

Vol. 3
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H. Puffendorf (Vol. 1)

H. Puffendorf

THE
HISTORY
OF
Papedom,
Containing the
RISE, PROGRESS,
AND
DECAY
Thereof, &c.

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To the Right Reverend Father in God
HENRY
Lord Bishop of
L O N D O N,
Dean of the Chappel
Royal, and one of the
Lords of His Majesties
most Honorable Privy
Council.

This **T R E A T I S E** is
most humbly Dedicated

By

John Chamberlayne.

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THE *POPEDOM* may be consider'd Two ways ; First, As it's Doctrine, which is singular, and different from that of other Christians, does fall in with the Holy Scripture, and does either impede or promote the means of our Salvation ; the consideration thereof, as 'tis taken in this Sence, we leave to the Divines. And Secondly, As the *Pope* does not only make a very considerable Figure amongst the rest of the *Italian* Princes, but does also pretend to the Sovereignty of Christendom, at least in all Spiritual Affairs ; and does in effect, Exercise such

a Supreme Authority over all the States of *Europe*, that have the same Sentiments in Religion, with him. 'Tis this second Consideration, which particularly and immediately belongs to the Politicians, since such a spiritual Sovereignty does not only bridle the Supreme Power of every State, but is altogether absurd, and inconsistent with the nature of such a Power. Hence is it, That Religion is so confounded and intangled with the politick Interests of *Rome*, that he who will understand the latter, must be perfectly inform'd of the Rise of that spiritual Monarchy, and by what means it is arriv'd to so prodigious a Growth, and what Intrigues are used to preserve its usurped Greatness. For thereby, will likewise appear, what relation it has with the Controversies so rise at present among the *Western* Christians; and how far one may attribute those disagreeing Sentiments of Religion, either to different Interpretations of the Scriptures, or to the prospect of Temporal Interests: After a strict Examination of which, we will leave it to the Judgment of Wise and Impartial Men

Men to determine, whether there can be any hopes of a Reconciliation.

Señ. 2. If we will ascend to the first causes of the thing, we shall find that before our Saviour's Birth, the whole World, excepting the *Jewish* Nation, was benighted in the darkest Ignorance of Divine Affairs: For what they did hold forth in general, concerning the Nature of their Gods, &c. consisted mostly in improbable and impudent Fables. 'Tis true, some of the most Learned among the Heathens, could Discourse more rationally of the Divinity, and State of the Soul; but it was so dubious, imperfect and ill-grounded a Description they made thereof, that they themselves scarce knew what they meant. The most of them, were well enough convinced, that they were oblig'd to the Exercise and Practice of Virtue, but they knew no farther Effects thereof, than that Advantage and Honour which they enjoy'd thereby in civil Conversation; for as for what the Poets held forth concerning the Rewards which the just, and the Torments which the unjust, were to expect after this

Life; those that would pass for the wisest Men, laugh'd at it, esteeming it nothing more than a witty Fable, and Bug-bears, invented to frighten the unthinking *Mobile*, into their *Devoirs*. The rest of the People, liv'd, without proposing to themselves any other ends, and in that which the Heathens named Religion, there was not to be found any Rules or Formularies, including the principal Matters of Divinity. The greatest part of their Divine Worship, consisted in Sacrifices, Ceremonies, and certain Holy-Days, which were more spent in Plays, and Debauches, than any inquiry into Divine things; so that from such a Heathenish Religion, one could neither receive any Edification in this Life, nor any hopes of a future Happiness in the next.

Seet. 3. In those times, the *Jews* were the only People to whom God vouchsafed to reveal the True Religion, and means of Eternal Salvation. But betwixt that and the Christian Religion, the difference is very considerable, not only in that the Redeemer of the World, and the Fountain of Salvation

tion was represented to the *Jews* by Types and Figures, whereas the Christian Religion comprehends the reality, and accomplishment thereof; but forasmuch as the Religion of the *Jews* was dress'd up with abundance of tedious Ceremonies, whereof the greatest part had respect to the Policy, and natural Inclinations of that People, which were great obstacles to the growth of their Religion, and render'd it morally impossible to become Universal, and serve for all the World. 'Tis true, the other Nations were not so totally excluded, that through Faith in Jesus Christ, they could not likewise be saved; to which end, there were among the *Jews*, some godly and zealous men, that made it their business to convert the Heathens, especially, those with whom they had to do; but it did not yet please the All-wise God to send out his Embassadors or Apostles, honour'd with especial and extraordinary Gifts over all the Earth, to turn all Nations to the *Jewish* Faith; and the pains that some particulars took in the Conversion of the Infidels, could not produce any

great effects, in relation to the whole World. And forasmuch as the *Jews* in those times, being the Select People of God, had the advantage above all others, and that the only Temple of the True God was amongst them, they valu'd themselves highly therefore, and despised all the rest of the World in comparison with themselves. Besides, They were oblig'd, upon the Account of their Ceremonies, to abstain from a too free and familiar Conversation with other Nations, which produc'd an implacable and reciprocal hate betwixt them; so that they were set against all the World, and all the World against them; and consequently, destroy'd all hopes of the propagation of their Religion: Again, the Heathens could not easily be perswaded, that when they would Solemnly pay their Adorations to God Almighty, they must make a long Journey to *Jerusalem*, as if they themselves could not build a Temple in their own Country, which should enjoy the same privilege, as that of the *Jews*. To which prejudice we may add, that those who were converted to the *Jewish* Religion, were not so much

much esteem'd as the Natives of the Country, so that a very few could resolve for Religion's sake, to expose themselves to that contempt, which is usually the fate of strangers to endure.

sect. 4. But the Christian Religion has not only a much purer and clearer Light, and other Advantages above the *Jewish*, which we leave to be considered by the Divines; but it is also free'd from those freightning Circumstances, which render'd the *Jewish* Religion so particular, and it has all the Qualities that are requisite to the composition of an Universal Religion, upon which Account, all men are oblig'd to embrace the same, which ought especially to be observed by one that will enquire into the Nature and Genius of the Christian Religion; for in this, God has not set apart any particular Land or Country, where he will more peculiarly be Ador'd, nor endu'd any with a privileg'd Holiness above the rest; so that, the inconvenience and great distance of God's Temple, can now no longer be a pretext to this or that People; for in all Nations, the offering of an humble and contrite

heart, is equally agreeable to the common Saviour of the whole World; nor is there any one Temple, where God is more present, or our Prayers sooner accepted, than in another. No Nation professing the Christian Religion has such Advantages above the rest, whereupon to value its self, and undervalue its Neighbour. There is no distinction of Jew or Greek, Bondman, or Free, but we are all in Jesus Christ; there is no particular Race or Family selected by God for the performing Divine Service, as among the *Jews*; but all other abilities concurring, one has as much right thereto, as another. There is nothing in the Christian Religion that hinders us from maintaining a good Union and Correspondence with all men, or to render one another those mutual good Offices which the Law of Nature requires from us. The Christian Religion simply consider'd, and in its natural Purity, dispoil'd of all Worldly views and interests, has not the least jarring or discord with the Laws and Civil Society, in as much as they agree with the Dictates of right

right Reason, but rather contributes much to the cementing and corroborating of the same, tho' that is not its principal end or design. There is nothing that does clash with the ends of Civil Government, or that should hinder us from living honourably, quietly and securely under the Protection of our Rulers; so that every Christian may yield an exact and perfect obedience to every command of the Secular Power, as long as such commands do not recede from the Law of Nature, right Reason, and the Necessities of the State; as likewise, he may fill every charge and employ, that is necessary in a well govern'd Common-wealth: On the contrary, the Christian Religion is most fit thereto, for it does require in us, a strict observation of all the Precepts of the Law of Nature, and especially, those the breach whereof is not obnoxious to the punishment of any Civil Laws, and does recommend to every one, the performance of his charge, as far as it concurs with the Laws of Nature and Honour, with the greatest Zeal and Fidelity

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delity imaginable; so that there is no sort of Philosophy in the World, nor any other Religion whatsoever, that can compare with the Christian in those points; as may be seen at first sight, by any one that will take the pains to make a parallel of them together; so that, it is not only the obligation of every particular man, in as much as he is one day to give an account to God for his Soul, to embrace the Christian Religion; but all those whom God has entrusted with the Supreme Power, are particularly bound, for reasons before mentioned, to introduce and maintain it in their States, and that by an obligation, which does necessarily follow the exercise of their Office. Now tho' these effects are not every where equally visible among Christians, and that there are found some, who lead as irregular and disorderly lives, as the worst of Turks and Infidels; the blame is not to be laid upon the Christian Religion, but is to be imputed to the malice and perverseness of mankind, who only hide their impiety under that Sacred Veil, and do little trouble them-

themselves to put in practice the most excellent Lessons, which the best of Religions does continually suggest to 'em.

Seet. 5. But as all these things cannot be doubted of by the more Learned sort of Men, so there occurs here a very considerable question, namely, Whether the Christian Religion does indispensibly require, that the external Direction of it, should depend of any other than those who have the Supreme Power and Administration of Affairs in every State? Or, (which is the same in effect) Whether the external Government thereof, should reside conjointly in the Priests and Clergy, or in any one of them, without any dependance on the Supreme Secular Powers? Or else, Whether there must be but one Sovereign Director of the Christian Religion, whom all other Christian States shall blindly obey? All which Quæries, as some think, do finally terminate in this: Whether each State ought to regulate its self according to its own Interest and Advantage? Or, Whether all other States ought to make themselves Slaves to one, and seek to render it great and flourishing by their own

own Loss and Destruction?

By the external Government, or Direction of the Christian Religion, we understand such a Power which exerts it self in the choice it makes of certain Persons to be employ'd in the publick exercise of Divine Service, reserving to its self the Jurisdiction, and free Liberty of enquiring into the Carriage and Demeanour of those Persons: The Administration and Disposal of all such Goods as shall be Consecrated to Religion and Pious Uses; by Enacting such Laws as shall be thought necessary for the Support and Maintaining of Religion, in deciding all Differences and Disputes that upon any occasion may arise among the Clergy, and other things of the like nature.

And we distinguish this external Direction from the Minister of the Church, which consists in Teaching, Preaching and Administring the Holy Sacraments, which beyond all dispute does alone belong to the Clergy; but this question is to be understood, *de Ecclesia jam plantata, & constituta, non de adhuc constituenda & plantanda*, of the

the Church which is already Established, and not of that which is yet to be founded. For the Christian Doctrine, originally proceeding from the Divine Revelation, and Inspiration of the Holy Ghost, no Human Power can be admitted to the Direction thereof, before that it be manifested and laid open by those that are immediately Authoriz'd by God for that purpose. So likewise, when our Saviour after his Resurrection, sent out his Disciples as his Apostles and Embassadors over all the World, to promulge, and introduce the Doctrine of the Holy Gospel, they did not receive this Commission and Plenipotential right of Preaching here and there from the Supreme Magistrate, but from God alone; to which therefore the King was as much oblig'd to submit, as the meanest of his Subjects, they being the immediate Messengers of God, and to receive their Doctrine with all humility and obedience: Besides, it would be very unreasonable and ridiculous to aspire to the Direction of Affairs, whereof they had not the least Cognizance.

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From whence it does also necessarily follow, that this question is to be understood of those Supreme Powers, which themselves do profess the Christian Religion, and not of Infidels or Hereticks for to commit the Care and Direction of our Religion to such, were to set the Wolf to keep the Sheep.

sect. 6. This question may be consider'd three several ways. 1. Whether such a Necessity does arise from the Nature of each Religion in general? Or, 2. Whether it be a peculiar Effect of the Christian Religion? And Lastly, Whether it is grounded on any positive Command and Order of God? That such should proceed from the common and universal Nature of every Religion we can in no wise perceive. Nor can a sensible man be easily brought to believe, That to serve God rightly, he must of necessity, make a Schism in the State, and introduce two jarring Powers independant of each other: Such a Division or Composition of the Sovereign Power in the same Republick, is the ready means of

of fomenting an unquenchable Fire of Distrusts, Fears, and internal Jealousies; whereas on the contrary, there is no absurdity or contradiction in serving God, and committing the external Direction of Divine Service to the Sovereign Powers, with this restriction that the Sovereign will not undertake to impose any False or Heretical Opinions on us.

In like manner, as every one is naturally oblig'd to serve God, so he likewise has the Power of Instituting such external Signs of his Adoration, as he is perswaded to be most pleasing and agreeable to God. But so soon as Mankind set themselves to the forming and composing of civil Societies, they abandon'd all their right and power to those to whom belong the direction and management of the whole Society.

The ancient *Patres-Familias* or Fathers of the Family, before the construction of any Republick, have this right solely seated in themselves, and which from them was wont to descend to the first born of the Family, as *Hæreditas Eximia*, the more Excellent

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lent and Eminent Part of their Inheritance: But so soon as men with one common accord, united themselves into civil Societies and Common-weals, this Power was transferr'd from the Head of each Family, to the Head of the Republick; and this was done upon very weighty reasons, for if it had been left to every mans fancy and pleasure, what sort of Ceremonies he would observe in the external Adoration of God, the strange and contrary varieties of serving God, would have produc'd nothing but Hate, Contempt, and irreconcilable Dissentions amongst the Subjects of the same State. And altho' among Gods People, the *Jews*, the publick Administration of Divine Service, was become hereditary, and tied to one certain Family; yet the Sovereign inspection and care of the Priests, did only belong to them who had the Sovereign Authority in the Civil Government. The same thing has likewise been observ'd by almost all the other Nations.

Sect. 7. Nor can we perceive, that such a Direction must necessarily belong

long to any other than the Sovereign of each State, or the necessity thereof be prov'd from any Identity or particular quality of the Christian Religion as far as it does comprehend in its self something more than is suggested to us by the Light of Nature, concerning the Divine Worship: Whilest we always take it for granted, That the Sovereign, by Virtue of that external Direction, neither can, nor will introduce any thing contrary to God's Holy Word, nor hinder the Ministers from the performance of their Office, according to the Divine Precepts.

Besides, There can no reason be given, why the Supreme Powers should be incapable of ever attaining those Qualifications which are requir'd to this external Care and Direction of the Church; or at least, that they should not be able to commit this Direction to some of their Subjects, that are beyond exception qualifi'd for such an employ: After the same manner as other parts of the Sovereignty are often Administred by the Subjects. So no body presumes to deprive the

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Sovereign of his Legislative Faculty, or pretends a better Right, tho' 'tis certain, that every Doctor and Professor of Law, ought to be infinitely better vers'd therein, than any King can be; who, as in all other Important Affairs, ought also herein, to make use of their Counsel, and profit himself of the Fruits of their long Study and Experience. For a Brave and Wise King, far from making it his Interest, that his Subjects should acquit themselves ill of those Offices he has entrusted 'em with, may rather (conformably to his Duty) extract incredible Advantages from the good and faithful management of what he has committed to them. For the more Diligent and Zealous he is in the Maintenance and Support of the Christian Religion, the more capable his Subjects are of serving him, and the more assur'd is he of God's Help and Assistance. Besides, *ceteris paribus*, 'tis impossible to give any Reason, why God Almighty should not grant his Grace and Assistance to an Orthodox Christian King, as well as to any other, in the good and laudable Administration

stration of such a Direction. Lastly, Whilest the Christian Religion in no other point does encroach upon the Civil Laws and Ordinances, so far as they fall in with the Law of Nature, we ought not to believe, that it breaks its bounds in this, unless we had a formal and positive assurance thereof, from God himself. Those therefore that will persist in the Defence of such an Absurdity, are oblig'd to demonstrate, where the Holy Scripture in express Terms, deprives the Supreme Civil Magistrate of this Direction, to bestow it on another independent, and not acknowledging any Earthly Superiour. In the mean while, we will proceed to examine, how, and by what steps, such a Spiritual Sovereignty, has attain'd to so monstrous a Degree in the *Western Churches*.

Sect. 8. When the Apostles, after our Saviour's Ascension, had begun to Preach the Holy Gospel to all People, being appointed thereto, by their Master's immediate Commands; they did, in a short time, gain an incredible number of Profelytes, as well amongst

mongst the Jews as Gentiles, and especially of the common People, then oppress'd with a miserable Ignorance, and leading a wretched and beastly Life. They therefore embraced this Doctrine with a great deal of Joy, wherein they found unspeakable Comforts against the inconveniences, and desperate Sorrows of this temporary Life.

Besides, The Apostles being themselves of low Birth, and as to outward appearance, making a very inconsiderable figure, found an easier Access, and could better insinuate their Opinions into the minds of their equals. Whereas the great Men, and the most Learn'd, slighted this upstart Religion in the beginning, nor thought it worth their while to make any exact inquiry into the Mysteries thereof.

If men may presume to examine the Reasons of the Divine Wisdom, and why it was pleas'd to make use of such means in the first Introduction of the Christian Religion; the most probable seems to be, that God forbore to make use of Power, or the
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Authority of the Supreme Magistrate, lest the Purity of the Gospel might be mistaken for a Politick Device, or a Philosophical Speculation. Whereas if a man compares the inconsiderable beginning with the wonderful Progress, he will easily observe, that there is something more than Humane in it; especially, considering that the most Learned among the Heathens, with all their Subtilties, with all their Helps of Art and Nature, could but slightly and superficially penetrate into the Reason and Causes of Divine Things; and that the Great *Socrates* amongst the rest, tho' he clearly discover'd the blind Superstition and Ignorance of his Age, yet had not Power enough to introduce a better; but as a Reward for his good Design, suffer'd Death as an Heretick and Innovator of the Establish'd Religion: Whereby we are given to understand, That the Wisdom of the World is but Folly with God, who could perfect a work, by the means of poor ignorant *Fishermen*, which all the united Wits of the greatest Philosophers, were not able to set on foot.

Besides, The Apostles manner of acting, seem'd very odd to the more rational sort of People; they thought it strange to hear a Crucified Jesus, the greatest Subject of their Sermons; and that they should name him the Son of God, and Saviour of the World, who was born among a People derided and despised as the scum of the Earth, and the abject of all Nations; nor was this Jesus in any great Repute in the World, nor had he signaliz'd himself by any Famous Heroical Actions; or by a great many Years Preaching and Teaching, spread his Name abroad among the People; but on the contrary, was cut off in the Flower of his Age, by a most scandalous and shameful Death.

Wherefore, the *Jesuits* in their endeavours of planting the Gospel amongst the cunning *Chineses*, do not begin it from the Passions of Christ, but do first Reason and Discourse upon Natural Religion, and then after a long round about, fall upon the Articles of the Christian Faith, which whether they can by these devices and politick Methods, better insinuate into those

those unbelievers, than the Apostles, I shall not now examine. One may also add, That it seem'd good to God, to deliver first the most simple, and the meanest of the People out of that Heathenish Blindness, since they were maintain'd and kept under in a continual Superstition by the great ones, who, tho' they easily perceiv'd the cheat and vanity of Paganism, yet, with-held by their Interest and Worldly Considerations, did not think it worth while to seek after a better. Thus God by his withdrawing the *Mobile* from their Heathenish manner of serving him loosened the very Foundations of this Grand Machine, and thereby destroy'd the Form and Superstructure thereof. For the Ignorance and Credulity of the common People was the great Basis by which Paganism was alone sustained.

Sept. 9. After that, the Christian Religion was communicated first to the common People, as we have before shew'd; the greatest Opposition it met withal, was from the *Roman* Emperors, for as in their Dominions,

it had taken the deepest Root, and made the greatest Progress, so was it there most cruelly Persecuted and Oppressed; to which did not a little Contribute their Ignorance of this New Religion, what its Principles, and what its Design was; to which Cause we may add the great Number of Profelytes daily gain'd by the Publishers of the Gospel, who all of 'em, openly contemn'd the Heathenish Rites and Ceremonies. Besides, The Emperors thought it much below 'em, and a derogation from their Dignities, to enter into a more particular examination of this Doctrine. The first Christians also, being for the most part, very-unlearn'd, were not able to reduce their Religion into any Method or Form, wherein to present it to those that were in Authority, which was the occasion that the most malicious Lyes and Calumnies of their Enemies were taken up for great Truths, even, by those that cast an indifferent Eye on that Religion. They were accus'd of practising all sorts of Debauchery and Immodesty, in their secret Nocturnal Assemblies;

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may, they did not stick to traduce them of holding private Cabals and Conspiracies against the State. There were a great many, that had an Aversion for all Innovations, whose Argument was, That since the *Roman* Common-wealth had so bravely subsisted with its Old Religion for so many Hundred Years, Why could it not make the same shift still? And 'twas particularly, against all Rules of Policy, to suffer the *Mobile*, to begin so great a Revolution, as if they were wiser than their Lords and Rulers: And that which lookt most suspicious, was, That the Christians had constituted among themselves, a sort of Ecclesiastical Government, which they consider'd as a Schism or Faction; as if the Christians had design'd to erect a New Common-wealth, upon the ruins of the Old one, and by dividing the Forces of the Empire, at last, make themselves Masters of the whole. Lastly, Whilest the Heathen Temples began to be less frequented, proportionably as the number of the Christians increased, and that in the mean time, the Grandeur of the

Roman Empire, was sensibly decay'd, and weaken'd by the cruel shocks it had receiv'd from the *Germans*, *Parthians*, &c. a great many of the People possess'd with Bigottry and Superstition, could attribute it to nothing else, but the contempt and neglect of their Gods, by whose favourable Assistance, *Rome* had seen its self Mistress of the World. They fell therefore upon the Christians, as wicked Atheistical Men, and sworn Enemies to all Religions; and because they refus'd to obey the Emperors Commands concerning the Adoration of Images, and underwent all the Torments inflicted on them, and Death it self, with an amazing Tranquillity and Sedateness of mind; they interpreted that, as a malicious stubbornness, and hardness of heart, and therefore raged more Tyrannically against them, endeavouring by all sorts of Cruelties to maintain their Authority over these wretched People: But what Reasons soever can be alledg'd in Justification of those bloody Persecutions exercis'd against the Christians by several *Roman* Emperors,

perors, none can be sufficient to excuse them from the Title of unrighteous Tyrants, and shameful Abusers of that High Power, which God Almighty has entrusted them with. For their Subjects had embraced this Religion by the express Commands of God, which can neither be withstood or suspended by the Orders of any Earthly Sovereign, since the Sovereigns as well as their Subjects, are oblig'd to embrace this Religion; the omission whereof, is an high Sin against the Divine Majesty. Besides, They could not excuse themselves with the pretext of Ignorance; for since it was a New Religion, they were oblig'd with greater Care and Exactness to inform themselves of the Nature thereof, and not so blindly to sentence poor innocent People, for not obeying those commands which were not in the least Obligatory. For I ought not to condemn any one to Death, before I am fully inform'd of the Crimes, whereof he stands accused.

