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THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
VARIATIONS  
OF THE  
PROTESTANT CHURCHES.

By *JAMES BENIGN BOSSUET*,  
Bishop of MEAUX, one of His most Christian  
Majesty's Honourable Privy-Council, heretofore  
Preceptor to the DAUPHIN, and Chief Almoner  
to the DAUPHINESS.

IN TWO PARTS.

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PART II. VOL. II.

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*ANTWERP:*  
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THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
VARIATIONS  
Of PROTESTANT CHURCHES.

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BOOK X.

*From the Year 1558, to 1570.*

A BRIEF SUMMARY.

*Queen Elizabeth's Reformation. That of Edward corrected, and the Real Presence, which had been condemn'd under that Prince, held for indifferent: The Church of England still persists in this sentiment. Other Variations of this Church in that Queen's reign. Her ecclesiastical Supremacy moderated in appearance, in reality left in the same state as under Henry and Edward, notwithstanding the scruples of Elizabeth. Policy bears the sway throughout this whole Reformation. The Faith, the Sacraments, and the whole ecclesiastical authority deliver'd up into the hands of Kings and Parliaments. The same done in Scotland. The Calvinists of*

Vol. II. B France

France disapprove this doctrine, nevertheless let it pass. England's doctrine upon Justification. Queen Elizabeth favours the French Protestants. They rebel as soon as they have it in their power. The conspiracy of Amboise in Francis the second's reign. The civil wars under Charles IX. This conspiracy and these wars appertain to Religion, and were entered into by the authority of the Docters and Ministers of the Party, and grounded on the new doctrine teaching the lawfulness of making war against their Prince for Religion's sake. This doctrine expressly warranted by their national Synods. The fallacy of Protestant writers, and of Mr. Burnet amongst the rest, who pretend that the tumult of Amboise and the civil wars were state-busineses. Religion was at the bottom of Francis Duke of Guise's murder. Beza's and the Admiral's testimony. A new Confession of Faith in Switzerland.

I.  
Queen Elizabeth  
persuaded, no-  
thing can secure to  
her the  
Crown,  
but the  
Protestant  
Religion.  
It is  
said that  
she was  
so much  
convinced  
of this  
point, that  
she would  
not have  
accepted  
the Crown  
if she had  
not been  
assured  
that she  
should  
be able  
to maintain  
the  
Protestant  
Religion.



ENGLAND having soon re-  
turn'd, after Queen Mary's death,  
to Edward the sixth's Reformation,  
set about fixing her Faith and put-  
ting the finishing stroke to her  
Religion by the new Queen's au-  
thority. Elizabeth Daughter of Henry VIII.  
and Anne Blyen, was advanced to the throne,  
and govern'd her Kingdom with as profound a  
policy as the most able Kings. The step she had  
taken with regard to Rome, immediately upon her  
coming to the Crown, countenanced what other-  
ways had been published of this Point, that  
she would not have departed from the Catholic  
Religion, had she found the Pope more able  
to maintain his

nable to her interests. But *Paul IV.* who then sat in the *Apostolick* Chair gave no favourable reception to the civilities she had caused to be tender'd him as to another Prince, without further declaration of her mind, by the Resident of the late *Queen* her Sister. Mr. Burnet tells us, *Burn. l. 111. p. 374.* he treated her as illegitimate; was surpris'd at her great boldness in assuming the Crown, a chief of the *Holy See*, without his consent; and gave her no hopes of receiving any favour at his hands, unless she renounced her pretensions, and submitted to the See of *Rome*. Such usage, if true, was not at all likely to reclaim a *Queen*. After such a repulse, *Elizabeth* readily withdrew from a See, by whose decrees her birth had also been condemn'd, and took to the new *Reformation*: yet, she did not approve that of *Edward* in all its parts. There were four points she had some scruples in, that of *Ceremonies*, that of *Images*, that of the *Real Presence*, and that of the *Regal Supremacy*: and what was done, in her time, with reference to these four points, we are now to relate. *Burn. Ibid. p. 376.*

As for ceremonies, *Her first impressions*, says Mr. Burnet, *were in favour of such old rites as her Father had still retain'd, and in her own nature loving state and some magnificence in Religion, she thought her Brother's ministers had stript it too much of external ornaments, and left Religion too bare and naked. Yet I don't find, she did any thing considerable in that regard.* II. I. point Ceremonies. *L. 111. 376.*

As for Images, *That matter stuck long with her; for she inclin'd to keep up Images in Churches, and it was with great difficulty she was prevail'd upon, persuaded as she was, that the use of Images in Churches, might be a means to stir up devotion, and that at least it would draw all people to frequent them the more.* III. II. Point Images. Pious sentiments of the *Queen*. *Ibid. p. 377.*

agreed in the main with those of the *Catholicks*. If they stir up devotion towards God, they might well excite also the external tokens of it; this is the whole of that worship which we pay them: to be inclin'd to, and have favourable impressions, of them in this sense, like *Queen Elizabeth*, was not so gross a notion as is at present imputed to our belief; and I much question, whether *Mr. Burnet* would venture to charge a *Queen* who, according to him, was the Foundress of Religion in *England*, with entertaining idolatrous sentiments. But the *Iconoclast* party had gain'd their point: the *Queen*, unable to resist 'em, was wrought up by them to such extremis, that not content with commanding *Images* to be cast out of all Churches, She forbid all her subjects to keep them in their houses; nothing but the *Cross* escaped, and that no where but in the Royal Chapel, whence the *Queen* could not be persuaded to remove it.

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It may not be improper to consider what the *Protestants* alledged in order to induce her to this restriction against *Images*, to the end the excess or vanity of the thing may be discover'd. The chief foundation of their reasons, *That the second commandment forbids the making of any Image, as a resemblance of God*, which evidently proves nothing, either against the *Image* of *Jesus Christ* as *Man*, or those of the *Saints*, or in general, against such, in regard of which, we publicly declare, as does the *Catholic Church*, that by them we in no wise pretend to represent the Deity. The rest is too extravagant to bear repeating; for either it concludes nothing at all, or it concludes for the absolute prohibition of the use of painting and sculpture, a weakness which may be universally expanded by all *Chri-*



stians, as only to find place in the gross superstition of *Mahometans* and *Jews*.

The *Queen* shew'd more resolution in point of the *Eucharist*. 'Tis of main importance well to comprehend her sentiments, such as Mr. *Burnet* delivers them: *She thought that in her Brother's reign they made their Doctrine too narrow in some points; therefore she intended to have some things explain'd in more general terms, that so all parties might be comprehended by them.* These were her sentiments in general. In applying them to the *Eucharist*; *Her intention was to have the manner of Christ's Presence in the Sacrament, be left in some GENERAL words. She very much disliked that those who believed the corporal Presence had been driven away from the Church by too nice an explanation of it. And again: It was proposed to have the Communion book so contrived, that it might not exclude the belief of the corporal Presence: for the chief design of the Queen's Council was, to unite the nation in one Faith.*

V.  
Manifest Variation with respect to the Real Presence. Policy regulates Religion.  
*Ibid.* 376.

*Ibid.* 392

One might be apt to think, perchance, that the *Queen* judg'd it needless to make any express declarations against the *Real Presence*, her subjects of themselves being sufficiently inclined to reject it: but on the contrary, *the greatest part of the nation continued to believe such a Presence. Therefore it was recommended to the Divines to see that there should be no express definition made against it; that so it might lie as a speculative opinion, not determin'd, in which every man was left to the freedom of his own mind.*

*Ibid.*

Here was a strange Variation in one of the main fundamental points of the *English Reformation*. In the *Confession* of Faith set forth in 1551, under *Edward*, the *Doctrine* of the *Real Presence* was excluded in so strong a manner, that it was declared impossible and contrary to

VI.  
The Faith of the pretended Martyrs chang'd.

our *Lord's Ascension*. When *Cranmer* was condemn'd for a Heretick in *Queen Mary's* time, he own'd, the capital subject of his condemnation was, *His not confessing a corporal Presence of our Saviour on the Altar*. *Ridley*, *Lalimer*, and others the pretended Martyrs of the *English* Reformation mention'd by *Mr. Burnet*, all suffer'd for the same cause. *Calvin* says as much of the *French* Martyrs, whose authority he opposes against the *Lutherans*. This article was esteem'd of that high importance even in 1549, and during the whole reign of *Edward*, that *When the Reformation was to be carried on to the establishment of a form of Doctrine*, says *Mr. Burnet*, *which should contain the chief points of religion, enquiry was chiefly made concerning the Presence of Christ in the Sacrament*. It was therefore, at that time, not only one of the *fundamental* points, but also a capital one amongst these *fundamentals*. As it was of such concern, and the principal cause for which these boasted Martyrs spilt their blood, it could not be explain'd in terms too distinct. After to clear an exposition of it as that which had been made under *Edward*, to return, as did *Elizabeth*, to general terms which left the thing undetermin'd, that all parties might be comprehended in them, and every man left to the freedom of his own mind, was betraying truth, and putting error on the level with it. In a word, these general terms in a *Confession of Faith*, were nothing but a fallacy in the most serious of all concerns, and wherein the utmost sincerity is required. This is what the *English* Reformers ought to have represented to *Elizabeth*. But policy out balanced Religion, nor was it now to their purpose to greatly to condemn the *Real Presence*. Wherefore the twenty ninth article of *Elizabeth's* Confession, wherein it was condemn'd,

*Calv. de  
Licit.  
expli.  
op. p.  
861 p.  
11. l. 1.  
f. 104.*

was very much changed, and a great deal left *Ibid. l.*  
 out; all that shew'd the *Real Presence* was im- *111. p.*  
 possible and contradictory to the residence of *435. 406.*  
 Christ's Body in Heaven. *All this was suppressed,*  
 says Mr. Burnet, and that *express definition dash'd*  
*over with minium.* The Historian takes care to  
 tell us, *it is still legible:* but that even is a testi-  
 mony against the expunged Doctrine. They would  
 have it still legible, to the end a proof might be  
 extant, that this was the very point they had con-  
 cluded to reverse. They had remonstrated to  
 Queen Elizabeth concerning Images, *That it* *p. 397.*  
*could cast a great reflexion on the first Reformers,*  
*should they again set up in Churches what these so*  
*zealous Martyrs of the Evangelical purity had so*  
*carefully removed.* It was of no less criminal a  
 nature, to rescind from the *Confession of Faith*  
 of these pretended Martyrs, what they had placed  
 in it, in opposition to the *Real Presence*, and to  
 annul that Doctrine, in testimony whereof they  
 had given up their lives. Instead of their plain  
 and express definitions, they were content to say,  
 conformably to Queen Elizabeth's design, *In ge-* *Ibid. l.*  
*neral terms, that the Body of Christ is given and* *405.*  
*received after a spiritual manner; and the means*  
*by which it is received, is Faith.* The first part  
 of the article is very true, taking *spiritual man-*  
*ner* for a manner that is above our senses and  
 nature, as the *Catholicks* and *Lutherans* under-  
 stand it; nor is the second part less certain,  
 taking the reception for a profitable reception  
 and in the sense St. John meant, when he said  
 of *Jesus Christ, that his own received him not;* *Joh. 1.*  
 altho' he were in the world in person in the *10. 11*  
 midst of them; that is to say, they neither re-  
 ceived his Doctrine nor his Grace. Furthermore,  
 what was added in *Edward's Confession*, with  
 reference to the Communion of the wicked who

receive nothing but the symbols, was cut off in like manner, and care was taken that nothing, but what the *Catholicks* and *Lutherans* might approve, should be retain'd with respect to the *Real Presence*.

VII.  
Substantial  
changes in  
*Edward's*  
Liturgy.  
P. 11. p.  
392.

For the same reason, whatever condemn'd the *Corporal Presence*, was now changed in *Edward's* Liturgy: for instance, the Rubrick there explain'd the reason for kneeling at the Sacrament, *That thereby no Adoration is intended to any Corporal Presence of Christ's natural Flesh and Blood, because that is only in Heaven.* But under *Elizabeth*, these words were lopped off, and the full liberty of adoring the *Flesh and Blood of Jesus Christ* was allow'd as present in the Eucharist. What the pretended Martyrs and Founders of the *English* Reformation had held for gross *Idolatry*, became an innocent action in the reign of *Queen Elizabeth*. In *Edward's* second Liturgy, these words, which had been left standing in the first, were taken away: *viz. The Body or the Blood of Jesus Christ preserve thy body and thy soul to everlasting life;* but these words, which *Edward* had left out because they seem'd too much to favour the belief of the *Corporal Presence* were replaced by *Queen Elizabeth*. The will of Kings became the rule of Faith, and what we now see removed by this *Queen*, was again inserted in the Common-prayer book by *King Charles II.*

Part I.  
170.

VIII.  
An answer  
fit to  
Mr. Barret,  
who has the  
audacity  
to say that  
the Dissen-  
ters have  
been  
ill-treated.

Notwithstanding all these changes in such essential matters, *Mr. Barret* would make us believe, there was no Variation in the Doctrine of the *English* Reformation. *The Doctrine of the Church*, says he, *was at that time contrary to the belief of a Real or Corporal Presence in the Sacrament*, in like manner as at present, *Only it was not thought necessary or convenient to publish it in the English manner, as if one could speak too distinctly*

distinctly in matters of Faith. But this is not all. 'Tis a manifest Variation in Doctrine, not only to embrace what is contrary to it, but to leave undecided what was decided formerly. If the ancient *Catholicks*, after deciding in express terms the *Son* of God's Equality with his *Father*, had suppress'd what they had pronounced at *Nice*, contenting themselves with barely calling him God in general terms, and in the sense the *Arians* could not deny it, infomuch that, what had been decided so expressly, should have become undecided and indifferent; would they not have alter'd the Church's Faith and stept backwards? now, this is what was done, under *Elizabeth*, by the Church of *England*; and none can acknowledge it more clearly than Mr. *Burnet* hath done in the words above-cited, where it stands confess'd in express terms, that it was neither by chance, or forgetfulness, but from a premeditated design that they omitted the words used in *Edward's* time, and, that *No express definition was made against the Corporal Presence*; on the contrary, *it was let lie as a speculative opinion, not determin'd, in which every man was left to the freedom of his own mind to reject or embrace it: in this manner, either sincerely, or politically, the Faith of the Reformers was forsaken, and the Dogma of the Corporal Presence left for indifferent, against which they had combated even unto blood.*

This, if we believe Mr. *Burnet*, is yet the present state of the Church of *England*. It was on this foundation that the Bishop *William Bedell*, whose life he writes, grounding himself, believed that a great company of *Lutherans* who had fled to *Dublin* for refuge, might without difficulty communicate with the Church of *England*, which in reality, says Mr. *Burnet*, hath so great a moderation in that matter (the Real Presence)

was not changed.  
*Ibid. l.*  
111. f.  
466.

392.

IV.  
*England*  
indifferent  
as to the  
*Real Pre-*  
*sence.*  
Life of  
B. *Bedell*  
p. 157.  
138.



Presence) that no positive definition of the manner of the Presence being made, men of different sentiments may agree in the same acts of worship, without being obliged to declare their opinion, or being understood to do any thing contrary to their several persuasions. Thus hath the Church of England corrected her teachers, and reform'd her first Reformers.

X.  
Neither the word *Substance* nor miracles, which *Calvin* place in the Eucharist are admitted by them.

Moreover, the *English* Reformation neither under *Edward* nor *Elizabeth*, ever employ'd, in the explanation of the Eucharist, the *Substance* of the Body, nor those incomprehensible operations, which *Calvin* so much exalts. These expressions too much favour'd a *Real Presence*, and it was for this reason they were not made use of either in *Edward's* reign, when that was designedly excluded, or in *Elizabeth's*, when the thing was to be left *undetermin'd*; and *England* was very sensible that these words of *Calvin*, little suitable to the Doctrine of the *figurative* sense, could not be introduced into it otherwise, than by forcing too visibly their natural sense.

XI.  
The *Queen's* Supremacy in spirituals is established in spite of all her scruples.  
*Hist. I.*  
111. p. 386.

The article of *Supremacy* now remains to be consider'd. True it is, *Elizabeth* opposed it, and this title of *Head* of the Church, in her judgment too great for *Kings*, seem'd to her still more insupportable in a *Queen*, not to say ridiculous. *A famous Preacher* among those of the *Reformation*, says *Mr. Burnet*, put this scruple about it in her head; that is, some remains of shame were still to be met with in the *English* Church; nor was it without some little remorse that she gave up her authority to the secular power; but policy got the better even in this point. As much ashamed, as the *Queen* was in her heart of this title of the Church's *Supreme Head*, she accepted of it, and exercised it under another name. By an act which pass'd in 1530,

*The supremacy was again annexed to the Crown, I. 111. and declared that the authority of visiting, correcting, and reforming all things in the Church, is for ever annexed to the Regal dignity, and whosoever, should refuse to swear and acknowledge the Queen to be the supreme governor in all causes as well ecclesiastical as temporal within her Dominions, was to forfeit any Office he had either in Church or State; and to be thenceforth disabled to hold any employment during life. This is what the Queen's scruple ended in; and all she did to moderate the laws of Henry VIIIth with regard to the King's Supremacy, was, that whereas denying the Supremacy in King Henry's time, cost men their lives, in Elizabeth's, it cost them but a forfeiture of their goods.* *Ibid.* 386.

The *Catholick* Bishops, for this bout, were not forgetful of their duty, and being inflexibly attached to the *Catholick* Church and *Holy See*, were deposed for having constantly refused to subscribe the *Queen's* Supremacy, no less than the other articles of the Reformation. But *Parker*, the *Protestant* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, was of all the most zealous in submitting to the yoke. It was to him complaints were address'd of the *Queen's* scruple concerning the title of *Supreme* head: informations were given to him of all that was done towards inducing the *Catholicks* to acknowledge it; and infine, the *English* Reformation was no longer judged compatible with the liberty and authority which *Jesus Christ* had given to his Church. What had been resolved by the *Parliament* in 1559, in favour of the *Queen's* Supremacy, was accepted by the *Synod* of *London* in 1562, by the consent of the whole Clergy as well of the upper as the lower house.

There, amongst the articles of Faith, the *Supremacy* was inserted in these terms: *The regal majesty* *XIII.* Declaration of the

Clergy  
concerning  
Queen E-  
izabeth's  
Supre-  
macy.  
S. p. 107.  
Art. 5.  
S. p. 107.  
1 p. p.  
107.

*majesty hath the sovereign power in this kingdom of England and in all its other dominions, and the sovereign governance of all subjects, whether Ecclesiastical or Secular, appertains to it in all sort of causes, insomuch that they can never be subject to any foreign jurisdiction.* The design of these last words was to exclude the Pope: but as those other words, *in all sorts of causes*, placed here without limitation, as was done in the act of Parliament, imported a full sovereignty even in causes Ecclesiastical, not excepting those of Faith; they were ashamed of so great an excess, and applied to it this modification: *When we attribute to the regal majesty this sovereign government, whereat we find many slanderers are offended, we give not to our Kings the administration of the Word and Sacraments, as the ordinances of our Queen Elizabeth shew clearly: but we give only to them what the Scripture attributes to virtuous Princes, the power of with-holding in their duty all degrees, whether Laymen or Ecclesiasticks, and of repressing the contumacious by the sword of the civil power.*

XIV.  
The great  
evil is  
not to be  
remedied  
Bianchi  
70.

This explanation is conformable to a declaration which the *Queen* had publish'd, wherein she readily *disclaims any authority for the ministering of holy things.* The *Protestants*, easily to be satisfied in what regards *ecclesiastical* authority, thought they were thereby shelter'd from what evil soever attended the *Supremacy*; but in vain: for the question was not whether or no the *English* attributed to the Crown the administration of the Word and Sacrament: who ever accused them of intending their Kings should mount the Pulpit, or distribute the Communion, or Baptize? and what is there so extraordinary in this declaration of *Queen Elizabeth*, acknowledging that this authority appertains not to her? the question is,

whether,



whether, in these matters, the royal Majesty hath a simple direction and external execution only, or whether it hath not also an essential influence as to the validity of *Ecclesiastical* acts. But altho' it be in appearance reduced to the simple execution in this article, the contrary was but too manifest in practice. Licence for preaching was granted by letters patent and under the great seal. The *Queen* made *Bishops* by the same authority that the *King* her Father and the *King* her Brother had done before, and for a limited time, if she pleased. The commission for consecrating them issued from the regal power. Excommunications were decreed by the same authority. The *Queen* regulated by her injunctions, not the external worship only, but Faith and Doctrine, or made them be regulated by her *Parliament*, whose acts derived their validity from her: nor was any thing more unheard of among Christians than the proceeding of those times.

The *Parliament* pronounced directly in regard to Heresy; regulated the conditions under which Doctrine was to be judged heretical; and where these conditions were wanting, forbade the condemning of it; and *reserved to itself the cognizance thereof*. The matter in hand is not to examine, whether the rule, which the *Parliament* prescribed, be good or bad, but whether the *Parliament*, a secular body, whose acts receive their sanction from the Prince, be empower'd to decide in matters of Faith, and *reserve to itself the cognizance thereof*; that is, whether they may challenge it to themselves, and take away the exercise of it from the Bishops on whom *Christ* had bestow'd it: for the *Parliament's* saying, *they would judge with the assent of the Clergy in their Convocation*, was nothing but a sham;

*Burn. 2.  
part. 1.  
111. p.  
385. 400.  
402.  
397. &c.*

XV.  
The Par-  
liament  
continues  
to attri-  
bute to  
themselve  
the deci-  
sion of  
points of  
Faith.  
*l. id. 307*

*l. id.*

since,

since, when all is said, this was still reserving to the *Parliament* the supreme authority, and hearing the Pastors rather as Counsellors whose lights they borrow'd, than as natural Judges, to whom only the decision appertain'd of divine right. I cannot think a Christian heart can hear of such an invasion of the pastoral authority and the rights of the Sanctuary without a sigh.

XVI.  
On what  
is ground-  
ed the va-  
lidity of  
the Eng-  
lish Or-  
dination.

*Syn. Lond.*  
*Act. 30.*  
*1549.*  
*1551.*  
*1552.*  
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*1700.*

But lest it should be imagined, that all these attempts of the secular authority on the rights of the Sanctuary, were nothing but usurpations of the *Laiety*, the *Clergy* not consenting to them, and this under pretext of the above explanation given by the said *Clergy* to the *Queen's* Supremacy in the thirty seventh article of the *Confession of Faith*; what precedes and what follows, evince the contrary. What precedes, forasmuch as this Synod being computed, as just observed, of both houses of the *Clergy* intending to set forth the validity of the ordination of *Bishops*, of *Priests* and *Deacons*, grounds it on a form contain'd in the *Book of Consecration of Archbishops and Bishops, and inchoing of Priests and Deacons, lately set forth in the time of King Edward the sixth, and confirmed by authority of Parliament*. Weak *Bishops*! wretched *Clergy*! who chide rather to take the form of their Ordination from a book made *late*, but ten years ago in King *Edward's* time, and confirmed by the authority of *Parliament*, than from the *Sacramentary* of *St. Gregory*, the author of their conversion, wherein they might still read the form, according to which their *Predecessors* and the holy Monk *St. Augustine*, their first *Apostle*, had been consecrated by all of this *Book* was warranted, not indeed by the authority of *Parliament*, but by the universal tradition of all Christian Churches.

Upon this it was that these Bishops founded the validity of their Consecration, and the Orders of their Priests and Deacons; and this was done pursuant to a decree of *Parliament* in 1559, wherein the doubt concerning Ordination was solved by an Act authorizing the book of Ordination, which was join'd to King *Edward's* Liturgy: so that had not the Parliament made these Acts, the Ordinations of their whole Clergy had still remain'd dubious.

XVII.  
Sequel of  
this matter.  
*Burn.*  
*Ibid. p.*  
392.

The *Bishops* and their *Clergy* who had thus enslaved the Ecclesiastical authority, conclude in a manner answerable to such a beginning; when, after having set forth their Faith in all the foregoing articles to the number of thirty nine, they conclude with this ratification, wherein they declare, *That these articles being authorized by the consent and assent of Queen Elizabeth, ought to be received and executed throughout the whole realm of England.* Where we find the *Queen's* approbation, and not only *her consent* by submission, but also *her assent*, as I may say, by express deliberation, mention'd in the Act as a condition that makes it valid; insomuch that the decrees of Bishops in matters the most within the verge of their Ministry, receive their last form and validity, in the same style with Acts of *Parliament*, from the *Queen's* approbation, these weak Bishops never daring all this while to remonstrate, after the example of all past Ages, that their decrees, of themselves valid and by that sacred authority, which *Jesus Christ* had annexed to their character, required nothing else from the regal power, but an entire submission and exterior protection. Thus, whilst they forget the primitive institutions of their *Church* together with the *Head* whom *Jesus Christ* had given them, and set up Princes for their Heads whom

XVIII.  
Decisions  
of Faith  
referred to  
the autho-  
rity royal,  
by the de-  
claration of  
the Bishops.

whom *Jesus Christ* had not appointed for that end, they degraded themselves to that pitch, that no Ecclesiastical Act, not even those which regard *Preaching, Centures, Liturgy, Sacraments,* nay *Faith* itself, have any force in *England*, but inasmuch as they are approved and made valid by *Kings*; which in the main gives to *Kings* more than the *Word*, and more than the administration of the *Sacraments*, since it renders them the sovereign arbiters of one and the other.

XIX  
The same  
Doctr. ne in  
Scotland.  
M D  
LXVIII.  
Sunt. Gen.  
I part 1.  
159. 1614.  
12<sup>o</sup>. 1581.

'Tis for the same reason that we behold the first *Confession* of *Scotland*, since she became *Protestant*, publish'd in the name of the *Parliament*; and a second *Confession* of the same kingdom, bearing this title: *A general confession of the true Christian Faith according to the word of God, and the acts of our Parliaments.*

A great multitude of different declarations was requisite to explain how these Acts did not attribute the *Episcopal* jurisdiction to the *Crown*: but all was nothing but mere words, since, when all is said, it still stands incontestable that no Ecclesiastical Act hath any force in that kingdom, no more than in *England*, unless ratified by the *King* and *Parliament*.

XX  
The First  
of  
1609,  
which  
1603.  
1604.  
1605.  
1606.  
1607.  
1608.  
1609.  
1610.  
1611.  
1612.  
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1643.  
1644.  
1645.  
1646.  
1647.  
1648.  
1649.  
1650.

Our *Colleges*, I own, seem far remote from this Doctrine; and I find, not only in *Colleges* already observed, but also in the national Synods, express considerations of those who confound the Civil government, with that of the Church, *Beasts of the Monarchie Head of the Church, or to separate the Ecclesiastical government from the Civil.* But there is nothing but will go down with these men, provided you are an enemy to the *Protestant Religion*: inasmuch that, by means of equivocations and explanations the *Colleges* were gradually brought to *England* even to subscribe the *Synodical*.

It appears by the whole tenor of the acts, which I have reported, how vain it is to pretend that, in the reign of *Elizabeth*, this Supremacy was reduced to more reasonable terms than in the precedent reigns, there being, on the contrary, no alteration to be found in the main. Among other fruits of the Supremacy, one was, the *Queen's* invading the revenues of the Church under the pretence of *giving the full value of them*, even those of the Bishops, such as, till then, had remain'd sacred and inviolate. Treading in the steps of the *King* her Father, towards binding the nobility in the interests of the *Supremacy* and *Reformation*, she made them a present of a share in these consecrated goods, and this state of the Church enslaved both in her temporals and spirituals, is call'd the *English* Reformation, the re-establishment of Evangelical purity.

Nevertheless, if we may form a judgment of this Reformation according to the Gospel-rule, by its fruits, there was never any thing more deplorable: seeing the effect which this miserable subjection of the Clergy did produce, was, that from thence forwards Religion was no more than a state-engine always veering at the breath of the Prince. *Edward's* Reformation, which had intirely changed that of *Henry VIIIth*, was changed itself in an instant under *Mary*, and *Elizabeth* destroy'd in two years all that *Mary* had done before.

The Bishops, reduced to fourteen in number, stood firm, together with about fifty or sixty Ecclesiasticks: but, excepting so small a number in so great a kingdom, all the rest paid obedience to the *Queen's* injunctions, yet with so little goodwill for the new Doctrine they were made to embrace, *that probably, says Mr. Burnet, if Queen*

XXI.  
All that remain'd to the Church seiz'd upon  
*Burn. l. III. 394. &c.*  
*Tuan. lib. XXI.*  
M D LIX.  
*Burn. l. III. p. 394.*

XXII.  
A remarkable passage in *Mr. Burnet*, concerning the *English* Reformation.

P. 401.

*Ibid.*

Elizabeth had not lived long, and a Prince of another Religion had succeeded before the death of all that generation, they had turned about again to the old superstitions as nimbly as they had done in Queen Mary's time.

XXIII.  
Inamittibility of justice rejected by the Church of England.  
Synod. Gen. 1 part.  
Conf. Aug. Art. xvi.  
xvii. p. 102.

In this same Confession of Faith, which had been confirm'd under Elizabeth in 1562, there are two important points relating to Justification. In one of them, the Inamittibility of justice is rejected clearly enough by this declaration. *After we have received the Holy Ghost, we may depart from grace given, and arise again, and amend our lives.* In the other, the certainty of predestination seems quite excluded, when, after saying that *The doctrine of predestination is full of comfort to Godly persons, by confirming their Faith of eternal salvation to be enjoy'd through Jesus Christ,* they add, *It is a danger for carnal persons either into desperation, or into wickedness of most unclean living.* And, in conclusion, that *we must receive God's promises, as they be GENERALLY set forth to us in his Scriptures: and in our doings, that will of God is to be followed, which we have expressly declared unto us in the word of God;* the which seems to exclude that special certitude, whereby each of the faithful is obliged to believe in particular, as of Faith, that he is in the number of the elect, and comprehended within that absolute decree, by which God wills their salvation: a Doctrine not agreeable, it seem, to the *Presidents* of England, altho' they not only bear with it in the *Catechism*, but also the deputies from their Church have confirm'd it, as we shall see, in the Synod of *Dort*.

XXIV.  
The Inamittibility of the difference in

Queen Elizabeth encouraged underhand that disposition which those of France were in towards a rebellion: near the same time that the English Reformation



Reformation was modell'd, under that *Queen*, they declared themselves. Our *Reform'd*, after about thirty years, grew weary of deriving their glory from their sufferings; their patience could hold out no longer; nor did they from that time, exaggerate their submission to our Kings. This submission lasted but whilst they were in a capacity of curbing them. Under the strong reigns of *Francis I.* and *Henry II.* they were in reality very submissive, and made no shew of an intention to levy war. The reign no less weak than short of *Francis II.* inspired them with boldness. The fire, so long conceal'd, flamed out in the conspiracy of *Amboise*. Yet a sufficient strength still remain'd in the Government to have quench'd it at the beginning: but during the minority of *Charles the ninth* and under the regency of a *Queen*, all whose policy aspir'd no further than to maintain her power by dangerous and trimming measures, the revolt became intire and the conflagration universal over all *France*. A particular account of these intrigues and wars comes not within my sphere, nor should I so much as have spoken of these commotions, if, contrary to all preceding declarations and protestations, they had not produced this new Doctrine in the Reformation, that it is lawful to take up arms against Prince and Country, in *Religion's* cause.

It had been well foreseen, that the new reformed would not be slack in proceeding to such measures. Not to trace back the wars of the *Albigenses*, the seditions of the *Wickliffites* in *England*, the furies of the *Taberites* in *Bohemia*, it had been but too apparent, what was the result of all the fine protestations of the *Lutherans* in *Germany*. The leagues and wars so much detested at first, as soon as ever the *Protestants*

*France*,  
fomented  
by *Eliza-  
beth*.  
Change  
of the  
*Calvinian*  
Doctrine.  
*Burn. l.*  
111. p.  
415. 416.

XXV.  
The *Cal-  
vinists*  
took arms  
from max-  
ims of  
Religion.  
*Europ. lib.*  
xxv. l.  
1560. T.  
17.  
were *La Popins.*

1 vii p. were sensible of their strength, became lawful,  
240. 255. and *Luther* added this new article to his Gospel.  
The Ministers too of the *Lutherans* had but just  
taught this Doctrine, when the war was com-  
menced in the Valleys against their Sovereigns  
the Dukes of *Savoy*. The new *Reformed* of  
*France* were not backward to follow these exam-  
ples, nor is there any doubt but they were spiri-  
ted up to it by their Doctors.

XXVI. As for the conspiracy of *Ambrise*, all Histo-  
rians testify as much; nay; *Biza* owns it in his  
Ecclesiastical history. It was from the influence  
of their Doctors, that the Prince of *Condé* be-  
lieved himself innocent, or seem'd to believe it,  
altho' so heinous an attempt had been undertaken  
by his orders. It was resolv'd on by the Party,  
to furnish him with men and money, to the end  
he might have a competent force: so that the de-  
sign then on foot, after the seizure of the two  
*Gujes* in the Castle itself of *Ambrise* where the  
King was in prison, and forcibly carrying them  
away, was nothing less than from that very time  
to light up the torch of civil war throughout the  
whole kingdom. The whole body of the *Refor-*  
*mation* came into this design, and on this occa-  
sion the Province of *Valdigne* is praised by  
*Biza*, for having done their duty like to the best.  
The same *Biza* testifies an extream regret, that  
the first enterprize should have fail'd, and re-  
torts the business of it into the perfidiouſness  
of certain people.

XXVII. The *Protestants*, it is true, were desirous of  
giving to this enterprize, a they do to all others  
of this nature, a pretext of public good, in or-  
der to lay the force of Churches into it, and to  
screen the Reformation from the infamy of so  
wicked an attempt. But their reasons demon-  
strate it being, at the bottom, an affair of Religion,  
and



and an enterprize carried on by the Reformed. In the first place, because it was set on foot occasionally from the executions of some of the Party, and especially of *Anne du Bourg*, that famous pretended Martyr. *Beza*, after relating this execution together with the other evil treatments the *Lutherans* underwent (then all the Reformed were so call'd) introduces the history of this conspiracy, and at the head of the motives which gave birth to it, places *These manifestly tyrannical ways of proceeding, and the menaces that on this occasion were levelled at the greatest men of the kingdom*, such as the Prince of *Condè* and the *Chastillons*. Then it was, says he, *that many Lords awaked as from a profound sleep: so much the more*, continues this Historian, *as they considered, that the Kings Francis and Henry never would attempt any thing against the men of quality, contenting themselves with awing the great ones by the correction of the meaner sort; that now quite different measures were taken; whereas, in consideration of the number concern'd, they should have applied less violent remedies, rather than thus open a gate to a million of seditious.*

Protestants and that the motive to it was Religion. First demonstration.

The Confession is sincere, I must own. Whilst nothing but the dregs of the people were punish'd, the Lords of the Party did not stir, but let them go quietly to execution. When they, like the rest, were threaten'd, they bethought themselves of their weapons, or, as the author expresses it, *Each man was forced to look at home, and many began to range themselves together, to provide for a just defence, and to re-settle the ancient and lawful government of the kingdom.* This last word was necessary to disguise the rest: but what goes before, shews plainly enough the design in hand, and the sequel evinces it still more clearly. For these means of a just defence im-

XXVIII. Second demonstration, wherein the advice of *Beza* and the Divines of the Party, is reported.

*ibid.* 249. ported, that the thing *Having been proposed to Lawyers and men of renown in France and Germany, as likewise to the most learned Divines; it was discover'd that they might lawfully offer the Government usurp'd by the Guises, and take up arms, in case of need, to repel their violence, provided the Princes of the blood, who in such cases are born lawful Magistrates, or one of them, would but undertake it, especially at the request of the Estates of France, or of the most faithful part thereof.* Here then is a second demonstration against the new Reformation, because the Divines, whom they consulted, were *Protestants*, as it is expressly specified by *Thuanus*, with them an unexceptionable author. And *Boza* insinuates it plainly enough, when he says, they took the advice of the most learned Divines, who, in his judgment, could be none else but the *Reformed*. As much may we believe in regard of the *Lawyers*, no *Catholick* having ever been so much as named.

*Lit.* xxiv.  
p. 372.  
*Edit. Gen.*

XXIX.  
Third demonstration.

A third demonstration, arising from the same words is, that these Princes of the blood, *born Magistrates in this affair*, were reduced to the sole Prince of *Clude* a declared *Protestant*, altho' there were five or six more at the least, and amongst others, the King of *Nacarre*, the Prince's elder Brother and first Prince of the blood, but whom the Party fear'd rather than depended on: a circumstance that leaves not the least doubt that the design of the new Reformation was to command the enterprize.

XXX.  
Fourth demonstration.  
*In Poplin.*  
*Lit.* 104.  
&c.

Nay, not only the Prince is the sole person placed at the head of the whole Party, but, what makes the fourth and last conviction against the Reformation. *This the most faithful part of the Estates*, whose concurrence was demanded, were almost all *reformed*. The most important and the most special orders were addressed to them, and

and the enterprize regarded them alone. For the end they propos'd to themselves therein was, as *Beza* owns, that *A Confession of Faith might be presented to the King assisted by a good and lawful counsel*. It is plain enough, *this counsel would never have been good and lawful*, unless the Prince of *Condè* with his Party had govern'd it, and the *Reformed* obtain'd all they had a mind to. The action was to begin by a request they would have presented to the King for obtaining liberty of conscience; and he who managed the whole affair, was *la Renaudie*, a man condemn'd to rigorous penalties for forgery, by a decree in *Parliament*, at which court he sued for a benefice; after this, sheltering himself at *Geneva*, turning Heretick out of spite, *burning with a desire of revenge and of defacing by some bold action the infamy of his condemnation*, he undertook to stir up to rebellion, as many disaffected persons as he could meet with; and at last retiring into the house of a *Huguenot* Lawyer at *Paris*, had the direction of all matters in conjunction with *Anthony Chandieu*, the Protestant Minister of *Paris*, who afterwards gave himself the name of *Sadael*.

True it is, the *Huguenot* Lawyer, with whom he lodged, and *Liguères* another *Huguenot*, had a horror of so atrocious a crime, and discover'd the plot: but that does not excuse the Reformation, but shews only, there were some particular men in the sect, whose conscience was better than that of the *Divines* and *Ministers*, and that of *Beza* himself and the whole body of the Party, who ran headlong into the conspiracy over all the Provinces of the Realm. And truly, we have seen the same *Beza* accusing of *perfidiousness* these two faithful subjects, who alone of all the Party, had an abhorrence of and discover'd the plot: so that, in the judgment of the Ministers, those

*Hist. Eccl.*  
l. 111. 1.  
313.

*Thuan.*  
*Ibid.* 733  
738.

XXXI.  
The *Huguenots* that discover'd the conspiracy, do not justify the Party.  
*Beza.*  
*Thuan.*  
*La Poplin.*  
*Ibid.*  
S. n. 26.  
1.

that came into this black conspiracy, are the honest men, and those who detected it, are the traitors.

XXXII.

The pro-  
secution  
of the  
conspirators  
does  
not justify  
it, em.  
O. 2. 2.  
C. 1. 1.  
157. 3. C.  
74. C. 11.  
F. 1. 1.  
P. 1. 1.  
vi. 155.  
C. 29.

It is to no purpose to say, that *la Renaudié* and all the conspirators protested, they had no design of attempting any thing against the *King*, or *Queen*, or the royal family: for, is a man to be deem'd innocent because he had not form'd the design of so execrable a parricide? was it to light a matter in a state, to call in question the *King's* majority and elude the ancient laws, which had fixed it at fourteen years of age by the joint consent of all the orders of the Realm? to presume, on this pretext, to appoint him such counsel as they thought fit? to rush arm'd into his Palace? to assault and force him? to ravish from this sacred *asylum* and out of the *King's* arms, the Duke of *Guise* and the Cardinal of *Lorraine*, on account that the *King* made use of them in his counsel? to expose the whole court and the *King's* own person to all the violence and all the bloodshed that so tumultuous an attack, and the night's obscurity, might produce? in a word, to fly to arms over all the kingdom, with a resolution not to lay them down, till the *King* should be forced into a compliance with all that they desired? were the particular injury done to the *Guises* here only to come in question, what right had the Prince of *Condé* to dispose of these Princes, to deliver them up to the hands of their enemies who as *Béza* himself owns, made a great part of the conspirators, and to employ the sword against them, as speaks *Thomius*, should they not consent voluntarily to relinquish all share therein? what under pretext of a particular commission given, as *Béza* words it, *Thomius* of a well approved and true council, such as *la Renaudié*, in order to be done secretly, yet thoroughly

P. 1.

250.

74. 718.

p. 1.

111.

*roughly and exactly, into all the employments heap'd upon the Guises, shall a Prince of the blood, of his private authority, hold them for legally convicted, and put them in the power of those, whom he knows to be Spurred on with the spirit of revenge for outrages received from them, as well in their own persons, as those of their kindred and relations, for these are Beza's words. What becomes of society, if such wicked attempts be allow'd of? but what becomes of Royalty, if men dare to execute them sword in hand, in the King's own Palace, seize on his Ministers and tear them from his side, put him under tuition, his sacred Person in the power of rebels, who would have possessed themselves of his Castle, and upheld such a treason with a war set on foot over all the kingdom? this is the fruit resulting from the counsels of the most learned Protestant Divines, and Lawyers of the best renown. This is what Beza approves, and what Protestants defend even to this day.*

*Calvin* is cited, who, after the contrivance had miscarried, wrote two letters wherein he testifies, he had never approved it. But after having had notice of a conspiracy of this nature, is it enough to blame it, without giving himself any further concern to stop the progress of so flagitious an undertaking? had *Beza* believed, that *Calvin* did as much detest this deed as it deserved, would he have approved it himself, would he have boasted to us the approbation of the most learned Divines of the Party? who does not therefore perceive, that *Calvin* acted here too remissly, and provided he could exculpate himself in case of ill success, was no wise averse to the conspirators hazarding the event? if we believe *Brancome*, the Admiral was in a much better disposition: and the Protestant writers vapour touch

*P. 211.  
lib. 1.*

*Burn. 1.  
111. p.  
415.*

XXXIII.  
The sup-  
pleness  
and con-  
nivance of  
*Calvin.*  
*Crit. de  
Maimb. T.  
1 Lett.  
xv. n. 6.  
p. 207.  
Calvin.  
p. 112.  
215.*

*Crit. Hist.  
Lett. 11.  
n. 2.*

Brant.  
vie. del'  
Amiral de  
Cousil.

at what he wrote in the life of this nobleman, viz. that none durst ever speak to him about this enterprize, *Because they held him for a man of probity, a man of worth, a lover of honour, who accordingly would have sent back the conspirators well rebuied, and detected the whole; nay, would himself have been aiding to quell them.* Yet nevertheless the thing was done, and the Historians of the Party relate with complacency, what ought not to be mention'd but with horror.

XXXIV.  
Reflections  
on the un-  
certainty  
of histo-  
ries useles.  
in this oc-  
casion.  
Crit. Ibid.  
p. 1. 4.  
Burn. T. 1.  
Preface.

There is no room here for eluding a certain fact, by discoursing on the uncertainty of histories and the partiality of Historians. These common-place-topicks are only fit to raise a mist. Should our Reformed arraign the credit of *Tibullus*, whose works they printed at *Geneva*, and whose authority, we have been lately told by a Protestant historian, *none ever disputed*; they have but to read *la Popliniere* one of their own, and *Beza* one of their chiefs, to find their Party convicted of a crime, which the *Admiral*, as much a *Protestant* as he was, judged so unworthy of a man of honour.

XXXV.  
The first  
wars un-  
der  
Charles  
IX. which  
destru-  
cted the  
Catholick  
religion.  
The  
wars  
between  
the  
Protestants  
and  
Catholicks  
in  
France  
from  
1562.  
to  
1598.

Yet this great man of honour, who had such an abhorrence of the conspiracy of *Andoije* either because it did not succeed, or because the measures were ill-concerted, or because he found open war more to his advantage; made no scruple, two years after, of putting himself at the head of the rebellious *Catholicks*. Then the whole Party cleared themselves. *Catholick* made no resistance for this time, and rebellion was the crime of all his disciples. Those, whom their historians call but as the most moderate, only said, they ought not to begin. However, this was their joint opinion, that to suffer themselves to be butcher'd, like sheep, was not the profession of men of courage: but, to be men of courage in this



this way, they must renounce the title of *Reformers*, and much more, that of *Confessors* of the Faith, and *Martyrs*: for it is not in vain that St. Paul said after David, *we are accounted as sheep for the slaughter*; and Jesus Christ himself: *Behold, I send you forth as sheep, in the midst of wolves.* I have by me Calvin's own letters well attested, wherein, at the beginning of the troubles of *France*, he thinks he does enough in writing to the Baron *des Adrets* against pillaging and violence, against image-breaking, and against the depredation of shrines and Church-treasures *without publick authority.* To be satisfied, as he is, with telling the soldiers thus enrolled, *Do violence to no man, and be content with your pay,* adding nothing more; is speaking of this militia as you do of a lawful militia: and it is thus that St. John the Baptist decided in behalf of those who bore arms under their lawful Princes. The doctrine, which allow'd taking them up in the cause of Religion, was afterwards ratified, I don't say by the Ministers in particular only, but also in common by their Synods, and it was necessary to proceed to this decision in order to engage in the war those *Protestants*, who from a sense of the ancient principles of Christian Faith, and the submission they had so frequently promised at the beginning of the new *Reformation*, did not believe that a Christian should maintain the liberty of conscience otherwise than by suffering, according to the Gospel, in all patience and humiltiy. The brave and wise *la Noüe*, who was at first of this opinion, was drawn into a contrary sentiment and practice by the authority of the Ministers and Synods. The Church was for that time *infallible*, and they yielded blindly to her authority against their own consciences.

Rom. viii.

36

Mat. x.

16.

Luke, iii.

14.

XXXVI. Now the exprefs decisions relating to this  
 Decisions of the Cal- matter were, for the most part, made in *pro-*  
 vincial Synods; but, that there may be no oc-  
 casion to search for 'em there, it will be sufficient  
 to observe, that these decisions were preceded by  
 the *national* Synod of *Liou* in 1563, *Art.* xxxviii.  
 by particular facts of this import, “ That a Mi-  
 nister of *Limoufin* who, in other respects, had  
 behaved uprightly; terrified by the threats of  
 his enemies, had writ to the Queen-mother,  
 that he never had consented to the bearing of  
 arms, although he had consented and contri-  
 buted thereto. *Item*, that he had promised not  
 to preach till the King should grant him leave.  
 Since that time, having a sense of his fault,  
 he had made a publick confession of it before  
 all the people, on a day of celebrating the  
 Supper, in the presence of all the Ministers of  
 the country and of all the faithful. The query  
 is, whether he may resume his pastoral charge?  
 the opinion is, he may: nevertheless, he shall  
 write to him by whom he had been tempted,  
 to notify to him his repentance, and shall in-  
 treat him to let the Queen know as much, and  
 all whomsoever this scandal to his Church  
 might have reach'd; and it shall be in the  
 breast of the Synod of *Limoufin*, to remove  
 him to some other place, as they shall think  
 most prudent.”

XXXVII. It is to christen and so heroick an act, in the  
 new *Reformation*, to make war against their  
 Sovereign for Religion's sake, that it's made cri-  
 minal in a *Minister* to have repented of, and  
 ask'd pardon for it of his *Queen*. Reparation  
 must be made before all the people in the most  
 solemn act of Religion, namely, at the *Supper*, for  
 respectful excuses made to the *Queen*; and so far  
 must the intolerance be carried, as to have it de-  
 clared



clared to her in person, that this tender of respect is recalled, to the end she may be assured that from henceforth, they will have no manner of regard for her; nay, they are not certain, after all this reparation and retracting, whether or no the scandal which this submission had caused amongst the reform'd people, would be quite defaced. Therefore it cannot be denied, that obedience was scandalous to them: thus it is decided by a *national* Synod. But here is, in the forty eighth article, another decision which will not appear less wonderful: *An Abbot arrived to the knowledge of the Gospel, had burnt all his titles, and these six years, hath not suffered Mass to be sung in the Abby.* What a Reformation! but here lies the stress of his encomium: *Nay, hath always comported himself FAITHFULLY AND BORN ARMS FOR MAINTENANCE OF THE GOSPEL.* A holy Abbot indeed, who far remote from *Popery*, no less than from the discipline of *St. Bernard* and *St. Benedict*, would not endure either *Mass* or *Vespers* in his Abby, whatever might have been the Founders express injunction; and moreover, dissatisfied with those spiritual weapons which *St. Paul* so much recommended, yet too feeble for our warriors courage, hath generously carried arms, and drawn the sword against his Prince in defence of the new Gospel. *Let him be admitted to the Supper,* concludes the whole *national* Synod, and this Mystery of peace becomes the salary of that war he had waged against his country.

This tradition of the Party hath been handed down to subsequent times successively; and the Synod of *Alais* in 1620, return thanks to *Mr. de Chastillon* for his letter wherein *He protested to them, that he would employ whatever was in his power, after the example of his Predecessors, for*

XXXVIII  
The same  
Doctrine  
perpetuated  
in the  
succeeding  
Synods till  
our days.

*the advancement of the kingdom of Jesus Christ.* This was their stile. The juncture of times, and the affairs of *Alais* explain the intention of this Lord; and what the Admiral *de Chastillon* and *Dandelot* his predecessors meant by the kingdom of *Christ*, is well known.

XXXIX.

What was  
the spirit  
of the Hu-  
guenots in  
these wars.

*D. Aub.*  
*T. 1. l.*  
*111. ch.*  
*9. p. 155.*  
*156.*

*Just ac-*  
*count of*  
*des Propi-*  
*Arts a*  
*reus les*  
*Chret.*  
Towards  
the middle  
of his  
Preface or  
Introduc-  
tion.  
XL.  
Whether  
the

The Ministers, who taught this doctrine, thought to impose upon the world, by setting up that fine discipline in their troops so much commended by *Thuanus*. It lasted indeed about three months: after this, the Soldiers soon transported into the most grievous excesses, thought themselves well excused, if they did but cry out, *long live the Gessel*; and the Baron *des Adrets* who knew full well the temper of this militia, upon his being reproach'd, as a Huguenot Historian relates, that after quitting them he had done nothing worthy of his first exploits, excused himself by saying, there was nothing he durst not enterprize *with a soldiery, whose pay was revenge, passion, and honour, whom he had bereft of all hopes of pardon* by the cruelties he had engaged them in. If we believe the Ministers, our *Reformed* are still in the same dispositions; and the most voluminous of all their writers, the author of new systems, and the Interpreter of prophecies, has but lately publish'd in print, that *The fury, at this day, those are in who have suffered violence, and this RAGE they have conceived at being forced, strengthens the love and attack they had to make.* This, according to the Ministers, is the spirit that animates these new *Martyrs*.

It serves not the turn of our *Reformed*, to excuse themselves, as to the civil wars, by the example of *Catholicks* under *Henry III.* and *Henry IV.* since besides the incongruity of this *Jerusalem's* defending herself by the authority of

*Tyre* and *Babylon*, they are very sensible, that the body of *Catholicks* which detested these excesses and remain'd faithful to their *Kings*, was always great: whereas, in the *Huguenot* Party, scarce two or three persons of note can be found that stood to their loyalty.

Here again they make fresh efforts to shew, that these wars were merely political, and nothing appertaining to Religion. These empty pretexts deserve not refutation, there needing no more to discover the drift of these wars, than to read the treaties of peace and the edicts of pacification, whereof liberty of conscience, with some other privileges for the *Protestants*, was always the main import: but because at this time, men are bent more than ever upon darkening the clearest fact, duty requires of me I should speak something on this head.

Mr. *Burnet*, who hath taken in hand the defence of the conspiracy of *Amboise*, enters also the lists in vindication of the civil wars; but after a manner which shews plainly, he is acquainted with no more of our History and Laws, than what he has pick'd up from the most ignorant and the most passionate of all *Protestant* authors. I forgive his mistaking that famous *Triumvirate* under *Charles IX.* for the union of the King of *Navarre* with the Cardinal of *Lorraine*, whereas, unquestionably, it was that of the Duke of *Guise*, of the Constable *de Montmorency*, and the Marshal of *St. Andrew*: nor should I even have thought it worth my while to have pointed out these sorts of blunders, were it not that they convict him, who fell into them, of not having so much as seen one good author. 'Tis a thing less supportable to have taken, as he has done, the disorder of *Vassè* for a premeditated enterprise

ple of Catholicks vindicate the Huguenots.

XLI. Vain pretext of Calvinists who pretend that these wars did not properly concern Religion.

XLII. Illusions of Mr. Burnet 2. part. l. 111. p. 415. &c.

*Thuan. l.*  
 xxx. 77.  
 & seq.  
*La Poplin.*  
 l. vii. 283.  
 284.

prise of the Duke of *Guise*, with a design to break the edicts, altho' *Thuanus*, whose testimony he must not reject, and (except *Boza*, too prepossessed with passion to be credited on this occasion) even *Protestant* authors aver the contrary. But to say that the Regency had been given to *Antony* King of *Navarre*; to descant, as he does, on the authority of a Regent; to affirm that this Prince, having outstript his power in the revocation of the *Edicts*, the people might join themselves to the first Prince of the blood after him, namely to the Prince of *Condé*: to carry on this empty reasoning, and say, that, after the death of the King of *Navarre*, the Regency devolved to the Prince his Brother, and that the foundation of the civil wars was the refusal made to this Prince of the Government, to whom it of right belonged: is, to speak plainly, of a man so positive, mixing too much passion with too much ignorance of our affairs.

2. P. 111.  
 f. 415.

XI III.  
 H. grots  
 blunders  
 and great  
 ignorance  
 of the  
 law of  
 France

*Vid. la*  
*Poplin. l.*  
 vi. 15.  
 112

2. l. 116.

For in the first place it is certain, that in the reign of *Charles* the ninth the Regency was conferred upon *Katherine* of *Medici*, by the unanimous consent of the whole kingdom, and even of the King of *Navarre*. Mr. *Burnet's* Lawyers, who *proved*, as he pretends, that a *Woman* might be admitted to the Regency, were ignorant of a standing custom, confirm'd by many examples ever since the time of *Queen Blanche* and *St Lewis*. These same Lawyers, according to Mr. *Burnet's* relation, presumed even to say, That two and twenty years was the longest that any King of France had in a year hold of the Regency contrary to the express tenor of *Charles* the sixth's ordinance in 1374, which has always been a standing law in the whole kingdom without any contradiction. To quote these

these Lawyers, and make a law for France of their ignorant and iniquitous decisions, is creating into a state-law the pretexts of rebels.

Neither did the Prince of *Condé* ever pretend to the Regency, no, not even after the death of the King his Brother; and so far was he from calling in question the authority of *Queen Katherine*, that, on the contrary, at his rising in arms, he grounded himself on nothing but the secret orders he pretended to have received. But what deceived *Mr. Burnet* is, perchance, his having heard say, that those who join'd themselves to the Prince of *Condé* for the King's defence, who, they pretended, was a prisoner in the hands of the *Guises*, gave to the Prince the title of lawful *Protector* and *Defender* of the King and Kingdom. An *English* Man, dazzled with the title of *Protector*, imagined he saw in this title, according to the usage of his Country, the authority of a *Regent*. The Prince never so much as dreamt of it, since even his elder Brother, the King of *Navarre*, was still living: on the contrary, this empty title of *Protector* and *Defender* of the Kingdom, which in *France* signifies just nothing, was given him on no other account, but because it was very well perceived, there was no lawful title that could be given him.

Let us then leave *Mr. Burnet* who, tho' a foreigner, pronounces thus preemptorily on our laws, without knowing so much as the first rudiments. The *French* give the thing a different turn, and ground themselves on some of the *Queen's* letters, *who* begg'd of the Prince to preserve the *Mother* and *Children* and the whole Kingdom against those who had a mind to ruin all. But two convincing reasons leave no shelter for this vain pretext. In the first place, because the *Queen*, who in this manner address'd herself pri-

XLIV.  
Sequel of  
*Mr. Burnet's* fallacies.

*Thuan. l.*  
xxix.  
1562.  
*La Poplini.*  
l. viii.

XLV.  
The  
*French Calvinists*  
extricate  
themselves  
no better  
out of this  
difficulty.  
*Critiq. de*  
*P. Maimb.*  
*Let. xvii.*  
n. 5. p.  
303.  
*Thuan. l.*

XXX. An.  
1552. J.  
79. 51.

Trian. l.  
xxvi. 7. 7  
&c.

vately to the Prince, out-stretch'd her power; it being agreed that, the Regency was conferr'd upon her on condition that she did nothing of consequence, except, in counsel with the participation and by the advice of the King of Navarre, as the first Prince of the blood, and Lieutenant general, established by the consent of the Estates in all the Provinces and armies during the minority. As therefore the King of Navarre was sensible, she was driving all to ruin through that restless ambition she was possess'd with of preserving her authority, and that she wholly turn'd on the side of the Prince and the Huguenots; the just fear he was in of their becoming matters, and lest the Queen, through despair, should at length even call herself into their arms together with the King, make him break all the measures of the Princes. The other Princes of the blood join'd side with him, no less than the chief men of the Kingdom and the Parliament. The Duke of Guise notwithstanding but by the orders of the King; and the Queen so well knew, she exceeded her power in what she required of the Prince, that she never durst use any other words in her address to him, than those of reverence; so that their to all his letters are nothing else, but civility, but the exercises of *Kingship*; not the laws, regulations of a Regency, to make the prince King; and it is the second proof, as the Duke of Guise said to the Prince but for a moment, that the vain terror she had conceived of losing the top of her authority, inform'd that it was easily believed, says *Trian*, she would come upon this design as soon as ever she should be the better of her fears.

Trian.  
lib. 79.

M.M.  
T. C. 1.  
79. 51.  
&c.

Accordingly, the Duke of Guise, that she enter'd sincerely into the measures of the King of Navarre, and thence forward never let negotia-  
ting



ting with the Prince in order to reclaim him to his duty. Wherefore, these letters of the Queen, and all that follow'd thereupon, are counted nothing by Historians but a vain pretext. Nay, *Beza* makes it plain enough, that all turn'd on Religion, on the breach of edicts, and on the pretended murder of *Vessi*. The Prince neither stirr'd nor gave orders to the Admiral to take up arms, but *Requested, and more than intreated by those OF THE NEW RELIGION to grant them his protection, under the name and authority of the King and his Edicts.*

It was in an assembly, *at which were present the chief men of their Church,* that the question was propos'd, whether they might in conscience execute justice on the Duke of *Guise, and that with no great hazard,* for thus the case was worded; and the answer return'd was, that *It was better to suffer what might please God, putting themselves only on the defensive; should necessity reduce the Churches to that point. Yet, whatever might happen, they ought not to be the first to draw the sword.* Here then is a point resolv'd in the new Reformation, that they may, without scruple, make war on a lawful power, at least in their own defence. Now they took for an assault the revocation of the edicts: so that the Reformation laid it down for a certain Doctrine, that she might fight for the liberty of conscience in contradiction, not only to the Faith and practice of the Apostles, but also to the solemn protestation *Beza* had but just made at his demanding justice of the King of *Nazarre, viz. That it appertain'd to the Church of God to suffer blows, and not to give them: but that he ought to remember, this anvil had worn out many a hammer.* This saying, so much extoll'd by the Party, proved a deceit, since after a while, the anvil itself fell to strike

by *Beza.*  
L. vi.

*Ibid.* p. 4.

XLVII.

The first war resolv'd upon by the advice of all the Ministers, and the peace concluded notwithstanding their opposition. Testimony of *Beza.*  
*Ibid.* p. 6.

*Ibid.* p. 3.

L. vi. p.  
293.

contrary to nature, and wearied with bearing blows, repay'd them in its turn. *Beza* who glories in this conceit, in another place makes this important declaration in the face of all *Christians*, *That he had warn'd of their DUTY as well the Prince of Condé as the Admiral, and all the other Lords and men of every degree, that made profession of the GOSPEL, to induce them to maintain, by ALL MEANS POSSIBLE TO THEM, the authority of the King's edicts and the innocence of the party oppressed; and ever after hath continued in this same will, exhorting, nevertheless, every person to use his arms in the modest manner possible, and to seek, next to God's Honour, peace in all things, provided they do not suffer themselves to be deceived and imposed upon.* What a delusion, to persuade himself, whilst he actually authorizes a civil war, that he has fulfilled his duty by recommending modesty to a people up in arms! And as for peace, did he not see that the security he requir'd for it, would always find pretexts, either of keeping it at a distance, or of breaking it? in the mean time, he was by his preachments, as himself confesses, one of the principal inciters to the war: one of the traits of his Gospel was, to teach this new duty to subjects and officers of the Crown. All the Ministers concurred in his sentiments, and he owns himself, that when peace was mention'd, the Ministers so much oppos'd it, that the Prince, resolv'd on concluding it, was forced to exclude all of them from the debate: for they were bent to hinder the Party from suffering the least exception to that Fact, which was most favourable to them, namely that of *January*. But the Prince, who had consented, for peace sake, to some light restriction, *Caused them to be read before the nobility, suffering none else, but the gentlemen bearing*

L. vi.  
280. 282.

ll. 282.



*ing arms, to speak their opinions, as he declared openly in the assembly: so that the Ministers, after that time, were neither heard, nor admitted to give in their advice; by this means peace was made and all the clauses of the new Edict make appear, that nothing but Religion was contended for in this war. Nay it is manifest, had the Ministers been hearken'd to, it would have been continued in hopes of gaining more advantageous conditions which they propos'd at large in writing, adding many things even to the Edict of January; and they made, says Beza, a declaration of them To the end, posterity might be inform'd, how they comport'd themselves in this affair.* This therefore stands an external testimony, that the Ministers approved the war, and were more bent than the Princes and the arm'd Soldiers themselves, on pursuing it from the sole motive of Religion, which, they pretend at present, was quite out of the question; yet was the fundamental cause of the first wars by the consent of all authors both *Catholick* and *Protestant*.

The rest of the wars have not so much as a colour of pretext, the *Queen* then concurring with all the powers of the state; neither was there any other excuse alledged but discontents and contraventions: things that, when all is said, have no kind of weight, but in presupposing this error, that subjects have a right, in the cause of *Religion*, to take up arms against their *King*, altho' *Religion* prescribes nothing but to suffer and obey.

I leave now the *Calvinists* to examine, whether there be the least appearance of solidity in all Mr. *Jurieu's* discourses, where he says, that this same is a quarrel wherein *Religion* came in merely by chance, and to serve for a pretext only;

NLVIII.  
The other wars are destitute of all pretext.

XLIX.  
Answer of Mr. *Jurieu*.  
*Apo' pour la reform.*  
1. part.

Ch. x. p.  
301.

since, on the contrary, it is manifest, Religion was at the bottom of it, and the Reformation of the Government was nothing but a cloak, to cover their shame, for having begun a war of Religion, after so many protestations how much they abhorred all such conspiracies.

Id. ch.  
xv. p.  
453.

But here is another kind of example, which this artful Minister prepares for his Party as to the conspiracy of *Archiep.*, who he answers, that *Be it as it will, it is no other, criminal than by the Gospel made.* It is then a trifling for *Reformers* who boast right to us but the *Gospel*, to form a conspiracy that is condemn'd by the *Gospel*; nor will they be much concern'd, provided it only militates against these sacred ordinances. But what follows in Mr. *Jarvis* will make it evident, he understands as little of *Modesty* as *Christianity*, since he even dares to write these words: *The tyranny of our Princes of Guise, and of the over-throwing of a great portion of the Law, the spirit of Christianity, of religion, and of the interpretation of morals according to the rules of worldly morality, are not at all criminal.* 'Twas nevertheless according to the rules of worldly *Morality*, that the *Minister* condemn'd the conspiracy as so shameful and detestable; and, according to the dictates of a man of honour, not badly of a Christian, that he conceived such a horror of it; nor is the corruption of the world char'd as yet to that pitch, as to discover no vice in degrees, equally criminal to all laws, human and divine.

Id.

The *Minister* therefore, to further his design, wisely, *instead of condemning*, he permit the *Reformers* in their *reformation*, he lets him to point out the corruption of the Court, and what they *reformed*; and that *Reformation* could have been brought to that *Apocalyptic* command: *Only your money, though they do demand.*

Id. p.  
461.

His long recriminations with which he fills a Volume, are not a whit more to the purpose, since this the main question will always return, whether those they boast for the world's *Reformers*, have diminish'd, or increased its evils, and whether they are to be consider'd as *Reformers* who correct them, or rather as scourges whom God sends to punish them.

Here might that question find place, whether it be true that the *Reformation*, as she boasts, never aim'd at establishing herself by force: but the doubt is easily resolved by all the above-mention'd facts. As long as the *Reformation* was weak, it is true, she always seem'd submissive; nay, gave out for a fundamental point of her Religion, that she believed it, not only unlawful to use force, but even to repel it. But it was soon discover'd, this was of that kind of modesty which fear inspires, a fire hid in ashes: for no sooner could the *Reformation* attain to be uppermost in any Kingdom, but she was for ruling uncontrol'd. In the first place, no security there for Priests and Bishops: secondly, the true Catholics were proscribed, banished, deprived of their goods, and in some places, of life by the Law of the state, as for instance, in *Swedeland*. The fact is certain whatever may have been said to the contrary. This was what they immediately came to who cry'd so loud against violence; and there needs but to consider the acrimony, the bitterness, and insolence which was diffus'd thro' the first books and the first sermons of these *Reformed*; their bloody invectives, the calumnies they blacken'd our Doctrine with, the sacrileges, the impieties, the idolatries with which they incessantly reproached us: the hatred they inspired against us, the plunderings which were the result of their first preachments, *The*

I..  
Question concerning the spirit of the Reformation. Whether it was a spirit of meekness, or of violence.  
*Crit. T. I. Lett. viii. n. 1. p. 129. § 129.*  
*Let. xvi. n. 9. p. 315. &c.*

M D XIV.

*Pezz. l. 1. p. 10.* and violence which appear'd in their seditious libels set up against the King; in order to form a judgment what was to be expected from such beginnings.

II. But many wise men, say they, condemn'd these libels: 'to much the worse for the *Protestant* party, whose transports were so extream, that all the wise men who remain'd in it, could not repress them. These libels were spread all over *Paris*, posted up, and dispersed in every street; fixed even to the door of the King's chamber; nor did the wise ones who disapproved this, use any efficacious measures for its prevention. When that pretended Martyr, *Anne du Bourg*, had declared in the tone of a Prophet to the President *Minard*, whom he challenged, that in spite of his refusing to absent himself and decline hearing his cause, he never should sit judge in it; the *Protestants* knew full well how to make good his prophecy, and accordingly the President was murder'd towards the evening in entering his house. It was known afterwards, that *le Maître* and *St. Andre*, both of them very averse to the new Gospel, would have met with the like fate, had they come to the Court: so dangerous a thing it is to offend the *R. Comm.* in tho' weak! and we learn from *Breac* himself, that *S. Bart*, a relation of the Queen's, a man really of very execution, and a most zealous Protestant, made frequent visits to the prisoners and in the Parliament jail on the shore of *R. L.* He could not be convicted of having struck the Frogs; yet we see, at least thro' what channel the communication may flow, and, howsoever that may be, remain'd in the Party with men of desperate resolution, not only to be accused of this combination but those, who interceded themselves for *Bruc de Bourg*. 'Tis no hard matter to vent

Sequel of the violent spirit, which predominated in the Reformation.

*Thuan. lib. xxiii. An. 1559. p. 669. Pezz. l. 1. p. 10. p. 11. v. 144.*

I. III. 247. Pez. l. 1. c.

prophecies, when such Angels are at hand to execute them. The assurance of *Anne du Bourg* in foretelling so distinctly what was to happen, discovers plainly the good intelligence he had received; and what is said in the history of *Thuanus*, in order to shew him a Prophet rather than an accomplice of such a crime, smells rank of an addition from *Geneva*. We must not therefore wonder, that a Party which nursed such daring spirits, should take off the mask as soon as ever a weak reign open'd a prospect of success, which we have seen, they never failed to do.

A new Defender of the Reformation is persuaded, from the dissolute behaviour, and whole conduct of the Prince of *Condé*, that there was *More of ambition than Religion in what he did*; and he owns, that Religion *was of no other use to him, than to furnish him with instruments of revenge*. He thinks by that means to resolve all into policy, and justify his own Religion: not reflecting, this is the very thing we charge them with; *viz.* that a Religion styling itself *Reformed*, was so prompt an instrument of revenge to an ambitious Prince. 'Tis nevertheless the crime of the whole Party. But what does this author say to us of the pillaging of Churches and Vestries, of breaking down Images and Altars? Why truly he thinks to clear all by saying that *the Prince neither by prayers, nor by remonstrances, nor even by chastisements could put a stop to these disorders*. This is no manner of excuse: 'tis a conviction of that violence, which reign'd in the Party, whose fury the very *Heads* could not restrain. But I am very much afraid that they acted by the same spirit with *Cranmer* and the rest of the *English* Reformers, who, upon the complaints that were made against Image-breakers,

LI.  
Vain ex-  
cuse.

*Crit. T.*

1. Lett.

11. n. 3.

p. 45. §

fig.

*Ibid. Lett.*

xviii. p.

331.

*Ibid. Lett.*

xvii. n. 8.

Burn. 2.  
f. l. 1. f.  
9.

*Altho' they had a mind to check the heat of the people and keep it within bounds, yet were unwilling it should be done after such a manner, as to dishearten their friends too much.* This was the case of the chief leaders of our *Cavaliers*, who, tho' they judged themselves obliged in honour to blame these enormities, yet we do not find, they ever did justice on the authors of them. *Bz.'s* history will suffice to shew, that our *Reform'd* were always ready at the least signal to run to arms, to break open prisons, to seize on Churches; nor was any thing ever seen more factious. Who is ignorant of the cruelties exercised by the Queen of *Navarre* against Priests and Religious. The towers from which the Catholics were cast headlong, and the deep pits they were flung into are shewn to this day. The wells of the Bishop's palace at *Nantes*, and the cruel instruments employ'd to force them to the *Protestant* sermon, are not less known to the whole world. We have still the informations and decrees, by which it appears that these bloody executions were the deliberate resolves of *Protestants* in Council assembled. We have the original orders of *Generals*, and those of *Cities*, at the request of *Consistories*, to compel the *Papists* to embrace the *Reformation* or taxes, by quartering soldiers upon them, by searching their houses, and burning down their houses. Those, who withdrew to escape these violences, were stript of their goods: the windows of the *Town-houses* of *Nantes*, *Montauban*, *Paris*, *Montpellier*, and other *Cities* of the *Parle*, are still of such decrees: and should I recount them, were it not for the complaint which I have our *Autives* demand *Justice*. I have not the man, that boast himself a *Protestant*. What authority to persecute such people has the *Reformation*, who warrant all they do



do from Scripture, and chant so harmoniously, their *Psalms* in Rhime! no fear, they soon found means to shelter themselves from Martyrdom, after the example of their Doctors, who always were in security themselves whilst they encouraged others; both *Luther* and *Melancthon*, *Bucer* and *Zuinglius*, *Calvin* and *Oecolampadius* with all the rest of them, speedily betook themselves to secure sanctuaries: nor am I acquainted, amongst the Heads of the *Reformers* with any, even false Martyrs, unless perchance such a one as *Craumer*, whom we have seen, after a repeated abjuration of his Faith, unresolved to die in the profession of it, till he was convinced, his renouncing it, would be unavailable to save his life.

But to what purpose, it may be objected, the reflecting on these past transactions, which a peevish Minister will say is only done to exasperate 'em the more, and aggravate their misfortunes? such fears ought not to hinder me from relating what appertains so manifestly to my subject; and all that equitable *Protestants* can, in a history, require from me is, that not relying wholly on the credit of their adversaries, I also give ear to their own Historians. I do more than this, and not content with hearing them, I join issue with them on their evidence. Let our brethren open then their eyes; let 'em cast them on the ancient Church, which, during so many ages of so cruel a persecution, never flew out, not for a moment, nor in one single person; but was seen as submissive under *Dioclesian*, nay, under *Julian* the Apollate when she was spread over all the earth, as under *Nero* and *Domitian*, when but in her infancy there indeed appear'd the finger of God truly visible. But the case is quite different, when men rebel as soon as able; and when their

LIII.  
Answer to those, who might say, that it is foreign to our subject.

was

wars last much longer than their patience. Experience sufficiently shews us in all kinds of sects, that conceited opinion and strong prejudice can mimic fortitude, at least for a while; but maxims of Christian meekness are never in the heart, when men so readily exchange them, not only for opposite practices, but also for opposite maxims, with deliberation and by express decisions, as it is plain our *Protestants* have done. Here is therefore a true *Variation* in their Doctrine, and an effect of that perpetual instability, which cannot but fix on their *Reformation* a character suitable to those works which having but what's human in them, of course must *come to nought*, according to *Gamaliel's* maxim.

*Acts. v.*  
38.

LIV.  
The assassination of the Duke of Guise by *Poliret*, held by the Reformation as an act of Religion.

*L. vi.*  
267.

M D L X I I I.  
*Est. 267.*

*li. 267.*

The assassination of *Francis* Duke of *Guise* ought not to pass unmention'd in this history, forasmuch as the author of this murder mingled his Religion with his crime. 'Tis *Beza* that represents to us *Poliret* as excited by some secret impulse, at the time he resolv'd upon this infamous exploit; and in order to make us understand that this *secret impulse* was from God, he also describes the same *Poliret* just ready to enter on the execution of this black design, *Praying to God most ardently, that he would vouchsafe to change his will, if what he intended was displeasing to him; otherwise, that he would give him courage, and strength sufficient to slay this tyrant, and by that means free Orleans from destruction, and the whole Kingdom from so miserable a tyranny. Then upon, and in the evening of the same day, proceed Beza, he struck the stroke; that is, during this enthusiasm, and just rising up from that *ecstatic passion*. As soon as ever our *Reform'd* knew the thing was done, *They jointly rejoiced that it was done, as if it were a good thing*. The Duke of *Guise* had always been the object of their*



their hatred. No sooner were they in a condition to effect it, but we have seen them conspire his ruin, and this by the advice of their Doctors. After the riot of *Vassi*, altho' it was certain he had used all his endeavours to appease it; the Party rose up against him with hideous clamours; and *Beza* who carried their complaints to Court, acknowledges, *He had desired and begg'd of God innumerable times, either to change the heart of the Duke of Guise, which, nevertheless, he could not hope, or that he would rid the Kingdom of him; whereof he calls to witness all those who have heard his prayers and preachments.* It was therefore in these preachments, and in publick, that he made *innumerable times*, these seditious prayers; after the example of those of *Luther*, whereby, we have above observed, he knew so well how to animate mankind, and stir up executioners of his prophecies. By the like prayers the Duke of *Guise* was represented as a harden'd persecutor, from whom it was necessary to beseech God that he would deliver the world by some extraordinary stroke of his Providence. What *Beza* says in his own excuse, *That he did not publickly name the Duke of Guise*, is much too fond. What signifies the naming a man when you know both how to point him out by his characters, and explain yourself in particular to those who might sufficiently have understood you? these mysterious innuendo's in sermons and divine service, are more likely to exasperate mens minds, than more express declarations. *Beza* was not the only one that inveigh'd most bitterly against the Duke; all the Ministers railed in the same manner. No wonder then, that amongst so many *men disposed for execution*, with which the Party abounded, some should be found that thought they did God service

*Tbuan.*  
*lib. xxix.*  
*p. 77. 78.*  
*l. vi. 299.*

*Ibid.*

vice in delivering the *Reformation* from such an enemy. The still blacker enterprize of *Amicijé* had met with the approbation of *Bza* and their Doctors. This in the conjuncture of the siege of *Orleans* when the bulwark of the Party together with this City was just falling into the Duke's hands, was of a far different importance; and *Polrot* believed he did more for his Religion than *la Reformation*. Accordingly, he talk'd openly of his design as of a thing that would be well approved of. Altho' he was known in the Party for a man sworn to kill the Duke of *Guise* cost what it would; neither the Generals, nor the Soldiers, nor even the Pastors dissuaded him from it. Believe who pleases what *Bza* says, that those words were taken for the words of a glory-headed person, that would never have parted his design had he resolv'd to execute it. But the more sincere *d'Almeida* is agreed, it was hoped in the Party, he would strike the stroke which, he says, *le Cardinal de Guise* desired. It is also very certain, that *Polrot* did not pass for one that was hair-brain'd, or a visionary; yet he was, and the *Archevêque* considered him as a useful person, and employ'd him in a great confidence; and the manner of his death is himself upon him rather than upon the late event, than one easily to be believ'd. *Polrot* is a great *impost* as you are *Bza's* words, to *Monsieur de* a leading man in the Party *to advise him that* *le Cardinal de Guise* desired to see him, the *Archevêque* of France, that he might see him, and the Duke of *Guise* desired to see him, and cover what he was doing. The manner which *Sauret* uses in his history is, that he desired to see him, and that he was desired to see him, and that he was desired to see him. *Polrot* tells him *le Cardinal de Guise* desired to see him, or the matter proposed, *Guise* desired to see him.

*H. 1. p.*  
20.

*D. A. 1. t.*  
1. 1. 111.  
10. 111.  
p. 171.  
*B. 1. 1.*  
*H. 1. 2.*  
295. 297.

*B. 1.*  
*H. 1. 1.*  
288.

of it by other means. So faint a reply, in an action which ought not to be spoken of without horror, must have discover'd to *Poltrót*, in *Soubizes* mind, either the apprehension that the thing would not be executed successfully, or the design of exculpating himself, rather than an express condemnation of it. The rest of the chiefs spoke to him with no less indifferency: they were satisfied with telling him, *He ought to be aware of extraordinary vocations.* This, instead of dissuasion, was working up a belief in him that his enterprise had something in it of heavenly and inspired; and as *d'Aubigné* expresses it in his animated style, *Their remonstrances, under the appearance of dissuading, really egg'd him on.* Accordingly, he was but the more determin'd on his black undertaking: he spoke of it to every body; and, continues *Beza*, *had his mind so bent on it, as to make it the common topick of his discourse.* During the siege of *Rouen*, at which the King of *Navarre* was kill'd, this death being mention'd, *Poltrót*, *Fetching a deep sigh from the bottom of his breast, ha!* says he, *this is not enough, a much greater victim may still be sacrificed.* When ask'd what it might be: he answer'd, *'Tis the great Guise; and at the same time, lifting up his right arm, This is the arm, cry'd he, that will do the deed, and put an end to our misfortunes.* The which he repeated often, and always with the like energy. All these discourses speak a man determin'd, scorning to conceal himself because persuaded he is doing a meritorious action: but what more discovers the disposition of the whole Party, is that of the *Admiral*, whom they set up to the whole world as a pattern of virtue and the glory of the *Reformation*. I shall not speak here of *Poltrót's* evidence, accusing him and *Beza*, of

having

*D'Aub.*  
*T. 1. p.*  
176.

*Tecm. 1.*  
xxxiii.  
207.

having induced him to this design. Let us lay aside the testimony of a witness, who hath perchance too much varied to be credited on his own word: but the facts averr'd by *Beza* in his history can't be called in question, much less those that are contain'd in the declaration which the *Admiral* and he jointly, on the assassin's accusation, sent to the *Queen*. Thereby then it remains evident, that *Scubize* dispatch'd *Pelrot* with a packet of letters to the *Admiral* when still near *Orleans* endeavouring to relieve the town: that it was with the *Admiral's* consent that *Pelrot* went to the Duke of *Guise's* camp, and making shew as if repentant of bearing arms against the *King*, surrender'd himself to him: that the *Admiral*, who otherwise could not be ignorant of a design made publick by *Pelrot*, learnt from his own mouth that he persisted in it still, since he owns that *Pelrot*, in departing on his enterprize, *went so far as to tell him, it would be an easy matter to kill the Duke of Guise*: that the *Admiral* spoke not a word to put him by it; nay, on the contrary, tho' conscious of his design gave him at one time twenty crowns, and a hundred at another, to mount himself well: in those days, a considerable supply, and absolutely necessary both to facilitate his undertaking, and escape. Nothing can be more frivolous than what the *Admiral* alleges in his own defence. He says, that when *Pelrot* mention'd to him his killing the Duke of *Guise*, *he, the Admiral, never open'd his mouth to invite him to undertake it*. There was no need of inviting a man, whose resolution was so well taken, and to the end he might accomplish his design, the *Admiral* had no more to do than, as he said, to dispatch him to the place where he might execute it. The *Admiral* not content to bind him thither, giveth him money

*Ibid.* 291.

308.

*Ibid.* p.

294 295.

& seq.

P. 209.

P. 58.

*Ibid.* 217.

211.

to support himself there, and for the supply of all necessaries for such a design, not forgetting even that of a good horse and furniture. What the *Admiral* alledged farther, that he sent *Poltrot* *Ibid.* into the camp only to gain intelligence, is manifestly nothing but a cloak to that design, which he would not own. As for the money, nothing is more weak than what the *Admiral* replies, *viz.* that he gave it *Poltrot*, *without ever specifying to him the killing or not killing the Duke of Guise. Ibid. 297.* But the reason he brings in his justification for not dissuading him from so wicked an attempt, discovers the bottom of his heart. He confesses then, that *before these last troubles, he knew the men who had determined to kill the Duke of Guise; that far from inducing them to this design, or approving it, he had diverted them from it, and even given notice of it to Madam de Guise: that, since the affair of Vassé, he had prosecuted the Duke as a publick enemy; nevertheless it cannot be discover'd, that he HAD APPROVED any attempt should be made on his person, till he had notice given him that the Duke had drawn in certain persons to kill him and the Prince of Condé.* It follows therefore, that after this notice given (as to the truth whereof we ought not to believe an enemy on his bare word) *he did approve attempting on the Duke's life: but, since that time, he acknowledges, when he heard one say, if he could, he would kill the Duke of Guise even in his camp, he did not dissuade him from it: whereby is seen at once, that this bloody design was common in the Reformation, and that the chiefs of it the most esteem'd for their virtue, such was undoubtedly the Admiral, did not think themselves under any obligation of opposing it; on the contrary, they concurred to it every the most effectual way they*

were able: so little did an assassination disturb their consciences, provided Religion were its motive.

LV.  
Sequel.  
P. 308.

Should it be ask'd, what could induce the *Admiral* to confess facts which bore so hard upon him? it was not from his ignorance of the difficulties he incurr'd: but, says *Beza*, the *Admiral* being downright and truly sincere, if any man of his quality ever was, made answer, that if afterwards, upon confronting, he should happen to make some further Confession, he might give occasion to think, that even then he did not discover the whole truth; that is, it rightly understood, this sincere and downright man fear'd the force of truth at confronting, and prepared his subterfuges, as is usual to guilty persons, whose conscience, and fear of being convicted, makes them often confess more than could be drawn from witnesses. Nay it seems, if the manner of the *Admiral's* explaining himself be well consider'd, that he fear'd men should think him innocent, that he shunn'd only the formal acknowledgement of a juridical conviction, and, what is more, took pleasure in displaying his revenge. But the most politick thing he did for his acquittal was desiring that *Polart* might be kept to be confronted with him, relying on his alledged excuses and the conjuncture of the times, which forbade driving to extremes the Chief of so formidable a Party. Neither was the Court ignorant of this, and accordingly the process was concluded. *Polart*, who had retracted the charge brought in by him against the *Admiral* and *Beza*, persisted in acquitting *Beza* even to death: but as for the *Admiral*, he impeach'd him afresh by three declarations one after another even amidst the tortures of his punishment, of having induced him to perpetrate this murder for God's service. As for *Beza*, it doth not appear,

P. 308.

P. 312.

P. 313.



appear, that he had any share in this action otherwise, than by his seditious preachments, and the approbation he had given of the much more criminal conspiracy of *Amboise*: but very certain it is, that before the fact was committed, he did nothing to prevent it, altho' he could not be ignorant of the design, and, when it was over, omitted nothing that might give it all the appearance of an inspired action. The reader may judge of the rest, and here is more than sufficient to make it evident, what spirit those were animated with, who thus boast their meekness.

There is no need here of explaining myself on that question, whether or no Christian Princes have a right to use the sword against their subjects enemies to sound doctrine and the Church, the *Protestants* being agreed with us in this point. *Luther* and *Calvin* have wrote books expressly to make good the right and duty of the *Magistrate* in this point. *Calvin* reduced this to practice against *Servet*, and *Valentine Gentili*. *Melancthon* approved of this procedure by a letter he wrote to him on this subject. The discipline of our *Reformed* likewise permits recourse to the secular arm in certain cases; and amongst the articles of *discipline* of the *Geneva* Church, it appears that the Ministers ought to inform the Magistrate against the incorrigible, who despite spiritual penalties, and especially against those, without distinction, who teach new doctrine. And even at this day, the author that most bitterly of all the *Calvinian* writers upbraids the *Roman* Church on this subject, with the cruelty of her Doctrine, subscribes to it in the main, seeing he permits the exercise of the power of the sword in matters of Religion and Conscience: a thing which in truth cannot be call'd in question

LVI.  
*Catholicks*  
 and *Prote-*  
*stants*  
 agreed on  
 the questi-  
 on of pu-  
 nishing  
 Hereticks.  
*Luth. de*  
*Magist. T.*  
 111.  
*Calvin.*  
*opus. p.*  
 592. *Ibid.*  
 600. 659.  
*Melan.*  
*Calvinus*  
*de r.*  
*Calv. Ep.*  
 p. 169.  
*Jac. S. J.*  
 11. c. 22.  
 33. *Inte.*  
*Paq. de h.*  
 1. *Amo.*  
 1. 11. 111.  
*H. de*  
*P. p. 2.*  
*Reform.*  
 c. 2. 28



without enervating, and as it were maiming the power of the Legislature: so that there can't be a more dangerous illusion, than to fix suffering for a characteristick of the true Church; nor do I know amongst Christians any but *Socinians* and *Anabaptists* that oppose this Doctrine. In a word, the right is certain, but moderation is not less necessary.

LVII.  
Calvin's  
death.

*Calvin* died at the beginning of these troubles: 'tis a weakness to look for something extraordinary in the death of such sort of men; God does not always exhibit such examples. Since he permits Heresies for the trial of his Elect, we ought not to wonder, that, to compleat this trial, he suffers the spirit of seduction, with all the fine appearances wherewith it decks itself out, to predominate in them even to the end; and without further informing myself about *Calvin's* life and death, 'tis enough, that he kindled a flame in his country which the effusion of so much blood could not extinguish, and is gone to appear before God's judgment-seat without the least remorse for so great a crime.

LVIII.  
New Con-  
fession of  
Faith of  
the Hel-  
vetian  
Church.

His death made no alteration in the affairs of the Party; but the instability natural to new sects was always furnishing the world with some new spectacle, and *Confessions of Faith* went on at their usual rate. In *Switzerland*, the defenders of the *Reformed* Cause, far from being satisfied with so many *Confessions of Faith* made in *France* and elsewhere in exposition of their doctrine, were not even satisfied with those that were made amongst themselves. We have seen that of *Zurich* in 1536, we have seen another published at *Basle* in 1542, and another of the same Town in 1549, another in 1564, agreed to with the joint consent of the *Genevese* and those of *Geneva*: All these *Confessions of Faith*, still ratified by

divers acts, were not deem'd sufficient; and it was necessary to proceed to a fifth in 1566.

The Ministers, who publish'd it, were very sensible that these alterations, in a thing of that importance, and which ought to be so firm and dilucid as a *Confession of Faith*, discredited their Religion. For which reason, they set forth a Preface, wherein they strive to account for this last change; and here is the whole of their defence: *viz.* *Altho' many nations have already publish'd different Confessions of Faith, and they themselves have also done the same thing by publick writings; nevertheless, they also propose this* (reader observe) *because those writings may perchance have been forgotten, or be spread in divers places, and explain the thing so much at large that all the world have not time to read them.* Yet it is visible, that these two first *Confessions of Faith*, which the *Swiss* had publish'd, scarce take up five leaves; and another, which might be tackt to them, is much about the same length; whereas, this last mention'd which ought to be the shortest has more than sixty. And allowing their other *Confessions of Faith* had been forgotten, nothing was more easy than to publish them anew, were they contented with them; so that there was no necessity of publishing a fourth, but because they found themselves obliged to it for a reason they durst not utter; which was the variety of new sentiments continually rising in their minds; and as they were not to own their daily loading their *Confessions* with such novel fancies, they cloak their changes with such frivolous pretexts.

We have seen that *Zuinglius* was an Apostle and *Reformer*, without so much as knowing what was that Grace by which we are Christians; and he who saved even *Philosophers* by virtue of

*Synt. Gen.*  
*1. part. p.*  
*1.*

LIX.  
The Ministers  
frivolous  
reasons for  
this new  
*Confession*  
of *Faith*.  
*Ibid. init.*  
*Præfat.*

LX.  
Imputed  
justice be-  
gins but  
then to be  
known

amongst  
the *Swiss*.  
*Conf.*  
1532.  
*Art. ix.*  
*Syn. Gen.*  
1. p. 68.  
1536.  
*Art. 2. 3.*  
*ibid. p.*  
72.  
*Confess.*  
*Art. 111.*  
*apud. Conc.*  
751.  
*Conf. Gen.*  
c. xv.  
*Syn. Gen.*  
1. part. p.  
26.

their morality, was an entire stranger to *imputed* Justice. Accordingly, nothing appear'd of it in the *Confessions of Faith* of 1532, and 1536. Grace was acknowledged there in such a manner as Catholics might have approved, had it been less indefinite; and nothing was so much as mention'd in them against the merit of works. In the convention made with *Calvin* in 1574, it appears that *Calvinism* began to gain ground; and accordingly *imputed* Justice then shews itself: they had been reform'd near upon forty years without knowing this *fundamental* article of the *Reformation*. The thing was not thoroughly explain'd till in 1586, and it was by such a gradation, that from *Zuinglius's* excesses, they pass'd insensibly to those of *Calvin*.

LXI.  
The 10. 11.  
of 8. 9.  
w. 1.  
h. w. 12.  
j. c. c. 1.

In the chapter concerning good-works they speak of them in the same sense that other *Protestants* do, as the necessary fruits of Faith, and reject *their merit*, whereof, we have seen, not a word was said in the precedent *Confessions*. To condemn them, they here make use of a saying often inculcated by *St. Austin*, but wrong quoted; for, whereas *St. Iustin* says, and incessantly repeats it, that God *crowns his own gifts when he crowns our merits*, they make him say, *He crowns us, not our merits, but his own gifts*. The difference of these two expressions is easily perceived, one of which joins the *merits* with the *gifts*, and the other separates them. It seems nevertheless, as if they had a mind to insinuate at the church, that they condemn'd *merit* only as oppos'd to *grace*, their conclusion running thus, *It is not our merits, but the grace of debourment, as to debourment*. In reality, then, no error but that of the *Protestants* is here condemn'd; for the merit, which we admit, is so little contrary to grace, that it is the very root and fruit thereof.

In the tenth Chapter, true Faith is attributed to the sole predestinated by these words: *Every man must hold it for unquestionable, that if he believes, and abides in Jesus Christ, he is predestinated.* And a little further on: *If we communicate with Jesus Christ, and he belong to us, and we to him, by true Faith, this is to us a sufficiently clear and sure testimony that we are written in the book of life.* Hence it is plain, that true Faith, namely justifying Faith, appertains only to the Elect; that this Faith and this Justice can never be lost finally; and that temporary Faith is not the true justifying Faith. These same words seem to conclude for the absolute certainty of *Predestination*; for altho' they make it depend on Faith, 'tis a Doctrine received amongst the whole *Protestant* Party, that a believer, in that he says, *I believe*, feels in himself the true Faith. But herein they are insensible of the seduction of our self-love, of the mixture of our passions so strangely complicated, that our own dispositions, and the true motives we are acted by, are often what we, of all things, know with the least degree of certainty; so that, in saying with that disconsolate father in the Gospel, *I believe*, how greatly soever we may think ourselves moved, tho' we should cry out lamentably as he did, and with a flood of tears; we ought nevertheless to subjoin with him, *Lord, help thou mine unbelief*, and shew by that means, that saying, *I believe*, is rather an effort in us to produce so great an act, than an absolute certainty of our having produced it.

How prolix soever be the discourse, which the *Zuinglians* make on *Free-will* in the ninth chapter of their *Confession*, this little is all that's material in it. Three states of man are well distinguish'd: that of his first institution, wherein

LXII.  
Faith appropriated to the elect. Certainty of salvation. Inamissibility of justice. Cap. x. p. 15.

Mark. ix. 24.

LXIII  
Conversion ill-explained. Cap. ix. p. 12.

he had the power of inclining to good, and declining from evil; that of his fall, when unable to do good, he yet is *free to evil*, because he *embraces it voluntarily, and by consequence with liberty*, altho' God frequently prevents the effect of his choice, and hinders him from accomplishing his evil purposes; and that of his regeneration, when, re-inflated by the Holy Ghost *in the power of voluntarily doing good, he is free*, yet not fully, on account of the infirmity of concupiscence remaining in him: *acting, nevertheless, not passively*; these are their terms: odd enough, I own, for what is it to act *passively*? and how is it possible such an idea should enter any man's head? however, this manner of speech pleased our *Zuinglians*. *Acting* (they continue to speak of man regenerated) *not passively, but actively, in the choice of good, and in the operation by which he accomplishes it*. How much was this short of a clear and full explanation! they ought to have join'd to these three states, that of man betwixt *corruption* and *regeneration*, when touch'd with Grace, he begins to bring forth the spirit of salvation amidst the pangs of repentance. This state is not that of *corruption* in which he wills nought but evil, since he begins, in this state, to will good; and if the *Zuinglians* would not consider it as a state, it being rather a passage from one state to another, they ought to explain at least in some other place, that, in this passage and preciously to regeneration, the effort man makes thro' Grace to convert himself, is not an evil. Our *Reformed* are strangers to these necessary precisions: they ought also to have explain'd, whether, in this passage, when drawn towards good by Grace, we can resist it; and again, whether, in the state of corruption, we do evil to our-  
selves

selves as not to be able even to abstain from one evil rather than another; and lastly, whether in the state of regeneration, working good thro' Grace, we be so forcibly attracted to it, as not to have it then in our power to decline to evil. All these things were necessary to give a right understanding of the operation, and even notion of Free-will, which these Doctōrs leave confus'd by terms too indefinite and equivocal.

But what ends the chapter displays still better the perplexity of their thoughts. *We doubt not*, say they, *that men regenerate, or not regenerate, have equally their free-will in common actions, because man, being not inferior to beasts, hath that in common with them, to will certain things, reject others: thus he may speak or hold his tongue, go out of doors, or remain within.* Strange Doctrine! to make us free like beasts! they have not a more elevated idea of man's liberty, having said a little before, that by *his fall he is not altogether changed into a log or stone*; which is as much as to say he wants but little of it. However that may be, the *Swiss Zuinglians* aim no higher; nay, the *Protestants of Germany* grovel still lower, when they say, that in man's conversion, to-wit, in the most noble action he is capable of, in the action by which he unites himself with his God; he acts no more than a *stone or log*, tho' he acts differently on other occasions. How dost thou debase thyself, O man, thus meanly accounting for thy free-will! But in fine, since man is not a *log*, and, in ordinary actions, his Free-will is made to consist in being able to do certain things, or not to do them; it ought to be consider'd, that, not finding in ourselves a different manner of acting in natural actions than we do in others, this same liberty accompanies us throughout; and that God knows how

I.XIV.  
Monstrous  
Doctrinē  
on Free-  
will.

P. 12. 13.

Concord.  
p. 662.  
§. 5.  
S. lib. viii.  
n. 48.



how to preserve it, even when he elevates us by his Grace to actions supernatural; it being unworthy of his holy Spirit to make us act any more in these than in others, like to beasts, or rather, like *sticks and stones*.

LXV.  
Our *Calvinists* are more sparing in their explanations, and why.

It may perhaps seem strange, that we spoke nothing of any of these matters in treating of the *Confession* of the *Calvinists*. But the reason is, they themselves pass them all in silence, nor think it worth their while to speak of the manner in which man acts: as if it were a thing indifferent to man himself, or did not appertain to Faith to know, in point of liberty, together with one of the most beautiful lineaments God has traced in man to make him *in his own Image*, that very thing which renders us worthy of blame or praise before God and man.

LXVI.  
The Supper without Substance, and the Presence only in virtue.

The article of the Supper still remains, in which the *Sacris* will shew themselves more sincere than ever. Those indeterminate phrases, which we have seen them employ once only in 1536, by *Bucer's* advice, and in condescension to the *Lutherans*, are no longer satisfactory to them. Even *Calvin*, their very good friend, cannot bring them over to the *proper Substance*, nor the incomprehensible miracles, whereby the Holy Ghost, notwithstanding the distance of place, makes us partakers of it. They say therefore, that indeed *We receive*, not an *imaginary nourishment*, *but the own Body, the true Body of our Lord given for us, but interiorly, spiritually, by Faith: the Body and Blood of our Lord, but spiritually by the Holy Ghost, who gives and applies to us the thing which the Body and Blood of our Lord have merited for us, namely, the forgiveness of sin, the deliverance from evil, and life eternal*. This is then what is called *the thing received* in this Sacrament. This thing received indeed,

City of  
p. 12



indeed, is the forgiveness of sins, and spiritual life; and if the Body and Blood are also received, 'tis by their benefit and effect; or, as is afterwards subjoin'd, *by their figure, by their commemoration*, and not by their substance. For which reason, after having said, *That the Body of our Lord is no where but in Heaven where he ought to be adored, and not under the species of Bread*: in order to explain the manner in which he is present, *He is not*, say they, *absent from the Supper. Tho' the Sun be in Heaven absent from us, he is present to us efficaciously*, that is, present by his virtue. *How much more is Jesus Christ present to us by his vivifical operation?* who does not perceive that what is present to us only by its virtue, hath no need of communicating its proper substance? these two ideas are incompatible, nor hath any man ever said seriously, he receives the proper substance of the Sun and Stars, under pretext that he receives their influences. Thus *Zuinglians* and *Calvinists*, who of all, that have separated from *Rome*, brag most of being united among themselves, nevertheless reform each other in their several *Confessions of Faith*, and never could agree in one common and simple explanation of their Doctrine.

True it is, that of the *Zuinglians* leaves nothing peculiar to the Supper. The Body of *Jesus Christ* is no more there than in any other actions of a Christian; and 'twas in vain that *Jesus Christ* said in the Supper only, with so much energy, *This is my Body*; since with these powerful words he was able to work nothing in it that is singular. This is the inevitable weak side of the *figurative* sense, which the *Zuinglians* were well aware of, and own'd sincerely: *This spiritual nourishment is taken, say they, out of the Supper; and how often soever a person believes,*  
*this*

P. 50.

LXVII.  
Nothing  
particular  
in the  
Supper.

*this Believer hath already received and enjoyeth this food of everlasting life; but, for the same reason, when he receives the Sacrament, that which he receiveth, is not nothing: non nihil accipit.* What is our Lord's Supper reduced to? all they can say for it is, that what you receive in it, is next to quite nothing. For, proceed our Zuinglians, we continue there to partake of the Body and Blood of our Lord: so the Supper hath nothing singular in it. Faith is stirr'd up, increases, is nourish'd with some spiritual food: for as long as we live, it receives a continual increase. It receives therefore as much of all this out of the Supper as in the Supper, nor is Jesus Christ a whit more there than any where else. In this manner, after saying, that the particular thing received in the Supper, is not a meer nothing, and in fact reducing it to so small a matter; they are not yet able to tell us, what is that little they have left in it. Here is a great vacuum, I must own: 'twas in order to supply this emptiness that Calvin and the Calvinists invented their big swelling words. They thought to fill up this frightful chasm by saying in their Catechism, that out of the Supper, Jesus Christ is received in part only, whereas, in the Supper, he's received fully. But to what purpose promising such great matters when you mean nothing by them? I like far better the sincerity of Zuinglius and the Swiss, who own the scantiness of their Supper, than the false plenty of our Calvinists, in nothing sumptuous but in words.

LXVIII. Thus much am I then obliged to say in behalf of the Zuinglians, that their Confession of Faith is of all the most natural and simple; and this not only with reference to the Eucharistick point, but in regard to all the others; in a word,

of

of all the Protestant *Confessions of Faith*, that of 1566, with all its defects, speaks the most clearly what it means to speak.

Amongst the *Polish* separatists from the Church of *Rome*, there were some that maintain'd the *figurative* sense, and these had subscrib'd in 1567, the *Confession of Faith*, which the *Swiss* had drawn up the year before. They rested content with it for three whole years: but in 1570, they thought it reasonable to frame another in a Synod held at *Czenger* which is to be met with in the collection of *Geneva*, in which they particularly signalize themselves on the *Supper-article*.

