enough) it is untruly asserted that greater Prerogatives were given to the King than were ever claim'd by the Pope. Not greater; nor near so great. For the Popes claim'd a plenitude of Power to do what they pleas'd with all Bishops, and indeed with every Body else, both in Spirituals, and Temporals. And accordingly they set up, and pull'd down, put in, and turn'd out, whom they lik'd, or dislik'd: For not only the Power of the Bishops to exercise their Functions, but their Bishopricks, and their very Orders, were revocable at pleasure.

The repeated Clamours of our Author, and Monsieur de M. against the Spiritual Powers suppos'd to be usurp'd by the Crown, and yielded by the Clergy, in Those Reigns, will of course, be answer'd, when we come to Queen Elizabeth's (upon which, for the above-mention'd Reason, we shall chiefly insist) because That will necessarily have a Retrospect to the other Two. Here I only ask: Do our Adversaries really, and in earnest insist, that according to Us all
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Manner of Spiritual Power and Authority is originally in the Crown, and deriv'd from it to the Bishops and Clergy; or do they not? If they do not; why do This Author and the Bishop of Meaux talk as if they did; and That so very often, and in as plain Words as can be Utter'd? If they do so insist; was there ever any thing more false and absurd, than such an Assertion? Do they not in their own Consciences know it to be false? And do they not shamefully contradict themselves by owning that even Henry VIII. had not Power given him to preach, and administer the Sacraments? For so This * Writer acknowledges expressly; and the Bishop of Meaux, and all Mankind, must acknowledge the same. Is it not evident even to Them, that whatever be meant by some strange Expressions in Acts of Parliament, Commissions, &c. That cannot be the Meaning of them which These Writers pretend; or at least that it is not our Meaning Now, and was not in Q. Elizabeth's Days? But our Author, as I said, will not suffer us to know our own Meaning, and to explain it our own Way. I insist so particularly upon This, says He, † because when the Act of Supremacy, which was repeal'd in Q. Mary's Reign, was again renewed in favour of Q. Elizabeth, and

* P. 190.  † P. 189.
great Numbers appear'd scandaliz'd — that a Woman should be declar'd Supreme Head, &c. to cover the Scandal of it, the Composers of the 39 Articles were oblig'd to gloss it over with this strain'd Interpretation, that the Act meant no more than to give that Prerogative to the Queen which had been given to all godly Princes, &c. Art. 37. But who sees not that This was but a Gilding of the Pill, &c.? But more of this hereafter. Hereafter then we shall meet with it; and shall not in the least be afraid of it. At present I observe, 1st. That Q. Mary did not lay aside the Title of Head of the Church, till the Third Parliament of her Reign; with Reluctancy did it even Then; and very likely had not done it at all, but that it was necessary, in order to her Legitimation, to restore the Pope's Supremacy, with which her own over the Church was inconsistent. * If this Title Head of the Church, was so absurd and wicked, as apply'd to a Woman; what shall we say of their Favourite Q. Mary, who for so long a time usurp'd it? 2dly. The Article was not contriv'd to gloss over the Scandal of a Woman's being declar'd Head of the Church; For Q. Elizabeth, who never lik'd That Title, laid it aside before the Articles were compos'd.

* See Dr. Hammond's Works Vol. I. P. 525.
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But may we not take the Oath of Supremacy with this Interpretation tack'd to it? P. "I should be loath to do it. And my Reason is, because Oaths are sacred Things, and not to be trifled with; Nor can any Man warrant me to swear one thing and mean another. As I cannot, for example, swear that the King of Great Britain is the Czar of Muscovy; tho' he that should tender this Oath should assure me that nothing more was meant by it than that the King of Great Britain is the Supreme Head and Governor in his own Dominions, as the Czar of Muscovy is in his.

Because tho' this Interpretation imports a real Truth, it differs wholly from the obvious Meaning of the Words of the Oath." Oaths are certainly sacred Things; so sacred, that I cannot reconcile the Popish Doctrine of Equivocation and mental Reservation with their Sacredness. But is this Proposition, The King of Great Britain is in his own Dominions Supreme over all Persons, in all Causes, Ecclesiastical, and Civil, as manifestly false as This, The King of Great Britain is the Czar of Muscovy? And are These Words, We do not mean that the King of Great Britain has Authority to preach, and administer the Sacraments, but only that he has the same Prerogative which...
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has been given to all godly Princes, to rule all
Estates and Degrees, &c. as different from
the obvious Sense of the Former; as These,
nothing more is meant by it than that the
King of Great Britain is the Supreme Head
and Governor in his own Dominions, as
the Czar of Muscovy is in His, manifest-
ly are from the obvious Sense of the Lat-
ter? Anybody, that has Eyes, may see
the Contrary.

* In the first Place, continues He, it
made him Supreme Judge in all Contro-
versies of Religion, &c. And so proceeds,
displaying under three distinct Heads the
Plenitude of Spiritual Power ascrib'd to K.
Henry by the Act of Supremacy. To all
which I have given a general Answer al-
ready; and reserve a more particular one
for a more proper Place. His affirming that
† the Parliament acted with just as much
Freedom as a Man delivers his Purse when
he has a Pistol presented to his Breast, is a lit-
tle odd. That the Clergy were in some Mea-
sure influenc'd by Fear, I grant; and shall
speak to That Objection hereafter. But that
the Parliament's Voting was extorted by
Fear, is not so plain: I never heard of any
Premunire They had incur'd.

‡ His next Words are, I should be glad
to know from which of the Apostles King
Henry descended. Really, I cannot inform

* P. 190, 191. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid.
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him: Neither am I sensible that King Henry ever imagin’d himself descended from any. By This Man’s way of Talking, one would think That Prince took upon him to confer Orders, to excommunicate, and absolve; preach’d at least once a Month to exercise his Faculty; and administer’d all the seven Sacraments at least once a Year, to shew that he insisted upon every Branch of his Authority. He goes on in the same strain to the End of the Paragraph: And to all of it I answer; that Henry VIII. did not dream of governing the Church as a Clergyman, but as a King.

Which brings us back to our Main Point, the Nature, and Extent, of the Regal Supremacy in Ecclesiastical Affairs; according to the true Sense and Meaning of our Church, and State too, upon That Head. This will be best clear’d by our considering the Explication of it in Q. Elizabeth's time before hinted at, and now to be more fully discours’d. Our Author, speaking of the 37th. Article, tells us, || 1st. That the precarious Interpretation of a few private Persons cannot invalidate the Force of a solemn Act of Parliament, with the Royal Sanction to it. I answer, 1st. All the Bishops, and the whole Representative Body of the Clergy in Convocation, can with no

P. 248.
Entitled, England's Conversion, &c. 331
tolerable Propriety be call'd a few private Persons. Not a few; because there are in both Provinces, above 200 of them. Not private Persons; because they are assembled in a Parliamentary Way, and act in a public legislative Capacity. 2dly. The Parliament then in Being acquiesc'd in This Interpretation; and so did the Queen, for whose Use the Act was made. 3dly. A subsequent Parliament confirm'd, and establish'd This Interpretation by * confirming and establishing the 39 Articles.

He says, 2dly That the Interpretation contain'd in the 37th Article, if meant of the Queen's Supremacy over the Clergy, as well as Laity, in Temporals only, is both frivolous, and contrary to the plain Meaning of the Act. It is indeed, if That be All. But who told Him that no more is meant than Supremacy over the Clergy, as well as Laity, in Temporals only? It is said over all Estates, and Degrees; which implies more than all Men: All Estates, and Degrees; i.e. as such; Which includes Things as well as Persons. If it be objected that I interpret the Interpretation arbitrarily; I reply, I do not: Because the Interpretation † refers to the Queen's Injunctions; and the Duty, and Allegiance acknowledg'd to be due to Henry VIII. and Edward VI. which in

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The strongest Terms (too strong in our Author's Opinion, and perhaps in Mine like-wise) relates to Causes, and Things, as well as Persons. † The Word *Causes* is express'd in another Part of This very Article; which cannot be suppos'd to recede from it's own Words. And This is the Language of our Church in her Canons: *That the King is Supreme in Causes Ecclesiastical.* See Can. I. II. LV. Our Author therefore might have spar'd his Pains in proving so triumphant ly what Nobody denies (a Task in which upon all Occasions he takes great Delight) ‡ that Ecclesiastical, or Spiritual Things and *Causes* are in express Terms mention'd in the Oath annex'd to the Act of Supremacy, and the Sense of them contain'd in the Act itself: But his Inference from it, that therefore the Explanation in the 37th. Article is inconsistent with the Act and Oath, is vain and groundless. The most can be said is, that the *Explication* might have been more *explicit*; and I own it might: But That infers not Inconsistency, or Contradiction. But I am forestalling myself; To return therefore.

The Way being thus clear'd by a true general State of the Matter before us; our Author's particular Reasonings will be answer'd with a great deal of Ease.

† See Act of Suprem. 26 Hen. VIII. Cap. 1. ‡ P 251.
Entitled, England's Conversion, &c. 333

* It is frivolous, says He, [meaning the Interpretation of the Act in the Article] because it renders the Act itself a mere Mock-Act—For what Man in his Senses ever doubted but that a Sovereign Prince—has the Supreme Authority over both Clergy, and Laity, in Temporal Concerns? &c. He then argues that if no more had been meant by the Act; it would not have met with so much Opposition: Giving a particular Account of That Opposition, which shall be elsewhere considered; and draws the same Inference from Bishop Heath's Speech. That Prelate, if he at all argued as he is represented to have done, † argued like a Child upon a different Account from That here mention'd: I mean by mistaking the Question in the other Extreme; not by supposing that the Act of Supremacy gave so little Power as our Author represents the 37th Article to intend; but that it gave much more than ever was by it self intended. For he supposes it gave the Queen Authority to preach, and administer the Sacraments, &c. which was a more Childish Supposition than the other. But this Speech, upon which our Author lays so much Stress as to ‡ recite This Part of it at large, must (as Bishop Burnet observes ||) have been a Forgery put out

* P. 248, 249.  † P. 249.  ‡ P. 443; to P. 247.
in his Name. For he is made to speak of the Supremacy, as a new and unheard of Thing. Which he, who had sworn to it so often in K. Henry's, and K. Edward's Times, could not have the Face to say. For the rest, I have answered This Paragraph already; since it proceeds upon a Supposition that the Explanation in the Article makes the Supremacy mean no more than a Supremacy in Temporals, which I have shewn to be false.

Upon the same wrong Principle he deceives himself, or labours to deceive others, in what follows. * But this Interpretation of the Act is not only frivolous; but over and above inconsistent with the Words both of the Act and the Oath annex'd to it. He recites them; and then proceeds, telling us, that if This Act, and Oath, did not fix the Supreme Ecclesiastical Authority in Q. Elizabeth; Words must lose their obvious Signification. I say so too; And with This the Article is entirely consistent. But then he goes on, and gives a wrong Turn to every Thing; making the Act and Oath import much more than They really do.

† First, the Act itself gave the Queen all such Spiritual, and Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction in general, as by any Spiritual, and Ecclesiastical Authority had ever been, and

* P. 249. † P. 250.
Entitled, England’s Conversion, &c. 335

entitled England’s Conversion, &c. This is a shameful Prevarication; After the Word exercised, it follows Thus; “or used: for the Visitati- on of the Ecclesiastical State, and Persons, and for Reformation, Order, and Cor-

rection of the same, and of all manner of Heresies, Errors, &c. which manifestly re-

strains it to outward Jurisdiction: Whereas the Omission of those Words quite alters the Sense, and extends it to all Spiritual Au-

thority. * And was not This declaring Her Supreme Head, &c. She was not stiled so; but let That pass. † Was it not vesting in her Person all the Jurisdiction which any Ecclesiastical Person, &c? No. For the Words, however they may found, are capable of another Sense; and have been ex-

plain’d accordingly, both by other Words, and by constant Practice. That she was vested with the same Power, with all the Authori-

ty, which any Ecclesiastical Person had ever exercised, is neither express’d, nor im-

ply’d. All the World knows she was not: This Author himself both knows, and has 

said, she was not; For he grants, as we have seen, that even Henry VIII. was not in-

vested with the Power of Preaching, and Administering the Sacraments; And I pre-

fume he will not affirm that Q. Elizabeth
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had more Power than her Father, the Act of Supremacy in his Reign being more full and strong than That in hers.

*2dly, It gave her a special Power or Authority, to visit, reform, and correct all manner of Errors, Heresies, and Schisms, &c. All which are properly Exercises of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, &c. They are so; and the Crown has Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction (how far, and in what Sense, we shall hereafter explain) and so have the Clergy too: And the One does not destroy the Other, as this Writer would have it believed. † And tho' in Bishops they are limited to their respective Diocessis, and sometimes restrain'd by particular Exceptions; the full exercise of this Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction was on the contrary, by virtue of the aforesaid Act, granted to Q, Elizabeth over all the Diocessis in her Dominions without Restriction, or Limitation. That is, the Queen's Jurisdiction extended over all her Dominions; Whereas That of every Bishop is limited to his own Diocese. Had This Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction been at all granted to her (for, as we must still remember, it was not granted, but only declar'd) it would have been strange indeed, had it not extended over all her Dominions.

* Ibid. † P. 251.
Entitled, England's Conversion, &c. 337

What Trifling is This! * But 3dly. the Oath annex'd to the Act declares in express Terms, &c. In short it declares the Queen Supreme in all Things and Causes Ecclesiastical, &c. † Which differs very much from the other, and imports no less than that she was the Supreme Judge of all Controversies in Religion. It does not import that she was Supreme Judge, or any Judge, in Controversies of Religion: She might by her Authority reform Errors, Heresies, &c. and yet be advised by her Clergy what was an Error, or a Heresy. ‡ — And the Source of all Ecclesiastical, as well as Temporal Jurisdiction in her Dominions. Because as all Temporal Authority or Jurisdiction in every Government flows from the Secular Head, so all Spiritual Jurisdiction flows from the Spiritual Head, as from its Source. I answer; Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction is of two Sorts: External, and Internal. The First is, with Us, partly in the Civil Magistrate, partly in the Clergy: The Second wholly in the Clergy. It is the Former only that is meant in the Act, and the Oath. In the coercive, or coactive Part of This, which consists in imposing outward Penalties, the King is not only Supreme; but from him, as from the Source,

* P. 251. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid.
all the Power is deriv'd. The regulative, or directive Part of it, as making Ecclesiasticall Laws and Canons, is jointly in the Crown, and Clergy. Here too the King is Supreme, while he at all Acts. But the Power is not originally (in the highest and most proper Sense of the Word originally) derived from Him as the Source: Because if the State should break off from the Church, persecute, and endeavour to destroy it; the Church, as a Society instituted by Christ, must have a Right to make Laws by herself, because no Society can subsist without Laws. The latter, Internal Jurisdiction, consists in binding, or absolving; remitting, or retaining Sins, Concerning the Sense of which it is not our Business here to dispute. Besides which Power of Jurisdiction, there is also a Power of Order, which consists in Preaching, Administering the Sacraments, Ordaining, &c. Both these Powers, That of internal Jurisdiction, and That of Order, are derived from Christ alone as from their Head and Source. The Civil Magistrate can neither give them, nor execute them; tho' he may limit, regulate and determine the Exercise of them, as to Time, Place, and other Circumstances: And has Authority to see that the Clergy do their Duty in the Execution of these Offices.
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The Regal Supremacy therefore which we intend, is no other than (as Primate Bramhall speaks) the Political, or External Regimen of the Church. And since I have mention'd That great Prelate; I will from Him cite a remarkable Passage relating to our Present Subject.  "There are several Heads of the Church. Christ alone is the Spiritual Head; The Sovereign Prince the Political Head; the Ecclesiastical Head is a general Council; and under That, each Patriarch in his Patriarchate, and among the Patriarchs, the Bishop of Rome, by a Priority of Order. We who maintain the King to be the Political Head of the English Church do not deny the Spiritual Headship of Christ, nor the Supreme Power of the Representative Church, that is a General Council, or Synod; nor the executive Headship of each Patriarch in his Patriarchate; nor the Bishop of Rome's Headship of Order, among them. We have introduc'd no new Form of Ecclesiastical Government into the Church of England; but preserved to every one his due Right, if he will accept of it. And We have the same Dependance upon our Ecclesiastical..."
But Those Words, *The King is the Fountain of all manner of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction and Authority*, will perhaps be still insisted upon. I answer, 1st. They are not in the Act of Parliament concerning the Supremacy; but only in the Commissions in King Henry's, and King Edward's Times, which We have nothing to do with. 2dly. Those Words themselves, tho' us'd very improperly, *cannot* mean what they *seem* to mean, but only *all manner of External, or Political Jurisdiction* in Ecclesiastical Affairs. Because, as I have been often forced to say, it is agreed by all the World that the Power of Administering, Preaching, and Ordaining, was never by any body supposed to be deriv'd from the Crown. Even K. Henry's Statute of Supremacy, tho' every Expression in it may not be strictly right, may with This most true Explication be very well justified. He is declar'd Supreme Head of the Church of England; *i. e. in respect of the External, and Political Regimen of the Church*. It is said, that "He shall have Power to visit, redress, and reform all such Heresies as by any manner of Spiritual Authority lawfully may be reformed." But, to use the Words of an ingenious
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ingenious and learned Writer: * "This Act will be without the reach of our Author's Cavils; if it be observ'd, That the Power by which the King visits, and reforms, is not Spiritual, but Political; that a Power is not given him to declare Errors, but to repress them; that the Determination of Heresy is by Act of Parliament limited to the Scriptures, first General Councils, and Assent of the Clergy in their Convocation: That the King hath not all the Power given him which by any manner of Spiritual Authority may be lawfully exercised, (for He has not the Power of the Keys) but a Power given him to reform all Heresies by the Civil Authority, which the Church can do by her Spiritual; &c. —

Lastly, that the Prince is oblig'd to take care that all Acts of reforming be executed by their proper Ministers; because else he trangresses the Power prescrib'd in This Statute, so to reform as may be most to the Pleasure of Almighty God." Indeed all those concluding Words — most to the Pleasure of Almighty God, the Increase of Vertue in Christ's Religion, and the Conservation of the Peace and Tranquility of the Realm, any Usage, Customs, foreign Laws, foreign Pre-

* Reflections on the Historical Part of Church-Govern-ment, &c. P. 24, 25c

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scriptions
An Answer to a Popish Book, *s*criptions, or any Thing or Things to the contrary thereof notwithstanding, are plainly explanatory of the whole Act; confining it to the Averting a Supremacy over the Church in a Political Sense only, and excluding all foreign Authority and Jurisdiction whatsoever. It may here be very properly remark'd that the Clergy in their Declaration, upon which This Act was founded, acknowledge the King to be Head of the Church, only quantum per legem Christi licet; so far as is agreeable to the Law of Christ.