Seet. 10. But since the Christian Religion did not owe its beginning to the Consent and Authority of the Sovereigns the Professors thereof, found

found themselves oblig'd on their own Heads, to establish their Religion and its external Administration after the best manner they could; as it usually happens in all Societies, that are founded in any State without the knowledge or permission of the Civil Magistrate, where the Members of the same are necessitated to find out all the means that can best conduce to the advantage of their fellowship, by chusing such Officers, and making such Laws as are requisite to attain the ends they propose themselves. 'Tis true, according to the Rules of the best Policy, founded upon the Law of Nature, the Administration and External Direction of Divine Worship, (as we had often repeated before) does belong to the Sovereign; but since he then neglected to perform that Function, the Primitive Christians were forc'd to constitute Church-Ministers, and to maintain them by the Alms of charitable People. And when any Difference or Controversy arose amongst them, which could not be determined by one Assembly alone, they imparted it to another Assembly, with which they

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kept Correspondence, or else it was decided in a Convocation of the Neighbouring Ministers. Now altho' it be against the Rules of Policy of all States, to permit the erecting of Fellowships (especially such as consist of any considerable Number of Persons) to Subjects and Particulars; yet it does not follow from thence, that the Assemblies of the ancient Christians and their Synods, were to be Interpreted seditious and unlawful Conventicles, since they had no other prospect, than the free Exercise of that Religion which God had imparted to 'em, and against which, no humane Constitutions were of any Efficacy. For if the Sovereign, does neglect his Duty and Care of his own Salvation, it is not necessary that his Subjects should imitate him, and reject the great Benefit that Heaven does offer to 'em; because, it is not accepted by their Sovereign, nor can his Authority extend so far as to oblige them thereto. And as each particular may take up Arms, and defend himself, when the Sovereign either cannot, or will not afford him his Assistance and Protection; so

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if he will not take care for my Soul, I am so much the more oblig'd to watch over it my self, as the Soul is of greater Consequence and Value than the Body; and that another is less prejudiced by my Religion, than by a violent, tho' self-Defence; since no man by submitting himself to any Civil Government, does renounce the Care of his Body and Soul. For otherwise, if it had pleas'd God to have begun the propagation of his Religion from the Conversion of Kings and Emperors; without doubt, they would have seconded by their Edicts the Preaching of the Apostles, abolish'd the Temples of their Heathenish Gods, prohibited the Exercise of Paganism; and by the Apostles Advice, they would have assum'd and manag'd the external Direction of Religious Affairs, and forever afterward, have reserv'd it in their own hands; as we find it put in practice in some Countries where the Christian Religion was first embraced by the Princes thereof.

SECT. II. In the mean while, the external Government and Disposition of Holy Things, by the negligence
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of the Civil Magistrate, being devolv'd upon the Primitive Christians, was found too late, to be of a very dangerous Consequence; for from hence, some have pretended to infer, that the Election of fit Ministers, and the Management of Church-Affairs, does naturally and originally belong to the common People, as they are understood in opposition to their Sovereign or Rulers. 'Tis true, one ought not to force upon the vulgar, a Minister whom they extremely dislike, especially, if they have any probable reason of their aversion against him; for such a man, with all the Preaching in the World, can never Edify his unwilling Auditors; yet it does not follow from hence, that the *Mob* have any original right thereto, because they once enjoy'd it by provision, whilst the Sovereign omitted the performance of his Duty and Function herein: For otherwise, it would have been as little in their Power, to call and appoint Ministers in their Churches, as it ever was to dispose of Civil Offices and Employs in the State. Therefore, if it happens, that in this
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Country or another, the common People have any Right or Privilege therein, 'tis to be understood, that they enjoy it by the permission and connivence of their Sovereign, whom we presuppose to be an Orthodox Christian. There are some also, who would from hence conclude, That the external Government of the Church, must necessarily be consider'd as something separate and distinct from the Supreme Civil Government, and therefore ought to be Soveraignly Administred by the united Body of the Clergy, or by some one chose from amongst them; and that so in every Christian State, there must needs be two Different and Independent Bodies, of which, one was be named, the *Body Politick*, and t'other the *Body Ecclesiastick*, and both Soveraign and Independent of each other. But this is absolutely false, and it is most certain, that that Power and Authority, which was provisionally usurp'd by the People, when that negligence of the Prince, by which it was forfeited, ceases, does justly devolve again upon the lawful Sovereign; nor does it follow,

follow that the Power which the Apostles had in the establishing the Church, can be challeng'd by the Ministers of the Church now established; for the Apostolary Function was something particular, and different from the ordinary Church-Ministry, as this is from the external Direction of the Church, and therefore as one that is chosen for a Minister, is not strait an Apostle; so neither does a King in assuming the Government and Protection of the Church, immediately become a Priest thereof.

Now, tho' the Christian Religion is originally Divine, and therefore not to be comprehended by weak, Humane Intellects; yet that does not hinder the King, or whosoever is Supreme, from the Direction and Administration thereof, provided, that he make use of the Counsel and Assistance of those men who are best vers'd in such Affairs. From what has been now said, we may likewise draw this conclusion, that we are not oblig'd precisely to follow the Praxis of the Primitive Churches,

in relation to the external Direction of the Church, or to observe it as a general Rule for Church-Government in those States where the Sovereign is an Orthodox Christian. For that Praxis is wholly founded on the Circumstances of those times, which can have no place in those States where both the Supreme Magistrates and the Common People, are united in one Faith; Why therefore should we make a Schism in the State, when there is none in the Religion?

Seet. 12. Now, tho' by the conversion of *Constantine* the Great, to the Christian Religion, the Church assum'd a New Form; for as much as the Sovereign was then capable of Administring the Function of external Governour of the Church, yet this could not be done so easily or commodiously, as if the Sovereign had always from the beginning been Head of the Christian Church, but there remain'd so many Relicks of the preceding Provisional-Government, that they afterwards occasion'd innumerable errors and abuses in the *western* or *Latin* Churches. Besides, the People

ple could not be brought to consent, that the Emperours, whom they as then, look'd upon to be meer Novices in Matters of Religion, should immediately acquire the Supreme Direction of Ecclesiastick Affairs, in prejudice of the Bishops and Clergy, who could not see themselves, without a great deal of unwillingness and regret, dispoil'd of so considerable an Authority: Whereas the Emperours on the contrary (their Subjects being mostly Christians) were forced to depend on their Priests, and caress them continually, if they desir'd to have their Throne settled, and themselves secure from falling. To which Reason we may add, That the first Christian Emperours having as yet in their Service a great many Heathenish Officers, it was not reasonable that the Government of the Church, and the Affairs thereof should be taken into consideration, or deliberated of, in the Imperial Councils, where Pagans were always present. From thence it came, that in the Institution of Bishops and other Ecclesiasticks, the customs and manners introduced

in the times of the Heathen Emperours were generally observ'd, and that not only the decision of Controversies in Matters of Faith, but also all Laws serving to the external Direction and Government of the Church; as also all other Differences arising amongst the Chiefest of the Clergy were deliberated of in Synods and General Assemblies, where the Prelates pretended that they alone had right to Preside and give their Suffrages. Whereas the right of calling Synods or other Assemblies together, was the Prerogative of Sovereigns alone, and in all other times did indisputably belong to them; besides that, that it was but reasonable that they should preside and have the Direction of such Assemblies, let the matter be what it would that was there Treated of, where their Consent was absolutely necessary to the ratification and passing into a Law of what was there determined. 'Tis true, in those Conventions, neither the Sovereign, nor the whole Body of the Clergy have any Power or Right to form new Articles of our Belief, or
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to interpret the Scriptures after their own Fancy; but since the who'e Duty of a Christian, what he ought to do, and what he ought to believe, is contain'd in the Holy Bible, which God has equally given to all men, and not as the Oracles of the *Sybils*, committed only to the Care of the Priests, and that all other men, as well as the Ecclesiasticks, can understand as much thereof, as is necessary for Salvation; it does not therefore in the least, seem unreasonable, that the Sovereign should preside in all such Conventions where they debate and dispute about the apparent Contradictions and different Interpretations of the Holy Scriptures, where the Presence and Authority of the Prince, might serve to moderate those Heats and Passions which usually arise from disagreeing Opinions in things of that nature, where he might hinder all Calumnies and Reflections upon Persons, spiteful and malicious Interpretation of Words, and finally awe them from pronouncing *Anathema's* without a very just reason against innocent and well meaning Persons.

But whilst the first Christian Emperors neglected this their right, or could not conveniently maintain it, from hence it came, that things were very confusedly deliberated of, and determined by Councils; and that afterwards the Popes usurping a Power above all the other *Western* Bishops; and Councils themselves pretended a right of determining in all Matters of Faith, and of introducing Canons or Ecclesiastical Laws wherein their own Profit and Advantage was their chiefest prospect, and have at last assum'd the Supreme Jurisdiction in all Spiritual Matters, and thereby have withdrawn themselves from that obedience which they ow'd to their lawful Sovereigns the *Roman* Emperors.

Sect. 13. Besides, It was the Custom in the ancient Churches, that the Primitive Christians, according to the Advice of *St. Paul*, would very rarely plead their causes before the Gentile Tribunals; but when any Controversy arose amongst them, they referr'd it to the decision of the Bishop, lest the Heathens should be scandaliz'd thereat,

thereat, and take occasion to revile the Name of Christ. Besides, it would have a very ill grace to see them so greedily plead for temporal things which they pretended so much to slight and contemn. Now this in it self, and at that time was a very laudable and useful design; but at last, whilst the Christian Emperors, far from abolishing this Custom, confirm'd it more and more, and the Tribunals were fill'd with Christian Judges, the Bishops usurp'd a formal Jurisdiction, which did not alone encroach upon the rights of the Civil Magistrates, but did also distract the Bishops themselves from the exercise of that Charge, which did peculiarly belong to them.

'Twas likewise the Custom of the Primitive Christians, when in their Marriages any scruple arose concerning the Proximity or nearness of Blood, to refer themselves to the Priest, and acquiesce in his Sentiments, who also in all quarrels between Man and Wife, interpos'd his Authority, to which we may add his Assisting always in the Celebration of Marriages, with his Prayers and Blessings; from all which

Customs (tho' as we said before, naturally innocent and good in themselves) very pernicious Errors and Abuses have been deriv'd, since the Pope has from hence taken occasion to draw all Affairs of Matrimony, which occur, *circa statum hominum, Divortia, nullitates Matrimoniorum, Successiones, Hæreditates*, and all others of the like Importance into his *Forum* or Tribunal, and to colour his abuses the better, he has made a New Sacrament of Matrimony.

The Primitive Christians by the Innocence and Holiness of their Lives, endeavour'd to stir up a desire in the Heathens of embracing so laudable a Religion, and therefore they very severely punished those Calumnies and Slanders which the Civil Laws of the Gentiles did not reach; so that in their Churches when any, by a notorious ill Life, had given Scandal and a bad Example to the Brethren, there was some publick Ecclesiastical Penance or other enjoin'd him, which never exceeded a temporal or total Exclusion from the Congregation; which Custom, could not but be very profitable in the present Christian

Christian States, provided that the Direction thereof resided wholly in the Sovereign's hands, whose Duty it would be to prevent that such Ecclesiastical Censures be not the effects of malice, private passions, and self-interests; especially when such Censures operate so effectually *in foro & vita civili*, as in the Eighth Century, when no man would converse with an excommunicated Person. Now the Sovereign Exercise of such a Power, can reasonably belong to none but the Supreme Magistrate in every State, without making a division in the Government. But how the Popes in following times have abus'd, and how far they have extended these Censures, is plainly enough laid open by all Historians; when they neither spar'd Emperors, Kings or Common-wealths that refus'd to Dance after their Pipes, but in excommunicating them, they forbid them to assist at Divine Service, dispens'd their Subjects of their due Allegiance, gave away their Kingdoms to others, and finally, oblig'd them to consent to the most disadvantageous and unreasonable things in the World.

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In the mean while, these Abuses have not spread themselves so wide in the *Eastern* Churches, whilst the Emperours of *Constantinople* did at least keep up their Authority so far, that the Clergy there durst never incroach upon it, nor had any of the *Eastern* Bishops that opportunity of lifting himself above his Colleagues, and assuming the Title of Head of the Church; for the Bishop of *Constantinople* himself had only the first place, and privilege of preceding all those that were not of his Diocess, but had no Jurisdiction over them.

Sect. 14. But in the *western* Churches, the different circumstances of things altered quite the Scene, whilst the Bishops of *Rome* had projected and begun to exercise a peculiar sort of Government and Supremacy, and which at the last they have brought to its highest point and perfection: A Sovereignty that in all the World cannot find its parallel, being built upon quite different Foundations, and maintained by ways extreamly disagreeing from the policy of all other States: Therefore after having made
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an exact enquiry into its rise and constitution, we will lay open its Intrigues, and describe the influences it has had, the Power it has usurp'd and maintain'd for so many Ages in all the Affairs of *Europe*, and with what zeal and fierceness this upstart Sovereignty has been attacked by some, and defended by others; to which, we will add the reasons of that cruel blow was given to it in the last Age, and how it has recover'd its almost lost credit in this Age, and is like to keep up it self in a very good posture.

From which, the Wise may judge what hopes there remain of any accommodation or union of the Protestants with the Papists. One of the Causes (tho' something remote) which has not a little contributed to the monstrous growth of a Power, so pernicious to all the other Sovereigns of *Europe*, was the Barbarity and Ignorance of Sciences, after the decay of the *Western* Empire; for counterfeit Wares are best sold and put off by dim, weak Lights, and an ignorant man is easier impos'd on with bagatelles and improbabilities,
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than one that has a better insight into the nature of things, and a freer exercise of his Reason. This ignorance accompanied afterwards with so insupportable a Pedantry (whereas the preceding Age was more Learned) was promoted by different Causes: One of the Chiefest whereof, was the Invasion of a no less Warlike, than ignorant People, in the *Western* Provinces of the *Roman* Empire, which for some Ages during an unsetled and inconstant Government, felt nothing but cruel Wars, terrible Disorders, spoiling, ravaging and laying waste of whole Countries; and in a Word, all the miseries that are the necessary consequences of a Barbarous Government. Whereas the *Muses* and *Liberal Sciences* are the Daughters of Peace and Prosperity; but in the Hurly-burly and Tumults of War, Books are a dead Ware, and shall lie long enough on the hands of those that have 'em; Schools and Academies are then like Wildernesses, either quite empty, or haunted by none but wild Beasts; and the Gentlemen of the long Robe, will rather chuse
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to shoulder a Musquet, than trudge to *Westminster-Hall*, with a green Bag under their Arms, so that in such times, the poor Professors, School-Masters, &c. have nothing to do but shut up their Shops, pack up their Goods and begon, especially when the Victorious Enemy has no knowledge of Letters, and as little esteem or kindness for them.

There are some that will maintain, that the Church-men themselves did not a little Contribute to these dark times of Ignorance, for because the Philosophers had given them no small trouble under the Pagan Emperors, and that still under the Christian Emperors, there were found who oppos'd their Doctrine; the Clergy upon that account, conceiv'd an irreconcilable hatred and aversion against the Philosophers and against their Opinions, and inspir'd the same Sentiments into all their Auditors, and in all places where they had any Authority or Direction of the Schools, they forbade the use of all the Heathen Authors, under pretence, that the youth might not be Debauched and Corrupted

rupted with the Errours of the Gentiles, and that it was a sin for them to Study in Books fill'd with the Fables and Names of the Heathen Gods, which no good Christian ought so much as to mention. 'Twas a very common Story too, which they spread abroad, that St. *Jerom* was whipt with Rods in a Dream by the Devil, because he read *Cicero* with too great an Application. And about the Year Four Hundred, the Council of *Carthage* strictly prohibited the Bishops the reading of any Heathen Book; and as in those miserable times, few applied themselves to the Study of Letters, except those that were destin'd to Divinity, so that the few relicks of Learning were wholly engrossed by the Clergy, the Schools already ruin'd, were only us'd to attain the ends which they propos'd to themselves, that is, the propagation of Ignorance; and the Students were very well satisfi'd with the remission and neglect of their usual Studies, as being mightily affraid of becoming too Learned. That such a Barbarity did not a little contribute
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to the introduction of Popery, we may learn from hence, that it would have been impossible in any but such ignorant times to have made the *Epistola Decretales* (ascrib'd to the first Popes) pass for lawful, wherein they made the World believe, that it was always the right of the Bishop of *Rome* to give Laws, at least in Spiritual Matters, to all that bare the Name of Christians: But afterwards, when the Light of Knowledge began to glimmer a little in *Europe*, and that it was impossible any longer to contain the *European* Nations, now their Eyes were open'd, in a slavery, a gross and blind Ignorance had given birth to; the Pope who had usurp'd the Care and Inspection of the Schools and Nurseries of Learning, introduced therein the most miserable Pedantry that ever could be imagined; and which even to this day, his Creatures teach and maintain with a great deal of zeal in all their Schools. But that which does chiefly seem to have powerfully contributed to this Greatness and Dominion of the Popes, was the Ignorance

rance of the true Fundamental Politicks, wherein is contain'd the Cause, Nature, and Perfection of the Right and Might of Sovereigns, and wherein amongst other things is demonstrated that to the perfection of any State it is absolutely necessary that the Supreme Authority, be neither lessened nor divided: And particularly, we find that even the *Greek* and *Latin* Politicians, did teach very pernicious Lessons concerning the mixture and division of the Sovereign Power, inspiring the common People with Sentiments of Love and Kindness for a Democratical or Aristocratical State, but an inveterate hatred against Monarchy, and that they were perswaded, that the more they could bind their Princes Hands, the more happy would be the condition of the Republick. Now, these dangerous Maxims were not a little confirm'd by the violent and tyrannical Government of the Emperors, who were mortally hated by the most part of their Subjects: so that it is no wonder, that this Science was quite overwhelm'd and lost in an universal Ignorance, especially,

ally whilst the Clergy were of an Opinion that it was quite contrary to their Profession: From hence it came, that upon the first laying the Foundations of a Spiritual Sovereignty, the World so little consider'd or understood the consequences of such a Work, and how prejudicial it was like to be to the Supreme Secular Power, which if they had done, they would undoubtedly have opposed themselves to its first growth, and have quash'd an Egg that should produce so terrible a Scorpion.

And we see even at this Day, That in all Schools where Popish Priests bear sway, they do intirely stifle the Science of the Politicks, or at least they do so turn and wrest the principles thereof, that it does not only not choak the Papal Authority, but does rather serve to establish and confirm it.

Sec. 15. The reasons that induced the pretended Sovereign of the Church to make *Rome* the Seat of his Government, were chiefly the Authority of that City, which as it had been before the *Metropolis* of
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the *Roman* Empire, so was it afterwards the Residence of the first Christian Emperors; for as for what the Papists tell of *St. Peter's* Chair, that's a pure Fiction, and Story invented by them, to colour the usurpations of the Bishop of *Rome*, which is manifest enough from hence, that the Bishop of *Constantinople* (when that City became the Capital of the new *Eastern* Empire) enjoy'd the second place after the Bishop of *Rome*; and that after the decay of the *western* Empire, the Priority of the See of *Rome* has often been disputed by the succeeding Bishops of *Constantinople*. After that the Persecutions of the Heathen Emperors were quite ceased, and that the Christian Religion began to breath Liberty, and the Free Exercise of their Religion was confirm'd by the Statutes and Ordinances of the Empire; the Clergy endeavour'd insensibly to introduce an Hierarchy or Church-Government into the Republick, under the pretext of establishing the Affairs of the Church, and setting them in good order; to which end, the Bishops began

gan to Lord it over the ordinary Priests, and to observe even a kind of Subordination amongst themselves, and to such as were Bishops of the Capital Cities in each Province, they appointed the Care and Inspection over the rest of the same Province, and nam'd them *Metropolitans*, who about Eight Ages afterward, took upon themselves the Name and Title of Arch-Bishops; amongst these there were four that had the preheminance above all the rest; namely, the Bishop of *Rome*, *Constantinople*, *Antioch*, and *Alexandria*, those being the most considerable Cities of the *Roman* Empire, to which we may add, *Jerusalem* Famous for its ancient Holiness. And altho' the Emperor *Phocas*, out of the hatred he bore to the Bishop of *Constantinople* (who had refus'd to approve of the Murder of the Emperor *Maurice*) had given the preheminance to *Boniface* the Third, Bishop of *Rome*, who thereupon took the Name of Oecumenical or Universal Bishop; yet this Prerogative did only consist in a simple preference, and did not carry along with it any Power or Jurisdiction,

dition, which none of the other Patriarchs would ever yield to him: And we read that the Bishops in *Africa*, when he of *Rome* would have oblig'd them to truckle to his Power, alledging to that intent, a falsifi'd Canon of the *Nicene* Council, did very vigorously resist and baffle that his design. Besides, in the whole frame of the Papal Supremacy, we find nothing Divine, but all built upon Humane Institutions, and there is no more reason to be given, why the Bishop of *Rome* has the first place, than he of *Antioch* the third. And forasmuch as one State has no power to prescribe Laws to another wholly independent of it; therefore those privileges which have been granted to the Popes by the *Roman* Emperors, and the ancient Councils which were nothing else but a Congregation of the Clergy of the *Roman* Empire, cannot oblige any other State to obedience, nor extend themselves farther than the bounds of the ancient Empire. And if perhaps in succeeding times, some few Christian States have given the Pope any Authority

thority in Ecclesiastical Matters within their Dominions, they did it without doubt, either because they knew upon what grounds that pretended Power was founded, or else they were surpriz'd and cheated into obedience.

If it be the first, there is no other probable reason to be given for it, than that it originally proceeding from some Covenant or Agreement made betwixt those States and the Bishops of *Rome*, whilst the former imagin'd that their Churches could not be well govern'd, till they abandoned the Care and Direction of 'em to the latter. Now such an Agreement primarily depending on the free will and consent of any Republick, according to the nature of all other obligations, is *ipso facto*, void and of no effect, when it turns to the extreme disadvantage of the Republick, or when the Popes abuse that Power which is granted to them. But if this Papal Supremacy be introduc'd *dolo malo*, by the tricks and cheats of the knavish Priests, then the abus'd and mis-led States as soon as they can discover how they have been impos'd on, may lawfully cast off so

E 3 unjust

unjust a yoke, and have right to pursue the cheater, and oblige him to refund all the Damages they have sustain'd by his usurpations.