They condemn the *Reality*, as well in respect to the delirium of *Catholics*, who say the Bread is changed into the Body, as in respect to the folly of the *Lutherans*, who place the Body with the Bread: they declare particularly against the latter, that the *Reality*, which they admit, cannot subsist without a change of *substance*, such as happen'd in the waters of *Egypt*, in the wand of *Moses*, and in the water at the nuptial feast of *Cana*: thus they clearly own that *Transubstantiation* is necessary, even by the principles of the *Lutherans*. They hold them in such abhorrence, as to vouchsafe them no other appellation than that of *eaters of human flesh*, ascribing every where to them a *carnal and bloody* manner of communicating, as if they eat raw flesh. After condemning the *Papists* and the *Lutherans*, they speak of others under error, whom they call *Sacramentarians*. *We reject*, say they, *the phrensy of those who believe that the Supper is an empty sign of our absent Lord*. By these words they aim at the *Socinians*, as introducers of an empty Supper, tho' unable to shew that their own is better furnish'd, nothing at all being to be found in either of them, with respect to the Body and the Blood,

LXIX.  
Remarkable  
Confession of  
the *Polonian*  
*Zuinglians*, in  
which the  
*Lutherans*  
are roughly  
handled.

M D L X X.  
Synod.  
*Czen.*  
*Synt. Conf.*  
*part. 1. p.*  
148.  
*Cap. de*  
*Can.*  
*Dom. p.*  
155.

*Cap. de*  
*Sacramen-*  
*tariis p.*  
155.

*Ibid.* p.  
153-154.  
Cap. de  
Præf. in  
Cæna. p.  
155.

but *figns. commemoration, and virtue.* To place some difference betwixt the *Zuinglian* and *Socinian* Supper, they say *in the first place, that the Supper is not the sole memorial of Jesus Christ absent, and make an express chapter concerning the Presence of Jesus Christ in this mystery.* But endeavouring to expound it, they confound themselves with terms that are not of any language, words so uncouth and barbarous, as not to be translated. *Jesus Christ,* say they, is present in the Supper both as God and man: as God, *Entèr, præsentèr;* render these words who can: *by his Jehovah divinity,* that is, in common speech, by his divinity properly so call'd, and express'd by the incommunicable name, *As the wine in its branches, and the lead in its members.* All this is true, but nothing to the Supper, where the question relates to the Body and Blood. They proceed therefore to say, that *Jesus Christ* is present as man in four ways. *In the first place,* say they, *by his union with the word, in much as he is united to the word he is everywhere.* Secondly, *he is present in his promise by the word and by Faith, communicating himself to his elect as the wine communicates itself to its branches, and the lead to its members, the water to its vessels.* Thirdly, *he is present by his sacramental presence, and participation of his body and blood, by the efficacy of his power, as by his intercession for his elect.* They add, he is not present carnally, nor locally, it being requisite he should be *nowhere corporally and locally at one and the same time, except in Heaven.*

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The three last of these four ways of Presence are well enough known amongst the detractors of the *figurative* Supper. But will they be able to make us comprehend the fifth, as to their sentiments? have they ever taken in the *P*

of their communion do, that *Jesus Christ is present as man, in the Supper, by his union with the Word, because the Word is every where present?* This is the reasoning of *Ubiquitarians*, who attribute to *Jesus Christ* an Omnipresence as to place, even according to his human nature: but this extravagance of the *Ubiquitarians* is no where maintain'd but amongst the *Lutherans*. The *Zuinglians* and *Calvinists* reject it equally with the *Catholicks*. Yet this notion is borrow'd by the *Polish Zuinglians*, who, not fully satisfied with the *Zuinglian* Confession which they had subscribed, tack to it this new *Dogma*.

They did more, and that very year united themselves with the *Lutherans*, whom they had but just condemn'd as *gross and carnal men*, as men who taught a *cruel and bloody* communion. They sued for their communion, and those *caters of human flesh* became their brethren. The *Vaudois* enter'd into this agreement, and all, assembled together at *Sendomir*, subscribed what had been defined concerning the Supper-article in the *Confession of Faith* call'd *Saxonick*.

LXXI.  
Their agreement with the *Lutherans* and *Vaudois*.

But for the better understanding of this triple union betwixt the *Zuinglians*, *Lutherans* and *Vaudois*, it will be necessary to know who these *Vaudois* were, who then appear'd in *Poland*. It may not be amiss to know moreover, what were the *Vaudois* in general, they being at last turn'd *Calvinists*; and many *Protestants* doing them so much honour as to assert even that the Church, persecuted by the *Pope*, preserved her succession in this Society: so gross and manifest a delusion, that I must strive once for all to cure them of it.





THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
VARIATIONS  
OF PROTESTANT CHURCHES.

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BOOK XI.

A short History of the ALBIGENSES, the VAUDOIS, the WICKLIFFISTS, and HUSSITES.

A BRIEF SUMMARY.

*A short History of the Albigenses and Vaudois. That they are two different Sects. The Albigenses are complete Manicheans. Their origin explain'd. The Paulicians are a branch of the Manicheans of Armenia, whence they pass into Bulgaria, thence into Italy and Germany, where they are call'd Cathari; and into France, where they took the name of Albigenses. Their prodigious crimes, and their hypocrisy are display'd by a comparison with us. The reasons of Protestant-ism, in order to excise them. The testimony of St. Bernard, and his wrongfully accus'd of heresy. The origin of the Vaudois. The Anabaptists in common make them the disciples of Berengarius. They believe in Transubstantiation.*



*The seven Sacraments acknowledged by them. Confession and sacramental Absolution. Their error, a kind of Donatism. They make the Sacraments depend on the holiness of their Ministers, and allow the administration of them to pious lay-men. Origin of the Sect call'd the Brethren of Bohemia. That they are not Vau- dois, which origin they contemn: nor the disciples of John Hufs, tho' they brag of it. Their deputies sent over all the World to seek for Christians of their belief, without being able to find any. Wickliff's impious Doctrine. John Hufs, who glories in being his disciple, abandons him in regard of the Eucharist. The disciples of John Hufs divided into Taborites and Calixtins. The confusion of all these Sects. The Protestants can draw from thence no advantage for the establishment of their Mission, and succession of their Doctrine. The agreement of the Lutherans, of the Bohemians, and the Zuinglians in Poland. The divisions and reconciliations of sectaries make equally against them.*



IS incredible what pains our Re- form'd have been at, in order to find themselves predecessors in all foregoing ages. In the fourth age, of all the most illustrious, tho' none could be found but *Vigilan- tius* alone, that opposed the honour paid to Saints and the veneration of their relicks, he is look'd on by *Protestants* as the person who preserved the *Depositum*, namely, the succession of Apo- stolick doctrine, and is preferr'd to St. *Jerom* who has the whole Church on his side. For the same reason too *Aërius* ought to be consider'd as

I.  
What is  
the suc-  
cession of  
*Prote-  
stants.*

the only one whom God enlightned in the same century, for he alone rejected the sacrifice which every where else, in the *East* as well as the *West*, was offer'd for the relief of the Dead. But unluckily he was an *Arian*; and they were ashamed to count amongst the witnesses of the truth, a man that denied the Divinity of the Son of God. But I am amazed they stuck at that. *Claude* of *Turin* was an *Arian*, and the disciple of *Felix* of *Urgel*, that is, a *Nestorian* into the bargain. But because he broke *Images*, he finds place amongst the fore-fathers of the *Protestants*. It matters not how far soever the rest of the *Iconoclasts*, as well as he, have outstretch'd this point, even to say, that God forbade the arts of painting and sculpture; 'tis sufficient they tax'd the rest of Christians with idolatry to be enrolled amongst the first-rate witnesses of the truth. *Brungarius* impugnd nothing but the *Real* Presence, leaving all the rest as he found it: but the rejecting of one only tenet, was sufficient to make him a *Calumni*, and a Doctor of the true Church. *Wickliff* will be of that number, notwithstanding all the impieties we shall see he taught: tho' even, by asserting that Kings, Lords, Magistrates, Priests, Pastors, are no longer such from their falling into mortal sin, he hath equally subverted all order in the *Church* and *State*, and fill'd both with tumult and sedition. *Joh* *Huss* followed this Doctrine, and, what is more, said *Mass* to the end of his life, and adored the *Eucharist*, yet for standing up against the Church of *Rom* in other points, must be placed by our *Authors* in the Calendar of their Martyrs. In a word, provided they are not attack'd on any one point of our tenets, especially as concern'd against the *Pope*, in other respects they say what they will, and of what opinion soever, they stand

*Tom. 2. p. 107.*  
*Class. 1.*  
*2. 107.*

on the list of Protestant ancestry, and are deem'd worthy to keep up the succession of that Church.

But of all the predecessors the *Protestants* have made choice of, the most welcome to them, at least to the *Calvinists*, are the *Vaudois* and *Albigenses*. What can be their aim in this? 'twere but a weak support. To make their antiquity rise some ages higher (for the *Vaudois*, allowing them all they desire, and *Peter de Bruis* with his disciple *Henry*, reach no farther than the eleventh age;) and there to stop short unable to shew one before them, is being forced to stand much beneath the time of the Apostles; 'tis calling for help from men as weak and as much put to it as themselves; who, alike with them, are challenged to shew their predecessors; who, no more than they, are able to produce them; who by consequence, are guilty of the same crime of innovation they are accused of: so that naming them in this cause, is naming accomplices of the same crime, not witnesses that may lawfully depose in their defence.

Nevertheless, this support, such as it is, is eagerly embraced by our *Calvinists*, and the reason is this. The *Vaudois* and *Albigenses*, it seems, form'd Churches separated from *Rome*, which *Berengarius* and *Wickliff* never did. Making them therefore their ancestors, is giving themselves, in some manner, a series of Church-succession. As the origin of these Churches, no less than the Faith they made profession of, was as yet somewhat obscure at the time of the pretended *Reformation*, the people were made believe, they were of a very ancient date, and sprung from the first ages of Christianity.

I wonder not that *Leger*, one of the *Vaudois* *Barbes* (for so they call'd their Pastors) and their most celebrated Historian, hath given into

II.

The *Vaudois* and *Albigenses* weak support to *Calvinists*.

III.

Why the *Calvinists* lay a stress on them.

IV.

Ridiculous pretensions of the *Vaudois*

and of  
*Beza.*

L. 1. p.  
35.  
*Ibid.* 39.

this error; for he was unquestionably the most bold and ignorant of all mankind. But there is cause to wonder, it was embraced by *Beza*, and that he hath written in his ecclesiastical History not only that the *Vaulois*, time immemorial, had opposed the *ciues* of the Church of Rome, but also, in the year 1541, enter'd on record, by a publick and authentick act, the doctrine taught them as from father to son down from the year 120, after *Christ's* nativity, as their ancient predecessors always had inform'd them.

V.  
False ori-  
gin boasted  
of by the  
*Vaulois.*

Here is certainly a fine tradition, had it but the least proof to countenance it. But unfortunately, *Wals's* first disciples did not trace it up so high; and the remotest antiquity they challenged was of withdrawing from the Church of Rome, at the time when under Pope *Sylvester* I. she accepted the temporal domains that *Constantin* the first Christian Emperor endow'd her with. This is so frivolous a cause of rupture, and the pretension withal so ridiculous, as not to deserve refuting. A man must have lost his wits to persuade himself, that, ever since *St. Sylvester's* time, that is, about the year 330, there was a sect amongst Christians, which the Fathers knew nothing of. We have in the Councils held in the Communion of the *Roman* Church, anathema's pronounced against an infinity of different sects: we have the catalogues of Heresies drawn by *St. Epiphanius*, by *St. Ambrosius*, and several other Church authors. The most obscure and the least follow'd sects, are those which appear'd in a corner of the world, as that of certain women call'd *Collyritane*, not to be met with but I know not where in *Arabia*; that of the *Tertullianists* or *Alitan* who were only in *Carthage*, or in some villages near *Hippo*, and many others equally obscure did not escape their knowledge.

*Epiph.*  
*Ar. 71.*  
*Carth. 1.*  
*Hippo.*

The

The zeal of Pastors, that labour'd to bring back the stray'd sheep, discover'd all to save all: none but these Separatists on account of ecclesiastical revenues, were unknown to every body. These men more temperate than an *Atbanasius*, a *Basil*, an *Ambrose*, and all the other Doctors, more wise than all the Councils, who, without rejecting goods given to the Church, were contented with making rules for their just administrations; so well, I say, did these men play their part, as never to have been heard of by them. The assurance to assert this, was certainly the height of impudence in the first *Vaudois*. But, with *Beza*, to mount this sect, unknown to all ages, up to the year of our Lord 120, is giving himself ancestors and Church-succession by too glaring an imposition.

The *Reformed*, disgusted at their novelty, which they were continually upbraided with, stood in need of this weak support. But, in order to draw some advantage from it, it was also requisite to set other artifices on foot: it was requisite to conceal carefully the true state of these *Albigenses* and *Vaudois*. Of two quite different sects they made but one; and this, lest the *Reformed* should espy amongst their ancestors a too manifest contrariety. But above all, their abominable Doctrine was kept a secret: no notice taken that these *Albigenses* were compleat *Manicheans*, no less than *Peter de Bruis* and *Henry* his disciple: not a word, that these *Vaudois* had separated from the Church upon grounds equally detested by the new *Reformation* and by the Church of *Rome*: the same dissimulation was used in regard of the *Polish Vaudois*, but nominally such; and the people kept ignorant that their Doctrine was neither that of the ancient *Vaudois*, nor that of the *Calvinists*, nor that of

VI.  
The design of this eleventh book, and what is to be shewn therein.

the *Lutherans*. The history I am going to furnish of these three sects, altho' epitomiz'd, will be nevertheless supported with such pregnant proofs, as to make the *Catholics* ashamed of the ancestors, they have made choice of.

*The History of the new MANICHEANS,  
call'd the Hereticks of TOULOUSE and  
ABBY.*

VII.  
Error of  
the *Mani-  
cheans*,  
propaga-  
tors of the  
*Albigen-  
sis*.

IN order to apprehend what follows, you must not be wholly ignorant, what these *Manicheans* were. Their whole Theology turn'd on the question of the origin of evil: they beheld it in the world, and were for discovering its principle. It could not be God, because he is infinitely good. It was therefore necessary, said they, to acknowledge another principle, which being evil by its nature, might be the cause and origin of evil. Here then is the foundation of the error: two first principles, one of good, the other of evil; enemies, by consequence, and of a contrary nature; which having fought and mix'd in the strife, one diffus'd good on the world, the other evil; one light, the other darkness, and so on: for it's needless to relate here all the impious extravagancies of this abominable Sect. It sprung from *Paganism*, and its principles may be seen even in *Pagan*. It reign'd amongst the *Perfians*, *Plato* hath acquainted us with the names they gave to the good and evil cause. *Marcus a Per-  
sian* strove to introduce this profligity into the Christian Religion in *Archieb's* reign, and to-wards the end of the third century. *Marcus* had begun forty years before, and his Sect, divided into many branches, had prepared the way for the impieties and delirium *Marcus* grafted on it.



Now the consequences, these Hereticks drew from this Doctrin, were no less absurd than impious. The *Old Testament* with all its severity was but a fable, or at best, but the product of the evil principle: the mystery of the *Incarnation*, an illusion; and the *Flesh of Jesus Christ*, a phantom: for *Flesh* being the work of the evil principle, *Jesus Christ* the Son of the good God, could not in truth have vested himself with it. As our bodies came from the bad principle, and our souls from the good, or rather, were the very substance of it, it was not lawful to beget children, nor unite the substance of the good principle with that of the bad: so that marriage, or rather the generation of children, was prohibited. The flesh of animals, and every thing proceeding from it, as white meats, was the work of the evil cause; the same of wine: all these were impure by nature, and the use of them criminal. Here then are manifestly those men seduced by Devils, of whom *St. Paul* speaks, that were, *In latter times . . . to forbid to marry, and command to abstain from meats*, as unclean, *which God hath created.*

VIII.  
Conse-  
quences of  
the *Mani-  
chean's*  
false prin-  
ciple.

1 *Tim.* iv.  
1. 3.

These wretches, who sought only to deceive the world by appearances, endeavour'd to justify themselves by the example of the *Catholick* Church, wherein the number of those that forbore marriage from the profession of continence, was very great, and abstinence from certain meats was either practis'd always, as by many *Anchorets* after *Daniel's* example; or at particular times, as in *Lent*. But the holy Fathers replied, there was a great difference betwixt those that condemn'd the procreation of children, as the *Manicheans* did expressly, and those that prefer'd continence to it with *St. Paul* and *Jesus Christ* himself, and judg'd it unlawful for them

IX.  
The *Ma-  
nicheans*  
endea-  
vour'd to  
justify  
themselves  
by the us-  
ages of the  
Church.  
*Aug.* 1.  
xxx. ccc.  
*Ep.* 1.  
*Man.* c. 3  
4. 5. 6.  
*Dan.* 1.  
8. 12.  
: *Cor.* vi.



in ignorance thereof. For beneath the colourable pretext of chastity they hid impurities not to be named, and which made part of their very mysteries. Amongst 'em were several degrees. Those, whom they call'd *Auditors*, knew not the bottom of the Sect; and their *Elect*, namely, those that were let into the whole Mystery, carefully kept close from their probationers the abominable secret, till they had been prepared for it by several gradations. They made a show of abstinence and the exterior of a life not only good, but mortified; and one part of the seduction was, the arriving as it were by stages to that which was believed the more perfect, because hidden.

For the third Characteristick of these hereticks, we may further observe in them a surprising dexterity in mixing with the faithful, and concealing themselves under the appearance of the same profession; for this dissimulation was one of the artifices they employ'd to inveigle men into their sentiments. They were seen promiscuously with others in the Churches: there they received the Communion; and altho' they never received the Blood of our Lord, as well because they detested wine used in consecration, as also because they did not believe *Jesus Christ* had true Blood; the liberty allow'd in the Church of partaking of one or both kinds, was the cause that, for a long time, the perpetual affectation of their rejecting that of wine, pass'd unperceived. At length *St. Leo* discover'd them by this mark: but their cunning to elude the notice of the Catholics, tho' diligent, was so great, that they still conceal'd themselves, and scarce were discover'd under the Pontificate of *St. Gelasius*. At that time therefore, in order to render them wholly distinguishable to the people, it was

XII.

Third characteristick: mixing with the Catholics in the Churches and concealing themselves.

*Leo. 1. Serm. 45. qui est iv. de Quadr. c. 5.*

necessary

*Catech. in  
Deo. Grat.  
de con-  
dignitat.  
2. 11.  
Compend.  
1. 1. 1.  
Y. M.  
c. 1. &c.  
Demerit.  
F. Cath.  
c. 34.  
Demerit.  
Manich.  
c. 18.  
Cent. Ep.  
fundam. c.  
15.*

necessary to proceed to an express prohibition of communicating, otherwise than under both kinds; and to shew that this prohibition was not founded on the necessity of always taking them conjointly, St. *Gregory* grounds it in formal terms on this cause, for that those, who retained the sacred wine, did it thro' a certain *superstition*: an evident proof, that, were it not for this superstition, which rejected one of the parts of this Mystery as evil, the usage in its nature had been free and indifferent, even in solemn assemblies. *Protestants*, that believed this word, *superstition*, was not strong enough to express the abominable practices of the *Manicheans*, did not reflect that this word, in the latin tongue, signifies all false Religion; but that it is particularly appropriated to the *Manichean* Sect, on account of their abstinences and superstitious observances: the books of St. *Austin* witness this sufficiently.

XIII.  
The Pro-  
cession of  
Manich.  
c. 11.  
Fundam.

This so hidden a Sect, so abominable, so full of seduction, of superstition, and hypocrisy, notwithstanding imperial Laws which condemn'd its followers to death, yet maintain'd and diffus'd itself. The Emperor *Anastasio* and the Empress *Theodora*, wife to *Justinian*, had given it countenance. The followers thereof are to be seen under the children of *Heracles*, that is, in the five towns, in *Armenia* a Province bordering on *Francia*, the birth place of this detestable superstition, and formerly subject to the Empire. They were there settled, or confirm'd by one named *Pax*, from whom the name of *Pauciani* was deriv'd; then in the *East*, by one named *Constantine*, and since, by one named *Sergius*: they arriv'd to so great power in that country, either by the weakness of the Government, or the protection of the Emperor, or even by the favour of the Emperor *Neposianus* which wedded

to this Sect, that at length, being persecuted by the Empress *Theodora*, the Wife of *Basil*, they were able to build Cities, and take up arms against their Sovereigns.

*Catr. T. 11. p. 480. Ib. p. 541.*

These wars were long and bloody under the reign of *Basil* the *Macedonian*, to-wit, at the close of the ninth contrary. *Peter* of *Sicily* was sent by this Emperor to *Tibricea* in *Armenia*, which *Cedrenus* calls *Tephricea*, a strong hold of these Hereticks, to treat about the exchange of prisoners. During this time he became thoroughly acquainted with the *Paulicians*, and dedicated a book concerning their errors to the Archbishop of *Bulgaria* for reasons hereafter specified. *Vossius* acknowledges, we are much obliged to *Raderus* for giving us, in *Greek* and *Latin*, so particular and so excellent a history. There *Peter* of *Sicily* paints out to us these Hereticks in their proper characters, their two principles, the contempt they had of the *Old Testament*, their prodigious address in concealing themselves when they pleased, and the other aforesaid tokens. But he remarks two or three worth our notice: *viz.* their particular aversion to the *Images* of *Christ* crucified, a natural consequence of their error, forasmuch as they rejected the *Passion* and *Death* of the *Son* of *God*; their contempt of the *Holy Virgin*, whom they did not account the *Mother* of *Jesus Christ*, since they denied his *human Flesh*; and above all, their abhorrence of the *Eucharist*.

XIV.  
History of the Paulicians by Peter of Sicily addressed to the Archbishop of Bulgaria. *Pet. Sic. Hist. de Manich. Catr. Ib. 541. &c. Voss. de Hist. Græc. Pet. Sic. Ib. Praef. &c.*

*Ibid.*

*Ibid.*

*Cedrenus*, who has taken the greatest part of what he writes of the *Paulicians* from this Historian, instances after him, these three characteristics, namely, their aversion to the *Cross*, to the *blessed Virgin*, and the *holy Eucharist*. The same sentiments had the *Manicheans* of old. We learn from *St. Austin*, their *Eucharist* was differ-

XV.  
The conformity of the Paulicians with the Manicheans, whom St. Austin related.

related.



*Cedr. T.* rent from ours, and something so execrable as  
*11. p. 434.* not to be thought on, much less written. But  
*A23. ber.* the new *Manicheans* had also received, from the  
*46. &c.* ancient, another Doctrine we are to observe. So  
*Lib. xx* long since as *St. Austin's* time, *Faustus* the *Ma-*  
*Cont. Faust.* *niclean* upbraided the *Catholicks* with their ido-  
*6. 4.* latriy in the honour they pay'd the holy Martyrs,  
 and in the sacrifices they offer'd on their Relicks.  
*Ibid. c.* *St. Austin* remonstrated to them, this worship  
*21. § 7.* had nothing common with that of the Heathens,  
*Ibid. c.* because it was not the worship of *Latria* or of  
*18.* subjection and perfect servitude; and if they of-  
 fer'd to God the holy oblation of the Body and  
 Blood of *Jesus Christ*, at the tombs and on the  
 relicks of the Martyrs, they were far from offer-  
 ing to them this sacrifice, but hoped only To ex-  
 cite themselves thereby to the imitation of their vir-  
 tues, to be brought into partnership with their me-  
 rits, and lastly, to be assisted by their prayers. So  
 clear an answer did not prevent the new *Mani-*  
*Petr. Sci.* *cheans* from continuing the calumnies of their  
*Ibid.* forefathers. *Peter* of *Sicily* acquaints us, that a  
*Manichean* woman seduced an ignorant lay-man  
 call'd *Sergius*, by telling him, *Catholicks* hon-  
 our'd the Saints as *Divinities*, and for that  
 reason *Lay-men* were hinder'd from reading the  
*Holy Scripture*, lest they should discover a num-  
 ber of the like errors.

XVI.  
 The de-  
 sign of the  
*Manicheans*  
 on the  
*Ind. de*  
*de. de*  
*de. de*  
*de. de*  
 It was by such calumnies as these the *Mani-*  
*cheans* seduced the ignorant. A great desire of  
 enlarging their Sect was always remark'd amongst  
 them. *Peter* of *Sicily* discover'd, whilst Em-  
 bassador at *Tirane*, that it was resolv'd in the  
 Council of the *Manicheans*, to send Preachers of  
 their sect into *Byzania*, in order to seduce those  
 new converts. *Tirane* bordering on this Province  
 had been infected with this Heresy long before.  
 So there was but too much reason to fear the  
 wort



worst for the *Bulgarians*, should the *Paulicians*, the most cunning of the *Manichean* Sect, attempt to seduce them; and 'twas this induced *Peter* of *Sicily* to inscribe the above-mention'd book to their Archbishop, to fore-arm them against such dangerous Hereticks. Spite of all his pains, it is certain, the *Manichean* Heresy took deep root in *Bulgaria*, and thence soon after spread itself over the other parts of *Europe*; whence came, as we shall see, the name of *Bulgarians*, given to the followers of this Heresy.

A thousand years had elapsed since the birth of *Jesus Christ*, and the prodigious relaxation of discipline threatn'd the *Western* Church with some extraordinary disaster. Besides, 'twas not unlikely the dreadful time when Satan was to be let loose, foretold in the *Revelations*, after a thousand years, which may denote a thousand years after that *the strong-arm'd*, to-wit, the victorious Satan, was bound by *Jesus Christ* at his coming into the world. Howsoever that may be, in this time and in 1017, during King *Robert's* reign, Hereticks were discover'd at *Orleans* of such a Doctrine as long before had been unheard of amongst the *Latins*.

An *Italian* woman brought into *France* this abominable Heresy. Two Canons of *Orleans*, one call'd *Stephen* or *Heribert*, the other, *Lisoius*, both men of reputation, were the first inveigled. There was great difficulty in discovering their secret. But at length, a person named *Arifaste* suspecting what it might be, having insinuated himself into their familiarity, these Hereticks and their followers confess'd, after a great deal of pains, that they denied the human Flesh of *Jesus Christ*; that they did not believe Remission of sins was given in *Baptism*, nor that the Bread and Wine could be changed into the Body

XVII.  
The *Manicheans* begin to appear in the *West* after the year of our Lord one thousand. *Rev.* xx. 2. 3. 7. *Mat.* xii. 29. *Luke* xi. 21. 22. *Acta Conc. Aurel. spir. cil.* T. 11. *Conc. Lab. T.* ix. *Glab. lib.* 111. c. 8. XVIII.  
*Manicheans* that came from *Arab*, discover'd at *Orleans* in the time of King *Robert*.

*Glab. Ibid.* Body and Blood of *Jefus Chrift*. It was discover'd, they had a particular *Eucharift*, by them call'd the *Celestial Food*. It was cruel and abominable, and wholly fuitable to the *Manichean* genius, altho' not found amongft thofe of old. But be-  
*Atta.* sides what was feen at *Orleans*, *Guy of Nogent* alfo takes notice of it in other countries; nor is it  
*Conc.* to be wonder'd, new prodigies are to be met  
*Aurel.* with in fo clofe a Sect, whether invented by them, or but newly brought to light.

*De vita  
 fua lib.  
 111. c. 16.*

XIX. Here are the genuine Characterifticks of *Manicheifm*. We have feen thefe Hereticks reject the *Incarnation*. As for *Baptifm*, *St. Auguftin* fays exprefly, the *Manicheans did not give it, and believed it ufelefs*. *Peter of Sicily*, and after him *Cedrenus*, tells us the fame of the *Paulicians*: all together depofe, the *Manicheans* had a different *Eucharift* from ours. What was faid by the Hereticks of *Orleans*, that we ought not to beg the *Saints* affiftance, was alfo of the fame ftamp, and fprung, as is feen above, from the ancient fource of this Sect.

Sequel.  
*De her.  
 in her.  
 Man.  
 Pet. Sic.  
 Ib.  
 Cedr. T.  
 1 p. 434.*

XX. They faid nothing openly of the two principles, but fpoke with contempt of the *Creation*, and the books which record it, meaning the *Old Teftament*; and confel'd under execution, they had entertain'd evil fentiments concerning the *Univerfe*. The reader will remember, that he was judg'd the evil principle by the *Manicheans*. They went to the ftake with joy, in hopes of a miraculous deliverance; fo ftirringly were they poffeffed with the fpirit of fufedion. Now this was the firft inflance of the like punifhment. It's known, the *Roman* laws condemn'd the *Manicheans* to death: the holy King *Roberert* judg'd them worthy of the ftakes.

*Ibid.*  
*Ibid.*

*Cod. de  
 her. l. 5.*

XXI.  
 The time  
 Herety in

At the fame time, the fame Herety is discover'd in *Aquitaine* and *France*, as appears by the  
 Herety in

history of *Ademar* of *Cbabanes* Monk of the Abbey of *St. Cibard* in *Angoulesme*, contemporary with these Hereticks. An ancient writer of the history of *Aquitaine*, publish'd by the celebrated *Peter Pitbou*, acquaints us, there were discover'd in this Province, whereof *Perigord* made part, *Manicheans* that rejected *Baptism*, *the sign of the holy Cross*, *the Church*, and *the Redeemer himself*; denying *his Incarnation*, and *Passion*, and *the honour due to Saints*, *lawful Marriage*, and *the use of meat*. And the same author shews us, they were of the same Sect with the Hereticks of *Orleans*, whose error came from *Italy*.

In effect, we see the *Manicheans* had settled in that country. They were called *Cathari* as much as to say, pure. Formerly other Hereticks had assum'd that name, the *Novatians*, in the persuasion that their life was more pure, than that of others, on account of the severity of their discipline. But the *Manicheans* elated with their continency and abstinence from Flesh, which they believed unclean, accounted themselves not only *Cathari*, or pure, but also, as *St. Austin* relates, *Catharists*, namely purifiers, by reason of that part of the divine Substance, which was mix'd with the herbs and pulse together with the contrary Substance, from which in eating them, they separated and purified this divine Substance. These, I own, are monstrous opinions; and 'twere hardly to be believed, that men could have been so strangely infatuated, had not experience taught us that God sets, to man's proud mind, examples of the blindness he may fall into, when abandon'd to himself. This then is the true original of the Hereticks of *France*, sprung from the *Cathari* of *Italy*.

*Vignier*, whom our *Reformed* have accounted the Restorer of history in the last age, speaks of this

*Gascigny*  
and at  
*Toulouse*.  
*Bib. nov.*  
*L'Abb. T.*  
11. p. 176.  
180.  
*Frag. Hist.*  
*Aquit. edi.*  
*ta à Petro*  
*Pitb.*  
*Bar. T. xi.*  
*An 1017.*

XXII.  
The *Manicheans* of  
*Italy* call'd  
*Cathari*,  
and *v. ly.*

*De her.*  
*in her.*  
*Man.*

XXIII.  
Origin of  
the *Mani-*

*nicheans* of  
Toulouse  
and Italy.  
Proof that  
they came  
from Bul-  
garia.  
Bib. Hist.  
2. p. in  
the year  
1022. p.  
672.

this Heresy, and the discovery thereof made in the Council of Orleans, whose date he places, by mistake, in 1022, and observes, that, *In this year many people were taken and burnt, for the crime of Heresy, in the presence of King Robert; for it is written,* continues he, *that they spoke ill of God and the Sacraments, to wit, of Baptism and the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, as likewise of marriage; nor would eat meats that had blood and fat, reputing them unclean.* He reports, also that the chief of these Hereticks was call'd *Stephen*, whereof he cites *Galer* for witness with the chronicle of *St. Cibard*; according to whose testimony, proceeds he, many other followers of the same Heresy, call'd *Manicheans*, were executed elsewhere, as at *Toulouse* and in *Italy*. No matter, tho' this author was mistaken in the date and some other circumstances of his history: he had not seen the acts which have been recover'd since that time. It's enough that this Heresy of *Orleans*, which had *Stephen* for one of its authors, whose enormities *King Robert* took vengeance of, and whose history *Galer* hath reported, be acknowledged for *Manichean* by *Vignier*; that he held it for the source of that Heresy, which afterwards was punish'd at *Toulouse*, and that all this impiety, as we are going to see, was deriv'd from *Bulgaria*.

XXIV.  
The same  
origin  
proved by  
an ancient  
Author  
quoted by  
*Vignier*  
Addition  
to the se-  
cond part.  
p. 117

An ancient author cited in the additions of the same *Vignier* leaves no room to doubt of it. The passage of this author, which *Vignier* transcribes, in the *Letter*, imports, *That as soon as the Heresy of the Bulgarians began to spread thro' Lombardy, they led for Bishop a certain man call'd Mark. He had received his ordination from Bulgaria, and under whom were the Lombards, the Tuscans, and those of Marc-Ancona: but that another Pope, named Nicetas, came from Constantinople*

Constantinople into Lombardy, who impeach'd the ordination of Bulgaria; and that Mark had received his from *Drungaria*.

What country he meant by *Drungaria*, I have no need to examine. *Renier* thoroughly acquainted, as we shall see, with all these Heresies, tells us of the *Manichean Churches of Dugranicia and Bulgaria*, whence come all the rest of the Sect both in *Italy and France*; which perfectly well agrees, as is plain, with *Vignier's* author. In this same ancient author of *Vignier* we see, that this Heresy brought from beyond sea, to wit from Bulgaria, thence spread itself thro' other Provinces, where afterwards it was in great vogue, into *Languedoc, Toulouse, and especially into Gascony*; whence the name of *Albigenses*, as for the like reason, that of *Bulgares* was conferr'd on the Sect, on account of its origin. I shall not repeat what *Vignier* observes, how the name *Bulgare* was turn'd to its present signification in our language. The word is too infamous, but its derivation certain; nor less certain that the *Albigenses* were call'd by this name in token of the place they came from, namely from *Bulgaria*.

There needs no more to convict these Hereticks of *Manicheism*. But in process of time the evil grew more apparent, principally in *Languedoc and Toulouse*, for this City was like the *Metropolis* of the Sect, Whence the Heresy extending itself, as speaks the Canon of *Alexander III.* in the Council of *Tours*, like a cancer into the neighbouring countries, infected *Gascony and the other Provinces*. As the source of the evil, as I may say, there took its rise, there also the remedy was first applied. The Pope *Callixtus II.* held a Council at *Toulouse*, where were condemn'd the Hereticks that rejected the Sacrament of our

XXV.  
Sequel of  
the same  
passage.  
*Ren. cont.*  
*Wald. c.*  
6. T. iv.  
*Bibl. PP.*  
part. 2. f.  
759.  
*Vignier.*  
*Ib.*

XXVI.  
Council of  
*Tours* and  
*Toulouse*  
against  
the *Mani-*  
*cheans* of  
this last  
City.  
*Conc. Tur.*  
111. c. 3.

*Conc. Tol.*  
*An. 1119.*  
*Can. 3.*



*Lord's Body and Blood, Infant-Baptism, the Priesthood, and all Ecclesiastick orders, with lawful marriage.* The same Canon was repeated in the general Council of *Lateran* under *Innocent II.* The character of *Manicheism* is here seen in the condemnation of Marriage. And again, in rejecting the Sacrament of the *Eucharist*; for it ought to be taken good notice of that the *Canon* imports, not that these Hereticks had some error touching the Sacrament, but that they rejected it, as we have seen the *Manicheans* did likewise.

XXVII. As for the Priesthood and all Ecclesiastick orders, the total subversion of the Hierarchy introduced by the *Manicheans*, and the contempt they had of all Church-subordination, may be seen in *St. Augylin* and other authors. In respect of Infant-Baptism, we shall observe hereafter, that the new *Manicheans* impugn'd it with particular industry: and, altho' they rejected *Baptism* in general, what struck men with surprize was chiefly the refusal they made of this Sacrament to children, whilst the Church in general shew'd so much eagerness to confer it on them. Therefore the sensible Characteristicks whereby this *Heresy*, afterwards call'd *Albigensian Heresy*, made itself known, were specified in this Canon of *Yves* and *Lyran*. The bottom of the error lay more deeply concealed. But the more this cooled, arising from *Bulgaria* diffused itself in the *W. I.* their *Manichean* tenets became the more palpable. They penetrated into the heart of *Germany*, and the Emperor *Henry IV.* there discovered them at *Giara* a City of *Stazza*, towards the middle of the eleventh century, surpris'd whence could proceed this *Manichean* progeny. There they were known by their abstaining from the flesh of animals of what kind so ever, and



and believing their use prohibited. The error soon spread in *Germany* on all sides; and in the twelfth century, many of these Hereticks were met with near about *Cologn*. The name of *Calhari* made the Sect known, and *Ecbert* a cotemporary Author and able Divine shews us, in these *Calhari* near *Cologn*, all the *Manichean* characters: the same detestation of Flesh and Marriage: the same contempt of *Baptism*: the same abhorrence of Communion: the same repugnance to believe the truth of the Son of God's *Incarnation* and *Passion*: in short, other the like marks which it's needless to repeat.

*Ecb. Serm.*  
12. *adv.*  
*Cath. T.*  
iv.  
*Bib. PP.*  
part. 2.

But as Heresies change, or in time shew themselves plainer, so many new tenets and usages are perceptible in this. For instance, in explaining to us amongst the rest, the contempt the *Manicheans* had of *Baptism*, *Ecbert* acquaints us, that altho' they rejected the *Baptism* of Water, they gave, with lighted torches, a certain *Baptism* of Fire, whereof he sets forth the ceremony. They were obstinately bent against *Infant-Baptism*, which I observe again, it being one of the distinguishing marks of these new *Manicheans*. They had likewise another not less remarkable; their maintaining that the *Sacraments* lost their virtue by the bad life of those that administered them. Wherefore they exaggerated the corruption of the *Clergy*, in order to persuade that we had no longer any *Sacraments* amongst us; and this is one of the reasons for which we have seen they were accused of rejecting all *Ecclesiastick Orders* together with the *Priesthood*.

XXVIII.  
Sequel of  
*Ecbert's*  
sentiments  
concerning  
the *Mani-*  
*cheans* of  
*Germany.*  
*Serm. 1.*  
8. 11.  
*Ib. Serm.*  
7.  
*Ibid. Serm.*  
4. &c.

The belief of these new Hereticks, as to the two principles, was not as yet fully brought to light. For altho' men were very sensible, this was the foundation of their rejecting the union of both sexes, and whatever proceeded from it in

XXIX.  
It's disco-  
ver'd that  
they held  
two first  
principles.

all animals, as flesh, eggs, and white meats, yet as far as I can find, *Eibert* is the first that objects this error to them in express terms. Nay, *Ech. Serm. 6. p. 59.* he says, *be had most certainly discover'd*, that their private motive for abstaining from flesh was, *Because the devil was the creator of it.* You see how difficult it was to dive into the bottom of their Doctrine; yet it appear'd sufficiently by its consequences.

XXX. We learn from this same author, that these Variations of these Hereticks. *Serm. 5. p. 94.* Hereticks shew'd themselves, at times, more moderate in regard to Marriage. One call'd *Hartuzinus* allow'd a youth amongst them to marry a maiden, but required they should be both Virgins, and not proceed beyond the first child: which I take notice of in order to shew the fantasticalness of a Sect contradictory to itself, and often forced to act counter to its own principles.

XXXI. But the most certain token to know these Their industry to conceal themselves. Hereticks by, was the pains they took to conceal themselves, not only by receiving the Sacraments with us, but also by answering like us, when urg'd touching their Faith. This was the spirit of the Sect from its beginning, and we have before taken notice of it, ever since the time of *St. Austin* and *St. Leo.* *Peter* of *Sicily*, and after him *Cædrenus*, shews us the same character in the *Paulicians.* They did not only deny in general, that they were *Manicheans*, but also interpreted in particular concerning each tenet of their Faith, they feign'd themselves Catholics, betraying their sentiments by manifest lies, or at least disguising them by equivocations worse than lies, because more artful and siller fraught with hypocrisy. For example, when spoken to concerning the Water of *Baptism*, they received it, understanding by the Water of *Baptism*, the Doctrine

*Petr. Ser. mit. lib. de Her. Mar.*

*Hist. Eccl. 1. 1. 41.*

Doctrine of our Lord, whereby souls are purified. All they say abounded with the like allegories, and men took them for orthodox, unless from long custom they had learnt to see through their delusive answers.

*Ecbert* informs us of one which it was impossible to guess at. It was known they rejected the *Eucharist*; and when, to sound them on so important an article, they were ask'd whether they *made* the Body of our Lord: they answer'd readily, they *made* it, understanding that *their own Body* which they *made* in some wile by their food, was *the Body of Jesus Christ*, by reason that, according to *St. Paul*, they were the members of it. By these artifices they appear'd outwardly good Catholicks. But, what is yet more unaccountable, one of their tenets was, that the Gospel forbid swearing for whatsoever cause: nevertheless, when examin'd concerning their Religion, they believed it lawful not only to lye, but to forswear themselves, and had learnt from the ancient *Priscillianists*, another branch of the *Manicheans* known in *Spain*, this verse cited by *St. Austin*; *Jura, perjura, secretum prodere noli: Swear true or false, as long as thou betrayest not the secret of the Sect.* For which reason, *Ecbert* styl'd them *obscure men*, men that did not preach, but whisper'd in the ear, who lurk'd in corners, and mutter'd rather in private than explain'd their Doctrine. This was one of the Sect's allurements: there was something of a charm in this impenetrable Secret observed amongst them; and as the wise man said, *Those waters you drink by stealth are the pleasantest.* *St. Bernard*, who was well acquainted with these Hereticks, as we shall soon see, remarks in them this particular character, that, whereas other Hereticks, egg'd on by the spirit of pride, sought only to make themselves

XXXII.  
Their equivocations when interrogated about Faith.  
*Ecb. Sermon. 1. 11.*

*Bern. in Cant. Sermon. 65.*

*De her. in her. Priscil. Ecb. Sermon. 2. Bern. 16. in lib. id. Sermon. 1. 2. 7. &c. Ibid.*

*Prover. ix. 17. Sermon. 65. in Cantic.*

known; these, on the contrary, strove only to conceal themselves: others aim'd at victory; but these, more mischievous, sought only to annoy, lurking silently in the grass, that they might in-  
 du' their poison the more securely as the bite was less expected. The thing was; their error, once discover'd, was already half vanquish'd by its own absurdity: wherefore they betook themselves to the ignorant, to mechanicks, to silly women, to peasants, and recommended nothing so much to them as this mysterious Secret.

*Ibid.* I. b.  
*in. t. lib*  
 &c.  
*Bern.*  
*Serm.* 65.  
 66.

XXXIII.

*Enserin*  
 consults  
*St. Bern.*  
 & about  
 the *Moni*  
*clasticar*  
*Colleg.*  
*Enserin.*  
*Ep.* ad B.  
*Bern.*  
*Anul.* 111.  
 l. 452  
*Ibid.* 455  
 456.  
 P. 457.

*Enserin*, who served God in a Church near *Colign* at the time these new *Manicheans*, whom *Echert* speaks of, were discover'd there, gives in the main the same account of them as this author; and not finding in the Church a greater Doctor he could address himself to for their conviction than the great *St. Bernard*, Abbot of *Clairvaux*, he wrote him that fine letter the learned *Francis Malillon* hath given us in his *Anals*. Therein, besides the *Dogmata* of these Hereticks which it is needless to repeat, we see the partialities which occasion'd their discovery: we see the distinction betwixt the *Auditors* and the *Elect*, a certain character of *Manicheism* specified by *St. Aglin*: we there see, that they had their *Pope*, a truth which afterwards became more manifest: and insue, that they boasted, *Their D Brine had a continued succession down to us, but hidden ever since the time of the Martyr*, and after that in *Greece*, and in *some other countries*; which is very true, since it came from *Marcion* and *Marc*: Heresiarchs of the third century: and thence by it is apparent, in whose shop was first vend'd this method of maintaining the Church's perpetuity, by a hidden series, and Doctors pick'd up here and there without any manifest and legitimate succession.

But

But lest it should be said, the Doctrine of these Hereticks was, perchance, calumniated for want of being well understood: it appears as well by *Enervin's* letter as by *Ecbert's* sermons, that the examination of these Hereticks was made in publick, and that it was one of their Bishops with a companion of his who defended their Doctrine to their utmost in the presence of the Archbishop, the whole Clergy, and all the People.

St. *Bernard*, whom the pious *Enervin* excited to confute these Hereticks, then composed the two fine Sermons on the *Canticles*, in which he so vigorously impugn'd the Hereticks of his time. They carry so manifest a relation to *Enervin's* letter, that it's plain this gave occasion to them: but it's no less plain by St. *Bernard's* so assured and positive way of speaking, that he had also other informations, and knew more of the matter than *Enervin* himself. And indeed, it was now above twenty years, since *Peter de Bruis* and his disciple *Henry* had secretly spread their errors in *Dauphiny*, in *Provence*, and especially in the neighbourhood of *Toulouse*. St. *Bernard* took a journey into that country expressly to root up this bad seed, and the miracles he there wrought, in Confirmation of the *Catholick* truth, are more conspicuous than the Sun. But the material point to be observed is, that he spar'd no pains to inform himself fully concerning a Heresy he was going to oppose; and after frequent conferences with the disciples of these Hereticks, he could not be ignorant of their Doctrine. Now he distinctly instances, together with their condemnation of *Infant-Baptism*, the invocation of *Saints*, the oblations for the Dead; that of the use of *Marriage*, and of all that proceeded, far or near, from the union of both sexes, as flesh and white meats. He taxes them likewise with not

XXXIV.  
These Hereticks interrogated before all the people. *Ibid.* 453. *Ecb. Serm.* 1.

XXXV.  
The tenets of these Hereticks refuted by St. *Bernard*, who was well acquainted with them at *Toulouse*.

*Serm.* 66.

*Serm.* 65.



*Serm. 66.* admitting the *Old Testament*, and their receiving the *Gospel* only. Another also of their errors remark'd by *St. Bernard* was, that a sinner ceased to be a Bishop, and that the *Popes, the Archbishops, the Bishops, and Priests* were neither capable of giving, or receiving the *Sacraments*, by reason they were sinners. But what he most insists on, is their hypocrisy, not only in the deceitful appearance of their austere and penitential life, but also in the custom they constantly observed of receiving the *Sacraments* with us, and professing our Doctrine publickly, which they inveigh'd against in secret. *St. Bernard* shews, their piety was all dissimulation. In appearance they blamed commerce with women, and nevertheless were all seen to pass days and nights apart with them. The profession they made of abhorring the sex, seem'd to warrant their not abusing it. They believed all oaths forbidden, yet, examined concerning their Faith, did not stick at perjury: such oddness and inconsistency is there in extravagant minds! From all these things *St. Bernard* concluded, this was the mystery of iniquity foretold by *St. Paul*, so much the more to be fear'd, the more hidden it was; and that these were they whom the Holy Ghost made known to the same Apostle, as giving heed to seducing Spirits and Doctrines of devils, speaking lies in hypocrisy; having their conscience fear'd with a hot iron; forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats which God hath created. All the characters agree too clearly with them to need insisting on; behold here the fine Ancestors our Calvinists have chosen.

*XXVI.* To say that these Hereticks of *Toulouse*, of whom *St. Bernard* speaks, are not the same with those vulgarly call'd *Albigenses*, were too gross a fallacy. The Ministers are agreed that *Peter de Bruis*,



*Bruis*, and *Henry* are two Chiefs of this Sect, and that *Peter* the venerable Abbot of *Cluny* their cotemporary, of whom we shall soon speak, attack'd the *Albigenses* under the name of *Petrobuzians*. If the chiefs are convicted of *Manicheism*, the disciples have not degenerated from this Doctrine, and these bad trees may be judged of by their fruit: for altho' it be certain from *St. Bernard's* letters, and from the authors then living, that he converted many of these *Toulousian* Hereticks, the disciples of *Peter de Bruis* and *Henry*, yet the race was not extinguish'd, which the more private it kept itself, the more profelites it gain'd. They were call'd *the good men* from their apparent meekness and simplicity: but their Doctrine became manifest in an interrogatory, many of them underwent at *Lombex* a little town near *Alby*, in a Council held there in 1176.

*Gaucelin* Bishop of *Lodeve*, of no less capacity in sound Doctrine than penetration into their artifices, was there commission'd to examine them about their Faith. They shuffle in many articles; they lye in others: but own in express terms, that *They reject the Old Testament; that they believe the Consecration of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ equally good whether made by Laymen or Clergy, if good men; that all swearing is unlawful; and that Bishops and Priests, devoid of the qualities prescribed by St. Paul, are neither Bishops nor Priests.* They never could be brought, whatever was said, to approve of Marriage, nor Infant-Baptism; and the obstinate refusal to acknowledge such certain truths, was taken for a confession of their error. They were condemn'd also from the Scripture as men that refused to confess their Faith; and on all the points proposed, were urged home by *Ponce* Archbishop of *Narbonne*,

*La Req. Hist. dr. l'Euch.*  
452. 453.

*Ep. 241. ad Tol. Vit. S. Bern. lib. 111. c. 5.*

*Art. Conc. Lomb. T. x. Conc. Lab. An. 1176.*

XXXVII.  
The Council of *Lombex*. Famous examination of these Hereticks.



words, but denied it in their hearts, and turn'd the mystery into impertinent allegories.

This is likewise what St. *Austin* fully informs us of. *Faustus* Bishop of the *Manicheans* had written: *We confess under three names one only and the same Divinity of God the Father Almighty, of Jesus Christ his Son, and of the Holy Ghost.* But then he further adds: *that the Father dwelt in the principal and sovereign light call'd by St. Paul inaccessible. As for the Son, he resided in the second light, which is visible; and being twofold, according to the Apostle who speaks of the power and wisdom of Jesus Christ, his power resided in the Sun, and his wisdom in the Moon; and finally in regard of the Holy Ghost, his habitation was in our ambient air.* This is what *Faustus* said: whereby St. *Austin* convicts him of separating the *Son* from the *Father* even by corporeal spaces; nay, of separating him from himself, and of separating the *Holy Ghost* from them both; to situate them also, as did *Faustus*, in so unequal places, was placing betwixt the divine Persons a too manifest inequality. Such were these allegories fraught with ignorance, by which *Peter* of *Sicily* convicted the *Manicheans* of denying the *Trinity*. Such an explanation as this was far from a Confession of it; but, as St. *Austin* says, *was squaring the belief of the Trinity by the rule of his own conceits.* An author of the twelfth century, cotemporary with St. *Bernard*, acquaints us that these Hereticks declined saying, *Gloria Patri*; and *Renier* has it expressly, the *Cathari* or *Albigenses* did not believe that the *Trinity* was one only God, but believed that the *Father* was greater than the *Son* and the *Holy Ghost*. No wonder then that the *Catholicks* have sometimes rank'd the *Manicheans* with those that denied

XI.  
The senti-  
ment of  
the Ma-  
nicheans  
concerning  
the Tri-  
nity, from  
St. *Austin*.  
*Faust. ap.*  
*Aug. lib.*  
xx. cont.  
*Faust.*  
*ibid. c.*

*Herib.*  
*Mon. Fp.*  
*Anal.*  
111.

*Ren. cont.*  
*Wald. c.*  
6. T. iv.  
*Bib. PP.*

† 759.

the

the *bleſſed Trinity*, and, on this conſideration, given them the name of *Arrians*.

XLI.  
Mani-  
beans at  
Siffons.  
The testi-  
mony of  
Guy of  
Nogent.  
*De vita  
ſua lib.  
111 c.  
16.*

To return to the *Manicheiſm* of theſe Here-  
ticks, *Guy of Nogent*, a celebrated author of the  
twelfth age and ancients than *St. Bernard*, ſhews  
us Hereticks near *Soiſons* that *made a phantom of  
the Incarnation; that rejected Infant-baptiſm;  
that held in abhorrence the Myſtery wrought at the  
Altar; yet took the Sacraments with us; that re-  
jected all manner of Fleſh, and whatſoever proceeds  
from the union of both ſexes.* They made, after  
the example of thoſe Hereticks above-ſeen at  
*Orleans*, a *Eucharift and Sacrifice* not fit to be  
deſcribed? and, to ſhew themſelves completely  
like the other *Manicheans*, they conceal'd them-  
ſelves like them, and mix'd clandestinely amongſt us,  
confeſſing and ſwearing any thing, to ſave them-  
ſelves from puniſhment.

*Wid.*

XII.  
Testimony  
of Radul-  
phus Ar-  
dens con-  
cerning the  
Hereticks  
of the  
Agenois  
land.  
*Wid. de  
v. p. 1.  
111 c. 11.*

Let us add to theſe witneſſes *Radulphus Ardens*  
a renown'd author of the eleventh age, in the  
deſcription he gives us of the Hereticks of the  
*Agenois*, who brag of leading the life of the *Apo-  
ſtles; who ſay, they do not lye, they do not ſwear;  
who condemn the uſe of Fleſh and Marriage; who  
reject the Old Teſtament, and receive a part only  
of the New; and, what is more terrible, admit  
two Creators; who ſay, the Sacrament of the Altar  
is nothing but meer Bread; who deſpiſe Baptiſm  
and the Reſurrection of bodies.* Are not theſe  
*Manicheans* in their proper colours? Now, we  
deſery no other Characterticks in them than in  
thoſe of *Toulouse* and *Alay*, whoſe Sect, we have  
ſeen, extended itſelf into *Gaſcony* and the adja-  
cent Provinces. *Agen* alio had its particular  
Dottors: but, be that as it will, the ſame ſpirit  
is diſcernable every where, and all is of the ſame  
ſtamp.

Thirty of these Hereticks of *Gascony* took shelter in *England* in the year 1160. They were call'd *Poplicans* or *Publicans*. But let us see what was their Doctrine from *Gulielmus Neobridgensis* an Historian near to those times, whose testimony *Spelman*, a *Protestant* author, has inserted in the second Tome of his *English Councils*. These Hereticks, says he, were brought before the Council held at Oxford. Girard, the only person of any learning, answer'd well as to the substance of the heavenly Physician: but proceeding to the remedies he had left us, they spoke very ill, abhorring *Baptism*, the *Eucharist* and *Marriage*, and despising *Catholick unity*. Protestants put in the Catalogue of their ancestors these *Gascoign Hereticks*, for speaking ill (in the sentiment of the *English* nation then believing the *Real Presence*) of the *Eucharistick Sacrament*. But they ought to have consider'd, that these *Poplicans* stand accused, not of denying the *Real Presence*, but of abhorring the *Eucharist* no less than *Baptism* and *Marriage*: three visible Characteristicks of *Manicheism*; nor do I hold these Hereticks wholly justified as to the other points, under pretext that they did not answer amiss; for we have seen too much of the wiles of these people; and at best they would be never the less *Manicheans* for mitigating some few errors of this Sect.

Even the name of *Publicans* or *Poplicans* was a name of the *Manicheans*, as is manifestly seen from the testimony of *William le Breton*. This author, in the life of *Philip August* dedicated to his eldest Son *Lewis*, speaking of these Hereticks, vulgarly call'd *Poplicans*, says, that they rejected *Marriage*; accounted it a crime to eat flesh; and had other superstitious specified by *St. Paul* in few words: viz. in the first to *Timothy*.

Our

XLIII.  
The same Hereticks in *England*. *Gul. Neobridg. Rev. Ang. lib. 11. c. 13. Conc. Oxon. T. 11. Conc. Ang. Conc. Lab. T. x. An. 1160.*  
*La Roq. Hist. de l'Euch. ch. 18. p. 460.*

XLIV.  
That the *Poplicans* or *Publicans* are *Manicheans*. *Phil. lib. 1. D. ch. T v. Hist. Franc. p.*

102.



XIV.  
The Mi-  
nisters  
make the  
*Vaudois*  
*Mani-  
cheans*  
in making  
them *Pro-  
prietari*.  
*La Roq.*

Our *Reformed* nevertheless think they do an honour to the disciples of *Waldo* by ranking them amongst the *Poplicans*. There needed no more to condemn the *Vaudois*. But I shall take no advantage from this mistake: I shall leave to the *Vaudois* their particular Heresies, it being enough for me here to have shewn the *Poplicans* convicted of *Manicheism*.

455.  
XLVI.  
The *Ma-  
nicians* of  
*Ermengard*.  
*Auber.*  
*La Rq.*

I own, with the *Protestants*, that *Ermengard's* treatise ought not to have been intitled, *against the Vaudois*, as it was by *Greiser*, for he speaks in no kind about these Hereticks: but the thing was, in *Greiser's* time, the general name of *Vaudois* was given to all Sects separate from *Rome* ever since the eleventh or twelfth century down to *Luther's* days; which was the reason that this author, publishing divers treatises against these Sects, gave them this common title, *against the Vaudois*. Yet he did not omit to preserve, to each book, the title he had found in the Manuscript. Now *Ermengard* or *Ermengaud* had intitled his book thus: A Treatise against these Hereticks *whom they call the Devils, and not God, that created the world and all things visible*. He refutes in particular, chapter by chapter, all the errors of these Hereticks, which are all those of *Manicheism* so frequently remark'd by us. If they speak against the *Resurrection*, they speak no less against *Baptism*: if they reject the worship of Saints and our other doctrinal points, they do no less reject the *Creation*, the *Incarnation*, the *Law* of *Moses*, *Marriage*, eating of *Flesh*, and the *Resurrection*; so that to value themselves on the authority of this Sect, is placing their glory in infamy itself.

*Tom. x.*  
*Bib. pp.*  
*v. par. p.*  
233

*H. t. ap.*  
xi.  
*Ibid. xii.*  
*Ibid. xiii.*  
*Ibid. c. i.*  
II. III  
vii.  
*Ibid. v.*  
xv. xvi.

XLVII.  
An *exemplar*  
of the *La Rq.*

I pass by many other witnesses which after so many convincing proofs are no longer necessary:

but



but some there are not to be omitted, on account that they insensibly lead us to the knowledge of the *Vaudois*.

In the first place, I produce *Alanus* a famous Monk of the *Cistercian Order*, and one of the first authors that writ against the *Vaudois*. He dedicated a treatise against the Hereticks of his time to the Count of *Montpellier* his Lord, and divided it into two books. The first concerns the Hereticks of his country. To them he ascribes the two principles, the denial of *Jesus Christ's* Incarnation, and attributing to him a fantastical body, and all the other points of *Manicheism* against the law of *Moses*, against the *Resurrection*, against the use of *Flesh*, and *Marriage*: to which he adds some other things we had not as yet seen in the *Albigenses*; amongst others, the damnation of *St. John Baptist* for having doubted of the coming of *Jesus Christ*, for they took for a doubt, in this holy precursor, what he caused his disciples to say to our Saviour, *Art thou he that should come?* a most extravagant notion, but very conformable to what *Faustus* the *Manichean* writes, as *St. Austin* testifies. The other authors, that wrote against these new *Manicheans*, unanimously lay the same error to their charge.

In the second part of his work, *Alanus* treats concerning the *Vaudois*, and there makes a list of their errors, which we shall see in due place: it suffices to observe here, that there is nothing amongst them favouring of *Manicheism*, and that at first sight, these two Heresies are quite distinguish'd.

That of *Waldo* was as yet a novelty. It took its rise at *Lions* in the Year 1160, and *Alanus* wrote in 1202, at the beginning of the thirteenth century. A little after, and near upon the

the authors, who treat of the *Manicheans* and *Vaudois*, is proceeded to.

XLVIII. Proof from

*Alanus* that the Hereticks of *Montpellier* are *Manicheans*.

*Alan. l. 1. 31.*

*Mat. xi. 3.*

*Li. v. cont.*

*Faust. c. 1.*

*Ebrard.*

*Antibecr.*

*c. 13. T.*

*iv.*

*Bib. PP. p.*

*1332.*

*Ermeng. c.*

*vi. ibid.*

*1339. &c.*

XLIX.

The same author distinguishes the *Vaudois* from the *Manicheans*.

L.

*Peter of Vaucerny* distinguishes mighty

well these two Sects, and shews the *Albigenses* are *Manicheans*.  
*Hist. Albi.*  
*Pet. Men.*  
*Val-Cern.*  
*cap. 2. T.*  
*v.*  
*Hist.*  
*Franc.*  
*Duchésn.*  
*Ibid*

year 1209, *Peter of Vaucernay* compiled his history of the *Albigenses*, where treating on the different Sects and Heresies of his time, he begins with the *Manicheans*, and specifies their several parties, wherein are always to be seen some Characteristicks of those above observed in *Manicheism*, altho' in some strain'd higher, and in others more temper'd according to the fancy of these Hereticks. Be that as it will, the whole is bottom'd on *Manicheism*, and this is the peculiar Characteristick of that Heresy, which *Peter de Vaucernay* represents to us in the Province of *Narbonne*, namely the Heresy of the *Albigenses* whose history he undertakes. Nothing like this does he attribute to the other Hereticks, of whom he treats. There were, says he, other Hereticks call'd *Vaudois*, from a certain *Waldius* of *Lions*. These doublets were bad, but nothing in comparison of the first. Then he observes in few words four of their capital errors, and immediately after returns to his *Albigenses*. But these errors of the *Vaudois* are far remote from *Manicheism*, as will soon appear: here then we have again the *Albigenses* and *Vaudois*, two Sects thoroughly distinguish'd, and the last clear from any character of *Manicheism*.

11  
*Peter of Vaucernay*, in his plain way has well specified the Characteristicks of the *Manicheans*.

The *Protestants* will have it, that *Peter of Vaucernay* spoke of the *Albigensian* Heresy, without well knowing what he said, on account of his charging them with blasphemies which are not to be found even in the *Manicheans*. But who can answer for all the secrets and new inventions of this abominable Sect. What *Peter of Vaucernay* makes them speak touching the two *Jesús's*, whereof one was born in the visible and territorial *Bethlehem*, the other in the celestial and invisible, is much of a piece with the other extravagancies of the *Manicheans*. This invisible *Bethlehem* does

does not ill suit with the supernatural *Jerusalem*, *Petr. Sic.* which *Peter of Sicily's Paulicians* call'd the *Mother of God*, whence *Jesus Christ* proceeded. Say what they will of the visible *Jesus*, that he was not the true *Christ*, that he was accounted evil by these *Hereticks*, I see nothing in all that more extravagant than the other blasphemies of the *Manicheans*. We meet in *Renier* with *Hereticks* holding somewhat akin to what the *Manicheans* held, and acknowledging a *Christ* Son of *Joseph* and *Mary*, evil at first and a sinner, but afterwards turn'd good, and the restorer of their Sect. Certain it is, these *Manichean Hereticks* were much addicted to change. *Renier*, *Ibid.* 759: once of their number, distinguishes the new from the ancient opinions, and observes many novelties to have sprouted up amongst them in his time, and since the year 1230. Ignorance and extravagance seldom hold long in the same state, and know no bounds in man. However it be, if hatred conceived against the *Albigenses* made men charge them with *Manicheism*, or if you please, something worse than hatred; whence does proceed that care they took to excuse the *Vaulois*, since it cannot be supposed they were better loved than those, or less declared enemies to the Church of *Rome*? Yet we have already two authors very zealous for the *Catholick Doctrine*, and very averse to the *Vaulois*, who carefully distinguish them from the *Manichean Albigenses*.

Here is also a third not less considerable. 'Tis *III.* *Ebrard* native of *Bethune*, whose book intitled, *Distinction of the two Sects by Ebrard of Bethune.* *Ibid.* 1075. *Antibeggy*, was composed against the *Hereticks of Flanders*. These *Hereticks* were call'd *Piples* or *Pipples* in that country language. A *Protestant* author does not conjecture ill, imagining this word *Pipples* to be a corruption from that





affinities as well as the diversities of one from the other. In him, every where are to be seen very clearly the principles, the impieties, and the whole spirit of *Manicheism*. The distinction of the *Elab* and *Adherers*, a particular Characteristick of the Sect, frequent in *St. Austin* and other authors, is found here distinguish'd under another name. We learn from *Renier*, that these Hereticks, besides the *Cathari* or *Pure*, the most consummate of the Sect, had also another class which they call'd *their Believers*, made up of all sorts of people. These were not admitted to all the Mysteries; and the same *Renier* relates that the number of the perfect *Cathari*, in his time, when the Sect was weakned, *Did not exceed four thousand in all Christendom*; but that the *Believers* were *innumerable a computation*; says he, *which journal time has been made amongst them.*

*Elab* 777

*Adherers* 777

#### IV

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Amongst the *ceremonies* of these Hereticks their imposition of hands in order to remit sins is chiefly to be observed: they call'd it *Cytilation*; it is read both in that of *Basilin* and *Pennin*. You see it in the above *Concil* of *Orleans*, in *Leontius*, *Isidore*, and in *Emmerent*. *Renier* gives the best account of it, as an adept in the Mysteries of the Sect. But the most remarkable thing in *Renier's* book is the extolling of the Churches of the *Cathari*, and his account of the Heretics who were in at his time. They were of six sorts, all, and amongst the rest he reckons *the Church of France, the Church of Lyons, the Church of Com, the Church of Metz, and others, the Church of Babaria, and the Church of Daquaria*, &c. &c. says he, *These were the* &c. &c. The reader'd, I think, how the *Manicheism* of the *Heretics* can be call'd in question, that is, that it is not the *Manicheism* of *Basilin*. The reader has but to call to mind the



the two Orders of *Bulgaria* and *Drungaria* mentioned by *Vignier's* author, and which united themselves in *Lombardy*. I repeat once more that there is no necessity of searching what this *Drungaria* can be. These obscure Hereticks often took their name from unknown places. *Renier* tells us of *Runcarians*, a *Manichean* Sect of his time, whose name was taken from a village. Who knows but this word, *Runcarians*, was a corruption of *Druncarians*?

*Ren. ibi*  
p. 753.  
756.

We find in the same author, and elsewhere, so many different names of these Hereticks, that it were labour lost to inquire their origin. *Patarians*, *Poplicans*, *Toulousians*, *Albigenses*, *Cathari*, were under different names, and often with some diversity, in Sect *Manicheans*, all of *Bulgarian* descent; whence also they took the name most in use among the vulgar.

So certain is this origin, that we find it acknowledged even in the thirteenth century. At this time, says *Matthew Paris* (*viz.*, in the year 1223,) the *Albigensian* Hereticks made themselves an Antipope call'd *Bartholomew*, in the confines of *Bulgaria*, *Croatia*, and *Dalmatia*. It appears afterwards, that the *Albigenses* went in crowds to consult him; that he had a *Vicar* at *Carcassone* and *Toulouse*, and dispatch'd his Bishops far and near: which comes up manifestly to what was said by *Enercin*, that these Hereticks had their Pope; altho' the same author acquaints us that all did not own him. And that no doubt might remain as to the error of the *Albigenses* mentioned by *Matthew Paris*; the same author assures us, *The Albigensians of Spain* that took up arms in 1234, amongst many other errors, *Particularly denied the Mystery of the Incarnation*.

LVII.  
The same origin proved from *Matthew Paris*.  
The Pope of the *Albigenses* in *Bulgaria*.  
*Mat. Paris in Henr.*  
111.  
*An.* 1223.  
p. 317.  
*Et Error. ad S. Bernard.*  
*An.*  
*Mabil.*

Notwithstanding such great impieties, the outward appearance of these Hereticks was surpris-

111.  
*Ibid. An.*  
1234. p.  
395



But *St. Austin* and *St. Bernard* shew them, that their virtue was nothing but vain ostentation. To carry the abstinence from meats so far as to say, they are unclean and evil in their nature; and continence, even to the condemnation of Marriage, is, on one hand, to attack the *Creator*, and, on the other, loosing the reins to evil desires by leaving them absolutely without a remedy. Never believe any good of those who run virtue to extremes. The depravation of their minds venting itself in such extravagance of speech, introduces into their lives disorders without end.

*St. Austin* informs us that these people, who debarr'd themselves of Marriage, allow'd liberty for every thing else. What, according to their principles, they properly had in abhorrence (I am ashamed to be forced to repeat it) was conception, whereby appears, what an inlet was open'd to the abominations, whereof the old and new *Manicheans* stand convicted. But, as among the different Sects of these new *Manicheans*, there were degrees of weakness, the most infamous of all were those call'd *Patarians*; which I the more willingly take notice of by reason that our *Reformed*, who place them expressly amongst the *Vaudois*, glory in descending from them.

Those that make the greatest ostentation of their virtue and the purity of their lives, generally speaking, are the most corrupt. It may have been observed how these impure *Manicheans* prided themselves, at their beginning, and thro' the whole progress of the Sect, in a virtue more severe than that of others; and in the view of enhancing their own merit said, that the *Sacraments* and *Mysteries* lost their efficacy in impure hands. It's necessary to take good notice of this part of their Doctrine, which we have seen in

LX.  
Their hypocrisy  
confound  
ed by *St. Austin* and  
*St. Bernard*.  
*Bern.*  
*Serm. 66.*  
*in Cant.*

LXI  
The infirmity of these  
Hereticks  
and chiefly  
of the *Patarians*.  
*Aug.*  
*Ren. c.*  
xvi.  
*Ebrard c.*  
26. *T. iv.*  
*Bib. PP.*  
1. *part. p.*  
1178.  
*Ren. c.*  
vi. *T. iv.*  
*Bib. PP.*  
2. *part. p.*  
753.

*La Roy.*  
*hist. de*  
*l'Église.* 2.  
*part. ch.*  
18. *p.*  
445.

LXII.  
Doctrine  
of these  
Hereticks  
that the  
effect of  
the *Sacra-*  
*ments* de-

pend on  
the sancti-  
ty of the  
Ministers.  
*Rev. c.*  
*vi. ibid. p.*  
*756 759.*  
*Ermen. c.*  
*14 de*  
*irreg.*  
*Mar.*  
*J. de. p.*  
*1254.*

*Euerzin*, in *St. Bernard*, and in the *Council of Lombez*. Wherefore *Romer* repeats twice, that this imposition of hands, by them call'd *Consolation*, and wherein they plac'd the remission of sins, was unprofitable to the receiver, if the giver of it were in sin, tho' hidden. Their manner of accounting for this Doctrine, according to *Ermenegard*, was because a person having lost the *Holy Ghost*, is no longer impower'd to give it; which was the very reason alledged by the *Denists* of old.

IXIII.  
They can  
damn all  
oaths and  
punish-  
ment of  
crimes.  
*Jorn.*  
*de. c. 60.*  
*de. c. 61.*  
*de. c. 62.*  
*de. c. 63.*  
*de. c. 64.*  
*de. c. 65.*  
*de. c. 66.*  
*de. c. 67.*  
*de. c. 68.*  
*de. c. 69.*  
*de. c. 70.*  
*de. c. 71.*  
*de. c. 72.*  
*de. c. 73.*  
*de. c. 74.*  
*de. c. 75.*  
*de. c. 76.*  
*de. c. 77.*  
*de. c. 78.*  
*de. c. 79.*  
*de. c. 80.*

It was moreover for shew of sanctity and to raise themselves above others, that they said, a Christian ought never to affirm the truth by oath for what cause soever, not even in a Court of judicature, and that it was unlawful to put any one to death however criminal. The *Vandos*, as we shall see, borrow'd from them all these extravagant maxims and all this vain exterior of piety.

Such were the *Abigens* by the testimony of all their cotemporary authors, not one excepted. The *Prophets* blush for them, and all they can answer is, that these excesses, these errors, and all these disorders of the *Abigens*, are the calamities of their enemies. But have they so much as one proof for what they advance, or even one author of those times, and for more than four hundred years after, to back them in it? For our part, we produce as many witnesses as have been authors in the whole universe who have treated of this Sect. Those that were obliterated in their principles have reveal'd to us their abominable secret, and their conversion. We trace up the *Abigens* by it even to its first rise, we shew whence it came, which way it took, its course, all its Characteristics, and its whole pedigree branching from the *Mandean* root.

They

They oppose against us conjectures, nay, what conjectures? We shall take a view of them, for I mean to produce here those that carry the best appearance.

The greatest effort of our adversaries, is in order to justify *Peter de Bruis* and his disciple *Henry*. *St. Bernard*, say they, accuses them of condemning *Meats* and *Marriage*. But *Peter* the venerable *Abbot of Cluny*, who much about that time refuted *Peter de Bruis*, speaks nothing of these errors, and accuses him of five only: of denying *Infant-Baptism*, of condemning *Kal-lo'd Churches*, of breaking *Crosses* instead of venerating them, of rejecting the *Eucharist*, of ridiculing *Oblations* and *Prayers* for the dead. *St. Bernard* avers, this Heretick and his followers received only the *Gospel*. But venerable *Peter* speaks doubtingly of it. *Fame*, says he, hath publish'd that you do not wholly believe either in *Jesus Christ*, or the *Prophets*, or the *Apostles*: but reports, frequently deceitful, are not to be lightly credited, there being some even that say, you reject the whole *Canon of the Scriptures*. Whereupon he adds: *I will not blame you for what is uncertain*. Here *Protestants* commend the prudence of venerable *Peter*, and blame *St. Bernard's* credulity, as one too easily assenting to confused reports.

But in the first place, to take only what the *Abbot of Cluny* reproves as certain in this Heretick, there is more than enough to condemn him. *Calvin* has number'd amongst blasphemies the Doctrine condemning *Infant-Baptism*. The denying it with *Peter de Bruis*, and his disciple *Henry*, was refusing salvation to the most innocent age of man; it was saying, that for so many ages, during which scarce any were baptized but children, there had been no *Baptism* in the world,

LXV.  
Examina-  
tion of  
*Peter de  
Bruis's*  
Doctrin.  
The Mi-  
nisters ob-  
jection  
taken from  
*Peter of  
Cluny.*  
*Petr. Ven.*  
cap. *Pe-  
trobr.*

T. xxii.  
*Bib. Max.*  
p. 1034.  
*Serm. 65.*  
*in Cant.*  
*Petr. Vener.*  
*Ibid.* p.  
1037.

LXVI  
*Peter de  
Bruis's*  
Doctrin  
according  
to *Peter of  
Cluny.*  
*Opus cont.*  
*Sacerd.*

world, no *Sacrament*, no *Church*, no *Christians*. 'Tis what caus'd horror in the *Abbot of Cluny*. The rest of *Peter de Beau's* errors, refuted by this venerable author, are not less insupportable. Let us give ear to what he is reproach'd with in regard of the *Eucharist* by this holy *Abbot*, who hath just declared to us, he will object nothing to him but what is certain. *H. deems*, says he, *that the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ can be made by virtue of the divine word and ministry of the Priest, and avers, all that is done at the Altar is unprofitable*. This is not only denying the truth of the Body and Blood, but like the *Manicheans*, rejecting absolutely the *Eucharist*. For which reason the holy *Abbot* says a little after: *Were your Heresy contain'd within the bounds of that of Berengarius, who in denying the truth of the Body did not deny the Sacrament or the appearance and figure of it, I would refer you to the authors that have refuted him*. But, proceeds he a little after, *you add error to error, Heresy to Heresy; and not only deny the truth of the Flesh and Blood of Jesus Christ, but their Sacrament, its figure and their appearance; and exclude God's people without a justification*.

LXVI.

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As for the errors this holy *Abbot* speaks not to, and those he doubts of, it's easy to comprehend that the reason of this way, their not being as yet fully and fully proved, nor all the force of a *Sermon*, which has so many windings and turnings, though they had said at the beginning, *They come to fight by degrees, and come to Peter's office by degrees, and thus the disciples of Beau had said a great deal to the purpose, and could not have done so. He had by this time written a great deal more. He had by this time given what he thought fit to be said, and had by this time said all that he thought fit to be said.*



for still further assurance. *St. Bernard*, who had beheld these Hereticks at close view, knew more of them than *venerable Peter* who wrote only from report: nor did he know all, and for that reason, would not venture to call them compleat *Manicheans*; for he was not less circumspect than *venerable Peter* to impute nothing to them but what was certain. Accordingly, observe how he speaks of their impurities: *men say, they do shameful things in private.* *Men say*, implies, he had not as yet a full assurance of them, for which reason he forbore to speak positively. Those that knew them, spoke out: but this discretion of *St. Bernard* makes it plain, how certain that was, with which he reproach'd them.

But, it's objected, he was credulous, and *Otho* of *Freisingen*, an author of those times, has reproach'd him with it. We must also hearken to this conjecture, which the *Protestants* lay such stress on. It is true, *Otho* of *Freisingen* thinks *St. Bernard* too credulous, by reason he caused the manifest errors of *Gilbert de la Poiree* Bishop of *Poitiers* to be condemn'd, which his disciple *Otho* strove to extenuate. This reproach of *Otho* is therefore the excuse which an affectionate disciple prepares for his master. However let us see, wherein he makes *St. Bernard's* credulity to consist. *In this*, says *Otho*, that *this Abbot, as well from the fervor of his Faith, as his innate goodness, being a little too credulous; the Doctors that relied too much on human reason, and the wisdom of this world, were mistrusted by him; and if he were inform'd, their Doctrine was not wholly conformable to Faith, he easily believed it.* Was he in the wrong? no certainly, and experience sufficiently evidences that *Peter Abelard*, who for this reason incur'd his suspicion, and *Gilbert*, who explain'd the *Trinity* rather according to *Aristotle's* topics

Serm. 66.

Serm. 65.

LXVIII.

Answer to

what is

objected

concerning

St. Ber-

nard's

credulity.

Albert.

La Rog.

Oth.

Epic. in

Fider.

lib. 1. c.

26. 27.

Ibid.



*the Church. Otherwise, this fact, which is manifest, will make us suspect the rest, tho' not so manifest. He was not too credulous in this suspicion, and the filthiness of these false pretenders to Continnence has since been revealed to the whole world.*

How comes it then to pass that the *Protestants* undertake the defence of these villains? The reason is but too evident. 'Tis the earnest desire they have of finding out predecessors. They meet with none but such as these that stood out against venerating the Cross, praying to Saints, making oblations for the Dead. They are concerned to find no where the foot steps of their *Reformation* but amongst the *Manicheans*. Because they inveigh against the *Pope* and Church of *Rome*, the *Reformation* is inclined to favour them. The *Catholicks* of those times reproach them with their bad notions concerning the *Eucharist*. Our *Protestants* would have been glad they had been but meer *Berengarians*, displeas'd with the *Eucharist* in part, not *Manicheans*, averse to it in the whole. But tho' it had been so, these *Reformed*, whom you will have your brethren, conceal'd their Doctrine, frequented our Churches, honour'd Priests, went to the oblation: confess'd their sins, communicated, received with us, continues St. Bernard, the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ. Behold them therefore in our assemblies, which in their hearts they detested as the Conventicles of Satan; present at Mass, which, in their error, they accounted an *Idolatry* and *Sacrilege*; and in short, practising the usages of the Church of *Rome*, which they believed was the kingdom of *Antichrist*. Are these the disciples of him, who commanded his Gospel to be preach'd on the house-tops? Are these the children of light? Are these

LXX.  
Conclu-  
sion: that  
Protestants  
reap no-  
thing but  
shame by  
making the  
*Albigenses*  
their Pre-  
decessors.

Serm. 65.  
in Cant.  
Ecbert.  
Rena.

these

these the works which shine forth before men, or rather such as should be hid in darkness? in a word, are these fit Fathers for the *Reformation* to chuse and boalt of?

*A History of the VAUDOIS.*

LXXI.  
Beginning  
of the  
*Vaudois*, or  
*Peasants*  
of *Lions*.

THE *Vaudois* stand them no better in stead, in order to settle a legitimate succession. Their name is derived from *Walds* the author of the Sect. *Lions* was the place of their nativity. They were call'd the *Peasants* of *Lions*, on account of the poverty affect'd by them; and as the City of *Lions* was then call'd in *Latin* *Leona*, they had also the appellation of *Leonists*, or *Leonists*.

LXXII.  
The name  
of the sect

They were also call'd the *Inhabited* from an ancient word signifying shoes, whence have proceeded other words of a like signification still in use in several other languages, as well as ours.

*Foot*  
*of the*  
*2<sup>d</sup>*  
*Chapter*  
*of the*  
*Chapter*  
*An. 1212.*

They took therefore the name of the *Inhabited* from a sort of shoes of a particular make, which they cut in the upper part to show their feet naked like the *Apollis*, as they say; and this fashion was affect'd by them in token of their *Apollish* Poverty.

LXXIII.  
Their  
first  
*Foot*  
*of the*  
*Chapter*  
*of the*  
*Foot*  
*of the*

Now here is an abrupt end of their history. At their first separation they held but few to c<sup>t</sup> contract to ours, or any at all. In the year 1166, *Peasants* a Merchant of *Lions*, at a meeting held at *Lions*, with the other rich *Traders* of the *Town*, was to buy stock with the *rich* den den of our of the most eminent among them, that he might thereby distribute all his means, which were considerable, to the poor of that City; and having on this account, gather'd a great number of them, he propos'd to them voluntary poverty, and the mutation of the lit<sup>t</sup> of *four* *God* and his *Legion*. This is what

*Rites*

*Renier* says, whom the *Protestants*, pleased with the encomiums we shall find he bestows on the *Vaudois*, will have us believe in this matter preferably to all other authors. But we are going to see, what misguided piety can arrive to. *Peter Pylicdorf*, who beheld the *Vaudois* in their most flourishing condition, and related, not only their *Dogmata*, but deportment too with much simplicity and learning, says, that *Waldo*, moved with those words of the *Gospel* so highly favourable to poverty, believed the *Apostolick* life was no longer to be found on earth. Bent on restoring it, he sold all he had. *Others, touch'd with compunction, did the same*, and united together in this undertaking. At the first rise of this obscure and timorous Sect, either they had none, or did not publish any particular tenet; which was the reason that *Ebrard of Bethune* remarks nothing singular in them but the affectation of a proud and lazy poverty. One might see these *Insabbatized* or *Sabbatized*, so he calls them, with their naked feet, or rather with *their shoes cut open* at top, waiting for alms, and living only on what was given them. Nothing was blamed in them, at first, but ostentation, and without listing them as yet amongst Hereticks, they were reproach'd only with imitating their pride. But let us hear the sequel of their history: *After living a while in this pretended Apostolick Poverty, they be- thought themselves that the Apostles were not only poor, but also preach'd the Gospel.* They set themselves therefore to preach according to their example, that they might wholly imitate the *Apostolick* life. But the *Apostles* were *sent*, and these men, whose ignorance render'd them incapable of such *Mission*, were excluded by the *Prelates*, and lastly by the *Holy See*, from a ministry which they had usurpt without their leave. Never-  
theless

*Lib. cont.*  
*Wal. c. 1.*  
*T. iv.*  
*Bib. PP.*  
*2. part. p.*  
*779.*

*Antib. c.*  
*25.*  
*Ibi. 1162.*

*Ibid.*

*Ibi. 1170.*

*Pylicd. B.*

*Policed.*  
*Ibid.*  
*Ren. Ibid.*

theless they continued it in private, and murmur'd against the *Clergy* that hinder'd them from preaching, as they said, thro' jealousy, and on account that their Doctrine and holy life was a reproach to the others corrupted manners.

LXXIV.  
Whether  
*Waldo*  
were a  
man of  
learning.  
*Ren. c*  
*vi.*

Some *Protestants* have asserted, that *Waldo* was a man of learning: but *Renier* says only, *He had a small tincture of it; antiquation literatus.* Other *Protestants*, on the contrary, take advantage from the great success he had in his ignorance. But it's but too well known, what a dexterity often may be met with in the minds of the most ignorant men, to attract to them those that are alike disposed, and *Waldo* seduced none but such.

LXXV.  
The *Van*  
22. con-  
demn'd by  
*Lucius III*  
*Bern.*  
*III.*  
*Fontenay*  
*Wald.*  
*See T. IV.*  
*B. PP.*  
*Procl. p.*  
*1115.*  
*Ibid.*

This Sect, in little time, made a great progress. *Bernard* Abbot of *Fontenay*, who saw their beginnings, remarks their increase under *Pope Lucius* the third. This *Pope's* Pontificate commences in 1181, to wit, twenty years after *Waldo* had appear'd at *Lyon*. Twenty years at least were requisite to make a body and so considerable a Sect as to deserve notice. At that time therefore *Lucius III*, condemn'd them; and as his *Pontificate* held but four years, this first condemnation of the *Waldensians* must have fallen betwixt the year 1185, when this *Pope* was raised to *St. Peter's Chair*, and the year 1189, wherein he died.

LXXVI.  
They  
come to  
*Rome.*  
They are  
not accus'd  
of any  
thing in  
respect to  
the *Real*  
*Precones*  
*Chrysostom*  
*Ar. c. 12.*

*Conrad* Abbot of *Upping*, thoroughly acquainted, as we shall find, with the *Varian*, hath writ, that *Pope Lucius* *perceiv'd* *in* *the* *man* *of* *Waldensian* *heresy*, *in* *the* *year* *1185* *Dom* *ma* *and* *of* *the* *Waldensians*. As yet these *Dignities* are not question'd; but there is no question, that, if the *Waldensians* had deserv'd such remarkable points as that of the *Real Precones* a matter become so notorious by *Bohagard's* condemnation.



condemnation) it had not been thought sufficient to say in general, they held *some superstitious Dogmata*.

Much about the same time, in the year 1194, a statute of *Alphonfus* or *Ildephonsus*, King of *Aragon*, reckons the *Vaudois* or *Insabbatized*, otherwise the *poor men* of *Lions*, amongst *Hereticks* anathematized by the *Church*, and this is manifestly in consequence of the sentence pronounced by *Lucius III.* After this Pope's death, when in spite of his decree these *Hereticks* spread themselves far and near, and *Bernard* Archbishop of *Narbonne*, who condemn'd them anew after a great inquest, could not stem the current of their progress, many pious persons, *Ecclesiasticks* and *others*, procured a *Conference* in order to reclaim them in an amicable manner. *Both sides* agreed to chuse for *Umpire* in the Conference, a holy Priest call'd *Raimond* of *Darenty*, a man illustrious for birth, but much more so for the holiness of his life. The assembly was very solemn, and the dispute held long. Such passages of Scripture, as each party grounded itself on, were produced on both sides. The *Vaudois* were condemn'd, and declared *Hereticks* in regard to all the heads of accusation.

Thereby appears that the *Vaudois*, tho' condemn'd, had not as yet broken all measures with the Church of *Rome*, in that they had agreed to the Umpirage of a Catholic and Priest. The Abbot of *Foncauld*, present at the Conference, did commit to writing, with much judgment and perspicuity, the debated points, and the passages alledged on both sides: so that nothing can give us a clearer insight into the whole state of the question, such as it then was, and at the beginning of the Sect.

I. XXVII.  
Another proof that their errors did not regard the Eucharist.  
*Apud. Em. 2. p. direct. inq. q. xiv. p. 237.*  
& *apud. Marian. Praef. in Luc. Triid. T. iv. Bib. PP. 2. p. p. 582.*  
*Bern. de Font. Cal. adversus Wal. Sect. in Praef. T. iv. Pib. PP. 3. p. p. 1195.*

I. XXVIII  
Proof of the same truth by a famous Conference, wherein all points were discut'd.

LXXIX. The dispute chiefly turn'd on the obedience  
 Articles of due to *Pastors*. It's plain, the *Vaudois* refused  
 the Con- it, and, notwithstanding all their prohibitions, be-  
 ference. lieved they had a right to preach, both men and  
 women. As this disobedience could be grounded  
 on nothing else, but the *Pastors* unworthiness,  
 the *Catholicks*, in proving the obedience due to  
 them, prove it is due even to the wicked, and  
 that grace, be its channel what it will, never ceases  
 to diffuse itself on the faithful. For the same  
 reason they shew'd, that slandering of *Pastors*  
 (whence was taken the pretext of disobedience)  
 was forbidden by the laws of God. Then they  
 attack the liberty, Lay-men gave themselves, of  
 preaching without the *Pastors* leave, nay in spite  
 of their prohibitions, and shew, these seditious  
 preachments tend to the subversion of the weak  
 and ignorant. Above all, they prove from the  
*Scripture*, that women, to whom silence is in-  
 join'd, ought not to interfere in teaching. Lastly,  
 it's remonstrated to the *Vaudois*, how much they  
 are in the wrong, to reject prayer for the Dead so  
 well grounded in *Scripture*, and so evidently  
 handed down by *Tradition*: and, whereas these  
*Hereticks* absented from *Churches* in order to  
 pray apart in their houses, they are made sensi-  
 ble, they ought not to abandon the house of  
 prayer, whole sanctity the whole *Christianity* and  
 the *Sanct* of God himself had so much recom-  
 mended.

LXXX. Without examining here which side was right  
 or wrong in this debate, it's plain, what was the  
 ground of it, and which were the parts contended;  
 and it's more clear than day, that in the begin-  
 nings, far from bringing the *Real Presence*,  
*Transubstantiation*, or the *Sacraments* into que-  
 stion, they did not as yet so much as mention  
 praying to *Saints*, nor *Relicks*, nor *Images*.

'Twas

'Twas near about this time, that *Alanus* wrote the book above-mention'd; wherein, after carefully distinguishing the *Vaudois* from the other Hereticks of his time, he undertakes to prove, in opposition to their Doctrine, *That none ought to preach without mission; that Prelates should be obey'd, and not only good, but also evil ones; that their bad lives derogate not from their power; that 'tis the sacred order we ought to attribute the power of consecrating to, and that of binding and loosing, and not to personal merit: that we ought to confess to Priests, and not to Lay-men; that it is lawful to swear in certain cases, and to execute malefactors.* This is much what he opposes to the errors of the *Vaudois*. Had they err'd in relation to the *Eucharist*, *Alanus* would not have forgotten it, the very thing he was so mindful to reproach the *Albigenses* with, against whom he undertakes to prove both the *Real Presence* and *Transubstantiation*; and after reproving so many things of less importance in the *Vaudois*, he would never have omitted so essential a point.

A little after *Alanus's* time, and about the year 1209. *Peter de Vaucernay*, a plain down right man, and of unquestionable sincerity, distinguishes the *Vaudois* from the *Albigenses* by their proper characters, when he tells us, *The Vaudois were bad, but much less so than these other Hereticks, who admitted the two principles, and all the consequences of that damnable Doctrine. Not to mention, proceeds this author, their other infidelities; their error chiefly consisted in four heads: viz, their wearing sandals in imitation of the Apostles; their saying it was not lawful to swear for whatsoever cause; nor to put to death, even malefactors; lastly, in that they said that each one of them, tho' but meer Lay-men, provided he wore sandals (namely, as above seen, the mark of*

LXXXI.  
*Alanus,*  
whomakes  
a list of the  
errors of  
the *Vau-*  
*dois,*  
objects  
nothing  
concerning  
the *Eu-*  
*charist.*  
*Alan. lib.*  
*11. p.*  
*175. &*  
*seq.*  
*Lib. 1. p.*  
*118. &*  
*seq.*

LXXXII.  
Nor *Peter*  
*de Vaucer-*  
*nay.*  
*Pet. de*  
*Val-Cern.*  
*Hist.*  
*Albig. c.*  
*2.*  
*Duch. Hist.*  
*Franc. 1.*  
*v. d. 557.*

Apostolick Poverty) might consecrate the Body of Jesus Christ. Here are in reality the specifick characters that denote the true spirit of the *Vaudois*: the affectation of Poverty in the sandals which were the badge of it; simplicity and apparent meekness in rejecting all oaths and capital punishments, and, what was more peculiar to this Sect, the belief that the *Laitie*, provided they had embraced their pretended Apostolick Poverty and bore its badge, that is, provided they were of their Sect, might administer and consecrate the *Sacraments*, even the Body of Jesus Christ. The rest, as their Doctrine concerning prayer for the Dead, was compris'd in the other infidelities of these *Hereticks*, which this author forbears to particularise. Yet, had they rose up against the *Real Presence*, since the disturbance this matter had caused in the *Church*, not only this *Religious* would not have forgotten it, but had been far from saying, *They consecrated the Body of Jesus Christ*, thereby making them not to differ from *Catholicks* in this point, except their attributing to *Lay-men* that power, which *Catholicks* acknowledged only in the *Priesthood*.

LXXXIII  
The *Vaudois*  
came  
to demand  
the  
had  
to  
III.  
to  
An. 1212.

It appears then manifestly that the *Vaudois* in 1209, at the time of *Peter de Lamoignon's* writing, had not so much as thought of rejecting the *Real Presence*, but retain'd so much, either true or apparent submission to the *Church of Rome*, that even in 1212, they came to *Rome*, in order to obtain the approbation of their *Sect* to the *Holy See*. 'Twas then that *Guarac* Abbot of *Uzeroy* saw them there, as he himself reports, with their master *Bernard*. They may be discover'd by the characters given them by this *Chronicler*: they were the *premonstratensians*, those whom *Lucius III*, had put in the list of *Hereticks*, who made themselves remarkable by the affectation

affectation of *Apostolick Poverty* with their shoes cut open at top; who in their private preachments and clandestine assemblies revil'd the Church and Priesthood. The Pope judged the affectation was very odd which they discover'd in these cut shoes, and in their Capuches like those of the religious, tho' contrary to their custom, they wore a long head of hair like Lay-men. And truly, these out of the way affectations most commonly cover something bad; but especially men took offence at the liberty these new Apostles gave themselves, of going promiscuously together, men and women, in imitation, as they said, of the pious women that followed *Jesus Christ* and the *Apostles* to minister to them: but very different were the times, the persons, and the circumstances.

It was, says the Abbot of *Ursperg*, with the design of giving to the Church men truly poor, more divested of earthly goods than these false poor of *Lions*, that the Pope afterwards approved the institute of the *Brother-Minors* assembled under the direction of *St. Francis*, the true pattern of humility, and miracle of the age; whilst these other poor, fraught with hatred against the Church and her Ministers, notwithstanding their fallacious humility, were rejected by the *Holy See*; insomuch that, afterwards, they were treated as contumacious and incorrigible Hereticks. Yet they made a shew of submission till the year 1212, which was the fiftenth of *Innocent III.* and fifty years since their beginning.

Thence a judgment may be form'd of the Church's patience with respect to these Hereticks using no rigour against them for fifty years together, but endeavouring to reclaim them by Conferences. Besides that mention'd by *Bernard* Abbot of *Fontcauld*, we also find another in *Peter de Vaucernay*, about the year 1206, where the

LXXXIV  
The *Vau-*  
*dois* begin  
to be  
treated  
like obsti-  
nate He-  
reticks,

LXXXV.  
The  
Church's  
patience  
in regard  
to the  
*Vaudois.*

*Pat. de  
Vul. c. 6.  
f. 561.*

*Vaudais* were confounded: and lastly in 1212, when on their coming again to *Rome*, the Church proceeded no further against them than by rejecting their imposture. Three years after, *Innocent III.* held the great *Council* of *Lateran*, where, in his condemnation of Hereticks, he particularly takes notice of *Therapies*, under pretext of piety, challenge the authority of preaching without *Mission*: whereby he seems to have particularly pointed out the *Vaudais*, and distinguish'd them by the origin of their Schism.

*Conc. Lat.  
iv. Can. 3.  
de Heret.*

LXXXVI  
The Sect  
of the  
Vaudais a  
Species of  
Donatism

Here are seen evidently the beginnings of this Sect. 'Twas a kind of *Donatism*, but different from that impugn'd of old in *Africa*, in that the *African Donatists*, making the effect of the *Sacraments* depend on the virtue of the *Ministers*, reserved at least the power of conferring them to *Holy Priests* and *Bishops*; whereas these new *Donatists* attributed it, as above seen, to *Lay-men* whose life was pure. Nor did they come to this excess but by degrees: for at first, they allow'd nothing to the *Laiety* but preaching. They not only reprov'd evil manners, which the Church no less condemn'd than they, but also many other things she approv'd of, as ceremonies, yet so, as not to touch on the *Sacraments*: for *Pythelias*, who was very accurate in observing both the ancient spirit and the whole progress of the Sect, takes notice, they discarded every thing employ'd by the Church to edify the faithful, except, says he, the *Sacraments alone*; which shews, they left them untouch'd. The same author relates moreover, that it was a long time before they began, to give *Lay-men*, the *Law* of *Confession*, to give *Penance*, and great *Assurance*, that it was *Lawful*, and not a little time since, continues this author, that one of the *Hereticks* was a *Lay-man*, that is, one, who was oblig'd to his

*Pat.  
Biblioth.  
con. B. 11.  
c. 11. f. 2.  
lib. PP.  
2. part. f.  
788.*

*Ibid.*



notion, our Lord's Body, and communicated himself together with his accomplices, altho' somewhat reprimanded for it by the rest.

See how their presumption increased by degrees. The followers of *Waldo*, scandalized at the lives of several Priests, *believed themselves*, says the same *Pylicdorf*, *better absolved by their own people, seemingly to them more virtuous, than by the Ministers of the Church*: which proceeded from the opinion, wherein principally consisted the error of the *Vaudois*, that personal merit had greater influence in the *Sacraments* than Character and Order.

But the *Vaudois* carried the merit necessary to *Ministers* of the Church so far as to have nothing in property; and this was one of their *Dogmata*, that to consecrate the *Eucharist*, it was requisite to be poor like them: so that *Catholick Priests* were not the true and legitimate successors of *Jesus Christ's Apostles*, because they possess'd goods of their own; which, they pretended, *Jesus Christ* had forbidden his Apostles.

Hitherto their whole error, in respect to the *Sacraments*, regarded only the persons impower'd to administer them: all the rest was left intire, as says expressly *Pylicdorf*. So they doubted not either of the *Real Presence*, or *Transubstantiation*; and on the contrary, this author hath but just inform'd us, that the *Lay-man* presuming to give Communion, did only believe *He had consecrated the Body of Jesus Christ*. After all, by the manner we have seen this Heresy begin, it seems as if *Waldo* had a good design at first; that the glory of poverty, which he boasted of, did seduce both him and his followers; that puffed up with the holiness of their lives, they swell'd with a bitter zeal against the *Clergy* and whole *Catholick Church*; that exasperated with

LXXXVII.  
Their  
presump-  
tion in-  
creased  
by little  
and little.  
*Ibid.*

LXXXVIII  
The *Van-  
dois*-Dec-  
trine con-  
cerning  
Church  
goods.  
*V. sup.*  
*Pet. de*  
*Valle-*  
*Cern.*  
*Refut.*  
*error. Ibid.*  
p. 819.  
LXXXIX  
No error  
relating to  
the Sa-  
craments.

*Guid. Car.*  
*de Heres.*  
*in Heres.*  
*Wald. init.*

their being prohibited to preach, they fell into *Schism*, and, as *Guy the Carmelite* speaks, *from Schism, into Heresy*.

XC.  
Manifest  
infidelity  
of Protes-  
tant His-  
torians,  
and of  
*Paul Perrin*  
concerning  
the begin-  
nings of  
the *Van-  
dals*.  
*Hist. des  
Vand. II.  
Chap. 1.*

From this lustrful account and the incontestable proofs with which it is manifestly supported, it is easy to judge, how much *Protestant* Historians have abused the publick credit by their relation of the origin of the *Vandals*. *Paul Perrin*, author of their history printed at Geneva, says that in the year 1160, when the penalty of death was denounced against all who should disbelieve the *Real Presence*, Peter Waldo a Citizen of Lions was one of the most courageous in opposing such an invention. But nothing is more false: the article of the *Real Presence* had been defined a hundred years before, against *Berengarius*: nothing had been done anew relating to this article; and so far from *Waldo's* opposing it, we have seen both him and all his disciples in the common Faith for fifty years together.

XCI.  
The Mi-  
stake of  
*Beza*.  
*II. 2.*  
*1574.*

Mr. *de la Roque*, more learned than *Perrin*, is not more sincere, when he says, that *Peter Waldo* having found whole nations divided from the Communion of the Latin Church, *sent him off to them with his followers, in order to make out one and the same body, and out and the same body by the unity of one and the same Doctrine*. But on the contrary we have seen, in the first place, that all the contemporary authors (for not one have we omitted) have shewn us the *Vandals* and *Athi-gones* as two distinct Sects; secondly, that all these authors discover the *Athi-gones* to be *Mandebans*; and lastly all the *Protestants* in the world, to have said that there was any where in *Europe*, when *Waldo* made any one Sect separate from *Rome*, which was not either the very Sect, or some branch and subdivision of *Mandeban*. Thus, nothing can make *Waldo's* cause more

more evidently defenceless, than to grant his abettors what they demand in his behalf, namely, that he *join'd himself in unity of Doctrine* with the *Albigenses*, or with such people as, at that time, were separated from the Communion of *Rome*. In a word, tho' *Waldo* should have united himself to guiltless Churches, his particular errors would not have allow'd any advantage to be drawn from this union, these errors being detested, not by *Catholicks* only, but also by the *Protestants*.

But let us proceed in the history of the *Vaudois*, and see whether our *Protestants* will discover in it any thing more favourable from the time these Hereticks broke off intirely from the *Church*. The first act we meet with against the *Vaudois*, since the great *Council* of *Lateran*, is a Canon of the *Council* of *Tarragona* describing the *Insabbatized*, as men, *that forbid to swear, and obey Ecclesiastick and Secular powers, and moreover to punish malefactors, and other such like things*, not the least word appearing in regard of the *Real Presence*, which not only would have been express'd, but also set foremost, had they denied it.