What has been offer'd will give us an easy Key to unlock all our Author's Fallacies, in his Reasonings from this Act under the three Heads I before hinted at. * In the first Place, says he, it made him Supreme Judge in all Controversies in Religion, by giving him full Power to visit all Errors, and Heresies, &c. This does not make him Supreme Judge, or any Judge, in Controversies; as I have observed of Q. Elizabeth. † The plain meaning of which is, &c. in short, that he had the same Power as the Pope had Before. The plain Meaning of it is no such Thing; nor can any such Thing be inferred from it; nor is it true in Fact, that the same Power was given to Him as the

* * P. 190. † Ibid. Pope
Pope had. See backwards. P. 323 &c. Neither had He, (* as This Writer affirms) The same Power as the Bishops in their several Diocesses: Because he had no Power purely Spiritual by Vertue of a Commission from Christ; as all Bishops have.

† But 2dly. By empowering him to visit with Supreme Authority, it united, as I may say, in his Person alone the Whole Episcopal Jurisdiction of the Nation. You may not say it; because you cannot say it with Truth. He had in his own Person none of the Episcopal Jurisdiction purely Spiritual, and derived from Christ; and so not the Whole. And even his outward Jurisdiction made him only Superintendent over the Bishops, but did not take away Theirs. ‡ Which Episcopal Jurisdiction before was divided, as in other National Churches, among the Bishops. So it was afterwards, and is still. || To whom alone it belong'd to visit. To them alone it be-long'd to visit, as Bishops; and so it does still: But, notwithstanding That, the King might visit as a King. And that only in their own respective Diocesses, according to the Canons. Doubtless, a Bishop was, and still is, to visit only in his own Dioceses, and according to the Canons: But to

* Ibid. † P. 191. ‡ Ibid. || Ibid. X 4. what
what Purpose This was here inserted, I cannot imagine. So that it degraded in a manner the whole Prelatick Order. Not at all, for the Reason above alluded'd. Or at least rendered the Exercise of their Jurisdiction wholly precarious. Not so; Because the Act does not meddle with some Part of their Jurisdiction; and even That which it does meddle with may have a paramount Authority over it, and yet not be wholly precarious: Which is actually the Case; as every body knows. And they were after no better than the King's Vicars, &c. Which was giving him a greater Power than any Pope, &c. Not so; for the Reasons aforesaid. 3dly. It gave the King a Power to revise and annul any Ecclesiastical Decree or Constitution, tho' enacted by the whole Body of the English Clergy. How so? There are no such Words in the Act, as He himself cites it. Nor was it ever design'd to vest a Legislative Power in the King only, with respect to the Church, any more than to the State. Who by that Means were divested of their divine Right of feeding and guiding their Flocks; and became mere Executors of the King's arbitrary Will. Utterly false; as I have fully prov'd. I will further only remind our Author that supposing all This to be as bad as he would make it; Papists, not Protestants, are to answer for it.

The
The Account therefore of the whole Matter is no more than This. Our Kings have, as they ought to have, a Political Supremacy in Ecclesiastical Affairs. Some, who are far enough from favouring the Romish Cause, cannot be reconciled to the Word Ecclesiastical, much less Spiritual, added to That Supremacy; but will call it a Civil Supremacy in Ecclesiastical Causes. Which, to my Apprehension, is a mere Logomachy; considering how Those who use it explain their Meaning even of the Word Ecclesiastical, as apply'd to That Supremacy. Or if they please, they may take it Thus. There is a Difference between Spiritual, or Ecclesiastical Power, and a Power in Spiritual, or Ecclesiastical Things: Which Latter, not the Former, is the Language of our Laws and Canons upon This Subject.

Not but that, were it otherwise; there would be no reasonable Ground of Complaint. The Words of the Great Constantine to the Bishops, recited by Eusebius; † are very remarkable; And we hear of no Objection to them. Which, methinks, should have some Weight with our Adversaries. "You, says He, are Bishops of Those Things that are within the Church;

† De Vita Constant. Lib. IV. Cap 24.
"I am a Bishop as to externals." If it be said that the Latter Words may relate to secular Things; I answer it is far more probable from the Connexion of the Narrative, that they relate to the externals of the Church: And 'tis plain Fact that Constantine deeply intermeddled in Church Matters. This, I say, is very material; both as a Proof, and an Explanation, of such a Supremacy as we maintain. For the further Confirmation of which, see many other Testimonies of the ancient Church, cited by the excellent Dr. Hammond, in his Discourse of Schism. Two of them I cannot forbear transcribing. *I am King and Priest,* said Leo Isaurus to Gregory the 2d. And was not for This reprehended by That Pope. And by Optatus † it is noted and censur'd as a Schismatistical Piece of Language in the Donatists; Quid Imperatoric umi Ecclesia? What has the Emperor to do with the Church?

By this time, I hope, any one may give a ready Answer to all Objections about Lay-Supremacy in Ecclesiastical Matters. However This or That Commission, or Act of Parliament, is worded; *it does not,* it cannot mean what our Adversaries pretend. Words must be explain'd by other Words;

† Lib. 3.
Entitled, England’s Conversion, &c. 347

and Laws by universal Practice. Even That so much decry’d Expression Head of the Church, explain’d as we have seen it was ever meant, is not so very wicked and absurd; no not when apply’d to a Child, or a Woman. A supposed Incongruity, which our Author repeats, I verily believe, above twenty times; as if it were Matter of the greatest Triumph over us, that This Title, or one equivalent to it, was given to Edward VI. in his Minority, and to Q. Elizabeth. Whereas it is well known to All who know any thing of These Matters, that as the King of England never dies, so the King of England is never a Child; and the Regal Authority is of no Sex. A Headship of the Church strictly speaking, i. e. an Authority purely Spiritual, can no more belong to a Layman, than to a Woman, or a Child; but ills properly speaking, which is what We mean, it may belong to either of the two Last, as well as to the First; because it is inherent in the Crown, whoever wears it. Since our Author so very often repeats This Objection, and insists so very much upon it; I cannot forbear saying, that ’tis an Objection fit only for a Child: A Woman, of Common Reason and Ingenuity, would be ashamed of it.
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Not that We are bound, after all, to defend every Rhetorical, improper, or strain'd Expression in This or That Act of Parliament. Our Author (that I may here borrow Bishop Burnet's Words) is much more concern'd to justify all Papal Bulls, than "We can be to justify all the Words of our "Laws; especially the Rhetorick that is "in their Preambles. Because He believes the Pope to be at least the Centre of Unity, if not Infallible; and we do not pretend that our Parliament is Either. "Now when our "Author will undertake to justify all the "Preambles of Bulls that are in the "Bullarium; then We may undertake "to justify all the Flourishes which may "be in any Act of Parliament." Laws are sometimes express'd in such Terms as Practice only, and other Laws, and legal Interpretations, can explain. Our Adversaries are very clamorous against These Expressions, The King is Head of the Church, He has Power to repress Heresies, &c. What would they have said, were the King stil'd a Bishop? Yet Constantine call'd himself so. What if he were stil'd a Priest? Yet Leo Isaurus called himself so. And no Exception was taken at Either: Because the Meaning was explain'd, and well under-

†Apud Hickes Treat. of the Priesth. Pref. P. 153.

stood;
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stood; tho' the Expressions were much more harsh and improper, than any in the Acts of Parliament we are now considering.

The Submission of the Clergy, so much thrown in our Teeth, and particularly insisted upon by this Author, was the Act of Papists; the same Papists who complimented Henry VIII. for writing against Luther. Not that it was an entire Submission to the King in matters of Religion, as our Author most falsely calls it; but only a Submission, not an entire one neither, in matters of Convocation, in making, promulging, and executing Canons &c. Whatever it was, let Them answer for it, that made it: They did not promise for their Successors; Or. if They had, I do not see that such a Promise would have oblig'd their Successors: For it was a mere Promise, not a Law; And besides what they did in K. Henry's Reign they undid in Q. Mary's: Nor is there any such Submission, as an Act of the Clergy, now Subsisting. There is indeed an Act of Parliament founded upon That Submission, which our Lawyers tell us is declaratory of the Common Law. Notwithstanding which, if our Adversaries can shew that it is contrary to the Law of God; we will

An Answer to a Popish Book, certainly refuse Obedience to it. But whatever is, or can be, said against it may receive an Answer from what has been already discours'd concerning the Power of the Civil State in Ecclesiastical Matters: And I am for as little Repetition as possible.

As to the Fear † by which This Submission of the Clergy is said to have been extorted; 1st. Our Author misapprehends the Fact. The Premunire was relax'd, by Act of Parliament long before the Submission was made. But since the Case was confessedly otherwise, when the same Clergy acknowledg'd the King's Headship of the Church; I answer, 2dly. A Man, or Number of Men, may do a Thing purely out of Fear; and yet it may not be unlawful, nay it may be their Duty. 3dly. The Occasion of their Debates might be Fear; and yet the Result of them be guided by Truth, and Reason, and Conviction of Conscience.

Nearly related to what we are now upon, is our Author's Objection against the Committee of sixteen Clergy, and sixteen Laity, appointed to examine, confirm, or annul, certain Constitutions and Canons, &c. i. e. in short to reform the Canon Law. And most unfortunate it was that so useful and excellent a Work was not Then, nor at any other Time, effected. Here, says He, we have a Committee establish'd of thirty two Persons

† p. 185.
England’s Conversion, &c. 351

half Laymen &c. Why should they not be half Laymen; when the Prerogative of the Crown, and the Libertys and Benefit of the Subject, were as much concern’d as the Rights of the Church? This Writer seems to forget Those Words, in the Preamble of the Act: “And where divers Constitutions, Ordinances, and Canons, Provincial, or Synodal, which heretofore have been enacted, and be thought not only to be much prejudicial to the King’s Prerogative Royal, and repugnant to the Laws and Statutes of this Realm, but also overmuch onerous to his Highness and his Subjects.”

† So that if the Sixteen Laymen (continues He)—could but gain over to their Side any one Clergy-man of the whole Committee, which was to be entirely model’d, and pack’d by the Court; any thing they pleased was sure to pass. It does not necessarily follow that they must be entirely pack’d by the Court, because the King is to Name them. But, however, be it so; and morever let One of the Clergy be gain’d over to the Lay-Side; it does not follow that any Mischief to the Church must happen. The Lay-men may be well enough affected to the Church, and the Churchmen to the State. There is Danger in such Cases, I confess: But who can help it? Nothing in this World is certain and secure. It is possible on the o-

† P. 184, 185.
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	her hand, that the Clergy may draw off one of the Laity; and no Harm done to the State neither. But at worst, let it be remem-
ber'd that This whole Affair was founded upon a Petition of the Clergy, the Popish Clergy. The said Clergy (fays the Act) hath most humbly besought— that the said Constitutions be committed to —— thirty two — whereof sixteen to be —— of the Temporality, &c.

And This brings us to the last Branch of this Objection against the Reformation; and it would be a terrible one indeed, if it were true. According to the Account given by this Writer and the Bishop of Meaux, That great Work was effected wholly, or almost wholly, by the Civil Power; the Ecclesiastical had little or no Hand in it. Whereas in the three Reigns under Consideration, there was nothing done with regard to the Church and Re-
ligion, but what was acted by the Clergy in their Convocations, or grounded on some Act of Theirs precedent to it, with the Advice, Council, and Consent of the Bishops, and other learned Men Assembled by the King's [or Queen's] Ap-
pointment; and the Parliaments did no-
thing in it, but that sometimes upon the

‡3d. Dial. and Pref. passim.  

Post-
Entitled, England’s Conversion, &c. 353

"Post-fact, it was thought fit to add some strength to the Decrees and Determination of the Church (especially in inflicting Punishments on the Disobedient) by Civil Sanctions." This is fully shewn by Dr. Heylin in a Treatise written on Purpose: 

* Part of the Preface to which I have now recited. As the Treatise is short, I refer the Reader to the Whole: To quote all from it which confirms our Cause, would be to transcribe almost every Sentence in it. Our Author makes great Use of Dr. Heylin, and cites him very frequently: Let Us be permitted to make some Use of him in our Turn.

In short, the Reforming Temporal Powers meddled no more with Religious Matters in the three Reigns aforesaid, than the Popish Temporal Powers did in Q. Mary’s. That Queen and her Parliament as much establish’d Popery, as any Prince or Parliament establish’d Protestantism: And the Clergy had as great a Share in making the Reformation, as They had in any Publick Act in Q. Mary’s Reign. So that Ours is as much a Spiritual, or Ecclesiastical Religion, as Theirs; and Theirs was as much a State Religion, or Parliament Religion, as Ours.

* Reformation of the Ch. of Engl. justified.

A a But
But, says the Bishop of Meaux, * from the Time of Henry's assuming the Supremacy (he should have said, from the Time of the Clergy's Submission) the Clergy had no Authority to intermeddle in Religious Matters, unless they had his Orders for it. He should have said, his Permission, or License. † And the only Remonstrance they made against this Hardship put upon them was, that it was an Encroachment upon their Privileges. He does not tell us where he met with this History; nor can I tell Anybody else. Not that it at all affects the Merits of the Cause on either Side; whether it be true, or false. ‡ As if the meddling in Matters of Religion were but a bare Privilege, not an essential Prerogative of the Ecclesiastical Order. To meddle with Matters of Religion, absolutely, and simply speaking, is not a bare Privilege, but an essential Prerogative, of the Ecclesiastical Order; but to meddle with some Matters of Religion, in such or such a Manner, at such or such a Time or Place, with such or such other Circumstances, is neither an essential Prerogative, nor an Essential Privilege belonging to it. For Example; according to the Practice of the Church, both Jewish, and

* R. 33.  † Ibid.  ‡ Ibid.

Christian
Entitled, England's Conversion, &c. 355

Christian, as well as to the Nature and Reason of the Thing, no Synods ought to be held, nor Ecclesiastical Laws to be made, without the Concurrence of the Civil Power.

* In Edward the Sixth's Time, the Bishop informs us, the Parliament took upon itself to regulate the Form of consecrating Bishops, or Priests, and to prescribe the Form of Publick Prayers, and the Manner of administering the Sacraments. Would not any one think by This, That the Parliament made Those Forms, and originally, and of itself, prescribe'd That Manner? When in truth the Parliament did but impose upon the People, what the Clergy had before drawn up; and enforce it with temporal Sanctions. See Heylin's Reformation justified, P. 15, 16. The Bishop further tells us that in the same Reign (King Edward the Sixth's) the Convocation of the Clergy only beg'd of the Parliament that no Statute might pass concerning Religion without their Advice; but it could not be obtain'd. I have read that the Lower House desir'd the Upper to make such a Request to the King, and Parliament; but That it could not be obtain'd, I can no where find. It is Fact that no such Law was made, without the Advice of the

* P. 32.

A a 2

Clergy
An Answer to a Popish Book,

Clergy; and That is enough. That the King’s Visitors * require d of the Bishops an express Declaration that they would teach such Doctrines, as should from time to time be establish’d and explain’d by the King and Clergy, is likewise History of his own; as far as I can perceive: However, He himself does not pretend that the Bishops agreed to it. As for the King’s prohibiting Preaching, for some time; ’twas nothing but what was proper, and just: And Q. Mary did the same Thing.