Scct. 16. But it was not all at once, that the Bishop of *Rome* was able to lay so heavy a yoke on all the *Western Churches*; on the contrary, he found himself oblig'd to insinuate this his usurp'd Authority by little and little, and steal it insensibly by divers Sights and Artifices; and where once he happen'd to fasten his Claws, 'twas impossible to make him lose his hold, till he had carried away a good share of the prey. Besides, the Bishops of *Rome* never were wanting to serve themselves very advantageously of a good occasion, of which the most advantageous to 'em (in my opinion) was the Emperours leaving *Rome*, and chusing other Cities for their Residence; whereas if they had always continued to have maintain'd their Authority in that place, the Bishops thereof would have never had the confidence to have erected themselves into Sovereigns, as we see that the Bishop of *Constantinople* (who perhaps had no less vanity and itching after

after Government, than he of *Rome*) was never able to raise his Authority to so high a flight.

The division of the *Roman Empire* into several new Kingdoms founded by the Heathen and unlearn'd People did no less contribute to the aggrandizing the Bishop of *Rome*, for these People being all converted by the Prelates of the *Romish Church*, thought themselves therefore very much oblig'd to honour and respect them, and paid a deference to them, as the most ancient and most considerable Christians of the *West*. It is not our design here to deduce all circumstances at length, 'tis enough, that we represent the most remarkable in haste as it were, and *en-passant*; but one thing we can't let slip unobserv'd, that the Bishops beyond the *Alps* after the Fifth Century, were us'd to go in Pilgrimage to *Rome* to visit there the Graves of *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*, either out of Superstition and Biggottry, or else in sign of their approving and following those Apostles Doctrine; which voluntary piece of Devotion, was afterwards chang'd into an act of necessity,

so that as many as afterwards neglected that Voyage, were excommunicated; from which Custom, without doubt, the Popes have pretended to oblige all Bishops to receive their Confirmation from *Rome*.

The other Bishops too, and Churches had often recourse to that of *Rome*, as Novices to their Superiours, in all weighty Affairs consulting their advice in the use and explication of the Canons; now when the Bishops of *Rome* perceiv'd that their answers were receiv'd as absolute Decisions, they began to make Decrees and Orders before e'er they were desir'd to do it, under the pretence that *Rome*, being the first and chiefest Seat of Christendom, it was the Right and Office of the Bishop thereof, to see that the Canons and Ecclesiastical Laws were put in execution; thereupon they constituted immediate Judges of the Differences amongst the other Bishops, encroached upon the Jurisdiction of the *Metropolitans*, depos'd the Bishops, which were either not rightly Ordain'd, or that were accused of any great Crime, and forced

forced them to come to *Rome* to plead their cause in person; after which, all such as desir'd to enjoy any prerogative or exemption from the ordinary Canons, went to *Rome*, where they were always well receiv'd, and gratifi'd in their request, that so the Popes might there erect a general Office of all sort of Dispensations.

Those also that had lost their Cause before the ordinary Magistrates, were wont, out of spite, to appeal to *Rome*, where they were always welcome, and seldom fail'd of a good exit: Thus the *French* Historians tell us, that when the Emperor *Honorius* had erected the City of *Arles* into a *Metropolis* over seven Provinces, the Pope made the Arch-Bishop thereof his Vicar General in *France*, out of fear that the said Bishop might take an occasion to make himself Patriarch of the whole Kingdom, and he was very well contented to enjoy such a precarious Power over the seventeen Provinces, into which *France* was at that time divided, rather than have the right in himself, and an independent Authority over seven Provinces alone:
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And to render the charge committed to him more awful and respected, he omitted no opportunity of enlarging and extending the Papal Jurisdiction.

Afterwards in the eighth Century, when the Ecclesiasticks and Monks were become very infamous for their exorbitant and irregular Lives, one *Winefred* an *English* Monk (afterwards nam'd *Boniface*) being mov'd with an extraordinary zeal, took upon him to reform the manners of the Clergy, as also the introduction and plantation of the Christian Religion in some parts of *Germany*, and more especially in *Turinge* and *Freezland*: this man, to give a greater lustre and credit to his Work, devoted himself entirely to the Seat of *Rome*, from whence he first receiv'd a Bishop's Mantle, and afterwards was qualify'd with the Title of Arch-Bishop of *Mentz*, and by *Gregory* the Third, was constituted his Vicar, who gave him a plenary Authority of assembling Councils, and making Bishops in those Countries which he had converted, with Recommendations to the People, and to *Charles Martel* Great Master of

of *France*, that they should take him under their protection, which they did with a very good will.

And when *Charlemain* his Son signifi'd to *Boniface*, that he was very desirous of establishing the Church-Discipline, he readily took that employ upon him, to the no small advantage of the *Romish* Chair; to gratify the same *Charlemain*, he held a Council in *Germany*, and several Synods in *France* at the request of King *Pepin*, and presided in all those Assemblies *tanquam Legatus Sedis Romanae*: And in the first Council, the Clergy sign'd a Confession of Faith, whereby they oblig'd themselves not only to persist in the Catholick Faith, but they join'd themselves as Members to the Church of *Rome*, and vow'd an eternal respect and obedience to *St. Peter's* Successours. 'Twas this same *Boniface* too, that perswaded the Bishops of *Germany* to accept of the *Palium* from the Pope, who afterwards sent the same into *France* to bind them thereby the faster to his Interests; and so soon as he had once accustom'd them to serve themselves of that sort of

of Robe, he afterwards made it a necessary obligation, and forbad them the exercise of any Episcopal Function before they should receive that Garment from *Rome*.

The Popes likewise pretended, That they only had the Power of removing a Bishop from one See to another, and oblig'd all the *western* Bishops to receive their Confirmation from them, for which they must pay some little Gratification, that was afterwards converted into the *Annates*: Besides this, they took away the Authority of the Provincial Synods, and annul'd their Decrees, which at last was the occasion that no more were call'd, when they perceiv'd that it was all in vain, whilest the Pope abrogated all their constitutions, according to his fancy, without hearing their Reasons and Justifications. At last, *Gregory* the Seventh forc'd all the Bishops to swear Allegiance and Fidelity to the *Romish* Chair, and made a Decree, that no Prince or Sovereign should presume to condemn any man that made his Appeal to the Pope. They forgot not likewise to

send

send their Nuncio's or Legates in all Countries, who exercis'd in the Pope's Name that Power and Authority which they had ravished from the Arch-Bishops, and Provincial Synods, and were double diligent in the advancement of their Master's Interests.

Sect. 17. This Ecclesiastical Supremacy daily increasing, was extremely prejudicial to the Civil Powers, whilest the Clergy by their tricks and devices attracted infinite Riches, and by their Riches a great number of idle *Priests* and lazy *Monks*.

'Tis true, the Church ow'd the greatest part of its Riches to the Charity and pious Intentions of Kings, Princes and others who were wheedled into a belief, That to bestow great Largises and Donations on the Church, was a most pleasing and acceptable Sacrifice to God; and this their liberality was afterwards much more promoted when the people were perswaded, That by good Works (amongst which the *Donationes ad pias Causas*, held the first rank) Heaven and Happiness were to be purchased: And

whereas

whereas the Avarice of the Clergy increasing with their Riches, could not be satiated by the free and generous liberality of the people; they practised all sort of inventions, to squeeze Money out of 'em; upon which account, they instituted a great number of Popperies and unnecessary Ceremonies, for which the Laity must dearly pay. 'Twas this their cursed Avarice, that was the occasion of Masses without number to be said and sung as well for the living as the dead, of *Purgatory*, *Indulgences*, *Dispensations*, *Pilgrimages*, *Jubilees*, and a thousand other *Bagatelles*. Besides, they took a special care to insinuate themselves into the good wills of dying persons, who were so much the less solicitous how they dispos'd of their temporal Goods, the desire of which did oftentimes make their Heirs think them too long liv'd, and ——— *ante diem Patrios inquirere in Annos*. And at last, if all means fail'd, they were not ashamed to fall to down-right begging.

Amongst other devices to get Money, the Popes serv'd themselves very
advan-

advantageously in the eleventh and twelfth Century of the *Crusado*, when the People, mov'd with a godly itch of reconquering the Holy Land, let themselves be mark'd with a Holy Cross; for the Popes challeng'd to themselves the management and oversight of such sort of Ghostly expeditions, and receiv'd into their more peculiar protection the Goods and Persons of all those Zealots that took the Cross upon them, so that they could not be proceeded against neither Civilly nor Criminally until their return from the Holy Land; whereby they had an occasion of promoting the commerce of their Indulgences and Dispensations more than ever: Their Legates had the administration of all the Alms, Collections and Legacies which were given to that end, and from hence they took a pretext of obliging all the Clergy to pay them Tenths; nay, they very imperiously forced Kings, Princes and great Lords to take upon them the *Crusado*, which Arms they afterwards turn'd against all such as they accus'd & condemn'd for Schism, and Heresy, declaring their Goods confis-

confiscated and void of all lawful Possessors, distributing and dividing them to such as had rendred them any considerable Service, and this Authority they exercis'd without asking the leave of Princes and States, under whose Civil Jurisdiction they were, who were likewise aw'd into so slavish an obedience, that they durst not oppose themselves against these Investitures, tho' they easily perceiv'd the injustice of 'em.

sect. 18. The Riches of the Church increasing, the number of the Ecclesiasticks was likewise proportionably augmented, whilst there were not a few that were glad to be fed by a fat Kitchen, and make good cheer, without taking any care for the provision thereof: and it was not enough that each Church had its ordain'd Priests, Chaplains, and other necessary Servants; but the most considerable must have an addition of Canons and Prebends, which places consisting of so great profit and so little pains, were soon fill'd by men of all sorts and sizes; and thus the inconveniences of a single life, which
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the Popes, not without a great deal of pains and opposition, had introduc'd in the eleventh and following Centuries, were sweetned by the Honours, and large Revenues of these Charges which they so quietly enjoy'd.

Besides, all Christendom swarm'd with a prodigious number of *Monks* and *Nuns*, which springing up in the times of Persecution in the fourth and fifth Centuries, have afterwards strangely increas'd. These sort of people at the first, were content to get their living by their own Industry: many of 'em gave all their goods to the poor without being in the least oblig'd thereto, and liv'd under the care and inspection of the Bishops, according to the Discipline that was prescrib'd them in the Canons. In the seventh Century, through all the *Western* Empire, was the Monastical way of living extreamly in fashion, and all places were fill'd with Cloysters, in the founding of which, the Princes and Great Men did seem to vie with each other; but after that, their Liberality was, as it were,
F quite

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quite exhausted by the Endowments and Gifts made to so many old Monasteries, and that there was not place enough for such as desir'd to be receiv'd into those Orders: There was at length in the thirteenth Century form'd an Order of *Mendicants* or Begging Monks, which made a greater show of Holiness, forasmuch as they would not be thought to go into a Cloyster in hopes of a plentiful and lazy Life; but renouncing all the pleasures of the World, they would live by Alms and the Beggars-Basket.

The Fancy of a singular Merit and Supererogative Holiness, induced the People to this Austerity and Hardship of living, or rather an unbounded Ambition and Pride so natural to all mankind, that not contented to live up to the Commandments of God, and barely to fulfil what he prescribes, they had rather deserve Heav'n than accept it as a pure Gift of their Creator, or purchas'd for them by the Merits of their Redeemer; and the desire they have of Superiority, and Preference above the rest, does even extend

extend it self to the other life. To the embracing of this single and solitary Life, some are carried by despair, others out of a prospect of ease and laziness; others are thrust into Cloysters by their Parents and Relations, either out of a motive of Religion or Poverty, or else for fear of ruining their Family by the division of their Goods amongst a great many Children. From these *Monks* has the Pope form'd his *Pretorian Band* or Regiment of Guards, whom he has not alone quarter'd as troublesome Companions upon the Laity, but does make use of 'em also as spies over the actions of the Bishops, and rest of the Clergy: Therefore it is that the Popes have with so much zeal maintain'd the privileges of the *Monks*, especially when in the thirteenth Century they would have forc'd themselves from the Bishops Jurisdiction, and subjected themselves immediately to the Pope, and the Pope has found out the way to carry himself so evenly with them, that altho' there are great Jealousies betwixt their Orders, as for example, betwixt the *Franciscans* and

Dominicans, yet he holds the Balance always so even, and dispenses his Favours so impartially, that one Order cannot be oppress'd by the other, nor has reason to complain of the Pope's injustice. These *Monks* are very prejudicial to the ordinary Priests, inso-much as they attract to themselves the greatest part of the Alms, Legacies, and Gains proceeding from the Burials of the Rich, besides the Direction of Consciences, and Administration of the Sacraments, which has drawn upon them the immortal hatred of the Bishops and Secular Priests, which those other don't much value, whilest they are under the care and protection of the Pope; and besides, when a Bishop at any time oppos'd the Pope, the Monks like so many Blood-Hounds were immediately after his heels, and by their bawlings and exclamations, soon made him lose his Credit with the People, by whom their Hypocrisy and pretended Sanctity made them much respected; so that the Bishops were forced to truckle to the Pope's Authority, because the People would afford them no Support

port or Assistance; thus the Monks were set as so many spies over the Conduct of the Bishops, which when they found blamable, they did not fail immediately to signify to the Generals that resided always at *Rome*, so that the Pope might make a timely opposition against their practices. In short, these Monks were not the least cause of the Bishops not resisting the growing Power of the Pope; for finding it always in vain, they were forced with the rest to yield to the mighty Torrent. Tho' there were a great many of 'em likewise, that were well enough contented to submit to this slavery, in hopes of sharing the Prey with their Chief, and because they were thereby freed from the Jurisdiction of their Temporal Princes, whose power they more dreaded, than that of a distant Tribunal, the Judges whereof being of the same Trade as they, were not so terrible to them, for one Crow will not pick out its fellow's Eyes. In the mean while, 'tis most certain, that a great many Bishops, especially of this side the *Alps*, do with a great deal

of impatience groan under the yoke of *Rome*; which did appear sufficiently in the Council of *Trent*, where the *French* and *Spanish* Bishops did with great earnestness endeavour, that it might be declar'd, *quod Residencia Episcoporum sit Juris Divini*, or, that by the Divine Appointment each Bishop is oblig'd to reside in his own Church, as all the *Jansenists* of *France* and the *Low-Countries* do maintain. Now the wisest could easily penetrate what lay hid under this specious Doctrine; for if God has commanded that, it must necessarily follow, that he would afford the way and means of putting it in practice, *qui dat jus ad finem, dat jus ad media*; and then by consequence it is no longer needful to run to *Rome*, and buy the permission of exercising their charge. And it cost the Pope a great deal of pains and a great deal of fears, before he could oblige the Council of *Trent* to desist from a design which extreamly shook his usurp'd Authority, and therefore we may be assur'd that that shall be the last General Council, nor will the Pope ever more venture his Authority

thority in such like Assemblies, which besides will be but very useless things as long as the *Jesuits* and others, teach, That the Pope is above the Councils, and, That he cannot err, and, That the Councils themselves must receive their *vim obligandi à confirmatione Papæ*. In the mean while, let a man say what he will, it is certainly the Interests of the Bishops to truckle to that power which they at first permitted the Pope to exercise over them, for it is certain that if they should withdraw themselves from his obedience, they would fall into the hands of the Secular Power; especially since they could never be able to make good their party against the Pope, without the Protection of their Sovereign, who must be a very powerful Prince to afford it them, therefore of two evils, 'tis best that they chuse the least.

Sept. 19. But altho' the Church had been never so rich and populous, yet to the erecting of a Spiritual Monarchy, it was absolutely necessary that the Pope should in no wise be subject to any temporal Jurisdctions, and

that he should hold his Residence in such a place, which being free from obedience to all other Potentates, should depend on, and own no other Master but him, as also to be possessor of such Revenues as might enable him to live honourably and splendidly, and not be ruin'd by the dismembring of his State, and where his Partizans, when at any time pursued by their offended Sovereigns, might find a secure and certain Refuge; but before he could compass all these advantages it has cost him a world of pains, time, and a powerful Resistance, besides a thousand secret Practices and Intrigues. 'Tis true, the Bishops of *Rome* whilst the Empire of the *West* flourished, and as long as the Kingdom of the *Goths* lasted in *Italy*, had no opportunity to think of, much less to put in Execution these their ambitious designs; but after that the *Goths* were driven out of *Italy* by the Emperor *Justinian*, and *Italy* with *Rome* reduc'd to a Province of the *Gracian* Empire, the Pope could not let slip so fair an opportunity of freeing himself from the Jurisdiction of the Emperors,

perors, to which did not a little contribute the contempt of the Imperial Authority in *Italy*, partly caus'd by the ill Government of the *Exarchate* or Vice-Roy of *Ravenna*, and partly by their weakness, whilst the *Lombards* were much more powerful in *Italy* by the continual quarrels of the Emperors about the time of *Justinian* the second; to which reasons we may very well add the *Eastern* Emperors prohibiting the adoration of Images; for *Leo Isaurus* threw them out of all the Churches, whilst the respect that was paid 'em did degenerate into open Idolatry, and the People began to be perswaded that a greater Reverence was due to their Saints, than to God himself. Against this Reformation, Pope *Gregory* the second, violently oppos'd himself, and defended the Image-Worship with a great deal of zeal, partly because it was one of the chiefest Heads of the *Romish* Superstition, and did bring in no small gain to the Pope's Coffers; and partly because it vex'd him extreamly, that the Emperors should meddle with Ecclesiastical Affairs without his knowledge, and
against

against his consent, whilst he was employ'd in the Introduction of his Spiritual Monarchy: And besides, this seem'd a very fit time for him to shake off the Authority of the *Grecian* Emperors. In short, it was by his Instigation that the *Romans* and *Italians*, who, till then, had been very faithful to the Emperor, refus'd to pay Tribute to him any longer; and there happening about that time a tumult at *Ravenna*, which was the Seat of the *Exarch*, he himself, defending the rights of the Emperors, was kill'd in the Tumult. And thus ended the Rule of the *Grecian* Emperors in that part of *Italy*, which ever since has been free, and in subjection to none.

Seet. 20. 'Twas thus the Popes shook off the Jurisdiction of the *Grecian* Emperors, but were in danger of falling into the clutches of a new Lord, whose yoke would have been much more insupportable, than that of the far distant Emperors, for the Kings of the *Lumbards* endeavour'd to possess themselves of those Lands which were fallen off from the Emperor, and consequently to render them-

themselves Masters of all *Italy*; and in effect, they seiz'd upon *Ravenna*, and several other places, so that there was no body in *Italy*, that could withstand their usurpations; thereupon, the Pope knew not to what refuge he should betake himself, unless to the Kings of *France*, who endeavour'd first, to adjust the differences amicably and by fair means, and because the *Lumbards* refus'd to hearken to any accomodation, they resolv'd to oblige them thereto by force; and they took upon them the Protection of *Italy* the more willingly, not only because the Pope *Zacharias* had approv'd of *Pepin's* deposing his lawful Sovereign; and from Great Master, making himself to be declar'd King of *France*; but also because they found thereby so good an opportunity of making New Conquests in *Italy*, a Country which had often made the *French* Mouths water. Now whilst *Pepin*, and after him *Charlemain* made War very successfully against the *Lumbards*, and had reconquer'd the whole Kingdom of *Italy*, they presented the Pope with all that part of it, which was comprehended

prehended under the *Exarchate*; which
 the Donation, That they might more
 peaceably retain, the Popes in after
 Ages gave out, that it was the gift of
Constantine the Great; which sham,
 past very easily upon the ignorance
 of those barbarous times. In short,
 the *French* Kings were much oblig'd
 to the Pope for the Reasons already
 mention'd, and therefore by this gift
 they sought to express their Gratitude,
 especially whilst by a present of
 what was none of their own, they
 could acquire a great reputation of
 Charity and Holiness; which in these
 times, was valu'd according to the
 Liberalities and Donations made to the
 Clergy; insomuch, that the Kings
 themselves endeavour'd to free their
 Foundations and Settlements on the
 Church, from all sort of Subjection
 or Homage, and to assure to the Clergy
 the free possession of what they
 had given 'em. Now these too ex-
 travagant Donations have not been
 the least reason, why the Clergy has
 taken so much pains to shake off the
 Royal Supremacy, whilst they justly
 apprehended, that the Successors of
 those

those that had been so liberal to them,
 coming to see their Errour should
 recall all that had been given to
 them; and from hence it is, that the
Politicks have made this remark:
 That Kings by the Concession of too
 great Privileges and immunities have
 made themselves more Enemies than
 Friends, whilst the Receivers live in a
 continual fear and suspicion of the
 Givers lest they should one day recall
 or retrench their immoderate Libe-
 ralities; and therefore to prevent that
 Inconvenience, they are never quiet
 till they have tied them so fast, that
 it shall not be in the King's Power, if
 it were in his will, to deprive them of
 'em. The most Impartial of the learn-
 ed are of the opinion that the Popes did
 heretofore design to erect into a Sove-
 raignty, those Lands which were thus
 bestowed on them, but that their peo-
 ple oppos'd it, desiring rather to be
 free: especially whilst it seem'd very
 strange to them that the Pope (who
 was a Clergy-man) should likewise be
 a Temporal Prince; 'twas upon this
 Account that *Rome* took up Arms, and
 drove out of their City Pope *Leo* the
 third,

prehended under the *Exarchate*; which
 sat Donation, That they might more
 peaceably retain, the Popes in after
 Ages gave out, that it was the gift of
Constantine the Great; which sham,
 past very easily upon the ignorance
 of those barbarous times. In short,
 the *French* Kings were much oblig'd
 to the Pope for the Reasons already
 mention'd, and therefore by this gift
 they sought to express their Gratitude,
 especially whilst by a present of
 what was none of their own, they
 could acquire a great reputation of
 Charity and Holiness; which in these
 times, was valu'd according to the
 Liberalities and Donations made to the
 Clergy; insomuch, that the Kings
 themselves endeavour'd to free their
 Foundations and Settlements on the
 Church, from all sort of Subjection
 or Homage, and to assure to the Clergy
 the free possession of what they
 had given 'em. Now these too ex-
 travagant Donations have not been
 the least reason, why the Clergy has
 taken so much pains to shake off the
 Royal Supremacy, whilst they justly
 apprehended, that the Successors of
 those

those that had been so liberal to them,
 coming to see their Errour should
 recall all that had been given to
 them; and from hence it is, that the
Politicks have made this remark:
 That Kings by the Concession of too
 great Privileges and immunities have
 made themselves more Enemies than
 Friends, whilst the Receivers live in a
 continual fear and suspicion of the
 Givers lest they should one day recall
 or retrench their immoderate Libe-
 ralities; and therefore to prevent that
 Inconvenience, they are never quiet
 till they have tied them so fast, that
 it shall not be in the King's Power, if
 it were in his will, to deprive them of
 'em. The most Impartial of the learn-
 ed are of the opinion that the Popes did
 heretofore design to erect into a Sove-
 raignty, those Lands which were thus
 bestowed on them, but that their peo-
 ple oppos'd it, desiring rather to be
 free: especially whilst it seem'd very
 strange to them that the Pope (who
 was a Clergy-man) should likewise be
 a Temporal Prince; 'twas upon this
 Account that *Rome* took up Arms, and
 drove out of their City Pope *Leo* the
 third,

third, who betaking himself to *Charlemain*, was by him Re-establish'd in his Poppedom. But on the other side, the Pope conjointly with the People of *Rome* declar'd *Charlemain* Emperor, whereby he became Sovereign over the *Exarchate* of *Ravenna*, and other places of *Italy* which had rais'd themselves into free States out of the Ruins of the *western* Empire, so that afterwards the Pope himself held those Lands, dependently of the Emperor who was likewise named *Advocatus et Defensor Ecclesiæ*, which lasted till the time of the Emperor *Henry* the fourth.

