

be in it self specially instituted by God, that every Kingdom or Nation of Christians shall have [*One summam Potestatem essentialiter Ecclesiasticam*, or one *Priest-Head*, (whether a *single person*, or an *Aristocracy*, or a *Common Synod*) as a constitutive part of the National Church. 2. Whether this *Priest-Head* (whether High-Priest, or Council,) stand in subordination to the King, as part of the same formal Church, as a General, or a Viceroy, that maketh not a distinct Kingdom, (though he may make a distinct subordinate Society as an Army, City, &c.) or is he Head of a coordinate different species, so as that the same Kingdom shall be two Policies formally, *viz.* a Christian Kingdom or Royal Church, and a Priestly Church; each being supream in their proper species, and both made coordinate by Christ; and so they are formally two Churches National. About the Jews the Controversie is made by Dissenters (*e. g. Galaspie, Coleman, Selden, &c.*) exceeding difficult. 3. Whether the very Jewish Church-Policy be established by Christ for the Christian Church, or be repealed? 4. Whether the said Ecclesiastical Head must be *One* as the High Priest, or an Aristocracy of many, or a Synod of the whole Clergy? or whether it be left indifferent which? 5. Or whether God hath ordained such a National Church-form, only by the general Command of doing all things in Order and Unity and to Edification? 6. Which is the Priestly-Head, or highest Governour of the Church of *England*, which is a constitutive part, as a King in a Kingdom? 7. Who is it that chooseth or authorizeth the National Priestly Head, that we may know when we have a lawful Chief Pastor, and

and when an Usurper? 8. Whether the King or he, is to be obeyed in Circumstances, or matters Ecclesiastical, if they differ, and make contrary Laws? Without the solution of these questions, the *name* of a *National Church* will not be understood, nor of any practical importance. Our own thoughts of them are as followeth.

§ 5. It is certain, that the *Mosaical Law* made for the Jews peculiar republick, as such, is abrogate; not only the Ceremonial part, but all: All that was not then made for all the world, is ceased; 1. Because the Common-wealth is ceased for which it was made: 2. The Holy Ghost expressly and frequently determineth it so; even of that Law that was written in stone, as such, 2 Cor. 3. 7, 8, 9, 10 11. Heb. 7. 12. 19. Gal. 4. 21, &c. 3. 24. The natural part, and that which was instituted positively long before for perpetuity, were both of them God's Laws before *Moses's* time, and as such, obliged other Nations, and so do still: The matter written in stone (except some few mutable particulars, as the seventh day Sabbath, &c.) is such as we are still obliged to, 1. By Nature, 2. By Christ: But not as it was part of the *Jews peculiar Mosaical Law*. Much less doth it bind all the world to its Policy.

§ 6. If the Jewish Law, either as such, or as established by Christ for his Kingdom, did bind all the world to this day, then it would bind them to their Civil Policy, as much at least as to their Ecclesiastical. But few Christians think that it binds them to their Civil Policy. For if it did, then, 1. All Nations that have varied from it to this day, have sinned: 2. No diversity of Govern-

Governments could be lawful : 3. Then it would perplex men, to be sure, whether it be the old *Mosaical* form by Judges, or the later Regal form that bindeth : 4. Then such a Civil Council or Sanhedrim as was appointed the Jews, would be a Divine Establishment, and not variable at the will of Kings or People. Many other things would follow, which Kings would not easily believe.

§ 7. There may be much more said for the continuance of the Jews civil Policy than for their Ecclesiastical : For there is much more *forbidden* of the latter, than of the former ; Though all nations be not bound to their civil policie, they may set it up if they please ; They are not prohibited : For Christ hath not made new Laws for civil states as such ; But he hath made new *Church Laws*, and thereby altered, yea prohibited much of the old.

§ 8. We know no more reason why the Jewish form should bind us, than that which was before the Jews : and particularly *Melchizedeks*, who was a *King and Priest* : God owned both and commandeth us neither, at least as in conformity to them.

§ 9. The Holy Ghost saith expressly *Heb.* 7. 11. 12. That perfection was not by the Levitical Priesthood, and that the *Priesthood being changed*, there is made of necessity a change of the Law, which is called, the Law of a carnal Commandment, *verse 16.* and that there is a disanulling of the Commandment going before for the weakness and unprofitableness of it ; for the Law made nothing perfect, *v. 18, 19.* the Covenant or Law being not faultless a new one doth succeed it *v. 7. 8. 9. 10.* The first Tabernacle is not standing which had their ordi-

ordinances of divine service and a worldly sanctuary : *Heb.* 9. 1. 8. 11. He taketh away the first Law and Priesthood, that he may establish the second, *Heb.* 10. 8, 9 11. 16, 17, &c.

§ 10. Whilest it is agreed on, that the essentials of the work or office of the Jewish Priests is ceased, (as *Heb.* 7. and 8, 9, and 10. shew,) and their Title by birth, and the appropriation to one Tribe, &c. it followeth that the Jewish Priesthood is ceased. But yet we confess that Christ, if he had pleased, might have settled a High Priest and Council like theirs in every nation for his own work. But if the old form bind us not, we are left only to enquire what new one is settled by Christ, and whether he have done so or not.