At the same time and towards the year 1250. *Renier* so often quoted, who so carefully distinguishes the *Vaudois* or *Leonists* and the *poor men* of *Lions* from the *Albigenses*, sets down moreover all their errors, reducing them to these three heads: against the *Church*, against the *Sacraments* and *Saints*, and against *Church Ceremonies*. But so far from any thing appearing in all these articles against *Transubstantiation*, you there find expressly, amongst their errors, that *Transubstantiation ought to be made in the vulgar tongue; that a Priest could not consecrate in mortal sin; that when a man communicated from the hand*

XCVII.  
Whether the *Vaudois* afterwards changed their Doctrine about the *Eucharist*.  
*Conc. Tarrac. T. xi Conc. part. 1. An. 1242. p. 593.*

XCVIII.  
Proof of the contrary from *Renier*.

*Ren. c. v. T. iv. Bib. PP. 2. part. p. 749. Ibid. 750.*

of

of an unworthy Priest, *the Transubstantiation was not made in his hand that consecrated unworthily, but in the mouth of him who worthily received the Eucharist; that one might consecrate at table, at common meals, and not in Churches only, conformably to those words of Malachy, in every place there is sacrificing, and there is offer'd to my name a clean oblation:* which shews, they did not deny the sacrifice nor the oblation of the *Eucharist*; and that, if they rejected the *Mass*, 'twas on account of the ceremonies, making it only to consist in *the words of Jesus Christ pronounced in the vulgar tongue.* Thereby it clearly appears, they admitted *Transubstantiation*, and in nothing differ'd from the Church's Doctrine as to the substance of this *Sacrament*: but said only, it could not be consecrated by evil Priests, and might be by good Lay-men, according to these fundamental maxims of their Sect, which *Renier* is always exact in observing, *That every good Lay-man is a Priest, and the prayer of an evil Priest avail'd nothing:* whence also they concluded, the *Consecration* by an evil Priest is nothing-worth. It's likewise to be seen in other authors, that, according to their principles, *A man, without being a Priest, might consecrate and administer the Sacrament of Penance; and every Layk, even Women, ought to preach.*

XCIV. We find also in the catalogue of their errors, as well in *Renier* as other authors, *That it is not lawful for Clergy-men, namely, the Ministers of the Church, To have goods; that neither lands, nor peop<sup>l</sup>, ought to be divided;* which aims at the obligation of having all in common, and establishing, as necessary, this pretended Apostolick Poverty, which these Hereticks gloried in; *That every cath is a mortal law; that all Princes and Judges are damn'd, because they con-*

*denn malefactors contrary to these words: Vengeance is mine, saith the Lord; and again; let both grow together until the harvest. Thus did these hypocrites abuse the Scripture, and with their counterfeited lenity subvert the whole foundation of Church and State.*

We find in *Pylicdorf*, a hundred years after, an ample refutation of the *Vaudois* article by article, without appearance of the least opposition in their Doctrine to the *Real Presence* or *Transubstantiation*. On the contrary, it always appears in this author, as in the rest, that the Lay-men of this Sect *made the Body of -Jesus Christ*, altho' with fear and reserve in the country wherein he wrote; nor, in short, does he observe any kind of error in these Hereticks relating to the *Eucharist*, except, that *evil Priests* did not make it, *any more than the other Sacraments*.

Finally, in all the lists we have of their errors, whether in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, or in the Inquisitor *Emerick*, we meet with nothing against the *Real Presence*, altho' the least differences betwixt these Hereticks and us, the minutest articles whereon they are to be interrogated, be there specified; on the contrary, *Emerick* the Inquisitor thus reports their error on the *Eucharist*: *They will have it that the Bread is not transubstantiated into the Body of Jesus Christ, if the Priest be a sinner*. Which clearly evidences two things; first, that they believed *Transubstantiation*; and secondly, believed the Sacraments depended on the *sanctity* of the Ministers.

You find in the same list all the errors of the *Vaudois* we have already mention'd. The errors of the new *Manicheans*, whom we have shewn were the same with those of the *Albigenses*, are also related apart in the same book. It's plain from thence, that these two Sects are utterly distinct,

*Ind. err.*  
*Ibi.* 831.  
9. 23.  
*Rom.* xii.  
19.  
*Matth.*  
xiii. 30.

XCV.  
Another list, and no mention of their erring in regard of the *Eucharist*.  
*Pylicd.*  
*cont. Wald.*  
T. iv.  
*Bib. PP.*

2. part.  
778. &  
*seq.*  
*An.* 1395.  
*Ibi.* c. 30  
f. 803.  
*Ibid.* c. 1.  
*Ibid.* c.  
16. 18.

XCVI.  
Another list.  
*Bib. PP.*  
T. iv. 2.  
part. p.  
820. 832.  
836.

*Dir. Stor.*  
part. 2. q.  
14. p.  
279.  
*Ibid.* p.  
xiii. p.  
273.



finct, nor is there any thing amongst the *Vaudois* errors that favours of *Mini beism*, which the other list abounds with.

XCVII.  
Demon-  
stration  
that the  
*Vaudois*  
did not in  
the least  
err about  
*Transub-  
stantiati-  
on*.

*Ren. c. 4.  
Ibid. 750.  
Emic.  
Ibid.*

But to return to *Transubstantiation*; whence could it proceed, that the *Catholics* should have spared the *Vaudois* in a point of so essential a nature, they who were so zealous in exposing even the least of their errors? Was it perchance that these matters, and especially that of the *Eucharist*, were not of sufficient importance, or not sufficiently known, after *Berengarius's* condemnation by so many *Councils*? Was it the desire of keeping the people ignorant that this Mystery was attack'd? But they were not afraid to report the much greater blasphemies of the *Albigenses*, even against this Mystery. Nothing was conceal'd from the people of what the *Vaudois* said, the most shocking against the Church of *Rome*, as that she was *The Harlot mention'd in the Revelations*; *her Pope, the Chief of those that err'd, her Prelates and Religious, Scribes and Pharisees*. Their excesses were pitied, but never kept private; and had they rejected the Church's Faith in regard of the *Eucharist*, they would have been upbraided with it.

XCVIII.  
Sequel of  
the same  
demonstra-  
tion. The  
sincerity of  
*Cher-  
bourg* in  
1517.  
Gall. exam-  
ple of  
*France*.

Further, in the last age, in 1517. *Claude Seyssel* famous for his learning and employ'd under *Lewis XII.* and *Francis I.* and raised by his merit to the Archbishoprick of *Turin*; in the search he made after these Hereticks hidden in the valleys of his *Diocess*, in order to unite them to his flock, relays in the minutest manner all their errors, like a faithful shepherd willing to know the bottom of the distemper afflicting his sheep, that he might heal them; and we read in his account all that the rest relate of these, neither more nor less. With them he chiefly observe, as the source of their error,

that



that *They made the authority of ecclesiastical mi-* f. 1. &  
*nistry to depend on personal merit; thence con-* seq.  
*cluding, that they ought not to obey the Pope, nor* Ibid. f.  
*Bishops, because being wicked, and not imitating* 10. 11.  
*the lives of the Apostles, they have no authority*  
*from God, either to consecrate, or absolve; and*  
*as to themselves, they alone had this power, be-*  
*cause they observed the law of Jesus Christ; that*  
*the Church was no where but amongst them, and*  
*the See of Rome was that Harlot of the Revelati-*  
*ons, and the fountain-head of all errors. This*  
*is what that great Archbishop says of the Vaudois*  
*in his Diocese. The Minister Aubertin is asto-* Lib. 111.  
*nish'd that in so exact an account as he gives of* de Sacr.  
*their errors, it is not discover'd, they rejected* Euch. p.  
*either the Real Presence or Transubstantiation;* 986.  
*nor any other reply can he make to it, than* Col. 2.  
*that this Prelate, who had so strenuously con-* Ibid. 937.  
*futed them in all other points, was, in this,*  
*conscious of his too great weakness to resist*  
*them: as if so learned and eloquent a man could*  
*not at least transcribe what so many other learned*  
*Catholicks had wrote on this subject. Instead*  
*therefore of so miserable a shift, Aubertin ought*  
*to have acknowledged, that if so accurate, so*  
*knowing a person, did not reproach the Vaudois*  
*with this error, 'twas in reality because he had*  
*discover'd none such amongst them: wherein*  
*there is nothing particular as to Seyffel, since all*  
*the other authors have no more accused them of*  
*it than this Archbishop.*

Nevertheless, *Aubertin* triumphs at a passage XCIV.  
of the same *Seyffel*, where he says, *He did not* Aubertin's  
*think it worth his while to relate what some of* vain objec-  
*that Sect, to shew themselves more learned than* tion.  
*the rest, prattled, or rallied rather than dis-* Ibid. 91.  
*coursed, concerning the substance and truth of the* 55. 56.  
*Eucharistick Sacrament, because, what they vented*  
by

by way of secret, was so high, that the most expert Divines could scarce comprehend it. But so far are these words of *Scyffel* from shewing, the *Real* Presence was denied by the *Vaudois*, that I should on the contrary conclude from them, that some amongst them pretended to subtilize in expounding it. And should it be allow'd (yet gratuitously and without any kind of reason, since *Scyffel* speaks not a word of it) that these high notions entertain'd by the *Vaudois*, relating to the *Eucharist*, regarded the *Real absence*, to wit, a thing the least sublime of any in the world, and the most suited to carnal sense; yet then, it is nevertheless manifest that *Scyffel* does not report here the *belief* of all, but the *babble* and *idle discourse* of *some*: so that, on all hands, nothing is more certain than what I have advanced; that the *Vaudois* never were reproach'd with rejecting *Transubstantiation*; but, on the contrary, had always been supposed to believe it.

C.  
Another  
proof from  
*Scyffel*,  
that the  
*Vaudois*  
believed  
*Transub-*  
*stantiati-*  
*on*.  
*Ibid.* f  
13.

Accordingly the same *Scyffel*, introducing a *Vaudois* summing up all his reasons, put these words into his mouth against a wicked Priest and Bishop: *How can the Bishop and Priest, enemies to God, render God propitious to others? how can he, that is banish'd the Kingdom of Heaven, have the Keys of it? what, since his prayer and other actions have no manner of effect, how shall Jesus Christ transform himself, at his word, under the species of Bread and Wine, and suffer himself to be handled by that person, who hath utterly rejected him?* It is then still manifest, their error consists in a *Denial*, and nothing but the Priest's lie hinders the *Bread* and *Wine* from being changed into the *Body* and *Blood* of *Jesus Christ*.

C.I.  
Interrogatory  
of the

And what leaves no kind of doubt on this head is, what may be seen still at this day among  
the

the manuscripts of Mr. *de Thou*, collected together in the valuable library of the *Marquis of Seignelay*: there, I say, may be seen the inquests, in the original, juridically made against the *Vaudois* of *Pragelas* and the other valleys in 1495, collected in two great volumes: wherein you have the examination of one *Thomas Quoti* of *Pragelas*, who being ask'd whether the *Barbes* (their Priests) taught them to believe the Sacrament of the Altar, answers, *That the Barbes both preach and teach that when a Chaplain, who is in orders, utters the words of Consecration on the Altar, he consecrates the Body of Jesus Christ, and that a true change is wrought of the Bread into the true Body, and says, moreover, that Prayer made at home, or on the road, is every whit as good as in the Church.* Conformably to this Doctrine, the same *Quoti* answers at two several times, *That he received every year, at Easter, the Body of Jesus Christ; and the Barbes taught them, that, in order to receive it, they ought to have been well shrieve'd, and rather by the Barbes than by the Chaplains,* meaning the Priests.

The reason of this preference is derived from the so often repeated principles of the *Vaudois*; and it is pursuant to these principles the same person answers, *That the gentlemen of the Church-ministry led a life too large, but the Barbes led a holy and upright life.* And in another answer, *That the Barbes led the life of St. Peter, and had the power of absolving from sins, and this was his belief; and if the Pope did not lead a holy life, he had no power of absolving.* For this reason the same *Quoti* answers again in another place, *That he had given credit, without any doubting, rather to the discourses of the Barbes than to those of the Chaplains, because, in those times, no Ecclesiastick, no Cardinal, no Bishop nor Priest,*

CII.  
Sequel of the same examination.

*Vaudois,*  
in the  
library  
of the  
*Marquis of*  
*Seignelay.*  
Two Vo-  
lumes  
mark'd  
1769.  
mark'd  
1770.

*Priest, led the life of the Apostles; and therefore it was better believing the Barbes who were good, than an Ecclesiastick that was not so.*

CIII.  
Sequel.

It were superfluous to relate the other examinations, the same language appearing throughout, as well in respect of the *Real Presence* as of all the rest; and especially it's repeated there continually, *That the Barbes behaved in the world like the imitators of Jesus Christ, and had more power than the Priests of the Church of Rome, who lived too much at large.*

CIV.  
Necessity  
of Con-  
fession.

Nothing is repeated there so much as these *Dogmata*, *That you ought to confess your sins; that they confessed to the Barbes, who had power of absolving them; that they confessed kneeling; that at each Confession they gave a quart a certain piece of money; ) that the Barbes imposed Penances on them which generally did not exceed a Pater and Credo, but the Ave Mary was never injoin'd; that they forbid them all oaths whatsoever, and taught them neither to sue for help from the Saints, nor to pray for the Dead.* Here is enough whereby to discover the principal tenets and genius of the Sect; further than this, to expect to meet with order and one constant form in such odd opinions, in all times and all places, were to be deceived.

CV.  
Sequel of  
the same  
subject.  
*Pyliced. c.*  
1. *T. iv.*  
*Bib. PP.*  
2. *part p*  
780.  
*Ind. Err.*  
*ib. p.*  
32. n. 12.  
*For. Ibid.*  
71.

I don't find they were interrogated concerning Sacraments administered by the generality of Laymen, whether because the Inquisitors were not apprised of this custom, or that the *Fauchs* had at length forsaken it. And indeed we have observed, it was not without difficulty and contradiction first introduced amongst them with regard to the Eucharist. But as for *Confession*, nothing is more establish'd in the Sect, than the right good Laymen have to it: *A good Layman* said they,  *hath power to absolve: they all gloried*

*in forgiving sins by imposition of hands; they heard Confessions; enjoin'd Penances; and lest such an extraordinary practice should be discover'd, they very privately received Confessions, and those of women even in cellars, in caverns, and other unfréquented places: they preach'd clandestinely in corners of houses, and often in the night-time.*

But what cannot be too much remark'd is, that altho' they had such an opinion of us as we have seen, yet they frequented our assemblies: *There they offer, says Renier, there they confess, there they communicate, but with dissimulation.* The reason was, in short, whatever they might say, because some distrust remain'd in them of the Communion they practis'd among themselves. Wherefore, *they came to communicate in the Church when the throng was greatest, for fear of discovery. Many also remain'd even four, nay six years without communicating, concealing themselves either in villages, or towns, at Easter time, lest notice should be taken of them. They also judged it advisable to communicate in the Church, but at Easter only, and under this appearance they pass'd for Christians.* This is what the ancient authors speak of them, and what also frequently may be found in the interrogatories above mention'd. *Being asked whether he made his Confession to the Parish-Priest, and discover'd his Sect to him; his answer was, that he confessed yearly to him, but did not mention his being a Vaudois, which the Barbes had forbid discovering. They answer also as above, that every year they communicated at Easter, and received the Body of Jesus Christ; and that the Barbes warn'd them of the necessity, before they received, of having made a good Confession.* Observe, there is no mention here made but of the Body alone, and of one only Species; as, since the Council of Constance, it was then

*Pylicd.*  
*Ibi. c. 1.*  
*p. 780.*  
*Ibi. c. 8.*  
*p. 782.*  
*820.*

*CVI.*  
*The Vau-*  
*dois exte-*  
*riorly*  
*did the*  
*duties of*  
*Catho-*  
*licks.*  
*Ren. Ibi.*  
*c. v. p.*  
*752.*  
*Ibid. 7. p.*  
*765.*  
*Ind. Err.*  
*n. 12. 13.*  
*Ibid. 832.*

*Pylicd.*  
*c. 25.*  
*Ibid. 796.*  
*Interro-*  
*gat. of*  
*Quoti and*  
*others.*  
*Ibid.*



*Publ. d.*  
*Ibid. c. 24.*  
 p. 790.

given over all the Church, the *Barbes* never thinking all this while of condemning it. An old author hath observed, *They very rarely received from their teachers either Baptism or Christ's Body, but as well teachers as simple believers went to seek them at the Priests hands.* Nor indeed do we conceive how they could have acted otherwise in regard to *Baptism* without discovering themselves, for it would soon have been taken notice of, had they not brought their children to *Church*, for which they would have been call'd to an account. Thus, separated in sentiments from the *Catholic* Church, these *Hypocrites*, as far as they were able, shew'd themselves externally of the same Faith with others, and exhibited no act of Religion in publick which did not belye their Doctrine.

CVII.  
 Whether  
 the *Vandois*  
 had  
 discarded  
 any one of  
 the seven  
 Sacraments?  
*C. 6. m. u.*  
 p. 750.

The *Protestants* may perceive by this example what kind of men those hidden faithful before the Reformation were, whom they extol so much, and who had not bent a knee to *Baal*. It might be doubted whether the *Vandois* had discarded any of the seven Sacraments. And 'tis already manifest, they were not accused of denying so much as one at the beginning; on the contrary, an author has been produced, who upbraiding them with their changes, excepts the Sacraments. Those *Renier* speaks of, might be suspected of varying in this matter, he seeming to say, they rejected not only *Order*, but also *Confirmation* and *Extreme-Union*: but it's visible, he means such only as *Catholics* conterr'd. For as to *Confirmation*, *Renier*, who makes them reject it, adds, *They were amongst a few permitted none but Bishops to confer it.* For this reason, because they were for allowing to good Lay-men the power of administering this as well as the other *Sacraments*. Wherefore these same *Heretics*,

*Publ. d. v.*  
 p. 750  
 751.  
*Ibid.*



ticks, mention'd as rejecting *Confirmation*, boast a little after of giving the *Holy Ghost* by laying on *of hands*; the which is, in other words, the very substance of this Sacrament. *Ibid.* 751.

In regard to *Extreme-Unction*, this is what *CVIII. Renier* says of it: *They reject the Sacrament of Extreme- Unction, as if given to the rich only, and because many Priests are necessary thereto:* words which *p. 751.* sufficiently evince that its nullity, which they pretended was amongst us, proceeded from imaginary abuses, not from the nature of the thing. Besides, *St. James* having injoin'd to call in the *Priests* in the plural number, these cavillers were *James v, 14.* for believing that *Unction*, given by a single person, as commonly practis'd amongst us even so long ago, was not sufficient, and this bad pretext served for their neglecting it.

As for *Baptism*, notwithstanding these ignorant Hereticks had cast off its most ancient Ceremonies with contempt, there is no doubt but they received it. One might only be surpris'd at *Renier's* words as uttered by the *Vaulois*, that *Ablution given to children is of no advantage to them.* But, whereas this *Ablution* is in the list of those Ceremonies of *Baptism*, which were disapproved by these Hereticks, it's plain, he speaks of the wine given to children after their *Baptism*: a custom that may be still seen in many ancient *Rituals* near about that time, and which was a remnant of the *Communion* heretofore administered to them under the liquid *species* only. This wine, put into the Chalice to be given these children, was call'd *Ablution*, because this action resembled the *Ablution* taken by the Priest at *Mass*. Again, this word *Ablution* is not to be found in *Renier* as signifying *Baptism*: and at all events, if men will persist to have it signify this *Sacrament*, all they could conclude from it

*CIX.*  
What was the ablu-  
tion *Renier*  
speaks of in  
*Baptism.*  
*Ibid.*

would be for the worst, viz. that *Renier's Vaudois* accounted as null whatever *Baptism* was given by unworthy Ministers, such as they believed all our Priests were: an error so conformable to the principles of the Sect, that the *Vaudois*, whom we have seen approve our *Baptism*, could not do it without running counter to their own Doctrines.

CX. Here then already are three *Sacraments* which Confession. the *Vaudois* approved in the main, *Baptism*, *Confirmation* and *Extreme-Unction*. We have the whole Sacrament of *Penance* in their private Confession, in the Penances imposed by them, in the absolution received for the remission of sins; and if they said, oral Confession was not always necessary when Contrition was in the heart; they said true in the main and in certain cases, altho' frequently, as above instanced, they abused this maxim by too long deferring their Confession.

CXI. The Eucharist

There was a Sect call'd the *Siscidenses*, who differ'd little or nothing from the *Vaudois*, says *Renier*, but in that they received the *Eucharist*. Not that he meant, the *Vaudois* or poor men of *Lions* did not receive it, he having shewn, on the contrary, that they received even *Transubstantiation*: but he means only, they had an extreme repugnance to receive it from the hands of our Priests, whereas these others made less difficulty in it, or perchance, none at all.

CXII. Marriage. Whether *Renier* hath calumniated the *Vaudois*. *Art. 751.*

*Protestants* accuse *Renier* of calumniating the *Vaudois*, by reproaching them that they condemn'd *Marriage*; but these authors mutilate his words, which here you have intire: They condemn the Sacrament of *Marriage*, by saying, married people sin mortally when they use *Marriage* for any other end than to have children; whereby *Renier* would observe only the error of these proud

proud Hereticks, who, to shew themselves above human infirmity, would not admit the secondary end of Marriage, namely, its serving as a remedy against concupiscence? 'twas then in this respect only that he accused these Hereticks of condemning Marriage, to wit, of condemning this necessary part, and making that *a mortal sin*, which the grace of so holy a state exempts from crime.

It's now seen what was the Doctrine of the *Vaudois* or *poor men of Lions*. The *Catholicks* cannot be accused, either of not knowing it, since they dwelt and conversed amongst them and daily received their abjurations; or, of neglecting to inform themselves, since on the contrary, they applied themselves with so much care to report its minutest points; or infine, of calumniating them, since we have seen they were so exact, not only in distinguishing the *Vaudois* from the *Catbari* and the rest of *Manicheans*, but also in acquainting us with all the temperaments applied by some of them to the extravagances of others; and in a word, of relating to us with so much sincerity what was commendable in their manners, that their partisans even now a-days take advantage from it. For we have seen, they did not dissemble the specious appearances at *Waldo's* first setting out, nor the first simplicity of his followers. *Renier*, who so much blames them, sticks not to say, *That they lived justly before men; that they believed of God what was fitting to believe, and all that was contain'd in the Creed: that they were regular in their deportment, modest in their dress, just in their dealings, chaste in their Marriages, abstemious in their diet, and so of the rest, as it is well known.* We shall have a word to say on this testimony of *Renier*; but, in the interim, we

CXIII.  
Demonstration that the *Catholicks* were neither ignorant of, nor dissembled the Doctrine of the *Vaudois*.

*Ibid.* c. iv.  
p. 749.  
*Ibid.* vii.  
p. 765.

see he rather flatters, as I may say, than calumniates the *Vandois*; and therefore it cannot be doubted that what he says besides of these Hereticks is true. And tho' we should suppose with the Ministers, that Catholick authors, egg'd on by the hatred they had conceived against them, charged them with calumnies; this is a new proof of what we have but just said concerning their Doctrines, because finally, had the *Vandois* stood in opposition to *Transubstantiation* and the Adoration of the *Eucharist* at a time when our adversaries agree it was so well establish'd amongst us, the *Catholicks*, they represent so inclined to load them with false crimes, would never have fail'd reproaching them with what was so true.

CXIV.  
Division of  
the *Vand*  
do's Doc-  
trine into  
three  
kinds.

Now then that we know the whole Doctrines of the *Vandois*, we may divide it into three sorts of articles. Some there are which we detest together with the *Protestants*: some that we approve, and *Protestants* reject: others that they approve, and we condemn.

CXV.  
Doctrines  
which are  
*Protestant*  
with the  
*Catholicks*  
in  
the *Vand*  
*do's*  
*Helvetic*  
Confession  
170. 171. 172.

The articles we condemn in common are, in the first place, that Doctrines so injurious to the *Sacraments*, which makes their validity depend on the holiness of their Ministers; secondly, that of rendering the administration of the *Sacraments* common to *Priests* and *Lay* without distinction; next, that of forbidding oaths in all cases whatsoever, thereby condemning not only *St. Paul* the Apostle, but even God himself who has sworn; lastly, that of condemning the just punishments of malefactors, and authorizing all crimes by impunity.

CXVI.  
Doctrines  
which are  
*Catholic*  
with the  
*Protestants*  
in  
the *Vand*  
*do's*  
*Helvetic*  
Confession  
173. 174.

The articles which we approve, and the *Protestants* reject, are that of the seven *Sacraments*, except, perchance, *Orders*, and in the manner above spoken to, and what is still more important, that

that of the *Real* Presence and *Transubstantiation*. So many articles which the *Protestants* detest either with us, or, contrary to our sentiments, in the *Vaudois*, pass under the cover of five or six points, wherein these same *Vaudois* speak to their liking; and notwithstanding their Hypocrisy and all their errors, these Hereticks are made to be their ancestors.

in the *Vaudois*, and *Protestants* condemn.

Such was the state of this Sect till the time of the new *Reformation*. For all the noise this made ever since the year 1517, the *Vaudois*, whom we have seen till that date abiding in all the sentiments of their ancestors, still remain'd unalter'd. At length in 1530, after much suffering, whether solicited to it, or taking it into their heads themselves, they thought fit to make them their protectors, whom like themselves they had heard exclaim against the Pope so many years. Those who had withdrawn for near two hundred years, as remarks *Seyssel*, into the mountains of *Savoy* and *Dauphiny*, consulted *Bucer* and the *Swiss* their neighbours. With much commendation which they received, *Gilles* one of their Historians acquaints us, they received also admonishments concerning three defects observed amongst them. The first related to the *decision of certain points of Doctrine*; the second, to the establishment of the order of discipline and ecclesiastical assemblies, to the end they might be held more openly; the third invited them, no longer to permit those that desired to be accounted members of their Churches, *To be present at Mass, or to adhere, in any kind, to Papal superstitions, or to acknowledge the Priests of the Roman Church for Pastors, or to make use of their ministry.*

CXVII. The *Vaudois* have charged their Doctrine since *Luther's* and *Calvin's* time.

See *J. 2.*

*Hist. Eccl. des Egl. Ref. de Pier. Gilles. ch. 5.*

There needs no more to confirm every thing we have said, concerning the state of these wretched

CXVIII. New articles proposed to



the *Faith*  
and *Worship* by the  
*Protes-*  
*stants.*

wretched Churches, which concealed their *Faith* and *Worship* under a contrary profession. On these advertisements of *Bucer* and *Oecolampadius*, the same *Gillis* assures us, new articles were proposed to the *Vaudois*. He owns he does not report them all: but here are five or six of such as he specifies, which sufficiently discover the ancient spirit of the Sect. For in order to reform the *Vaudois* to the *Protestant* mode, it was necessary to make them say, *That a Christian may swear lawfully; that auricular Confession is not commanded of God; that a Christian may lawfully exercise the office of Magistrate over other Christians; that there is no determined time for fasting; that the Minister may possess something in particular wherewith to maintain his family, without prejudice to Apostolick community; that Jesus Christ hath appointed but two Sacraments, Baptism and the holy Eucharist.* Hereby appears a part of what was necessarily to be reform'd in the *Vaudois*, in order to make them *Zuinglians* or *Calvinists*, and, amongst the rest, one of the corrections was to admit but two *Sacraments*. It was also necessary to hint to them a word or two concerning *Predestination*, which, sure enough, they had heard but little of; and they were inform'd as to this new *Dogma*, which was then like the soul of the *Reformation*, *that whosoever owns free-will, denies Predestination.* It appears by these same articles that, in process of time, the *Vaudois* had fallen into new errors, since it was requisite to teach them, *They were to cease from earthly labours on the Sabbath-day, in order to attend God's service; and again, that it is not lawful for a Christian to revenge himself on his enemy.* These two articles shew the brutishness and barbarity, which these *Faithless* Churches (the main support, it seems, of decayed Christi-

*Ibid.*

*Genev.*  
*Ibid.*

anity,



stianity) were fallen into, at the time the *Protestants* reform'd them: and this confirms what *Seyffel* says of them, that *they were a base and bestial race of men, that hardly could distinguish, by reason, whether they were men or brutes, alive or dead.* Such, by *Gilles's* account, were the articles of Reformation proposed to the *Vaudois* towards incorporating them with the *Protestants*. If *Gilles* mention'd no more of them, it might either proceed from a fear of manifesting too great an opposition betwixt the *Vaudois* and *Calvinists*, of whom the design then was to make but one Communion, or because this was all the *Vaudois* could be drawn to at that time. Be that as it will, he owns nevertheless, they could not come to an agreement, because *Some of the Barbes* were of opinion, that *by assenting to all these conclusions, they should dishonour the memory of those, who had so very prosperously conducted those Churches to that time.* Thus, it's manifest, the design of the *Protestants* was, not to follow the *Vaudois*, but to make them change and reform, to their fashion.

During this negotiation with the Ministers of *Strasburg* and *Basil*, two of the *Vaudois* deputies had a long Conference with *Oecolampadius*, which *Abram Scultet* a Protestant Historian relates whole and intire in his *Evangelical Annals*, and declares he had transcribed it word for word.

One of the deputies opens the conversation, by owning that the Ministers, of which number he was, *being prodigiously ignorant, were incapable of teaching the people: that they lived by alms and labour, poor shepherds or husbandmen, the cause of their profound ignorance and incapacity: that they were not married, nor lived always very chastly; but when they had been caught tripping, they were expell'd the company of the rest:*

that

*Seyff. f.*  
38.

*Gill. Ibid.*  
cb. v.

CXIX.  
Confe-  
rence of the  
*Vaudois*  
with *Oeco-*  
*lampadius.*  
*Ann. Eccl.*  
*decad. 2.*  
*An. 1530.*  
a. p.  
294. ad  
306.  
*Heid. B.*

that it was not the Ministers, but the Priests of the Roman Church who administered the Sacraments to the Vaudois; but that their Ministers made them ask pardon of God for receiving the Sacraments from these Priests, because forced to it; moreover, admonish'd them not to adhere to the Ceremonies of Antichrist: that they practis'd auricular Confession, and, till then, had always own'd seven Sacraments, wherein, they heard say, they were very much mistaken. They proceed to give an account how they rejected the Mass, Purgatory, and the Invocation of Saints, and in order to clear up their doubts, they propose the following queries: *Whether or no it be lawful for Magistrates to put Criminals to death, by reason God hath said, I will not the death of the sinner.* But ask'd at the same time, *If it were not allowable in them to kill the false brethren who inform'd against them to Catholics, because, they having no jurisdiction among them, there was no other way to keep them in awe: whether the human and civil laws, by which the world was govern'd, were good, the Scripture having said, that the laws of men are vain: whether Churchmen might receive donations and have any thing of their own: whether it were lawful to swear: whether the distinction they made of original, venial, and mortal sin, were good: whether all children, of whatsoever nation, be saved by the Merits of Jesus Christ; and whether the adult, of whatsoever religion, not having bath, may also be saved: what be the judiciary and ceremonial precepts of the law of Moses; and whether they have been abolish'd by Jesus Christ; and whether the canonical books.* After all these queries, which so clearly confirm all we have said of the Error, Error, and the brutal ignorance these Heretics were at last fallen into, their Deputy speaks in these

these terms: *Nothing has so much disturb'd us, weak and simple as we are, as what I have read in Luther concerning Free-will and Predestination; for we believe, all men have naturally some power and strength, which, excited by God, might do something, conformably to those words, behold, I stand at the door, and knock; and whosoever would not open, should receive according to his works: but if the thing be not so, I do not see, as says Erasmus, of what use the commandments are. As for Predestination, we believe that God hath foreseen from all eternity those that were to be saved or damn'd, and that he had made all men in order to be saved, and the reprobate become such thro' their own fault: but should all come to pass of necessity, as Luther says, and the predestinated not have it in their power to turn reprobate, nor contrary wise; to what end so much preaching and so much writing, since, every thing happening by necessity, matters never will be better or worse?* Whatever ignorance may appear throughout this discourse, it's plain, these ignorant people, with all their rusticity, spoke better than those they had chosen for *Reformers*; and here are the men, forsooth, they present us as the remains and refuge of Christianity.

We find nothing here particular relating to the *Eucharist*; which makes it likely, the whole of the Conference was not related; nor is it difficult to guess the reason. 'Twas in short, because the *Vaudois* were, as above seen, greater *Papists* on this head than the *Zuinglians* and *Lutherans* desired. Moreover, this Deputy speaks nothing to *Oecolampadius* of any *Confession of Faith* as in use amongst them: and we have already seen that even *Beza* reports none but that S. l. 2. n. which the *Vaudois* made in 1541, so long after 4. *Luther* and *Calvin*. Which shews manifestly, the

the *Confessions of Faith* produced by them, as of the ancient *Vaudois*, can be but very modern, as we shall soon discover.

CXX. Alter all these Conferences with those of *Strasburg* and *Besi* in 1536. *Geneva* was consulted by her neighbours the *Vaudois*; and then it was their society with the *Calvinists* commended, by the instructions of *Farel* Minister of *Geneva*. But we need only hear the *Calvinists* themselves, to be convinced how far remote the *Vaudois* were from their *Reformation*. *Crespin*, in his history of Martyrs, says, that those of *Angrogne*, by a long succession, and as from father to son, had retain'd some purity of Doctrine. But to shew how small, even in their estimate, was this purity of Doctrine, he says in another place, speaking of the *Vaudois* of *Merindol*, that THE VERY LITTLE TRUE LIGHT THEY HAD, they endeavour'd to increase from day to day, by dispatching people on all sides, even to a great distance off, wheresoever they heard some ray of light did discover itself. And he agrees moreover in another place, that their Ministers, who taught them in private, did not do it with that purity as was requisite: forasmuch as, ignorance having overflow'd the whole universe, and God having a right to let men go astray as he did, like brute beasts, 'tis no wonder, these poor men had not so pure a Doctrine as they have since enjoy'd, and at this day, more than ever. These last words shew the pains the *Calvinists* were at, since the year 1536, to lead the *Vaudois* whither they had a mind; and after all, 'tis but too manifest that, from that time, this Sect is not to be look'd on as persisting in her ancient Doctrine, but as reform'd by the *Calvinists*.

CXXI. We learn as much from *Beza*, tho' with a little more precaution, when he owns in his description

description of them, *That the purity of Doctrin* Liv. 1. p.  
*was somewhat adulterated by the Vaudois.* And 23. 1536.  
 in his history, that in process of time, they had  
*somewhat swerv'd from Piety and Doctrin.* Af-  
 terwards he speaks more openly, confessing that  
*In a long series of time the purity of Doctrin* Ibid. p.  
*had been greatly adulterated by their Ministers,* 35. 36.  
 insomuch that they became sensible, by the mi- 1544.  
 nistry of Oecolampadius, of Bucer, and others,  
*how, by little and little, the purity of Doctrin*  
*had not remain'd amongst them, and gave orders,*  
*by sending to their brethren in Calabria, to put all*  
*things in a better state.*

These brethren of Calabria were, like them, fugitives, who, according to the maxims of the Sect, held their assemblies, as Gilles reports, *In the most secret manner it was possible, AND DISSEMBLED MANY THINGS against their will.* What this Minister endeavours to hide under these words, you must understand, was, that the Vaudois of Calabria, after the example of all the rest of them, perform'd all the external duties of good Catholics; and I leave you to judge whether they could have been exempt from it in that country, considering what we have seen of their dissimulation in the valleys of *Pragelas* and *Angrogne*. Accordingly Gilles acquaints us, how that these *Calabrians*, press'd at last to withdraw from Church-assemblies, yet not able to take the resolution, tho' advised to it by this Minister, *of forsaking so fine a country*, were soon abolish'd.

Thus expired the *Vaudois*. As they had only subsisted by concealing what they were, they fell as soon as ever they resolved to declare themselves; for those that afterwards remain'd under that name, it's plain, were nothing else but *Calvinists*, whom *Farel* and the other Ministers of Geneva

CXXII:  
 The change of the *Calabrian Vaudois*, and their intire extinction. Gilles. ch. 3. § 29.

CXXIII.  
 The present *Vaudois* are not the predecessors, but followers of the *Calvinists*.



*Geneva* had form'd to their mode: so that these *Vaudois*, whom they make their *Ancestors* and *Predecessors*, to speak the truth, are nothing but their *Successors*, and new disciples whom they have profelyted to their Faith.

CXXIV.  
No advantage to be derived from the *Vaudois* in behalf of the *Calvinists*.

But after all, what help can these *Vaudois*, by whom they seek to justify themselves, afford our *Calvinists*? It's manifest by this history that *Waldo* and his disciples were all meer Lay-men, who thrust themselves in to preach, without orders, without mission, and afterwards to administer the Sacraments. They separated from the Church by a manifest error, detested as much by *Protestants* as *Catholicks*, which was that of *Donatism*; nay, this *Donatism* of the *Vaudois* is beyond comparison much worse than the *African Donatism* of old, so strongly confuted by *St. Austin*. Those *Donatists* of *Africa* said, indeed, that none but a holy person could validly administer the Sacraments: but they did not arrive at the extravagance of the *Vaudois*, to allow the administration of the Sacraments as well to holy Lay-men as holy *Priests*. If the *African Donatists* pretended that the *Catholick Bishops* and *Priests* had forfeited their ministry by their crimes, they at least accused them of crimes, which were actually reprov'd by the law of God. But our new *Donatists* separate themselves from the whole *Catholick Clergy*, and would have it, they were degraded from their Orders for not observing their pretended *Apostolick Poverty*, which, at most, was but a counsel. For this was the origin of the Sect, and what we have seen it flood to, as long as it persisted in its first belief. Who therefore does not see that such a Sect is nothing at bottom, but hypocrisy boasting her poverty and other virtues, and making the Sacraments depend, not on the efficacy *Jesus Christ* has given



given them, but on man's merits. And after all, these new Doctors, from whom the *Calvinists* derive their succession, Whence came they themselves, and who sent them? Puzzled at this query no less than the *Protestants*, like them they went in quest of *Predecessors*, and here is the fable trump'd up by them. They were told, that in the time of *St. Sylvester*, when *Constantine* endow'd the Churches with revenues, *One of this Pope's companions would not consent to it, and withdrew from his Communion, abiding together with them that followed him, in the way of poverty; and then it was the Church failed in Sylvester and his adherents, and remained with them.* Let not this be call'd a calumny invented by the enemies of the *Vaudois*, for we have seen, that the authors, who unanimously report it, had no design of calumniating them. This fable was still in vogue in *Seyssel's* time. The vulgar were then told, *This Sect had taken its rise from a certain man call'd Leo, a very religious person, in the time of Constantine the Great, who detesting the avarice of Sylvester, and Constantine's excessive liberality, chose rather to follow the poverty and simplicity of Faith, than, with Sylvester, to defile himself with a fat and rich benefice, to which Leo all those join'd themselves, that judg'd aright in Faith.* These ignorant people had been made believe, 'twas from this counterfeit *Leo*, the Sect of *Leonists* derived their name and birth. *Christians* are all for finding a succession in their *Church* and *Doctrin*e. *Protestants* brag of theirs in the *Vaudois*, the *Vaudois* in their pretended companion of *St. Sylvester*; and both are equally fictitious.

All the truth to be found in the *Vaudois* origin is, that they took their motive of separation from the endowing of Churches and Church-men

CXXV.  
The *Calvinists*  
have no  
contrary,  
cotempo-

*Ren. Ibid.*  
c. iv. v.  
749.  
*Pylicd. c.*  
iv. p.  
779.  
*Fragm.*  
*Pylicd.*  
815. 816.  
&c.

*Seyss f. 52*

rary au-  
thors to  
favour  
their pre-  
tensions  
to the  
*Vaudois*.  
*Hist. des*  
*Vaudois*.  
c. d. 1.

contrary, as they pretended, to that poverty *Jesus Christ* requires of his Ministers. But as this origin is absurd, and besides, nowise serves the turn of *Protestants*; we have seen, what an account *Paul Perrin* hath given of it in his history of the *Vaudois*. He sets forth this *Waldo* as a person *the most courageous in opposing the Real Presence* in the year 1160. But does he produce any author in Confirmation of what he says? no, not so much as one: neither *Aubertin*, nor *la Roque*, nor *Cappel*, infine no Protestant of *Germany* or *France* hath produced, or ever will produce, any one author, either of those times, or of succeeding ages for the space of three or four hundred years, who gives the *Vaudois* that origin which this Historian lays for the foundation of his history. Have any of the *Catholicks*, who wrote so copiously, whatever *Berengarius* and the rest objected against the *Real Presence*, so much as named *Waldo* amongst those that opposed it? None ever hath dream't of it: we have seen, what they said of *Waldo*, was far different. But why must they have spared him only? What then, did this man, they make so courageous in stemming the torrent, so conceal his Doctrine that none ever could perceive he impugn'd an article of this importance? or was *Waldo* so formidable a person, that no *Catholick* dur'd impeach him of this error at the time they impeach'd him of so many others? An Historian that sets out with a fact of this nature, and lays it for the foundation of his history, what credit does he deserve? Nevertheless, *Paul Perrin* is heard like an oracle among *Calvinists*, so lightly do they come into whatever favours the prejudices of the Sect.

CXXVI.

*Vaudois*  
books pro-  
duced by  
*Perrin*

But for want of known authors, *Perrin* produces, for his only proof, some old books of the

the

the *Vaudois* in manuscript, which he pretends to have retrieved; amongst the rest, one Volume wherein was *A book concerning Antichrist bearing date 1120, and in this same Volume, many sermons of the Vaudois Barbes.* But it's already evidently made out, there neither were *Vaudois* nor *Barbes* in 1120, since *Waldo*, by *Perrin's* own account, did not appear till 1160. The word *Barbe* was not known, nor in use among the *Vaudois* to signify their Doctors, till many ages after, and manifestly in the latter times. So, these discourses cannot all of them be made to pass as of eleven hundred and twenty years standing. Nay, *Perrin* himself is reduced to allow this date only to the discourse concerning *Antickrist*, which, by this means, he hopes to father on *Peter de Bruis*, who lived about that time, or on some of his disciples. But the date standing in the front, should seemingly extend to all, and consequently is utterly false in regard of the first, as it evidently is in regard of the rest. And besides, this treatise about *Antichrist*, which he pretends to be of 1160, is not in a different language from the other pieces of the *Barbes* cited by *Perrin*; and this language is very modern, very little unlike the *Provenç-dialect* now in use. Not only *Villebardouin's* language, who wrote a hundred years since *Peter de Bruis*, but that also of the authors, subsequent to *Villebardouin*, is more obsolete and obscure than that which he would make to pass for eleven hundred and twenty years old: so that there is not a more gross and palpable imposition, than to palm on us these pieces as of remote antiquity.

Nevertheless, on account of this sole date of 1120, placed, you know not by whom, you know not when, in this *Vaudois-volume* no body knows any thing of, our *Calvinists* have cited

*Hist. des Vaudois.*  
li. 1. ch.  
vii. p. 57.  
*Hist. des Vaud. & Albig.* 3. part.  
Lib. III. ch. 1. p. 253.

CXXVII.

Sequel.

Sub. p.

962.

La R<sup>x</sup>.

*Hist. de  
l'Euchar.  
p. 451.  
459.*

*Ferr. Hiji.  
des Vaudois.  
3. part.  
liv. 111.  
ch. 2. p.  
305.*

this book about *Antichrist* as undoubtedly the work of *some one of Peter de Bruis's* disciples, or as his own. The same authors quote with great confidence some discourses, which *Perrin* has tack'd to that concerning *Antichrist*, as it of the same date 1120, altho', in one of these where *Purgatory* is handled, is cited a book *which St. Austin intitled, as the original has it, Milparlemens, that is, of a thousand sayings, as it St. Austin had wrote a book with this title; the which can be attributed to nothing but a compilation made in the thirteenth Century, bearing this title, Milleloquium Sancti Augustini, which the ignorant author of this treatise on Purgatory took for the work of this Father. Besides this, we might be able to speak something of the age of these Vaudois-books and the alterations possibly made in them, were we told of some known Library where they might be view'd. Till the publick hath received this necessary information, we cannot but wonder, such books have been produced to us for authentick as have not been seen but by Perrin alone; neither Aubertin, nor La Roque citing them otherwise than on his word, without so much as telling us, they have ever handled them. This Perrin, who alone boasts of them to us, observes none of those marks in them whereby the date of a book may be ascertain'd, or its antiquity proved; and all he tells us is, they are *Old Vaudois-volumes*: which, in general, may be said of the most modern *Gothic* books of no more than a hundred or six score years antiquity. There is then all manner of appearance that these books, whence they produce what they please without any solid proof of their date, have been composed or altered by those *Vaudois*, whom *Lod* and his brethren reformed in their way.*

*Hist. de  
Vaudois.  
1. part.  
p. 5.*

As to the *Confession* of Faith publish'd by *Perrin*, and which all *Protestants* quote as an authentick piece of the ancient *Vaudois*, *It is extracted*, says he, *from a book intitl'd, the Spiritual Almanack, and from the memoirs of George Morel*. As for the *Spiritual Almanack*, I know not what to say to it, unless, that neither *Perrin*, nor even *Leger*, who speaks with so great a regard for the books of the *Vaudois*, have mention'd any thing of the date of this. They have not even thought it worth their while to acquaint us, whether it may be a manuscript or in print; and we may hold it for certain, it is very modern, since those, who would make the most of it, have not specified its antiquity. But what *Perrin* reports, is decisive, *viz.* that this *Confession* of Faith is extracted from the *Memoirs* of *George Morel*. Now it is plain from *Perrin* himself, that *George Morel* was the man that about the year 1530, (so many years after the *Reformation*) went to confer with *Oecolampadius* and *Bucer* concerning the means to bring about a union: which makes it clear enough that this *Confession* of Faith is not, any more than the rest produced by *Perrin*, of the ancient *Vaudois*, but of the *Vaudois* reform'd according to the model of the *Protestants*.

Accordingly hath it been already remark'd by us, that no mention of a *Vaudois Confession* of Faith was made in the Conference of 1530, betwixt *Oecolampadius* and the said *Vaudois*. We may even boldly assert, they never made a *Confession* of Faith till a long while after, since that *Beza*, so diligent in his researches into, and taking advantage from, the acts of these Hereticks, speaks nothing, as hath been seen, of any such *Confession* of Faith that he knew of, except in 1541. Howsoever that be, never, before *Lu-*

CXXVIII  
Confession  
of Faith  
produced  
by *Perrin*.  
That it is  
posterior to  
*Calvi-*  
*nism*.  
*Hist. des*  
*Vaud. liv.*  
*1. ch. 12.*  
*p. 79.*  
*Ibid.*

*Lett. of*  
*Oecolamp.*  
*Perr. Ibid.*  
*ch. vi. p.*  
*46. vii. p.*  
*59.*

CXXIX:  
Demon-  
stration  
that the  
*Vaudois*  
had no  
*Confession*  
of Faith  
before the  
pretended  
*Reforma-*  
*tion.*



*Luther's* and *Calvin's* Reformation had a *Vaudois*  
*Confession* of Faith been so much as hear'd of.  
*S. n. 4* *Syffel*, whom pastoral vigilancy and the duty of  
his charge engaged in those latter times, namely,  
*Syffel. l. 3.* in 1516, and 1517, to so exact an inquiry into  
& *109.* all that concern'd this Sect, speaks not one word  
of a *Confession* of Faith: and the reason was,  
because he had never heard of any such thing,  
either from juridical examinations, or from  
those of his own converts, who, with so great  
tokens of sincerity, discover'd to him with tears  
and compunction the whole secret of the Sect.  
They had not therefore, at that time, any such  
*Confession*; their Doctrine was to be learnt, as  
we have seen, by their interrogatories at tribu-  
nals: but as for a *Confession* of Faith or any  
*Vaudois*-writing, we find not a word in those  
authors that knew them best. On the contrary,  
the brethren of *Bohemia*, a Sect we shall speak  
of soon, and which the *Vaudois* have frequently  
strove to unite themselves to, both before and  
since *Luther's* time, assure us, they wrote no-  
thing. *They never had*, say they, *a Church*  
*known in Bohemia, nor had our people learnt any*  
*thing of their Doctrine, by reason they never had*  
*preached among us any way.* And in ano-  
*ther place they add not entire their sincere*  
*and public testimony of their Doctrine.* But it  
you'll say, they had nevertheless, amongst  
their titles, some writings, and some *Confessions*  
of Faith: if so, doubtless they would have  
concomitantly deliver'd to the *Brethren* whom they  
were for uniting with. But the *Brethren* declare,  
they knew nothing as to that point except from  
some articles of *Moravia*, *et cetera*, say they,  
*if they might have seen it, it had been our*  
*time.* This is what a learned Minister of the  
*Bohemians* writes, a long while after *Luther's*  
and



and *Calvin's* Reformation. He would have spoken more consequently, if, instead of saying, these articles were *polished*, he had said, they were coin'd since the *Reformation*. But so it was that men were willing, in the Party, to give some air of antiquity to the *Vaudois-articles*, nor would this Minister intirely disclose the secret of the Sect. Be that as it will, he says enough of it to convince us, what we ought to credit concerning the *Confessions* of Faith produced, in his time, under the name of the *Vaudois*; and it's easily perceived, they knew nothing of the *Protestant* Doctrin before they had been taught it by the *Protestants*. Nay, they scarce knew what they themselves believed, and but confusedly deliver'd their minds concerning it to their best friends, so far from having *Confessions* of Faith already at hand, as *Perrin* would vain persuade us.

And nevertheless we perceive, even in these pieces of *Perrin*, some footsteps of the ancient genius of the *Vaudois*; a confirmation of what we have already said concerning them. For example, in the book about *Antichrist*, it is said, *That the Emperors and Kings having got a notion that Antichrist resembled the true and holy Mother the Church, they loved him, and endow'd him contrary to God's command*; which comes up to the *Vaudois* tenet, that the Clergy are forbidden to have any goods: an error, as above seen, that was the first ground-work of their separation. What is advanced in the *Catechism*, viz. that you may know the Ministers *by their true sense of the Faith, and by their holy Doctrin and life of good example, &c.* suits also with that error, which made the *Vaudois* believe, that Ministers of an evil life were degraded from their Ministry, and lost the administration of the Sacraments.

CXXX.  
The *Vaudois*, in drawing their *Calvinistical* Confession of Faith, retain'd something of the *Dogmata* that were peculiar to them.  
*Ibid.* 3.  
*part. l.*  
111. *ch. 1.*  
*p.* 292.  
*Ibid.* 3.  
*part. l. 1.*  
*p.* 157.  
*ib. l.* 111.  
*p.* 267.

For which reason, in the book that treats of *Antichrist*, it's also said, that one of his works is, *To attribute the Reformation of the Holy Ghost to Faith extremely dead, and to baptize children into the Faith, teaching that, by the Faith, these children do receive from him Baptism and Regeneration*: works whereby a living Faith is required in the Ministers of *Baptism* as a thing necessary for the child's regeneration, and the contrary is rank'd among the works of *Antichrist*. Thus, when they compos'd these new *Confessions* of Faith agreeable to the *Reformation*, which they had a design of entering into, there was no hindering them from still insinuating something that favour'd of the old *Learn*; and without further loss of time in this inquiry, it is sufficient you have observ'd, in these works of the *Vaudis*, the two errors which were the ground of their separation.

CXXXI. Such is the history of the *Alligenes* and *Vaudis* as reported by the authors of those times. Our *Reformed*, finding nothing therein favourable to their pretension, conniv'd at their being imputed upon by the most gross of all artifices. Many *Catholic* authors, that wrote in this, or towards the end of the precedent age, have not sufficiently distinguish'd the *Vaudis* from the *Alligenes*, but given the general name of *Calvinists* alike to both of them. Whatever might have been the cause of their error, our *Protestants* are more able critics than to require we should credit either *Morim*, or *Geat*, or even *Ymagin*, and some other moderns, to the prejudice of the ancient authors, who all unanimously, as we have seen, call'd them their two *Sects*. Nevertheless, on the occasion of error, the *Protestants*, after taking it for granted that the *Alligenes* and *Vaudis* were but one and the same

same Sect, have concluded, that nought but calumny branded the *Albigenses* with the imputation of *Manicheism*, since the *Vaudois*, according to the ancient authors, are exempt from that blemish.

They ought to reflect that these ancients, who, in accusing the *Vaudois* of other errors, have discharged them from *Manicheism*, at the same time, have distinguish'd them from the *Albigenses* whom we have convicted of it. For example, the Minister *de la Roque*, who, as he writ the last on this subject, hath muster'd up the subtle quirks of all the other authors of the Party, and especially those of *Aubertin*, believes he has justified the *Albigenses* as to their rejecting the *Old Testament* like the *Manicheans*, by shewing from *Renier's* testimony, that the *Vaudois* received it: he gains nothing, since these *Vaudois* are, in the same *Renier*, thoroughly distinguish'd from the *Cathari* the stem of the *Albigensian* progeny. The same *La Roque* thinks to reap advantage from certain Hereticks, who, according to *Radulphus Ardens*, said, *That the Sacrament was nothing but meer Bread*. It is true, but the same *Radulphus* adds, what *La Roque* no less than *Aubertin* have dissembled, that these same Hereticks admit two Creators, and reject the *Old Testament*, the truth of the *Incarnation*, *Marriage*, and the use of *Flesh-meat*. The same Minister also cites certain Hereticks mention'd by *Peter de Vaucernay*, who denied the truth of *Jesus Christ's Body* in the *Eucharist*. I own it, but at the same time this Historian assures us, they admitted the two Principles, with all the train of *Manichean* errors. *La Roque* would make us believe, that the same *Peter de Vaucernay* distinguishes the *Arians* and *Manicheans* from the *Vaudois* and *Albigenses*. The half of his discourse

CXXXII.

Demonstration that the Hereticks, who denied the

Reality in the twelfth and thirteenth Centuries,

were Manicheans.

Notoriously false supposition of the Ministers.

*La Roq.*

459.

*Aub. p.*967. ex *Ren. c.*

111. 5.

*Ren. c. vi.**La Roq.*

456.

*Aub. p.*

964. B.

*Rad. Ard.**Serm. 8.**Poſt.**Pentec.**La Poq.**Auber.**Ibid. 965.**ex Pat. de Valle-**Cern. III. 7.**Albig. lib.*

is II. cap. VI.

Hi. 1.  
A. h. 2.  
cap. 11.

is true: it is true that he distinguishes the *Manicheans* from the *Vaudois*, but he distinguishes them not from the Hereticks that were in the country of *Narbonne*; and certain it is, these are the same that were call'd *Abigenfes*, and who unquestionably were *Manicheans*. But, continues the same *La Roque*, *Renier* owns Hereticks who say, *the Body of Jesus Christ is meer Bread*; they were those he calls *Ordibarians* that spoke thus, and, at the same time, denied the Creation, and vented a thousand other blasphemies, which *Manicheism* had introduced: so that these enemies of the *Real Presence* were at the same time no less enemies of the Creator and the Deity.

La Roq. p.  
457.  
Aub. 965.  
Ren. cap.  
vi.  
Ren. Ibid.

CXXXIII

Sequel:  
Maniche  
ism at  
Metz: the  
Bogomi-  
kiss.  
Cruar.  
H. Jacob.  
h. 1. x. cap.  
2. in  
Ibid.  
C. 6. v.  
La Roq.  
457.  
Aub. 964  
Tort. Cat.  
Gen. 1. 85.  
l. 455.

*La Roque* returns to the attack with *Aubertin*, and believes he finds good *Protestants* in the persons of those Hereticks, who, by the testimony of *Cesarius of Hesterback*, blasphemed the *Body and Blood of Jesus Christ*. But the same *Cesarius* acquaints us, they admitted the two Principles, and all the other *Manichean* blasphemies; which he avers he is very well assured of, not from hear-say, but from his frequent conversation with them in the *Diocese of Metz*. A famous Minister of *Metz*, whom I was well acquainted with, made the *Calcinists* of that country believe, these *Abigenfes* of *Cesarius* were their ancestors; and then they were plainly shewn that these ancestors, he had given them, were abominable *Manicheans*. *La Roque*, in his history of the *Encharisti*, would fain have us believe, the *Bogomists* were the same with those call'd, in divers places, *Vaudois*, *sermen* of *Lions*, *Bulgarians*, *Intabattized*, *Gazares*, *Popheans*, and *Turlupins*. I agree that the *Vaudois*, the *Irakbatists*, and the *poor men* of *Le no* are the same Set: but that they were call'd *Gazares* or *Calari*, *Popheans*, *Bulgarians*,

*Bulgarians or Bogomilists*, is what never will be shewn from any author of those times. Nevertheless, Mr. *de la Roque* must needs have these *Bogomilists* to be their friends: surely for this reason, because *they accounted the Body and Blood, which we consecrate, unworthy of all esteem.* But he ought to have learnt from *Anna Comnena*, who has given us a right notion of these Hereticks, that they reduced to a phantom the Incarnation of *Jesus*; that they taught such impurities as the modesty of her sex forbade this Princess to repeat; and insinuate, that they had been convicted by the Emperor *Alexius* her Father of introducing a Dogma mix'd with two the most infamous of all Heresies, that of the *Manicheans*, and that of the *Massilians*.

*An. Comn.  
Alex. lib.  
xv. p. 486.  
& seq.*

The same *La Roque* counts also amongst his friends *Peter Moran*, who, press'd to declare his Faith before all the people, confessed, *He did not believe the consecrated Bread was the Body of our Lord*; and he forgets that this *Peter Moran*, by the report of the author whose testimony he cites, was of the number of those Hereticks convicted of *Manicheism*, which were call'd *Arians* for the reason abovemention'd.

CXXXIV  
Sequel of the suppositions of the Ministers.  
*Ibid.* 458.  
*Reg. de Hoved.*

This author reckons also amongst his friends those Hereticks, concerning whom it is said in the Council of *Toulouse* under *Calixtus II.* that they rejected the Sacrament of *Jesus Christ's Body and Blood*; and he mutilates the very Canon he has taken these words from, in the sequel whereof is to be seen, that these Hereticks, together with the Sacrament of the Body and Blood, rejected also *Infant-Baptism* and lawful *Wedlock*.

*Ann.*  
*Angl.*  
*Baron. ad An. 1178.*  
CXXXV.  
Another falsity.  
*Ibid.* 451.

With the like hardiness he corrupts a passage of *Emerick* the Inquisitor, concerning the *Vaudois*. *Emerick*, says he, attributes to them, as a Heresy, their saying that the Bread is not transubstantiated

*Conc.*  
*Tolof.*  
*An. 1119.*  
*Can. 3. v. 8.*

CXXXVI  
Another passage mutilated.  
*P. 457.*



*Direct.* *substantiated into the true Body of Jesus Christ,*  
*part. 2. §.* *nor the Wine into Blood.* Who would not be-  
 lieve the *Vandois* convicted by this testimony of  
 denying *Transubstantiation*? but we have given  
 the whole passage, where you'll read: *The ninth*  
*error of the Vandois is, that the Bread is not*  
*transubstantiated into the Body of Jesus Christ,*  
 IF THE PRIEST, WHO CONSECRATES IT,  
 BE A SINNER. Mr. *La Roque* cuts off these  
 last words, and, by this falsification alone, takes  
 from the *Vandois* two important points of their  
 Doctrine; one, which is the abhorrence of all  
*Protestants*, to wit, *Transubstantiation*; the other,  
 which is the abhorrence of all *Christians*, namely,  
 their saying, that the Sacraments lose their virtue  
 in the hands of unworthy Ministers. Thus do  
 our adversaries prove what they list, by mani-  
 fest falsifications, nor dread giving themselves  
 predecessors even at this rate.

CLXXVII  
 Recapitulation.

These are a part of *Aubertin's* and *La Roque's*  
 illusions with regard to the *Albigenses*, and *Vau-*  
*dois* or *poor men of Lyons*. In a word, they per-  
 fectly vindicate these last from *Manicheism*, but,  
 at the same time, bring no kind of proof to shew,  
 they denied *Transubstantiation*; on the contrary,  
 do corrupt the passages which prove, they ad-  
 mitted it. And as for those who denied it in  
 those days, they produce none but such as are  
 convicted of *Manicheism*, by the testimony of  
 the same authors that accuse them of denying  
 the change of substances in the *Eucharist*, to  
 shew their ancestors either, with us, defend *Tran-*  
*substantiation* as the *Vandois*, or, are convicted of  
*Manicheism* as the *Albigenses*.

CLXXVIII  
 The Conclusion  
 of the  
 History

But here is what these Ministers have advanced  
 with greater liberty. Ours would by the  
 number of persons, who, treating of their *Tran-*  
*substantiation* and *Manicheism* Heresies, make them  
 perfect



perfect *Manicheans*, they cannot deny there were such, and even in those countries; and they were those, say they, who were call'd *Cathari* or *Puritans*. But they add, they were very few in number, since *Renier*, who knew them so well, assures us, they had but *sixteen Churches in the whole world*; nay, that the number of these *Cathari* did not exceed *four thousand* in all parts of the earth: *Whereas*, says *Renier*, *the believers are not to be number'd*. These Ministers would give to understand from this passage, that these sixteen Churches, and four thousand men spread in all parts of the universe, could not have caused in it all that noise and all those wars the *Albigenses* were authors of: it must therefore have happen'd that the name of *Cathari* or *Manicheans* was extended to some other Sect more numerous, and that the *Vaudois* and *Albigenses* had the name of *Manicheans* given them, either by mistake, or calumny.

Whosoever has a mind to see what length prejudice or illusion will go, needs but to hear, after what the Ministers have said, the truth I am going to relate, or rather, call to mind what has already been related. And in the first place, as to these sixteen Churches, you have seen that the word *Church* was taken in this place by *Renier*, not for particular Churches which were in certain Towns, but often, for whole Provinces: thus you find amongst these Churches, *the Church of Slavonia*, *the Church of Marc-Ancona in Italy*, *the Church of France*, *the Church of Bulgaria*, the Mother of all the rest. All *Lombardy* was contain'd under the title of two Churches: those of *Toulouse* and *Alby*, which in *France* formerly were the most numerous, comprehended all *Languedoc*, and so forth: so that, under the denomination of sixteen Churches, the whole

*Aub. 968.*  
*a. l.a Roq.*  
*460. ex.*

*Ren. c. vi.*

*Ren. c. vi.*

CXXXIX  
Sixteen  
Churches  
of the *Manicheans*  
that comprehended  
the whole  
Sect.

*Ren. c. vi.*

Sect

Seēt was express'd as divided into sixteen Cantons, all which had their relation to *Bulgaria*, as above seen.

CXL.  
The *Cathari*, in number four thousand. How this to be understood.

We have also observed, in regard of those four thousand *Cathari*, that none were understood by that name but the *perfect* of the Seēt, call'd *Elect* in St. *Augustin's* time; but withal that *Renier* assures us, in his time, to wit, in the midst of the thirteenth Century, when the Seēt was weaken'd, tho' there were but four thousand perfect *Cathari*, yet that the multitude of the rest of the Seēt, namely, of simple *Believers*, was then infinite.

CXLI.  
Whether the word *Believers*, in the ancient authors, signified the *Vaudois*. *Aubertin's* fallacy. *Sub. 662.*  
4. *La Roque*.  
460. c. 1.  
14. 12. f.  
780. &c.  
C. 1. p.  
74.

*La Roque*, after *Aubertin*, pretends, the word *Believers* signified the *Vaudois*, by reason that *Pyllicdorf*, and *Renier* himself calls them so. But here is again too palpable a fallacy. The word *Believers* was common to all the Seēts: each Seēt had *its Believers* or Followers. The *Vaudois* had their *Believers*, *Credentes ipsorum*, whom *Pyllicdorf* has spoken of in divers places. Not that the word *Believers* was appropriated to the *Vaudois*: but the thing meant was, that they had theirs like the rest. The place cited from *Renier*, by the Ministers, says, the Hereticks had their *Believers*, *Credentes suos, to whom they allowed all kind of crimes.* 'Tis not the *Vaudois* he speaks of, since he commends their good deportment. The same *Renier* relates the Mysteries of the *Cathari*, or the breaking of their Bread, and says, *They admitt'd to this table not only the Cathari, men and women, but also their Believers, namely, those who were not as yet arriv'd to the perfection of the Cathari: the which shew manifestly these two to known classes among the *Manichians*, and what he farther remarks, that the simple *Believers* were admitt'd to this kind of Mytery, mak's it plain, there were*

were other Mysteries which they were not deem'd worthy of. These Believers of the *Cathari* were therefore the *innumerable* above mention'd; and these, guided by the rest of an inferior number, rais'd all the commotions which disturb'd the world.

Here have you then the subtilties, not to say artifices, the Ministers are reduced to, in order to find themselves Predecessors. They have none of an apparent and continued succession: of such they go in search the best way they are able, amongst obscure Sects whom they strive to unite, and make of them good *Calvinists*, tho' there be nothing they all agree in, but their hatred against the *Pope* and *Church*.

CXLII.  
Conclu-  
sion: that  
the *Vau-  
dois* con-  
cur not in  
sentiment  
with the  
*Calvi-  
nists*.

It will be ask'd me, perhaps, what is my opinion concerning the manners of the *Vaudois* so much extoll'd by *Renier*. I can easily credit all he says, nay, if they please, more than *Renier* said of them; for the Devil matters not by what sort of bands he links men to him. Those *Toulousian* Hereticks, confessedly *Manicheans*, had not less of this shewish piety than the *Vaudois*. 'Twas of them *St. Bernard* said: *Their manners are irreproachable; they oppress none; they injure no man; their countenances are mortified and wan with fasting; they eat not their Bread like sluggards, but labour to gain a livelyhood.* What can be more plausible than these Hereticks mention'd by *St. Bernard*? But after all, they were *Manicheans*, and their piety but disguise. Inspect the foundation: 'twas pride, 'twas hatred against the Clergy, 'twas rancour against the *Church*; this made them drink in the whole poison of an abominable Heresy. An ignorant people may be led whither you please, when, after kindling a violent passion in their breasts, especially hatred against their guides, you use it as a chain to drag

CXLIII.  
What is to  
be believed  
concerning  
the lives of  
the *Vau-  
dois*.

Serm. 65.  
in Cant.

drag them by. But what shall we say of the *Vaudois*, who kept themselves so clear of the *Manichean* errors? The Devil had accomplish'd his work in them, when he inspir'd them with the same pride; the same ostentation of their pretended Apostolick Poverty; the same presumption to boast their virtues; the same hatred against the Clergy, even to despise the Sacraments in their hands; the same bitterness against their brethren, even to a rupture from them and open Schism. With this hatred in their breasts, were they externally still more just than has been reported, St. *John* assures me, they are murderers. Were they as chaste as Angels, their lot would be no better than that of the *foolish Virgins*, whose lamps were void of oyl, and hearts void of that sweetness which alone can nourish Charity.

1 *John*  
ii. 15.  
*Mat.* xxv.  
5.

CXLIV.  
Sowerness  
is the cha-  
racter of  
the Sect.  
Abuse of  
the Scrip-  
ture.  
*Ch.* v. p.  
749.

*Romer* has therefore justly pointed out the character of these Hereticks, when he resolves the cause of their error into hatred, bitterness and rancour: *Sic processit Dehinc apertum, & rancor.* These Hereticks, says he, whose exterior was so taking, read much, *and pray'd little.* They *went to sermons, but in order to lay snares for the Preacher, as the Jews did for the Son of God*; as much as to say, there was abounding in them much of the spirit of contention, but little of the spirit of compunction. All of them in general, *Manicheans* and *Cathars*, never ceased inveighing against human inventions, and citing the holy Scripture, whence they always had a text at hand upon all occasions. When examin'd concerning Faith, they eluded the question by equivocating; if reproved for this, 'twas *Jesus Christ* himself, said they, that taught them this practice when he said to the *Jews*: *Destroy this Temple, and in three days I will raise it up;* meaning

*Rev. Rev.*

*John* ii.  
19.

meaning of the Temple of his body what the *Jews* understood of that of *Solomon*. This text, to those that knew no better, seem'd expressly made for their purpose. The *Vaudois* had a hundred others of this sort, which they were expert in wresting to their own purposes; and to those not thoroughly versed in Scripture, it was no easy matter to escape their snares. Another author remarks a very singular character in these false professors of poverty. They did not proceed like a *St. Bernard*, like a *St. Francis*, like other Apostolick Preachers, and attack in the midst of the world the dissolute livers, the usurers, the gamesters, the blasphemers, and the like publick sinners in order to convert them: on the contrary, whomsoever they found, in Towns or Villages that were peaceable and retired, 'twas into their houses they insinuated themselves under the covert of their exterior simplicity. Scarce durst they raise their voice, their meekness was so great: yet the topick of wicked Priests and wicked Monks was straight introduced: a keen and merciless satyr put on the disguise of zeal; well-meaning people, that listened to them, were ensnared; and transported with this bitter zeal imagin'd even, they turn'd better men, by turning Hereticks: thus an universal contagion diffused itself. Some were drawn into vice by the great scandals that appear'd in the world on every side: the Devil took in the simple after another manner; and, by a false horror of the wicked, alienated them from the Church, wherein the number of such was daily seen to increase.

Nothing could be more unjust; since the *Church*, far from approving the disorders which gave a handle to the revolt of Hereticks, by all her decrees detested them, and nourish'd at the same time in her bosom men of so eminent a holiness,

*Pylicid.*  
*cap. x. p.*  
283.

CXLV.  
Eminent  
sanctity in  
the Catholick  
Church.



St. Bern-  
nard.

holiness, that, in comparison to it, all the virtue of these hypocrites appear'd as nothing. St. Bernard alone, whom God raised in those days with all the graces of the *Prophets* and *Apostles* to combat these new Hereticks, when they were making their greatest efforts to spread themselves in *France*, was alone sufficient to confound them. In him might they behold a spirit truly apostolical, a sanctity of such a lustre, that even those, whose errors he impugn'd, were in admiration of it, insomuch that there were some of them, who, whilst they wickedly anathematiz'd the holy Doctors, excepted St. Bernard from that sentence, and thought themselves obliged to publish, that at last he had come over to their Party: so much did they blush to have against them so great a witness. Amongst his other virtues, was seen to shine in him, and his brethren the holy Monks of *Cîteaux* and *Clairvaux*, to mention nothing of the rest, that Apostolick Poverty these Hereticks boasted so much of: but St. Bernard and his Disciples, for all their carrying this Poverty and Christian mortification to its utmost height, did not glory that they alone had preserved the *Sacraments*, nor were they the less obedient to Superiors however wicked, distinguishing, with *Jesus Christ*, abisses from the *Chair* and *D. Urine*.

Apud.  
Ren. ch.  
vi. p. 755.

CXVI  
Bitterness  
and pre-  
sumption  
of Here-  
ticks.

Luke xviii.  
11.

At the same time, great Saints might be number'd, not only among the Bishops, among the Priests, among the Monks, but also among the common people, and even amongst Princes in the midst of this worldly pomp: but Hereticks cared to look on nothing but vice, that they might say more boldly with the *Pharisee*; *We are not as other men are*; we are spotless, we are the *Peer* beloved of God: come to us if you'll receive the *Sacraments*.



One ought not therefore to be surpris'd at the apparent regularity of their manners, this being a part of that seduction we have been fore-arm'd against by so many informations of the Gospel. To finish the external piety of these Hereticks, this last stroke is added; that they suffer'd with a surpris'g patience. It is true, and 'tis what compleats the illusion. For the Hereticks of those times, and even the *Manicheans*, whose infamies we have beheld, after shifting and dissembling as long as ever they were able to escape punishment, when convicted, and condemn'd by the laws, ran to death with joy. Their false constancy amazed the world: *Enervin*, their accuser was nevertheless astonish'd, and inquired of *St. Bernard* with concern the meaning of such a prodigy. But the Saint, too well versed in the deep wiles of *Satan* to be ignorant of his being able to make those he held captives mimic even Martyrdom itself, answer'd, that by a just judgment of God, the evil one might have power, *Not only over the bodies of men, but also over their hearts*; and if he was able to prevail with *Judas* to destroy himself, he might well work on these Hereticks to suffer death from the hands of others. Let us not therefore wonder, if we see *Martyrs* of all Religions, even of the most monstrous ones, but learn, from this example, to hold none for true *Martyrs* but those who die in *Unity*.

But what ought to put *Protestants* for ever out of conceit with all these impious Sects, is the detestable custom they had of denying their Religion, and partaking outwardly of our worship whilst they reject'd it in their hearts. It is certain the *Vaudois*, like the *Manicheans*, lived in this practice ever since the Sect's beginning, till towards the midst of the last Century. *Seysjel*

CXLVII.  
Whether their false constancy ought to surpris' us: *St. Bernard's* memorable answer.

*Analeſt.*  
*lib. 111.*  
*p. 454.*

*Serm. 66*  
*in Cant.*  
*ſub. ſr.*

CXLVIII  
Inevitable condemnation of these Hereticks in that they denied their Religion.  
*p. 47.*

could not sufficiently wonder at the false piety of their *Barbers*, who condemning even the minutest lies, as so many grievous sins, yet dreaded not, in presence of the Judges, to lye in point of Faith with an obstinacy so surprising, that the Confession of it scarce could be torn from them by the acutest tortures. They forbod swearing tho' even to bear witness to truth in courts of Judicature; and at the same time, stuck at no oath to conceal their Sect and Faith: a tradition they had received from the *Montanians*, as they had also inherited from them their presumption and rancour. Men insure themselves to any thing, when once their guiles have gain'd the ascendant over their minds; but especially, when engaged in a cabal under the pretext of piety.

*A History of the BOHEMIAN Brethren, vulgarly and falsely call'd VAUDOIS.*

CMLIX.  
The Sect  
of the  
Vaudois.

We are now to speak of those, who were falsely call'd *Vaudois* and *Picards*, and who call'd themselves the Brethren of *Bethlehem*, or the *Orthodox Brethren*, or badly *Baptists*. They make a particular Sect distinct from the *Lutherans* and the *followers of Luther*. When *Luther* rose up, he found some Churches in *Bohemia*, and especially in *Moravia*, whom he long disturb'd. He approv'd afterwards of their *Catechism* of Faith corrected, as we shall see. *Bacon* and *Machiavel* have doo blow'd great praises on them. The learned *Carrington*, whom we have so much reason of, that intimate friend of *Machiavel*, justly esteem'd worthy to be written by his true pen. His own law *Ridger*, tho' call'd by the *Protestant* Churches of the *Reformation*, prefer'd to them those of *Moravia* and chose to be their Minister; and even all the *Synods* parted

The Sect  
of the  
Vaudois.  
The  
Brethren  
of  
Bethlehem.

from *Rome* before *Luther*, this is the most commended by Protestants: but its birth and Doctrine will soon evince, nothing could be drawn from it to their advantage.

As for its birth, many led into a mistake by the name, and some conformity of Doctrine, make these *Bohemians* descend from the ancient *Vaudois*: but for their part, they renounce this origin, as appears clearly in the preface they prefix to their *Confession* of Faith in 1572. There they set forth their origin in an ample manner, and say amongst other things, that the *Vaudois* are more ancient than they; that these had, indeed, some Churches dispersed in *Bohemia* when their own began first to appear, but they had no acquaintance with them; that nevertheless these *Vaudois*, in process of time, made themselves known to them, yet refused, say they, to make any deep research into their Doctrine. Our annals, continue they, inform us they were never united to our Churches for two reasons: first, because they gave no testimony of their Faith and Doctrine; secondly, because, in order to keep peace, they made no difficulty of assisting at Masses celebrated by those of the Church of *Rome*. Whence they concluded not only that they never had entered into any union with the *Vaudois*, but also, that they had always believed, they could not enter into any such with a safe conscience. So remote are these people from acknowledging a *Vaudois*-extraction, that, what is ambition'd by the *Calvinists*, is rejected by them with scorn.

*Camerarius* writes the same thing in his history of the *Bohemian Brethren*: but *Rudiger*, one of their Pastors in *Moravia*, says, still more clearly, that these Churches are far different from those of the *Vaudois*; that the *Vaudois* were in being

CI.  
They distinguish those who call them *Vaudois* and why.  
*De orig. Eccl. Boh. & consuet. ab his eccl. Helv. An. 1605. cum Hist. Teuch. Camer. p. 173.*

CII.  
The testimony of *Camerarius* p. 24  
over the p. 173. see.

Rudig. de  
E. l. Frat.  
in Bohem.  
& Mor-  
nar. p.  
147.

ever since the year 1160, whereas the Brethren did not begin to appear till the fifteenth Century; and finally, that it's written in the annals of the Brethren how they always with constancy refused to make any union with the Vaudois, by reason they did not give a full Confession of their Faith, and went to Mass.

CLII.  
The *Fa-  
d is dis-  
cuss'd by  
the Bre-  
thren as  
well as the  
Picards.  
In Syn.  
S. d. m.  
S. n. G. n.  
2. p. 11. f.  
219.  
Pud. 5.  
Ibid. p.  
149.*

Accordingly, we see the Brethren, in all their Synods and all their acts, stile themselves the Brethren of *Bohemia*, falsly call'd *Vaudois*. The name of *Picards* is still more detested by them: It is very likely, says *Rudiger*, these, who first gave it our ancestors, took it from a certain *Picard*, who, renewing the ancient Heresy of the *Adamites*, introduced nudities and shameful actions; and as this Heresy penetrated into *Bohemia* about the time our Churches were establish'd, they were discredited by so infamous a title, as if we had been nothing but the miserable remains of that impure *Picard*. You see thereby how these two pedigrees, from the *Vaudois* and this *Picard*, are rejected by the Brethren: they account it even an affront to be call'd *Picards* and *Vaudois*; and if the first origin displeases them, the second, our *Protestants* glory in, seems to them but little less shameful, but now we are going to see, that which they give themselves, is not much more reputable.

### The History of JOHN WICKLIFF an ENGLISHMAN.

CLIII.  
*Wickliff's  
impious  
Doctrine  
is  
117.*

THEY be all of being the disciples of *John Huss*: but to judge of their pretension, we must ascend higher still, since *John Huss* himself gloried in having *Wickliff* for his master. What judgment we then ought to pass on *Wickliff* shall

be shew'd in few words, without producing any other records than his own works, and the testimony of all candid *Protestants*.

The chief of all his works, is the *Triologue*, that famous book which set all *Bohemia* in a flame, and raised such troubles in *England*. This was the *Theology* contain'd in it: “ That all hap- *Lib. III*  
 “ pens by necessity; that he, a long while, *c. vii. viii*  
 “ spurn'd at this Doctrine, because it was contrary *xxiii. p.*  
 “ to the liberty of God; but at last, was obliged *56. 82.*  
 “ to yield and acknowledge at the same time, *Edit.*  
 “ that all the sins committed in the world, are *1525.*  
 “ necessary and inevitable; that God could not *Ibid. c.*  
 “ prevent the sin of the first man, nor forgive *xxiv. xxv.*  
 “ it without Jesus Christ's satisfaction, but then, *p. 85. &c*  
 “ it was impossible the Son of God should not  
 “ become incarnate, should not satisfy, should  
 “ not die; that God indeed might have done  
 “ otherwise, had he will'd it, but he could not  
 “ will otherwise; that he could not but forgive  
 “ man; that the sins of man proceeded from  
 “ seduction and ignorance, and so it was requi-  
 “ site, of necessity, that the divine wisdom  
 “ should put on Flesh to repair them; that Jesus  
 “ Christ could not save the Devils; that their sin *Ibid. c.*  
 “ was a sin against the Holy Ghost; that to *xxvii. li.*  
 “ save them, it would have been necessary, the *1. c. x. p.*  
 “ Holy Ghost should have become incarnate, *15.*  
 “ which was absolutely impossible; therefore, *ib. xi. 18.*  
 “ that no possible means were left of saving  
 “ the Devils in general; that nothing was possi-  
 “ ble to God but what actually came to pass;  
 “ that the power admitted for things, which did  
 “ not happen, was an illusion; that God can  
 “ produce nothing within himself, which he does  
 “ not necessarily produce, nor out of himself,  
 “ which he does not likewise necessarily produce  
 “ in its time; that when *Jesus Christ* said, he

- “ could ask of his father more than twelve legi-  
 “ ons of Angels, you must understand, he  
 “ could if he would, but must acknowledge at  
*E. 12* 11 “ the same time, he could not will it; that the  
 “ power of God is limited in the main, and is  
*E. 13* “ no other wise infinite than because there is no  
*E. 14* 1 “ greater power; in a word, that the word and  
 “ all which exists, is of absolute necessity, and  
 “ were there any thing possible that God should  
 “ refuse a being to, he would be either impo-  
*E. 15* 1 “ tent or envious; and as he could not refuse  
*E. 16* 1 “ being to any thing capable thereof, so can he  
 “ annihilate nothing; that we ought not to ask  
 “ why God does not hinder sin, the reason is,  
 “ because he can’t; nor, in general, why he  
 “ does or does not such a thing; because he  
 “ does necessarily all he can do; yet is he never-  
 “ theless free, but in the manner as he is free  
 “ to produce his Son whom nevertheless he pro-  
 “ duces necessarily; that the liberty, to chuse  
 “ of contradiction, whereby you may do a  
 “ thing or not do it, is an erroneous term in-  
 “ troduced by the Doctors, and the denomination  
 “ we have of our baptism, is a proper and illu-  
 “ stration like to that of a Child, who thinks he  
 “ will do one which he dares not do, but we  
 “ content about our sins, we do as our will,  
 “ but all this is inevitable, no less than that  
 “ which is enquired in the words, can any thing  
 “ be done or by God’s liberty that God has  
 “ promised every thing, and the Father, as  
 “ was said, that he will do all things that he  
 “ will, he will do all the parts of his creation, to  
 “ himself, to us, and things to himself, that  
 “ therefore the Father’s Providence, and the Father’s  
 “ power, God’s power, and the Father’s power,  
 “ both, that is, the Father’s power, and the  
 “ Father’s power, and the Father’s power, that God



“ can save none but such as are saved actually ; *Ibid.* iv.  
 “ that there is a necessary consequence for sinning  
 “ if certain things fall out ; that God wills these  
 “ things to happen, and that this consequence  
 “ be good, because otherwise, it would not be  
 “ necessary ; so he wills you should sin, and  
 “ wills sin on account of the good he draws  
 “ from it ; and altho’ it does not please God  
 “ that *Peter* should sin, yet the sin of *Peter* *Ibid.* iv.  
 “ pleases him ; that God approves sinning ; that *viii.*  
 “ he necessitates to sin ; that man can do no *Ibid.* iv.  
 “ better than he does ; that sinners and the  
 “ damn’d are nevertheless beholden to God, who  
 “ shews mercy to the damn’d in giving them  
 “ existence which is more advantageous to, and  
 “ to be wish’d for by them, than non-existence ;  
 “ that indeed, he dares not wholly ascertain this  
 “ opinion, nor push men on to sin by teaching  
 “ that it is agreeable to God they should thus  
 “ sin, and that God allows it them as a recom-  
 “ pense ; he being aware that the wicked might *Ibid.* viii.  
 “ take occasion from this Doctrine, to commit  
 “ grievous crimes, which if they may, they  
 “ will commit : but if no better reasons are given  
 “ him than what are commonly alledged, he shall  
 “ abide confirm’d in his sentiment without ut-  
 “ tering a word. ”

You see thereby, he feels a secret horror of  
 the blasphemies he vents : but he is hurried into  
 them by the spirit of pride and singularity to  
 which he had abandon’d himself, nor knows  
 how to restrain the transports of his pen. This  
 is a faithful extract of his blasphemies : they are  
 reduced to two heads, to make a God over-rul’d  
 by necessity, and, what is a consequence from  
 thence, a God Author and Approver of all crimes ;  
 namely, a God whom the *Atheists* would have



consequence from the above Doctrine, forasmuch as God, in all things acting by necessity, is drawn by the will of the Devil to do certain things, when obliged of necessity to concur to them.

Neither do we find, in the *Trialogue*, that proposition imputed to *Wickliff*, *That a King ceased to be a King by the commission of a mortal sin*. There were other books enough of *Wickliff* whence this might be taken. In fact, we have a Conference betwixt the *Catholicks* of *Bobemia* and the *Calixtins* in presence of King *George Pogiebrac*, wherein *Hilary* Dean of *Prague* maintains to *Roquesane* Chief of the *Calixtins*, that *Wickliff* had writ in exprefs terms, *That an old woman might be King and Pope, were she better and more virtuous than the Pope and King: and in such case, she might say to the King,*

*RISE UP, I AM MORE WORTHY than thou to sit on the throne.* Upon *Roquesane's* answering, this was not *Wickliff's* meaning, the same *Hilary* offer'd to shew these propositions to the whole assembly, and this besides: *That whosoever is, by his virtue, the most praise-worthy, is also the most worthy in dignity, and the most holy old woman ought to be placed in the most holy employment.* *Roquesane* stood mute, and the fact pass'd or incontestable.

The same *Wickliff* consented to the *Invocation* of Saints, honour'd their *Images*, acknowledged their *merits*, and believed *Purgatory*.

As for the *Eucharist*, what he most contended against, was *Transubstantiation*, which he said, was the most detestable Heresy that ever had been broach'd. Wherefore, 'tis his great article that Bread is in this Sacrament. In regard of the *Real Presence*, he has somethings for, and some against it. He says, *The Body is hidden in each morsel and crumb of Bread.* In another place, after saying according to his cursed maxim, that the

sanctity

CLVI.  
*Wickliff's*  
pernicious  
Doctrine  
concerning  
Kings.  
*Ibid. prop.*  
15.  
*Disput.*  
*cum Rokys.*  
*apud.*  
*Canis. ant.*  
*lett. T.*  
111. 2.  
*part. p.*  
474

*Ibid.* 500.

CLVII.  
Such of  
*Wickliff's*  
articles as  
were con-  
formable  
to our  
Doctrine.  
*Lib.* 111.  
c. 30.  
*Lib.* 11. 14.  
*Lib.* 111.  
5. iv. 6.  
7. 40. 41.  
*Lib.* iv. 1. 6.  
*Lib.* iv. c  
1.

sanctity of the Minister is necessary to a valid consecration, he adds, you must presume for the sanctity of Priests: but, says he, *On account that we have but a bare probability of it, I adore conditionally the host which I see, and adore absolutely Jesus Christ who is in heaven.* He does not therefore doubt of the *Presence*, but inasmuch as he is not certain of the holiness of the Minister, which he believes absolutely necessary thereto. Other such like passages may be found in him, but it's little to our purpose to know more.

CXLIII. A fact of greater importance is advanced by Mr. *La Roque* junior. He produces a *Confession* of Faith, wherein the *Real Presence* is clearly own'd, and *Transubstantiation* no less clearly rejected: but most material of all is what he affirms, that this *Confession* of Faith was proposed to *Wickliff* in the Council of *London*, where happen'd that great Earth-quake, call'd, for that reason, *Concilium terre motus*: some saying, the earth had a horror of the *Bishop's* decision, and others, of *Wickliff's* Heresy.

CXLIV. But without further examination of this *Confession* of Faith, of which we shall speak with more certainty when we see it entire, I may venture to say before hand, that it could not have been proposed to *Wickliff* by the Council. I prove it from *Wickliff* himself, who repeats four times, that at the Council of *London* were the words, *Item Concilium motus*; it was defined in express terms, *Quod in Sacramentis Bread and Wine adesse non nisi in Consecratione*; wherefore, it is more clear than the day, that the *Confession* of Faith, wherein is rejected this doctrine of the *Real Presence*, never by the Council.

I tell Mr. *La Roque* for a man of too great industry not to yield to so plain a proof. *Man*

while, we are oblig'd to him for sparing us the trouble of proving here the faint-heartedness of *Wickliff*: his recantation in presence of the Council: that *Of his disciples, who at first had no more resolution than he: the shame he conceiv'd at his dastardly comportment in departing from the notions then receiv'd, which made him break off all commerce with men; so that, since his retractation, you hear no more mention of him; and finally his dying in his Cure and in the exercise of his function: the which evidences, as also does his burial in hallowed ground, that he died externally in the Communion of the Church.*

*De-  
tion, and  
d. in the  
external  
Communi-  
on of the  
Church.  
La Roque,  
Ibid. 70.  
Ibid. p. 81.  
p. 83. 89.  
p.*

I have therefore no more to do but conclude with this author, that *Protestants* can reap nothing but shame from *Wickliff's* conduct, who either was an hypocritical prevaricator, or a Roman Catholick; who died in the Church even whilst he assist'd at the Sacrifice accounted the mark of distinction betwixt both parties.

*La Roq.  
Ibid.*

Those who have a mind to know *Melancthon's* opinion of *Wickliff*, will find it in the Preface to his common places, where he says, *You may judge of Wickliff's spirit by the errors he abounds with. He understood nothing, says he, of the justice of Faith: he makes a jumble of Gospel and politics: he maintains it unlawful for Priests to have any thing of their own: he speaks of the civil power after a seditious manner, and full of sabbijry: with the same sabbijry he cavils about the universally received opinion touching our Lord's Supper.* This is what *Melancthon* said, after reading *Wickliff*. He would have said more, and not spared this author as well deciding against *Free will*, as making God the author of sin, had he not fear'd, in reproving him for these excesses,

CIXI.  
*Melan-  
thon's sen-  
timent  
concerning  
Wickliff.  
Pers. ad  
Melan.  
He p. 2.  
p. ad  
An. 1550.  
p. 115.*

he

he should defame his master *Wickliff* under *Wickliff's* name.

*The History of JOHN HUSS and his Disciples.*

CLXII. WHAT raised *Wickliff* to so high a station, among the Predecessors of our *Reform'd*, was his teaching that the Pope was *Antichrist*, and that ever since the year of our Lord one thousand, when *Satan* was to be let loose, according to *St. John's* prophecy, the Church of *Rome* was become the Whore of *Babylon*. *John Huss*, the Disciple of *Wickliff*, hath merited the same honours, in having so closely follow'd his master in this Doctrine.

CLXIII. In other points he forsook him. Heretofore there was a dispute concerning his sentiments on the *Eucharist*. But the thing is adjudged by our adversaries consent; *Mr. La Roque* having shewn, in his history of the *Eucharist*, from the authors of those times, from the testimony of *Huss's* first Disciples, from his own writings still extant, that he believed *Transubstantiation* and all the other articles of the *Roman* Faith, not one excepted, unless Communion under both kinds; and that he persisted in these sentiments even unto death. The same Minister demonstrates the same thing in relation to *Jerom* of *Prague* the Disciple of *John Huss*, and the fact admits no doubt.

CLXIV. What gave occasion to doubt of *John Huss*, were some words he had utter'd inconsiderately, and which were wrong understood, or retracted by him. But what more than all the rest caused him to be lay'd out in this matter was, the excessive praises he gave *Wickliff* the enemy of

*Transub-*



*Transubstantiation.* *Wickliff*, in reality, was the great Doctor of *John Huss* and all the *Hussite* Party: but certain it is, they did not follow his Doctrine, crude as it was, but strove to explain it, as did *John Huss*, whom *Rudiger* praises for *having explain'd artfully, and courageously defended the sentiments of Wickliff*. It was therefore agreed on in the Party, that *Wickliff*, who, to speak the truth, was the Head thereof, had carried matters much too far, and stood greatly in need of explanation. But however that may be, it is very certain, *John Huss* gloried in his Priesthood to the very last, and never intermitted saying *Mass* when able.

Mr. *La Roque*, junior, upholds strenuously his father's sentiments; and is even sincere enough to own, that *they are displeasing to several of the party, and especially to the famous Mr. . . . who generally did not relish truths which had escap'd his notice*. Every body knows, 'twas Mr. *Claude*, whose name he suppress'd. But this young author carries his researches much farther than any *Protestant* had done before. None can any longer doubt, after the proofs which he alledges, that *John Huss* pray'd to *Saints*, honour'd their *Images*, acknowledged the merit of works, the seven Sacraments, sacramental *Confession*, and *Purgatory*. The dispute chiefly turn'd on Communion under both kinds; and, what was of the most importance, on that damnable Doctrine of *Wickliff*, that *Authority*, and especially Ecclesiastical *Authority*, was lost by sin; for *John Huss* maintain'd, on this head, things as extravagant as those advanced by *Wickliff*, and thence it was he drew his pernicious consequences.

If, with such a Doctrine, and saying *Mass* besides, every day to the end of his life, a man may not only be a true *Believer*, but also a *Saint*

*Pad'g.*  
*Narr. p.*  
153.

CLXV  
*John Huss*  
a Catholic  
in all the  
controversy  
points,  
except  
Communion  
under  
both kinds,  
and the  
Pop's  
authority.  
*Narr. acc.*  
*cont. Narr.*  
p. 148. &  
150.  
*Ibid.*  
*Ibid.* p. 153.  
& 167.  
*Conc.*  
*Conc.*  
*S. 2. xv.*  
*p. 11.*  
12. 13. &c

CLXVI  
All goes  
down with  
*Protestants*  
and  
provided

and *Martyr* (as all *Protestants* proclaim *John Huss*) to less than *John* or *Paul* his Disciple, there's no need of more disputing about fundamental articles: the only fundamental article is, to cry out a main against the *Pope* and Church of *Rome*; but if with *Huss* and *John Huss* you stretch so far as to call that Church, the Church of *Antioch*, this Doctrine is the remission of whatever sins, and covers a kind of errors.

CLXXII Let us return to the *Beheading* of *Bartholomew*, and see how they are the Disciples of *John Huss*. Immediately after his condemnation and execution, two Sects were seen to arise under his name, the Sect of *Calixtines* and the Sect of *Zaccharias*, the *Calixtines* under *Rogier*, who by the most consent of all, as well *Catholics* as *Protestants* authors, was, under the pretence of *Ketmanus*, the most ambitious of all his kind: the *Zaccharians* under *Zaccharias*, whose true quality and aims are not less known than his, who is a *Protestant*. Without inquiring into the Doctrine of the *Zaccharians*, their Resolutions and Country have made them odious to the great part of *Protestants*. Men that carried fire and sword into the bowels of their country for twenty years together, and whose marches may be traced by the blood and ashes they left behind, are not over qualified to be held for the principal Disorders of the Church, nor to give an error to Christian Churches. *Kalixtus*, who alone of the Sect, for want of better knowledge, would have the *Beheading* Brethren derived from the *Zaccharians*, acknowledges, that *Zaccharias* had a *very pertinent* manner, *concerning* *Bartholomew*, that he was a *Protestant*, that he was a *Disciple* of *John Huss*, that he was a *Martyr*, wherein they served God, *that they* *ought to have* *them* *to* *be* *remembered* *in* *the* *Church* *of* *Antioch*.

D. p. 2  
Narrat. p.  
157.

E. a. 15.

*of those places they possessed, to be put to the sword.*

This says *Rudiger* an unsuspected author; to which he adds, that the *Brethren*, whom he makes to descend from these barbarous *Taborites*, were ashamed of this parentage. Accordingly, they renounce it expressly in all their *Confessions* of Faith and *Apologies*, and shew even it is impossible they should have sprung from the *Taborites*, because, at the time they began to appear, this Sect, in a manner crush'd by the death of its Generals and the universal pacification of the *Catholicks* and *Calixtins* (who united the whole powers of the state in order to demolish them) held but in a lingering state till *Pegiebrac* and *Roquelane* intirely brought their miserable remains to destruction; insomuch, say they, that no more *Taborites* were left on earth: which is confirm'd by *Camerarius* in his history.

The other Sect, that prided itself in the name of *John Huss*, was that of the *Calixtins*, so call'd, because they believed, the *Chalice* was absolutely necessary for the people. And 'tis undoubtedly from this Sect that the *Brethren* proceeded in 1457, as they themselves declare in the Preface to their *Confession* of Faith of 1558, and again, in that of 1572, so frequently cited by us, where they speak in these terms: *Those who founded our Churches, separated themselves, at that time, from the Calixtins by a new separation*; their meaning was, as by them explain'd in their *Apology* of 1532, that as the *Calixtins* had separated themselves from *Rome*, so the *Brethren* separated from the *Calixtins*: so that, this was a Schism and Division, in another Division and Schism. But what were the causes for this separation? there is no comprehending them aright without knowing both the belief and condition the *Calixtins* were in at that time.

Their

*Ibid.*

*Part.*

*Cont. 2.*

1572.

*Just. de*

*orig.*

*E. J. B. J.*

*Sec. part.*

*Hist. Camer.*

*init.*

*Præf.*

p. 176.

CXLVIII

The *Calixtins*

*Cont. 2.*

*Ibid. p. 267.*

*Præf.*

*Re. Conf.*

1558.

*St. J. Gen.*

p. 104.

*Apology.*

1532. p. 67.

*Ibid. p. 2.*

p. 122.

CLXIX. Their Doctrine at first consisted in four articles. The first concern'd the *Cup*; the other three regarded the correction of publick and particular sins, which they carried to some excess; the free preaching of the word of God, which, they would have, none could be precluded from; and Church-revenues. Herein was a smack of the *Vaudois-errors*. These four articles were regulated in the Council of *Basil* after such a manner as the *Calixtins* were contented with, and the *Cup* granted them on certain terms which they agreed to. This agreement was call'd *Compacatum*, a name famous in the history of *Bohemia*. But one part of the *Hussites*, not resting contented with these articles, began, under the name of *Taborites*, those bloody wars just mention'd; and the *Calixtins*, the other part of the *Hussites* which had accepted the agreement, stood not to it; for instead of declaring, as they had agreed at *Basil*, that the *Cup* was neither necessary nor commanded by *Jesus Christ*, they press'd the necessity thereof, even in regard to new baptiz'd children. This point excepted, 'tis allow'd, the *Calixtins* agreed in all *Dogmata* with the Church of *Rome*, and their disputes with the *Taborites* evidence as much. *J. J. J.* a Minister of *Dera* has collected the acts thereof, which are not call'd in question by *Protestants*.

*Lyd. Wald.*  
T. 1.  
*Ratore*  
1616

CLXX. In them therefore may be seen, that the *Calixtins*, not only allow *Transubstantiation*, but also with relation to the *Eucharist*, all and every part of the doctrine and usage received in the Church of *Rome*, Communions only under both kinds excepted; and should that be granted by the *Pope*, were ready to acknowledge his authority.

The *Calixtins* disposed to own the *Pope*.  
*Syn. Prag.*  
An 1431  
ap. *Lyd* p.  
304. &  
An 1434  
*Ibid* p.  
332. 354.

Here the query might be put, their sentiments being such, how they could retain so great a respect for *Wickliff* as to call him by Excellence, as

the *Taborites* did, the *Evangelick Doctor*? the reason in short was, because we find nothing regular in these separated Sects. Altho' *Wickliff* had inveigh'd with all the passion imaginable against the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, and in particular against *Transubstantiation*; the *Calixtins* excused him, by answering, what he had said against this *Dogma*, was not spoken decisively but *scholastically*, by way of dispute; whereby we may judge how easy a matter they found it to justify, say what you would, an author they were infatuated with.

CLXXI.  
Wherefore then did they do so much respect the memory of *Wickliff*.

*Ibid.* p. 472.

For all that, they were not the less disposed to submit to the *Pope's* authority, and *Roquesane's* interests alone prevented their re-union. This Doctor himself had been contriving the reconciliation, in hopes, after so great a service, that the *Pope* would be easily inclined to confer on him the Archbishoprick of *Prague*, which he much ambition'd. But the *Pope*, unwilling to trust the care of Souls and Depositem of Faith to so factious a person, invested *Budovix* with this Prelacy, as much *Roquesane's* superior in merit as in birth. This ruin'd all. *Bohemia* saw herself re-involved in more bloody wars than ever: *Roquesane*, spite of the *Pope*, set himself up for Archbishop of *Prague*, or rather for *Pope* in *Bohemia*; nor could *Pogiebrac*, by his intrigues raised to the throne, refuse him any thing.

CLXXII.  
The ambition of *Roquesane* and the *Calixtins*, hinders their re-union with the Church.  
*Carr. Hist. Narr. Apol. frat.*  
p. 115.  
&c.

During these disturbances, the tradesmen who had begun to grumble in the precedent reign, fell more than ever to confer among themselves concerning the *Reformation* of the Church. The *Mass*, *Transubstantiation*, prayer for the Dead, the veneration of *Saints*, but especially the power of the *Pope*, were offensive to them. In fine, they complain'd the *Calixtins romani*.

CLXXIII  
Origin of the *Bohemian* Brethren, who separate from *Rome* and the *Calixtins*.

*Ap. 1532.* in every thing except the Cup. They undertook  
*1. part.* to correct them. *Requesane* incens'd against the  
*Illy See* seem'd to them a proper instrument to  
*Camer. de* manage this affair. Shock'd with his haughty  
*F. 1. 64. 84* answers, which favour'd of nothing but love of  
*6c.* this world, they reproach'd him with his ambi-  
*Ap. 1. part* tion; that he was a meer worldling, who would  
*1532. 1* sooner abandon them than his honours. At the  
*part.* same time they plac'd at their head one *Kelesiski*  
 a master-shoemaker, who made them a body of  
 Doctrine call'd *the Forms of Kelesiski*. After-  
 wards they chose themselves a Pastor named  
*Matthias Gonsalve*, a lay and ignorant person;  
 and in 1467, divided openly from the *Calixtins*,  
 as the *Calixtins* had done from *Rome*. Such was  
 the birth of the *Bohemian Brethren*, and this is  
 what *Camerarius* and they themselves, as well in  
 their Annals as in their Apologies and Prefaces  
 to their *Confessions of Faith*, relate of their ori-  
 gin, except that they date their separation from  
 the year 1457; and it seems to me more proper  
 to fix it ten years after in 1467, at the time  
 they themselves date the creation of their new  
 P. flos.