sect. 21. But at last this Advocacy or Protection of the Emperor began to seem tedious to the Popes, because they could not be elected without the Emperors consent and confirmation, who us'd likewise to curb them, when they grew insolent; and proceeded even sometimes to the deposal of them. Now to shake off this heavy Yoke of the Emperor, the Popes left no stone unturn'd, and took a wonderful deal of pains before they could attain to their desire. 'Twas therefore they labour'd so earnestly to give the Emperors

rors their hands full of work, sometimes in *Germany*, sometimes in *Italy*, thereby to weaken their power and authority. To which the *German* Bishops did not a little concur, who were not well pleas'd to be under the Subjection of the Emperor, and receive their Bishopricks at his hands. Therefore they conspir'd with the Pope to establish an absolute Sovereignty in the Church. And to put this their design in Execution they found no time more convenient or proper than the Reign of *Henry* the fourth, who by reason of his dissolute life and Government was in perpetual dissention with his States of *Germany*. Therefore when *Gregory* the seventh, who was before nam'd *Hildebrand*, ascended the Papal Chair, being a proud, ambitious, and resolute man, he began to exclaim against the Emperor, giving out that the distribution of Ecclesiastical Benefices did not belong to him, because he made a scandalous Traffick of them, selling them to people of an ill repute, and installing them therein before they had taken Holy orders; and because the Emperor undertook to defend his just

just Rights; the Pope thunder'd out an Excommunication, and animated the Bishops and the other Sates of *Germany* against him, and gave him so much trouble and vexation, that at last, he was fain to abandon his Right of bestowing the Bishopricks, and leave them wholly in the Pope's disposal. But the Pope's main aim was not so much to free the Bishops from the Emperor's jurisdiction, as to make himself Supreme in *Italy*, and to bring all the Princes in Subjection to the Papal Chair: And some are of opinion that he might at last have effected, what he had begun, whilst *Europe* at that time was divided into so many little Lordships, and most of 'em had weak, and inconsiderable Princes, and a great many of them, either out of devotion, or else for fear of being swallow'd up by the Great Ones, chose freely to submit themselves to the Papal Chair, and to pay him Tribute. So that if there had but succeeded three or four Popes, as Courageous and cunning as *Gregory*, covering their design with the veil of Religion, and taking the specious pretext of Defending the peo-
ples

ples interest against the oppression of their Princes, they had made themselves temporal, as well as Spiritual Monarchs. And the Pope did not only pretend to slip his neck out of the collar, and free himself from the Emperor's power, but he did likewise endeavour to make him take his turn, and to submit him to his own Authority; for he made himself Judge of the Emperor's Actions, summon'd him to appear before his Tribunal, and answer to the Complaints which his Subjects made against him, and by reason of his Non-appearance, he declar'd him Excommunicated, and fallen from the Empire; and altho' his Son *Henry* the fifth, endeavour'd to recover what the Popes had squeez'd out of his Father, and seizing upon Pope *Paschal*, obliged him to restore to him his right of investing the Bishops; yet the Clergy of *Europe* were so discontented therewith, and teas'd him continually till they had forced him (in the Year 1122.) to resign (for ever) that Right to the Pope. Not long before, the same dispute arose in *England*, which at last (in the Year 1107.) was thus adjusted: The
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King should no longer insist upon his Right of investing the Bishops; and they in acknowledgment of that Favour should do him Homage, which Article was not very pleasing to the Pope, who had been better contented if they had refus'd to pay any sort of submission to their King, as he did effectually forbid the Bishops of *France* to do; but *Lewis* the sixth and his Successors stood up so stoutly in defence of this their Right, that the Pope was forced with shame to quit his pretensions: Besides, fearing to draw upon his Head two Powerful Monarchs of *Germany* and *France*, he thought it better to keep in with one, whom he in time of need might oppose against the other, especially whilst it was not so much his interest to weaken the *French* King, with whom he had not so many Feathers to pluck, as to humble the Emperor, who was then very Powerful in *Italy*, and endeavoured to bring into subjection the City of *Rome*; besides, he knew that *Germany* was not so streightly United as *France*, and whilst the other Princes were jealous and apprehensive of the Emperor's Greatness, they easily agreed

agreed with the Pope to humble him a little, which design they palliated with the pretence of Protecting the Papal Chair and the Church's Authority. 'Tis true, *Frederick* the first and the second used all their efforts to re-establish the Imperial Power o'er the Pope, but ineffectually, whilst *Italy* was divided into the two Factions of the *Guelphs* and *Gibelines*; the former of which held with the Pope, the latter with the Emperor, and caus'd so obstinate and implacable quarrels, that it was impossible for the Emperor to reduce *Italy* to a perfect Obedience. And after the death of *Frederick* the second, whilst all things were in a strange confusion by reason of the long *Interregnum* that then Succeeded, the following Emperors thank'd God that they could maintain themselves Peaceably in *Germany*, without troubling their Heads any more with the affairs of *Italy*; so that the Popes have quietly exercis'd their Sovereignty as well personally, as in respect of the Goods of the *Romish* Church.

sect. 22. But this Greatness could not terminate the Pope's Ambition,
G 2 but

but was the occasion of his starting another Doctrine, which serv'd to extend his power far beyond that of all other Princes; for it maintain'd a sort of an indirect Authority, right of examining and animadverting on the actions of all the temporal Sovereigns; and tho' it was not said in down-right terms, that the Princes did depend on his Holiness in meer Worldly Affairs, yet he thought that that absolute power which he had acquir'd in Ecclesiastical Matters, did sufficiently Authorize him to judge of their Actions, whether they were good or bad, to advise, and correct them; and in fine, to forbid what he thought unfit, and to command what he approv'd of.

Thus when at any time the Princes were in War with one another, the Pope made use of his Authority to command a Cessation of Arms, and that they should bring their Quarrel before him, and expect his decision thereof, threatening the obstinate, not only to Excommunicate their persons, but likewise to Suspend through their whole Kingdom the
exercise

exercise of Divine Worship, and use of the Holy Sacraments, whilst he imagin'd that it belong'd to him only to remove all occasions of Scandal in Christendom, to succour the oppressed, and in short to administer Judgment and Justice to the whole World; therefore he willingly hearkened to, and took upon him to redress the injuries of all such as made their complaints to him; nay, he proceeded farther, taking cognizance of those injustices which Princes did to their own Subjects, as also of the new impositions that were laid on them, and forbad sometimes their proceeding any farther, under pain of Excommunication: Sometimes the Pope declar'd confiscated the Goods of such as he had excommunicated, and lawful prize for the next that should lay hands on them, exposing thereby their lives to very eminent Dangers, and dispensing their Subjects from all Oaths of Allegiance, under the pretence, that it was not fit to leave the Government of Christian People to Princes that should rebel against the Church; and such Hellish Maxims

Several Popes have dar'd to maintain and put in execution against Crowned Heads; and to render more plausible these their execrable Designs amongst the ignorant people, they serv'd themselves of a forg'd Decretal, whereon they began to found a new *Jus Canonicum*, which ascrib'd to the Pope an unlimited Power over all Christians, and impower'd him as common Father to command or forbid the Faithful the exercise of whatsoever had any relation to their Salvation and good of the Religion, and to punish such as refus'd to obey. And the reason why the Predecessors of *Gregory* the seventh, did not exercise such a power over the Emperors, was (say they) either because the Emperors liv'd so well, that there was no need of it, or that the Popes lead so bad a life, that they ought rather to be corrected by others, than think of correcting others.

And to give the more Authority to the Pope's pretensions, he did not fail to quote what *St. Ambrose* had done against the Empefor *Theodosius*, and that the Bishops of *Spain*, had oblig'd

oblig'd their King *Wamba* to submit to so extraordinary a Pennance, as the renouncing of his Kingdom; as also, That the *French* Bishops had depos'd *Lewis* surnam'd the *Godly*, who afterwards durst not re-assume the Crown, without the Consent of another Assembly of the Bishops: That *Fulk*, Arch-Bishop of *Rhemes* had threatned *Charles* the *Simple*, to Dispencc his Subjects of that obedience they ow'd unto him, in case he proceeded to make any Alliance with the *Normans*, who at that time were *Heathens*. Now, no body could doubt, but that the Pope's Authority extends it self farther than all the Bishops, since it had no other bounds than what the Canons of the Councils and Decrees of the Popes themselves prescribed it; which had never forbid them to depose Kings; but their Predecessors could not prevent that which they could not fore-see, nor did they ever dream, that they should arrive to such a height of impudence. And since the Popes had taken upon 'em to bestow the Royal Title, and that there were found Princes, who either

out of a motive of Ambition or Superstition, did seek their Confirmation from *Rome*, they imagin'd they had no less a right to deprive those of their Crowns, whom they esteem'd unworthy to bear them. They could not a little incommode the Princes likewise by their forbidding all Marriages within the seventh Degree of Consanguinity, and the fourth of Affinity, for whilst among great People, there can seldom any Match be propos'd, where one of those Degrees will not occur, they were in continual fear of the Pope's troubling their Negotiation, if they did not humbly crouch to him, and implore his Dispensation; so that let it happen how it would, they found themselves oblig'd to dance after his Pipe.

Lastly, The Popes by the great number of Affairs, to be dispatch'd in their Courts, allur'd the greatest and most learned Men of *Europe* to them, who came with a design either of procuring themselves some employ, or else to accomplish themselves in this great School, to be able to serve their Countries at home. Now

as most of these expected their Fortune from the Pope, they devoted themselves entirely to his will, as well as all the Clergy who unanimously own'd him their Head and General. And this Pope *Boniface* the eighth, did very evidently demonstrate by the *Jubilee* which he publish'd in the year 1300. where he appear'd first in the Habit of an Emperor, then in his Pontifical Robes, ordering two Swords to be carried before him as Marks of his Authority in all Civil as well as Ecclesiastical Affairs.

Seet. 23. In the mean while the Popes could not long enjoy this usurped, and intolerable power without a great deal of opposition; so that they were forced more than once to change their Notes, and to manage their pretensions more slyly and cautiously. 'Tis true, in the Quarrels which they had with the Emperors *Henry*, and *Frederick*, they often got the better; yet sometimes they met with cruel rubs, and were forced to hear things which were not much to their credit; and from which the impartial may judge, That it was not the Glory

of God, but Worldly Honor and Advantage, that were the ends of all their Designs.

But when *Boniface* the eighth would have play'd some of his tricks with *Philip* the Fair of France, he oppos'd himself so seasonably against the Popes encroachments, and defended his rights so courageously, that that dispute turn'd wholly to the shame and confusion of the Pope. And *Philip*, that he might not give any occasion of scandal by his prosecuting and revenging himself on *Boniface*, gave out, that he did not attack him as the Vicar of Jesus Christ, but as a wicked Prelate, who by unlawful ways had usurp'd the Papal Chair, and therefore desired the calling together of a General Council to deliver the Church of so unjust an oppressor.

But the Schisms which afterwards follow'd, made a much greater breach in the Popes Authority, when by the division of the Cardinals, two Popes were at the same time elected, who excommunicated and anathematized one another; and, the better to maintain themselves in the Papal Chair, they

they were forced to flatter and caress the Kings, and *tacitly* own thereby, that they could not subsist without their Support; and such a Schism was a very evident Mark that it was not the Holy Ghost, but devilish Intrigues that presid'd in those Elections; and therefore the most prudent of the Clergy were of opinion, that neither of 'em ought to be admitted to the Papal Authority, but that they should proceed to a new Election, which afterwards was practis'd by the Council of *Constance*. The first Schism as I take it, happen'd in the year 1134; or as others reckon, 1130. when after the Death of *Henry* the fifth, two Popes, *Innocent* the second, and *Anacletus*, were chosen both together; and tho' the first had gain'd the most partizans, yet the latter was vigorously maintain'd against him by the King of *Sicily* and the Duke of *Aquitain*: But he dying, his Friends chose a third in his place, nam'd *Victor*, whom *Innocent* brought to an Accommodation, so that he at last ceas'd from his pretensions, and freely submitted himself

himself to *Innocent*. But after the Death of *Adrian* the fourth, there were again two Popes elected, *Alexander* the third, and *Victor* the fourth ; with the first held *England France*, and *Sicily* ; with the latter, *Frederick* the first, all *Germany*, and most of the Clergy of *Rome* ; and after his Death, his followers chose three others successively in his place, who were all out-liv'd by *Alexander* ; now all these curs'd, and excommunicated one another after the most infamous manner in the World, and each of 'em were forc'd to shew more Obedience than Authority to their Protectors.

But the greatest and most scandalous Schism was that which arose after the death of *Gregory* the eleventh, when in like manner two Popes were chosen, one of which kept his Residence at *Rome*, and the other at *Avignon*, and this lasted amongst their Successors at least Forty years, whilst both Parties vomited out all the injuries imaginable against one another : The Pope of *Avignon* was maintain'd by *France, Scotland, Castile, Savoy* and *Naples*, but the rest
of

of the Christian States held with the Pope of *Rome* ; both of 'em bragg'd of the Great and Holy Persons they had of their side, as likewise the Revelations, and Miracles which Heaven in their Favour had produced, and so many reasons were brought in the Favour of each of 'em, that there was no other way to be found than to Cite them both before the Council of *Constance*, where they were forc'd to Renounce their Popedom, and a new Pope was elected. The last Schism happen'd in the Year 1433, when the Council of *Basil* depos'd *Eugenius* the fourth, and chose in his place Pope *Felix* the fifth. But the first refus'd to submit to their Authority, and the Dissention lasted till after the death of *Eugenius*, when *Nicholas* the fifth being chosen, *Felix* desirous of Peace, yielded all his pretensions to him on very good Conditions, about the Year 1438. Now 'tis easy to imagine how much these Schisms and Quarrels expos'd the *Pudentia Paparum*, whilst the Councils were oblig'd on these occasions to interpose their Authority, and Bridle the Irregularities of the Pope, to which
people

people began to appeal from the Pope, as to the Higher Powers; so that, when the Popes began at any time to be unruly, there was no such Bug-bears as to threaten them with a Council. 'Tis plain that the Popes could not lord it over the Councils, since *Gregory* the seventh himself, when he had renew'd the old quarrel betwixt him and the Emperor *Henry* the fourth, declar'd that he would call a Council, in a place of Security, where both the Friends and Enemies, Ecclesiastick as well as Secular, might come without any danger, and judge whether he or the Emperor had violated the Peace, and to propose means for the re-establishing of it. The same Protestation was made by Pope *Gelasius* the second, in his quarrel with *Henry* the fifth; to which he added that he was contented to stand to the Decision of his Brethren the Bishops, whom God himself had made his Judges in the Church, and without whom he durst not take in hand an affair of so Great Importance. *Innocent* the third declar'd also, that he durst not undertake to judge of the Marriage betwixt *Philip August*, and *Ingeburg* of Denmark,

Denmark, without asking the Opinion of a General Council; and if he should presume to do it, he should be in danger of losing his Charge and Dignity, whereby he seem'd to own, that a Pope, by the abuse of his Office, might Lawfully be depriv'd of the same. But when the Princes in following times insisted upon those Confessions of the Popes, all the answer and satisfaction they could have, was, that truly their Predecessors had us'd such sort of Expressions, but they were only Complements, and bare Ceremonious words, and that the Modesty which they had shown in that matter, ought not to be prejudicial to them.

Thus in the Year 1409. The Council of *Pisa* depos'd the two Antipopes, *Benedict* the twelfth, and *Gregory* the twelfth, and in their place chose *Alexander* the fifth; but the Council of *Constance* did not only confirm the Election of the said two Popes, but also depos'd *John* the twenty fourth who succeeded *Alexander* the fifth.

The Council of *Basil* proceeded in like manner against *Eugenius* the fourth, and made a Decree beside, That neither

ther at *Rome*, nor in any other place, should there be any Expedition-Money given for Ecclesiastical Matters. All which Proceedings struck at the very Foundations of Papal Government; and therefore 'tis no wonder that the Popes were afterwards so shy in calling the Council of *Trent*, and that they then us'd so many Artifices to impede its decreeing any thing prejudicial to their Authority, and that, since that time they have bidden an Eternal adieu to all Councils.

sect. 24. Amongst all these Schisms the Translation of the Papal Chair from *Rome* to *Avignon*, did not a little weaken their Authority; the First that began it, (if I am not deceiv'd,) was *Clement* the fifth at the perswasion of *Philip* the Fair, King of *France*, who had quarrell'd with *Boniface* the eighth, and was Excommunicated by him; the effects of which he design'd to prevent if he could but once oblige the Popes to reside in *France*, especially whilst thereby most of the Cardinals should be chosen out of the *French* Nation; and indeed the Pope, did reside in that City more than seventy year, without

without reckoning the time of the *Anti-popes*, which became very prejudicial to the Papal Sovereignty; for till then, amongst other pretences on which the Popedom was founded, one of the Chiefest was, That *St. Peter* having been Bishop of *Rome*, by his personal Residence there, had communicated a particular Advantage and Holiness to that City, which, whether the Popes could transport to *Avignon*, was very much doubted of; so that from thence, the Pope found himself very often oblig'd to dance after the *French*-man's Pipes, and to be wholly at his Devotion; tho' the *French*, who did then much brag of the prize they had got, do now complain, that by the Residence of the Court of *Rome* in *France*, they had gain'd nothing, unless it be the Art of Chicaning, Simony, and another abominable Crime, which it is hardly lawful to pronounce; to which we may add, that the Papal Court being thus translated from its natural Seat into a Foreign Country, its imperfections were the more easily expos'd, and consequently the Popes
H became

became more despicable. This absence of the Popes was no less prejudicial to the Ecclesiastical Lands in *Italy*, for after that the Emperor had lost all his Authority there, every petty Prince was for erecting himself into a Sovereign, and by the divisions of the *Guelphs* and *Gibelines*, all things were brought into confusion. The neighbouring Princes, without any scruple, pillag'd the Church's Patrimony, whilst the absence of the Pope had made them forget all the respect they ow'd him; the most of his Cities at the persuasion of the *Florentines*, drove out his Legates, and either erected themselves into Free States, or chose them a Prince of their own City; to which we may add, that the Emperor *Lewis* of *Bavaria*, having quarrell'd with the Pope, and gain'd the Subjects of the Ecclesiastical State, to his Interests, made himself Master of most of the Country, as being a Feoff of the Empire, and invested therewith such as took his part against the Pope; so that St. *Peter's* Patrimony was at that time in a very bad condition; nor have the

Popes

Popes been since able to reduce the better part of what was thus taken from them, into their power, but are forced to leave the possessors thereof in a free enjoyment of what they have gotten.

In the mean time, the City of *Rome* was at last oblig'd to submit to the Pope's Sovereignty, which it had so long oppos'd; after that, Pope *Boniface* the ninth, in the year 1393. had fortified the Castle of St. *Angelo*, which serv'd to bridle the City, and keep it in subjection. *Alexander* the sixth, was chiefly the cause that the Patrimony of the Church fell again into the hands of the Pope; he had a natural Son, nam'd *Cesar Borgia*, who, upon the account of the Dukedom of *Valence*, brought to him as Dowry by his Wife *Charlotte d'Albret*, was commonly call'd *il Duca Valentino*. Now whilst the Pope used all his endeavours, to make his Son a powerful Prince in *Italy*, to attain to his ends, he bethought himself of this expedient: He drove out those little *Signiori* that were possess'd of small parcels of the Church's Territory,

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ritory, making himself Master of those places which they held, and then gave his Son the Propriety thereof. This his design succeeded very happily, and he made a shift to reduce either by force or treachery, most of those little Lordships into his subjection, and tho' *Borgia* us'd a great deal of temerity in the management of this affair; yet he said, he knew well enough what he did, since his Father, who was inspir'd by the Holy Ghost, approv'd of all his actions.

But when he wanted Money to pay his Souldiers, he plotted with his Father to poison several of the richest Cardinals at a Banquet design'd for that purpose, and thereby, not only to put himself in possession of their goods, but likewise to be rid of hateful persons, who, he fear'd, might oppose themselves to his design; but in the mean time, the Servant he had employ'd in this his devilish design, by mistake, gave the Pope and his Son the empoison'd drink, so that the Pope died immediately thereof, and the Duke very hardly escaped, at the expence of a terrible sickness;

nor

nor could he afterwards with all his Authority oblige the Cardinals to chuse a Pope that should be in his Interests.

Thus *Borgia's* vast ambitious projects dwindled into nothing, for after the Death of *Pius* the third, who held the Chair a very few Weeks, came *Julius* the second, the sworn implacable enemy of *Borgia*, to succeed him, who reduced all that he had taken, and drove him at last out of the Country; and this Pope prevail'd so far by his Bribes, and Artifices, that he regain'd all that the Church had had before in its possession, except the Dutchy of *Ferrara*, which likewise, at the latter end of the last Age, the legitimate Race of all the Princes of *Est* being ended, fell into the Popes hands again; he also hinder'd the *French* from making themselves Masters of all *Italy*.