§ 11. We justly maintain against the Anabaptists, that Infants relation to the Covenant, and the universal Church (as members) was not repealed by Christ, because it was not founded only on the Law of *Moses*: which if it had, it were as such repealed.

§ 12. The Holy Ghost by the Apostles *Acts* 15. hath declared to all the Churches of the Gentiles that they are not bound to keep the Law of *Moses*, and hath absolved us from all, saving things antecedently, and on other reasons necessary. *verse.* 28.

§ 13. If the Jews form of Government be ours, then the High-Priest must have the power of the Sword, or sit in judgment for life or death, as *Deut.* 17. 12, 13. and other places shew: But many Papists and Protestants are agreed that the clergy have no power of the Sword, or force, unless the King make them also Magistrates.

§ 14. It is a matter of so great importance to the

the Church to know whom we must obey, that it is not to be thought that any way is made necessary by Christ, which he hath not made intelligible and certain to be indeed his will: Especially when the Apostles strove who should be the chief, and two of them made it their request; and when the *Corinthians* and others were ready to set up one before another, and say I am of *Cephas*, &c.

§ 15. Yea Christ on this occasion expressly forbid them to seek to be one above another, and told them that though Kings exercise authority, and have magnifying Titles, with them it should not be so, but their preeminence should consist, as that of a servant, in humility and service unto others *Luk. 22.* which will not stand (as we suppose) with establishing the Jewish order.

§ 16. And *Pauls* reproof of their making a Church head of *Cephas*, *Paul*, or *Apollo*, or taking them to be other than *helps* of their faith, (and not Lords of it) and Ministers by whom they believed, even then when Schisms made it necessary to have known to whom they must appeal and adhere, if that had been the way, doth further confirm what we say.

§ 17. The argument that some worthy persons bring, from the Prophecies that Nations should be converted unto Christ; and that the Kingdom should be taken from the Jews, and given to a Nation that would bring forth the fruits of it *Matth. 21. 43.* and that the Kingdomes of the world are made the Kingdoms of Christ, and that *Egypt* and *Assyria* should be converted and equalled with the Jews, &c. do indeed shew that there should be Christian Kings and Kingdoms;
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which the Apostles were sent to endeavour, *Mat.* 28. 19. to *convert Nations*: But here is nothing, that we can perceive, to prove that these Christian Nations must have the Jewish Church Policy.

§ 18. Nay contrary, the Church is said to be built on the foundation of the Prophets and Apostles, *Eph.* 2. 20. and not of the *Mosaical* Policy of Priesthood, *Rev.* 21. 14. It hath twelve foundations.

§ 19. It is said, *Zech.* 2. 11. Many Nations shall be joyned to the Lord, and shall be my people. So *Zech.* 8. 22. *Isa.* 65. 1. *Rom.* 10. 20. *Isa.* 2. 2. & 55. 5. *Hos.* 2. 23. *Isa.* 60. 3. & 49. 22. But not a word in all this, of the old form of Policy or Priesthood, but Contrarily, that the *Law should come out of Zion, and a new Covenant should be made*: And it is certain that so large a history as we have of Christ's performances, is a far clearer light than obscure Prophecies; and darker texts must be explained by the plainer, and not contrarily.

§ 20. We see not how the Synod *Act.* 15. maketh any thing for a National High Priest or Sanedrim, or any like Policy: For 1. It appeareth to be no act of proper *National Government*, but did bind other Churches as well as those within the Empire. 2. It was an arbitration at the request of doubting persons; and it was not the Relation of the Arbitrators to one seat of National Power (as the Metropolis) that was respected, but the *quality of the persons sent to*, who would have been equally obeyed had they dwelt in the least Village of another Land. 1. There were the Apostles that had the promise

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of the Holy Ghost : 2. There were *many* whom the people must needs more confide in than in one ; especially whose power was questioned by gainsayers. 3. Both Apostles, Elders and Brethren there were such as had seen, or were neer to Christ and his works, and therefore likeliest to know his mind. 4. They were Jews themselves, and therefore most impartial Judges in the point that Jewish Teachers troubled them about, so far as that they might well acquiesce when Jews themselves resolved them. And when the Apostles were dispersed, we find not any more *Jerusalem*-Councils Governing the Imperial Churches.

§ 21. If that Councils Authority were properly *National*, and arose from the prerogative of *Jerusalem*, then 1. All the Apostles, when scattered, would have been subject to *James*, the first Bishop of *Jerusalem*, (thought to be no Apostle :) 2. Then *Jerusalem* might have after claimed the Supremacy as of Divine right, before *Alexandria*, *Antioch* or *Rome*. But it is certain by experience that the whole Church was of another mind, when *Jerusalem* had not so much as the fifth or lowest Patriarchate, till long after by another grant. But if the Power was not fixed to the place, but the Itinerant Apostles, then it is nothing to prove any Governing Church over others, as being affixed to such a place : Nor shall we easily find the Apostles Itinerant Successours in that power.