But there is another dreadful Article against us, still behind. Our Author spends a whole Section || and Part of another, to prove that Q. Elizabeth’s Supremacy was establish’d by the Secular Power only, without the Concurrence or Consent of the Clergy. And This, he imagines, must quite confound us; and utterly overturn the whole Fabric of the Reformation. He begins Thus. But as the Establishment and Constitution of the Reform’d Church of England, as it now stands, was built upon a wrong Foundation; to wit, the Spiritual Supremacy of a Person incapable by her very Sex even of the lowest Degree of Ecclesiastical Dignity, or Function—Please to observe how This strong Reasoning looks, after it

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* Ibid. † P. 34. || Sect. 10, 11

has
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has been fully answered, and expos'd. Our Reformation is not founded upon the Supremacy, tho' the Acknowledgement of the Supremacy prepar'd the Way to it; but upon the Word of God, and eternal Truth: And as for Q. Elizabeth's Sex, enough I hope has been said of That. — * So has It another essential Flaw that never will be repair'd; I mean the Nullity of that very Power, or Authority, by which It was establish'd. For It was carry'd entirely by the secular Power, &c. By which It he means the Supremacy; tho' good Syntax would make one think he meant the Reformation. The Substance of all he alleges is, that every Thing relating to the Supremacy was done wholly by the Parliament, the Church having no Hand in it; and that even in Parliament all the Bishops, except One, were against it. To which I answer, rft. The Queen's Ecclesiastical Supremacy was not Then given her, but only declar'd: She had it Before, by the Laws of the Land, and right Reason, in vertue of her Sovereignty; as it has already appear'd. And surely the Parliament had a Right, and Authority, without the Convocation, to declare the Laws and Constitutions of the Realm. And that the

* It is.

A a 3 Bishops
An Answer to a Popish Book,

Bishops in Parliament were outvoted, is, I hope, no Argument That the Proceedings of That Assembly were illegal. 2dly. It is nothing Strange that Those Popish Bishops (for fo They were) should oppose the Reformation; towards which They knew the Asserting of the Supremacy was a great Step. Not but that 3dly. Most of them had before been for the Supremacy; I mean, in the Reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. Both Houses of Convocation, the main Body of the Clergy, Bishops as well as Presbyters, had acknowledg'd it: And among the Rest, the greater Number of These very Bishops themselves. 4thly. The whole Body of the Clergy, not long afterwards, acknowledg'd the Supremacy of Q. Elizabeth; and in the strongest Terms ratify'd, and confirm'd it, by the publick Act of both Houses of Convocation, in the 39 Articles. To This it is objected, * that in order to serve That Turn, the old Bishops were depriv'd, and new ones put in their Places, by illegal Means, and an insufficient Authority. I answer with Dr. Hammond. † First, "That the Death of "Cardinal Pool, Archbishop of Canterbury, "falling near upon the Death of her Pre- "decessor Q. Mary; it was very regular

* P. 258, 259. &c. † Works in Folio. P. 225, 226
for Q. Elizabeth to assign a Successor to That See then vacant, Archbishop Parker. Secondly, That those Bishops which in Q. Mary's Days had been ex-il'd, or depriv'd, and surviv'd That Calamity, were with all Justice restor'd to their Dignities. Thirdly, That the Bishops by Her [Q. Elizabeth] divested, and depriv'd of their Dignities, were so dealt with, for refusing to take the Oath of Supremacy, form'd and enjoin'd in the Days of Henry VIII. and in the first Parliament of This Queen reviv'd, and the Statutes concerning it restor'd to full Force, before it was Thus impos'd on them. So that for the Justice of the Cause of their deprivation, it depends immediately upon the Right and Power of the Supreme Magistrate to make Laws, to impose Oaths, for the securing of his Government, and to inflict the Punishments prescrib'd by the Laws, on the Disobedient; but originally upon the Truth of That Decision of the Bishops, and Clergy, and Universities, in the Reign of Henry VIII. That no Authority belong'd in This Kingdom of England to the Bishop of Rome, more than to any other foreign Bishop. The Former of These I shall be confident to look upon as an undoubted Truth, in the Maintainance of which all Government is concern'd,
and hath nothing peculiar to our Preten-
sions, which should suggest a Vindication
of it in this Place. And the Second
hath, I suppose, been sufficiently clear'd
in the former Chapters of this Discourse;
which have examin'd all the Bishop of
Rome's Claims to This Supremacy. And
Both these Grants being acknowledg'd, or
supposed ('till they be invalidated, or dis-
proved) to have Truth and Force in them;
the Conclusion will be sufficiently induc'd,
That there was no Injustice in That Act
of the Queen's which divested Those Bi-
shops, who thus refus'd to secure her Go-
vernment, or to approve their Fidelity to
their lawful Sovereign.''

It is further objected, * That the Gene-
rality of the inferior Clergy concur'd out
of Hope, Fear, Laziness, Love of the
World, &c. The Strength and Charitable-
ness of which Argument have already been
several times taken notice of. Yet I cannot
here avoid remarking upon the Comparison
he makes between † the Fatiguing Duties
incumbent on the Pastors of the Catholick
Church, and the easy Lives, comparatively,
of Protestant Ministers; as He is pleased
to speak: Between which, He tells us, there
is as great Difference as between the broad

* Ibid., P. 261.
Entitled, England's Conversion, &c. 361

and narrow Way mention'd in the Gospel. Decent, and handsome, I must needs say! But as for the † Masses, and daily long Offices, Confessions, five times more Holy-days than We have, frequent publick Services for the Dead, and so forth, incumbent upon the Catholick Pastors; They are indeed sufficiently laborious: And They may take their Labour for their Pains. Who hath requir'd these things at their Hands? These, and abundance more, are so many Fopperies, and Fooleries, of their own Inventing; contrary to the Spirit of Christianity, doing infinite Mischief to Religion, and the Souls of Men; and therefore no great Matter of Boasting. On the other hand, the Church of England Clergy are sufficiently burthen'd with Pastoral Cares; Many of them, especially in This City, and in all great Parishes, in danger of being overburthen'd with them. Nor has every one of them ‡ a good Living serving to maintain a Female Companion in a Comfortable Way. I could not but transcribe That cutting Sentence of the young Gentleman's; because he who put it into his Mouth, I suppose, imagin'd it to be Wit: And I would by all means have both his Wit, and good Manners, as well as Arguments,

† Ibid.    ‡ Ibid.    ‡ Ibid.  appear
appear and shine in their full Lustre. Notwithstanding which, 'tis very fit that every one of the Clergy, if He pleases, should have a Female Companion; and 'tis damnably wicked to make it unlawful: As We have proved a hundred times over; let Him prove the Contrary, if he can. Great; however, is the Burthen of our Parochial Cures (tho' it is a Burthen purely Christian, not Popish) considering the Labour of the Church-Service, Administering the Sacraments, constant Preaching Catechizing and Expounding the Catechism, Visiting the Sick, Instructing the Ignorant, reclaiming the Vicious; so that we can ill afford time to answer Popish Books, and antidote the Venom of Popish Priests, who in This Town are supos'd to be as numerous as Those of the Church of England. In behalf of which Latter, I think we may add this further Consideration, That 'They are of the Establishment, whether They be in the Right, or in the Wrong: It does not therefore become their Romish Adversaries, in this Nation, to vilify and outrage them, to treat them with Infolence and Contempt; as This Writer does. Were I in a Popish Country, I should think myself guilty of exceeding ill Manners, should I Thus treat Their Clergy; and that too, if I could do it with Safety: As I am sure I could not. So far otherwise; that
that I could not, without the utmost Danger of Imprisonment and Death, endeavour to promote my own Religion; tho' I treated the Clergy, and all other Professors of Theirs, with the greatest Respect. Which, by the Way, is not equal Dealing.

Now I am upon This, I think it proper to bestow a Remark upon what our Author says in another Place. Where, after a most impertinent Piece of Sophistry, tending to prove that because Bishop Pearson made it necessary to be of the Church, therefore he must needs serve the Cause of Popery; he imputes That excellent Prelate's not openly professing it to Worldly Interest. ¶ The honourable Character of a Bishop is not exchange'd without great Reluctance, &c. And the Revenues annex'd to it are a most powerful Persuasive against Popery on this Side of the Seas. As if it were not easy for so great a Man as Bishop Pearson, had he a Mind to turn Papist, to have a much better Bishoprick on the other Side of the Seas, than That of Chester; or than almost any Bishoprick Here. Where the Bishop's Lady (continues He, making another shrewd Gibe upon the Clergy's Marriage) with her dear Children, taste the Sweets of the easy Income of her Spiritual Lord; and em-
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plays her best Rhetorick to convince his Lordship that State and Plenty are much prettier Things than Evangelical Poverty. Which alone suffices to stifle the best Thoughts, and render the best Dispositions towards a Change ineffectual. For a Papist to talk so gravely of Evangelical Poverty, when all the World knows the Prodigious Wealth of Their Clergy, and the Poverty of Ours, is somewhat particular. For the rest, I think it is a Proof of Lenity and Forbearance at least, in Protestant Bishops, that They suffer such Insolence as This, from Persons who are every day obnoxious to the Penalties of the Law.

5thly. Whereas This Writer adds that the Spiritual Supremacy was settled on Q. Elizabeth not only without, but in direct Opposition to the Judgment of the whole Body of the English Clergy; because the Convocation put forth 5 Articles, &c. concerning the real Presence; Transubstantiation, and the Mass; the Pope's Supremacy; and the Incapacity of Laymen to intermeddle in Affairs of the Church: I answer, 1st. He quotes no Authority for This, but Fuller's, which is very indifferent Authority. 2dly. Not only the Civil Power, but any private Person, of Learning enough to

† P. 257. † P. 256.
Entitled, England's Conversion, &c. 365

understand the Points in Question, had a Right, even in Opposition to the whole Church, to reject such gross notorious Falshoods, and Contradictions to Reason, Scripture, and Antiquity, as Transubstantiation, and St. Peter's and the Pope's Supremacy. And the Convocation (supposing the Fact to be true) by determining that the Authority of treating and defining Matters relating to Faith, Sacraments, and Church Discipline, belong'd only to the Pastors of the Church, and not to Laymen, meaning thereby to exclude the Civil Magistrate's Authority in the external Regimen of the Church, were Judges in their own Cause; and their Judgment was not true, as I have prov'd. His Affertion that this was a Matter purely Spiritual I have also shewn to be false. 6thly. That which is here objected was, at Worst, but a Corruption, an Encroachment, an Irregularity; The most They can infer from it is, the Nullity of This Ecclesiastical Supremacy in the Church; not the Nullity of the Reformation. It does not, as he imagines it does, unchurch us, or vacate the Orders of our Bishops and Clergy: Our Reformation, as I observ'd, being not built upon the Supremacy he speaks of, tho' That led the

Ibid. 4 P. 257.
Way to it; but upon the Foundation of the Apostles, and Prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief Corner-Stone. And as for the Authority by which it was made; it was, as We have seen, the joint Authority of Church and State; whatever becomes of the Ecclesiastical Supremacy. Not but that there is, and must be, such a Supremacy in the Crown, as We assert, and have proved, and They will never by any Arguments be able to invalidate.

† I conclude, says He, with this Dilemma: to wit Episcopal Government either is essential to the Constitution of Christ's Church, or it is Not. Suppose we take the Former Part, and say it is; Let us see how this Horn will push us. † If it be; the present reform'd Church of England has an essential Defect in its very Foundation, I mean the Supreme Spiritual Authority of a Lay-Head. One would think You should have meant the Want of Episcopal Government in the present reform'd Church of England; for to mean any thing else is to mean most illogically, and ridiculously. And is there not Episcopal Government in the present reform'd Church of England? Besides; Is not the Supreme Spiritual Authority of a Lay-Head a strange kind of Defect? You will say, I know, that You mean (but I had rather you would speak Sense in
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the very Letter, and speak accurately, especially in Dilemmas) that the Supreme Spiritual Authority of the Lay-Head destroys Episcopal Government. But why do not You prove This? Or rather how is it possible to be prov'd? For will you argue against Fact? Is there not, I ask once more, Episcopal Government in the Church of England? And does not all the World know it? If You reply, there is indeed the Name of it, but its Force, Vertue, or Power, is evacuated by the Supremacy aforesaid; I answer, I have proved the Contrary; and fully shewn that such an Ecclesiastical Supremacy in the Crown as We maintain, and according to the Sense in which our Laws and Practice explain it, is entirely consistent with Episcopal Jurisdiction, and Authority, both outward, and inward, both Political, and purely Spiritual. *Which also [the Supreme Spiritual Authority of a Lay-Head] it derives wholly and solely from the secular Power, without the least Concurrence or Approbation of the Episcopal Authority, as has been fully proved. And I say I have fully answered all This: Which is Here Answer sufficient. Tho' I am not oblig'd to meddle with the other Branch of his Dilemma, having already made my Option; yet ex abundanti, and

* Ibid.
An Answer to a Popish Book, for Curiosity's sake, We will examine That too. * But if Episcopal Government be not essential, &c. and may be either set up, or laid aside, like ordinary human Institutions — then the Presbyterians &c. have as fair a Title to be a Part of Christ's true Church, as the Church of England can pretend to. He might have gone on in This Declaration for fifty Pages more, if he had pleased; but who among Us sets aside Episcopal Authority? † For if Episcopal Authority may be set aside at one time, I see no Reason why it may not be cast off for good and all. Nor I neither; if, by set aside he means lawfully set aside: But who affirms that it may at any time be so? Why, in the next Words he seems to argue that We do. || And if the secular Power may legally new model the Hierarchy so as to constitute a Lay-Head over the Church, and even that independently of the Episcopal Authority; I am not sharp-sighted enough to see any solid Reason why the same Power may not as legally commit forever the whole Government of it to such Persons as it thinks fitting; whether they be Lay-Ministers made so by Lay-Ordination, or of That Rank whom the Church of England calls Bishops. I tell him again, the secu-
lar Power did not new model the Hierarchy; nor is it in England new model'd at all. Those whom the Church of England calls Bishops. Why are they not Bishops? If he says, No; let him answer Mason, Bramball, and the late French Author of his own Church and Religion, who have demonstrated the Contrary. If he dares not say so; what does That paltry Flirt signify? * Nay, I don't see why the secular Power, when their Hands were in, might not have gone through stitch, and declar'd Q. Elizabeth in express Terms universal Patriarch, as well as Supreme Head of the Church of England. For the one is no more than the other contrary to the express Institution of Christ. Where have you prov'd it contrary to the express Institution of Christ that Sovereign Princes in their own Dominions should have such a Power in Church-Matters, as We assert? You have no where prov'd it, and never can; but have only mistaken the Question, and most absurdly confounded one thing with another. Or if You think You can prove it, begin as soon as you please; and I undertake to answer You.

Nor could the Parliament as well have declared the Queen Universal Patriarch, as

* Ibid.
An Answer to a Popish Book,
Supreme Head (Governour, He should have said) of the Church of England: be-
cause the One is false, as Everybody acknowledges; the other is true, as I have shewn.

And thus much for Convocations, and Par-
l.liaments. If the Vicargeneralship of Crom-
well in K. Henry the Eighth's Time, or rather his being Lord Vicegerent in Eccle-
stical Matters, was not very decent; what is it to Us? K. Henry VIII. and Cromwel
too were Papists. Not that it was so por-
tentous and unheard of a Thing, as the
Bishop of Meaux, * nor so absurd, and ri-
diculous, as our Author † represents it. So far otherwise; that it may not only be excus'd,
but justify'd. Let us hear Dr. Heylin once more. "† That which is most insisted on
is the delegating of This Power by K.
" Henry to Sir Thomas Cromwell, &c. And
" This, (especially his presiding in the Con-
vocation) is look'd upon both by Sanders
" and some Protestant Doctors as a Kind
" of Monstrosity in Nature. But certainly
" Those Men forget (tho' I do not think
" myself bound to justify all K. Harry's Ac-
tions) that in the Council of Chalcedon the
" Emperor appointed certain Noblemen
" to sit as Judges, whose Names occur in

* Pref. P. 11. † P. 192. † Ref. Just. P. 42. 43.
Entitled, England’s Conversion, &c. 371

the first Action of That Council. The
like we find exemplified in the Ephesine
Council, in which by the Appointment
of Theodosius, and Valentinian, the Ro-
man Emperors, Candidianus, a Count
Imperial fate as Judge, or President; who
in the Management of That Trust over-
acted any thing that Cromwell did, &c.
But This Office of Vicegerent in Spirituals,
our Author tells us, was certainly an Ec-
clesiastical Dignity. Just as much so as
the King’s Ecclesiastical Supremacy, from
which it was deriv’d: And That we have
abundantly consider’d. Neither is there
a jot more of Absurdity in the One, than in
the Other. If a Layman can be Supreme
in Church-Matters; he may certainly have
a Lay-Deputy, or Vicar, in them. Yet
our Author is so facetious upon This sup-
posed Incongruity; that I cannot forbear tran-
scribing some of his Words. † And who do
You think was the Person he pitch’d up-
on for this eminent Station?

G. That’s more than I can guess. But
according to my weak Apprehension I con-
ceive it to be most probable, that it was
either the Archbishop of Canterbury, who
is Primate of England; or at least some o-
ther eminent Bishop.

* P. 192.