CXXXV I find here some little contradiction betwixt  
 what they relate of their history in their Apology  
 of 1532, and what they say in the Preface of  
 1572. For they say in this Preface that in 1457,  
 at the time they separated from the *Calixtins*,  
 they were a people collected from all manner of  
 degrees; and in their *Apology* of 1532, wherein  
 they were somewhat less assuming; they own  
 frankly, they were made up of *the meener sort*,  
 and of *some Bohemian Priests in small number*,  
*all put together, but a handful of men, a small*  
*remnant, and the despacible remnant*, or, translate  
 it as you please, *Miserabile remnant, left to*  
*the world*; *John Ursin*. Thus did they separate  
 from

W. de  
 g. 1. 7. of  
 the Sect.  
 De  
 F. 1. 1.  
 7. 1. H.  
 Camer. de  
 267.  
 1. part.  
 Ap. 1. part.  
 7. 2. 221.  
 1532. 1.  
 1. 2. 6c.



from the *Calixtins*, that is, from the only *Huffites* then in being. See how they are the disciples of *John Hufs*; a Piece broken from a Piece; a Schism cut off from a Schism; *Huffites* divided from *Huffites* and retaining scarce any thing of them but their disobedience and rupture from the Church of *Rome*.

Should it be ask'd, how they could own *John Hufs*, as they every where do, for an Evangelical Doctor, for a *Holy Martyr*, for *their Master*, and *the Apostle of the Bohemians*, and at the same time reject, as sacrilegious, the *Mafs* which their Apostle constantly said to the last, *Transubstantiation*, and the other *Dogmata* he had always stuck so closely to: their answer is, *That John Hufs had but begun the re-establishment of the Gospel*, and they believed, *had time been given him, he would have changed a great deal more*. In the interim, he was nevertheless a *Martyr* and *Apostle*, tho' he persever'd, according to them, in such damnable practices, and the Brethren celebrated his *Martyrdom* in their Churches the eighth of *July*, as we are inform'd by *Rudiger*.

*Camerarius* acknowledges their extreme ignorance, but says what he can in excuse thereof. This we may hold for certain, that God wrought no miracles to enlighten them. So many ages after the question of re-baptizing Hereticks had been determin'd by the unanimous consent of the whole Church, they were so ignorant as to re-baptize *All those that came to them from other Churches*. They persisted in this error for the space of a hundred years, as they own in all their writings, and confess in the Preface of 1558, that it was but a little while, since they were undeceived. This error ought not to be deem'd of the middling sort, since it amounted to this, that *Baptism* was lost in the universal Church,

CLXXV. They only took the name of *John Hufs*, and follow'd not his Doctrine.

*ipo.* 1532. 1. part. ap. *Lyd. T.* 11. p. 116.

117. 118. &c.

*Rud.*

*Narr. post. Camer.*

*Hist.* p. 151.

CLXXVI

Their extreme ignorance,

and their presumption

in pretending

to re-baptize the

whole World.

*Com. Hist.*

*Narr.* p. 102.

*Pref.*

*Apol.* 1558.

*apud.* *Lyd. T.* 11. p. 105.

*P. 1. 4. 1* and remain'd only amongst them. Thus pre-  
*P. 1. 4. 2* sumptuous in their notions were two or three  
*P. 1. 4. 3* thousand men, more or less, equally revolted  
*P. 1. 4. 4* against the *Calixtins* amongst whom they had  
*P. 1. 4. 5* lived, and against the Church of *Rome*, which  
*P. 1. 4. 6* both of them had divided from thirty or forty  
*P. 1. 4. 7* years before. So small a parcel of another parcel,  
*P. 1. 4. 8* dismember'd so few years ago from the *Catholick Church*,  
*P. 1. 4. 9* dared to re-baptize the whole  
*P. 1. 4. 10* rest of the universe, and reduce the inheritance  
*P. 1. 4. 11* of *Jesus Christ* to a corner of *Bohemia*! they  
*P. 1. 4. 12* believed themselves therefore the only Christians,  
*P. 1. 4. 13* since they believed, they only were baptized;  
*P. 1. 4. 14* and whatever they might alledge in their own  
*P. 1. 4. 15* vindication, their re-baptization condemn'd them.  
*P. 1. 4. 16* All they had to answer was, if they re-baptized  
*P. 1. 4. 17* the *Catholicks*, the *Catholicks* also re-baptized  
*P. 1. 4. 18* them. But it's well enough known, the Church  
*P. 1. 4. 19* of *Rome* never re-baptized any that had been  
*P. 1. 4. 20* baptized by whomsoever, In the name of the  
*P. 1. 4. 21* *Father, Son and Holy Ghost*; and supposing  
*P. 1. 4. 22* there had been, in *Bohemia*, such very ignorant  
*P. 1. 4. 23* *Catholicks* as not to know so notorious a thing,  
*P. 1. 4. 24* ought not they, who call'd themselves their *Re-*  
*P. 1. 4. 25* *formers*, to know better? After all, how came it  
*P. 1. 4. 26* to pass that these new re-baptizers did not cause  
*P. 1. 4. 27* themselves to be re-baptized? If, at their coming  
*P. 1. 4. 28* into the World, *Baptism* had ceased throughout  
*P. 1. 4. 29* all *Christendom*, that which they had received  
*P. 1. 4. 30* was no better worth than that of their neighbours,  
*P. 1. 4. 31* and by invalidating the *Baptism* of those by  
*P. 1. 4. 32* whom they were baptized, what became of their  
*P. 1. 4. 33* own? They were then oblig'd no less to cause  
*P. 1. 4. 34* themselves to be re-baptized, than to re-baptize  
*P. 1. 4. 35* the rest of the universe: and in this, there was  
*P. 1. 4. 36* but one inconsistency; namely that, according  
*P. 1. 4. 37* to their principles, there was not a man on earth  
*P. 1. 4. 38* that could do them the good turn, *Baptism* being  
*P. 1. 4. 39* equal,

equally null whatever side it came from. Thus it is when a *Shoe-maker* commences *Reformer*, one, as themselves acknowledge in a Preface to their *Confession* of Faith, that knew not a word of *Latin*, and was no less presumptuous than ignorant. These are the men whom *Protestants* admire. Does the question turn on condemning the Church of *Rome*? they never cease to upbraid her with the ignorance of her *Priests* and *Monks*. Is it concerning the ignorant pretenders to *reform* the Church in these latter ages? They are *Fishermen* turn'd *Apostles*: altho' their ignorance stand eternally on record, from the first step they took. No matter; if we believe the *Lutherans* in the Preface they placed before the *Brethren's* Apology, and printed at *Wittemberg* in *Luther's* time: if, I say, we believe them, 'twas in this ignorant society, in this handful of men, that *The Church of God* was preserved when she was thought intirely lost.

Nevertheless, these remains of the *Church*, these depositaries of the ancient Christianity, were themselves ashamed that they could not discover in the whole universe a Church of their Belief. *Camerarius* informs us, that a thought came into their heads at the beginning of their separation, to make inquiry if they could find, in some place of the earth, and chiefly in *Greece* or *Armenia*, or some other part of the *East*, that Christianity, of which the *West* was utterly bereft, in their sentiment. At that time, many *Grecian* Priests who had fled to *Bohemia* from the sackage of *Constantinople*, and to whom *Roquesane* gave reception in his own house, had leave to celebrate the holy Mysteries according to the rites of their Church. Therein the *Brethren* beheld their own condemnation, and beheld it still more in conversing with those Priests. But albeit

*Conf. fol.*  
1553.  
*Synt. Gen.*  
2. part.  
p. 164.

*Jour.*  
*Engleb.*  
*in ora.*  
*præfixâ.*  
*Apol. frat.*  
*sub hoc*  
*titulo:*  
*Oeconomia*  
*&c. ap*  
*Lyd. T.*  
11. l. 95.  
CLXXVII.  
Their  
fruitless  
search over  
all the  
universe  
after a  
Church of  
their  
Belief.  
*De Eccl.*  
*frat. p.*  
91.

these *Grecians* assured them 'twas in vain for them to travel into *Greece* in quest of Christians form'd to their mode, whom they never would find; yet they appointed three deputations of able and discreet persons, whereof some traversed all the *East*, others went northwards into *Mesozoy*, and others turn'd their course towards *Palestine* and *Egypt*: whence all meeting at *Constantinople*, according to the project concerted by them, they return'd at last to *Bohemia*, and all the answer they brought to their Brethren was, that they might depend upon it, there were none of their profession in the whole Universe.

CLXXVIII  
How they  
fought  
order in  
the Ca-  
tholick  
Church.

Their solitude, thus destitute of all *Succession* and lawful *Ordination*, raised such a horror in them, that, even in *Luther's* time, they sent some of their people, who surreptitiously stole *Ordination* from the *Church of Rome*: we learn this from one of *Luther's* treatises which is quoted in another place. A poor Church indeed, which void of the principle of fecundity left by *Jesus Christ* to the Apostles and their legitimate Successors, were forced to intrude themselves amongst us to beg, or rather, to purloin sacred Orders.

CLXXIX  
Repro-  
che made  
them by  
*Luther*.  
*Luth. de*  
*1. 2. 2. 2.*  
*Fit. of*  
*Frank.*  
*de 10. 6.*

Besides, they were upbraided by *Luther*, that they knew nothing, no more than *John Hus*, of *Justification*, the very principal point of the Gospel: for they placed it, proceeds he, in *Earth and works together*, as many Fathers had done; and *John Hus* was wedded to this opinion. He was in the right, for neither the *Fathers*, nor *John Hus*, nor his master *Wycliff*, neither *Origenes*, nor *Heretics*, nor *Augustine*, nor *Lauder*, had ever, before him, dreamt of his *imputed justice*. Wherefore he detested the Brethren of *Bohemia*, as *magicians*, *idolaters*, of an *infernal cast*, and *that many of them were, with the law and works, and a law of a cheerful*

It is

conscience. Thus did *Luther* treat the most regular, in exterior, of all the schismatick *Reformers*, and, as was said, the sole remnant of the true Church. But he had soon reason to be satisfied with them: the Brethren carried *Lutheran* Justification so far, as to run blindly into the excess of *Calvinists*, and even into such as the *Calvinists*, now-a-days, strive to clear themselves from. The *Lutherans* would have us justified without our co-operation, and without our having part therein. The *Brethren* added, it was even without our knowing and feeling it, as an embryo is quicken'd in its mother's womb. After our Regeneration God begins to make himself felt; and if *Luther* would have us know with certainty our Justification, the *Brethren*, over and above, would have us intirely and indubitably assured of our perseverance and salvation. They went so far with the imputation of justice as to say, that Sins, how enormous so ever, were but venial, provided you committed them with repugnance, and that 'twas of these sins *St. Paul* said, *There is now no condemnation to them which are in Christ Jesus.*

*Apol. part.*  
4. ap.  
*Lyd. l. 11.*  
p. 244.  
248.  
*Ibi. 2.*  
*part. 172.*  
173. 4.  
*part. p.*  
232.  
*Ibi. part.*  
2. p. 168.  
*Rom. viii.*  
1.

The Brethren had like us, seven Sacraments in the *Confession* of 1504, which was presented to King *Ladislaus*. They proved them from the Scriptures, and acknowledged them *Establish'd* for the accomplishment of the promises God had made to the faithful. They must have preserved this Doctrine of the seven Sacraments even in *Luther's* days, since he blamed them for it. The *Confession* of Faith was therefore reform'd, and the Sacraments reduced to two; *Baptism* and the *Supper*, as *Luther* had ordain'd. *Absolution* was own'd, but not in quality of a Sacrament. In 1504, they spoke of the *Confession* of sins as a thing of *Obligation*. This *Obligation* does no

CLXXX.  
Their  
Doctrine  
concerning  
the seven  
Sacra-  
ments.  
*Conf. fol.*  
*apud. Lyd.*  
*l. 11. p.*  
8. & 17.  
*citat. in*  
*Apol.*  
1531. ap.  
*cani.*  
*Lyd. 296.*  
*l. 11.*  
*Hen.*  
*Ger. liv.*

de Pader. longer appear so express in the reform'd Con-  
 f. 229. fession where it's said only, *You ought to demand*  
 230. *of the Priest abolution of your sins by the keys of*  
 H. d. d. t. *the Church, and obtain the forgiveness of them by*  
 xl. xii. *this ministry ordain'd for that end by Jesus Christ.*

R. det. As for the *Real Presence*, the Defenders of  
 v. xiv. the *literal* and the *figurative* sense have equally  
 Pr. s. ft. strove to turn to their advantage the *Bohemian*  
 ad. Lat. c. Confessions of Faith. For my part, the thing  
 de p. ni being indifferent to me, I shall only report their  
 tent. Lips words, and here is what at first they wrote to  
 ep. Lat. T. *Requesans*, as they themselves set forth in their  
 11. p. 15. Apology: *We believe that we receive the Body*  
 CLXXXI *and B' d of our Lord under the species of Bread*  
 Concern- *and Wine.* And a little further on: *we are none*  
 ing the of those who ill-understanding the words of our  
 Real Pre- Lord, say, he hath given us consecrated Bread as  
 sence. a memorial of his Body which he pointed at with  
 Apol. his finger, saying, *This is my Body.* Others  
 1532. 4. say, *this Bread is the Body of our Lord who is in*  
 part. ep. *Heaven, but signifiatively.* All these explications  
 Tit. 275.

cxv. 11 In their Confession of Faith of the year 1504,  
 they speak thus: *As often as a worthy Priest,*  
 Pr. s. ft. *with a faithful people, pronounceth these words,*  
 ad. Lat. c. *this is my Body, this is my Blood, the Bread*  
 de p. ni *pointed is the Body of Jesus Christ which was of-*  
 10. *fended for us to death, and the Wine, his Blood*  
 4. p. 1. *shed for us, and the Body and this Blood are pre-*  
 Tit. 275. *sent under the species of Bread and Wine in me-*  
 12. *morial of his death.* And to shew the firmness  
 of their Faith, they add, they would believe as  
 much of a stone, had Jesus Christ said it was  
 his Body.

cxviii. Little to we for the same language as is used  
 by Calvin: we see the Body and Blood under  
 the species immediately after the words; and we



see them there, not *in figure*, but in *truth*. What they have peculiar to them, is their requiring these words should be pronounced by a worthy Priest. This is what they add to the Catholick Doctrine. To accomplish the work of God in the Eucharistick Bread, *Jesus Christ's* words did not suffice, but the Minister's merit was also necessary: 'tis what they had learnt from *John Wickliff* and *John Hufs*.

They repeat the same thing in another place : *When, say they, a worthy Priest prays with his faithful people, and says, this is my Body, this is my Blood, immediately the Bread present is the same Body which was given up to death, and the Wine present, is his Blood which was shed for our Redemption.* It's therefore plain, they change nothing in the Catholick Doctrine as to the *Real Presence*: on the contrary, they seem to make choice of the strongest terms to confirm it, by saying, that *Immediately after the words, the Bread is the true Body of Jesus Christ, the same that was born of the Virgin and was to be given up to crucifixion; and the Wine, his true natural Blood, the same which was to be shed for our sins, and all this without delay, at the very instant, with a Presence most Real and true, presentissime,* as they speak. And the *figurative* sense appear'd to them, say they, *So odious in one of their Synods, that a certain person call'd John Czizco, one of theirs who had dared to maintain it, was expell'd out of their Communion.* They add that divers writings have been publish'd by them against this Presence in sign, and those that defend it hold them for their adversaries, call them *Papists, Antichrists, and Idolaters.*

Another proof of their sentiment is a saying of theirs, that *Jesus Christ is present in the Bread and Wine by his Body and Blood*: otherwise, proceed

the merit of the Minister.

CLXXXIV  
Strong  
expres-  
sion  
in favour  
of the  
Reality.  
*Apol. ad  
Lad. Ibid.*  
42.  
*Prof. fid.  
ad Ladist.  
Ibi. p. 27.  
Apol. 66.  
&c.*

*Ibid.*  
*Apol.*  
1532. 4.  
*part. 290.  
Ib. p. 298.  
Ibid.*  
*Ib. p. 291.  
299.*

CLXXXV.  
The same  
thing con-  
firm'd.  
*Ibid. 309.*

ceed they, neither those that are worthy would receive any thing but Bread and Wine, nor those that are unworthy, would be guilty of the Body and Blood, it being impossible they should be guilty of what is not there. Whence it follows that they are there, not only for the *worthy*, but also for the *unworthy*.

CXXXVI  
The manner of their refusing Adoration confirms their belief of the Reality, even out of the reception. *Ap. ad Ladis. p. 67. & 68. & 69. & 70. & 71. & 72. & 73. & 74. & 75. & 76. & 77. & 78. & 79. & 80. & 81. & 82. & 83. & 84. & 85. & 86. & 87. & 88. & 89. & 90. & 91. & 92. & 93. & 94. & 95. & 96. & 97. & 98. & 99. & 100.*

True it is, they are against our adoring *Jesus Christ* in the *Eucharist* for two reasons: first, because he has not commanded it; secondly, because there are two Presences of *Jesus Christ*, his personal, corporeal, and sensible Presence, which alone ought to attract our adoration; and his spiritual or sacramental Presence, which ought not to attract it. But for all this, they nevertheless acknowledge *The substance of the Body of Jesus Christ* in the Sacrament: *we are not commanded, say they, to honour this substance of the Body of Jesus Christ consecrated, but the substance of Jesus Christ which is at the right hand of the Father.* Here then have you in the Sacrament, and in heaven, the substance of *Jesus Christ's* Body, but adorable in heaven and not so in the Sacrament. And lest you should wonder at this, they add, that *Jesus Christ would not even oblige men to adore him on earth when he was there present, because he wanted the time of his glory:* which shews, their intention was not to exclude the *Substantial* Presence, when they exclude adoration; on the contrary, they supposed it, since, had they not believed it, they would have had no manner of occasion to excuse themselves for not adoring in the Sacrament what, in reality, was not there.

Let us not enquire of them now, whence they learnt this rare Doctrine; that, to adore *Jesus Christ*, it is not sufficient we know him present, and that it was not his intention we should adore him

him on earth, but only in his glory : I am satisfied with relating what they speak of the *Real Presence*, nay of the *Real Presence* not after the manner of the *Melanthonists*, in the sole use, but immediately after the Consecration.

With these expressions apparently so distinct and so decisive for the *Real Presence*, in other places they confound themselves after so strange a manner, that it seems as if they fear'd nothing so much as leaving a clear and certain testimony of their Faith : for they repeat continually that *Jesus Christ* is not in the Eucharist *in person*. It's true, they call his being there *in person*, being there *sensibly and corporally* : expressions which they always link together, and oppose to a spiritual manner of being, acknowledged by them. But what casts them into a new confusion, is that they seem to say, *Jesus Christ* is present in the Eucharist with this spiritual Presence, as he is in *Baptism* and in preaching the word, as he was eaten by the ancient *Hebrews* in the desert, as *St. John Baptist* was *Elias*. Nor do I comprehend what they mean by this odd expression : *Jesus Christ* is not here *with his natural Body after an existing and corporeal manner, existenter & corporaliter*, but is here *spiritually, powerfully, by way of benediction, and in virtue ; spiritualiter potenter, benedictè, in virtue*. What they add, is not intelligible, that *Jesus Christ* is here in the *abode of benediction*, to wit, according to their language, he is in the Eucharist, *As he is at the right-hand of God, but not as he is in the heavens*. If he be there as he is at the right-hand of God, he is there in person. Thus naturally should one conclude : but how shall we distinguish the heavens from the right-hand of God ? there we are at a loss. The *Brethren* spoke distinctly when they said : *There is but one Lord Jesus*

cxxxviii.  
Their uncertainty and affected ambiguities.

*Apol. ad Lauds.*

*Ibid. p. 68. 69.*

&c.

71. 73.

*Ibid. p. 301.*

306. 307.

309. 311.

&c.

*Ibid. p.*

302. 304.

307. 308.

*Ibid. 74.*

*Ibid.*

*Ibid. p. 71.*

*Jesus Christ, who is the same in the Sacrament with his natural Body, but who is after another manner at the right hand of his Father: for it is one thing to say, there is Jesus Christ, this is my Body; and another to say, he is there after such a manner.* But no sooner had they deliver'd their minds in plain terms, than they bewilder themselves in strange subtilized notions, into which they are plunged by the confusion and uncertainty of their minds and thoughts, together with a vain desire of contenting both parties of the *Reformation*.

CLXXXVIIII

The Lutherans and Calvinists both strive to draw them to their side. They incline to the first.

P. 162.

The forwarder they advanced, they became still more important and mysterious; and as the *Lutherans* and *Calvinists* strove each to gain them; so they also, on their side, seem'd inclined to content both Parties. At length, this is what they said in 1558, and what they appear'd resolved to stand by. They complain at first, they were accused of *not believing that the Presence of the true Body and true Blood was present.* What odd expressions, *Presence to be present!* thus they speak in the Preface: but teach in the Body of the *Confession*, that it ought to be acknowledged that the Bread is the true Body of *Jesus Christ*, and the Cup, his true Blood, without adding any thing of your own to his words. But whilst they would add their own thing to the words of *Jesus Christ*, they themselves add to them the word *truly*, which is not there; and whereas *Jesus Christ* said, *this is my Body*, they suppose he said, *this Bread is my Body*; a very different thing, as clear when you may have seen. Now if it were allowable in them to add what they judged necessary to denote a *truly* Presence, it was no less allowable in order to add also, what was requisite to remove all ambiguity, and to rectify these expressions after disputes risen, was opposing

light,

light, and leaving the questions undecided. 'Twas for this reason *Calvin* wrote to them, that he could not approve of *their obscure and captious brevity*, and required them to explain *how the Bread is the Body of Jesus Christ*; which should they fail to do, he maintain'd, *their Confession of Faith could not be subscribed without peril, and would occasion great disputes*. But *Luther* was satisfied with them, by reason they drew near to his expressions, and were more inclined towards the *Confession of Ausburg*. For they even continued to complain of those, *Who denied that the Bread and Wine were the true Body and true Blood of Jesus Christ*, and who call'd them *Papists, Idolaters, and Antichrists*, on account of their acknowledging the *true Presence*. Finally, to shew how far they were leaning to the side of the *Real Presence*, they injoin their Ministers, in distributing this Sacrament, and in reciting the words of our Lord, to exhort the people to believe that the *Presence of Jesus Christ is present*; and in this view, they injoin likewise, altho' in other respects little inclined to adoration, *That the Sacrament be received kneeling*.

*Calv. Ep. a. Wald. p. 312. & j 7.*

*Ibid. 195.*

*Ibid. 396.*

By thus expounding and thus palliating as already seen, they so contented *Luther*, that he prefixt his approbation to a *Confession of Faith* publish'd by them, declaring however, *That for this bout they not only appear'd more adorn'd, more free, and more polish'd, but also more considerable, and better*; which sufficiently intimates, he approved their *Confession* only inasmuch as it had been reform'd agreeably to his maxims.

CIX. *Luther* gives them his approbation and how. *Ibid. p. 211.*

CXC.

It does not appear, that any uneasiness was given them in regard of the stated *Fasts* preserved amongst them, nor in regard of the *Festivals* they celebrated, forbidding all labour: not only in honour of our Lord, but also of the *Blessed*

*Virgin* their *Priests*.



Art. xv.  
xvii.  
Art. 8. 7.  
Tome.  
1595.  
Syn. 2.  
Part 1  
240 242  
Art. 18.  
Ann. 1472.  
Hist. B. 2.  
ap. Ind. p.  
395. 425.

*Virgin and the Saints.* They were not upbraided that this was observing *days* contrary to the precept of the Apostle, nor that these holy days in honour of the Saints, were so many acts of *Idolatry*. Neither were they accused of raising Churches to Saints, under pretext they continued, as we do, to name the Church of the *Virgin*, in *Templo dicte Virginis*, of *St. Peter*, of *St. Paul*, Churches consecrated to God in memory of them. They are likewise suffer'd to injoin their *Priests* Celibacy and degrade them from Priesthood upon marrying, for this unquestionably was their practice no less than that of the *Taberites*. All this is harmless in the *Brethren*; in us only every thing is rank poison.

CXCI.  
The perpetual  
Virginity  
of *Mary*  
Mother of  
God.  
Orat.  
Err. ap.  
Ind. p.  
39.  
Art. xvii.  
p. 201.

I would also have them ask'd, where they find in *Scripture* what they say of the *Blessed Virgin*: *That she was a Virgin before and after her delivery*. It's true, this was the belief of the holy Fathers, and the contrary rejected by them for no less than an execrable blasphemy: yet does it nevertheless evince that many things may be accounted blasphemies, the contrary to which is no where in holy Writ; so that, when they boast of speaking nothing but from *Scripture*, seriously they mean no more by it than that it serves their turn to talk in this strain: nor is this apparent respect for the *Scripture* any thing in them but a hand to the ignorant and simple.

CXCII  
They first  
for their  
into *Po-  
land*

It's averr'd that these *Belgian* Brethren (whose words were so meek and respectful in regard of higher powers) the more they engaged in the *Lutheran* sentiments, so likewise the more did they enter into their intrigues and wars. *Poland* found them marshall in the *Enter* of *Saxony's* rebellion against *Charles* the Vth, and drove them from *Belgium*. They took sanctuary in *Poland*, and it appears from a letter of *Mary* 2.

Synod.  
Gen. 2.  
Part 1  
212.



to the Protestants of *Poland* in 1556, that it was but a few years since *these Fugitives from Bohemia* were received into that Kingdom.

Some time after this, was brought about the union of the three Protestant Sects of *Poland*, namely, of the *Lutherans*, the *Bobemians*, and the *Zuinglians*. The act of union past in 1570, at the *Synod of Sendomir*, and bears this title: *The union and mutual agreement made betwixt the Churches of Poland; to-wit, betwixt those of the Ausburg-Confession, those of the Confession of the Bohemian Brethren, and those of the Confession of the Helvetick Churches, or Zuinglians.* In this act the *Bobemians* style themselves, *the Brethren of Bohemia whom the ignorant call Vaudois*. It appears then manifestly that the question here was about those *Vaudois* who, by mistake, were named so, as we have shewn, and who accordingly disclaim this origin. For in regard of the ancient *Vaudois*, we learn from an old author that there were scarce any of them in the kingdom of *Cracovia*, namely in that of *Poland*, no more than in *England*, in the *Low-countries*, in *Denmark*, in *Sweden*, in *Norway*, and in *Prussia*; and since this author's time, this little number is so dwindled away to nothing, that in all these countries we hear no more mention of them.

The agreement was made in these terms. In order to explain therein the point concerning the *Supper*, the whole article of the *Saxonick Confession*, where this matter is handled, was there transcribed. We have seen that *Melancthon* drew up this *Confession* in 1551, in order to have it presented at *Trent*. In it was said, that *Jesus Christ is truly and substantially present in the Communion, and is given truly to those who receive the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ.* To

which

CXCIII.

There they unite with the Lutherans and Zuinglians in the assembly of Sendomir.

M D LXX.

Syntag.

Gen. 2.

part. p.

218.

Ibi. p.

219.

Pylic.

cont. Wald.

c. 15. l.

iv.

Bib. pp.

2. part. p.

755.

CXCIV.

Terms of the Sendomir-agreement.

V. sup. l.

viii. n. 18.

Syn. Conf.

1. part. p.

166. 2.

174. p.

72.

*Ibid.* p.  
140.

which they add in a strange manner of expression, *That the substantial Presence of Jesus Christ is not only signified, but truly render'd present, distributed, and given to those who eat; the signs not being naked, but join'd to the thing it self, agreeably to the nature of the Sacraments.*

CXCV.  
In this agreement, the *Zuinglians* more than all the rest recede from their particular tenets.

*The Substantial Presence*, it seems, was very much at heart, when in order to inculcate it the more forcibly, they said, it was not only signified *but truly present*: but I always distrust their strong expressions of the *Reformation*, which the more she diminishes the *truth* of the Body and Blood in the *Eucharist*, is always the more rich in words; as if she could repair by them the loss she sustains in things. Now when you come to the point, altho' this declaration abounds with equivocal expressions, and leaves subterfuges to each Party whereby to preserve their particular Doctrine; 'tis nevertheless the *Zuinglians* that take the greatest step, since whereas they said in their *Confession* that the Body of our Lord being in heaven *absent from us*, becomes present to us only *by its virtue*, the terms of the agreement import, that *Jesus Christ* is *substantially present* to us; and notwithstanding all the rules of human language, a *Presence in Virtue*, becomes immediately, a *Presence in Substance*.

CXCVI.  
Wherein the *Lutherans* recede, yet may still come off *Ibid.* p.  
164.

There are terms in the agreement which it were difficult for the *Lutherans* to reconcile to their Doctrine, did not men assure themselves, in the new *Reformation*, to expound every thing to their own sense. For namely, they seem much to depart from the belief they are in, that the Body of *Jesus Christ* is taken by the mouth even by the *unbelievers* when they say in this agreement, *The signs of the supper given by Faith to the Believers eat of his flesh*. But besides that they may say, they spoke in this manner, by reason  
the

the *Real Presence* is not known but by Faith; they may also add that, in fact, there are blessings in the *Supper* which are given to the *Believers* only, as life eternal and the nourishment of the soul, and 'tis those they mean when they say, *The signs give by Faith what they signify.*

I do not wonder the *Bobemians* sign'd this agreement without difficulty. Separated about forty or fifty years before from the *Catholick Church*, and reduced to allow *Christianity* in no part of the world except a corner of *Bobemia*, which they inhabited; upon seeing the *Protestants* appear, all they thought of was, to support themselves with their protection. They knew how to gain *Lutker* by their submission: by equivocating, they had all could be desired from *Bucer*: the *Zuinglians* suffer'd themselves to be sooth'd by the general expressions of the *Brethren* who said, yet without practising it, that nothing ought to be added to the words our *Saviour* used. The hardest to be pleased was *Calvin*. We have seen in the letter he wrote to the *Bobemian Brethren*, who had taken refuge in *Poland*, how he blamed the ambiguity of their *Confession* of Faith, and declared there was no subscribing it without opening an inlet to dissension or error.

CXCVII.  
Disposition of the  
*Bobemian*  
Brethren.

*Ep. ad*  
*Wal. p.*  
317.

Contrary to his judgment all was subscribed, the *Helvetick Confession*, the *Bobemian*, and the *Saxonick*, the *Presence of Substance* together with that of *Virtue* only; namely, the two contrary Doctrines with their equivocations favouring them both. All whatever they pleased was added to our *Lord's* words, even at the time they ratified the *Confession* of Faith wherein was laid down for a maxim, that nothing ought to be added to them: all pass'd, and a peace was concluded by this means. You see how all the Sects, di-

CXCVIII  
Reflections  
on this  
union.

vided from *Catholick* unity, separate and unite among themselves: separating from the *Chair of St. Peter*, they separate from one another, and bear the just punishment of despising the band of their unity. When they re unite in appearance, they are never the more united in the main, and their union, cemented only by political interests, serves but to evidence by a new proof, that they have not so much as the idea of *Christian unity*; since they never do unite *in one accord, in one mind*, as *St. Paul* ordains.

pp. 117.  
ii. 2.

EXCER  
Gent. I.  
religion  
of the  
11. 11.  
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Jer. 2.  
exc. P.  
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11. 11.

May it be allow'd us at present to make a few reflections on this history of the *Faulcis*, the *Athens*, &c. and the *Bohemians*. You see whether the *Protestants* had reason to reckon them among their ancestors; whether this extraction be to their credit; and in particular, whether they ought to have lock'd on *Bekem. a.* since the time of *John Huss*, as the *Mother of the reformed Churches*. It's more visible than the Sun, on one side, that they only bring in these *Sects* from the necessity of making witnesses in the foregoing ages for what they believe to be the truth; and on the other, that nothing is more deplorable than to alledge such witnesses as are all convicted of falsehood in capital points; and in the main, distinguish'd with *Protestants*, for errors not worth mentioning. This is the first reflection *Protestants* should make.

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The second is of no less importance. They ought to consider that all these *Sects* do dissent from one another, and withal, to opposite as well to *Catholics* as to *Protestants*; agree with them in the common principle of judging themselves by the *Scriptures*; and indeed as the *Church* in all times has, and has material ground, for this is a most certain way, but as some parts of *Scripture* is capable of various judging them. This is what

hath produced all those errors and all those contrarieties which we have observed. Under the pretext of *Scripture*, every man has follow'd his own notions; and the *Scripture* taken in this way, so far from uniting minds, hath divided them, and made every one worship the delusions of his own brain under the name of eternal verities.

But there still remains the last, and by much the most important reflexion to be made on all these things we have just seen in this contracted history of the *Albigenses* and *Vaudois*. There we discover the reason of the *Holy Ghost's* inspiring St. Paul, with this prophecy: *The spirit speaketh expressly, that in the latter times, some shall depart from the Faith, giving heed to seducing spirits, and doctrines of devils; speaking lyes in hypocrisy, having their conscience fear'd with a hot iron; forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats, which God hath created to be received with thanksgiving of them which believe and know the truth. For every creature of God is good, and nothing to be refused, if it be received with thanksgiving: for it is sanctified by the word of God, and prayer.* All the holy Fathers are agreed that this is meant of the impious Sect of *Marcionites* and *Mauicheans*, who taught two Principles, and attributed to the *evil* one the Creation of the universe; which made them detest the propagation of mankind, and the use of many kinds of food which they believed unclean and bad in their nature, as being produced by a Creator who himself was bad and impure. St. Paul points therefore at these accursed Sects by these two their so noted tenets; and without previously mentioning the principle, whence they drew these two evil consequences, he sets himself to express the two sensible characters whereby we have seen these infamous Sects were known in all times.

CCI.  
Last and most important reflexion concerning the accomplishment of St. Paul's prediction.  
1 Tim. iv.

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.

CCCII  
The Doctrines of two Principles pointed at by St. Paul why the Doctrine of Devils is the Doctrine of Devils. 1 Tim. iii. 4. Ibid. 1.

But altho' St. Paul does not immediately express the *dup* cause, why these deceivers forbade the use of two things so natural; he denotes it sufficiently further on, when he says in opposition to these errors, that *every creature of God is good*, overthrowing by this principle the detestable sentiment of those that derided impurity in the works of God, and making us withal sensible that the root of this evil lay in not knowing the Creation, and in blaspheming the Creator. Accordingly, 'tis what St. Paul calls, in particular, more than all other Doctrines, *the Doctrines of Devils*, there being nothing more suitable to the jealousy against God and against men of these seducing spirits, than to attack the Creation, condemn God's works, blaspheme against the author of the law and the law itself, and defile human nature with all manner of impurities and illusions. For this is what *Mam brym* consisted in, and what truly is the very Doctrine of Devils; especially if you add those enchantments and impossibles, which all authors testify were so frequently made use of in this Sect. To wrest now the so plain and so natural sense of St. Paul against itself, who, acknowledging both Marriage and all sort of meats for the work and constitution of God, yet obtain yet truly from them to mortify the flesh and purify the mind, is a too manifest delusion, and which we have seen long ago exploded by the Fathers. It is then very perceptible whom St. Paul aimed at, nor is it possible to mistake those he has to account by, described by their proper character.

CCCIII  
Quæst. why the Paul. Chap. of 1 Tim. 10.

Why the *1 Tim. Chap.*, an oppos'd to many Heresies, would only mark this to expel it, was the annihilation of the *1 Tim.*, and what they endeavour'd to account for, the best they were able, in their age. But time, the faithful interpreter



preter of prophecies, has discover'd to us the deep cause; nor shall we wonder any more that the *Holy Ghost* was so particularly careful to forewarn us against this Sect, after having seen, 'twas this that infected Christianity, the longest, and the most dangerously: the longest, thro' so many ages as we have seen the world infected by it: and the most dangerously, not making a glaring breach from the Church like the rest, but lurking, as much as was possible, within her precincts, and insinuating herself under the appearances of the same Faith, the same Worship, and even an astonishing shew of piety. For this reason *St. Paul* the Apostle so expressly points out its *Hypocrisy*. Never has the spirit of *lying*, remark'd by this Apostle, been so justly charged on any Sect, since besides its teaching, like the rest, a false Doctrine, it exceeded all others in dissembling its belief. We have observed, that these wretches allow'd every thing you pleas'd: they made nothing of lying in the most material points; they stuck not at perjury to conceal their tenets; their readiness in betraying their consciences shew'd in them a certain insensibility, which *St. Paul* admirably well expresses by the *caustick* which renders the flesh insensible by mortifying it, as the learned *Theodoret* hath observed on this place: nor do I think, ever prophecy could have been verified by more sensible characters than this has been.

No longer are we to wonder why the *Holy Ghost* would have the prediction of this Heresy to be so particular and distinct. 'Twas more than all other Heresies the error of the latter times, as it's call'd by *St. Paul*, whether we understand by the latter times, according to the Scripture-style, all the times of the new law; or understand by them that period of ages when

only in particular foretold *Manicheism*. Character of this Heresy. Hypocrisy. Spirit of lying. Conscience cauteriz'd.

*Ibid.*

*Ibid.*

*Comm. in hanc locum.*

CCIV. Sequel of the reasons why the *Holy Ghost* has pointed out this Heresy more than the rest.

*1 Tim. iv.* *Satan* was to be loosed anew. So long since as  
*Rev. xx.* the second and third Century, the Church be-  
*3.* held the rise of *Cerdon*, of *Marcion*, of *Manes*,  
*Epist. Jer.* those enemies to the Creator. The seeds of this  
 Doctrine are every where to be met with: you  
 find them in *Tatian*, who condemn'd *Wine* and  
*Marriage*, and in *Justin* *Chrysostom* one of the bible,  
 had crav'd the Jews that express'd *Christ's*  
*1 Tim. ii.* genealogy from the *Book of Daniel*. A hun-  
 dred years after, these Sects had attack'd the God  
 of the Jews even before *Manes* and *Marcion*;  
 and were ban from *Thebes*, that this last did  
 but give another turn to the impieties of *Simon*  
 the *Magician*. Thus did this Heresy commence  
 from the very beginning of Christianity: 'twas  
 the true *Mystery of iniquity*, which fell to work in  
*St. Paul's* time: but the Holy Ghost, who fore-  
 saw this pestilence was one day to rage in a more  
 glaring manner, made it be foretold by this  
 Apostle with an astonishing evidence and dis-  
 tinctness. *Marcion* and *Manes* have set this  
 Mystery of iniquity in a more manifest light:  
 the abominable Sect hath held on its pestilent  
 succession ever since that time. This we have  
 seen, and never did Heresy disturb the Church  
 for a longer date, nor spread its branches to a  
 greater distance. But after that, by the eminent  
 Doctrine of *St. Irenaeus*, by *St. Leo's* and *St. Gela-  
 sus's* great care and diligence, it was extinguish'd  
 every where in the *West*, and even in *Rome*,  
 where it had strove to establish itself; then was  
 seen to rise the fatal term of *Satan's* being loosed  
*Rom. viii.* out of his prison. A thousand years after that this  
 strong and terrible word by *Jesus Christ* at his  
 coming into the world, the spirit of error grew  
 up more than ever; the remains of *Manichaeism*,  
 too well shelter'd in the *East*, broke in upon the  
*Eastern* Church. What hit lets our looking on  
 those

those miserable times as one of the periods of *Satan's* being loosed, without prejudice to the other more hidden meanings? If *Gog* and *Magog* only be wanting to fulfil this prophecy, we shall find in *Armenia*, near *Samosata*, the Province named *Gogarene* where the *Paulicians* dwelt, and *Magog* amongst the *Scythians* from whence the *Bulgarians* took their rise. Thence came those numberless enemies of *the beloved City* who first assaulted *Italy*. The contagion flew, in an instant, to the extremity of the *North*: a spark raises a great combustion; the flame almost spreads over the whole face of the universe. In all parts of it is discover'd this lurking poison; together with *Manicheism*, *Arianism* with all kind of Heresies shoot up again under unheard of and uncouth names. Scarce could it be compass'd to quench this fire in the space of three or four hundred years, and even some of its remains might be seen in the fifteenth Century.

Nor did the evil cease, when nothing seem'd left of it but its ashes. *Satan* had supplied the impious Sect wherewith to renew the conflagration, in a manner more dangerous than ever. Church-discipline was relax'd over all the earth; the disorders and abuses, carried even to the foot of the Altar, made the good to sigh, humbled them, urg'd them on to improve itill more in their virtuous courses: but wrought a far different effect on the sower and proud-minded. The *Roman Church*, the Mother and Bond of Churches, became the object of hatred to all indocil tempers: invenom'd satires spirit up the world against the Clergy; the *Manichean* hypocrite trumpets them over the whole universe, and gives the name of *Antichrist* to the *Church of Rome*, for then was that notion broach'd, in the sink of *Manicheism*, and amidst the precursors of *Anti-*

Rev. xx.

7. 8.

Bo. h.

Phil. lib.

111. 13.

Rev. Ibid.

CCV.

How the  
*Vaudois*  
came from  
the *Albi-*  
*gensian*  
*Mani-*  
*cheans*.

*christ* himself. These impious men imagine, they appear more holy, when they say, holiness is essentially requisite to the administration of the Sacraments. The ignorant *Vaudois* swallow down this poison. No longer will they receive the Sacraments from odious and detam'd Ministers: *Luke v. 6. the net is broken on all sides, and Schisms multiply. Satan* no longer stands in need of *Manicheism*: hatred against the *Church* is wide-diffused: the viperous Sect hath left a brood like to itself, and a too fruitful principle of Schism. No matter, tho' these Hereticks have not the same Doctrine, they are sway'd by hatred and bitterness, and banded against the *Church*; this is enough. The *Vaudois* believe not like the *Albigenses*; but, like the *Alligenses*, they hate the *Church*, and proclaim themselves the only Saints, the only Ministers of the Sacraments. *Wickliff* believes not like the *Vaudois*; but *Wickliff* proclaims, like the *Vaudois*, that the *Pope* and his whole *Clergy* have forfeited all authority by their loose behaviour. *John Hus* does not believe like *Wickliff*, tho' he admires him: what he admires in him chiefly, and almost only follows in him is, that crimes annul authority. These detpicable *Bekemans*, as we have seen, succeeded to this spirit, which they particularly made appear, when amounting to no more than a handful of illiterate men, they refus'd to rebaptize the whole world.

CCVI  
How Luther and Calvin  
fought for the  
Reformation  
But a still greater *Apostacy* was hatching by means of these Sects. The world teeming with animosity, brings forth *Luther* and *Calvin*, who censure *Catholicism*: the superstructure is different, but the foundation is the same; 'tis still hatred against the *Clergy* and the *Church of Rome*, and no man of sincerity can deny, that this was the visible cause of their surging progress.

gress. A *Reformation* was necessary: who denies it? but it was still more necessary, to refrain from Schism. Were those, that promoted this Schism by their preachments, any better than their neighbours? they made as if they were; this was enough to delude and *spread like a canker*, 2 Tim. ii. 17. according to *St. Paul's* expression. The world was set on condemning and rejecting their leaders; this is call'd *Reformation*. A specious name dazzles the people, and to stir up hatred, calumny is not spared; thus is our Doctrine blacken'd; men hate it before they know it.

With new Doctrines, new bodies of Churches are erected. The *Lutherans* and *Calvinists* make the two greatest: but they cannot find in the whole earth so much as one *Church* that believes like them, nor whence they can derive an ordinary and lawful mission. The *Vaudois* and *Albigenses*, alledged by some, are not to their purpose. We have but just shewn them to be meer Lay-men, as much puzzled to make out their own mission and title, as those that seek their aid. We know, the *Toulousian* Hereticks were never able to delude so much as one Priest. The Preachers of the *Vaudois* were trading or mechanic men, nay women. The *Bobemians* had no better an original, as already proved; and when *Protestants* name us all these Sects, they name not their Fathers, but Accomplices.

But perchance, tho' they don't meet, in these Sects, with a succession of *persons*, they will meet in them, with a succession of *Doctrine*. Much less: in certain respects like to the *Hussites*; in others, like the *Vaudois*; in some like the *Albigenses* and the other Sectaries; in other articles, they are quite contrary to them: in this manner, without lighting upon any thing that is uniform,  
and

CCVII.  
The *Protestant Churches* seek in vain a succession of persons in the preceding Sects.

CCVIII.  
Much less do they find in them a succession of Doctrine.

and laying hold here and there of what seems to suit them; without faction, without unity, without true predecessors, they climb to what height they can. They are not the first to reject the honour due to *Saints*, nor the *Obiations* for the Dead: they find before their days, bodies of Churches of this same belief in these two points. The *Believers* embraced them: but we have seen these *Believers* tack in vain for associates thro' the whole earth. Howsoever, here is a *Church* at least before *Luther*: this is something to such as have nothing. But after all, this *Church* before *Luther* is but fifty years before him: they must strive to advance higher: they'll find the *Vaulois*, and a little more distant, the *Manicheans* of *Toulouse*. They'll find, in the fourth age, the *Manicheans* of *Africa* opposite to the worship of *Saints*. One only *Vigilantius* follows them in this particular point: but higher than this no certain author can be found, yet thereon depends the stress of the question. They may go a little farther as to *Obiations* for the Dead. The Priest *Aerius* will appear, but alone, and without followers; an *Arian* into the bargain: this is all can be found that's positive; whatever is built builds thus, will be built manifestly in the air. But let us see what they will endeavor as to the *Real Presence*, and remember, the question is concerning positive and certain facts. *Crisostomus* is not the first who maintained that the *Bread* was not made the *Body*: *Basil* was. But that as much as four hundred years before him, in the seventh Century. Yet neither was *Basil* the first: these *Manicheans* of *Occident* had the same; and the world was full of the rumour of their evil Doctrines, when the branding of it was pick'd up by




by *Berengarius*. Beyond this, I find many pretensions and actions lodged against us concerning this subject, but no averr'd and positive facts.

Now the *Socinians* have a more manifest succession: catching up a word here and another there, they will name declared enemies of *Jesus Christ's* divinity in all Ages, and at the top of them will find *Cerintbus* next to the Apostles. For all their discovering something concordant among so many, in other respects discording witnesses, they will be never the better founded, since, when all is said, *Succession* and *Uniformity* are wanting to them. To take the thing thus, namely, should each of them, in patching up their several Churches, collect here and there without band of union, all that could be found conformable to their sentiments; there is no difficulty, as might have been observed, to trace the extraction of every Sect seen at this day, or ever to be seen, even up to *Simon* the Magician, and to that *Mystery of iniquity* which began in the time of *St. Paul*.

CCIX.  
What is  
the succes-  
sion of  
*Hereticks*.

2 *Theff.*  
ii. 7.





THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
VARIATIONS  
OF PROTESTANT CHURCHES.

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BOOK XII.

*From the Year 1571, to 1579, and from  
1603, till the Year 1615.*

A BRIEF SUMMARY.

*The reformed Churches disturb'd about the word  
Substance even in France. It's maintain'd as  
grounded on the word of God in one Synod, and  
in another brought to nothing in favour of the  
Swiss who were angry with the decision. One  
Faith for France, and another for Switzer-  
land. Assembly of Franckfort, and a project of  
a new Confession of Faith for the whole second  
party of Protestants; what was to be suppress'd  
there in favour of the Lutherans. Denial of  
the Real Presence establish'd, and suppress'd  
at the same time. Piscator's affair, and the  
doctrinal decision of four national Synods re-  
duced to nothing. Principles of the Calvinists,  
and demonstrations drawn from them in our be-  
half. De Molin's propositions received at the  
Synod of Ayr. Nothing said or done in the  
Reformation.*

THE



THE union of *Sandomir* had not its effect except in *Poland*. In *Switzerland*, the *Zuinglians* continued steady to reject equivocations. The *French* began already to join in their sentiments. Many maintain'd openly, it was requisite to discard the word *Substance*, and change the thirty sixth article of the *Confession* of Faith presented to *Charles* the ninth, wherein the *Supper* was explain'd. It was not particular men that made this dangerous proposal, but whole *Churches*, even the chief *Churches*, those of the *Ile* of *France* and *Brie*, that of *Paris*, that of *Meaux*, where the exercise of *Calvinism* commenced, and others neighbouring to them. These *Churches* were for changing so considerable an article of their *Confession* of Faith, which they had publish'd but ten years before as containing nothing but the pure word of God: this must have too much discredited the new Party. The *Synod* of *Rochelle*, wherein *Beza* presided, resolved to condemn these *Reformers* of the *Reformation* in 1571.

The case required a clear and distinct sentence. The Contest being on foot, and the Parties present, there needed no more than to decide in few words: but brevity is the fruit of clear conceptions only. Behold therefore word for word what was concluded; and I ask only to be allow'd to divide the decree into three parts, and to recite them severally.

They begin by rejecting what is evil, and their condemnations fall justly enough. To fix upon any thing, will be the grand difficulty; but let us read. *Concerning the thirty sixth article of the Confession of Faith, the Deputies of the Ile of France represented, that it would be requisite to explain this article, inasmuch as it speaks of the participation*

I.  
Many pretended-reform'd Churches of *France* are for changing the article of the *Supper* in their *Confession* of Faith.

M D L X X I.

II.  
The national *Synod* condemns them. This *Synod's* decision full of perplexities.

*participation of the Substance of Jesus Christ.* After a conference of some length, the Synod approving the thirty sixth article PROJECT: THE OPINION of those who refuse to receive the word Substance, by which word is not understood any confusion, commixtion or union of two substances, or a carnal matter, or otherwise, as if it were a true conjunction, ever by means of a carnal way, whereby Jesus Christ might be joined ours and we his, that I receive a quantity of Body, whether natural or artificial, by which the which nevertheless is not taken to the end, that of his Substance and Person should be some third person, and substance, but only to this, THAT HIS VIRTUE and all his other gifts, to our salvation, be by this means, the more plentifully given and communicated to us, differing from those who say, we join ourselves to ALL HIS MERITS AND GIFTS AND WITH HIS HOLY SPIRIT only, without he himself being ours. Here are abundance of words and nothing said. 'Tis no commixtion either carnal or natural: who knows not that? it has nothing in common with the vulgar mixtures: it is not carnal: the manner of it is entirely celestial, and in this sense spiritual: who questions it? but has any man ever dreamt, that of the Substance of Jesus Christ united to ours a third person was made, a third Substance? so much the more reason to be lost in rejecting such carnal and carnal words, as would into any man's head.

III.  
 A fourth  
 kind of the  
 Communion  
 falling  
 Substance  
 of the  
 Body  
 of Christ  
 into  
 the  
 mouth

It is not lawful to reject those who profess we partake not of the person, but the merits of Jesus Christ, by his Body, and in his Spirit, without his grace having been given: it was only rejecting they should have, that he gives himself to us in the proper and natural manner of his Flesh and Blood, and that was the point in hand, and the thing

thing to be explain'd. *Catholicks* do this very clearly, for they say, *Jesus Christ* in pronouncing *This is my Body*, the same *that was given for you*; *This is my Blood*, the same *that was shed for you*, designs, not the *Figure* of it, but the *Substance*, the which, in saying, *Take*, he renders wholly ours, there being nothing more ours than that which is given us in this manner. This speaks; this is intelligible. Instead of delivering themselves thus clearly and distinctly, we shall see our Ministers lose themselves in rambling from the point, heap texts on texts without concluding any thing. Let us return to where we left off; here is what presents itself: *Not consenting*, proceed they, *with those who say, we join ourselves to his merits and his gifts and his spirit only, yea rather marvelling with the Apostle Ephel. 5. at this secret, supernatural and incomprehensible to our reason, we believe that we are made partakers of the Body given for us and the Blood shed for us; that we be Flesh of his Flesh and Bone of his Bones, and receive him together with all his gifts with him by Faith engender'd in us by the incomprehensible influence and power of his holy spirit; thus understanding that which is said, who so eateth the Flesh and drinketh the Blood hath life everlasting. Item, Christ is the vine and we the branches, and that he maketh us abide in him to the end we may bring forth fruit, and that we be members of his Body, of his Flesh, and of his Bones.* They are certainly afraid of being understood, or rather do not understand themselves; thus clogging their meaning with so many useless words, so many intricate phrases, such a confused jumble of crowded texts. For after all, what they have to shew is, how much those are in the wrong who, refusing to acknowledge, in the *English*, any other

trine of the pretended-reform'd-Churches. *Mat. xxvi. 26. 28. Luke xxii. 19. 20. 1 Cor. xii. 24.*

commu-

communication than that of the *merits* and *spirit* of *Jesus Christ*, discard from this mystery *The proper Substance of his Body and Blood*. Now this is what no wise appears in any of these numerous texts. These texts conclude, only that we receive something flowing from *Jesus Christ* in order to enliven us, as members receive from the *Head* the spirit which animates them; but don't at all conclude for our receiving the *proper Substance* of his *Body and Blood*. None of these texts, except one only, namely that of *St. John vi.* relate at all to the *Eucharist*; neither does that of *St. John vi.* if we believe the *Calvinists*, relate to it. And if this text, well understood, shews indeed in the *Eucharist* the *proper Substance* of *Jesus Christ's* *Flesh and Blood*, yet it does not shew it, in the manner it's here employ'd by the *Ministers*, since the upshot of their discourse concludes at length in this, that *We receive Jesus Christ together with all his gifts with him by Faith engender'd in us*. Now *Jesus Christ by Faith engender'd in us*, is nothing less than *Jesus Christ* united to us in the proper and true *Substance* of his *Flesh and Blood*; the first of these being no more than moral, wrought by pious affections of the mind; and the second, being physical, is real and immediate of *Body to Body*, and of *Substance to Substance*: thus does this great *Synod* expound nothing less than what it proposes to expound.

## IV.

Error of the Synod which seeks the Mystery of the *Eucharist* without producing the *Intention*.

I observe in this device, that the *Calvinist* having undertaken to explain the Mystery of the *Eucharist*, and in this Mystery the *proper Substance* of *Jesus Christ's* *Body and Blood*, which it is grounded on, allude to us far different things from the words of the *Intention*, *This is my Body, This is my Blood*, for they are very visible, should they say, these words import the *proper Substance* of the *Body and Blood*, this would be

making



making clearly appear, our Lord's design was to express the Body and Blood not in *figure*, nor even in *virtue*, but in *effect*, in *truth*, and in *Substance*. Thus this *Substance* must have been, not only by Faith, in the minds and thoughts of the faithful, but in effect, and in truth, under the sacramental *species* where *Jesus Christ* denotes it, and thereby, even in our bodies, whereinto we are order'd to receive it, to the end that we might, all kinds of ways, enjoy our *Saviour* and participate of our victim.

Now, whereas the decree had not cited any one text that concluded for the *proper Substance*, the thing in question, but rather had excluded it by shewing *Jesus Christ* united by *Faith* only; they come back at length to the *Substance* by the following words: *And in fact, as we derive our death from the first Adam, inasmuch as we partake of his substance; so is it requisite, we should partake truly of the second Adam Christ Jesus, that we may derive our life from him. Wherefore all Pastors, and in general, all the faithful shall be exhorted to give no way, in any kind, to opinions contrary to the above Doctrine, which is grounded* EXPRESSLY ON THE WORD OF GOD.

The *Holy Fathers* made use of this comparison of *Adam* to shew, that *Jesus Christ* ought to be in us otherwise than by Faith and affection, or morally: for 'tis not by affection and thought only, that *Adam* and parents are in their children; 'tis by the communication of the same Blood, and the same Substance: and therefore the union we have with our parents, and by their means with *Adam*, from whom we are all descended, is not only moral, but physical and substantial. The Fathers have thence concluded, that the new *Adam* ought to be in us after a manner equally physical and substantial, to the end that

V.  
The Synod's reason for establishing the Substance. They conclude the other opinion to be contrary to God's word.

VI.  
The Synod says more than it design'd.

we might derive immortality from him, as from our first parent we derive mortality. Accordingly, 'tis what they have found, and much more abundantly, in the *Eucharist* than in ordinary generation, for that 'tis not a portion of the Blood and Substance, but the whole Substance and the whole Blood of our Lord *Jesus Christ* which is therein communicated to us. To say now with the Ministers, that this communication is wrought barely by *Faith*, is not only to weaken the comparison, but also to annihilate the Mystery, and deprive it of its Substance; and whereas it is more abundantly in *Jesus Christ* than in *Adam*, 'tis making it to be much less in him, or rather not at all.

VII  
A point of  
Doctrine  
was in  
question  
among  
them.

Thus do our Doctors confound themselves, and the more pains they take to speak their minds, the more do they obscure the subject. Nevertheless, through all these mists you discern plainly, that among the defenders of the *figurative* sense, there was in reality an opinion which admitted nothing in the *Eucharist* but the gifts and merits of *Jesus Christ*, or at most, nothing but his Spirit, not the proper *Substance* of his Flesh and Blood; but that this opinion was expressly contrary to the word of God, and not to have any admittance amongst the faithful.

VIII  
The  
Fathers  
then  
concerning  
this  
Article.

'Tis no hard matter to guess, who were the defenders of this opinion: 'twas the *Sacris* the disciples of *Zuinglius*; and such of the *French* as approving their sentiment would join reform this article. And this was the reason that the *Genevese* were presently heard to complain, thinking they beheld their own condemnation in the *Synod* of *Reuchou*, and the fraternity broken; since that, notwithstanding the soft term given to the decree, their Doctrine was condemn'd in the main as contrary to the word of God, with ex-  
press

press exhortation to allow it no shelter among the Pastors or the faithful.

Under this persuasion they wrote to *Beza*, and the answer return'd them was surprising. *Beza* was order'd to acquaint them, that the decree of the Synod of *Rockelle* did not regard them, but only certain *French-men*; so that there was a *Confession* of Faith for *France*, and another for *Switzerland*, as if Faith varied according to the climate, and it were not equally true, that in *Christ Jesus*, there is neither *Swiss* nor *French-man*, as it is true, according to *St. Paul*, that there is *neither* Scythian, *nor* Greek. To this *Beza* added, in order to calm the *Swiss*, that the Churches of *France* detested the substantial and carnal Presence, together with the monsters of *Transubstantiation* and *Consubstantiation*. Here then, by the by, we have the *Lutherans* as ill-handled as the *Catholicks*, and their Doctrine accounted no less monstrous; but this only in writing to the *Swiss*: we have seen how far they are able to soften matters when they write to the *Lutherans*, and how tender they are then of *Consubstantiation*.

The *Swiss* would not be gull'd with these subtillties of the Synod of *Rockelle*, but were very sensible, they themselves were attack'd under the name of these *French-men*. *Bullinger*, Minister of *Zurick*, who was order'd to answer *Beza*, made no difficulty of telling him, they were in fact the people condemn'd: *You condemn, answer'd he, those who reject the word Proper Substance; and who is ignorant that we are of this number?* What *Beza* had added, against the carnal and substantial Presence, did not remove the difficulty; *Bullinger* knew full well, that the *Catholicks* no less than the *Lutherans* complain'd, that a carnal Presence was laid to their charge, which they

IV.

The Synod answer'd them by *Beza*, that this Doctrine only regards *France*. The *Lutherans* as well as *Catholicks* detested as defenders of a monstrous opinion. *Colef.* iii. 11. *Hosp.* 1571. f. 344.

X.

The *Swiss* not satisfied with *Beza's* answer, still hold themselves for condemn'd. *Id.* p. *ibid.*

did not dream of; and besides, could not comprehend the meaning of receiving in *Substance*, what was not *substantially* present: thus unable to conceive the refinements of *Beza*, or a *Substance* united without being *present*, he answer'd him, that *they ought to speak plainly in matters of Faith, lest they should reduce the simple to such streights as no longer to know what to believe*; whence he concluded, *It was necessary to mitigate the decree*, and this was the only means he propos'd for a reconciliation.

XI  
They were  
at last  
forced to  
change the  
decree, and  
relieve the  
Substance  
from being  
at all.  
M. D.  
LXXII.

They were forced to stoop to these terms, and the year following, in the *Synod of Nîmes*, *Substance* was brought to so small a matter, that they might as well have quite suppress'd it. Whereas, at the *Synod of Rochelle*, the debate was about putting a stop to an opinion contrary to that which was grounded expressly on the word of *God*, they endeavour now to insinuate that the question was only about a *Word*. They raze out of the decree of *Rochelle* these words which contain'd its main force and purpose: *viz. The Synod rejects the opinion of those who regard to receive the word Substance*. They declare they'll do no prejudice to strangers; and such is their complaisance for them, that these great words, the proper *Substance* of *Jesus Christ's* Body and Blood, so much assist'd by *Calvin*, so strenuously maintain'd by his disciples, so carefully retain'd at the *Synod of Rochelle*, and at last brought to nothing by our *Reform'd*, no longer appear in their *Catechisms* of Faith, but as a monument of the impression of the Reality and Substance, which the words of *Jesus Christ* had naturally made in the minds of their forefathers, and even of *Calvin* himself.

XII  
Reformation  
continued.

And yet if they will but reflect on these relaxations of their first Doctrine, they may observe

serve therein, after what a manner the spirit of weakening of the first Doctrine. seduction has deluded them. Their fathers would not easily have depriv'd themselves of the *Substance* of *Jesus Christ's* Body and Blood. Accustom'd in the *Church* to this sweet *Presence* of the Body and Blood of their Saviour, the pledge of an immense love, they would not willingly have been brought down to shadows and figures, nor to a simple virtue flowing from this Body and Blood. *Calvin* had promised them something more. They had suffer'd themselves to be attracted by a notion of *Reality* and *Substance* continually inculcated in his Books, in his Sermons, in his Commentaries, in his *Confessions* of Faith, in his *Catechisms*: a false notion, I confess, they being there in words only, and not in fact; but yet they were charm'd with this fine idea, and believing they lost nothing of what was possessed by them in the *Church*, they did not fear to leave it. Now that *Zuinglius* has gain'd the ascendent by the consent of their *Synods*, and *Calvin's* big words stand evidently void of force and destitute of all sense, why don't they return from their error, and seek, in the *Church*, that *real* possession with which they had been flatter'd?

The *Swiss Zuinglians* were appeas'd by the explanation of the Synod of *Nismes*: but the ground of division still subsisted. So many *Confessions* of Faith were a too convincing token of it to be dissembled. Mean while the *French*, the *Swiss*, the *English*, and the *Poles* had their separate ones, which all of them kept to, without borrowing from their neighbours, and their union seem'd nearer allied to policy than true concord.

They had often sought remedies for this inconvenience, but in vain. In 1577, an assembly

XIII.  
The different *Confessions* of Faith, a mark of the division of the Party.

XIV.  
The assembly at *Frank-*

bly was held at *Frankfort*, where the Embassadors of *Queen Elizabeth* assembled with the Deputies of *France*, of *Prussia*, of *Hungary*, and of the *Lower Germany*. The Great *Palatine John Casimir*, who the year before had brought into *France* to great advantage to our *Religion*, procured this assembly. The whole Party that defended the *signa trecenta*, whereof this Prince was one, was there assembled, except the *Saxons* and *Bohemians*. But these last had sent their declaration, submitting themselves thereby to what should be resolved: and as for the *Swiss*, the *Palatine* made it be declared by his Ambassador that he held himself assured of them. The intent of this convention, as appears by the *Palatine*-deputy's harangue at his opening of it, was to draw up, by the unanimous consent of all the other Deputies, one common *Confession* of Faith for their *Churches*; and the reason that induced the *Palatine* to make this proposal was, because the *Lutherans* of *Germany*, after making that famous book of *Concord* so often mention'd, were to hold an assembly at *Migulding*, there to pronounce with one accord the approbation of this book, and at the same time the condemnation of all those, who should refuse to subscribe it; so as, being declared Heretick, they might be excluded from the toleration granted by the *Emperour* in matters of Religion. By this means, all the defenders of the *signa trecenta* were to be banish'd, and the manner of *Unguent*, maintain'd in this book, to be establish'd. It was the interest of that *Charles*, which was to be considered, to appear at that time in a very powerful and useful way. They were call'd together, having each one their particular *Confession* of Faith, and the *Lutherans*, match'd under the

common



common name of the *Confession of Ausburg*, easily resolved on the proscription of a Party, which its disunion made contemptible.

This their great grievance was colour'd over nevertheless, the best manner it was possible, with specious words, and the *Palatine-Deputy* declared that all these *Confessions* of Faith, *conformable in Doctrine, differ'd in method only, and the way of speaking*. But he well knew the contrary, nor were the differences but too real for these *Churches*. Be that as it will, 'twas their interest, in order to put a stop to the proceedings of the *Lutherans*, to shew them their union by a *Confession* of Faith as well received among them all, as was that of *Ausburg* among the *Lutherans*. But they had yet a more general design: for in making this new *Confession* of Faith common to the defenders of the *figurative* sense, their intent was to pitch on such expressions as the *Lutherans*, defenders of the *literal* sense, might agree to, and so by this means, make one body of the whole Party call'd *Reform'd*. The deputies had no better a method than this of preventing the condemnation threaten'd them from the *Lutheran* Party. Wherefore, the decree they made concerning this *common Confession of Faith*, had this turn given it: *That it ought to be made, and made clear, full, and solid, with a clear and brief refutation of all the Heresies of these times; yet, with such a temper of style, as rather to attract than alienate those that adhere purely to the Confession of Ausburg, as much as truth could allow.*

XV.  
A design of comprehending the *Lutherans* in this common *Confession* of Faith.

*Ibid.* p.62.

To make this *Confession* of Faith clear, to make it full, to make it solid, with a clear and brief confutation of all the Heresies of those times, was a grand undertaking; fine words, but the thing exceeding difficult, not to say impossible, amongst people of such different per-

XVI.  
Qualities of this new *Confession* of Faith. Deputies named to draw it up.

sualions: above all, not to exasperate any further the *Lutherans*, those zealous defenders of the *literal* sense, it was necessary to pass lightly over the *Real Presence*, and the other articles so often mention'd. *Divines* were named, *who had a thorough knowledge of the Church's grievances*, to wit, of the divisions in the *Reformation*, and of her *Confessions* of Faith which kept them asunder. *Rodolph Gaultier*, and *Theodore Bza* Ministers, one of *Zurick* and the other of *Geneva*, were to put the finishing stroke to the work which was afterwards to be dispatch'd to all the Churches in order to be read, examin'd, correct'd, and augmented as judged proper.

XVII.  
Letter  
written to  
the  
Lutherans  
by  
the  
Council  
of  
Trent  
1562.

To prepare a work of so great a nicety, and hinder the condemnation which the *Lutherans* were hatching, 'twas concluded to write, in the name of the whole assembly, a letter capable of nullifying them. Wherefore they were acquainted, that *there assembly was call'd together from divers parts of the Christian world, to oppose the Pope's attempt, after informations received that he was urging the most potent Princes of Christendom against them, namely, the Emperor, the King of France, and the King of Spain, and what had not oblig'd them was, that even Princes of Germany, who by this time were no Catholics, as if the Catholics had another, and as if some of the powers of the Roman Ambassadors, were preparing to condemn the Doctrine of the Lutherans, and that the same Princes that assur'd them, they would be assist'd by the Emperor, France, and Spain, they had refused their assistance.*

XVIII.  
Letter  
written  
by  
the  
Council  
of  
Trent  
1564.

Then they referre'd to those of the *Confession of Augsburg*, that the Pope, while he rais'd the rest of the Council, would not sign them. *But they*, proceed they, *tho' they had not yet receiv'd the Emperor's approbation, namely, the*

*Lutherans,*

*Lutherans*, whom, by this means, they place at the head of the whole Party? They propose a free *Council* in order to unite amongst themselves, and oppose the common enemy. Lastly, after complaining they were going to be condemn'd without a hearing, they say, the controversy that divides them most from those of the *Confession of Ausburg*, viz. that of the *Supper and Real Presence*, hath not so much difficulty as imagin'd, and 'tis an injury done them to accuse them of rejecting the *Confession of Ausburg*. But they add, it stood in need of explanation in some places, and even that *Luther* and *Melancthon* had made some corrections in it; by which they evidently mean those different editions, wherein were made the above-seen changes in the life-time of *Luther* and *Melancthon*.

The year following, the *Calvinists* of *France* held their national *Synod* at *Sainte-Foy*, where they gave power to change the *Confession of Faith*, which they had so solemnly presented to our *Kings*, and which they boasted to maintain to the last drop of their blood. The decree of this *Synod* is worth our notice: it imports, that *after seeing the instructions of the assembly held at Franckfort by the means of Duke John Casimir*, they enter into the design of uniting in one holy band of pure *Doctrine* all the REFORM'D Churches of CHRISTENDOM, whereof certain Protestant Divines were for condemning the soundest and the greatest part; and approve the project of making and drawing up a formulary of a *Confession of Faith* common to all the Churches, as also the invitation expressly made to the Churches of this kingdom, to send to the place appointed men well approved and authoriz'd with ample procuration, in order to treat, agree, decide on all the points of *Doctrine* and other things relating to the union, repose and conjunction

XIX.  
The consent of the Synod of *Sainte-Foy* to the new *Confession* of Faith.  
M D  
LXXVIII.

*confirmation of the Church, and God's pure service.* For the execution of this project, they name four Deputies to pen this common *Confession* of Faith, but with much more ample powers than had been demanded for them in the assembly of *Franckfort*. For, whereas this assembly, unable to believe the Churches could agree in one *Confession* of Faith without seeing it, had order'd, that after its being seen by certain Ministers and polith'd by others, it should be sent to all the Churches for their examination and correction: this *Synod*, condescending beyond all that could be imagin'd, not only expressly charges these four Deputies to be present at the place and time appointed, with ample procurations as well from the Ministers, as in particular from the Viscount of Turrene; but also adds thereto, that in case even there were no means of examining this *Confession* of Faith throughout all the Provinces, it was left to their prudence and sound judgment to agree and conclude all the points that shall come under deliberation, whether in regard of Doctrine, or any other thing concerning the welfare, union, and repose of all the Churches.

H. 2. 4.  
Ca. 16.  
Fran.  
Art. 14th.  
Bl. n. p.  
63.  
S. n. de  
Sainte Fy.  
Art. 1. 5.  
6.

XX. Here have you then manifestly, by the authority of a whole national *Synod*, the Faith of our pretended Churches of *France* left to the disposal of four Ministers and of the Viscount of *Turrene*, with power to determine therein as they pleased, and those who will not allow, that we may refer to the judgment of one whole Church the least points of Faith, refer the whole of theirs to that of four Deputies.

XXI. One may wonder perhaps to find Mr. de *Turrene* named amongst these Deputies: but you must understand, that this was done, *non auctoritate* *Synodali*, but *ex parte* *Claustrali*, for the sake of which this negotiation was made, meant much more than

than appear'd at first sight Forasmuch as the Duke *John Casimir*, and *Henry de la Tour* Viscount of *Turenne*, joint Deputies with these Ministers, had thoughts of settling this repose by other means than by arguments and *Confessions* of Faith; which, however, necessarily made part of the negociation, experience having shewn, that these new *Reform'd* Churches could not be united in a league as they ought, without agreeing before in point of Doctrine. All *France* was flaming with civil-wars, and the Viscount *de Turenne* then but young, yet full of wit and valour, whom the disaster of the times had drawn into the Party but two or three years before, had immediately rais'd to himself in it so great an authority (not so much by his illustrious blood which allied him to the greatest families of the kingdom, as by his great capacity and courage) that he was already *Lord Lieutenant* to the King of *Navarre*, afterwards *Henry* the IV<sup>th</sup>. A man of this genius enter'd easily into the design of reuniting all the *Protestants*: but God did not suffer him to accomplish it. The *Lutherans* were found untractable, and the *Confessions* of Faith, notwithstanding the resolution unanimously taken of changing them all, subsisted as containing the pure word of God, which it is neither lawful to add to, or take from.

We see that in the year following, namely 1579, a union was still hoped for, since the *Calvinists* of the *Low-countries* wrote conjointly to the *Lutherans*, authors of the book of *Concord*, to *Kemnitius*, *Chytræus*, *James Andrew*, and the rest of the violent defenders of *Ubiquity*, whom they failed not to call, not only their Brethren, but their own Flesh (so intimate was their union notwithstanding their so considerable divisions) inviting them to take moderate counsels, to

XXII.  
Letter wherein the Calvinists own Luther and Melancthon for their Fathers.

M D  
LXXIX.

enter

enter into methods of union, in order whereto the Synod of France (that of *Sainte-Foy*) had named *apostles*, and tho' by tho', after the example of our holy Fathers, *Luther*, *Zuinglius*, *Capito*, *Bucer*, *Melancthon*, *Bullinger*, *Calvin*, whose unanimity was such as you have seen. These then are the common Fathers of the *Sacramentarians* and *Lutherans*; these are the men whose harmony and moderate counsels the *Calvinists* glory in.

XXIII.  
The project of a  
common  
Confession  
continued  
to our  
days, and  
always to  
no purpose.  
*Art. anti.  
Blon. p.  
72.*

All these endeavours towards a union proved abortive, and the defenders of the *figurative* sense were so far from being able to agree with the *Lutherans*, defenders of the *literal* sense, in one common *Confession* of Faith, that they could not even agree among themselves. The proposal was frequently renew'd, and even near to our days in 1614, at the Synod of *Tunis*, which in 1615, was back'd by the expedients propos'd by the famous *Peter du Moulin*. But though for this he received the thanks of the Synod of the *Ile of France* held the same year at the borough of *Ay* in *Champagne*; and notwithstanding the known credit he had, not only in *France* among his own Brethren, but also in *England* and over the whole Party, all proved to no purpose. The *Churches*, which defend the *figurative* sense, confess'd the mighty evil of their division, but withal confess'd, it was beyond remedy; and this common *Confession* of Faith, so earnestly desired and endeavour'd at, is become a *Partisive* idea.

XXIV.  
The  
Confession  
of  
Faith,  
made  
at  
Paris,  
1615.

This matter would require, I should relate the answers return'd by the Ministers with regard to this decree of *Sainte-Foy*, after it became publick and was urg'd against them by the *Calvinists*. But all of them, by the above account of the fact, fall of themselves. Some find, a mutual toleration was the only thing in question: but



it's plain enough, a common *Confession* of Faith was not necessary for that end, since the effect of this toleration is, not to make one common Faith, but to bear mutually with one another's Faith. Others, in excuse for the great power of deciding on Doctrine lodged in the hands of four Deputies, answer'd, this was because it was known, *near the matter*, what they could agree in: this, *near the matter*, is admirable. Doubtless, men are not over nice in questions of Faith, when satisfied with knowing, *near the matter*, what they are to say; and little also do they know what to stick to, when, for want of such knowledge, they give their Deputies so unlimited a power of concluding whatsoever they shall think fitting. The Minister *Claude* answer'd, they knew precisely what they were to say; and should the Deputies have gone beyond it, they would have justly been disown'd as men that had gone beyond their commission. But this answer, allowing it so, does not satisfy the chief difficulty consisting in this, that, to please the *Lutherans*, they must have given up to them all that tended to exclude, as well the *Real Presence*, as the other points contested with them; that is to say, they must evidently have changed, in such considerable articles, a *Confession* of Faith expressly affirm'd by them to be contain'd in the word of God.

Care ought to be taken not to confound what then was to be done with what was done since, when the *Lutherans* were received into Communion at the *Synod of Charenton* in 1631. This last action shews only, that the *Calvinists* can bear with the *Lutheran* Doctrine, as a Doctrine not at all prejudicial to Faith's *fundamentals*. But 'tis certainly a quite different thing to tolerate in the *Lutherans* Confession of Faith, what

*A. on. 2.*  
*rep. p.*  
363.

*Mr. Claude*  
*dans la*  
*N. g.*  
*Conf. rep.*  
*a l'Expos.*  
p. 149.

XXV.  
Difference  
betwixt  
what was  
design'd to  
be done in  
favour  
of the  
*Lutherans*  
at *Frank-*  
*fort* and  
*Sainte-*  
*Foy*, and  
you

what was  
since done  
at *Charer-*  
*ton.*

you believe erroneous in it, and to suppress in your own, what you believe to be a truth reveal'd of God and expressly declared by his word. This is what they had resolv'd to do in the assembly of *Franckfort* and at the *Synod of Sainte-Foy*; this is what they would have executed, had it pleas'd the *Lutherans*: insomuch that, 'twas only the fault of the defenders of the *Real Presence*, that all which clash'd with it was not eras'd out of the *Sacramentarian Confessions* of Faith. But the reason of this was; once change, and no end of changing: a *Confession* of Faith, that changes the Doctrine of ages past, shews by that, itself may be changed likewise, nor must we wonder, the *Synod of Sainte-Foy* thought they had power to correct in 1578, what the *Synod of Paris* had establish'd in 1559.

XXVI.  
Spirit of  
instability  
in *Calvi-*  
*zin.*

All these means of agreement now mention'd, so far from diminishing the disunion of our *Reform'd*, did but increase it. Here were men ignorant as yet what to stick to, whose first step, at setting out, was by a breach from the whole Christian world. Here was a Religion built on the sand, which had no stability even in her *Confessions* of Faith, altho' made with such nice care, and publish'd with such pomp. Even the professors of it could not persuade themselves that they had not a right to innovate in so changeable a *Religion*; and 'twas this produced the novelties of *J. de L. her*, known under the name of *Piccolter*, and that of *Arminius*.

XXVII.  
*Piccolter's*  
dispute.

*Piccolter's* affair will teach us many important matters, and I am the more desirous to relate it at full length, the less it is known by the generality of our *Reform'd*.

*Piccolter* taught divinity in the Academy of *Herborn*, a Town in the Palldom of *Nassau*, towards the end of the sixteenth Century. *Ex-*

mining the Doctrines of Imputed Justice, he says that the Justice of *Jesus Christ*, which is imputed to us, is not that which he practised during the course of his life, but that which he underwent in bearing voluntarily the punishment of our sin on the Cross; as much as to say, the death of our Lord being a sacrifice of an infinite value, whereby he paid and satisfied for us, it was also by this *Act* alone that the Son of God was properly *Saviour*, without any necessity of joining to it any other *Acts*, this being of itself sufficient: so that, if we are to be justified by imputation, 'tis by that of this *Act*, in virtue whereof precisely we are acquitted in the sight of God, and whereby *the hand-writing of the sentence pass'd against us was defaced*, as *St. Paul* speaks, *By the Blood which pacifieth both heaven and earth.* Col. ii. 14.

This Doctrine was detested by our Calvinists in the Synod of *Gap* Anno 1603, as contrary to the eighteenth, twentieth and twenty second articles of the *Confession of Faith*, and 'twas resolved by them, *that a letter should be address'd to Mr. Piscator, and likewise to the University in which he taught.*

It is certain, these three articles decided nothing as to what concern'd *Piscator*: and for this reason we find no more mention made of the twentieth and twenty second articles. And as to the eighteenth, in which it was pretended the decision might be found, it said no more than that *we are justified by the obedience of Jesus Christ, the which is allowed us*, without specifying, what obedience: so that *Piscator* found it no hard matter to defend himself in respect to the *Confession of Faith*. But since they will have it, that he innovated in regard to the *Confession of the pretended Reformed of this kingdom*, which had been

XXVIII.

This Doctrine detested by the national Synod of *Gap*. First decision.

MDCIII.

*Syn. de Gap. ch. de la Conf. de sij.*

been subscribed by those of the *Low-countries*, I agree to it.

XXIX

Several  
condemna-  
tion of  
P. *Pijator*.  
December  
the Synod  
of *Rochelle*.  
MDCVII

*Pijator* was writ to by order of the Synod, as resolved, and his modest answer, but steady in his sentiment, was read at the Synod of *Rochelle* in the year 1607. After reading it, this decree was made: *As to the letter of Doctor John Pijator, Professor in the Academy of Herborne, in answer to that of the Synod of Gap, rendering account of his Doctrine, which teaches justification to be by the free credence of Christ in his death and passion imputed as justice to the faithful, and not by the obedience of his life; the assembly NOT APPROVING the division of causes so content, hath declared, that the whole obedience of Christ in his life and death is imputed to us for the intire remission of our sins, AS BEING NO OTHER THAN ONE AND THE SAME OBDIENCIE.*

XXX.

Important  
observati-  
on, that  
the Decree  
of the  
*Calvinists*  
against  
*J. Pijator*  
resolves  
that all  
causes  
they were  
dividing  
of the  
office  
of the  
Eucharist.

In consideration of these last words, I would willingly ask our *Reform'd*, why, in order to merit for us the forgiveness of our sins, they require, not only the obedience of the death, but also that of the whole life of our Redeemer? Is it that the merit of *Jesus Christ*, dying, is not infinite, and not more than sufficient for our salvation? This they will not say; they must therefore say, that what is required as necessary after an infinite merit, does neither destroy its infiniteness nor sufficiency; but, at the same time, it must also follow, that to consider *Jesus Christ*, as containing his intercession by his Presence not in heaven only, but also on our Altars in the sacrifice of the *Eucharist*, is destroying nothing of the infiniteness of the propitiation made on the Cross; is only, as speaks the Synod of *Rochelle*, not dividing *the propitiation*, and accounting all *Jesus Christ* did in his life, all he did in his death,

and

and all he now does whether in heaven where he presents himself for us to the Father, or on our *Altars*, where he is present in another way, as the continuation of one and the same intercession, and of one and the same obedience which he began in his life, consummated in his death, and never ceases to renew both in heaven and in the mysteries, thereby to apply them to us effectually and perpetually.

The Doctrine of *Piscator* had its partisans. XXXI.  
 Nothing was found against him in the eighteenth, Third  
 twentieth, and twenty second articles of the *Con-* decision.  
*fession* of Faith. And indeed they abandon the Formulary  
 two last to fix on the eighteenth no more to the and Sub-  
 purpose, as we have seen, than the others; and scription  
 to drive the matter home against *Piscator* and ordin'd  
 his Doctrine, they went so far, in the national against  
 Synod of *Privas*, as to oblige all the Pastors to *Piscator* in  
 subscribe expressly against *Piscator* in these terms: the Synod  
of *Privas*.  
 MDCXII.

*I under-written N. in regard to the contents in the eighteenth article of the Confession of Faith of the reformed Churches touching our Justification, do declare and protest, that I UNDERSTAND IT ACCORDING TO THE SENSE RECEIVED IN OUR CHURCHES, APPROVED BY THE NATIONAL SYNODS, AND CONFORMABLE TO GOD'S WORD: which is, that our Lord Jesus Christ was subject to the moral and ceremonial law, not only for our good, but in our stead: and that all the obedience he render'd to the law is imputed to us, and that our Justification does consist, not only in the remission of sins, but in the imputation of active justice: and SUBJECTING MYSELF TO THE WORD OF GOD, I believe that the Son of man came not to be ministr'd unto, but to minister, and that he did minister to the purpose he came for: PROMISING NEVER TO DEPART FROM THE DOCTRINE RE-*

CEIVED IN OUR CHURCHES, AND TO SUBJECT MYSELF TO THE ORDINANCES OF THE NATIONAL SYNODS ON THIS HEAD.

XXXII.  
The Scrip-  
ture ill-  
quoted,  
and its  
whole  
Doctrine  
ill under-  
stood.

What it does avail imputed Justice, that *Jesus Christ came to minister, and not to be ministered unto*; and to what purpose this text is brought abruptly and without connexion into the midst of this decree, let him guess that can. Neither do I see what use the imputation of the *Ceremonial* law is to us, which never was made for us; nor for what reason *Jesus Christ must have been subject to it, not only for our good, but in our stead*. I well comprehend how *Jesus Christ*, having dispersed the shadows and figures of the law, hath left us free from the servitude of the ceremonial laws, which were but shadows and figures; but that it was necessary for such intent that he himself should have been subject to them in our stead, the consequence would be pernicious, since it might be equally concluded, he had also set us free from the moral law, by his fulfilling it. All this shews the little exactness of our Reformed, more intent on shewing erudition in a profusion of big empty words, than on speaking with accurateness in their decrees.

XXXIII.  
Fourth  
decree  
against  
*Pelagius*  
in the  
Synod of  
*Yver-*

I am at a loss to know what could be the reason that *Pelagius's* affair was laid to very much to heart by our *French reformed*, or why the Synod of *Paris* defended to the utmost precautions, by insinuating the above subscription. This however ought to have been decisive: a formula of Faith, order'd to be subscribed by all the Pastor, should have explain'd the matter fully and distinctly. Nevertheless, after this subscription and all the precedent decrees, it was still necessary to make a new declaration at the Synod of *Yver* in 1612. Four great decrees one after another, and in such different terms, concerning



a particular article, and on so limited a subject, is very extraordinary: but in the new *Reformation* something is always found to be added, or curtail'd, and never is their Faith explain'd so sincerely, nor with so full a sufficiency, as to make them stick precisely to the first decisions.

To conclude this affair, I shall make a short reflexion on the main of the Doctrine, and some reflexions on the procedure.

As to the Doctrine, I very well understand how the death of *Jesus Christ*, and the payment he made to the divine justice of the punishment we owed it, is imputed to us, as you impute to a debtor the payment made by the surety for his acquittance. But that the perfect justice fulfill'd by our Lord in his Life and Death, and the absolute obedience he render'd *to the Law*, should be imputed to us, or, as they speak, *allow'd*, in the same sense that the payment of the surety is imputed to the debtor; is the same as to say, that he discharges us by his justice from the obligation of being good and virtuous, as by his punishment he discharges us from the obligation of undergoing that which our sins had merited.

I understand then, and very clearly, in another kind of manner, what it avails us to have a Saviour whose sanctity is infinite. For thereby I behold him the alone worthy to impetrate for us all the graces requisite to make us just. But that we should *formally* be made just, because *Jesus Christ* was just; and that his justice should be *allow'd* us, as if he had fulfill'd the Law to our discharge, neither does the Scripture say it, nor can any man of good sense comprehend it.

By this means, accounting as nothing our interior justice, and that which we practise thro' grace, they make us all in the main equally just, by reason that the justice of *Jesus Christ*, supposed

XXXIV.  
The impiety of imputed Justice as it is proposed by these Synods.

XXXV.  
Plainness and simplicity of the *Catholic* Doctrine opposed to the obscurities of it contrary.

by them the only one that renders us just, is infinite.

They likewise wrest from the *Elect* of God that crown of justice, the just Judge reserves for each one in particular, since they suppose, all have the same justice which is infinite; or if at length they confess, this infinite justice is *allow'd* us in different degrees, accordingly as we approach to it more or less by that particular justice we are vested with by Grace, 'tis, by extraordinary expressions, saying the same thing with the *Cathelicks*.

XXXVI.  
Reflection  
on the  
procedure  
Scripture  
quoted  
therein  
only for  
form sake.

Behold in few words what I had to say on the Doctrine itself. I shall be still more brief as to the procedure: it has nothing but what is weak in it, nothing grave, nor serious. The act of most importance is the Formulary of Subscription injoin'd at the Synod of *Prizes*: but from the very beginning, they don't so much as think of convicting *Piscator* from the Scriptures. The point to be proved was, *That the obedience of Jesus Christ, whereby he fulfill'd the whole law in his life and death, is allow'd us in order to make us just*, the which is call'd, in the Formulary of *Prizes*, as before in that of *Gas*, the Imputation of the *active* justice.

Now, all that could be found in four Synods to prove this Doctrine and the Imputation of this *active* justice, by the Scripture, is, that *the Son of Man did not come to be minister'd unto, but to minister*: a text so little adapted to imputed Justice, that there is no discovering even to what purpose it was cited.

But so it is with these new *Reformers*; provided they name but the *Word* of God with emphasis, and then sling out a text or two however wide from the purpose, they think to have answer'd the pretension they make of believing  
nothing

nought but *Scripture* in exprefs terms. The people are dazzled with thefe big promifes, and are not even fenfible what a fway the authority of their Minifters hath over them, tho' when all is done, 'tis by that their affent is determin'd.

As from the word of God nothing was proved XXXVII. againft *Pifcator*, fo likewise their *Confeflion* of How the Confeflion of Faith is quoted. Faith was oppofed in vain againft him.

For we have feen them, at *Privas*, immediately forego the twentieth and twenty fecond articles, which were produced at *Gap*. The eighteenth is only infifted on; and as it fpoke nothing but what was general and indeterminate, they bethought themfelves of thus remedying it in the Formulary: *I declare and proteft that I understand the eighteenth article of our Confeflion of Faith according to the fenfe received in our Churches, approved in our Synods, and conformable to the word of God.*

The word of God would have fufficed alone: but as that was in difpute, to finifh it, there was a neceffity of coming back to the authority of things judged, and abiding by the article of the *Confeflion* of Faith, *Understanding it*, not according to its precise terms, but *according to the fenfe received in the Churches, and approved in the national Synods*; which finally regulates the difpute by tradition, and fhews us, the moft affured means of understanding what is written, is to fee, in what manner it always had been underftood.

This is what pafs'd, as to the affair of *Pifcator*, in four national Synods. The laft of them was that of *Tonins* held in 1614, where, after the fubfcription commanded by the Synod of *Privas*, all feem'd determin'd in the moft ferious manner imaginable: yet after all, there was nothing in it; for the year following, to go no XXXVIII. They laugh at all thefe decrees. Nothing ferious in the Reformation. *De Moulin's* further,

remembrance approved in the Synod of *U.*  
MDCXV.

further, that is, in 1617. *Du Moulin*, the most renown'd of all their Ministers, openly made a jest of it with the approbation of a whole Synod: the matter went thus.

The Party of the *Reformation* opposite to *Lutheranism* had always been disturb'd, that they could never contrive among themselves a common *Confession* to unite all their members as the *Confession* of *Augsburg* united all the *Lutherans*. So many different *Confessions* of Faith shew'd a fund of division which weaken'd the Party. They came back therefore once more to the project of a re-union. *Du Moulin* propos'd the means in a writing sent to the Synod of the *Ile* of *France*. Its whole drift was to dissemble the *Dogmata* which they could not agree in; and *Du Moulin* writes in express terms, that among the things it was requisite to dissemble in this new *Confession* of Faith, they ought to place *Piscator's* question touching *Justification*: a Doctrine so much despised by four national Synods becomes indifferent, all on a sudden, in the opinion of this Minister; and the Synod of the *Ile* of *France* with the same hand it had but just subscribed *Piscator's* condemnation, nay the pen, as I may say, still wet with the ink it had made this subscription with, thanks *Mr. Du Moulin* by express letters for this proposal: such instability is there in the new *Reformation*, and so easily does the sacrifice the greatest matters to this common *Confession* which she never yet could compass.

*Article*  
*Fourth*  
*Page* VI.  
*Page* 22.

*Art.*

XXXIX.  
*Page* 22.  
*Page* 22.  
*Page* 22.  
*Page* 22.  
*Page* 22.  
*Page* 22.

The words of *Du Moulin* are too remarkable not to be related. *There*, says he, ere in this assembly to be held for this new *Confession* of Faith, *I am for no disputes about Religion; for minds once beaten, will never be brought to yield, unless by one at last return cries out victory: but*

*I would have laid on the table the Confession of the Churches of France, of England of Scotland, of the Low-countries, of the Palatinate, of the Swiss, &c. That out of these Confessions we might strive to form ONE COMMON one, wherein we should DISSEMBLE many things, without the knowledge of which one might be saved, AS IS PISCATOR'S QUESTION touching Justification, and many subtle opinions proposed BY ARMINIUS about Free-will, Predestination, and Perseverance of the Saints.*

own'd in  
the Refor-  
mation.  
*Ibid.* n. 4.

He adds that, as Satan had corrupted the Church of Rome by her having too much, namely, by avarice and ambition, so he strives to corrupt the Churches of the new Reformation by knowing too much, to wit, by curiosity; which in reality is the temptation all Hereticks sink under, and the snare they are taken in: and concludes that in the way of agreement, they shall have gone the greatest part of the journey, if they can but prevail on themselves to be ignorant of many things, be contented with necessaries to salvation, and be easy in regard of others.

How to agree in this matter, was the question: for if by such things, whose knowledge is necessary to salvation, he understands those which every private man is obliged to know under penalty of damnation; this common Confession of Faith is already made in the Creed of the Apostles, and in that of Nice. The union made on this foundation would reach much beyond the newly Reform'd Churches, nor could they hinder our being comprehended in it: but, if by the knowledge of things necessary to salvation, he understands the full explanation of all the expressly reveal'd truths of God, who hath reveal'd none whose knowledge does not tend to secure

XI.  
Reflexion  
on these  
words of  
*Du Moulin*  
approved  
in the  
Synod of  
-3-

the salvation of his faithful; there to *dissemble* what the Synods have declared *expressly reveal'd of God*, with *detestation* of the contrary errors, is laughing at the *Church*, is holding her decrees for imposture even after signing them, is betraying both Religion and Conference.

XLI  
Du Moulin's  
inconstancy.

Now when you shall perceive that this same *Du Moulin* who makes so slight a matter, not of *Piscator's* propositions only, but also of the much more important ones of *Arminius*, was, afterwards, one of the most unmerciful Censors of them, you will acknowledge, in his procedure, the perpetual inconstancy of the new *Reformation*, always suiting her *Dogmata* to the occasion.

XLII.  
Great  
reason to  
be sup-  
posed;  
might  
clearly  
show which  
is contrary  
to the Real  
Presence  
12  
13

To conclude the account of this project of re-union then concerted, when this common *Confession* of the Party opposite to the *Lutherans* should be finish'd, another was to be made also, but more wide and general, in which the *Lutherans* might be comprehended. *Du Moulin* here sets forth all the ways of expressing themselves to, as *not to condemn the Real Presence, nor Ubiquity, nor the necessity of Baptism*, nor the rest of the *Lutheran* tenets; and what he cannot screen by equivocations or indeterminate expressions, he wraps up in silence the best he is able: he hopes to abolish by this means the appellation of *Lutherans*, of *Calvinists*, of *Sacramentarians*, and by stunts of equivocating, to make no other name remain for *Protestants*, than the common one of *the Christian Church reform'd*. The whole Synod of the *Ile of France* applauded this fine plan; and this union thus compleated, it would be time, proceeds this Minister, to solicit the reconciliation of the Church of *Rome*: but he doubts they shan't succeed. And with good reason; for we have not one instance of her ever approving



approving equivocations in matters of Religion, or consenting to the suppression of articles, the once believed reveal'd by God.

But I do not allow to *Du Moulin* and the rest of the same Party, that the differences in their *Confessions* of Faith are only in the method and expressions, or else, in polity and ceremonies; or, if in matters of Faith, in such only as had not yet pass'd into law or publick ordinance: for we may have seen, and shall see the contrary thro' the whole sequel of this history. And can they say, for example, that the Doctrine of *Episcopacy* wherein the *Church of England* is so firm, and carries it to such a pitch as to receive no *Calvinian* Ministers without re-ordaining them, is a matter only of expression, or at most, of meer polity and ceremony? Is it nothing to look on a Church as utterly destitute of Pastors lawfully ordain'd? It is true, the *Calvinists* are even with them, as we are assured by one of their famous Ministers in these words: *If any of ours should teach the distinction of Bishops and Priests; and that there is no true Ministry without Bishops; we could not suffer him in our Communion, that is to say, at least in our Ministry.* The *English Protestants* therefore are excluded from it. Is this a difference of small importance? This same Minister does not speak so of it, he being agreed, that *on account of these differences, which he'll have but small, of government and discipline, they treat one another as persons excommunicated.* If we descend to particulars in these *Confessions* of Faith, how many points shall we find in some, which are not in others? And in reality, were the difference in words only, their obstinacy would be too great not to agree after so frequently attempting it: if in ceremonies only, their weakness would be too great in insisting on them;

XLIII.  
Importance of the dispute, among the defenders of the figurative sense.

*Jur. Sc. 7.*  
p. 214.

*Il. avis.*  
*cur. Post.*  
n. 5.  
at the beginning of his *Præf. it.*

them; but the truth is, they are all sensible how little they agree in the main; and if they boast of being well united, this only serves to confirm, that the union of the new Reformation is rather *Political* than *Ecclesiastick*.

Nothing now remains but to intreat our Brethren to consider the great steps they have seen taken, not by private men, but by their whole *Churches* touching matters decided by them with all the authority, said they, of the word of God: yet all these decrees came to nothing. 'Tis a way of speaking in the *Reformation* always to name the *Word* of God: they believe a thing never the more for that, nor fear the least to suppress what they had advanced under the sanction of so great an authority; but we must not wonder at it. There is nothing in Religion more authentick than *Confessions* of Faith, nothing ought to have been better warranted by the word of God than what the *Calvinists* had inserted in them against the *Real Presence* and the other *Dogmata* of the *Lutherans*. 'Twas not only *Calvin* that accounted, as detestable, the invention of the *Corporeal Presence*; *De corporali presentia detestabile commentum*: the whole Reformation of *France* had just said, in Body, by the mouth of *Beza*, that she detested this member, as well the *Lutheran Consubstantiation* as the *Papistical Transubstantiation*. But there is nothing sincere, nor serious, in that detestation of the *Real Presence*, since they were ready to retrench all that had been said against it, and this, not only by decree of a national Synod, but by a joint determination of the whole Party solemnly assembled at *Frankfurt*. The Doctrine of the *Signatures* lasts, not to speak here of other points, after so many battles with such a number of pretended *Martyrs*, would have been buried in eternal silence, had it

but

but pleased the *Lutherans*. *England, France, Germany, Switzerland, the Low-countries*, in a word, whatever *Calvinists* were the world over consented to this suppression. How therefore can men remain so wedded to a tenet, which they see so little revelation for, that it is already cast forth from the profession of *Christianity* by the concurrent wishes of the whole Party.





THE  
H I S T O R Y  
O F T H E  
V A R I A T I O N S  
O F P R O T E S T A N T C H U R C H E S.

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B O O K XIII.

*The Doctrine concerning ANTICHRIST, and Variations on this subject from LUTHER'S time down to this.*

A B R I E F S U M M A R Y.

*Variations of the Protestants in regard to Antichrist. Luther's vain predictions. Calvin's evasion. What Luther lays down, as to this Doctrine, is contradicted by Melancthon. A new article of Faith added to the Confession in the Synod of Gap. The foundation of this decree manifestly false. This Doctrine despicable in the Reformation. The absurdities, contrarieties, and impieties of the new interpretation of prophecies proposed by Joseph Mede, and maintain'd by the Minister Jaleu. The most holy Doctors of the Church call'd emenſe Blasphe-mers and Libelers.*

L. Article added to the Confession of Faith.



THE disputes of Armida raised great contentions in the united Provinces, and it were now time to treat of them; but as the questions and decisions resulting from them are of a more particular nature, before I engage there-  
in,

in, a famous decree should be mention'd of the Synod of *Gap*, the account of which was deferr'd, not to interrupt the affair of *Piscator*. declare the Pope Antichrist.

It was therefore in this Synod and in 1603, that a new decree was made to declare the *Pope Antichrist*. This decree was counted of so great importance that it pass'd into a new article of Faith, in order the thirty first, and took place after the thirtieth, it being there said, that all true Pastors are equal; so that, what gives the *Pope* the character of *Antichrist*, is his styling himself *Superior* to other Bishops. If it be so, 'tis a great while since *Antichrist* has reign'd: nor do I conceive why the *Reformation* has so long deferr'd enrolling in the catalogue of this great number of *Antichrists* she has introduced, *St. Innocent*, *St. Leo*, *St. Gregory*, and the rest of the *Popes* whose Epistles shew us the exercise of this *Superiority* in every page.

Now when *Luther* so greatly exaggerated this new Doctrine of the *Antichristian* Papacy, he did it with that prophetick air above remark'd in him. We have seen, in what a strain he foretold the down-fall of the *Papa's* power; and how his preaching was that breath of *Jesus Christ* which was to overthrow *the man of sin*; without arms, without violence, by himself alone, without any intervening power: so dazzled, so intoxicated was he with the unexpected effect of his eloquence! The whole *Reformation* was in expectation of the speedy accomplishment of this new prophecy. But when they saw the *Pope* still keep his ground (for many more than *Luther* will split against this rock) and that the *Pontifical* power, so far from tumbling at the blast of this false Prophet, maintain'd itself against the conspiracy of so many revolted powers, insomuch, that the attachment of God's people to this sacred authority,

II.  
*Luther's*  
empty  
prophe-  
cies, and  
*Calvin's* as  
empty  
shift.  
*Suf. l. 1.*  
n. 31.

authority, which makes the band of their unity, redoubled rather than was weaken'd by so numerous a defection, they laugh'd at the illusion of *Luther's* prophecies, and at their weak credulity who took them for celestial oracles. Yet *Calvin* had his evasion ready when he said to one that ridiculed them, that, *tho' the body of the Papacy subsisted still, the spirit and life had forsaken it so as to leave nothing but a dead carcass.* Thus men will run the hazard of a prophecy, and if the event does not answer, a flash of wit brings them off.