§ 22. II. It is certain that Christ chose twelve Apostles (besides *Paul*) who had a preeminence before other Ministers ; and that he joyned with them some Prophets and Evangelists, appointing them all to gather Churches through the world, discipling

discipling and baptizing Nations, and teaching them all things that he commanded (a work to be still done, and to which he promised his presence to the end of the world :) And that these having gathered Converts, set over them fixed Bishops (or Pastors or Elders) to be their *constant Guides*, in *Teaching*, *Publick Worship*, and *Discipline*, under Christ the great Prophet, Priest and King of the Church. And that to the Apostles first, and by them to others, he gave them the Keys (that is, the Judging Power of reception, and rejection, and the Official Power of pronouncing God's reception or rejection of them according to his Word.)

§ 23. There is not the least evidence that these Apostles did affix a Superiour Power over the other Churches to any particular seats, Patriarchal or Metropolitan, much less National; or that any of them exercised Government over the rest; or that they themselves did fix themselves as Bishops to any twelve or thirteen Cities in the world; much less to twelve Kingdoms.

§ 24. There is no notice in Church-history of any one National Church-power (Priest or Synod) settled, asserted or exercised under Heaven, of above three hundred years. *Egypt* and *Assyria* that were prophesied to be Christian Nations, never were distinct Christian Kingdoms, but parts of the Empire; nor had a National Church or Head (being but parts of such a Church :) Nay, when *Rome* got the National Primacy, it had not such a Priestly Governing Sovereignty as the Jews High-Priest had.

§ 25. Though there was no Christian King for

three hundred years (unless he of *Edessa*, or *Lucius* of *England*, of whom we have little certainty; but it's like that both were subjects to others) yet if a Supream Church-Power had been necessary, the Apostles would have before erected it; which they never did: For even *Rome* pretendeth to be by them made the Ruler of the whole world, and not a meer National Head (which *Constantinople* claimed, but not as of Apostolical institution.)

§ 27. The question whether the Jews, had they believed, should have continued their High-Priest and Church-Policy, is vain as to our purpose; 1. It being certain to Christ that they would be dissolved by unbelief: And 2. he having settled another way, and changed theirs: 3. And if their Priesthood and Law (except as it typified spiritual things) had stood, yet it would not have bound the Gentile Christians in other Nations.

§ 28. When Emperours became Christians, they did not set up the Jewish Policy, nor thought themselves bound to it; no nor any settled Priestly Supremacy for National Government: For Councils were called but on rare accidents by the Emperours themselves, and to decide particular cases about Heresies: And the Pope had but the first voice in such Councils.

§ 29. But if every Nation must have the Jewish Policy, then the whole Empire must then have one High Priest, and then the Pope hath a fair pretence to his claim of a Divine Institution, as the Church Sovereign of the whole Empire, which, it's like, was then seven parts in eight of the whole Christian world at least, (unless *Abas-*
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sia were then generally Christians, as now.) But then his power would change with the Empire, and fall when it falleth.

§ 30. III. But if the question be only *whether* a National Priestly Sovereignty be lawful? or whether God's general Rules (for *Concord, Order, Edification*) do bind the Churches prudentially to erect such a form? To this they say as followeth.

1. We will first lay hold on certainties, and not prefer uncertainties before them. We are sure that such a power of Apostles and Pastors as is before mentioned, was established; and that the *junior* Pastors were as Sons to the *seniors*, ordained by them: Whether the power of Ordaining and Governing Ministers was by Apostolical Establishment appropriated to men of a superiour degree in the sacred Ministry, seemeth to us very dark. 2. We are past doubt that all particular Churches, by Apostolical order, had Bishops, and that a Church was, as *Hierom* saith, *Plebs Episcopo adunata*, and as *Ignatius*, the Unity of every Church was notified by this, that to every Church there was one Altar and one Bishop (at that time) and as *Cyprian*, *Ubi Episcopus, ibi Ecclesia*. 3. And we are satisfied, that every Presbyter is *Episcopus Gregis*, whoever claim to be *Episcopi Episcoporum* (which the *Carthage* Council in *Cyprian* renounced.) 4. And we are satisfied that no Church-superiours have authority to destroy the particular Church-form, Ministry, Doctrine, Worship or Discipline, which were settled by the Holy Ghost in the Apostles; And that the privileges and duties of these single particular Churches, being plainest and surest in Scripture, they must be continued whatever Canons or

Commands of any superiour Priests should be against them. 5. Nor can they force any man to sin: 6. Nor have any Priests a forcing power, by the sword or violence, but only the power of the Word and Keys, that is, of taking in, or putting out of the Church, where they have power, and binding men over, on just cause, to the judgment of God. The power that they have is from Christ, and for him, and not against him; and for the Churches edification, and not destruction; and what is pretended contrary to this, is none. They cannot dispense with the Laws of God, but preach and execute them. 7. And these things being thus secured, though in our doubts we dare not swear or subscribe that National, Patriarchal, Provincial, or Metropolitcal Powers are of God's institution; yet we resolve to live in all Christian peaceableness and submission, when such are over us.

§ 31. And we must profess that when we find how anciently and commonly *one* Presbyter in each Church was peculiarly called the Bishop, without whom there was no (ordinary) ordinations, and against whom in matters of his power none was to resist, and also how generally the Churches in the Roman Empire conformed themselves to an imitation of the civil power (as to their limits) in all the official part (being all subject to the Emperour, who set up no Ecclesiastical Peer,) we are not so singular or void of reverence to those Churches, as not by such notices to be much the more inclined to the aforesaid submission and peaceableness under such a power; nor are we so bold or rash as to reproach it or condemn the Churches and
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excellent persons that have practised it.