B b 2

P.
An Answer to a Popish Book,

P. Indeed, Sir, You are very much out of the way in your Guess. It was one Thomas Cromwell, a Layman, and the Son of a Blacksmith.

G. I should as soon have guess’d that he had made a Corn-cutter his prime Minister of State; or his Coachman high Admiral of England.

He need not have quoted Sir Richard Baker, back’d by the Authority of my Lord Herbert, for the Truth of the Fact. All the World acknowledges it: And This Writer’s sharp Reflections upon it may receive a full Answer from what has been said: Except That Circumstance of Cromwell’s being the Son of a Blacksmith; Which I wholly give up, and leave our Author to triumph in, as much as He pleases. I only make two short Observations. 1st. That he is rude in calling him one Thomas Cromwell; when (notwithstanding his mean Birth, which was rather an Honour, than a Disgrace to him) he was Earl of Essex, and Knight of the Garter. 2dly. That since the King thought fit to appoint such an Officer, for which I think there was no Occasion, and which had better have been let alone; it was more proper to appoint a Layman than a Clergyman: Because the King, who was represented by Him, was a Layman Himself; And the
Entitled, England's Conversion, &c. 373

the Ecclesiastical Authority belonging to the Clergy is of a different Nature from that which belongs to the King.

Nor are we in the least concern'd to vindicate Cromwell, or those who acted under him, in the Execution of their Office, in their † Visitations, &c. any more than we are to vindicate every thing K. Henry did. Let them stand, or fall by their own Management; We have nothing to do with it.

As little are we concern'd in the Commissions from the Crown given to, and accepted of, by the Bishops, and revocable at Pleasure, in the Reign of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. so much inveigh'd against by our Author, and the Bishop of Meaux. They were undoubtedly scandalous enough; but Bonner condescended to take one of them, as well as Cranmer. Not that even these were so very wicked, as all the Papists, and some Protestants make them. If it be said, that at this rate it is in the Power of the Civil Magistrate to destroy the Church, by absolutely revoking such Commissions, and never granting new ones; I answer, That does not follow; because the Bishops and Clergy have Authority to act without them.

† P. 193.
They might always have acted without them, if they would: And their having accepted of them does not cancel the Authority which they received from Christ. While the Church and State are in Accord with each other, and the Former is protected and encourag'd by the Latter; the Church may yield something to the State, without annulling its own Charter and Constitution. But in the Case now supposed, the State would persecute the Church; and so the Last-mention'd would be necessitated to exert it's original Right of acting independent on the State. The Ecclesiastical Power ascrib'd to the Crown in these Commissions has been elsewhere sufficiently considered. The Expression is indeed stretch'd too far, and by no means proper; but I have shewn that it does not, cannot, imply so much as the Papists, and some Protestants too, pretend.

Since our Author has upon This Occasion, given us a long, and pompous Quotation from Mr. Collier; I shall consider so much of it as is material to our Purpose. * "And after the King has thus declar'd "himself Patriarch in his Dominions, "claim'd all manner of Spiritual Authority, and pronounce'd the Bishops his De-

† P. 218.
Entitled, England’s Conversion, &c. 373

How did the King declare himself Patriarch in his Dominions? In express Words? There is no such Word in the Commission he refers to. In Effect, or by Consequence? I have shewn the Contrary. That Expression *all manner of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction and Authority* has likewise been fully discuss’d. Then again, how does the King pronounce the Bishops his Delegates at pleasure? Pronouncing, one would think, should be in plain Words; For to pronounce by Consequence is very odd; especially in Things of so solemn a Nature, as Commissions, and other legal Acts, or Instruments. Nor does he so much as by consequence pronounce them his Delegates at pleasure, in the Commission as here cited; but only asserts an Authority in Himself to restrain the actual Exercise of the external Part of their Jurisdiction. *After This, continues* He, these Words are thrown into the Commission to give it the more passable Complexion; besides Those things which are known from holy Scripture to belong to you by Divine Right. Now, with Submission, this Clause seems to come in too late; and is utterly inconsistent with the former Part of the Commission.” Now


B b 4
to my Apprehension, it is very material; and not merely thrown in, to give, &c. It does not come in too late; is entirely consistent with the former Part of the Commission; and clearly asserts an Authority in the Bishops deriv'd from Christ, and independent of the Civil State. Let us see how the Contrary is prov'd. * "For if the "King is the Fountain, &c. then without "question the Hierarchy can have no Ju-
risdiction assign'd in the New Testament, "nor any Authority deriv'd from our Savi-
our. But if the Church is a distinct, &c. "then ——— Thofe who suggested the "Draught of this Instrument were No great "Divines." The Fallacy of all This Rea-
soning will be shewn by remarking upon the material Clauses in it, which, to pre-
vent Repetition, I have not yet cited; and referring to what has been already said. By all manner of Ecclesiastical Juris-
diction, as ascrib'd to the Crown, is meant only all manner of external, and political Jurisdiction in Ecclesiastical Affairs. It is not pretended in the Commission that "the "King's † Lay-Vicegerent might lawfully "supply the Room of all the Bishops in "England," nor of any Bishop in Eng-
land, totally, and entirely, but only in

* P. 219. † Ibid.
Entitled, England's Conversion, &c. 377

some things, as Before; and not one of them purely Spiritual. It is not said, nor so much as hinted, that † "the Bishops in the Exe-
cution of their Office are only the King's "Representatives; nor that they are re-
vocable at pleasure;" but only as above. Nor were the Powers which the King claim'd in pure Spirituals; and therefore it is not to the Purpose to argue, that † "the Church in pure Spirituals is inde-
pendent on all the Kings of the Earth.'

But after all; what if the State did really, and very greatly encroach upon the Church? Did That, as I have before argued upon an-
other Occasion, annul the Church, or vacate the Orders of the Bishops and Clergy? Suppose the Church should encroach upon the State, as we say the Church of Rome does; That would not destroy the King's exe-
cutive Authority, nor His, and the Parliament's legislative. Besides; The Pope en-
croach'd upon the Rights of the Church, much more than any of our Princes and their Parlia-
ments ever did: And the Bishops much more gave up their Rights by submitting to Him, than ever they did by submitting to any King; even, tho' They took Commissions from the Latter revocable at Pleasure.

† Ibid.
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In a Word; that there were irregular things done at the Infancy of the Reformation, is granted: But what then? Nay, what if Henry VIII. and the Protector in Edward VI's time stretch'd their Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction even farther than was intended by some Laws; which Laws themselves were too far stretch'd? And what if all This was for a Time submitted to? The whole Nation, both Clergy, and Laity, were in Hurry and Uncertainty; and did not well know where they were, nor how they were to act: As it always happens in great Changes, tho' never so good, and necessary, whether in Church, or State, or Both. But in a little time, much less than could reasonably have been expected, the Church of England was truly reform'd, and that by legal Authority: Nor have our Adversaries any thing but Fallacies in Reasoning, and Falshoods in Fact, to alledge against Either.

The Sum of what has been discoursed under This Head (that we may here observe the same Method as before) is reducible to the following Particulars. 1st. Many of the Things objected were done by Papists. As declaring the King's Ecclesiastical Supremacy; The Submission of the Clergy, Cromwell's Vicegerency in Spirituals, &c. 2dly. What even They did was justifiable in the Main; particularly the King's Supremacy, as then
then declared, was no Innovation; whereas That of the Pope is a real one. 3dly, That there was some Irregularity and Corruption at the Beginning of the Reformation, is true; but That is no Argument against it as it now stands. 4thly, It is false, That even in K. Henry's and K. Edward's Reigns, the State encroach'd so much upon the Church, as our Adversaries pretend. 5thly, Were all they say really true, those Irregularities, and Corruptions could not Unchurch us, or vacate our Orders. 6thly, In a little time all those Disorders were regulated; I mean in the Beginning of Q. Elizabeth's Reign: The Reform'd Church of England was Then settled as it Now stands; and that by the joint Authority of Church, and State. Lastly, Much of what the Romanists object to Us may be retorted upon Themselves; and some of it with great Advantage. For instance, Their Parliaments have meddled in Religious and Ecclesiastical Affairs, as much as Ours; particularly in Q. Mary's time: Q. Mary gave Instructions to her Bishops about Religion, as K. Edward did to His: She, as well as Q. Elizabeth, depriv'd Bishops by her own regal Authority. And more Force and Violence, upon the Account of Religion, was made use of by Her, during a Reign of five Years only, than by all the Protestant Kings, and Queens, from the Beginning of the Reformation to this very Day.
AN ANSWER TO A Popish BOOK, ENTITLED, ENGLAND'S Conversion and Reformation compar'd, &c.

To the Fourth DIALOGUE.

This Dialogue is the shortest of the Four; so it might very well have been much shorter than it is. For there is little in it, besides Repetition. Which indeed the very Title of it imports. A Comparison between the most remarkable Circumstances of England's Conversion on the one hand, and it's pretended Reformation on
That is, in effect, the General Title of his Book; England’s Conversion, and Reformation compared: What has he been doing all this while, especially in the 2d and 3d Dialogues, but making such a Comparison? It may peradventure be reply’d, that he has hitherto laid down the Means, and Methods of the Conversion on the one side, and the Reformation on the other, separately, and distinctly; but now he brings them close together; sets them in Contraste, as Opposites; and more particularly and briefly, compares them with each other. But tho’ this was not necessary, even this, he has done already: I mean in the last Section of his Second Dialogue, to my Remarks upon which I refer the Reader, desiring him to review them before he proceeds: Because That will save Me, and Him too, a great deal of Trouble. If our Author even There be Tautological, as He really is; He is much more so Here; by repeating what he has there repeated. It is true, He here pretends to give his Pupil * a Lecture upon the Use, and Application that is to be made of the Collection of Facts he has hitherto entertain’d him with. This Use, or Application, one would imagine, should be drawing Inferences, or Corollaries not yet mention’d: Whereas ’tis nothing but a nauseous Repetition of Those Facts, most of them false;
Entitled, England's Conversion, &c. 381

and of his own false Reasonings from them all. Every Tittle of this therefore I have answer'd already; most of it over and over: And nothing shall provoke me to any more Repetition; at least if it be possible to avoid it: For sometimes, I doubt, it will Not. Whatever I meet with that looks like something yet unanswer'd, I shall not fail to have ample Justice done it.

To the First, Second, and Third Sections.

The very Titles of these Sections, as well as That of the Dialogue in general, shew the Truth of what I have said. Sect. I. The respective Qualifications of the chief Instruments of England's Conversion and Reformation compar'd. Sect. II. The Methods and Means of England's Conversion, and Reformation compar'd. Sect. III. The Motives of England's Conversion, and Reformation compar'd. Have we not had enough of all this long ago? Why must we again be baited with the old Story of St. Austin, Gregory, &c. on the one hand; of Henry VIII. the Duke of Somerset, Q. Elizabeth, &c. on the other? And that too without the least Variety in the Air, and Manner; without any Reinforcement of the Argument; or setting it in any new Light whatsoever? I have sufficiently expos'd the Falseness of his History, and the Absurdity, or Impertinence of his Arguments, in my Examina-
Examination of his 2d. and 3d. Dialogues: Why should my Reader, and I be teiz'd with the same Stuff over again? I appeal to Every one, of what Persuasion soever, who has our Author's Book in his hands, even to it's Author himself, whether what I say of his Crambe be not litterally, and strictly true: And whether I can be justly charged with leaving one Word in his Book un-answer'd; tho' I pass by many Pages together, without taking the least Notice of them. All I have to do therefore in this Division (as Before in several others) is to remark upon here, and there, a particular Stroke, which we have not yet met with.

Before He comes to his Repetitions laid down in These three, and the remaining two Sections, under nine distinct Heads; as formally as if he had hitherto left those Matters untouched: He no less solemnly premises six general Maxims, as he calls them; which he thinks are incontestable. * His First, that the Conversion of a Kingdom to the True Faith is the Work of God, &c. is true, in some Sense, or other; but nothing to the Purpose. His Second, concerning the Personal Characters of Concerts and Reformers may receive Answer enough from what I have discours'd. The Third, that a Change from one Religion to ano-

* P. 275, &c.
other is a great Blessing, or a great Curse, is profoundly wise; and I need say no more of it. The fourth is, That "the common People, "and Persons of no Learning, who have "neither Capacity, nor Leisure, to examine "every controverted Point of Religion by "it self, must have recourse to certain ex-"ternal Marks, to judge by in the Case of "a national Change from one Religion to an-"other, whether it be a Change from Truth "to Falsity, or from Falsity to Truth; "and by consequence whether God, or the "Devil be the principal Author of it." I an-
swer Ist. The common People have Ca-
pacity to know, at least to be instructed in, all the plain necessary Points of Religion: And tho' they have not Capacity to examine all controverted Points, and there are many which it is not fit they should examine, or meddle with; yet they may very well judge of Points which nothing but the Height of Impudence could have made controverted ones: A Child, that can read the Bible, may know that Popery is false. 2dly, The ex-
ternal Marks he refers to, are a thousand times more difficult, and less intelligible to the unlearned, than the internal ones; or than the thing of which they are pretended to be Marks: As I have above observ'd. [See p. 187.] But in this Passage our Author spoke the very Heart and Soul of a Popish Priest: The Common People (whom 'tis his Business
to seduce) have not Learning and Capacity to judge of Doctrines, but they may easily judge of plain outward Facts: That is, they may be made to stare, and be astonished, at a Story about the wicked Lives of Harry VIII. and the Duke of Somerset; about Q. Elizabeth, and Mary, Q. Scots &c. They may have their Heads turn’d with a Clatter of Words about Antiquity, Catholicity, the Church, the Principle of Unity, and such like, which they understand just as much of as they do of Greek and Hebrew; and all this, in order to binder and divert them from making use of the common Sense and Reason which God has given them: Which will presently tell them that a Religion which, in the plainest Cases, contradicts the Word of God, Reason, and our Senses, as Popery does, cannot be true. The fifth is, That the good or bad Characters of the chief Actors in it, &c. are external Marks on which a solid Judgement may be grounded, &c. But internal ones are much better, and surer; and those external ones are very fallacious, as I have shewn. One of the Marks laid down by Bellarmine himself (tho’ he makes a strange use of it) is Sanctity of Doctrine: yet our Author takes no notice of That. To which we may very well add, that the external Marks He here mentions are none of the three which he laid down at first; I mean in his second Dialogue p. 78, 79. Of which I have said some-
Entitled, England's Conversion, &c. 387, something already, and of which more hereafter. The sixth Maxim is, That if the Conversion of England from Paganism to the Roman Catholick Faith (for so he will have it, tho' nothing, as I have demonstrated, can be more false) has the external Marks of an extraordinary Mercy on it's Side, [he might have added, and the internal too, had he meant, as he ought to have meant, that England was converted to Christianity, not to Popery] and the Reformation of that Faith has on the contrary all those external Marks against it [add, tho' all internal ones for it] then an unbiased Person, &c. I have abundantly shewn the Falshood of the Facts here suppos'd to be true; and the Falshood of the Consequences drawn from them, even if they had been true.

P. 279. But Protestants will say that the Parliament took away all Defects by investing them [i.e. the Layman Henry VIII. the Child Edward VI, and the Woman Queen Elizabeth] with the supreme Ecclesiastical Authority. No, but they will not: The Crown, whoever wears it, has such an Authority inherent in it.

He affirms * that Protestants run down all Miracles as pious Frauds. This is of a piece with what he says P. 181. I presume that

* P. 290.
Protestant Bishops will not allow of Miracles. Was there ever such Folly, and Insolence? Because we deny Popish Miracles, which are false and spurious; therefore we must deny all Miracles, even those of Moses and the Prophets, Christ, and his Apostles, which are true and genuine. Because we will not be Papists, we must be Infidels. He and his young Gentleman continue their Boasts of Miracles in the Church of Rome: * And I insist, that We work as many as They. If they have That Power; why do they not shew it among us Heretics, and work Miracles to convert us? To his whole Argument drawn from our Want of Miracles at the Reformation, I answer; there was no Occasion for them: Nor would there have been any, had the Reformation, as he falsely afferts it did, oppos'd the whole Christian World. For it did not introduce a new Religion, but re-establish an old one. The Gospel was in Being; That the Scripture was the Word of God, was granted by All: They had therefore nothing to do, but to obey the Voice of Reason, speaking like That which St. Augustine heard at his Conversion, Tolle, Lege; Take up the Book, and read. Reading, and plain common Sense, were sufficient; without fresh Miracles. These general, and most

* P. 290, 291.
true Observations being made; it will be easy to unravel all our Author's particular Sophisms. * In the Concurrence of two contradictory Doctrines, if one of them has the Evidence of Miracles on its Side, the other is manifestly convicted of Falsity. 1st. Their Doctrines have no such Evidence, any more than Ours. 2dly, Miracles alone are not sufficient Evidence. See Deuterom. xiii. 1, 2, 3. Nay the true Doctrine may want them, and the false have them. The Nature of the Doctrine must be considered, in Conjunction with the Miracles. † This, viz, a Case in which Miracles are requir'd, was the Case of Moses, &c. That was to attest a new Revelation: We do not pretend to any. When therefore we were delivered from our worse than Egyptian Bondage; there was no need of a Moses to work Miracles. || This was likewise the Case of the Apostles. I answer, as above: The Apostles introduced a new Religion; and it was necessary that Christianity should originally be establish'd by Miracles. ‡ Now I dare boldly say there was scarce ever a religious Cause that stood more in need of Miracles to prove that it was the Cause of God, than that of the pretended Reformation. Why? Because the Reformers oppos'd the whole Christian Church in all Ages, con-
390 An Answer to a Popish Book,

frequently pretended to new Revelations; and so on to the End of the Paragraph: Every Word of which I have here, and elsewhere, prov'd to be false. † If the Protestant Doctrine, as far as it is opposite to Popery, be a revealed Doctrine (for otherwise God has no Share in it) the first Teachers of it, to whom we must suppose it was revealed, were bound to prove the Revelation of it, by the Testimony of uncontested Miracles. This is palpably collusive. The Protestant Doctrine is an old revealed Doctrine, (and so God has a Share in it) not newly revealed to the Reformers, nor pretended to be so. The first Teachers of it, who were Christ and his Apostles, not the Reformers, did prove, the Revelation of it by Miracles; and That was sufficient.