*Gratul.*  
*ad Ver.*  
*Predic.*  
*cap. 1. p.*  
*311.*

III.  
*Daniel*  
*and St.*  
*Paul*  
*brought*  
*in to the*  
*Church.*

*2. Regal.*  
*n. 4.*  
*cap. 1. 111.*  
*n. 50.*

But they tell us with a serious air, it is a prophecy not of *Luther's*, but of the *Scripture*, and evidently to be seen (so it should since 'tis an article of Faith) in *St. Paul*, and in *Daniel*. As for the *Revelations*, *Luther* did not think fit to employ this book, nor receive it into his *Canon*. But for *St. Paul*, what could be more evident, seeing that the Pope *sitteth in the Temple of God?* In the Church, says *Luther*, that is questionless in the true Church, the true Temple of God; it being unexampled in Scripture, that a Temple of *Idols* was ever call'd by this name: so that the first step they must make towards a right understanding how the Pope is *Antichrist*, is to acknowledge that Council wherein he presides, for the true Church. What follows is not lets manifest. Who does not see how the Pope *seareth himself that is his God, calling himself at ve all that is worship'd daily in that Sacrifice* so much condemn'd by our *Reformation*, in which, for proof that he is God, the Pope confesses his sins with all the people; raises himself above every thing by his treating of the Saints and all his Brethren to be servants unto him; also by declaring afterward, and in the most holy part of this Sacrifice, that he keeps this for ever, *not*



*thro' his own merits, but thro' the bounty and grace, and in the name, of Jesus Christ our Lord?* A new kind of *Antichrist*, that obliges all his adherents to place their hope in *Jesus Christ*, and for always having been the most firm assertor of his Divinity, is placed by the *Socinians* at the head of all *Antichrists*, as the chief of them all, and as the most incompatible with their Doctrine.

But again, if such a dream can deserve our serious attention, which of all these Popes is *that man of sin and the son of perdition* specified by *St. Paul*? We never meet in Scripture with the like expressions unless to characterize some particular person. No matter for that: all the *Popes* since *St. Gregory*, as they said heretofore, and as they say at present, all the *Popes* since *St. Leo*, are *this man of sin, this son of perdition*, and this *Antichrist*, tho' they converted to Christianity, *England, Germany, Sweden, Denmark, Holland*: so that all these countries, by embracing the *Reformation*, did publickly acknowledge that they had received *Christianity* from *Antichrist* himself.

Who can relate here the mysteries our *Reform'd* have found in the *Revelations*, and the deceitful prodigies of the *Beast*, which are the miracles *Rome* attributes to Saints and their Relicks: to the end that *St. Austin*, and *St. Chrysostom*, and *St. Ambrose*, and the rest of the Fathers who, they allow, publish'd the like miracles with unanimous consent, may be the precursors of *Antichrist*? What shall I say of the character which the *Beast* stamps on the forehead, which in their language means the sign even of the *Cross* of *Jesus Christ*, and the holy *Chrism* which is employ'd to imprint it: to the end that *St. Cyprian*, and all the other Bishops before and after who

IV.  
Protestants  
discredit  
themselves  
by this  
Doctrine.

V.  
Illusions  
with re-  
gard to the  
*Revelations*.

who most undoubtedly, as is confessed, did apply this character, may be *Antichrist*; and the faithful, who bore it ever since the origin of Christianity, be stigmatiz'd with the badge of the *Beast*; and the sign of the Son of Man, become the seal of his adversary. 'Tis irksom to relate all their impieties, and for my part, I am verily persuaded, 'twas these impertinencies and profanations of the holy book of the *Revelations*, which were seen increasing without end in the new *Reformation*, that brought the Ministers themselves, weary of hearing them, to a resolution in the national Synod of *Saunder*, that no Pastor should undertake the exposition of the *Revelations* until in the advice of a Provincial Synod.

S. of  
S. 22. mar.  
1596.

VI.

THIS  
Doctrine  
concerning  
*Antichrist*  
was not till  
then, in  
any one  
part of the  
Reforma-  
tion. In  
other places  
it among  
the *Smal-  
kaldick*  
articles,  
but *Mic-  
haelston*  
opposes it.  
S. 1. c. 11.  
p. 39.  
I. c. 11.  
p. 24. c. 11.  
VII.  
Doctrine of  
the *Popes*  
of *Geneva*  
the *Popes*  
the *Popes*  
the *Popes*

Now although the Ministers had never ceased to animate the people by their odious notions of *Antichristianism*, they had never ventured hitherto to let them appear in the *Confessions* of Faith, tho' never so outrageous against the *Pope*. *Luther* alone had placed, among the articles of *Smalckald*, a long article concerning the *Papacy*, more resembling a satyrical declamation than a dogmatick article, and in it inserted this Doctrine: but this example was follow'd by none else. More than this, when *Luther* proposed the article, *Melancthon* refus'd to subscribe it, and we have heard him say with the general consent of the whole Party, that the *Pope's* Superiority was of so great benefit to the *Church*, that were it not establish'd, it ought to be so: nevertheless, 'twas precisely in this *Synod* that our *Reformation* acknowledged the character of *Antichrist* at the Synod of *Geneva* in 1549.

There they said, that the Bishop of *Rome* pretended a dominion over all the *Churches* and *Pastors*, and styled himself *God*. In what place? in what Council? in what profession of Faith? 'Tis what

what they should have specified, this being the foundation of the decree. But they durst not do it, for then it would have appear'd, they had nothing to produce but the words of some impertinent interpreter, *viz.* that, in a certain manner, and in the sense God speaks to Judges, *Ye are Gods*, the Pope might be call'd God. *Grotius* laugh'd at this objection of his Party, asking them, since what time the *Hyperboles* of some flatterer were taken for received *Dogmata*? Nor indeed, we may safely say it, has this reproach of the Pope's naming himself God, any other foundation than this. On this foundation they decide that *he is properly the Antichrist, and the Son of perdition pointed at in the word of God, and the beast cloath'd with scarlet whom the Lord will discomfit, as he promised, and as he has already begun to do:* and this is what was to make the thirty first article of Faith for our pretended-reform'd of France, according to the decree of Gap, *chapt. Concerning the Confession of Faith.* This new article had for title: *Article omitted.* The Synod of Rochelle gave orders in 1607, that this article of Gap, *as most true and conformable to what was foretold in Scripture, and which we see in our days MANIFESTLY FULFILLED,* should be inser'd in the copies of the Confession of Faith which were to be printed anew. But it was judged of dangerous consequence to suffer a Religion, tolerated under certain conditions and under a determinate Confession of Faith, to multiply its articles as its Ministers should think fit, and a stop was put to the effect of the Synod's decree.

It may be ask'd perhaps, what spirit mov'd them to this novel y. The secret is discover'd by the Synod itself. We there read these words in the Chapter concerning Discipline: *Forasmuch*



another place: *Verily*, says he, *I so greatly account this an article of a true Christian's Faith, that I cannot hold those for good Christians who deny this truth, after that the event and labours of so many great men have set it in so evident a light.* Here is a new *fundamental* article which they had not as yet thought on, nay on the contrary, which the Reformation had unfortunately abandon'd: for adds he, *This controversy was so thoroughly extinguish'd, that our adversaries believed it dead, and imagin'd, we had renounced this pretension, AND THIS FOUNDATION of our whole Reform.*

*Avis. &c.*  
*Ibid. p.*  
*49. 50.*

For my own part thus much is true, that I never in my life have met with any man of good sense among our *Protestants*, that laid stress on this article: in sincerity, they were ashamed of to great an excess, and more in pain how to execute the transports of their own people that introduced this prodigy into the world, than we were to impugn it. Their ablest men freed us from this labour. It's well known what the learned *Grotius* wrote on this subject, and how clearly he has demonstrated that the *Pope* could not be *Antichrist*. If the authority of *Grotius* seem not weighty enough to our *Reform'd*, because truly this learned man, by studying carefully the Scriptures, and reading the ancient Ecclesiastical authors, disabused himself by little and little of the errors he was born in; Doctour *Hammond*, that learned *English-man*, was not suspected in the Party. Nevertheless, he took no less pains than *Grotius* to destroy the frenzies of *Protestants* touching the *Antichristianism* charged on the *Pope*.

X.  
Confuted  
by the  
learned  
Prote-  
stants,  
*Grotius*,  
*Hammond*,  
*Jurieu*  
himself.

*Ibid. p. 4.*  
*acc. 1.*  
*1<sup>st</sup> ed. ch.*  
*xvi. p.*  
*291.*

These authors with some others, whom our Minister is pleas'd to call *the blame and reproach, not only of the Reformation, but also of the Christian*

*Avis. p. 4.*

*lian nam*, were in every body's hands, and received the praises not only of the *Catholicks*, but likewise of all the able and moderate men amongst *Protestants*. Mr. *Jurieu* himself is moved with their authority. For which reason, in his book of *lawful Prepossession*, he delivers all he says of *Antichrist* as a thing not unanimously received, as a thing *undecided*, as a picture *whose lineaments are applicable to different subjects, some whereof have already happen'd, and others perchance are to come*. Accordingly, the use he makes of it is as of a *Prepossession against P-pery*, not as a *Demonstration*. But now the case is quite alter'd: what was *undecided* before, is now become *the ground-work of the whole Reformation*: for certainly, says our Author, *I do not believe this Reformation otherwise well grounded than for this reason, that the Church we have abandoned is true Antichristianism*. Let them no longer perplex themselves, as hitherto, in search of their *fundamental* articles: here is the *Foundation of Foundation*, without which the *Reformation* would have been unfulfillable? What will then become of it if this Doctrine, *P-pery is true Antichristianism*, falls of itself hardly in the exposing it? This will be perceived clearly by ever so little attention to what follows.

There needs only to consider that the whole *negotium* consists in clearly shewing, what it is that constitutes this pretended *Antichristianism*. The next point to be fix'd, is the beginning of your doctrine, and its period, the most speedy that possibly can be, in order to comfort those who are weary of waiting for the *is* expectation. He thinks he has found, in the *Reformation*, an admirable light for the untolling of this secret, and supports, by taking the day for year, that the twelve Hundred and sixty days laid in the *Reformation*



*Revelations* for *Antichrist's* persecution, make twelve hundred and sixty years: let us take all this for truth, for our business here is not to dispute, but relate historically the Doctrine given us for the ground-work of the *Reformation*.

At the first step, he is very much puzzled about these twelve hundred and sixty years of persecution. Persecution is very wearisom, and gladly would he find a speedy end put to it: 'tis what our Author openly manifests; for since what happen'd last in *France, my soul being cast,* says he, *into the deepest abyss of grief that I ever felt in my life, I was willing for my comfort to find grounds to hope a speedy deliverance for the Church.* Bent on this design he goes to search even in the fountain-head of the sacred Oracles, to see, says he, *whether the Holy Ghost would not teach me, in regard to THE APPROACHING DOWNFAL of the Antichristian Empire, something more sure and more precise than what other interpreters had discover'd in them.*

Men generally find, right or wrong, whatever they have a mind in prophecies, that is, in obscure places and enigmatick sayings, when violent prejudices accompany them. This author acknowledges his own: *I'll own it,* says he, *with sincerity, that I approach'd these divine Oracles full of my prejudices, and intirely disposed to believe that we were near to the end of the Reign and Empire of Antichrist.* As he confesses himself prepossessed, he desires also to be read *with favourable preventions*: if so, he is persuaded *you can't but enter into his notions*; all will go glibly on with this allowance.

Here is he then well convicted, by his own Confession, that he set to reading the word of God, not with a mind disengaged from his prejudices, and thereby in a fit temper to receive the impressions

XII.  
Mr. *Ju-ri-u* labours hard to abridge the time of his pretended prophecies.  
*Ann. p. 4.*  
*Ibid. 7. 8.*

XIII.  
This author owns his prevention.  
*Ibid. p. 8.*

p. 53.

XIV.  
He for- sakes his guide, and why.

impressions of divine light, but on the contrary, with a mind full of its prejudices, dishearten'd with persecutions, absolutely determin'd to find the end of them, and the approaching overthrow of this so irksom an Empire. He finds all the Interpreters put it off to a distant date. *Joseph Mede*, whom he had chosen for his guide, and who had indeed set out to much to his liking, lost his way at last: for, whereas he hoped by the means of so good a guide to see the persecution ended in five and twenty or thirty years time; to accomplish what *Mede* proposes, he must stay many ages. *Thus are we*, says he, *very much retarded, and greatly remote from our reckoning: we must still wait these many ages.* This was too much for a man in such haste to see an end, and to publish better tidings to his Brethren.

But after all, do what he will, he's obliged to find still twelve hundred and sixty years of persecution. To give a speedy end to them, it's necessary to date the beginning early. The greatest number of the *Calvinists* had begun this reckoning from the time we began, as they pretended, to say *Mede*, and others to *Archbishop*; for that was the *God-Mage* whom *Antichrist* was to worship, according to *Daniel*. Among other fine allegories, there was some what of a resemblance in Form, betwixt *Mede*'s and the *M. Cretin*'s makes a mighty stir with this in his history of the *Mages*; and the whole Party is ravish'd with the invention. But how! place the Adoration of the *Idol* in the fifth ages? 'tis too form: in the sixth, or eleventh, in *Brennus*'s time? that may be done; those are ages the *Roman* is little concern'd about; but after all, supposing these troubles had lasted but sixty whole years, so as to finish in the tenth or eleventh Century, there would remain still six hundred

dred and sixty years of troublesome times to rub thro': our author is disheartened at this, and his wit would be of little service, could it not furnish him with some more favourable expedient.

'Till now the Party had shewn a regard for *St. Gregory*. It's true, *Masses* were discover'd in him abundantly, even for the *Dead*, *Invocations* of Saints in plenty, a number of *Relicks*; and what is very disagreeable to the *Reformation*, a strong persuasion of the authority of his *See*. Yet for all this, his holy Doctrine and holy life made him be rever'd. *Luther* and *Calvin* had call'd him the last Bishop of *Rome*: his Successors were nothing but *Popes* and *Antichrists*: but as for him, it was not feasible to make him of that number. Our author was more hardy, and in his *lawful Prepossessions* (for he began there to be inspired to interpret the *Revelations*) after frequently deciding with all his Interpreters, that *Antichrist* must begin with the ruin of the *Roman Empire*, he declared, *this Empire ceased when Rome ceased to be the capital City of the Provinces, when this Empire was dismember'd into ten parts; which happen'd at the end of the fifth Century, and at the beginning of the sixth*. This he repeats four or five times that you may not doubt of it, and at last concludes thus: *It is then certain, that at the beginning of the sixth age, the corruptions of the Church were great enough, and the pride of the Bishop of Rome already risen high enough, to make us fix ON THIS ÆRA for the first birth of the Antichristian Empire*. And again: *one may well reckon for the birth of the Antichristian Empire a time, wherein were already seen all the sprouts of future corruption and tyranny*. And finally: *this dismembring of the Roman Empire into ten pieces happen'd about the year 500. a litle before the end of the fifth Century, and at*

XVI.  
New date given to the birth of *Antichrist* by this Minister in his *Prepossessions*.

*Proj. leg.*  
1 part. p.  
82.

*Ibid. p.*  
83. 85.

*Ibid. p.*  
128.

*the beginning of the sixth.* It is then manifest, we must begin from thence to count the twelve hundred and sixty years assign'd for the duration of the *Pepish* Empire.

XVII. By ill luck, the Church of *Rome* is not found sufficiently corrupted in those days to make an *Antichristian* Church of her; for the *Popes* of those times were the most zealous defenders of the mysteries of the *Incarnation* and *Redemption* of mankind, and withal as illustrious for sanctity as ever the Church had. We need but hear the encomium which *Dionysius Parvus*, so learned and pious a man, gives *St. Gelasius* the Pope, who was seated in *St. Peter's* Chair from the year 492, to the year 496. We shall there see, *that the whole life* of this holy Pope *was either Reading, or Prayer*: his Fasting, his Poverty, and in the Poverty of his Life, his immense Clarity to the poor, his Doctrine in short, and his so great watchfulness, that made him account the least remissness in a Pastor of dangerous consequence to Souls, form'd in him such a Bishop as *St. Paul* describes. This is the *Pope* whom this learned man beheld in the Chair of *St. Peter* towards the end of the fifth Century, when, it seems, *Antichrist* was born. Even a hundred years after him, *St. Gregory the Great* was seated in this Chair, and the whole Church, in the *East* no less than in the *West*, was replenish'd with the odour of his virtues, amongst which his humility and zeal shone conspicuous. Nevertheless, he was seated in the Chair, which *Legend* to be the seat of *Prudence*, and *Justice* of the *Bishop*. These are fine beginnings for *Antichrist*. Had these *Popes* been pleased to be something more wicked, and detested withal, and the mystery of *Jesus Christ* and the cause of piety, the system would fit better: but every thing considered, *Antichristian* was only

in his minority, and in this nonage nothing hinder'd his being a Saint and a most zealous defender of *Jesus Christ* and his kingdom. These were our Author's discoveries at the beginning of the year 1685, and when he compos'd his *lawful Prepossessions*.

But upon his observing, towards the end of the same year, the revocation of the *Edict of Nantes* with all the consequences of it, this great event made him change his prophecies, and advance the time of the downfall of *Antichrist's* kingdom. The Author would have it in his power to say, he hoped to live to be an eye-witness to it. In 1686, he publish'd his great work of the *accomplishment of the prophecies*, wherein he determines the period of the *Antichristian* persecution at the year 1710, or at least, in 1714, or 1715. But he informs his reader, that, after all, he thinks it a difficult matter to mark precisely the year: *God*, says he, *in his prophecies*, LOOKS NOT INTO MATTERS SO MINUTELY: stupendous maxim! nevertheless, *one may say*, proceeds he, *this must happen betwixt the year 1710, and the year 1715*. This we may depend upon, and, what he calls persecution, will be at an end for certain, at the beginning of the eighteenth Century: so we draw near the point; scarce five and twenty years remain. Which of the zealous *Calvinists* would not have patience, and wait so short a term?

The truth is, there is some difficulty in the thing: for the more he advances the end of the twelve hundred and sixty years, the higher must he carry the beginning of them, and settle this Epoch of the *Antichristian* Empire in still purer times. Thus to finish in 1710, or thereabouts, he must have begun the *Antichristian* persecution in the year 450, or 54, under the Pontificate of

XVIII.

The Au-  
thor  
ch. 12,  
his most  
and is by  
advancing  
the over-  
throw of  
*Antichrist*.

Acc. 2.  
part. ch.  
2. p. 12.  
28.

XIX.

He is  
obliged to  
make him  
be born in  
the person  
of St. Leo  
the Great.

St.

St. Leo; and accordingly 'tis what the Author chuses after *Joseph Mede*, who, in our days, has made himself famous in *England* by his learned extravagancies on the *Revelation*, and the other prophecies employ'd to confute us.

XX.  
Absurdity  
of this  
system.

It seems as if God had a design to confound these Impostors by filling the Chair of St. *Peter* with the greatest men and greatest Saints it ever had, at the time pitch'd upon to make it the seat of *Antichrist*. Can one but consider the letters and sermons wherein St. *Leo* inspires, even at this day, so forcibly into his readers the Faith of *Jesus Christ*, and believe that an *Antichrist* was the author of them? But what other *Pope* hath impugnd more vigorously the enemies of *Jesus Christ*, hath maintain'd with more zeal both Christian grace, and ecclesiastical discipline, and, infine, given to the world a more holy Doctrine with more holy examples? He, whose sanctity made him be rever'd by the barbarous *Arians*, and saved *Rome* from massacre, is the first *Antichrist*, and Father of all the rest. 'Twas *Antichrist* that held the fourth general *Council* so respected by all good Christians: 'twas *Antichrist* that dictated the divine letter to *Eusebian* which was the admiration of the whole Church, wherein the mystery of *Jesus Christ* is so sublimely and so distinctly explain'd, that the Fathers of this great *Council* cried out at each word, *Peter hath spoken by the mouth of Leo*: whereas, they should have said, by his mouth *Antichrist* hath spoken, or rather, *Peter and Jesus Christ* himself have spoken by the mouth of *Antichrist*. May not a man have drunk deep, even to the dregs of that intoxicating cup, the potion of the lying Prophet, or drink and burn'd his head quite gaily with the flames to vent to the world such delirious exhortations?



At this part of the prophecy, the new Prophet foresaw the indignation of mankind, and that of *Protestants* no less than *Catholicks*: for he is forced to own, that *from Leo the First, to Gregory the Great* inclusively, *Rome* had a great many good Bishops, of whom he must make as many *Antichrists*; and hopes to satisfy the world by saying, they were *Antichrists* commenced. But after all, if the twelve hundred and sixty years of *Antichristian* persecution begin then, he must either abandon the sense he gives to the prophecy, or say, that then *the holy city was trod under foot by the Gentiles*: the two witnesses, namely, *the small number of the faithful*, were put to death; *the woman with child*, to wit, the Church, *was driven into the wilderness*, and deprived at least of the publick exercise of Religion: that from that time, in short, began the execrable *blasphemies of the Beast against the name of God, and against all those that dwell in heaven, and the war she waged against the Saints*. For it is set down expressly in *St. John*, that all this was to continue a thousand two hundred and threescore days, which he will have to be years. To make these blasphemies, this war, this *Antichristian* persecution, and this triumph of error to begin in the Church of *Rome* even from the time of *St. Leo*, *St. Gelasius* and *St. Gregory*, and make it hold on for the space of all these ages, when unquestionably that *Church* was the model of all other *Churches* not in Faith alone, but also in piety and discipline, is the height of all extravagancy.

But again, what has *St. Leo* done to deserve to be the first *Antichrist*? he could not be *Antichrist* for nothing. Here are the three characters he gives to *Antichristianism*, which must be made to agree with the time of *St. Leo*, and with

XXI.

Idle shift  
of the  
Minister.*Ibid.* p.

39. 40.

41.  
*Ibid.* 41.*Rev.* xi.

2.

*Acc. des*  
*Propb.* 2.  
*part. ch. x.*  
p. 159.*Rev.* xii.

6. 14.

*Ibid.* xiii.

5. 6.

XXII.

Two bad  
characters  
imputed to  
*St. Leo*.

*Leo* with him in person; *J. Leo*, *Tyranny*, and *Corruption of manners*. It is deplorable, to be reduced to defend *St. Leo* and *Corsicans*, from all these reproaches: but necessity constrains us to it. Let us begin by the Corruption of manners. But then, nothing is objected against him on this head: nothing can be found in the life of this great *Pope* but examples of sanctity. In his time, ecclesiastical discipline was still in its full vigour, and *St. Leo* was the support of it. Thus you see how manners were corrupted. Let us run over the other characters, that of *Tyranny* next, in a few words. Ever since the time of *St. Leo*, objects our Author, *who was sitting in the year 470, to that of St. Gregory the Great; the Bishops of Rome have labour'd to arrogate to themselves a superiority over the universal Church: but was it St. Leo that began? he dares not say it: all he says is, he labour'd at it: for he knows full well that St. Celsin his Predecessor, and St. Boniface, and St. Zozimus, and St. Innocent, to go no further back at present, acted no otherwise than St. Leo, nor did they maintain the authority of St. Peter's Chair. Why should they not then be of the number, at least, of those *Antichrists* commenced. The reason is, because, had he began from their time, the twelve hundred and threescore years would have been elapsed already, and the event would have been the same: he's resolv'd to give the *Revelation*. Thus do men dispute on the world, and turn the divine Oracles to their own use.*

But it's time we should come to the third character of the *B. L.*, which our adversaries are determin'd to trace in *St. Leo*, and in the whole Church of his time. There is a new *Persecution*, an *Ignorance* worth that of the *Gentiles*, in the honour paid to Saints and their Relicks. The

on this third character the chief stress is laid: *Joseph Mede* has the honour of this invention, who interpreting these words of *Daniel*, *he shall honour the God Mauzzim*, to wit, as he translates it, the God of forces: and again: *he shall do it to fence Mauzzim with a strange God*; understands this of *Antichrist*, who shall call the Saints his *Fortresses*.

But how can he find that *Antichrist* will give the Saints this name? In this, says he, that *St. Basil* hath preach'd to all his people, or rather to the whole universe, who have read and approved his divine sermons, that the forty Martyrs, whose Relicks they possessed, *were towers whereby the city was defended*. *St. Chrysoptom* hath also said, *that the Relicks of St. Peter and Paul were more secure towers for Rome than ten thousand ramparts*. Is not this, concludes *Mede*, raising up the Gods *Mauzzims*? *St. Basil* and *St. Chrysoptom* are the *Antichrists* who erect these *Fortresses* against the true God.

Yet not they alone: the Poet *Fortunatus* hath sung after *St. Chrysoptom*, *that Rome had two ramparts and two towers in St. Peter and St. Paul*. *St. Gregory* has said as much of them. *St. Chrysoptom* repeats again, *that the holy Martyrs of Egypt protect us like impregnable ramparts, like unshaken rocks, against our invincible enemies*. And *Mede* still replies, *are not these Mauzzims*? he adds that *St. Hilary* discovers likewise our bulwarks in the Angels. He cites *St. Gregory of Nyssa* Brother to *St. Basil*, *Gennadius*, *Evagrius*, *St. Eucherius*, *Theodore*, and the prayers of the *Greeks* in proof of the same. He does not forget that the *Cross* is call'd our defence, and that our common expression is, *we fortify ourselves with the sign of the Cross*; *Munire se signo Crucis*: the *Cross* comes in amongst the rest, and  
this

*Expos. of Dan. ch. xi. v. 36. &c.*  
*Book iii. ch. xvi. xvii. p. 666. & seq.*  
*Dan. xi.*

*3<sup>o</sup>. 37. XXIV.*  
*St. Basil and the rest of the Saints of those times accused of the same Idolatry.*

*Ib. c. xviii. p. 673.*  
*Basil. orat. in 40.*  
*Mart.*  
*Id. ix*

*Maur. Mart.*  
*Chryf.*  
*Hon. 32. ad Rom.*

*XXV.*  
*Other Saints likewise Idolaters.*  
*Ibid. p. 673.*

*Hon. 70. ad Ep. Ant.*  
*Orat. in 40. Mart.*

*Ibid. p. 678.*

this sacred symbol of our salvation must also be rank'd amongst the *Mauzzims* or *Antichrist*.

XXVI.  
St. Jerom  
to the ad-  
ded to the  
rent by Mr.  
Jurieu.  
A. 1684  
Præf. 1.  
part. 16.  
xv p.  
245-249  
C. 16  
161. p.  
245.  
Mide. 161.  
161. p.  
xvi.

Mr. *Jurieu* sets off all these fine passages of *Joseph Mede* to the best advantage; and not to be a meer transcriber, adds to them *St. Ambrose*, who says, the Saints *George* and *Prothase* were the tutelary Angels of the City of *Marm*. He might also have named *St. George*, *Nizianzen*, *St. Austin*, and in short, all the Fathers who abound in as strong expressions. All this is making as many Gods of the Saints, because it's making of them *Ramparts* and *Recks* where is found a secure sanctuary, names which the Scripture appropriates to God.

XXVII.  
The Mini-  
sters can-  
not be-  
lieve what  
they say  
them-  
selves.

These men know well in their own consciences, that the Fathers, whom they quote, never understood it so: but meant only to say, that God gives us in the Saints, as heretofore he did in *Moses*, in *David*, and in *Jeremiah*, invincible protectors, whose acceptable prayers are a more secure defence to us, than a thousand ramparts: for he is able to make of his Saints, when he pleases, and in the manner that he pleases, *impregnable fortresses, iron pillars, and brazen walls*. Our Doctors, I say again, are convinced in their hearts, that is the sense of *St. Chrysostom* and *St. Basil* when they call the Saints *Iron* and *Brass*. From these examples they ought to learn, not to take in a criminal sense other as strong expressions, and withal as innocent as these: and at last, not to carry impiety so far as to make that holy Doctors the Founders of *Antichristian* Idolatry, this being a charge equally atrocious on the whole *Church* of their times, whose Doctrine and Worship they did but pro- pound. Now, I should thought we to imagine our Ministers believed not only what they said, and judged to many Saints no better than *B. Jhe-*

Jer. 1. 15

*mers* and *Idolaters*. All we can conclude from thence is, that they suffer themselves to be transported beyond all bounds, and without enlightning the understanding, seek only to kindle hatred in the heart.

But after all, if we must hold for *Antichrists* all these pretended worshippers of *Mauzzims*, why do they defer to St. *Leo's* time, the beginning of the *Antichristian* Empire? Let them shew me that in this *Pope's* days, more was done for the Saints than acknowledging them for *Towers* and impregnable *Fortresses*? Let them shew me, more trust was put in their prayers, more honour paid to their Relicks? You say that in 360, and 390, the Worship of creatures, that is, in your notion, that of the Saints, was not as yet establish'd in the publick service: shew me, it was more or less so in St. *Leo's* time? You say, in these same years of 360, and 390, great precautions were taken not to confound the service of God with the service of creatures then commencing: shew me, less was taken afterwards, and especially in St. *Leo's* Pontificate? But who ever could have confounded things so well distinguish'd? We demand things of God; we demand prayers of the Saints: who ever dreamt of asking either prayers of God, or the things themselves of the Saints as of those that gave them? Shew then that in St. *Leo's* time, these so distinct characters were confounded, the service of God, with the honour given to his servants for love of him? you never will undertake it. Why therefore stop in so fair a way? dare to utter what you think. Begin by St. *Basil* and St. *Gregory* of *Nazianzum* the reign of *Antichristian* Idolatry, and the blasphemies of the *Beast* against the *Eternal*, and against all that dwells in heaven: turn into blasphemies against God and against the Saints, what has been

said

XXVIII.  
Why they  
dont make  
St. *Basil*  
the begin-  
ner of *Antichristianism* as  
well as  
St. *Leo*.  
Acc. 2.  
part. p.  
23.





Empire was to be destroy'd: that there were to be seven Kings, to wit, according to all the *Protestants*, seven forms of government in the City on seven mountains, meaning *Rome*. The *Papal* Empire was to make the seventh government, and it was requisite the six others should be destroy'd to make room for the seventh which was that of the *Pope* and *Antichrist*. When *Rome* ceased to be mistress, and the *Antichristian* Empire was to commence, it was necessary there should be *ten Kings*, which were to receive the sovereign power at the same time with the *Beast*; and ten kingdoms, into which the *Roman Empire* was to be subdivided, according to the Oracle of the *Revelations*. All this was fulfilled in the nick of time under *St. Leo*: this therefore is the precise time of the birth of *Antichrist*, and there is no resisting the concurrence of such circumstances.

Admirable Doctrine! neither these ten Kings, nor the dismembring of the Empire enter'd into the constitution of *Antichrist*, nor, at furthest, could this be any thing else than an exterior token of his birth: what truly constitutes him, is the corruption of manners, is the pretension to superiority, is principally the new Idolatry. All this is no more to be found under *St. Leo*, than fourscore or a hundred years before: but God would not, as yet, impute it for *Antichristianism*, nor did it please him that the new Idolatry, tho' already intirely form'd, should be *Antichristian*. 'Tis impossible, infine, that such extravagancies, where impiety and absurdity thrive together which shall exceed, should not open the eyes of our Brethren, and, at length, put them out of conceit with those, who delude them with such dreams.

But let us enter into the particulars of these nine concurrences so dazzling to our *Reform'd*, and

Ibid p.

23.

Rev. xvii.

9.

Rev. xvii.

12.

XXXI.

Infinite  
quantity.

XXXII.

Faculty.

Part of the

Miracles  
 concerning  
 the seven  
 King of  
 the Beast  
 have  
 evident  
 confirmed  
 Evidence  
 of  
 the  
 Prophecy  
 Rev. xxi  
 3, 4, 12  
 13, 14  
 15, 16  
 17, 18  
 19, 20  
 21, 22  
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 87, 88  
 89, 90  
 91, 92  
 93, 94  
 95, 96  
 97, 98  
 99, 100

and begin with the seven Kings, who, according to St *John*, are the seven Heads of the Beast, and with these ten Horns, which, according to the same St *John*, are ten other Kings. The sense, say they, is manifest. *The seven heads*, says St. *John*, *are the seven mountains on which the woman sitteth, and these are seven Kings: five are fallen; one is, and the other is not yet come; and when he cometh, he must continue a short space; and the Beast that was and is not, even he is the eighth King, and one of the seven, and goeth into destruction.* The seven Kings are, says our Author, the seven forms of government Rome had been subject to; the *Kings*, the *Consuls*, the *Dictators*, the *Decemvirs*, the military *Tribunes* who had consular power, the *Emperors*, and finally the *Pope*. *Five are fallen*, says St. *John*: five of these governments had expired when he wrote his prophecy: *one is still*; the Empire of the *Cæsars* under which he wrote: *and the other may come on*; who does not espy the *Papal Empire*? 'Tis one of the seven Kings: one of the seven forms of government, and 'tis also *the eighth King*, namely, the eighth form of government: the seventh, because the *Pope* much resembles *Emperors* by the dominion which he exercises; and the eighth, because he has somewhat peculiar, his spiritual Empire, his dominion over *Consciences*; all mighty just, but for one little word that ruins the whole. In the first place, I would fain ask, why the seven Kings are seven forms of *Government*, and not seven real *Kings*. Let them shew me in Scripture, that the forms of *Government* are named *Kings*; on the contrary, three verses after, I see that the ten Kings are ten real *Kings*, and not ten sorts of *Government*. Why should the seven Kings of verse the ninth, be so different from the ten Kings of

verse the twelfth? Does he pretend to make us believe that the *Consuls*, annual Magistrates, are *Kings*? that the intire extirpation of the *Regal* power in *Rome*, is one of the seven *Kings* of *Rome*? that ten men, the *Decemviri*, are one *King*, and the whole series of four or six military *Tribunes* more or less, another *King*? But in good truth, is that another form of government? who is ignorant that the military *Tribunes* differ'd not from *Consuls*, except in the number? for which reason they were call'd, *Tribuni militum Consulari potestate*; and if *St. John* had a mind to denote all the names of the supreme power among the *Romans*, why did he forget the *Triumviri*? had they not, at least, as much power as the *Decemviri*? and should it be said, it was too short to deserve notice, why should that of the *Decemviri*, which held but two years, deserve it more? this is true, they may reply: let us put them in lieu of the *Dictators*, for there is little likelihood the *Dictatorship* could ever be call'd a form of government under which *Rome* continued for a certain time. 'Twas an extraordinary Magistracy set up according to the exigency of present circumstances in all times of the republick, not a particular form of government. Let us remove them then and put the *Triumviri* in their stead. I consent to it, and even willingly give to the interpretation of *Protestants* the best appearance it is capable of, for when all is said, there is nothing in it but illusion; one little word, as I said, will subvert the whole Fabrick: for in short, we read of the *seventh King* (who shall be, since they will have it, the seventh government) that, *when he cometh, he must continue a short space*. *St. John* has but just shewn him; and immediately, says he, *he goeth into destruction*. It this be the *Papal Empire*,



*Visigoths*; Sixth, the *Suevi* and *Alani*; Seventh, the *Wandals*; Eighth, the *Germans*; Ninth, the *Ostrogoths* in *Italy*, where the *Lombards* succeed them; Tenth, the *Grecians*. Here are good ten Kingdoms which the *Roman Empire* was divided into at its fall. Without disputing on the qualities, without disputing on the number, without disputing on the dates, this at least is very certain; *viz.* that as soon as ever these ten Kings appear, *St. John* makes them give their power and strength unto the *Beast*. We own as much, say our Interpreters, and 'tis likewise the very thing that gains our cause; for these are the ten vassal and subject Kings which the *Antichristian Empire*, namely, the *Pontifical*, hath always had in subjection to worship it, and maintain its power. Here is a wonderful tallying of incidents: but what, I pray, have the *Arian Kings* contributed to the establishment of the *Papal Empire*, such as the *Visigoths* and the *Ostrogoths*, the *Burgundians* and the *Wandals*; or the *Heathen Kings*, such as at that time were the *French* and *Saxons*? Are these the ten *Vassal Kings* of the *Papacy*, who had nothing else to do but worship it? but when was it that these *Wandals* and *Ostrogoths* worshipped the *Popes*? was it under *Theodorick* and his Successors, when the *Popes* groan'd under their tyranny? or under *Genferick*, when, with the *Wandals*, he pillag'd *Rome* and carried the spoils of it into *Africa*? And since even the *Lombards* are introduced; were they also of the number that aggrandized the *Church of Rome*, they that did all in their power to oppress her as long as ever they subsisted, namely, for two hundred years. For what were else, during this whole space of time, the *Alceni*, the *Adiphi*, and the *Didiers*, but enemies to *Rome* and the *Church of Rome*? And the *Emperors* of the *East*,

who were in reality the *Emperors* of *Rome* tho' ranged here the last under the name of *Greeks*, must they also be reckon'd amongst the *Vasals* and *subjects* of the *Pope*; they, whom *St. Leo* and his Successors, down to the time of *Charlemain*, acknowledged for their Sovereigns? But, you'll say, these Heathen and Heretical Kings embraced the true Faith. Right; they embraced it a long while after this division into ten Kingdoms. The *French* had four Heathen Kings: the *Saxons* were not converted till the time of *St. Gregory*, a hundred and fifty years after this division: the *Goths*, who reign'd in *Spain*, were converted from *Arianism* at the same time: what has this to do with these *Kings*, who, according to the pretension of our Interpreters, were to begin to reign at the same time with the *Bayle*, and give up their power to him? Besides, can no other *Era* be found for the entrance of these Kings into the *Anti-baptist* Empire, but that of their turning *Christians*, or *Catholics*? What a happy destiny for this pretended *Antichristian* Empire, to be compounded of people converted to *Jesus Christ*? But what is it, after all, that these *Kings*, so happily converted, have contributed to the establishment of the *Pope's* authority? it, at their admittance into the Church they acknowledged the *Pope's* See which was that of *Rome*, neither did they give him that *Supremacy* which he had undoubtedly before their conversion, nor did they acknowledge, in the *Pope*, any thing more than *Christians* had acknowledged in him before them, to wit, the *Successor* of *St. Peter*. Nor did the *Pope*, on their side, exercise their authority over these people otherwise, than by teaching them the true Faith, and upholding regularity and discipline among them: nor can any man shew, during this time, or four hundred



hundred years after, they concern'd themselves with any thing else, or enterpris'd any thing on temporals: thus you see what were these ten *Kings*, with whom the *Papal Empire* was to commence.

But then, we are told, came other ten in their place, and these are they with their Kingdoms: First, *Germany*; Second, *Hungary*; Third, *Poland*; Fourth, *Sweden*; Fifth, *France*; Sixth; *England*; Seventh, *Spain*; Eighth, *Portugal*; Ninth, *Italy*; Tenth, *Scotland*. Expound who can, why *Scotland* stands here rather than *Bohemia*; why *Sweden*, rather than *Denmark*, or *Norway*; why infine *Portugal*, as separated from *Spain*, rather than *Castille*, *Arragon*, *Leon*, *Navarre*, and the other Kingdoms: but why lose we our time in examining these fancies? Let them resolve me at least, whether or no these were the ten Kingdoms that were to be form'd out of the remnants of the *Roman Empire* at the same time that *Antichrist* was to appear, and which were to resign their authority and power to him? What has *Poland* to do here, and the other Kingdoms of the *North*, which *Rome* was not acquainted with, and which, beyond question, were not form'd of her ruins when the *Antichrist* *St. Leo* came into the world? Is it in banter that men write, with so serious an air, such ridiculous conceits? In good truth, it ill becomes those, who have nothing in their mouths but the pure word of God, thus rashly to sport with its Oracles, and if they have nothing more pertinent whereby to explain the prophecies, it were much better to adore their sacred obscurity, and respect the future which God hath reserved in his own hands.

We must not wonder to see these daring Interpreters at variance among themselves, and de-

XXXV.  
Vain  
reply.  
Prop. 1.  
p. 2. ch.  
vi. p.  
175.

XXXIV.  
Contrarie-  
ties of the

stroying one another. *Joseph Mede*, on that verie of St. *Jehan*, importing that in a great earthquake the tenth part of the City shall be destroyed, thought he had hit exactly, when he interpreted this tenth part with respect to the new *Metropolis* *Rome*, which is ten times less than ancient *Rome*. To come at the proof of his interpretation, he seriously compares the *Area* of old *Rome* with that of the new, and with a fine figure demonstrates that the first is ten times greater than the last: but his disciple Mr. *Jurina* deprives him of so mathematical an interpretation. *It is not so*, cries out haughtily the new Prophet, *whom by the City St. Joan*, *peace be upon her*, only the City of *Rome*. *We ought to hold for certain*, proceeds he in a matterly strain, *that the great City is Rome with its Empire*. And the tenth part of the City, what shall it be? he has found it out: *France*, says he, *is the tenth part*. But how shall *France* fall? and does this Prophet forebode to ill of his own country? No, no, she may be reduced indeed to a tottering condition; let her look to it, the Prophet threatens her: yet shall not perish. What the *Holy Ghost* here means by saying, she shall fall, is that she shall fall with respect to *Papery*: but soon she shall be more illustrious than ever, because she shall embrace the *Reformation*, and that speedily; and our Kings, a thing I am loath to repeat, shall on the point of being *Catholics* be converted. What patience is able to support this interpretation? But literal, he is more in the right than in that way, by calling this *metropolis* the same as the word of the *LXX* into a *metropolis*, which in the spirit of illusion to foretell the fall of Rome.

In the *Interpretation* of *Jerusalem* in the *Prophecy*, the *Englishman* finds England in them:

them: the Phial pour'd out upon the rivers and fountains of waters, *are the Pope's emissaries, and the Spaniards vanquish'd in Queen Elizabeth's reign of glorious memory.* But good Mr. Mede, it seems, was in a gross mistake: his more enlighten'd disciple assures us, the second and third Phial were the Crusades, when God return'd upon *Catholicks blood for the blood of the Vaudois and Albigenes spilt by them.* These *Vaudois* and *Albigenes*, *John Wickliff* and *John Hufs* with all the rest of that gang, even to the bloody *Taborites*, appear throughout these new interpretations as faithful witnesses of the truth persecuted by the *Beast*; but they are now well known, and even this were enough to evidence the falsity of these pretended prophecies.

*Joseph Mede* had out-done himself in his exposition of the fourth Phial. He saw it poured out upon the sun, upon the chief part of the heaven, possessed by the *Beast*, namely, the *Papal Empire*: the meaning whereof was, that the *Pope* was going to lose the *Empire of Germany*, which is his sun: nothing more clear. Whilst *Mede*, if you'll believe him, was printing these things which he had meditated on long before, he heard of the wonderful achievements of that pious, happy, and victorious King, whom God had sent from the North to defend his cause: in a word, 'twas the great *Gustavus*. *Mede* can no longer doubt but his conjecture was an inspiration; and applies to this great King the same canticle that *David* applied to the *Messiah*: gird thy sword upon thy thigh, O most mighty King; combat for the truth, and for justice, proceed prosperously and reign. But the event belied the prediction; so *Mede* publish'd at once his prophecy and shame.

XXXIX.

Ridiculous

Comment

ab. 1. 1. 1.

Page

Ecc. VI

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P. 1. 1.

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No less remarkable is that fine passage, where, whilst *Mede* is contemplating the overthrow of the *Turkish* Empire, his Disciple, on the contrary, looks in at the victories gain'd by that Empire. The *Euphrates* in the *Revelations*, is to *Mede* the Empire of the *Turks*, and the waters of the *Euphrates* drier'd up at the dilution of the sixth *Plural*, is the *Turkish* Empire destroy'd. He is quite in the dark: Mr *Jurieu* demonstrates to us that the *Euphrates* is the *Archipelago* and the *Bosphorus*, which the *Turks* pass'd in 1590, in order to possess themselves of *Greece* and *Constantinople*. More than this, there is great likelihood that the conquests of the *Turks* are carried on thus far in order to give them the means of contributing, together with *Protestants*, to the great work of *God*, namely, to the destruction of the *Papal* Empire: for tho' the *Turks* have never been so low as at present, this is the very thing that makes our author believe, they'll soon rise again. *I look upon*, says he, *this year 1687, as critical in this affair. God hath humbled the Reformed and the Turks at the same time, to RAISE THEM UP AGAIN AT THE SAME TIME, and in order to make them the instruments of his revenge against the Popish Empire.* Who would not admire this sympathy of *Turks* with the *Reformation*, and this common destiny of them both? Should the *Turks* prove successful, then will the *Reform'd* (whilst the rest of *Christianity* grieve at their victories) raise up their heads and believe that the time of their deliverance is at hand. We were strangers, as yet, to this new excellency of the *Reformation*, of its being to create and create as it were by sympathy with the *Turks*. Our author himself was puzzled at this place with the comment his allowable *Philosophy*

ous, and knew nothing of the plagues of the two last Phials wherein this mystery was lock'd up: but at last, *after knocking, two, four, five, and six times, with a religious attention, the door flew open,* and he beheld this mighty secret. *Ibid. p. 94.*

Men of sense, you'll tell me, among the *Protestants*, laugh at these fooleries as well as we. Yet they let them take their run knowing them necessary to amuse the credulous multitude. Chiefly by these visions was hatred excited against the Church of *Rome*, and hopes fomented of her speedy overthrow. The same artifice is employ'd again for the same purpose, and the people, a hundred times deceived, give ear to them, as the *Jews*, abandon'd to the spirit of error, did heretofore to false Prophets. Examples are quite useless to disabuse a people possessed with prejudice. They believed they saw, in the prophecies of *Luther*, the expiration of the *Papacy* so near at hand that there was not a *Protestant* who did not hope to be present at its funeral. It was necessary indeed to prolong the time, but the same spirit was kept up still, and the *Reformation* never ceased to be the bubble of these lying Prophets, who prophesy the delusions of their frantick brain.

XI.  
Why these  
absurdities  
tolerated  
in the  
Party.

God forbid I should lose my time in speaking here of a *Cotterus*, a *Drabicius*, a *Chriftina*, a *Comenius*, and all those other Visionaries, whereof our Minister boasts the predictions and acknowledges the errors. None of them, as he pretends, no not even the learned *Usher*, but must turn Prophet. But the same Minister frankly owns, he was no less mistaken than the rest. Experience proved them all deluded, *and we discover in them, says the Minister, so many things in which they blunder'd, that there is no relying on them.* Yet he nevertheless accounts them Pro-

XII.  
The  
Party's  
Prophe-  
cies are Im-  
postors.  
Confession  
of the  
Minister  
*Juarez.*  
*Actis a-*  
*tous les Ch.*  
at the be-  
ginnin g.  
p. 5. 67.  
*Ibid.*

phets,

phets, and great Prophets, *Ezra*, *Isaiah*, and *Jeremiah*. He finds in their *Scriptures* such majesty and solemnity, that those of the ancient Prophets have a *glorious*, and a *firm* of miracle, as great as ever *Christ's* face the *Apocrypha*. Thus does the chief of our *Protestants* suffer himself to be imposed on by these false Prophets, even after that the event had confounded them: so prevalent is the spirit of illusion in the Party; but the true Prophets of the Lord deliver themselves in another strain against such Impostors as abuse the name of God: "Hear thou, O *Hannanab*, saith *Jeremiah*, this word that I speak in thine ears, and in the ears of all the people. The Prophets that have been before me, and before thee of old, and have prophesied good or evil to nations and to kingdoms; when their words came to pass, it was known that they were Prophets whom the Lord had truly sent; and the word of the Lord came unto *Jeremiah*, saying: go, and tell *Hannanab*, saying, thus saith the Lord; thou hast broken the yokes of wood, and thou shalt make for them yokes of iron: I will aggravate the yoke of those nations." *Jeremiah* then demanded further: "Then said the Prophet *Jeremiah* unto *Hannanab* the Prophet: hear now *Hannanab*; the Lord hath not sent thee, but thou hast made this people to trust in a lye: therefore thus saith the Lord, behold, I will cast thee from off the face of the earth: this year thou shalt die, because thou hast spoken against the Lord: and *Hannanab* the Prophet died the third year, in the seventh month." Thus will he deserve to be confounded who has misled the people in the Lord's name, and the people needed but to open their eyes and take warning.



Our *Reformed* Interpreters are no better worth than our *Reformed* Prophets. The *Revelations* and the rest of the prophecies have ever been the subject, which the wits of the *Reformation* have thought themselves at liberty to sport with. Each one has discover'd in them his *concurrents*, whereby the credulous *Protestants* were always caught. Mr. *Jurieu* reproves often, as we have seen, *Joseph Mede* whom he had chosen for his guide. Nay, he has pointed out the errors of *Du Moulin* his Grand father, whose interpretations on the prophecies were admired by the whole *Reformation*; and has even shew'd, *that the foundation he built upon was destitute of solidity*. Nevertheless, there was abundance of wit, and a very extensive erudition in these visions of *Du Moulin*: but so it is, the more wit a man has, the more he deceives himself in these occasions; because, the more wit he has, the more he invents, and ventures the more. *Du Moulin's* fine wit, which must needs exercise itself on futurity, set him on a task he is laugh'd at for, even in his own family; and Mr. *Jurieu* his Grand-son, who perhaps shews more wit than the rest on this subject, will be but the more certainly the laughter of mankind.

I am ashamed of dwelling so long on visions more chimerical than sick mens dreams. But I ought not to forget what is of greatest importance in this vain mystery of the *Protestants*. According to the idea they give of the *Revelations*, nothing should be more distinctly marked in them, than the *Reformation* itself with its authors, who came to destroy the Empire of the *Beast*; and especially it ought to be marked in the effusion of the *seven Phials* in which are foretold, as they pretend, the seven plagues of their *Antichristian* Empire. But what our Interpre-

XIII  
Their In-  
terpreters  
of the  
Revelations.

Just. 4.  
The Prop-  
hecy of  
Isaiah 44.  
The  
Prophets  
185.

XIII  
What the  
Mistake  
have dis-  
cover'd in  
the Reve-  
lations  
touching  
their Re-  
formation.

7. Med. ters delery here, is so ill-contrived, that one de-  
 at Ph. 2. stroys what the other builds. *Jesús Mde*  
 -Ap. VII. thinks he hath found both *Inter* and *Contra*  
 3. when the *Phal* is pointed on *the sea*, that is, on  
 the *Antichristian* world, and when immediately  
 this sea is changed into blood like to that of a dead  
 man. Here, says he, is the *Reformation*; 'tis a  
 Rec. III. poison that kills every thing: for then every  
 living soul died in the sea. *Mde* takes care to  
 explain this blood like to that of a cascade, and  
 says, 'tis as the blood of a member lopt off, on  
 N. 2. III. account of the *Provinces and Kingdoms* which were  
 then rent from the *Body of the Papacy*. This is  
 an ill-boding spectacle for *Protestants*, to see the  
*Reformed* nations exhibited to them in no other  
 view than that of *Lept members* which have lost,  
 according to *Mde*, all connexion with the *foun-  
 tain of life, all vital spirit, and all warmth*,  
 without telling us any more of the matter.

XLIV. This is *Mde's* idea of the *Reformation*. But  
 if he sees it in the effusion of the *second Phal*,  
 the other Interpreter sees it only in the effusion  
 of the *first*, when there came, says *St. John*,  
 a great earthquake, *from the Throne of God, it is done. And there were*  
 voices, and rumblings, and lightnings; and there  
 was a great earthquake, *such as was not since*  
 VIII. f. *was upon the earth*: there, says he, is the *Re-  
 formation*.

This great commotion, I must own, suits  
 well enough with the disturbances it raised over  
 the whole universe, such as never had been seen  
 before on the score of Religion. But here it is  
 he shines most: *the great City was divided into*  
 three parts: *namely*, says our author, into the  
 Church of *Rome*, the *Lutheran*, and the *Calvi-  
 ninian*: these are the three Parties that divide the  
 great City, to wit, the *Western* Church. I ac-

cept the omen; the *Reformation* breaks *Unity*: in breaking it, she divides herself into two, and leaves *Unity* to the Church of *Rome* in *St. Peter's* Chair which is the center of it. But *St. John* should not have forgotten that one of the divided parties, the *Calvinian*, broke again into two pieces, since *England*, reckon'd to appertain to it by our Minister, yet makes in the main a Sect apart; nor must he say, this division is but light, for S. I. vii. by his own Confession, they mutually treat each n. 44. other as *excommunicated persons*. Accordingly, the Church of *England* reckons the *Calvinists* or *Puritans* in the number of *Nonconformists*, that is, in the number of those whose service she does not allow, nor receives their Ministers but by ordaining them anew as Pastors void of allowance and character. I might also speak of the other Sects which divided the Christian world at the same time with *Luther* and *Calvin*, and which, taken together or separately, make a Party sufficiently great not to have been omitted in this passage of *St. John*. And all consider'd, these men should have given their *Reformation* a more specious character than that of overthrowing every thing, and a more creditable mark, than that of pulling to pieces the *Western* Church the most flourishing of the whole universe; which has been the greatest of all plagues.





Arminians. *The useflessness of Synodical decisions among Protestants. The Synod of Dort's connivance at an infinity of Capital errors, whilst bent on maintaining the particular Dogmata of Calvinism. These Dogmata confessed at the beginning for essential, at last, reduced almost to nothing. Decree of Charenton for receiving the Lutherans to Communion. Consequence of this decree which changes the state of Controversies. The distinction of articles Fundamental and not Fundamental obliges Protestants to own, at last, the Church of Rome for a true Church affording salvation to her Members. Conference of Cassel betwixt the Lutherans and Calvinists. Their agreement, wherein decisive grounds are establish'd for Communion under one kind. Present state of Controversies in Germany. The opinion concerning Universal Grace prevails in France: Is condemn'd at Geneva and among the Swiss. The question decided by the Magistrate. Formulary establish'd. The error of this Formulary with respect to the Hebrew text. Another decree concerning Faith, made at Geneva. That Church impeach'd by Mr. Claude of making a Schism from the rest of the Churches by her new Decisions. Reflexions on the Test, in which the Reality remains intire. Acknowledgment of the Protestant Church of England, that the Mass and Invocation of Saints may have a good sense.*



THE subject of *Grace and Free-will* was carried to such lengths in the *Reformation*, that it was impossible even *Protestants* themselves should not be at last sensible of these exorbitancies. In order to destroy *Pelagianism*, which

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they

I.

Intolerable excesses of *Calvinism*.

*Free-will* destroy'd, and God made the author of

fin. Feza's  
word.

they were determin'd to fix on the Church of Rome, they had cast themselves into the opposite extreams; infomuch that the very name of *Free-will* rais'd a horror in them. There never had been such a thing in Men or Angels: nay, impossible it should have been; nor had the *Stoicks* themselves ever made Fate more rigid and inflexible. *Predestination* reach'd even to sin itself, and God was not less the cause of evil actions than of good: such were *Luther's* sentiments; *Calvin* had follow'd them, and *Beza*, the most renown'd of his disciples, had publish'd a *brief exposition of the chief points of the Christian Religion*, where he laid down this foundation, *that God does all things according to his determin'd counsel, even those which are wicked and execrable.*

F. p. 10.  
Ex. 10.  
R. 10.  
15.  
11.  
1.

II.  
A. 10.  
en. 10.  
b. 10.  
P. 10.  
14.  
1.

He had extended this principle as far as the sin of the first Man, which, according to him, was not committed but by God's will and appointment, on account, that *he having ordain'd the end, which was to glory his justice in the punishment of the Reprobate, must likewise have ordain'd the proportionable causes leading to that end, to wit, sins which lead to eternal damnation, and in particular that of Adam, the origin of all the rest; so that the corruption of the principal cause of God, namely, the first Man, did not happen by chance, nor without the decree and counsel of God.*

r. 10.  
c. 10.

III.

P. 10.  
10.  
10.  
10.  
10.  
10.  
10.

It is true, this author maintains at the same time, that the will of man, which was created free, was not free; but then, he understand's and repeats several times, that what is *Voluntary*, is without necessity; so that nothing hinders the will of sinning from being ever the less the fatal consequence of a fatal and unavoidable necessity; and if men would only, that they had not the power of resisting the will of God, *Beza* does not answer them

them



them as he ought to do, that God does not move them to sin: but says only, *they must be left to plead against him, who will be well able to defend his own cause.*

This Doctrine of *Beza* was taken from *Calvin*, who maintains in express terms, that *Adam could not avoid falling, yet was nevertheless guilty, because he fell voluntarily*; which he undertakes to prove in his *Institution*, and reduces the whole of his Doctrine to two principles: the first, that the will of God causes in all things, even in our wills, without excepting that of *Adam*, an inevitable necessity; the second, that this necessity is no excuse for sinners. Hereby it's plain, he preserves *Free-will* in name only, even in the state of innocence; and after this, there is no room for disputing whether he makes God the author of sin, since besides his frequently drawing this consequence; it is but too evident by the principles he lays down, that the will of God is the sole cause of that necessity imposed on all that sin.

Nor indeed are *Calvin's* sentiments and those of the first *Reformers* any longer disputed now, as to that point; and after owning what they have said upon it, even that *God passes on the wicked to enormous crimes, and that he is in some sort the cause of sin*, his disciples think they have sufficiently justified the *Reformation* from these so impious expressions, on account that *they have not been employ'd for more than a hundred years*; as if it were not a sufficient conviction of the evil spirit she was conceived in, to confess in her very Authors such horrid blasphemies.

Such therefore was the fatality which *Calvin* and *Beza* taught after *Luther*; and thereto the afore-seen *Dogmata* were added by them touching the certainty of salvation and the *Inamissibility*

## IV.

This Doctrine of *Beza* taken from *Calvin*.  
*Lib. de-Et. Dei prædes. epusc.*  
704. 705.  
*Lib. 111.*  
c. 23. n. 7. 8. 9.

*De prædes. de occult. provid. &c.*

*Jur. judic. jur. les meub. Sect. xvii.*  
p. 142.  
143.  
*Jur. lict.*

## V.

The tenets which *Calvin* and *Beza* superadded

to those of  
*Luther*  
S. I. ix. 7  
3 & seq.

of Justice. As much as to say, true justifying Faith could never be lost: those that have it, are surely certified of having it, and thereby are not only certified of their present Justice, as spoke the *Lutherans*, but also of their eternal salvation, and this with an absolute and infallible certainty: assured, by consequence, of dying just, whatever crimes they might commit; and not only of dying just, but also of continuing so in sin itself, because without that, they could not maintain the sense given by them to this text of *St. Paul*, *The gifts and calling of God are without repentance.*

*Rom. xi.*  
29.

VI.  
Every  
Leaver  
certified of  
his perse-  
verance  
and salva-  
tion, and  
to be cer-  
tified of  
God's  
faithful  
Preser-  
vation  
of his  
Elect.

This is what *Beza* likewise decided in the same exposition of Faith, where he said, that the sole elect was granted the gift of Faith: that this Faith, which is proper and peculiar to the elect, consists in depending with certainty, each one for himself, on their election: whence it follows, that whoever hath this gift of true Faith, ought to rest assured of his perseverance. For as he says: *What does it avail me to believe if I be not assured (perseverance in Faith being requisite), that perseverance will be given me?* Then he reckons among the fruits of this Doctrine, that it alone teaches us to be assured of our Faith for the time to come: which he takes to be of such importance, that he says he, *de certitudine esse fundamentum of the Christian Religion.*

VII.  
The cer-  
tainty of  
our own  
persever-  
ance,  
& of  
God's  
faithful  
Preser-  
vation  
of his  
Elect.

Thus, this certainty, which every man hath of his own Faith and Perseverance, is not only a certainty of Faith, but also the principal foundation of the Christian Religion: and to shew, he speaks not here of a moral and conjectural certainty, *Beza* adds, *that we have it in our power to know whether we be predestinated to justification, and to be assured of the glorification which*

we expect, on account of which all *Satan's* war is waged *against us*; yea, say I, assured, continues he, *not by our fancy, but by conclusions as certain, as if we had ascended into heaven to hear that sentence from the mouth of God.* He will not have the faithful aspire to less certainty than this; and after proposing the means of attaining to it, which he places in the certain knowledge we have of the Faith that is in us, he concludes, *we thereby learn that we are given to the Son according to God's purpose and Predestination*: by consequence, proceeds he, *since that God is unalterable, since that perseverance in the Faith is requisite to salvation, and being made certain of our Predestination, Glorification is annex'd to it by an indissoluble band: how can we doubt of perseverance, and finally of our salvation.*

As the *Lutherans*, no less than the *Catholicks* abominated these *Dogmata*, and the writings of the first were read with a more favourable prevention by the *Calvinists*; the horror of these sentiments, unheard of till *Calvin's* days, spread itself by little and little among the *Calvinian* Churches. Men began to awake and perceive, how horrible it was, that a true believer could not fear for his salvation in contradiction to this precept of the Apostle: *work out your own salvation with fear and trembling.* If it be a temptation and weakness to fear for ones salvation, as in *Calvinism* men are forced to say: why does *St. Paul* command this fear; and can a temptation fall within the precept?

The answer return'd by them was not satisfactory. The believer trembles, said they, when he regards himself, because, however just he may be, he hath nothing in himself but death and damnation; and would indeed be damn'd, were he judged with rigour. But resting assured

his own  
mouth.  
*Ib. Conc.*  
11. p.  
121.

VIII.  
*Calvinists*  
begin to  
be sensible  
of these  
excesses.

*Phil. ii.*  
12-

IX  
They op-  
posed this  
fear com-  
manded by  
*St. Paul.*

that he shall not be so judged, what has he to fear? the future, say they; because, should he forsake God, he would perish: weak reasoning! since, besides their holding the condition itself impossible, they hold moreover, that the true faithful ought to believe assuredly, they shall persevere. Thus in all manner of ways, the fear inspired by *St. Paul*, is banish'd, and salvation render'd certain.

X. When they answer; without fearing for salvation, there are other chastisements enough to afford just occasion of trembling; the *Catholicks* and *Lutherans* reply, that this fear mention'd by *St. Paul* does manifestly regard salvation: *Phil. ii.* *Work out,* says he, *your own salvation with fear and trembling.* The Apostle inspired a terror reaching so far as to fear *making shipwreck in the Faith*, as well as *in a good conscience*; and *Jesus Christ* himself had said, *fear him who is able to destroy both soul and body in hell*; a precept which concern'd the faithful as well as the rest, and made them fear no less a thing than the loss of their own souls. To these proofs they added those from experience: the Idolatries, and disastrous fall of a *Solomon* adorn'd undoubtedly at first with all the gifts of Grace; the abominable crimes of a *Darius*; besides what every person is conscious of in his own regard. What then, is a sitting, without security against crimes, you should be secure against their penalties; and that he, who once believed himself truly faithful, should be oblig'd to believe that he is sure of forgiveness, let him fall into whatsoever abominations. But must he lose this certainty in the midst of crimes? He must then necessarily lose the remembrance of his Faith and of the Grace he hath received. Does he not lose it? He must then remain as secure in crimes, as in innocence; and,

and, provided he argue aright according to the principles of his Sect, shall find therein wherewith to condemn all whatever doubts might arise of his conversion; so that, whilst he continues to live amidst disorders, he will be sure not to die in them: or else, will be sure he never had been a true Believer when he most believed himself such; and there you see him in despair, never able to hope for more certainty of his salvation than he had enjoy'd then, nor able, do what he will, ever to secure himself in this life that he shall not relapse into the deplorable state he now is in. What remedy for all this, unlets to conclude, that the infallible certainty, boasted of in *Calvinism*, suits not with this life, and that nothing is more rash nor pernicious than such certainty.

But how much is it more so, to hold oneself assured, I don't say to recover lost Grace with true justifying Faith, but not to lose them in sin itself; to remain therein still just and regenerated; to preserve therein the *Holy Ghost*, and the seed of life, as the *Calvinists* undoubtedly believe if they follow *Calvin* and *Beza* and the other chief Doctors of their Sect? For, according to them, justifying Faith is peculiar to the sole elect, who are never deprived of it; and *Beza* said in the *Exposition* so often quoted, that *Faith, altho' it be as it were buried sometimes in the Elect of God, in order to make them sensible of their infirmity; yet it never is without the fear of God and charity for our neighbour.* And a little further on, he says two things concerning the spirit of *Adoption*: *First*, that those, who are planted in the Church only *for a time*, do never receive it; *Second*, that those who are admitted among the people of God by this spirit of *Adoption*, do never go forth from them.

XI.  
Justifying  
Faith not  
forfeited  
by sin.

*S. I. ix. n.*  
15.

*Ch. iv.*  
*Conc. 13*  
*P. 74.*

*Ibid. ch.*  
*5. Conc.*  
*6. P. 90.*

XII.  
What  
Scripture-  
texts *Cal-*  
*vinists*  
grounded  
themselves  
on.  
*Ibid* p.  
74.  
*Rom.* xi.  
29.

This Doctrine was grounded on these texts: *God is not like to man, so as to be a liar; nor like to the son of man, so as to repent.* Which also was the reason why *St. Paul* said, *That the gifts and calling of God are without repentance.* What then, does not man lose any of the gifts of God in adulteries, in homicides, in the blackest of crimes, not even in Idolatry? And if some of them at least may be lost for a time and during this state; why should not justifying Faith, and the Presence of the Holy Ghost be of this number, nothing being more incompatible with the state of sin, than such Graces?

XIII  
Question  
proposed  
to the  
*Calvi-*  
*nists*:  
whether a  
Believer  
were  
damn'd  
that did  
it. *Ibid*  
crime.

In regard to this last difficulty, a very material query was also proposed, which I beg may be attentively consider'd, because it will be the subject of an important dispute to be treated of soon. The *Calvinist* is therefore ask'd; Whether this true Believer, *David* for instance, fallen into adultery and murder, would be saved or damn'd dying in this state before he had done Penance? None durst answer, he would be saved; and indeed, how can a Christian maintain, any may be saved with such crimes? This true Believer would be therefore damn'd dying in this state; this true Believer, in this state has therefore ceased to be just, since none will ever say of a just man, that he would be damn'd dying in his justice.

XIV  
The *Cal-*  
*vinist*  
inextin-  
cible con-  
fession and  
the *Cal-*  
*vinist*.

To answer, he shall not die in his sin, but will do penance if he be of the number of the predestinated, is saying nothing; for it is not predestination, nor the penance we shall do one day, which justifies and makes us Saints: otherwise, a predestinated Infidel would actually be sanctified and justified even before he had Faith and Repentance; since, before he had either of them, he was already certainly predestinated;  
God



God had already certainly decreed, he should have them.

If it be answer'd, this Infidel is not actually justified and sanctified, because he has not as yet had Faith and Repentance, altho' he be to have them hereafter; whereas, the true Believer hath them already: here arises a new perplexity; for it would follow from thence, that Faith and Repentance, but once exercised by the faithful, justify and sanctify them actually and for ever, altho' ceasing to exercise them, and even abandoning them by abominable crimes: a thing more horrible to conceive than all hitherto said, on this subject.

Again, this is no chimerical question; 'tis a question that every Believer, when he sins, should make to himself: or rather, 'tis a judgment he ought to pronounce; were I to die in the state I am in, I should be damn'd. To add after this, but I am predestinated, and shall amend one day; and by reason of this future amendment, am, at this instant, just and holy and a living member of *Christ Jesus*: is utter blindness.

Whilst *Catholicks*, and *Lutherans* more readily hearken'd to than they in the new *Reformation*, urged home these arguments, many *Calvinists* were convinced; and seeing on the other hand amongst the *Lutherans* a more engaging Doctrine, were attracted by it. A general will in God to save all mankind; in *Jesus Christ*, a sincere intention to redeem them, and means sufficient offer'd unto all, was what the *Lutherans* taught in the book of *Concord*. We have seen as much: we have seen even their excesses touching these offer'd means and the co-operation of *Free-will*: they gave daily more and more into these sentiments, and the *Calvinists* began to listen to them, principally in *Holland*.

XV.  
This no  
indifferent  
question.

XVI.  
These dif-  
ficulties  
were the  
occasion  
of many  
forsaking  
*Calvi-  
nism*.  
*S. l. viii.*  
*n. 52.*  
*Epist. c. xi.*  
*Concord.*  
*p. 621.*  
*Joh. d. repet.*  
*669. 805.*  
*S. 119.*

XVII.  
*Arminius's*  
*Dispute and*  
*excesses.*  
 M. DC. L.  
 M. DC. L.

*James Arminius*, a famous Minister of *Amsterdam*, and since Professor of Divinity in the university of *Leyden*, was the first that declared himself in the university against the maxims received in the Churches of his country: but a man of so vehement a temper was not like to keep within just bounds. He openly blamed *Beza*, *Calvin*, *Zurbius*, and the rest, whom *Calvinism* accounted her main pillars and support. But he impugnd excesses with other excesses; and besides his apparently drawing near to the *Pelagians*, was suspected, nor without reason, of something worse: certain words falling from him, made him believed favourable to *Socinianism*, and a great number of his disciples turning afterwards to that side, confirm'd the suspicion.

*Arminius's*  
*Dispute*  
*with*  
*Calvinists*  
 1620.  
*Part of*  
*his*  
*Discourse*  
*concerning*  
*the*  
*Church*  
*of*  
*Amsterdam*

XVIII.  
*General*  
*Conference*  
*at*  
*Worms*  
*concerning*  
*the*  
*Church*  
*of*  
*Amsterdam*  
 1621.  
*Part of*  
*his*  
*Discourse*  
*concerning*  
*the*  
*Church*  
*of*  
*Amsterdam*

He met with a terrible adversary in the person of *Francis Gomar* Professor of Divinity in the university of *Groningen*, a rigorous *Calvinist* if ever there was one. The *Academies* divided themselves between these two Professors: the division increased: the Ministers espoused the quarrel; *Arminius* beheld whole Churches in his Party. His death did not end the dispute. And the minds of men on both sides were so inflamed under the names of *Remonstrants* and *Anti-Remonstrant*, namely, of *Arminians* and *Gomarists*, that the *United Provinces* saw themselves on the very brink of a civil war.

XIX.  
*Prince*  
*of*  
*Orange*  
*concerning*  
*the*  
*Church*  
*of*  
*Amsterdam*  
 1622.

*Maurice* Prince of *Orange* had his reasons for supporting the *Gomarists*. *Bernardus* his enemy was judged favourable to the *Arminians*; and the reason of it was his proposing a mutual toleration and mutual silence on both Parties.

This made *Bartholdus* the wither of the *Remonstrant*. A Party still shooting up, and as yet but weak, asks no more than time to gather strength:

strength : but the Ministers, among whom *Go-mar* prevail'd, were bent on victory, and the Prince of *Orange* had more skill than to let a Party strike root, which he judged as opposite to his grandeur as to the primitive maxims of the *Reformation*.

The Provincial Synods had done no other than aggravate the evil by condemning the *Re-monstrants* ; it was necessary to proceed at length to a greater remedy : wherefore the *States-Gener- al* assembled a national Synod, and invited to it all those of their Religion in every country. Upon this invitation *England*, *Scotland*, the *Pa- la-tinate*, *Hesse*, the *Swiss*, the Republicks of *Geneva*, of *Bremen*, and *Em-bden*, in a word, the whole body of the *Reformation* not united to the *Lutherans*, sent Deputies, except the *French*, whom reasons of state prevented ; and of all these Deputies, in conjunction with those of the whole *United Provinces*, was composed that famous Synod of *Dort* whose Doctrine and procedure we are now to relate.

This assembly open'd the fourteenth of *No- vember* 1618, with a sermon preach'd by *Bal- thasar Lydius* Minister of *Dort*. The first Sess- ions were taken up in regulating divers matters of discipline, or of procedure, nor was it till the thirteenth of *December*, in the thirty first sitting, that, properly speaking, they began to treat of Doctrine.

In order to understand, in what manner they proceeded there ; you must know, that after many Books and Conferences, the dispute was at length reduced to five heads. The *First*, regarded Pre- destination ; the *Second*, the universality of Re- demption ; the *Third*, and the *Fourth*, which were always treated together, regarded the cor- ruption

XX.

The *Re- monstrants* or *Armeni- ans* condemn'd in the Provin- cial Sy- nod .  
Convoca- tion of the Synod of *Dort*.

XXI.

Opening of the Synod.

M DC

XVIII.

XXII.

The dis- pute re- duced to five heads .  
Declara- tion of the *Re-mon- strants* in general

touching  
their five  
heads.

ruption of Man, and his Conversion; the *Fifth*, regarded Perseverance.

On these five heads, the *Remonstrants* had declared in general, in full Synod, by the mouth of *Simon Episcopus* Professor of Divinity at *Leyden*, who always appears at their head, that men of great renown and repute in the *Reformation*, had laid down such things as agreed neither with God's wisdom, nor with his goodness and justice, nor with the love which *Jesus Christ* bore to all men, nor with his satisfaction and merits, nor with the sanctity of preaching and the ministry, nor with the use of the Sacraments, nor infine, with the duties of a Christian. These great men whom they impeach'd, were the authors of the *Reformation*, *Calvin*, *Beza*, *Zanchius*, and the rest of them whom they were not allow'd to name, yet had not at all spared in their writings. After this general declaration of their sentiment, they explain'd themselves in particular as to the five articles, and their declaration attack'd principally the *Certainty* of Salvation, and the *Inamissibility* of Justice; tenets by which, they pretended, piety was ruin'd in the *Reformation*, and so fine a name discredited. I shall relate the substance of this declaration of the *Remonstrants*, to the end it may be better understood, what chiefly was the subject matter of the deliberation and the result thereof, in the decisions of the Synod.

§ 7. xxxi.  
p. 102

XXIII. Concerning Predestination, they said, *They ought not to see in God any absolute decree, whereby he had determin'd to give Jesus Christ to the Elect alone, nor more than to give to them alone, by an efficient operation, Faith, Justification, Perseverance, and Glory; but that he had appointed Jesus Christ the common Redeemer of the Elect.*

The un-  
derstand-  
ing of the  
Remon-  
strants  
concerning  
the  
common  
Redeemer  
of the  
Elect.

*whole world, and resolved, by this decree, to justify and save all those who should believe in him, and at the same time, to give to all of them sufficient means in order to be saved; that none perish'd thro' want of these means, but thro' the abuse thereof; that the absolute and especial election of particular persons, was made in view of their Faith and future perseverance, nor was there any election but conditional; that reprobation likewise was made in view of mens infidelity and perseverance in so great an evil.*

They added two points worthy of particular consideration: the first, that all children of the faithful are sanctified, and none of them, dying before the use of reason, are damn'd; the second, that with much more reason none of these children dying after Baptism before the use of reason are damn'd.

In saying that all the children of the faithful are sanctified; they did but repeat what we have clearly seen in the *Calvinian* Confessions of Faith; and if they be sanctified, 'tis evident they cannot be damn'd, in this state. But after this first article, the second seem'd unnecessary; for if these children were secure of their salvation before *Baptism*, after it's reception, there could be no question of it. 'Twas therefore with a particular design that this second article was inserted, and the *Remonstrants* would thereby denote the inconstancy of the *Calvinists*, who on one hand, to salve the *Baptism* given to all these children, said, they were all Saints, and born in the *Covenant*, the sign whereof, by consequence, could not be refused them; and to salve, on the other hand, the Doctrine of the *Inamissibility* of justice, said that *Baptism* given to children had not its effect, but in the sole predestinated; so that the baptized, that lived ill afterwards, never

XXIV.  
Doctrines  
of the *Re-*  
*monstrants*  
concerning  
Infant-  
Baptism,  
and what  
they would  
conclude  
from it  
*Act IX. 10*  
*Ibid.*

had



had been Saints, not even with the *Baptism* they had received in their infancy.

Remark, I beseech the judicious Reader, this important difficulty; it strikes home to the question of *Inamissibility*, and 'twill be curious to behold, how the Synod will behave in this regard.

XVV.  
Declara-  
tion of the  
Remon-  
strants  
concerning  
the univer-  
sality of  
Redemp-  
tion.

As to the second head, touching the univer-  
sality of Redemption, the *Remonstrants* said, that  
*the price pay'd by the Son of God was not only jus-*  
*sufficient to all, but actually offer'd for all and every*  
*individual person; that none were excluded from*  
*the fruit of Redemption by an absolute decree, or*  
*otherwise than by their own fault; that God, pre-*  
*vail'd with by his son, had made a new treaty*  
*with all mankind, altho' sinners and damn'd.* They  
said, by this treaty he had bound himself, in  
respect of all, to afford them those sufficient  
means as above mention'd: *but that the remission*  
*of sins, merited for all, was not given actually, ex-*  
*cept thro' actual Faith, whereby man believ'd actu-*  
*ally in Jesus Christ; by which words they gave*  
to understand, that whosoever lost, by his crimes,  
actual Faith which justifies us, lost also, toge-  
ther with it, justifying Grace and Sanctity; finally  
they said also, *none ought to believe, Jesus Christ*  
*and for him, save only those for whom he died or*  
*offer'd; in such that the rate, for whom*  
*Jesus Christ did not die, whatsoever soul might*  
*name of them, could not believe that he died for*  
*them.* This article reach'd much farther than it  
seem'd. For the design of it was to shew, ac-  
cording to *Calvin's* and the *Calvinists* Doctrine,  
who laid down for an undoubted *Dogma*, that  
*Jesus Christ* did not die in any sort but for the  
*Predestin'd*, and in no sort for the *Reprobate*; that it follow'd from thence, that to be enabled  
to say, *Jesus Christ* died for me, one ought to be  
afforded,

Art. 15.  
169.



assured, with an absolute certainty, of his Predestination and eternal happiness, without ever being able to say, *he died for me, but I have render'd his death and redemption unserviceable to me*: a Doctrine which defeats all preaching of the word to Christians, who, if bad livers, are continually told, they have made themselves unworthy of being redeem'd by *Jesus Christ*. Accordingly this was one of those articles by which the *Remonstrants* maintain'd, that, in the *Reformation*, all the sincerity and holiness of preaching was subverted as well as this text of *St. Peter*: *They have denied the Lord that bought them, and brought upon themselves swift perdition.* 2 Pet. ii. 1.

Touching the third and fourth head, after saying that Grace is necessary to all good, not only to finish, but also to begin it, they added, *that efficacious Grace was not irresistible*. This was their expression, and that of the *Lutherans*, whose Doctrine they bragg'd of following. Their meaning was, that one might resist all kind of Grace; and thereby, as every one sees, they pretended, *That altho' Grace were bestow'd unequally, yet God gave or offer'd a sufficient Grace to all those the Gospel was announced to, even to those that were not converted; and offer'd it with a sincere and serious desire of saving them all without acting two different parts, seeming inclined to save, and at bottom unwilling to do it, and making men interiorly to sin which he forbid exteriorly*. In all these places they aim'd directly at the authors of the *Reformation*, and that un sincere vocation which they attributed to God, while he openly call'd those to Grace whom in reality he excluded from it, predestinating them to evil.

XXVI.

Their

Doctrine

as to the

third and

fourth

head.

Ead. Sect.

p. 116. §

107.

Ibid.

P. 117

In order to shew how far Grace was *resistible* (these words warranted by use, must be allow'd to avoid circumlocution) they had inserted an  
article

Art. VII.

Ibid. 117.

article, which said, *that man could do more good by the Grace of the Holy Ghost than he did, and keep at a farther distance from evil than he did; he therefore frequently refilled Grace, and made it useless.*

XXVII.  
Declara-  
tion of the  
Remon-  
strants  
concerning  
the strength  
of  
justice.  
Ead. Sec. J.  
f. 117.  
118. c.  
109.

Concerning Perseverance, they decided, that *God gave to the true justifying, regenerated by his Grace, means for preserving them lives in that state: that they might lose the true justifying Faith, and fall into sins incompatible with justification, even into atrocious crimes; persevere in them, die in them, rise over from them like ours by repentance, nevertheless, without being necessitated to it by Grace.* Here is what they urged with the greatest efforts, *detesting, and they, from the bottom of their hearts their impious Dogmata, and contrary to good morals, disseminated daily among the people; viz. that the true faithful could not fall into the sins of malice, but only into the sins of ignorance and weakness: that they could not lose Grace: that all the crimes of the world put together could not frustrate their election, nor deprive them of the certainty thereof; a thing, added they, which open'd a gap to carnal and pernicous security: that no crime, how heinous soever, were imputed to them: that all manner of sins present and to come were forgiven them by purchase: that in the mind of Heretics, of Adulterers, of Murderers, for which they might be commuted, they could not totally and finally lose the Faith.*

Art. vi.  
the 1.  
111.  
XXVIII  
Two ma-  
jor words  
which the  
whole dis-  
pute turned  
on.  
The Grace  
of the Holy  
Ghost.

These two words, *totally* and *finally*, were what the dispute chiefly turn'd upon. To lose Faith and the Grace of Justification *totally*, was to lose it wholly for a certain time; to lose it *finally*, was to lose it for ever and beyond recovery. Both the one and the other were held impossible in Calvinism, and both of these excesses were detested by the Remonstrants.

They

They concluded the declaration of their Doctrine, by saying that, as the true Believer might, in the time present, be assured of his Faith and good Conscience, he might also be assured for that time, should he then die, of his eternal Salvation; that he might also be assured of being able to persevere in the Faith, forasmuch as Grace would never fail him for that end: but to be assured of always doing his duty, they did not see how he *could be so, nor how this assurance could be necessary for him.*

If you desire now to comprehend in few words the whole of their Doctrine, the foundation of it was, that there is no absolute Election, no gratuitous preference whereby God prepares for certain chosen persons, and for them only, certain means to lead them to Glory: but that God offers to all men, and especially all those to whom the Gospel is publish'd, sufficient means of conversion, which some make use of, and others not, without employing any other for his *Elect* more than for the *Reprobate*; so that *Election* always is conditional, which, the condition failing, may be forfeited. Whence they concluded in the first place, that we may lose justifying Grace, and *totally*, that is, intirely; and *finally*, that is, beyond recovery: Secondly, that Man could not in any wise be sure of his Salvation.

Altho' *Catholicks* did not agree with them in the principle, they agreed with them in the two last consequences, which nevertheless they grounded on other principles, not to our purpose to set forth in this place, and likewise they agreed that the *Calvinian* Doctrine, opposite to these consequences, was impious, and an inlet to all sorts of wickedness.

The *Lutherans* also agreed on this point with the *Catholicks* and *Remoutrants*. But the difference

XXIX.  
Against  
the cer-  
tainty of  
Salvation.  
107. vii.  
& viii.  
111. 119.

XXX.  
Foundati-  
ons of the  
*Remou-  
trants*,  
viz. that  
there is no  
gratuitous  
preference  
for the  
*Elect*.

XXXI.  
Wherein  
*Catholicks*  
differ  
with the  
*Remou-  
trants*.

XXXII.  
Wherein  
they  
differ  
counted

the difference betwixt *Catholicks*, *Lutherans*, and *Remonstrants*.

rence betwixt *Catholicks* and *Lutherans* is, that these latter, denying the certainty of Perseverance, acknowledged a certainty of present Justice, in which they were follow'd by the *Remonstrants*: whereas *Catholicks* differ'd from both of them, by maintaining, none could be assured either of his future good dispositions, nor even of his present ones, which, by reason of the blindness of self love, we have always grounds to distrust; so that the confidence we have on God's side, takes not away wholly the doubt we have on our own.

XXXIII  
Calvin and the *Calvinists* contrary to the doctrine of the *Calvinists*.

*Calvin* and the *Calvinists* opposed the Doctrine of both these, and maintain'd against the *Lutherans* and *Remonstrants*, that the true Believer was sure, not of the present only, but also of the future, and sure, by consequence, of never losing *totally*, that is intirely; nor *finally*, that is, beyond recovery, justifying Grace or the true Faith once received.

XXXIV  
The state of the question and the different sentiments are well understood; and never so little perspicuity in the Synod of *Dort's* decision would have made us easily comprehend what was their Doctrine; which they were so much the more obliged to, as the *Remonstrants*, after their declaration, had summon'd those that should complain of their Doctrine's being ill represented by them, to reject distinctly every particular wherein they judged themselves wrongfully accused; and intreated also the Synod to deliver themselves precisely in respect of the articles that cast such a blame on the whole *Reformation*.

XXXV  
If ever there was a necessity of speaking plainly, 'twas after such a declaration and in such a conjuncture. Let us now give ear to the decision of the Synod.



If ever there was a necessity of speaking plainly, 'twas after such a declaration and in such a conjuncture. Let us now give ear to the decision of the Synod.

It pronounces on the five heads proposed in four Chapters, for, as above said, the third and fourth head always went together. Each chapter hath two parts: in the first, they assert; in the second, reject and condemn. This is the Substance of their *Canons*, for so did they call the Decrees of this Synod.

Concerning Predestination and Election they decided, *that the decree thereof is absolute and unchangeable; that God gives true and lively Faith to all those he resolves to withdraw from common damnation, AND TO THEM ONLY: that this Faith is a gift of God; that all the Elect, in their time, are assured of their Election, albeit not in the same degree nor in equal measure; that this assurance is derived to them, not from the fathom- ing of God's secrets, but from observing in them- selves, with a holy pleasure and spiritual joy, the infallible fruits of Election such as be true Faith, sorrow for their sins, and the like; that the sense and certainty of their salvation always make them better; that those, who have not as yet this sense and this certain confidence, ought to desire it; and lastly, that this Doctrine should not affright any but those, who, wedded to the world, are not seriously converted.* Here have we already for the sole *Elect*, together with true Faith, the certainty of salvation: but the thing will unfold itself here- after much more clearly.

The seventeenth Article decides, *that the word of God declaring holy the children of the faithful, not by nature, but by the Covenant wherein they are comprised together with their parents, the be- lieving parents ought not to doubt of the Election and Salvation of their children that die in this In- fant age.*

In this Article the Synod approves the Doc- trine of the *Remonstrants*, whom we have heard

XXXVI.  
The Sy-  
nod's deci-  
sion on  
the first  
head.  
Faith in  
the sole  
Elect:  
certainty of  
salvation.  
*Sess.*  
xxxvi. p.  
249.   
*ibid.*  
Art.  
xii.  167.  
p. 251.

XXXVII.  
Decision  
on Infant-  
Baptism.  
*ibid.* xvii.  
252.

*Sess.* n. 23.

say precisely the same thing: nothing therefore is more unequal or more unjust to our adversaries, than an Article which we are equally taught by both Parties, the Royal will manifest to us what are its real intentions.

XXXVIII Amongst the rejected Articles, we find that which asserts, that *the necessity of Salvation depends on an uncertain condition*; that is to say, they condemn those who teach, one is sure of being saved by persevering to live well, but one is not sure of living well; which precisely is the Doctrine we have heard the *Remonstrants* teach. The Synod declares *to be an certain Condition* absurd, and by consequence, establishes an absolute Certainty, which it endeavours even to prove from Scripture: but probably not for our present purpose; it is to be true Doctrine well asserted, viz. that the true Believer, according to the decrees of *Deity*, is obliged not to be negligent of his salvation by doing his duty well, but also anxious to be sure of doing it well, at least at his last end. But this is nothing hitherto, and we shall see the Doctrine decided much more clearly.

XXXIX Concerning the Impression and the Promise of Grace, they declare, that *the general and indeterminate promise of Grace is not the cause of the sinners fault, but the consequence of it, and that Grace is not the cause of the sinners fault, but the consequence of it, and that Grace is not the cause of the sinners fault, but the consequence of it*. Here we see, how the *Remonstrants* have we might say, turned the *Remonstrants* doctrine, we must be satisfied with what the *Remonstrants* who don't continue to believe in the *Remonstrants*.

The beginning of the fourth Chapter is, that *the Holy Ghost is the Spirit of Truth, whom the Holy Church represents by the unity of the persons, to wit God's fault, nevertheless particu-*



particular is wrought in those that are converted, God calling them *efficaciously*, and giving to them Faith and Repentance. The sufficient Grace of the *Arminians*, whereby *Free-will determines itself*, is rejected as a *Pelagian tenet*. Regeneration is represented as transacted *without us*, not by *the exterior word*, or by *moral persuasion*, but by an operation leaving it not *in the power of man to be REGENERATED OR NOT*, to be converted, or not converted: and nevertheless, say they in this article, when the Will is *renew'd*, it is not only *push'd on and mov'd by God*, but *acts being mov'd by him*, and 'tis *Man that believes and repents*.

261  
265  
Ib. d.

The Will therefore does not act but when converted and renew'd. What then, does it not act when one begins to desire his conversion, and to pray for the Grace of Regeneration? Or have it you already when you begin to pray for it? This they ought to have explain'd, and not say in general, Conversion and Regeneration is wrought *without us*. Many other things might be said in this place; but our business is not disputing: it's sufficient we make the Doctrine of the Synod historically well understood.

261  
The Believers certainty

It says in the thirteenth Article, that the manner whereby this operation of regenerating Grace is wrought in us, is inconceivable: it's sufficient to conceive that by this Grace the Believer *knows and feels that he believes and loves his Saviour*. He *knows and feels*; here have you what is most certain within the compass of perception, to know and feel.

We read in the sixteenth Article, that as sin hath not robbed Man of his Nature, nor of his Understanding, nor of his Will; so regenerating Grace acts not in him *as in a stump or log of wood*; it conveys to the Will *its properties*, and

261  
265  
Ib. d.



is it possible, in this detestable state, they should only *lose* THE SENSE OF GRACE, and not Grace itself, and this too but SOMETIMES! but 'tis not yet time to exclaim; here is much worse: *God, in these dismal falls, does not INTIRELY deprive them of his Holy Spirit, nor suffers them to fall so, as to FORFEIT THE GRACE OF ADOPTION AND THE STATE OF JUSTIFICATION, nor so as to commit the sin unto death, nor against the Holy Ghost, and be damn'd.* Who-soever therefore is once truly faithful, and regenerated by Grace, not only shall not perish in his crimes, but at the very time he abandons himself to them, *DOTH NOT FALL FROM THE GRACE OF ADOPTION, AND THE STATE OF JUSTIFICATION.* Could *Jesus Christ* be associated with *Belial*, Grace with sin, in a more flagrant manner?

The Synod indeed seems willing to preserve the faithful from some crimes, when it says, they are not *so far abandon'd as to fall into the sin unto death, or against the Holy Ghost*, which the Scripture says is not to be forgiven: but if they understand any other sin by this than that of final impenitence, I am at a loss to know what it can be, there being no such sinner, what disorders soever he may have been guilty of, that should not be made to hope the forgiveness of them. Let us however leave to the Synod to determine what other explanation it pleases of this sin: it's sufficient we see plainly, according to its Doctrine, that all crimes possible to be named, for example, an adultery as long continued, and a murder as much premeditated as that of *David*, Heresy, Idolatry even with all its abominations, which the Synod evidently allows the true Believer may fall into, are compatible *with the grace of Adoption and the state of Justification.*

XI.VI.  
The Synod speak  
plainly.

Nor can it be said, by this state the Synod understands only the right to salvation still remaining in the true Believer, namely, according to the Synod, in the predetermination, in virtue of Predetermination: for on the contrary, the matter here in deliberation concerns the immediate right one hath to salvation by actual Regeneration and Conversion, and concerns the state whereby one is, I don't say destin'd to, but really in possession of a well of the true Partis as of Justification. In a word, the matter in debate, is not whether you shall one day have this Grace, but whether, after having had it, you can forfeit it one moment: the Synod decides you can't. *Reponere*, complain not, you have your answer at least in plain terms as you desired, and all the pernicious Doctrine you say is believed in the Party whom you accuse, all that you reject therein with such abhorrence, is decided by them in express terms.

XI.VII.  
The matter  
will be  
clearly  
settled.

But to remove all equivocation, we must see in the Synod these essential words, *etiam* and *semper*, which, I have shew'd, the whole dispute depends on. We must see, I say, whether it allow the *Non-assertio* to admit, that a true Believer may *perire* by *de facto* *perire* *perinde* *quasi* *si* *periret*. The Synod, to leave no doubt of its sentiment as opposite to the *perdolois*, says, *that the sentence said, quoniam non est certum an perire possit, non aliter valet nisi sit in actu*. As opposite to the *perdolois*, the said Synod says, that the recorded, our day, sentence is *etiam* *et* *semper* *et* *ita* shall be recovered by you, the Synod is not to say that, they have not allowed. In this manner, proceeds the Synod, it happens that *non est certum an perire possit* *et* *semper* *et* *ita* *et* *periret* *perinde* *quasi* *si* *periret*.

Here,

Here, methinks, is enough said for *Inamissibility*. Let us see as to *Certainty*.

*The true faithful*, says the Synod, *may be certain, and are so, of their Salvation and Perseverance, according to the measure of Faith wherewith they BELIEVE WITH CERTAINTY that they are, and abide, living Members of the Church, that they have forgiveness of their sins, and life eternal: a Certainty which does not accrue to them from a particular Revelation, but from Faith in the promises which God hath reveal'd in his word, and by the testimony of the Holy Ghost, and lastly, by a good conscience, and a holy and serious application to good works.*

To leave nothing unsaid, it adds, that *in the temptations and doubts of the flesh, which we are to contrast with, we do not always feel this firmness of Faith and this Certainty of Perseverance: to the end that, as often as ever you feel some doubt, and dare not promise yourself with an intire Certainty to persevere always in your duty, you may look on yourself obliged to reckon this doubt among the motions of the flesh, and the temptations you are to fight against.*

Amongst the rejected errors this afterwards is reckon'd, *viz, that the true faithful may fall, and do often fall, TOTALLY AND FINALLY from justifying Faith, from Grace and Salvation, and that, during this life, you cannot have any security of future Perseverance without special Revelation.* They declare, this Doctrine brings back the doubts of *Papists*, because this Certainty, without special Revelation, was condemn'd in the Council of *Trent*.

It may be ask'd, how they reconcile, with the Doctrine of *Inamissibility*, that which is said in the Synod, *viz, that by great crimes, the faithful committing them, render themselves guilty*

XXVIII.  
Certainty  
of his  
truth, or  
will?  
1. 272.  
1. 272.  
273.

XXIX.  
All uncertainty a  
temptation.  
1. 274.  
11.

L.  
Totally  
and finally.  
1. 111.  
p. 274.  
Conc.  
Trid. S. 2.  
vi. c. xii.  
Can. xvi.

LI.  
How may  
justified  
remain  
guilty of  
death.

S. n. 42

*of death.* This is what easily is brought to bear with the principles of the new *Reformation*, where it's maintain'd that the true Believer, how much soever regenerated, remains always, by concupiscence, *guilty of death*, not only in his great and less sins, but also in his good-works; so that this state, rendering us guilty of death, is no hinderance, according to the terms of the Synod, to our abiding *in the state of justification and Grace.*

III  
The self  
contradiction  
of the  
*Calvinian*  
Doctrine.

S. n. 76

But then, have we not said that our *Reformed* could not deny, nor in effect did deny, but that, should one die in these crimes without doing Penance, he would be damn'd? True it is, the greatest part confess it; and altho' the Synod decided nothing in Body concerning this difficulty, it was propos'd there, as we shall see, by some of the Opiners. In good truth, 'tis wondrous strange men can remain in an error containing so inevitable and manifest a contradiction as that is which acknowledg's a state of Grace, in which nevertheless, one would be damn'd should he die therein. But many other contradictions are there in this Doctrine: here is one unquestionably not less palpable than the other. In the new *Reformation*, true Faith is inseparable from the love of God and good works, the necessary fruits thereof: 'tis the most steady *Dogma* of this Religion; and here you see, nevertheless, in opposition to this *Dogma*, true Faith, not only without good-works, but also in the greatest crimes. Have patience, this is not all: I spy another contradiction not less manifest in the new *Reformation*, even by the Synod's own decree: All children of the faithful are holy, and their lives are certain. Therefore, in this state, they are truly justified: therefore, they cannot fall from Grace, and every individual of the *Reformation* will be pre-

-estimated:



destinated: nor can one Believer, which is still more strange, have a child that is not holy and predestinated like himself: thus all their posterity are evidently predestinated, and never can a Reprobate spring from one Elect. Who of them all will dare to say it? And yet, who of them can deny, that so visible and so strange an absurdity is clearly contain'd in the principles of the Synod and the Doctrine of *Inamissibility*? It is therefore all over teeming with manifest absurdities, all over jarring with horrid contradictions: nor can it indeed be otherwise than the necessary result of error thus always to contradict itself.

There is no error but must fall into self-contradiction some way or other: but see what befalls man possessed with strong prejudice. He first strives, what he can, to avoid seeing this inevitable and glaring contradiction: if this cannot be done, he looks on it with a prepossession, that does not allow him to form a right judgment of it; he thinks to fence against it by soothing himself with frothy reasoning and fine words: dazzled with some specious principle to which he is strongly wedded, he's resolved never to forsake it. *Eutyches* and his Followers durst not say, *Jesus Christ* was not at the same time true *God* and true *Man*: but fond of that unity ill-understood, which they imagin'd in *Jesus Christ*, they would have both natures confounded in this union, and were pleased and gloried in removing by this means to a greater distance than all others (tho' it were even to excess) from *Nestorius's* Heresy which divided the Son of God. Thus do men intangle, thus do they prepossess themselves, thus do the prepossessed, with blind determination, lead the van and draw after them the giddy vulgar, without being willing, or able to understand, as says the Apostle, *either what*

I. III.  
All error  
contradicts  
itself.

1 Tim. 1.

they 7.



that, satisfied with this hope, they reject Certainty. The *Catholicks* infine admitted this Trust, and the holy Perseverance, which the Council of *Trent* will have us acknowledge as *God's special gift*, it will have us expect with confidence from his infinite bounty: and yet, because it rejects *Absolute Certainty*, the Synod condemns it, and accuses the *Remonstrants*, who likewise condemn'd this Certainty, of falling by this means into the doubts of *Popery*. Had the *Dogma* of absolute Certainty and *Inamissibility* raised as much horror in the Synod as so hideous a Doctrine should excite naturally in all minds, the Ministers that compos'd this assembly, would not have had mouths enough to proclaim throughout all the Universe, that the *Remonstrants*, the *Lutherans*, and the *Catholicks*, laying such a blasphemy to their charge, did calumniate them; and all *Europe* would have rung with their clamour; but on the contrary, so far were they from defending themselves against this Certainty and *Inamissibility* objected to them by the *Remonstrants*, that they define it expressly, and condemn the *Remonstrants* for denying it. When they think themselves calumniated, they are not at all sparing of their complaints. They complain, for instance, at the close of their Synod, that their enemies, and amongst the rest, the *Remonstrants*, accuse them of making God the author of sin; and of the reprobation of men without any regard to sin; of making him precipitate the children of the faithful into damnation, so as all the prayers of the Church, and even Baptism itself, are not able to withdraw them from it. Why don't they complain, in like manner, they are wrongfully accused of admitting this same Certainty and *Inamissibility*. It's true, they say in this very place, they are accused of *inspiring*

*Con. Trid. Sess. vi. Can. xv. xvi. xvii*

*Sen. Doct. C. 1. S. 2. p. 23.*

*Ita.*

*men with a carnal security, by affirming that no crime prejudices the salvation of the Elect, and that they may, with full security, commit the most execrable.* But is this a sufficient explanation from men that were ask'd a plain and direct answer? What, does it not suffice them then for an evasion, that they acknowledged crimes, for instance, *the sin even unto death and against the Holy Ghost?* whatever it may be, which the Elect and true saintful never fall into? And if it was their sentiment that other crimes were equally incompatible with true Faith and the state of Grace, could they not have said as much in express terms, whereas, in express terms, they assert the contrary?

LVI  
 Cassin's  
 Doctrin  
 expreſsly  
 declar'd by  
 the Synod  
 of Dort  
 2. 1. 1. 1.  
 Calvin's  
 Doctrin  
 expreſsly  
 declar'd by  
 the Synod  
 of Dort  
 2. 1. 1. 1.  
 Calvin's  
 Doctrin  
 expreſsly  
 declar'd by  
 the Synod  
 of Dort  
 2. 1. 1. 1.  
 Calvin's  
 Doctrin  
 expreſsly  
 declar'd by  
 the Synod  
 of Dort  
 2. 1. 1. 1.

Conclude we therefore, that, of the three Articles wherein we have made the *Calvinian* Justification to consist, the two first which already were insinuated in the *Confessions* of Faith, namely, absolute Certainty of Predestination, and the impossibility of rejecting finally Faith and Grace once received, are expressly defined in the Synod of *Dort*; and that the third Article, where the question is, whether a true Believer may at least lose for a while and during his continuance in sin, justifying Grace and true Faith, altho' not express'd in any *Confession* of Faith, is likewise decided conformably to *Calvin's* Doctrine and the spirit of the new *Reformation*.

LVII  
 Calvin's  
 Doctrin  
 expreſsly  
 declar'd by  
 the Synod  
 of Dort  
 2. 1. 1. 1.  
 Calvin's  
 Doctrin  
 expreſsly  
 declar'd by  
 the Synod  
 of Dort  
 2. 1. 1. 1.

One may also know the sentiment of the whole Synod by that of the renown'd *Peter du Moulin* Minister of *Paris*, allow'd by all the world, to be unquestionably the most rigorous *Calvinist* of his time, and the most wedded to the Doctrine *Calvin* deliver'd by himself and *Arminius*. He sent to *Dort* his judgment on this matter, which was read and approv'd by the whole Synod, and insert'd in the Acts. He declares, he had not

lectare

leisure to handle all the questions: but lays down the whole Substance of the Synod's Doctrine when he decides, that none is justified but he that is glorified: whereby he condemns the *Arminians*, in that they teach, *there are men justified that lose the Faith, and are damn'd.* And still more clearly in these words: *Altho' the doubt of salvation enter sometimes into the minds of the true faithful, God nevertheless commands us in his word to have a Certainty thereof, and we must tend with all our might to this Certainty, whereat, we should not doubt, many do arrive; and whoever is assured of his salvation, is so, at the same time, that God will never abandon him, and that he shall thus persevere even to the end.* One cannot, more clearly, regard Doubting as a temptation and weakness, nor Certainty, as injoin'd by God's commandment. Thus the faithful are not assured that they shall not fall into the worst of crimes and continue in them a long while like *David*: but are nevertheless assured, *God never will abandon them, and that they shall persevere even to the end.* This is an abridgment of the Synod: accordingly, it was resolv'd by the assembly to return *Du Moulin* thanks for the very accurate judgment pass'd by him on this subject, and for his Assent to the Doctrine of the Synod.