§ 32. Nay we have already said, that securing the state, worship, doctrine and true discipline of the inferiour particular (Parish) Churches, there are some of us that much incline to think that Archbishops, that is, Bishops that have some oversight of many Churches with their Pastors, are Lawful successours of the Apostles in the ordinary part of their work. And such of us have long ago said, that the Episcopal Government of the *Bohemian* Waldenses described by *Commenius* and *Lascitius*, is most agreeable to our judgment of any that we know exercis'd: Therefore that which we humbly offered for our concord in *England* at His Majesties Restauration, was Archbishop *Ushers* form of the Primitive Church Government, not attempting any diminution of the Power, wealth or honour of the Diocesanes or Archbishops, but only a restauration of the Presbyters to their proper Office-work, and some tolerable discipline to the particular Parish Churches.

§ 33. But we must ever much difference, so much of Church order and Government as God himself hath instituted, and is purely divine and unchangeable, from those accidentals which men ordain though according to Gods general Rules: For these are often various and mutable, and are means to the former, and never to be used against them. And of these accidentals of Government we say as they that say no such form is fixed by God. Concord, order & decency and edification are alwaies necessary, But oft times it may be indifferent whether concord, order and decency be expressed by this accidental way or that. And

that which is most congruous for order, decency, edification and concord in one Countrey, Church or time, may be incongruous in another. Therefore if the question be but how far the giving one Bishop or Pastor power over others, or making disparity of Cities in conformity to the state, be prudently to be chosen; we only say, so that Gods establishment be not violated, whatever we might think best, we presume not herein to give Laws to the Lawgivers, nor to obtrude our Counsel uncalled, on our superiours, much less seditiously to oppose their Lawful institutions.

§ 34. But to those that think that Gods foresaid General Laws (of order, concord, edification) do make such a policy ordinarily *necessary* in the Churches, as imitateth the Jews, or the civil form of Government, we humbly offer to their consideration; 1. If so, then it would have been the matter of an Vniversal Law, (with its due exceptions;) And then Christ the only Vniversal Lawgiver would have made it: For if he have not made all *necessary Vniversal Laws*, his Laws are imperfect; And then there should be some other Vniversal Lawgiver to supply that defect: But there is no other upon earth (whether Pope or Council,) 2. It is contrary to the *nature of undetermined circumstances* to be alwaies the same, and so to be fit matter of such Vniversal or fixed Laws: The cases will vary, and then so will the duty; 3. There will be great diversity of the interest, and ingeny of the Judges of the case in several Countries and ages: And therefore though some think the said imitation of the civil state alwaies best, yet others will not.

§ 35. But if such a settlement were certainly best,

best, let it be remembred, 1. That the *Jews* had not under the chief High-Priest, one in every City or Tribe like Diocesane Bishops. 2. That their Synagogues had discipline within themselves; ever where there was but a Village of ten persons, there was a Presbyter that had the power of judging offenders.

§ 36. What man doth prudently set up, man may prudently alter as there is cause. *Greg. Nazianzen* earnestly wisheth that there were no difference of Place or seats among the Pastors of the Church. And therefore he neither thought their Government of each other to be of Divine right, nor of prudential necessity or use: Else he would have been against it. And the whole Greek Church did, and still doth take the seats of pre-eminence to be but of mans appointment, or else they would never have changed them, and set *Constantinople* so high as they did: And the Council of *Calcedon* expressly determineth, that *Rome* was by the fathers made the chief seat because it was the seat of the Emperour; which was mutable.

§ 37. The Councils in those daies were about Popes or Patriarchs, and could depose them: And yet it is most evident to any man confidently reading such history, that all the Councils, called before Christian Emperours gave them more power and conjoynd their authority, did meet only for acts of *Agreement* and not of *Regiment* over each other: Many such synods are mentioned by *Eusebius*: And the Right Reverend Arch-bishop *Usher* declared his judgment so in general that *Councils* had but an *agreeing power*, and not a *Regent power* over the particular Bishops.

Yet

Yet these two things must be supposed, 1. That the Pastors in a synod are still Rectors of their flocks, and their Canons to them may be more authoritative than a single Pastors words: 2. That Gods Law bindeth us to keep love and concord, and the Agreements of Councils may determine of the matter in alterable points; and so even absent and present Bishops may, *concordia gratia*, be obliged by Gods Law to keep such canons as are made for concord, and so they may be the matter of our duty. But seeing the Church for 300 years, judged Councils to have no proper Governing power over particular Pastors; and Bishops, or Patriarchs singly had ever less power than Councils, it followeth that then a Churches Government of disparity and supraordinate Bishops like the civil, or like the *Jews*, was not then taken to be of divine right, nor then of any right at all.

§ 38. And as to the doubt [*whether it began after 300 years to be a prudential duty or at least most desirable*] when we hear what is said on both sides we think it not easie to judge, either how much in such a case Christ hath left to humane prudence, nor which way the scales of prudence herein will ordinarily turn. On one side it is said 1. That it is absurd that there should be no appeals for injured persons to a superiour power; 2. And that the dissensions of the Church else will be remediless, and all will be broken into heresies and sects; 3. And that Apostolical men of a higher rank than meer Presbyters will else have no convenient opportunity to exercise their Governing power, if it be not tyed to fixed seats.