Seet. 25. But now whilst the Popedom seem'd to be in its greatest Splendor, and at as high a point of perfection as it could ever aspire to, all the *west* having join'd it self to the Communion and Fellowship of the

Roman Church, excepting some few relicks of the *Vandois* in *France*, and the *Hussites* in *Bohemia*, which were altogether inconsiderable; and the quarrel betwixt Pope *Julius* the second, and *Lewis* the twelfth of *France*, which had easily occasion'd a new Schism, being happily compos'd after that Pope's death by *Leon* the Tenth; and the old complaints that were us'd to be made against the ambition of the Court of *Rome*, being almost all laid asleep; there happen'd upon a very slight occasion, so terrible an Insurrection against the Papal Chair, that a great part of *Europe* did withdraw its self from the Tyranny thereof, and did run the risque of an irrecoverable destruction. In which Affair, as in all other, we will only observe, how much humane prudence and designs contributed thereto, and will rather adore with an humble respect and admiration the Counsel and Work of God Almighty, than presumptuously penetrate into his Holy Mysteries; and here we may not unfitly quote that expression which *Tacitus* uses in his History; *Abditos Numinis*
sensus

sensus exquirere illicitum, nec ideo assequare. Now *Leon* the tenth, was a peaceable, magnificent and very liberal Prince to Wise and Learned Men, and might have pass'd for a good Pope, had he had but an indifferent knowledge of Religion, and inclination to Piety, for both which (on the contrary) he was very insensible: He living very splendidly, and having exhausted his Treasures by the extravagant Pomp and Magnificence of his Court, did not understand the Art of making Gold, but was forc'd in his necessities to have recourse to the Cardinal *Laurentius Puccius*, who finding all the other means of getting Money quite exhausted, bethought himself of Indulgences, which the Pope dispers'd for Money through all Christendom, in the most ample form, for the service as well of the dead as of the living, with permission to eat Eggs, and Milk-Victuals on Fast-days, with several such like privileges; and the Money which he hoped to collect by this infamous commerce, was already dispos'd of, and that especially, which

was to be gather'd in *Saxony*, and in all that Country to the Sea, was destin'd for *Magdalen* the Pope's Sister; and that they might extract greater gains from this sort of Merchandice, a Commission of collecting such Money was given to one *Arcimboldus* a Bishop in name and habit only, but a man that was incomparably well versed in the tricks of the *Genoa* Merchants, and that would only deal out Commissions to such as bad most for them, and whose only prospect was the advantage and gain that could be made of 'em. Now 'twas anciently the Custom in *Saxony* for the *St. Austin's* Hermets to preach the Indulgences, but *Arcimboldus* his Commissioners knowing the great Experience they had in that sort of work, durst not trust them for fear of being out-witted by 'em, therefore they made choise of the *Dominicans*; this procedure touch'd the *Austin* Monks to the quick, whilst they saw it reflected on their reputation; and infringing'd their rights and privileges.

But the *Dominicans* to shew their diligence in their new employ, preach-

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ed up their Merchandice extreemly to the great scandal of their Auditors, whilst the Commissaries spent in riotous Debauches what the poor peasants had scrap'd together, to redeem their sins withal. Thereupon *Luther*, a Monk of *St. Austin's* Order, took occasion to preach against this impudent and scandalous commerce; and after that, he had thoroughly examin'd the whole contrivance, he propos'd Ninety Five *Theses* upon that Matter at *Wittenburg*, in the year 1517. against which, *John Tetzel* a *Dominican* Fryar of *Frankford* on the other, propos'd as many quite contrary; the dispute being thus commenc'd, they began both to write at large in defence of their propositions; but whilst *Luther* had the Scriptures and Reason on his side, his Adversary could not defend his Opinion by any stronger Arguments than the Church and Pope's Authority; this oblig'd *Luther* to go farther, and to search into the ground and foundation of the Pope's Authority, and to examine in what condition the Church then was, whereby he more

and

and more discover'd the errors and abuses thereof, and sharply reprehended the scandalous Lives of the Popes and Monks, and prov'd that the Sovereign powers were oblig'd to reform such abuses; and to the end that he might be supported by them, he very advantageously represented their condition, power and grandeur, whereof the Priests had before given little and contemptible Idea's, and vilifi'd them extreamly, by which means his Doctrine was receiv'd by a great number of persons, and spread it self mightily in a small time.

Seet. 26. But that we may the better understand how a poor inconsiderable Monk could give so terrible a blow to the Pope's Authority, we must observe that next to the Divine Direction and Concurrence, the fit juncture of time did not a little contribute to the so strange success of this mighty Work, as likewise the Dispositions of the people's minds at that very time.

For first the Cause of *Luther*, concerning the Indulgences, was so just and reasonable, that several Famous Divines

Divines ranged themselves on his side, (though they afterwards fell off from him) as well as some Cardinals, and *George Duke of Saxony* himself: And his Adversaries were such persons, that all honest men were scandaliz'd at their ignorance and malice: Besides, there was no body at first that could have been perswaded, the business would have gone so far. *Luther* himself did not then dream of his revolting from the Pope. *Maximilian* the Emperor was not averse to *Luther's* Doctrine; and when he heard of him, he is reported to have said, *They should keep that Monk for him*; there were only a few Monks, and the Commissaries of the Indulgences, whose Trade was like to go to wrack, that opposed themselves; and they made such a-do, that by their folly and imprudence they rais'd a little spark of fire into a mighty and dangerous combustion.

Now Christendom at that time was in a very miserable condition, the whole World was plung'd into unnecessary Ceremonies, the malicious Monks rul'd uncontrouledly over the

the minds and consciences of the Laity, which they had fetter'd in undissoluble bands. The Divinity of those times, was degenerated into meer Sophistry and Bantering. The Priests defin'd their opinions, and laid down their propositions without ever putting themselves to the trouble of proving them; and the way of living of the then Clergy from the highest to the lowest, did contract the *odium* and contempt of all the World; the two preceding Popes, *Alexander* the sixth, and *Julius* the second, had made their Memory stink, and left a very bad name behind 'em upon the account of their vices, their quarrelsomeness, infidelity, ambition and other such qualifications very much disagreeing with the requisites of a Clergy-man; the Bishops if they were any thing worth, were nevertheless deeply embroil'd in worldly Affairs, and most of 'em lead a very scandalous life, being better versed in the hunting of Beasts, than in the Apostolick way of catching Men; the Priests and Monks were plung'd over head and ears in ignorance, and gave

gave a great Scandal to the common People by their Debauches and irregular Lives, as they were become unsupportable to all the World by their insatiable Avarice and Thirst after Riches.

Besides, those that oppos'd themselves first against *Luther*, were miserably ignorant, and for the most part infamous Monks, who not being us'd to his way of disputing, were at the first bout confounded, and could not tell where to lay hold on him; and tho' in the preceding times the Clergy were as bad as then, yet the universal ignorance of those barbarous Ages did not let it appear; but afterwards, when *Europe* began to be enlighten'd by the blooming dawn and restoration of Letters, their Spots and Deformities were expos'd to every man's naked Eye: And therefore it was, that the Priests and Monks, whose Eyes were offended and dazled by the new-appearing Light, were so much incens'd against those *Instauratores literarum*, and sought all ways to suppress 'em; and because they would do it with good grounds, they made a *Work*
of

of Religion of it ; which oblig'd the Men of Learning to ridicule their simplicity, and to labour more and more to discover their shameful ignorance.

Thus the Monks began an impudent Quarrel against *Johannes Reuchlinus*, and, right or wrong, would prove him a Heretick ; where they shamefully confounded themselves, and gave occasion to that learned Gentleman *Ulrich van Hutten* (as I take it) to rally them most strangely in his *Epistolis obscurorum virorum*.

Now whilst the War was carried on with a great deal of heat and bitterness, between the Champions and Persecutors of Learning, the business of *Luther* very opportunely fell out at the same time ; therefore the Monks us'd all their Arts and Perswasions to engage the Learned to oppose *Luther*, thereby to suppress both Parties with their own Arms: Which was the occasion that most of the *Cultores bonarum literarum* ranged themselves on *Luther's* side ; as in effect, no man can deny, but that the learned *Erasmus* of *Rotterdam* had a great share in this Reformation, by discovering and publickly

ly reprehending a great number of their Errors and Abuses ; by rejecting their Scholastick Divinity ; by exciting the People to the reading of the Bible and the Ancient Fathers ; by turning into Ridicule the Barbarity and Ignorance both of the Priests and Monks ; and in short, by favouring in general the Cause of *Luther* at the first, though his hot and violent way of writing was not altogether approv'd by him.

Now the bare silence of *Erasmus* was extremely disadvantageous to *Luther's* Opposers ; for whilst *Erasmus* at that time was look'd upon to be one of the most learned Divines of *Europe*, it was universally believ'd, that he would engage himself in this Quarrel against *Luther*, had he not perceiv'd, that he had reason of his side ; for when he afterwards put forth his Book *de Libero Arbitrio*, it did not meet with many Partizans ; whilst it was very remarkable, that he writ it more at the Sollicitations of others, than as his own real Belief and Perswasion : Besides, it was a thing which had but little reference to the matter in hand : And moreover, it

it was very solidly and pertinently answered by *Luther*.

Then again, the *German* Princes and States were very much disgusted with the Court of *Rome*, upon the account of the manifold unreasonable Exactions laid on them; for they saw well, that the design was only to fool them out of their Money, and thereby to support the Pope's extravagant Pomp and Magnificence. The imminent danger of War with the *Turks* did not a little contribute to the good success of *Luther's* Affairs: And the Divisions and Quarrels happening between *Charles* the Fifth, *Francis* the First, and *Harry* the Eighth, made so great a bustle in the World, that no body was at leisure to mind the petty Disputes of the Clergy. Some are of opinion, that *Charles* the Fifth was not sorry to see the Doctrine of *Luther* make so great a Progress in *Germany*, for thereby the Empire being divided into Parties, he might the more easily oppress the States, and build an absolute Monarchy upon their Ruines; for otherwise he could not have found the least difficulty or opposition, had he

he undertaken to stifle the upstart Doctrine in its infancy, and in the year 1521, had seiz'd upon *Luther* at *Worms*, which might have pass'd for an excellent *Coup d'etat*. But for all that, I can't believe that this Doctrine had been so easily suppress'd, though *Luther* had been put to death against the Imperial Promise and safe Conduct which was given him. But 'tis much more probable, that the Emperor being then a young Prince, could not penetrate into the consequence of the Affair, and besides, did not think it convenient to oppose the Elector of *Saxony*, who was then in great credit; and the Wars with the *Turk* and *French* King hindred him from attempting any thing against the Princes of *Germany*, whilst *Francis* began to make Leagues and confederate himself with 'em. Though 'tis most certain, that he serv'd himself afterwards of the Pretext of Religion, to make War upon the Protestant States, that by their fall he might make himself a way to universal Monarchy. But tho' Fortune smil'd on him at the Battel of *Smalkald*. he could not perfect the so-luckily.

ly begun design, whilst the assistance of the *German* Princes was so necessary to him both against the *Turk* and *French*, and whilst he design'd to place the Imperial Crown on his Son *Philip's* Head. In short, the Pope himself (*Paul* the Third) did so much dread the Fortune of the Emperor, that he excited the *French* to oppose his growing Greatness, and to hinder the total ruin of the Protestant Party: Nor did he scruple to use the *Turkish* help thereto, so mightily was he afraid of a Reformation in his Court. In fine, the Pope had prejudic'd himself and his own Affairs by his ill Conduct; for it was a great oversight in *Leon* the Tenth, so violently to support the Cause of the Indulgence-sellers, as also his Decision by a Bull in the Month of *November* 1518. of the questions which were begun to be disputed on, whereby he cut off all means of an Accommodation, and depriv'd *Luther* of his hopes of Pardon or Reconciliation: Whereas he had done much more prudently, had he declar'd himself Neuter, and impos'd in the mean time

Silence

Silence on both Parties, till he could have found out some expedient to appease *Luther*. So likewise the Cardinal *Cajetan* acted very imprudently at *Ausburg*, in the following year 1519, in handling *Luther* so roughly, and not embracing his reasonable Proposition of Silence, on condition that the Cardinal would oblige his Adversaries to do the same; for he forced him thereby to Extremities which perhaps he had never otherwise thought of, and to fly into an open Rebellion against the Papal Authority: But nothing would satisfy, unless he retraced all his Writings; whereas they might have easily granted him, That there was a great Corruption of Manners, that he might desist from the Reformation of their Doctrine.

Besides, whilst the Pope was very instant with the Elector of *Saxony*, that he would deliver up *Luther*, he found himself more and more engag'd into a Proof of the Pope's Injustice, as also to shew upon what grounds his Cause was founded, that so he might induce the Elector to shut his Ears to the Pope's Request. But when *Luther*

afterwards appeal'd to a Council, the Pope rendered himself very much suspected, whilst he temporiz'd and spun out the Affair into a great many delays; for it was very visible, that he could never be able to defend his Cause, if it came once to be examined by impartial and uninterested men. It happen'd likewise very unluckily, that the Pope embroil'd himself not long after with *Harry* the Eighth, who to revenge himself of the Pope, opened the Door to the English Reformation: As also the House of *Navarr* did mightily contribute to the introducing and establishing of the same Religion in *France*, out of hate, as some think, to the Pope, who had excited *Ferdinand* the Catholick, to seize upon and possess himself of that Kingdom.

To all which we may add, That there were a great many honest men among the Papists, who were not sorry to see the Pope a little curb'd and check'd; as *Luther* us'd him. Thus all things wonderfully concurr'd to the executing the Divine Will and Decree of the Almighty.

Sect.

Sect. 27. But why *Luther's* Doctrine has not made a greater progress nor overthrown the whole Popedom, there may be several strong and weighty Reasons given thereof: For, first you must take notice, That so soon as several States had renounced the Pope's Authority, the chief direction of *Ecclesiastick Affairs* must necessarily devolve on the Supreme Magistrate: For though some of them would have assum'd the Authority over the rest, that were of the same Belief and Perswasion, the others that thought themselves quite as good, and as fit thereto, would never give their consent; which did much weaken their Union, and hindred them from acting so unanimously against the Pope as he could do against them. Besides, at the first they did not proceed deliberately to a Reformation, as if they would after a mature consideration form a new state, but they fell into this Change insensibly and unexpectedly, and the business was carried underhand, and went on very slowly; and though *Luther* was the *Bell-weather* of the Flock, yet his Followers would not conform

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themselves in every point to his Sentiments, but pretended that they had likewise something to say for themselves. Hence did arise several Differences and Disputes among them, which whilst there was no body whose Authority was sufficient to decide 'em, and each one obstinately persisted in his Opinion, quickly occasion'd Schisms amongst them; and made them, forgetting their Common Enemy, to fall foul upon one another.* This gave the *Papists* a very fair occasion to say, The Hereticks were confounded amongst themselves, not knowing what they should believe; and were wandering in an inextricable Labyrinth, since their falling away from the *Romish* Church. Here-to did not a little contribute those, who abusing the Name of the Holy Gospel, led an impious and scandalous life; as if the Gospel-Freedom consisted in the abandoning themselves to all sorts of Debauchery. This their ill Conduct gave occasion to the Pope's Followers to blacken the Doctrine of *Luther*, because he had so severely reprehended the scandalous

Lives

Lives of their Clergy, and thereby had gain'd himself a strong Party. And it was likewise a great misfortune, that a very little after the preaching of *Luther*, there sprung up great swarms of *Phanaticks*, as the *Anabaptists*, and such-like; and that the Bores in *Germany* made a dangerous Insurrection; all which Disturbances were by the Pope's Creatures attributed to *Luther's* Doctrine; so that a great many Princes began to suspect it, as if it were the Introducer of all sorts of Licence and Irregular Liberties amongst the Mobile, which they esteem'd a greater Evil than the Oppression of the Clergy: So that they oppos'd themselves with all their might against this new and seemingly seditious Doctrine of *Luther*. Some are of opinion, That the Academy of *Paris* had a great share herein; for *Luther* imagining that the *French* Clergy were discontented with *Leon* the Tenth, upon the account of the *Pragmatick Sanction*, concerning the Election of their Bishops, and therefore would not let slip so fair an occasion of revenging themselves on him.

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'Twas in these Thoughts that *Luther* was so willing to submit to their decision his Disputes with *Eckius*; but unfortunately for him, for they condemn'd his Opinions in very rude and jocquant terms. *Spain* too found it to be her Interest to take into her protection the Chair of *Rome*, and therefore violently oppos'd the Protestant Religion, and so vigorously supported the solemn League in *France*, that *Henry* the Fourth, to gain the Crown, was absolutely forced to abjure his Religion. Some have likewise observ'd, that the advancement of the Protestant Religion was not a little retarded first by *Zuinglius*, and afterwards by *Calvin*, who introducing a too great and hasty Reformation, as well in things relating to the external form of the Church, as in the essential points of Faith, fell from one extrem into the other. Now *Luther* had chang'd very few of those things to which the People had been accustomed; for he left in the Church the Ornaments, Bells, Organs, and Candlesticks, and retain'd likewise the greatest part of the Mass, excepting that he

he added thereto several Prayers in the Vulgar Tongue; so that he was look'd upon by the greatest part as a Reformer only of some Abuses that had slip't into their Religion. But just as it appeared that this Revolution was like to be universal, *Zuinglius* interven'd in *Switzerland*, and *Calvin* in *France*, who, instead of observing *Luther's* method, began immediately to preach against the Presence of Christ's Body in the Eucharist, abolish'd entirely all sort of Ornaments and Ceremonies, broke in pieces the Altars and Images, extirpated all sort of Order in the Hierarchy, or Government of the Church, and despoil'd the Religion of all that which might serve to attract the Eyes and the external Senses: Whereupon the common People conceiv'd a great aversion against them, and cleav'd with much more zeal and attachment to the Religion which they received from their Ancestors.

The Riches of the Church did also not a little contribute to the progress of *Luther's* Doctrine, whilst several laid hold on the opportunity of appropriating

ting them to themselves, and perhaps did no less hinder it, whilest most of the great Prelates stuck fast to the Church of *Rome*, who perhaps would have ventur'd to have shaken off the yoke, if the fear of losing their fat Benefices, had not kept them faithful to their Masters Interests; as we see that it happen'd in *France*, where the Prelates themselves, as well as the common People before the Reformation did mightily despise the Pope's Authority, but afterwards were great sticklers for the Chair of *Rome*, and stirr'd up the peoples hatred against the new Doctrine, as soon as they perceiv'd that if that prevail'd, they must out.

Seet. 28. But after that, the Pope and his Creatures were a little recover'd out of the terrible consternation so puissant an opposition had put them in, and that his Adversaries began to fall out among themselves, he establish'd his Affairs in a much better condition than at first, and stood so vigilantly upon his Guard, that the Protestants are not only incapable of doing him any more mischief; but

but he does proceed every day to get signal advantages over them; for that which *Luther* took an occasion to hurt him most by, is now quite taken away; or at least, is more prudently and modestly practis'd by him, *si non castè, saltem cautè*: And the Weapons which *Luther* us'd against the Pope, are now by the same advantageously turn'd against their Master; for the Popes do no longer so impudently insult over Sovereign Princes as they were wont to do, but use them with much more civility and moderation; 'tis true, in the last Century, *Paul* the fourth did handle the *Spaniards* something roughly, as *Paul* the fifth in the Age wherein we live, did deal with the *Venetians* much after the same rate; but their differences were quickly termined by a prudent mediation, before the business came to be too high; and the Popes have been since convinced, that such heats are very prejudicial to their States; as in effect, *Paul* the fifth was immediately brought to reason, when the *French* Ambassador made him believe, that the *Venetians* had

had sent for Ministers from *Geneva*, and that he should shortly hear they were all turn'd Protestants. Besides, the Papal Chair has no more been fill'd by such notorious Debauchees as *Alexander* the sixth, or by any of so Martial and fighting an humor as *Julius* the second; but on the contrary, they endeavour to put their plots in execution with less noise, and more cunning, and by appearing outwardly very zealous for the peace and quiet of Christendom.

The scandalous Merchandizing of Indulgences, and a too gross Simony is by them suspended, whilst they endeavour to drain the Peoples purses by more honourable and plausible means; the Bishops likewise in general, are much mended, and comport themselves with more modesty and gravity than they did before *Luther's* time, and there is now to be found amongst their Clergy, very Wise and Learned Men. They have likewise in the *Romish* Church, made a great Reformation amongst the ordinary Priests and Friars, and that brutality and ignorance which heretofore

fore was so common amongst them, is now no more to be seen. The brave and learned Sermons of *Luther* was that which at first procur'd him and his Disciples so great a concourse of people; they edified a great many by the excellent Books which they put out in their Mother tongue, to excite them to Meditation, Piety, Prayer, and Spiritual Exercises; both which the Papists have since imitated; and there are found amongst them a great many good Preachers, and wholesome Books of Prayer and Meditation; so that at present, the Protestant Clergy have no longer reason to reproach the *Romish* with their want of that modesty and excellent conduct which they observe in the external Service of God. They are also well versed in all Controversies, and are ready with whole dozens of distinctions for every objection made against them; for example, whereas there is nothing can be more ridiculously invented, than the Pope's distributing out Indulgences for twenty or thirty Thousand Years, they give it a colour with the distinction of *intensive* and *extensive*,
poten-

potentialiter and *actualiter*, wherein the young Students take a great deal of pleasure, and the ignorant imagine some great Mysteries to be envelop'd therein; whereas also in *Luther's* time, the ignorance of the Clergy, and their hatred to Learned Men was so prejudicial to the Popedom; those of that Communion, and especially, the *Jesuits* have since found remedies for that inconvenience; for the *Jesuits* have not only taken upon them the Information and Instruction of the youth, but in the Countries where they are establish'd, they have as 'twere made a *Monopoly* thereof, so that learning is now so far from being any longer prejudicial to 'em, that it procures them great advantages: Lastly, They desisted from the propagation of their Religion with Fire and Sword, and endeavour'd to allure the chiefest of the Protestants, with good Words, great Promises, and effectual Preferments.