Some would doubt whether this Certainty required by the Synod in every Believer for his Salvation, be a Certainty of Faith: but their doubt will cease, if they do but observe, that the Certainty in question, is always express'd by the word *Believe*, which in the Synod is taken no otherwise than for true Faith; to which add, that this certainty, according to the same Synod, is nothing else than the belief of the promises applied by each individual to himself and to his

eternal

177. CIII.  
CIV. p.  
289. 300.  
Ibi. p.  
291.  
Ibid. 300.

LVIII.  
Question.  
whether  
the Cer-  
tainty of  
Salvation  
be a Cer-  
tainty of  
Faith.

eternal Salvation, with a certain feeling in the heart of the Faithful, or his Faith, so that, to the end no kind of Certainty may be wanting, you have that of *Faith* bound to that of *Experiences* and *Love*.

Of all the Opinions, those that best explain the sense of the Synod, are the *Decisions* of *Great-Britain*: for, as it commands, with all the rest, a kind of doubt in the Believer concerning his Salvation, but a doubt that always proceeds from temptation, they explain very clearly, *how that after his temptation, the said Believer still believes that God is his God: that with the eyes of mercy, and that he thus intently seeks eternal life, is not an act of an enemy of men, or of conjectural hope, election, or might be deceived, cui saltem subesse potest; and an act of a true and lively Faith excited and sustained in him by the spirit of Adoption: wherein, these Divines seem to advance further than the *English Confession* of Faith, which, as we have already seen, looks as if it might to avoid speaking so clearly on the Certainty of Salvation.*

Some have thought that these *English* Divines were not of the common opinion in respect to this regard: that is, and fall into grievous crimes, whilst they continue in them like to *Deists*, who, by occasion of this doubt, that their *Deists* declare formally, *that the faith of such a person cannot save, quæ nulli damnâ, esse potest, quæ non est* whence it follows, that they are far from the Grace of Justification, at least for that time. But this is one of those places, where nearly all such as err in necessary consequence: for, these Divines see themselves obliged by their erroneous principles to acknowledge, on one side, that the faithful, thus plunged into crime, would be damn'd should they then die.



die; and on the other, *that they do not fall from the state of Justification.*

Nor must one persuade himself, they here confound Justification with Predestination: for on the contrary, 'tis what they distinguish most expressly; and say, that these faithful, plunged into crimes, not only are not fallen from their Predestination, which is true of all the Elect, but, *they are not fallen from the Faith, nor from that celestial seed of regeneration and those fundamental gifts, without which, spiritual life can in no wise subsist; inasmuch, that 'tis impossible the gifts of Charity and Faith should intirely be extinguished in their hearts. They do not intirely lose the Faith, Sanctity, Adoption: they abide in this universal Justification the which is Justification in its most proper sense, which no particular crime can exclude them from: they abide in this Justification, from which interior renovation and sanctification are inseparable; in a word, they are Saints, who, if they died, would be damn'd.*

They were extremely puzzled to explain, according to these principles, what it was that remain'd in the faithful that had run themselves into criminal disorders. Those of *Kimbleton* were agreed, *actual Faith could not remain in them, and that it was inconsistent with the consent to grievous sins.* What they did not lose, was *habitual Faith, that, said they, which subsists in man whilst he sleeps, or doth not act: but then, this habitual Faith infused into man by preaching and the use of the Sacraments, is the true living and justifying Faith; whence they concluded that the faithful did not, for all their enormous crimes, lose either Justice or the Holy Ghost: and when they were ask'd whether it might not as well be said, they lost Faith and the Holy Ghost*

LXI.  
The Faith and Charity subsist amidst the greatest crimes.

*Id. Th.*  
v. p. 213.  
vi. 214.  
*Id.* 215;

*Id. Th.*  
vii.  
*Id. Th.*  
vi.

*Id.* 214.  
218.

LXII.  
What it was that remain'd in the faithful guilty of grievous crimes.  
The Doctrine of those of *Kimbleton*.  
*Id. Th.*  
*Id. Th.*  
*Id. Th.*  
v. p. 217.  
vi. p. 218.  
*Id.*  
viii. 270.

Ps. 7.  
cc. 51.

afterwards to recover them, as to say, they only lost *the feeling and energy* thereof; they answer'd, the faithful ought not to be deprived of the comfort accruing to them from the impossibility of their ever losing *either Faith or the Holy Ghost, about crime* for they fell into against their conscience. For this, said they, would be but a cold comfort to tell them, you have intirely lost Faith and the Holy Ghost, yet perchance, God will *adopt and regenerate you again that you may be reconcil'd to him.* Thus, what sins soever the Believer may give himself up to, contrary to his conscience, they are so favourable to him, that to comfort him, they are not satisfied with leaving him the hopes of a future return to the state of Grace; but he must also have the comfort of *Abiding* being in it, his crimes notwithstanding.

Ps. 7.  
cc. 51.

LXIII.  
What it  
was the  
Holy  
Ghost did  
in the  
felony of  
guilty of  
grave  
sin.  
Strange  
idea of  
Christian  
justi-  
fication  
by  
the  
Holy  
Ghost.

The question still remains, what did Faith and the *Holy Ghost* in these Believers thus abandon'd to sin, and whether or no they were altogether without action in them. It was answer'd, they were not without action; and the effect produced by them, for example in *David*, was, that he did not sin *whole and intire*: *Peccavit David, at non totus*; there being a certain sin which he did not commit. Put if you urged so far as to ask, what could be *this* for the whole man *justified*, and the faithful are never guilty of; they answer'd, it was not a particular fall of the Christian into such or such a crime against the Law or moral rule, but a total and universal *contempt and neglect* in the Gospel-truth, *whereby man offendeth God in part and by halves, but by an absolute contempt, despiseth his whole mastery, and absolutely excludes him, or from Grace.* Thus, till you are arrived to this obstinate contempt of God, and to this universal apostacy, you still have

have the comfort of being holy, of being justified, and regenerated, and of having the Holy Ghost dwelling in you.

Answerable to this is the sentiment of those of *Bremen*, when they say, that *those who are once truly regenerated, never wander to that degree as to stray intirely from God by an universal apostacy, so as to hate him as their enemy, to sin like the Devil with a studied malice, and to deprive themselves of heavenly gifts: wherefore they never lose absolutely God's Grace and Favour; so that, they remain in this Grace and Favour, well regenerated, well justified, provided only they be not the declared enemies of God, and quite as wicked as the Devil.*

So great are these excesses that the *Protestants* are confounded at them; nay, there have been some *Catholicks* that could not persuade themselves the Synod was guilty of them. Nevertheless, here have you historically with the decrees of the Synod, the votes of the principal Opiners. And that there might be no doubt, in respect to those of all the rest, besides what is inserted in the Acts of the Synod, that every thing was there decided by the unanimous consent of all the voices not one excepted, I have expressly related the opinions, wherein, those that are willing to excuse the Synod of *Dort* find the greatest moderation.

Besides these important points, we see a fourth expressly decided in the Synod; and 'tis that of the sanctity of all children descending from the faithful. There have been different explanations of this Article in the Acts of the new *Reformation*. We have seen this sanctity of children formally establish'd in the *Catechism* of the *Catholicks* of *France*, and there it's said expressly, that all children of the faithful are sanctified, and

LXIV.  
The opinion of those of *Bremen*. *Jud. Brem. d. V. Art. n. 32. 33. p. 254. 255.*

LXV.  
Whether the Synod can be excused from these excesses. The unanimous consent of all the Opiners. *See cxxv. cxxx. & prof. ad Ecc.*

LXVI.  
The sanctification of all baptized children confessed in the Synod, and the consequence of this Doctrine.

born in the *Covenant*: yet, we have seen the contrary in the agreement of those of *Geneva* with the *Swiss*, and the sanctification of Infants even baptized is there restrain'd to the predestinate alone. *Beza* seems to have follow'd this restriction in the above-cited exposition: but the Synod of *Dre* pronounces in favour of the sanctity of all children born of faithful parents, and permits not the parents to doubt of their salvation; an Article from which we have seen it follow demonstratively, according to the principles of the Synod, that all the children of the faithful and all the posterity of these children to the end of time, should their race continue so long, are of the number of the predestinate.

Whether all these Decisions which seem so authentick, be so certainly fundamental in the new *Reformation*, as to deprive of salvation and cut off from the Church all those that reject them, is what we are to examine by setting forth the procedure of the Council.

The first thing I observe therein, is a Petition presented by the *Romans*, representing to the Synod that they have been condemn'd, treated as Hereticks, and excommunicated by the *Antipapists* and their Collegues and Parties; that they are *Protestants* like the rest, and so naturally ought to have a seat in the Synod together with them: if they are to be excluded from it as Parties in the cause, their plaintiffs ought to be excluded also: not less than they: otherwise, they would be both Judges and Parties at the same time, which of all procedures is the most unjust.

These were manifestly the same reasons for which all the *Protestants* had excepted against the Council of the *Catholicks*; for which the *Zuinglians* in particular had oppos'd the Synod

of the *Ubiquitarians*, by whom they were condemn'd at *Jena*, as above seen. The *Remonstrants* did not fail to quote these examples. They instanced chiefly in complaints made against the Council of *Trent*, when all *Protestants* exclaim'd: *we will have a free Council; a Council we may be present at together with the rest; a Council that comes unbiass'd; a Council that does not hold us for Hereticks; otherwise we should be judged by our adversaries.* We have seen that *Calvin* and the *Calvinists* alledged the same reasons against the Synod of *Jena*. The *Remonstrants* found themselves in this very state when they beheld *Francis Gomar* and his adherents seated in the Council amongst their Judges, yet themselves excluded, and treated as guilty persons: this was prejudging against them before examining the cause; and these reasons seem'd to them so much the more convincing, as they were visibly the very same their Fathers had urged against the Council of *Trent*, as they set forth in their Petition.

what P.  
to  
Part.  
ited on  
against the  
Church.  
S. I. vii.  
n. 41.  
Ibi. 70.  
81.

S. n. Diss.  
Ibid. p.  
70. 71.  
72. &c.  
81. &c.

After their Petition was read, it was declared to them, *the Synod thought it very strange that the accused should set laws to their Judges, and prescribe them rules; which was not only injuring the Synod, but also the States-General, by whom it was assembled and authoriz'd to judge; wherefore they had no more to do but obey.*

LXIX  
Their  
mouths are  
stop'd by  
the author-  
ity of the  
States.  
Ibid. p.  
80.  
S. XXVI.  
p. 82, 83.

This was stopping their mouths with the authority of the secular power, but not answering their arguments, nor the example of their forefathers when they declined the judgment of the Council of *Trent*. And truly, little did they dwell on these considerations: the Delegates of the *States*, who were present at the Synod with the whole authority of their Superiors, judged the *Remonstrants* were not to be admitted plun-

S. XXVI.  
p. 81.

tiffs, and order'd them to obey the regulations of the Synod, which, on its side, declared their propositions insolent, and their challenging the whole Synod as a Party in the cause, injurious, not only to the Synod itself, but also to the Supreme authority of the *States-General*.

LXX.  
They Protest  
against  
the Synod.  
The argu-  
ments used  
against  
them by  
the Synod,  
concern  
the whole  
*Protestant*  
*Party*.  
1672. 1673.  
1674. 1675.  
1676. 1677.  
1678. 1679.  
1680. 1681.

The *Remonstrants* condemn'd, change their Petitions into Protests against the Synod. These were debated on; and as the reasons alleg'd by them were the same with those the *Protestants* had used to elude the authority of the *Catholic* Bishops, the answers return'd them were the same that the *Catholics* had employ'd against the *Protestants*. They were told, that it never had been the custom of the *Church* to deprive Pastors of their right of suffrage against error on account that they had oppos'd them: that this would be divesting them of the prerogatives of their function for having faithfully discharg'd their duty, and subverting the whole œconomy of Church judgments: that by the same reasons the *Arians*, the *Nestorians*, and the *Eucybian*s might have excepted against the whole *Church*, and left themselves no Judge among *Christians*: that this would be the way to silence Pastors and give a free scope to all kind of Heresies. After all; what Judges would they have? Where could they find, in the whole body of the Pastors, three neutral and indifferent persons that had interest'd themselves no way in questions of Faith and affairs of the Church? These arguments were unanswerable; but then, unluckily for our *Remonstrants*, they were the very same that had been object'd to them when they declin'd the judgment of the Bishops in possession of authority, at the time of their Separation.

LXXI.  
The Remonstrants  
are declar'd  
heretical.

What carried the greatest weight in the objections against the *Remonstrants* was, that they were

1672. 1673.



*innovators, and the least Party as well as the newest, which by consequence, ought to be judged by the greatest, and the most ancient; by that which was in possession, and which maintain'd the Doctrine till then received. But thereby the Catholicks did most evidently gain their cause; for after all, what antiquity did the Dutch Reformed Church alledge against the Remonstrants? We will not suffer, said she, any alteration to be made in the Doctrine we have constantly taught these fifty years past, for this was the utmost antiquity they could boast. If fifty years gave to this Church, that call'd herself Reform'd, so great a power against the Arminians newly crept out of her bosom, what ought to be the authority of the whole Catholick Church of so many ages standing?*

the weaker and younger Party ought to yield to the greater and more ancient.  
P. 97.  
103. &c.

*Proof. of Ecc. Ant. Syn. Dord.*

Among all the answers made to the *Remonstrants* in relation to their Protest, what was the least taken notice of, was the comparison made by them betwixt their exceptions against the Synod of *Dort*, and those of the *Reformed* against the Councils of the *Catholicks*, and those of the *Lutherans*. Some of them said, *there was a great difference betwixt this, and the Councils of Papists and Lutherans. There you bear Men, the Pope and Luther; here you bear God. There Men are prepossessed; here not a Man to be found that is not ready to yield to the word of God. There you have Enemies to contend with; and here, none but Brethren. There every thing is forced; here, all is free.* This was solving the question by that which caused the difficulty. The question was whether the *Gomarists* did not come to the Synod prepossessed: the question was, whether they were enemies or brethren; the question was, which of them had the most docile hearts in regard to truth and the word of God:

LXXII  
The Synod's perplexity at the Protest of the Remonstrants.  
P. 99.

whether to the *Protestants* in general, or the *Catholics*; to the *Doctors of Louvain*, or more of *Leiden*; the *Germans*, or the *Arminians*. And as to liberty; the authority of the *Synod* which every where interposed, and moreover was always in the mouth of the *Synod*, that of the Prince of *Orange* the declared enemy of the *Arminians*, the imprisonment of *Grotius* and the other heads of that Party, and lastly, the capital punishment of *Barricoll*, sufficiently evince what liberty was allow'd in *Holland* as to that matter.

Self xxv.  
81  
82  
83. &c.

LXXIII. The Deputies of *Geneva* make fewer words of the difficulty, and without stopping at the *Italian* name, to whom but four years of seniority, above the *Zuinglians*, could give but little authority to be their Judges, they answer in respect of the *Catholics*: *Our fathers might, as they please, presently convert Councils of Constance and Trent, into Synods, and term them so, but it will not pass with us; on the contrary, we do justly esteem them to be Synods, though we challenge the authority of Councils, as being convened by a Council.* This is the whole of their Answer; and that great Doctor would have had no hard to oppose against the temples of the *Arminians*, and the *Protestants* of former *Geneva*, or *Holland*, and every where else.

LXXIV. As to the *Arminians*, the *Italian* *Doctors* would have had no hard to oppose to the *Arminians* against the Council of *Leiden*, notwithstanding which was *Protestant*, and was a *Synod* in the *Arminian* sense. To resist the authority of a Council, the *Catholics* would have to have had no hard to have lay down their *Arminian* doctrine, and to have said, *As you will have us, you will have your *Arminian* *Council*. But publick church government of the*

very name of a Christian would not suffer such an answer. Neither did the *Lutherans* answer in this manner: on the contrary, they declared, and even at *Ausburg* in their own *Confession*, that they appeal'd to the Council, even that Council which the Pope was to assemble. There is a like declaration in the *Confession* of *Strasburg*; so that, both *Protestant* Parties were agreed in this point. They were not for breaking with us: they did not hate us; they did not despise us to that degree as did those of *Geneva*. If it be therefore true, according to them, that the *Remonstrants* ought to have submitted themselves to the Council of the *Reformation*, as they were averse to Schism; so the *Protestants*, who alike declared they would not separate from the *Catholic* Church, ought to have submitted to her Council.

S. 111.  
n. 62.  
S. 112.  
Apost.  
P. 113.  
101. Gen.  
1. 114.  
115.

We must not forget the Answer made by a whole Synod of the *Province* of *Holland* to the exceptions of the *Remonstrants*: 'twas the Synod held at *Delft*, a little before that of *Dort*. The *Remonstrants* objected that the Synod, which was to be conven'd against them, would not be infallible like that of the *Apostles*, and consequently would not bind their consciences. This they must certainly have own'd, or denied all the principles of the *Reformation*; yet after owning it, those of *Delft* add these words: *Jesus Christ* who promised the *Apostles* the *Spirit of Truth*, who likewise promised to his Church to be with her always even to the world's end, and to be in the midst of us or those that shall meet together in his name; whence they concluded a little after: that no *Pope* should make us other from *several* countries in order to decide, according to *God's* word, what ought to be thought

LXXV.  
In order to  
fleece the  
*Remonstrants*, a  
Synod of  
*Geneva* is  
forced to  
have recourse  
to the assistance  
of the *Holy*  
Office, prom-  
ised to  
*Geneva*,  
24. Gen.  
118.  
S. 119.  
1. 120.  
121.  
122.  
123.  
124.  
125.

in the Churches, one ought to persuade himself with a firm confidence that *Jesus Christ* would be with them according to his promise.

LXXVI.

This is  
returning  
to the  
Catholic  
Doctrine.

Here then you see them obliged to confess two promises of *Jesus Christ*, that he will be present at, and direct the judgments of his Church. Now the *Catholics* never had any other foundation than this to believe the Church *Infallible*. They make use of the first text in order to shew, he always is with her consider'd in her whole. They make use of the second to shew, we ought to hold for certain, he would be in the midst of two or three, were we assured that they were truly assembled in the name of *Jesus Christ*. Now what is doubtful in respect to two or three assembled in private, is certain, in regard to the whole Church assembled in body: we ought therefore to hold for certain, in such case, that *Jesus Christ* is there by his Spirit, and by that means her judgments are infallible; or let them tell us, what other use can be made of these texts in the case the Synod of *Daph* applies them to.

LXXVII.

The Re-  
formation  
was made  
to hope an  
Oecumeni-  
cal Council  
should be  
summon'd  
by the  
States.

It is true, the certain accomplishment of these promises is to be found in the body of the *Universal Church* and in her *Oecumenical Council*. Accordingly, 'twas to such a Council the *Roman* *Reformants* had appeal'd. They were answer'd, *it is doubtful whether and when this Oecumenical Council could be assembled; mean while, the national one, call'd together by the States, would be best to be Oecumenical and general, for as much as it would be compos'd of the Deputies of all the Reformed Churches; and in case they should find themselves agreed by the national Synod, they might then be to appeal to an Oecumenical Council, if need should, in the interim, they obey the national Synod.*

The reflexion we ought to make here is, that to speak of an *Oecumenical Council*, was amongst these new *Reformed*, a remainder of the Church's language. For what could this word mean in these upstart Churches? They durst not say, the Deputies of all the *Reformed Churches* were an *Oecumenical Council* representing the *Universal Church*. It was, said they, not an *Oecumenical Council*, but *like to an Oecumenical Council*. What then should a true *Oecumenical Council* be composed of? Ought the *Lutherans* to be a part of it, who had excommunicated them? Or the *Catholicks*? Or, infine, some other Churches? 'Tis what the *Calvinists* could not tell, and in the condition they had put themselves by dividing from all the rest of *Christendom*, the great name of an *Oecumenical Council*, so venerable among Christians, was nothing to them but an insignificant word, which had no idea in their mind corresponding to it.

The last observation I have to make, as to the procedure, regards the *Confessions of Faith* and the *Catechisms* received in the *United Provinces*. The *Provincial Synods* obliged the *Remonstrants* to subscribe them. These refused it absolutely, because they believed there were principles in them from which the condemnation of their Doctrine might be clearly enough deduced. Upon this refusal, they were treated as *Hereticks* and *Schismatics*; and this notwithstanding it was agreed in the *Provincial Synods*, and expressly declared in the Synod of *Dort*, that these *Confessions of Faith*, so far from passing for a certain rule, might be examin'd anew: so that, they obliged the *Remonstrants* to subscribe a Doctrine of *Faith*, even without believing it themselves.

We have observed already, what is specified in the *Acts*, that the *Canons* of the Synod against

LXXVIII  
The illusion of this promise.

LXXIX.  
Resolution of the Synod, that the *Confessions of Faith* might be revised, and at the same time an obligation imposed of subscribing them.  
*Syn. Disp. Tit. Act. Dort. Sess. xxv. p. 91. Sess. xxxii. 125.*  
LXXX.  
the Decree of

the pre-  
tended Re-  
formed of  
France at  
the Synod  
of Clu-  
stere, in  
order to  
approve  
that of  
Dort. The  
certainty  
of such  
a know-  
ledge  
is the  
Fifth  
Part  
of the  
Catech-  
ism  
Part of

the *Remonstrants* were establish'd with the unani-  
mous consent of all the voices, *not one excepted*.  
The pretended *Returned* of France were not al-  
lowed to go to Dort, tho' invited, but received  
its Decisions in their national Synods, and amongst  
the rest, in that of *Cherbourg* in 1670, where  
all the *Canons* were translated into French, and  
a subscription of them in such form: *I receive, approve, and confirm all the Doctrine*  
*taught in the Synod of Dort as most conformable*  
*to God's word and to the Confession of Faith of*  
*our Churches: the Doctrine of the Arminius*  
*maist, God's Liberty, Liberty of Man,*  
*Tragedy, Paganism, and Superstition, and con-*  
*firming the true Certainty of Salvation.* These last  
words shew us what they judg'd of most impor-  
tance in the Decisions of *Dort*, and the Certainty  
of Salvation therein, to remain as one of the most  
essential characteristics of *Calvinism*.

Even but  
the other  
day, the  
first thing  
re-  
quired  
of our  
Ministers,  
who had  
taken  
refuge  
in *Holland*,  
in their  
last  
contests  
about  
Religion,  
was to  
subscribe  
the Acts  
of the  
Synod  
of *Dort*;  
and to  
great a  
consensus,  
to many  
oaths, such  
a number  
of repeated  
Acts, seem  
to make  
it plain,  
that nothing  
is more  
authentick  
in the  
whole  
Party.

Even but the other day, the first thing re-  
quired of our Ministers, who had taken refuge  
in *Holland*, in their last contests about Religion,  
was to subscribe the Acts of the Synod of *Dort*;  
and to great a consensus, to many oaths, such  
a number of repeated Acts, seem to make it  
plain, that nothing is more authentick in the whole  
Party.

Even the Decree of the Synod shew the im-  
portance of the Decisions, the *Remonstrants* being  
deprived by it of *the communion of the Synod, and*  
*of the right of ministry, and of the right of*  
*ordination, and of the right of teaching in*  
*any Church, that should be subject to the*  
*authority of the Synod.* which if it were not  
were treated as excommunicated, and that the  
Practice of excommunication, published in  
several of the *Canons* and Synods, was the  
first which the Synod signifies the *Synod* of  
the



to suffer any other Doctrine to be taught but that which was just defined, and to obstruct Heresies and errors that were creeping in; which manifestly regards the Arminian Articles, by them qualified as erroneous, and as the source of hidden errors.

All these things might make one think, these Articles were accounted very essential to Religion. Mr. Jurieu, nevertheless, assures us of the contrary: for after supposing, the Church of Rome was in the sentiment of the Arminians, at least during the time of the Council of Trent, he thus proceeds: *If she had no other errors, we should have done exceeding ill to separate from her: we ought to have borne with those for peace-sake, by reason that she was a Church whereof we made part, and which had not banded herself to maintain Grace according to St. Austin's system of divinity, &c.* And accordingly, 'tis this which makes him conclude, that the reason which made them cut the Remonstrants off from their Communion was, for that they would not submit to a Doctrine, which, in the first place, we believed conformable to the word of God; which, in the second, we had bound ourselves, by a confederate Confession, to maintain and defend against the Pelagianism of the Church of Rome.

Without assenting to his principles, or what he says of the Church of Rome, it suffices to relate his sentiments, which make him say in another place, that the Churches of the Swiss and the Geneva-Confession would exclude from their Communion a Semipelagian, and one that should maintain the errors of the Remonstrants: 'twould not be their desire thereby to declare that man damn'd, as if Semipelagianism did condemn. It therefore stands well grounded by the testimony of this Minister, that the Doctrine of the Remonstrants may well exclude one from the particular

Sent. Syn. de Form. l. 2. p. cxxxviii. p. 230.

LXXXIII  
The Decisions of Dort not essential. The sentiment of the Minister Jurieu. Sent. de F. E. l. 1. c. 111. p. 255. Ibid. ib. x. p. 305.

LXXXIV  
Sent. de F. E. l. 1. c. 111. p. 255. Ibid. ib. x. p. 305.

particular confederation of the pretended *Reformed Churches*, but not, in general, from the fellowship of God's children; the which shews, these *Articles* are not of the number of those, they call *fundamental*.

*Jug. sur  
Les m. s. b.  
Sect. xviii.  
p. 159.  
160.*

Lastly, the same Doctor, in his *judgment concerning method*, where he labours at the re union of the *Lutherans* to those of his Communion, acknowledges, that *in order to stem a torrent of Pelagianism which was going to overflow the Low-countries*, the Synod of *Dort* ought to oppose the *rigidest and strictest method to this Pelagian relaxation*. He adds, that with this view *she might have imposed, on her Party, the necessity of maintaining St. Austin's method, and obliged, I don't say all the members of her society, but at least, all her Doctors, Preachers, and the rest concern'd in teaching, yet without laying other Churches and other Communions under the same obligation*. Whence results that the Synod, so far from binding all Christians to her tenets, does not even pretend to bind all her members, but only her *Preachers and Doctors*: which shews, what these grave Decisions of the new *Reformation* are in the main, when after so much boasting the express word of God, all terminates at last in obliging *Doctors* to teach, by common agreement, a Doctrine, which private men are neither obliged to believe, nor profess.

LXXXV.  
The tenet  
in debate  
at *Dort*  
were the  
most pe-  
culiar and  
the most  
controversial.

Nor can it be answer'd, that these are *Dogmata* which appertain not to the knowledge of the people: for besides that all *Dogmata* reveal'd by God are made for the people as well as the rest, and there are certain cases wherein they are not allow'd to be ignorant of them; that which was defined at *Dort* ought, above all others, to be a most popular *Dogma*, since it principally concern'd that Certainty every body ought to have

have of his own Salvation : a *Dogma*, wherein the *S. n. 6.*  
*Calvinists* laid the main foundation of the Chri-  
 stian Religion.

All the rest of the Decisions of *Dort*, as you  
 have seen, tending to this *Dogma* of Certainty,  
 it was no question of idle speculation, but of  
 practice, which they judged the most necessary  
 and of the utmost consequence to Religion ; and  
 nevertheless Mr. *Juricu* hath represented this Doc-  
 trine not so much as a capital *Dogma*, but as a  
*method* they were obliged to follow ; and not as  
 the most certain neither, but as being *the most*  
*rigid*. In order to stem, says he, *this torrent of*  
*Pelagianism, it was necessary to oppose against it*  
*the rigidest and strictest method*, and to decide,  
 adds he, many things *to the prejudice of that*  
*liberty of disputing pro and con, which always had*  
*subsisted amongst the Reformed* : as if this were a  
 political affair, or that other things were to be  
 consider'd in Church-decisions than the pure truth  
 revealed by God clearly and expressly in his word ;  
 or, after a full knowledge thereof, it were al-  
 lowable to shift and decline from it,

LXXXVI  
 The Mini-  
 ster *Ju-*  
*ricu* makes  
 the Synod  
 of *Dort*  
 act more  
 by policy  
 than truth.

*Ibid.* p.  
 59.

But what this Minister teaches in another place,  
 is still more surprising, since he declares to the  
*Arminians*, that 'tis not properly *Arminianism*,  
 but *Socinianism* which they reject in them. *These*  
*Remonstrants*, says he, *ought not to wonder, see*  
*offer peace to Scéts that seem to be of the same mind*  
*with them in respect to the Synod of Dort, and do*  
*not offer it to them. Their Semi-Socinianism will*  
*ever be a wall of separation betwixt them and us.*  
 Here then is what makes the separation. 'Tis  
 because, *at this day*, proceeds he, *Socinianism*  
*is in the most elevated stations amongst them.* It's  
 plainly seen, were it not for this obstacle, that  
 they might unite with the *Arminians*, without  
 concerning themselves for *that torrent of Pelagia-*  
 nism

LXXXVII  
 They were  
 ready to  
 bear with  
 Pelagia-  
 nism in  
 the *Armi-*  
*nians.*  
*Ibid.* Sec.  
 XVI p.  
 157.

nism *with which they overflow'd the Low-countries,* nor for the Decisions of *Dort*, nor even for the Confederacy of all *Calvinism* in favour of the pretended sentiments of *St. Austin*.

LXXXIII.

The rest  
of the  
Ministers  
were of the  
same opi-  
nion with  
Mr. *Jurieu*.

D. 1127.

c. 8. A.

127. 300.

Hist. 137.

H. 4. 127.

LXXXIX

The Re-

formation

of the

1549.

men to

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under-

standing

of the

Doctrine

of the

rest of the

Church

Hist. 126.

c. 100.

Hist. 127.

Mr. *Jurieu* is not the only one that has reveal'd to us this secret of the Party. The Minister *Matthieu Bochart* had assured us before him, that, *if the Remonstrants had only differ'd from the rest of the Calvinists in the five points decided at the Synod of Dort, the difference might have been agreed:* which he confirms with the opinions of other Doctors of the Sect, even with that of the Synod itself.

It is true, he says at the same time, that altho' they were dispos'd to tolerate, in particular peaceable and modest men, sentiments opposite to those of the Synod, they could not have suffer'd them in the Ministers who ought to be better instructed than the rest: but this, however, is enough to evince, that these Decisions, *which were oppos'd against Pelagianism*, altho' made by the Synod with so great solemnity and with such frequent declarations of their following nothing therein but the pure and express word of God, are not very material to *Christianity*; and what more surpris'd is, they hold for *mankind* such private persons as, after knowledge of what all the *Dort* had decided, say, as speaks Mr. *Bochart*, *all the Calvinists of the Party as many as there are in Europe*, yet believe, they are better able to understand what is found Doctrine, not only than any one of them in particular, but also, than all of them together.

It is also very certain, that the Doctors, in whom opposite sentiments to those of the Synod were not to be tolerated, are greatly surpris'd in that regard. The Ministers that have wrote of late days, and among others, Mr. *Bochart*, whom

we

we have seen at *Sedan* one of the most learned and pacifick of them all, soften as much as they are able the *Dogma* of *Inamissibility* of Justice, and even that of the *Certainty* of *Salvation*: and two reasons move them to it; the first is, the *Lutherans* dislike to it, whom they are willing to be united to at any rate: the second is, the absurdity and impiety discoverable in these tenets by never so little an inspection. The *Doctors* may, by degrees, inure themselves to them in consequence of the false principles they are imbued with; but plain and sincere people will not easily be persuaded, that every one of them, to have true Faith, must assure himself, he has no *Damnation* to fear, let him commit what crimes he pleases; much less, that he is sure of preserving *Sanctity* and *Grace* in such crimes.

As often as our *Reformed* disclaim these impious tenets, let us praise God for it, and without more disputing, intreat them only to consider, that the *Holy Ghost* could not have been in those that taught them, and who made a great part of the *Reformation* to consist in notions so derogatory to *Christian Justice*.

This however we may conclude from thence; that, after all, this great Synod has proved quite useles, and neither cured the people, nor even the Pastors, for whom it was principally intended, forasmuch as, what is call'd *Pelagianism* in the *Reformation* (the thing the Synod design'd to destroy) still stands its ground: for I ask, who hath been cured of this evil? Not those sure who do not believe the Synod; nor even those who do believe it, for, Mr. *Jurieu* for instance, who is of this last number, and seems to continue so firm in the Confederation, as he calls it, of the *Calvinian Churches* against *Pelagianism*, at the bottom, does not disapprove

XCI.  
The Synod of *Dort* hath done no good, and is the cause of all its decrees  
Mr. *Jurieu* is a *Pelagian*

87  
84 37

it, since he maintains, as we have seen, that it is not contrary to piety. He is like to those *Socinians*, who, ask'd if they believe the eternal *Divinity* of the Son of God, make no difficulty of answering, they believe it: but urged a little further, will tell you, the contrary belief, in the main, is neither opposite to piety nor true Faith. Such are true enemies to the Son of God's Divinity, since they hold the tenet for indifferent: Mr. *Jurieu* is a *Pelagian*, and the enemy of Grace, in the same sense.

XVII.  
Another  
Time of  
the  
Minister,  
and his  
wretched  
conscience  
is  
M<sup>th</sup>.

In effect, what is the tendency of these words of his, *in exhortations, you must of necessity speak like a Pelagian*? This is not the speech of a Divine; for if *Pelagianism* be a Heresy, and a Heresy that evacuates the Cross of *Jesus Christ*, as hath been so much preach'd even by the *Reformation*, you cannot keep at too great a distance from it in exhortations, so far from retaining the least tincture of it.

Let Mr. J.  
131  
132  
133-134

This Minister is no less inconsistent when he excuses the *Pelagians* or *Semi-Pelagians* of the *Apostolical Confession* together with the *Aminians* following the same tenements, under pretext that, *what they are said Pelagians in word and spirit, they are the disciples of St. Austin in the heart*, for can he be ignorant that a perverted spirit soon corrupts the heart? Men must be led in error to a great degree when even truth presented in a plain manner, nay, presented by a great number of the weak Communion.

84  
134  
135

When Mr. *Jurieu* says, on one hand, that *Pelagianism* is not a doctrine; and on the other, that *you'll never see the profession of Pelagianism* in *Semi-Pelagians*, tho' he be never so bold a Divan, he would not show more clearly that he does not reflect on what he says, and that, by endeavouring to have all, he loses all.



He also thinks he has kept clear from that blasphemy which makes God the Author of sin, into which, he pretends, none of his Party hath fallen *for this hundred years*, and he himself relapses into it in that very Book where he pretends to shew, they are no longer guilty of it. For when all is said, whilst you continue to deprive mankind of the liberty of their choice, and believe that *Free-will* subsists together with an intire and inevitable necessity; it always will be true that neither Men, nor prevaricating Angels, could avoid sinning; and so the sins they fell into, are the necessary consequence resulting from those dispositions their Creator placed them in. Now Mr. *Jurieu* is one of those who leave this inevitable necessity whole and intire, when he says, we know nothing of our soul, *only that she thinks*, nor can we define what is requisite to constitute her free. He owns therefore, he does not know but 'tis this inevitable necessity which drags us into evil as well as good, and by that means sinks into all the excesses of the first *Reformers*, which he brags his Party has been exempt from, a whole age.

To avoid these terrible inconveniences, you must at least believe, if not arrived to the comprehension of it, that there is no admitting, without blasphemy and making God the Author of sin, this invincible necessity which the *Remonstrants* reproach'd the pretended *Reformers* with, and from which the Synod of *Dort* hath not justified them.

And in reality, I observe that nothing is said in any part of the Synod against these damnable excesses. It was willing to spare the *Reformers*, and save the beginnings of the *Reformation* from eternal infamy.

XCIII.  
This Minder falls back into the excesses of the *Reformers* relating to the cause of sin.  
S. v. 6.

*Ibid.* 129.  
132.

XCIV.  
Cause of the Synod of *Dort*, not only at the excesses of

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tence of  
Reform-  
ment, but  
as to  
those of  
the Re-  
formers  
I have  
written  
in my  
Catech-  
sis, &c.  
C. 11.  
p. 107.

Yet at least it ought not to have extended the like confederation to the *Remonstrants*, who opposed to the excesses of the *Reformers*, other notable criminal excesses.

They printed in *Holland* in 1618, a little before the Synod, a Book under this title: *The state of controversies in the Low countries*, where is shown, it was the Doctrine of the *Remonstrants* that certain accidents might befall God; that he was liable to change; that his Preference of particular events was not certain; that he proceeded by discoursing and conjecture in drawing, as we do, one thing from another, and other the like numberless errors, wherein the Author sides with those Philosophers who destroy God's Fore-knowledge, for fear of blinding the liberty of Man. There it's more appear, they went so far astray as to make God corporeal, to attribute to him three Persons, and the rest that may be learn'd from that Book, which is very perspicuous and concise. It was compos'd in order to prepare for the approaching Synod, the subject-matter of their objections; but none of all these things were mention'd therein, no more than many others as material raised by the *Remonstrants*. The whole care of the Synod was taken up in referring to the Articles which are peculiar to *Germany*, and more zeal was shew'd by them for their opposition, than for the fundamental principles of *Germany*.

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Synod  
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Low  
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lished.

The great *Controversy*, which we have seen was paid to the *Remonstrants*, prov'd fruitless, with them in respect to Religion, they still persisting to hold the whole Party of the *Remonstrants* for excommunicable. At last the pretended *Reformers* of *France*, in their national Synod of *Charost*, made this memorable Decision, where- in they declare, that the *Remonstrants* are schis-  
matics.

losing the Confession of Ausburg, for so much as the Churches of the Ausburg-Confession agree with the others that are reformed in the fundamental principles and tenets of the true Religion, and that in their worship, there is neither Idolatry nor Superstition, may, without making abjuration, be received to the holy table, to contract marriage with the faithful of our Confession, and to present, as God-fathers, children to Baptism, in promising the Consistory, they will never solicit them to act counter, directly, or indirectly, to the Doctrine received and professed in our Churches, but will be contented with instructing them in the principles wherein we all agree.

In consequence of this Decree, they were obliged to say, that the Doctrine of the *Real Presence*, taken in itself, hath no venom in it: that it is neither contrary to piety, nor God's honour, nor the good of mankind: that altho' the opinion of the Lutherans relating to the Eucharist infers, no less than that of Rome, the destruction of Jesus Christ's humanity, this consequence nevertheless cannot be imputed to them without calumny, inasmuch as, 'tis formally rejected by them, so that it's an allow'd maxim, that in matters of Religion, none ought to charge on others the consequences they draw from their Doctrine, but only such things as they allow in express terms.

Never had the *Sacramentarians*, before this time, taken so great a step towards the *Lutherans*. The novelty of this Decree does not consist in saying, that the *Real Presence* and the other disputed points betwixt both Parties, do not regard the *fundamentals* of Salvation; for it must be own'd ingenuously, that ever since the time of the Conference of *Martburg*, that is, so long ago as the year 1529, the *Zuinglians* offer'd the *Lutherans* to hold them for Brethren notwith-

XCVI.  
The consequences of this Decree.  
Daily  
Appl.  
V. 11. 43.  
Id. 1. 11.  
a Mon.

XCVII.  
The Councils had never advanced so far before.  
2. 1. 11. 11.  
45.

standing their Doctrine of the *Real Presence*; and never, from that time, did they believe it *fundamental*, but required that the Fraternity should be mutual and own'd equally on both sides; which being refused them by *Luther*, they likewise continued to disown those for Brethren, who were so averse to pass the same judgment in their favour: whereas, in the Synod of *Clarenton*, 'tis the *Sacramentarians* alone that receive the *Lutherans* into that fellowship, notwithstanding that they are held by them for excommunicated.

XCVIII.

Memorandum  
The date of  
the Decree  
of Clarenton  
1529.

The date of this Decree is remarkable: it was made in 1529, when the great *Gyulius* was thundering in *Germany*, and when currently believed throughout the whole *Reformation*, that *Rome* might soon be soon in the power of the *Lutherans*. God had otherwise ordain'd: the year following, this victorious King was kill'd at the battle of *Lutzen*, and all the rare discoveries made concerning him in the prophecies were not to be retraced.

XCIX.

Continuation  
of the  
Synod of  
Clarenton  
1529.

Mean while the Decree pass'd, and the *Catholics* observ'd the greatest change imaginable in the Doctrine of the *Presidents*.

In the first place, all that horror they had in-  
fused into the people against the Doctrine of the  
*Real Presence* appear'd manifestly unjust and  
chimerical. The Doctors may say what they  
please of the matter: but 'twas the *Real Presence*  
on which the people's aversion was chiefly bent.  
This Doctrine had been represented to them,  
not only as gross and carnal, but also as brutal  
and full of sacrilege, whereby men became  
Carnals, eating of Man and human Blood,  
Partakers that were their *Lutherans* rather than *Catholics*.  
But now, since the Decree of the Synod, it  
stands contended that in these exagérations, the  
Bible

silly vulgar were fascinated with so long a time, are calumnies, and the Doctrine that was made to pass for so impious and inhuman, has no longer any thing in it that is contrary to piety.

Thereby even it becomes the most credible, and the most necessary; for the chief reason inducing to wrest the sense of these words, *Except ye eat the Flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his Blood, and also of these, Eat, this is my Body; drink, this is my Blood,* to spiritual and metaphorical meanings was, because they seem'd to lead to sin by commanding to eat human Flesh, and to drink human Blood: so that St. *Austin's* rule, of interpreting spiritually what appears to incline to evil, was here to take place. But at present, this reason carries no longer any the least probability; all this imaginary crime is vanish'd, and nothing prevents taking the words of our Saviour in their true *literal* sense.

The people were made to abhor the *Catholic* Doctrine as a Doctrine that destroyed *Jesus Christ's* human nature, and ruin'd the mystery of his *Ascension*. But they must no longer be affrighted at these consequences, since the denial of them sufficiently acquits whosoever denies them.

These horrors thus raised in the minds of the people were, to speak the truth, the real cause of their departure from the Church. Read in all the Acts of the pretended Martyrs the cause for which they suffer'd, and you'll find every where, 'twas for the Doctrine opposite to the *Real Presence*. Consult a *Melancthon*, a *Starbomius*, a *Peucer*, all the rest that were against condemning the Doctrine of the *Zuinglians*: you'll find their chief reason to be, because 'twas for this Doctrine that such a number of the faithful laid down their lives in *France* and *England*.

C  
The literal sense and the Real Presence necessary. *John* vi. 53. *Matt.* xxvi. 26. 27. 28.

CI.  
The chief argument in behalf of the rupture render'd frivolous.

land. These wretched Martyrs persuaded themselves, in dying for this Doctrine, they died for a fundamental point of Faith and piety: at present, this Doctrine is innocent, and excludes none from the sacred table, nor from the kingdom of heaven.

CH.  
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of the  
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tion, a  
thing of  
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tance.

To preserve in the hearts of the people their aversion to the *Catholic* Doctrine, it was requisite to divert it on another object than the *Real Presence*: *Transubstantiation* is now the great crime: there's now no manner of difficulty in admitting *Jesus Christ* really present, in admitting one and the same Body in different places at once, in admitting the intire Body in every crumb of Bread: the great error consists in taking the Bread away: what regards *Jesus Christ* is of small importance: what regards the Bread is alone essential.

CH.  
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tance.

All the maxims, till then held for unquestionable, touching the adoration of *Jesus Christ*, are now chang'd. *Calista* and the rest of them had demonstrated, that wherever *Jesus Christ*, so adorable an object, was held present by the special Presence as that acknowledged in the *Eucharist*, it was not lawful to withhold that adoration which is due unto him. But now, *Jesus Christ* Present in any place, is not enough to make him be ador'd in it, he must command it, he must *deprecate* our adoration. *Deus est in altari et adoratur, sed non adoratur, nisi per sacerdotem*; otherwise, as much God as he is, he will meet with no worship from us. More than this, he must shew himself. *Ipse Dominus est, et non est adoratus, nisi manifestatus, et adoratus, et adoratur, nisi per sacerdotem*. He would do not this, it is necessary he should be seen; you may hear the voice of the King never so much; if you see him, not with you



your own eyes, you owe him no respect, or at least, he must declare expressly, 'tis his intention to be honour'd; otherwise you should behave as in his absence. Were it the case of an earthly King, none would question paying him what is his due the moment it is known where he is; but thus to honour the King of heaven would be Idolatry, and it would be to be fear'd, lest he should take the worship as given to another than himself.

But here is a device that is new and surprising. The *Lutheran*, who believes *Jesus Christ* present, shall receive him as his God: shall put his trust in him, shall invoke him; and the Synod of *Charenton* decides, *there is neither Idolatry, nor Superstition in his worship*: but if he make any perceptible act of adoration, he idolizes, that is to say, it's allowable to have the Substance of adoration, which is the interior sentiment; but not allowable to testify it, and you become an Idolater in making appear, by some posture of respect, the sense of that truly sacred veneration you have in your heart.

But the reason of this is, say they, because, should the *Lutheran* adore *Jesus Christ* in the *Eucharist*, who is there together with the Bread, there would be danger, lest the adoration should be referr'd to the Bread alike as to *Jesus Christ*; or however, lest some should think, the intention was to refer it so: no question, when the *wisemen* adored *Jesus Christ*, either in his crib, or in a cradle, it was to be fear'd, lest they should worship, together with *Jesus Christ*, either the crib, or the cradle; or infine, lest the *Blessed Virgin* and *St. Joseph* should take them for worshippers of the cradle rather than of the divine Infant lying in it. These were the subtleties introduced by the Decree of *Charenton*.

Moreover,

CIV.  
Interior acts of adoration are tolerated in the *Lutheran*; and the exterior which are but the tokens of them rejected.

CV.  
*Privilegium  
solwer.  
lib. 24.*

CVI.  
U. 15. 15.  
15. 15.

Moreover, the Doctrine of *Utiquty* which had been accounted, and with reason, alike by the *Sacramentarians* and by *Catholicks*, a most monstrous doctrine confounding both Natures of *Jesus Christ*, becomes the Doctrine of the Saints.

For you are not to imagine that the defenders of this Doctrine were excepted out of the union: the Synod speaks in general of the Churches of the *Reformation*, whereof, it's well known, the greater part are *Utiqutians*, and the Ministers assure us, *Utiquty* hath nothing mortal in it, tho' it destroys, more expressly than ever *Eusebius* did, the human Nature of our Lord.

B. 6.

H. 4. 15.  
D. 1. 2. p.  
c. 7.

CVII.

Nothing  
But the  
external  
worship is  
look'd up-  
on as im-  
portant.

In a word, little account is made of all whatsoever causes no alteration in the worship, even in the external worship: for the belief, which you may have interiorly, is no obstacle to Communion; nothing but the respect you shew *externally* makes the sin; and this is what we are brought to by those who are always preaching to us adoration in *Spirit* and in *Truth*.

CVIII.

The ten-  
dition of  
Duty for  
in the ac-  
tion.  
E. 1. 1. 1.  
C. 1. 1. 1.  
C. 1. 1. 1.

It plainly appears, without needing my intimation, that after the Synod of *Cambray*, neither the *Inamissibility* of Justice, nor the *Certainty* of Salvation, are any longer a necessary foundation of piety, since the *Lutherans* are admitted to Communion with the contrary Doctrine.

CIX.

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No more must they speak to us of *Absolute* Predestination and *Absolute* Decree as of a *Fundamental* Article, since they can't deny, according to Mr. *Jansen*, *that there is peace in these great Conventions of Protestants, who in both of them, Divine and Grace of the Spirit, are preserved and kept*. The same Mr. *Jansen* is agreed, that the *Protestants* of *Germany* make the *predestination of the Father* enter into the *constitution* of the *Word*, *and that God hath loved us in Jesus Christ*.

Thus

Thus the Decree of Predestination will not be an absolute Decree and independent of all fore-knowledge, but a *conditional Decree*, including the condition of our future Faith; and 'tis what Mr. *Jurieu* does not condemn.

But here are the two most remarkable novelties which the Decree of *Charenton* hath introduced into the pretended *Reformation*: first the dispute on *fundamental* points, and secondly, the dispute on the nature of the *Church*.

As to *fundamental* points, the *Catholicks* thus argued with them. If the *Real Presence*, if *Ubiquity*, if so many other important points, contested more than an age betwixt the *Lutherans* and *Calvinists*, be not *fundamental*, why should those be more so, on which you dispute with the Church of *Rome*? Does not she believe the *Trinity*, the *Incarnation*, the whole *Creed*? Hath she laid any other foundation than *Jesus Christ*? All you object against her, on this head, in order to shew she hath another, are so many consequences which she denies, and which, according to your own principles, ought not to be imputed to her. Wherein then do you place precisely, what is *fundamental* in *Religion*? To relate here all they have said concerning *fundamental* points, some one way, some another, and the greatest part confessing that it's all a mystery to them, and a thing rather to be felt than explain'd, were an endless task, and involving ones self with them in a labyrinth from whence there is no exit.

The other dispute was not less important: for this principle being once establish'd by them, that those who retain the principal *foundations* of Faith, however separated in Communion, are in the main, the same Church and the same Society of God's children worthy of his holy table

*Jurieu*  
for his  
*Method*  
Sect. xiv.  
p. 113.

*Id.* p. 1.  
xviii. p.

150.  
CX.

Two other remarkable novelties ensuing from the Decree of *Charenton*.

CXI.

Distinction of fundamental points, and the inevitable perplexity of our *Reform'd*.

CXII.

They are led to see that the Church of *Rome* is a true Church.

which  
Germany  
believed.

table and his kingdom: the *Catholics* demand, how they can be excluded from this Church and from eternal Salvation? For now it will no longer serve their turn to say, the Church of *Rome* is a Church excluding the whole world, and which the whole world ought to exclude; for you see the *Lutherans*, who exclude the *Catholics*, are not excluded. 'Tis this which has produced this new system of the Church which makes so great a noise, and wherein, after all, they cannot but comprehend the Church of *Rome*.

CXIII.  
The Con-  
ference of  
Caspel,  
where the  
Lutherans  
of Ratis-  
bon came to an  
agreement  
with the  
Calvinists  
of Mar-  
burg, 1529.

The *Protestants* of *Germany* have not been in all places alike inexorable in regard of the *Calvinists*. In 1601, a Conference was held at *Caspel* betwixt the *Calvinists* of *Marburg* and the *Lutherans* of *Ratisbon*, where both Parties enter'd into a brotherly fellowship. I own, this union was without consequence in the other parts of *Germany*, and I have not been able to discover what even was the consequence of it betwixt the contracting Parties: but in the agreement there was one important Article not to be forgotten.

CXIV.  
Lutherans  
reproach'd  
the Calvinists  
with the  
breaking of  
the Bread  
which is  
the Body  
of Christ  
in the  
Eucharist.

The *Calvinists* reproach'd the *Lutherans*, that in the celebration of the *Eucharist* they omitted the breaking of the Bread which had a Divine institution. 'Tis the current Doctrine of *Calvinists*, that the *breaking* makes part of the Sacrament as being a Symbol of that Body broken which *Jesus Christ* would give to his Disciples; that this rite is to be practis'd by *Jesus Christ*; that it is to be receiv'd and comprehended by our Saviour in this ordinance, *de veritate*. This is what was maintain'd by the *Calvinists* of *Marburg*, and believ'd by the *Lutherans* of *Ratisbon*. They would not divide, each side persisting in their former tenets, and it was said by both of *Marburg*, that the *breaking of the Bread* is to be receiv'd, *ut est in veritate*. *de veritate*.

ment, as being necessary thereto by the example and commandment of *Jesus Christ*: so that the Lutherans, without breaking the Bread, had nevertheless the Substance of the Supper, and both Parties might mutually tolerate each other.

A Minister, who answer'd a Treatise concerning Communion under both Kinds, hath examin'd this Conference which was objected against them: the fact pass'd for unquestionable, and the Minister agreed that the *breaking* of the Bread, altho' commanded by *Jesus Christ*, did not appertain to the *Essence*, but only to the *Integrity* of the Sacrament. Here then have we the *Essence* of the Sacrament manifestly separated from the *Divine* Precept, and reasons have been found to dispense with that which they said was commanded by *Jesus Christ*: after which, I do not see how they can urge the Precept of receiving under *both Kinds*, forasmuch as, tho' we were agreed, *Jesus Christ* had commanded the receiving of them, we should still be admitted to examine, whether this Divine commandment regarded the *Essence* or only the *Integrity*.

The present state of controversies in *Germany* betwixt the *Lutherans* and *Calvinists* may be likewise seen in the same Conference; where will be perceived, that the constant Doctrine of the Divines of the *Ausburg-Confession* is, that Grace is universal; that it is *irresistible*; that it is *amissible*; that Predestination is conditional, and presupposes the fore-knowledge of our Faith; lastly, that the Grace of Conversion is annex to an action purely natural, and depending on our own strength, namely, on our carefulness to hear Sermons: which the learned *Beauvieu* confirms by many testimonies, to which we could add many others, were not the thing pass'd dispute, as might have been seen by the testimony

CXV.  
Demonstration in favour of Communion under one kind. *Traite de Communion sous les deux Especes*. 2. p. ch. xii. *La Req.* P. p. 2. p. ch. xviii. p. 507.

CXVI.  
Present state of controversies in *Germany*. *Thes. de p. ap. l'im. in. p. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.*

of Mr. *Jurieu*, and had we not spoken of this matter already.

CXVII. The relaxation of the principles of the *Lutherans* give occasion to those of *Cameron* and of his disciples touching universal Grace.  
*S. l. VIII. n. 22. § 1. Epit. Tit. de pecc. Conv. C. 17. S. l. VIII. § 1. C. 17. § 1. S. l. VIII. § 1.*

Accordingly, one may have seen in this History, how *Melancthon* had softened, among the *Lutherans*, that extrem rigour wherewith *Luther* maintain'd absolute and particular Decrees, and how unanimously it is taught amongst them, that God wills seriously and sincerely the Salvation of all Men; that he offers them *Jesus Christ* as their Redeemer; that he calls them to him by preaching and the promises of his Gospel, and that his Spirit is ever ready to be efficacious in them, if they do but hearken to his word: that finally, 'tis attributing to God two contrary Wills, to say on one side, he proposes his Gospel to all mankind; and on the other, that he will save but a very small number of them. In consequence of that confidence still continued in behalf of the *Lutherans*, *Joh. Cameron* or *Socinus*, a famous Minister and Professor of Divinity in the Academy of *Saurin*, there taught an universal Vocation and Grace, declared in behalf of all mankind by the wonders of God's work, by his word and the Sacraments. This Doctrine of *Cameron* was fluently and ingeniously defended by his Disciples *Arnaud* and *Steuart*, Professors of Divinity in the same time. The whole Academy embraced it: *De Mezeris* published at the head of the contrary Party, and engaged in this argument the Academy of *Strasbourg*, where he had his control; and in our day was a fierce controversy *Riformis* maintained in *France*, with much warmth, between *Arnaud* and *Steuart*. Some of the contrary of this doctrine which opposed the Doctrine of *Universal Grace*, yet was not qualified as heretick or erroneous, the learned Ministers and schools did not receive *De Cameronis* Apology, to which *Arnaud* put



a Preface very much to the advantage of the abettors of this sentiment; and *Universal* Grace triumph'd even in *Sedan*, where the Minister *Beaulieu* taught it in our days.

It had not equal success out of this kingdom, chiefly in *Holland*, where 'twas judg'd opposite to the Synod of *Dort*. But on the contrary, *Blondel* and *Daille* shew'd, that the Divines of *Great-Britain* and *Bremen* had maintain'd in the Synod an *universal will and intention* of saving all mankind, a *sufficient* Grace given to all; a Grace *without which* one could not renew in himself God's image. 'Tis what these Divines had publicly declared in the Synod, nor merited the less for it the praises and congratulations of this whole assembly.

*Geneva*, ever attach'd to *Calvin's* rigorous propositions, was very averse to this *Universality*, which nevertheless was carried into its very bowels by the *French* Minister. Every family was now in contention for, or against it, when the *Magistrate* interpos'd. From the Court of *twenty five*, it was carried to that of the *two hundred*. These *Magistrates* had the face to make their *Pastors* and *Professors* enter into dispute before them, and set themselves up as *Judges* in a question of the most nice *Theology*. Powerful recommendations came from the *Swiss* in behalf of particular Grace against *Universal* Grace: a rigorous Decree was issued in condemnation of the latter. They publish'd the *Formulary* of a *Divine* which the *Swiss* had approved, wherein the system of *Universal* Grace was declared *not a little remote from the sound Doctrine reveal'd in Scripture*; and that nothing might be wanting to it, the sovereign *Magistrate* commanded that all *Doctors*, *Ministers* and *Professors* should subscribe the *Formulary* in these words: *This do I believe; thus*

CXVIII.

Whether universal Grace be contrary to the Synod of *Dort*.

*Dall. Apol. tract. 2. p. Blond. A. 2. auth. VIII. & seq.*

*Jud. The. Mag. Brit. de Art. 2. inter.*

*Act. Syn. Dort. 2. p. p. 287. Jud. Brem. Ibid. p. 113. & seq.*

CXIX.

Decree pass'd at *Geneva* against universal Grace, and the question resolv'd by the *Magistrate*.

*Helvetic formulary.*

M DC

LXIX.

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all those, who should refuse to subscribe these two new articles of Faith, should be excluded and deposed from the Ministry and all Ecclesiastical functions.

This Decision was judged very odd even in the Party, and *Turretin*, Minister and Professor at *Geneva*, was greatly upbraided for it by Mr. *Claude*, as appears by a Letter of this Minister dated the twentieth of *June*, 1675, which *Lewis Du Moulin*, Son to the Minister *Peter Du Moulin*, and Uncle to the Minister *Jurieu*, caused to be printed.

Mr. *Claude* complains in this Letter, that the *Swiss* were solicited to draw up a *Formulary* conformable to that of *Geneva*, containing the same points and the same restrictions, in order to be added to their *Confession of Faith*: and it's plain from a remark of *Du Moulin* inserted in the same Letter, that the *Swiss* had in fact struck this stroke, which Mr. *Claude* judged so terrible.

Nevertheless, the same Minister maintains, it is not lawful to add *thus, new articles of Faith* to those of his *Confession*; and that it's dangerous to remove the ancient *land marks* which have been set by our *Fathers*. I would to God our *Reformed* had always had before their eyes this maxim of the wise man, which they so frequently are obliged to return to, in order to terminate the divisions they see daily breeding in the midst of them! Mr. *Claude* proposes it to those of *Geneva*, and is astonish'd that this Church should thus make *new articles of Faith* and *new laws of preaching*: he makes bold to say, that acting in this manner, is setting up Gods of their own, and breaking Unity with all the Churches which are not of their own opinion: to wit, with those of *France*, with those of *England*, with those of *Poland*, of *Prussia* and *Germany*; that the matter

*P. 100.* in hand is not of meer discipline in which Churches may be allow'd to vary, but that it is separating themselves, in *points of Doctrine unalterable in their nature, which they cannot, with a good conscience, teach differently*: so that, this is not only setting up for themselves a particular ministry, but also, sowing the seeds of a fatal division in Faith itself, and in short, shutting their hearts against other Churches.

*P. 94 95* If now one should be desirous to know, to what pitch Geneva stretch'd her rigour, he will be inform'd from the same Letter; for it specifies that *the signing of the articles was exacted with an inconceivable severity; and exacted even from those who came to Geneva to be ordain'd with the design of serving elsewhere; that the same necessity of signing was laid on them, as on those of Geneva itself; that it was exacted with the same rigor from Pastors already received, notwithstanding they had already grown old in the labours of the ministry*: and this, says Mr. Claude, is, *as much as in them lies, excluding every where the Care of the Church that are of different opinions, namely, from all the rest of the Churches, and condemning their own Pastors, as having hitherto maintain'd an unjust peace with people, against whom they ought to have declar'd war.*

*P. 100* All these resolutions were of no effect: the Church of Geneva firm, holds them that of the Synod, both of them in the notion that their determinations were grounded on the word of God; which still continues to make appear, that under the cover of this *Writ*, his own conceits carry him pays worship to; and if they have no other principle wherby to agree in the Trade of this *Writ*, there never will be amongst their Churches any other than a political and exterior union, such as subsists with those of Geneva,

*Geneva*, who in the main have broken off from all the rest; and in order to find something fix'd, it is necessary, after *Mr. Claude's* example, they should be brought back to this maxim of the wise man, *not to remove the land-marks set them by their fore-fathers*; namely, they must hold to the Decisions already made by those in matters of Faith.

The famous *Test* well deserves a place in this History, sofar as it was one of the principal Acts of Religion in *England*. The *Parliament* held at *London* in 1678, pass'd an Act enjoining the following declaration. *I A. B. do solemnly and sincerely, in the presence of God, profess, testify, and declare, that I do believe that in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper there is not any Transubstantiation of the elements of Bread and Wine into the Body and Blood of Christ, at or after the Consecration by any person whatsoever; and that the invocation or adoration of the Virgin Mary, or any other Saint, and the sacrifice of the Mass, as they are now used in the Church of Rome, are superstitious and idolatrous, &c.* The particulars to be observed in this *Profession* of Faith are, first, that it only attacks *Transubstantiation* and not the *Real Presence*, wherein it follows the amendment which *Elizabeth* had made in *Edward* the sixth's Reformation. There are only added to it these words, *at or after the Consecration*, which manifestly allow the belief of the *Real Presence* before the manducation, since they exclude nothing, as is plain, but the sole change of *Substance*.

Thus, a good *English* Protestant, without blemish to his Religion or Conscience, may believe that the Body and Blood of *Jesus Christ* are *Really* and *Substantially* present in the Bread and Wine immediately after Consecration. Did

*Prov. xxii.*  
28.

CXXII.  
The Test-  
Act in  
*England*:  
therein the  
*English*  
approach  
to our  
sentiment,  
and only,  
thro' man-  
ifest er-  
ror, con-  
demn the  
Church of  
*Rome*.

M DC  
LXXVIII.

the *Lutherans* believe as much, 'tis certain, they would adore him. Neither do the *English* any wise obstruct it in their *Test*: and as they receive the *Eucharist kneeling*, nothing hinders their acknowledging and worshipping *Jesus Christ* there present, in the same Spirit that we do: after this, to cavil with us about *Transubstantiation*, is a proceeding little worthy of them.

In the following words of the *Test*, the *Invocation*, or as they call it, the *Adoration* of the Blessed Virgin and the Saints, with the *Sacrifice* of the *Mass*, are condemn'd as Acts of *Superstition and Idolatry*: not absolutely, but as they are now used in the Church of Rome. But the reason of this was, that the *English* are too well versed in antiquity to be ignorant, that the Fathers of the fourth Century (to ascend no higher at present) did invoke the *Blessed Virgin* and the *Saints*. They know that St. *Gregory* of *Nazianzen* approves expressly, in the mouth of a *Martyr*, that piety which moved her to beg of the Blessed Virgin, that she would *assist a Virgin exposed in danger*. They know that all the Fathers have made, and solemnly approved in their Homilies, the like *Intercession* directed to Saints: nay, in respect of them, have even used the word *Invocation*. As for that of *Adoration*, they know likewise, it is equivoic'd to *his* among the holy Fathers: than in Scripture; and does not always signify, or belong to a person alone. *John* is a witness of this reason, and St. *Gregory* of *Nazianzen* is a witness to the same, in many places, of his *Orations* de *Requies* of the *Martyrs* were *Ador'd*, and that *God* did not choose to condemn them as *idolatry* only naturally. The *English* are too well read in antiquity to be ignorant of this Doctrine, and the practices of the ancient Church, and bear her too great a veneration to



accuse her of *Superstition* and *Idolatry*: 'tis this which makes them use this restriction, which we observe in their *Test*, and suppose, in the Church of *Rome*, a kind of *Invocation* and *Adoration*: different from that of the *Fathers*, because they were very sensible, without this precaution, the *Test* would be no more subscribed with a good conscience by the learned *Protestants* than by *Catholicks*.

Nevertheless it is certain, as to the fact, that we demand nothing of the *Saints*, but the partnership of their prayers, no more than the ancients did; and that we honour nothing in their *Relicks*, but what they honour'd in them. If we sometimes intreat the *Saints*, not to pray, but to give and act; the learned among the *English* will agree, the ancients have done it like us, and like us have understood it in that sense which attributes favours received, not only to the Sovereign that distributes them, but also to the *Intercessors* who obtain them; so that there never will be found any real difference betwixt the ancients, whom the *English* will not condemn, and us, whom they do condemn, but thro' mistake, and by laying to our charge what we don't believe.

*Greg.  
Naz.  
Orat.  
fanch.  
Ath. &  
Basil. &c.*

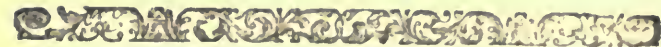
I say the same of the *Sacrifice* of *Mafs*. The *English* are better skill'd in antiquity than to be ignorant that in all times, the same gifts were offer'd to God, in the sacred *Mysterics* and the celebration of the *Eucharist*, as were afterwards distributed to the people, and that these were offer'd to him no less for the *Dead* than for the *Living*. The ancient *Liturgies* containing the form of this *Oblation*, as well in the *East* as *West*, are in every body's hands, and the *English* are fir from accusing them either of *Superstition* or *Idolatry*. There is then a way of offering to

God the *Eucharistick* Sacrifice for the *Living* and the *Dead*, which the Protestant Church of *England* judges neither *Superstitious* nor *Idolrous*; and if they reject the *Roman* Mass, 'tis by supposing that it is different from that of the ancients.

But this difference is none at all: one drop of water is not more like another, than the *Roman* Mass is like, as to its essence and substance, to the *Mass* which the *Greeks* and the rest of *Christians* received from their fore-fathers. For which reason the Church of *Rome*, when she admits them to her Communion, does not prescribe another *Mass* to them. Thus the *Roman* Church has not, in the main, another Sacrifice than that, which by the *Engl. Protestant* own Confession, was offer'd in the *East* and *West* ever since the beginning of *Christianity*.

Hence ensues manifestly that the *Roman* Doctrine, as well concerning *Innocention* and *Adoration*, as the Sacrifice of the *Mass*, is no otherwise condemn'd in the *Treatise*, than by presupposing that *Rome* receives these things in another sense, and practises them in another spirit, than that of the *Fathers*: which visibly is not so: so that, readily and without alleging further reasons, we may say, that abrogating the *Treatise* would be nothing else but abrogating a notorious calumny fix'd on the Church of *Rome*.





THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
VARIATIONS  
OF PROTESTANT CHURCHES.

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BOOK XV.

VARIATIONS *in the Articles of the* CREED:

I believe the Holy Catholick Church.  
*The unshaken steddings of the Church of*  
ROME.

A BRIEF SUMMARY.

*An account of the Variations relating to the subject of the Church. She is naturally own'd to be Visible. The difficulty of shewing where the Church was, forced men upon the device of an Invisible one. The perpetual Visibility of it necessarily confessed. Divers means of saving the Reformation under this supposition. The state of the question, as, by the disputes of the Ministers Claude and Jurieu, it stands at present. They are at length forced to own that salvation may be still had in the Church of Rome, as well as before the pretended Reformation. Strange Variations, and the Confessions of Faith despised. Advantages yielded to Catholicks on*  
Z + the

*the necessary foundation of Jesus Christ's promise in favour of perpetual Visibility. The Chair bound to be Infallible. Her sentiments acknowledged to be an Infallible rule of Faith. Vain exceptions. All the proofs, against the infallible authority of the Church, ought to nothing by the Ministers, Fathers and singularity of the Catholick Doctrine with regard to the Church. The Reformation breaks the first ground work, by saying that Faith is founded on the Scriptures. Consent of the Synods, Claude and Jurion to the contrary. Unbelief of diversities of doctrine, against the Church, but no dissent which separates the objects of the Catholicks. The uniformity and consistency of the Catholick Church, opposed to the Inconsistency of the Protestant Churches. Abrogement of this significant Council. Catalogue of the same work.*



So, after observing the pernicious effects of a disunion on man's body, the cure of it is differently required into, in order to apply the sick remedies; in like manner, after the rupture of perpetual Infallibility on Protestant Churches, the cure of those grievances, the principle that ought to be traced out, to the end that a stable and regularity, may be restored. The cure of this Variation, which we here observe, is not to be sought, is that by having recourse to the authority of the Church, the promises of Christ, which are all made to the Church, to receive the Holy Ghost, and that it is the fixed point, on which all the things are to be established, to centre; and by deriving from

this, Hereticks, either curious or ignorant, have been bewilder'd in the mazes of human reasoning, abandoned to their resentments, to their particular passions; the very reason they did but walk groping even in their *Confessions* of Faith, and could not shun falling under the two inconveniences specified by St. Paul concerning false teachers; one of which is *to be condemn'd by their own judgment*; and the other, *to be over learning, and never able to come to the knowledge of the truth.*

This original cause of the pretended *Reformation's* instability hath appear'd thro' the whole series of this work: but it's time to observe it with particular attention, by shewing, in the confused sentiments of our separated Brethren, relating to the article of the *Church*, the Variations which have caus'd all the rest: after that, we shall finish this discourse, by making appear a quite contrary procedure in the *Catholick Church*, which from well knowing what she was thro' the Grace of *Christ Jesus*, hath always so well deliver'd herself at the very first in all questions that arose, in order to ascertain the Faith of Christians, that there never happen'd a necessity, I don't say of varying, but of deliberating a-new, or of departing in the least tittle from the first plan.

The Doctrine of the *Catholick Church* consists in four points whose connexion is inviolable: the *first*, that the Church is *visible*; the *second*, that she is perpetual; the *third*, that the truth of the Gospel is always profess'd therein by the whole Society; the *fourth*, that it's unlawful to depart from her Doctrine: which is as much as to say in other terms, that she is *infallible*.

The first point is grounded on a certain fact: which is, that the word *Church* always signifies

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II. The  
III. The

II. The  
The  
Church  
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and never  
varied in  
her Decis-  
ions.

III. Doctrines  
of the  
*Catholick Church*  
concerning  
the Article  
of the  
Church.  
Four  
points  
essential  
and in-  
fallible

one from  
the other.  
C. 1.  
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21. Cl. 7  
13. Cl. 10.

in Scripture, and therefore in the common language of the faithful, a *visible* Society: *Catholics* take this for granted, and necessary it was for *Protestants*, to assent to it, as will appear hereafter. The second point, that the *Church* is perpetual, is not less certain, it being grounded on *Jesus Christ's* promise agreed on by all Parties.

Hence the third point is infer'd most clearly, that the truth is profess'd always by the Society of the *Church*; for the *Church* being no otherwise *visible* than by the *Profession* of the truth, it follows that if she is always, and always is visible, she cannot but always teach and profess the truth of the Gospel: from whence the fourth point is as clearly deduced, that it is not allowable to say, the Church is in error, nor to forsake her Doctrine; and all this is founded on the promise allow'd by all Parties, since in fine the same promise, which makes the *Church* be always, makes her always be in that state which the word *Church* implies; consequently, always *visible*, and always teaching the truth. Nothing is more simple, more clear, nor more coherent than this Doctrine.

## IV.

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same P.  
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touching  
the party  
C. 10. Cl. 10.  
The  
C. 10. Cl. 10.  
C. 10. Cl. 10.  
C. 10. Cl. 10.

So clear is this Doctrine, that *Protestants* could not deny it; so clearly does it condemn them, that they dur'd not own it: wherfore, their whole thoughts were bent on perplexing it, nor were they able to thin falling into the contradictions I am about to relate.

Let us, in the first place, look into their *Confession* of Faith; and to begin with that of *Articles*, which is the first, and as it were the foundation of all the rest, the Article concerning the *Church*, was thus deliver'd by it: *we teach that there is a Church, which shall be eternally* *visible*. What now is that Church, whose duration is eternal? The following words explain it:

the



*the Church is the assembly of Saints, wherein the Gospel is rightly taught, and the Sacraments rightly administred.*

Here may be seen three fundamental truths. First, *that the Church subsists always*: there is then an inviolate succession. Second, that she is essentially compounded of Pastors and People, the administration of the Sacraments and preaching of the Word entering into her very definition. Third, that the Word and Sacraments are not only therein administer'd, but *rightly* administer'd, *rectè*, *as they ought to be*: the which also enters into the essence of a Church, since it is placed, as we see, in her definition.

Now, this allow'd, the question is, how they can possibly accuse the *Church* of Error, either in Doctrine, or in Administration of the Sacraments; for, could that happen, the definition of the Church wherein is placed not only preaching, but *true* preaching of the Gospel, and not only administration, but *the right* administration of the Sacraments, would be false; and if that cannot happen, the *Reformation*, which accused the *Church* of Error, carried in her very title her own condemnation.

V.  
This Doctrine own'd by Protestants is the subversion of their Reformation, and the source of their perplexities.

Observe well the difficulty, for this was the first source, in the *Protestant* Churches, of those contradictions we shall discover in them: but contradictions, which the remedies they thought to find for the defect of their original, made them but plunge the deeper into. In the mean while, till the series of facts lead us to these fruitless remedies, let us endeavour thoroughly to make known the evil.

On this foundation of the seventh Article of the *Confession of Ausburg*, the *Lutherans* were ask'd, what it was they came to reform? The Church of *Rome*, said they. But have you any

VI.  
What it was precisely that the *Protestants* did other oblige



*the Church was a Platonick City not to be found on earth: we say that the Church exists; that in it there are true Believers and men truly just spread over all the universe: we add to this, its marks, the pure Gospel, and the Sacraments, and it is such a Church that's properly the pillar of the truth. Here then at least unquestionably is a Church very really existing; very really visible, wherein sound Doctrine is very really preach'd, and the Sacraments very really administered as they ought to be: for, as they subjoin, the kingdom of Jesus Christ cannot subsist but with the Word and Sacraments, so that where they are not, there can be no Church.*

This notwithstanding, many human traditions, said they, had crept into the Church, whereby sound Doctrine and the right administration of the Sacraments was changed; and this was what they would reform. But if these human traditions were turn'd in the *Church* into articles of Faith, where could be that purity of the Word and Doctrine, without which she could not subsist? Here the thing was to be palliated, and accordingly they said, as hath been seen, that their design was not to combat against *the Catholick Church, nor even the Church of Rome, nor to maintain opinions which the Church had condemn'd*; that the matter in debate was no more than *some few abuses* brought into the Church *without any certain authority*; nor was that to be taken for the Doctrine of the Church of Rome, which was approved of only by the *Pope, some Cardinals, some Bishops, and some Monks.*

To hear the *Lutherans* speak thus, one might think, they did not impugn the received *Dogmata*, but some particular opinions only, and some few abuses lately crept in without authority.

This

*Idem* 156.

VIII.  
How it was endeavour'd to make this Doctrine consist with the necessity of a Reformation.

*S. I. III.*  
n. 59.

This but little suited with those outrageous invectives of Sacrilege and Idolatry, with which they fill'd the whole univerte, much less with an open rupture. But the fact is certain, and by these smooth words they endeavour'd to salve the inconsistency of owning corruption in the tenets of the *Church*, after having made a pure preaching of the truth, essential to her.

IX.

The perpetual visibility confirm'd in the Articles of *Smalkald* by the promises of Jesus Christ.

*Art. Smal. Concord.*  
p. 345.

X.

The *Saxonick* Confession, in which they begin to spy out the difficulty, without departing from the precedent Doctrine.

*Conf. Sax.*  
Gen. 1.  
p. 72.

This immutability and perpetual duration of sound Doctrine was confirm'd in the Articles of *Smalkald* subscribed by the whole *Lutheran* Party, explaining those words of our Saviour: *On this rock will I build my Church*, namely, said they, *on this ministry of the profession made by Peter*. Thereunto preaching, and true preaching, was therefore necessary, without which, they own'd, the *Church* could not subsist.

Now we are upon the subject of the *Lutheran Churches* Doctrine, the *Saxonick* Confession, known to be *Melancthon's*, opportunely comes in my way.

In it is acknowledged that there is always some true Church; *that the promises of God, who hath promised her duration, are immutable; that they speak not of the Church as of a Platonick idea, but point out a Church which is seen and heard; and that she is visible in this age, and is the assembly which embraces the Gospel of Christ Jesus, and which hath the true use of the Sacraments, in which God operates effectually by the ministry of the Gospel, and wherein many are regenerated.*

They add, she may be reduced to a *small number*; yet low yet, there is always a remnant of the faithful, *whose voice makes itself be heard on earth, and it shall be God, from time to time, renew the ministry.* They must mean that he continues it; for the definition of the Church which, as just said, cannot subsist without the Ministry, doth not allow its interruption even

for

for a moment; and immediately after, it's sub-join'd, *that God will have the ministry of the Gospel be publick; he will not have preaching shut up in darkness, but heard by all mankind; and that there be assemblies where it may resound, and where his name may be praised and invocated.*

*Cap. de  
Cen. p.  
72.*

Here then you see the *Church* always visible. True it is, they begin to spy the difficulty, when saying, *she may be reduced to a small number*: but after all, the *Lutherans* are not less put to it to shew, at *Luther's* first appearance, a small Society of their sentiments than a great one, and yet without that, there is neither *Ministry* nor *Church*.

The Confession of *Wirtemberg*, which was pen'd by *Brentius*, does not degenerate from this Doctrine, it being there acknowledged, that *there is a Church so well govern'd by the Holy Ghost, that, altho' weak, she lasts forever; that she judges of Doctrine; and is, where the Gospel is sincerely preach'd, and where the Sacraments are administer'd according to Christ's institution.* The difficulty still remain'd of shewing us a *Church* and a Society of Pastors and People wherein sound Doctrine had always been preserved to *Luther's* days.

XI.  
Doctrine  
or the  
Confession  
of *Wir-  
temberg*,  
and the  
perpetual  
Visibility  
always  
main-  
tain'd.

*Cap. de  
Ecc. libid.  
p. 132.*

*Ibid. c. de  
Cen. p.  
134.*

The next chapter relates how Councils may err; by reason that, altho' *Jesus Christ* hath promised his *Church* the perpetual Presence of his holy Spirit, nevertheless, *every assembly is not the Church*; and it may happen in the Church, *as in bodies politick*, that the greater number of bad men may prevail over the good. This is what I shall not dispute at present: but still insist that they shew me a *Church*, little or great, which, before *Luther's* coming, was of his sentiments.

XII.  
The Con-  
fession of  
Bohemia.  
Act. 111.  
Ibid. 170.

The Confession of *Bohemia* is approved by *Luther*. Therein is confessed a *Holy and Catho-lick Church, which comprehends all Christians dispersed throughout all the earth, which are assembled by preaching of the Gospel in the Faith of the Trinity and of Jesus Christ; whereforever Jesus Christ is preach'd and receiv'd, and whereforever are the Word and Sacraments according to the rule by him prescribed, there is the Church.* These men at least were fully satisfied, that when they were born, there was no Church in the whole universe of their belief; for the Deputies dispatch'd by them every where on that errand, had well assured them of it. And yet they durst not say, *their assembly, such as it was, little or great, was the holy universal Church;* but only that *she was a member and a part thereof.* But what then was become of all the other parts? They had survey'd a'l corners of the world, and no tidings of them: sad extremes indeed! not to dare to say, they were the *Universal Church,* and dare still less to say, that they had met with Brethren and Partners of their Faith in any whatsoever part of the whole Universe.

S. I. xi.  
n. 176.

Ibid. 187.

Be that as it will, these are the first that seem to intimate in a *Confession* of Faith, that true Christian Churches might be separated from one another, since they dare not exclude from *Catholic* Unity, those Churches with whom they knew they had no Communion; which I beg may be remark'd by reason that this Doctrine will at length be the last resource of *Protestants* as shall appear hereafter.

XIII.  
The Con-  
fession of  
Germany.

We have seen the *Lutherian* Confession touching the *Church*; we shall now hear the other Party. The Confession of *Strasbourg* presented, as above observ'd, to *Charles V.* at the same



time with that of *Ausburg*, defines the *Church*, *the Society of those who have listed themselves soldiers of Jesus Christ, amongst whom are mixed many hypocrites.* There is no doubt that such a Society is *visible*: that she must always abide in this state of *visibility*, it being added, *that Jesus Christ does never abandon her; that those who do not hear her, ought to be held for Heathens and Publicans; that, indeed, there is no seeing what constitutes her a Church, namely, her Faith; yet she makes herself be seen by her fruits, amongst which one is Confession of the truth.*

*Conf. Argent. c. xv. de Eccl. Synt. Gen. 1. p. p. 191.*

The following Chapter sets forth how that *the Church being on earth in the flesh, God also will instruct her by the exterior word, and make her faithful members preserve an exterior Society by means of the Sacraments.* There are then necessarily both Pastors and People, nor can the *Church* subsist without this ministry.

*Cap. xvi. Ibid.*

The Confession of *Basil* in 1536, says that *the Catholick Church is the holy Congregation of all the Saints; and altho' unknown to any but God, nevertheless is she seen, is she known, is she constituted by external rites of God's appointment, to-wit, by the Sacraments, and by the publick and lawfull preaching of his word: wherein is seen manifestly, that Ministers lawfully called are comprehended, by whom, it's also added, God makes himself known to his faithful, and administers to them the remission of their sins.*

XIV.  
Two Confessions of *Basil.*  
*Ibid. Art. 14. 15.*

In another Confession of Faith made at *Basil* in 1532, *The Christian Church is likewise defined, the Society of the Saints, whereof all those, who confess Jesus Christ, are the Citizens; thus, the profession of Christianity is essential to her.*

Whilst we are upon the *Helvetic* Confessions, that of 1566, which is the great and solemn one, defines also the *Church which hath been al-*

XV  
*The Helvetic Confession*

of 1706, and the perpetual visibility of the Church. Cap. 200. Item 1. Item 2. Item 3. Item 4.

ways, which is, and which shall ever be, the assembly of the Faithful and of the Saints who know God, and love him by the Word and the Holy Ghost. Here then is not only the interior band, namely the *Holy Ghost*, but the exterior also, which is the *Word and Preaching*: and therefore they say afterwards, *that lawful and true preaching is the chief mark, to which must be added the Sacraments as God hath instituted them.* Whence they conclude, that the Churches which are deprived of these marks, *alike they boast the succession of their Bishops, their Unity, and their Antiquity, do not belong to the true Church of Jesus Christ, nor can Salvation any more be had out of the Church, than out of the Ark: if you will have life, you must not separate yourself from the true Church of Jesus Christ.*

I desire these words may be observed, which will be of main consequence when we shall come to the last answers of the Ministers: mean while, let us but remark that it is impossible to teach more clearly that the *Church is always visible*, and that she is necessarily compounded of Pastors and People, than is here done by this *Helvetic* Confession.

XVI. Item 5. Item 6. Item 7. Item 8. Item 9. Item 10.

But as they were obliged, according to their ideas, always to find a Ministry and a *Church* wherein the truth of Christianity was preserved; the difficulty was no small one, because, say what they would, they were very sensible that there was no *Church*, little or great, composed of Pastors and People, wherein they could shew that Faith, which they would make to pass for the only true Christian Faith. They are then forced to confess, *that God hath had his wounds cut of the people of Israel; that, during the captivity of Babylon, the people were deprived sixty years of the sacrifice; that, thro' a just judgment of God,*

*the truth of his word and worship, and the Catho-  
lick Faith, are sometimes so obscured, that it seems  
almost as if they were extinct, and no Church at  
all subsisting, as happen'd in the time of Eli and  
at oth'r times: so that, the Church may be call'd  
invisible; not that the men she is compos'd of, are  
so; but because, she is often hidden to our eyes,  
and being known to God alone, escapes from the  
sight of men. Here is the Dogma of an Invisible  
Church as clearly establish'd, as the Dogma of  
the Visible Church had been before; that is to  
say, the Reformation, struck at first with the  
true notion of the Church, defin'd it so as that  
her Visibility came into her very essence; but,  
afterwards fell into other notions thro' the im-  
possibility of finding a Church always Visible of  
her Belief.*

That it was this inevitable perplexity, which  
cast the Calvinian Churches upon this chimera  
of a Church invisible, none can doubt, after hear-  
ing Mr. Jurieu. *That which moved, says he,  
some Reformed Doctors, (he should have said,  
whole Churches of the Reformation) in their  
own Confessions of Faith, to cast themselves into  
the PERPLEXITY they were intangled in upon  
their denying the perpetual visibility of the Church,  
was because they believed, by owning the Church  
always visible, they should find it difficult to an-  
swer the question which the Church of Rome so  
often makes us: Where was our Church a hundred  
and fifty years ago? If the Church be always visi-  
ble, your Calvinist and Lutheran Church is not  
the true Church, for that was not visible. This  
is fairly owning the cause of that perplexity  
which disturb'd his Churches: he that pretends  
to have retir'd beyond them, will not extricate  
himself better, as we shall see; but let us con-*

XVII.  
Church  
invisible,  
why in-  
vented.  
Confession  
of the  
Minister  
Jurieu.  
Syst. p.  
226.

tinue to observe the confusion of the Churches themselves.

XVIII

*Belgick  
Confession,  
and explication  
of the pro-  
fessy.  
Art. 27.  
Art. 1.  
140.*

The *Belgick* Confession manifestly copies after the *Helvetick*, since it says, *that the Catholick or Universal Church is the assembly of all the faithful, that she hath been, is, and will be eternally, by reason, that Jesus Christ her eternal King cannot be without subjects: altho', for some time, she seem little, AND AS IT WERE EXTINCT to the eyes of men; as in the time of Achab and of those seven thousand who had not bent their knees to Baal.*

*Art. Art.  
27.*

Nevertheless, they afterwards subjoin, *that the Church is the assembly of the Elect, out of which none can be saved; that it is not lawful to withdraw from her, or abide apart; but all must unite themselves to the Church, and submit to her discipline; that one may see and know her, by pure preaching, right administration of the Sacraments, and a good discipline; and it is thereby, say they, that we may certainly distinguish this true Church, from which it's not allowable to depart.*

*Art. Art.  
27.*

It seems then on one side, as if they would say, one may easily and always know her since she hath such manifest tokens, and that it's never lawful to depart from her. And on the other side, if we press them to shew us a Church of their *Belief*, tho' never so minute, always visible; they prepare themselves a subterfuge by flying to this *Church* which does not appear, altho' they dare not speak out boldly, nor say absolutely that she is extinct, but only, that she seems, *as it were* extinct.

XIX

*Confession  
Art. Art.  
177.*

The Church of *England* speaks ambiguously. *The true Church*, says she, *is a Congregation of true faithful persons, in the which the pure word of God*

*is preach'd, and the Sacraments be duly ministred, according to Christ's ordinance; that is, such is she when Visible, but this is not saying that she is always Visible: what follows is not more clear, as the Church of Hierusalem, Alexandria, and Antioch, have err'd, so also the Church of Rome hath err'd in matters of Faith: the question is, (they thus attaining these great, and as it were, mother Churches of all the rest) whether the infection might have spread so universally, as that the profession of truth was extinguish'd over all the earth: but they chose rather to speak nothing of it, than to incur this terrible dilemma which would oblige them, on one side, either to own there was no Church left on earth in which truth was confessed; or, allowing the impossibility of this, would oblige them, on the other side, to seek what they knew could not be found, to wit, a Church always subsisting and believing as they did.*

In the Confession of Scotland, *the Catholick Church is defined the Society of all the Elect: they say, she is indivisible, and known to God only, who alone knows his Elect; and add, that the true Church hath for its mark, Preaching and the Sacraments; and wherever these marks be, tho' there should be but two or three men, there is the Church of Jesus Christ, in the midst of which he is, according to his promise; which is understood, proceed they, not of the universal Church just spoken of, but of the particular Church of Ephesus, of Corinth, and so forth, wherein the Ministry had been planted by St. Paul: prodigious! to make Jesus Christ say, the Ministry may be, where but two or three men can be found. But they were forced into these streights; for to find one only Church of their belief, wherein was a regulated Ministry, as at Ephesus*

XX.  
Confession  
of Scot-  
land, and  
manifest  
contradiction.  
*Ibid. Art.*  
*16. de*  
*Ecol. p.*  
*113.*  
*Art. 13.*  
*p. 119.*

or *Corinth*, always subsisting, was what they desir'd of.

**Catechism**  
of the  
pretend'd  
Reform'd  
of France.  
XXI. I have reserved the *Confession* of the pretended Reformed of *France* for the last, not only on account of the particular concern I ought to have for my own country, but also on account that in *France* especially, the *Protestants* have for this long time fought most diligently for the solution of this difficulty.

*Cat. b.*  
*Dir. xv.*  
Let us begin by the *Catechism*, wherein on the fiftenth *Sunday*, upon this Article of the Creed, *I believe the Holy Catholick Church*, they teach, that this name is given her, *to signify that as there is but one Head of the faithful, so all are to be united in one Body; so that there are not many Churches, but one only, the which is diffus'd all the world over.* How the *Lutheran* or *Calvinian* Church was diffus'd all the world over, when scarce known in some corner of it, and, how Churches of this belief are to be found, in all times and in all the world; is what makes the difficulty. They saw, and obviate it in the following *Sunday*, where after having ask'd, whether this Church *more known than by history, &c.* they answer thus: *There is indeed a visible Church of God, as said in the first Article, but it cannot be fully known till the end of the world; and as God will, it shall be made manifest to all eyes.*

**Catechism**  
of the  
pretend'd  
Reform'd  
of France.  
XXII. They seem to say two things; the first, that no man nor manly of the Church is the Symbol of the Apostles; the second, that for want of such a Church which they might show visibly of their belief, it is sufficient to have recourse to that *Visible Church* which is to be seen *only by the end of the world*. But what to show is an obstacle to the two points of this Doctrine, it be-



ing there taught, *that no man obtains pardon of his sins, unless he be first, incorporated with God's people, and persevere in Unity and Communion with the Body of Christ, and so be a member of the Church*: whence they conclude, that, *out of the Church, there is nothing but Death and Damnation*; and that *all those who separate themselves from the company of the faithful to make a Sect apart, ought not, whilst divided, to hope Salvation*. To make a *Sect apart*, is, unquestionably, to break the exterior bonds of the *Church's* Unity: they suppose therefore that the *Church*, where-with it is necessary to be in Communion in order to obtain pardon of our sins, hath a twofold Union, the internal and external; and that both of them are necessary, first to Salvation, and secondly to the understanding the Article of the Creed touching the *Catholick Church*: so that this *Church*, confessed in the Creed, is *Visible* and distinguishable in her exterior; for which reason also they durst not venture to say, that we could not see her, but, could not see her *fully*, to wit, as to that which is internal: a thing no man disputes.

All these notions in the *Catechism*, came from *Calvin* who composed it: for, explaining the Article, *I believe the Catholick Church*, he distinguishes the *Church Visible*, from the *Invisible* known to God alone, the which is the Society of all the Elect, and it seems as if he would say, it is this the Creed speaks of: *altho'*, says he, *this Article regards, in some measure, the external Church*, as if they were two *Churches*, and it were not, on the contrary, most evident, that the same *Church*, which is *Invisible* in her internal gifts, doth manifest herself by the Sacraments and Profession of her Faith. But so it is that the *Reformation* is always in a panick

XXIII.  
Calvin's  
Instrument.  
Instit. l.  
IV. c. 1. n.  
2.

11. 3.

when the Church's *Visibility* is to be acknowledged.

XXIV.  
Confession  
of Faith of  
the *French*  
*Catho-*  
*lics*.  
Confessio  
M. C. p.  
9. & 10.

They act more naturally in their *Confession* of Faith, and elsewhere it hath been proved unanswerably, that they there own no other *Church* but that which is *Visible*. The fact stands incontestable, as will be seen hereafter. Nor was there indeed any thing that could less bear a dispute; for, from the twenty fifth Article, where this matter begins, to the thirty second Article, where it ends, they all along evidently suppose the Church *Visible*; and in the twenty fifth Article, they lay it down as a fundamental point, that *the Church cannot subsist, unless there be Pastors in her that have the charge of teaching*. It is therefore a thing absolutely necessary; and those who oppose this Doctrine are *detested as fantastical*. Whence they conclude, in the twenty sixth Article, *that no man ought to withdraw apart, nor rest on self sufficiency*; so that it is necessary to be united externally with some *Church*: a truth inculcated in every place, without the appearance of so much as one word of a *Church In-*

It ought, however, to be observed, that in the twenty sixth Article where it's said, *no man ought to withdraw apart nor rest on self sufficiency, nor stand joining to some Church*, they add, *and this in whatever place God shall have ordained a true Church*; when by is left undecided, whether or no they mean that such a form always does subsist.

XXV.  
Societ  
wider  
the  
C. V. b.  
wider  
m.  
b. p. 11.

In the twenty seventh Article caution is given to distinguish carefully, which is the true *Church*; words that plainly shew, they suppose her to *subsist*; and after having decided that she is *the Congregation of true faithfull men*, they add, *amongst the faithful there are Pastors and separate*,

*whose wickedness cannot deface the Title of a Church, wherein the Church's Visibility is clearly supposed anew.*

By the principles laid down in the twenty eighth Article, the Church of Rome stands excluded from the Title of a true Church, forasmuch as, after laying this foundation, *that, where the word of God is not preach'd, and no profession is made of bringing oneself under subjection to it, and where there is no use of Sacraments properly speaking, we cannot judge that there is any Church:* they declare, they condemn the assemblies of the Papacy, considering that the pure truth of God is banish'd thence, and the Sacraments are there corrupted, adulterated, falsified, or wholly annihilated; and all Superstitions and Idolatries are in vogue amongst them: whence they draw this consequence: *We hold that all those who join in such deeds, and communicate in them, do separate and cut themselves off from the Body of Christ Jesus.*

It is impossible to decide more clearly, that there is no Salvation in the Church of Rome. And what is subjoin'd by them that there are still some *foot-steps of a Church amongst us*, so far from mitigating the precedent expressions, even strengthens them; in that, this term implies rather some remains and traces of a *Church* that had formerly pass'd that way, than a token of her being there. Thus was it understood by Calvin when he asserted, that *the essential Doctrine of Christianity was intirely forgotten by us.* But the difficulty of discovering a Society, in which God could be served before the Reformation, hath made them elude this Article, as we shall see hereafter.

The same reason obliged them also to elude the thirty first which regards the vocation of Ministers. However trite may have been this subject,

XXVI.

The Church of Rome excluded from the Title of a true Church by the twenty eighth Article of the French Confession.

Instit. iv.  
c. 11. n. 2.

XXVII.

The thirty first Article in which the

Interrup-  
tion of the  
Ministry  
and the  
Cessation  
of the  
visible  
Church  
is acknow-  
ledg'd.

subject, it must nevertheless of necessity be re-  
sum'd, and so much the more, as it has given  
occasion to notorious Variations even in our days.  
It begins by these words: *We believe* ('tis an Ar-  
ticle of Faith, consequently reveal'd by God,  
and reveal'd clearly in his Scripture according  
to the principles of the *Reformation*) *we believe*  
*then that no man may intrude himself of his own*  
*proper authority into the government of the Church;*  
allow'd, the thing is certain; *but that this*  
*ought to be done by election;* this part of the Ar-  
ticle is not less sure than the other. You must  
be chosen, deputed, authoriz'd by some body;  
otherwise you are an intruder, *and by your own*  
*particular authority,* the thing just now prohi-  
bited. But here is what pinches the *Reforma-*  
*tion;* they knew not who had chosen, deputed,  
authoriz'd the *Reformers,* and 'twas necessary  
to find out here some cloak for so visible a de-  
fect. Wherefore, after having said, you ought  
to be elected and deputed after some form or  
other, without specifying any, they add; *so far*  
*farth as it possible, and God permits it:* whereby  
an exception is manifestly prepared in behalf of  
the *Reformers.* And accordingly, they imme-  
diately subjoin, *the which exception we add ex-*  
*pressly, because it hath been necessary sometimes,*  
*may in our days when the state of the Church was*  
*corrupted, that God should raise men in an ex-*  
*traordinary manner to set up the Church again*  
*which was fallen into ruin and dissolution.* They  
could not denote, in more clear and more general  
terms, the interruption of the ordinary Ministry  
establish'd by God, nor carry it farther, than  
to be oblig'd to have recourse to an extraordinary  
Ministry which God himself disposed, and ac-  
cordingly furnish with the particular precept  
of his immediate Will. For they acknowledge

frankly in the present case, that they can neither produce Pastors that did consecrate, nor people that could elect; which implied necessarily the intire extinction of the Church in her *Visibility*; and remarkable it was that from the interruption of the *Visibility* and Ministry, they came to own in plain terms, that the *Church was fallen into ruin*; without distinguishing the *Visible* from the *Invisible*, because they had got into a train of simple notions by which the Scripture naturally leads us to own no *Church* but such as is *Visible*.

This difficulty was at length perceived by the *Reformation*; and in 1603, five and forty years after the *Confession* of Faith had been publish'd, was propos'd to the national Synod of *Gap* in these terms. *The Provinces are exhorted to examine thoroughly in the Provincial Synods, in what terms the twenty fifth Article of the Confession of Faith, ought to couched, so much the more, as our belief, touching the Catholick Church whereof mention is made in the Creed, being to be expressed, there is nothing in the said Confession that can be understood of any other than the Church Militant and Visible.* A general command is subjoin'd, that all come prepared on questions concerning the *Church*.

XXVIII.  
Perplexity  
in the  
Synods of  
*Gap* and  
*Rochelle*,  
on account  
that the  
invisible  
Church  
had been  
forgotten  
in the Con-  
fession.  
*Synod. de*  
*Gap. ch.*  
*de la*  
*Conf. de*  
*Gap.*

This is therefore a fact well avow'd, that when they were to expound their Doctrine touching the *Church*, so essential an Article of Christianity as to have been expressed in the *Creed*, the idea of a *Church Invisible* did not so much as enter into the minds of the *Reformers*; so distant was it from good sense, and so unnatural. However, they bethink themselves afterwards that it's necessary for their turn, it being impossible for them to find out a *Church* which had always visibly persisted in the Faith they profess,

and

and a remedy is therefore sought for this omission. What shall they say? That the Church might be wholly *Invisible*? This were introducing into a *Confession* of Faith so crude a fancy, so repugnant to good sense, that it never so much as enter'd into the heads of those that drew it up. It was therefore resolv'd at last, to leave it as they found it; and four years after, in 1607, at the national Synod of *Rochele*, when all the Provinces had thoroughly examin'd what was wanting to the *Confession* of Faith, they concluded, *not to add to, or diminish any thing from the twenty fifth and twenty ninth Articles, the very same in which the Visibility of the Church was express'd the most fully, nor to meddle afresh with the subject of the Church.*

See also  
Revol.  
10.

XXIX.  
Van sub-  
rity of the  
Minister  
Cause  
towards  
ending  
these  
Synods.  
Rep. au  
D. de  
M. de  
Cord. p.  
28.

Mr. *Claude*, of all men, was the most subtle to elude the Decisions of his Church when they incommoded him: but for this bout he jets but too openly; for he would make us believe, that all the difficulty the Synod of *Gap* met with in the *Confession* of Faith, was that she could have with'd, that instead of specifying only *the Militant and Visible part* of the universal Church, *her Invisible parts, which are the Church Triumphant and that which is still to come, had also been specified.* Was not that indeed a very important, a very difficult question to order the discussion of in all the Synods, and over all the Provinces, towards bringing it to a Decision in the next national Synod? Did they so much as dream of ever moving so frivolous a question? And to believe they troubled their heads about it, must not he have forgotten the whole train of controversies ever since the beginning of the pretended *Reformation*? But Mr. *Claude* was not for owning, that the Synod's perplexity proceeded from her not finding, in their *Confession* of Faith,



the *Invisible Church*, whilst his Brother Mr. *Jurieu*, in that more sincere, agrees that they thought it was necessary in the Party in order to answer the query, *Where was the Church?*

The same Synod of *Gap* pass'd an important Decision on the thirty first Article of the *Confession* of Faith, which spoke of the extraordinary vocation of Pastors: for the question being proposed, *Whether or no it were expedient, when they should treat on the Vocation of Pastors who reform'd the Church, to ground the authority they had to reform and teach, on the vocation which they had derived from the Church of Rome; the Synod judged, they ought to refer it, according to the Article, to the extraordinary Vocation only whereby God interiorly stirr'd them up to this Ministry, and not to the small remains amongst them of that corrupted ordinary Vocation.* Such was the Decision of the Synod of *Gap*: but, as before frequently observed, the *Reformation* never hits right at first. Whereas, she enjoins here to have recourse *to an extraordinary Vocation only*, the Synod of *Rockelle* says, they must principally have recourse to it. But no more will they abide by the exposition of the Synod of *Rockelle*, than by the determination of the Synod of *Gap*, and the whole sense of the Article, so carefully explain'd by two Synods, shall be changed by two Ministers.

The Ministers *Claude* and *Jurieu* are no longer for an extraordinary Vocation by which Ministers are sent immediately from God; neither does a *Confession* of Faith, or Synods terrify them: for as the *Reformed* in the main neither care for *Confessions* of Faith nor Synods, and answer objections from them only for form-sake, even the slightest evasions will serve their turn. For such, Mr. *Claude* was never at a loss; *the right*

XXX.  
Remarkable Decision, which they stick not to, of the Synod of *Gap*, concerning extraordinary vocation.

XXXI.  
The Ministers elude the Decree concerning extraordinary Vocation.  
*Depl. de la Riv. 1. p. 4. c. 4. p. 10.*  
tc 4.