§ 39. On the other side they plead; 1. That it is safer for the Church to have Religion in the power of *many Bishops* or Pastors, than that *one High Priest* or *Patriarch* should have power to corrupt it, or silence the faithful preachers, or persecute the people when ever he proveth a bad man: Yea they say it must be rare if he be not bad, seeing it is certain that the most proud and worldly men (which are the worst) will be the most earnest seekers of rich and honourable places; and he that seeketh will usually find.

2. They say Christ directly forbad this to his Apostles *Luk. 22.* That which they strove for was it that he forbad them: But that which they strove for was who should be the chief or greatest (and not who should tyrannize)

3. They say that all Church history assureth us that there have been more Schisms and scandalous contentions about the great superiour Bishopricks far, than any of the rest: It is a doleful thing to read the history of the Churches of *Alexandria*, *Antioch*, *Constantinople*, and *Rome*: *Gregory Nazianzen* giveth it as the reason, why the contention at *Cesarea* was so lamentable, because it was so high an Archbishoprick. The whole Christian world hath been scandalized, torn and distracted by the strife of Bishops of and for the highest seats. Their famous General Councils which we justly honour for their function and that which they did well, were shamefully militant: even the first and most honoured Council at *Nice*, was with great difficulty kept in Peace by the personal presence, wisdom and authority of *Constantine*, preaching peace to the preachers of peace, burning their libels of mutual accusation,

tion, & silencing their contentious wranglings, and con-
 straining them to accord. *Nazianzens* descriptions of the ignorance and insolence, and naughtiness of the Clergy, *Orat* 1. and of the shameful state of the Bishops, *Orat* 32. must make the readers heart to grieve, The people he describeth as contentious at *Constantinople* yet as endued with the Love of God, though their zeal wanted knowledge, pag, 528. But (the Courtiers, as whether true to the Emperours he knew not, but for the greatest part perfidious to God : And the Bishops as sitting on adverse thrones, and feeding adverse opposite flocks, drawn by them into factions, like the clefts that Earthquakes make, and the pestilent diseases that infect all about, and distracting and dividing all the world, separating the East from the West, by the noise, of *meus et tuus, antiquus et novus, nobilior aut ignobilior ; multitudine opulenter aut tenuior ;* raging like furious horses in battel, and like madmen casting dust into the air, and under their heads fulfilling their own contentions and becoming the determiners of wicked ambition and magnificence, and unrighteousness and absurd Judges of matters : The same men (saith he) are to day of the same throne (or side) and judgement, as we are, if so our leaders and chief men carry them : To morrow if the wind do but turn, they are for the contrary seat, and judgement. Names (or votes) follow barred or friendship : And which is most grievous, we blush not to say contrary things to the very same bearers ; nor are we constant to our selves, being changed up and down by contention ; you would say we are tossed like the waving *Euripus* : Therefore he professeth it unseemly for him to joyn with them, as he would not leave his studies and peace,

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to go play with the Lads in the streets, pag. 524.
The like he hath in his Poems *de vita sua*, pag.
24, 25, 26, 27. *Oi xai nepedesi*, &c.

- “ *Etenim Magistri plebis atque antistites,*
“ *Sancti datores spiritus, & qui thronis*
“ *Frundunt ab altis verba queis patitur salus,*
“ *Cunctisq; pacem jugiter qui predicant,*
“ *In ade media vocibus clarissimis,*
“ *Tanto furore se petunt sibi invicem*
“ *Tumultuando, contrahendo copias,*
“ *Carpendo sese mutuo lingua efferà,*
“ *Saliendo, mentis ut solent sana impotes*
“ *Pradando quos quis ante pradari queat*
“ *Rabida imperandi dum tenet mente sitis;*
“ *(Quinam ista verbis, & quibus digne eloquar?)*
“ *Orbem unversum prorsus ut divulgarent,*
“ *Ortunq; jam & Hesperum scindit magis*
“ *Ardens similtas, quam loci vel climata;*
“ *Namq; illa si non finis, & media uniant;*
“ *At hos ligare vinculum nullum potest:*
“ *Non causa, Pietas, (bilis hoc excogitat*
“ *Ad mentiendum prona, sed Lis ob Thronos:*
“ *Quidnam hoc vocarim? Prasules? Non Prasules.*

[* Some say that Gregory himself forsook the place ; but it was when he saw that they would put him out : Some say that it was not the same Council that put him in, but it is an error. When Meletius was dead, more Bishops came from Egypt and turned the stream. And they named many to succeed him, to the Emperour; out of whom he chose an unbaptized Layman Nectarius Niceph. l. 12. c. 15. so that the Emperour then chose the Bishop in that manner.]