Those that will go over to 'em, if they have any parts and capacities, are sure to make their Fortunes; to which, upon the account of their Church's

Church's Riches they have the best opportunity in the World: Whereas on the contrary, if any one of them would turn Protestant, and does not bring means along with him, or is not of a more than ordinary understanding, he has nothing but contemptible poverty to expect.

Lastly, The House of *Austria* has much contributed to the raising up and restoring of the Popedom, by driving out the Protestants, not only out of its hereditary Lands, but likewise from *Bohemia*, and the depending Provinces, and lately out of all *Hungary*, or else by obliging them to embrace the *Romish* Religion.

Sect. 29. From what has been said before, may easily be understood, how, and by what means this Spiritual Monarchy has insinuated it self in the *western* part of Christendom, but that you may the better conceive the structure and all the resorts of this Machine; 'twould not be amiss, if we consider'd the Pope two ways, first, as he is one of the Princes of *Italy*, and secondly, as the Ghostly Sovereign of the *Occidental* Churches.

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As to the first, we say, That the Pope may very well pass for one of the greatest Lords in *Italy*, but under this consideration, must he yield to most of the Potentates of *Europe*; his Territories are the City of *Rome* with its Dependances on both the sides the *Tyber*, the Dutchy of *Benevento* in the Kingdom of *Naples*, of *Spoletto*, *Urbino* and *Ferrara*, the Marquisate of *Ancona*, several places in *Hetruria*, as also the *Romaniola* or *Flaminia*, containing the Cities of *Bolonia* and *Ravenna*; in *France* he has the County of *Avignon*; *Parma* is a Fee of the Church, which *Paul* the third invested his Son *Peter Lewis Farnesse* with, tho' since that time, it has been resolv'd, that for the future, it shall not be in the Pope's power to alienate the vacant Fees, nor invest any one with the Church-Lands, for fear of weakning the Papal State; and to the end that the Pope might have wherewithal to maintain his Court, if it should happen that any part of his Foreign Revenues should fail or come short. The Kingdom of *Naples* is likewise a Fee or Copy-Hold of the Church,

Church, in acknowledgment of which the King of *Spain* does yearly present the Pope with a white Hackney, and five Thousand Ducats. As for the Pope's Pretensions upon other Lands, they are now no longer passable. All these Countries are peopled, and fertile enough, and do comprehend a great many considerable Towns and Cities, from whence the Pope does yearly draw about two millions of Gold; and his Officers are very careful that the People may not grow too rich.

Though there are good Souldiers enough to be found in the Pope's Dominions, yet his Militia is not very considerable, whilst the means he uses to maintain his Countries are quite contrary to those of other Princes. He keeps ready equipp'd about Twenty Gallies, which usually lie at *Civita Vecchia*.

The politick Maxims of the Pope, which he, as temporal Prince, puts in practice, do mostly consist in the maintaining of the Peace in *Italy*, and retaining it in the same posture and condition as it is at present, and espe-

cially in suppressing any upstart Power that may give Laws to all the rest. Besides, 'tis his peculiar Interest to hinder the *Turk* from getting footing in *Italy*, and in case of any Invasion, to unite not only all the *Italian* Princes, but likewise all *Christendom* against him, who likewise ought not to suffer that this noble Country fall into the hands of those *Barbarians*. The Pope has now no reason to be alarm'd by *Germany*, as long as it does continue in its present form of Government: But if it should happen to fall under an Absolute Monarchy, it might easily revive its old pretensions. *Spain* and *France* are those which can only give the Pope his hand full of business, and therefore in respect of those it is the Pope's Interest to foment a continual Division betwixt them; or to balance them so equally, that neither may be able to trample upon the other. I don't doubt but the Pope wishes with all his Heart that the *Spaniard* were not so near a Neighbour to him in *Italy*, and would not be sorry to see him driven out of *Naples*; but there's no probability that he

he could effect that himself; and to call in the *French* to drive out the *Spanish*, were to leap out of the Frying-pan into the Fire. Therefore the Pope must be contented to hinder the *Spanish* from making any greater Progress in *Italy*; and if at any time *Spain* should attempt it, *France* and the rest of the *Italian* Princes would soon be upon their backs. Nor is it less the Pope's Interest to hinder *France* from getting so sure footing there, as to be able to sway the Affairs of that Country, according to its own will and pleasure. The Pope has nothing to fear from the other States of *Italy*; for though they cherish a secret hatred against him, whilst a spiritual power is become very formidable to them, and some of them have been shrewdly handled by him, yet they are forced to respect him outwardly, and dare not undertake any thing against him openly: But on the contrary, they will never suffer him to aggrandize himself by the Ruines of any one of them; whilst that crafty Nation is very jealous of keeping the balance equal amongst them.

Seet. 30. But if we consider the Pope the second way, that is, as the spiritual Monarch of *Christendom*, and Vicar of Jesus Christ upon Earth, we shall find the whole *basis* of that Government so artificially and ingeniously contriv'd, that a man may well say, there was never a more subtle Machine invented whilst the World stood, than is the *P O P E D O M*, the which to support and maintain does require so much the more Cunning and Intrigues, as its Interests are different from those of all the World beside, and the Title to such a pretended Sovereignty more weak and impertinent. The Prospect of other States is, to secure to themselves an external as well as internal Peace and Tranquility: 'Tis to this end that each Member of the Common-wealth does contribute as much as in him lies, not sparing Limb nor Life to put themselves into a condition of resisting the Injuries and Violences of Strangers; as also each particular ought to procure to himself a competent Subsistence by his proper Labour and Industry: But the aims and designs of the

the Papal Government is, that the Pope and his Clergy endeavour to make themselves rich, powerful, and considered in the World, and to provide for their own ease and security by the Sweats of other mens Brows, which they effect by all sort of allurements and plausible persuasions. And whereas other States are at excessive charges in the maintaining of standing Armies and a number of Garrisons; the Pope on the contrary makes his Militia subsist, how great soever it be, at the Expences of others, and yet does serve himself thereof much more advantageously than all others.

Besides, other Princes find it to be their Interest not to neglect the Maxim *de imperio intra terminos coercendo*; or of not extending too far the limits of their Territories: But the Pope has no reason to observe the same measures, for 'twould be neither dangerous nor troublesome to him, though his Empire should reach both to the *East* and *West-Indies*.

The Right of Sovereignty is grounded upon clear and uncontrollable Reason, and on the Institution of God

himself; so that without it, it were impossible for men to lead an honourable, safe, and orderly Life; but I am sure, 'tis impossible to find so plain and well-grounded a Title of the *Papal Power*; or to prove, That a Spiritual Sovereignty is as necessary to the Welfare of *Christendom*, as Temporal Powers are to the Peace and Tranquility of Mankind: And he that will not believe this Position, let him only bring one solid Argument to the contrary, and we will yield with admiration to the Subtleness of his Wit. But if the *Popish* Doctors will appeal to an express and positive order of God, they are oblig'd to bring clear and indisputable proofs from the Holy Scripture to demonstrate, that our Saviour, when he sent forth his Apostles into all Countries to preach the Gospel, gave them power not only to teach all Nations, preferably to all humane prohibition, (which is not doubted) but also without the Sovereign's Consent, though he should profess the same Christian Religion, to establish in the publick Ministry, who, and how many they themselves thought

thought fit, and afterwards to resign to them the right of augmenting their Order without number, and without measure, whilst no body must contradict them, no, not so much as he whose Right they so boldly usurped; and that in consequence of these their Proceedings, since those they had thus establish'd, can't live by the Air, like *Camelions*, to impower them to scrape together by all sort of Tricks and Inventions, not only what may be necessary for the preservation of Life, but likewise to subministrate to Luxury and Superfluity; and that besides all such as were resolv'd to embrace this Profession, should be freed from the jurisdiction of the Supreme Magistrate; as also their Goods, howsoever acquir'd, nay, though they immediately proceeded from the Revenue of the Republick, and were protected thereby, were yet to be independent of the Higher Powers: Nor might it be permitted them to lay any Taxes thereon, to limit their immoderate Bounds, or to convert them to any other use in the greatest case of necessity: And that the Supreme Direction of the Affairs

fairs of this Order, as well in the administration of all Offices, as of their Revenues, should belong to one of the same Order, on whom they should absolutely depend; whilst their lawful Sovereign might not pretend to a more prevalent Right, although the Multitude, or the Rebellion of such a Spiritual Order, should tend to the ruine of the State; or that it could not be saved, but by the communication of their Goods, unless the Director of the Order gave his Consent to it.

Besides all this, there remains clearly to be prov'd another *Hypothesis*, which consists in Matter of Fact; as for example; That Jesus Christ conferr'd on St. Peter alone the spiritual Sovereignty over the Church, without the admission of any of the other Apostles into the Government, and that such a Prerogative was not confin'd only to his person, but that by an equal right it should eternally belong to such as should succeed him in the place whereof he was Bishop: As also that St. Peter was actually Bishop of Rome, did there exercise such

a Sovereignty, and that he did irrevocably communicate it to this place alone excluding all others where he afterwards preached. Now, as the proof of these Propositions is extremely difficult, the Doctors of the *Romish* Church ought to take care, that they do not form them too accurately before their Auditors, but only in general terms, and to cover 'em with the Foxes Tail; for 'tis much more their Interest to buzz into the Peoples Ears a number of Reasons, which are but little to the purpose; as for example, the Promises made in Scripture, that *the Gates of Hell shall not prevail against the Church*; of the Greatness and flourishing estate of the Church; of its Antiquity; of the Succession of the Popes; of the Fathers, Councils; of the Authority of so many Nations and times; of Wonders, and such-like stuff, very proper for a noisy Declamation. 'Tis an Expedient likewise which they have found very profitable, without much Debate, to brand those with the Title of Hereticks that dare to begin any Dispute with them; for it is just as much as if they should term them ignorant

norant and impertinent Novices, that have not yet learn'd their Trade, that don't know how to speak with Honour before their Masters, but deserve to be burned.

Seet. 31. In the mean while 'tis very plain, that this Spiritual Sovereignty was absolutely oblig'd to assume the form of Monarchy, and that it is altogether inconsistent with either *Aristocracy* or *Democracy*, as well upon the account of several other inconveniences, as because it would be morally impossible to erect any sort of *Democracy* or *Aristocracy* (where so many different opinions always occur) that could be so well modell'd by the most exact and severest Laws, as not be plagu'd with a thousand Divisions, Schisms and Factions, whereby the whole structure built upon so weak Foundations, would soon fall to ruin; but amongst the several sorts of Monarchy, they have pitch'd upon so good a one, that it is impossible to find any other more agreeing with their Interests, than that they have chosen; and it is certain, that all the most subtle Speculations of politick

tick Writers, is nothing in comparison of what we see here actually perform'd; 'tis true, there have been Kings who have made themselves and their Countries very Famous, for as much as they have given out that they were descended from Divine origin, or that their States were founded either by the special command of the Gods, or confirm'd by Miracles wrought in their favour, or else they have by their Heroick Actions procur'd their Deification, and made their Subjects adore them after their Death; but the Pope has been able to persuade the people, that he is the true Stateholder, and Vice-gerent of Jesus Christ, who has all Power in Heaven and on Earth, and that too, to be understood in a much higher Sence, than when it is sometimes said of the Supreme Powers, that they are Earthly Gods; for he gives out, that he is the Dispenser of that Grace which is procur'd us by the Merits of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and that he who does not acknowledge his Power, can have no hopes or pretence to Salvation. Now there is nothing in the world that

that can more attract the most profound respect and veneration of men, than the Divine Majesty; and consequently, nothing more prevalent in the obliging them to obedience, and a blind submission to all sort of trouble and charges, than the fear of God's wrath, and the damnation of their Souls; and when once the Pope can insinuate the belief thereof into the Peoples minds, there needs no other demonstration of all the other Articles of Faith, as *Αὐτὸς ἔφη*, the Pope has said it.

Besides, tho' most other Nations look upon hereditary Kingdoms to be the best and most secure; yet this sort of Government does not square with the Pope's Interests; for where the Crown descends from Father to Son, 'tis impossible but that sometimes the *minorities* of Kings must happen, which would sound very absurd, that God's Vicar upon Earth should sometimes ride upon a Hobby-Horse, and that the Monarch of all Christendom, should stand in need of a Tutor. Besides, 'twould be very difficult for a young Prince to assume

sume such a Gravity as is absolutely necessary in the acting of that personage, nor was it to be hoped that all the Successors and Posterity of the Pope could have equal inclinations to such an employ. In a word, the hereditary Right would have turned it into a bare temporal Kingdom, which could not have been long supported by so weak and unnatural a Title; not to add, that the Ministers of State, and those that enjoyed the chiefest Employes, would have endeavour'd to turn out their Master, and put themselves in his place, whereas they now contain themselves in a very exact obedience, in hopes that they or theirs, may also by Election one day ascend to this Supreme Dignity; to which, force can never give them any right. Lastly, If this Monarchy had been made hereditary, the extinction of the reigning Family would have caus'd horrible Debates about the Succession, and perhaps at last, have over-turn'd the whole Machine.

They have farther found it to be the Interest of the Popedom, that this Monarch

Monarch should lead a single Life, which does very well agree with the Gravity of that Court, especially whilst a gawdy Attendance of young and airy Court-Ladies would have made an odd figure, and have been an ill example of a more than ordinary Piety and Devotion; 'twas likewise a piece of politick Hypocrisy, to seem to have so great an attachment to Heav'n as to be quite insensible to all fleshly motions and desires; nor was it easily to hoped, that a Man who had Wife and Children could defend himself from being debauch'd by them, and become more addicted to their particular Interests than to the publick good, since there is no consideration or prospect that can come in competition with that a man has for the welfare and prosperity of his Family, whereof one may find a very remarkable example in the natural Children of *Alexander* the sixth, and *Paul* the third, to which we may add, that perhaps it was feared, lest a Secular Prince becoming Master of the Ecclesiastick States should make it hereditary in his Family, which, by obliging

obliging them to celibacy, can never happen.

The Conclave is likewise a good expedient to bridle the immoderate ambition of any Pope, and prevent those Schisms which heretofore did mightily weaken the Papal Authority, and to hinder the long *interegnum's*. And it is much more easy by the way of Election to find a person fit to exercise all the Cheats, Slights and Intrigues requir'd in such a Government, and whom they may better perswade the ignorant Vulgar, Strangers to the Arts of the Conclave, to be, by an especial Order of God, as the best and most capable, call'd to be his *locum tenens*, or Vicar on Earth. At least by such an Election they are able to find one that understands the Affairs of the World, and the Art of Governing, and who having laid aside the Heats and Extravagancies of Youth by his Age and Experience, may render himself venerable. 'Tis also very politickly provided in the Election of the Pope, that two third parts of the Voices must concur to the admission of any one to this Dignity, to the end that

that the Choice may not be displeasing to a too great number of Cardinals.

In the Election of a Pope, the greatest caution at present is, that he be not a *Transalpine*, that is, a Foreigner of any Country beyond the *Alps*, but a Native of *Italy*, which does not alone happen upon the account of their being more favourable and desirous of transferring so great Honour and Profit on one of their own Country-men, rather than on a stranger; but chiefly, because their preservation and surety, depends on the keeping the balance equal betwixt *France* and *Spain*, which *equilibrium* a *French* or *Spanish* Pope would quickly ruin, and by a too great partiality to his own Nation, render himself hateful to the other. They usually chuse an old man rather than young, that others may have some hopes of quickly attaining to the same Dignity, and that the Pope who governs, may not by a too long sitting at the Helm, change the Maxims of State, nor transferr too much Power or Riches on his own Family, nor make so many Creatures
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as to render the Popedom hereditary thereto. As to the rest, the vigour of youth is not in the least necessary to the exercising all the Functions of this charge, for they are not required to head an Army, or make any Campaigns, but only to set a grave and starch'd face on the matter.

The Conclave in the Election of the Pope, does likewise take care to chuse such a Successor, that is not too nearly alli'd to him that preceded him, for fear that all the Ecclesiastical Benefices should fall into one Family; and to the end, that the succeeding Pope may more earnestly redress those abuses and grievances that have crept into the Government in his Predecessor's time. Lastly, They willingly make choice of such a one as is not too much in the *French* or *Spanish* Interests, nor that is hated by either of those Nations, as in effect, both those Crowns do usually propose him that they most desire to be excluded from the Papal Dignity; but it often happens, that he who was least thought on arrives to this Honour when the Cardinals are weary of dis-

puting and intriguing, and are glad with all their Heart to get out of the Conclave.

It often happens also, that they find the same person, when possess'd of the Papal Chair, much different from what he was whilst Cardinal. Nevertheless, they do not prescribe him any Conditions before he enters upon his Government, since it would not be handsome to tie up his Hands with Humane Laws and Ordinances, who is supposed to have so extraordinary a measure of the Holy Ghost always residing *in scrinio pectoris*: Yet the College of Cardinals is like a perpetual Senate of the Ecclesiastical state, whom the Pope consults in all important Affairs, though he and his Nephews don't always follow their Counsel, but do what seems best in their own Eyes.

The chiefest Privilege of the Cardinals is the power of chusing a Pope, who must be one of them, and one that has liv'd long and is well vers'd in all the Affairs of the Court of *Rome*; their usual number is Seventy, tho' seldom compleat: *Urban* the Eighth first

first gave them the Title of *Eminentissimi*, being only nam'd before *Illustrissimi*, which Title grew very mean and common in *Italy*; but since the Cardinals have augmented their Titles, the Princes of *Italy* would ape them, and instead of being contented with *Excellenza's*, as they were ordinarily stiled, they must now be call'd *Altezza's*, or *Their Highnesses*. The Election of the Cardinals is wholly in the power of the Pope, who has usually regard therein to the Recommendations of *France*, *Spain*, and other Potentates. The Flatterers of the Papal Chair are not asham'd to maintain, That the Dignity of a Cardinal is equal to that of a King; at least, they challenge the Precedence of the *German Electors*.

Since the time of *Sixtus* the Fourth, in the year 1471, the Popes have particularly endeavour'd to enrich their Friends and Relations at the expence of the Church. As for example; *Sixtus* the Fifth, in five years, left to his Family more than three millions of Ducats. *Gregory* the Fifteenth, in 27 Months time, more than three mil-

lions of Crowns in Goods, besides ready Money. The *Barbarini*, after the Death of *Urban* the Eighth, were left in possession of 227 Charges and Benefices, each amounting from three to five, eight and ten thousand Crowns. So that the Riches of that Family were valued at about thirty millions of Crowns. And though a great many were scandalized at this way of proceeding, yet if we rightly consider it, 'tis not so blame-worthy; for since the whole Popedom is founded on the Riches and Authority of the Clergy, 'twould be great Imprudence in the Pope to stifle that natural Inclination he has to his own Family, and not to promote the Grandeur thereof, as long as it is in his power to do it; and nothing is more common, than to see Favourites, and such as Fortune smiles on, envied by those who are only desirous of the same condition. But for the rest, 'tis certain that the Popes would not know what to do with their Money, without that way of bestowing it, since the Charges of their Militia is very inconsiderable. Since the time of *Urban* the Eighth it has al-

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waies been the Custom to make one of the Pope's Nephews chief Minister of State under the Title of Cardinal *Patron*. Amongst the Motives that induced the Pope to intrust his Nephew with the sole Management of his Affairs, these are the most weighty: First, because nothing is more natural than to seek the Advantage and Preferment of ours, before that of any other; and secondly, because the Person of the Pope is thereby much more secure, which is otherwise expos'd to far greater dangers than that of Hereditary Princes is, whose death their Successors are wont to revenge; and we may from hence guess how much the Popes stand in fear of being poisoned, forasmuch as the Chaplain, whenever the Pope communicates, must taste both of the Bread and Wine, before he gives it his Master.

The Government of the Pope's Nephews has yet this farther advantage, That the other Governours and Ministers of State, who were us'd to heap up great Riches by an impudent and scandalous Sale of Offices, and by the supplanting of each other, were there-

by kept in greater awe and modesty: Besides, the Nephews being inconsiderable as to their number, are therefore the more easily satisfy'd. Nor will they let the other Officers squeeze and oppress the Subject, whilst all the Hate must fall upon them. They are also more necessary to the Pope, because by them he is more truly and exactly inform'd of the Interests of the Princes, than he is by his ordinary Ministers, who are not so much devoted to the Pope's Service as are his Nephews, whose Interest it is likewise to take good care for the Government, for fear lest they should be one day call'd to an account: And 'tis upon that account that they more particularly endeavour to oblige one Prince, who in case of need may yield them a secure Refuge. In a word, by their means the Pope's Secrets are better kept; and it is most certain, that without them he must be oblig'd to depend on the Cardinals, who are mostly partial, receiving Pensions and Benefices at the hands of other Princes.

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Sett. 32. The Subjects of this Spiritual Monarchy may be divided into two Classes: Under the first we comprehend the Clergy; under the second all other Christians that make Profession of the *Romish* Religion, whom they commonly name the Laity. The first of these we may compare to the standing Forces of any Prince, who having made great Conquests, does thereby maintain them, and keep the conquered from shaking off their Yoke. The others are poor Tributary Slaves, doom'd to maintain so great a Militia at their own Expences. The first are singular in this, That they are obliged to abstain from Marriage, which they pretend is upon the account of a more particular Holiness, and that they may uninterruptedly addict themselves to the exercise of the Charge: But the true reason is, That they may not be embarrassed with the care of Wife and Children, to the prejudice of the Church's Interest, or oblig'd to side with the Prince under whose Dominion they live; nor cheat the Church of its Income, to supply the necessities of their

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Families; but that they may devote themselves wholly to the Pope, and yield him a blind Obedience, and execute his Orders against all, but more especially against the Princes whose Subjects they are, whose Anger they dread the less, because they are not joined or united to the Republick by so streight Bands as the rest are, and have but one body to take care for; whereas a Wife and Children are look'd upon to be the greatest and dearest Pawns of our Fidelity; but a single man can easily get his Bread in any Country. In fine, the Pope endeavours by all sort of waies to free them from the Dependance and Jurisdiction of their lawful Sovereigns, to subject them entirely to his own.

The Clergy also could never have satisfy'd their Avarice with so rich a Harvest, had they been oblig'd to have scrap'd up for their Wives and Children; nor so fair a Pretext of begging for the Church, and not for themselves: But in the mean while those that first introduced Cœlibacy or a single Life among the *Romish* Clergy, were wonderfully overseen, in

in not finding out at the same time a fit Receipt for the Gift of Continency, which had been very seasonable. We may guess at the multitude of the Clergy, by the computation which *Paul* the Fourth is said to make thereof, *viz.* That he had under his Jurisdiction Two hundred and eighty eight thousand Parishes, and forty four thousand Cloisters, especially if that of the Convents be just.