*Rep. a M* to teach, says he, and to perform the pastoral  
*at Const.* functions is one thing: the right to labour towards  
 313 320 a Reformation, is another. As for the last, the  
 Vocation was extraordinary, on account of the  
*Hist. p.* extraordinary talents the Reformers were en-  
 307. 313 dow'd with: but there was nothing extraordi-  
 nary as for the Vocation to the Pastoral Ministry,  
 since these first Pastors were appointed by the  
 people, in whom the source of Authority and  
 Vocation naturally resides.

XXXII. They could not shift off the thirty first Ar-  
 Extraordi- ticle in a more gross manner. For it is mani-  
 nary Vocat- fested, the question there regarded in no manner  
 tion, esta- of way either the extraordinary labour towards  
 blish'd in the Con- a Reformation, or the rare talents wherewith  
 fession and the Reformers were endow'd; but merely the  
 two nation- Vocation for governing the Church, into which  
 al Sy- it was not lawful for any one to intrude himself of  
 nod, is his own proper authority. Now it was in this re-  
 aban- gard that they had recourse to an extraordinary  
 don'd. Vocation; consequently, it was in regard of the  
 Pastoral functions.

The Synod explains itself no less clearly: for  
 without the least thought of distinguishing be-  
 twixt the power of *Reforming* and that of *Teach-  
 ing*, which in reality are so link'd together that  
 the same power which authorizes to teach, au-  
 thorizes likewise to reform abuses: the question  
 was whether the power, as well of *Reforming*,  
 as of *Teaching*, ought to be founded on Voca-  
 tion derived from the Church of *Rome*, or on  
 an extraordinary commission issuing immediately  
 from God, and the Synod concludes for the  
 latter.

But no longer were there any means left of  
 maintaining it, they not having any one mark  
 thereon: nay, two Synods could find no other  
 warrant to authorize these extraordinarily com-  
 mission'd

mission'd Pastors, except what they said for themselves, that they had an *interior impulse to their Ministry*. The chiefs of the *Anabaptists* and *Unitarians* say the same, nor is there a more sure method of introducing into the Pastoral charge all manner of *Fanaticks*.

Here was a fine field open'd to *Catholicks*. Nor have they been failing so to press the arguments touching the *Church* and *Ministry*, that intestine division began to disorder the camp of the enemy; and the Minister *Claude*, after subtilizing to a higher pitch than any one had ever done before him, was not able to content the Minister *Jurieu*. What they both have said on this subject, the steps they have taken towards the truth, the absurdities they fell into for not having sufficiently pursued their principle, have placed the question concerning the *Church* in such a state as not to be dissembled without omitting one of the most material occurrences of this History.

These two Ministers suppose the *Church Visible* and always *Visible*, nor is it in this point they are divided. In order to put it beyond all doubt that Mr. *Claude* persisted in this sentiment to the very last, I will produce the last Work of his on this subject. He there declares, that the question betwixt *Catholicks* and *Protestants* is not whether the *Church* be *Visible*: that it is not denied in his Religion that the true *Church of Jesus Christ*, the *Church* which his promises relate to, is so; he very clearly decides that the Text of *St. Paul*, in which the *Church* is represented without spot or wrinkle, regards not only the *Church in Heaven*, but also the *visible Church that is on Earth*: insomuch, that the *visible Church is the Body of Christ Jesus*, or what comes to the same thing, the *Body of Christ Jesus*, which

XXXIII.  
How important is the present state of the controversy about the Church.

XXXIV.  
The 10  
larger  
canted  
with us the  
Church's  
Villages.  
Pet. 10  
11.  
12.  
13.  
14.  
15.  
16.  
17.  
18.  
19.  
20.  
21.  
22.  
23.  
24.  
25.  
26.  
27.

alone is the true Church, is visible: that this is the sentiment of Calvin and Mestresat, and that the Church of God is not to be sought out of the visible state of the Ministry and Word.

XXXV.  
The promises of  
Jesus  
Christ in  
behalf of  
the Visibili-  
ty, are  
allow'd.  
*Ibid.* p.  
105.  
Mat. xvi  
18.

This is most clearly owning, that she cannot subsist without her *Visibility* and the *Perpetuity* of her Ministry: accordingly hath this Author acknowledged it in many places, and particularly in expounding these words: the *gates of hell shall not prevail against her*; where he speaks thus: *if in these words be understood a perpetual subsistence of the ministry in a state sufficient for the salvation of God's elect, in spite of all the efforts of hell, and in spite of all the disorders and confusions of the Ministers themselves; 'tis no more than what I own hath been promised by Jesus Christ, and therein it is that we have a sensible and palpable token of his promise.*

The Perpetuity therefore of the Ministry is not a thing which happens accidentally to the Church, or is only suitable to her for a time; 'tis a thing which is promised her by *Jesus Christ* himself; and it is equally certain, that the Church will never be without a *Visible* Ministry, as it is certain, that *Jesus Christ* is the Eternal Truth.

XXXVI.  
Another  
Promise  
equally  
confess'd.  
*Conf.*  
*ar. c. M.*  
*Ch. p. 36.*  
*Rep. a*  
*dit. de M.*  
*d. Com.*  
p. 106.  
107.

This Minister proceeds still further, and expounding this promise of *Jesus Christ*, *Go ye, baptize, teach, and lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world*, he approves this comment made thereon: *with you teaching, with you baptizing*, and concludes it with these words: *I acknowledge that Jesus Christ promises the Church to be with her, and to tea* **INTERRUPTION,** *with her, unto the world's end: an acknowledgment from whence I shall, in due time, conclude the Infalibility of the Church's Doctrine, with whom Jesus Christ is always teaching.*

teaching: but do only employ it here to establish by his Scriptures and his promises, with the consent of this Minister, the visible perpetuity of the Church-Ministry.

Accordingly also he proceeds thus to define the Church; *the Church is, says he, the true faithful who make profession of the truth, of Christian piety, of a true sanctity under a Ministry which furnishes her with the food necessary for a spiritual life, without subtracting from her any part thereof.*

Where the profession of the truth and the perpetuity of the visible Ministry are seen manifestly to enter the definition of the *Church*: whence it clearly follows, that as much as he is assured that she will be always, so much is he assured that she always will be visible, since visibility appertains to her essence, and comes into her very definition.

If it be ask'd this Minister, how he understands the Church to be visible, since he will have her be the assembly of the true faithful known to God alone, and that the profession of the truth, which might make her known, is common to her with wicked men and hypocrites, as well as the visible and exterior Ministry: he answers, that 'tis sufficient, to render the assembly of the faithful visible, that we may point at the place where she abides, to wit, *the body wherein she is nourish'd*, and the visible Ministry under which she is necessarily contain'd: by which means we may even say, *there she is*, as, viewing the field in which grow good corn and tares, we say, *there is the good corn*, and as, beholding the nets wherein are good and bad fish, *there are the good fish*.

But what was that publick and visible Ministry under which were contain'd, before the *Reformation*, the true faithful whom he will have alone to be the true Church? this was the grand

XXXVII.

The Visibility enters into the definition which the Minister *Claude* hath given of the Church.

*Ibid.* 119.

XXXVIII

In what manner the Society of the faithful is visible, in this Minister's opinion.

P. 79.

95. 115.  
121. 146.  
243.

XXXIX.

Before the Reformation, the Elect of God saved

in the  
 Councils  
 one, and  
 under the  
 Ministry  
 of Rome.  
 T. 2.  
 130. &c.  
 140. &c.  
 150. &c.  
 369. &c.  
 373. 378.

question. No Ministry was to be found through-  
 out the whole universe that had perpetually con-  
 tinued, except that of the Church of *Rome*, or  
 of others, whose Doctrine was equally disadvan-  
 tageous to *Protestants*. Wherefore he was obliged  
 at last to own, that this *Body in which the true*  
*faisful were nourish'd, and this Ministry whereby*  
*they received sufficient food without subtraction of*  
*any part,* was the Body of the Church of *Rome*,  
 and the Ministry of her Prelates.

XI.  
 This Mi-  
 nister hath  
 not re-  
 courſe to  
 the *Ca-  
 tholics*, &c.  
*Deſideria*  
*Reſponſa*  
*de viſi-  
 bus*  
 289.

This Minister is here to be praised for his pene-  
 tration, exceeding that of many others, and for  
 not having confined the Church to Societies sepa-  
 rate from *Rome*, as were the *Vandots* and *Albigen-  
 ses*, the *Wickliffites* and the *Hussites*: for altho' he  
 considers them as the most illustrious part of the  
 Church, because they were the most pure, the most  
 knowing, and the most generous, he well saw, it  
 was ridiculous there to place the whole defence  
 of his cause; and in his last work, without mind-  
 ing these obscure Sects whose insufficiency is now  
 made visible, he no where fixes the true Church  
 and true faithful but in the *Latin* Ministry.

Rep. au  
 Concil.  
 de Cont.

XII.  
 Hev. the  
 Propriety  
 of the  
 Church

But here lies the dilemma which it's impossi-  
 ble to evade: for the Catholics return to their  
 old Query: if the true Church be always *True*;  
 if the marks to know her by, according to all  
 your *Catechisms* and all your *Confessions* of Facto,  
 be the pure preaching of the Gospel and the right  
 administration of the Sacraments: either the  
 Church of *Rome* had these two marks, and you  
 came in vain to reform her: or she had them  
 not; and then you no longer say, as of old, to  
 your people, that she is the Body in which is  
 contain'd the true Church. For in contradiction  
 to this, *Calvin* hath said, that the *Doctrine essen-  
 tial to Christians* was there beautiful, and she was  
 nothing but a school of Idolatry and Impiety. His

Reſponſa  
 de viſi-  
 bus

ſentiments



sentiments pass'd into the *Confession* of Faith, wherein we have seen *that the pure truth of God was banish'd from this Church; that the Sacraments were there corrupted, falsified, and adulterated; that all Superstition and Idolatry were there in vogue.* Whence he concluded, that the Church was fallen into desolation and ruin, the state of the Ministry interrupted, and her succession to annihilated, that there was no means of reviving it but by an extraordinary mission. And in reality, if imputed Justice was the foundation of Christianity; if the merit of works, and so many other received Doctrines were mortally ruinous to piety, if both Kinds were essential to the Eucharist, where was the Truth and Sacraments? *Calvin* and the *Confession* were in the right to say, according to these principles, that no Church at all was left amongst us.

On the other side, neither can it be said that the Church hath ceased, nor ceased to be *Visible*: the promises of *Jesus Christ* are too perspicuous, and reconciled they must be, some way or other, with the Doctrines of the *Reformation*. Hence commenced the distinction of *Additions* and *Subtractions*: if by subtraction you take away some fundamental truths, no longer stands the Ministry: if you lay evil *Dogmata* on these foundations; nay, tho' they should destroy this foundation by consequence, the Ministry subsists, impure indeed, yet sufficient: and by the discernment which the faithful make of the foundation which is *Jesus Christ*, from that which is superadded, they shall find all necessary nourishment in the Ministry. Here then ends that purity of Doctrines, and of Sacraments rightly administered, which had been set as marks of the true Church. Without having so much as preaching which you can approve of, or worship which

XLII.

The answers whereby they fall into a greater perplexity.

*Rep. de M.**Ch. an**de**M. de**M. an.**P. 128.*

119. 146.

247. 501.

20.

you can join in, or an intire *Eucharist*, still have you all necessary food without subtraction of any part thereof, still have you the purity of the Word, and the Sacraments well administred: what is it to contradict one self if this be not?

XIII. According to the Principles all intire in the Church of Rome that can be required for eternal Salvation.

But here occurs another difficulty. If together with all these points of Doctrine; all these practices, and all this worship of the Church of *Rome*, with the Adoration and Oblation of our Saviour's Body, with the subtraction of one kind, and all the other *Dogmata*, you have still all necessary food without subtraction of any part, because one God is by her confessed, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and one only *Jesus Christ* as God and Saviour; it is therefore to be had there still: still have you in her the marks of a true Church, namely, purity of Doctrine, and the right administration of the Sacraments to a sufficient degree: still then the true Church is there, and still therein may you save your soul.

XIV. No difference betwixt us and our Fathers.

To this Mr. *Claude* would not agree; the consequences of so considerable a concession made him tremble for the *Reformation*. But Mr. *Jurieu* did not mince the matter, sensible as he was that the differences, which Mr. *Claude* alledged betwixt us and our Fathers, were too frivolous to boggle at.

De Calde  
P. 1  
25  
E. 17  
de  
M. de  
C. 1  
P. 18

And indeed, no more than these two are mentioned: the first is, that at present, there is a Body whose Communion we may embrace, viz. the Body of the pretended *Reformed*: the second is that the Church of *Rome* hath made many *Dogmatic* Articles of Faith, which, in our Fathers time, were undecid'd.

De Calde  
L. 3 P.  
C. 1

But nothing can be more frivolous; and to convince the Minister *Claude*, he needs only to remember what the Minister *Claude* hath but just told us: viz. that the *Brethren*, the *Vandors*, the *Albiges*, the *Wickliffes*, the *Hussites*,

Hussites, &c. had already appear'd in the world as *the most illustrious part of the Church, because they were the most pure, the most knowing, the most generous.* Again, he hath but to remember that, even in his judgment, the Church of Rome had already given cause sufficient of with-drawing Re. au de. de M. de Cond. p. 363. from her Communion by her Anathematizings against Berengarius, against the Vaudois and Albigenes, against John Wickliff and John Hus, and by the persecutions she had exercised against them. Yet he owns nevertheless, in all these places, that, in order to Salvation, it was not necessary to join with these Sects, and that Rome did still contain the Elect of God.

To say that the *Lutherans* and *Calvinists* outshone them in brightness and lustre, were only disputing about more or less, the Substance of the thing still continuing the same. The decisions, pass'd against these Sects, comprehended the principal part of what afterwards was defined against *Luther* and *Calvin*; and without speaking of Decisions, the constant and universal practice of offering the Sacrifice of the *Mass*, and making the most essential part of the divine worship to consist in this Oblation, was no new thing, nor was it possible to remain in the *Church* without consenting to this worship. We had therefore, with this worship and with all its dependencies, all necessary food without subtraction of any part thereof: therefore we may still have it: Mr. *Claude* could not have denied this without too gross an imposition, nor was the concession lately made of it by Mr. *Jurieu*, otherwise than forced.

Add to this that Mr. *Claude*, who would make us believe so great a difference betwixt the times preceding and those subsequent to the *Reformation*, under pretext that Doctrines before un-

Pl. p.  
357.

decided are since made Articles of Faith, hath himself destroy'd this answer, by saying, *that it was not a more difficult thing to the people to abstain from believing and practising what had been made a Dogma, than to abstain from believing and practising what was taught by the Ministry, what was commended by it, and what was become common*; so that this mighty matter of making new *Dogmata*, which he sets up for such a scare-crow to his Party, after all, is just nothing even in his own judgment.

NLV.  
Table of  
Articles  
of the  
Church  
of  
England,  
that one  
might be  
in the  
Communi-  
on with  
out com-  
municat-  
ing.  
D. 1. 1.  
and 1. 2.  
P. 361. &c.  
362. &c.

To these inconsistencies of Mr. *Clarke's* Doctrine, I add also a palpable likelihood which he was bound to maintain by his system: viz. that the true faithful, whom he owns in the Church of *Rome* before the Reformation, *therein subsisted without communicating in her Doctrines, or her corrupted practices*; that is to say, without coming to *Mass*, without confessing themselves, without communicating all their lives, or at death, in a word, without ever performing any one action of a *Roman Catholic*.

He has been made to see a hundred times, what a new prodigy this would be: for, without speaking of the great care that was taken all the Church over to make inquiries after the *Vaudois* and *Alligenes*, the *Wickliffites* and *Hussites*: it is certain in the first place, that even those, whose Doctrine was unsuspected, were obliged, on a hundred occasions, to shew tokens of their belief, and particularly when the holy *Viaticum* was given them. There needs but to look into all the *Rituals* antecedent to *Luther's* times, to be convinced of the care then taken to make, whom they administered it to, first confess their sins, and in giving it them, to make them own therein the *Truth* of the Body of our Lord, and adore it with a profound respect. A second in-

contestable

contestable fact results from thence: which is, that the conceal'd *Vaudois* and others, who had a mind to shelter themselves from the Church's censures, had no other means of compassing it, than by practising the same worship with the *Catholics*, even by receiving Communion with them: 'tis what hath been most demonstrably shewn by all kind of proofs that can be had in such a matter. But there is a third and still more certain fact, it being acknowledged even by the Ministers: *viz.* that of all those who embraced either *Lutheranism* or *Calvinism*, not so much as one hath been found to say, that, in embracing such Doctrines, he did not change his belief, but only declared, what he had always believed in his heart.

To this fact distinctly stated, Mr. *Claude* is satisfied with answering insultingly: Does M. *de Meaux* imagine that the disciples of Luther and Zuinglius ought to have made formal declarations of all they had thought before the Reformation, or that these declarations should appear publickly in print?

This is shuffling in too weak and palpable a manner, for I did not pretend, that all ought to be declared, or all printed; but that they never would have omitted to write that which decided one of the most material points of the whole cause, namely, the question, whether or no before *Luther* and *Zuinglius*, there was any one person of their Faith, or whether their Faith then was absolutely unknown. This question was decisive, since none being able to conceive that the truth had been wholly extinguish'd, it follow'd manifestly, that what Doctrine soever was undiscoverable then on earth, could not be the truth. Examples would have clear'd all kind of doubt on this matter, and if any had been, it is

*Sup. l. xi.  
n. 106.  
107. 117.  
149. &c.*

**XLVI.**  
A certain fact, that before the Reformation, the Doctrine she taught was unknown. Reflection on a book of Mr. *Cl.* after the Conference with this Minister  
*p. 460.  
P. 1. ca  
c. 2. de  
M. de  
Cord.*

evident they would have made them publick: but none did they produce: it is therefore, because there were none, and the fact must stand for uncontestable.

XIVII. All that could be answer'd to this was, *that, but men been satisfied with the Doctrines and worship of Rome, the Reformation would not have met with so speedy a success.* But not to repeat here what elsewhere may be found with regard to this success, and even throughout this whole History, 'tis sufficient to reflect on that saying of St. Paul, *That the word of Hereticks will spread like to a gangrene*: now the *gangrene* does not suppose a *gangrene* in the body it corrupts, nor by consequence, do *Heresiarchs* find their error already settled in those minds which it depraves. It is true, *matters were disposed*, as says Mr. *Claude*, by ignorance and other above-mention'd causes, for the most part little to the credit of the *Reformation*: but to conclude from thence with this Minister, that the disciples, which novelty gain'd to *Luther*, were already of his sentiments, is, instead of a positive fact whereof proof is demanded, substituting a consequence that is not only doubtful, but even evidently false.

XVIII. Again: tho' it were granted Mr. *Claude* that, before the *Reformation*, all men were asleep in the Church of *Rome*, even so far as to let every man do as he pleased: those that were neither present at *Mass* nor *Communion*, that never confess'd their sins, never partook of the Sacraments, either living or dying, lived and died quite unconcern'd: none ever dreamt of requiring from each people a Confession of their Faith, and reparation of the scandal they had given to their Brethren: after all, what does he gain by advancing such prodigies? His design was to prove, men might have saved their souls  
what



whilst remaining with sincerity in Communion with the Church of *Rome*. In proof of this, the first thing he does, is to take from those he saves, all the exterior bands of Communion. The most essential part of the service was the *Mass*: they were to take no part in it. The most manifest token of Communion, was communicating at *Easter*: they were to abstain from it; otherwise they must have adored *Jesus Christ* as present, and partook but of one Kind. All Pulpits resounded with this Worship, with this Communion, and infine, with these Doctrines deem'd so corrupt. Great heed was to be taken not to give the least sign of approving them: by this means, says Mr. *Claude*, Salvation might be had in *Communion* with the *Church*. He ought rather to have concluded, that by this means Salvation would be had *out of Communion* with the *Church*, since by this means, such would have violated all the ties of Communion; for in short, let him define to me what it is to be in *Communion* with a *Church*. Is it to dwell in the country where this *Church* is own'd, as *Protestants* did amongst us, and *Catholicks* do now in *England* and *Holland*? Surely it can't be that; but perhaps 'tis to appear in the Churches, to hear the sermons, and be present at the assemblies without any token of approbation, and much in the same disposition with a curious traveller without saying, *Amen*, to their prayers, and especially without ever communicating? This is bantering, you'll reply. Why then, to communicate with a *Church*, is at least to frequent her meetings with the marks of consent and approbation given thereto by others. To give these marks to a *Church* whose profession of Faith is criminal, is giving consent to a crime: and refusing them, is no longer being in that exterior

rior Communion, wherein nevertheless you would have them be.

But if you say, the marks of approbation to be given must only fall on the truths which this *Church* preaches, and on the good she practises; by the same way of reasoning one might be in Communion with the *Socinians*, with the *Deists* could they make one Society, with the *Mahometans*, with the *Jews*, by receiving the several truths professed in each Party, silent as to all the rest, and living withal in every respect a complete *Socinian*, a complete *Deist*: what extravagance can compare with this?

XLIX.  
The Mi-  
lister va-  
riation  
what he  
had said of  
the  
Church's  
Visibility.  
*Def. de la*  
*Ref. P. 47.*  
29. 314.  
*Pap. ca*  
*de la de*  
*M. de*  
C. 1. 1.  
S. 1. 1.  
17. 21.

This is the state wherein Mr. *Claude* hath left the controversy touching the *Church*; a weak state, as is plain, and manifestly indefensible. And indeed he does not trust to it, nor will he deprive his Party of the subterfuge, tho' never so pitiful, of an *Invisible Church*, since he supposes, God may make his *Church* intirely vanish out of the sight of men; and when he says, he may, 'tis not his meaning that he can do this absolutely speaking, and it implies no contradiction, for that is not the question; nor are metaphysical abstractions here so much as thought of: but, he may do it in the *Hypothesis*, and allowing the present plan of Christianity. 'Tis in this sense that Mr. *Claude* decides, that *God may, when he pleases, reduce the faithful to an intire eternal dispersion, and preserve them in this miserable state, and that there is great difference betwixt saying, the Church ceases to be Visible, and saying, the Church ceases to be*. After a hundred times repeating, that he disputes not with us the *Church's* *Existence*, after making the *Visibility* of her Ministry enter into her very denotation; after grounding her *Persistence* on these promises of *Jesus Christ*, *I am with*

*you always, and the gates of hell shall not prevail:* to say, what we have just heard, is to forget his own Doctrine and make void the promises which are more durable than heaven and earth. But his case was this: after his utmost straining to reconcile them with his *Reformation*, and to maintain the Scripture-Doctrine of the Visibilty, he found it still requisite to leave himself a last refuge in the *Invisible Church* to fly to in case of need.

In this posture was the question when Mr. *Jurieu* publish'd his new System of the *Church*. No means were there of defending the difference which his Brother would have placed betwixt us and our Fore-fathers, nor of saving one, in damning the others. No less ridiculous was it, in owning that some *Elect* are born to God in the Communion of the Church of *Rome*, to say, that these *Elect* of her Communion were such as took no part in her Doctrine, nor in her Worship, nor in her Sacraments. Mr. *Jurieu* was very sensible, that these pretended *Elect* could be nothing but hypocrites, or impious men; and at length, tho' with much ado, he open'd Heaven's gate to those who lived in the Communion of the Church of *Rome*. But lest she might glory in this advantage, he communicated it, at the same time, to all other *Churches* wheretoever *Christianity* is spread, how much soever divided amongst themselves, tho' never so unmercifully excommunicating one another.

He carried this notion to such a height, that he did not stick to call the contrary opinion, *inhuman, cruel, barbarous*, in a word, an *Executioner's* opinion that is pleas'd with damning mankind, and the most tyrannical that ever was. He will not allow a truly charitable Christian can have any other sentiment than that

I.  
The Minister *Jurieu* comes into the assistance of the Minister *Clause*, who had involved himself in an inextricable labyrinth.  
*Syst. de l'Egl. l. 1. ch. 20. 21. &c.*

LI.  
He establishes Salvation in all Communion.  
*Syst. de l'Egl. l. 1. ch. 20. 21. &c.*

which the end



of *Rome* excepted. It is near thirty years since *Huiffreau* Minister of *Saumur* push'd on the consequence of this Doctrine to a great extent. This Minister, already famous in his Party for his publication of *Ecclesiastical* discipline compared with the Decrees of national Synods, made himself much spoken of by the plan of reuniting all Christians of all Sects, which he propos'd in 1670, and Mr. *Jurieu* acquaints us that he had many sticklers notwithstanding the solemn condemnation which was pass'd on his books and person. A little while since, Mr. *Pajon* the famous Minister of *Orleans*, in his answer to the *Pastoral* letter of the *French* Clergy, did not think himself able to maintain the Church-system, defended by Mr. *Claude*: the *Catholicity* or *Universality* of the *Church* appear'd to him much more extensive than his Brother had made it; and Mr. *Jurieu* gives notice to Mr. *Nicole*, that answering Mr. *Claude's* book will be doing nothing, unless he also answer that of Mr. *Pajon*, by reason that these two gentlemen having taken different paths, one and the same answer cannot satisfy them both.

*See* *the*  
*cur. Post.*  
*de l'Éur*  
at the  
beginning  
of the  
*Proju. p*  
1).

*Ill. p. 12.*

In this division of the *Reformation* driven to the utmost streights on the question touching the *Church*, Mr. *Jurieu* sided with Mr. *Pajon*; and not affrighted with the separation of Churches, decides, that all *Christian Societies* which agree in some tenets, inasmuch as they agree, are united to the *Body* of the *Christian Church*, tho' they be in *Schism* one against another **EVEN TO DAGGERS DRAWING.**

**LIII.**  
Sentiment  
of the  
Minister  
*Jurieu*  
*P. 101.*  
+

Notwithstanding these so general expressions, he varies in regard of the *Socinians*: for at first in his *allowable* *Prepeliſſions*, where he spoke naturally what he thought, he begins, by enrolling them amongst the members of the *Christian*

*Pro. 4g.*  
C 4

*Church.*

P. 4. &c.  
P. 8.

*Church.* He seems a little puzzled at the question, whether or no one may save his soul amongst them: for on one hand, he seems to allow none capable of Salvation but those who live in Sects, wherein *Jesus Christ's* divinity with other the fundamental Articles are acknowledged; and on the other, after compounding *the Body of the Church of all that great heap of Sects which make profession of Christianity in all provinces of the world* put together, wherein the *Socinians* visibly are comprehended, he concludes in express terms, *that the Saints and Elect are spread in all parts of this vast Body.*

P. 133.  
&c.

The *Socinians* gain'd their cause, and Mr. *Jurieu* was blamed even in his own Party, for having been too favourable to them; which is the cause that he restrains in some measure his ideas in his systems: for whereas, in his *Professions*, he placed naturally in the Body of the universal *Church* all Sects whatsoever without exception: in the system, he commonly tacks to it this corrective, *at least those who preserve the fundamental Articles*; which he explains in behalf of the *Trinity* and other points of like consequence. Thereby he seem'd to limit his general propositions: but at last, led on by the force of his principle, he broke thro' all restraints laid on him by the policy of the Party, and loudly own'd that the true faithful may be found in the Communion of a *Socinian Church*.

This is the history of that opinion which makes up the *Church* out of separate Communions: and likelihood, great would be its authority, if *Presbyters* did not policy obstruct it. The Disciples of *Calixtus* multiply in the *Indolent* Party. As for the *Calixtists*, it's plain, the new system of the *Church* prevails among them; and as Mr. *Jurieu* dignifies him-  
self



self in that Party, by defending it, and none has better laid down the principles, nor better fore-ſeen the conſequences of it, its irregularity cannot be ſhewn better, than by relating the diſorder into which that Miniſter has caſt himſelf by this Doctrine, and the advantage he at the ſame time affords the *Catholicks*.

To dive to the bottom of his notion, his diſtinction of the *Church* conſider'd as to its *Body*, and of the *Church* conſider'd as to its *Soul*, muſt be preſuppoſed. The profeſſion of Chriſtianity is ſufficient to make part of the *Body* of the Church; the which he advances againſt Mr. *Claude* who compounds the *Body* of the Church, of the true faithful only: but to have part in the *Soul* of the Church, it's neceſſary to be in the Grace of God.

IV  
Salvation  
may be  
had in the  
Church  
of *Rome*,  
according  
to this  
Miniſter.  
*Prej. leg.*  
*cb. 1.*  
*Syſt. l. 1.*  
*cb. 1.*

This diſtinction ſuppoſed, the queſtion is, what Sects are ſimply in the *Body* of the Church, and what are thoſe in which one may attain to partake of her *Soul*, namely of Charity and the Grace of God: which he explains clearly enough by an abridgement he makes of Church-hiſtory. This he begins by ſaying, ſhe was corrupted after *the third Century*: this date muſt be obſerved. He paſſes over the fourth Century without either approving, or blaming it: but, continues he, *in the fifth, the ſixth, the ſeventh, and the eighth, the Church adopted Divinities of a ſecond rate, adored Relicks, made herſelf Images, and proſtrated herſelf before them even in the Churches: and then grown ſickly, deform'd, venereal, ſhe was alive nevertheleſs: ſo that her Soul was in her ſtill, and what is worthy obſervation, it was in her, in the midſt of Idolatry.*

P. 5.

*l. 2*

He goes on ſaying, *that the univerſal Church* P. 6.  
*divided itſelf into two great parties, the Greek Church, and the Latin Church. The Greek Church,*  
*before*

before this great Schism, was already subdivided into Nestorians, Eutychians, Melchites, and divers other Sects: the Latin Church, into PAPISTS, Vaudois, Hussites, Taborites, Lutherans, Calvinists, and Anabaptists; and he pronounces, that it is an error to imagine, all these different Parties had absolutely broken off from Jesus Christ by breaking one from the other.

LV.  
The Church of Rome comprehended amongst the living Societies, wherein the fundamentals of Salvation are retained. See p. 147. P. 149. Ibid p. 155.

Who breaks not with Jesus Christ, breaks not from Salvation and Life: accordingly, he counts these Societies amongst the living Societies. The Societies that are dead, according to this Minister, are those which ruin the foundation, to wit, the Trinity, the Incarnation, the satisfaction of Jesus Christ, and other the like articles: but this is not the case of the Greeks, the Armenians, the Coptes, the Abyssins, the Russians, the PAPISTS, and Protestants; all these Societies, says he, have composed the Church, and therein does God preserve his fundamental truths.

It signifies nothing to object that they subvert these truths by consequences drawn in good form from their principles, because, as they disown these consequences, they ought not, says this Minister, to be imputed to them; for which reason, he acknowledges God's Elect even amongst the Eutychians, who contounded the two Natures of Jesus Christ, and amongst the Nestorians, who divided his Person. There is no room to doubt, says he, but God preserves a remnant in them according to the election of Grace; and lest it should be imagined, there is more difficulty with respect to the Church of Rome than for others, on account that she is, according to him, the kingdom of Antichrist, he clears this doubt in express terms, asserting, that God's Elect were preserved even in the kingdom of Antichrist, and in Babylon itself.

Proj. ch. 1 p. 16.

Ibid

The Minister proves it by these words: *come out of Babylon, my people.* Whence he concludes that the people of God, that is, his *Elect*, must necessarily have been in it: but, continues he, they were not in it as his *Elect* are in some manner amongst the Heathens, from whom they are withdrawn; *for God does not call those his people who are in the state of damnation*: consequently, the *Elect* who are found in *Babylon*, are absolutely out of this state, and in the state of Grace. *It is, says he, more clear than day, that God, in these words, come out of Babylon, my people, alludes to the Jews of the Babylonian captivity, who certainly, in this state, did not cease to be Jews and the people of God.*

LVI.  
The first  
nature of the  
Church of  
Rome no  
hindrance  
to mens  
saving  
their soul  
in it.  
Syst. p.  
145.

After this manner, the spiritual *Jews* and the true *Israel of God*, that is, his true children, are to be found in the Communion of *Rome*, and will be found there to the end, it being evident that this sentence, *come out of Babylon, my people*, is pronounced even in the fall and desolation of that mystical *Babylon*, which he will have to be the Church of *Rome*.

Gal. vi.  
16.  
Rev. xviii.  
4.

In order to explain how men are saved in her, the Minister distinguishes two ways: the first, which he has taken from Mr. *Claude*, is the way of separation and discernment, when one is in the Communion of a *Church* without partaking of her errors, and of whatever may be evil in her practices. The second, added by him to that of Mr. *Claude*, is the way of toleration on God's side, when, in consideration of fundamental truths retain'd in a Communion, God pardons errors superadded to them.

LVII.  
Men may  
be saved  
amongst  
us whilst  
retaining  
our Faith  
and Wor-  
ship.

That he comprehends us in this last way, he clearly gives to understand in his system, where he declares the conditions upon which one may hope from God some toleration *in the Sects which*

II. d. p.  
177. 174.

lay the foundation by their additions, yet without taking it away. By what has been now said, it is plain, he means us and those like to us; and the condition under which he allows men may be saved in such a kind of Sect is, *that they communicate with it in sincerity, believing that it bath preserved the essence of the Sacraments, and obligeth to nothing against conscience*; which shews, (so far from obliging those who abide in these Sects to reject their Doctrine in order to be saved) that they who remain therein with the greatest sincerity, and are the most persuaded as well of the Doctrine as of the practices in use amongst them, may be the soonest saved.

LVIII. It is true, he seems to add two other conditions also: one, of having been engaged in these Sects from ones birth; and the other, of not having it in ones power to communicate with a more pure Society, either because one knows none such, or *is not in a condition of breaking with the Society he happens to be in*. But afterwards he passes beyond these bounds: for after having proposed the question, whether it be lawful *to be one while a Greek, another while a Latin, now a Reformed, then a Papist, sometimes a Calvinist, sometimes a Lutheran*, he answers, no, when you make profession of believing what you do not believe in. But, if you pass from one Sect to another by way of settlement, and because you cease to be persuaded of certain opinions which you had formerly held upon as true, he declares that you may proceed to different communions without regard of Salvation, as well as remain in yours, *provided those who pass into Sects which neither renounce, nor subject the Sacraments, are not in a different state from those who are born in them*, so that one may not only remain a Latin and Papist when born in this Commu-

nion, but also, come into it from *Calvinism* without forsaking the way of Salvation; nor are they, who save their souls amongst us, such only, as said Mr. *Claude*, who abide amongst us without approving our Doctrine; but such even as are sincere in the profession of it.

Our Brethren, the pretended *Reformed*, may thence be convinced, that all they are told of our *Idolatries*, is wretchedly extravagant. Never was it believed that an *Idolater* might be saved under pretence of his sincerity: so gross an error, so manifest an impiety, is incompatible with an upright conscience. Wherefore the *Idolatry* imputed to us is of a particular species; 'tis an *Idolatry* invented to excite against us the hatred of the weak and ignorant. But it is high time they should undeceive themselves; for, to be converted is no such great misfortune, since he who cries out the loudest against our *Idolatries*, and loads with most reproaches the *converters* and *converted*, is agreed that all of them may be true Christians.

Neither is the presumption imputed to us of having, on one side, augmented the number of the Sacraments, and on the other, mutilated the Supper by cutting off, as they say, a Part from it, any longer to be exaggerated by them: for this Minister declares it would be *a cruelty to turn out of the Church* such as admit other Sacraments than those two, which he pretends are only instituted by *Jesus Christ*, namely *Baptism* and the *Supper*; and so far from excluding us thence for having added to them *Confirmation*, *Extreme-Union*, and the rest, he does not even exclude from it the *Ethiopic* Christians, who, says he, receive *Circumcision*, not by a politick custom, but in quality of a Sacrament, altho' St. Paul

LIX.  
This Doctrine of the Minister destroys all he says against us and our Idolatries.

LX.  
The *Ethiopians* saved adding *Circumcision* to the Sacraments of the Church.  
Gal. v. 2.  
539. 543.

hath declared: *if ye be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing.*

LXI.  
Communion  
of the  
Church  
of  
England  
concerning  
the  
Substance  
of the  
Eucharistick  
Sacrament.  
1611. p.  
258.  
p. 27.  
11.  
1611. p.  
216.

As for what concerns Communion under one Kind, nothing is more common in the writings of the Ministers, even of this Author himself, than to say, that by so giving the *Eucharistick* Sacrament we corrupt the foundation and essence thereof, which, in matter of Sacraments, is saying *the same thing as if we no longer had them.* But such propositions are not to be taken literally as they stand; since Mr. *Claude* hath already told us, that before the *Reformation*, our Fathers receiving but in one Kind, had nevertheless all necessary food *without subtraction of any part thereof*; and Mr. *Jarvis* speaks still more clearly the same thing, for as much as, after having defined the Church *the aggregate of all the Communioners: who preach the same Jesus Christ, which declare the same Salvation, and who give the same Sacraments in Substance, and which teach the same Doctrine*; he counts us expressly in this collection of Communioners, and in the Church: which necessarily supposes that we give the Substance of the *Eucharist*, and by consequence, that both Kinds are not essential to it. Let our Brethren therefore no longer differ coming over to us in sincerity and truth, since their Ministers have removed for them the greatest obstacle, it not the only one, they alledging against it.

LXII.  
The  
Confession  
of the  
Church  
of  
England  
concerning  
the  
Eucharist.  
1549. c.  
11. p.  
124.  
1549. c.  
11. p.  
124.

Therefore, there appears a manifest opposition betwixt this System and the *Confession* of Faith of the *Protestant* Churches; for the *Confessions* of the greater of them unanimously give two only modes of a true Church, *the preaching of God's Word, and the Administration of the Sacraments, and that in the institution of Jesus Christ*; for which reason, the *Confession* of Faith



of our pretended *Reformed* hath concluded, that, in the *Roman Church*, whence *the pure truth of God was banish'd*, and where the *Sacraments were corrupted, or wholly annihilated, properly speaking, there was no Church at all*. But our Minister assures us, these expressions are not to be understood in their strict sense; as much as to say, there is a great deal of exaggeration and excess in what the *Reformation* lays to our charge.

However, 'tis something curious to behold, how the Minister will acquit himself as to these two marks of the true *Church* so solemn in the whole *Protestant Party*. It is true, says he, *we lay them down: we, that is to say, we Protestants; but for my part, I would give the thing, proceeds he, another turn, and would say, that to know the Body of the Christian and universal Church in general, there is but one mark requisite; viz. the Confession of the name of Jesus Christ the true Messias and Redeemer of Mankind.*

This is not all; for after having found the marks of the Body of the universal Church, *it is necessary to find those of the soul, to the end you may know, in what part of this Church God preserves his Elect*. Here it is, answers the Minister, that we must return to our two marks, *pure Preaching and pure Administration of the Sacraments*. But beware you be not deceived; *this is not to be taken in a strict sense*. To save the essence of a *Church*, the preaching is sufficiently pure when the fundamental truths are preserved, what error soever be superadded; the Sacraments are sufficiently pure, notwithstanding *the additions*: let us add, following the aforesaid principle, notwithstanding the subtractions *which spoil them*: so far as, in the midst of all this, the foundation subsists, and *God applies to his Elect what good there is, hindering what does*

*Proj. Hist.*

LXIII.

The two marks of a true Church given by Protestants are sufficiently to be seen amongst

us.

*Hist. p. 25.*

*Hist. p. 214.*

*Hist.*

*Proj. p. 25.*

*Hist.*

of human institution, from turning to their prejudice and destruction. Conclude we therefore with this Minister, that nothing of whatever has been said on this subject in the *Confession* of Faith, must be taken in a strict sense; and moreover, that the Church of *Rome* (*Lutherans* and *Calvinists* calm your hatred) the Church of *Rome*, I say, so much hated and so much condemn'd, inspite of all your *Confessions* of Faith and all your reproaches, may glory in having, in a very true sense as far as is necessary to form the children of God, *the pure Preaching of the Word, and the right Administration of the Sacraments.*

LXIV.  
The Confession of Faith hath nothing for any authority amongst the Ministers.

If it be said, these favourable interpretations of the *Confessions* of Faith are quite opposite to, and destroy the Text; that for instance, what is there said of the Church of *Rome*, that truth is *banish'd from her, the Sacraments either falsified or wholly annihilated*, and properly speaking, *that we have no such thing as a Church amongst us*; are far different things from what we have just heard from our Ministers: I own as much; but the reason in short is, they have found by experience that there is no longer any possibility of maintaining their *Confessions* of Faith, to wit, the foundations of the *Reformation*. Nor indeed is it a less truth, that in the main, little are the Ministers concern'd about them, and 'tis only from a point of honour that they give themselves any pains to answer in their behalf; which was the case of the Minister *Jurieu's* inventing the aforesaid answers, more mannerly and better suited to his turn, than sincere and solid.

LXV.  
The Synodical Declaration is not to be taken as a

Now to maintain this new System, a courage is requisite capable of withstanding any difficulty, and not to be startled at any novelty. Altho' men be animated against one another *even to death*, yet, if it must be said, they are but

one Body in *Jesus Christ*. If any one rebel against the Church, and scandalize her, either by his crimes or his errors, one would think by excommunicating him, he is cut off from the Body of the Church in general, and thus have *Protestants* spoken as well as we: 'tis a mistake; this scandalous and this heretical person is cut off but from one particular flock, and do what you will, remains a member of the *Catholic* Church by the sole profession of the Christian name: notwithstanding that *Jesus Christ* hath pronounced, *If any one neglect to hear the Church, look upon him, not as a man that is cut off from a particular flock, and who remains in the great one of the Church in general, but look upon him as an Heathen and a Publican, as an alien from Christianity, as a man that hath no longer any part with God's people.*

Further, what Mr. *Jurieu* here advances is a particular opinion wherein he evidently contradicts his own Church. A national Synod hath defined Excommunication in these terms: *to excommunicate, say they, is to cut a man off from the Body of the Church like a rotten member, and to deprive him of her Communion and all her benefits.* And in the proper form of Excommunication the people are thus address'd: *We remove this rotten member from the Society of the faithful, that he may be to you as an Heathen and a Publican.* Mr. *Jurieu* spares no pains to embroil this matter with his distinctions of Sentence *Declaratory* and sentence *Juridical*; Sentence, which cuts off from the Body of the Church, and Sentence, which cuts off only from a particular confederation. He invents these distinctions only that the Reader may lose himself in the maze of these subtilties, nor perceive he is sed with empty sound. For when all is said,

and con-  
fession  
of the  
Church  
of the  
Refo-  
rmed  
Church  
15.

17.

IXVI.  
Manifest  
contrariety  
between  
the notions  
of this  
Minister in  
regard of  
Excommuni-  
cation,  
and those  
of his own  
Church.  
287.  
156.  
17.  
102.  
11.  
3.



ans, were they under no external band with the other Churches, and had they not right to communicate with them? This is not the notion they have formerly given us of Christian fraternity. All that are *Orthodox* have a right to communicate with an *Orthodox* Church; all that are *Catholick*, to wit all members of the Church universal, with the whole Church. All those, who bear the mark of the children of God, have a right to be admitted where ever they find the table of their common Father, provided their manners be approved: but here comes one to disturb this fine order; you are no longer in Society, *but by accident*; Christian fraternity is changed into arbitrary confederacies which you may extend at will, more or less, according to the different *Confessions* of Faith agreed upon. These *Confessions* of Faith are treaties in which you insert whatever you please. Some have put in them, *that they are to teach the verities of Grace as expounded by St. Austin*, and these, we are told, are the pretended-*Reform'd* Churches: far from truth; no body is less, in their Doctrine, than *St. Austin*; yet they are pleased to say so. These men are not allow'd to be *Semipelagians*, and the Swiss, no less than those of Geneva, would exclude them from their Communion. As for those who have not made the like convention they shall be *Semipelagians*, if they list. What is still more, those who have enter'd into the confederacy of Geneva and that of the pretended-*Reformed*, where one thinks he is obliged to maintain the Grace of *St. Austin*, may depart from the agreement; but then they must be contented to be separated from a confederation whose laws they have violated, and what one would tolerate every where else, can be no longer tolerated in

*S. p. p.*  
254.

*Ibid.*

*Ibid.* 249.

*Ibid.* 254.

in those flocks in which other conventions had been made.

LXVIII.

Independ-  
ent in  
establiſh-  
ment to  
the Decree  
of *Conse-*  
*rence*.

1. 11. 1.

15. 7.

547.

1. 2.

D. 1.  
V. 1. 1.  
C. 1. 1.  
N. 1.  
on the 11.  
dit 1.  
117.

But what will become of those men who break the agreement of the *Calvinian* Reformation, or of some such other like confederacy? Shall they be then obliged to enter into league with some other *Church*? No such thing: *It is nowise necessary, when you separate yourself from one Church, to find out another to adhere to.* I am aware he is forced to say so, because otherwise he could not excuse the *Protestant Churches*, which, on their separation from the *Church of Rome*, were not able to find on earth a *Church* they could embrace. But we must hear the reason which authorizes such a separation. *It is,* continues *Mr. Jurieu, because all Churches are naturally free and independent of one another; or, as he explains it in another place, naturally and originally all Churches are independent.*

Here is exactly our Doctrine, will say the *Independents*; we are the true Christians that defend this primitive and natural liberty of *Churches*. Yet *Clarendon* hath nevertheless condemn'd them in 1644. Therefore by anticipation hath also condemn'd *Mr. Jurieu*, who maintains them: but let us hear the Decree. *Whereas it has been represented, that many who call themselves Independents, because they teach, that every Church ought to govern herself by her own laws WITHOUT ANY DEPENDENCE on any body in Church-matters, and free from any obligation of acknowledging the authority of Conferences and Synods for their conduct and government, that is, without any confederation with any other Church whatsoever; and this is exactly the case of Mr. Jurieu.* But the Synod's Answer is very different from this: for the Synod pronounces, that it

117.



ought to be dreaded, lest this poison insensibly diffusing itself, should create, say they, disorder and confusion amongst us, should open a gate to all kind of irregularities and extravagancies, and make void all means of applying a remedy; which would be equally prejudicial to Church and State, and give room to form as many Religions as there are Parishes and particular Assemblies. And Mr. Jurieu concludes on the contrary, that by separating from one Church without adhering to another, you do nothing but retain the liberty and independence, which naturally and originally belongs to Churches, namely that liberty which Jesus Christ, at their formation, bestow'd upon them.

Accordingly, there is no way of maintaining, conformably to the principles of this Minister, these Conferences and Synods. For he supposes, in case a *Catholick* Kingdom should divide itself from *Rome*, and then subdivide itself into many Sovereignties, that each Prince might make a *Patriarch*, and establish, in his state, a government absolutely independent of that of its neighbouring states *without appeal*, without union, without correspondence; for all that, in his notion, depends on the Prince; and 'tis for this reason that he makes the first confederation of Churches depend on the unity of the *Roman* Empire. But if this be so, his Uncle *Lewis du Moulin* gains his cause: for he pretends that all this subordination of Conferences and Synods (if you consider it as Ecclesiastical and Spiritual) is nothing else but *Papery* in disguise, and the ushering in of *Antichrist*; consequently, that there is no power in this distribution of Churches but from the Sovereign's authority; and that Excommunications and Degradations made by Synods, whether Provincial or National, have

LXIX.  
All authority and Subordination of Churches depends on Princes.  
*Ibid.* p. 546.

*Facit. Fe.  
Lud. M.lli.*

no authority but from thence. But by a little further extension of this argument, the Excommunications of *Consistories* will appear no more effectual than those of *Synods*; so that, either there will be no Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, and the *Independents* are in the right, or, it will be lodged in the Prince's hands, and intine, *Lexis du Malin* must have converted his Nephew who so long opposed his errors.

LXX.  
The true  
Christian  
Unity.

See what this System comes to, wherein the whole solution of this difficulty, about the Church, is placed; it is matter of astonishment to hear these novelties. What an error to imagine, there is no external Union between Christian Churches, but dependently on Princes, or by some other *arbitrary and voluntary confederation*; and not be sensible that *Jesus Christ* hath obliged his faithful to live in a Church, to wit, as is own'd, in an exterior Society, and to communicate with one another, not only in the same Faith and the same sentiments, but also, when they meet, in the same Sacraments and the same Service; inasmuch that, however distant Churches be, yet are they but the same Church distributed into divers places, the diversity of places not hindering the unity of the holy table, whereat all communicate one with another, as they do with *Jesus Christ* their common Head?

LXXI.  
Reason  
of the  
Church  
of  
England  
and  
the  
Church  
of  
France  
being  
in  
the  
same  
Communion  
with  
the  
Church  
of  
Rome.

Let us now consider the origin of this new System which we have just now taken a view of. Its Author boasts, perhaps, as he does in other tenets, of having on his side the three first ages; and it's likely, the opinion which concludes the whole Church in one, and the same Communion (it being pretended to tyrannically, as well as born under the Empire of *Antichrist*); so, it was born in *Italy* even in the Card of a *Romanian* to great a man, and his Collegues, so great

Balog.

Bishops, are the Authors of it: it pass'd over into *Africa* where *St. Cyprian*, so illustrious a Martyr and the light of the Church, embraced it with the whole Council of *Africa*; and 'twas this cruel opinion which made them rebaptize all Hereticks, no other reason for it being alledged by them, but that Hereticks were not of the *Catholick Church*.

It must be own'd, *St. Cyprian* made use of this bad argument: *Hereticks* and *Schismaticks* are not of the Body of the *Catholick Church*: therefore they ought to be rebaptized at their coming to it. But *Mr. Jurieu* would not have the assurance to say, that the principle of the *Church's* Unity, abused by *St. Cyprian*, was as new as the consequence he drew from it, since this Minister acknowledges that the *false idea of the Church's* Unity was form'd on the history of the two first ages down to the midst, or end, of the third. *We must not wonder*, continues he, that the *Church* accounted all the Sects in being, during those times, as intirely separated from the Body of the *Church*, for that was true; and he adds, it was at that time, namely in the two first ages down to the middle of the third, that they got a habit of believing that *Hereticks* did not in any manner appertain to the *Church*: so that the Doctrine of *St. Cyprian*, which he accuses of Novelty, nay, of Tyranny, was a habit contracted ever since the two first ages of the *Church*, that is, from the first beginning of Christianity.

It must no less be own'd, that this Doctrine of *St. Cyprian*, concerning the Unity of the *Church*, was not invented on occasion of rebaptizing Heretick, by reason that the book concerning the Unity of the *Church*, wherein the Doctrine excluding *Hereticks* and *Schismaticks* is so clearly laid

*Id. p.*  
55.

*Id. p.*  
56.

laid down, did precede the dispute of rebaptization; so that *St. Cyprian* enter'd naturally into this Doctrine consequently to the tradition of the two foregoing ages.

Nor is it less certain, that the whole *Church* had embraced this Doctrine equally with him, long before the dispute of rebaptizing. For this dispute began under *St. Stephen* Pope. Now, before this, and not only in the time of *St. Lucius* his Predecessor, but also from the beginning of *St. Cornelius's* Pontificate Predecessor to *St. Lucius*, *Novatian* and his followers had been look'd upon as separated from the Communion of all the Bishops and *Churches* of the world, altho' they had not renounced the profession of *Christianity*, nor overthrown any fundamental Article. From that time therefore, even those that preserved the *fundamentals*, if under other pretexts they broke Unity, were accounted separated from the universal *Church*.

Thus is it an unquestionable fact, that the Doctrine impugnd by *Mr. Jurieu* was received by the whole *Church*, not only before the quarrel about Rebaptization, but even from the first origin of Christianity; and was made use of by *St. Cyprian*, not as a new foundation which he gave to his error, but as a common principle agreed to all the world over.

LXII. The Murther had the presumption to say, that his ideas of the *Church* are the same with those of the *Nicen* Council, and concludes, that this holy Council did not reject all Hereticks from the Communion of the *Church*, because it did not command all of them to be rebaptized, neither requiring this in regard of the *Novatians* or *Cathari*, nor of the *Donatists*, nor of the rest that retain'd the foundation of Faith, but only of the *Pedobaptists*, namely the followers of

Part

*Epist.  
Cyp. ad  
Antoni-  
an. &c.*

The Murther  
for contra-  
dicts him-  
self by  
asserting  
the Coun-  
cil of *Nice*  
to be of the  
same nature.

Epist. 61.

*Paul of Samofata*, who denied the *Trinity* and *In-carnation*. But waving other arguments, the Minister needs but hear himself, to be convicted. He speaks of the Council of *Nice* as of the most *Hit. 230.* *universal ever held*; but which, nevertheless, was not altogether so, since *the great assemblies of the Novatians and Donatists were not call'd to it*. I desire no more than this Confession to conclude, that consequently they were not accounted, at that time as Part of the universal *Church*, since there was not so much as the least thought of calling them to the Council expressly conven'd to represent her.

And in fact, let us hear how this Council speaks of the *Novatians* or *Cathari*: *those*, says the Council, *when they shall come to the Catholick Church*. Enough said: the dispute is ended: *In the Church*, therefore, they could not be. Nor does it speak in other terms of the *Paulianists* whose Baptism it condemns: *as for the Paulianists*, *when they ask to be received into the Catholick Church*: see again: *in it*, therefore, they were not, according to the notion of these Fathers, and the Minister agrees therein. But, that he may no longer presume to say, that those whose Baptism is received, are in the *Catholick Church*, and not those, whose Baptism is rejected; the Council puts out of the Church no less those whose Baptism it approves, as the *Novatians*, than those whom it makes be rebaptized, as the *Paulianists*: by consequence, this difference did not at all depend on those being reputed members of the *Catholick Church*, and not these. *Conc. Nic. Can. viii.*

As much must be said of the *Donatists*, the Council of *Nice* neither admitting of their Communion nor their Bishops; on the contrary, receiving to its Sessions *Civilian* Bishop of *Carthage*. *Can. xix.*

usage from whom the *Donatists* had separated. The Council therefore look'd upon the *Donatists* as separated from the *universal Church*.

Let the Minister now come and tell us, that the Fathers of the *Nicene Council* are of his opinion, or that their Doctrine was new, or that, when they pronounced against the *Arians* this sentence: *The Holy Catholick and Apostolick Church anathematizes them*: they left them fellow-members of this same *Catholick Church*, and did but banish them from a voluntary and arbitrary confederation, which they might extend more or less according to their fancy: such discourtes ought to appear nothing less than prodigies.

LXXIII.  
The Minister is condemn'd by the Creeds which he receives.  
*C. n. c. p. Epist. ad Rom.*  
I.

The Minister counts amongst the Symbols received by the whole world that of the Apostles, that of *Nice*, and that of *Constantinople*. We are agreed, indeed, that these three *Creeds* make but one, and that the Apostles *Creed* is but explain'd by that of the two first *Oecumenical Councils*. We have seen the sentiments of the Council of *Nice*. The Council of *Constantinople* proceeds on the same principles, in that it banishes all Sects from its Unity: whence it concludes in its letter to all the Bishops, *that the Body of the Church is not divided*; and it was conformably to this same spirit that it said in its Creed: *I believe One, Holy, Catholick, and Apostolick Church*, adding this word, *One*, to those, *Holy* and *Catholick* which were in the Symbol of the Apostles, and strengthening it by that of *Apostolick*, in order to show, the *Creed* thus defined and perfectly *One* by the exclusion of all Sects, was that which was receiv'd by the Apostles.

LXXIV.  
The Minister is condemn'd by the Creed which he receives.  
*C. n. c. p. Epist. ad Rom.*  
I.

The judicious Reader expects here to know, what this holy Minister will say in regard of the Apostles *Creed*, and touching that Article, *I believe the Catholick Church*. 'Tis now it had been



been believed, and even in the *Reformation*, that this *Creed*, so unanimously received by all Christians, was an Abridgment, and as a Summary of the Doctrine of the Apostles and the Scripture. But the Minister assures the quite contrary: for after deciding that the Apostles were not the Authors of it, he will not even grant, what none else denied till now, that at least, it was made wholly according to their spirit. He says therefore, *that we must look for the sense of the articles of the Creed, not in the Scripture, but in the intention of those who composed it.* But, proceeds he, the *Creed* was not made all at once: the article, *I believe the Catholick Church, was added in the fourth age.* What does this reasoning tend to else, but to prepare himself a refuge against the *Creed*, and give it only the authority of the fourth age? Whereas, all Christians to this time, have held it for a common *Confession* of Faith, of all ages, and of all Christian Churches, from the Apostles days.

of the  
Apostles  
Creed.

*Prej. 168.*  
*ch. 2. p.*  
*27. 28.*  
*Syl. p.*  
*217.*

But let us see, nevertheless, in what manner he will define the *Catholick Church* conformably to the *Creed*. He at once rejects the definition which he imputes to *Catholicks*; nor does he approve more of that which he attributes to *Protestants*. For his part, who no less raises himself above his Brethren the *Protestants*, than above his Adversaries the *Catholicks*, being to define the *Church* of all times, he does it thus: *'tis the Body of those who make profession of believing Jesus Christ the true Messiah; a Body divided into a great number of Sects*; he must add besides, which excommunicate one another, to the end that all anathematiz'd Heresies, nay, all Schismatics, tho' divided from their Brethren, *even to daggers drawing*, to use the Minister's expression, may have the happiness of being in the *Church* ex-

LXXV.  
A new  
gloss of the  
Minister  
on the  
Apostles  
Creed.  
*Prej. p. 27.*  
*Ibid.*

press'd by the *Creed*, and in the Christian unity it teaches us. This is what men are bold enough to say in the *Reformation*, and the kingdom of *Jesus Christ* carries among them, in its proper definition, the character of the division *whereby every kingdom, as says the Gospel, is brought to desolation.*

LXXVI  
The Minister de-  
stroy, the  
notion of a  
Catholick  
Church  
taught by  
himself  
when he  
explains  
the Cate-  
chism.  
Catechism  
of the  
First Part.  
Dem. 17.

The Minister should at least have call'd to mind the *Catechism*, which he himself taught at *Seidon* so many years, wherein, after reciting, *I believe the Catholick Church*, it concludes, *that out of the Church, there is nothing but Damnation and Death, and that all those, who separate themselves from the community of the faithful to make a Sect apart, ought not to hope Salvation.* It is very certain, that the *Church* here spoken of, is the universal *Church*: therefore, in respect to her, one may make a *Sect* apart, one may separate himself from her *Unity*. I ask, whether in this place to make a *Sect* apart, be a word that implies *Apostacy*? Is it necessary for him, that makes a *Sect* apart, to put on a *Turbant*, and publickly renounce his *Baptism*? Do men speak thus? Should they speak thus, in a *Catechism*, to an innocent child, on purpose to confound all his ideas, and that he may no longer know what to stick to?

LXXVII.

The  
Scheme of  
*Jeroboam*  
and the  
twelve  
Tribes  
is  
justified.

Metinks I labour for the *Salvation* of souls, by continuing the recital of this Minister's errors, the most exorbitant and palpable that the defence of a bad cause hath purchas'd ever call man into. What he was forced to invent in support of the *Sytem*, is still more strange, if possible, and more unheard of than the *Sytem* itself. It was necessary for him to perplex all the ideas with which the *Scripture* furnishes us. It speaks to us of the *Schism* of *Jeroboam* as of a detestable action, which began by a revolt, which maintain'd itself by a down right *Usurpation*.

Idem.

adoring calves of gold, so far even as to forsake the *Ark of the Covenant*, insine, to renounce the law of *Moses*, to cast off the Priesthood of *Aaron* and the whole Levitical Ministry, to consecrate false *Priests of the high places and of Devils*. Yet must it be said nevertheless, that these *Schismatics*, these *Hereticks*, these *Apostates* from the law, these *Idolaters*, made part of God's people. That the seven thousand whom God had reserved to himself, and the remainder of the Elect in *Israel*, adher'd to the Schism. That the Prophets of the Lord communicated with these Schismatics and Idolaters, and broke off from *Juda* which was the place that God hath chosen; and a Schism aggravated with such circumstances, ought not, it seems, to be counted *amongst those sins which destroy Grace*. If this be true, the whole Scripture must be nothing but delusion and the most excessive exaggeration that can be found in all human language. But then, what must be said to the Texts alledged by Mr. *Jurieu*? Any thing, rather than to own so enormous a Doctrine, and to place manifest *Idolaters* in the Communion of God's children, for this is no proper place for a deeper research into this subject.

No more does the *Christian* than the *Jewish* Church escape the hands of this Minister. He attacks her in her prime and vigour, even in those happy days when she was govern'd by the Apostles. For, if we believe him, the converted *Jews*, namely the greatest part of the *Church*, there being *so many thousands of them*, according to *St James's* testimony, and undoubtedly its most noble part, since it comprehended those on whom the rest were grafted; the stock and holy root whence the fatness of the good olive was derived to the wild branches, were *Hereticks* and *Schismatics*, nay, guilty of a Heresy

2 *Paralip.*  
xi. 15.

*Syst. l. 12*  
*cb. 13.*

*Ibid. cb.*  
*23. p.*  
153.

LXXVIII:

The Church, in the Apostles time, is accused of Schism and Heresy.

*Ibid. cb.*  
14. *cb.* 21.  
p. 167.  
*Act.* xxi.  
*Rom.* xi.  
17. &c.

S. 2 B. 2  
Ch. 20. 1  
17  
v. 2  
4

of which St. Paul hath said, *it destroy'd Grace and render'd Christ of no effect to them.* The rest of the Church, to wit, those who came from *Heathenism*, partook of the Schism and Heresy by consenting to it, and by acknowledging those as holy and Brethren in *Jesus Christ*, who entertain'd in their minds so strange a Heresy, and in their hearts, so criminal a jealousy; and the Apostles themselves were the most Heretical and Schismatical of all, for conniving at such crimes and errors. Such is the idea he gives us of the *Christian Church* under the Apostles, when the Blood of *Jesus Christ* was, as I may say, still reeking, his Doctrine fresh in their minds, the spirit of *Christianity* in its full strength. What an opinion will the impious have of the Church in her progress, if these so much extoll'd beginnings be grounded on Heresy and Schism; nay, if corruption even reach to those who had the first fruits of the Spirit?

LXXII:  
According  
to the Mi-  
nister, etc.  
may save  
himself  
even in the  
Communi-  
on of  
the Church.

It seem'd as if our Minister was for excluding the *Socinians*, at least from the Communion of God's people, he having so frequently said, that they impugn directly the fundamental truths, and that these being subverted, such Societies are dead and can raise no children to Almighty God. But all this was nothing but sham, this Minister would heartily despise whosoever should be deluded by it.

Pro. 17  
14 5  
80.

And indeed the principal foundation of his Doctrine is, *that the word of God is never preach'd in any country but God makes it flourish with regard to some people.* As then, very certainly, the word of God is preach'd amongst the *Socinians*, the Minister concludes, right according to his principles, that it is *manag'd as well as most well as it is*, for example, *Page 5, God will not be said to stand in need of people, nor will he be said to be kindling their hearts, for he will*

17  
17  
8  
17  
17  
17

*mortal Heresies of that Sect, as he found means heretofore of preserving, in Arianism, a number of elect and virtuous souls untainted with the Arian Heresy.* 93. 102. ch. 19. p. 149. &c. ch. 20. p. 153. &c.

And if the *Socinians*, in the state they are in at present, cannot contain in their body the Elect of God, 'tis not on account of their perverse Doctrine, but, for that, they being in small numbers, and dispersed up and down without making a figure in the world, and in most places, having not so much as an assembly; it is not necessary to suppose that God saves any of them. Nevertheless, since it is certain the *Socinians* have had Churches in *Poland*, and have at this day in *Transylvania*, one might ask of the Minister, what is the number requisite to make a figure? But be that as it will, according to him, it depends only on Princes to give children of God to all Societies whatsoever, by giving them assemblies; and if the Devil complete his work; if taking men on that side their senses bias to, and by that means, multiplying *Socinians* in the world, he also find means of procuring them a more free and extensive exercise of their Religion, he will compel *Jesus Christ* to form his *Elect* amongst them.

The Minister will answer doubtless, that if he says, you may be saved in the Communion of *Socinians*, 'tis not by the way of *Toleration*, but by that of *Discernment* and Separation; that is to say, it is not by presupposing, God tolerates *Socinianism* as he does other Sects which have preserved the foundation, but, on the contrary, by presupposing that these the *Socinian* associates, discerning the good from the evil in the Doctrine of this Sect, will reject in their hearts, what is blasphemous therein, altho' they remain united therewith exteriorly.

LXXX

By the Minister's principle one might be saved in the exercise of Communion of the *Mohometans* and *Jews*.

Proj. p.  
22.

But take his answer which way you will, it's equally full of impiety. For in the first place, this makes him inconsistent with himself in respect to the toleration of those who deny the Divinity of the Son of God, since he extends this toleration even to the *Arians*: *to damn*, says he, *all those numberless Christians, who lived in the external Communion of Arianism, some whereof detested its tenets, others were ignorant of them, some TOLERATED THEM IN THE SPIRIT OF PEACE, others held their tongues thro' fear and authority: to damn*, I say, *all these people, is the opinion of an executioner, and becoming the cruelty of Popery.* In this manner, Mr. *Jurieu* extends his mercy, not to those only who remain'd in the Communion of *Arians* being ignorant of their sentiments, but to those also who knew them; and not only to those who knowing and detesting them in their hearts, did not blame them *thro' fear*, but also to those who *tolerated them in the Spirit of Peace*; namely, to those, who judged that denying the Divinity of *Jesus Christ*, was a tolerable Doctrine. What then hinders his tolerating, *in the Spirit of Peace*, even the *Socinians* as he tolerates the rest, and extending his Charity so far even as to save them?

But altho' the Minister should repent himself of having carried his toleration to this excess, and would save but those only in the *Socinian* Communion that should heartily detest their sentiments, his Doctrine would be never the better for that, since in short, he must always save those, who, conscious of the *Socinian* tenets, should nevertheless remain in their external Communion, that is, frequent their assemblies, join in their prayers and worship, be present at their sermons with an exterior like to that of others who pass  
for



for men of that Communion. If this dissimulation be lawful, no longer do we know what is hypocrisy, nor what this sentence means, *Depart from the tents of the wicked.* Nam. xvi. 26.

Should now the Minister reply, that those who frequent the *Socinian* assemblies in this manner, ought so to direct their intention as to partake only of that which is good amongst them, namely, of the *Unity* of God and the *Mission* of *Jesus Christ*; this is a still greater absurdity, since, in this sense, there would be likewise no difficulty of living in the Communion of *Jews* and *Turks*: for you need but persuade yourself, you partake only with them in the belief of God's *Unity*, detesting in your heart, without uttering a word, all they speak impiously against *Jesus Christ*: and should it be said, that it's enough to incur damnation to make your usual worship in an assembly where *Jesus Christ* is blasphem'd, the *Socinians*, blasphemers of his Divinity and so many others his sacred truths, are no better than they.

Such are the absurdities of this new System: it was not the product of free choice, for no man takes pleasure in making himself ridiculous by advancing such paradoxes. But one false step draws on another: nor would he have plunged into this excess, but for others he had fallen into before. The *Reformation* had fallen into the excess of separating herself, not only from the *Church* in which she had received her Baptism, but also from all other *Christian Churches*. In this state, urged to answer where the *Church* was before the time of these *Reformers*, she could not keep to one constant language, and iniquity gave herself the lye. At last, quite nonplust'd, and little satisfied with all the answers hitherto made in our days, she thought to extricate her-

LXXXI.  
The succession which the Minister gives his Religion, is common to him with all Heresies.

8. 4. 4. 1.  
 22. 1. 1.  
 111. 17.

self by saying, *it is not of particular Societies, of Lutherans or Calvinists; you should ask for the visible succession of their Doctrine and Pastors; it being true, they were not as yet form'd two hundred years ago; granting this, yet the universal Church, whereof these Sects make a part, was visible in the Communions of which Christianity was compos'd, viz. that of the Grecians, of the Abyssins, of the Armenians, and Latins, which is all the succession there is occasion for. Here is the last refuge; this their whole solution. But all kind of Sects, they must allow, may say the same. There is not any, nor ever was, to take in each of them no more than the common profession of Christianity, which does not find its particular succession as our Minister has found his; so that, to give a descent and an always visible Perpetuity to his Church, he was forced to lavish the same favour on the most novel and impious Societies.*

LXXXII.

The Minister at the same time speaks of and with relation to the perpetual Visibility of the Church.

8. 4. 1.  
 215.  
 111. 17.

The greatest affront that can be done to truth, is to contest it, and at the same time, to abandon, or undermine it. Mr. Jurieu hath own'd great truths: in the first place, *that the Church is taken in Scripture for a Society always visible; nay I go, says he, further on this head than Mr. de Meaux. With all my heart; what I had said was sufficient: but since he will allow us more, I receive it from him.*

Secondly, he agrees, that it cannot be denied, *That the Church, which the Creed obliges us to believe, is a visible Church.*

This was enough to demonstrate the perpetual Visibility of the Church, because that, which is believed in the Creed, is eternally and unalterably true. But to the end there may be no doubt that this Article of our Faith is grounded on the express promises of *God*, the Mi-

nister grants us moreover, that the *Church*, to which *Jesus Christ* had promised that hell should not prevail against her, was a *confessing Church*, a *Church which publishes the Faith with St. Peter*, a *Church by consequence, always exterior and visible*; which he carries on so far as to declare without more ado, that he, *who should have the Faith without the profession of the Faith, would not be of the Church.*

'Tis this also that makes him say, *it is essential to the Christian Church to have a Ministry.* Equally with *Mr. Claude*, he approves of our inferring from these words of our Saviour, *Teach, baptize, and lo I am with you always even unto the end of the world; that there will be teachers with whom Jesus Christ shall teach, and that true preaching never shall cease in the Church.* He says as much of the Sacraments, and is agreed that *the band of Christians by means of the Sacraments, is essential to the Church; that there is no true Church without the Sacraments*; whence he concludes, that it is necessary to have the *Essence and Foundation, to be Members of the Body of the Church.*

From all these express passages, the Minister concludes with us, that the *Church is always visible, necessarily visible*, and what is more remarkable, visible not only *as to its Body*, but also, *as to its Soul*, as he terms it, because, says he, *when I see Christian Societies, wherein Doctrine conformable to the word of God is preserved as much as is necessary for the essence of a Church, I know and see for certain, that there are Elect in it, since, wherever are the fundamental truths, they are salutary to some people.*

After this chain of Doctrine which the Minister confirms by so many express passages; one might think, nothing could be better settled in his

*Ibid.* 215.*Ibid.* p. 2.*Syst.* l. III. ch. 15. p. 549. &c.*Matt.* xxviii. 19.20. *Ibid.* p. 223. 229.

P. 530-545.

*Prop.* 127. ch. 2. p.

21. 22. &amp;c.

*Syst.* l. III. 222.

Proj. leg.  
21. 22.  
3c.  
Syl. p.  
221.

his mind, from Scriptures, from the promises of *Jesus Christ*, from the *Creed* of the Apostles, than the perpetual *Visibility* of the Church; and yet he says the contrary, not by consequence, but in formal terms: for he says, at the same time, that this perpetual *Visibility* of the Church, is not to be found by those proofs which are call'd of right, that is, by Scripture, as he explains it, otherwise than by supposing that God always preserves to himself a hidden number of the faithful, a Church, as one may say, subterraneous and unknown to the whole earth; the which would be as well the Body of *Jesus Christ*, his Spouse and his Kingdom, as a known Church; and insue, that the promises of *Jesus Christ* would remain inviolate, tho' the Church should have fallen into so great an obscurity, as that it were impossible to point out and say, there is the true Church, and there does God preserve the Elect.

3. 2. F.  
225.  
P. 22.

What then becomes of that express acknowledgment, that the Church in the Scripture is always *Visible*, that the promises she hath received from *Jesus Christ*, for her perpetual duration, are address'd to a *visible Church*, to a Church that publishes her Faith, to a Church which hath the Keys and a Ministry, to whom the Ministry is essential, and which no longer is a Church, if the profession of Faith be wanting to her? This we are at a loss to know: the Minister thinks he saves all by telling us, that for his part, he truly believes the Church always *Visible*, and that she hath ever been so, may be proved from history. Who sees not what he drives at? Namely in a word, that in case it happens, a *Protestant* should be forc'd to own according to his belief, that the Church had ceased to be *Visible*, at most he would only have denied a fact, yet not overthrow the promises of *Jesus Christ*. But this

is putting us on the wrong scent in too gross a manner. The question in hand is not whether the *Church*, by good luck, hath always remain'd to this day in her Visibility, but whether she hath promises of continuing for ever in it; nor, whether Mr. *Jurieu* believes it, but whether Mr. *Jurieu* has written that all Christians are obliged to believe it as a truth from God, and as a fundamental article couch'd in the *Creed*. Most certainly he has written it, as we have seen: as clearly does he deny it, as we have also seen; and he goes on demonstrating, that the question touching the *Church* involves the Ministers in such a disorder, that they know not which way to turn themselves, and if they can but meet with an evasion, 'tis all they aim at.

But not one is left them, provided they follow but never so little the principles which they have granted: for if the *Church* be *Visible* and always *Visible* by the Confession of the truth; if *Jesus Christ* hath promised she should be so eternally; it is more clear than day that it is not allowable to depart one moment from her Doctrine: the same as to say in other terms, that she is Infallible. The consequence is very plain, in that, departing from the Doctrine of her who always teaches truth, would be too manifestly declaring enmity to truth itself: again, nothing can be more clear and distinct than this.

Let us consider, nevertheless, what method the Ministers have used to ward off this stroke. *Jesus Christ* hath promised, say they, a perpetual Ministry, yet not a Ministry always pure: the essence of the Ministry shall subsist in the *Church*, because the foundations will be retain'd; but what shall be added to these, will corrupt it: which makes Mr. *Claude* to say, that the Ministry will never come to a subtraction of a

*fundamental*

LXXXIII  
Vain distinction  
betwixt  
errors.

*Re. au*  
*de. de*  
*M. de*  
*Gen. 382.*  
*S. 17.*

fundamental truth, such as is seen, for example, in *Socinianism*, which rejects the Divinity of *Jesus Christ*; but that there is not a like inconvenience in corrupting, by a *dition*, wholesome truths as the Church of *Rome* hath done; because the *fundamentals* of Salvation still subsist.

Pursuant to the same principles, Mr. *Jurieu* is agreed, that *Jesus Christ* has promised *there always shall be teachers with whom he will teach, so far that true preaching shall never cease in his Church*; but he distinguishes: there always shall be teachers with whom *Jesus Christ* will teach the *fundamental* truths, he grants it; but that there never shall be errors in this Ministry, he denies it: so, *true preaching shall never cease in the Church: we own it*, answers he, *if by true preaching be understood a preaching which announces the essential and fundamental truths: but we deny it, if by true preaching a Doctrine be understood that contains no kind of error.*

LXXXIV To dispel all these mists, there needs no more than to ask these men, where it is they have learnt to put a restriction on the promises of *Jesus Christ*? He that is able to prevent subtractions, why must he not be able to prevent dangerous additions? What certainty therefore have they, that preaching shall be more pure, the Ministry more privileged with regard to *Subtractions*, than to *Additions*? This word, *I am with you*, implies an universal protection to those with whom *Jesus Christ* does teach. If the duration of the external and visible Ministry be the work of man, it may fall equally on all sides: if on account of *Jesus Christ's* intervening, pursuant to his promise, we are assured that *Satanism* hath never taken place therein, no longer do we comprehend, how *Additions* can befall it.



And assuredly it is impossible, agreeing, as they do, that *Jesus Christ* has promised his *Church* that the truth should always be taught in her, and that he would eternally abide with the Ministers of this same *Church*, in order to teach with them; it is, I say, impossible he should not have meant to say, that the truth, he promised to preserve in her, should be pure and such as reveal'd by him; there being nothing more ridiculous than to make him promise, he would always teach the truth with such as, retaining a foundation of it, were to overwhelm this foundation, nay destroy it, as is supposed, with their errors, by the inevitable consequence of their Doctrine.

And in reality, I leave the *Protestants* to judge, whether these magnificent promises of rendering the *Church* immovable in the visible profession of the truth, be fulfill'd in the state, which the Minister hath represented to us by these words: *We say, that the Church is perpetually visible, but the greatest part of the time, and ALMOST ALWAYS, she is more visible by the corruption of her manners, by the addition of many FALSE TENETS, by the decay of her Ministry, BY HER ERRORS AND HER SUPERSTITIONS, than by the truths she does preserve.* If such be the Visibility which *Christ* has promised to his *Church*, if it be thus he promises, that the truth shall always be taught in her, there is no Sect, tho' never so impious, which may not glory that the promise of *Jesus Christ* is fulfill'd in her: and if *Jesus Christ* only promises to teach with all thote that shall teach some truth, whatever error may be interwoven with it; he promises nothing more to his *Church* than to the *Socinians*, to the *Deists*, to *Atheists* themselves, since none of them are

LXXXV.  
Strange  
way of  
securing  
the promi-  
ses of  
*Jesus  
Christ.*

*Proj. 6.*  
p. 21

*Matt. xvi.*  
18.

gone

gone so far astray as not to retain some remnant of the truth.

LXXXVI  
The Minister says, that the Universal Church teaches, and at the same time, does not teach.

S. p. l. 1.  
c. 26. p.  
217. 218.

It is now easy to understand what we have inculcated so frequently, that the Article of the Creed, *I believe the Catholick and universal Church*, imports necessarily the belief of her *Infallibility*, and that there is no difference betwixt believing *the Catholick Church* and believing *In the Catholick Church*, to wit, by approving and assenting to her Doctrine.

The Minister rises up with contempt against this reasoning of Mr. *de Meaux*, and opposes it by two answers: the first is, that the *Universal Church* teaches nothing; the second, that, supposing she taught the truth, it would not follow that she taught it intirely pure.

But he contradicts himself in these two answers: in the first, in express terms, as I am going to shew; in the second, by the evident consequence of his principles, as will be shewn hereafter.

P. 218.

Let us then observe how he speaks in his first answer. *The universal Church*, says he, *mention'd in the Creed, cannot properly speaking, either teach, or preach the truth*; and I prove to him the contrary by his own words, he having said but two pages before, that the *Church* to which *Jesus Christ* promises an eternal subsistence by saying, *the gates of hell shall not prevail against her, is a conquering Church, a Church that publishes Faith*; now this *Church* is undoubtedly the *Universal Church* and the same that the *Creed* speaks of: therefore the *Church Universal*, and mention'd in the *Creed*, confesses and publishes the truth; nor can it any longer be denied by this Minister without giving himself the lye, but that *Church does confess, does teach, and preach*

P. 215.

the

the truth, unless publishing and confessing be different from preaching to the whole Universe.

But let us dive further into this Minister's sentiments on this important subject. What he most repeats, what he most insists upon in his System is, that *the Church universal teaches nothing, decides nothing, hath never pass'd, nor will ever pass; nor will be able ever to pass, any judgment; and that to teach, to decide, to judge, is the property of particular Churches.*

But this Doctrine is so false, that to see it convicted of error, no more is requisite than to continue on the reading of those places where it is asserted; for there you'll find, that *the subsisting Communions, and which make a figure, are the Greeks, the Latins, the Protestants, the Abyssins, the Armenians, the Nestorians, the Russians. I say that the consent of all these Communions in TEACHING certain verities, is a kind of JUDGMENT, nay, of INFALLIBLE JUDGMENT.* These Communions therefore *teach*; and seeing these Communions, according to him, are the *Universal Church*, he cannot deny that the *Universal Church* doth *teach*; nor any more can he deny, that she judges in a certain sense, since he attributes to her *a kind of judgment*, which can be nothing less than a sentiment declared. Here is then, by the Confession of the Minister, a declared sentiment, and moreover, an *Infalible* sentiment of the *Church* he calls *Universal*.

He proceeds: *When the consent of the Universal Church is general in all ages as well as in all Communions, then I maintain, that this unanimous consent makes a demonstration.*

This is not enough; this demonstration is grounded on the perpetual assistance which, according to him, God owes his *Church*: God, says he, CANNOT PERMIT *great Christian Societies*

LXXXVII.

Sequel of the Minister's contradictions on this subject: that the Church Universal teaches and judges.

S-p. p. 6.

218. 233.

234. 235.

Ibid. 216.

LXXXVIII.

By the Minister's Confession, the Church's sentiment is a certain rule of Faith in the most

essential  
nature  
P. 237  
Text.

men to be engaged in mortal errors, nor to persevere in them a long while. And a little after it is likely that God should so far have abandon'd the reverence of Church, that all Communions, in all ages, should have unanimously renounced the most important truths.

P. 237.

Thence it clearly follows, that the sentiment of the Universal Church is a certain rule of Faith, and the Minister makes the application of it to two the most important disputes, which, in his own judgment, possibly can arise among Christians. The first is that of the Socinians, which comprehends so many essential points: and thereupon, *the presumption of the Socinians, says he, cannot be consider'd otherwise, than as a prodigious temerity and a certain token of reprobation, for that, in the articles of Jesus Christ's Divinity, the Trinity of Persons, the Redemption, Satisfaction, Original sin, the Creation, Grace, Immortality of the soul, and eternity of torments, they have departed from the sentiment of the whole universal Church.* Again therefore, this Universal Church hath a sentiment: her sentiment carried along with it an inevitable condemnation of the errors opposite thereto, and serves as a rule for the decision of all the standard articles.

P. 237.

LXXXIX

The rule,  
of the  
Church  
Text.  
and to  
Text.  
Text.  
Text.  
Text.  
Text.  
Text.

Besides this, there is another subject wherein this sentiment stands for a rule. *I believe that it is here also THE MOST SUPERIOR of judges, which shall be judic'd, and of distinguished from those which are not, and shall be a good and true rule, that Christian shall maintain, and shall be every day.*

This rule is not only certain and perpetual, but very sufficient also, since the Minister, after having shown, that the discussion of texts, or words, or sentences, or interpretations of scriptures, and every

the reading of this divine book is not necessary to the Believer in order to form his Faith, concludes at last, that *a simple woman who has learnt the Apostles Creed, and understood it in the sense of the universal Church (withal keeping God's commandments) shall be, perhaps, in a more sure way than the learned, who with so much ability contend about the difference of versions.*

There must be therefore an easy method of discovering what is believed by the *universal Church*, since this discovery is within the reach of a simple woman. There is a security in this knowledge so discover'd, since this simple woman relies upon and trusts to it; lastly, there is an intire sufficiency, since this woman has nothing to seek further, and fully instructed in her Faith, needs no otherwise to be concern'd, than how to live well. This belief is neither blind nor unreasonable, since it's founded on clear and sure principles; and in reality, when one is weak as we all are, 'tis the most excellent pitch of reason to know well, whom you may rely upon.

But let us push on this argument still further. That which makes an absolute Certainty in matter of Faith, a Certainty *of demonstration*, and *the best rule* to decide truths by, must be clearly grounded on the word of God. Now, this kind of *Infalibility*, which the Minister attributes to the *universal Church*, imports a Certainty *absolute* and a Certainty *of demonstration*, and it is *the most sure rule* whereby to decide the most essential, and withal the most knotty truths: therefore it is clearly grounded on the word of God.

For the future therefore, when we shall urge the *Protestants* with the authority of the *universal Church*, should they object to us, that we follow the authority and traditions of men; their

Minister will confound them by saying with us, that following the Church *Universal*, is not following men, but God himself, who assists her by his Spirit.

XCI.  
The idea which the Minister forms to himself of the universal Church as he conceives it, is not agreeable with the sentiment of the universal Church.

See p. 76.  
of the  
same book  
p. 199.

If the Minister should answer, that we get nothing by this acknowledgment, because the *Church*, wherein he owns this *Infallibility*, is not ours, and that all Christian Communion enter into the notion which he gives of the *Church*: he will be no less confounded by his own principles, since he hath but just placed among the conditions of the true Faith, that the *Creed* be understood *in the sense of the universal Church*. We must therefore understand, *in this sense*, that Article of the *Creed*, which speaks of the *universal Church* herself. Now the *universal Church* never hath believed, that the *universal Church* was the aggregate of all Christian Sects: nor does the Minister find this notion in all places, or all times; on the contrary, he is agreed that the notion which reduces the *Church* to a perfect Unity, by excluding all Sects from her Communion, is of all ages, even of the three first: he has seen it in the two Councils whose *Creeeds* he receives, namely, in that of *Nice* and in that of *Constantinople*. 'Tis not therefore in his sense, but in ours, that *the simple woman*, whom he makes to walk so surely in the way of *Salvation*, ought to understand these words in the *Creed*, *the Catholick or universal Church*; and when this good woman says, she believes therein, she is obliged to fix upon one certain Communion, which God shall have distinguished from all the rest, and which contains in her Unity, now but the Orthodox: a Communion which must be the true kingdom of *Christ Jesus* perfectly united in itself, and opposite to the kingdom of *Satan*, whose character, as before observed, is *Dissension*.

Book  
II.

Should



Should the Minister think to escape by answering that, supposing we had proved a Communion of this nature, we should still be nothing the nearer, it remaining yet to be proved, that this is our Communion; I own, before we come to that, there are still some steps to be taken: but in the mean while, and before we do this and force the Minister, according to his principles, to take these steps with us; we find already in his principles, whereby to reject his *Church*. For when he gave us for a rule that which the *universal Church* unanimously believes every where; lest he should comprehend the *Socinians* in this *universal Church*, whose authority he opposed against them, he reduced this Church to *Communion* *which are ancient and extensive*, exclusively of Sects which have neither of these advantages, and *which, for this reason, could neither be call'd Communion, nor Christian Communion*. Here are then two great characteristicks, which, according to him, a Communion ought to have to merit the denomination of Christian, *Antiquity and Extent*: now it is very certain, that the Churches of the *Reformation* were not, at the beginning, either *ancient* or *extensive*, no more than those of the *Socinians* and others which the Minister rejects, therefore, they were *neither Churches, nor Communion*: but if they were not so then, they could not become so afterwards: therefore, they are not so now, nor can one, consistently with the Minister's rules, too speedily forsake them.

It is not to the purpose to answer, that these Churches had their Predecessors in those great Societies, which were antecedent to them, and which preserved the *fundamental* verities; for it suits only with the *Socinians* to say as much. The Minister urges them in vain with these words,

E c 2

Let

XVII.  
The Minister condemns his Church by the characteristicks, ascribed by him to the universal Church.

Syst. l. 2.  
ch. 1. p.  
238.

XVIII.  
All the Minister's means for defending his Churches are common

to them  
with those  
of the  
Socinians  
and of  
other  
that are  
rejected by  
the Refor-  
mation.  
led.

*Let these men name us a Communion which hath taught their Dogma? To find out the succession of their Doctrine, they begin by a Cerinthus; they continue by an Artemon, by a Paul of Samosata, by a Phocinus, and other such like men, who never had an assembly of four thousand people, who never had a Communion, and who were the abomination of the whole Church. When the Minister urges them thus, he has reason in the main, but has not reason according to his principles, because the Socinians will always tell him, that the only fundamental point of Salvation, is to believe one only God, and one only Mediator, Christ; that it is the Unity of these tenets, which all the world agrees in, that makes the Church's Unity; that the superadded tenets may indeed make particular confederations, but not another Body of the Church universal; that their Faith hath subsisted and doth still subsist in all Christian Societies; that they can live amongst the Calvinists, as the pretended-Elect of the Calvinists liv'd, before Calvin, in the Church of Rome; that they are no more oblig'd to shew, nor to reckon their Predecessors, than the Lutherans or Calvinists; that it is not true, they were the abomination of the whole Church; since, besides their being a part thereof, the whole Church never had the power of assembling her self against them, the whole Church sees nothing, deems nothing, and does nothing; that all these functions appertain only to particular Churches; that he is in the wrong to find fault with them for clandestinity, or error for the nullity of their assemblies; that those of the Lutherans or Calvinists at the beginning, were no-wise different; that, after their example, they meet together when able, and where they have the liberty: which if others have extorted by bloody wars, their*

their cause is never the better for that; and to annex Salvation to such favour or toleration, howsoever obtain'd from Prince or Magistrate, whether by negotiation or force, is making *Christianity* to depend on *Policy*.

The Minister having taken these great steps, by never so little reflexion upon his own principles, would soon join issue with us. The sentiment of the *universal Church*, is a rule; 'tis a certain rule against the *Socinians*: therefore, an *universal Church* must be shewn in which the *Socinians* are not comprehended. What excludes them from it, is the want of *extent* and *succession*: a succession therefore must be pointed out to them, which they cannot meet with amongst themselves: now they meet evidently with the same succession that *Calvinists* boast of; namely, a succession in the principles which are common to them with other Sects: it is necessary therefore they should find out another; it is necessary, I say, that you should find a succession in the tenets peculiar to that Sect whose antiquity you would establish. Now this succession agrees not with *Calvinists*, who, in their peculiar tenets, have no more succession, nor antiquity, than the *Socinians*: you must therefore go forth from theirs as well as from the *Socinian Church*: you must therefore be able to find out a better antiquity and succession than either of theirs. Finding this antiquity and this succession, you will have found the Certainty of Faith: all therefore you will have to do is, to rely on the sentiments of the *Church*, and on her authority; and what is all this else, I pray, but owning the *Church Infallible*? This Minister leads us then by a sure way to the *Infallibility* of the *Church*.

I am sensible, he lays a restriction. *The universal Church*, says he, *is infallible to a certain*

XCIV.  
Abridg-  
ment of  
the fore-  
going ar-  
guments.

XCV.  
There is  
no restric-  
tion with

respect to  
Dogmata  
in the  
Church's  
Infallibi-  
lity.  
P. 236.

Job. xvi.  
13.

XCVI.

What is  
once be-  
lieved in  
the whole  
Church,  
was always  
believed in  
it.

degree, as far as those bounds which divide fun-  
damental truths from those which are not so. But  
we have already made it plain that this restriction  
is arbitrary. God hath not declared to us that  
he ever confin'd within these bounds the assistance  
which he promised to his Church, nor that he  
design'd to limit his promises at the will of Mi-  
nisters. He gives his Holy Ghost, not to teach  
some truth, but to teach *all truth*, because he  
hath reveal'd none but such as is useful and ne-  
cessary in certain cases. Never therefore will he  
permit any one of these truths to be extinguish'd  
in the body of the *universal* Church.

Wherefore, whatsoever Doctrine I shall shew  
to have been once universally received, the Mini-  
ster must receive it pursuant to his principles;  
and should he think to escape by answering, that  
this Doctrine, for instance, *Transubstantiation*,  
the *Sacrifice*, *Invocation* of Saints, *Veneration*  
of Images, and such like points, are indeed to  
be found in all the *Oriental* Communions no  
less than in the *Western* Church, but yet were  
not always there, and yet it is in this perpetuity  
that he hath placed the stress of his proof and  
the *Infallibility* of the *universal* Church: he must  
have misunderstood himself, because, he could  
not have believed, in the Church *universal*, a  
perpetual assistance of the *Holy Ghost* without  
comprehending, in this acknowledgment, not  
only all times together, but also each time in  
particular: this perpetuity including them all.  
from whence it follows, that, throughout the  
whole duration of the Church, he will never be  
able to point out a time, when the error pre-  
vails, which the *Holy Ghost* has bound himself to  
preserve her from. Now it hath been seen, the  
*Holy Ghost* has equally bound himself to preserve  
her

her from all error, nor from one more than another; therefore there never can be any.

What makes our adversaries stop at this, is their having nothing but a human and a wavering Faith. But the *Catholick*, whose Faith is divine and firm, will say without hesitating: if the *Holy Ghost* hath promised his *universal Church* to assist her indefinitely against errors, therefore against *all*: and if against *all*, therefore *always*: and as often as one shall find, in any certain time, a Doctrine establish'd in the whole *Catholick Church*, such can never be impeach'd of novelty, but by error.

We press him too home, will he say, and at last shall force him to forsake his principle of the universal Church's *Infallibility*. God forbid he should forsake so true a principle, or that he should fall back into all the absurdities he sought to avoid by establishing it; for then his case would be that mention'd by *St. Paul*: *If I build again the things which I destroy'd, I make myself a prevaricator*. But since he has begun to take so wholesom a Medicine, he must be made to swallow it to the last drop, however bitter it may seem at present; that is, he must be shewn all the necessary consequences of that truth which he has once acknowledged.

He puzzles himself about the *Infallibility* of *universal Councils*: but in the first place, supposing there were no Councils, the Minister is agreed that the *Church's* consent, even without being assembled, would serve for a certain rule. Her consent might be known, since he supposes it is so sufficiently at present, to condemn the *Socinians*, and to serve for an unalterable rule in the most knotty questions. Now, by the same means that the *Socinians* are condemn'd, the other Sects may also be condemn'd. Nor indeed

XCVII.  
The *Catholick* alone believes in the promises.

XCVIII  
The Minister can no longer deny the *Infallibility* which he has confess'd. *Gal. ii. 18.*

XCIX.  
The *infallibility* of general Councils a consequence from the *Infallibility* of the Church.





*Novatian* had separated from it: at such a time, to the Church. he must allow the convention of such a Council would have been a divine relief in order to prevent the progress of an error. Let us now suppose what came to pass: a proud *Novatian* makes himself Bishop in a See already fill'd, and makes a Sect that will *Reform the Church*: he is expell'd; is excommunicated: what then; because he continues to call himself a Christian, must he be of the *Church* in despite of her? Because he carries his insolence to the utmost extremes, and will hearken to no kind of reason, must the Church have lost her first Unity, nor be able any longer to assemble, nor to form an *universal* Council unless this proud heart consent? Must temerity have such a power? And will there need no more than to lopp off a branch, nay, a rotten branch, to say that the tree hath lost its Unity and root?

It is therefore a thing not to be question'd, that in spite of *Novatian*, in spite of *Donatus*, in spite of all other no less contentious than unreasonable men, the *Church* will have power to convene an *Oecumenical* Council. Will have it, do I say? Already hath she exercised that power, and maugre *Novatian* and *Donatus* held the *Nicene* Council. That it was necessary to call, and what is worse, to make the followers of those Heresiarchs actually come to it, to the end the assembly might be lawfully held; is what was never so much as thought of. To trump up such a shift at this time of day, and thirteen hundred years after the whole world (the impious part excepted) hath look'd on this holy Council as *universal*; to maintain it was not so, nay, that it was impossible for the Catholick Church to hold such a Council, by reason she could not assemble in it those rebels, which had unjustly broke  
Unity,

CII.  
The Council of Nice form'd contrary to the Minister's principles.

Unity, is obliging her to depend on her enemies, and punish their rebellion on herself.

CIII  
Remarks-  
ble words  
of a  
learned  
English-  
man con-  
cerning the  
Infallibi-  
lity of the  
Nicene  
Council.  
Dr. Bull.  
def. fol.  
Nic.  
proem. n.  
2. p. 2.  
Ibid. n. 3.

Here is then a Council justly call'd *universal*, by consequence, *Infallible*, if so be the Minister do not forget all he hath just granted; and pleased I am with the opportunity of quoting to him what a learned *Englishman*, a staunch *Protestant*, hath said to this purpose. *The matter under question in this Council, was a main article of the Christian Religion. If in a question of this importance it be imagin'd, that all the Pastors of the Church could have fallen into error, and deceived all the faithful, how shall we be able to defend the word of Jesus Christ, who hath promised his Apostles, and in their persons, his Successors, to be always with them? A promise that would not be true, the Apostles not being to live so long a time, were it not that their Successors are here comprehended in the persons of the Apostles themselves; which he confirms by a passage out of Socrates, who says, That the Fathers of this Council, altho' simple and not over-learn'd, could not fall into error, for that they were illuminated with the light of the Holy Ghost; whereby he shews us all at once the Infallibility of universal Councils by the Scripture and by the tradition of the ancient Church.* May the blessing of God light on the learned Doctor *Bull*; and in recompence of this sincere acknowledgment, and without that zeal he hath shewn in defence of *Jesus Christ's* divinity, may he be deliver'd from the prejudices which prevent opening his eyes to the lights of the *Catholic* Church, and to the necessary consequences of that truth he hath contest'd.

Socr. l.  
1. c. 9.

CIII  
Remarks-  
ble words  
of a  
learned  
English-  
man con-  
cerning the  
Infallibi-  
lity of the  
Nicene  
Council.  
Dr. Bull.  
def. fol.  
Nic.  
proem. n.  
2. p. 2.  
Ibid. n. 3.

I do neither undertake the history, nor the defence of all general Councils: it suffices me to have remark'd in one only, from avow'd prin-

ples,

ples, what the attentive reader will easily extend to all the rest; and the least that can be concluded from this example is, that God having prepared in these assemblies, so present an assistance to his troubled Church, 'tis renouncing Faith in his providence to believe, that *Schismatics* may so alter the constitution of his Church, as that this remedy should become absolutely impossible to her.

In order to enervate the authority of Ecclesiastical judgments in matters of Faith, Mr. *Jurieu* has ventur'd to say, that they are not even judgments; that the Pastors assembled in these cases, are not *Judges*, but *wise and experienced men*, and that they are not with authority; that the want of being let into this secret was the cause, that his Brethren have written with so little perspicuity on this subject: and the reason he alledges for taking from Councils the title of Judges, is because, *not being infallible*, 'tis impossible they should be Judges in decisions of Faith, because the word *Judge*, imports a person you must necessarily submit to.

That the Pastors are not Judges in questions relative to Faith, is what never has been heard of among Christians, nay, not so much as in the *Reformation*, where Ecclesiastical authority is brought to so low an ebb. On the contrary, Mr. *Jurieu* himself produces us the words of the Synod of *Dort*, wherein that Synod declares herself *Judge*, and even *lawful judge*, in the cause of *Arminius*, which certainly regarded Faith.

We read also in his book of *Discipline*, that all the differences of a Province shall be definitively judged, and without appeal, in its respective Provincial Synod, except what regards suspensions and degradations . . . . And likewise what concerns Doctrines,

by the Council of *Nice*.

CV.

The Minister forced to take from Pastors the title of Judges in matters of Faith.

*Syst.* l. 111.

ch. 2. p.

243. ch.

3. p. 251.

ch. 4. p.

255.

*Ibid.* 243.

P. 255.

CVI.

This Doctrine is contrary to the sentiments of his Churches.

*Ibid.* 257.

*Disc.* ch.

viii.

art. 10.

*trine, the Sacraments, and discipline in general; all which cases may, step by step, be brought up to the national Synod to receive the definitive and last judgment, which, in another place, is call'd the entire and final resolution.*

III. 2.

v.

Art. 52.

f. 112.

g. 1. f.

257.

To say with Mr. *Jurieu* that the word judgment is here taken in an extensive sense, for a report of experienced men, and not for a sentence of Judges having authority to bind men's consciences, is an insult on human language; for what must be call'd acting with authority, and binding consciences, if it be not to push things so far as to oblig: the particular condemn'd persons to acquiesce from point to point, and with express disclaiming of their errors enter'd in a register, under penalty of being cut off from the Church?

D. 1. 1.

Is this a judgment in an improper, and more extensive sense, and not rather a judgment in full rigour? And that the Synods have exerted this power, we have seen in the affair of *Pilatus*, they obliging him to subscribe a formulary which condemn'd his Doctrin: we have seen in the affair of *Arminius*, and in the subscription required to the *Canons* of the Synod of *Dort*; and all the registers of our *Reformed* are full of the like subscriptions.

S. I. XII.

C. II.

Article.

Article.

Article.

Article.

Article.

Article.

Article.

Article.

Article.

Article.

Article.

Article.

Article.

No other remedy hath Mr. *Jurieu* found out for this but to say, that when a Synod terminates controversies which are not important, it ought never to oblig: the condemn'd parties to subscribe, and to consent to its decisions; but this is contrary to the express terms of their *Diplome*, which oblig: to acquiesce from point to point, and with an express disclaiming of their errors enter'd in a register, under penalty of being cut off from the Church; which Mr. *Jurieu* himself acknowledges to be important controversies which never destroy, nor lose the foundation.

It

It only remain'd to say, that *cutting off from the Church*, in this place, was no more than cutting off from an arbitrary confederation, contrary to the express words of their discipline, which, explaining this cutting off in the same chapter, is acquainted with no other than that which severs a rotten Member from the Body, and ranks it among *Heathens*, as already seen.

Wherefore it is but too manifest that this Minister has changed the maxims of the Sect. Let us now restore them, and joining them to the Minister's own principles, we shall clearly find *Infallibility* confess'd. By the Minister's principles, if Councils were Judges in matters of Faith, they would be *Infallible*: now by the principles of his *Church*, they are Judges; therefore, the Minister either must condemn himself, or his *Church*, if he allow not the *Infallibility* of Councils, of those at least, wherein is the last and final resolution: but tho' he should have bereft the Pastors assembled of the title of *Judges* to leave them nothing but that of *experienced* men, yet the Councils would be but the better authorized by his Doctrine, there being not a man of sound sense that would not hold himself for at least as rash, in resisting the sentiment of all experienced men, as in resisting the sentence of all *Judges*.

He is not less perplex'd about the letters of submission, which the Deputies of all Provincial Synods are to carry to the national one in good form, and in these terms: *We promise before God to submit ourselves to all that shall be concluded and resolved in your holy assembly, persuaded as we are, that God will there preserve, and will lead you into all truth and equity by the rule of his word.* The last words demonstrate, that the matter in hand was Religion, nor any longer

CVIII.  
The Minister's evasion.

*Ibid.* p. 269.  
*Ibid.* Act. 17.