Are not these doleful Narratives and Characters of those Primitive Bishops (even in those happy

happy daies of good *Theodosius*? But all this is yet little to what the same man saith of Bishops in his last Oration *de Episcopis*, Vol. 2. too sharp and large to recite. Perhaps it will be said, that it was the *Macedonian* or *Arrian* Bishops that he meant: So one Papist was not ashamed to answer me, when the whole scope of his writing speaketh the contrary, that he spake of the Council at *Constantinople*, and other such, and expressly saith in his *Epist.* 59. to *Sophronius*, pag. 816. *si eos inveneritis non ob fidei doctrinam, sed ob privatas similitates inter se distractos & divulsos, quod quidem ipse observavi.* But some will say that he was wrongfully cast out by that Council of *Constantinople*, and he speaketh but of that, or that injury made him satyrical by exasperation. But

1. The places cited shew that he speaketh not of that Council only: And *Epist.* 55. *Procopio* pag. 814. he saith (refusing to come to a Council) *ego si vera scribere oportet hoc animo sum, ut Omnem Episcoporum Conventum fugiam: quoniam nullius concilii finem latum & faustum vidi, nec quod depulsionem malorum potius quam accessionem & incrementum habuerit: pertinaces enim contentiones & dominandi cupiditates (ne me queso gravem & molestum existimes hec scribentem) ne ullis quidem verbis explicari queant, citiusque aliquis improbitatem arcessetur, dum aliis iudicem se præbet, quam ut aliorum improbitatem comprimat.* And that injury made *Gregory* injurious is an injurious conjecture, seeing all his endeavours in these businesses were for piety and peace: And it was partly for his speaking for the Peace of the Church of *Antioch*, (which had long had two Bishops, *Paulinus* and *Meletius*, and *Flavianus*, who had taken an oath

not

not to be their Bishop while either of them lived, intruded by Perjuries and the Bishops wills) that this Council turned against *Gregory*; (and because they chose him not.) And for peace he quit his place; and many and earnest Epistles he wrote after to the Civil Magistrates, to keep the Bishops in peace at the next Councils, lest Religion should be quite shamed and weakened by them. And was not the contention at the two Councils of *Ephesus* more stigmatized by Historians than this that *Gregory* so lamenteth? when they seemed rather to fight, than peaceably to seek for Truth; in the latter of which *Flavianus* received his deaths hurt, and the history of the better of them between *Cyril*, and *Nestorius*, and *Johan. Antiochenus*, is sad to read.

The very controversie with its consequence was lamentable when one Council of Bishops at *Constantinople* had cast out excellent *Gregory*; another neer cast out excellent *Chrysostom*, his free speech and strict life being not endured, and chose an old useles man *Arsacius*; *Atticus*, and *Sisimius* that succeeded him being dead, the people did so dislike all the clergy of *Constantinople*, that they would have one like *Chrysostom* of a Monastery by *Antioch*; *Nestorius* a man of study, retirement, a poor garb, a strict life, abhorring publick contentions, and loving quietness, but of a pievish zeal against dissenters called hereticks, as enemies to the Churches unity and peace; so that he presently persecuted many of them even the *Novatians* themselves, and stirred up the Emperour to root them all out, and by Gods just judgement received such measure as he had measured. A quarrel arose whether Saint

Mary

Mary should be called *The Mother or Parent of MAN*, or that Parent of *GOD*: *Nestorius*, to the end the controversie, was against both, and would have her called, *The Parent of Christ who was God and man (but not of God:)* Some Startled at this; And *Cyril of Alexandria* (a man of great parts, spirit and power, the head of a turbulent people, the first Bishop, saith *Socrates*, that assumed the Sword) wrote Letters of reproof to him; and *Celestine*, Bishop of *Rome* seconded him: yea *Cyril* followeth it with writing upon writing, to prove that *S. Mary* must be called the Parent of *God*; with so great a number of words, and so many Anathematisms, as made the noise and flame great, but ambiguity made it seem dangerous to many; so that it grew to a great and open controversie, whether *Nestorius* or *Cyril* was a damnable Heretick; some so calling one, and some the other; so that the Emperour *Theod. 2.* was fain to call a General Council at *Ephesus*, to prevent the utter confusion of the Churches: There *Nestorius* came first, and once only appeared; and being charged with the Heresie of denying *Mary* to be the Parent of *God*, he told them, that he would not say that *God* was two or three months old, and so departed. To *Cyril*'s large writings, he returned a short Letter, professing, that he was for the distinction of Natures only in the Unity of Person; but at large proveth that *Christ*'s Godhead had no beginning, that it could not suffer, or die, nor rise again; and therefore that those things which were said of the *Manhood*, must not be said of the *Godhead*, that it was begotten, dyed, &c. unless they would be Hereticks or Pagans. Read their confession brought