His Saying p. 296. that the Duke of Somerset was a Zuinglian, who at p. 176, was a rank Calvinist, is a Trifle not worth our Notice. And his affirming that in K. Edward's Time all the Cathedrals, Parish-Churches, and Chapels in the Kingdom were strip'd as naked as Quaker's Meeting-Houses, so that nothing but the bare Walls were left standing, is a notorious Falshood; but That too, among so many others of far greater Moment, may well pass for a Trifle.

† P. 293.
Entitled, England's Conversion, &c. 391

P. 301. But I cannot believe that Christ was in the midst of them, [the Reformers:] or that they could say with the Apostles at the Council of Jerusalem, it has seemed good to the Holy Ghost, and to Us, &c. Acts 15. v. 28. I answer, 1st. The Holy Ghost was in the midst of them, tho' not by Inspiration, when they did well; not when they did ill. 2dly. Tho' the Apostles themselves were inspir'd Persons, yet they were not so in all things. 3dly. Therefore the best Sense of Those Words it seemed good, &c. appears to be, not that they related to the Holy Ghost's presiding in the Council at Jerusalem, tho' he might, and did preside There, and that in all likelyhood after an extraordinary manner; but to the Holy Ghost's being given to the Gentiles, as well as to the Jews. See v. 8, 9. Which putting no difference between them, was a Testimony given by the Holy Ghost, that the Yoke of the Jewish Ceremonies was not to be imposed upon the Gentile. And it having thus appear'd to have seem'd good to the Holy Ghost; it therefore seem'd good to the Apostles likewise. So that our Author's bringing in That Text, to lessen and vilify the Reformers, was upon all Accounts extremely idle.

P. 302. Bishop Burnet acquaints us that Q. Elizabeth scrupled at first very much to accept the Supremacy. He does not say so. He only says she did not like the Title of Supreme
Supreme Head. † And well she might (continues our Author) for she could not but know herself unqualified by her very Sex, &c. This was not the Reason; Bishop Burnet gives us a very different one: His Words are These. * Nor did she like the Title of Supreme Head. She thought it imported too great Power, and came too near the Authority which Christ only had over the Church.


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To the Fourth SECTION:

ENTITULED,

The Unity of Faith on the one side compar’d with the Disagreements on the other.

SOMETHING has been said of This above; in our Examination of Sect. 7, Dialogue I. * A great Part of what our Author both Here, and There, insists upon, is not much to his Purpose. His Book, as

† See P. 158, 159.
Entitled, England's Conversion, &c. 393

its Title sets forth, is written against the Church of England: And the Church of England is not obliged to vindicate all the Reformers and Protestants of Christendom, in every thing they did, or do. Whatever therefore were the Differences between † Luther, Carolusdarius, Oecolampadius, Zuinglius, and Calvin; I know not how We came to be concern'd with them. Not but that it is utterly false to say, as He does, that they fell into the utmost Confusion, and Variance, like the Builders of Babel: They differ'd in some Things, it is true; and they were but Men. But are there not many Sects, and Divisions, among the Papists? 'Tis known there are; as many as among all Denominations of Protestants put together. Our Author therefore has little Reason, both Here, and in the other Part of his Book just now mention'd, to be so witty and triumphant upon This Subject, and another which he joins with it, and which is indeed nearly ally'd to it, the Abuse of the Scriptures by some Men's distorting them to their own pre-conceiv'd Opinions. ‡ Thus Martin Luther (says He) Carolusdarius, &c. found it plain in Scripture that solemn Vows, &c. to the End of the Paragraph. I answer 1st, The Errors he mentions are not worse

† P. 305. ‡ P. 54, 55.
than those of Popery. 2dly, They are only the Opinions of private Persons; but those which We call Popish are the Doctrines of the Church of Rome. 3dly, It does not follow that because the Scriptures may be abused, therefore they are not fit to be us'd. He continues. * Thus finally the Scriptures, as managed by the Reform'd Churches, are plain and positive for Lutheranism in Germany, for Calvinism at Geneva, &c. It may be so; but they are against Popery in all Countries; and that not as they are managed, &c. but really, and in themselves. Nor are they wrested, and tortured by any Set of Men upon Earth, more than by Papists. Thus again: † Luther found his Doctrine plainly in Scripture, and so did Calvin his, &c. — Nay no one found his Doctrine more clearly in Scripture, than honest James Naylor; as his whole Crew of Quakers do at this very day. I will add one Sect more, and That is the Papists: Who pretend to find their Doctrines in Scripture, and that with as little Ground as any Sect in Christendom; who, after all This Clutter too, make use of their own private Judgment in reading the Scriptures, and put others upon doing the same: Else what do they mean by arguing with us from Scripture?

† P. 56. † P. 309, 310.
But to put it at the Worst, 'tis much better to be in Danger of making an ill use of our Eyes, than to have None; or to be hinder'd from seeing with them: Better there should be a hundred false Opinions in the World, than no true Judgment: Better differ among ourselves about a thousand things, especially if few or none of them be of much moment, than all unite in Nonsense, and Ignorance, Vice, and Villany.

But what is the Drift of our Author's Reasoning upon this Subject? It amounts to thus much. Because there is a great deal of Error among Protestants, therefore the Reformation was unjustifiable: Because many pretend falsely that their Opinions are supported by Scripture, therefore none pretend it truly. By which way of Arguing, he may as well prove that there is no Truth in the World, because there is much Falsehood. One Instance, among many Others, of the Incurable Scepticism of the Church of Rome.

He is upon the same Argument, in the same Gaiety of Heart, P. 314. The Lutherans, who led up the Dance, were re-form'd by the Zuinglians, and They by the Calvinists. —— What if they were? Is it any just Prejudice against a Reformation,

† See a Book so Entitled. Printed in 1688.
396 An Answer to a Popish Book, that it was not all made at once? "And They " again by the Anabaptists." To rank Them with the Reformers, is an Unchristian Cal- lumny. " And at home K. Henry's Reformation was reform'd by K. Edward, and his by Q. Elizabeth." That is, the Reformation was gradual, and grew better, and better; as I answer'd Before. " And has since " been reform'd by the Presbyterians, In- " dependents, Fanaticks, Quakers, and the " Lord knows how many more." There are not many more; But however, as I just now said of the Anabaptists abroad, 'tis an in- infamous flander upon the Church of Eng- land to call These Schismaticks, and Here- ticks her Reformers: Nor is Their Schism, or Heresy, any Argument against Her; as I have partly shewn, and partly shall shew in the Sequel.

† His Reflections upon the unsettled State of Things, Variety of Opinions, and Heat of Contention, in K. Henry's and K. Ed- ward's Reigns, are as little serviceable to his Cause. A Reformation, tho' never so good, cannot be made in a Day; any more than Rome, Popish Rome, could be built in one. Differences, and Errors too, there will be for a time: But fine Gold is never the less fine, because the Parts of it were
Entitled, England's Conversion, &c. 397 in a rapid Agitation, before it became so.

† His abusive, and malicious Invectives against Those outlandish Adventurers, as he stiles them, who came over into England in K. Edward's Reign, are agreeable to the rest. John Alasco, he tells us, was a professed Anabaptist. Sure he mistakes John Alasco for John a Leyden: For I do not find that the First was an Anabaptist; but I find that he was a Nobleman of great Parts, Learning, Piety, and Wisdom. His saying that Peter Martyr, and Martin Bucer, were Apostate Priests, is nothing but calling Names, and begging the Question. What if Peter Martyr was a Zwinglian, and Bucer partly a Zwinglian, and partly a Lutheran? It does not follow that they brought over with them different Systems of Faith; as He untruly afferts they did. They might differ in some Doctrines, or in the manner of explaining them; and yet not have different Systems of Faith. Tho' if they had; it matters not as to Us, nor in the least impeaches the Faith of the Church of England. Neither are the Vitals of Christian Religion half so much deavour'd by all the Schisms, and Heresies among Protestants, as by the damnable Doctrines of Popery, utterly destructive of Christianiety, and even of common Morality.

† P. 307. ‖ 308.
His triumphing over the poor Church of England, as scarce keeping upon its Legs &c. always complaining of its being in danger from the Presbyterians, Independents, Anabaptists, Quakers,—Antitrinitarians, Freethinkers, &c. to whom He might have added Papists, who find their Account from them all, is not very generous, tho' founded upon too much Truth. Nevertheless He may remember that to be malign'd, attack'd, undermin'd, betray'd, slander'd and traduced, is no more an Argument against any Church, than to be in a State of direct Persecution strictly and properly so call'd. It was never the Church of England's way of Reasoning to estimate the Goodness or Badness of any Cause from temporal Prosperity or Adversity. Yet let not her proud Adversaries of any Denomination, whether Presbyterians, or Papists, whether Enthusiasts and Fanaticks on the one hand, or Freethinkers, Infidels, and Atheists on the other, let not any of them, or all of them put together, insult too much over her; However hated, despis'd, distress'd, she may sometimes be; she can always with humble Confidence use the Language of God's Church, as transmitted to us by the Prophet Micah, chap. 7. v. 8. Rejoice not against me, O mine Enemy; when I fall, I shall
Entitled, England's Conversion, &c. 399

shall arise: When I set in Darkness, the Lord shall be a Light unto me.

By a very natural Transition from This, we may well observe; that when the Church of England could not keep upon her Legs, when she was in all Appearance, and human Probability, quite destroy'd by Presbyterians, and Independents, Hypocrites and Atheists; when she seem'd to be dead and bury'd beyond Hope of a Resurrection; when her Servants could only think upon her Stones, and it pity'd them to see her in the Dust: Even then some of her faithful Sons and Servants, wandering in Exile, seeking their Bread in foreign Countries, gave the Church of Rome such Wounds, as by Reason and Argument she has never yet been able to heal; nor ever will be to the Day of Judgment. For Proof of This, to omit others, let Bramhall only be my Witness.

His calling the several Sects, Schisms, and Heresies, which he has mention'd, *younger Broods of the Reformation, is a Complication of two Sophisms; Arguing from what is accidental, to what is essential, and assigning That for a Cause, which is not so. Our Saviour said he came not to send Peace upon Earth, but Division: i. e. Division would be the accidental Consequence of his Coming.

* Ibid.
Will the Romanists say that the one was the proper genuine Cause of the other? The Cases are the same.

For what our Author asserts here, and in many other Places, viz. that the Church of England separated from the Church of Rome upon the very same Principle, as our several Sectaries proceed upon in separating from us, is altogether groundless and unjust.

G. "But if it be no Blemish to the Church of Rome, that the Reform'd Churches have separated themselves from her Communion; why should it be a Blemish to the Reform'd Church of England, that the Dissenters have separated themselves from Her?"

P. "Sir, I perceive you don't apprehend me right. For I don't pretend that the Separation of one, or many Sects from any Church can justly cast a Blemish upon it; unless their Separation naturally flow from a Principle avow'd and maintain'd by That very Church from which they separate themselves. Now this is the very Case between our English Dissenters, and the Church of England as Establish'd by Law. Because it is a fundamental Principle of this Church, that every Man's only Rule of Faith is the written Word of

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\* P. 308, 309. \*
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"of God, not as interpreted by the Church, "but as understood by Himself."

I answer, 1st. We do not say, not as interpreted by the Church, but as understood by Himself: We say both as interpreted by the Church, and understood by himself. 2dly, Is it a natural Consequence that because every one's only Rule of Faith is the written Word of God, in reading which he makes use of his own Reason; Therefore People should separate from the Church of England? The Word of God, if impartially consulted, and interpreted according to the Sense of the Catholic Church, will tell them that they ought not to separate from the Church of England: But if they will read the Word of God with Prejudice, and so pervert its Meaning, or not obey it, when they rightly understand it; This is purely accidental, not natural or necessary: And the Fault is wholly their own. His Question, † For where will Schisms stop, &c. has been fully answer'd Sect. 7. Dial I. Nor will this Principle instead of uniting them naturally divide them: 'Tis not the Principle that does it; but the ill Use that's made of it. ‡ But they [the several Sects of Protestants, the Church of England among the rest] all took care it should be Scripture interpre-
So it ought to be, according to the best of their own sincere Endeavours to understand it, and the best Assistance they could obtain. + And contrary to the Judgment of that Church, which was the only visible Catholic Church upon Earth before the Reformation. 1st, It is false that the Church of Rome was the only Church. 2dly, According to the excellent Rule of Vincentius Lirinensis * if any novel Contagion has overspread the whole Church; in such a Case Christianus Catholicus, the Catholic Chri- stian, must not stand to the Award of the present Church, but antiquitati inhaere; stick to Antiquity. This was the Case at the Reformation, upon Supposition that the Church of Rome was the only Church: And so the Reformers, even upon That Supposition, which is false too, acted like true Catholic Christians. But our Author proceeds. And is it then a Wonder the Dissenters from the Church of England should challenge the same Privilege to themselves, and follow the Rule they receiv'd as a Sacred Trust from the very Apostles of the Reformation? Answ. What Privilege? The Privilege of abusing a good Rule? Do they follow it by abusing it? And was the Abuse of it a Sacred Trust, &c? He adds. † What was main-
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who—set up the proud Idol of private Judgment, &c. cannot be justly blam'd in Those [meaning our Dissenters] who—guided themselves by the very Rule, and Principle, they had taught them. As much as to say; Because all Protestants agree in These Principles, that Men are to judge for themselves, and that Scripture only is the Rule of Faith: Therefore the Protestant Dissenters who separate from the Church of England Contrary to Reason and Scripture, act just as the first Reformers did, who separated from the Church of Rome According to Reason and Scripture. Or, in other Words, Because two Men, alleging the same Principle, pretend to be in the Right; therefore Both are in the Right, or Neither is.

† Let us suppose a Doctor of the Church of England should tell a Dissenting Minister that he ought to submit himself to the Judgment and Authority of the Church establish'd by Law. The Minister would readily answer him, that This was sapping the very Foundation of all the reform'd Churches—For if there were an Obligation of submitting a Man's private Judgment to any human Authority, &c. to the End of the Paragraph. All This may receive a full Answer from what has been discours'd; and is nothing but Quibbling upon two or three Words, or Expressions. As if, Submit
We tell no Dissenters that they must submit to Our Church, as Papists teach we must to Theirs. There is, or ought to be, a Submission to the Church; but not such a one as They require. 2dly, Provided They [the Dissenters] were but allow'd to be Themselves the Interpreters of the Word of God. So they shall be, and are allow'd to be, themselves the Interpreters of it; meaning, They shall be allow'd to make Use of their own Reason, and Judgment, in reading it. But neither They, nor We, nor Anybody else, ought to interpret it arbitrarily, and with Prejudice: Nobody ought to put his own forc'd Construction upon the Scriptures, dragging them to his own pre-conceiv'd Opinions, and resolving that They shall speak his Sense, whether they will, or no. But the Dissenting Minister, our Author may object, will say, We do so and They do Not: And I answer, Saying is not Proving. If it be ask'd, Who shall be Judge? I answer, true, right, unprejudiced Reason: Which Everybody may have, if he pleases; And if he has it not, 'tis his own fault. I hope it does not follow that because a Man says he is in the Right, therefore he is in the Right: If That be the Case, we must argue about Nothing; from Scripture, or any thing else. According to This way of Reasoning, Reasoning itself is Nonsense. 3dly, It was, He says,
Entitled, England's Conversion, & c. 405 says, a fundamental Principle of the Reformation that the Word of God, as interpreted according to every Man's private Conscience, is the only Rule of his Faith. The Word of God is in, and of it self, the Rule: As to it's being interpreted according to every Man's private Conscience; If the Man has inform'd his Conscience, or rather Judgment, as well as he is able, Prejudice being set aside, He makes a good Use of the Rule; otherwise, a bad one.

* In the next Paragraph he repeats the Words Quaker, Anabaptist, Socinian, and Free-thinker, which do him wonderful Service; insisting that They can all maintain their Ground against the Church of England, upon the Principle we are speaking of: But what I have now said shews all This to be empty Noise; and so I leave it.