We may again divide the Clergy into those that are simply Priests, and those that have made particular vows, as the Monks and Jesuites, which may pass for the Pope's Life Guard: The pay of these Troops consists in honourable Charges, great Revenues, an easie Labour, idle daies, and a constant Kitchen; but those that are kept more strict, have their Heads fill'd with a particular Holiness and Merits and Advantages above the rest.

Seet. 33. The means which the Pope makes use of to keep the Laity in subjection, are the accustoming them to a belief, that he and his Ghostly Militia are the Premoters of their Salvation,

vation, and the Lords of their Consciences, which is the strongest Argument in the World to lead them into a perpetual Slavery and Submission to their Wills; but that it may be more serviceable to their Spiritual Monarchy, they have accommodated thereto some of the Articles of the Christian Religion, and since made some additions of others tending to the same end. So that if you take good notice of the Disputes and Contestations which they of the *Romish* Religion have with their Adversaries, you will alwaies find some Interest mingled therewith, concerning the Authority, Power, or Revenues of the Clergy: The chiefest of these Doctrines is concerning the Power and Authority of the Pope, of his Superiority over the Councils, and of his Infallibility; which last point the Jesuites have stretch'd as far as possible; for that being once granted, all the rest is an easie and natural consequence thereof. But the Sentiments of the Ancient Christians, with whom (if I am not mistaken) the *Sorbon* at present holds; viz. That the

the Councils are at least equal if not above the Popes, are directly opposite to the grounds of the Papal State; for this Opinion once stiffly maintain'd, would destroy the Monarchy, and on its Ruins erect a Democracy; and in effect, to grant the Pope such almighty Prerogatives, and yet subject him to his Creatures and Vassals, are things incompatible, and inconsistent with one another: For that which the Holy Writings of the Fathers have attributed to the Church, must be only understood of the Pope, just as in ordinary Discourse we ascribe that to a whole Kingdom, which is done by the King alone.

The reading of the Holy Scriptures is forbid the Laity, and only permitted to the Clergy; which does not alone contribute to the Grandeur of the *Priests*, as if they were the only persons worthy to approach the Divine Oracles, but does also more particularly hinder the Laity from finding any thing contrary to the Interests of the Clergy, and becoming too wise, and refusing any longer blindly to receive the Fables of their lying Priests.

So that the Laity not being permitted to search into Matters of Divinity, nor to examin them seriously, are oblig'd to referr themselves wholly to their *Priests*. Hence is it that they appropriate to the *Pope* the Right of interpreting the Scriptures, and of giving an absolute decision of all controverted points, to the end that none may be alledg'd that are prejudicial to his Interests.

They give out too, That the Scriptures are imperfect, and therefore to be supply'd by Traditions, to the end, that when they would preach up any Doctrine advantageous to the Holy Chair, of which there is not the least tittle to be found in the Scripture, they may appeal to Tradition, and so spare themselves any farther demonstration.

In the Doctrine of sins they have a distinction betwixt venial and mortal sins, as also of particular cases and exceptions, all which does only tend to the profit and advantage of the *Priests*; and all that infinite number of Books of Confession, enough to lade a whole *East-India-Fleet*, are not writ

writ for the amendment of sins; but to the end, that by the Taxes therein contain'd the Dominion of the Clergy may be confirm'd, and their avarice satiated.

The comfortable Doctrine of the Remission of Sins, is intirely accommodated to their Interest; for whilst it is no advantage to the Clergy, that a truly penitent sinner should obtain remission of his sins by the confidence he has in the merits of Christ alone; therefore they teach, that to the attainment of a full and perfect forgiveness of sins, a man must reveal even the least particulars of all and every sin to the Priest, whereby they do not only make the people to be at their Devotion, and give them such impressions as are most conformable to their Interests, but they do more particularly thereby, discover all the secrets and designs of Families, and the humor and inclinations of the people, and by that means, have the best intelligence of all that is done, tho' they are forbid to reveal what is imparted to them at Confessions; for without that caution
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of secrecy, they could never have been able to have establish'd a thing so contrary, and so ungrateful to humane nature.

They promote also the works of Satisfaction according as the Father-Confessor shall find convenient to impose them; now these bring no small profit to them; for tho' the impos'd penance mostly consists in Prayers, Pilgrimages, Fastings, Whippings and such like; yet the rich are always condemned to some *pecuniary* mulct, which must be converted to the Benefit of the Convents, Churches, and the Poor, under which they comprehend the *Begging-Friars*, who therefore term themselves *minimos Fratrum*, according to the fifteenth of *St. Matthew*, that their bag might be the better fill'd: Now this interpretation of the Scripture, has burthened Christendom with more than an hundred thousand idle Bellies.

Besides, The first sort of Penitence may easily be redeem'd by Money, if they on whom 'tis impos'd, should find it too grievous; and in effect, What rich man is there, that would
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not shew himself respectful and liberal to his Holy Father, that he may be merciful to him, and make his penance more light and easy? 'Tis no hard matter to guess, why good works are reckoned amongst the means of obtaining Salvation, for as soon as they proceeded to give the definition of good works, they placed in the first rank, all Gifts and Liberalities bestow'd on the Clergy, Churches and Convents, and other acts introduc'd by the Pope and his Creatures out of a principle of Hypocrisy, and Superstition; to which they added this Doctrine, That the Monks and Friars could not only satisfy for their own sins, but that they had also an inexhaustible stock of Supererogatory Merits remaining to be bestow'd for the use and service of the sinful Laity; from which Superfluity they have erected a Magazine of an extremely profitable Merchandice, which cost them nothing either to stow, or keep, which neither grows mouldy nor musty by length of time, which never diminishes; and which in a word, cannot be restor'd by the buyer,

er, tho' he should afterwards chance to discover the insignificancy and unprofitableness thereof. They have likewise burthen'd the exercise of Religion with so many unnecessary Ceremonies, Holy-Days, and superfluous Processions, built so many useless Churches, Chapels and Altars, only that the swarming drones of the Clergy may have just something to do, and not seem to be always and wholly idle, and to the end, that they may still get a little by these and the like Fopperies.

This is likewise the reason of their multiplying the Sacraments to the number of seven, since the administration of each one brings in grist to the Priest's Mill: They have introduc'd the Mass without Communicants, baptizing it a Sacrifice for the Living and for the Dead; to the end, that the Dead as well as the Living, may be put under Contributions: Besides, nothing of Importance is taken in hand by a pious Catholick, till he has made a Mass be said for his good success. There is no Man of Quality, that dies without ordering

ing a good number of Masses to be said for his Soul, for which the Priest must be well greas'd in the Fist. It happen'd once by chance or forgetfulness, that the Cup was not administered to the Laity, afterwards it became a Law; and tho' the Institutions of Christ and the practice of the Church for several hundred Years together, was directly contrary to this encroachment; yet they obstinately persisted therein, lest it might be said, the Church has err'd, and that the Clergy might enjoy a Prerogative above the Laity; nay, so far their impudence proceeded, that as if they design'd to mock both GOD and Man, they give the Laity the unblest Cup, which in a scornful manner they name the Washing Cup, as if they had eaten some unclean thing, and must wash their Mouths after it. Marriage must be turn'd into a Sacrament, tho' it seem never so absurd and ridiculous, that the Clergy alone may take cognizance of all Affairs thereunto belonging, which being almost innumerable, are very profitable to them; and of no less consequence, for there-

on depend the Estates, Inheritances, and Successions not only of private Persons, but many times of Kingdoms also; hence it was that *Mary* the first, Queen of *England*, found herself oblig'd to re-establish Popery in her Kingdom, whilst without the Pope's Authority, she could never have past for Legitimate; thus *Philip* the third, King of *Spain*, saw himself indispensably engag'd to espouse the Pope's Interest, because amongst other obligations, it was not the least that he permitted him to be born of his Father's Sister's Daughter, which could hardly have receiv'd a Dispensation amongst other Christians.

Now the same Religion that scruples not to dispense with the nearest Bonds of Consanguinity, has introduc'd an endless Roll of forbidden Degrees, and likewise forg'd a new sort of spiritual Affinity. Why? To afford the Priests a more frequent occasion of Dispensations, which brings in an inestimable Revenue. In the extream Unctions, the Clergy have found out a very proper expedient of giving the dying person a friendly admonition to

to make some pious Legacies, all which tends to their profit.

Nor is there any other design in the Fiction of Purgatory, than to wheedle those that are just departing (and who then little value the goods they must leave to others) to give a good part thereof to the Clergy, to the end that by their Prayers and Masses they may the sooner get out of a place so terribly hot and thirsty. The adoration likewise of Relicks, does not make the least part of the Clergy's Revenue, for with an old rotten knuckle-bone, they will reward the greatest Services that the Pope's most faithful Creatures shall have rendred to him. The Invocation of Saints has furnish'd them with a very fair and specious pretext of building so many the more Churches, of Instituting more Holy-Days, of providing more Priests to officiate, and of extorting more Money from the Laity to maintain them. Besides, the Canonization of Saints which depends on the Pope's breath, does contract a greater respect and admiration of his power, as if he could dispose of

Charges and Offices in Heaven, and that God Almighty were oblig'd to receive all the Candidates the Pope should present him, by which means he can dispose of the wills of other Princes Subjects offering so considerable a Reward to their Ambition and Credulity, on condition that they will maintain his Interests to the very last. To which we may add, That since Superstition has got the upper hand, none but Ecclesiasticks have been admitted into the number of Saints, and especially such of them, who by some rare Master-piece of Hypocrisy, and a false and affected Devotion, have render'd themselves Famous o'er the World. And if this Honour has at any time been granted to a Secular Person, either he, or those that solicited it for him, must have merited it by no common Services.

As to the rest, I shall not trouble my self to particularize how the Clergy have cheated poor simple people of their Money, by the invention of Miracles, Images, Apparitions, Exorcisms, Indulgences, *Jubilee*-Years, forbidden

bidden Meats, and a thousand such like Tricks and Devices.

Sett. 34. After these means the Universities have not a little Contributed to the establishment of the Pope's Authority, which have been founded partly by the Pope, and partly by other Princes; yet after such a manner, that most of 'em must receive their Confirmation from *Rome*; and the Pope has arrogated to himself the chief management of them, and the consequences of such a Polity are plain enough, whilst the Professors, who are all the Pope's Creatures do not only establish the opinions of *Rome* during their Life, but do likewise perpetuate them, by leaving such Successors as are debauch'd and corrupted, with the same Doctrine.

Hence is it, that the Academies and the Studies exercis'd therein have been accommodated, as much as possible, to the Pope's Interests: So that the Professors of Divinity (who challenge the first rank in the University) were not alone the Pope's Creatures, but the Professors also of the Canon-Law were very zealous in defence of

the Pope's Authority, and mingled his Decrees that he had forced upon *Christendom*, with the Chicane of ordinary Proceſſes; for 'tis the Canon-Law that has caus'd that tediousness of Law-Suits, ſince the Clergy have uſurp'd ſo great a Jurisdiction, the better to ſatiate their eternal Avarice with the Bribes and Preſents which both Parties ſee their Advocates with. The moſt part of the Philoſophers were alſo the Pope's Partizans, ſo that no one of 'em durſt examine the buſineſs ſeriously for fear of being oppoſ'd by the others: Beſides, the Divinity and Philoſophy which was taught in the Schools, was not taught with the deſign of rendering the Auditors more knowing and learned, but that they might amuſe and blunt the more penetrating Wits with a parcel of ſilly, non-ſenſical terms, and by that means be hindered from acquiring a fundamental knowledge of thoſe things which might enable them clearly to diſcover the Papal Cheats. Their School-Divinity did not conſiſt in the ſearch and interpretation of the Holy Scriptures, but moſtly in the deciſion of

of unprofitable queſtions propos'd by *Peter Lombard*, *Thomas Aquinas*, *Scotus*, and other ſuch Patriarchs of ſuſom Pedantry. That likewiſe which they name *Philology*, is nothing elſe but ridiculous Chymical Propoſitions conſiſting of barbarous Latin, and inexplicable terms, the underſtanding of which was more prejudicial than profitable to the young Students: So that all knowledge conſiſted in knowing nothing rightly.

And they have had the confidence to teach theſe Bagatels and idle Speculations not only in barbarous ignorant times, but even at this preſent, that all Arts and Sciences are in their Meridian, is that leaven ſpread abroad, and propagated with all the induſtry and cunning imaginable: On the contrary, good and ſolid Sciences are oppreſs'd, and eſpecially ſuch as ſerve to open our Eyes in humane affairs, as chiefly the ſo neceſſary Doctrine of Morals, which is quite ſpoil'd by them, and turned into a Labyrinth, out of which it is impoſſible to diſentangle ones ſelf, which they make uſe of to enſnare People, and load their Con-

sciences with so many doubts and uncertainties, that being no longer able to regulate their Actions by clear and evident Principles, they must let themselves be guided by the Will of an interested Confessor.

Seet. 35. But because it was observ'd, that in *Luther's* time the study of Letters did not a little diminish the Pope's Authority, the Jesuites being the faithful Guards of the Papal Chair, did afterwards take upon them the management of all Schools and Colleges; but not content therewith, usurp'd likewise the Instruction of little Children, to the end that they might so form their Studies, as not only not to prejudice the Kingdom of Darkness, but rather to promote and advance the Interest thereof. And indeed the Education of Children has not only enrich'd their Society, and brought it into great credit, but is also a mighty prop to the Papal Authority, to which they are more devoted than all the other Orders, for thereby they inspire the tender and flexible Youth with Sentiments of an extraordinary respect and veneration for

for the Pope, as also with any other Inclinations that may render them serviceable to their Interests, and therefore accustom them from their Youth to an obstinate persistence in the Opinions which they have once embraced, and a resolution of never yielding to contrary Reasons, so that they are incapable of ever attaining to the knowledge of the Truth. The Jesuites also learn from thence the Constancy and Affections of their Scholars, of which knowledge they serve themselves very efficaciously, when these come to be employ'd in State affairs; but those that are dear to them either on the account of their Wit or Riches, they most industriously endeavour to draw into their own Order, by which means the famous Discipline of their Schools only tends to the supporting of the Pope's Authority; and though they are fam'd for an excellent method of teaching Children Latin, yet they are very cautious of rendering their Scholars too learned, unless they are destin'd to their Order.

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Besides that, as the Jesuites, by the Government of Colleges have had occasion to draw into their Society a great many learned men, and that in their Conversation and way of living they are extremely civil and polite, differing much from the courseness and rebutting Pedantry of the other Monks; under the pretence of Confessors, they have insinuated themselves into most of the Courts of *Europe*, and by cunningly arrogating to themselves Intrigues of State, they sway the Councils of Princes, and direct them to their own advantages, which as they are inseparably annexed to the Pope's, so is his never forgot by them. Yet nevertheless, in some places they have made themselves extremely odious, by their insatiable Avarice, and earnestness of interposing in all sort of matters. And they are no less envied by the old Orders of Monks, as having much encroach'd on their Rights and Authority. One of the means which are also us'd to maintain the Grandeur of the Chair of *Rome*, is the Power which the Pope and his Creatures have attributed to them-

themselves, of censuring all Books, so that nothing may appear in print that is contrary to their Interests; which Censure they use with so much rashness and impudence, that they do not only retrench what they dislike in old Authors when they are reprinted, but they have the confidence to insert whole passages, which may be serviceable to their designs.

If any new piece happen to be written and printed in the Pope's Territories, 'tis presently taken into a strict examination, and whatsoever has slip't in that is contrary to their Interests, 'tis put into the *Index expurgatorius*, that in the second Edition it may be quite omitted: But the Books that are written by their Adversaries, are absolutely forbid to be introduced into their Country: Nor may any man read them without a special permission, or such alone as are so much prejudiced against them that they do not fear will be debauch'd. So that by this means they may brand their Adversaries, and blacken them as they please, since it is not allowed their people to read either

either their Writings or Refutations. Besides, some have observ'd, that the scandalous Lives of the *Popes* having been extremely prejudicial to the *Romish* Religion, because they were expos'd to all the World by the Writings of the *Protestants*, they do now endeavour to retort the same Reproaches on the *Protestants*, not only by declaring the Faults and Oversights of some few particulars, but by charging them with the most scandalous Vices, and desiring them afterwards to prove the contrary; whereby they prepossess their Followers with notions extremely disadvantageous to the *Protestant Religion*.

They have likewise Impudence enough to cry up the Miracles and Exploits of their Martyrs, done in very remote Countries, by which they acquire a great credit, at least with the more simple sort of people: Which Trick of theirs, amongst many others, is exactly remarked by *Edwin Sands* an English Gentleman, in his *View of the Religions of Europe*.

Sect. 36. But there are yet more violent ways which the Pope uses to support the Majesty of his Character, amongst which the chiefest was that terrible Ban or Excommunication, whereby whole Countries have been forbidden the exercise of their Religion, and Kings and Emperors have been forced to truckle to the Mitre; but now a-days these Arms are no longer so dreadful as they were heretofore, unless it be to some of the petty Princes in *Italy*: But in *Spain* and *Italy* they have erected a singular Tribunal, which they christen *Officium Sanctæ Inquisitionis*, wherein they enquire and proceed against such as are any ways suspected of Heresie; the worst of which is that which destroys the Credit, Doctrine, and Decrees of the Pope: By which means the people are kept in an intolerable Slavery: And the Pest is not so dreadful to the Inhabitants of those Countries, as is this sort of Justice, which is so rigorously put in execution, that he who falls into the Inquisitor's hands, shall not escape without the loss of a great many Feathers.

Sect. 37. Now, though the Direction and Administration of the *Papish Religion*, together with other means which we have already shown, are sufficient to keep the People in the Bounds of their Duty, especially since the *Romish Clergy* do so well manage the business, that they can content every one; and that most of those that live under the Pope's Jurisdiction, credulously swallow for great Truths all that their Priests tell them; nor have they any opportunity of knowing the contrary: Yet I really believe, that the most politick and learned among them plainly see how matters go, and would never continue under so ridiculous and intolerable a Yoke, without a great many worldly Prospects; and if I may pronounce my Judgment in the case, I fancy, that most of 'em are kept back from declaring against it, because they are unable to oppose it alone; nor are they willing to ruine a good Fortune, which they enjoy amongst the *Papists*, and to go over to the *Protestants*, where they are to expect nothing but Poverty and Contempt, which

which is too sharp a trial of their Faith, and therefore they think it is enough if they believe in Jesus Christ and his Merits, and that thereby alone they shall be saved. And as for the other Opinions which are the *additamenta religionis*, they yield an external compliance to them, but think they may believe as much of them as they please: Whether the common people and Women, who are usually delighted with strange and incredible things, believe them in good earnest, or not, is of no great importance: Besides, there are, without doubt, a great many that are not able to distinguish what there is of Divine in their Religion, and what the Clergy for their own Interests have added; therefore if they happen to discover the Impositions of the last, they look upon all the rest as a meer Fable, but are forced to conceal their Atheism from the World, for fear of bringing themselves into trouble. And let any wise man judge how easily an *Italian* or *Spaniard*, that has never read the Bible, nor any good Protestant Book, may fall into such impious Thoughts

so soon as he begins to discover the Cheats of his Clergy. 'Tis likewise certain, that since *Luther's* time, the Popedom has put on another face, and does proceed much more cautiously than heretofore.

Besides, there are a great number of People, of all Conditions, that find their Advantage in the *Romish* Communion, either by entring into several Orders of Knights, or but putting themselves into Convents, which is oftentimes a great ease, and sometimes the aggrandizing of a whole Family; and at the least, the superstitious Parents are very well contented therewith, and think they merit not a little, by an early dedication of their Children to God. In fine, such as can't make their Fortune in the World, have no more to do, than to cast themselves into a Cloister, and there they are provided for all their life; which Advantage they could not enjoy, if the Papacy should be exterminated, and the Ecclesiastical Goods confiscated to the State. The Popish Doctrin is also so deeply rooted in those Countries where it does

does at present reign, that if any should undertake to abolish it, he could never attain his ends, whilst the Priests would not fail to move Heaven and Earth against him, or find a *Clement* or *Ravaillac* to shorten his days; but most of the Princes find it their Interest to maintain the establish'd Religion; or at least, they find no profit, but rather a great deal of danger in beginning a change.

Sect. 38. But *Italy* especially, has no small Advantage in maintaining the Papal Dignity, because that Land is become very considerable by the continual Residence of the Pope, and by that Prerogative it has, that the Pope must always be an *Italian*, and because there is no Noble Family in all *Italy* that does not receive some profit from the Pope.

As in *Poland*, the Bishopricks and richest Prebendaries, are possessed by the Nobility of that Country, who there enjoy likewise the Sovereign Power; they have great Interest in the Popedom, since the Bishops as Senators of the Kingdom, are there

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in great Credit. In *Portugal*, the Clergy is also very Powerful, and would easily embrace the *Spanish* Faction, if their Prince should go about to make any Innovation in the Religion; and therefore we have seen in this last Age, that the *Portuguese* have not dar'd to mutter against the Pope, tho' he in favour of *Spain* has us'd 'em very scurvily about the Collation of New Bishopricks, and given them reason enough to slip their Necks out of so uneasy a collar. In *Germany*, several of the States of the Empire stick close to the exercise of the Popish Religion; and amongst the Imperial Cities, *Collen*, as well as some other of less Importance, swarms with idle Priests and Monks; and amongst the Counts, and Orders of Knighthood, all such as have any prospect of attaining to Ecclesiastical Charges and Benefices; among the temporal Princes the Elector of *Bavaria*, has always persisted obstinately in his Religion, in hopes of aspiring one day to the Imperial Dignity, of which he would be totally frustrated, if he should abandon the Pope's Interest;

terest; and why some Protestant Princes have return'd unto the *Romish* Yoke is, I think, very well known. That the Bishops and Prelates of *Germany*, are so good Catholicks is no wonder, because 'tis a much sweeter and agreeable Life, to be a rich Prince, than a poor Preacher. Besides, they are deterred from any thoughts of change by the example of two Electors of *Collen*, whose designs were very unhappy and fatal to them.