brought into the Council against them by *Chary-*
sius and their Anathemata's after; and I think you
 will see, that the errour of *Nestorius* lay in his
 want of skill in speaking, and that one side spoke
 of a phrase *de abstracto*, and the other of the
Concrete; and if so, both meant the same thing;
 though *Cyril* was judged to use the most skilful
 words: *Cyril* denyed not but that the *Deity* was
 not begotten or Crucified, but said that *God* was
 begotten and Crucified, and was passible; *Nestorius*
 denyed not that he who was *God* in one person
 with the manhood, was begotten, Crucified and
 passible, but not the *Deity*. But *Cyril* said that
 the phrase [*God was born, Crucified, &c.*] was
 good; yea necessary, and not (without anathe-
 matized heresie) to be denyed, because in one
 person the titles and actions are communicable:
Nestorius said, that it was wicked to communi-
 cate the infirmities of humanity to the *Deity*;
 as to say, *God did grow bigger, and was afraid, and*
was hungry, and needed help from Angels, and died.)
 For he thought this phrase applied it to the
Deity: (Let any man that's impartial, judge
 whether this Controversie were not about words
 rather than matter.) *Theodoret* was a greater
 Scholar than *Nestorius*, and he became the Cham-
 pion of his Cause, supposing that *Locutio formalis*
est maxime propria; and therefore that he that
 saith, *God had a beginning, increase, death, passions,*
 must be supposed to mean it, *qua Deus*, as he is
God: And so two Saints, *St. Cyril* and *St. Theo-*
doret, fell at large to prove each other damnable
 Hereticks. *John*, Patriarch of *Antioch*, being far
 off, was long in coming to the Synod. *Memnon*,
 Bishop of *Ephesus*, joyning with *Cyril*, before he
 & Bishops came, began and condemned, and

deposed *Nestorius* as a Heretick. *Nestorius* let them all alone, and medled little himself, alledging that *Candidianus Comes* forbad him to appear. But when *John* of *Ant.* came, he took *Nestorius's* part, and gathered a Council with himself, and *Candidianus* the Emperours Officer took his part. *John's* Council condemned and deposed *Cyril* and *Memnon*, as they had done *Nestorius*: And thus two Councils at *Ephesus* sate damning one another. The Emperour knew not what to do with them, but requireth each party to send some of their Bishops to him: when they came, he permitted them not long to come neerer than *Calcedon*, for fear of tumults: while they were there, the people of *Constantinople* flocked to them, and most of the people being for *Nestorius*, and most of the Courtiers, Clergy and Monks against him, they fell into dissention to the stoning of some about their Meetings, for Preaching to the People. *Theodore*t and his Associates prosecuted it against *Cyril*, as those that declared their resolution to die rather than yield to his Heresies (as they called them) and accused him as if he had been the most proud, unquiet troubler of the world. The other side answerably accused them of dangerous blasphemy and heresie. At last the Emperour thought it the best way for peace, to send *Johan. Comes Largitionum* with power and commission to depose the Leaders that each Party had deposed, viz. *Nestorius*, and *Cyril* and *Memnon*: But *John* wrote an Epistle to the Emperour, how furious they were against each other, and how *Cyril's* Party would not hear the Emperour's Letters, because *Nestorius* was there, and how they raged and fell to fighting (a dole-
ful

ful story.) But at last the Emperour seeing that Cyril had the stronger (and the orthodox) side, and the Court and Clergy being against *Nestorius*, and yet being loth to divide *Joh. Antioch.* and the Oriental Bishops from the rest, thought it the most healing way to depose *Nestorius* alone, and restore Cyril and *Memnon*, and to charge (*magna cum severitate jubet*, saith *Bin. Notes*) *Joh. Ant.* to be reconciled with Cyril, and to unite; so that *Joh.* and *Theodoret*, and the Oriental Bishops moved with fear, and desiring peace, sent their Confession to Cyril, and Cyril said, it was the same that he meant; and so they were suddenly made all Orthodox, that had not understood it but by the Rod: But *Nestorius* returned to his Monastery by *Antioch* (*Chrysostom's* place) and there liv'd four years in great peace and reputation; but then he was no longer to be there endured, but banished into forein Countries, driven about in sufferings, in which he died. And *Theodoret*, it seems, was not well reconciled, when, hearing of the death of Cyril, he wrote to *Joh. Antioch.* that now there was hope the Churches might have peace, the great enemy of all peace being gone to the place where such men cease to trouble, &c. But so great was the rupture thus made, that to this day it is not healed, great part of the East adhering then to *Nestorius*, and those Country-Christians being called *Nestorian* Hereticks and out of the Church by the Papists to disgrace them, because they will not own their Pope. *Nestorius* being thus condemned, *Eutyches* thought he would be far enough from his Heresie, and said, that the *Union of Christ's two Natures made them to be but one*: This Heresie one

Council at *Constant*. under *Flavian*, condemned. Another after by the countenance of the Emperour acquit him: The Emperour *Theod. 2.* commandeth a General Council again at *Ephesus*, and maketh *Dioscorus* President; who being *Cyril's* Successor, though he had held to his Doctrine against *Nestorius* for the *Unitive Predication*; and though he professed that the Synod medled not *de fide*, but about matter of Justice between *Flavian* and *Eutyches*, yet countenanced by the Emperour, he domineered, and by threatening got all the General Council save the Popes Legates to subscribe against *Flavian*, and he was beaten, and died of the hurt, saith *Bin. Notes*, *In hoc tam horrendo Episcoporum suffragio sola Navicula Petri incolumis emergens, salvatur.* The whole Council went against the Pope, and the right: But sure Christ's United Natures are in several senses both *two* and *one*; but two in the primary and most proper sense.