The Reformation therefore has † not been by it's very Principles the fruitful Mother of endless Divisions; but Popery by it's very Principles has been, and is, the fruitful Mother of all Manner of Wickedness; as I have in This, and Another Treatise sufficiently prov'd.

However, He is sure ‡ the Reformation was not the Work of the Holy Ghost. And I have Before answer'd, that what was good

4 P. 311. † Ibid. ‡ P. 112.
in it was the Work of the Holy Ghost; what was bad was Not. || And then, says He, it is easy to guess what Spirit presided in their Councils. That is, because our Reformers read the Scriptures, and asserted the Right of private Judgment; and upon Those Principles, both They and their Successors were likely enough to differ among themselves in some Things, and actually did so differ; Therefore the Devil presided in their Councils. Fine Arguing indeed! They agreed in the Main of their Doctrine, in the great Points of Christianity: And so do We; We of the Church of England at least: And in many things of less moment We may very safely differ.

As for the various Sects among Protestants, the Argument drawn from Them will hold as well against Christianity, as against Protestantism; nay better; For Christendom includes all Sects of Protestants, and Papists too: And so there are more Sects among Christians than among Protestants. And, which more nearly concerns our Author and his Party, it proves as strongly against Them, as against Us. † It could not be the Spirit of Truth, whom Christ promis'd to send, &c. To This Text I hope I have said enough under another

|| Ibid. † Ibid.
Entitled, England's Conversion, &c. 407

Article in the First Dialogue. † For the Spirit of Truth is essentially the Spirit of Unity and Concord: And therefore as he cannot contradict himself, so he cannot be the Author of Contradictions in Those who are guided by him. 'Tis certain he cannot be the Author of Contradictions in Those who are guided by him; nor in any Others: Because he cannot be the Author of Contradictions at all. But Those who have the ordinary Guidance of his Grace (for We do not pretend to the extraordinary Guidance of Inspiration) may differ among themselves in some things, notwithstanding That Guidance, tho' not because of That Guidance. If Those among whom are any Divisions, have not the Direction of the Holy Spirit; the Church of Rome has it not, for the Reason just mention'd. * Christ pray'd for them that were to be, &c. that they might be perfectly one. John xvii. ver. 23. And he never pray'd in vain. Whatever be the Sense of This Text, the Papists are no more perfectly one than We are, and so can make no more Use of This Passage. Something might be said too of our Saviour's never praying in vain; but as it is not to our Purpose, I pass it by. ‡ St. Paul exhorts the Faithful to be of one Accord, and one

† Ibid.  * Ibid.  ‡ Ibid.  D d 4  Mind
Mind. Phil. ii. ver. 2. St. Paul does not
There use the Word Faithful; Those who
are truly such will of course be of one
Mind in the main. But were All whom He
exhorted to be of one Mind actually of
one Mind? And did They cease to be Members of the Church, by not being so? He
* exhorts the Corinthians to be perfectly
join'd together in the same Judgment,
1 Cor. i. ver. 10. That is, belike, in en-
tirely submitting to the Church of Rome,
whatever she said: For, according to Her,
no other Judgment was allow'd them.
† Pray tell me, Sir, could the Holy
Ghost be the Inspirer of Lutheranism in
Saxony, of Zuinglianism in Switzerland,
of Calvinism at Geneva, of Fanaticism in
Scotland, and of a Religion different from
them all in England? Not to insist that
These are not so different from one an-
other, as He is pleas'd to suppose; Pray,
Sir, says a Heathen, a Mahometan, or a
Jew, could the Holy Ghost be the Inspirer
of Popery, and all it's Sects, in Italy,
France, Germany, Spain, and Portugal;
of Protestantism, and all it's Sects, in
England, Holland, Switzerland, Germany,
and so forth? † What other Spirit there-
fore, but the Spirit of Lying, and Seduci-

* Ibid. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid. and P. 313.
Entitled, England's Conversion, &c. 409 on, can have been the Author of a Reformation [meaning Christianity] built upon a Principle, which has been an inexhaustible Source of Divisions, wherever it got footing? For Christianity, in general, as I have || elsewhere shewn, is no less built upon the Principle of reading the Scriptures, and understanding them with our own Understandings, than Protestantism in particular.

P. 314. G. The Unity you speak of is most certainly a Mark of Truth. For Truth is essentially one; but the Errors opposite to it are infinite. Because Truth is one, and the Errors opposite to it are infinite; Therefore whatever People unite in must be Truth. I can see no manner of Connexion between These two Propositions. Truth may be one, as it certainly is; and the Errors opposite to it innumerable, as they certainly may be, for it is not necessary they should be; and notwithstanding This, a vast Number of Men, nay all the World, may single out one of Those Errors, and unite in it. Neither can it be prov'd by any other Argument, that the Agreement of Multitudes in This, or That, is a sure Sign of it's being true. As our Author's Reafoning from our Di-
visions is no less strong against Christianity than against Protestantism; so his Reasoning from the Unanimity of Papists is as strong for Heathenism, or Turcism, as for Popery. To have all it's Professors agree in every thing, or to have many Differences in Opinion among them, is purely accidental to any Religion: The One does not prove it to be true; nor the Other to be false. Not that, after all, there is more Harmony among Them than among Us; as I have often been compell'd to observe.
To the Fifth, and Last Section:

Entitled,

The General external Marks of the true Church on the one Side, compared with the entire Want of them on the other.

I hope the Reader will pardon my chusing to refer him, as I sometimes do, from one Part of my Answer to another, rather than to say the same Thing over and over. I must here intreat him to look back upon P. 181, to the End of That Section, before he proceeds with This.

P. 316. England, by it's Conversion, became a Part of That Society of Christians which alone can glory in having all those external Marks of the true Church; &c. meaning by That Society of Christians the Church of Rome. Whereas England by it's Conversion became united with all the Societies of Christians in the World, as well as with the Church of Rome: It became a Part of the Catholick Church; of which the Church of Rome herself was, and is, no more than a Part. His affirming that
that She only has the Marks, comes next to be consider'd.

* Perpetual Visibility, and Catholicity, He says, are two external Marks inseparable from the Church of Christ, and incommunicable to a new rais'd Communion. The Church of England by the Reformation was not a new-rais'd Communion; as we shall see presently. As for the Marks he mentions; he might have spar'd his Pains in spending two Pages, to prove that the Church is visible. It certainly is so, and always will be, one way or other. Not that Invisibility, or the Notion of the Church consider'd as invisible, is + repugnant to the every End for which Christ has establish'd Pastors and Preachers in his Church, consider'd as visible: Of which hereafter. Much might be said too upon This Subject, distinguishing the several Sorts of Visibility: Concerning which I refer to a short Treatise of Bishop Sanderson's, written with the truest Judgment, and good Sense (as every thing of That incomparable Prelate's is) entitled, A Discourse concerning the Church, in These following Particulars; The Visibility of the true Church; The Church of Rome; Protestant Churches, &c. London, Printed for R. Taylor, 1688. Their Church,
Entitled, England's Conversion, &c. 413

we grant, was, and is visible: Ours was once subject to Theirs, and was Then visible, tho' corrupt, and is Now visible, tho' reform'd. || As to the Church's Catholicity, or Universality, both in regard of Time and Place, &c. to the End of the second Paragraph. This is answer'd in the Place I refer'd to at the Beginning of this Section. I therefore only observe upon Those Words, * If the Apostolical Succession—should in one and the same Communion be at any time entirely extinct, it could not be said that Christ has remain'd with, &c. to the End of the World: That if by one, and the same Communion be meant the universal Church, it is true; If it means a particular Church, as we must crave leave to say the Church of Rome is, till the contrary is prov'd; it is false. Have not many particular Churches actually perish'd? † Sir, says the young Gentleman, I see very plainly that perpetual Visibility and Catholicity are external Marks inseparable from the true Church of Christ. This is, in Effect, the same juggling as before. If the Church means the Church universal, as it ought to do; it is true, but no Discovery, and nothing to the Purpose, that perpetual Visibility and Catholicity are inseparable from her; tho', by the way, the Universality

|| P. 117, 118. * P 118, † Ibid.
An Answer to a Popish Book,
of the Church Universal, that is in plain, tho' bad English, the Wholeness of the Whole, is an odd Kind of Mark. If the Church means a Church, as it ought not to do; neither perpetual Visibility, nor Catholicity is an inseparable Mark of it: Nay, to say the latter is so, is a Contradiction. But I am insensibly breaking my Promise, and unawares repeateing what I have said in the Place referred to.

*I pretend to shew, says the Preceptor, that as England was by its Conversion made a Part of that Society of Christians to which Those Marks of the true Church most undoubtedly belong'd, so was it by its Reformation cut off from that Society. From this Place to the End of the Book our Author strains all his Nerves, draws his Argument to a Head, and labours his Point with the utmost Diligence, to prove that the Church of England by the Reformation lost its Being, and is now no Church at all. Let the Reader be very attentive in observing the Force of his Reasonings: For I shall produce them in their full Force; and do pretend to shew, on the contrary, that his boasted Strength is the most despicable Weakness. I shall be at the Pains of transcribing almost every thing

* P. 319.
Entitled, England’s Conversion, &c. 415

he says, dissect it minutely, and answer it Sentence by Sentence.

† As to the Mark of Visibility; England was by its Conversion incorporated with the Church of Rome; that is to say, with the whole Body of Christians then in Communion with the See of Rome. “This is very dark; and his That is to say, is a strange one. Does he mean that the Church of Rome was the whole Body of Christians, because all the Christian Churches in the World were then in Communion with her? (As they very well might be, the being as then pure, and uncorrupt, tho’ now the Case is much alter’d with her, and was so at the Time of the Reformation.) If this be his Meaning; he may as well say that because all the Parish is in perfect Friendship with John, therefore John is all the Parish. But why should not William, Thomas, or Richard, have as good a Right to That Catholic Title? They being all suppos’d to be in Friendship with each other. Was not the Church of Rome as much in Communion with all other Churches, as all other Churches with Her? Why must She therefore, upon the Score of Communion, be the whole Body of Christians, any more than any other particular Church? Or does he mean, that all the Christian Churches

† Ibid.
being then in Communion with That of Rome, whatever Society became a Part of the Church of Rome, became a Part of the Church Universal, or the whole Body of Christians? This is very true; but the same might as well be said of joining with any other particular Church upon Earth. However it be; our Author seems to have a Fetch in expressing himself thus ambiguously: 'Tis to make the Church of Rome look at least like the whole Church; and That is better than Nothing. Let him mean what he will; I say, as I said above, and more will be said of it immediately, that England at its Conversion was no more incorporated with the Church of Rome, than with any other Church.

* Now the Pastors of This Church had in their own Communion, an uninterrupted visible Succession of Bishops, from the Apostles down to the Time wherein England was converted. Well; so had the Pastors of other Churches: And what then? It therefore became a Part of that Church, &c. Does it follow that England at its Conversion became a Part of the Church of Rome, because the Church of Rome had a Succession of Bishops down to that time? This therefore is as strange as the that is to say above-mention'd. England, as I said, became Part,
not of the Church of Rome, but of the universal, or Catholick Church. Why does he not prove, as well as affirm, that it became a Part of the Church of Rome? Its being converted by Missionaries from Rome proves no such thing. England is converted to Christianity by Romans: Or, if you please, a Church in England, or the Church of England, is planted by Romans: Is the Church of England therefore a Part of the Church of Rome? The same Argument will as well prove that the Nation of England is a Part of Italy. According to this, the Church of Rome it self was but a Part of the Church of Jerusalem; for it was planted by Jews. Not that it would signify any thing to the Merits of the Cause, if his Assertion were true: If the Church of England at first were a Part of the Church of Rome; she afterwards did well in so far ceasing to be a Part of her, as to renounce her Corruptions, and be no longer a Partaker of her Sins. Nor did This unchurch her: On the contrary, it made her a much better Church than she was before. Suppose the Church of England (our Adversaries, for Argument's Sake, admitting her to be now a true Church) should all, except one Diocess, be over-run with the Arian Heresy, and make the Belief of it a Term of Communion. I hope That Diocess would
would neither be Heretical, nor Schismatical, in refusing to communicate with the rest of the Church of England. * Which Church (continues He, meaning That of Rome) had the Mark of its being the true Church demonstrable in its perpetual Visibility. Does he mean this perpetual Visibility à parte ante, or à parte post; backwards, or for the time to come, or both ways? Was the Church of Rome perpetually visible in the high, glorious Sense, as the Romanists always mean? Was it so, when it did not consist of above twenty, or thirty Souls? Or if it was; were no other Churches so? This is but a poor Mark of the true Church: And if we consider it as to Futurity, it is a worse. For how can That be a Mark to us now, which we shall never see till the Day of Judgment? The Church of Rome's future perpetual Visibility is a demonstrable Mark of its being the true Church: That is, we are Now to be guided by a Mark which nothing but Time can shew us; and which in Probability will never be shewn at all. Besides; if the Church of Rome should continue to the World's End, as I verily believe she will not; does it follow that no other Church must so continue? If not; how can This be a Mark to Her? For our Author must not here at least take it

* Ibid.
Entitled, England's Conversion, &c. 419

for granted that she is the only Church; because That is the very thing to be now prov'd. He adds, * When therefore it (the Church of England) by its pretended Reformation separated itself from the Communion of the Church of Rome, and so became a new rais'd Communion; it ceas'd to be a Part of the true Church. 1st. Properly speaking (as I have several times had occasion to observe) We did not separate from the Church of Rome, but the Church of Rome from Us: Nor are We so much as separated from the Church of Rome in all things, but only in her Corruptions. 2dly, the Church of England did not by its Reformation become a new-rais'd Communion: It continued to be, what it was before, the Church of England. For the Church of England it was, even when it was in Subjection to the See of Rome. She did not therefore by the Reformation cease to be a Part of the true Church; Because she never was a Part of the Church of Rome: Or, if she had been, the Church of Rome was never the true Church.

† Sir, if England, when it separated itself from the Church of Rome, did not at the same time separate itself from the true Church.——Here one would expect he should prove the Church of Rome to be the

* Ibid. † Ibid.
true Church. Instead of which, we are put off with a Shuffle, laying the Burthen of Proof upon Us; contrary to the Laws of Disputation, and right Reason. † The Advocates for the Church of England are bound to mark out to us in what other visible Society of Christians the true Church subsisted before the Reformation. 1st. Had the Church of Rome, and all other Churches besides ours, utterly perish'd before our Reformation, and no Society of Christians remain'd in the World, but in England; That would have been sufficient to secure the Being of the true Church: The true Church would have subsisted in That, pure at first, afterwards corrupt, then pure again. So we are not bound to mark out, &c. Not but that, 2dly. Nothing is more easy to be done. The true Church, before the Reformation, subsisted in many other visible Societies of Christians, commonly call'd particular Churches, besides That of Rome; not only in Europe, and among others in England, but also in Asia, and Africa, the Greek Churches especially: All these were true particular Churches, tho' all, both Eastern and Western, very corrupt; and in them the true Universal Church subsisted. * Nay over and above they must show that at the time of it's Separation from

* Vid.
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the Church of Rome, it became a Part of, and was incorporated with, that other pre-
existent visible Church. 1st. It was not nec-
cessary it should be a Part at all; tho' in Fact
it was so; it might have been itself the
Whole. This Gentleman seems to have a
very singular Notion, that it is essential to a
Church to be a Part, to be incorporated. As
if any particular Church, That of England
for example, must necessarily perish, if all o-
thers should: In That Case, instead of being
a Church, it would be the Church. Accor-
ding to this Notion, the first Church, That
of Jerusalem, was no true one; And if so,
I am sure there has been none since. 2dly.
There were however, as we have seen, many
other Churches at the Reformation. But
why must we shew that the Church of En-
gland then became incorporated with them?
She was incorporated with them before, as
Part of the Universal Church; and so conti-
ued; only she became more pure than any of
them were, or than she herself had been.
She continued incorporated with all the
Churches in the World, the Church of Rome
itself among others, in all things except their
Corruptions.

† Now for his famous Dilemma: For tho'
it be abundantly answer'd by what has been

† 370.
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said; yet since it is a Dilemma, we must have the Answer over again. When they separated themselves from the Church of Rome; it either was the true Church of Christ, or it was not. I answer, it was Not the true Church; it was only A true Church, and that too in the lowest Sense of the Word.

† If they say it was Not; they must either shew us another visible Society of Christians upon Earth, in which the true Church of Christ was preserved before the Reformation, and this is impossible for them to do; or they must say that Christ had no true Church upon Earth before that time, and that by Consequence the Creed was false for many Ages; which is downright Blasphemy. †st.