In *Charles* the fifth's time, *Spain* by its Intrigues, impeded the progress of the Reformation, and since the loss of so fair an opportunity, the Emperor *par raison d'etat*, cannot abandon the Pope's Interests, tho' he should desire to do it; and the Ecclesiastical Princes are forced to hold with him, that they may have a support against the temporal ones; but if the Emperor should really design to leave the Pope, 'tis most certain, that he would first have all the Clergy upon his back, nor could he be assur'd, that the Temporal Princes would stand by him, especially, whilst the Princes

of the most Ancient and Noble Families, whose Religion is the only Bar of their Pretences to the Empire, might then with as much right aspire to it as any, and openly rival the House of *Austria*; the Pope too, would move Heaven and Earth against the accomplishment of a design so terrible and pernicious to his Dignity; nor would the *French* King let slip so good an occasion of advancing himself to the Imperial Dignity, to which in such a juncture the Clergy would not fail to invite him.

The *Spaniards* would pass for the most zealous Defenders of the Holy Chair, but the true reason is, because the Pope's Favour and Protection is absolutely necessary to the peaceable maintenance of their Kingdom of *Naples* and Dutchy of *Milan*; and thus we see them usually cloak their enterprizes with the pretext of defending and propagating the Catholick Religion, but unsuccessfully for the most part; I will not speak here of the intolerable Greatness of the *Spanish* Clergy, nor of the strange things which

which they make the people believe, are contain'd in the Doctrine of the Protestants. *France* does not outwardly appear so passionately to espouse the Interests of *Rome*, nor have the Popes been able to persuade the *French* Church to so absolute and slavish a submission as most other Churches have yielded them, so that when they endeavour'd to infringe or encroach upon their privileges; the Parliament of *Paris* did presently take Cognizance of the Affair, and the *Sorbon* has likewise often rejected several unreasonable Propositions advanced by the Flatterers and Sycophants of the Pope; they likewise spy the *Nuncio's* Conduct, and will not allow him too great a liberty, who when he comes out of *Rome*, bears his *Crozier* erected, but so soon as he Arrives on the *French* Frontiers, he carries it *Reversed*, till he obtains leave from the King to exercise his Function, and then too, they are forced to promise him, that they will use it no longer, nor no otherwise than he shall think fit. Besides, they are obliged

liged to make use of *French* Secretaries, and when they go away, to leave a Roll of their Negotiations, and their Seal behind them, and to use several other such Formalities, without which all their Proceedings would be *null* and void of effect; so that the *French* say, the Pope's *Nuncio* receives his Commission as well from the King as the Pope, and that it is *Precaria & ad Nutum Regis revocabilis*; hence it is, that the *Nuncio* lays aside his *Crosier*, if he happens to come where the King is, as if his Jurisdiction were dissolv'd by the Presence of the King. Nay, in *Richlieu's* time 'twas debated of, whether or no they should make a Patriarch in *France*; which design tho', in my opinion, could not have been very advantageous for *France*, for the Clergy would never have been brought to consent thereto, having reason enough to fear, lest the King upon such an occasion should considerably retrench their fat Revenues. Besides, if the *French* King should ever have any thoughts of aspiring to the

the Empire, his separation from *Rome* would be very disserviceable to him; for should so powerful a Prince as the *French* King is, become Master of the Empire, he would not only revive the pretences of the ancient Emperors which are now, as 'twere, buried in oblivion, of which most depend on *Rome*, but also the Defence of the *Romish* Church would be a very specious pretext of claiming several rights and privileges which the Popes have suffer'd to be lost. On the contrary, the Pope has a terrible aversion and fear of the *French* Monarchy; since it is not to be doubted, but upon such an occasion, *France* would make a great Reformation in the Court of *Rome*, and bridle the Pope's Authority so much, that he would signify no more than a simple Patriarch; and he must attend the same fate if *Spain* should aspire to the Universal Monarchy; in the mean while, it would go very ill with the Protestants; and from hence we may conclude, that the greatest Support of the Papal Chair is the Jealousy

and *Equilibrium* which *Rome* wisely maintains between the two Crowns of *France* and *Spain*, and therefore 'tis the nearest and dearest of the Pope's Interest to hinder any one of those Kingdoms from trampling on the other, or aspiring to the universal Monarchy of *Europe*; which also is easy to be observed from the Pope's Conduct for several Ages; for when *France* was extreamly low and weakened after the Death of *Henry* the second, the Pope was forc'd to declare himself for the *Spanish* Interests, to which the *Spaniards* were resolv'd to oblige him, both by fair means and by foul. They gain'd the Pope's Nephews, who were glad to enrich themselves during the short Life of their Uncle, and willingly devoted themselves to *Spain*, whilst they could receive large Pensions, Benefices, and considerable Charges; and in case they did not render themselves very serviceable to those from whom they receiv'd pay, they were sure to be cruelly persecuted after their Uncle's Death; they also us'd all their efforts to

to exclude from the Succession, any Cardinal that they suspected to be enclining to their Adversaries Interests; but so soon as *France* began to lift up its head again, the Popes resumed their former Indifference and Liberty, and would shew themselves no more favourable to either party, than as they were serviceable and addicted to the Papal Interest; and therefore *Guichard* declar'd publicly in a Sermon at *Paris*, in the Month of *July*, 1637. that the War which *France* made then against *Spain*, was a Holy War, and in Defence of the Religion; for had not the *French* King made use of that means to bring *Spain* to reason, the King of *Spain* would certainly have placed his *Almoner* in the Holy Chair.

sect. 39. As for those that have revolted from the Pope, tho' he would not be sorry to find them reduc'd again under his Jurisdiction, yet he does not desire, that by their ruins any Prince should become so great as to render himself formidable to all *Europe*, for 'tis better to give my Enemy

Enemy his Life, than to seek to deprive him of it at the cost of my own; thus we see how great fears and jealousies the Victorious Progress of *Charles* the fifth's Arms against the Protestants, occasion'd at *Rome*, since it oblig'd Pope *Paul* the third to recall those Troups which he had destin'd to the Emperor's Service; and had *Philip* the second subdu'd *England*, *Sixtus* the fifth would too late have repented his rash promoting that Catholick Design. So *Gregory* the fifteenth in the War of the *Valtelline*, sided with the *Grisons* against the *Spaniards*, tho' the first were of the Reform'd Religion; nor was *Urban* the eighth, displeas'd to see the House of *Austria* mortifi'd by *Gustavus Adolphus* King of *Suedeland*, because the Emperor in the business of *Mantua*, had shown as little mercy to the Catholics, as before to the Protestants; and 'tis said, that when *Ferdinand* the second desir'd a sum of Money, which the same Pope had promised him, instead thereof, he sent him and his Army a plenary Indulgence

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at the hour of Death, that they might with greater confidence expose themselves to all dangers.

Nor was the Court of *Rome* less apprehensive some years ago, when the *French* King made so great Progresses in the United Provinces, that the ruin of the Republick, seem'd inevitable. But tho' the Pope does not desire the weakning of the Protestant party by which rough means, yet it cannot be denied that he uses all sort of slights and devices to allure them from their Religion; amongst which, the principal are, to maintain a discord amongst the Protestants, to flatter the Princes of that persuasion, and by giving them Popish Wives, to place a Serpent in their bosom, to entice the *cadets* or younger Brothers of great Families by Spiritual Dignities and fat Benefices, by making all those extremely welcome that go over to 'em, and instead of amusing themselves unsuccessfully to write Books against the Protestant Divines, to cherish those disputes and quarrels that are amongst them;

them; and it is visibly certain, that the *Romish* Clergy have made very great progresses in this last Age, and are in a condition of making greater, comforting themselves with a malicious joy, *to see that their Adversaries, by internal Schisms, weaken and destroy each other.

Seet. 40. From what has been here said, may easily be judged, Whether ever any Accommodation can be expected between the Protestants and Papists, whilst each Party abandoning some of their Tenents, shall make such Advances, as at last to agree in one common Confession of their Faith, and leave the rest, as obscure and useless, to be disputed of in the Schools; or else, that both might keep their Opinions, and that notwithstanding the difference of Religions, they might live with one another as Brethren in Christ, and Members of one and the same Communion. Yet if we rightly examine the state of affairs, and the Principles of the *Popish* Religion, we must own, that all such Accommodations are morally

morally impossible; for we do not only discover an extream jarring and contradiction of Doctrines, but the Interests of each are quite opposite and contrary one to another: For, first, the Pope would willingly re-enter into the possession of the Church-Goods, but he will find it hard to get so sweet a Morsel out of the Protestants Clutches.

Then again, the Pope would fain be acknowledged the Head of *Christendom*, but the Protestants will never part with the *jus circa sacra*, the choicest Jewel of their Sovereignty; and it is a *contradictio in adjecto* to live in good intelligence and friendship with the Pope, and not own him at the same time the supreme Monarch of the Church: Just as if any Stranger should desire to be naturaliz'd, and made a free Denison of *England*, and yet refuse to acknowledge the King his Sovereign Lord.

The Infallibility of the Pope is likewise the Corner-stone of the Popedom, which if once taken away, the whole Structure will fall to the Ground;

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Ground; and therefore the Pope *par raison d'état*, cannot yield the least of those points which occasion the Division betwixt the Protestants and Papists; for if the Pope should own that any the least part of that Doctrine, which he has hitherto maintain'd, is false, he must grant at the same time that he is not infallible: Can he therefore err in one point? He may easily err in another: But if the Protestants grant that one Article of the Pope's Infallibility, they must also give him all the other controverted points. Now 'tis non-sense to imagine that the Protestants will ever retract all that they have written against the Pope; and should the Laity be brought to do it, what will the Clergy do? Where will they dispose of their Wives and Children, &c.?

Therefore how good and how pious soever their Intention may have been, who have propos'd any means of an Accommodation, between the Protestants and Papists, which they call by the name of *Syncretism*, yet they
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are in reality nothing but pure Whimfies, and serve only to furnish matter of Raillery, and Diversion to the Papists, who are also very well contented, that the Protestant Divines should amuse themselves with such *Chimara's*, since they are sure to get by it, but never lose any thing, forasmuch as the Protestants do not only fall foul upon one another, on the account of this pretended *Syncretism*, but the common and united zeal which they heretofore bare against the Papists, is thereby extreamly weakened; for any one that does not understand the matter to the botom, when he hears them talk of an Accommodation, will easily be perswaded, that the Difference betwixt us is not so great or capital as has been represented. Now he that admits such thoughts, will at the same time be apt to revolve in his mind the benefits and advantages he may find in the Roman Communion, and then he'll make no great scruple to bid adieu to the Protestant Religion; for 'tis with their Religion as with a
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Maiden-head, or Town besieg'd, which run a great risque of being lost, when once they begin to parley.

Sect. 41. 'Tis a *quare* whether the Pope, with the united help of all of his Perswasion, can bring the Protestants by force under his Jurisdiction? We answer, That the Papists do considerably excel the Protestants in number; for on the Pope's side is all *Italy, Spain, Portugal, France*, and the greatest part of *Poland*, as well as the weakest *Cantons* of *Switzerland*. In *Germany* are all the *Austrian* Provinces, the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, almost all *Upper Hungary*, the Bishops and Prelates, the House of *Bavaria* and *Newburg*, the Marquessate of *Baden*, and some other Princes of less consideration; a great number of Counts, Lords, Free Knighthoods, and Imperial Cities, besides a great many in Protestant Countries, which all together, according to my Estimate, will amount to two thirds of *Germany*. In *Holland* we find a great many Papists, and there were a great many
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of the same leaven in *England*, though (*God be thanked*) since the Happy Coming of Their Present Majesties to the Crown, the Land is pretty well scowr'd of them.

On the other side, we reckon among the Protestants the Kingdoms of *England, Scotland*, and *Ireland*, with all their dependences, *Suedeland, Denmark, Holland*, the most of the Temporal Electors and Princes, together with the Imperial Cities of *Germany*. The Protestants of *France* are at present disarm'd; those of *Poland* are not in a condition to undertake any thing; the Cities of *Prussia* and *Curland* have enough to do to maintain the free exercise of their Religion; *Transylvania* can do but little: And the Papists have besides, this advantage above the Protestants, That they all of 'em own the Pope for Supreme Head of their Church, and do, at least with their Mouth, and externally, profess one and the same Faith. But on the contrary, the Protestants have no visible Spiritual Head, but are miserably divided amongst themselves;
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for, not to mention those little Sects of *Arminians*, *Socinians*, *Anabaptists*, and the rest, their Body is divided into almost two equal parts of *Lutherans* and *Calvinists*, amongst which a great many are as much imbitter'd against one another, as they are against the Common Enemy, the Papists: Besides, there is no general Policy or Government in the Religion amongst them, but in every state the particular Sovereign regulates the Affairs thereof according to his own will and pleasure: Nor can it be denied that (commonly speaking) the Papists do with more Zeal, Labour and Industry promote the advancement and propagation of their Religion, than do the Protestants, who have mostly in view how they may conveniently subsist by their Benefices, as the chiefest prospect of Handicrafts-men is, how to get their Living by the Trade to which they apply themselves: So that the search of the Kingdom of God is as the reserve, and the last thing they take care for. Whereas the Monks and
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Jesuites, on the contrary, have brought themselves into great repute by their Missions, both into the *East* and *West Indies*; and though in the relations they give us thereof, they intermit a thousand fabulous reports, yet the thing in it self is extremely laudable.

In fine, there is such an irreconcilable Jealousie among the chiefest of the Protestant States, that it is morally impossible ever to perswade them to submit to one Head: As for example; Betwixt *England* and *Holland*, *Snedeland* and *Denmark*, not to mention the rest. Though again it must be owned too, that there are no less Jealousies between *France* and *Spain*, which will scarcely permit them to act unanimously against the Protestants. So that notwithstanding the great inequality in strength that there is between the Protestants and Papists, the former need never apprehend the Oppression of the latter.

In the mean while there is a great difference between the Protestants that form an Independent State, and those that are under the Yoke of *Popish Lords*, for these are not half so well assur'd of the maintenance of their Religion as are the others.

Thus the Security of the French Protestants depends on the bare word of the King, and the Edict of Nantes; so that they would be in a sad condition, if the French King should at any time be possess'd with a Spanish or Austrian Zeal: Yet I don't believe he will ever undertake to force them in the matter of Religion, as long as they live peaceably and contented with that Liberty he allows them; especially if he considers the good Service they rendered to his Grandfather Henry the Fourth, and that he himself, without their assistance, had never arrived to the Crown of France.

Nor can Poland easily suppress the exercise of the Protestant Religion in *Curland* and *Prussia*, as long as *Dantzick* enjoys its Liberty. In
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Germany the Protestants are strong enough: So that if they were united under one Head, they would make a formidable Kingdom; but the great number of their Chiefs, the diversity of their Interests, and their distance from one another, diminishes their Strength very considerably; so that the Emperor, in the space of an hundred years, had twice reduc'd them to such a condition, that their Religion and Liberty, (which are so inseparably annex'd, that the loss of one would have been a necessary consequence of the other's loss) had both been ruin'd without the assistance of *France* and *Swedeland*.

'Tis true, of late years some have pretended to hold forth this new Maxim, 'That the Protestants in Germany are able to subsist and maintain their Liberties without the help of those two Crowns, and that Brandenburg is very fit to have the management and direction in Chief of all their Affairs. And 'tis indeed the real Interest of the House of *Austria*, that such an Opinion should

In the mean while there is a great difference between the Protestants that form an Independent State, and those that are under the Yoke of *Popish Lords*, for these are not half so well assur'd of the maintenance of their Religion as are the others.

Thus the Security of the French Protestants depends on the bare word of the King, and the Edict of Nantes; so that they would be in a sad condition, if the French King should at any time be possess'd with a Spanish or Austrian Zeal: Yet I don't believe he will ever undertake to force them in the matter of Religion, as long as they live peaceably and contented with that Liberty he allows them; especially if he considers the good Service they rendered to his Grandfather Henry the Fourth, and that he himself, without their assistance, had never arrived to the Crown of France.

Nor can Poland easily suppress the exercise of the Protestant Religion in *Curland* and *Prussia*, as long as *Dantzick* enjoys its Liberty. In
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Germany the Protestants are strong enough: So that if they were united under one Head, they would make a formidable Kingdom; but the great number of their Chiefs, the diversity of their Interests, and their distance from one another, diminishes their Strength very considerably; so that the Emperor, in the space of an hundred years, had twice reduc'd them to such a condition, that their Religion and Liberty, (which are so inseparably annex'd, that the loss of one would have been a necessary consequence of the other's loss) had both been ruin'd without the assistance of *France* and *Swedeland*.

'Tis true, of late years some have pretended to hold forth this new Maxim, 'That the Protestants in Germany are able to subsist and maintain their Liberties without the help of those two Crowns, and that *Brandenburg* is very fit to have the management and direction in Chief of all their Affairs. And 'tis indeed the real Interest of the House of *Austria*, that such an Opinion should

should prevail among the Protestants. 'Tis with this Pretext that the *Brandenburger* and the House of *Lunenburg* cover the desire they have of putting themselves in possession of those Lands which the King of *Suedeland* has in *Germany*; whilst they give out, They are as well able to maintain them in the enjoyment of their Liberty and Religion, as the other Protestant States. Yet it is most certain, that if these two Houses should attain their ends, their additional Grandeur would render them less formidable to the Emperor, than they are at present, whilst back'd and supported by the King of *Suedeland*. And they are no less deceived, if they think to find as sure a Support from *Denmark* or *Holland*, as they have received from *France* and *Suedeland*. And thirdly, Should the Emperor once attain to his desire, and dispossessing those two Crowns of what they have at present in *Germany*, introduce again the *Spanish* Faction, and mortifie the States by the maintenance of a standing Army,

my, and other Inconveniencies of War, who at such a time could oblige the Emperor to disband his Victorious Troops? And if, for example, the Emperor could find no Pretext to keep his Army together, and to oblige the Protestants to maintain it at their cost, will *Brandenburg* and *Lunenburg* make head against him? And fourthly, If in case the Protestant States should not find themselves equal to so vast a Work, Whether those two Crowns would at their Call come and help them? And whether their own Affairs would permit them to undertake so important a design? Or, lastly, Whether there would fall down from Heaven another *Gustavus Adolphus*, to redeem them from the very brink of Destruction, and make as great a progress as that mighty Conqueror once did?

And as for such as believe, that the Security of the Protestant Religion can consist alone in Parchment and Seals; or that the Emperor will not attempt the Sovereignty of *Germany*

many, if ever a fair occasion presents it self; whilst he can pretext so specious Causes as is the restauration of the Catholick Religion, and Goods of the Ecclesiasticks, they must have quite lost all knowledge of preceding times; besides, the Treaty of *Nimwegen* has shewn how vain and fruitless all such Projects are.

The Independent Protestant States need not fear being oblig'd to abandon their Religion by any violent means; for as the uniformity of Religion cannot remove the Jealousies of State, which is notoriously evident from *France* and *Spain*, *England* and *Holland*; so neither can the difference of *Religion* produce this effect, that in case any potent State of the *Romish* Perswasion should undertake to oppress a neighbouring Protestant, all the Papists should forsake the one, and immediately join with the other, especially if they had any Interest in the preservation of the State, that should be in danger of ruine.

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The lastingness and conservation of the *Protestant Religion* in those States where it is profess'd, does chiefly consist in the care that is taken to maintain it within the Country; whereto they have no need of such subtile and artificial Devices, as are us'd in the support of the Popedom, but the most simple and ordinary means are sufficient; for it mostly consists herein, That the Schools and Churches be provided of learned and pious Teachers; That the Clergy, by a sound Doctrine and virtuous Life, give a good Example to their Flocks; That every one be easily grounded in the true Fundamentals of their *Religion*, and especially such as are to be employed in Affairs of State, that they may be able to defend themselves against the Artifices of the Papists, chiefly when they happen to travel in *Popish Countries*. And lastly, That the Clergy qualifie themselves so as to be able to baffle their Adversaries, and refute all their Quirks and Sophistical Arguments.

Some

Some are of opinion, that it would be no small advantage to us, if the two head Parties of the Protestants (which only differ in some particular opinions, whilst the Interests of their Religions is one and the same) could be brought to an accommodation and union under one head; the which they imagine to be very feasible, if we would lay aside all Hate, Animosities, Self-Love, Pride, Opiniatrety, and unreasonable Preventions.

But if we examine well the *Genius* and Humor of most of the World, we shall find this *postulatum* to be extravagant; for if a man should consider the Controversies written on the subject of Religion impartially, and unprevented, he would stand amaz'd to see how the writers turn and wind themselves on all sides, to maintain the opinion they have once laid down, without having the least regard to its Agreement or Repugnance to the Scriptures; And how often they renew Disputes and Questions which have been refuted a thousand times. Besides, It can never

ver happen that one opinion should be thought as good as the other; for such an indifference in any one point, would shew that they did not much matter all the rest. Furthermore, 'twould be very dangerous to make those Articles, wherein we cannot agree, *problematick*; nor can I tell by what Authority we presume of our own Heads to make any Article Fundamental or *Problematick*. Some are likewise of the mind, that we should draw up a Scheme of all the points, in which both parties agree, and try if from thence may be form'd a perfect *system* of Divinity, which from the beginning to the end, should be compos'd, *ad formam justæ Artis*. So that if this project could succeed, altho' there should remain some different opinions, yet if they did not dissolve the union and continuity of the whole body, we should in the main, agree concerning the means of attaining Eternal Happiness; and all the rest would not be sufficient to hinder us from uniting in one Church. But to judge rightly

ly of this opinion, one ought first to see a model of such a projected System. For my part, I know no better means, than to commit the matter wholly to Divine Providence, which in its own time, will perhaps furnish expedients, that the Wit of Man could not have imagin'd. For 'tis certain, that unseasonable means will only serve to create new Schisms and Divisions: In the mean while, both parties, notwithstanding the diversity of their Sentiments, ought to unite against the common Enemies, and to be really perswaded, that the Pope is no better a Friend to the *Lutheran*, than to the *Calvinist*. As for what belongs to those little Sects of *Socinians*, *Anabaptist*, and such like, 'tis impossible to hope for any reconciliation with them, whilst those believe that the Christian Religion is nothing but a Philosophy purely Moral, and these know not what to believe themselves; to which we may add, That these last, have filled their Heads with a sort of a new Polity, which would render them very dangerous

dangerous to a State where they had the upper hand; but whether the *Socinians* have the same Sentiments, I cannot well determine, since they are not as yet become so powerful in any Republick, as to be able to occasion any Troubles or Revolutions.

THE END.

Laus Deo.