Thus you see what unhappiness even this National Government of Bishops in those good times was lyable to. It was by Bishops striving who should be chief that the *Donatists* set up against the Catholics, and the very *Novatians* were not free; much less the *Appolinarians*, and most others that caused the Schisms of those times, in which the Bishops were almost ever the chief cause. Even such worthy men as *Theophilus*, *Alex.* and *Epiphanius* could not endure *Chrysostom*; such men ejected him once and again, as *Theodor.* saith he purposely forbearerh to name for reverence of their virtues. And if you come to the fourth Great General Council at *Calcedon* you will find the same cause of lamen-

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tation, and that even worthy men in such temptations are frail, when a new Emperour *Martian* was on the other side, (the right;) when *Dioscorus* had professed that he was neither for *transmutation*, *division*, nor *confusion* of *Christ's* natures (and therefore was for *distinction* ;) when the *Egyptian* Bishops professed their consent with the Synod, only craving that they might not be put to Anathematize *Dioscorus* till they had another Patriarch, but so long to delay ; when they professed that if they did, they were sure to be killed when they came home, and falling on the Earth cryed to their brethren *miseremini miseremini* spare us or kill us here ; yet they cry out herericks, hereticks, away with them, till the civil Judges rescued them: and how many of these had but lately subscribed against *Flavianus* at *Ephesus*, (& here were in one point for *Leo*, and in another against him?) *Leo's* Epistle which was for their cause against *Dioscorus* they cryed up ; and condemned *Dioscorus* for excommunicating the Pope ; but the Canon for exalting *Constantinople*, they maintained against *Leo's* will, and contemptuously cryed out *Qui aliter sentiunt Romam ambulent* ; he that readeth the *clamours* at this Council, and how the same Bishops that had lately subscribed the condemnation of *Flavianus* with *Dioscorus* were zealous here on the other side, and cryed out *omnes peccavimus*, excusing it by their fear of threatnings and Souldiers, when a poor Christian woman could have suffered Martyrdom rather than sin ; And he that readeth how after all this they were so ready to Anathematize others, and to condemn the prostrate *Egyptian* Bishops, will

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think

that he seeth the first Council of *Constantinople* as described by *Nazianzen* here exemplified, notwithstanding the honour that is due to them for their orthodoxness. You see in this much how the great Bishops at the first five General Councils (*Nic. 1. Const. 1. Eph. 1. & 2. And Calced.*) did carry it. But when they were asunder were they settled, & did they keep the Churches in concord by these Councils? Let us but, for one instance, consider what followed this excellent Council of *Calcedon*;

1. *Leo* the Bishop of *Rome* approved it against *Dioscorus*, but abhorred the 28th Canon, which set up *Constantinople* with equal priviledges, and that above *Alexandria* and *Antioch*: So that the Pope rested not in this Council.
2. What sedition there was at *Alexandria* upon the change made by this Council all the daies of *Martian*, and of the murder of *Proterius* presently after, *Liberatus in Breviario*, and many other tell at large.
3. In *Palestine* the Monks that had been at the Council, returned lamenting that the faith was there betrayed, and stird up their fraternity to rescind the acts: They expelled *Juvenal* Bishop of *Jerusalem*; The Empress *Endocia* took their part: They killed *Severianus* Bishop of *Scythopolis*: They compelled men to communicate with them: They murdered *Athanasius* a Deacon at *Jerusalem* for contradicting them, and gave his flesh to dogs; They compelled *Dorotheus* the Emperours Lieutenant to joyn with them, till after 20 months *Juvenal* was restored *Niceph. l. 15. c. 9.* And in many Countries this contention followed; and the women *Endocia* and *Pulcheria* had no small hand in all, till *Pulcheria* procured *Endocias* Conversion to approve the Council.

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3. When *Leo* came to reign, the sedition revived at *Alexandria* between the murderers of *Proterius*: *Timothy Elurus* made Bishop by the Councils enemies, deposed by *Leo*, and *Timothy*, *Salophaciolus* put in his place, and all was in confusion. The *Egyptian* Bishops write to the Emperour against the *Eutychians*; The Emperour sends forth his circular letters for the Council; *Niceph. l. 15. c. 17. 18. 19.* 4. At *Antioch*, *Petrus*, *Cnaphus* ambitious of the Bishoprick, got into *Martyrius* place by *Leo's* help, and anathematized all that would not say that *God was Crucified and Suffered*, and tore that Church in pieces: *Martirius*, when he could do no good, forsook them, with these words [*Clero rebelli et populo inobedienti & ecclesia contaminata nuncium remitto*:] *Cnaphus* reviled the Council: *Leo* for this banished him: *Stephanus*, a friend of the Council, succeeded him; him boyes killed with sharp quills and cast him into the river for favouring the Council: And *Calendion* succeeding him, made them Anathematize the aforesaid *Cnaphus*. *Leo* being dead, dissolute *Zeno* reigned, *Basiliscus* taking advantage of his lewd life, usurped the Empire, and made use of the Schisms to promote his ends: And first publisheth his circular against the Council of *Calcedon*; to this faith *Niceph. l. 16. c. 4.* besides the three Patriarchs no less than five hundred Bishops subscribed, and renounced the Council. But *Acacius* of *Constantin.* and *Dav. Columella* perswaded *Basiliscus* quickly to write clean contrary Letters for the Council, seeing that this was like to prove the stronger side. And when *Zeno* was restored, who was for the Council, the *Asian* Bishops turned again, and