CIX.  
Infallibility proved by the principles of the Minister.  
*Sup.* n. 105.  
S. 106. & seq.

CX.  
Strange extension of the Minister, who will have us believe that to Peace.  
*D. P. p.* 144.

Expos. ch.  
19.  
Confes-  
rence with  
Mr. Clause  
p. 52. 537.

S. A. p.  
270. 271.

can we learn what it is to be Judges, nay and sovereign Judges, if men, to whom such an oath is taken, be not so. I have elsewhere shewn, that they exacted it in full rigour; that many Provinces were censured for having made a difficulty of submitting to the clause of *Approbation, of Submission and Obedience*; and that they were obliged to make it in *specifick terms to all that should be concluded and decreed, without condition, or modification*. These words are so pressing, that after so long torturing himself to expound them, Mr. *Jurieu* at length comes to say, *that they promise this submission on regulations of discipline relating to things indifferent, or, at the best, on le's important controversies, which do not destroy, nor hurt the foundation of Faith*; so that, concludes he, *it is not strange that in such sort of things we pay the Synod an intire submission, because, in controversies which are not of the utmost importance, we ought to sacrifice truths to the good of Peace*.

Sacrifice truths, and the reveal'd truths of God! either he knows not what he says, or he blasphemes. To sacrifice heavenly truths, if this be to renounce them, and subscribe the condemnation of them, 'tis a blasphemy. There is no truth reveal'd of God that does not deserve, so far from sacrificing it, that we should sacrifice ourselves for it. But perchance to sacrifice them, is to hold ones tongue. The expression is much too violent. Let it pass however, provided this will satisfy; but the Synod will come upon you after *their last and last resolution*, and press you in virtue of their *Discipline* and your own solemn oath, to acquiesce *from point to point, and with an express disclaiming of your opinion authentically enter'd in a register*, in order to prevent all equivocation, under penalty of being cut off from  
God's



God's people, and accounted as a *Heathen*. What will you do, if unable to make your judgment bend to that of the Church? Certainly, either you'll subscribe, and betray your conscience, or speedily you alone will be your whole Church.

Besides, when the Minister tells us, that the points of controversy, which are submitted to the Synod, are not those which are contain'd in the *Confession of Faith*, he does not reflect, how many times they would have changed them in important articles out of complaisance to the *Lutherans*. Nay more, he has forgotten the custom of all their Synods, wherein the first point put to debate always is, upon reading the *Confession of Faith*, to examine whether there be any thing to be corrected in it. The fact was put to Mr. *Claude*, nor was it deny'd by him, and besides this, it is manifest by the Acts of all the Synods. Who will now wonder that nothing hath escap'd change in the new *Reformation*, since, notwithstanding so many books written and so many Synods held, they are every day still to seek and deliberate anew about their Faith?

But nothing will set in a plainer light the feeble constitution of their *Church*, than the change I am now about to relate. Nothing amongst them is more essential, nor more *fundamental*, than to oblige each one to form his Faith on the reading of the Scripture. But one sole question proposed to them has, at length withdrawn them from this principle. Now they were ask'd, what could be those people's Faith, which as yet had neither read the Scripture nor heard it read, but were just entering on the reading of it? There needed no more than this to put them manifestly to a stand.

To say, in this state, one has no Faith; with what disposition then, and in what spirit, will such

CXI.

The Con-  
fession of  
Faith  
always put  
to the  
question in  
all Synods.  
*Ibid.* 270.  
Confe-  
rence with  
Mr. *Claude*  
p. 378.

CXII.

The weak  
constitution  
of the  
Reforma-  
tion force,  
at length  
the Minis-  
ter, to  
change  
their  
Capital  
*Dogma*,  
was, the  
necessity  
of the  
change

S. 7 p.  
428.Fid. 1.  
433. C  
J. 9.

such a man read the holy Scripture? But if you say, he has; whence hath he received it? All they had to answer was, "That the Christian Doctrine taken in the whole, makes itself be felt; that to form an act of Faith on the divinity of Scripture, it is not necessary to have read it; that it suffices to have read a Summary of Christian Doctrine without descending to particulars; that those who wanted the Scripture, had it nevertheless in their power to become good Christians; that the Gospel-Doctrine makes its Divinity be felt by the simple, independently of the book it's contain'd in; that supposing this Doctrine were mixt with things not divine but useles, the pure and celestial Doctrine blended with it would nevertheless make itself be felt; that conscience relishes truth, after which the faithful man believes such a book to be canonical because he hath found truths in it that sensibly affect him; in a word, that one feels truth as he feels the light in feeling it; heat, sitting near the fire; sweet and bitter, in eating."

CXIII.  
Their Faith no longer found on Scripture.

Heretofore 'twas an insupportable difficulty for the Ministers to resolve this question: Whether or no it is requisite, it hath be to be torn'd on Scripture, to have read all the books thereof? And, it suffic'd to have read some of them; which be those prescribed ones we must read primarily to the rest, in order to form our Faith? But the insupportable difficulties of this perplexity being resolv'd, 'twas not even a necessity of reading any of them; nay, they have arriv'd it to this, as to read a Bible, or turn any other volume for matter of learning, which is the book inspir'd by God.

1701  
1702

Their thought were too much to have read the *Gospel* of Faith when they were to be

of the divine books, *that they were known for Canonical, not so much from the consent of the Church, as from the testimony and interior persuasion of the Holy Ghost.* The Ministers, it seems, are sensible at present that this was all illusion, and how little likelihood there is, that the faithful should be capable, by their interior relish and without the assistance of tradition, to discern from a profane book the *Canticle of Canticles*, or to feel the divinity of the first chapters of *Genesis*, and so forth: accordingly it is decided at present, *that the examination of the question touching Apocryphal books, is not necessary for the people.* Mr. *Jurieu* hath wrote a chapter expressly to prove it; and so far is it from being requisite to torment one's self about books *Canonical* or *Apocryphal*, about Text or Version, or to be at the pains of discussing Scripture, or even reading it; that the Christian truths, provided you only put them together, will of themselves make you feel them as you feel *cold* and *heat*.

no further necessity of discerning Apocryphal from canonical books.  
*Confess. Art. 4.*

*Syst. l. 111. 452. Ibid. ch 2. 3.*

Mr. *Jurieu* says all this; and what is more remarkable, says it but after Mr. *Claude*. And since these two Ministers have concurr'd together in this point, which is as much as to say, that the Party had but this sole refuge; let us stop a while to consider whence they set out, and whither they are arrived. The Ministers heretofore built Faith on *Scripture*: now they form it without the *Scripture*. It was said in the *Confession* of Faith, speaking of *Scripture*, that *all things ought to be examin'd, regulated, and reformed according to it*; now, not the sentiment, which men have of *things*, ought to be proved by *Scripture*; but *Scripture* itself is not known, nor perceived to be *Scripture*, otherwise than by the sentiment you have of *things* before

CXV. The importance of this change.

Def. of the Ref. 2. p. ch. 9. p. 296. *Confession of Faith. Art. 5.*

you know the divine books; and Religion is form'd without them.

CXVI.  
Manifest  
Fanaticism.

This testimony, imagin'd by men to proceed from the *Holy Ghost*, whereby to discern divine Scriptures from not divine, was held deservedly for *Fanaticism* and a means of deceit; because this testimony, not being annex'd to any positive proof, there was not a man who could not either boast of it without reason, or fancy it to himself without grounds. But the case is now much worse: whereas they said formerly, *let us see what is written, and then we will believe*; which was beginning at least by something positive and a certain fact: now they begin by *feeling* things in themselves as you feel cold and heat, sweet and bitter; and when afterwards they come to read the Scripture in this disposition, God knows, with what facility they turn it to what they already hold for as certain, as what they have seen with their eyes, and touch'd with their hands.

CXVII.  
Neither  
miracles,  
nor prop-  
hecies,  
nor Scrip-  
ture, nor  
tradition  
necessaries  
to authorize  
and  
declare  
revelation.

According to this presupposition, *viz.* truths necessary to Salvation make themselves be felt by themselves, *Jesus Christ* needed nor miracles, nor prophecies: *Moses* would have been believed tho' the Red Sea had not divided itself, tho' the rock had not pour'd out torrents of water at the first touch of the wand: they had nothing to do but to propose the Gospel or the Law. No more had the Fathers of *Nice* and *Ephesus*, than to propose the *Trinity* and *Incarnation*, provided they propos'd it with all the other mysteries; the references into Scripture and tradition, which they made with so much care, were needless to them: on the bare exposition of truth, Grace would have commanded the assent of all the faithful; God inspires all he pleases into whom he pleases, and inspiration of itself alone can do all thing.

This

This was not the thing doubted of, and the power of God was well known to *Catholicks*, no less than the necessity men stood in, of his inspiration and Grace. The business was to find out the external means it makes use of, and whereto God has been pleas'd to annex it: one may feign or imagine that he is inspired of God without being really so; but he cannot feign, nor imagine that the Sea divides itself, that the earth opens, the dead arise, the born-blind receive sight, that he reads such a thing in a book, and that such and such our Predecessors in the Faith have so understood it; that the whole Church believes, and always hath believed it so. The question therefore in issue is, not whether those external means be sufficient without Grace and divine inspiration, for none pretends that: but, in order to hinder men from feigning or imagining an inspiration, whether it hath not been God's œconomy, and his usual conduct to make his inspiration walk hand in hand with certain means of fact, which men can neither feign in the air without being convicted of falshood, nor imagine without illusion. This is not the place to determine which be these facts, which these external means, which the motives of belief, since it is already certain, there are some such, for the Minister hath agreed to it; it is, I say, agreed, not only that there are such certain facts, but moreover, that those certain facts may serve for an *Infallible* rule. For instance, according to him, 'tis a certain fact that the Christian Church has always believed the Divinity of *Jesus Christ*, the soul's immortality, and the eternity of pains, with such and such other articles: but this certain fact, according to him, is an *Infallible* rule, and the best of all rules, not only to decide all these articles, but also to resolve the

CXVIII.  
The Grace  
necessary  
to produce  
Faith, why  
annex'd to  
certain  
exterior  
means and  
matters  
fact.

able, and knotty question concerning *Fundamentals*. We have seen the passages where the Minister teaches and proves this: but when he teaches that, and allows the universal consent to be *the most sure rule* of judging these important and knotty questions; yet, in proposing this external motive, which, according to him, implies *Demonstration*, he did not aim at excluding Grace and inward Inspiration: the question therefore is, whether the authority of the *Church*, which joins to the Grace of God is a sufficient motive and *the most sure of all rules* in certain points, may not be so in all; and whether, setting up an inspiration exclusive of all these exterior means, and when of you give yourself and your own sentiment for surety to yourself and others, be not the best plea can possibly be put into the mouths of false Teachers, the surest illusion to drive headstrong men to the utmost extremes.

After possessing the people with the notion of their being particularly inspired by God; to complete the thing you need but also tell them, they may make themselves guides as they think fit, may depose all those that are appointed them, may set up others to act by such powers as they incline to communicate. 'Tis what hath been done in the *Restoration*. Mr. *Claude* and Mr. *Jacobson* have now writ together in this Doctrine.

The *Church* the Church thus speaks to the Christian people. Ye are a People, a State, and a Society; but *Jesus Christ* who is your King holds nothing of you, and his authority is derived from a higher Power: naturally you have no more right to resist his Majesty than you have to appoint him your Prince; then his Ministers, who are your Pastor, derive their descent still higher, he himself does, and it's necessary they should come by an order of his appointment.

The



The kingdom of *Jesus Christ* is not of this world, nor can a comparison be made betwixt this kingdom and those of the earth, which is not defective; in a word, nature affords us nothing that bears a conformity with *Jesus Christ* and his kingdom, nor have you any other right than that which you shall find in the laws or customs immemorial of your Society. Now these customs immemorial, to begin from the Apostolick times, are, that the Pastors already constituted, should constitute others: *choose ye, say the Apostles, and we shall appoint*; it was *Titus's* business to appoint the Pastors of *Crete*; and it was from *Paul* appointed by *Jesus Christ*, that he received this power. *For this cause, says he, lest I thee in Crete, that thou shouldst reform the things that are wanting and ordain Priests in every City, as I had appointed thee.* Besides, those who flatter you with the notion that your consent is absolutely necessary to constitute your Pastors, do not believe what they tell you, since they acknowledge those of *England* for true Pastors, tho' the people hath had no share in their election. The example of *St. Matthias*, extraordinarily chosen by a divine lot, ought not to be made a precedent, nay, even then, all was not left to the people, for *Peter*, already establish'd Pastor by *Jesus Christ*, held the assembly: neither was it election that constituted *Matthias*; it was heaven which declared itself. Every where else, the authority of constituting is given to Pastors already constituted: the power, which they have from above, is render'd sensible by the imposition of hands, a ceremony reserved to their order. 'Tis thus that Pastors follow successively one another: *Jesus Christ*, who appointed the first, hath said that he would always be with those to whom they should transmit their power.

ye cannot have Pastors any where but in this succession, nor any more ought ye to apprehend its failing, than that the *Church* herself, preaching, and the Sacraments, should fail.

CXXI.  
Language  
of the F  
j. mat. 9

Thus speaks the *Church*, nor do the people presume beyond what is given them: but the *Reformation* speaks to them the quite contrary: In you, says she, is the source of celestial power; ye may not only present, but constitute your Pastors. Should proofs of this power, in the people, be required from the Scriptures; she would be at a stand. To exempt herself from this task, she tells the people that it is a natural right of all Societies; so that, to enjoy it, there is no need of Scripture, it being sufficient that Scripture hath not recall'd this right allow'd by nature. The turn is cunning, I must own; but beware of it, ye people, who are fed with this delusion! to make yourselves a Lord on earth, it suffices to acknowledge him for such, and every man carries this power in his own will. But the case is not the same in making yourselves a *Christ*, a *Swiour*, a celestial King, and appointing him his Ministers. And will ye then indeed, ye the people, impose your hands on them on being told it appertains to you to appoint them? They dare not: but are again encouraged, when assured, this ceremony of imposition of hands is not necessary. What, is it not sufficient to judge it necessary, that you do often find it in Scripture, and do not find, either in Scripture or in all tradition, that ever Pastor was made any other way, i. e. not created, but was made by other Pastors? No matter, obtrude what ye will. O people! believe ye that the power of loosing and binding, of appointing and releasing, is in you, and that your Pastors have no power but by your representation; that the authority of their Synods flows

flows from you, that they are no more than your delegates; believe, I say, all these things, altho' you find not a word thereof in Scripture; and believe beyond every thing else, that, when you shall think yourselves inspired by God to reform the *Church*, whensoever you shall be assembled in whatsoever way, you have power to do with your Pastors just what you please, none having right to deprive you of this liberty, it being derived from nature. Thus is the *Reformation* preach'd; thus is *Christianity* destroy'd root and branch and the way paved for *Antichrist*.

With such maxims and such a spirit (for altho' it shoots out more manifest in our days, the root was always the same in the *Reformation*) it is no longer to be wonder'd, that we have seen it from its first origin run from change to change, productive of so many Sects, of so many kinds. Mr. *Jurieu* hath had the face to answer, that herein, as in all other things, it resembles the primitive Church. In good truth, this is too notoriously abusing the people's credulity and the venerable name of the *primitive Church*. The Sects, which divided from her, were not the consequence, or natural effect, of her constitution. Two kinds of Sects did arise in primitive Christianity; some purely *Heathen* in their foundation, as that of the *Valentinians*, the *Simonians*, the *Manicheans*, and others of that stamp which enter'd themselves in appearance, on the list of Christians only to set themselves off with the great name of *Jesus Christ*; nor have these Sects any thing in common with those of the latter ages. The other Sectaries for the most part were Christians, which, unable to bear the loftiness, and as I may say, the whole weight of Faith, sought to ease reason now of one article, then of another: thus some deprived *Christ*

CXXII.  
The Sects  
issuing  
from the  
Reforma-  
tion proofs  
of her evil  
constituti-  
on. Com-  
parison of  
the ancient  
Church  
ill-al-  
ledged.  
History of  
*Calvin* 1.  
p. ch. IV.

of his *Divinity*; others, unable to unite the *Divinity* and *Humanity*, mutilated, as it were, in divers ways both one and the other. Against the like rocks split the proud spirit of *Martin Luther*. He sunk in reconciling Grace and Free will, which in truth is a grand mystery: he kept no compass in matter of Predestination, and no longer saw any thing for men but a fatal and inevitable necessity, wherein good and evil are equally comprehended. We have seen how these extravagant maxims produced those of the *Calvinists* still more extravagant. When laying aside all temper, by carrying to extremes Predestination and Grace, men fell into such visible excesses as were no longer to be supported: the horror they conceived thereof cast them into the opposite extreme; and from *Luther's* excess who went beyond bounds with Grace (however incredible it may seem) they pass'd to the excess of the *Demipelagians* who destroy it. Whence have we the *Arminians*, who in our days have produced the *Pajonists*, *Pelagians* compleat, whose author was Mr. *Pajon* the late Minister of *Orleans*. On the other side, the same *Luther*, dash't at the energy of these words, *This is my Body, This is my Blood*, could not find in his heart to reject the *Real Presence*; but at the same time was resolv'd, in compliance with human sense, to rid it of the change of *Substance*. Things stood not there, and the *Real Presence* was soon assaulted. Human sense took a pleasure in its own inventions, and its exceptions being satisfied with regard to one mystery stood up for the same conclusion in all the rest. As *Zuinglius* and his followers pretended that the *Real Presence* was a remnant of *Paganism* to be kept out in *Indulgences*, the *Swissmen* now a day say the same of the *Trinity* and *Incarnation*, and that

these great mysteries, which had stood free from all insult of Heresy for twelve hundred years, are enter'd on the tooting of disputable points, in an age, when all kind of novelties think they have a right to shew their heads.

We have seen the illusions of the *Anabaptists*, and are sensible, it was by following the principles of *Luther* and the rest of the *Reformers*, that they rejected *Baptism* without immersion, and Infant-Baptism; for this reason that they did not find them in the *Scripture*, where they were made believe, all was contain'd. The *Unitarians* or *Socinians* united with them, yet not so as to keep within the limits of their maxims, because the principles they had borrow'd from the *Reformers*, led them much further.

CXXIII.  
*Socinians*  
united  
with the  
*Anabap-*  
*tists*, and  
both of  
them deri-  
ving their  
origin  
from *Lut-*  
*her* and  
*Calvin*.

Mr. *Jurieu* remarks that they came forth, a long while since the *Reformation*, from the midst of the Church of *Rome*. Where is the wonder! *Luther* and *Calvin* came forth from her as well as they. The question is, whether the constitution of the Church of *Rome* was the cause of these innovations, and not rather, the new Church-frame set up by the *Reformers*. Now this question is easy to decide by the history of *Socinianism*. In 1545, and in the years subsequent to this date, twenty years after that *Luther* had removed the bounds set by our fore-fathers, when all minds were in a ferment, and the world, teeming with novelty from his disputes, was always ready to bring forth some strange off-spring, *Lelio Socini* and his companions held their clandestine conventicles in *Italy* against the *Divinity* of the Son of God. *George Blandrate* and *Fausto Socini*, *Lelio's* nephew, maintain'd this Doctrine in 1558, and in 1573, and form'd the Party. By the same method employ'd by *Zuinglius* to elude these words, *This is my Body*,  
the

*Vid. Bibl.*  
*Anti-Tri-*  
*nit.*

the *Socinian's* and their followers eluded those by which *Christ* is call'd God. It *Zuinglius* believed himself forced to the *figurative* interpretation by the impossibility of comprehending a human Body whole and intire every where that the *Eucharist* was distributed, the *Unitarians* believed, they had the same right over all the other *Mysteries* equally incomprehensible; and after it had been set them for a rule to understand *figuratively* those passages of Scripture, which bore hard on human reasoning, they did but extend this rule to whatsoever the mind of man had to suffer the like violence from. To these evil dispositions introduced by the *Reformation*, let us join the general foundations it had laid, the *Authority* of the Church despised, the *Succession* of Pastors held for nothing, *precedent ages* impeach'd of error, the *Fathers* themselves barely handled, all fences laid open, and human curiosity abandon'd intirely to itself: what else could be the issue but what hath been seen, namely, an unbridled licentiousness in all matters of Religion? But experience hath evidenced that these hardy Innovators saw not the least possibility of settling amongst us; 'twas to the Churches of the *Reformation* they betook themselves; those upstart Churches, which, set in motion and still giddy with their own changes, were susceptible of all others. 'Twas in the bosom of these Churches, at *Geneva*, amongst the *Switzers* and the *Polish Precedents*, that the *Unitarians* sought a sanctuary. Repuls'd by some of these Churches, they raised themselves a sufficient number of disciples amongst the rest of them, to make a Body apart. This, beyond question, was their origin. You need but look into the Testament of *George Saurin* one of the *Unitarian* Church, and the account given by *Andrew Wynter*, or what

127  
G. Saurin  
C. 1. 1. 1.  
B. 1. 1. 1.



*manner the Unitarians separated themselves from the Reformed, to be convinced, that this Sect was nothing but a progress of, and a sequel from, the Dogmata of Luther, of Calvin, of Zuinglius, of Menon, the last of whom was one of the heads of the Anabaptists. There you'll find, all those Sects were but the first draught, and as it were, the dawn of the Reformation, and that Anabaptism join'd to Socinianism, is the mid-day.*

*Biblioth. Anti-Trin. Sand. p. 191. 209.*

*Ibid.*

No longer therefore let them object to us the Sects of the ancient Church, and no longer brag of resembling her. Never did the ancient Church vary in her Doctrine, never, in her Confessions of Faith, did she suppress the truths which she believed were reveal'd by God: she never re-touch'd her decisions, never deliberated anew on matters once determin'd, never, no not once, propos'd new expositions of Faith, save when some new question arose. But the Reformation, quite on the contrary, never could content herself: her Creeds have nothing that is certain; the Decrees of her Synods, nothing fix'd: her Confessions of Faith are confederacies and arbitrary contracts; what is an article of Faith amongst them, is not so for all, nor always: they go apart by caprice and meet again by policy. When therefore Sects arose in the ancient Church, 'twas from the common and inveterate depravation of mankind; and when they now arise in the Reformation, 'tis from the novel and particular constitution of the Churches she hath modell'd.

CXXIV. Constitution of the Reformation how unlike to that of the primitive Church.

To make this truth the more apparent, I shall choote for an example the Protestant Church of Strasburg, as one of the most learned of the Reformation, and by her propos'd, ever since the beginning, for a pattern of discipline to all the rest. This great City was one of the first that

CXXV. A memorable instance of Variation in the Protestant Church of Strasburg.

fell by *Luther's* preaching, and did not think, at that time, of disputing the *Real Presence*. All the complaints made against her Senate were, that *it took away Images, and made Communion be given in both kinds*. It was in 1523, that by the means of *Bucer* and *Capito*, the turn'd *Zuinglian*. After she had for some years heard their invectives against the *Mass*; without wholly abolishing it, and without a full assurance of its being evil, the senate decree'd it *should be suspended until it were shew'd a worship acceptable to God*. Here is a very new provision in matter of Faith; and tho' I had not mention'd that this Decree came from the *Senate*, it would easily have been understood that the assembly, where it was made, was nothing less than *Ecclesiastical*. The Decree pass'd in 1529. The same year, those of *Straßburg* having never been able to agree with the *Lutherans*, join'd in a league with the *Swiss* who were *Zuinglians* like themselves. So far did they carry *Zuinglius's* notion and their hatred of the *Real Presence*, as to refuse to subscribe the Confession of *Auburg* in 1530, and to make themselves a particular Confession, which we have seen under the name of the Confession of *Straßburg*, or of the four Towns. The very next year, they shuffled so much and with so much art on this subject, as to get themselves comprehended in the league of *Smalkald*, from which the rest of the *Sacramentarians* were excluded. But they went still farther in 1536, since they subscribed the *Wittenberg* agreement, wherein, as we have seen, was confess'd the *Sacramental Presence* and the Communion of the true Body and true Blood in the unworthy, altho' void of Faith. Thereby they pass'd over indubitably to *Luther's* sentiment, and from that time were counted among the defenders of the Confession

of *Ausburg* which they subscribed. They declared nevertheless in 1548, that this was without departing from their first *Confession*, which, altho' formerly it had made them reject that of *Ausburg*, was found conformable to it now. In this while *Strasburg* was so wedded to the agreement of *Wittemberg* and the *Confession* of *Ausburg*, that *Peter Martyr* and *Zanchius*, the two greatest men at that time of the *Sacramentarians*, were forced at length to withdraw from that City; one for refusing to subscribe the agreement, and the other for having subscribed the *Confession* with a restriction; so zealous were they become at *Strasburg* for the *Real Presence*. In 1598, this City subscribed the book of *Concord*; and after having been for so long a time the chief as it were of those Cities that opposed the *Real Presence*, she stretch'd her *Confession*, inspite of *Sturmius*, to the prodigious tenet of *Ubiquity*. The Cities of *Linden* and *Memmingen*, formerly her associates in the hatred of the *Real Presence*, follow'd this example. At this time the ancient *Agenda* was changed, and *Marbachius's* book was printed at *Strasburg*, in which he maintain'd that *Jesus Christ, before his Ascension, was in heaven as to his humanity; that this visible Ascension was nothing at bottom but an appearance; that the heaven wherein Jesus Christ's humanity was received, contain'd not only God and all the Saints, but moreover all the devils and all the damn'd; and that Jesus Christ was, according to his human nature, not only in the Bread and Wine of the Supper, but also in all the pots and all the glasses.* To these extremities were men driven, when forsaking the sure guidance of Church-authority, they gave themselves up to human opinions like to a changeable and impetuous wind.

*Hop. Ibid.*  
*An. 1548.*  
p. 203.

*Hop. Ibid.*  
*An. 1556.*  
p. 1563.

*Hop. C. n.*  
*discors. c.*  
59. p.  
278.

*Ibid. fol.*  
99.

CXXVI. If now, to the variations and giddiness of these new Churches, you oppose the constancy and gravity of the *Catholick Church*, it will easily be judg'd where it is the *Holy Ghost* presides; and because I neither can, nor ought to relate in this work, all the judgments she hath pass'd in matters of Faith, that uniformity and steddiness I commend her for, shall be made appear in those very articles wherein we have seen the inconstancy of our *Reformed*.

CXXVII. The first who made a Sect in the *Church*, and dared to condemn her in regard to the *Real Presence*, was unquestionably *Berengarius*. What our adversaries say of *Ratramnus* is nothing less than a certain fact as above seen, and tho' it were granted that *Ratramnus* favour'd them (which is false) an ambiguous author, by all of them made to speak in behalf of their several opinions, would be in no-wise proper to make a Sect. I say the same of *John Scot*, whose error was personal and had no continued succession.

CXXVIII. The *Church* does not always anathematize rising errors; nor does she censure them as long as there are hopes they will vanish of themselves, nay, often tears rendering them famous by her anathema's. Thus *Arius*, and some others who had denied *Jesus Christ's* Divinity before *Paul of Samosata*, drew not such signal condemnations on themselves as he did, they not being judg'd capable of raising a Sect. As for *Berengarius*, certain it is, he attack'd openly the *Church's* Faith, and had disciples of his own name like other Heresiarchs, altho' his Heresy was soon extinguish'd.

CXXIX. It appear'd about the year 1010, not but that we have already remark'd, some years before, even from the year 1017, the *Real Presence* manifestly impugn'd by the Hereticks of  
*Beatus*  
*at B*  
*gatus*  
*Sect*  
*heret*

*Orleans* which were *Manicheans*. Such were the first authors of that Doctrine, one article of which was maintain'd by *Berengarius*. But as that Sect kept conceal'd, the *Church* was surpris'd at this novelty, yet not much disturb'd with it at that time. 'Twas against *Berengarius* that the first decision was made on this subject in 1052, in a Council of a hundred and thirteen Bishops call'd together at *Rome* from all sides by *Nicholas II.* *Berengarius* submitted himself, and the first who made a Sect of the *Sacramentarian* Heresy, was the first also that condemn'd it.

No body is ignorant of that famous *Confession* of Faith which begins, *Ego Berengarius*, where this Heresiarch acknowledges, *that the Bread and the Wine which are placed on the Altar, after Consecration are not only the Sacrament but also the true Body and the true Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, and are sensibly touch'd by the hands of the Priest broken and bruised betwixt the teeth of the faithful, not only in Sacrament, but in truth.*

There were none but understood, that the Body and Blood of *Jesus Christ* was broken in the Eucharist in the same sense that we say, a man is torn, he is wet, when the cloaths he actually wears are torn or wet. When his cloaths are not on him, we use not the same way of speaking: so that the meaning was, that *Jesus Christ* was as truly under the *Species*, which are broken and eaten, as we are truly in the cloaths we wear. It was said moreover, that *Jesus Christ* is sensibly received and touch'd, because he is in Person and in Substance under the sensible *Species* which are touch'd and received, and all this imported that *Jesus Christ* is received and eaten, not in his proper *Species* and under the exterior of Man, but under a foreign *Species*, and under the exterior of Bread and Wine. And if the

*Church*

demnati-  
on.

S. l. xi. n.  
17. & seq.

Concil.

Rom. sub.

Nic. 11.

An. 1059.

T. ix. Con.

Lab.

Guit. lib.

111. T.

xviii.

Bib. P. P.

max. p.

462. &c.

CXXX.

First Con-  
fession of  
Faith re-  
quired of  
*Berenga-  
rius.*



*Churb* said also in a certain sense, that the Body of *Jesus Christ* is broken, it was not from her being ignorant that in another sense, it was not so: just as when saying in a certain sense, we are torn and wet when our cloaths are so; we are still sensible at the same time that in another sense, we are neither one nor the other, as to our persons. Thus the Fathers justly said to *Berengarius* what we still say, *that the Body of Jesus Christ is all intire in the whole Sacrament, and all intire in every particle thereof; every where the same Jesus Christ always intire, indivisible and indissoluble, communicating himself without dividing himself, as the word to a whole audience, and as our soul to all our Members.* But what obliged the *Church* to say, after many Fathers and after *St. Chrysostom*, that the Body of *Jesus Christ* is broken, was, that *Berengarius*, under pretext of doing honour to the Saviour of the world, was accustom'd to say: *God forbid that man may break with the tooth, or divide Jesus Christ, in the same manner as we put under the tooth, and divide these things, namely the Bread and Wine.* The *Church* which always took care to combat, in Hereticks, the most precise and strongest words they made use of to explain their error, opposed against *Berengarius* the contradictory of that proposition he had advanced, and placed in some manner the *Real Presence* under the eyes of Christians by saying to them, what they received in the Sacrament, after Consecration, was as really the Body and the Blood as, before Consecration, it was really Bread and Wine.

CXXXI. Besides, when the faithful were told that the Bread and Wine of the *Eucharist* were in truth the Body and the Blood, they were accustom'd to understand, not that they were so by their nature,

*Gait. lib.*

1. ad.

*Ber. n. lib.*

2. 445.

449.

*Br. apud.*

*Gait. lib.*

p. 441.

CXXXI.

*Br. apud.*

*Gait. lib.*

2. 445.

449.

449.



nature, but became such by the Consecration: so that the change of *Substance* was contain'd in that expression, altho' what principally was aim'd at by it, was to render the *Presence* sensible, which likewise was principally impugn'd. Some while after 'twas perceptible that *Berengarius* and his Disciples varied. For we learn from authors of those times that, in the course of the dispute, they acknowledged in the *Eucharist* the Substance of the Body and Blood, but with that of Bread and Wine, employing even the term of *Impanation* and that of *Invination*, and asserting that *Jesus Christ* was, as I may say, *Impanate* in the *Eucharist*, as he became *Incarnate* in the Virgin's womb. This, says *Guitmondus*, was as a last intrenchment to *Berengarius*; nor was it without difficulty that this subtlety of the Sect was discover'd. But the *Church*, which always follows Hereticks step by step to condemn their errors as they disclose them, after having so well establish'd the *Real Presence* in *Berengarius's* first Confession of Faith, propos'd also another to him in which the change of *Substance* was express'd more distinctly. He confess'd therefore under *Gregory VII.* in a Council held at *Rome*, which was the sixth held under that Pope in 1079. *That the Bread and Wine, which are placed on the Altar, by the mystery of holy prayer and the words of Jesus Christ, are substantially changed into the true, life-giving, and proper Flesh of Jesus Christ, &c.* And the same is said of the Blood. It's specified that the Body here received, is the same that was born of the Virgin, that was nail'd to the Cross, that is seated at the right hand of the Father, and the Blood is the same that flow'd from his side; and to the end no room might be left for equivocation, whereby Hereticks conclude mankind, it's added, this is done *no. in*

where the change of Substance is more clearly explain'd, and why.

*Guit. Ibid.*

p. 441.

442. 462.

463. 464.

*alg. de*

*Sac. Corp.*

*& Sang.*

*Pras. T.*

xxi. p.

251.

*Ibid.*

*Conc. Rom.*

vi. sub

*Greg. VII.*

*T. X. Conc.*

*Lab. In.*

1079.

*sign and in virtue by a simple Sacrament, but in the propriety of nature and the truth of Substance.*

CXXXII.

The charge of Substance was oppos'd to Berengarius from the beginning  
*Ibid. T. xviii. p. 417.*

Berengarius again subscribed, and this second time condemn'd himself: but he was now so hamper'd, that no room for equivocation was left him, no subterfuge for his error. And if the change of Substance was here insisted on more precisely, 'twas not that the Church had before in the least doubted of it, since, from the beginning of the dispute against Berengarius, Hugo of Langres had said, *that the Bread and Wine did not remain in their first nature, but pass'd into another; that they were changed into the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ by the Omnipotence of God, against which Berengarius oppos'd himself in vain.* And as soon as ever this Heretick had declared himself, Adelman Bishop of Breffe his school-fellow and the first discoverer of his error warn'd him, *that he stood in opposition to the sense of the whole Catholick Church, and that it was as easy for Jesus Christ to change the Bread into his Body, as to change Water into Wine, and create light by his word alone.* 'Twas therefore a constant Doctrine of the universal Church, not that the Bread and Wine contain'd the Body and Blood of *Jesus Christ*, but that they became his Body and Blood by a change of Substance.

T. xviii. p.

438. 439.

CXXXIII

A certain fact that the Faith oppos'd to Berengarius was that of the whole Church, and of all Christians.  
*Ibid. Ep. ad Ber. Cat. R. l.*

Nor was it Adelman only that reproach'd Berengarius with the novelty and singularity of his Doctrine: all authors unanimously upbraid him as with a certain fact, that the Faith he impugn'd was that of the whole universe; that he scandalized the whole Church by the novelty of his Doctrine; that to come over to his Faith, it was necessary to believe there was no such thing as a Church on earth; that there was not so much as one Town, no, nor one Village of his opinion; that the Greeks, the Romanes, in a word,

all Christians had, in this regard, the same Faith with those of the *West*; so that, nothing could be more ridiculous than to censure, as incredible, what was believed by the whole world. Nor did *Berengarius* deny this fact, but like all Hereticks answer'd disdainfully, that wise men ought not to follow *the sentiments, or rather the follies of the Vulgar*. But *Lanfrank* and the rest of them remonstrated, that what he call'd the *Vulgar*, was the whole Clergy and all the people of the universe; and upon the Certainty of this fact wherein he fear'd no contradiction, he concluded, that if *Berengarius's* Doctrine were true, *the inheritance promised to Jesus Christ was made void, and his promises annihilated*; lastly, that *the Catholick Church was no more*; and, if *she was no more, she never had been*.

A remarkable fact likewise may be here observed; namely, that *Berengarius*, like all other Hereticks, found the *Church* firm and universally united in the *Dogma* which he impugn'd; 'tis what always hath happen'd in like cases. Of all the *Dogmata* which we believe, not so much as one can be named, which was not found invincibly and universally establish'd when the contrary *Dogma* began to make a Sect; and wherein the *Church* hath not remain'd, if possible, still more fix'd from that very time: a thing alone sufficient to make palpable the perpetual succession and immutability of her Faith.

No more necessity was there of convening an universal Council against *Berengarius* than against *Pelagius*; the Decisions of the Holy See, and of the Councils then held, were unanimously received by the whole *Church*, and the Heresy of *Berengarius*, quickly crush'd, found no longer any sanctuary but with the *Manicheans*,

*lib. 111. p. 462. 463. Lant-franc. de Corp & Sang. Dom. Ibid. c. 2. 4 5. 22. p. 765. 766. 776. Ibid. Ibid. c. 4. p. 765. Ibid. cap. 22. p. 776.*

CXXXIV

All innovators always find the Church in a full and constant possession of that Doctrine they attack.

CXXXV.

There was no need of an universal Council against *Berengarius*.

CXXXVI It hath been seen in what manner these *Manicheans* began to spread themselves all over the *West*, filling it with their blasphemies against the *Real Presence*, and at the same time, with their equivocating language, on purpose to conceal themselves from the *Church* whose assemblies they were determin'd to frequent. To the end therefore that she might defeat these equivocations, the *Church* thought herself obliged to employ some precise terms, as she had done formerly to much to the purpose against the *Arians* and *Nestorians*; which she did in this manner under *Innocent III.* in the great Council of *Lateran* in the year of our Lord, 1215. *There is one only universal Church of the faithful out of which there is no Salvation, in which Jesus Christ is himself the Sacrificer and the Victim, whose Body and Blood are truly contain'd under the species of Bread and Wine in the Sacrament of the Altar, the Bread and Wine being transubstantiated, one into the Body, and the other into the Blood of our Lord by the divine power, to the end that, for accomplishing the mystery of Unity, we should take of his what he himself took of ours.* No-body but sees, that this new word *Transubstantiation* here employ'd, without adding any thing to the idea of a change of Substance which we have seen already own'd against *Bergarius*, did but declare it by an expression, the bare signification of which served for a mark to the faithful against the subtillies and equivocations of Hereticks, as did heretofore the *Homousion* of *Nice*, and the *Theotocos* of *Ephesus*. Such was the decision of the Council of *Lateran*, the greatest and the most numerous that ever had been held, its authority being so great, that posterity hath call'd it by excellence, the *General Council*.

Decision  
of the  
great  
Council of  
*Lateran*.  
The word  
*Transub-*  
*stantiation*  
pitch'd  
upon, and  
why.  
S. l. xi. n.  
31. 32. &c.

*Conc. Late.*  
18. T. xi.  
*Conc. Latb.*  
p. 143.

By these Decisions may be seen, with what brevity, with what precision, with what uniformity the *Church* explains herself. Hereticks, always in search after their Faith, walk groping in the dark, and vary. The *Church*, which always carries her Faith intirely form'd in her heart, seeks only to explain it without intricacy and ambiguity; for which reason her Decisions are never clogg'd with a multiplicity of words. Besides, as she looks on the sublimest difficulties unsurprised, she proposes them without reserve, convinced that she shall always find in her children, a mind ready to captivate itself, and a docility capable of the whole weight of the divine mystery. Hereticks, who seek to indulge human sense and the animal part unsusceptible of the divine secret, take great pains to bend the Scripture to their taste and fancy. On the contrary, the *Church* only thinks of taking it in its plain sense. She hears our Saviour say, *This is my Body*, and cannot apprehend that what he calls *Body* so absolutely, should be any thing else than the *Body* itself; wherefore she believes without difficulty, that it is the *Body* in *Substance*, because the *Body* in *Substance* is nothing else but the true and proper *Body*; thus the word *Substance* enters naturally into her expressions. But then *Berengarius* never thought of using that word, and *Calvin* who used it, tho' agreeing in the main with *Berengarius*, hath thereby made it but manifest, that the figure which *Berengarius* admitted, did not answer the whole expectation nor the whole idea of a Christian.

The same simplicity, which made the *Church* believe the *Body* present in the Sacrament, hath made her believe that it was the whole *Substance* of it, *Jesus Christ* not having said, *My Body is here*, but, *This is it*; and as it is not so by its nature,

nature, it becomes, and is made so by the divine power. This is what imports a conversion, a transormation, a change; a word so natural to this mystery, that it could not fail taking place in *Berengarius's* case, and the more so, as it was every where already found in the Liturgies and Fathers

cxxxviii  
Decision  
of the  
Council of  
*Trent.*  
*Dur.*  
*Treatise. T.*  
xviii.  
*Bib. P. P.*  
p. 422.  
*Gult. Ibid*  
462. &c.

These reasons, so plain and natural, were opposed to *Berengarius*. We have no other even at this day to oppose against *Calvin* and *Zuinglius*: we have received them from *Catholicks* that wrote against *Berengarius*, as they had received them from those who preceded them; nor hath the Council of *Trent* added any thing to the Decisions of our fore-fathers, unless what was necessary for a further elucidation of what *Protestants* studied to perplex and darken, as easily will be perceived by those who have the least knowledge of the history of our controversies.

S. n. 131.  
S. l. 111.  
n. 51. &  
149. & 147.  
21. 56.  
181. n. 24.  
31. & 307.

For it was necessary, for instance, to explain more distinctly, that *Jesus Christ* render'd himself present, not only in the actual use of the Sacrament as is the *Lutheran's* opinion, but immediately after the Consecration, because it is not there said *This shall be*, but *This is*; which nevertheless was in the main, what had been formerly said against *Berengarius* when the Presence was fix'd, not to the Manducation, or to the Faith of him who received the Sacrament, but to the sacred prayer and the word of our Saviour; whereby also did appear, not the adoration only, but likewise the truth of the oblation and sacrifice, as we have seen confess'd by the *Protestants*: so that, when all is said, there remains no difficulty but in the *Real Presence*, wherein we have the advantage to discover, that those even, who in fact depart from our Doctrine, do always endeavour

S. l. ix. n.  
16. 27.  
28. & 307.  
2. 14. 2.  
n. 75.



endeavour (so sacred is it!) to draw as near to it as they are able.

The Decision of *Constance* in approbation of and for retaining Communion under one Kind, is one of those, wherein our adversaries think they have the most advantage. But in order to be convinced of the gravity and constancy of the *Church* in this decree, there needs but to reflect that the Council of *Constance*, when they pass'd it, had found the custom of communicating under one Kind establish'd, beyond contradiction, many ages before. The case was much the same with that of Baptism by *Immersion*, as clearly grounded on Scripture as Communion under both Kinds could be, and which, nevertheless, had been changed into *Infusion* with as much ease and as little contradiction, as Communion under one Kind was establish'd; so that the same reason stood for retaining one as the other.

'Tis a fact most certainly avow'd in the *Reformation*, altho' at present some will cavil at it, that *Baptism* was instituted by immersing the whole Body into water; that *Jesus Christ* received it so, and caused it to be so given by his Apostles; that the Scripture knows no other *Baptism* than this; that antiquity so understood and practis'd it; that the word itself implies it, to baptize being the same as to dip: this fact, I say, is unanimously acknowledged by all the Divines of the *Reformation*, nay, by the *Reformers* themselves and those even who best understood the *Greek* language and the ancient customs as well of the *Jews* as *Christians*; by *Luther*, by *Melancthon*, by *Calvin*, by *Cajaubon*, by *Grotius*, by all the rest, and lately even by *Jurieu* the most contradicting of all Ministers. Nay, *Luther* has observed, that the *German* word sig-

CXXXIX.  
Reason  
for the  
Council of  
*Constance's*  
Decision  
touching  
Communion  
under  
one Kind.  
*Conc.*  
*Const. Sess.*  
VIII.

CXI.  
Reasons  
determin-  
ing the  
mainte-  
nance of  
the ancient  
custom.

*Luth. de*  
*Sacr. Bapt.*  
*Tr. 1.*  
*Mel. de*  
*Comm.*  
*de Bapt.*  
*Cal. 1st.*

14. 15.  
19. &c.  
*Canon.*  
*121. 11.*  
*Math. iii.*  
C.  
*Gen. Ep.*  
336.  
*Jur. Sc.*  
*L. iii. c.*  
20. 1.  
583.

nifying Baptism, was derived from thence, and this Sacrament named *Tauf* from profundity or depth, because the baptized were deeply plunged into water. If then any fact in the world can be deem'd certain, 'tis this same: but 'tis not less certain, even by all these authors, that *Baptism* without immersion is valid, and that the *Church* is in the right to retain the custom. It is therefore plain, in a parallel fact, what ought to be our judgment as to the Decree of Communion under one Kind, and that all which is oppos'd against it, is nothing but chicanery.

And indeed, if there was reason to maintain *Baptism* without *Immersion*, because, in rejecting it, 'twould follow, there had been no such thing as *Baptism* for many ages; by consequence, no such thing as a *Church*, it being impossible for the *Church* to subsist without the Substance of the Sacraments; no less impossible was it, without the Substance of the Supper. The same reason then subsisted for maintaining Communion under one Kind, as for maintaining *Baptism* by infusion; and the *Church*, in maintaining these two practices which tradition shew'd equally indifferent, did nothing else but, according to custom, maintain against contentious Spirits that authority, whereon the Faith of the people did repose.

5. 11.  
18. 11.  
C. 112.  
19. 11.  
C. 113.  
19. 11.  
11. 11.  
12. 11.  
C. 114.  
C. 115.

Whoever desires to see more on this subject, may turn back to those places of this history, where it is handled, and among others, to those where may be seen, that Communion under one Kind was settled with so little contradiction, that it was not impugnd by the greatest enemies of the *Church*, not even by *Luther*, at the beginning.

C. 116.  
C. 117.  
C. 118.  
C. 119.

Next to the question of the *Eucharist*, the principal one of our controversies is that of *Justification*,

*Justification*, in relation to which the gravity of the *Church's* Decisions may be easily understood, in that she did but repeat in the Council of *Trent*, what the Fathers, and *St. Austin* had decided formerly, when this question was debated with the *Pelagians*.

And in the first place it must be supposed, there is no question betwixt us, whether or no a Sanctity and Justice infused into the soul by the Holy Ghost, should be acknowledged in man justified; for the qualities and infused habits are, as above-seen, confess'd by the Synod of *Dort*. The *Lutherans* are no less steady in defending them, and in a word, all *Protestants* are agreed, that by the Regeneration and Sanctification of the new man, a Sanctity and Justice is form'd in him like a permanent habit: the question is, whether this Sanctity and this Justice be what justifies us in the sight of God. But where is the difficulty of this? A Sanctity which does not make us Saints, a Justice which does not make us just, were a subtlety quite unintelligible. But a Sanctity and Justice form'd in us by Almighty God, and yet not pleasing to him; or, if agreeable to him, not making that person in whom it's found agreeable to him, would be another nicety still more unworthy the sincerity of a Christian.

But after all, when the *Church* defin'd in the Council of *Trent*, that remission of sins was given us, not by a simple imputation of the Justice of *Jesus Christ* outwardly, but by a Regeneration which changes and renews us inwardly; she did but repeat what formerly she had defined against the *Pelagians* in the Council of *Carthage*, that children are truly baptized in the remission of sins, to the end that Regenera-

tion

CXLII.  
Inherent  
justice ac-  
knowledg-  
ed on both  
sides. Con-  
sequence  
of this  
Doctrine.  
S. I. XIV.  
n. 43.

CXLIII.  
The  
Church  
in the  
Council of  
*Trent* does  
but repeat  
her ancient  
Decisions  
touching  
the notion  
of justify-  
ing Grace.



flows from his; that he is *unto us Justice and Sanctity* in the same sense, that he is *Redemption*, not by covering our crimes only, but by defacing them intirely by his holy Spirit pour'd into our hearts; moreover, that we are *made the Justice of God in Jesus Christ*, in a manner more intimate than *Jesus Christ had been made to be sin for us, since God had made him sin*, to wit, the victim for sin, by treating him as a sinner tho' he were just; whereas, he *had made us the Justice of God in him*, not by leaving us our sins, and merely treating us as just men, but by taking from us our sins and by rendering us just.

In order to make this Grace, inherent in us, absolutely gratuitous, our fore-fathers did not believe that it was necessary to say, one cannot dispose himself for them by good desires, nor obtain them by prayers, but they believed, these good desires and prayers were themselves inspired of God; and 'tis what the Council of *Trent* has done after their example, when it said, that all our good *Dispositions* came from a preventing Grace; that we could not *dispose and prepare ourselves* for Grace, but as we are *excited and assisted by Grace itself*; that God is the source of all justice, and in this quality ought to be beloved; and that there was *no believing, hoping, loving, nor repenting as we ought, so that the Grace of Justification might be conferr'd upon us, without a preventing inspiration of the Holy Ghost*. Wherein this Holy Council hath done no more than repeat what we read in the Council of *Orange*, viz. *that we can neither will, nor believe, nor think, nor love as we ought to do, and advantageously, but by the inspiration of preventing Grace*; that is to say, they would not dispute either against Hereticks, or against Infidels, or even against Heathens, or in a word, against any others

2 Cor. v.  
21.

CXLV.  
Touching the preparations to Grace, that they all proceed from Grace.  
Sess. vi.  
c. v. vi.

Can. 1.

Con. Ara.  
11. c. 6.  
7. 25.

others who imagine they love God, and who feel in effect inclinations so like to those of the faithful: but without entering with them into an impossible discussion of the precise differences of their sentiments from those of the just, they were satisfied with defining, that what is perform'd without Grace, is not *as it ought to be*, nor agreeable to God, since *without Faith it is impossible to please him*.

Heb. xi.  
6.

CXLVI.  
Touching  
the neces-  
sity of  
preserving  
Free will  
together  
with  
Grace.

Auct. sed.  
Apost. de  
grat. inter  
dec. Cæ-  
lest. P. P.

It the Council of *Trent* in defending the Grace of God, hath at the same time maintain'd Free-will, this also was a faithful repetition of our fore-fathers sentiments, when they defined, against the *Pelagians*, that Grace *destroy'd not Free-will, but set it at liberty, to the end that, of darken'd, it might become full of light; of sick, healthy; of depraved, upright; of imprudent, provident and wise*: for which reason the Grace of God was call'd *an aid and a succour of the Free-will*; by consequence, something which, far from destroying, conserv'd and perfect'd it.

CXLVII.  
Touching  
the merit  
of good-  
works.

Conc. Ara-  
gant. ad  
Sess. VI. 11.

Conc. Ara-  
gant. ad  
5.

According to so pure a notion, far from fearing the word *merit*, which indeed naturally express'd the dignity of good-works, our Fathers maintain'd it against the remnant of *Pelagians* in the same Council of *Orange*, by the same words repeated in that of *Trent*: *the goodness of God is so great to all mankind, that what he gives us, he will even have to be our merit*; from whence it follows, as likewise the same Fathers of the Council of *Orange* have decided; *that all the works and merits of the Saints ought to be referr'd to God's glory, because none can please him except by the things which he hath given*.

Lastly, it at *Trent* they did not fear to acknowledge, with a holy confidence, that eternal recompence is due to good-works, 'tis still in conformity with, and on the same principles that



that our Fathers had said in the same Council of Orange, *that merits do not prevent Grace, and that recompence is only due to good-works on account that Grace, which was not due, did precede them.*

By this means we find in the Christian a true Justice, but which is given him by God together with his love, and which accordingly makes him accomplish his commandments, wherein the Council of *Trent* likewise does but follow that rule of the Fathers of *Orange*: viz. *after having received Grace by Baptism, all the baptized, with the Grace and co-operation of Jesus Christ, can and ought to fulfil what appertains to Salvation, if they will labour faithfully*; where these Fathers have united *Jesus Christ's* co-operating Grace with man's labour and faithful correspondence, agreeably to that saying of *St. Paul*, *Yet not I, but the Grace of God with me.*

Notwithstanding this opinion which we have of Christian Justice, yet we do not believe that it is perfect and wholly irreprehensible, since we place the principle part thereof in continually demanding the forgiveness of sins: and if we believe these sins, whereof the most just are obliged daily to implore forgiveness, do not hinder them from being truly just, the Council of *Trent* hath moreover taken this so necessary a Decision from the Council of *Carthage*, which declares, *that the Saints are they who say humbly and truly at the same time, forgive us our trespasses; that the Apostle St. James, altho' holy and just, said nevertheless, we all offend in many things: that Daniel also, tho' holy and just, yet did say, we have sinned.* Whence it follows that such sins hinder not holiness and justice, because they hinder not the love of God from reigning in our hearts.

CXLVIII  
Touching  
the fulfill-  
ing of  
God's  
command-  
ments.  
*Conc. Trid.*  
*Seff. vi.*  
*can. 11.*  
*can. 18.*  
*cap. 25.*  
*1 Cor. xv.*  
10.

CXIX.  
Touching  
the truth,  
and withal  
the imper-  
fection of  
our Justice.  
*Cap. 7. 8.*

CL.  
God ac-  
cepts our  
good-  
works for  
the love of  
Jesus  
Christ.  
*Ibid.*

*Seff. xiv.*  
*c. 8.*

Now if the Council of *Carthage*, on account of these sins, will have us continually say to God, *enter not into judgment with thy servant, for that no man living shall be justified in thy sight*; we understand this, as doth that Council, of perfect Justice, without excluding from the just man a true Justice, acknowledging nevertheless, that it is also by an effect of a gratuitous bounty, and for the love of *Jesus Christ*, that God, who could have set at as high a price as he pleased, to condemn'd persons as we were, so great a good as life eternal, did not exact of us a righteousness without blemish, and on the contrary, has consented to judge us, not with extremity of rigour, but with a rigour temper'd and suited to our weakness, which obliged the Council of *Trent* to acknowledge, *that man hath not reberewith to glorify himself, but all his glory is in Christ Jesus, in whom we live, in whom we merit, in whom we satisfy, doing worthy fruits of Penance which derive from him their virtue; by him are offer'd to his Father, and for the love of him are accepted by his Father.*

CLII.  
That the  
holy Fa-  
thers have  
detested no  
less than  
we, as a  
blasphemy,  
the  
Doctrine  
which  
make God  
equally  
predesti-  
nate to  
good and  
evil.  
*Cart.*  
*Ann.*  
23.

The rock to be fear'd in celebrating the mystery of Predestination, was the admitting it equally in respect of good and evil; and if the *Church* abhor'd the crime of the pretended *Reformers* guilty of this excess, she did but walk in the steps of the Council of *Orange* which pronounces an eternal *Anathema*, *with utter detestation, against those who would dare to say that man is predestinated to evil by the divine power*; and of the Council of *Valentia* deciding, in like manner, that *God by his fore knowledge, doth impose on no man the necessity of sinning, but foresees only what man would be by his own will, so that the wicked do not perish on account that they had not the power of being good, but because they*

would not become good, or because they would not remain in the Grace they had received.

Thus when a question has been once judged in the *Church*, as she never fails to decide it according to the tradition of all past ages, so should it happen to be moved again in succeeding times, you find the *Church*, after a thousand or twelve hundred years, always in the same situation, always ready to oppose against the enemies of truth, the same Decrees, which the Holy *Apostolick* See and *Catholick* Unanimity had pronounced, without ever adding any thing thereto, save what is necessary against new errors.

To conclude what remains on the subject of justifying Grace, I find no Decision touching the Certainty of Salvation, because as yet nothing had obliged the *Church* to pronounce on this point: yet none hath contradicted St. *Austin*, who teaches, that *this Certainty is not beneficial in this state of temptation, in which assurance might produce pride*; which also extends itself, as is plain, to the Certainty one might have of present righteousness, so that the *Catholick* Church, whilst she inspires into her children so great a confidence as to exclude perturbation and trouble, yet leaves in them, after the example of the Apostles, the counterpoise of fear, and no less teaches man to distrust himself, than to trust absolutely in God.

In fine, if all that has been seen granted in this work by our adversaries, touching Justification and the merits of the Saints, be renew'd, 'twill intirely convince a man that there is not the least occasion to complain of the *Church's* Doctrine. *Melancthon*, so zealous for this article, owns nevertheless that *it is easy to come to an agreement on both sides*: what he seems most to insist upon, is the Certainty of Justice; but every humble Christian will easily rest contented with the same Certainty

Conc.  
Valent.

111. c. 2.  
*Ibid.* 5.

CLII.

The  
Church  
always  
found in  
the same  
situation.

CLIII.

Our Fa-  
thers have  
rejected as  
well as we,  
the Cer-  
tainty of  
Salvation  
and righte-  
ousness.

*De correct.*  
& *grat. c.*

15. *de*  
*Civ. Dei.*  
xi. 12.

CLIV.

*Melancthon* agrees  
that the  
article of  
Justificati-  
on is easy  
to be re-  
conciled.

S. l. 111.  
n. 25. &  
*seq.* 111.  
22. & *seq.*

*Sent. Phil.* Certainty with respect to Justice, as to eternal  
*Mel. de* Salvation: all the comfort man ought to have  
*pace Ec.* in this life, is that of excluding by hope, not des-  
*f. 10.* pair only, but also trouble and anguish; nor is  
*Bern.* there any thing to reproach a Christian with,  
*Serm. 1.* who, assured on God's side, hath no longer any  
*de Sept.* thing to fear or doubt but from himself.

CLV. The Decisions of the *Catholick* Church are not  
 less clear and precise, than they are firm and  
 lasting, always obviating whatever might give  
 occasion to the mind of man of going astray.

Honouring the *Saints* in her assemblies, was  
 honouring God the Author of their sanctity and  
 bliss; and demanding of them the partnership of  
 their prayers, was joining ourselves to the Choirs  
 of Angels, to the spirits of the perfectly just,  
 and to the Church of the *first-born* which are  
 in heaven. So holy a practice may be discover'd  
 ever since the first ages, nor is the beginning  
 of it to be discover'd there, since none can be  
 then found who were noted for innovation in  
 that regard. The thing most to be fear'd with  
 respect to the ignorant was, lest they should make  
 the *Invocation* of Saints too like to that of God,  
 and their *Intercessions* too like to that of *Jesus*  
*Christ*: but the Council of *Trent* instructs us  
 fully as to these two points, by warning us, that *the*  
*Saints* pray; the which places them at an infinite  
 distance from him who prays; and that they pray,  
*through Jesus Christ*, which places them infinitely  
 beneath him, who is heard through himself.

*Seff. xxv.*  
*de*  
*invoc. S. S.*

CLVI. Setting up *Images*, is rendering sensible the  
 mysteries and examples which sanctify us. The  
 thing to be fear'd in respect of the ignorant is,  
 lest they should believe that the divine Nature  
 must be represented, or render'd present in  
*Images*, or however, lest they should look upon  
 them as end'd with some virtue, for which they

are honour'd; these are the three characters of *Idolatry*. But the Council hath rejected them in plain terms; so that, it is not lawful to attribute to one Image more virtue than to another, nor by consequence, to frequent one more than another, unless in memory of some miracles, or some pious history which might excite devotion. The use of Images being thus purified, *Luther* himself and the *Lutherans* will demonstrate, that Images of this kind are not what the *Decalogue* speaks of, and the honour render'd to them will be manifestly nothing else than a sensible and exterior testimony of the pious remembrance they excite, and the simple and natural effect of that mute language, which accompanies these pious representations, and whose usefulness is so much the greater, as it is capable of being understood by all mankind.

In general, the whole Worship is refer'd to the interior and exterior exercise of faith, of hope, and of charity, and principally to that of this last virtue, whose property it is to unite us with God; so that, therein is found a worship in spirit and in truth, wherein soever is found the exercise of charity towards God or towards our neighbour, conformably to that saying of *St. James*, *Pure Religion, and undefiled before God Father, is this, to visit the fatherless and widows, and to keep himself unstained from the world*; and every act of piety not animated with this spirit is imperfect, carnal, or superstitious.

Under pretext that the Council of *Trent* declined entering into many difficulties, our adversaries, after *Trid. Paul.*, are continually demanding it as having explained the *Dogmas* in general, and in obscure, and equivocal terms, with the design of pleasing in appearance the greater number; but they would entertain more equitable

CLVII.  
Touching  
the whole  
Worship  
generally.

27.

CLVIII.

28.

ments, did they but consider, that God, who knows how far he designs to guide our understanding in revealing to us some truth, or some mystery, does not always reveal to us either the ways of explaining it, or the circumstances which accompany it, or even, wherein it consists as to its smallest precision, or, as we speak in schools, as to its specific difference: so that, in Church-decisions, it is often necessary to keep to general expressions in order to retain that *Mystery* of Faith to which we are directed by *St. Paul*, and not to transgress his precept forbidding us to be more wise than we ought to be.

CLIX. For example, in the controversy concerning *Purgatory*, the Council of *Trent* hath firmly believed as a truth revealed of God, that just souls may depart this life without being wholly purified. *Grævus* proves evidently, that this truth is contradicted by *Protestants*, by *Melanchon*, by *Specker*, by *Cicero* himself, on this common ground work of the Reformation, *viz.* that in the whole course of this life the soul is never intrinsically pure, whence it follows, that she is still defiled at her departure from the Body. But the *Third Council* hath proceeded, that *the soul is purified in Purgatory*; and the *Martyr Lambert* proves us a twofold way, that the soul is not presented to God, till she be *perfectly purified*, *viz.* *perfectum omnimodis*, contrary to the Doctrine of *St. Paul*, which he allows she cannot be, during this mortal life.

And thus still remains the question, whether or no the purification of the soul be wrought in this life, at the said moment, or afterwards, and *Specker* leaves the thing undecided, *quædam pars*, *quædam non*, *quædam non*, *quædam non*, *quædam non*. But we will further the question, thus farther with the *protestants*,



the Sect, the *Catholic* Church advances beyond this: for the tradition of all ages having taught her to pray in behalf of the dead, for the comfort of their souls, for the forgiveness of their sins, and their relief, she hath held for a certain truth, that the perfect purification of souls was perform'd after death, and this by secret pains not alike explain'd by the holy Doctors, but of which they said only, that they might be mitigated and wholly remitted by prayers and oblations, answerably to the *Liturgies* of all Churches.

Without examining in this place whether this sentiment be good or bad, 'twere no longer equitable, or candid, to refuse granting us, that in this presupposition at least the Council ought to have form'd its Decree in a general expression, and defin'd as it has done; first, that there is a *Purgatory* after this life; secondly, that the prayers of the living may afford relief to faithful souls departed, without descending to particulars, either of their pains, or the manner in which they are purified, because tradition did not explain it; but shewing only that they are purified by *Jesus Christ* alone, they being purified by none but prayers and oblations made in his name.

The same judgment ought to be pass'd on other Decisions, and care taken not to confound, as our *Reform'd* here do, general with indefinite, intricate, or ambiguous terms. Indefinite terms signify just nothing; ambiguous terms signify equivocally, and leave in the mind no determinate sense; intricate terms raise a mist of confused ideas; but altho' general terms carry not the evidence as far as the utmost precision, they are to a certain degree nevertheless perspicuous.

Our adversaries will not deny, that the passages of Scripture which say, that the *Holy Ghost* proceeds from the *Father*, denote clearly some truth, since

CLXI.  
Moderation of the Church in not determining any thing but what is certain. *Scilicet* xxv: *dec. de Purg.*

CLXII.  
The difference of general terms, from indefinite, perspicuous, or ambiguous term.

CLXIII.  
General terms are clear in their way.

they denote, beyond all doubt, that the third Person of the *Trinity* derives his origin from the *Father* more than the second, altho' they do not express specifically wherein his procession consists, nor where in it is different from that of the Son. It is the same plain, that general expressions cannot be blamed, without blaming at the same time *John Chrysostom* and the Gospel.

CXXXI.  
B. 1. c. 1.  
Council.  
Decree.

From this that our adversaries always shew themselves unjust to the Council, sometimes blaming it for defending too much to particular, and at others, requiring it should have decided all the disputes of the *Schists* and *Heretics* under penalty of being convicted or affected obsecrancy: as if they were ignorant, that in Definition of Faith, a free scope ought to be allow'd Divines for proposing different means of explaining the *Catholic* truths, and by consequence, that a Council waving their several and particular opinions ought to keep itself within the compass of such essential points, as they all defend in common. This method of denying the articles of our Faith is so far from speaking equivocally, that on the contrary, 'tis an effect of clearness to deny to party that which is certain, as not to resolve in the Decision, what is doubtful; nor is there any thing more becoming the authority and majesty of a Council, than to reject the impudency of those, who would advance beyond their bounds.

CXXXII.  
B. 1. c. 1.  
Council.  
Decree.

Conformable to this rule, a form for emphasizing the *Papal* authority having been proposed *Tront* in fact, and, as that having notwithstanding the general Council might in some manner be avoided, the Cardinal of *Trent*, and the Bishop of *London* accordingly, Cardinal *Bevilacqua* in the King's name, in his Library, that the form was approved; and the *Pope* afterwards, that he had

*ought to be defin'd but what all the Fathers should unanimously agree to; an admirable rule in order to separate what is certain, from what is doubtful! whence it also came to pass that the Cardinal du Perron, altho' a zealous defender of the interests of the Court of Rome, declared to the King of England, That the dispute concerning the Pope's authority, whether in its spiritual regard to Occumenical Councils, or in its temporal regard to secular Jurisdictions, is not a dispute about things that are held for articles of Faith, or, are infer'd and required in the Confession of Faith, or, that could hinder his Majesty from entering into the Church, should be be satisfied in other points. And even in our days, the renown'd Linacze du Val Doctor of Sorbone, to whom those on the other side of the Alps refer'd the defence of their cause, decided that the Doctrines denying the Pope's Infallibility, is not absolutely against Faith, and that which places the Council above the Pope, cannot be branded with any censure, either of heresy, or error, or even of temerity.*

Thereby appears, that Doctrines not supported by a certain and perpetual tradition, cannot strike root in the Church, since they make not a part of her Confession of Faith, and that even those who teach them, teach them as their particular Doctrine, and not as the Doctrine of the Catholic Church. To reject the Supremacy and authority of the Holy See, with this wholom moderation, is to reject the band of Christians, is to be at enmity with order and peace, and envy the Church that good which Melancthon himself wish'd it might enjoy.

After what hath been seen, there is nothing left at present that can hinder our *Reform'd* from submitting to the Church; the shelter of a *Catholic* *Invisible* is abandoned: no longer is it allowed

the Catho-  
lick Do-  
tor.  
H. J. C. p.  
T. d. 16.  
107.  
Grattin.  
lib. xix. c.  
11, 13, 14.  
15.  
P. 1. l.  
P. 1. l.  
858.

P. 1. l.  
T. d. 1. p.  
T. d. 1. l.  
11. c.  
Rom.  
P. 1. l.  
T. d. 2. l.  
T. d. 1. l.  
7.

CLXVI.  
With the  
moderati-  
on Melan-  
cthon would  
have allow'd  
the Pope's  
T. d. 1. l.  
T. d. 1. l.  
T. d. 1. l.  
T. d. 1. l.  
T. d. 1. l.  
T. d. 1. l.  
T. d. 1. l.  
T. d. 1. l.

first, which  
is the  
Propriety  
of the  
Church.  
2. 26.  
3. 4. 15.  
31.  
4. 1.  
5. 222.  
6. 25.

to all, in its manner, the obscurities of the *Yankee* Church; the Ministers have freed us from the trouble of answering on that head by shewing clearly, that the true worship was never interrupted, not even under *Arians* and *Manichees*: the Christian Society more extensive than that of the *Yankees*, according to the constitution of its Covenant, hath likewise stood more firm, and the perpetual Visibility of the *Catholic* Church can be no longer doubted of.

CLAVIII  
A Remark  
on the  
Confession  
of *Augs-  
burg*.  
3. 4. &  
4. 10. 2.  
12.

Those of the Confession of *Augsburg* are not more obliged to acknowledge it, than the *Catholics*: the *Irish* Church hath neither found place in their *Confession* of Faith, nor in their *Apology*, wherein on the contrary, we have seen the Church spoken of in the *General* vested with a perpetual Visibility, and, according to their principles, they should be able to shew us an Assembly made up of Pastors and People, in which found Doctrine and the Sacraments have been found.

CLAVIX.  
The  
most  
proper  
way  
of  
settling  
the  
Church  
of  
the  
Confession  
of  
Augsburg  
is  
to  
bring  
it  
to  
the  
same  
level  
with  
the  
Church  
of  
the  
Confession  
of  
Augsburg.  
3. 4. 15.  
31.  
4. 1.  
5. 222.  
6. 25.

All the arguments, that were form'd against the authority of the *General*, are given up. Yielding to the authority of the *General* Church, is now not to err, not to yield, nor submitting to man, since they own that their sentiments are the rule, say the most sincere rule, for declaring the most important verities of Religion. They argue, if this rule had been allowed, and men had proposed to themselves the most offending holy Scriptures, as it was considered by the *General* Church, that *General* never would have been so *General*, as we should have heard the Diversity of *General* Confessions, the multiplicity of *General* Societies, the diversity of *General* God, and knowledge, the perpetual variety of *General* Societies to *General* Churches, and that they did not but *General* Churches.

could be ever doubted of, and which at present are impugn'd with such captious arguments, that numbers of weak minds are inflamed thereby. They agree that the authority of the *universal* Church is an *Infallible* remedy against this disorder: so that, the authority of the *Church*, far from being what was said in the *Reformation*, a means of introducing all manner of new-fangled Doctrines amongst Christians; is, on the contrary, a certain means of putting a stop to the licentiousness of mens minds, of preventing the abuse they make of the Scripture's sublimeness after a manner so dangerous to the Salvation of souls.

The *Reformation* hath discover'd these truths at last; and if the *Lutherans* will not receive them from the hands of a *Calvinian* Minister, they have but to explain to us how they can resist the authority of the *Church* after having own'd that the truth is always manifest in her.

None now of whatever separate Communion should any longer demur to come and seek eternal life in the bosom of the Church of *Rome*, since it is confess'd that God's true people and his true Elect are still in her, as it hath always been confess'd that they were, before the pretended *Reformation*. But it's perceived at length, that the difference trump't up betwixt the ages that preceded, and those which follow'd it, was vain, and that the difficulty which was made of acknowledging this truth, proceeded from evil policy.

Should the *Lutherans* here start new difficulties, and not suffer themselves to be persuaded by the sentiments of *Calixtus*: let them shew us, what the Church of *Rome* hath done since *Luther's* time to forfeit her title of a true *Church*, and to so lose her fecundity that the *Elect* can be no longer born in her womb.

Calixtus  
177

CLXX.  
Salvation  
to be had  
in the  
Church of  
*Rome*.  
S. 177  
51  
177

CXXXI. True it is, when the Ministers acknowledge you may be saved in the Church of *Rome*, they would make you believe, you may do it as in an infected air, and by a kind of miracle, by reason of her impieties and idolatries. But men should learn to distinguish in the Ministers, what hatred has made them add, from what truth has forced them to confess. If the Church of *Rome* made profession of impiety and idolatry, no Salvation could have been had in her either before, or after the *Reformation*; and if both before and after, Salvation may be had in her Body, the accusation of impiety and idolatry is unworthy and calumnious.

CXXXII. And indeed, the hatred they shew to her is but too visible, since they are so far transported as to say, that question is a man may save his soul in that Communion, but with greater difficulty than among *the* *Arians*, who deny the Divinity of the Son of God, and of the Holy Ghost; who, by consequence, believe themselves devoted to creatures by *Baptism*, who, in the *Baptism*, look on the Flesh of a man, who is not God, as the source of Life; who believe that, without being God, a man hath saved them, and was able to pay the price of their Redemption; who invoke him as the person to whom all power is given in heaven and on earth; who are committed to the *Holy Ghost*, namely to a creature, to become his Temple; who believe that a creature, to wit the same *Holy Ghost*, distributes Grace to them as he pleases, and punishes them, and takes away them by his Power. This is to say, that they refer to the Council of *Constance*, and to that assembly, which was the capital of *Germany*, and which was the first of the *Reformation*, who have solemnly declared, that the Council of *Constance*, and the Council of *Basel*, were *heretical*, and *schismatical*.



Lastly, there is no longer any possibility for our *Reform'd* to avoid being reckon'd amongst the number of those *who separate themselves, and who make a Sect apart*, contrary to the precept of the Apollles particularly *St. Jude*, and contrary to the import of their own *Catechism*. Here are its very words in the exposition of the Creed: *The article of forgiveness of sins is placed after that of the Catholick Church, because no one obtains pardon for his sins except before-hand he be incorporated with God's people, and persevere in Unity and Communion with the Body of Christ, and so be a member of the Church: insomuch that, out of the Church there is nothing but Death and Damnation; for all those, who separate from the Society of the faithful, TO MAKE A SECT APART, ought not to hope for Salvation whilst they are in division.*

The article speaks clearly of the *universal Church, Visible* and always *Visible*, and in this we have seen that they are agreed: they are agreed likewise, as to a fact certain and notorious, that the Churches, which call themselves reform'd, at their renouncing the Communion of the Church of *Rome*, did not find on earth one Church which they united with: they therefore made a *Sect apart* from the whole Body of Christians and *universal Church*; and, according to their own Doctrine, renounce the Grace of forgiveness of sins, which is the fruit of the Blood of *Christ Jesus*: and *Death* and *Damnation* is their lot,

The absurdities, necessarily attending the answer to this argument, plainly discover how invincible it is; for after a thousand fruitless shifts, they were, infine, driven into such straits as even to say, that you remain in the *Catholick* and *universal Church*, in renouncing the Communion of all Churches in the world, and in making a

CLXXIII  
The Protestants  
can no longer exalt themselves from schism.  
Jud. 17.  
18.  
Diss. xvi.

S. n. 21.  
22. 34.  
35. 5.  
109. 62.  
81. 82.  
83.

CLXXIV  
Short repetition of the absurdities of the new System.  
S. n. 65.  
&c.

*Church*

*Church apart*; that you remain in the same *universal* Church altho' driven from it by a just censure; that you cannot go forth from it by any other crime than that of Apostacy, by renouncing Christianity and your Baptism; that all the Christian Sects, how divided so ever they be, are one and the same Body and one and the same Church in *Jesus Christ*; that Christian Churches, have no exterior band of union by the appointment of *Jesus Christ*: that their band is arbitrary; that the Confessions of Faith whereby they unite themselves, are arbitrary likewise, and Contracts susceptible of what terms you please, which yet may not be broken without incurring the guilt of Schism; that the union of Churches depends on Empires and the Will of Princes; that all Christian Churches are naturally, and by their origin, independent one of another, whence it follows that the *Independents*, so grievously censured at *Charenton*, do nothing else but stand up for the natural liberty of Churches; that, provided you find means of assembling together either with consent or by violence so as *to make a figure in the world*, you are a true member of the Body of the *Catholic* Church; that no Heresy ever hath, or can be, condemn'd by a judgment of the *universal* Church; nay, that there is not, nor can be, any Ecclesiastical judgment in matters of Faith; that men have no right to exact subscriptions to the Decrees of Synods respecting Faith; that one may save his Soul in the most perverse Sects, even that of the *Quakers*.

CXXXV. There would be no end were I to repeat all the absurdities that were necessary to vent in order to the *British* Religion from the letters so promulg'd, or all those who had a share of it. But, I think that it is well to content us with a declaration of the general scope of this one, which always



riation since the origin of Christianity can be discover'd in her, shews herself a *Church* built on the rock, always in full security from the promises she hath received, firm in her principles, and guided by a Spirit which never contradicts himself.

May he, who holds in his hand the hearts of men, and who alone knows the bounds he hath set to rebellious Sects, and to the afflictions of his *Church*, make all his stray'd children soon return to her Unity; and may we have the joy to behold with our eyes *Israel*, so unfortunately divided, unite under one and the same Head with *Judah*.

*Isaiah*  
vi.





A M A T E R I A L

A P P E N D I X

To the fourteenth BOOK.



AFTER this impression was finish'd, a *Latin* book fell into my hands which the indefatigable *Jurieu* has just brought to light, and whereof it is requisite I should give the publick some account. The title is, *An amicable consultation concerning Peace betwixt the Protestants*. Therein he treats of this subject with the Doctor *Daniel Severin Scultet*, who, on his side, proposes to himself to smooth the difficulties of this peace so frequently attempted and so unsuccessfully. The question chiefly in debate, is that of *Predestination* and *Grace*. The *Lutheran* cannot digest what was defin'd at the Synod of *Dort* touching *Absolute* decrees and *Grace irresistible*: he judges still more insupportable what the same Synod teaches of the *Inamissibility* of Justice, and the *Certainty* of Salvation, there being nothing, in his notion, more impious than to give to man once justified, a certain assurance in the midst of the most heinous crimes, that they shall neither make him forfeit his Salvation in eternity, nor in time even the *Holy Ghost* and the *Grace* of adoption. I repeat not the explanation of these questions, which the reader must have understood from the account given of them in this history; but shall only say, that this is what is call'd among the *Lutherans*, the *Particularism* of the *Calvinists*: so abominable a Heresy, that they charge it with nothing less than

I.  
A new book writ by the Minister *Jurieu* concerning the union of the *Calvinists* with the *Lutherans*.

L. 14.  
119.





The *Calvinist* then shews, that *Luther* does not speak here in a doubting manner, but with that terrible Decision above specified, and which suffers no reply on this head: You says he, that bear me, never forget that I am the man who thus teaches, and without any new inquiry submit to this word. S. l. 11. v. 17.

The *Lutheran* thought to escape by saying, that *Luther* had recanted: but the *Calvinist* nonplusses him when he demands, where is this recantation of *Luther*? It is true, proceeds he, he has begg'd we would excuse, in his first books, some remnants of *Popery* in regard to *Indulgences*: but as to what regards *Free-will*, he never changed a tittle of his *Doctrine*. And indeed, it is very certain that the above-said Monsters of impiety were far from being derived from *Popery*, which, as *Luther* acknowledges in all these places, held them in execration. Jur. lbi. f. 217. 218.

Mr. *Jurieu*, in that respect, is of the same opinion with us, and declares, he hath in abhorrence these Dogmata of *Luther*, as impious, horrible, frightful, deserving every anathema, introductive of *Manicheism*, and subversive of all Religion. He is sorry to see himself obliged to speak thus of the head of the *Reformation*. I speak it, says he, with grief, and sorrow, as much as I am able, the memory of this great man. This is therefore one of those Confessions, which the evidence of truth extorts from men how much soever against their will; and infine, the author of the *Reformation*, by the very Confession of the *Reform'd*, is convicted of being an impious, Blasphemer against God: after this, a great man, as much as they please; for to have founded the alarm against *Rome*, is merit enough in the *Reformation* for whatever titles. *Melancholion* is guilty of this wicked Doctrine, which destroys all Religion. Eid. l. 11. f. 214. 215.

Etd. 24

ligion. Mr. *Jurieu* has convicted him of uttering the same blasphemies as his Master; and, instead of detesting them as they deserved, of never having retracted them but too faintly and with assistance. You see on what corner-stones the Reformation was built.

III.  
Whether  
Calvin  
has les  
blasphémés  
than La-  
tins.  
S. 2. 217  
n. 4.  
O. 2. 2.  
p. 1. 1.  
7. 1. 7. 1.  
Id. 111.  
x. 111. 1.  
7. 8. 9.

But because Mr. *Jurieu* here seems willing to excuse Calvin, he need but cast his eyes on the passages of this author already quoted by me in this history: there will he find that *Adam could not avoid his fall, and was nevertheless guilty, because he fell voluntarily; that it was ordained by God, and comprised in his secret decrees.* There will he find, that a hidden counsel of God is the cause of *harangues of heart; that we must not deny that God would and decreed the deflection of Adam, since he does all he wills; that this decree, he must confess, raises horror; yet, after all, it cannot be avoid but God forgive the fall of man, since he had ordained it by his own decree; that we ought not to use the word permission, since it is an express error; that the will of God makes the necessity of things; and all he hath willed, happens necessarily; that it can be no reason, Adam fell by an order of God's providence, and because God had so judged it fitting, could he see that his own fault; that the reprobate are inexorable, altho' they cannot shun the necessity of sinning, and that their misery befalls them by God's appointment, that God gives to them, and is perfect to them, the more do they, that he has enlighten'd their eyes, but without success; and that, the more he has enlighten'd their eyes, the more they are in darkness. Do not think, that I propose to remove them from the necessity of sinning; but he will be our compasses, but will be our compasses, that they may not be lost. What more we want, to make Calvin a worthy and a just successor to Luther.*

P. xxv.  
n. 15.

What therefore does it avail Mr. *Jurieu* to *Jur. P. 1.* have quoted us some passages of *Calvin*, where *P. 214.* he seems to say that man was free in *Adam*, and fell in *Adam* by his own Will, since it is otherwise certain from *Calvin* himself, that this Will of *Adam* was the necessary effect of a special decree of God? And indeed the truth is, this Minister has not pretend'd absolutely to excuse his *Calvin*, but contents himself with saying only, *he was sober in comparison to Luther*: but we *ibid.* have just heard him speak not less extravagantly and impiously than *Luther*.

I have also produced *Beza's* words, which *S. l. xiv.* manifestly refer all sins to the Will of God as *" 2. 3.* their first cause. Thus beyond all dispute, the *Heads* of both parties of the *Reformation*, *Luther* and *Melancthon* on one side, *Calvin* and *Beza* on the other, the *Masters* and *Disciples*, equally are convicted of *Manicheism* and impiety; and Mr. *Jurieu* hath had reason to confess candidly of the *Reformers* in general, that they taught *S. l. xiv.* that *God drove on wicked men to enormous crimes.* *" 4.*

The *Calvinist* returns to the charge, and here is another recrimination not less remarkable. You upbraid us, says he to the *Lutherans*, with our *irresistible* Grace: but in order to make it *resistible* you run to the opposite extreme; and, unlike to your master *Luther*, whereas in matter of Grace he so far out went all bounds *as to make himself suspect of Manicheism*, you do the like in *Free will*, so as to turn *Demi-pelagian*, since you attribute to it the beginning of *Salvation*. Which he makes evident by the same proofs we have made use of in this History, by shewing the *Lutherans*, that, according to them, the Grace of conversion depends on the care they themselves take to hear the word preach'd. I have clearly demonstrated this *Demi-pelagianism* of the *Luther-*

rans from the book of *Concord*, and from other testimonies: but the Minister strengthens my proofs with the testimony of his adversary *Scultet*, who concludes in as many words, *that God converts men, when men themselves receive the word preach'd with respect and attention*. Accordingly, 'tis in this manner the *Lutherans* explain the universal will of saving all mankind, and say with *Scultet*, that *God will infuse conviction and a lively Faith into the hearts of all the adult, provided nevertheless they do BEFORE-HAND the necessary duty for man's conversion*. Thus what they attribute to the divine power, is that Grace which goes hand in hand with preaching; and what they attribute to *Free-will*, is rendering itself *before-hand*, by its own strength, attentive to the word announced: which is saying as clearly as ever the *Deniquelegians* have done, that the *Beginning* of Salvation comes purely from the *Free-will*; and that there may be no doubt that this is the error of the *Lutherans*, Mr *Jurieu* produces moreover a passage from *Calixtus*, where he transcribes word for word the propositions condemn'd in the *Deniquelegium*; for he says in express terms, *that there is no man in all men some strength of the Understanding, or of the Will, and of natural Knowledge, which if they make right use of in labouring, and if they are all, for their Salvation, God will assist them, that no man means to arrive at the promised inheritance, but as to*: which once more makes Grace depend on what man precedently does by his own strength.

I had reason to be sure to affirm, that the *Lutherans* are heretics, and true *Deniquelegians*: namely, *Populans* in the most dangerous part of this Heresy, it being that by which human pride is the most that rises. For the greatest number of *Populans* is teaching man's Salvation finally in

his own hands independently of Grace. Now this it is they do, who, like the *Lutherans*, make the Conversion and Justification of a sinner dependent on a beginning introductive of all the rest, and which, nevertheless, the sinner gives to himself merely by his *Free-will* without Grace, as I have proved evidently, and as Mr. *Jurieu* hath also but just made apparent from the Confession of the *Lutherans*.

They ought not therefore to flatter themselves as if they had escap'd the *Anathema* merited by the *Pelagians*, under pretext that they are only such by halves; since we see that this part swallowed by them of so mortal a poison, as that of *Pelagianism*, contains its whole malignity: from whence one may perceive the deplorable condition of the whole *Protestant Party*; since, on one side, the *Calvinists* know no way of maintaining Christian Grace against the *Pelagians*, but by making it *Inamissible* with all the other aforesaid inconveniencies; and on the other, the *Lutherans* believe, there's no avoiding this detestable *Particularism* of *Dort* and of the *Calvinists*, but by turning *Pelagians*, and abandoning man's Salvation to his own *Free-will*.

The *Calvinist* pursues his point; and, says he to the *Lutherans*, 'tis impossible to dissemble your Doctrine against the necessity of good-works. *I will not*, proceeds he, *go in quest of the harsh propositions of your Doctors ancient and modern on this subject*. As I take it, he glances at the Decree of *Wormes*, where we have observed 'twas decided that good-works are not necessary to Salvation. But without insisting on this assembly and other the like Decrees of the *Lutherans*, I shall observe only, says he to *Scullet*, what you yourself have taught: that *it is not lawful for us to give any alms to the poor, no, not a farthing with the*

V.

Sequel of recriminations. The *Lutherans* convicted of denying the necessity of good-works.

*Ibid.* 2. p. 6. 11. p. 243. S. 2. 111. n. 12. VIII. 32.

design of obtaining forgiveness of our sins: and again; that the habit and exercise of virtue is not absolutely necessary for the justified in order to be saved: that the exercise of the love of God, neither in the course of life, nor even at the hour of death, is a necessary condition without which we can't be saved: lastly, that neither the habit nor exercise of virtue is necessary to a living person in order to obtain forgiveness of his sins; that is to say, a man is saved, as this Minister concludes, without having done by such a one good-work either in his life or at his death.

VI. These are just and terrible recriminations, of which Dr. Scott will never clear himself: again, here is another no less remarkable. You object to us as a crime, says to him Mr. Justice, the *Containing* of Salvation defined in the Synod of Dort: but you, who object it to us, hold the same yourselves. Thereupon he produces the *Treatise* wherein Doctor John Grant (the third man after *Luther* and *Calvin* of the *Reformation*, if we believe their testimony who approved his words) advances this proposition: *Heaven is an essential part of the Containing of Salvation as well as of the End*. And so he *thoroughly* *preacheth* *both* *the* *King* *of* *God* *in* *his* *own* *name* *and* *interiorly* *in* *the* *King* *of* *Heaven* *in* *the* *name* *of* *the* *King* *of* *Heaven* *and* *interiorly* *in* *the* *King* *of* *Heaven* *in* *the* *name* *of* *the* *King* *of* *Heaven*. It is certain, he wrote these, and other every where, through all Christendom by Mr. *Justice* of the Peace, and with the *Assent* of the *Minister*. But the *Minister* says, even then with reason, that this is not consistent with the Doctrine of the *Containing* of *Justification*, which they account as a *crime* *in* *the* *Containing* of *Justification*, what I have remark'd in the *Third* *Chapter* *of* *the* *Containing* of *Justification*, proposed by the *Containing* of *Justification*, and even by Dr. *Grant*. But I have not time



the contradictions the Minister *Jurieu* upbraids them with in these words: *'tis a thing incredible, that wise men, having eyes in their heads, should have fallen into so stupendous a blindness, as to believe one is assured of his Salvation with a Certainty of Faith, and at the same time, that the true Believer may lose the Faith and eternal Salvation.* From thence he takes occasion to reproach them, that their Doctrine is self-contradictory, that their *Univerſality*, introduced contrary to *Luther's* principles, has brought such a confusion into their Theology, *that there is none but is sensible that it has no longer any manner of coherence; that it cannot be self-consistent; that they have no excuse left them.* Thus you see how these men treat one another, when in peace: what don't they do, when at mortal war?

Besides what regards Grace, the Minister also charges the *Lutherans* very home with their monstrous Doctrine of *Ubiquity*, worthy, says he, *of all the elogiums you bestow on the decisions of Dort, a frightful, huge, and horrid monster, of a prodigious deformity in itself, and still more prodigious in its consequences; since it brings back the confusion of natures in Jesus Christ, and not only that of the Soul with the Body, but also that of the Divinity with the Humanity, and in a word, Eutychianism so unanimously detested by the whole Church.*

He shews them, they have added to the *Confession of Ausburg* this monster of *Ubiquity*, and to *Luther's* Doctrine, their excessive *Univerſality*, which has made them fall back into the error of the *Pelagians*. All these reproaches are very true, as we have made appear; and here you behold the *Lutherans*, the first of those that took up the title of *Reformers*, convicted by the *Calvinists*, of being all at once *Pelagians*.

*Jur. Hist.* in formal terms, and *Eutychians* by consequences indeed, but *such as the whole world is sensible of*, and which are as clear as the noon-day.

VIII. After all these vigorous recriminations, one would think that the Minister *Jurieu* must conclude to detest, in the *Lutherans*, so many abominable excesses, so many visible contradictions, so manifest a blindness: no such thing. He accuses the *Lutherans* of so many enormous errors, only to conclude a peace by a mutual toleration on both sides, notwithstanding the gross errors both stand convicted of by the testimonies of each other.

Here then he proposes that marvellous compensation, that bartering of Doctrine, where all terminates in concluding, *if our Particularism be an error, we offer you a toleration for much more strange errors.* Let us strike up peace on this foundation, and mutually declare one another God's faithful servants, without any obligation on either side, of correcting any thing in our tenets. We allow you all the prodigies of your Doctrine: we allow you that monstrous *Uniquity*: we allow you your *Semi-pelagianism*, which places the beginning of man's Salvation purely in his own hands: we allow you that horrid *Dignity* which denies that good-works and the habit of charity, any more than the exercise thereof, are necessary to Salvation either in life, or at death: we tolerate you, we receive you to the holy *Table*, we own you for God's children, notwithstanding all these errors: overlook then, in our behalf, and in behalf of the Synod of *Dort*, these *obnoxious* Decrees with Grace *irrefragabile*, the *Containing* of Salvation with the *Inevitability* of Judgment, together with all the rest of our particular *Doctrines*, how much sorer you oblige them.

This

This is the bargain he proposes; this, what he negotiates in the face of the whole Christian world; a peace betwixt Churches calling themselves not only *Christian*, but also *Reformed*; not by agreeing in the Doctrine which they believe expressly reveal'd by God, but by forgiving mutually each other the most unpardonable errors.

What shall be the issue of this treaty? I am loath to foresee it: but will be bold to say, the *Calvinists* shall gain nothing else by it, but an addition to their own errors of those of the *Lutherans*, which they make themselves accomplices in by admitting to the holy *Table* those as the true children of God, who professedly maintain them. As for the *Lutherans*, if it be true, as it's insinuated by Mr. *Jurieu*, that they begin for the most part to become more tractable in regard to the *Real Presence*, and offer peace to the *Calvinists*, provided only they receive their *Demi-pelagian Universalism*; the whole universe will be witness that they have made a peace by sacrificing to the *Sacramentarians* what *Luther* did most defend against them even to his death, to wit, the *Reality*; and by making them profess what the same *Luther* most detested, namely, *Pelagianism*, to which he prefer'd the opposite extreme, even the horror of making God the author of sin.

But let us also see the means which Mr. *Jurieu* proposes for attaining this wonderful agreement. *In the first place*, says he, *this pious work cannot be brought about without the concurrence of the Princes of both parties, by reason that*, proceeds he, *the whole Reformation was made by their authority*. Wherefore in order to promote it, we must assemble, *not Ecclesiasticks, always too much wedded to their own sentiments: but Politicians*, who, in all appearance, will part with their

2. P. 1  
67. 89. 5.  
291.

IX.  
The same  
proposed  
by Mr.  
Jurieu for  
advancing  
the same  
agreement. Princes  
of both  
parties  
of Re-  
ligion  
part.

Religion at an easier rate. Theſe therefore ſhall examine *the importance of each tenet, and weigh with equity, whether ſuch and ſuch a propoſition, juſtly, or unjuſtly, is capable of being agreed to, or accepted of by general conſent:* that is to ſay, what is moſt eſſential to Religion muſt be debated in this aſſembly, it being to decide what is *ſubſtantial*, and what not; what may be, and what may not be tolerated. Here lies the grand difficulty: but in this difficulty ſo eſſential to Religion, *The Divines are to ſpeak as Lawyers, the Politicians are to harken and judge under the authority of their Princes.* Here then manfully are Princes become ſupreme arbiters of Religion, and the Subſtance of Faith truſted abſolutely in their hands. Whether this be Religion, or a meer *Political* agreement, I refer to the Reader.

Nevertheless it muſt be own'd, the reaſon alledged by Mr. *Jurieu*, for ſubmitting the whole to Princes, is convincing, ſince in reality, as he has juſt told us, *the whole Reformation was made by their authority.* 'Tis what we have ſhewn thro' the whole ſeries of this Hiſtory: but now at leaſt this fact, ſo ignominious to *Proteſtants*, can no longer be diſputed. Mr. *Jurieu* confeſſes it in plain terms, nor muſt we wonder that Princes have veſted in themſelves the ſupreme authority or judgment, in regard to a *Reformation* which they themſelves have made.

For what reaſon the Miniſter has laid it down for the general work of the agreement, *that proceſſes ſhall be taken in all Debates, the Decree on either ſide ſhall be taken according to the judgment of their Princes, Politicians, and ſuch as ſhall be ſpecially ſent to that end.* The Princes and their Delegates are now ſaid to be the ſole arbiters; is tworn to them before-hand, *to do what they will;* that is to ſay, by a ſole and ſolemn ſer-

rent, tolerable or intolerable in Religion, which shall please them, and must the fundamental points of Christianity be decided by policy.

One no longer knows what country he is in, nor whether they are Christians he hears speak, when he sees the main of Religion given up to temporal authority, and the sovereign disposal of it resign'd to Princes. But this is not all; after this, a *Confession* of Faith must be agreed to, and hence should arise their main perplexity: but the expedient is easy. They are to make one in indefinite and general terms, which the whole world shall be satisfied with: each must dissemble what may be displeasing to his Companion: silence is a remedy for all evils: every man shall believe in his heart just what he lists, *Pelagian, Eutychian, or Arian*; provided he hold his tongue, all will go well, and *Jesus Christ* will not fail to look on both one and the other for *Christians* well united. What shall we say? Let us deplore the blindness of our Brethren, and beseech God that the enormity of their error may at length open their eyes so, as to become sensible thereof.

But here is the finishing stroke. We have seen what *Zuinglius* and the *Zuinglians, Calvin* and the *Calvinists* judged of the *Confession of Augsburg*: how from its first beginning, they refused to subscribe it, and separated themselves from its defenders; how those of *France* in all succeeding times, in receiving all the rest, have ever excepted the tenth article relating to the *Supper*. We have seen amongst other things, what was said at the Conference of *Poissy*; nor forgotten what *Calvin* then wrote *in his* *of the* *suppleness* *than* *of* *the* *obscure* *and* *of* *factitious* *variety* *of* *this* *Confession*: which was the cause, said he, *that it* *is* *pleas'd* *people* *of* *good* *sense,* *and*

X.  
The Conf.  
of Aug.  
tabled.  
the Con-  
fession of  
Augsburg.  
Hist. cap.  
xi. 207.  
E. 167.  
cap. xli.  
297.

167.  
168.  
169.  
170.  
171.

172.  
173.

even that Melancthon, its author, repented he ever made it: but at present, great prevalency of that fond desire of uniting with the *Lutherans*! They are ready to subscribe this *Confession*; for they are very sensible the *Lutherans* will never depart from it. Well then, says our Minister, *is no more required of us than to subscribe it? The business is done: we are ready for this subscription, provided you will receive us.* Thus you see this *Confession*, which had been so stoutly rejected these hundred and fifty years, all of a sudden, without any alteration in it, will become the common rule of *Calvinists* as it is of *Lutherans*, upon condition each one shall have the liberty of interpreting and applying it to his own notions. I leave the reader to decide, which of the two ought most to be lamented, the *Calvinists* who turn with every wind, or the *Lutherans* whose *Confession* is subscribed only with a view of discovering in it a Doctrine suitable to their notions, by the means of those equivocal expressions, of which it is a cauld. No man but sees how vain, to say no worse, would be this projected union; what would ensue from it of some real consequence is, however, as says Mr. *Jurieu*, that one might make thereof a good confederacy, and that the Protestant Party would make the *Papists* tremble. These were the hopes of Mr. *Jurieu*, who would be well enough satisfied with the success of his negotiation, if, failing as to a sincere agreement of minds, it could at least unite them so, as to set all *Europe* in a flame: but happily for *Christianity*, Leagues are not made as Doctors list.

In this marvellous negotiation nothing more surprising than the artifice Mr. *Jurieu* uses to mollify the hard hearted *Lutherans*. What, says he, will you always be inimicable to the com-  
 planant

*Id. cap.*  
*xiii. f.*  
 171.

*Id. 262*

*Id.*  
 263.

*Id.*  
 264.



plaisance we have shewn, in allowing you your Corporal Presence? Besides all these Philosophical absurdities which we were forced to digest, how perillous are the consequences of this Dogma? Those do experience it, proceeds he, who are obliged to endure, in France, this continual reproach: *Why do you reject the Catholicks after having received the Lutherans? Our people make answer: The Lutherans take not away the Substance of the Bread: they do not adore the Eucharist: they offer it not in Sacrifice: they deprive not the people of one Kind: so much the worse for them, we are told, 'tis in this they argue ill, nor follow their own principles. For if the Body of Jesus Christ be really and carnally present, we ought to adore him: if he be present, we ought to offer him up to his Father: if he be present, Jesus Christ is whole and intire under each species. Do not say, you deny these consequences: for when all is said, they flow better and more naturally from your Dogma than those you impute to us. It is certain your Doctrin touching the Supper, was the beginning of error: the change of Substance was grounded thereupon: thereupon was adoration commanded; nor is it easy to withstand it: human reason directs us to adore Jesus Christ wheresoever he is. Not that this reason is always good, for God is in a piece of wood and in a stone, yet we may not adore a stone or wood; but after all, the mind is carried to it by its own propensity, and as naturally as the elements tend to their centre: a great struggle is required to kinder our falling into this precipice: (this precipice is worshipping Jesus Christ where he is present) and I nowise doubt, proceeds our Author, but that the simple amongst you would fall into it, were they not prevented by the continual contests with the Papists. Open your eyes, ye Lutherans, and suffer the Catholicks*

to speak thus to you in their turn. We do not propose that you should worship *wood* or *stone* because God is in them: we propose to you to worship *Jesus Christ* where you acknowledge he is, by so special a Presence, attested by so particular and divine a testimony: *reason directs you to it of course, the mind is carried to it by its own propensity.* Simple minds, void of contention, would follow so natural a bent, if continual disputes did not restrain them; nor is it any thing but the spirit of contention that can hinder the adoration of *Jesus Christ* where he is believed to present.

XII.  
Both Parties irreconcilable in the main according to the Minister *Jansen.*

Such are the conditions of the agreement, at this day in treaty, betwixt the *Lutherans* and *Calvinists*: such are the means they are to use for attaining it; and such the reasons employ'd to persuade and move the *Lutherans*. And let not these people go away with the notion, that our speaking of it in this manner, proceeds from some fear we may be in of their re-union, which, when all is done, will never be any thing better than *grivance and cobd*; for in short, for them to convince one another, is a task judg'd impossible even by Mr *Jansen*. Yet, says he, *will either of the Parties offer what to be led to triumph; and to propose an agreement betwixt the Lutherans and Calvinists, a condition that one Party shall renounce its Doctrine; is the same as upon the same proposal the Spaniards as a means of agreement, to give up all their Provinces and towns to the King of the French.* *What,* says he, *is not our case now proposed.* Who does not see on this occasion, that the *Lutherans* and *Calvinists* are by the main two nations as irreconcilable and incompatible as any? They may be so, and yet be so, that they ever will be so, to some end. Can any agreement by the

CONFIRMATION

conformity of sentiments, were manifest folly to believe. Nevertheless, they'll still continue to say, and one as much as the other, that the *Scripture* is clear, altho' conscious in their hearts that this alone can never terminate the least dispute; and all they can do, is to patch up agreements, and dissemble what they believe to be the truth clearly reveal'd by God, or however, to disguise it, as they have strove a thousand times to do, under equivocal expressions.

Let them therefore do what they think fit, and whatsoever God shall suffer them to do in respect to these vain projects of agreements; they will be eternally the mutual punishment and grievance of each other: they will bear eternal testimony one against another, how unhappily they usurpt the title of *Reformers*, and that the method they took for the correction of abuses, could tend to nothing but the subversion of *Christianity*.

But here is something still worse for them. Supposing they were arriv'd to this mutual toleration, we should then ask them, in what rank they would place *Luther* and *Calvin*, who make God in express terms, the Author of sin, and thereby stand convicted of a *Dogma* which their disciples now abhor? Who does not see that of two things one will happen, either that they must place this blasphemy, this *Manichæism*, this *impiety which subverts all Religion*, amongst the tenets that may be tolerated; or in fine, to the eternal ignominy of the *Reformation*, *Luther* must become the horror of the *Lutherans*, and *Calvin* of the *Calvinists*?

MIII.  
 Query put  
 to the *Lutherans*  
 and *Calvinists*.





## I N D E X

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168. l. 12. *dele* the. p. 169. l. 26. *or*, r. *for*.

Book XIV. Page 334. Line 37. *Minister*, read *Ministers*.  
p. 335. l. 20. *Minister*, r. *Ministers*.

Book XV. Page 363. Line 20. *couched*, read *be couched*. p.  
422. l. 23. *yet it is*, r. *that it is*. p. 427. l. 34. *his book*, r.  
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