'Tis not necessary to shew another visible Society before the Reformation, besides That of Rome, or any other besides herself. Had she been the only Church in the World, she would have been the whole Church; so that even then Christ would have had a true Church, tho' a corrupt one. We may here observe in passing, that our Author seems to think there can be no Reformation of a Church; unless there be a Church of Rome to be separated from. 2dly. We do shew many other such Churches; and I have named them. † But if they own that the Church
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of Rome was the true Church of Christ before the Reformation; then they must own of course that they separated themselves from the true Church of Christ, and continue separated from it to this Day; which is pronouncing their own Condemnation. 1st. The Church of Rome was not the true Church; nor do we own any such thing. 2dly. If it had been; supposing the whole Church to be as corrupt as That of Rome was, it would be not only lawful, but necessary for any one Part, or District of it, to reform itself; whether the rest would or no. Nor would such a District become Schismatical, by refusing to communicate with the rest in their abominable Corruptions; but they would be Schismatical, in imposing unlawful Terms of Communion. Unhappy Reformation, concludes he, which cannot answer for itself, without renouncing the Creed, or confessing itself guilty of Schism. And unhappy Church of Rome, say I, which cannot assault the Reformation, with any Weapons, but gross Forgeries instead of true Facts, and transparent Sophistry instead of solid Reasoning.

The young Gentleman having, as usual, paid his Complements to the Dilemma, recognized and saluted both its Horns, talk'd of the no Hole we have to creep out at, and

† Ibid.  || Ibid.  E e 4
of the mortal Wound given us, which ever way we turn ourselves; the Preceptor, in the Fulness of Satisfaction and Triumph, proceeds Thus. 

* Sir, it was the Force of this Argument [O! the irresistible Force of it] that oblig’d several Protestant Writers to have recourse to the wretched Chimera of an invisible Church, as the best expedient they could then think of to maintain the Authority of their Doctrine, and the Succession of their Pastors. He should, I think, have nam’d some of these Writers; but whoever they be, they might have given a much better Answer; and had no occasion for this Recourse, as I have shewn. The Church of Rome was visible before the Reformation; and is still, both visible, and visibly corrupt: The Church of England was visible, when in Communion with the Church of Rome; and is visible still, tho’ not in Communion with the Church of Rome. † I call it a Chimera; because an invisible Church is in Reality a Church, and no Church." An outward invisible Church, if he pleases, is a Contradiction. But we may without any Absurdity say there is an invisible Church; or rather, that the Church in general, or any Church in particular, may be consider’d in

* Ibid. and P. 321. † Ibid. two
two Respects; as visible, in its external Regimen and Ordinances; as invisible with relation to Christ. Besides which, there is another Notion of an invisible Church made use of by some Divines; who mean by it, and properly enough, I think, the whole Body of Those who by true Faith and Obedience are united to Christ, and finally fav'd. But be these things as they will, they are foreign to our Controversy. † So that Persons reduced to this miserable Shift give up the Cause, &c. What if they do? The Cause is not therefore lost: Since others defend it a much better Way; and let This Man answer them, if he knows how. * I add that a Quaker, or Muggletonian needs not be in any Pain to trace the Antiquity of his Church, and Doctrine, even to Noah, or Adam, if he pleases; so be he but allow'd to have recourse to an invisible Church to make good his Pretensions." These Quakers, and Muggletonians, &c. are of wonderful Service to him. But I answer; Their Doctrines are false; and would be so, tho' they could be traced up to Noah, or Adam: And the same may be said of Popish ones. Could Quakers and Muggletonians have recourse even to a visible Church, understanding by the Word a visible Body, or Sect of Men, and run it up to the

† Ibid.  * Ibid.  

Days
Days of Noah, or Adam himself; That would not prove them a Church, as both Papists, and We, usually and properly understand the Word; because They have no Orders. Nor would it prove their Doctrines to be true; because false Doctrine may be, and actually is, as old as Adam, and Eve. For the Devil taught false Doctrine to the Latter. We, on the contrary, have demonstrated our Doctrines to be true, and our Orders to be as good as Those of our Popish Adversaries.

* When therefore they were driven out of This, &c. many of them, as the Calvinists in France, call'd to their Aid all the broken, and shatter'd Troops of condemn'd Hereticks to patch up a kind of ridiculous Succession. These were the old Iconoclasts, Albigeois, Vaudois, &c. What is This to the Church of England? Those of whom he speaks put it upon another wrong Foot: There was no more occasion for recurring to This, than to the Notion of an invisible Church. [Tho’, by the way, This shews that Popery was not in quiet Possession, for many Ages before the Reformation.] They should have continued the Succession of Orders, as We did in England. However, Those whom our Author here calls

* Ibid.
Entitled, England's Conversion, &c. 427

calls Hereticks were not Hereticks. The Eiconoclasts, in plain English Image-Breakers, were much more Orthodox Christians than Image-Worshippers: The Albigeois were not a Spawn of the Manicheans: The Berengarians, Hussites, Vaudois, and Bohemian Brethren, were imperfect Reformers: They were guilty of some Errors, but were much better than Papists. * A strange sort of Apostolical Succession! Which began not till many Ages after the Apostles, was interrupted with Gaps of several hundred Years, and compos'd of Sects all differing, &c. Afterwards he tells us, All These, as Protestants pretend, † preserved the Church's Visiblity, and continued the Succession of her Pastors in the right Line. We say no such Thing: The Church of Rome, and Those in subjection to her, tho' corrupt in Doctrine, and Practice, kept up the Succession of Pastors in the right Line.

‡ As to the Protestants of the Church of England, I know not what way they pretend to derive their Ecclesiastical Succession from the Apostles. Are you in earnest? Did You never hear, that We pretend at least, to derive it in the same Line that You do? || Only this I am sure of, that Thomas Cranmer was the first Protestant

* Ibid. † P. 322. ‡ Ibid. || Ibid. Bishop
An Answer to a Popish Book,
Bishop, and Primate of England; He had
not therefore any Predecessors of the Protet-
stant Communion. That is, there was no
Protestant Bishop before there was a Prot-
estant Bishop: Which I grant. || And by
consequence, tho' he sate in the Archiepisc-
copal Chair, &c. he could not justly pre-
tend to derive his Succession from the Apostles,
after he had separated himself from the
Communion of Those who were the true
and undoubted Successors of the Apostles.
1st. He, and his Brother Reformers, Bishops,
as well as others, were not properly, and
schismatically Separatists. 2dly, If They
had been; their Episcopal Character had
continued. But I insist upon the Former.
For surely the Apostles will never own any
for their true, and lawful Successors, but
Bishops and Pastors of their own Communi-
on, and Members of That Church which
They founded. I have read, in the Acts, † of
the Apostles Fellowship, or Communion (to
which, by the way, is added their Doctrine,
wherein the Church of Rome does not con-
tinue steadfast;) but how the Church of
Rome, especially as corrupted, and deprav'd,
comes to be Their Communion, and that
exclusively of all other Churches, I can by
no means understand. Any more than I can,
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how the Apostles founded That Church, as to corrupt; or that they founded no other Church at all. Cranmer was as true, and undoubted a Successor of the Apostles, as Those from whom our Author says He separated: And They were the Schismatics in continuing to impose unlawful Terms of Communion; not He in refusing any longer to comply with them. † If Thomas Cranmer was entitled to a Place in the Apostolical Family; all the Arian, Novatian, and Donatist Bishops were likewise entitled to the same Prerogative. 1st. The Arian, Novatian, and Donatist Bishops continued to be of the Apostolical Family, as Bishops, tho' not as Arians, Novatians, and Donatists. 2dly. Cranmer was neither an Arian, a Novatian, nor a Donatist; nor guilty either of Heresy, or Schism, by refusing to continue in Communion with the Church of Rome. On the contrary, the Papists were, and are, both Heretics, and Schismatics.

* But This has not hinder'd but that they have been always regarded as a Spurious Race, unworthy to be counted among the Successors of the Apostles. A Spurious Race in Doctrines and Practises, as the Papists are; but true Successors of the Apostles in point of Episcopacy, as the Popish Bishops

† Ibid. * Ibid. are
An Answer to a Popish Book,

are likewise. Be it as it will; This affects not Cranmer: who was in neither respect spurious. † And why so? Because by teaching Doctrines unknown to the Bishops that went before them [as Cranmer did Not] they broke off, or were spew'd out of the Communion of Those, who were the true, and undoubted Successors of the Apostles. Why so much of true and undoubted? As if Cranmer were not as true and undoubted a Successor of the Apostles, as any other Bishop. This Writer himself afterwards owns he was. But This is thrown in, to puzzle, and confound; as I have observ'd of other Strokes in his Performance. But to answer directly: The Arians, Novatians, and Donatists unjustly broke off, or were justly spew'd out, or Both: But the Reverse is Cranmer's Case. ‡ So that we may put the Question to Archbishop Cranmer, wherewith Tertullian puzzled the Heretics of his time. Qui estis vos? Quando, et unde venistis? You may put the same Questions; but not with the same Reason: And we are not afraid of being near so much puzzled by them. Desiring the Reader to remember what I have abundantly prov'd in my Examination of the 2d, and 3d, Dialogues, I will put the Questions to

† Ibid. and P. 323. ‡ P. 323.
Entitled, England’s Conversion, &c. Cranmer in our Author’s own Words; and Cranmer shall be supposed to answer them in His.

Papist. *“Who are you, Thomas Cranmer? when, and whence did you come? Cranmer. Strange Questions to a Man of my Dignity, and high Station. You know I am Archbishop of Canterbury, and Primate of all England; two of the most illustrious Titles in the Christian World: Tho’ you are pleas’d to call me by the familiar Name of Thomas Cranmer. As to your when, and whence; if you mean (for I suppose you do not expect I should tell you I came this Morning from Lambeth:) Who gave me my Authority as Archbishop? tho’ you have none to examine me: I still wonder at your Question: Since you know, as well as I; and do not yourselves pretend but that my Authority, in this respect, is unquestionable.

Papist. “Who gave you a Commission to enslave the Hierarchy to the secular Power?

Cranmer. Nobody; Nor did I, or any one else, so enslave it.

Cranmer. I had no such Commission; Nor is any such thing done, by Me, or Anybody else.

Papist. " Whence had you your Powers to turn upside down the Frame of the Church committed to your Charge; to change the Faith and Worship which St. Augustine had establish'd; and introduce Doctrines to which the Bishops your Predecessors had been utter Strangers for 900 Years together?

Cranmer. You talk as if the Reformation was made by me only: When you very well know it was made by the joint Legislative Authority of the Civil and Ecclesiastical Powers. However; the Frame of the Church and Religion was turn'd upside down Before, and is Now set upon it's right Bottom. The Faith and Worship which St. Austin establish'd is not chang'd, but restor'd; Neither were the Bishops my Predecessors utter Strangers for 900 Years to the Doctrines which you say are introduced, but which are, in truth, only restor'd: They professed the same for about 200 Years; And so did the Universal Church from the Time of the Apostles before them. And if any of those Primitive Worthies were now living; They would be utter Strangers to your Religion.

* Note*
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* Now whoever will pretend to answer These Questions for Cranmer; I defy him, &c. This Defiance happens to be answer'd already: And so I say no more of it.

There is no Difference, He says, t between the Case of Cranmer and Q. Elizabeth's Bishops; but what makes rather to their Disadvantage. Because the Validity of Cranmer's Ordination never was disputed by Any. Whereas That of Q. Elizabeth's Bishops has never been allow'd of by the Church of Rome; And her Authority is of no Small Weight. 1st. That of Q. Elizabeth's Bishops was never question'd by any Member of the Church of Rome, till above 40 Years after their Ordination: When That senseless Lye of the Nag's-Head was first invented. 2dly, The Church of Rome's Authority is of no Weight at all; because She is Judge in her own Cause. † But supposing it were valid; it would avail them nothing in the main. For they would at the best be but upon the same Level with Cranmer, &c. And That, as I have shewn, is enough: For the Sophistry of Those Words their own Communion, and the same Communion, which are * here again drag'd in, has been sufficiently laid open. And Those, † There was no visible Prote-
1. The Reformation comes to This; There was no Reformation before there was a Reformation.

2. The Mark call'd Catholicity, we are told, was never deny'd to the Church in Communion with the See of Rome, even by it's profess'd Enemies. Yes, but it was; and still is; in both Senses of the Word. She is not Catholic, as it signifies Universal: For That is a Contradiction, making a Part to be the Whole. She is not Catholic, as it signifies teaching the Doctrine of the truly Catholic Church: In That Sense the Church of England is Catholic; and the Church of Rome is not.

3. Nay, in all Protestant Countries-- we are as well distinguish'd by the bare Name of Catholicks; as a Native of England is known by the Name of an Englishman. This is a most admirable Argument! An Argument from a Word; like That about the Mass elsewhere mention'd. But ist. 'Tis not true that This Language obtains universally. Few, or None among us, of Learning and Knowledge in these Matters, call them Catholicks, or Roman Catholicks either. 2dly, If all Mankind, to avoid quarrelling about a Word, did make use of
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This to distinguish a certain Set of Men, who ridiculously call themselves by That Name; yet it would not follow that All others must allow them to be what They themselves pretend to be. Nevertheless, I must do our Author the Justice to own that This Argument, as foolish as it is, is made use of by the great Bellarmine; who makes the Name Catholick his first Note of the Church.

It is here to be observ'd that our Author in This Paragraph has twice This Expression, the Church in Communion with the See of Rome. In all his Argument hitherto, it has been the Church of Rome: Now 'tis the Church in Communion with the See of Rome. Three Pages hence it will be the Churches in Communion with the See of Rome. This does not look fair; But we wave it at present.

The Church of Rome, * He says, has Universality of Time, by having had an uninterrupted visible Being from the Time of the Apostles to this Day. I answer, so has the Church of England. † And of Place, by having not only extended her Faith to the most remote, and barbarous Nations; tho' now Apostatiz'd from it — Her Faith? What? Did the Church of Rome plant the

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* p. 325. † ibid.
An Answer to a Popish Book,

Asian and African Churches, which are now extinct? This is News to us. I thought St. John, St. Thomas, and the rest of the Apostles, and Apostolical Men, who never were Members of the Church of Rome, had planted them. Besides; had the Primitive Church of Rome extended Her Faith to Those Nations; That Faith was not the Faith of the present Church of Rome. — Rut by being likewise in full possession of all those Nations of Europe where the reform’d Churches are now establish’d. How was She in possession of them? They were in communion with her, I own; partook of her Corruptions; and were by her Tyranny, and their own Misfortune, or Folly, or Both, in subjection to her: but they were not Parts of her, as we have seen. Nay, she has at this very time Bishops, and Pastors propagating the Gospel among the Infidels both of the East, and West Indies. So have we, Pastors, tho’ not Bishops: And there is even a Bishop over Those Pastors; tho’ he does not reside in any of Those Countries. * Therefore Universality of Place which St. Augustine calls the Consent of People, and Nations, cannot be deny’d her. What? Has She the Consent of all People, and Nations? Or is she

† Ibid. † Ibid. * Ibid.

diffus’d
Entitled, England’s Conversion, &c. 437
diffus’d over the Face of the whole Earth? Not that it would be any Argument, if she were. For being the Catholick Church does not mean being spread over all the World; but being all the Church that is, whether it be greater, or less. If the former were the Case; there would have been no Catholick Church at all: And would be none Now. For the Church, at the Beginning, consisted but of 3000 Souls; and at this Day not above a sixth Part of the World is possefs’d by Christians of all Denominations put together. † Nor can it consequently be deny’d but that England by it’s Conversion had the Advantage of being made Partaker of the illustrious Title of Catholick, in the full Extent of it’s Signification. In other Words; Because the Church of Rome extends over all the World, which it does not, and never did: Therefore England at it’s Conversion being made a Part of the Church of Rome which it was not, became Partaker of the illustrious Title of being the Whole. The Reader, I hope, by this time pities me for having undertaken to travel thro’ such an Ocean of Falshoods and Absurdities. Is even That Part of the World which is Christian, all of it Popish? So

† Ibid.
AN ANSWER to a Popish Book,

far otherwise, that the Members of the
Church of Rome bear no Proportion to the
infinitely greater Number of Christians who
condemn many of her Doctrines, and reject
all her Authority. Even in These Parts of
Europe, Papists do not out number Chris-
tians, near so much as it is commonlyimagined.
* But if to the Reform’d Churches in These
Parts, we add all the Christian World be-
fides, which is not Popish, in Europe, Asia,
and Africa; the boasted Amplitude of the
Romish Church, and Number of Roman-
Catholicks will be inconsiderable. To
pass over the vast Bodies of Armenian
Christians, Abassines, Jacobites, and
Multitudes more; † " We need not in-
stance in any besides the Greek Church.
" Which has had an uninterrupted Succe-
sion of Bishops from the Apostles, is of
" greater Antiquity than the Church of
" Rome; and has produced more Fathers
" than That Church. This Church is di-
" vided into many Nations; as the Hybe-
" rians, the People of Colchis, now call’d
" Mingrelia, the Arabians, Chaldaans,
" Ethiopians, Egyptians, Muscovites, Bul-
" garians, Sclazonians, Albanians, Cara-

* See Brerewood’s Enquiries. † See Bp. Fowler on Bellar-
mine’s 4th Note of the Church.
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manians, Walachians, Moldavians Greeks, &c. And we may guess what a huge Disproportion there is in Largeness, between all the Greek Churches and, Those subject to the Church of Rome, by This, that the Countries in Europe, and Asia, which the Muscovites alone inhabit, are computed to be near of as great an Extent, as all Europe besides.

I know very well the Papists have a short Answer to This: All These are not true Churches, nor true Christians; And they say the same of Us. They are very corrupt, I confess; and so is the Church of Rome. But why must They be no Churches? No true Christians? Why because they are not Papists. The Argument bottoms, as other Popish Arguments do, upon the noble Principle of Begging the Question. They prove all others to be no Churches, because They only are the Church: when the very Point in Question is, whether they are, or no.

* But did it's Separation from the Communion of the Church of Rome procure it any Advantage equivalent to This? It procur'd none at all, if it did not procure an Advantage equivalent to Nothing. But it did procure an inestimable Advantage, the Purity of Christian Religion. + Was

† Ibid. † Ibid.
there besides the Roman Catholic Church; another Catholic Church of a different Communion—are? There cannot be two Catholic, i.e. Universal Churches, of a different Communion, nor of the same Communion; because there cannot be two Wholes with respect to the same Aggregate of Parts: Or, in plainer Words, because one Thing cannot be two Things. † To which England was associated, &c. That's giving the Lye to the Creed, &c. And so on to the End of the next Paragraph, with the Unity, and Perpetuity of the Church, and the Absurdity of Invisibility: All which we have had, about a dozen times over, already. ¶ Or finally did England itself become the Catholic Church by it's Separation from the Church of Rome? No. Tho' it might have been the Church, as I observ'd; And would have been, if all other Churches had perisht. ‡ That is still stranger, and stranger! And indeed the same stupendious Wonder, as if a little Finger cut off from the Body should become the whole Body. Just so we say of the Church of Rome; and with much more Reason, 1st. Because the Church of England did not schismatically cut off, or divide herself from Her.

¶ Ibid. † Ibid. and P. 326.
Entitled, England's Conversion, &c. 441

dly, Because the Church of England never pretended to be the whole Body; and the Church of Rome does. To this we may well add, that his Comparison is incongruous, and improper. Because the Church consists of homogeneous Parts; not of heterogeneous, as a human Body does. Nor is This an empty Subtilty: but very material to our present Controversy, and that upon more Accounts than One. No Part of a human Body, as a Finger, Hand, Arm, or Leg, is a human Body: But every Part of the whole Church is a Church; as every Drop of Water is Water, every Piece of Gold is Gold: including the whole Nature of Water, or Gold. If a Limb, when join'd to a human Body, is not a human Body; much less, if possible, can it become a human Body by being separated from one: So far otherwise, that it must soon perish; and even while it continues, it is of no Use. But if all the Catholick Church, except one Part of it, i.e. one particular Church, be overspread with Antichristian Errors, and impose them as Terms of Communion; That Part may, and ought to go off from it: Notwithstanding which, it still continues a Church, including in itself the whole Nature of a Church.

† However
442 An Answer to a Popish Book,

However, as it is much easier to confute, than silence certain People, [Popish Priests, for example] there are some who answer by owning, &c. in short, that the Church of Rome was, and is, a true Church; because it holds all the Essentials. And so Christ always had a Church upon Earth.

By your Leave, we do not answer So. We say indeed that the Church of Rome is in one sense a true Church; but we say withal, that Christ would have had a true Church upon Earth, tho' That of Rome had long since perish'd.

* "G. But how then do They justify their Separation from the Church of Rome; if it both is, and was, a true Church before the Reformation?"

"P. By saying that besides Essentials, it imposes many Articles as Terms of Communication, which at the best are doubtful, and not necessary to be believ'd. For which reason they compare it to a human Body disfigur'd with Wens, and other Blemishes; tho' it has all the noble, and essential Parts of a true Body." You are pleas'd to make us express ourselves very tenderly; Of which presently.

"G. Very fine indeed! The Thought is quaint, and new." A smart Answer, young

† Ibid. ‡ Ibid.
Entitled, England's Conversion, &c. 443

Gentleman: not to say, somewhat pert. But the Thought is not new; it may perhaps be quaint enough: So quaint, that your Church will not easily get over it. How does your Tutor himself come off?

"P. I know not whether it be old, or new; but I am sure, &c." in short, that it only throws Dust into ignorant People's Eyes. "For 1st, Their charging the Church of Rome with imposing Articles as Terms of Communion which are not necessary to be believed, is a mere precarious Assertion, &c. On the contrary, it has been demonstrated a thousand times that their pretended Wens, and Blemishes are found Apologetical Doctrines, &c." I answer, 1st, We charge them with much more than imposing Terms of Communion, which are not necessary to Salvation; we charge them with imposing such Terms as directly lead to Damnation. We insist that their Church has not only Wens and Blemishes, but the Plague; that tho' she retains the Essentials, yet she is deeply vitiated even in them; and has blended abominable Corruptions with the very Vitals of Christianity. 2dly, This Assertion of ours is not precarious, but has been demonstrated a thousand times. I my self have demonstrated the Truth of it, in This, and another Treatise. Not one of the distinguishing Doctrines of the Church of Rome is
444 An Answer to a Popish Book, is sound or Apostolical, as ancient as Christianity it self, taught in the very primitive Ages, and handed down as a Term of Catholick Communion from Age to Age from this very time; as our Author with unparallel'd Confidence assert they all are. They are contrary to the Doctrine and Practice of the Apostles, and the primitive Church: They are so many Corruptions, and Adulterations of Christianity.

He answers, || 2dly, That from our own-ing the Church of Rome to be a true Church before the Reformation, it will follow that Christ, in our Opinion, has ever since the Reformation had more than one true Church upon Earth. So he has; and had before the Reformation. i.e. more than one particular Church; tho' but one Catholick. And where is the Absurdity of This? || " For since, continues He, they are so generous as " to allow the Church of Rome to be one; " I presume they have no worse Opinion ei-" ther of their own, or other reform'd Chur-" ches. So that these, tho' all contradicting " one another in many important Points, " are nevertheless all true Churches: Which " I think is Nonsense with a Witness." 1st, They do not all contradict one another in many important Points. 2dly. They may do
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so; and yet be all true Churches. You will not take notice of the plain Distinction upon the Word true; which I have repeated so often, that I am resolv'd to repeat it no more. Cannot two Men contradict one another in the most important Points; and yet both be true, i. e. real Men? The Case is exactly parallel as to Churches. This therefore is not Nonsense with a Witness; but very good Sense. In another Place* you say, if the thing of which you are speaking be not so, and so; you are yet to learn what Nonsense is. By your talking so wildly about it, and talking so much of it, one would think you were indeed.

† Nor will the Matter be much mended by their Saying, that they are all but one Church to Christ; inasmuch as they all believe in Christ. Who says this? They are no otherwise one, than as being all put together they make up the one Catholick Church: As all the Parts make up one Whole. † "For " if this large Notion of Unity be allow'd " of; the Mystical Body of Christ, instead " of being compos'd of uniform Parts, will " rather resemble the Monster describ'd by " Horace with a Man's Head join'd to a " Horse's Neck, &c. And his Garment, in- " stead of being Seamless, will be stich'd " up together with as many different Pieces

* P. 317. † Ibid.
as there are Patches in a Beggar's Coat.'

He had heard of the Church's consisting of homogeneous, which he calls uniform Parts, which I just now took Notice of; but either did not understand it, or would not rightly apply it. — The Body of a Man, or of a Horse, as truly consists of heterogeneous Parts, as the Monster he alludes to: And the Catholic Church may consist of uniform Parts, if we must have That Word; and yet particular Churches differ in many Things even of Importance. Nor does this last break it's Unity; since, notwithstanding That, they may hold Communion with each other, and agree in all necessary Points. * But is it not somewhat surprizing that all the reform'd Churches, and the Church of Rome, That Church so hated, &c. should be found at length to be but one, and the same Church? Who, again, says This? The Church of Rome is certainly distinct from the Reform'd Churches, and They from each other, as particular Churches: And the Catholic Church is made up of Them, and all other particular ones. † Or that so many Churches of different Communions and Religions should be the One, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolick Church, which we profess to believe in the Creed? 1st. We do not say that the Church of Rome,
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and the Reform'd Churches are the one, &c. There are many other Churches in the World besides These. 2dly. They may be of different Communions. (tho' if they be, there must be a Schism somewhere) and of different Religions in some respects; and yet all put together be the one, &c. for Reasons which I have often given. Neither Schism, nor Heresy, necessarily destroys a Church; tho' either of them makes it a corrupt Church. There is one Sort of Schism indeed, which makes Those who are guilty of it no Members of the Catholick Church, because it makes them no Members of any particular one. But This is beside our present Question.

† He says, 3dly, That according to this Concession of ours, viz. that the Church of Rome is a true Church, we must regard the very best of our Writers and Preachers, as a Pack of the vilest Calumniators upon Earth. He shou'd not surely call the best of our Divines by so vile a Name, without a good Reason: And what is That? — In continually charging the Church of Rome with abominable Idolatry. For He cannot possibly conceive how Idolatry can be reconcil'd with the Essentials of a true Church. What does he mean by Reconcil'd? Doubtless in

† Ibid.
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the Nature of Things there is no more Concord between Idolatry and the Essentials of a true Church, than there is between Christ and Belial. But yet as to Persons, a Church may be Idolatrous, and at the same time retain the Essentials of a true Church: As I have often said of the Jews.

* Lastly, Their owning that the Church of Rome was A true Church, is a mere Put off; and does not answer either Part of my Dilemma directly. Studious of Brevity as I am, I let pass something which might here be remark'd upon; and permit him to proceed without Interruption. †For my Question is not whether the Church of Rome was A true Church before the Reformation: For That imports no more than asking whether it was a Part of the true Church of Christ. This is the first time he has spoke out upon This Subject, and spoke to the Purpose. Let the Reader attend with the utmost Diligence to what follows. †But my Question, or Dilemma [accurately express'd] to which I Demand a Direct Answer is precisely This: viz. Whether before the Reformation the Church of Rome with all the Churches in Communion with That See was

* Ibid. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid.
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that One, Holy, Catholick, and Apostolick Church, the Belief whereof we profess to believe in the Creed, or not? Here You alter the Question: Just now you said the Church of Rome: Here You say the Church of Rome, with all the Churches in communion with That See. And I ask, what do You mean by in Communion with? In Subjection to? Or barely in Communion, &c. according to the common way of speaking? If the Former; I answer, as directly as You can desire, that before the Reformation the Church of Rome, with all the Churches in Communion with That See (meaning, tho' very improperly in Subjection to it) was not That One, Holy, Catholick, and Apostolick Church, the Belief whereof we profess in the Nicene Creed. If the Latter; 'tis impossible to answer You directly; because 'tis necessary to distinguish with respect to different times: Which Distinction You carefully avoid, as You do many others; for a Reason too obvious to be mention'd. In the primitive times, when all the Churches in the World were in Communion with That of Rome, as they well might be, she being Then uncorrupt; the Church of Rome with all in Communion with her was That One, &c. Or rather, to speak much more properly, the Church of Rome, and all in Communion with her were That one, &c.
All the Parts made up the one Whole. But then who sees not that every particular Church in the World, as well as That of Rome, might have been particularly mentioned by Name (for there is really no more in it) all the rest being taken in the Lump. As Thus; The Church of Jerusalem with all in Communion with her is That One, &c. The Church of Antioch with all in Communion with her is That One, &c. And so of the rest. Unless our Author will say that all the other Churches were in Communion with That of Rome, but She not in Communion with Them, nor They with one another: And if He will, He shall enjoy his Saying without Disturbance. With respect to other times, particular Churches might be, and actually were, in, or out of, Communion with That of Rome, according as it happen'd: But their being out of Communion with Her no more made them cease to be true Churches, than their being out of Communion with any other particular Church. If any particular Church, or Churches, That of Rome among the rest, were causelessly out of Communion with any Church; They were Schismatical, but still they were Churches: Tho' if they were Not, 'tis nothing to our present Purpose; because This gives nothing peculiar to the Church of Rome. Whenever therefore all the Churches in the World were not
not in Communion with That of Rome; it would have been False to say, "The Church of Rome with all the Churches in Communion with That See is That One, &c.

But perhaps I need not have made This Distinction; because, according to the Romanists, and as they manage the Matter, no Church can be in Communion with the Church of Rome, without being in Subjection to her. Upon which Foot, I answer directly as Above: Before the Reformation, the Church of Rome with Those in Communion with her, and in Subjection to her, was No That One, &c. Because of the Greek Churches, and many more which I have mention'd. So that his Assumption upon This Part of the Dilemma, * If they say not; then the Creed was false before the Reformation, because they cannot shew any other Society of Christians, which was That Church, is utterly false, and groundless. Tho' I might well stop here; yet as I have hitherto answer'd both the Branches of his Dilemmas, I will not now at last depart from That generous Method. † But if they answer in the Affirmative; then the Church of Rome, with all the Churches in Communion with That See, was not only A true
Church, but the Sole, and only true Church of Christ upon Earth. So, we have it out at last. This is the grand Point he has been labouring all this while; tho' he never spoke the Words 'till Now: He mentions them but once, as if he were ashamed of them, as well he may be: But That once is at the Close of all, in order to make the deeper and more lasting Impression. The Assertion itself I have fully and particularly disprov'd, in breaking the other Horn of his Dilemma, to which I refer, as also in many other Parts of my Answer. Nevertheless, the Reader shall see the Situation of the Argument as it Here stands. But if they answer in the Affirmative [as, remember, we do Not:] i.e. If We say the Church of Rome, with all the Churches in Communion with that See, was That One Holy, &c. then the Church of Rome with all in Communion, &c. was the Sole, &c. Which amounts to thus much in fewer, and plainer Words; If the Church of Rome was the only Church, the Church of Rome was the only Church; Understanding the Church of Rome, as the Word is us'd in it's widest Extent. But not to insist upon That, let us consider the Consequence he draws from This, supposing the Proposition to be true, as I have prov'd it to be most falfe. * And by consequence England was by it's pretend-
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ed Reformation cut off from the sole, and
only true Church of Christ upon Earth. I
deny That. If a Separation was necessarly;
as We have shewn it was; Those who
made it necessarly were the Schismaticks, as
I have often said: They were cut off, not
We. According to This Arguing of his,
Elijah, and the seven thousand who would
not worship Baal, were cut off from the
only Church; and Ahab, and the Idolatrous
Majority, were the true Catholicks. To
talk plain English, and common Sense; upon
This Supposition, viz. that the Church of
Rome and her Adherents were the only
Church (tho' they were Not) every single
National Church, consequently the whole
Church of Christ, was corrupted; England,
among the rest. She reform'd herself; and
Others did not. How is She cut off? She
is pure, and They continue corrupt: She is
therefore in a better Condition than They
are; and than She herself was; but where's
the cutting off all this while? Why 'tis
calpable, ridiculous, strutting, over-bearing,
impudent Nonse: contriv'd to delude ignorant Souls, and impose the gro""""f
corruptions upon them.

However, according to Him, cut off it is; meaning England: And there, says
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He, I leave it. His next Sentence is the best in his Book, * For now I have done.
And so have I, for That reason: And am heartily glad of it; For never before
did I labour through such a tiresome Maze of Fallacies, Fallshoods, Swaggerings, Re-
petitions, and Impertinencies.

† The young Gentleman, having return'd his Thanks to his Preceptor for the great Care he has taken of him, says, that tho' he has not yet Capacity enough to examine every Branch of Controversy by itself; yet he is sufficiently capable of discerning White from Black. By your favour, Sir, according to the Principles of your Church, You have no Authority, any farther than She thinks fit, to discern White from Black; For when You see a certain Wafer, you are bound to believe it is a human Body. What he adds, that ‡ an ignorant Tradesman may resolve, &c. as solidly as the ablest Scholar, I have answer'd P. 385, &c. and desire every Trades-
man, and all other unlearned Persons of either Sex, as they value their Souls, seri-
ously to consider it. Leaving This also with the Reader, and intreating him never to
forget it; for the more deeply he thinks of it, the more he will be convinced of it's Truth, and Importance: That suppo-

* Ibid. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid.
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Sing the particular Corruptions of Popery to be such as We have demonstrated them to be, the general Arguments of Papists against our Reforming as we did, are no better than so many Arguments against Repentance, whenever a Multitude is concern'd. Because we were involv'd in a vast Body which was corrupt; therefore We, being as corrupt as the rest, ought for ever to have continued so. Let every sincere Christian think with himself, what blessed Reasoning This is. In Answer to which, We, in the Main, and with due Alterations according to the particular Circumstances, apply to Ourselves as compar'd with the Romanists, Those Words of St. Peter (the pretended Founder of the Papal Authority) concerning Christians as compar'd with Heathens. * For the time past of our Life may suffice us to have wrought the will of the Gentiles; when we walk'd in lasciviousness, lusts, excess of wine, revellings, banquetings, and abominable idolatries. And by the Grace of God we will continue to be what They unreasonably condemn; tho' They continue to † speak evil of us, and think it Strange that we run not with them to the same excess of riot.

* 1 Pet. 4. 3. † v. 4.

FINIS.
ERRATA.

P. 27. l. 9. read Atheist. P. 36. l. 6. dele Those. l. 7.
dele for instance. P. 114. l. 7. read unwritten. P. 144. l. 4.
read 150. P. 213. l. 22. read as. P. 241. l. 13. read Tents.
P. 272. l. 19, for this read the. P. 365. l. 24. for Church
read Crown.